

**Problems of Poverty in Contemporary Cambodian Society:
A Sociological Study on Urban Slum, PHNOM PENH**

A Dissertation

**Submitted to the University of Tsukuba
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology**

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Poverty may have occurred in the early ages of division of human labor, for instance in slave-master society.

In the modern society, the gaps between the have and the have-not or the rich and the poor, or to put another way, the gaps between the developed countries and the developing countries, were obvious.

The existence of poverty, thus, has been the concerns of humankind. It is not a new phenomenon. It has a long history of social-human existence.

According to Marxists, poverty existed in the capitalist society, where the labor division was established by the capitalists. In such society, people, the workers sold their physical labors for the exchanges of wage or material needs for their daily life. For Marxism, in the capitalist society, the workers were not treated equally, but exploited. As results of inequalities (labor-division and wage, for example) and exploitations, some people lived on the poverty line, and the others were seen as living in extreme poverty. By its nature, the cause/causes of poverty are regarded as derived from multi-dimensions and complexities.

However, there is no clear cut distinction between causes and effects of poverty, i.e., social exclusion and illiteracy could be both causes and consequences of poverty. There is no single cause that explains poverty fully. Cause of poverty is never the same between one country and another country. For instance, we see that in some countries major causes of poverty have been identified as high population pressure, unemployment and underemployment, low human capital development, and lack of assets such

as landlessness, no access to credit, and natural calamities. Or sometimes, it is understood that poverty is the effect of a complex interplay of macro-economic policies which results in that the poor become poorer. Sometimes it is said that the basic cause of poverty is ignorance, lack of knowledge, skills and attitudes which are needed for working and living together. The ignorance is due to illiteracy and lack of literacy makes the poor weak in the ability to communicate with others and causes them alienated from the society.

Therefore, we are able to state that phenomenon of poverty has emerged within in a complicated network of economic, psychological, sociological and cultural factors and cannot be sufficiently and satisfactorily explained with rough and ready theories. On the other hand, even though poverty is an international concern, it is normally studied and explained with reference to locality, demography, economic structures and politics, social structures (ethnicity, social vulnerability, marginalization), culture (personal inadequacies of behavior).

Aside from these causes of poverty, natural disasters such as flood causes by heavy rain, heavy storms usually damage houses, agricultural plantations, human lives, brought dangerous disease to human lives, and cause thousands of people to face hunger and food shortage. Or civil wars or other forms of war or any kinds of aggressive acts such as terrorism are also seen as cause of poverty, too. Therefore, there is no single cause of poverty.

So far, it is known that no absolute definition of poverty has been made or agreed; no single approach or strategy for poverty reduction has been found. Poverty still remains and continues its being. Therefore, there is

no country that has been completely successful with eradicating poverty. Both affluent and poor countries always face with the problem of poverty. The poverty is never the same; in some countries it is not serious but in some it is.

This perhaps depends on the geography, environment, culture, economy and political systems of the given countries. For example, it is observed that the serious poverty normally happens in the former communist or socialist countries and in the period of economic and political transitions such as Cambodia, Rwanda, Bosnia, and so on. In case of Cambodia, the country is seen as undergoing different political and economic systems within few decades. As the results of the struggle for political power, the country was brought into civil war, which caused a hundreds thousands of people dead in absolute poverty. Today the country is slowly emerging from one of humanity's most brutal episodes of social-political and economic destructions. However, the country continues to be one of the world's poorest nations, lagging well behind its Southeast Asian neighbors in terms of key development indicators. The royal government of Cambodia remains weak and depends heavily upon foreign assistance, which provides nearly half of its operating budget. A drastic drop in production, a steep rise in prices and the new phenomenon of unemployment have created social gap. This has opened up new space for discourse and dialogue.

PRECEDING RESEARCHES

Western countries are seen as the leading in the study of poverty, and thus the approach and policy for poverty reduction have been established.

For example, in the mid-nineteenth century the British Poor Law was invented to help the poor English people particularly the poor-paid laborers. Then, in the academic research, at the beginning of twentieth century, Charles Booth produced the first sociological study on poverty in England in his work *Life and Labour of the People in London*. In this book he used Inquiry as a social method for collecting data on poverty describing the actual life of the occupational classes and the conditions under which they lived and elaborated their passions, pastimes and domestic tragedies. Later he wrote another book titled *On the City: Physical Pattern and Social Structure*, describing the structure of the city and its conditions and describing poor living of the working class in the city. By the way, Harold W. Pfautz edited this book in 1967. Following the example of Booth, Rowntree, who lived in the same period, created his own work *Poverty: the Study of Town Life in York*. In this work, Rowntree used Booth's inquiry to collect data on poverty in terms of the social and economic conditions of working class.

In brief, these two studies on poverty are understood as employing the subsistence approach, which later is named basic needs or absolute poverty approach. These studies have influenced any kinds of poverty study worldwide such as United Nations (UN), World Bank (WB), and other social thinkers like Peter Townsend, who recently known as the founder of Relative Deprivation in the study of poverty. His study also influences a number of contemporary studies on poverty such as Joseph Rowntree and also 1980-Noble Prize in Economics Amartya K. Sen in his work *Poverty and Famine, Reexamined Inequality, Development as Freedom* and so on.

There are uncountable researches on poverty from nineteenth century until today. Even there are different sorts of poverty study, but we can see the main aspects of those studies in the lights of the so-called subsistence poverty or basic needs or absolute poverty and relative poverty or relative deprivation. These forms of poverty can be viewed as the central points of the different studies of poverty. Therefore, poverty is the *relative concept*, which gives birth to a number of studies in the field.

OBJECTIVES OF STUDY

The primary objectives of this thesis are: firstly, to get a preliminary insight of the earlier researches on poverty and their approaches to understand the process of social development in general and in Cambodia in particular; secondly, to seek for a new insight or reflection of the continuity of poverty's existence specifically in the context of Cambodia. Thirdly, to use different references to find an appropriate approach that can help and contribute to the existing antipoverty strategies or policies in Cambodia.

The central focus of this study is poverty's concept based mainly on economic and sociological theories on poverty and then makes an assessment of social development to alleviate poverty in this sphere.

Thus, our concern here is to acquaint with a general theoretical background and an empirical research by conducting a fieldwork survey. The study is intended to specify as follows:

1—to discuss various social development approaches for poverty alleviation;

2—to review briefly the conceptualizations of poverty, forms and

dimensions of poverty challenging to the current social development by using some social indicators;

3—to review briefly the socio-historical evolution of Cambodia in the past and present relevant to poverty;

4—to discuss the conceptualizations, measurement, of poverty in the Cambodian context;

5—to discuss various approaches for poverty reduction in Cambodia, and the last is the conclusion of the thesis, which consisting of personal recommendations for the future study of poverty in Cambodia;

6—do data analysis and write report on poverty; and,

7—to conclude our dissertation: we will sum up main ideas of the dissertation and add some new ideas and give some suggestions for both of future study on poverty and poverty's reduction policy or strategy for Cambodia.

LIMITATION OF STUDY AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

There are some limitations of this study.

One of the problems in developing countries like Cambodia is that there is the problem of the availability of academic sociological researches on poverty. There are, of course, reports or some articles on the field by Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs), WB, World Food Development Program (WFDP) as well as the government. Thus, this study bases on information from various publications of the government, NGOs, and other relevance. The collected documents include:

-several books written by sociologists and non-sociologists in the field

of social development;

- publications of government and NGOs such as statistical reports of governmental authorities, policies, regulation and guideline, annual reports, sample survey, proceeding workshops and several researches by NGOs;

- some documents from internet on webpage of WB, Asian Development Bank (ADB), International Monetary Fund (IMF), and from different webpage written by sociologists; and,

- finally, publications of international journals named British Journal of Sociology, American Journal of Sociology, and Canadian Journal of Sociology.

Generally, however, the cited resources lack of comprehensiveness, clarity, and many are even dated.

To fulfill the requirement of a scientific and academic sociological study on poverty in the country, we decide to do this survey. Moreover, it is a part of my concern with the human and social development in my country based on experiences with some NGOs and political and economical changes in the society for three decades. Thus, we are able to design a proper scientific sociological fieldwork survey on poverty in urban areas of Phnom Penh, Cambodia in particular. Discussion of this community survey will be later presented in Part II, Part III, and in Appendix.

SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

We understand that poverty becomes a great concern of social scientists and they have been trying to establish poverty reduction approaches. The lingering question, however, is why the existence of poverty

continues, despite countless studies and approaches? If to reduce poverty is the real intention the affluent societies and World Organizations such as WB, UN, and WTO, why does the present world remain divided two, developed and developing areas?

In particular, Cambodia is just emerged from war torment facing with a lot of social problems for social development. Thousands of Cambodians are living and suffering in conditions of extreme poverty such as lack of healthy food, no safe water for rural areas including the outskirts of the city, no electricity, lack of irrigation structures for agricultural plantations, lack of infrastructure in the rural areas throughout the country, and lack of information. Years of war and neglect ravaged the physical infrastructure and sustained poverty gave highly negative impact on human health and education and well-being. The agricultural production has been declining due to the slowness of economic development by several reasons; poorness in rural infrastructure, landmines, restrictions on foreign investment, lack of inputs and absence of on-farm management skills.

On the other hand, Cambodia is seen as a country with rich culture and natural resources suitable for rapid economic development. However, lack of government legislation and law enforcement, coupled with widespread corruption, is resulting in rapid environmental degradation.

These overall factors influence this study to come into being, and I hope it will make a significant contribution for this society as the time is limited.

We have observed that the failure of reducing or abolishing poverty may be deriving from a lack of unity of using a concept of poverty itself.

This study has observed that central focus on problem of poverty so far has been on absolute poverty and relative deprivation. Such kind of study goes back from early Marxism, Neo-Marxism, early 20th century (like sociologist Booth and Rowntree), and contemporary modern world (like, Amin, Frank, Townsend and Sen). Until our 21st century the conceptualization of poverty does not change much.

Therefore, we think that we shall integrate conceptions of absolute and relative poverty into one universal concept, *social poverty*. Social poverty is an alternative concept that needs alternative understanding. And by perceiving all problems of poverty as social poverty, we will never regard poverty as an individual, a group of people or families, and a community but as social issue. It is society, local and world as a whole that creates social poverty. The major causes and results of social poverty are *social exclusion and lack of social empowerment*. People are socially excluded and not empowered in many ways such as poor education, poor health, unemployment or underemployment, low income earning, poor housing and lack of access to social participations and so on.

In short, by using social poverty as a new trend in interpreting problems of poverty, we would like to approach our study on poverty to a process of *moving away from individual poverty or conventional theory of poverty and moving toward a new approach of poverty, as social poverty*.

STRUCTURE OF DISSERTATION

The thesis as a whole is divided into three parts.

Part I is the theoretical framework. It has one chapter with two

sections: *moving away from individual poverty or conventional theory of poverty and moving toward to a new approach of social poverty*. Each section of chapter I deals with different conceptualizations of poverty and poverty reduction approaches from various studies in different periods of time.

Chapter I presents and discusses various perceptions of poverty's definitions, dimensions of poverty, and poverty reduction strategies (notably World System Approach, Globalization Approach, and Antipoverty Policy Approach). These approaches are described, in general, as having been used for years in the national and international levels for fighting against the existence of poverty. This portion reviews more specifically the studies on poverty by some economists and some sociologists particularly in capitalist context rather than socialist one (although some socialist standpoints on poverty are also quoted), then searches for new possible way to define poverty.

The study then searches for new possible ways to define poverty. At the last of this chapter, a new established concept of poverty, *Social Poverty* is introduced. The new poverty definition is followed by a discussion of the Social Poverty Approach that is suggested for subsequent poverty studies.

Part II is devoted to the study of the problem of poverty in Cambodia in the contemporary time. It is divided into two chapters, chapters II and III.

Chapter II focuses firstly, on the socio-historical context of Poverty in Cambodia in the past and present, in particular concerning war and conflict over three decades that caused the country's destruction. Secondly, a short literature reviews past conceptions of poverty, especially some definitions of poverty by Cambodian people and absolute poverty in Cambodian context.

Thirdly, social problems of poverty and poverty reduction in Cambodia are presented such as different dimensions of poverty, (for example illiteracy and bad health, income inequality distribution (including issues on employment and unemployment), social exclusions, and formal poverty reduction policy by the government and NGOs).

In chapter III, we concentrate on empirical data presentation and analysis on social poverty by fieldwork study in slums in Phnom Penh, the capital city of Cambodia. The data analysis aims at testing theory of social poverty. All hypothesis or dimensions of social poverty are derived from collected data of social problems in urban slums in Cambodia and our social fieldwork survey between year 2004 and 2005.

Finally, Part III presents this dissertation's summary, analysis, and conclusion. We will conclude all aspects of social poverty based on review and analysis of documentary data, theoretical frameworks, and empirical study results. We also give some personal suggestions on some issues for the future research in the field. Lastly, we put forward some recommendations for improving the existing approaches for social poverty alleviation in Cambodia.

PART I
THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

CHAPTER I—CONCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL POVERTY

Poverty is not a new social phenomenon. Its continuous existence remains a very complicated social problem. Because of this complexity, study on poverty is controversial, and there is no common agreement offered on its definition, its measurement, its causes and consequences and approaches for its poverty reduction.

Different social scholars from different fields of disciplines have been trying to give, either in narrow or broad sense, their own path on the particular case of their studies on poverty. There seems to be an agreement that poverty would be provided multi-definitions, which might include economic and sociological aspects. Our purpose here is to understand different conceptions (also definitions) of poverty from previous studies on poverty mainly by economists and sociologists.

This chapter contains three main parts: *firstly*, various conceptualizations¹ on poverty given by certain economists such as Hollander, Jackson, Richard, Sen, and some sociologists particularly Booth, Rowntree, Townsend, and others, will be described.

Secondly, two different forms of poverty, absolute poverty and relative deprivation deriving from the first part will be discussed. Here, the presentation intends to show, on the one hand, even though different names of form of poverty had been employed, these definitions can simply be reduced into two, absolute poverty and relative deprivation. On the other hand, this portion wants to state that so far many studies on poverty had

¹ Here, we pay attention to either perceptions or definitions of poverty: in some studies, the authors do not give their own definitions of poverty but rather try to perceive poverty defined by other authors. We will see some of them in the following discussions.

been concentrated on either absolute poverty or relative deprivation.

Finally, the examination on the two important forms of poverty helps me to find a new way of understanding about the evolution or development or continuation of today's poverty, and to share my own contribution to the studies on poverty in the form of introduction of the concept of *Social Poverty* to be discussed in the last part of this chapter. The last portion of Chapter One highlights and focuses on Social Poverty built upon previous studies on poverty and features two significant themes: social exclusion and lack of social empowerment. The chapter concludes with the discussion of the proposed Social Poverty Approach for future use.

Now let us study conceptualizations of poverty as follows.

1—MOVING AWAY FROM INDIVIDUAL POVERTY OR CONVENTIONAL THEORY OF POVERTY

1—1 SOME ECONOMIC CONCEPTIONS OF POVERTY

Different experts in economics, observed to have lived in different or similar time periods, have put their concerns on problems of poverty in their own ways based on their knowledge, experiences and realities of poverty. Our purpose in this section is to present either their stated definitions of poverty and/or conceptions (or explanations) of poverty.

J.H. Hollander in his book *The Abolition of Poverty* first published in 1914, simply said, "*The word poverty is, in ordinary usage, applied indifferently to three distinct conditions: (a) economic inequality, (b) economic dependence, and (c) economic insufficiency.*"²

² Hollander, J. H. (1976), *The Abolition of Poverty*, 2nd pub., Arno Press, p. 1-2.

He explained that a person is said to be poor in mere contrast to his/her neighbor who is rich; this is economic inequality; while almshouses and public relief minister to those, in the eye of the state, are poor, this is economic dependence; and midway between the modest circumstance and outright dependence are the poor in the sense of the inequality because they are fed, clad, and sheltered; this is economic insufficiency.

According to J.H. Hollander, the terms poorness and poverty remain to be properly applied to those who commonly lack some considerable part of the economic goods and services necessary for decent and wholesome life. He seemed to assert that poverty, understood as economic insufficiency, is an incident of industrial evolution and not an essential of economic structure, and its presence implies maladjustment, not normal working; that its control may be affected by social policy; and that its ultimate disappearance is a fair inference from the facts of economic experience.

He stressed poverty in the sense of economic insufficiency rather than economic dependence and economic inequality because, his term, “economic insufficiency”—its wide extent, its assumed necessity, its tragic consequence—forms the real problem.

For example, he remarked that there are great bodies of people in country and in city who, from birth, have less than enough food, clothing, and shelter; who from childhood must toil long and hard to secure even that insufficient amount; who can benefit little from the world’s advance in material comfort and in spiritual beauty because their bodies are under-nourished, their minds over-strained and their souls deadened by

bitter struggle want.³

Of economic insufficiency, Dudley Jackson, in his book *Poverty* published in 1972, said that in order to live without poverty, people need to satisfy a variety of needs and their abilities to function adequately in society and it depends upon the extent to which these needs are met. When important needs are not met or fulfilled, individuals or families are said to be in poverty because their lives are not considered to be satisfactory. Thus, want or need is another dimension for defining poverty. He regarded the problem in defining poverty as largely a cultural problem in determining what is or what should count as inadequate social functioning. He pointed out that *“in our particular society, some aspects of social functioning that are considered important are: being gainfully employed, maintaining a household, and engaging in satisfying personal and social relationship. When these aspects of life are in jeopardy a person or family may be considered to be in poverty.”*⁴

Therefore, we understand that poverty is, in Jackson’s term, referred to inadequate social functioning. According to him, stocks and flows are the key concepts for social functioning. He explained that nutrition, the most basic of all needs, is met by a continuous flow of consumption of foodstuff. These needs are provided by stocks, for example, housing, clothing and education. There are two kinds of stocks, stocks of material goods and of human capital; these two kinds of stocks become very important in fulfilling the needs required for adequate functioning in society.

³ Hollander, J. H. (1976), *Abolition of Poverty*, 2nd pub., by Arno Press, p. 4.

⁴ Jackson, Dudley. (1972), *Poverty*, G.B.: Macmillan Press LTD & Anchor Press LTD, p. 13.

In brief and therefore, in order to avoid being in poverty, social functioning must be met the needs of flows in particular nutritional flows (the relatively small party of the total needs of an individual) that maintain life and health, and needs for stocks (the total needs of individuals or families.)

Rather than offer his own definition of poverty, Richard Perlman, in his book in 1976, *The Economics of Poverty*, appeared to agree that, “a numerous economic definitions of poverty contain one common element, and they consider poverty a condition of having insufficient funds to maintain an acceptable standard of living.”⁵

He criticized those who used the term *poor*, as the adjective of poverty without clarifying the classification of a large group of people whose income does not reach acceptable levels. He said that the word poor also means inefficient, or of low equality, as in poor performance, poor grades, or even poor excuse for a man. These examples strongly suggest that poverty is attributable to faults in the people to whom it relates. On the other hand, he said that the expressions such as low-income population have not caught on as substitutes for poorness in its economic sense.

Thus, separation of any lingering connection with other uses is needed. For instance he noted that poverty was defined as economic misfortune, that is, some individuals have low native earnings potential and low economic motivation; and forces beyond their present control explain the presence of most people within poverty population. This poverty population is not intended merely to satisfy academic curiosity but to designate those people

⁵ Perlman, Richard. (1976), *The Economics of Poverty*, USA: McGraw-Hill, Inc., p. 3.

who should be subjects of public concern and programs to improve their economic status as necessary.

So far we have seen that many economic conceptions or definitions of poverty contain a common element, that is, *inadequate income earning or lack of sufficient funds to maintain an acceptable standard of living*. At least two particular aspects of poverty in economic context: *lack of income equality or unequal distribution income, and lack of employment or underemployment* could be used to clarify economic definitions of poverty.

It is simply undeniable to state that income or wage earning comes from employment. Men need money to buy either basic or relative needs. And this money comes from their work or employment in private or public (state) sectors, i.e., from being employed in a business firm or company or as a state's official/staff. If a person is not employed in one of these sectors, he/she will have no income; thus it can be said he/she is in poverty. However, it is understood that the problem of unequal income distribution and unemployment or underemployment is very complicated in a complexly organized modern society.

Let us examine separately these two issues. *Firstly, the unequal distribution of income and wealth is described as one of the prominent features of our human society and one that has a profound effect on economic and social relationship. Secondly, Unemployment or underemployment is viewed as an inevitable social evil for development of our human society.*

Related with the first issue most social thinkers particularly economists see the existence of economic inequality as an extreme complex phenomenon and it is impossible to cover all aspects of the distribution of

income and wealth into one section of a study.

Income inequality, however, is obviously economic. Everyone seems to be aware of its existence but its precise extent is difficult to determine. But it appears that it is usually known how many people have low income or high income by surveyed statistical data. This income data statistics are not easily understood as the rich are normally reluctant to reveal their affairs; whereas the poor are not often covered by the government statistics or by other institutions such as WB and UN. Meanwhile, it is noted that any official statistics on the distribution of income and wealth has considerably lower quality than those in other fields which may well reflect a low priority attached by the government to distributional questions.

In a book *Wealth, Income & Inequality* edited by Atkinson in 1973 stated that it is not easy to know exactly the true difference of income inequality gap between different people in a given society. We could only know the extent of income inequality through the examination of available statistical data.

Atkinson pointed out that the pattern of inequality needed to be interpreted in the light of structural changes in society: changes in work habits and relative importance of different sources of income, changes in marriage patterns and in the age structures of the population, changes in the level of unemployment, and the developments of private and state social security system.⁶ As these social structures continue their changes, the income gap between the rich and the poor, the low professional worker and

⁶ Atkinson, A.B. (1973), *Wealth, Income & Inequality: the Distribution of Income in Britain and the United States*, England: Harmondsworth, Middlesex, p. 69-71.

the high professional worker, and the relevant, also continues.

It seems that there is no absolute measure or approach to bring these gaps to an equal or acceptable standard of living of all-class people. It is seen perhaps one time in the history of human society especially in socialist society; every citizen was given an equal standard of living. In this social system “exploitation” was seen as the evil of social differences and social development or it was viewed as the enjoyment of one person of the fruits of another’s labour should be abolished. The distribution of wealth and products from human-labor force were equally divided.

Marx is perceived as the leader of the exploitation theory or class stratification. He understood well about the diversities of social classes in the capitalist society. Thus and in short, he led the movement of regime change and invented the idea: *from each according to his/her ability to each according his/her needs.*

However, the enjoyment of equality of living standard in the Marxian conception as well as the socialist society appears to be faced with a very big disaster because the whole body of society could no longer provide sufficient resources to its people, and the increase of political-economic competitions with other strong states, for instance, former Soviet and its communist states’ alliance against United States, France, United Kingdom and Japan.

Even Marxian theory itself meets a lot of criticism, for instance, Sen, in his book in 1995, *Inequality Reexamined*, criticized Marx’s theory of exploitation that “...*the relation between economic opportunities and social freedoms (freedom of speech, freedom of writing, of work, and human rights, etc.) and the tradition of classification was not adequate because there are*

*many other diversities, and an approach to equality related the fulfillment of needs or to ensuring freedoms has to go beyond purely class-based analysis.”*⁷

Meanwhile, on poverty and income inequality, Sen stated that the lack of well-being and lack of capability to function or perform in society, especially earning income for a standard of living could be described as main factors of income inequality and thus poverty.⁸

According to Sen, it is simplistic to understand income inequality between different nations by making a comparison of gross national product (GNP) per head: “*South Africa (\$2,470), Brazil (\$2,540), Gabon (\$2,960), and Oman (\$5,220) have six or more times the per capita GNP of China (\$350) and Sri Lanka (\$430).*”⁹ But these relatively rich countries give their people significantly lower ability to survive premature mortality (with life expectancy varying between 53 and 66 years) than do the lower-income countries (with life expectancy around 70 years or more).

Sen explained that the differences among these countries link with a great extent to differences in the social, educational, and epidemiological conditions. The achievements of China, and Sri Lanka, and the relevant nations in quality of life have much to do with policies regarding communal health services, medical care, and basic education.

At this point, we ought to note that the question of equality is not new one; it has been asked to answer from early modern time until today.

⁷ Sen, Amartya. (1995), *Inequality Reexamined*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, p. 120.

⁸ Note: Sen has made a distinction between judging poverty by income and capability. Here, I do not discuss much more about this point because of the limitation of the study.

⁹ Sen, Amartya, (1992), *Inequality Reexamined*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, p. 125-6.

For instance, John Stuart Mill (utilitarianism), John Rawls and Robert Nozick (legalism) suggested different ways of reaching a proper living standing of every citizen in a society. But so far, no society has fully achieved this point yet. The collective rights and the individual rights that these schools of thoughts wanted in every government of any form of society especially the democratic one seem to be understood and interpreted differently. People still do not enjoy their rights to natural resources such as land, to free market such as income earning, and to employment in firm, company or even employment in state administration, etc.

*Rawls' theory*¹⁰ "*Justice as Fairness*" stated in his 1972 book is known as the famous account of social justice. A well-known theory of *Justice as Fairness* is based on the idea of *primary goods*, those necessary for the pursuit of a plan of life whatever the specifics of that plan may be; they include rights and liberties, opportunities and power, income and wealth and a sense of one's worth. Primary goods have to follow the *principles of distribution*: firstly, each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive total system of equal basic liberties compatible with a similar system of liberty for all; secondly, social and economic inequalities are arranged so that they are both: (a) to the greatest benefit of the least advantage, and (b) attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity.

Critiques of this theory have been offered. For one, democratic affluent societies like United States and England, for instance, still cannot find a proper solution of the increasing gaps between lower-earning income

¹⁰ Rawls, J. 1972:102. See also in Brian Lund, *Understanding State Welfare*, 2002: 3-4.

citizens and higher-earning income citizens. For this reason, one can ask whether Rawlsian theory of social justice is really relevant to societies as such or not, or there are still other ways out.

In Rawls' sense, equal distribution is essential for a society. However, structuring a society to produce inequalities will be regarded legitimated only if such inequalities work to the advantage of the worst off. He explained that an individual with natural talents will be allowed to utilize these talents and become unequal but the maximum principle provides insurance against the possibility of an individual who may not be endowed with natural abilities.

Of course, it is true that his theory benefits for social development, but it is often criticized that his idea was very broad and having difficulties for applying the notion of social justice to a market system because it is believed that the market is a spontaneous order, characterized by the maximization of individual liberty, wealth enhancement, and the achievement of greater satisfaction of human desires than any deliberate human organization can achieve. Thus, justice could be applied only to situations, which had been created by human will. These observations raise the need for a new way of understanding and application the concept of "equality".

Until this point, we have seen about the questions of income inequality. Now, we would concentrate on unemployment, which causes a big gap in income earnings, cause income distribution inequality.

Employment is one of the most important aspects for poverty reduction programs by the particular country and other social agents such as

UN, WB, and United Nations for Development Program (UNDP), WTO, IMF, and so forth. If unemployment cannot be solved, poverty will or can be never reduced. Thus, every social policy, disregarding the national levels and the international ones, must see unemployment as an important obstacle against development of social beings.

It is inevitable to count *unemployment as a social devil* for the development of our human society. If the unemployment rate continues to increase to a great number of populations on earth, our human world will face a great disaster. *Unemployment is so important because it is costly both to individuals and to society as a whole. Firstly, it costs upon society; labor perishes and labor not utilized for production causes a permanent loss of output and therefore consumption. Secondly, it imposes suffering upon individuals, not just in terms of foregone consumption, but the associated low self esteem often results in behavioral and physical health problems and family/ marital instability.*

Unemployment results from diverse aspects of social changes in time and space such as civil wars, the oil crisis in 1970s in the West, and other forms of economic inflations. For example, countries in the West such as those members of European States and the United States in 1970s had faced the higher level of unemployment; particularly United Kingdom, France, West Germany, and the Netherlands. By the end of this decade, these countries recorded unemployment rates ranged between two and five times more than what it had been at the beginning. This was caused by the sluggish economic growth throughout the latter half of the 1970s, which was accompanied by an increased sensitivity of western economy to inflationary

pressures, arguably the result in part of greater legislative and institutional rigidities in labour market; and then the impact of the oil price rose in 1974-5 and 1978-9 shifted substantially the terms of trade and immediately limited or actually reduced the incomes of Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) countries.

Unemployment affects all kinds of human lives. Both young and old persons have suffered from it, and especially long-term unemployment is seen as an emergence of a new social problem of considerable magnitude and the process of impoverishment. Again in Europe, unemployment rate amongst young men and women has continued to worsen in each country, in particular, the relative position of women has worsened, and female unemployment rates have been lower than men. Concerned with the impact of unemployment on socio-economic development, governments of any country stress the importance of creating more jobs or employment, finding markets for selling products, promoting local and foreign investments, and other forms of social security that maintain the social well-being of its citizens and social system. For instance, in 1980s, the social security policy of four countries in Europe included a variety of financial provision to protect employment; each variety focused insurance based on scheme with benefits and contribution related to earnings.

WB sees the generation of productive employment and the creation of social welfare systems as a necessary step. It is also noticed that in the past two decades the emphasis on industrialization and particularly on the manufacturing sector has not resolved the unemployment in the developing countries. One of problems occurred frequently is a mismatch between the

demand for labor in new-capital-intensive industries and the labor supply of these nations. This is exacerbated when development depends on investment from external companies. Here, we can see that economic co-operation between the developed nations and the developing ones is needed.

In conclusion, in the economic world, poverty can be claimed as deriving from income inequality and unemployment, especially when they are viewed in the long-run. However, it is insufficient to perceive poverty only in economic contexts: like poverty as income earning insufficiency to buy basic needs to fulfill an acceptable living standard; or like poverty as having not satisfied the basic needs to live in a good and healthy life. We can say that to define or perceive poverty in such economic contexts is likely to hold poverty as a unidimensional entity. This is why there is a need to study and define poverty in a broader sociological context.

1—2 SOME SOCIOLOGICAL CONCEPTIONS OF POVERTY

Like other scholars, sociologists have also raised concerns about the continuous existence of poverty. In the course of their own researches, certain sociologists have offered broader definitions and multiple approaches for poverty reduction.

In the following we are going to discuss the contributions of the following sociologists: Booth, Rowntree, and Townsend whose empirical studies on poverty influenced subsequent poverty, even until today.

The method of inquiry, used by **Charles Booth** (1846—1916) for his research on *The Study of Life and Living Conditions of People in London* that appeared in his work entitled *On the City: Physical Pattern and Social*

Structure, edited by H.W. Pfautz in 1967, became a landmark of empirical research for sociologists interested in poverty and development studies. Booth used this method to describe the actual life of the occupational classes, the conditions under which they lived and labored their passions, pastimes, domestic tragedies, and the like with each class meeting the crisis peculiar to it.

Booth's studies also became as memorable and permanent contributions to more knowledge of human nature and society as the method of inquiry was really one of several pioneering efforts to establish the radical premise that environment, rather than human nature, is the primary cause of, and therefore, the potential cure for man's social ills.

Rather than focus on the measurement of poverty, Charles Booth instead concentrated on a detailed description of streets, houses, numbers of people in the family, living conditions, unemployment, among others. Through these descriptions, Charles Booth classified those who live in London at the time of his study into seven classes and seven colors as follows: These two kinds of categories of classifications are respondent to each other. *Firstly*, let's see the classifications of poverty in terms of different colors: *black for lowest class (A); dark blue for very poor (B); light blue for standard poverty (C & D); purple for mixed comfortable other poor or mixed with poverty (C & D with E & F); pink for working class comfort (E & F); red for middle class, well-to-do; and yellow for wealthy.*¹¹

The descriptions of colors' classifications were called "*descriptions*

¹¹ Booth, C. (1967), *On the City: Physical Pattern and Social Structure*, edited by H.W. Pfautz, USA, p. 191—216.

and classifications of streets.” Here, we can easily see or understand in which location the poor or rich were. To make more clear, Booth defined dark blue with a black line to indicate that great poverty is mixed with something worse; whereas red line in the connection with pink or yellow is to show the presence of a middle class element amongst working class or wealthy surroundings. Such classifications and descriptions are derived from the total counting of 13,722 streets.

Aside from classifying streets by colors, Booth identified people into several classes that are from class A to F: *class A* refers to the lowest class, which consists of some occasional laborers, street sellers, loafers, criminals and semi-criminals. Their life is the life of savages, with vicissitudes of extreme hardship and their only luxury is to drink. In short, people in this class live in the miseries. *Class B* refers to very poor people with casual earnings. The laborers do not get work as much as three days a week, but it is doubtful if many could or would work full time for long if they had the opportunity. In such class men are born and live and die so much as deposit of those who from mental, moral and physical reasons are incapable of better work. It follows that what they feel is the contrast between their lives and those of others. In short, the sufferings they have were derived from the loss of position and of the comfort to which they have been accustomed. *Class C* is correspondent to intermittent earnings, that is to say, 18 shillings to 21 shillings per week for moderate family. The irregularity of employment and improvident habits are those which are most hardly judged. Towards their misfortunes, modern sentiment turns its hard side of moral condemnation. The more one knows them, the harder

becomes the line drawn between the deserving and undeserving, and the fewer rank with the deserving. *Class D* refers to even poor people with small regular earnings. They work in factory, dock and warehouse as messengers or porters. As a general rule, they have a hard struggle to make ends meet, but they are, as a body, decent steady men, paying their way, and bringing up their children.

Booth classified class C and D in the same category because these two classes have some sharing like that they are poor in terms of small earnings deriving from irregular job, or from regular job but are ill-paid. Thus, they are the poor in similar degree but different in kind. *Class E* refers to those who have regular standard earnings, 22 shillings to 30 shillings per week for regular work, and are fairly comfortable. As a rule the wives do not work, but the children do: the boys commonly follow the father, whereas the girls take local trades or go out to service. This class contains those whose lot today is most aggravated by a raised ideal. *Class F* refers to higher-class labor and the best paid of the artisans, earnings exceed 30 shillings per week. These people include city warehousemen of better class and first hand lighter men; they are usually paid for responsibility and are men of good character and much intelligence. Booth categorized class E and F in the same degree because they earn regular employment and they are fairly well paid working class of all grades. *Class G* refers to lower middle class, including shopkeeper, and small employer, clerk and subordinate professional men. Finally, *class H* refers to upper middle class, servant keeping class. Thus class G and H are for lower and upper middle class and all are above this level.

His classifications based on three important points of view, namely, the relation to the past experience, the relation to expectation, and the degree of sensitiveness of the public mind. These three points apply with varying force to the condition of each class or occupation, and to the terms of each problem involved.

These classifications embrace the whole population in the family they live; leaving outside of it are only the inmates of institution, guesthouse or hotel. Thus basically it has the advantage of hitting directly at poverty. Booth pointed out that crowdedness is very similar to the poor. Family members between three or more per room are to be counted as the very crowded, thus this family is regarded as very poor. In contrast, if a family of one child occupies one room or a family of five or six children occupies two rooms, it is not regarded as very poor, in the sense of suffering from chronic want. In short, the large numbers of people in a family with the occupation of small room or one room are described as very poor: they must be under very great discomfort, and want sufficient food, clothes.

Booth considered those in crowded conditions as very poor or respectively poor, whereas those who had small members of family and who lived in a separate rooms, and even with servants, he regarded as rich. Such kind of description is already appeared in the description and classification of people into different classes.

To clarify further, Booth combined people into three groups: the first group consisted of classes A, B, C and D, those where two or more persons occupied a room. The second group consisted of class E, with portions of F and G. These classes occupied on average nearly one room to each person.

Booth's third group included classes F, G and H, those people who employed servants and those who did not employed. He added that of the first group, many are inched by want and all live in poverty, if poverty is defined as having no surplus. The second group enjoys solid working-class comfort, and of the third group the worst-off live in plenty and the best-off in luxury. To put another way, Booth jumped into assumption that one-third of the population are on or about the line of poverty, having at most one time or another income averaging 21 shillings or 22 shillings for a small family, and many cases falling much below this level.¹²

Thus for Booth, the poor have been defined as or described as including those whose earnings are small because of irregularity of employment and those who are ill-paid through regular work. They are further defined as those means are barely sufficient for decent independent life—their lives are an unending struggle and lack of comfort. While the very poor are those with very crowded living, for instance a room with three or more persons.

We can say in another way that Booth defined poverty in the so-called *Subsistent Poverty* (later named as *Absolute Poverty*), the lack of basic or minimum needs (food, clothing, money, etc.) or having not satisfied the basic needs for a sustainable standard of living. *Therefore, poverty is a state below which it is impossible to live a healthy life or a state in which people live below minimum needs.* This state of poverty is now called Poverty Line.

¹² Booth, C. (1967), *On the City: Physical Pattern and Social Structure*, edited by H.W. Pfautz, USA, p. 254-5.

It should be noted that Booth, on poverty in London used inquiry method to collect data, then to map locations and streets where the poor lived. This method influenced various studies on poverty either in his time or latter, for instance Rowntree, WB, and so forth. Let us examine one of his influences as follows.

Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree (1871-1954), in his 1902 book *Poverty: a Study of Town Life*, devoted his times to the study, through inquiry, of social and economic conditions of the wage-earning classes in York. Like Booth, Rowntree used the method of inquiry to design an investigation in order to get information about the housing, occupation, and the income or wage earning of families in York. The investigation was done not only by obtaining information from the voluntary workers and others relating to the context, but also sending investigators to go directly to one house to another so that the information received should become more accurate. Thus result obtained is satisfactory.

One characteristic of the research is that the identification of the names of streets and the numbers of houses were omitted. Instead, the research mainly asked the numbers of people of family, size of house occupied regarding numbers of rooms, allowance, and wages earnings, etc. Regarding work payment, they offered it to workers due to non skill and skill. Booth explained that for the skilled it was easy to have real information about the average of wage earnings, but some difficulties with the unskilled. However, this could be overcome in case of intimate acquaintance with the wage paid by one large factory, which employed much unskilled labour.

We observed that even though Rowntree had followed the method created by Booth, he made it more accurate not only by using questionnaires and direct interviews but engaging personal observation on the real living condition of the workers. There was also another difference between the two. For example, Booth classified people into 8 classes, while Rowntree classified people into seven orderly alphabetical from class A to G¹³:

“A.” Total Family Income under 18 shillings for a moderate family;

“B.” Total Family Income 18 shillings and under 21 shillings for a moderate family;

“C.” Total Family Income under 21 shillings and under 30 shillings for a moderate family;

“D.” Total Family Income over 30 shillings for a moderate family;

“E.” Domestic Servants;

“F.” Servant-keeping Class; and,

“G.” Persons in Public Institutions.

In these classifications, the term *moderate family* is used to mean a family consisting of father, mother, and from two to four children. In these classifications, allowance had been made for families which were smaller or larger than such moderate family. Rowntree said that if a family had an income of 22 shillings, and consisted of two parents and four children, they would be placed in Class “C,” but if there were five or more children they would be placed in Class “B.” And if a family had an income of 27 shillings,

¹³ Rowntree, B.S. (1902), *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, London, U.K.: Macmillan, p. 53-4.

and consisted of two parents and two children, they would be also placed in Class “C,” but if they were only one child they would go into Class “D.”

Like Booth, such classification is very helpful to distinguish which family is poor or rich. Rich and poor families can be understood in the light of number of people of a family, size of location occupied, number of rooms, wage earnings, etc. *With regard to family income, it includes the total wages of father, of mother, of children who are earning not more than 7 shillings each; the estimated payment for board and lodging given to their parents by older children; and payments by lodgers counted as members of the family for board and lodging.*

We understood that it was this knowledge that enabled him to ascertain the standard of living attainable by the working classes. However, this did not imply that families who were in receipt of such income always attained the standard represented by a given income. In short, of wage-earning family, *Rowntree concluded that it would be better to classify, not by wage of the head of the household, but by the family income, since the sums contributed by supplementary earners frequently amount to more than the earnings of the head, and thus materially affect the standard of living of the whole family.*

All these descriptions of poverty can be summed up in what Rowntree categorized as *primary poverty and secondary poverty*, known as the expansion or development of Booth’s approach of poverty. The first refers to families whose total earnings were insufficient to obtain the minimum necessities for maintenance of merely physical efficiency. The second refers to families whose total earnings would have been sufficient

for maintenance of merely physical efficiency were it not that some portion of it was absorbed by other expenditure, either useful or wasteful.¹⁴

At that time it was found about 15% of population in York was in primary poverty including the main categories of those in poverty such as the aged, the mentally and physically disabled, the ill, single-parent families, the unemployed, and those with large families but low income. It is easy to see why people fell into absolute poverty.¹⁵

In conclusion, we can now understand what Rowntree meant by poverty. He defined poverty as, “*a level of total earnings insufficient to obtain the minimum necessities for maintaining of merely physical efficiency, including food, rent and other items.*”¹⁶ According to this definition, we are aware that Rowntree took similar definition of poverty already defined by Booth. However, it was not only Rowntree who followed the definition of poverty as lacking of sufficient income earning to maintain physical efficiency, but also many economists (some economists had been mentioned earlier) had entered similar path. Therefore, it appears from these important studies of Booth and Rowntree that present-day concepts of absolute poverty or subsistent poverty are not recent but had been popularly studied in earlier centuries.

More than half century later, or in the late 1980s, the studies on poverty had changed their direction/trend from absolute poverty to relative

¹⁴ Rowntree, B.S. (1902), *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, London, U.K.: Macmillan, p. 351.

¹⁵ O'Donnell, Gerard. (1993), *Sociology Today*, Cambridgeshire: Cambridge University Press, p. 127.

¹⁶ See also World Development Report 2000/2001, *Attacking Poverty*, World Bank, Oxford University Press, 2000: 17.

poverty. In particular, one of outstanding contemporary scholars, Peter Townsend established a new trend in the study on poverty as relative deprivation. By defining poverty as relative deprivation, he meant poverty was not just only lacking of basic needs or physical needs, but also lack of social inclusion. We will shortly examine his idea on poverty in his discussions on relative poverty.

As a matter of fact, there are still uncountable researches on poverty. Conceptualizations of poverty, which have just mentioned above helped us to be aware that poverty can be studied and perceived differently. They have shown complexities in the study on poverty. So far, no one amongst poverty's experts has specifically tried to synthesize definitions of poverty into one category yet. However, it is probably wrong to claim that poverty is same everywhere in this universe. One should realize that complication in the study of poverty may lead to varying definitions, methodologies, conclusions and policy (or program) suggestions and considerations.

On the other hand, *absolute and relative* forms of poverty have recently gained most consideration by international institutions such as WB, UN, World Development Program (WDP), civil society, and individual poverty experts in poverty like Townsend and Sen whose ideas on absolute and relative poverty we shall now proceed to discuss.

1—3 ABSOLUTE POVERTY

As have been seen earlier, the first attempts to measure the extent of poverty as absolute or subsistent in sociological and scientific way were those

of Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree. The concept of minimum necessities is normally understood as *basic needs* formed by Rowntree himself. Basic needs are translated slightly different by different authors. For example, they are defined as a minimum consumption basket, which can include water and health care, and in the basic needs approach for the poor who cannot afford this the analytical focus on poverty assessment using absolute poverty lines is at individual or household level.¹⁷

A. B. Atkinson, in his 1969 book *Poverty in Britain and the Reform of Social Security*, also adopted the minimum necessities' approach, but in different way. He made it different from Rowntree by taking the standard applied by the government in determining eligibility for the so-called Supplementary Benefits. Atkinson said, "*A person to be living in poverty if his income is below that at which he would qualify for supplementary benefits.*"¹⁸

According to Atkinson, there were two reasons for adopting the supplementary benefit approach: the first reason was to examine the effectiveness of the present social security provisions in the light of the objectives of government policy. They are the objectives which could be expressed in terms of national minimum standard of living. The second reason was the very nature of definition referred to any attempt by his government at that time to help low income families by raising the supplementary benefit scale that would also have the effect of increasing

¹⁷ Arjan de Haan, *Social Exclusion: Towards a Holistic Understanding of Deprivation*, Villa Borsig Workshop Series; <http://www.dse.de/ef/poverty/dehaan.htm>.

¹⁸ Atkinson, A.B. (1969), *Poverty in Britain and the Reform of Social Security*, London: The Syndics of the Cambridge of University Press, p. 15.

the number defined as living in poverty. It meant that any increase in benefit designed to relieve the distress caused by inadequacies of income enlarged the number of people whose income are regarded as inadequate.

Supplementary benefit approach¹⁹ has the effect of increasing the number defined as living in poverty despite the complexity of absolute subsistence.

On the other hand, Atkinson explained the basic scale that added to the allowance for housing expenditure; house's rent might be reduced if there were non-dependent members of the household or if they considered to be unreasonable; in the case of an owner-occupier the additions like an allowance for repairs and insurance plus any mortgage interest are necessary. The actual level of the supplementary benefit would therefore vary from household to household.

Recently, Townsend defined absolute poverty as “*a condition characterized by severe deprivation of basic human needs, including food, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health, shelter, education and information. It depends on not only income but also an access to services.*”²⁰ This definition is a key approach for UN to set up their policies to erase absolute poverty.

Meanwhile British government had published a series of *Statistics on Low Income* by showing how many in the population, irrespective of earnings

¹⁹ Supplementary benefits were payable to anyone over 16 who was not in full-time work. A person with dependants received a supplement related to their requirements as well his/her own. For example, where husband and wife were both pensioners, a single supplement was paid. The scale of requirements was based on two principal components: basic scale rate (which depended on the number of dependents and the ages of any children) and an allowance for housing expenditure. As also is seen in Atkinson, A.B. (1969), *Poverty in Britain and the Reform of Social Security*, p. 17-18.

²⁰ Townsend, P. (1996), *A Future Poor*, London: Lemos & Crane, p. 19.

and benefits, had income below the going rates of Supplementary Benefits or what became “Income support” in 1980s. However, because things change over time and space, the study on poverty in this country has also changed, too. British government at that time has told their people to become mounting the enlargement of poverty’s existence and has undermined confidence in those who were professionally concerned to chart the effects and discover solutions.

Science means definition, explanation and disposition of the poverty phenomenon. This is what Townsend called *good science and bad science*. Table 2²¹ below provides an illustration of statistics on two rock-bottom measures of low income. One of two measures of low income is low income of the poorest one- tenth of population in 1979s. Another measure is half of average household income in that year. The table shows that there are more children below the 1979 standards of low income in the early 1990s than there are in 1979s, and the same is true for the adult.

Table 2: Children and adults in households below 1979s fixed income thresholds (after housing costs)

	Children	
1979standard	1979	1992-93
Below1979 Poorest decile Median	860,000	1,180,000
Below 50% of 1979 average Income	1,430,000	1,940,000

²¹ Townsend, P. (1996), *A Future Poor*, London: Lemos & Crane, p. 30.

Adults		
1979 standard	1979	1992-93
Below 1979 Poorest decile Median	2,000,000	2,970,000
Below 50% of 1979 average Income	3,850,000	4,100,000

Source: Townsend, P. (1996), *A Future Poor*, p. 30.

On the other hand, in measuring the absolute poverty based on income earnings and consumption expenditures, one or less than a dollar per day was/is used for purchasing the goods parity. Sen also used this measurement in late 1980s as well as WD Report or either WB or UN used it from 1990s. And this measurement has been used for measurement of the extent of poverty in the entire world. Thus, it is a common standard of absolute poverty line.

Furthermore, WB report for 2000 –2001 measured poverty based on *incomes or consumption levels* in every country. A person is considered poor if his or her consumption or income level falls below some minimum level necessary to meet basic needs. This minimum level is usually called as the “poverty line”. What is necessary to satisfy basic needs varies across times and societies. Therefore, poverty lines vary in time and place, and each country uses lines, which are appropriate to its level of development, societal norms and values.

In order to know the consumption and income lines, sample surveys need to be done in the context of, for instance, households. These sample

data collection methods are increasingly being complemented by participatory methods, where people are asked what their basic needs and incomes are and what poverty means for them. The report shows an interesting finding that a higher degree of concordance between poverty lines based on objective and subjective assessment of needs. This finding coincides with the former studies on poverty lines by economists and other sociologists.

Concerning the measurement of poverty line, the most straightforward way to measure it, according to WB, is to calculate the percentage of the population with income and consumption levels below poverty level. They use one dollar or two dollars per day as poverty line to describe as indicator of global progress, not to assess progress at the country level or to guide country policy and program formulation.

Country-specific poverty line, reflecting what it means to be poor in each country's situation and not affected by international price comparison, are used in country-level analysis. For example, between 1987 and 1998 the share of population living less than one dollar per day fell from 28% to 24%, but because of the population growth, the number of people in poverty hardly changed. The number of people living on less than one dollar per day has raised, for instance, South Asia the number of poor people rose over the decade from 474 millions to 522 millions.²²In addition, the WB uses reference lines set at one dollar and two dollars per day in 1993 Purchasing Power Parity. It has been estimated that in 1998 1.2 billion people world-wide had consumption level below one dollar a day—twenty four percent of the

²² See more details in World Bank (2000), *Attacking Poverty*, Oxford & Tokyo: Oxford University Press, p. 17.

population of the developing world and 2.8 billion lived less than 2 dollars a day. These figures are lower than earlier estimates, indicating that some progress has taken place, but they still remain too high in term of human suffering, and much more remains to be done. It should be emphasized that for analysis of poverty in a particular country, the WB always uses poverty line based on norms in that society.

If we compare the developing world with the developed world, the developing world's employment problems have much more complex causes. It appears that the dimensions and causes of unemployment in the Third World nations associate with human circumstances of abject poverty and low level living. Poor people have little access to formal employment. On the other hand, it is normally perceived that there are different levels of development in these less developed nations. Because of such differences WB has found out some difficulty to establish a common poverty threshold. In its study WB concerned two poverty lines: in 1985-- \$370 per person per year as an upper poverty line, and \$270 as the lower poverty line. In this context, the higher bracket, it was estimated that 1,115 million were poor in developing nations, accounting for 30% of their total population, and among 1,115 million poor people, 630 million experienced in extreme poverty. The WB report lists 24 countries, whose Gross National Product (GNP) per head was less than the upper poverty threshold. And at the same time, few of the developed market economies fulfilled the Brandt Report criterion of transferring 0.7% of GNP as aid to developing countries. In fact, Brandt set desirable targets of 0.7% by the 1985 and 1.0% by the end of the century.²³

²³ Donaldson, P. (1986), *Worlds Apart*, 2nd ed., Middlesex: Penguin Books, p. 236.

Therefore, absolute poverty is pegged to the entire population of a nation or state. This particular type of poverty transcends all boundaries of life, such as poor health, poor education, poor food resources, poor housing and all other fronts of human existence damage possibilities of life.

1—4 RELATIVE POVERTY

Concept of relative poverty is synonymous with relative deprivation; the concept was employed by Townsend in his sociological study on poverty in Britain in the late 1970s. He is a prominent sociologist in contemporary world, whose studies mostly devoted to social policy of England. He recently has produced various studies on poverty. He is perhaps best known as a social policy thinker. In our contemporary world especially on poverty, he suggests a *new scientific way of interpreting poverty as relative deprivation*. In a joint publication book *Responses to Poverty: Lessons from Europe*, published in 1984, he said that our world was made up of nation-states, which vary astonishingly in their wealth and income. And within the nation-states, including the richest as well as the poorest, wealth and income were distributed highly unequally. Not only as a consequence of this dual structure (rich and poor) of inequality but also as a result of different styles of living and different job demands placed upon citizens, there is extensive, very *uneven, deprivation*.

Such deprivation takes many forms: *“ill-health or disability, risk of early death; poor physique; malnutrition; poor or overcrowded housing and lack of household facilities, such as heating and light; poor water supply, sanitation and washing facilities; poor conditions of work; lack of access to*

*standard national services, amenities and environmental or community facilities; poor education and lack of access to the media of communication; inability to fulfill social roles and participation in standard social customs.*²⁴ And people may be said to be deprived if they do not have, at all, or insufficiently, the conditions of life—that is, the diets, amenities, standards and services—which allow them to play the roles, participate in the relationships and follow the customary behavior which is expected of them by virtue of their membership of society. If they lack or are denied resources to obtain access to these conditions of life, and for this reason are unable to fulfill membership of society, they may be said to be in poverty.²⁵ These forms of deprivation are highly interconnected. They apply to individuals drawn from all sections of a population, communities or the populations of local areas or regions within the country. Here, we understand that poverty is no longer seen as absolute deprivation.

Townsend had also studied a historical definition of poverty, too. He divided it into two kinds, *individualistic definition of poverty and social definitions of poverty*. In term of *individualistic definition*, poverty was seen or interpreted as a condition of life that was regrettable but unavoidable. Poverty was felt to be a necessary element in society, since only by feeling the spur of want the laboring poor could be driven to work. The divisions between classes were believed to be natural and the conditions of the poor were felt by some to be biologically ordained.

²⁴ Townsend: Understanding Poverty and Inequality in Europe in *Responses to Poverty: Lessons from Europe* by Walker, Robert, Lawson, Roger & Townsend, Peter. (1984), eds., London: Heineman Educational Books, p. 1-2.

²⁵ Townsend, P. (1993), *The International Analysis of Poverty*, London, G.B.: Harvester Wheatsheaf, p. 84.

Following this idea some European countries like Britain, France, The Netherlands and West Germany adopted fatalistic attitudes towards the destitution and wide experience of poverty in their own countries and also interpreted such phenomena in terms of individual weakness of character and lack of capacity.²⁶

In contrast, poverty, using the *social definition* was viewed in terms of the needs arising from membership in society and the forms of deprivation that arise when people lack the resources to fulfill their roles and obligations as members. This theory explains that human and social needs can be regarded as the source of social organization and relationship. The ideas of needs as well as the circumstances, in which sections of any population find themselves, are socially conditioned. If people lack or are denied resources and activities which are common or customary in society, or meeting the obligations expected of them or imposed upon them in the social roles and relationships and so fulfill membership of society, they may be said to be in poverty.²⁷

It shall be noted that Townsend neither defined poverty in absolute sense nor individualistic one, but in relative sense. He concerned mostly with relative poverty or what he preferred to call *relative deprivation*. He explained that poverty, inequality and class structure had their resources so seriously below those commanded by the average individuals or families that they were, in effect, excluded from ordinary living patterns, customs

²⁶ Townsend, *Responses to Poverty: Lessons from Europe* by Walker, Robert, Lawson, Roger & Townsend, Peter, eds., p. 3.

²⁷ Townsend, *Responses to Poverty: Lessons from Europe* by Walker, Robert, Lawson, Roger & Townsend, Peter, eds., p. 19-10.

and activities.²⁸ Now, we come to realize that relative poverty is difficult to define because it is not only material (physical) deprivation (absolute needs) but also social deprivation (relative needs). Townsend understood this difficulty, but he seemed to put his concentration on absolute poverty less than relative deprivation. This might rely on the idea that individuals, families and groups in the population could be said to be in poverty when they lacked the resources to obtain the types of diet, participate in the activities and had the living conditions and amenities which are customary or at least widely encouraged or approved, in societies that they belong to. Their resources of the poor are observed so seriously below those commanded by the average individual or family that they are, in effect, excluded from ordinary living patterns, customs and activities. This likely is what Townsend meant relative poverty or deprivation. One is able to conceive that *the basic relative deprivation's approach lies in the idea that poverty is viewed as a process of encroaching deprivation by which people gradually slip out of social life, almost unnoticeably without being the stereotype paupers in rags and tatters.*²⁹

This deprivation approach of poverty influenced world institutions such as UN, WB, ADB, and WDP. For Townsend, the problem of poverty is not just the problem of lacking physical needs or individual needs, but also social needs that are so complicated for understanding and for policy. Here,

²⁸ In this case, it is sometimes marked that various statistics on relative poverty have been used to compare, but O'Donnell, in his 1993 book, *Sociology Today*, said that defining poverty as relative deprivation is not simply a statistical comparison, but it is a feeling of being deprived. It is normally a comparison with our reference group of people with whom we think we should be compared—that we feel deprived or not.

²⁹ Webster, Andrew. (1984), *Introduction to Sociology of Development*, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, p. 21.

we are able to learn that he criticized the basic needs or absolute poverty approach by stating that it was insufficient to restrict human needs in terms of individual physical goods and even collective goods and facilities. In his own words, he stated: *“The needs of population cannot be defined adequately just reference to physical needs of individuals and the more obvious physical provisions and services required by local communities. The exposition of need depends on assumptions which have to be made about the development and functioning societies and, in particular, how the organization of markets can be reconciled with the organization of collective utilities and services.”*³⁰ Townsend also added that this definition was just the enlargement of subsistence concept, which defined poverty in terms of minimum needs or facilities required by individuals or local communities as a whole.

Agreeing with Townsend, Sen, in his 1989 book *Poverty and Famine: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation* also agreed with this idea by stating, “poverty is, of course, a matter of deprivation.”³¹ He also noted that the recent shift in focus especially in the sociological literature from absolute to relative deprivation has provided a successful framework of analysis. Sen accepted that the relative deprivation is the complicated concept of poverty. Sen’s perception of relative deprivation may be understood in three sorts: *feelings of deprivation, conditions of deprivation, and choice of deprivation* (condition). He remarked that it was not easy to differentiate or separate these three notions of deprivation particularly choice of condition and

³⁰ Townsend, P. (1993), *The International Analysis of Poverty*, London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, p. 32. And see detail in absolute poverty section above.

³¹ Sen, A. (1982), *Poverty and Famine: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 22.

feelings of deprivation. He explained that material objects could not be evaluated in this context without reference to how people view them and even if feelings are not brought in explicitly, they must have an implicit role in the selection of attribute. One must look also, however, at the feelings of deprivation in deciding on the style and level of living and the failure to share which was regarded as important.³² Here, we can say that any notions of different issues among the three deprivations are regarded as having related to general notion of relative deprivation, in Sen's term, and as having considerable bearing on the social analysis of poverty.

In theory of poverty, relative deprivation refers to both material form and social form. This becomes a key idea in developing a measure and a theory, and this is a kind of outcomes, which can be explained a lot better by applying that idea consistently. This is the reason that a new scientific approach (theory) of poverty has been proposed. And it also leads us to make a sense of the changing world map of poverty. This crucial idea, then, has to be related to a theory of structural development so that present forms of impoverishment can be understood, according to Townsend. Furthermore, to define poverty in terms of relative deprivation approach, for him, required social scientists being obliged to accept the interdependence between a scientific concept of poverty and social institutional structure, and more comprehensive and rigorous formulation of the meaning of poverty.

Therefore, poverty as deprivation is not only individual deprivation but also social deprivation. The latter provides more useful means of

³² Sen, A. (1982), *Poverty and Famine: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation*, p. 16-7.

generalizing the condition of those who do not or cannot enter into ordinary forms and other social relationship. For example, some people (the poor) may experience multiple deprivations, while others only a single form of deprivation. We can measure deprivation by the indicators used.

The two-key form of poverty, absolute and relative affects on different parts of social life. The two forms took alternative approaches to be considered as global, institutional and class-based. In the frame of alternative approaches, one has to explain the variations in poverty between different countries; one has to explain not merely the unequal distribution of income in most comprehensive sense but the continuous development of an interrelated set of national cultures or styles of life. The rise and maintenance of forms of social discrimination in law and in the institutions of society has to be amended. It is both of establishment and of refinement of social structure, class, gender, ethnicity, and religion that determine the policies followed by government and elites in a given country.

On the level of policy and practice related to war against poverty, a number of approaches, policies, and strategies, based on either national or international standards, has elicited much discussion about such strategies or approaches. It has been suggested that the war against poverty is diverse depending upon the country given country, location, community or a country as a whole, and hence, complex.

At this point, we would like to present and analyze certain significant approaches to poverty from social sciences that have been studied worldwide. The selected approaches do not exhaust all available approaches but are presented here as models that have worked for some, but did not for other

countries. From here, we shall concentrate on the so-called *world system approach*, *globalization approach* and *antipoverty policy* for poverty reduction.

1—5 WORLD SYSTEM APPROACH

Immanuel Wallerstein is credited with pioneering the *world-system theory* which interprets world patterns of inequality. Wallerstein observed that from the sixteenth century onwards, a world system has developed—a series of economic and political connections stretching across the globe based on the expansion of a *capitalist world economy*, which is called as a European-centered world economy. The world system has operated spatially as an ever-present division of *centers and hinterland* or “*cores*” and “*peripheries*”, united and reproduced through processes of capital accumulation and unequal exchange, and temporarily in a fundamentally cyclical fashion, such that its growth has occurred and continues in waves.

According to Hopkins and Wallerstein, since the 16th century, the modern world economy has become basically structured as an interrelated system of strong core and weak peripheral states, in which inter-state relations and hence patterns of state-formation and, in that setting, the formation of nationally-organized societies are continuously shaped and in turn continually shape the deepening and expanding world-scale division and integration of production.³³

It shall be noted that in the period of Cold War, the modern world

³³ Hopkins, Terence K., & Wallerstein, Immanuel. (1982), *World System Analysis*, Beverly Hills, Calif., USA: Sages Publications, p. 42-43.

economy was also divided into two parts: the communist economic system and free capitalist system. After the collapse of the Cold War or the collapse of former Russia, the modern economic system has been changed especially in the communist ones to free economic system. During the politico-economical transitions, the former communist countries have had its difficult times to follow or adjust to free politico-economical worlds because they are economically poor. Normally, these countries were seen as the peripheral ones, while free-capitalist countries were described as the core ones. In relation with this idea, Hopkins described the (modern) world system as a social system might run as: first of all, there is structure of this social system, consisting of: (a) expanding economy; (b) expanding multiple states; and (c) the capital-labor relation; secondly, there is this social system's development.³⁴

The concepts of the cores and the peripheries were used by two well-known world system theorists, namely S. Amin and A. G Frank. The two were known as the pioneering *dependency theory*. According to them, the world capitalism as the world system is divided into developed areas and underdeveloped ones. The former is called the *center* by Amin, and the *metropolis* by Frank, while the latter is called the *periphery* by Amin, and the *satellite* by Frank. They have similar ideas of developed and underdeveloped countries by placing the different sides of the capitalist world. Amin analyzed the structural features of underdevelopment, while Frank paid his attention to the relation between metropolis and satellite and

³⁴ Hopkins, Terence K., & Wallerstein, Immanuel. (1982), *World System Analysis*, Beverly Hills, Calif., USA: Sages Publications, p. 11.

the process of its emergence. Both of them conclude that the economic growth in the periphery or satellite implies rather underdevelopment under the system of present world capitalism. The growth in the center implies the development for it is integrated; while the growth in the periphery is not development, for it is non-articulated. Thus, dependency is seen as inevitable process accompanying with capitalistic development, which results in unequal development of the center and periphery.

In addition, we shall remark that world system approach in general highlights the goal of peripheries to free from the culture dependency. It also seeks the breaking away of peripheries from their links with capitalist metropolises. The approach advocates challenging international capitalism, mainly by the working class removing domestic comprador elites, and for developing a policy of international solidarity between Third World countries in order to help each other to build an affectively independent industrial base in the South.³⁵

But so far, no Third World countries have met with these objectives yet. Instead, they fail to develop or some may have developed, but only sluggishly, after independence.

Even though the world system seemed to play a significant role for understanding the economic development gap between the central areas and marginal ones, in realty, such approach remains insufficient: the world system has its own unequal exchange and unequal development. Unequal exchange is defined as an unequal exchange of labor across

³⁵ Weber, Andrew. (1984), *Introduction to the Sociology of Development*, London: Macmillan, p. 193.

member-economies, created under conditions of the relative liquidity of money and goods and the relative non-mobility of labor force, and thus, this system of unequal exchange makes possible the accumulation in the global scale in the world system, creating wealth for the developed nations but continued expanded poverty for most developing nations.

While for unequal development thesis, poverty and development are natural results of unequal exchange, the world system theory shows it is impossible that full stage of development develops simultaneously.

Here, we are able to understand that world system theory or approach, whose key objective is to have worldwide revolution against capitalism, could not liberate the barriers between the unequal development of the central areas and periphery areas. Instead, as we have seen, the unequal income distribution, unemployment and underemployment and gender inequality that are important expressions and reflections of social exclusions and lack of social empowerment still exist especially in the periphery areas or developing countries.

On the other hand, the world system approach could not abolish the structures of capitalism such as labor exploitation and low wage payment, high interest of loans (paying debt), high income inequality gaps, unequal exchange of trade and business between the rich and the poor or between the advanced developed countries and the less developed countries. These negative impacts produce social exclusions and lack of social empowerment. Or we can state that world system approach as socialist approach has no strategy to meet with satisfactory needs of people around the globe. Therefore, we need social approach that gives the foundation for economy

and society, and that can make no distinction between the economic growth and societal development.

1—6 GLOBALIZATION APPROACH

Recently, there is diversity of discussions about globalization and its role in our contemporary world. There is no agreement about definitions and roles of globalization to the social development. Some thinkers stated that globalization like a coin with two sides or to put another way globalization has a positive aspect and a negative aspect to the social development. In this section, we are going to discuss about the important effect of globalization to poverty reduction in general.

Globalization is an international or global system, including various world organizations particularly WB, WTO, and IMF. These three world organizations are known as the motive factors for economic development. Globalization as a new single social system by these institutions comes to break the social barriers of different countries in this universe or to integrate the different political and economic systems, and cultures, and so on. *They seek for the equalities of free trade, free market, and open countries as a whole.* If it succeeds such goal, the gap between the developed world and less developed ones will be reduced. This leads to the agreements of international trade/business corporation mainly on *import and export* and thus it needs the balance of two policies of the two distinct worlds, the cores and the peripheries. To reach these policies, according to KOMAI Hiroshi in one of his major books *International Sociology*, United Nations Special Assembly had declared the establishment of New International Economic Order

(NIEO), aiming to direct toward the *export expansion* of resources or products into developed countries. This exportation was valid dependent upon multinational enterprises, which is insisted on the grounds that the so-called Newly Industrializing Economies (NIES) in Asia succeeded in the economic growth.³⁶ Because globalization takes a very broad sense, Eugenio Diaz-Bonilla and Sherman Robinson³⁷ divided globalization into three dimensions, each with economic and non-economic components. *Firstly*, both meant globalization as the multiplication and intensification of economic, political, social, and cultural linkages among people, organizations, and countries at the world level; *secondly*, they regarded globalization as a tendency toward the universal application of economic, institutional, legal, political, and cultural practices; and *thirdly*, they viewed globalization as the emergence of significant spillovers from the behavior of individuals and societies to the rest of the world. They stated that the economic aspects of globalization usually receive the most attention. One can see that if globalization worked positively via the three dimensions, the world of poverty would be reduced or abolished, but in contrast if the globalization worked negatively via these dimensions, the poverty gaps would be increased: the rich get richer, the poor get poorer. Thomas Friedman took a note that globalization as the integration of capital, technology, and information, etc., across national borders in a way that it is creating a single global market and to some degree, a global village or society; simultaneously it can give you fruit and also can eat your fruit. He suggested that the way

³⁶ Komai, H., *International Sociology*, p. 15-6.

³⁷ Diaz-Bonilla, Eugenio and Robinson, Sherman, *Shaping Globalization for Poverty Alleviation and Food Security*, IFPRI, web: <http://www.ifpri.org>, August 2001.

that you can avoid the second one is *you must not allow globalization to overwhelm your culture, politics and economy, etc.* According to Friedman, countries especially the Third World ones can stop or slow down a real danger of globalization process. There are the needs of developing the right surge of protectors. To do this we need a *healthy globalization*, which is the ability of a culture, where it encounters other strong culture, to absorb influences that naturally fit into and can enrich that culture too, to resist these things that are truly alien and compartmentize those things that, while different, can nevertheless be enjoyed and celebrated as different. Because the whole purpose of globalization is to be able to assimilate aspects of globalization into your own country and culture in a way that adds to your growth and diversity, without overwhelming it.³⁸ In the last of his book, *The Lexus and The Olive Tree*, he created four diagrams for globalization: *integrationists, separatists, social-safety-netters, and let-them-eat cakkers*. In these diagrams, you can find in which part you want to belong to. However, he described himself in the position of integrationists-social-safety netter simply because he believes that you dare not be a globalizer today without being a social democrat (that is a safety net), because if you do not equip the have-nots in your society to survive in this system, they will eventually produce a backlash that will choke off your country. Therefore, he suggested that, in terms of America, it needs sustainable globalization in all fields, such as politics, economy, education, technology, and so on.³⁹

Thus, globalization approach does not gain so much support from

³⁸Friedman, Thomas. (1999), *The Lexus and The Olive Tree*, New York, USA: Farrar Straus and Giroux 19 Union Square West, p. 221-3 & 236.

³⁹Friedman, Thomas. (1999), *The Lexus and The Olive Tree*, p. 354-5 & 8.

poor developing nations. It is because it cannot break through the unequal social development between developing nations and developed ones, on the one hand, there is still trade barrier; the unequal exchange of goods or products on the world market, on the other hand. It appears that the former benefit less than the latter. Therefore, developing countries are still in the process of isolation from developed nations. Like Friedman or other social scientists, Joseph Stiglitz was not so optimistic about globalization approach for the poverty reduction. In his 2002 book titled *Globalization and Its Discontents*, he criticized globalization policies in particular the policies of IMF for developing countries and insisted developing nations to reform public administrations and other sectors by promising economic development and creating so many job opportunities and thus reducing poverty. But in fact, they could not fulfill their promises. Stiglitz saw the improper applications of globalization approach toward developing nations. This allows him to propose new ideas for globalization approach so that it can correct their policies' weak points. The new ideas are accepting the dangers of capital market liberalization, and short-term capital flows; bankruptcy and standstill reforms; less reliance on bailouts; improved banking regulation, improved risk management; improved safety nets, and improved response to crises.⁴⁰

In brief, for Stiglitz, *globalization will help to reduce poverty in case that country involved in this system is able to make it work for his/her country. Otherwise, things will be got into worse.*⁴¹ It is in this sense that so

⁴⁰ Stiglitz, Joseph. (2002), *Globalization and Its Discontents*, USA: W.W Norton & Company, p. 233-240.

⁴¹ Stiglitz, J. E. (2002), *Globalization and its Discontents*, USA: W.W. Norton &

many globalization thinkers have warned countries in the world not to take risk with this new social system.

Therefore, globalization approach cannot be a right choice for poverty reduction. There are a lot of strong reactions from less developed countries because this approach cannot fulfill the socioeconomic development when its policies are introduced. For example, instead of providing so much opportunities for employment to people in less developed nations, it is increasing so many unemployment and underemployment and social inequality in these nations; and instead of promising better living standard to those abandoning their positions in the government sectors, most of them lost their jobs and could not find in the so-called most free economic competitions. Instead of unifying the most developed nations and the less developed nations into one world, it is producing much more unequal development between the two because the latter still lack or having low human development capital and economic development capital. There are still more social problems are produced by globalization approach especially in developing nations. In short, we can state that globalization rather produces social exclusions and lack of social empowerments in developing nations rather than providing social inclusions and social empowerment.

Below we will focus on another vital poverty reduction approach, antipoverty policy. This approach is also a big challenge to poverty and cannot abolish it yet. Let us examine it as follows.

1—7 ANTIPOVERTY POLICY

Antipoverty approach is not limited and alternative to particular country. It has been applied throughout the world, across time. The European Continent, for example, had been a long history of antipoverty policies. In the mid-19th century, the European Social Fund and the European Programme of Pilot Schemes to Combat Poverty were invented. The two policies were under the roof of Community's Regional Policy. These policies had evolved over times towards a better antipoverty program across this continent. They attempted to reduce poverty were not by the cross-national measures but by the national policies of member-states.

Therefore, there must be international level (for instance, WB, IMF, ADB, and WTO) and national level organizations contribute positively to poverty alleviation. Across the world, structural changes in taxation and benefits need to be embarked upon given interests of population. Townsend noted that in 1998 European Social Policy Forum is held to build the particular strength for European society and to develop a new strategy to maximize productive and satisfying work at European, national and local levels. Under this policy, all European Countries and member states agree to inspire effective and responsible forms of market competitiveness, reduce unemployment, materially recognize unpaid work and service, promote full employment, appraise and redefine the desirable balance between private and public sectors of the economy, and put in place new systems of welfare to strengthen incentives to work, encourage individual savings behavior and enhance individual well-being.⁴²

⁴² See also P. Townsend in: <http://www.radstats.org.uk/no068/townsend.htm>.

However, we should not forget that different countries have different anti poverty policies. If we combine the international antipoverty policy with national policy to poverty reduction, it will help the national policy to a better way. In Ireland, the program of Pilot Schemes to Combat Poverty proposed by the Irish Labour party was cheap and easy to get its way and indicated a commitment of fighting poverty in general, without committing the government to any line of policy in particular.⁴³ This suggested that the modest programme recommended could only be a kind of token or prelude for any substantial proposals to deal with poverty. Otherwise, it would mean developing a powerful range of major policies to change existing structures and methods of allocating resources, and also educating if not restrain those representing vested interests on behalf of those sections of the population enjoying a disproportionately large share of available resource. On the other hand, income maintenance systems and social services in individual European countries have long been acknowledged to be stronger and more extensive than United States; thus this led to the establishment a number of European welfare systems. They are sophisticated and ameliorative relative to countries that have reached approximately the same stage of economic development.⁴⁴

Like European countries, United States of America have long antipoverty programmes. They are designed to mitigate the most pernicious aspects of market-based economic outcomes, unemployment and low wage earnings. They make up society's safety net, and each program has eligibility

⁴³ Walker, R., Lawson, R., & Townsend, P. (1984) (eds.), *Responses to Poverty*, London, p. 20.

⁴⁴ Walker, R., Lawson, R., & Townsend, P. (1984) (eds.), *Responses to Poverty*, p. 21-2.

standards and frameworks (especially the most concentration on war against poverty in this country started in 1960s.) In fact, poverty reduction policy was built up since 1930s: the New Deal policy by Roosevelt concerned with the emergency of cash support to publicly acceptable forms of work relief. *Case support* was described as the essence of Roosevelt's strategy that was to take all responsibility for general cash assistance by state and local governments. The New Deal policy created a new financial mechanism by which the federal government matched state public assistance spending for needy aged and blind person and dependent children. Here, one can say that the New Deal program played a crucial role in the antipoverty policy of the States.⁴⁵

From this period until today, there are changes in ways of thinking and understanding and measuring of poverty that lead to the changes in antipoverty policy of the country as a whole. Both American social scientists and policy makers understand the complexity of poverty reduction programs that have been carried out so far. As the result, they have developed and strengthened another policy, namely *Social Insurance*. It covers different forms such as social security and medicare. Among these programs, social security is viewed as the largest social insurance for the old-age survivors, and disability insurance program and a relatively small fraction of social insurance payments go to younger poor families. It established other sub-programmes such as health care and cash transfers for disabled families, and child care and child support.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Danziger, Sheldon H., & Weinberg, Daniel H. (1986) (eds.), *Fighting Poverty*, Cambridge, Mass., USA: Harvard Uni. Press, chapter 13, p. 314.

⁴⁶ Danziger, Sheldon H., & Haveman, Robert H. (2001) (eds.), *Understanding Poverty*,

Even though there are several antipoverty programs are/were built up and carried out into actions in the States, most American social scientists suggest that it is not only the economic growth and political stability are means to poverty reduction in long term but other approaches such as ethical development approach to poverty reduction also put into consideration, too. This approach helps reduce the differentiated gaps between the poor and the rich, and particularly the racial discrimination between the so-called Black and White.

Unlike England or European continent and the United States, Asia-Pacific region seemingly prefers its own approaches to anti poverty program. The less rural economic development in the rural areas forced the rural workers to flow into the urban areas for employment. For instance, many rural farmers have found that their land is either becoming too costly to keep as rents increase, or perhaps overworked so losing its fertility. Frequently, poor peasants are encouraged to buy farm equipment, fertilizer and new high yielding seed to pushup their crop production for both their own consumption and for sale. This so-called Green Revolution agricultural policy has had very limited success. Poor farmers are unable to maintain this sort of farming which relatively expensive and crops that it produces are high in price, often much too high for sale on the local market, and so on.⁴⁷ A well-known approach used or has been used so far for poverty reduction program in this region is named *microfinance*. *Microfinance (approach) is the provision of financial intermediation through the distribution of small loans*

New York, USA: Russell Sage Foundation, chapter 6, p. 196-210.

⁴⁷ Weber, Andrew. (1984), *Introduction to the Sociology of Development*, London: Macmillan, p. 107.

and acceptance of small savings and provision of other financial products and services to the poor. Financial support can be made by individual, private, and public source. It is either in forms of loan or assistance via bank, agent or individual. Financial institution was established to provide possible services to all kinds of citizen.

The center of concept of microfinance is the idea that poverty can be effectively and permanently reduced or eliminated within a reasonable period of time by providing the poor with access to financial services. Microfinance approach is seen as the best way for this region. Some countries in the region like Bangladesh and Malaysia were recognized as successful in poverty reduction by using this approach. At the same time, other countries like India, Indonesia, and Nepal were also known as successful but in a slow process compared with Bangladesh and Malaysia. This is perhaps dependent upon the socio-economic and political conditions of each country. Microfinance approach in terms of definitions seems common but the application of the theory and conceptual understanding may not be the same between the involved countries.

Bangladesh is a successful country with poverty reduction by using microfinance institutions, mainly so-called Grameen Bank, and with the support from the Bangladesh government strongly committed to fight poverty in the whole country. Grameen Bank plays a crucial role by using a simple set of asset or wealth indicators to identify poor households at village level. Grameen Bank's staffs identified the poor as those with less than half an acre of agricultural land and with total household assets of less value

than one acre of average quality agricultural land in their community.⁴⁸ The government has launched a five-year plan for poverty reduction and employment generation. This plan has supported social safety net programs such as Food for Work, Vulnerable Group Development and the Rural Maintenance Programs to deal with problem of poverty; and sometimes with close collaboration with NGOs. The government has attempted to use the co-operation development model at the Bangladesh Academy of Rural Development at Comilla as the basis for a nationwide credit programme for small landless farmers.⁴⁹ In short, a successful poverty reduction in Bangladesh was contributed by two main factors, the government and NGOs, and mainly-involved NGO institutions were such as Grameen Bank, Association for Social Advancement, Bangladesh Unemployed Rehabilitation Organization Tangail and other relevant institutions. Both government and NGOs have reached viability and sustainability of poverty reduction: viability, as measured in terms of number of poor clients, and sustainability, as measured in terms of degree of financial self-sufficiency. In addition, in the master plan for poverty reduction, the government set up three strategies: 1-the need for massive investments in human resource development, 2-policy approach of acceleration or the growth of industrialization through macroeconomic reform, deregulation and privatization, and to make the country attractive to foreign investors, and 3-income and employment generation program targeted at the poor by both

⁴⁸ Remenyi, Jeo & Quinones, Jr. Benjamin. (2000), *Microfinance and Poverty Alleviation*, London: Pinter, Part I (by M. Getubig, D. Gibbons and J. Remenyi), p. 9.

⁴⁹ Remenyi, Jeo & Quinones, Jr. Benjamin. (2000) (eds.), *Microfinance and Poverty Alleviation*, Part III (by I. Hossain, J. Sakhawat, B. Quinones and S. Rutherford), p. 67.

government and NGOs.⁵⁰

In Southeast Asia, if Indonesia and Malaysia are compared, it was observed that Indonesia seemed to be successful in the past using microfinance system to alleviate poverty particularly before political and economic crisis between 1997-8. After this crisis, Indonesia had tried to keep its political and economic stability, but in a slow process. While Malaysia also entered 1997-8 Asian crisis, but its economy recovered and succeeded in trying to sustain economic growth. And unlike other Southeast Asian nations such as Philippines and Thailand, Malaysia is recognized as not vulnerable because its external indebtedness is lower and its finance sector has a stronger asset base than these countries. On the other hand, Malaysian economy sustained and strengthened the export growth; without this strategy unemployment would spread and the incidence of poverty would also increase. The government of Malaysia understood this very well. As outcomes, this country has gained a stable economic growth. This gives the government a good opportunity to tackle poverty. There are remarkably various poverty reduction programs both national level and non-national ones. In the context of national level, it is recognized that Malaysia has its master plans divided into seven stages: the sixth stage 1991-5 was a special development program for hardcore poor, and the seventh planning period is 1996-2000 to ensure continuing assistance to the hardcore poor. *The important point for the success in the implementation of all Malaysian poverty alleviation programs is the involvement of financial institutions as*

⁵⁰Remenyi, Jeo & Quinones, Jr. Benjamin. (2000), *Microfinance and Poverty Alleviation*, Part III (by I. Hossain, J. Sakhawat, B. Quinones and S. Rutherford), p. 81.

providers of credit and savings services, for example Bank Pertanian Malaysia, Farmers Organization Authority, and Federal Land Development Authority to the poor. ⁵¹

Though Malaysia has succeeded in fighting poverty so far by its own strategies, its poverty reduction approaches was influenced by other external factor, particularly Grameen Bank's approach which has been used successfully in Bangladesh.

We can assert that antipoverty policy is a key to social poverty approach for establishing the state welfare. Every legitimate society has its own antipoverty policy for providing social security (nutrition, health, education, opportunity and inclusion, etc.) to its society (every citizen is interrelated). However, such policy significantly bases on the economic growth; without economic growth it is impossible to implement the policy for welfare programs of a given state. In this sense, we assert that antipoverty policy is insufficient because past experience had shown that both countries in the West and East were under the critical stage of crisis when their antipoverty policy for economic growth fell into great shock particularly in the 1970s and 1990s. In the 1970s most countries in the West had experienced the economic crisis caused by the oil shocks as main oil producing countries hiked up the price of oil and the industrial economies of the West were plunged into deficit, while accentuating the pauperism of many Third World countries; the growth in productivity was very unevenly distributed, with growth rate in the United State of America down to only 0.2

⁵¹ Remenyi, Jeo & Quinones, Jr. Benjamin. (2000), *Microfinance and Poverty Alleviation*, Part VIII, p. 183.

percent as opposed to 3.2 per cent in Germany and 3.4 per cent in Japan.⁵² Following the oil shocks of the 1970s, governments' commitment to full employment policies declined as a result of their desire to curb inflation. Whereas in the 1990s⁵³ most Asian nations such as South Korea, Thai, Malaysia, Philippines, and Indonesia fell into great economic collapse by the financial crisis. We observed that the origins of the Asian financial crisis were multifaceted and the forms of evolution were significantly different among Asian countries: they have shared common phenomenon such as large scale inflow of foreign capital and sudden outflow. Following this financial crisis, foreign investments lost their confidence on the investment policy among these countries, and the IMF significantly undermined foreign investor confidence and aggravated the situation. The local media described the IMF not as counterpart for co-operation but as an invading army. This crisis left so many workers out of jobs.

In brief, like other poverty reduction approaches, antipoverty policy is not yet successful with poverty alleviation. Problem of poverty remains unsolved. Therefore, we need new approach that can decrease poverty. This is the reason that social poverty approach takes place to fulfill the requirements of the poor people.

Summary: absolute poverty and relative deprivation exist in two distinct worlds, the developed countries and the developing countries. According to the studies above, poor people have experienced differently,

⁵² Gaffikin, Frank & Morrissey, Mike. (1992), *The New Unemployed: Joblessness and Poverty in the Market Economy*, London & New Jersey: Zed Books, p. 4, 12.

⁵³ See also an article discussion on *Social Impacts of the Asian Crisis: Policy Challenges and Lessons* in Jan 1999 on the website http://hdr.undp.org/docs/publications/occational_papers/oc33a.htm.

some face extreme poverty, while the others meet relative poverty. According to Townsend, who suggests the new change for the study on poverty, we understand that many people in the advanced economic countries live in relative deprivation rather than absolute poverty. On the contrary, so many people in developing nations live in absolute poverty and will continue to face relative poverty in the future. If we take this finding, it seems that Townsend's new conception of poverty is inadequate especially for reduction of poverty as a whole. His conception of relative deprivation may be right in the study of poverty in most developed nations. However, we should pay attention on both kinds of poverty, if we are willing truly to help the poor people. Thus, the complexity in study of poverty provides an alternative approach, different definitions, and different forms. And this matter will direct to challenges in social development. Inequality of income distribution, social exclusion, lack of access to social opportunities or activities, unemployment or low wage, and so on can be described as obstacles to social development. Hence, we must have a new form of poverty conception. We would like to call this form *Social Poverty*. We will examine reasons why we ought to use the term social poverty in the following sections.

2—MOVING TOWARDS A NEW APPROACH OF POVERTY

2—1 SOCIAL POVERTY

2-1—1 SOCIAL EXCLUSION

The two dimensions of poverty, income inequality and unemployment, are related to each other and influence one another. And these factors can be understood as having relationship with lack of opportunities to participate in

the social activities or events and social exclusions. It is practical or realistic to see the poor people (including disabled persons) are or have been not given or excluded opportunities to benefit from various social activities. But before going to more discussions, we should draw an attention to the concepts *lack of opportunity* and *social exclusion*. In fact, both concepts are not the same but closely related. It is not easy to differentiate both concepts. However, let us try to put them in a simple way like this: *lack of opportunity* can be meant two things: *firstly*, a person is given opportunity to participate in political and economic and social activities but is incapable to engage because of natural physical reasons, or lack of social communication or relation to other relevant matters. *Secondly*, a person is forgotten or excluded intentionally from the social activities. This is normally called *discrimination* in a sense of either natural physical disability or racial difference.

The concept of *social exclusion* is more complicated than the concept of lack of opportunity. For Antoine Lion in his study on poverty in France, *exclusion* means two things: *firstly*, certain groups were excluded from the labour market at an earlier stage in the economic development of society and have remained excluded by a process which is transmitted from one generation to the next. Such groups are excluded from most other socially acceptable areas of modern life. *Secondly*, the term exclusion relates to a new process by which previous secure groups are losing their place in the labor market or, because they are employed in the so-called *les formes précaires du travail* (precarious form of work) and are in continual danger of doing so.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Walker, R., Lawson, R., & Townsend, P. (1984), *Responses to Poverty: Antoine Lion: France: poverty and work*, chapter III, p. 96.

While in England, Bernd Schulte defined *social exclusion* as characterized by the denial of basic rights to participate in social events. In this sense, he said that social exclusion relates to *social relationship*, denoting the whole range of rights, from the right to social security and wellbeing, to the right to a full share in the social heritage and to the life of a civilized human being according to the normal standards prevailing in that society. He explained that social citizenship includes the right to cash benefits up to a minimum level of subsistence, on the one hand, and access to such benefits and services which are necessary for a minimal degree of participation in the life of the community, on the other.⁵⁵ According to these two definitions of (by Lion and Schulte), we can say that lack of opportunity is a part of social exclusion. In this case, I shall use social exclusion in a broad sense.

Like other sorts of social poverty, social exclusion is becoming another important concern in the antipoverty action. To cure social exclusion in our human society, it ought to be found out and understand its causes. According to Schulte, the social exclusion is derived at least from three major causes: *1-growing unemployment, which deprives people of their main integration factor; 2-the breaking down of family structures, with the result that family cohesion is becoming less and less important; 3-economic and social policies of the state, which have not yet found a satisfactory solution to these urgent social problems.*⁵⁶

He explained that those who were excluded or threatened with

⁵⁵ Townsend, P., & Gordon, D. (2002) (eds.), *World Poverty*, U.K.: the Policy Press, p. 121.

⁵⁶ Townsend, P., & Gordon, D. (2002) (eds.), *World Poverty*, U.K.: the Policy Press, p. 121.

exclusion in Europe are the young unemployed, the long-term unemployed, the physically, mentally and psychologically disabled, the chronologically ill, foreigners, refugees, immigrants, women, the homeless, the offenders, and increasingly, children and large families. These forms of exclusions happen at each level of society. Their existence weakens participation and integration of people in society. It is formed by different dimensions, generally combined by several kinds of deprivation such as poor education, health, environment, housing, and culture, access to social services, family support or job opportunity. There is, therefore, no single way to measure social exclusion.

A possible way to examine trends of social exclusion is suggested to look at a range of relevant indicators and factors so that a clear picture can be built. Some indicators look at trends in social exclusion in the context of unemployment (particularly long-term unemployment) which remains high in the advanced societies as well as in developing societies. The victims of this unemployment are such people as with the disabled, immigrants, and people belonging to ethnic minorities; they are described as having difficult chances to get job, and even offered job but with low pay.

Therefore, we can state that social exclusion is a negative concept - people are measured in terms of what they lack within society and within the world, as individuals, members of their society, or as global citizens.

Being aware any danger of social exclusions, different countries have formed social protection systems to promote social solidarity by different ways depending on the social conditions, political situations and economic development of each society around the globe. For instance, they have social

protection through income distribution and other benefits, creating more new jobs and providing other forms of social security to the poor in general. So many types of social inclusion policy have been established and played a very important role to reduce social exclusion, but social exclusions remain key challenges, threatening the standard of living and quality of life in every country throughout the world.

2-1—2 LACK OF SOCIAL EMPOWERMENT

Empowerment is one of crucial features of social, economic and human development. Social empowerment is a positive concept - refers to people's involvement in the resolution of their social exclusion. It is closely associated with the state's welfare and human welfare. We had learnt that the failure of the state's welfare and human welfare came from the failure of the state's capabilities and human capabilities to empower all necessary factors such as access to information, inclusion and participation, accountability and local organizational capacity. These four elements of empowerment are the significant socioeconomic development strategies of WB especially for developing countries.

World organizations like WB and UN regard human empowerment as one of their most important policies to combat poverty. Such human empowerment policy is used in every developing country throughout the world. The carried-out policy of empowerment is diverse due to the different realities of a given country depending on social, cultural, political, and economic contexts. Empowerment is of an intrinsic value and has also instrumental value. It is at the individual and collective level. The associated

terms with empowerment can be self-strength, self-power, self-reliance, own choice, life of dignity in accordance with one's values, capable of fighting for one's rights, independence, own decision making, and being free and capability.

Thus empowerment possesses a broad meaning. It is within this sense WB defined *empowerment as the expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, to negotiate with, to influence, to control, and to hold accountable institutions that affect their lives.*⁵⁷

WB regarded people's assets and capabilities as very important source for empowering the poor people. Assets refers to material assets, both physical and financial such as land, housing, livestock, saving, and jewelry, that enable people to withstand shocks and expand their horizon of choice. Whereas capabilities include good health, education, and production or other life-enhancing skill, and also values that give meaning to life, being able to represent oneself, access to information, form any associations, and being able to participate in the political life of a community or country. If the poor can be empowered to meet these criteria, they will free from poverty in general sense.

On the contrary, lack of empowerment can be considered as an important cause of poverty. Like other dimensions of poverty, lack of social empowerment is a complicated question. And it is also interdependent with problems of income inequality, unemployment and social exclusion, too.

From our experience, the poor people in most developing countries normally have experienced the lack of assets and capabilities, and they are

⁵⁷ World Bank (2002), *Empowerment and Poverty Reduction: a Sourcebook*, p. 11.

excluded from information, participation, accountability, and so on.

Lack of social empowerment does not only deal with economic impacts on social well-being, but also other fundamental impacts in social systems, such as education and health care. Education and health care are regarded very important social structures. Both aspects are as important as human mind and body: here, education refers to mind, while health refers to body. To have a healthy life is to fulfill a balance of development of the mind and the body. If the body is suffered, the mind is also hurt. Education supports and sustains healthy body and mind by offering basic knowledge of how to care and absorb or adjust with environment, for instance, and education is basic for employment and self-reliance, self-knowledge, and social status.

On the contrary, the absence of these two components means human suffering, and thus they are recognized as obstacles or challenges against social development in all fields. The two notions influence each other and have close interrelation, i.e., illiterate-poor persons do not know how to live in a healthy life; they do not understand the causes of environment resulted from their actions; and they do not know how to prevent their lives from dangerous diseases caused by bad environment.

For example, WD report 2000 states that pollution such as dirty water and air is the major contributor to diarrhea and respiratory infections, the two most frequent causes of death for the poor children.⁵⁸ Thus there is the need of investment in education for the poor in order to let them understand the bad impact of (bad) environment or how to have clean or safe

⁵⁸ See more details in World Development Report 2002, chapter V, p.78.

water.

Understanding serious impact of social and economic development deriving from education and health problems, the chapter on “Social Services and the Poor” in the 1990 WD report regards the investment in human capital through education and health as “one of the keys to poverty reduction.” The authors justify their thesis by the effects of education on productivity, not only of salaried workers, but also of small agricultural workers and workers in the informal sector. At the same time, they point out all the favorable effects that better health has on productivity and, for children, on the acquisition of knowledge.

And the 2000 WD report, chapter 5, “Expanding Poor People’s Assets”, also states that the accumulation of human capital through health and education can reduce poverty. Therefore, investments in education and health are perceived as very important keys in reducing poverty.

Education and health, the two notions are interacted and important for reducing human destruction. This is true according to a study of poverty on health and education in Madagascar, East Africa it shows that children’s education and health of the poor families are linked to their parents’ well-being and education: *“Child’s health depends on the mother’s medical care especially during the pregnancy, which is correlated with her level of education. On the other hand, neonatal mortality and infant mortality drop as a mother’s educational level rises (infantile mortality is divided by 2.5 if the mother’s goes from being uneducated to having finished high school). Children’s school performance depends partly on their health. Therefore, the length of time a child goes to school is linked with the child’s size and body*

*mass index. This suite of effects explains how certain children escape poverty trap, whereas others fall into it. If parents have gone to school, the child has a lower risk of dying and is in health better, which will help him/ her go to school longer and transmit the same advantage to his/her own children...unfortunately, the same interactions work in opposite direction when parents are illiterate, which explains why poverty is transmitted from one generation to the next.*⁵⁹ This implies that positive interactions between health and education and between parents and their children are combined.

Moreover, lack of social empowerment also derives from other two important factors, namely *reciprocity and trust*. Reciprocity and trust are two main dimensions of social capital.⁶⁰ They play important role in building social networks and create cooperation network in a community or society as a whole. And this cooperation network brings people in a community so closed to each other. People exchange their ideas, share information and help each other through such network.

Social capital is a concept with variety of interrelated definitions, based on the value of social networks. The concept has been widely discussed through social sciences. Pierre Bourdieu, in his 1996-book, *The Forms of Capital* differentiated three kinds of capital, economic capital, cultural capital and social capital. For him, social capital is the aggregated of actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and

⁵⁹ Morrisson, Christian. (2002) (ed.), *Education and Health Expenditure and Poverty Reduction in East Africa: Madagascar and Tanzania*, OECD, p. 181-2.

⁶⁰ See more details in: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_capital, and also see more detail in Long, Norman. (2001), *Development Sociology: Networks, Social Capital and Multiple Family-Enterprise*, London: Routledge, chapter 7, p. 132-34.

recognition.

To Robert Putnam, the author of *Bowling Alone*, and his followers, social capital is a key component to build and maintain democracy. He said that social capital has been declining in the United States because it has seen in lower levels of trust in government and lower levels of civic participation.

Francis Fukuyama discussed social capital as the existence of a certain set of informal values or norms shared among members of a group that permit cooperation among them.

Social capital appears to play a leading role in social sciences recently. In 2001 Norman Long stated similar to Putnam that social capital entails networking, cooperation, building trust relations and the like, regarded as positive and better aspects for social development. But competition, conflict, exclusion and the historical liabilities forms of social capital were as negative side that put to one side and were ignored. In brief, even though social capital plays important role for social development, there remains the challenge of specifying more precisely the nature and significance of forms of social capital at different levels and in different social arena, and how these varied forms may interact.

We can state that social empowerment is a challenging topic in social sciences. The concept has been used and applied in a broad sense for social development. Every social scholar or social policy maker has its own scope and outlook for empowering their society. UN, WB, IMF, and so on have to work more closely with a government of a particular country.

One can say that the approach they have employed so far is top-down

and not down-top. Top-down approach centers its idea on development by looking into social administration, political will and other state's institution of government. For them, to solve problems of social poverty is to make a government more democratic, respect rule of law, and build a country without corruption.

Social problems would not be solved solely by using top-down approach, however. Failing to engage with real situation of social problems from the grassroots can lead towards insufficient knowledge of the whole picture of social issues. Any social policy and action shall start from the bottom by working closely with any experts and victims. Seeing reality of social problems can help to build up a good social policy for development.

For instance, in the case of Cambodia, since a democratic form of government was created in 1993, UN, WB, ADB, and other organizations have been working with Cambodian government by providing material assistance, experts and financial assistance to build Cambodia into more democratic, more free market, but have missed to reduce poverty. Of course, there are a lot of changes such as in education, economy, and social administration. Poverty declined about ten percent within more than a decade, but at the same time, recent report made public by WB broadcasting by local and internal media via newspapers or radio, recognized that Cambodia is falling into another new step of the increase of social inequality. Furthermore, corruption is still widespread throughout the nation. In this sense, we can state that failing to study carefully about real condition of social empowerment from the grassroots can lead to faulty application of social policy against poverty.

Looking back to poverty approaches by our prominent social scientists such as, Booth, Rowntree, Townsend and Sen, for instance, one is able to understand them by common approach such as basic needs (primary needs by Booth and secondary needs by Rowntree), relative deprivation (by Townsend) and freedom as development (by Sen). We can sum up their ideas by putting them in this way: for Booth and Rowntree, lack of social empowerment is caused by society that did not fulfill a minimum of basic needs required by each human kind, whereas for Townsend, lack of social empowerment is caused by social deprivation, i.e., a person or individual is deprived in comparison with another person such as at work, social participation, and at last for Sen, lack of social empowerment is caused by lack of freedom and capability to fulfill a duty in a society as a social animal. For Sen, in order to develop a nation, a person needs his/her freedom and capability to carry out his/her work. On the contrary, if he/she is taken away his/her freedom, he/she becomes a victim. As a social animal, a person needs to have suitable accommodation, proper education, good health, proper employment and a minimum of income earning; all these things present his/her status or entitlement in a society.

Still there is a weak point of poverty approaches of Booth, Rowntree, Townsend, and Sen. It seems that they all have failed to observe social connection or network, social organization and other issues that lead to lack of social empowerment. As a matter of facts, there is interconnection between lack of subsistent needs, relative deprivation and freedom development as of social entitlement. Therefore, we do not stop our examination with their frameworks but instead, we have to continue to find

out any possible links with social empowerment.

2-1—3 SOCIAL POVERTY

As we have just said earlier, poverty has been studied and defined differently, but we can combine these different definitions into two main forms of poverty, namely absolute and relative poverty. It seems that there is no new trend to conceptualize the whole picture of poverty's existence yet. There is no work done to unite absolute poverty and relative poverty. So far we have just seen that poverty is described as relative concept that needs multi-definition. We think that the failure of poverty reduction probably lies in this stage. In our sense, we ought to have a new concept and definition of poverty; it is a global perspective on poverty if we are willing to reduce poverty successfully in a long term. In this case we think concept of *social poverty* is a proper term to use for the study of poverty in the future.

Social poverty is not only the problem and the concern of any single individual or any single country alone, but also of the whole world. This is the first distinctive meaning of the first term SOCIAL of our proposed concept. There is really no one poor person in any part of the world who is defined as poor outside of his/her social context. The poor are so within their social context. In turn, the social context can refer to their immediate family, their community, to gendered groups, their local society, or the rest of the global societies which are linked to their local social groups, communities and societies.

Secondly, previous perspectives on poverty have focused on either the economic or material dimension (in terms of income or basic needs which we

have termed as absolute or relative deprivation) or on the capability dimension (referring to social exclusion and lack of social empowerment). Our proposed term SOCIAL POVERTY views poverty as an integrated concept that combines both economic and social dimensions. *Therefore, social poverty is the integration of the economic and material dimensions to social exclusion and lack of social empowerment. Social poverty is the opposite of social welfare.* Poverty exists when social groups are unable to adequately and equitably provide for the welfare, for the economic, material and social needs of all their members. Poverty is defined as social, requiring the shift from the prior foci of poverty definitions from so being multifaceted to only 1, referring to lack of inclusion and empowerment of people, of social groups, not individuals, in and within both the economic and social realms.

Social poverty is not a simple thing to measure because social beings are under complex social systems such as politics, economics, religion, philosophy, etc., and this puts or organizes them into different statuses or positions. For instance, in economic status, people are bound by economic inequality, the poor and the rich; whereas in social positions, people are classified into non-governmental staffs, low-rank officials, middle-rank officials, and high-rank officials and the highest one. These social stratifications do not mean bad in a balanced-legal society if people share natural and social resources properly. On the contrary, the existence of social poverty is the outcome of the failure of people to have a good society or government in order to guarantee their security, social orders, and a proper standard of living. Related to this, the failure to offer these properties to social beings may be derived from complex social systems in the modern

world. This case has led to controversial debates by any poverty experts.

Meanwhile, to cure social poverty, social poverty policy or approach is needed to study seriously and simultaneously real actions needed to be put in place. Social poverty approach is vital to every country; it is not done within a short period of time. People of any nations may easily fall into social poverty when their societies exclude groups or ignore their own roles to take part in social engagement and other social affairs. In this context, social poverty approach is the monitor and gauge to examine all causes of social problems. It is likened to a medical physician to give service for patient.

We have already discussed some approaches, World System Approach, Globalization Approach and Antipoverty Policy. They have been used worldwide for so many decades for poverty reduction, but none of them has achieved its end fully. For this reason social poverty approach comes to exist to remedy all leftover social problems. But social poverty approach appears also to meet very big challenges with such remedy. The problem probably is derived from the lack of fundamental knowledge of social poverty.

2—2 SOCIAL POVERTY APPROACH

The emergence of *welfare*⁶¹ system plays a leading role for a state or

⁶¹ Concept of welfare has various meanings, but it refers to specific elements of public policy. In the United States, the term is construed narrowly as relating to the means-tested, residual, assistance dimensions of state provision, whereas England and most other European countries use this term in a broader sense, for example, the policy areas, such as income security, health, social housing, education and the personal social services most frequently are encompassed under welfare. And we also see the use of the term *welfare state* to be synonymous with welfare. The term welfare state came into being in 1940s and embodied the British tradition in political philosophy in the modern time particularly in the late 19th century. See more details in Brian Lund, *Understanding State Welfare*, London, Great Britain, 2002: 1.

In the traditional sense of welfare, a state is regarded as the embodiment of the

a society. Particular sorts of welfare system help reduce gaps between the haves and the have-nots, reduce social inequality, and reduce the risk to the lives of the extremely poor and disabled persons. On the contrary, the weakness of welfare system's enforcement will not solve these problems or will increase social gap between poor people and rich ones. The weakness of social welfare happens in the implementation process of social welfare policy or social security (in American term) through numerous reasons such as misunderstanding or misdirecting the welfare policies or programs, corruptions and misconducts of distribution of relief assistance to the poor, etc.

The decrease of buying products in the international markets, the downgrade of national currency exchange with foreign currency, the loss of price of the products in the international market and other factors are also stated as crucial damaging cause of the welfare problem. Economic crisis or economic development instability produces a lot of jobless people and thus affects social policy. Therefore, without having good perception of this policy, the implementation of the policy will go into trouble.

One can assert that social poverty policy that bases mainly on economic growth is insufficient. The economic growth alone is not fully responsive to the need of social development as a whole. Economic growth produces income distribution inequality and unemployment because in order

common good. Its specific welfare programs aim at providing interests to every citizens, promoting efficient, fair, state-directed social administration. But in a modern sense (especially from 1970s until today), *welfare* is expanded its definition by including employment programmes for promoting works and thereby reducing the requirement for income maintenance, in addition to the fiscal system with its capacity to redistribute income and encourage desirable behavior.

to have an employment in an industrial firm it requires certain qualifications such as skillful and technical knowledge, and so on. In addition, economic growth alone does not resolve social exclusions, for instance discrimination. Discrimination also produces poverty. John Ying, in her article “Housing Discrimination and Residential Segregation as Cause of Poverty”, showed different poverty gaps between the whites and the blacks in the United States, *“Difference in poverty gaps across groups is striking (United States Bureau of the Censes 2001). Except for two years in the early 1980s, the white poverty rate has been below 10 per cent since 1973, whereas the black poverty rate exceeded 30 per cent from 1973 to 1994 and was 23.6 per cent in 1999...the gaps between the black and the white poverty rate in 1999, 15.9 per cent, was disturbingly high...”*⁶² To reduce poverty gaps housing policy shall concentrate on establishing important programs such as promoting fair housing and lending, supporting community activities that maintain neighborhood integration, and promoting homeownership among low-income households.

Since the late twenty century, WB has conducted worldwide studies of poverty mainly in the Third World, and has improved its approaches or strategies to poverty reduction or attacking poverty (or any terms used to name poverty reduction). WB is aware that if the poverty still remains its existence anywhere in this universe, it will obstruct social-human development. So far WB has also been aware the difficulties of poverty reduction strategies.

⁶² Danziger, Sheldon H., & Haveman, Robert H. (2001) (eds.), *Understanding Poverty*, New York, USA: Russell Sage Foundation, chapter 10, p. 359.

In attacking or reducing poverty, WB has suggested actions beyond the economic domain. The public action has to invest in social services and remove anti-labor biases in government interventions in the economy. Thus, the general framework for real action is to be carried out in three equally important areas, namely **promoting opportunity, facilitating empowerment and enhancing security**.

The first, promoting opportunity means to expand the economic opportunity for the poor by stimulating overall growth and by building their assets and increasing the returns on these assets, through a combination of market and non-market action because market is central to the lives of the poor people. To do this, market reform and the reform must be supported by institutional support, investment in infrastructure, and complementary reform at micro level. To reach this reform, three areas are mainly concerned: *heavy hand of regulation, promoting core labor standards, and improving access to financial markets for the poor*.⁶³

The second, facilitating empowerment means making the state institutions more accountable and responsible to the poor people, strengthening the participation of the poor people in political process and local decision making, and removing the social barriers that result from distinctions of gender, ethnicity, race, and social status. Empowerment means enhancing the capacity of the poor to influence the state institutions that affect their lives, by strengthening their participation in political process and local decision making; empowerment also means removing the political, legal and social barriers that work against particular groups and

⁶³ See more details in World Bank, *Attacking Poverty*, 2000, p. 33, 62, and 76.

building the assets of the poor to enable them to engage effectively in the market/s. However, the outcome for the poor depends on the political and social structures within society: building administrative and regulatory capacity and reducing corruption. In addition, institutional factors are also important for growth: the strong rule of law and the absence of corruption contribute to growth by providing a fair-rule based environment in which firms and households can invest and growth.⁶⁴

The last, enhancing security for the poor means reducing their vulnerability to risks such as ill health, economic shocks, and natural disasters, violence, and as well as helping them to cope with adverse shocks when they occur. Poor people are exposed to a wide array of risks that make them vulnerable to income shocks and losses of well-being. Thus, helping the poor to manage their risks is an essential part of poverty reduction programs, and should complement efforts to increase average income and to improve the distribution of income. WB has found that risks occur at the individual, household, and community level such as illness and injury, crime and domestic violence, old age, harvest failure, and fluctuations in food prices and demands for labor. The poor people response to their exposure risks through diversification of assets and source of income and various types of self-insurance and informal insurance (network for mutual support), all means to reduce the risks or soften their impact. Therefore, to help the poor from these problems, the balance needs to shift to favor policies to reduce and mitigate risks. For example, good health, environment, labor market,

⁶⁴ See more details in World Bank, *Attacking Poverty*, 2000, p. 33, 93, 131.

and macroeconomic policies can reduce risks. Therefore, according to WB, to reduce poverty it needs to fulfill the full and long implantations of the three mentioned strategies, opportunity, empowerment, and security.

Social Poverty Approach views the strategies presented by the WB as lacking in the dimension of the responsibility or the linkage of the rest of the world, especially the developed world and global organizations, to engage and participate in the poverty definition and alleviation of countries like Cambodia, starting from where the local people and society are and not from the top or from the limited vantage point of the global agencies or developed countries. Global strategies suggested for the poor in countries like Cambodia do not consider their own developed countries' vital possible historical and present role in the creation and continuation of poverty within developing societies like Cambodia.

The Social Poverty approach starts from the strategic view that the poverty of a society is linked to social groupings be these local and/or global. Any antipoverty strategies will therefore, from the Social Poverty Approach, have to be evaluated and contextualized within the linkages of local and global social groupings and structures, not just within the limited context of the poor within their local families, communities or societies. Social Poverty Approach also encourages strategies that are guided by local groupings and practices.

Social poverty approach can be a good choice for poverty reduction in the present and in the future because it takes alternative approaches as the foundation for the reduction of poverty. It is the expansion of former poverty reduction approaches. Its choice is to introduce a new sociologically

scientific way for the study on poverty in the integrated context of social exclusions and lack of social empowerments. The great and complicated task of social poverty approach is to bring for every social human being the fair standard of living and participation in any form of social decisions and actions given by society.

In addition, the most important role of social poverty approach is to seek for real actions which were applied insufficiently by world system approach, globalization approach, and antipoverty policy. These great approaches have produced good propaganda policies for equal development but they lacked the sustainable real plans and actions linking the global to local social groupings. They also lacked foundations of understanding the real conditions and needs of people who were excluded and not empowered and of unified concept of poverty. This is very important because we need to improve the policy and receive feedback from the poor people who need help. There were not only projects to bring services to poor people, but also to mobilize people on their own behalf.

The flexibility of the policy is very important. A policy or approach for poverty reduction shall be started from the reality of the poor people and societies.

Social poverty approach does not aim to have equal social economic development between the most developed countries and the least developed countries under democratic system. But it aims to demonstrate that both of the most developed and least developed nations are really willing to reduce poverty gaps between the haves and the have-nots in their linked societies.

PART II

**EMPIRICAL STUDY AND DISCUSSION
OF
CAMBODIA'S SOCIAL POVERTY**

CHAPTER II— SOCIO-HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF POVERTY AND POVERTY RESPONSES IN CAMBODIA

In the earlier chapter, we defined social poverty as the lack of inclusion and empowerment of people, of social groups, not individuals, in both economic and social realms. This definition integrates the wider macroscopic context that is linked to the poverty of people within specific microscopic social locations and groupings. This definition views a society like Cambodia as poor, meaning it lacks inclusion and empowerment (economically and socially) in relation to other societies throughout the world. This definition also SIMULTANEOUSLY shows Cambodia's poor as lacking inclusion and empowerment in the economic and social sense, in relation to other social groupings within and outside Cambodian society.

In this section, the social poverty of Cambodia is examined, in an integrated fashion, within the wider macroscopic realm of Cambodia's history and economy (affected by the movement of local and foreign social groupings and structures) AND the more specific microscopic world of Cambodia's poor.

This section will focus on two types of data: 1) a historical presentation of the emergence and continuation of poverty in Cambodia, and, 2) an empirical discussion and analysis of survey results of a poor community in Cambodia.

While many countries in South-East Asia have enjoyed three decades of growth and improvements in social welfare and economic development, Cambodia has been torn by strife and civil war. The country is now slowly

emerging from one of humanity's most brutal episodes of social, political and economic destructions. Consequently, the country continues to be one of the world's poorest nations, lagging well behind its Southeast Asia neighbors in terms of key development indicators. The government remains weak and depends heavily upon foreign assistance, which provides nearly half of its operating budget. The development is under challenge after civil war and under the period of political and economic transition and under increasing population growth.

Cambodia is facing population growth from day to day, year to year within a small country territory. Population estimated in 1998 is 11.43 million people; and the per capita income is estimated at approximately US\$280 a year.⁶⁵ Infant mortality is 115 per 1000; life expectancy is 49 years old, and the literacy among adults is only about 35% (45% for males and 22% for female).⁶⁶ This problem is compounded by HIV or AIDS which spreading rapidly and has potential to become the severest in Southeast Asia. In addition, decades of civil war and fratricide had left Cambodia with a population skewed in age and gender such that approximately 47% of the population is less than 15 years of age and more than 55% of the adult population is female.

Years of war and neglect ravaged the physical infrastructure and sustained poverty; they have highly negative impact on human health and well-being. Cambodia called itself agricultural country; about 80% of people

⁶⁵ National General Population Census, Cambodia, March, 1998.

⁶⁶ USAID FY, 1998 Congressional Presentation.

live on agricultural cultivation and plantation. Agricultural productions have declined for a number of reasons, such as principal poorness in rural infrastructure, landmines, restrictions on foreign investment, lack of inputs and information and absence of on-farm management skills.

On the other hand, Cambodia is a country with rich culture and natural resources suitable for rapid economic development yet lack of government legislation and law enforcement, coupled with widespread corruption, is resulting in rapid environmental degradation.

The history of Cambodia is replete with serious political conflicts and wars between different political interests of the Khmer politicians. Peace and social stability were very short, while wars and political conflicts were longer. Political systems in this nation had been changed many times over period of less than four decades (1955-1993): from Monarchy to Republic, from Republic to Killing Field (Pol Pot Regime or Khmer Rouge Regime), from Killing Field to State of Cambodia, the communist regime supported by former Russia and People's Republic of Vietnam, and finally from State of Cambodia to Constitutional Monarchy.

These political conflicts and wars are caused by both internal and external affairs. Firstly, Cambodian politicians in the history always struggled to fight each other for political power. This fact is very clear. After reaching to the top one time in the world history, this nation was the weakest of all. From 9th to 15th century, it is named as Angkor Empire: Angkorian kings extended the Khmer rule over what are now parts of Thailand, Laos and Vietnam. Tribute and an agricultural surplus made possible by canal irrigation supported the construction of the enormous pyramid-temples at

Angkor.⁶⁷ However, Khmer state power waned rapidly from the 15th century as insecure or aspiring monarchs ceded territory and autonomy in return for the patronage and dubious protection of Thai or Vietnamese kings. By the 19th century, Cambodia, wracked by war and dislocation, was on the verge of being absorbed by its neighbors. Whereas some Cambodian politicians, during the conflicts for political power, sometimes asked the foreign countries mainly Thai and Vietnam for helps. This allowed these two neighbors easily benefited from the nation in return. This also allowed France came to colonize the nation from 1863 to 1954 and the United States to intervene in Cambodian political affairs in 1970s and especially during the Vietnamese war.

Briefly, political interests and ideologies brought all Khmer opposition factions into struggling and fighting against each other for political power of the state. Results from these conflicts, Cambodia and her people fall into socio-economic destruction, loss of life and other social problems (unemployment and underemployment, low wage, illiteracy, corruption, crime, etc.) remains unsolved until today.

Khmer Republic (1970—1975): in 1970 Cambodia was changed from Monarchy, reigned by King Norodom Sihanouk, to Khmer Republic, ruled by king's most powerful man named General Lon Nol, a person who launched coup d`etat to overthrow the king from power when he was not in the country. The coup was welcomed by the United States and Khmer middle class business persons. As result of the coup, Lon Nol led the country into economic crisis, thus poverty. Between 1960s and early 1970s, Cambodia was

⁶⁷ Chandler, David. (1983), *A History of Cambodia*, USA: Westview Press, p. 53 & 73-4.

one of the world's rice-exporting countries. Soon after, Lon Nol came to power and its final collapse in April 1975; his regime received a total of nearly \$1.9 billion of US assistance. In 1974 Phnom Penh had already affected massive starvation.⁶⁸ Not only people in Phnom Penh, but also people in other cities throughout the country also faced food shortage and bad health. Food shortage or famine forced people to migrate to Phnom Penh for relief assistance. It was noted that the starvation that affected Cambodia was not due to natural disaster, but because this regime was heavily dependent on the US aids, there was no economic base, and at the same time so many high military officers and business persons exploited the war. The war began in the late 1972, and disrupted the economy in order to increase their own wealth, while the majority of the people could not buy enough food to sustain their family. In addition, the government steadily lost control of any basic base in the countryside until it came to rely on entirely the US for food supply. Rice crop fell down about 87 percent in 1974 if compared to 1968. Instead of exporting 230,000 tons of rice to foreign countries, Cambodia imported 282,000tons of rice.

As results from starvation, so many people especially children affected dramatically by extreme protein deficiency and severe caloric deficiency within the last several months. Swelling limbs and peeling skin, loss of appetite, and complete apathy were easily recognized by the extreme protein deficiency. Fatty deposits infiltrated the heart, liver, kidneys, and brain, the result was certain death if the condition was not reversed. And starvation

⁶⁸ Hildebrand, George and Porter, Gareth. (1976), *Cambodia: Starvation and Revolution*, New York & London: Monthly Review Press, p. 19.

also worsened serious illness and caused death from normally minor diseases such as enteritis, flu, measles, and respiratory infections because of the children's lack of resistance. At the same time, lack of hygiene, an unsafe water supply, and overcrowded conditions led to frequent epidemics of common diseases in Phnom Penh.⁶⁹

While so many people were facing dramatic starvation and death, the higher military officers and higher government officials and middle class business persons enjoyed unprecedented luxury. Thus, the corruption was seen as serious aspects in the regime. They sold ammunition, weapons and other military supplies, medicines, and rice to the merchants. In short, while the population in Phnom Penh and other towns were plunged into hunger and starvation, the living standards of the elite rose spectacularly. Lower and middle ranking military and civilian officials were able to make large fortunes, and a whole new suburb of Phnom Penh was spawned for the magnificent villas of this new class of wealthy officers and civil servants.⁷⁰ Given the corruption and lack of social conscience of Phnom Penh's governing elite, it is hardly surprising that the Lon Nol regime did nothing to prevent massive deaths from starvation: as a popular Phnom Penh student slogan ran, "Corruption plus incompetence= the people's hunger."

Pol Pot Regime or Democratic Kampuchea (1975—1979): this period was seen as the worst history of Cambodia. The country fell to the Khmer Rouge, the government of Democratic Kampuchea (DK) was established with

⁶⁹ Hildebrand, George and Porter, Gareth. (1976), *Cambodia: Starvation and Revolution*, p. 27.

⁷⁰ Hildebrand, George and Porter, Gareth. (1976), *Cambodia: Starvation and Revolution*, p. 30-2.

Pol Pot, the victorious guerrilla leader. The DK government launched a radical social engineering experiment in communal and social organization. It proclaimed its intention of totally breaking with the past and being ready to use any means necessary, including killing to ensure the success of its policies. DK leadership set out to transform Cambodian society and economy into an agrarian utopia.

The Pol Pot government started this drastic social and economic transformation by abolishing and outlawing all private property. Schools and labs, equipments, and books were seriously destroyed; about 75-80 percent of all teachers and students fled or were murdered.⁷¹ Old regime policemen and policewomen, elites, and so on were also murdered. Deliberately, almost industrial enterprises and infrastructure were neglected; money was banned; and foreign contacts were forbidden or cut. Inhabitants were forced to leave cities and forced to work under inhuman conditions in gigantic rural irrigation projects later known as Pol Pot's canals. People were paid in food rations and required to surrender all production to central control. Everyone showing signs of resistance or doubt was swiftly and severely punished, including death.

In short, in this regime human and economic costs were monumental. Children were separated from their parents. Malnutrition, disease, and summary executions were widespread. An estimated two million people about 25 percent of the population—died or were killed. The extent of damage to the Cambodian economy in just four years of under the Khmer Rouge regime was indescribable.

⁷¹ As it is seen in *Asian Development Bank Report*, 1996.

People's Republic of Kampuchea or State of Cambodia (1979—1990):
in 1979 the country was renamed People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) later known as the State of Cambodia under the same government. This government was installed and supported by Vietnam and Russia. Therefore, more orthodox centrally planned economic system was introduced and implemented. People were allowed to return to their original communities including cities. However, many rural residents chose not to live rural areas. Instead, they moved into cities and occupied property that had been abandoned. The regime was known as the survivor of Pol Pot regime or the killing field.

It was true that new governmental system was introduced and education, health and other sectors were recovered, but people were not given full freedom to decide things they wanted to do. Instead, they were oppressed strictly. Most of their products, especially rice products, must be sold to the government and they had to pay even higher tax.

On the international relationship, the international communities particularly the democratic countries sanctioned the country. There were no diplomatic relationship with these countries except the communist countries mainly Vietnam, former Soviet, Cuba, Bulgaria, and so on. On the other hand, even though the Khmer Rouge regime was defeated, it did not mean that the war ended. Instead, the existing elements of the former regime (i.e., the supporters), and the Khmer Rouge leaders such as Pol Pot, Khiev Samphan, under the assistance from China, formed their resistance. And in the 1980s several resistance groups were also formed to fight against the Phnom Penh government or the Vietnamese-installed government, the name

used by these resistance groups.

Thus, the living standard in this regime was actually not good, and people lived in the fear of war and stealing. Especially the over 18 years of age were forced and arrested to become army to fight against the resistance groups in the mountains throughout the countries and near Thai border. In short, it was terrible life.

From 1990 until Present: the war did not end until 1991, when Paris pacts were signed by all Khmer fighting factions and United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) deployed in the country. In 1993 the new government and constitution were established by the national election under UN. Though the new government was built but the war still existed because the Khmer Rouge group did not join in the election, but they continued to fight particularly near the border. In 1998 the war ended completely because the almost all Khmer Rouge leaders, their armies and families surrendered to the government and even given the status in the government. Pol Pot died in the deep jungle reportedly by the heart attack.

Although the civil war was completely ended, the political conflict still continues. In 1997 there was serious political conflict between coalition government of Funcinpec Party led by Prince Norodom Ranarith and CPP led by Chea Sim, Heng Sam Rin and Hun Sen. This conflict led to armed confrontation and war between the two sides. The CPP won the war and formed another new government with Funcinpec under the leadership of Eung Huot. The prince was out of the country and then returned home to lead his party again and to join national election in 1998 through the international community's intervention.

It shall be remarked that at that time Funcinpec had big internal conflict. The party was divided. Some former Funcinpec party members were dismissed or dissented by themselves to form their own political parties to compete in the election. Unluckily, they did not win any single seat in the parliament, but only Funcinpec led by the prince Norodom Ranarith won many seats in the parliament. In 1998 election, the CPP won the majority of seats in the government but could not form the new government by themselves under the constitution formulation of two third. Simultaneously, Funcinpec and Samrainsy Party led by Sam Rainsy, the former Funcinpec party member that won minor seats in the parliament did not recognize the election result. The two joined hands together and led demonstrations against the election result. It took so long time to find out the solution to form the new government. After political solution was found the new coalition government between CPP and Funcinpec was set up again. Thus Samrainsy party was out of the government and became sole opposition party.

In short, political conflict always affects the socioeconomic development of Cambodia. Today even though Cambodia has social stability and economic development but the country faces a lot of social problems such as poor education, poor health, unemployment, low income, and so on.

Cambodia economic growth is not stable since the first government was formed in 1993. Program for reconstruction and sustainable growth was introduced at the end of 1993. The unstable socio-economic development is derived from several reasons. For example, unusually prolonged and severely seasonal flooding curbed robust economic growth in 2000. As a

result, real gross domestic product (GDP) expansion is projected to slow from 5.0 percent in 1999 to about 4.5 percent in 2000, which equals average real GDP growth performance during 1995-1999. Given the population growth rate of 2.5 percent, this growth performance is not significantly impacting incomes. Real per capita GDP rose less than 10.0 percent during the period.

In addition, growth was uneven, with industry growing at an average annual rate of about 15.0 percent, agriculture at 4.0 percent, and services at 1.0 percent. Economic performance continues to have an urban bias in 2000.⁷² A contraction in agriculture is anticipated because of the impact of flooding on crop production and because of an ongoing slump in forestry. The expected reduction in crop production is a sharp reversal from the record harvest of 1999, which resulted in a 9.1 percent increase in crop value added as compared with 1998. The decline of forestry since 1997 is a result of a combination of factors including low world timber prices following the regional financial crisis, higher timber royalties since 1999, and stricter enforcement, since 1999, of laws governing the felling and export of logs. Further expansion of fisheries, which has grown rapidly in the past several years, is expected to partially mitigate the negative impact of poor performance in crops and forestry.

Meanwhile, rapid expansion of the textile industry, based primarily on exports to the United States, should contribute to double-digit growth for industrial value added in 2000. Manufacturing increasingly dominates the industrial sector, accounting for 75.0 percent of industrial value added and nearly 15.0 percent of GDP in 1999. Construction, which accounted for 4.2

⁷² <http://www.adb.org/Documents/CERs/CAM/execsum.asp>

percent of GDP in 1999, should continue to expand in 2000 under the influence of a steadily improving political climate. The strong 1999 recoveries in tourism and domestic demand should persist in 2000, supporting moderate service sector expansion, despite the mitigating effects of the floods on economic activity.

We can stipulate that economic development from late 1993s up to now is not stable. Local and foreign investments are dependent upon the political will and action commitment of the Cambodian government.

Today, thanks to stability of political environment, the country appears to enjoy economic development, according to both government and WB sources, GDP growth between 2005 and 2006 increased nearly 7%. This growth derives mainly from the collection of taxes, exports of textiles, and tourism. Textile and tourism industries have created both state revenues and employment.

This relatively low, urban-biased growth contributed only modestly to poverty reduction. The incidence of poverty declined only marginally from 39.0 percent of the population in 1994 to 36.0 percent in 1997 and then remained stable from 1997 to 1999, despite aid flows averaging about \$20 per capita flow in during 1995-1999.

There is also increasing social inequality in the contexts of income distribution and types of works. The gap between the rich and poor are still wide and hard to be solved, on the one hand, and a number of employed people is still limited. At the same time, the daily payment or monthly salary of workers is not high and not enough to the expenditure and high cost in market place.

It shall be noted that Cambodia today imports either agricultural goods or industrial products from any parts of the world. Agricultural activities such as vegetables plantation, rice cultivation base on hand and coping with lack of producing technique to improve the product. So they cannot fulfill the demands of the people. Meanwhile, increasing price of seeds at market and low cost of productive goods has caused Cambodian farmers to abandon the farming and try other works in other urban areas or any relevant places throughout the nation. As a scientific researcher, one needs to see or insight all aspects of living condition that may or may not benefit from such growth. Thus, employment and a standard (sufficiency) of wages are regarded as primary factors of social poverty. People who do not have neither regular nor irregular jobs and who do not meet a standard of payment can be said to live in social poverty. We will talk about income earnings after our discussion on unemployment or underemployment here.

Summary: results of this long war led Cambodia into destruction, damage and loss. War destroyed the existing infrastructures, natural resources, wealth, lives, culture and civilization and killed hundred thousands of people. It also harmed ability of the people; reduced production potential by diverting human resources from productive labor to war efforts. The military forces were strengthened and increased to about 13.2% of Cambodia's population; it is three times higher the world's average of 4.7 per one thousand people.⁷³ The wars have created large places transformed into minefields over the country; foreign investment was hindered by wars and instability; wars and instability make environment conducive to illegal

⁷³ Lidee Khmer Students Organization: *Poverty and its Challenges in Cambodia*, 2001.

activities and corruption. In addition, political ideology of communism or socialism of Marxist-Leninists brought Cambodia into isolation and economic sanction by international communities. The country survived based upon self-support and upon help by the communist. Under the communist regime (from 1980 to 1990) almost everything was under very strict state control. Human Rights were strongly restricted; there was no free market. Historical events and linkages affected by Cambodia's local power groups with foreign power groups led the country to poverty.

People did not see the light of development; they remained and continued to suffer from poverty. On the other hand, illiteracy, resulted from the regime, remained high and was an obstacle for re-establishment of the country.

1—PEOPLE'S CONCEPTIONS OF POVERTY IN CAMBODIA

Poverty concept in Cambodian language is karkraa (karkror) or tupphik or tu?rea?phik (tupphik and tu?rea?phik is the Pali word which also used in Cambodian language.) These two words are pronounced the same but differently written, which literally means *famine, hunger, and no wealth*.⁷⁴

Famine and hunger, in the Cambodian context, literally mean having no food to eat or scarcity of food. Lack of wealth and having no food to eat is a typical or traditional meaning of poverty. This meaning still influences most Cambodian people's thoughts. They usually compare the poor and the rich in terms of material possessions. The difference between the poor and the rich

⁷⁴ Dictionnaire Cambodgien, Institut Bouddhique, 1967 and 1989, p. 437& 440.

is that the former has no food or insufficient food to sustain family and no wealth such as money and gold to buy basic needs to support family, while the latter has sufficient or abundant food and wealth. Today people see other people as rich by looking at material wealth such as having big house, having motor-bike or car, and owning some pieces of land for cultivating rice and vegetables, or other material belongings which enable to develop the family more possible than the poor.

Ordinary Cambodian people, lacking of education, define poverty based on their past and present experiences and their traditional belief has been inherited from one generation to another generation. It appears that they do not understand or have knowledge of poverty as intellectually defined by social thinkers. Lacking knowledge of both definition and cause of poverty, these people continue to live in poor life, and hardly find out the way to get out poverty. In fact, what Cambodian people understand poverty is based on their realities. In this section, I would like to introduce some perceptions of poverty by poor Cambodians based on a study on poverty in 2001 by ADB.

Between late October and mid-December 2000, ADB launched a huge study on poverty in this country under the title Participatory Poverty Assessment in Cambodia (PPA). ADB conducted research in 154 villages in 70 communes in all 24 provinces of Cambodia, and 15 non rural socioeconomic groups participated in focus group discussions (FGDs)⁷⁵. And the following definitions of poverty particularly by the poor Cambodians can

⁷⁵ ADB (2001), *Participatory Poverty Assessment in Cambodia*, p. ix: executive summary.

add more detailed ideas to the previous definition, poverty as famine and hunger. Let us see what kinds of definitions of poverty were offered by these people:

1-When food is there, you eat as though you might not get any food for some time. When work is offered you treat this work as though you might never get any more. And when you get more food than you can eat, you think the Lord Buddha must have shown you compassion.

2-The inability to be certain that one can use as much of local natural resources as necessary for household purposes or to be able to sell to purchase basic necessities. It is also the inability of being certain that the land one occupies truly belongs to your family and that no one can take it away from you. If you can't be certain about these things, then you cannot be certain that you will have enough food to feed the family.

3-Poverty is not just whether you have enough food to eat or not, but when people no longer cooperate with one another, when a husband thinks a wife does not know anything, when we villagers are told that it is our fault that we are poor, and when we let outsiders take advantage of us.

4- Poverty is when we lack the ability to recognize what the cause of poverty is. If we do not agree to go to war with one another, we would not have poverty, that is, if you believe what older people say. I was born when there was peace and prosperity so it is hard to imagine what it was like. But if it was so good why did we have war?

5- If we had money, we could have everything. But for so long we have had nothing, not even the regular payments of our wages and so on.

6- Being poor is not just about having enough food to eat, although if you do

*not have enough food to eat you cannot think of anything else. Rather being poor is also being ignorant, to have people look down upon you and not be able to support your own family. It also means the nonpoor can do anything they like to do. That is why some poor family supported Pol Pot.*⁷⁶

We understand that all these definitions of poverty are different parts of a general definition of *social entitlement of poverty*, in which in this context social entitlement can be perceived as loss or lack of food security to sustain the family's life, incapability to understand and use natural resources such as land, lack of education, having low wage or poor payment, being margin of communities or social exclusions, being hopelessness and lack of empowerment. Or we can say that poverty in Cambodian context can be defined mainly as lack of income, ignorance or incapability to access to natural resources and social activities, and lack of food security. It is also noted that fatalistic idea still influences the life of the poor: namely the belief that poverty is rooted in the past life. Most ordinary Cambodian people, by lack of understanding about the religious belief, or accepting cultural belief fully without insight whether such belief is good or bad, believe that the present life is the cause of the past life. Even though they have experienced social changes in their countries which enabled them to have more understanding about their living conditions, but still there is no adequate explanation about this long wrong belief in order to get them away from such false belief. That is why ignorance is regarded as a cause of poverty. Therefore, the loss or lack of these entitlements in society, people are described to be living in poverty because the loss of entitlements will make

⁷⁶ As it is seen in ADB, *Participatory Poverty Assessment in Cambodia*, 2001, p. 13-14.

them fall into social exclusions and lack of social empowerment.

Furthermore, according to the above-mentioned definitions of poverty, we can state that poor Cambodian falls into the lack or loss of basic needs rather than relative minimum deprivation. They do not meet the specific minimum needs or they are below the level of necessity. This is what we call *absolute poverty, simply defined as the lack of basic or necessary needs to fulfill daily living of a person or family*. The definitions of poverty by the poor Cambodian people exactly demonstrated their actual experiences of lacking critically material goods that prevent normal development of human personality, physical, mental and social. It has been examined that poor people who live in the remote rural areas fall absolute poverty more than those who live in the capital Phnom Penh and other urban areas throughout the country. Such lacks, it can be stated that, make the poor poorer; only middle class in the communities can access to the city and other urban places.

There are different characteristics of absolute poverty found in Cambodia. The above mentioned *Participatory Poverty Assessment* found four broad socioeconomic strata in Cambodian villages: 1-*toal (almost having nothing)*, 2-*kror bamphot (poorest)*, 3-*kro menten (very poor)*, and 4-*kror niyeay leng chenh (too extreme poor)*.⁷⁷ The poor households are referred to as *kror* (literally poor or typically poor).⁷⁸ Cambodians normally describe lower medium income households as reasonable/medium poor (*kror lamom*

⁷⁷ Note: it is difficult to find synonymous words in English for these Cambodian concepts.

⁷⁸ ADB (2001), *Cambodia: Participatory Poverty Assessment*, Manila, Philippines, p. 15-7.

or *kandal*), whereas middle-income households as average or fairly (*mathyum or lamom*), and adequate (*krubkroan*). All poverty categories can be described as follows:

--the *poorest households* are referred to having little land (2-3 acres) or no land, perhaps one draft animal but no farming implements, house made of thatch in very poor condition; much reliance on natural resources, live on hand-to-mouth basis (long food shortage up to eight months, etc.);

--the *poor households* referred to having land of less than two hectares in unfavorable locations (slopes, no water source), having at least a pair of draft animals and some farm implements, house made of thatch sometimes with tile roofs and bamboo walls, food shortages of 3-6 months duration, etc.;

--*lower medium income* household are referred to having land of less than 3 hectares, draft animals and farm implements, housing made of wood or bamboo, thatched roof and walls and tile roof, food shortage of 3-4 months duration, etc.;

--middle income households are referred to having land of up to 6 hectares, 2-4 draft animals, some livestock and all farm implements, house made of wood with either bamboo or wooden floors and tile roofs, no food shortages except when major crisis (ill-health), limited cash savings, small-scale business and possessing means of transport such as boat or motorbike.

While poverty in urban socioeconomic group were defined as follows; those without regular daily or monthly employment; income of less than 3,500 Riels (Cambodian currency) to 4000 Riels (less than one dollar) per

day; sleep and bath in public places; no change of clothes, and suffering from a chronic physical affliction including tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS. Urban socioeconomic groups usually depend on work in the industrial and service sectors and other relevant activities.

In short, according to these findings, we can say that the poor Cambodians lack a number of accesses such as credits, basic services, means of transportations, and important information for making business and employment, and so forth.

Having insufficient food or food insecurity is described as the most important aspect of absolute poverty in Cambodia. Therefore, if a Cambodian person or family meets food security to sustain their living standard for a whole year, it simply means that they do not live in poverty.

However, it is not sufficient to observe the existence of poverty in Cambodia only in terms of absolute poverty because if we look into other factors of poverty in this nation, it is appearing that Cambodian people are also deprived in the relative sense. We will see this deprivation in the next chapter. Social poverty as social exclusions and lack of social empowerments takes position of both absolute poverty and relative deprivation. By conceptualizing poverty in term of social poverty, it means that it denies any studies on poverty based simply on absolute poverty or relative deprivation alone. We cannot have full conception of poverty in a single way. The following discussions will show more details of the reason we employ concept of social poverty for the study of poverty in Cambodia.

2—POVERTY AND POVERTY REDUCTION APPROACH IN CAMBODIA

This chapter will engage in the existing social problems of poverty and poverty reduction approaches in contemporary Cambodian society in particular between 1993 and the present time. *Firstly*, we will examine different dimensions of the so-called social poverty in Cambodian context especially in terms of illiteracy and bad health, income distribution inequality, and exclusion or isolation. These social problems of poverty damage the capacities of human development and socio-economic development of Cambodia. We will see the great suffering of Cambodian people and their society caused by these problems in the following discussions. *Secondly*, we will examine the existing poverty reduction approaches and policies carried out by the Cambodian government and other world organizations such as WB, ADB, and NGOs. Governmental and non-governmental agencies play a very important role to rebuild Cambodian economy. Poverty is regarded as a significant/primary target for the socio-economic development of Cambodia. We will observe what kinds of policies and strategies have been implemented for poverty reduction by the two major institutions.

2-1—ABSOLUTE POVERTY

The poverty line in Cambodia is less than one American dollar a day (US\$0.45) or equivalent to 54050 Riels per capita/month that based on the necessary poverty line expenditure to afford a 2, 100-calorie of energy and 58 grams of protein per day and other minimal expenditures such as clothing

and shelter⁷⁹. This poverty line is less than the WB's one dollar or less than two-dollar per day which is adjusted measurement for extreme poverty in other developing countries, for instance Bangladesh.

The number of Cambodian people in poverty has not changed very much if compared to *Cambodian Socioeconomic Survey* (CSES) in 1993/94. For example, we found that about 11% of Phnom Penh residents, about 37% of other urban areas, and about 43% of rural-area residents live below poverty line in 1993/94; in 1998 Poverty Assessment based on 1997 *CSES* found that about 36.1% of people nationwide, about 11.1% of Phnom Penh residents, about 29.7% of other urban areas residents, and about 40.1% of rural areas residents live in poverty. 1999 Poverty mapping, arranged by WFP using data from 1997 *CSES* and the *1998 National Census* predicted that about 2.1 million households fell short in consumption expenditure. They founded that about 40 percent of households could be classified as poor and 25 percents of the households as the poorest. In March 2001 WFP founded that about 50 percent of households amongst 424,000 people lived below poverty line. In 2002, according to Ministry of Planning and WFP, poverty remained high in most rural areas. They found that amongst 104 communes in rural areas; there was high incidence of poverty 39.1%—53.7% above national average existed including those provinces such as Oddar Meanchey, Banteay Meachey, Siem Reap, Kampong Chhnang, Porsat, Prey

⁷⁹ ADB (2001), *Poverty Participatory Assessment*, Manila, p. 1. It shall be remarked that the measurement of poverty line and food consumption is to be based on Gini Coefficient standard, which is widely used by economists and experts of WB and other world organizations. It is not easy to get clear idea whether Gini Coefficient standard of measuring the poverty line has been used by Cambodian experts because most of reports and publications on poverty are just the descriptions or quotations from the one source to another with lacking full explanation. In addition, head count index is badly used in the study on poverty in Cambodia.

Veng, Svay Rieng, and Krong Kep, whereas the highest poverty incidence was found in Pailin, the former Khmer Rouge's stronghold area. That is, it was about 97.2%.⁸⁰ Some provinces with high or highest poverty incidence might be due to the fact that they are in former conflict zones where people lived in a terrible situation longer than the rest of the country, and some people are the returnees, who escaped the country during the civil war period losing their lands and other assets, and much of the land is contaminated with landmines. For instance, many parts of Kampong Chhnang and Porsat are also affected by landmines.

The fact of high rate of poverty is perhaps due to lack of employment and small agricultural landholding and access to natural resources year round. Other causes of poverty might be derived from agricultural land is not fertile, and from the fact they are frequently stricken by natural disasters, drought and flood, while majority of people live on farm. It shall also be noted that the poor families in Cambodia are predominantly members of large family. According to 1999-Cambodia Poverty Assessment, the average household size was 5.8 people for the poorest per capita consumption quintile and 4.2 people for the richest quintile. This shows poverty increases with the number of people living in a household.

Thus, we can see that poverty in this nation seems to slightly decline in certain period of time and then rise up in another time. This has been observed that the political stability and security in the country have affected to socioeconomic development. For instance, Cambodia was affected by regional economic crisis in 1997-98 and the 1997-violent coup d'état and

⁸⁰ See CSD, *National Poverty Reduction Strategy 2003-2005*, p. 28-31.

political unrest in 1998 after the national election led to increase of poverty. However, other influential factors also affected the increase of poverty rate.

2-2—INCOME DISTRIBUTION INEQUALITY

Cambodia is one of the poorest countries in which a majority of population has low income/wage. The spending on consumption or basic needs of individual or family depends upon the total income earning per day or within a month. Table 3 shows this measurement in the capital Phnom Penh, other urban and provinces in the country. The living conditions and income earnings of the poor who reside in the capital city, other urban, and provinces are not the same. This earning inequality may be derived from poor education, poor work experience, and poor physical conditions. And it may be come from poor access to employment information, communication, and transportation facilities such as good or bad road, short-distance and long-distance workplaces.

Table 3: Monetary Value of Poverty Line

Sector	FPL		OPL	
	Riel	US\$	Riel	US\$
Phnom Penh	1,737	0.45	2,470	0.63
Other Urban	1,583	0.41	2,093	0.54
Rural	1,379	0.35	1,777	0.46

Source: *A Poverty Profile of Cambodia 1999* (MOP). Note: FPL is for Food Poverty Line, while OPL is for Other Poverty Line.

It appears that income/wage earning of Cambodian people varies due to different geographic and economic sectors: sheer size of the subsistence

agriculture sector in total employment and incomes and the relatively small proportion in wage employment has determined the different income sources. Table 4 below shows that at the national level, it is estimated that earnings from self-employment were approximately 241,990 Riels (US\$63.439) per household per month or 60% of the total monthly household income. Income from wage employment amounted to 83,687 Riels (US\$21.94) or 20% of total income or one-third the value of earnings from self-employment. The contribution from all other sources of income, which is consisted of rental income, interest, transfers and imputed value of houses rent etc., was almost the same as that of wage employment.

In Phnom Penh, the main source of household income was wage employment that contributed 35% of total income, a share that is marginally higher than the contribution from other income. Here, income from three main sources, self-employment income, income from wage employment and other income, had nearly equal shares. In rural sector, however, self-employment income had contributed to over 70% of household income with wage employment contributing less than one sixth of the household income. In monetary terms, income from wage employment amounted to only 48,442 Riels or US\$12.70 per household as is seen in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Average Monthly Household Income by Main Source of Income Stratum (1999)

Main Source of Income	Cambodia		Phnom Penh		Other Urban		Rural	
	Value	%	Value	%	Value	%	Value	%
Total Income	403334	100.0	1139553	100.0	515027	100.0	314247	100.0
Self Employment Income	241990	60.0	345340	30.3	298509	58.0	224352	71.4
Income From Wage Employment	83687	20.7	397463	34.9	109609	21.3	48442	15.4
Other Income	77657	19.3	396750	34.8	106909	20.8	41452	13.2

Source: Ministry of Planning (1999), *Cambodia Socio Economic Survey Report*, p. 56

Therefore, according to these two sources of data and other previous findings we can argue that many Cambodians have been experiencing the extreme poverty because of very low amount of cash earning per day or per month by individual. Or poor earnings of both urban and rural residents cannot be used to fulfill the basic needs in particular buying food or spending on child's daily-education cost.

Regarding to unemployment rates in Cambodia; it was found that there was not so high unemployment rate nationwide.⁸¹ It masked the actual

⁸¹ It seems that the level of unemployment rates is low in Cambodia. One reason of low estimate of the unemployed was the use of standard concepts and definitions in the measurement of employment and unemployment. As for purposes of national and international comparability, any person who had worked at least for one hour during the reference week was accepted as employed in the currently active population approach of measuring unemployment. Similarly, any person who had worked in any week was treated as employed during that week in enumerating the number of weeks to derive his/her employment status during long reference period of one year. This

position with regard to labor utilization, and in particular, unemployment rates became insignificant in rural areas for persons above 25 years old. The number of employment and unemployment durations varied during the referenced year. The number of unemployment of both sexes increased between 1997 and 1999. Even though there was not high unemployment rate in this country according to the conception and definition of employment and unemployment measurement nationally and internationally, it did not imply that all employed persons received adequate paid wages. According to Cambodian Labor Law, those who are employed in any sectors shall be paid a minimum wage to fulfill their living standard. Understanding the law among the employed population about 46% of work force were unpaid family labourers working without pay in their own family operating farms or business, in particularly the percentage of females working without pay as family labour is higher than males. In rural sector about 87% of the work force was employed as own account workers or unpaid family laborers and only 10% were paid employees, while in Phnom Penh, more than one out of two were paid employees.⁸²

It shall be noticed that Cambodia today faces land shortage for agricultural productivity after long time civil wars and political crisis. It is estimated that about 85% of overall population is peasants or farmers who lives on cultivation of rice, vegetables and fruits (seasonal plantation). They now face with land shortage. After long time civil war and political conflict, so many Cambodians lost most parts of their occupied land in previous

definition was used in Cambodia for measurement of unemployment and unemployment rates of both male and female.

⁸² The Ministry of Planning (1999), *Cambodia Socio-Economic Survey Report*, p. 27-29.

regimes. Land distribution to each Cambodian farmers were made in mid 1980s but still not enough to increase Cambodian population, on the one hand, being a draught, flood and more cost of doing agriculture and few jobs in rural areas have forced them to sell their farming land or abandon their home to find jobs and reside in other provinces or in other big cities like Phnom Penh, on the other hand.

Cambodian economic growth mostly bases on agricultural field⁸³ (cultivating rice and vegetables and the like) and light industries in particular in the fields of beer, cigarette, and garment manufacturing, and tourism industry. They are regarded as the main sources of employment for over twelve million population of Cambodia. Both men and women are differently employed either in the state's sector/non-state's sector or the

⁸³ Recently, land conflicts in Cambodia are also becoming a focus of presses or media, too. Almost every day, they highlight or cover reports on land encroachment, and land invasion. Some people have been slightly or seriously injured or murdered. There are different forms of land conflicts caused by neighbor, relative, rich people and poor farmers, higher rank officials, military and ordinary people etc. On the other hand, there is still no clear definition of land title. According to a local English newspaper Phnom Penh Post issued on December 16-29th, 2005, Prime Minister Hun Sen warned government officials, business people and the armed forces that illegal land seizure must be stopped, or there could be a farmers' revolution against the government in his speech at the National Conference on the Management of National Resources to Reduce Poverty. Despite his warning, land disputes continue all over the country and become much more complicated. Thus, in order to solve land conflicts, Cambodian government led by Prime Minister Hun Sen has set up National Authority for Resolving land Disputes (NARLD) signed by King Norodom Sihamoni on February 26th 2006 and on March 2nd, 2006 the Prime Minister told Consultative Group (CG) that the government has invited all political parties that won seats in National Assembly and civil society to participate. NARLD carry out its duty as examining complaints, making investigations and reporting them, being a watchdog for resolving land disputes and giving evidence to the courts if complaint is made against its decisions, keeping a record of all complaints and disputes, and informing the public of its deliberations. At the same time, he told CG that NARLD was being set up as part of the government's efforts to promote land title registration to achieve one of its Millennium Development Goals, to register 32 percent of all land titles by 2010 and reach 65 percent by 2015, according to Phnom Penh Post issued on March 10th-23rd, 2006. However, despite efforts of government to solve any forms of land disputes, such disputes continue to exist and grow up and hard to be resolved.

private sector according to their education or professional skills. For example, *1998-Cambodia Human Development Report* found that there were different rate of employment between men and women: men seemed to occupy the employments which required a higher education standard, e.g., legislator, senior officials, managers, technicians and associate professionals much more than women. In contrast, women appeared to occupy the employments which were not required a higher education standard much more than men, e.g., skilled agricultural and fishery workers and service workers and self-employment. Recently, it has been observed that only one manufacturing industry which employs women in large members is the garment industry, which saw rapid growth after Cambodia adopted market-oriented economic reform in 1993. Women dominate about 90 percent in this sector. It shall be noted that the Cambodian Constitution provides *equal rights of work* for men and women. It allows no discrimination against women in employment. Pregnant women are protected from discharge because of their pregnancy, and offered the right to take maternity leave with pay and no loss of seniority or benefits. However, in reality of labor relations, it appears different from the norms mandated by the Labor Code and the Constitution. Gender discrimination takes place routinely not only in the private sector, but also in governments.⁸⁴ For instance, discrimination occurs in the forms of: women with same qualifications as men and doing exactly the same work are paid less and do not have the same opportunities in promotion, job seniority and benefits; sexual harassment of women employees by their male supervisors and employers is common, and often goes unreported for fear of

⁸⁴ Ministry of Planning (1998), *Cambodia Human Development Report*, p. 24-28.

job loss; only few employers, including government departments, offer child care facilities for their female employees; most factory jobs, pregnancy results in the pregnant woman being laid off; and there is no provision for sick leave, so that an illness episode of a woman results in salary deductions. However, whether Cambodian women face discrimination in labor market or not is difficult to find, since there are many different types of discrimination, many of which are subtle and not immediately apparent.

All problems of income distribution inequality described previously in this section indicate that Cambodian society today is one of the most unequal societies if we compare with other countries in the region. Table 5 below shows a great inequality in Cambodian society if it compares with other less developed countries in Asia-Pacific region.

Table 5: Gini Coefficients for Selected Countries⁸⁵

Country	Gini Coefficient	1998 GNP per capita
Bangladesh (1992)	28.3	350
Cambodia (1997)	42.0	280
China (1995)	41.5	750
India (1993)	33.8	430
Indonesia (1993)	31.7	680
Loa PDR (1992)	30.4	330
Mongolia (1995)	33.2	400
Pakistan (1991)	31.2	480
Philippines (1994)	42.9	1050
Thailand (1992)	46.2	2200
Vietnam (1993)	37.7	330

Source: Document of World Bank (1999), *Cambodia Poverty Assessment*, p. 16.

Note: It shall be noted that the *Gini Coefficient* is one of the most commonly used indicators of income inequality. The Gini is derived from the Lorenz curve, which plots the cumulative share of total income earned by households ranked from

⁸⁵ Document of World Bank (1999), *Cambodia Poverty Assessment*, report No. 19858-KH, p. 16.

bottom to top. The Geni coefficient is a numerical measurement of the degree of inequality; it ranges from a maximum of 1.0 (perfect inequality) to zero (perfect equality). When the Geni coefficient is 1.0, one unit has all income, and all the other units have zero income. Therefore, it is stated that the higher the Geni coefficient the greater inequality in the distribution of income. See more details in Michael P. Todaro. (2002), *Economic Development*, Edinburgh Gate, England: Pearson Education Limited, Addition-Wesley Series in Economics, p. 155-160.

Cambodia still needs to improve living conditions of her people by producing adequate human capital resource in the fields of education, professional trainings, and technical skills suitable for employments and for building the capacity of socio-economic development as a whole.

According to Table 5, Cambodia's Gross National Product (GNP) per capita was only 280 dollars. This amount is lower than Vietnam and Loa. In order to reduce inequality, Cambodia needs not only promote economic growth, but also social inclusions and social empowerments. We shall discuss about these social dimensions in the following sections.

In brief, we ought to recognize that lack of income, low income or income inequality distribution, unemployment/underemployment influence one's education and health. Income equality, employment, education and health are very important to keep and raise one's social status specifically to beg out of social poverty. We will discuss various aspects of education in terms of illiteracy and health in terms of ill health as follows.

2-3—ILLITERACY AND ILL-HEALTH

Cambodia's achievements in education and health in the 1960s and early 1970s were systematically and bloodily abolished by the Khmer Rouge. After the collapse of the Khmer Rouge regime, Cambodian governments in

1980s and today have been trying to rebuild and improve education's quality and health's quality, but the process of improving the education and health systems is respectively slow. This may be understood as deriving from slow socio-economic development. The absence of adequate/sufficient income earning influences children's education of the poor families because the parents or the poor-household families cannot support all kinds of school expenditure such as buying books and school uniform etc. It was also found that a family fell into poverty, and thus could no longer support or send their children to school when the head of household either male or female was seriously sick or passed away, because he/she was the main source of family-economy earning. This is a reason, according to Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports,⁸⁶ students from poor families dropped out of school early after attending school a few years, particularly those who aged between 15-year old or older and live in rural areas. The Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports estimated that 28.7% of Cambodians 15-year of age or older had not completed even one year of schooling. The poor women were the vast majority of the illiterate. In rural areas, 39.3 % of women compared to 15.8% of men, had never completed a year of school. And the number of the not enrolled school-age children and school-dropped-out children also was large, too. Due to the same source, about 15.3% of school age children did not enroll in primary school in 1996/97. And in the same year, they found that about 7.4% dropped out of school in grade one; about 8.9% dropped of school in grade two, and about 10.5% dropped out of school in grade 3. Thus, we can

⁸⁶ UNESCO (1997), *Education as a Tool for Poverty Alleviation: Special Focus on Non-Formal Education*, page: Executive Summary.

perceive that the big number of school-age children who had not enrolled and dropped out of school earlier has caused a large number of adults/youths illiterate or marginally literate, that is, about 2.5 million of Cambodian adults. This number is not much different from 1993/94 Socio-Economic Survey of Cambodia. Table 6 below shows more details about the different gaps of no grade completion of 15-year old or over people.

Table 6: Educational Attainment by Gender & Stratum ⁸⁷ Cambodia's Population 15 years of Age (%)

Stratum	No Grade Completed Both Genders	No Grade Completed Male	No Grade Completed Female
Cambodia	27.3	15.0	37.5
Phnom Penh	14.6	6.5	22.0
Other Urban Area	22.0	12.1	30.1
Rural Areas	28.7	15.8	39.3

Source: RGC Survey Rounds: October 1993-September 1994.

In accordance with this table, we found that about 27.3% of 15-year people of both sexes had not completed secondary education. The number of male who did not complete school grade was less than female's, that is, 15.0% for male and 37.5% for female. This number represented the whole country. There was a big gap between those families resided in the capital city Phnom Penh, and those in other urban cities and rural areas; for the first was 14.6%, the second was 22.0%, and the third was 28.7%. These percentages were for both sexes who lived in these regions.

⁸⁷RGC Survey Rounds: October 1993-September 1994. See also in UNESCO (1997), *Education as a Tool for Poverty Alleviation: Special Focus on Non-Formal Education*, p. 4.

But Cambodia Socio-Economic Survey (CSES) report in 1999 showed the number of illiterate adults aged from 15 years old and over has been decreasing due to strong efforts of the Royal Government of Cambodia with the technical and financial assistances from World Organizations such as WB, ADB, IMF, and other NGOs working in Cambodia to reform the education standard. Table 7 below shows that in 1999 adult literacy was 71.20% for both sexes in the whole country; and there was slight different percentage of adult literacy between those who resided in Phnom Penh, other urban areas and rural areas, that is, about more than ten percent differences from the first category to the last category. And the statistics also indicate the literacy rate of adults in both sexes in the urban cities including Phnom Penh were higher than the rural ones.

Table 7: Adult Literacy Rates by Sex and Stratum, Cambodia 1999⁸⁸

Sex	Cambodia	Phnom Penh	Other Urban	Rural
Both Sexes	71.20	87.29	72.04	69.18
Male	82.91	94.28	83.34	81.46
Female	61.14	81.01	62.34	58.66

Source: Cambodia Socio-Economic Survey: *survey report on education*, chapter 3, p. 12. Or it is also seen in <http://www.un.org.kh/undp/povertynet>.

Even though it seems the country is improving and achieving the education standard from year to year, still there is a lot of things to be done not only in terms of quantity of education. It shall be noted that the above-mentioned statistics on education represented mostly on quantity of those who were able to read and write a simple language. They are not of a level of good education. Again, the 1999 CSES also found that very few

⁸⁸ Cambodia Socio-Economic Survey (CSES) (1999): *Survey Report on Education*, chapter 3, p. 12, Phnom Penh, Cambodia.

people aged 25 years and over attained professional or technical training and university education. Due to the slow socioeconomic development of Cambodia and other complicated matters in Cambodian educational administration, educational standard in Cambodia remains at low quality level. There are problematic characteristics that affect the improvement of education in Cambodia such as low and irregular-monthly payment to teachers, lack of teachers, school buildings, school-textbooks, and so on. And also there is lack of good infrastructure, i.e., bad road or school is far away from home especially for the remote rural areas residents.⁸⁹ All of these factors create illiteracy and low quality of education. Corruption is also found in education. Specifically this happened when low or inadequate (sometimes irregular) salary payment of the government to the teachers. For instance, teachers sell quiz or semester-exam sheets to students or illegally set up extra-hour class at school to get more money for surviving their daily life. The teachers are aware of this kind of teaching as morally incorrect and must not do such behavior, but they do not have other choices. It does not mean that teachers all over the country behave in the same way. This happens for those school teachers who do not know foreign languages such as English, French, Thai and Japanese,⁹⁰ or do not have other means such as

⁸⁹ See also in World Bank (1999), *Cambodia Poverty Assessment*, p. 4.

⁹⁰ It shall be noted that when Cambodia started to change political system in early 1990s and opened to free market, foreign languages, in particular French, English, Thai, Japanese, etc., once were forbidden to study in both the state-run school and private-run school, were allowed to be taught in both of public and private institutions throughout the country. World Organizations, NGOs and other civil societies' agencies, and foreign investments also flowed into the country at the same time. Whereas in 1980s under the People Republic of Cambodia or State of Cambodia, all these sectors were absent or strictly banned, instead, only Vietnamese and Russian languages were officially taught at school and these agencies were allowed to have offices in the country. Other foreign languages and agencies belong to especially Communist or Socialist

skills and other techniques suitable for job fulfillments. For instance, it is seen that those who hold these educations can teach at private school or work at private companies or NGOs as part time employment.

In short, we can postulate that a great number of illiterate (poor) people are derived from at least two influential factors: *lack of sufficient wage or income earning and high cost of education* (high cost of education including *corruption in education*). The illiterate and low educated poor people face many problems to raise a sufficient living standard, not like the non-poor and well-educated people in the country. In this case, the poor Cambodian people do not only fall into illiteracy, but also poor/ill physical health.

Bad/poor health links with poor education and insufficient earning of the poor. These factors are interrelated and influence each other. Here, much attention is paid to the health problems that affect the lives of the poor Cambodian and non poor Cambodia as well. The poor Cambodians are observed to be deprived of the knowledge of health education, lack of access to safe-drink water and food and live in bad social environment both of urban and rural areas. However, illiteracy can be viewed as a primary source of bad health because it can create a variety of negative factors, such as long-run unemployment and underemployment.

Health standards of Cambodia at present are improving, but still relatively poor, as might be expected from its inadequate standards of human developments. According to WHO's 2000 World Health Report, Cambodia ranked 121st in the human development index, just ahead of only

States having diplomacy with Cambodia were also allowed to exist.

Lao and Bangladesh within Asia. Again, it is remarked that health facilities (labs, equipments of experiment, health buildings, etc.), which were established and developed in 1960s and early 1970s, had been mostly destroyed in the Pol Pot Regime and then poorly restored by the State of Cambodia.

In general, Cambodia has higher mortality rate, that is, the average life expectancy at birth, is estimated only 56.4 years: 54.4 years for males and 58.3 years for females. The infant mortality rate is estimated to be 95 per 1000 lives births, while the under-five mortality rate is 124 and the maternal mortality ratio is 437 per 100,000 lives births.⁹¹ This may be resulted from deprivation of health education and good health facilities together with malnutrition. Malnutrition causes their lives at risk especially for those who live in rural and higher land areas. The common diseases in Cambodia are known as malaria, acute respiratory infections, tuberculosis, diarrhea, polio, measles, diphtheria, tetanus and deadly HIV/AIDS. According to Ministry of Health (MOH), 1996, people who died by malaria were about 20%, acute aspiratory infections were about 14.6%, tuberculosis about 6% and diarrhea about 17.2%.⁹² The ministry also reported that the high rate victims of diarrhea are children aged from zero to five. It said that a child had infected diarrhea nine times in his/her childhood. Therefore, they suggested that diarrhea is an especially endemic in Cambodia. This happened mostly in rural areas rather than urban areas in the country. The

⁹¹ Bhushan, Indu, Keller, Shery & Schwartz, Brad. (2002), *Achieving the Twin Objectives of Efficiency and Equity: Contracting Health Services in Cambodia*, ADB, ERD Policy Brief Series, N.6, p. 1.

⁹² UNDP (1997), *Cambodia Human Development Report*, p. 53.

cause of such death comes from poor health providers (medicines, lack of hospitals, and poor infrastructures such as bad road) and people do not know how to prevent and cure the disease. It is observed that when people have such kind of disease, they normally rely on the traditional treatment transmitted from one generation to another generation or local physical healer.

Cambodia at the same time suffers from the most dangerous and incurable disease, namely HIV/AIDS. This disease is believed to exist in 1992 and then effectively wide spread out to the whole country from one HIV/AIDS infected person. It is estimated that between 70,000 and 120,000 people infected with HIV virus in late 1996 and the number of the people who will be infected with HIV virus increases from one-half to one million by the year 2006, according to the same source. Amongst these victims adults are the majority. About two and three percent of all Cambodian adults have infected with HIV throughout the country. Those victims infected with HIV are primarily heterosexual. It spreads first among commercial sex workers and their clients, then toward the clients' spouses and other partners. The infection rate among brothel-based sex workers is more than 40 percent and about half that rate in indirect sex workers. Infection rate among the police in the 19 provinces of Cambodia reaches from one to 26 percent.⁹³ And among these victims, about 6,689 patients had already died in 1998.

MOH⁹⁴ showed numbers of infected patients grew rapidly within four or five years. Among the victims it was found that about 32% for male, 27%

⁹³ World Bank (1999), *Cambodia Poverty Assessment*, report No. 19858-KH, p. 53.

⁹⁴ Ministry of Health, Department of Planning and Health Information: *1997 National Health Statistics Report*. Website: <http://www.camnet.com.kh/nphri/pub-contents.htm>

for female and about 41% for unknown. The high rate is found in 1996 and then slightly declines in 1997. Such decline is derived from the efforts of the Cambodian government's war against HIV/AIDS policy and with the assistance and co-corporation of World Health Organization (WHO), WB, UN, and other civil societies in this country. However, this disease is understood as still posing danger to Cambodian people especially the poor illiterate people.

It was examined that such rapid growth of those who have infected with HIV/AIDS virus, has bad impact on human development and social welfare of the country as a whole. MOH primarily calculated the damage of this disease including the public and private costs, e.g., the prevention (including the blood test), treatment and care, caring for AIDS orphans and other expenditures such as funerals. According to it about US\$1.97 million to US\$ 2.82 million would be used in war against HIV/AIDS over the period of 1997-2006. Therefore, we can say that this will damage the efforts to raise living standards and reduce poverty because life expectancy will also fall and infant mortality will rise as increasing numbers of infants are infected at birth. The loss of prime-age adults by AIDS will plunge many households into poverty as they lose their main breadwinners and spend scarce resources on health care.

Consumption expenditure includes spending on food, clothes, and other relevant materials used to sustain living standard. Here, we focus consumption expenditure mainly on food security. Or nutritional status of a population is considered as an important indicator of overall well-being in a society. Malnutrition adversely affects cognitive development and school

performance, both of which in turn depress well-being and future economic productivity. Understanding this danger to human healthiness, the Cambodian government launches food security as one of crucial policies to combat poverty. The food poverty line,⁹⁵ a cost of a typical diet that provides 2,100 calories per person a day is used to measure poverty in Cambodia. By 1993-4 Socio-economic Survey of Cambodia (SESC) data followed this measurement; it was 881 Riels in rural areas; 1, 185 Riels for Phnom Penh and 995 Riels for other urban areas (WB 1996).

The non-food poverty line is described as a modest non-food allowance, that is, the amount of non-food items consumed by those with per capita total expenditure is just equal to food poverty line. According to WB report in 1997, the non-food consumption spending is equal to a small allowance just to cover basic items like clothing and shelter.

Therefore, we can sum up that lack of income, low income or income inequality, and lack of productive resources to ensure sustainable livelihoods such as hunger, malnutrition, ill health; lack of access to education and other basic services increased morbidity and mortality from illness; homelessness and inadequate housing; unsafe environment and social discrimination. They produce social poverty and not only harm individuals, but also society as a whole. On the other hand, the ill physical and poor educated persons are observed to be excluded from job opportunity and other social activities. Thus, these problems are interrelated and influence living condition of Cambodian people. We will discuss the overall views on the problems of social exclusion

⁹⁵ Food poverty line in Cambodia is measured by adopting World Bank's and United Nations' food standard of measurement.

in the following section.

2-4—SOCIAL EXCLUSION

In Cambodia, social exclusion is another complex issue to understand because there is no real data to answer to this question. Social exclusion in Cambodia is composed of the following aspects: a person or a family can be said to be excluded from any social works/roles such as being employed in the public and private institutions, being participated in political affairs and cultural events hold in their communities and the like, if he/she had bad/poor education, low social status (e.g., being very poor peasant-families and families' bad background), unhealthy physical body caused by lack of food consumption (malnutrition), infected with chronological disease from their past-family generation, and especially infected with incurably deadly disease HIV/AIDS and disabled.

Disabled people are worth to mention here. They refer to either those who were naturally born with bad or disabled part of body or those who became disabled body by acts of war and mine-explosion in the minefields throughout Cambodia especially in the former strongholds of military bases or headquarters. Those who fell into the victims of the long civil war in the past and mine explosions were generally forgotten by Cambodian society, e.g., they would not be sent to school, not participate in any forms of local or social community as a whole, not provided jobs both in the public and private institutions (especially for the latter), or they would be discriminated at work. The number of disabled people is large: 1997 socioeconomic survey found that 25,805 Cambodians were disabled because of war and conflict, and

another 16,290 were disabled because of landmine. This meant that one in every 250 Cambodians had disability due to country's war history. Men were the majority among disabled people. Or about 60% disabled people were men. The survey also stated that land mines and other unexploded ordnance are still widespread and continue to maim and kill people. At the end of 1998 land mines claimed 100 to 200 victims every month, and between March 1998 and February 1999, 659 of the 1,076 reported casualties from mines and unexploded ordnance were civilians. Moreover, it was observed that Cambodia had no specific government programs to assist people with disabilities in general or people disabled from war. Only small budget of the Ministry of Social Affairs, Labor, Vocational Training, and Youth Rehabilitation, which is responsible for vulnerable people, goes to pensions for public servants, assistance programs for widows and orphans. The access and assistance to disabled persons in general come from NGOs, providing training and physical rehabilitation services such as assistive devices, physiotherapy, and treatment for children with disabilities and economic assistance in form of loans.⁹⁶ Such exclusions might be derived from lack of responsibility or incapability of the victims' families and government as a whole, or the lack of good will for human beings' lives in all levels in this society. Other aspects cause social exclusion are such as committing criminal acts, stealing, burglarizing or robbing someone's property, and then being punished to jail/prison by the legal authority and behaving badly in his/her community which can damage his/her reputation. There are other unjustified acts that cause someone's exclusion from society. It shall be kept

⁹⁶ World Bank (1999), *Cambodia Poverty Assessment*, p. 22-3.

in mind that an individual or a family can/will be excluded from social functioning as a whole if he/she holds some of these negative aspects.

2-5—LACK OF SOCIAL EMPOWERMENT

Lack of social empowerment is another vital dimension. There are certain causes of lack of social empowerment in Cambodia society. Here, we take into consideration of social empowerment on two aspects, namely *trust and reciprocity*. The other dimensions will be considered and discussed in Chapter III and Part III, in the data discussion of the community survey results.

We observed that social problems happening in the country now such as decline of morality, domestic violence (i.e., rape and family abuse), and so on links closely with trust and reciprocity. In fact, Cambodia has so long history of trust and reciprocity. They usually care each other, no matter stranger you are. For instance, when you travel very far away from home, and then you get loss the way, you have no place to sleep and sometimes you have no meal, you will be given service by a local resident where you are; or you can stay at Buddhist pagoda or public accommodation built along the road or inside a village. Unfortunately, during genocidal regime trust and reciprocity were affected or damaged badly, and thus there was no form of cooperation network until the middle of 1980s. Cambodian people lived in fears and psychological sickness. Additionally, social change has proceeded a lot in recent history especially when this nation is in process of building capacity of democracy, of enforcing rule of law, strengthening judicial system and reforming public administration and opening so free market. As results,

Cambodia society does not only grow inequality between rich and poor, but also reciprocity and trust has been rather destructed.

3—POVERTY REDUCTION APPROACH

To understand the causes of social problems of poverty that lead to weak society, Cambodian government, NGOs, and civil society that are working in the nation as a whole set up studies on the socio-economic problems of Cambodian people of all levels, and then established alternative programs and policies to combat with such problems. And after gathering different sources of information on the socio-economic conditions of Cambodian people, the government of Cambodia regarded the problem of poverty as very serious, which poses negative impact on the social development. Thus, the government declared war against poverty by creating alternative social programs and policies with assistance and co-operation from WB, ADB, IMF, NGOs and civil society. War against poverty was launched at the first time in 1993/94 and again in 1998.⁹⁷ We will see some poverty reduction programs and policies in Cambodia as follows.

WB, IMF, ADB, NGOs, and civil society work closely with the Cambodian government to assure their financial, material and technical assistances for the socio-economic development to be carried out potentially.

⁹⁷ It shall be noted that 1998 General Population Census of Cambodia is regarded as the second time survey within more than three decades. Due to war and serious political disturbances, no comprehensive and satisfactory population database existed for the use in development plans and programs of Cambodia. It was within this background, that in 1993, as soon as a democratically elected government was created, the Royal Government of Cambodia requested the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) to provide technical and financial support to conduct a population census. The first General Population Census of Cambodia was conducted in 1960s soon after Cambodia gained independent from France in 1953.

For example, the NGOs Forum on Cambodia had conducted extensive NGOs/civil society consultations with the Cambodian government on the draft Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) and also coordinated NGOs submissions on the draft Socio-Economic Development Program-II (SEDP-II) documents. They also attended a number of workshops/seminars related to the PRSP, the SEDP-II and the associated Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA) exercise. In response, the Cambodian government is increasingly accepting and incorporating participation of general public in planning process. The Ministry of Planning has plans to establish a National Poverty Forum, consisting of government and civil society groups, to assist the Secretariat of the Council for Social Development. The National Poverty Forum will be a consultative forum for participation, informed dialogue, and consensus building on poverty reduction strategies and policies.

We can sum up poverty reduction policies in Cambodia as follow⁹⁸:

- reducing the vulnerability of the poor by increasing environmental sustainability and improving natural resource management;
- promoting food security and reducing malnutrition among women and children via Food Insecurity Vulnerability Information Mapping System and National Programme on Food Security;

⁹⁸ All the poverty reduction policies listed here are quoted briefly from Cambodia National Poverty Reduction Strategy for 2003-2005 published in December 2002 by Council for Social Development. This book highlights a long master plan of Cambodian government for the social and economic development. This book also reviews the past lessons learned from poverty reduction policies since 1993/94, in particular SEDP-II and PRSP. See also similar poverty reduction strategies of the Cambodian government's first Socioeconomic Plan 1996-2000: the government recognized all broad elements of the poverty strategies, such as expanding economic opportunities by ensuring macroeconomic stability, promoting private sector-led growth and promoting agriculture and rural sector growth; building human assets of the poor and providing safe net. See also more details about these strategies in *Cambodia Poverty Assessment*, 1999, p.75-8.

- promoting law enforcement in order to reduce domestic violence especially on women and children, reducing corruption at all level, and protecting and fighting against human trafficking. This means to strengthen the Justice Sector through improving community confidence and the development of alternative conflict resolution mechanisms;
- improving the access to basic services and infrastructure, such as health care, education, information, road-transportation;
- encouraging both local and foreign investments in order to create more job opportunities for Cambodian people by reforming investment law and labour law of the country;
- training technical and skill knowledge for poor Cambodians both illiterate and literate including disabled people;
- promoting and improving educational and health care facilities such as building schools near to local villages, producing and providing textbooks to students specially of primary education level, providing education and health care programs either by the government or NGOs; and,
- reforming the administration and civil service via the National Programme for Administrative Reform, aiming at reaching high quality of public services when and where needed, and effective implementation of laws and regulations which are foundations to poverty reduction and social development.

In short, there are still other proposals of poverty reduction policies established by the Cambodian government and foreign organizations working in the nation. These antipoverty policies can be viewed as very broad formal policies which can be worked effectively under a long social and

economic development plan. It is noted that the delay/slowness in poverty reduction or social and economic development of this country lies on two factors, the wills and action against poverty disregarding the lack of understanding knowledge of social, political and economic changes in the world today. For example, it is observed that social problems of poverty remain and throw a serious impact on the social well beings of Cambodian people as a whole, due to internal and external affairs. Internal affair refers to such as political conflicts in 1997/98, weakness of governmental leadership and other cause-dimensions. External affair refers to such as bad impact of Asian Economic Crisis in 1997/98, 2001's Terrorism Attack of New York, 2002-SARS, recent war in Iraq led by United States and War against Terrorism. It appears that the internal affair is the dominant factor, whereas the external one is the subordinate one. The first has to decide its own destination, whereas the later may only help to show some way to make the first reach its destination. In addition, in terms of internal actor, it is not just the responsibility of the Cambodian government alone to grow the social and economic development in order to reduce poverty, but also Cambodian people specifically the poor should learn how to speak out every difficulty of poor living standard by themselves to the whole society; learn the reasons to become poor and try to capture the realities of the changes of both nature and human society in their society and outside world. To have knowledge of these factors will allow them to awake their hidden capabilities that seem to be surrounded by traditional belief or culture of poverty, and help them to be free from the culture of dependency. To have senses of self-independence and mutual relationship with other human beings as social beings/animals in a

society is very important because they will enable them to do all best to develop their well-being, to build trust, norms and networks with other human fellows and their government and thus also to be free from their own passive/negative desires. When they appear, they will force a person to do a thing aggressively or sometimes make a person be so nervous and so on. In terms of poverty, we can imply that passive desires will make a poor person to steal or rob someone's belongings or commit other crimes in order to survive their lives.

At last, we can summarize that the failure of poverty reduction in Cambodia lies in the lack of basic understanding and research on social poverty. It is insufficient to study and social policy for poverty reduction is made only in terms of absolute poverty or relative poverty.⁹⁹ A good social poverty reduction approach can be established under the unification of theory of social poverty and reality of social poverty. We cannot have just only good policy propagandas for poverty reduction by relying on insufficient reports and statistical data on poverty as having been done in this country so far. Therefore, in order to have a proper and reliable social poverty reduction strategy or policy, we need outstanding source of data collection through sociological fieldwork by designing a systematic study on social problems of Cambodian people.

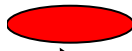
⁹⁹ It shall be noted that many works of poverty in Cambodia have been done in contexts of absolute poverty rather than relative deprivation.

MAPS AND FIELDWORK PHOTOGRAPHS

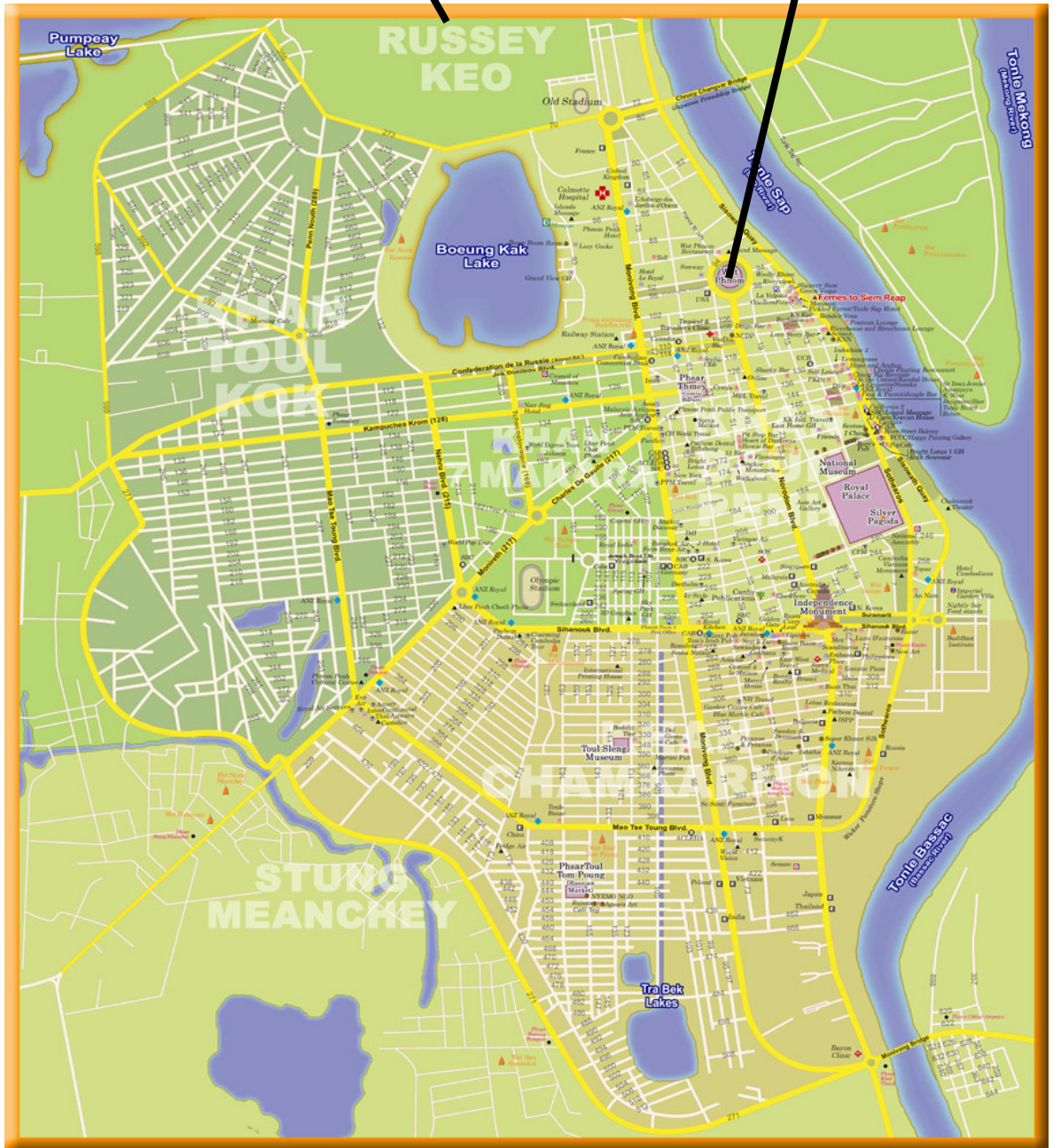


Figure 1: Map of Cambodia

Fieldwork Survey

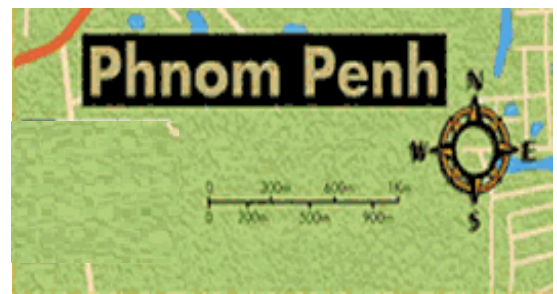


Phnom Penh Center



Phnom Penh Territory
Phnom Penh Population

Figure 2: Map of Phnom Penh & Research Site



The following photographs of Sensousdey Slum Community, Anlung Kngan, Sangkat Khmuounh, Phnom Penh were taken between May and June 2005



Canal around the community used as drainage system.



Some houses were built along canal and streets.



The two photographs below describe about retail business in the community.





These two photos above show a number of families built their houses on the public lake. The lake is used as drainage dam.



These two photos above describe public toilet and well in the Community. The picture on the left shows a man is carrying water from his home to go to toilet, whereas the picture on the right tells about public well was built not far from the toilet located at another part of the community.



The picture on the left is about a dead toilet, whereas the picture on the right is about poor housing and a big jar used to stock water.



The pair photos above show main roads and activities of the slum people in the community.



The photo on the left shows the microfinance saving registration at community leader's residence, whereas the photo on the right shows the participation of slum people in microfinance saving campaign.



The two photos above also describe microfinance saving campaign in the community



These two photos above describe the microfinance group and their activities during gathering meeting with the community residents.



The two pictures above are the medical care center in the community.

CHAPTER III—DATA ANALYSIS

In Part II, the macroscopic world of social poverty in Cambodia was shown. Through historical and other documents, we have presented the wider social groupings, local and international, that serve as the macroscopic context that creates and continues social poverty within Cambodia. Conflicts of competing local social power groups have created turbulent social and economic situations that have excluded the greater number of the Cambodian people from welfare and economic and social participation. These local powerful social groups, in turn, throughout various phases of Cambodian history, have linked up with foreign groups and organizations. Policies emanating from such local and foreign and global linkages have created social inequality that has immersed the Cambodia people in social poverty as well.

This section presents the microscopic world of the poor in Cambodia. As we continue to stress, social poverty is not an individual attribute but is a socially derived concept emanating from social relationships that may be immediate or distanced, yet with influence on the lives of certain groups, called the poor among Cambodian society.

This section's data has been gathered basically through the use of survey questionnaires as well as interviews of key informants in the sampled community. The analyzed data show the power of using the term social poverty operationalized in terms of exclusion of people from both the economic/welfare and social dimensions of social groups. The data also show the strength and depth of using an integrated definition of poverty in both

economic/welfare and social terms.

The findings of this section is helpful in guiding antipoverty policy to understand more clearly the meaning and needs of social poverty within this microscopic context so that an integrated approach can more effectively link this microscopic world of the poor with the rest of the macroscopic world involving other social powerful local and foreign groups towards a more comprehensive social poverty policy for Cambodia.

III—1 BACKGROUND-SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITION OF CAPITAL CITY PHNOM PENH

It is now about six century since Phnom Penh was built and it has been the only one great Capital City of Cambodia where various crucial activities in politics, culture, economy, and social affairs are centered.

Since its birth, the city has experienced good and bad things for years. It used to be a paradise of all kinds of people and then was driven into a war zone and starvation reception center. After the bad times, it returned to a prosperous, continuous development.

During the French colonialism and between the 1960s and 1970s, Phnom Penh's geographical area was not big due to the small population growth rate and the limited urban planning.

Phnom Penh today has expanded its geographical territory composed of seven *Khans* (khan means district in English): khan Toul Kork, khan Doun Penh, khan Brampi Makara, khan Russei Keo, khan Dangkor, khan Chamkamon, and khan Phnom Penh Thmey. It is the home of about two-million people of the country's 11.4 million population in 2002.

Like other cities in the world, the more Phnom Penh develops into major center of social, political, economic and cultural domain, the more migrants flow in from all over the country. The rapid urban development has produced social-economic inequality among both city and rural people. Unemployed or underemployed rural people start leaving their hometowns to find jobs in the city.

In 1999, there were about 472 informal settlements in Phnom Penh, totaling 35,000 households and 170,000 people. In recent reports from NGOs, the poor people have nearly doubled in number. These people are settling their homes on public land along roads, waterways, railways tracks, banks of rivers, canals and lakes or on vacant private land, inside of insalubrious buildings, or roof-tops. Their living conditions are extremely difficult: most people have low earnings and little education. And health care is generally poor, for example, they experience lack of adequate sanitation, lack of access to affordable water, and pollution.

Urban poor people are employed as workers (cleaning litter on roads or very low position in government, for instance), home-waiters, garden-caretakers, garment factory workers, cyclo-drivers, motor-taxi driver (motodub), construction workers, and so forth. They earn, on average, less than one American dollar per day.

The more Phnom Penh enjoys peace, stability, and quick growth, the more people from all parts of Cambodia flow into it. As far as Phnom Penh's population has grown and migrants have flowed in, it has increased social inequality and social problems such as income gap, homeless, poor housing, and so on. This is a bad image of Phnom Penh. Poor living condition of slum

people can represent how poor Cambodian society is. Below we describe socio-economic condition of a slum community that we selected for our sociological fieldwork survey.

1—1 GENERAL OVERVIEW OF A SLUM COMMUNITY

As we have just described generally, urban slum people settled their houses on forbidden lands. They are usually threatened by the city authority to move out of the places because the authority wanted these lands back for development, such as constructing commercial building, gardens, and roads. But they always rejected this threat. They did not want to move out of the places where they have lived so long time to new location. They were afraid *a) the government would not provide them place for residing, b) new places are so far from the city center (the nearest place is about two kilometers from the city center, whereas the most far place is about 15-21 kilometers), c) of lack of electric power and safe water, d) that the new locations would be far from work place and market, e) far from school and hospital, f) with poor infrastructure and communication/information, and h) fear of poor security.* All these concerns remain in their minds and hearts, but unfortunately, such concerns were ignored by the government. Finally, many of them had to move to the new places located at the outskirts of the city.

There are two forms of moving out to new place: *voluntary and involuntary.* In the first form, the victims had to sign an agreement with the government to live in the new arranged place and never return to their former place or never search for other places in the center of the city. The government offered some compensation due to the reality of a household. In

the second form, they were forced to move out to the new arranged place, in particular, when their houses were burned by fire. This was seen as a very good way by the government for dealing with relocation.

It shall be noted that poor people do not want to change to new place because they fear that it will worsen their present living condition. However, they were not given any choice to decide their own future on the forbidden land where they had settled.

There are different sites of relocation located in remote areas of the seven districts of Phnom Penh. The farthest sites are situated in Dangkor district and Russei Keo district, whereas the rest are located in the other five districts of Phnom Penh.

In order to govern or organize them easily at the new places, (e.g., providing aid assistances to them), communities were created for each settlements composed of different numbers of families, small and big. Some communities are composed of small numbers of families less than one hundred or a little over one hundred, while big ones composed of over five hundred or over thousand families.

Sensok or Anlong Kngan Community was selected for this study (centered on the problems of poverty in the contemporary Cambodia with reference to the urban slums) because of its particular geography, its surrounding environments, and especially because it is the new target of city development expansion program of Phnom Penh's authority, of the Cambodian government as a whole.

The big community named Sensok (Anlong Kngan) is situated in Village Sensok/Anlong Kngan, Sangkat Khmuounh, Khan Russei Keo and

consisted of about 4000 families¹⁰⁰ which are divided into different small communities. Each small community is consisted of small and big numbers of family.

The particular community selected for the survey is located in the village named Sensousdey 5 and the slum community is Sensousdey Poor Community composed of 589 families/households. These people had moved from the place named Building situated in Sangkat Tonle Basac, Khan Chamkamon few years before. There is no landownership for them. They are allowed to settle there temporarily. It is said that before moving out from their former location, the authority will provide them a piece of land with ownership and help build house for them. The location is about 15km or 19km away from the Phnom Penh center area. It is also known as Phnom Penh Thmey (or New Phnom Penh). The present community can be seen as an outskirts or suburb of the center.

The geography of the community is similar to the countryside within the provincial division. It is the plain areas that people mainly cultivate rice in the rainy season. In the summer, it is hot and dirty especially when the wind blows a little bit strong, it brings out the dirty soil like smoke. Such situation is not good for health, and the residents have to breathe carefully and be cautious to open their eyes. The roads in the communities are not good for transportation for both small and big vehicles. They are consisted of

¹⁰⁰ It shall be noted that it seems there is no sociologically comprehensive study on this community yet. The written data here is extracted from a general report by Urban Resource Center in 2002. These peoples managed to live in different locations and formed small communities. It is not yet mentioned how many families had resided there previously. The number of poor families will increase due to Phnom Penh authority's policy to move out other poor families who are still living on the banned land in the city.

shallow and deep holes, small and large in size. During the rainy season most of the roads are flooded, requiring travelers to be careful.

The place is characterized by bad environment and lack of social facilities. There is lack of access to clean and affordable water supply viewed as one of main problems. People have to buy water from private vendors; the price costs from 3 to 30 times higher than usual. Bad water is the cause of bad health among the poorest families who normally do not boil water. The distance to vending point, transport and the lack of water storage facilities also affect the poorest, and women in particular, who usually bear the burden of carrying the water from vending point to their home. As for electricity, there is inadequate state-run electricity. Electricity is redistributed privately from registered households who are connected to the public/state utility provider. This makes the electricity price more expensive. However, due to the cost of access to private supply, the poorest and the most unstable households mostly uses batteries, kerosene, and lamps. The lack of lighting in new settlements and within houses also affects the safety of the residences, especially children, and limits people's productivity. Regarding transportation, it is understood that there are difficulties with access to services, economic opportunities, and personal security. Many communities become particularly isolated during the rainy season which brings flood, preventing people from accessing to market and services, and children from going to school.

Environmentally, air quality in the sampled area is affected by the lack of waste removal and proper toilet facilities and the presence of stagnant water. Most communities have no personal toilets. They use

common toilets built in their communities or in nearby places. In settlements that are not located near main collection routes, garbage often accumulate on vacant land and sometimes burnt or thrown near or under houses or in nearby ponds or lakes and rivers.

1—2 METHODOLOGICAL NOTES

The reason I have chosen this site is based on my practical field experiences with NGOs in my official duty as a teacher of (former) Department of Philosophy & Sociology of Royal University of Phnom Penh, and with local and foreign teachers who did empirical studies on the contemporary Cambodian society particularly focused on living condition of urban and rural people, labor forces, education, health, income earnings, housing condition, employment, underemployment or unemployment, and so on. From these experiences in the field and literature I have read, I have realized that there were some emphasis on some aspects of poverty such as poor education, low income earning, employment, and poor housing. Yet, there was no recognition of poverty as social in Cambodia.

Now it seems there have been increasing concerns on micro-saving and some short-term technical and professional training programs by both Cambodian government and NGOs. Although such focused programs can help the poor in a small scale and even in short period of time, it cannot help solve the whole or great majority of poverty comprehensively and effectively.

My empirical research is based on primary survey data (please refer to appendix for more thorough methodological details) that we gathered as well as from information gathered from various sources including NGOs,

OXFAM, Urban Resource Center (URC), WB, UNDP, ADB, and Urban Poor Women Development (UDWD). For the data analysis, we use SPSS to calculate the data. We use two types of analyses, *single tabulation test and chi-square test*. We use single tabulation to get general outcome of public opinion on a particular case, whereas we employ chi-square test to clarify the correlation and significance between two variables. The level of this test is usually at 5.0%, but in some cases I adopt a little more than 5.0%, too.

III—2 SOCIAL POVERTY AND RELATED PROBLEMS

This section will present data showing social poverty in the form of (1) social exclusion along 5 dimensions, and, (2) the lack of social empowerment along 6 dimensions. Analysis is presented after the data presentation for social exclusion and lack of social empowerment.

1— SOCIAL EXCLUSION

In this study on social exclusion in contemporary Cambodia, we decided to integrate economic/welfare and social aspects and focus on five dimensions of social exclusion, (1-1) *poor education or illiteracy*, (1-2) *poor health*, (1-3) *unemployment or underemployment*, (1-4) *income inequality distribution*, and (1-5) *poor housing*.

We examined especially the poor people living in urban slums utilizing participant observation, overall interviews, and questionnaires. Below are the outputs and analysis of the collected data.

1—1 POOR EDUCATION OR ILLITERACY

Education system in Cambodia has been changed several times through various political changes within nearly three decades as was earlier discussed in Chapter II:2-3. Today, thanks to national reconciliation, national security and political stability, education is spreading throughout the country and its quality is also improving. State-run schools have been built throughout the country. Meanwhile, private educational institutions from primary level to higher levels are also developing.

Despite these observed educational developments, however, there are still so many poor people who do not have good education. With poor education, unskilled labor and large members of family create insufficient earnings and unemployment. Absence of adequate/sufficient earning of parents negatively influence children's education as well. The parents cannot support all kinds of education expenditures such as buying books and school uniform. We have found that as soon as a family fell into poverty; they could no longer support or send their children to school, especially when the head of household, either male or female, was seriously sick or passed away.

This particular survey outcome shows the number of uneducated poor people is higher than those who have low or higher education. We set up four categories for education: first, *NE* for those who have no education, second, *1—3* for those who have primary education from grade 1 to grade 3, third, *4—6* for those who have primary education from grade 4 to grade 6 and last, *7—over* for those who have secondary high school or high school education or higher education.

In general, the poor people of both sexes living in slum areas have no

education (33%) and those who had primary school education (23.9%) are more than secondary school or higher education (19.3%). (See Table Q10)

Q10– What is your education (grade categories)?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid NE	137	33.0	33.0	100.0
1--3	99	23.9	23.9	23.9
4--6	99	23.9	23.9	47.7
7--Over	80	19.3	19.3	67.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

According to this finding, the poor people are neglected from good education. It is not the culture of poverty because we have seen that so many poor people have been trying to do their best to overcome social poverty. They think that if there is life, there is also hope too. Certain people show that they live with hope for the future; they believe that if they keep on working hard, they will overcome their present hardship. Some of them have gone or moved from place to place seeking for job, doing what they could to improve their lives. For instance, in Box 1 below, we see the life story of a family that falls into poverty, because firstly, he lost his parents and relatives in Pol Pot regime; secondly, he quit school and entered the army and then he was demobilized to become a normal citizen with nothing left for him. However, he is not willing to give up hope yet.

Box—1

Story of Sok Sarien’s family:

I am now 42 years old, a former soldier positioned in Pailin, Battambang Province, northwestern part of Phnom Penh. I am an orphan. My parents and relatives died during the Pol Pot Regime, in the State of Cambodia.

I was born in Prey Veng Province, southeastern part of Phnom Penh. I gave up secondary high school in grade 8 and married in 1990s. After

leaving my post as a soldier, I came to reside in Phnom Penh, in a nearby a popular place called Building (where apartment houses were built in 1960s located in Tonle Basac commune near National Theatre Tonle Basac or about 400 meters away from Royal Palace and National Assembly -now this apartment complex was sold to a private institution, underwent renovations, and used as private schools-) before moving to our present location, Anlung Kagnan Village, Khmuounh Commune, Russei Keo District, Phnom Penh.

Like other slum people I had resided on the forbidden areas and pushed to move out of places but we refused to do so because we did not have enough money to rent a house or buy a port of land to build a house, and we feared that the government would not keep its promise to relocate or we feared that the new location would be far from the center of the city. It could make our lives worse than the former place because it lacks road connection, it is difficult to find job and so on. We moved to this place after the fire broke out in 2000.

I am now a construction worker. My wife now has no job. She stays at home to look after our children. In the past, she used to collect and buy unused materials or second hand items. This was just a small business for the poor; it could make a little profit. Now she had completely stopped this business.

I have three children. All our savings was spent for our child's health care, the 11-year old daughter who quit primary school in grade 3 when she became severely sick. Other two children now stopped going to school because I am the only person to earn for the family.

Within a very limited daily earning we cannot support for their education. We think if we earned better, we would truly support our children's education. We want them to have good education so that they will have a good job and earn better than us.

Moreover, I also want my wife to run a small business again so that the family's economy will be improved, but I fail to do so because I lack financial source. It is not easy to access to microfinance for very poor family like us, loan is possible but must meet a certain rule. Loan can be made from a local NGO. A family can loan up to about 25 US dollars and must pay some interest and pay back the whole loan within a certain date and noted in a signed contract.

The cross-tabulated results below (Table Q2 and Q10) compare male's education with female education. The data shows that the number of women with no education (37.5%) is higher than men (19.4%). For grade 1 to 3 women (26.9%) lead men (14.6%), but men (24.3%) slightly lead women (23.7%) from grade 4 to 6, and most especially, men (41.7%) overwhelmingly lead women (11.9%) from grade 7.

Q2--What is your sex? * Q10-- What is your education (grade categories)? Crosstabulation

			Q10-- What is your education (grade categories)?				Total
			NE	1--3	4--6	7--Over	
Q2--What is your sex?	Male	Count	20	15	25	43	103
		% within Q2--What is your sex?	19.4%	14.6%	24.3%	41.7%	100.0%
	Female	Count	117	84	74	37	312
		% within Q2--What is your sex?	37.5%	26.9%	23.7%	11.9%	100.0%
Total		Count	137	99	99	80	415
		% within Q2--What is your sex?	33.0%	23.9%	23.9%	19.3%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	48.524 ^a	3	.000
Likelihood Ratio	44.630	3	.000
N of Valid Cases	415		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 19.86.

Meanwhile, the next cross-tabulated tables (Table Q1 and Q10) show that those who were born and lived in urban places have better education than those who were born and lived in rural areas. The number of no education in rural areas is higher than in urban areas, only early primary school education from grade 1 to 3 is not so different between the two, but from grade 4 to 6 and grade 7 or over, the average of the former is higher

than the latter. Average percent of no education in the rural people is 11.4% higher than the cities. For primary school education from grade 4 to 6 the rural is 6.1% lower than the urban and for secondary school education from grade 7 or over the rural is 8.7% lower than the urban.

Q1--Where is your birthplace? * Q10-- What is your education (grade categories)? Crosstabulation

			Q10-- What is your education (grade categories)?				Total
			NE	1--3	4--6	7--Over	
Q1--Where is your birthplace?	City	Count	19	17	23	21	80
		% within Q1--Where is your birthplace?	23.8%	21.3%	28.8%	26.3%	100.0%
	Rural	Count	118	82	76	59	335
		% within Q1--Where is your birthplace?	35.2%	24.5%	22.7%	17.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	137	99	99	80	415
		% within Q1--Where is your birthplace?	33.0%	23.9%	23.9%	19.3%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.352 ^a	3	.096
Likelihood Ratio	6.338	3	.096
N of Valid Cases	415		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 15.42.

The following tables, Table Q11 and Q12, show the educational background of parents of poor families. These parents were born between 1960s and 1980s. Between these periods, Cambodia had undergone a short period of social stability and social development but longer periods of political conflicts, like the influence of the Vietnamese War, regime change by coup d'état, war and genocide, civil wars, and economic sanctions. Therefore, the absence of social-political stability and economic growth had terrible negative impact on education. While in general, it was not easy for the Cambodian people have good education under such poor situations, the

situation was worse for those who lived in remote rural areas where road networks and schools were not available or could not easily access at that time. In addition, as a result of these socio-political conflicts, some Cambodian young generations do not even know their parents' educational background as shown in Table Q11 and Q12.

These tables show: firstly, interviewed heads of households of both sexes answered that their fathers did not have good education. As is seen in Table Q11, fathers of poor family heads have very low education both in primary and secondary high school. The number of fathers' no education is as high as 46.3%. Unfortunately, we also know that 5.8% of interviewees replied that they do not know their fathers' educational background. The unawareness of their fathers' education may be traced either to their death and/or loss of the family's document. Poor families fail to understand or trace the background of their families or they might consider it is not necessary to know since they have gone through very difficult times to survive in their lives.

Q11-- What is your father's education (grade categorie)s?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid NE	192	46.3	46.3	100.0
1--3	29	7.0	7.0	7.0
4--6	50	12.0	12.0	19.0
7-Over	120	28.9	28.9	48.0
DN	24	5.8	5.8	53.7
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

However, if we look at Table Q12, we see that father's education is

better than mother's education: the number of mother's no education is 16% worse than father's. Or only slightly more than 30% mothers could access to either primary or secondary education. This shows social exclusion of women in education in Cambodia.

Q12-- What is mother's education (grade categories)?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	NE	263	63.4	63.4	100.0
	1--3	41	9.9	9.9	9.9
	4--6	40	9.6	9.6	19.5
	7--Over	40	9.6	9.6	29.5
	DN	31	7.5	7.5	36.6
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Cambodia needs to pay attention and do more action to empower women in this field. Mother or women's poor education is a source of social poverty. Women's good education is a source of better family welfare. Gender inequality will be discussed more lengthily in the next section related to social empowerment.

However, we can postulate that a great number of illiterate (poor) people are derived from at least two influential factors: *lack of sufficient wage or income earning and high cost of as well as lack of access to education*. The illiterate and low educated poor people face many problems related to sufficient living standards. In this case, the poor Cambodian people do not only fall into illiteracy, but also to poor/ill physical health. Bad/poor health is linked to poor education and income earning insufficiency of the poor. These factors are interrelated and influence each other. We will examine closely the

problems of economy and income inequality later after a discussion of poor health as an indicator of social inclusion in our surveyed community.

1—2 POOR HEALTH

Here, we pay attention to poor health of urban slum people in terms of lack of knowledge of health education, lack of access to safe-drink water and food, and, poor sanitation. Of course, illiteracy can be viewed as a primary source of bad health, but it is not only having good education, but also it is necessary to understand the importance of safe food, safe drink, and sanitation. Of course, it goes without saying that the poor have to meet a minimum of basic needs or substantial needs, such a proper residence, access to means of transportation, and food stock, among others.

This study observed that poor people who live in slums areas really do not have good health. Several factors are the major causes of their poor health, for instance lack of food stock, lack of using safe drink water, lack of sanitation and poor housing, and lack of safe sex.¹⁰¹ Here, we are going to focus on food stocks and safe drink water whereas poor housing will be discussed in the next section.

In our questionnaire survey, health condition was categorized into four types: those who have excellent health, good health, fair health and poor health. The last two categories indicate those who usually fall into sickness

¹⁰¹ Concerning safe sex, even if our questionnaires did not specify what kinds of disease, like HIV or AIDS, we learnt that a certain numbers of poor housewives have HIV or AIDS. They have been infected by their husbands. Some of them have become widows, whereas others still live with their husbands. They are extremely anxious about their future, especially the future of their children. They were in tears when we asked about their present living situation, especially about health, food stock and earning.

and have severe illness or instant sickness. Those with fair health are those who usually have common illness that can be cured such as common fever, common cold or influenza and so on, while the poor health refers to those who are infected by dangerous or incurables diseases, i.e., tuberculosis, lung or liver cancer, high-low blood pressure, loss of physical labor force, and HIV or AIDS.

As shown in Table Q17 below, very few of the poor slum people have very good health, that is, only 1.9% or only 8 persons among 415-family head. They almost never fell into sickness because they know how to take care of their health, they do not lack food stocks, and they always drink safe water (i.e., boiled water). They can secure family's food shortage or they are the richest families among the poor ones in the community. Meanwhile, 28.7% or 119 persons among above-mentioned interviewees replied that they have good health. They rarely had any kind of diseases. They also have good earnings and are capable to save money, they have sufficient food stocks and live with sanitation, and they generally use boiled water or other safe water.

But the rest of their poor neighbors, in the categories of fair and of poor health, are living with uncertain future because of bad health problems. Their health situation is up and down frequently. Their lives are threatened with bad physical body resulting from low or insufficient earnings per day, from insufficient food stocks, and from not using boiled water regularly. They also do not have good relationship with either some neighbors, community leaders, local authorities or NGOs.

The percentage of fair health people is 5% higher than poor health ones, that is, the former is 37.3% or 155 out of 415 interviewed family heads,

while the latter is 32.0% or 133 out of 415-interviewed family heads.

If we make our decision to help the urban poor people or the poor country-wide, we should start our job from the last category, those with poor health, to the first. The last are living in the most difficult situation, the individuals and their families' members as well are thirsty for care or aid relief.

Q17-- Could you please tell us about your health condition?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Excellent	8	1.9	1.9	1.9
Good	119	28.7	28.7	30.6
Fair	155	37.3	37.3	68.0
Poor	133	32.0	32.0	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

According to Box 2, we understand that regime change in the last three decades damaged socioeconomic development of Cambodian people as a whole, especially low educated people and lower ranking officers such as soldier or policeperson. Regime change also made many Cambodian people lost their personal belongings, residence, rice field, farm, and so on. People had to change their living along with the regime. In short, one can state that no permanent residence, no particular occupation, poor saving and so on is the source of poverty.

Box—2

Story of Peng Sokheng:

I am 47 years old. I was born in Borey Chulsa District, Takeo Province. My husband, Kie Phorn is 41. We got married in 1979 and have 4 children. We did not live together for few years, that is, when my husband joined the army in 1983 to fight against the Cambodian government

installed and supported by Vietnam and Russia. At that time we lived in a refugee camp named Site 2 located along Cambodia-Thai border. And in 1970, he used to be soldier, too. He left the army in 1990.

We both do not have education. Now, he is a construction worker. He can earn an average 8000 or 10000 Riels. As for me, I earn nothing because I am regarded as disabled person. I have serious illness, lung and liver disease; it is hard to be cured.

My children cannot go to school because they are also sick, too. Our life is unfortunate.

We live on a-day-by-day earning. Sometimes we could not earn anything, especially during the rainy season. As you can see with your own eyes, you can imagine how poor I am. I cannot purchase private-run electric power; we have no rice stock and fish paste. We buy cooked rice and fish paste all the times.

I live with no future hope for myself. What I hope, though, is for my children's poor health to be cured. We will try to save our limited earning. ..

In order to understand more clearly why there are a lot of poor people who have bad health conditions, we asked them whether they care about using boiled water. According to Table Q22 below, majority of them replied that they always use boiled water (or any kind of safe water) in daily life, and only a few people responded they use it fairly often or sometimes. 32.0% responded that they almost never use boiled water, that is, it is 18.0% lower than of those who really understand the importance of using boiled water. But for the rest, it seems that they do not use or ignore to use boiled water. They just follow the daily habit to use unboiled water. They surely rely on what they have undergone or seen with their own eyes especially when they see the water is clean. Therefore, we can conclude that people who have never used boiled water are at risk. And thus we need health education i.e. propagation, training or other activities for them.

Q22-- How often do you boil water before using it?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Always	206	49.6	49.6	49.6
	Fairly Often	7	1.7	1.7	51.3
	Sometimes	69	16.6	16.6	68.0
	Almost Never	133	32.0	32.0	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

It is not only the problem of not using boiled water, but also there is lack of water supply in the community. In general, people need enough water and to use it properly. In order to keep our physical body healthy or out of bad smell, people need to drink and take bath properly.

We have observed that water supply systems in Cambodia today are poor and not sufficient throughout the country. In Phnom Penh, public water supply is sufficient for certain parts of city especially the areas not so far from the center, whereas in a large parts of the city, particularly the outskirts areas around the city, water supply is insufficient and expensive.

There is still no public water supply system put in place except public wells donated by either local authority or by NGOs or by voluntary individual donor.¹⁰² Only private-run water business can provide daily need with higher price than public one. They run water business by using big cars or trucks to carry water either from a public lake far away from the community or bought from the state. For the poor who do not have means of transportation such as motor-bike or cycle to get water from public lake or river (Mekong or Basac River located along Phnom Penh) to their homes

¹⁰² According to Urban Resource Center's 2002 general report, about 69% of the poor communities had access to water via private vendors; around 17% were connected to public water supply network, and while other communities used other sources of water supply, such as wells, ponds, river, etc., 10% declared that they had mixed sources of water likely depending on usage and season.

have to buy water from nearby-private dealer or retailer. Otherwise, they have to use water from wells in or nearby community for daily life.

This practice makes people who live in remote areas of the city poorer as they have to spend so much money for water. Therefore, one can say that there is a social inequality of accessing to public assets, i.e., water between the center and periphery. In the latter, water is the most exclusive.

We have also learnt that most water supply development projects in the forms of new construction, repairing or renovation were done or have been in progress in the center,¹⁰³ whereas in the periphery such projects have been not yet been done, although government has its policy to promote rural development.

Responding to lack of water supply and high cost of water, the poor have to limit the water usage. On the other hand, one supposes that not having enough water and coping with small earnings make them ignore taking bath properly. At the same time, we regard those who go to work in the city and do not come back home regularly as well as those who do not prefer to use water from public wells as the people who do not take bath properly. Although they understand the importance of taking a bath, they tend not to have it properly and regularly because their daily poor earning

¹⁰³ There is a good reason to point out the unequal development between center and periphery of city: Phnom Penh is regarded as poorly developed city or as underdeveloped city in the world. There was almost no development projects carried out during long-time civil wars and socio-political instability from mid-1970s until early 1990s. Electric power supply was cut off; it was only provided to certain numbers of residents and not for whole day. Similar to this, water supply system in the city was also badly wounded or destroyed. After civil wars and socio-political instability ended in mid or late 1990s water and electricity power supplies have been putting in place from day to day. However, they still do not respond to the need of people and as for the city development, works are taking places but not well functioning. Lack of financial slow budgets for city development and coping corruption in government are major causes of city development.

does not allow them to do so.

Table Q23 below indicates the poor resources of water supply networks in the remote urban slum areas and how slum people spend their time and money on water. The data also show how they are different from each other in terms of capability of access to water.

We divide water supply networks and those who can access to them into three kinds. First are those who normally carry water from public wells in the community or nearby areas; second are those who normally get water from public lakes in the community or nearby areas, and, third, those who usually buy water from the market or from other private entrepreneurs in the community.

Among the three types the last one appears to be poorer than other two categories of people because they have to pay more money for daily water usage. 72.5% of them really face extreme hardship and they cannot save money for their future. This percentage does not surely mean that those who use water from private sectors have better health than those who rarely buy water daily, but rather to emphasize that the former one has no means of transportation or lack labor to carry water.

Therefore, water supply distribution networks are suggested to be put as soon as possible in all outskirts slum areas.

Table Q24 below describes three kinds of people who have different ideas about health care related with taking a bath. First, 66.0% of the slum people take baths several times a day. They said that whenever they felt exhausted or physically hot, they would have bath either at home or at a well in the community. They normally use well water as their primary source for

taking bath rather than using purchased water. In fact, they do not want to use it because its quality is poorer than public water supply. Those who do are either unemployed or underemployed people who are short of money. Secondly, 14.0% said that they did not take bath regularly, once a day or two times within several days. They generally went to work far away from home and came back late or did not return home frequently. They did not have adequate stocked water at home and with insufficient income earnings. Simultaneously, being so tired from work, lacking the means for carrying water and being careless or lazy are causes of having bath irregularly. Finally, 20.0% expressed that they have bath at least once a day even though they are poor. Although they did not have enough good water to use daily, they try to have it as they much as they can.

Q23-- Where do you get water for everyday life?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid From Public Well in the Community or Nearby	100	24.1	24.1	24.1
From Public Lake in the Community or Nearby	14	3.4	3.4	27.5
Buying from Market or Private Ownership	301	72.5	72.5	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Q24-- How many times do you take bath?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid More Than Twice/Day	274	66.0	66.0	66.0
Twice/2-day or More	58	14.0	14.0	80.0
One Time/Day	83	20.0	20.0	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

In addition, it is not only failing to use any kind of safe drink water and having insufficient water supply as sources of poor health. Food

shortage is perceived as another crucial component of preventing good physical and mental development. Like water, food is recognized as primarily necessary material needed for both body and mind development. For Cambodia, food shortage happens mostly in rural areas and in slums.

Food security for every individual family is very important, or we can state that nutritional status of a population is considered as a key indicator of overall well-being of a society. Rice and fish are primary food for every Cambodian. Cambodian people in all corners make fish into different kinds of food, i.e., various soups, fried fish, salt-dried fish, sweet-dried fish, and fish paste or paste of fermented fish. Among them fish paste or paste of fermented fish plays very important role for food. Paste of fermented fish or *prahok* in Cambodian language is a type of crushed, salted and fermented fish paste (usually of nude fish) that can be used in Cambodian cuisine as a seasoning or a condiment. It originated as a way of preserving fish during the longer months when fresh fish was not available in abundant supply in Cambodia. Because of its saltiness and strong flavor, it is used as an addition to many meals in Cambodian cuisine such as soups. Prahok is usually eaten with rice in the countryside or poorer regions. Because it is easily stored and preserved, this food is often given out for donations to victims of flood or drought by charities and other organizations. It can be eaten cooked or fried but it is usually not eaten raw in its current form because of its unpleasant smell and because of health issues (raw prahok cannot be stored because it goes bad if it is not eaten in a short period of time).

Most poor Cambodians live dependent upon rice and fermented fish. Therefore, slum people who lack or do not have these two kinds of food can be

argued to live in absolute poverty. This is a reason we regard rice stock and fish paste one as our significant measure for social exclusion in terms of poor health.

From our fieldwork study on food consumption of slum people, specially related to cooking rice and fish paste, our data points out that in general, people who live in urban slums do not have enough food stock or they are facing food insecurity. Unlike other poor people who live in rural areas that can cultivate rice, vegetables and do some fishing, urban slum dwellers who especially reside at the outskirts of a central city distant from rivers or public lakes cannot produce any agricultural product. They are dependent upon doing small business or retail, selling labor day by day for various kinds of works including irregular work. Such kinds of work can only make small earnings and thus they have difficulty to save.

In short, we postulate that when there is no work, it is likely that they fall into food shortage situation (food here referring to cooked rice and fish paste). And when they do not have enough food to eat, they face malnutrition.

In our survey we asked them to answer sincerely about their rice stock (in kilogram). Based on data, we categorized those who have rice stock between 20kg to 29kg and 30kg-over as belonging to the richer stratum in the surveyed community, those with rice stock between 10kg to 19kg as the middle stratum, while those who had 1kg to 9kg as the third stratum and those who had rice stock less than 1kg as the fourth stratum. Finally, those who do not have rice stock at all during the same time of survey are in the fifth stratum, the extremely poor. However, the two last categories represent

people who have similar living situation and are therefore also considered like the fifth group.

As shown in Table Q20, only 6.3% of slum people can make their living better off (we refer to people who have rice stocks between 20kg to 29kg and over 30kg) and only 5.8% (referring to those who have rice stock from 10kg to 19kg) find themselves secure from food shortage problem, whereas 54.5% (referring to those who have rice stock from 1kg to 9kg) live just on or below food security. Finally, only 30.8% experience rice stock insecurity. They usually borrow cooking rice from their neighbors.

Q20-- How many grams or kilograms of rice do you have now?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid No	128	30.8	30.8	100.0
Less 1kg	11	2.7	2.7	69.2
1--9kg	226	54.5	54.5	54.5
10--19kg	24	5.8	5.8	60.2
20--29kg	10	2.4	2.4	62.7
30kg-over	16	3.9	3.9	66.5
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Now regarding stock of fish paste, four categories differentiate the urban slum people's food situation: first, those who have no fish paste stock, second, those who have fish paste stock less than 1kg, third, those who have fish paste stock from 1kg to 9kg, and fourth, those who have fish paste stock from 10kg or over. Like those who have rice stocks or not, these four categories stand for four kinds of urban slum families, that is, those who are comparatively richer, rich, relatively poor and poorest.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ The categories richer, rich, relatively poor and poorest suggested here is not similar to those used by social scientists in a general sense to compare living situation of overall population of a country. We use the terms here just to make it easier to understand how poor they are, and to identify who need to be helped first. In fact, they are already poor, but among the poor themselves there are some people who can make living better than

However, data regarding fish paste stocks is so different from the previous data on rice stocks. More slum people (85.8%) appear to lack fish paste stocks as seen in Table Q21 below. This percentage indicates that the poor people in the surveyed community fell below basic needs of food consumption.¹⁰⁵

Q21 – How many grams or kilograms of fish-paste or paste of fermented fish do you have now?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid No	356	85.8	85.8	100.0
Less 1kg	12	2.9	2.9	14.2
1--9kg	37	8.9	8.9	8.9
10kg--Over	10	2.4	2.4	11.3
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Box 3 shows that if a family has good means of transportation, especially motor cycle, it can earn better for family economy. They can also save and support their children’s education. At the same time, building good relationship in the community and with NGOs can also help their living condition. However, it also suggests that living far away from the center of business, trade, workplace, and so on greatly affects their daily life.

others and we think that these people will get out of poverty in the future, whereas others will probably not find it easy to survive, with little hope for the future.

¹⁰⁵ In Cambodia there is a season to catch fish, to make fish paste or make other kinds of fish products, such as sweet-dried fish and salted dried fish. It is every year from December or early January until the last full moon in February or early March when fish migrate up the Tonle Sap and Mekong rives. Along the river banks, several spots were created to make prahok around Phnom Penh, and thousands more around the country. Women especially are washing and crushing small fish with their feet in bamboo stalls, chatting and laughing as they make time away from the rice fields to make enough prahok for their food security, and we can see them through next year.

Box—3

Story of Kim Lida:

I am 43-year old. I was born in Chheurkach Commune, Baphnum District, Prey Veng Province, southeast part of Phnom Penh.

I have six children, and my 69-year old mother also resides with me. My husband used to join the army to fight against the Khmer Rouge. He left the army to reside with me.

He is now a motor-taxi driver. We make our living with this job. He earns irregularly, sometimes he can earn about 7000 Riels; sometimes he can make about 9000 Riels. With this earning, I pay for buying cooking rice, vegetable, and meat, wood, coal and water. I also give some money to our children for their daily school life. We usually buy two kilograms of cooking rice per day.

My first daughter, aged 21, is in high school grade 12. She also knows how to use computer and can speak and write English too. She got help from an NGO named SPK. She does not have income yet because she is still a student. For me, I cannot earn anything because I have just delivered a baby. Thus my family is dependent upon my husband.

I came to Phnom Penh more than 10 years ago. I rent a room in a building where a room costs 35000 Riels per month (about 10 dollars at that time). After we were moved to this place, our living condition is worse than our former place. Here, we cannot make much more money if compared with the former place. And here, we have to spend more for traveling, especially for gasoline. However, I can save some money by myself for the future.

In brief, we can conclude that lack of health care knowledge, lack of water supply and lack of food consumption are causes of poor health of all slum people. Poor health also definitely influences not only physical and mental strength and formal education; it also affects employment or job opportunity.

1—3 UNEMPLOYMENT OR UNDEREMPLOYMENT

Unemployment and underemployment are significant social problems in Cambodia. This is reflected in our community survey which showed many unemployed men and unemployed women. Table Q27 below shows the general statistics on occupation of slum people, especially of the head of the household or family. We choose four-type categories of occupation. 1-*no job* refers to those who have no job yet, who are underemployed or used to work but later lost their job; 2-*manual* (worker) refers to those who use physical labor to fulfill their work duties such as construction worker, street cleaner, hotel or restaurant cleaner, farmer, fisherperson, garment worker, people who work in transportation and security fields; 3-*selling* simply refers to retailer, shop/store renter, business assistant; and 4-*others* refer to non-manual workers (white collars) and professional workers including those who work in government, non government, civil society and private sectors.

Table Q27 shows that the number of unemployment is very high in urban slum areas at 44.6%, meaning that among 415 heads of family interviewed; nearly half, 185, are excluded from employment. The high unemployment of slum people occur withstanding economic growth at present. Furthermore, aside from the high number of unemployment, it is so interesting to realize that so many slum heads of families engage more in manual works and selling activities rather than in white collar and professional works.

Q27--What kind of jobs do you have?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No job	185	44.6	44.6	70.8
	Manual	109	26.3	26.8	26.8
	Selling	99	23.9	23.9	100.0
	Others	22	5.3	5.3	76.1
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Certain reasons for this are poor education and poor health. And the poor may also lack some social networks, organizations, trust and reciprocity or social empowerment, in general. For instance, they need to have work information network or work/employment union or association for the poor in their community. These are forms of their empowerment in the society. They may not realize that they really need to empower themselves to avoid social unemployment.

We have also found that among the slum people, generally, the male head of family works whereas his wife stays at home looking after children. It is hard to find a family where both husband and wife work. The lack of means of transportation to far distant work places and high cost of transportation leave housewife with no work. Lack of education or lower education, as shown earlier, also affect female employment.

Therefore, here we can see that big quantity of female housewives contribute to larger numbers of unemployment. This is true if we try to compare employment between male and female. We will see that more female housewives or female heads of households are or have been excluded from employment. Women with jobs are mainly involved in selling activities rather than men. Table Q2 and Q27 shows that in manual work, only 16.3%

of women are employed, whereas 56.3% of men are employed. Regardless of skill or technique and education background, women are not likely to work or be accepted for construction work¹⁰⁶ and other employment that require strong physical strength.

Q2--What is your sex? * Q27--What kind of jobs do you have? Crosstabulation

			Q27--What kind of jobs do you have?				Total
			No job	Manual	Selling	Others	
Q2--What is your sex?	Male	Count	20	58	15	10	103
		% within Q2--What is your sex?	19.4%	56.3%	14.6%	9.7%	100.0%
	Female	Count	165	51	84	12	312
		% within Q2--What is your sex?	52.9%	16.3%	26.9%	3.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	185	109	99	22	415
		% within Q2--What is your sex?	44.6%	26.3%	23.9%	5.3%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	76.524 ^a	3	.000
Likelihood Ratio	73.155	3	.000
N of Valid Cases	415		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.46.

However, women (26.9%) seem to play an active role in selling more than men (14.6%). However, it may also be argued that men are excluded because habitually men dislike to sale cake, fruits, vegetable, etc., from home to home or at market or at school and at other public places. Men may also

¹⁰⁶ Contemporary Cambodia has been enjoying social stability and social development. In social development fields, constructions such as house, hotel, guest house buildings, road reparation or establishing, and other infrastructural sectors produce so many jobs for Cambodian people especially for low or uneducated persons and poor families. However, construction sector appears to employ men rather than women, while on the other hand, the garment section seems to employ women rather than men. In our research, we have seen that this is true because at construction sites, we saw the number of men working was more than women, while at garment factories we saw more women working than men.

lack selling skills because selling technique is badly needed in order to persuade a customer to buy product. They are more of them, however, employed in other jobs in governmental ministries, public administrations and good position in civil society, NGOs or private institutions.

For governmental employment, social status is good but income or salary payment is not as good as NGOs and private enterprises. For ordinary officials at any ministries, monthly salary is between 10 dollars and 30 dollars, whereas monthly salary of high school and university teacher/s is between 15 dollars and 50 dollars. This salary is not enough for daily expenditures. If we take it for granted, it appears that the income of most ordinary government officials, including teachers, is at the poverty line measured by WB, less than one dollar or few dollars earning per day. For non-governmental worker/s, monthly payment is much better. Meanwhile, the monthly payment of ordinary workers in private sectors, especially beer and garment industries, is between 35 dollars and over 60 dollars (according to work experiences). It shall be noted that Cambodia does not have balanced income distribution between the state and other non-state sectors yet. There is no income standard.

Our finding points out that women have been employed in other types of jobs are only 3.8% or about 7.0% lower than men. In short, we can conclude that women do have higher unemployment more than men. Only about half of them are accepted to work in different kinds of work, whereas another half of them face either long term/short term unemployment or underemployment. Therefore, according to our findings, we can state that, in general, women are socially excluded from having employment compared

with men. Only in a certain kind of work do women have advantage over their male counterparts.

Poor families are seen to live in poverty from generation to generation, and they may have difficulty to move away from poverty.¹⁰⁷ As far as occupation of parents is concerned, our data show that 165 or 39.8% out of 415 of head of families answered that their father/s are/were farmers or peasants (see Table Q28) and 138 or 33.3% out of 415 of head of families replied that their mothers are/were farmers or peasants (see Table Q29).

Q28--What kind of jobs does/did your father do?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid No job	95	22.9	22.9	79.8
Farmer	165	39.8	39.8	39.8
Manual	71	17.1	17.1	56.9
Selling	19	4.6	4.6	100.0
Others	65	15.7	15.7	95.4
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Our data further showed that 17.1% said that their father are/were manual laborers and 15.7% responded that their father work/worked in white collar and professional sectors, for instance, as chief or deputy of village or commune or as ordinary government officials in different ministries, of education, defense etc.

In contrast, only 1.9% of interviewees replied that their mother/s have/had manual jobs and 2.4% of them responded that their mother/s work/worked in others (as previously mentioned). Here, if we compare

¹⁰⁷ Manual work in Table Q28 and Q29 is a little bit different from Table Q27 because we did not include farmer. Here, we categorized farmer independently because we sought to know what percent of the urban slum people's parents were involved in agricultural activities.

employment of father and mother, we perceive that mother/s fail/failed or were excluded from employment within this society. The number of respondents with mother/s' unemployed registered at 43.1%, double that of those with unemployed father.

Q29--What kind of jobs does/did your mother do?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid No job	179	43.1	43.1	78.3
Farmer	138	33.3	33.3	33.3
Manual	8	1.9	1.9	35.2
Selling	80	19.3	19.3	100.0
Others	10	2.4	2.4	80.7
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

There are several reasons why mothers of heads of urban slum households have unemployment rates higher than fathers. They have either no education or low education if compared with fathers; there are not much jobs for women in their villages except seasonal rice and vegetable cultivation and other small family-based business, i.e., feeding pig or chicken or duck for selling; and especially after becoming housewives, they engage in housing management rather than social involvement or they live almost dependent upon their husbands. Also, by Cambodian tradition, they are restrained from going out alone because of security reason.

Therefore, we can conclude that the poor living at present as urban slum people as a whole apparently have been influenced by their parents' living difficulties such as poor educational background, unemployment, and poor earning. Thus, the government of Cambodia needs to promote more jobs at rural areas and set up a sufficient standard of wage payment so that the

rural people do not leave their home village to find jobs in other parts of the nation.

1-4—INCOME DISTRIBUTION INEQUALITY

As we have just seen in the previous discussion, many urban slum people do/did not have good employment (i.e., white collar and professional work), they are employed mainly in manual work and some of them are/were self-employed (i.e., selling cake, vegetables, or groceries) in their community. Those working do not earn so much money to meet their daily living expenses, especially the members of large families that are dependent upon a single earner.

Children also play an important role to help family's economy. We have learnt that they sometimes work in construction field with their parents; others do washing or polishing shoes at public places, at restaurants, on streets and other areas, while other children go to other places far from home to sell hand-made cradle or hammock. Some of these children help their families when they are free from school. Therefore, where possible, we conclude that it is not only a head of family who earns income for the whole family but also his wife and children contribute to such earning.

Let us examine the income data of our survey as is seen in Table Q33, we categorized earnings into four types, *permanent* (those people with regular and full time job), *temporary* (those with temporary work or business), *irregular* (those who manage their own work, depending on their self employment's activity), and, *multiple* (those within either the three previous types of income earning or those who cannot work but receive

allowance from their relatives or agents).

Q33-- What kinds of wage or income earning do you have?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Permanent	85	20.5	20.5	20.5
	Temporary	28	6.7	6.7	27.2
	Irregular	256	61.7	61.7	88.9
	Multiple	46	11.1	11.1	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

The table shows that only 20.5% of all slum people can manage to have regular earning, while 61.7% of these people have unstable earnings. With this kind of poor, low and unstable earnings, we can imagine that most slum people face difficult living expense's management.

The following tables, Table Q34 and Table Q35¹⁰⁸, show data about the amount earned by our survey's respondents as well as the rest of their family.

Q34--How much do you earn in US\$/month?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Zero	136	32.8	32.8	100.0
	10--19	75	18.1	18.1	18.1
	20--29	48	11.6	11.6	29.6
	30--39	74	17.8	17.8	47.5
	40--Over	82	19.8	19.8	67.2
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

¹⁰⁸ We should make amount of cash earnings in Cambodian currency here, but instead, we use American dollar to avoid any miscalculation and to make it easy for understanding. At present Cambodian currency is cheaper than American dollar; it is more than 4000 Riels per dollar. On the other hand, Poverty line is measured by the amount of cash money earning of slum people. We do not do statistical analysis as done by economists.

Q35-- What is your whole family income in US\$/month?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	10--19	53	12.8	12.8	12.8
	20--29	43	10.4	10.4	23.1
	30--39	90	21.7	21.7	44.8
	40--59	100	24.1	24.1	68.9
	60--Over	129	31.1	31.1	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

The findings show us that some heads of families are/were not family's economic earners, but their members (children) were. They may be either unemployed or underemployed persons. We learned that 32.8% heads of families do not/did not earn anything, 18% earn from 10-19 US\$ a month, about 12% earn 20-29US\$ a month, about 18% earn 30-39US\$ a month while 20% earn 40-over US\$ a month (Table Q34).

If we agree with the World Bank's measurement of poverty line at US\$0.45 per day in Cambodia based on the 1999 Socio Economic Survey, according to our findings, WB's poverty line's measurement is still valid up to the present. In Table Q34 (or Table Q35 as well), we can describe the monthly income earned by each individual family head as follows: from 10 dollars to 19 dollars as below poverty line, from 20 dollars to 29 dollars as in a state of poverty line (one dollar per day earning), from 30 dollars or more as above poverty line.

And in accordance with such measurement, we feel that those family heads that do not/did not make any earning but instead depend on their children's may be the poorest. Even though 30 to 40 dollars or over appears as higher income, still such amount cannot afford high cost of expenditures. With more than 62% of surveyed household heads earning incomes that are

on or below the WB-designated poverty line, slum people are definitely having much difficulty surviving.

The next tables confirm close to 77% of the respondents find their income not enough for their needs (Table Q36) while about 65.5% are dissatisfied or extremely dissatisfied with their income (Table Q38).

Q36-- Is your income or wage earning enough for expenditure?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Quite Enough	8	1.9	1.9	1.9
	Enough	88	21.2	21.2	23.1
	Not Enough	223	53.7	53.7	76.9
	Not Quite Enough	96	23.1	23.1	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Q38-- How satisfied are you with income earning?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Extremely Satisfied	6	1.4	1.4	1.4
	Satisfied	137	33.0	33.0	34.5
	Disatisfied	179	43.1	43.1	77.6
	Extremely Dissatisfied	93	22.4	22.4	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Expectedly, only about 34.5% reported being able to save with about 65.6% unable to save. (Table Q37)

Q37-- Do you have a capacity to save money ?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Have a Capacity to Save	143	34.5	34.5	34.5
	Don't Have a Capacity to Save	70	16.9	16.9	51.3
	Strongly Do Not Have a Capacity to Save	202	48.7	48.7	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Only 1.4% of the surveyed respondents of the selected slum

community expressed that they are extremely satisfied with their income earning (see Table Q38) and 1.9% expressed that their earning is quite enough (see Table Q36).

The data revealed that income inequality exists in Cambodia today, with more people not having sufficient income and not having the capacity then to save. However, the presence of a minority within the slum community who earned above the poverty line and who reported being able to save is a promising finding as it shows promise of a better future for even those within the same poor community. The other hopeful finding lies in the response of those who admitted not having enough income for their needs but expressed their capacity to save. (Please compare Table Q36 with Table Q37 where at least 19.2% of slum people expressed their ability to save money even though their income earning is not sufficient). Their saving might be spent for a good housing in the future. Good housing¹⁰⁹ is one of primary aim of poor people.

Furthermore, like social inequality in education and employment, gendered income gap has also been observed. As far as women have poor education, work without income (underemployment), or with very little or no money as capital, females definitely have less income compared with men.

Tables Q34 and Q2 reflect this gendered income gap, where women's income earnings are far lower than those of the men.

¹⁰⁹ Good housing here simply means either a wooden house, wooden-stone house or stone house built on proper space of land. The house contains enough space for sleeping room for members of family and a living room, with suitable items for housing, bathroom, kitchen, and toilet.

Q34--How much do you earn in US\$/month? * Q2--What is your sex? Crosstabulation

			Q2--What is your sex?		Total
			Male	Female	
Q34--How much do you earn in US\$/month?	Zero	Count % within Q2--What is your sex?	15 14.6%	121 38.8%	136 32.8%
	10--19	Count % within Q2--What is your sex?	16 15.5%	59 18.9%	75 18.1%
	20--29	Count % within Q2--What is your sex?	17 16.5%	31 9.9%	48 11.6%
	30--39	Count % within Q2--What is your sex?	29 28.2%	45 14.4%	74 17.8%
	40--Over	Count % within Q2--What is your sex?	26 25.2%	56 17.9%	82 19.8%
Total		Count % within Q2--What is your sex?	103 100.0%	312 100.0%	415 100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	27.512 ^a	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	28.974	4	.000
N of Valid Cases	415		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 11.91.

Only 18.9% women responded that they can earn 10 dollars to 19 dollars per month, nearly 4.0% higher than men in the same income category. Women earning 20 to 29 dollars women's earnings are nearly 6.0% lower than men. Men earning from 30 to 39 dollars are nearly 14.0% higher than women while for those earning 40 dollars or over, women's earnings were approximately 8.0% lower than men's. There were more women than men among those who did not earn at all.

Some of the reasons why women have no or lower income than men

are: firstly, they are self-employed at home or selling something cheap. Secondly, they work with jobs that receive cheap salary such as working at restaurant or at someone's house as servants or baby sitters, and working in government as gardeners or street cleaners. Thirdly, they may not work but receive money or assistance from their children, relatives or from NGOs. Finally, some of them are beggars.

So far, our data show that women are isolated by bad income and employment opportunities are not available for them as well. This is especially true for widows with a certain members of children as shown by the next narrative.

Box 4 which shows that although the poor work, they do with low pay and no health insurance. Like the husband of the respondent, many construction workers appear to be physically weak because of food insecurity and lack of health care. On the other hand, if the income earner passed away, the family soon later would fall into poverty. In this narrative, the husband is shown to be a very important family economic maker, whereas the wife is shown to mainly care for the housework. After the death of the husband, the wife has to carry on for the family, but unemployment and lack of financial support threaten her family. The respondent ends with the hope that her child, supported by a religious organization, will redeem them after completing his education.

Box—4

Story of Chan Soty (female):

Soty is 36-year old woman. She was born in Sangkat 5, Phnom Penh. She has two brothers but they died during the Pol Pot regime. Her father was a soldier, her mother a housewife.

Her family had never experienced poverty until her construction worker husband became severely sick for several years and passed away.

She had bought a small piece of land and built a small house near a place named Building. Although it was a forbidden place to settle, she could live there together with so many other people who had already resided there and overlooked by some corrupted governmental officials. She could only live there for a few years since a fire in her place ate up the whole house and left nothing for her. Now she lives with her 12-year old son and with her aged sick mother. Her son is in grade 2 of primary school.

Actually, she was in tears when she told about her hard life. She said she had no money to carry out a small business and they lived dependent upon the neighbors' help. Sometimes her mother went to borrow money or rice from her relatives. Sometimes she worked for their neighbors; in return, she was given food or cooking rice. Her son got help from a religious organization.

Finally, she said she wanted to have a job but no job information was given. Hence, her life depends upon her son. She hoped that he will have good education and have a job to help the family when he grows up.

Unequal income earning does not only occur between men and women but also between young and aged couples. Younger people who are physically strong and active appear to earn better than older people. In Table Q3 and Q34, we compare income earning of people by age. We divide people by age into four categories: from age 20 to 29, 30 to 39, 40 to 49 and 50 or over, whereas we classify cash-money earning (in US dollar) into five appropriate categories: from zero earning, 10 to 19, 20 to 29, 30 to 39, and 40 to over.

The data show that middle aged people and old people especially in categories of 40 years old and 50 years old or over 50 do not earn as much as young people aged 20 to 29 years old and 30 to 39 years old. Those who reported having zero earning is also higher than young people. So many

middle aged and older live poorly below poverty line, that is, earning from 10 to 19 dollars (24.0% for people aged in 40 to 49 years old and 44.0% for people aged 50 years and over) and those in 20 dollars (category) per month (20.8% for people aged in 40 years old and 27.1% for people aged 50 years and over).

Q3--How old are you (age group)? * Q34--How much do you earn in US\$/month? Crosstabulation

			Q34--How much do you earn in US\$/month?					Total
			Zero	10--19	20--29	30--39	40--Over	
Q3--How old are you (age group)?	20--29	Count	31	9	9	12	23	84
		% within Q34--How much do you earn in US\$/month?	22.8%	12.0%	18.8%	16.2%	28.0%	20.2%
	30--39	Count	34	15	16	18	27	110
		% within Q34--How much do you earn in US\$/month?	25.0%	20.0%	33.3%	24.3%	32.9%	26.5%
	40--49	Count	37	18	10	22	15	102
		% within Q34--How much do you earn in US\$/month?	27.2%	24.0%	20.8%	29.7%	18.3%	24.6%
	50--Over	Count	34	33	13	22	17	119
		% within Q34--How much do you earn in US\$/month?	25.0%	44.0%	27.1%	29.7%	20.7%	28.7%
Total		Count	136	75	48	74	82	415
		% within Q34--How much do you earn in US\$/month?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	21.078 ^a	12	.049
Likelihood Ratio	20.668	12	.055
N of Valid Cases	415		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 9.72.

The earning gaps between these two age groups lie mainly in the types of occupation. We found that people aged from 50 to over are generally self-employed, whereas most people aged between 40 to 49 are manual workers. Some people of this age also are self employed.

The above data also confirm income inequality even among the young of the surveyed slum area. For instance, those who are in the age group of 30

years old have earned better, on average, than those who are on the age group of 20 years old, particularly in term of 20 to 29 dollars per day. The former is 33.3%, whereas the latter is 28.8% or the former is 5.5% higher. And for those who earn 40 dollars or over, the former is 32.9%, whereas the latter is 28.0%. On the other hand, there are more in the age group of 30 years old who reported zero income than those who are in the age group of 20 years old.

The gap of income earning among the young may be explained as follows: first, there is the difference in work experiences and social networks between the two age groups; and secondly, they have failed to make good relationship with each other in the village or community and they also have failed to share work information, too. This shows the level of trust, reciprocity, social network, and organization among the young people may still be poor.

Box 5 below shows the story of an aged person who earns very little by selling within the community. She is excluded from job opportunities because of her age and poor health. Her living condition is really poor. Selling hand-made cake in Cambodia cannot make good profit. It does not need much money to do this kind of business. It is, however, one of the few remaining options to earn for the poor people.

Box—5

Story of a 60-Year Old Woman, Sorn Rorn:

I was born to a peasant family in Battambang Province, northwest of Phnom Penh 60 years ago. I had twelve brothers and sisters but all of them died during the Pol Pot regime.

My eldest brother was a rice peasant. As for me, I have no education. I gave up school primary school in grade 5.

Long civil war broke out after the collapse of Pol Pot regime, and I fled my hometown to live in a refugee camp named Site 2, in Thailand. I lived there for nearly nine years under the care of UNHCR. I returned to Cambodia in 1990s and stayed at a Buddhist pagoda called Wat Samrong Andat. In 1993, I moved to Tropangsvay Village and lived there about 11 years. Finally, I moved to this community through the help of the NGO named PADAC.

After my husband died several years ago, I had difficulty to make a living. I earn day by day. It is hard to do business or find job in this community if compared with the former places I lived in. There are not so many rich people who live around this remote outskirts of the city. Many rich people bought land around here but left them without development. They just bought it to sell.

On the other hand, this community seems so far from being developed because there is no public water supply, no state-run electric power, and no drainage system. There is no real market, although there is a primary school and community medical care center.

I can make cash money sometimes 3000 or 4000 Riels a day by selling cakes near the school and within the community. With this earning I give 1000 Riels to my son for his school life. For the rest, I use for meals. I almost cannot save. I have no good items to be used in my house. Finally, I hope my son (now 17 years old) will have a job so that he can help the family because I am now getting older and my health is also not good.

In brief, we can conclude that there are different gaps of income earnings both between men and women and between different aged groups in the slum community. First of all, the finding shows that women who have

no or low income are more than men. Secondly, there are income gaps among four categories of age groups, with the young in certain age groups, earning more than their older counterparts. Also, we can state that most slum people, particularly the female heads of families, do not have enough earnings; they cannot save and they are highly dissatisfied with their present income earning's situation. They also live separately from non- poor earning people. Such poor earning lead to poor housing. Poor housing, which will be subsequently discussed, is an attendant condition of having poor education, poor health, no employment, poor work, low payment, insufficient-earning self employment, and finally very low income earning.

1—5 POOR HOUSING

Poor housing is another very important dimension of social exclusion. Poor housing refers to the following conditions: living in a polluted area, not having minimum housing building materials, not having enough room for their family members, no kitchen and toilet, not enough water, no stable electric supply, and no means of transportation (i.e., cycle, motor-bike or car, and so on) to allow them to have access to other areas.

Most households in urban slums are located either at the center of or the outskirts of a city, have unpleasant appearance, have bad smell and in general, live in an unorganized and poorly developed environment.¹¹⁰ If we compare urban slums located at center of city with urban slums located at outskirts of city, the first have better access to market, work place, school,

¹¹⁰ According Urban Resource Center's 2002 general report, about 33% of urban slum communities had no storm-drainage, 32% had access to public drainage, and 26% had developed their own drainage.

electricity, and other social accesses than the latter. In the last few years, however, the urban slums' people residing at any part of the central city have faced with location eviction.

Regarding house condition, the majority of houses have been built by using bamboo and leaves in the surveyed slum. Households received similar distribution of land for house building. The pieces of land size are distributed according to the size of family between $3 \times 4 \text{ m}^2$ and $4 \times 5 \text{ m}^2$ or $5 \times 12 \text{ m}^2$.¹¹¹ There are one or two beds, inside or outside kitchen, no proper bathroom and toilet inside or outside the house, no separation between sitting and sleeping room.

There is a common toilet in the community but there is a lack of public equipment to dig the night soil. As a consequence, the place has poor sanitation. Some people do not prefer to use it, instead, they may find some other location nearby or far away from their homes. The children dig a hole and then bury their waste there.

We categorize urban slum's household¹¹² into two kinds, wooden house and cottage.¹¹³ Our data in Table Q39 shows that those who live in cottage are more numerous than those who live in wooden house. Only 25.5% of them can manage to build wooden houses, whereas 74.5% live in cottage

¹¹¹ Source: direct participant observation and an oral interview with the residents and head of community in May-June 2005.

¹¹² According to Urban Resource Center's 2002 general report, around 31% of houses were built in wood and 12% were built using bricks and cement. And about 50% of communities had access to electricity via private sector, whereas 40% were connected to state-run network.

¹¹³ Here, cottage means a small wooden house. This house lacks sleeping room space and sitting room, lacks space for kitchen, toilet, and bathroom. In Cambodia, if someone says a small house or cottage, it means a poor house; it is also not a good looking residence.

suggesting that among the whole population of slum people, only nearly a quarter have better living conditions.

Q39-- What kind of house do you live?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Wooden House	106	25.5	25.5	25.5
	Cottage	309	74.5	74.5	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Such living condition is linked with earned cash money and saved money. Or they may have better access to financial loan from microfinance institution than the others. Financial support is very important source for housing. It shall be noted that in past-Cambodian society, house was built on a large piece of land, and the whole body of house does not attach to the ground, and only paths of house are attached closely to soil as ground foundation of house. There is a space under house's body that can put house's items, such as bed for visiting guest like friend or neighbor and animals like cow and living and sitting room is also made there. The idea of building house not attaching closely to the soil is to prevent wild, poisonous and violent animals that can harm them eventually.

To occupy a piece of land for housing in city or province is crucial for every Cambodian citizen. Cambodian people think that to have their own house is better than renting a house or a room even they lack financial support and food stock. Unfortunately, because of present economic development and increase of population, land becomes very expensive. As the result, so many people lack an appropriate location to build house.

As we see in Table Q40, only 9.6% of slum people have built house with sitting room and living room separately. In this sense, we can imagine

how slum people are poor. Their houses do not have enough space for their children to sleep; they have to share space with other family members. Their living condition is hard as people of London, England found by Booth and Rowntree in early 20th century.

Q40-- Could you tell us about your sleeping room & sitting room?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Separation	40	9.6	9.6	9.6
	No Separation	375	90.4	90.4	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Simultaneously, their house lacks suitable kitchen. Normally kitchen is built inside the house and in a separate space. In the case of the Cambodian slum people's houses, even the majority of house has inside kitchen; most of kitchens do not have areas for storing and kitchen shelf for putting plates, spoons, pans, an oven for rice cooking, and so forth.

As is seen in Table Q41, 92.8% of slum people build kitchen inside their houses, whereas only 7.2% of them cannot manage it.

Q41-- Could you tell us about kitchen?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Inside-Kitchen House	385	92.8	92.8	92.8
	Outside-Kitchen House	30	7.2	7.2	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

The problem is that land space for housing is very limited, thus there is no proper location for kitchen. Some families managed to have a small place for kitchen and elevated this from the ground, whereas for the rest, they just built it on the ground. We observed that this kind of kitchen lacks proper sanitation and is so easy to cause fire.

Table Q42 below shows that, due to small space of house, nearly 44%

of the slum residents do not have their own-private toilets. This is very unfortunate.

Q42--Could you please tell us about your toilet?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid No toilet	182	43.9	43.9	43.9
Inside-home toilet	41	9.9	9.9	53.7
Shared toilet	52	12.5	12.5	66.3
Public toilet	140	33.7	33.7	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

However, it is so good that public toilet has been built for them. But there is a problem of its sanitation maintenance: there is no agency or organization with financial budget for this. The public toilet was built by receiving assistance from NGOs or individual donors. There is also the problem of water supply to be used for toilet. Every slum family needs to carry their own personal water from home every time they go to toilet.

According to Table Q42, nearly 34% of them use public toilet, while approximately 13% use shared toilet between two or three neighboring families, whereas very few can manage to have their own inside-home toilet. Therefore, lacking private ownership of toilet is an obstacle for the slum people because they need to spend time to go to toilet and wait for a while to get into if someone occupies it. Another problem of using public toilet especially for women is it has been built without having separation of men and women.

Beside the above-mentioned issues, we also found that most slum people still need a number of items such as radio, television, bicycle and

motor cycle. These four items are very important for their daily life, especially for information and mobility. These are significant items that link them to the whole society. Lacking such important materials can deprive them of participation in society and can made daily expense more costly. Means of media can bring all kinds of news to every citizen, whereas means of transportation helps every citizen to connect locations, i.e., from home to work place. Therefore, one can say that these kinds of things are also forms of social empowerment. Those who have means of transportation, mainly motor bike and bike cycle, can earn and save some money more than those who do not have. For instance, today those who have a motor bike can run their own work as motor-taxi driver or they are capable to travel to work place by their own without paying money, and they also can do small business i.e., buying and selling meats, vegetables, cakes, or fruits in central city or other places in city, or they use motor-bike for other purposes to make living.

It is regrettable to see that more than half percent of slum population do not privately own radio, television, bike and motor cycle. Our data shows that 29.9% of them possess radio; 32.8% possess television; 31.6% have bike; and 34.9% own motor cycle.

Q43-2-- Do you have radio?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, I do.	124	29.9	29.9	29.9
	No, I don't.	291	70.1	70.1	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Q43-3-- Do you have television?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes, I do.	136	32.8	32.8	32.8
No, I don't.	279	67.2	67.2	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Q43-4-- Do you have bike?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes, I do.	131	31.6	31.6	31.6
No, I don't.	284	68.4	68.4	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Q43-6-- Do you have motor-bike?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes, I do.	145	34.9	34.9	34.9
No, I don't.	270	65.1	65.1	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

In addition, poor household also results from having a large number of family members.¹¹⁴ Table Q8-2 shows that only 6.5% among 415 families interviewed have no children; this indicates that there is no serious concern about having not children like other countries such as Japan. An average birth rate among Cambodian families is having children between 1 and 3 persons.¹¹⁵ However, we seldom see Cambodian families, both rich and poor have single child, but instead, they have as many as four, five or six children,

¹¹⁴ Cambodian family is generally composed of parents, children, grandparents, spouse, cousin, nephew, brother-sister-in-law, parents-in-law, god-parents, god son-daughter, and other relatives and sometimes includes friend, too. Actually, it is a huge extended family. Cambodia people regard family as social organizing that bind into a social network from person to person, from family to family, and finally to society as a whole.

¹¹⁵ Note: in general, every Cambodian family does not want a single child or odd children especially 3 children. Cambodians believe number three is not good; thus, having three children is also not good, too. They are afraid of losing a child for unexpected reasons. They rarely take photograph with three persons. In short, if they have one child they are going to have two, and if they have three children, they think of having four. They do not take into account having more children.

some families have them up to ten.

Q8-2-- How many children do you have?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid No Child	27	6.5	6.5	100.0
1--3	219	52.8	52.8	52.8
4--6	137	33.0	33.0	85.8
7--Over	32	7.7	7.7	93.5
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

In Table Q8-2, we see that 33.0% of slum people have children between four and six. It is extremely hard for parents to raise them given bad conditions of poverty.

The problem of having a lot of children in Cambodia as a whole or among poor people in particular may also be linked to the absence of any family planning by any agent, both of government and non government. Most people do not take family planning into account or they do not know about it.

Furthermore, we also found that there are also relatives, like nephew and nieces or friend, residing with the surveyed families. They may stay with them temporarily or much longer. They may also live with them until they can make their own living by themselves because some of them have no parents or brother-sisters. Some friends also stay with them who come from rural areas to find job in the city but have no relatives there and not enough money to rent or hire a room or house.

Q8-4--Do your nephew reside with you?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	14	3.4	3.4	3.4
	2--3	7	1.7	1.7	5.1
	No	394	94.9	94.9	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Q8-5--Do your nieces reside with you?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	11	2.7	2.7	2.7
	2--Over	6	1.4	1.4	4.1
	No	398	95.9	95.9	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Although the number of relatives and friends may not be big as shown in Tables Q8-4 and Q8-5, their additional number to an already very limited, small house adds another big burden for the already impoverished family.

Poor education, unemployment or underemployment, income inequality, and poor housing are absolutely linked conditions as we have pointed out in previous sections. We use one final example to show the close link among these indicators of social exclusion.

Table Q10 and Q43-6 shows the respondent's education with motorcycle possession. The outcome shows that people with higher education have motor bikes compared to those with no education. 42.6% of the respondents who had no education, who had difficulty earning money (as discussed earlier) could not buy and own a motor bike. This very significant finding is good for future social poverty's policy.

**Q10-- What is your education (grade categories)? * Q43-6-- Do you have motor-bike?
Crosstabulation**

			Q43-6-- Do you have motor-bike?		Total
			Yes, I do.	No, I don't.	
Q10-- What is your education (grade categories)?	NE	Count % within Q43-6-- Do you have motor-bike?	22 15.2%	115 42.6%	137 33.0%
	1--3	Count % within Q43-6-- Do you have motor-bike?	40 27.6%	59 21.8%	99 23.9%
	4--6	Count % within Q43-6-- Do you have motor-bike?	43 29.7%	56 20.7%	99 23.9%
	7--Over	Count % within Q43-6-- Do you have motor-bike?	40 27.6%	40 14.8%	80 19.3%
Total		Count % within Q43-6-- Do you have motor-bike?	145 100.0%	270 100.0%	415 100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	33.911 ^a	3	.000
Likelihood Ratio	36.327	3	.000
N of Valid Cases	415		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 27.95.

#--SUMMARY DISCUSSION OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION

We can say that even though Booth, Rowntree, Townsend, and Sen or other poverty's experts have not yet precisely used social exclusion in their studies on poverty, particular areas of social exclusion such as education, employment, income and housing have been discussed significantly in their works.

From our survey data, we are able to suggest that every aspect of social exclusion that has just been studied has interrelation and

inter-influence. In a common sense, knowing how and why a person is socially excluded is to observe seriously on his/her education, health, employment, income earning and housing conditions. We are also able to express the idea that a person is excluded from any types of social actions/works or participation with both the state's and non state's institutions derived from some of these negative factors.

Or because of social exclusion, he/she would lack capabilities to perform or fulfill a requirement of work or employments. The capabilities of human beings, in turn, are closely related with human freedom for actions, and these characteristics are also interrelated with human entitlements.

The social character of poverty has also been highlighted by the indicators for social exclusion used in the survey.

Social exclusion in education is shown as being generational, with parents of the respondents, especially their mothers, unable to access education. In turn, the children of the respondents are also in danger of being socially excluded and not having access to education through no fault of the parents. Cambodian society, in general, has been unable to provide access to their people, as a result of years of turmoil and conflicts.

Also, employment inaccessibility does not result from the respondents' personal dislike or inability to work but again, from lack of available employment opportunities within their community or throughout Cambodian society. Education affects employment, and in turn, employment affects income earnings, health and housing, among others.

Health accessibility is not measured in individual terms alone as well. The data show that lack of access to health education, to safe drinking water

and poor sanitation can result because of the absence of societal provisions for these needs.

Health accessibility is not measured in individual terms alone as well. The data show that lack of access to health education, to safe drinking water and poor sanitation can result because of the absence of societal provisions for these needs.

As already discussed, the exclusion along these dimensions has also affected the respondents' access to proper housing within their community. The unavailability of proper housing location and assistance from the Cambodian State has also affected the respondents' access to this particular asset.

Differential social exclusion is also evident especially for the women and for the young compared to men and adults.

These data highlights present more specific directions for future social poverty measures. Unlike past approaches that separately targeted the accessibility of one need at a time, social poverty data point to the need for simultaneous approach to provide access to stable and better employment, education, housing and health opportunities, in an integrated and sustainable fashion.

Interrelated with every aspect of social exclusion that we have discussed in this section is social empowerment which another crucial option for human and social development. We now proceed to discuss some particular aspects of lack of social empowerment as follows: *(2—1) Lack of access to financial services, (2—2) Poor access to market, (2—3) Poor access to information, (2—4) Lack of social participation or social isolation, (2—5)*

Weakness or deprivation of reciprocity and trust, and, (2—6) Gender Inequality.

2—LACK OF SOCIAL EMPOWERMENT

Social empowerment plays a key role. It has several dimensions as discussed earlier. In this study, we focus on some particular aspects of social empowerment found in the Cambodian society, particularly in urban slum communities. They are lack of access to financial services, poor access to market, poor access to information, lack of access to social participation or social isolation, weakness or deprivation of reciprocity and trust, and gender inequality. We will examine them in the following discussion.

2—1 LACK OF ACCESS TO FINANCIAL SERVICES

Financial support is very significant for social empowerment. One of the major causes of the lack of social empowerment is deprivation or shortage of financial support. In the case of Cambodia, microfinance has just started in recent years only. It is not yet well-known to the public. There are very few microfinance groups such as Association of Cambodian Local Economic Development Agencies (ACLEDA) established in 1993; Angkor Mikroheranhvatho (Kampuchea) Co. Ltd (AMK) established in 1993; PRASAC Microfinance Institution Limited started in 1995 (funded by European Union); Cambodian Community Savings Federation (CCSF) implemented its works (firstly in Battambang Province) in 1998; and Cambodian Rural Economic Development Initiatives for Transformation (CREDIT) formed in 2000 and playing an important role in Cambodia but

still far to reach to the poor.

Among microfinance institutions operating in Cambodia, ACLEDA is playing a leading role in providing financial loan and saving to Cambodian people both in city and rural areas. ACLEDA Bank operates a total of 119 offices in 14 branches in almost all areas of Cambodia, while the Eastern provinces of Stung Treng, Rattanakiri, Mondulkiri are still under assessment. They provide loan in 6 main types of financial services: credit, savings, money transfer, cash management, money exchange and letter of guarantee for customers. They offer the following types of Credit products: 1-micro business loans: individual loans (collateral, US\$500 maximum) and group loans (2-10 members), 2-small business loans (small scale industries, little deed as loan security), 3-personal loans (individual borrowers, for private consumption, less than US\$1000), and 4-inter-bank loan. In the last four years, ACLEDA has doubled the number of active clients it serves, to reach more than 120,000 clients, while its loan portfolio was multiplied by 4 times, to reach US\$66 million. Since licensing at the end of 2000, ACLEDA has reached 57,000 savers for US\$31.5 million collected. As of October 2004, ACLEDA had a 13% market share in the overall credit market in Cambodia, and a 4% market share in deposit collection.¹¹⁶

However, still most poor people (in particular those with zero income and very little earning) do not know about microfinance saving and do not know how to access to such loans. While some of them do not trust on such institution, on the one hand, they also cannot obtain a loan in cash due to

¹¹⁶ http://www.bwtp.org/arc/cambodia/II_Organisations/MF_Providers/ACLEDA.htm
or see official website: <http://www.acledabank.com.kh>

their poorness.

Financial loan can be made by fulfilling the requirement of loan contract, i.e., proving that they have permanent residence, holding resident or land settlement certificate or other acceptable relevant items. Otherwise, it can be made only if the loan owner makes sure that the loan receiver can earn cash money to pay their interest and debt on time. To sum up, we can say that access to financial loan services is still far reaching to the poor as can be seen in Table Q46.

Q46-- How often do you access to any financial services such as loan from government or NGOs etc. ?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Always	23	5.5	5.5	5.5
Fairly Often	15	3.6	3.6	9.2
Sometimes	126	30.4	30.4	39.5
Never	251	60.5	60.5	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Table Q46 shows a general opinion of slum people about the way they access to cash loan either from government, private sector or NGOs. It indicates that only 5.5% of the urban slum people have the best chance to this financial service. 3.6% of them said that they have borrowed cash money fairly often. However, still 30.4% responded that they sometimes access to the loan and finally, and 60.5% of the whole slum community have never accessed to financial loan. They neither do not know nor did not borrow. There is unequal treatment or discrimination in such loan service particularly for those who can earn very little or nothing in daily life. These people are rarely offered loan support from any loan institutions because they are afraid of having difficulty to pay back both of the interest and the

capital in time or they have difficulty in obtaining a reliable guarantee.

Box 6 shows that some people do not trust microfinance group working in the community because they were deceived in the past. Their savings were not returned and no one was arrested or responsible for the damage. On the other hand, lack of education and awareness of saving through banking system, they prefer to save money by themselves. They also do not expect so much from any kind of financial agents.

Box—6

Story of Eil Pouv:

I am 27-years old. I was born in Prey Chnes Village, Tamao Commune, Mesang District, Prey Veng Province. I have two children; my first son aged 8 years old. I moved to Phnom Penh in 1993. I and my husband are business retailers. We sell fruits and sometimes we work in construction. I have one cycle. Before we had a motor bike, but sold it to pay a debt. However, we can earn between 7000 Riels to 10000 Riels per day.

I came to Phnom Penh because after Pol Pot regime collapsed, we returned to our birthplace and were distributed a land for building house and cultivating rice. But we sold the land because there was a draught and there was no business and job in the village. On the other hand, my father and my three siblings were murdered in Pol Pot regime. This is another reason we moved to Phnom Pen. We think although it is hard to make living in Phnom Penh, it is much better than in the province.

I do not decide to join community microfinance saving yet because I want to save money by my own. I am afraid of being deceiving because I was told that in the past many slum people were deceived; they lost all savings; and no one helped to get their savings back. As for the future, I hope I can save money and build a better house than this.

We take a similar story of a poor slum family that has been trying to borrow a small amount of money from a local microfinance agent that

operates in the community but failed several times because of poorness and not having a guarantor. Instead, this family usually borrows money from nearby neighbor as is shown in Box 7 below.

Box—7

Story of Srun Sreynearng:

I was born in Prey Veng Province, southeastern part of Phnom Penh. I left my birth place for Phnom Penh in 1998 because there was a draught, insufficient water to cultivate rice or vegetables and no other jobs. I am now living with my husband and three children. Recently, I have no job; I stay at home to look after children and take care of housework. The family totally depends on my husband, a construction worker. He can earn daily an amount of 7000 Riels to 8000 Riels (approximately 2 US\$) in cash.

As you can see with your own eyes—please look at my house—I have no in-house toilet, not radio, no cycle or motor-bike. My house is nearly empty inside. I always want to run a small business, selling cake, vegetable, and meat or other things to help my family economy but I cannot do so because I have not enough money. The daily earning of my husband is just enough for daily expense...it is so hard to save.

I have tried to borrow money from a local NGO but I have always failed to have- they are afraid that I cannot pay them back on time. Thus, I have no other alternatives; sometimes I can borrow money from my neighbors to buy rice or for medicine when the family runs out of food stock and saving.

Of my education, I quitted high school at grade 12 because my parents could no longer support for education expense. My father was a physician who died of illness. My mother has no education and no work. After my father's death, one of my brothers collected all savings for gambling. I have 11 siblings- 8 women and 3 men.

At last, we have only one wish for our children when they grow up, we want them to have good education and good work so that they can help the family and themselves. We do not want them to meet the same kind of living condition as we do.

Beside this, it also occurs that many slum families do not decide to take part in microfinance saving. Most of them do not have trust on this institution yet. Some of them even experienced being deceived in previous saving by a small group of people who run similar business without having real foundation. Lacking of knowledge of the banking system also prevents them from taking part in microfinance saving.

Once we had an invitation to attend microfinance saving (campaign) meeting in the community run by local authority co-operated with a local NGO. We had heard lots of questions about accountability of this microfinance saving agent. Some of the people were cheated; their savings were finally lost without paying back; and no one has been arrested yet. In such circumstance, it is not easy for them to gain trust on the system unless they truly know the source and it is guaranteed by the authority. As a result, more than half of them still do not take part in the campaign and they also do not participate in saving.

Therefore, we think that building trust between financial provider and saving agent of all kinds with the local community is necessary. The agents have to prove that they are really good and do not deceive; they have to run their business smoothly and handle alleged problems well. Simultaneously, they also have to take all questions and suggestions of the people during the meeting to consider seriously and take more actions to resolve and regain trust from them. On the other hand, they also must think how to provide financial support or any support to zero or less income earning families so that they no longer have the feeling of social deprivation or isolation in the community. In addition, community leaders who take

charge of community affairs have to be aware that they have not yet done their job good enough to build trust with their subjects. Community people still do not like the way that the community is run as it is shown in Table Q25.

Q25-- How often do you participate in microfinance campaign in your community?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Always	26	6.3	6.3	6.3
Fairly Often	13	3.1	3.1	9.4
Sometimes	146	35.2	35.2	44.6
Never	230	55.4	55.4	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Table Q25 shows how poor the community leaders deliver message and work management to their people. Only very few families show they always and fairly often take part in microfinance campaigns run by the community leader, whereas 55.4% of the whole community remain behind the scene. They do not want to take part. In short, lack of access to financial support is a real threat to social welfare of the community as a whole.

2—2 POOR ACCESS TO MARKET

Access to market is also crucial in the building capacity of social empowerment. Market is a vital business center, it creates jobs and currency. It is a place where people exchange their labor and non labor (goods). It is also a form of communication between people and people and goods. It is a business place with no boundary-every citizen can go to sell or buy any good they wish.

Recent Cambodian economic development has built capable access to

various markets in urban Phnom Penh and some major parts of Cambodia like Siem Reap province and Battambang province. But now it is also becoming deprivation place for the rural poor and urban poor. Both low income and poor people who are not able to hire a store or a very limited space at a particular market find themselves so troublesome: they can be easily caught and fined if they sell goods without permission from market authority. On the other hand, market is not available in far distant urban outskirts as is demonstrated in Table Q47.

Q47-- How can you access to sell anything at a market without renting a store?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Extremely Easy	16	3.9	3.9	3.9
Easy	46	11.1	11.1	14.9
Not Easy	142	34.2	34.2	49.2
Not Extremely Easy	211	50.8	50.8	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Table Q43 tells about a general view of the slum residents who have bad experience with the access to market place for selling or renting a place. Only 3.9 % said that it is extremely easy to access to market for selling without hiring a place or store,¹¹⁷ as few as 11.1% agrees that it is easy to access to market place contrast to those who disagree that it is easy to sell something without hiring a place or store; the number of disagreed raises up to 34.2% or more than 20% higher than the former. Moreover, half of the whole slum population absolutely disagree with the idea. For them, market

¹¹⁷ There is some sort of corruption with market dealing in Cambodia. If you know someone who works there or you give them some money for selling day by day, you can have a place for sale. But having such selling deal is also problematic because it is not assured; when there is patrolling, goods on such location will be confiscated and fined. So every ground seller has to be cautious every time. Moreover, this can be made only in reserving place selling something on the ground with no store. Besides, every seller has to pay for market maintenance tax and public sanitation.

some how belongs to middle class or rich and powerful people, in particular those who work in government with good position title like police officer, military police, and other higher ranking officials that have enough power to bargain with market authority. Not every governmental official is like this, but still there are certain governmental people as such. This is a bad side of governmental administration or usually known as corruption. Therefore, there is need of proper accountability in market management. It has to be made sure that market stalls are located fairly.

On the other hand, market is badly needed for those who live at peripheral areas of city. We have observed that there are a few families run retail business selling groceries, wine, beer, soft drink, water, vegetable and meat at home. And we also see some business retailers sell soft drink, beer and local wine, cake along the main road in the community particularly in front of a primary school. There is also a market built by city authority but only very few people rent the stalls. The market is nearly empty. The reasons behind are lack of accountable management, on the one hand, and expensive rent, on another hand. There are no business agents who supply goods and offer services to this community. In this case, every retailer has to go to buy goods from the market at the center. This makes the price of goods more expensive. Therefore, one can imagine how slum people live and expense in daily life. The problems of poor access to market place lie on poor income earning, higher cost of expense and malfunction of market management.

In short, we can conclude that lack of financial support, poor access to market and unfairness of market management do affect bay on welfare of the slum people.

2—3 POOR ACCESS TO INFORMATION

Access to information is another crucial dimension of social empowerment. Information network can be in the form of mass media network like newspaper, radio, television, magazine, book, etc., or of human network, like the interaction between one person and another, or of formal information network agents like school, governmental administration, NGOs and civil society.

One of the leading technologies in our modern world is information technology. In most developed countries like United States and Japan, information technology is becoming vital source of government policy for their social security and social welfare. Information technology is vital for every human kind; it makes them united closely; it produces, gathers, collects and spreads information worldwide. Meanwhile most developing countries are still behind this leading technology. In the case of Cambodia, even though the country appears to follow this step but it still makes very limited progress due to its poor human resource and economic resources. Low education, low income earning and very limited job opportunity are depriving Cambodian people of information technology, and lacking of co-operating human network to transfer and share information with one to another is another factor. At the same time, being so poor they are deprived of listening to and reading news, on the one hand, they have failed to form community network especially between one slum community and another as well as between slum community and local NGOs or government.

Generally speaking, slum people are lack of corporative social network because of either their inability to form and communicate with others or

ignorance of agent for employment. For instance, there is not any association or agent formed yet in the slum community.

Q25-- How often do you participate in microfinance campaign in your community? * Q43-3-- Do you have television? Crosstabulation

			Q43-3-- Do you have television?		Total
			Yes, I do.	No, I don't.	
Q25-- How often do you participate in microfinance campaign in your community?	Always	Count % within Q43-3-- Do you have television?	11 8.1%	15 5.4%	26 6.3%
	Fairly Often	Count % within Q43-3-- Do you have television?	5 3.7%	8 2.9%	13 3.1%
	Sometimes	Count % within Q43-3-- Do you have television?	63 46.3%	83 29.7%	146 35.2%
	Never	Count % within Q43-3-- Do you have television?	57 41.9%	173 62.0%	230 55.4%
Total		Count % within Q43-3-- Do you have television?	136 100.0%	279 100.0%	415 100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	15.066 ^a	3	.002
Likelihood Ratio	15.043	3	.002
N of Valid Cases	415		

a. 1 cells (12.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.26.

In Table Q25 and Q43-3, we compare the way people participate in microfinance campaign with means of having information. The result points out that 41.9% of those who do not possess television said that they have not yet participated in the campaign, while 62.0% of those who do not have television at home replied that they never take part in it. If Cambodia slum people can have at least a radio or television set at home, they may learn something useful for their life. But our survey shows that nearly half of

urban slum families do not have radio or television. Therefore, if all of them can have one television, they will have better access to information.

Most slum people have informed us that they have been excluded from accessing to any information not only in the way they do not have means of mass media, but also in the way society as a whole treat them as it is also presented in Table Q45.

Q45– Do you strongly agree that you are losing or excluded from having job opportunity?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Agree	73	17.6	17.6	17.6
Agree	140	33.7	33.7	51.3
Disagree	150	36.1	36.1	87.5
Strongly Disagree	52	12.5	12.5	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

In Table Q45, 33.7% of them have expressed their opinions that they agree with the idea that they are losing job or excluded from having job opportunity and 17.6% have strongly support this idea. In fact, there are various means of getting information in a society but here we are learning that those who reside in outskirts or poor places of city are normally excluded or fail to make good relationship with their neighbors or friends. Neighbors and friends are also very important sources of helps. The similar case is also founded in Table Q25 and Q58-1.

Q25-- How often do you participate in microfinance campaign in your community? * Q58-1-- Do you obtain job information from your friend? Crosstabulation

			Q58-1-- Do you obtain job information from your friend?		Total
			Yes, I do.	No, I don't.	
Q25-- How often do you participate in microfinance campaign in your community?	Always	Count % within Q58-1-- Do you obtain job information from your friend?	5 7.9%	21 6.0%	26 6.3%
	Fairly Often	Count % within Q58-1-- Do you obtain job information from your friend?	5 7.9%	8 2.3%	13 3.1%
	Sometimes	Count % within Q58-1-- Do you obtain job information from your friend?	25 39.7%	121 34.4%	146 35.2%
	Never	Count % within Q58-1-- Do you obtain job information from your friend?	28 44.4%	202 57.4%	230 55.4%
Total		Count % within Q58-1-- Do you obtain job information from your friend?	63 100.0%	352 100.0%	415 100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.846 ^a	3	.049
Likelihood Ratio	6.599	3	.086
N of Valid Cases	415		

a. 2 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.97.

Table Q25 and Q58-1 shows 39.9% replied that they have so far joined microfinance campaign because they were informed by friends and because these friends also informed them about job opportunity. Meanwhile, as much as 57.4% of them have never taken part in the campaign and also never received any job information from friend, too. Here, we perceive that slum people may not have built trust with other people who will be later becoming their friends. There are a lot of reasons for this case. For instance,

they may learn something bad about other people or their relatives from mass media or from relatives. Friends can be good or bad. So they are aware of this case. Some people had lost money or other property because they trusted their long time friends. It is true in Cambodian society today, mass media like radio, television and newspapers always launch news about robbery and stealing, some cases caused by friends. Of course, we do not take only one particular case to mean Cambodian people as a whole are not good or reliable, but one cannot ignore such social fact and something is changing in contemporary Cambodia which had never existed in its previous history.

Our finding here is so significant to design a kind of education to teach the people and student to concentrate in rebuilding trust and reciprocity so that all types of social welfare development can be achieved and sustained. We shall not bring ourselves to become someone's enemy because of wrong knowledge or misunderstanding about them and we shall not let our passion dominate our rational thinking.

In short, we can argue that lack of access to information certainly does not empower Cambodian people in general and slum residents in particular. On the contrary, if they can access to any information, they may get news and learn something about society. This will help them find solution to make better their present living condition. Thus, the improvement of information network also needs to be done so that slum people and those living in remote areas will not be isolated.

2—4 LACK OF SOCIAL PARTICIPATION OR SOCIAL ISOLATION

Social isolation is another important dimension of social empowerment. It is not easy to measure social isolation because it is an alternative concept. In Cambodia, the process of urbanization results in low income families, underemployed and poor educated people staying far away from the rest of urban residents. There are so many slum areas in the city.

The slum people have been excluded in several ways. In our focus here, we concentrate on some points of social isolation that influence social development.

First of all, let us discuss about social participation in decision making process in slum community.

Q44-- Do you strongly agree that you are excluded from participating in decision making process in your community?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Agree	79	19.0	19.0	19.0
Agree	103	24.8	24.8	43.9
Disagree	192	46.3	46.3	90.1
Strongly Disagree	41	9.9	9.9	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Table Q44 shows even though 46.3% said that they disagree and 9.9% strongly disagree with the idea that they are excluded from taking part in decision making process, but still 19.0% replied that they strongly support the idea and 24.8% also expressed their support for this idea. Hence, though disagreed persons are about 10.0% more than agreed ones, still nearly half feel being excluded. Therefore, it tests the quality of community leader and local authority as well.

On the other hand, we go into a little bit more into details; we obtain

the information on male-female heads of families. The latter ones appear to be so excluded from taking part of this process. They are not able to express the support or objection to any decisions for their community. This shows social gap between men and women in the society. This is also shown in Table Q7 and Q44, too.

Q7-- Who is the head of family? * Q44-- Do you strongly agree that you are excluded from participating in decision making process in your community? Crosstabulation

			Q44-- Do you strongly agree that you are excluded from participating in decision making process in your community?				Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Q7-- Who is the head of family?	Husband	Count	54	81	164	34	333
		% within Q7-- Who is the head of family?	16.2%	24.3%	49.2%	10.2%	100.0%
	Wife	Count	25	22	28	7	82
		% within Q7-- Who is the head of family?	30.5%	26.8%	34.1%	8.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	79	103	192	41	415
		% within Q7-- Who is the head of family?	19.0%	24.8%	46.3%	9.9%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10.637 ^a	3	.014
Likelihood Ratio	10.084	3	.018
N of Valid Cases	415		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 8.10.

Table Q7 and Q44 shows that only 16.2% of males do not strongly deny that they are excluded whereas 30.5% of females strongly accept that they are excluded. Therefore, women have been losing their rights to social actions. This is a real threat of life. Society will never learn completely the difficulties of women and what they are thinking about social development unless they have full participation in society.

There is another dimension of social isolation of women in

Cambodian slum community, namely job opportunities. We have acknowledged that there are so many housewives and women heads of families who do not have jobs yet. This can be seen in Table Q7 and Q45.

Q7-- Who is the head of family? * Q45-- Do you strongly agree that you are losing or excluded from having job opportunity? Crosstabulation

			Q45-- Do you strongly agree that you are losing or excluded from having job opportunity?				Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Q7-- Who is the head of family?	Husband	Count % within Q7-- Who is the head of family?	48 14.4%	113 33.9%	128 38.4%	44 13.2%	333 100.0%
	Wife	Count % within Q7-- Who is the head of family?	25 30.5%	27 32.9%	22 26.8%	8 9.8%	82 100.0%
Total		Count % within Q7-- Who is the head of family?	73 17.6%	140 33.7%	150 36.1%	52 12.5%	415 100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.765 ^a	3	.005
Likelihood Ratio	11.709	3	.008
N of Valid Cases	415		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.27.

Table Q7 and Q45 shows how much women desire to have employment. 30.5% of women strongly agree that they have not received any information about jobs, while only 14.4% of men strongly agree. This is another reason that supports the high unemployment rate of women in slum community (or Cambodia as a whole). At last, we do realize that certain types of social isolation do exist specifically for women or families led by women.

2—5 WEAKNESS OR DEPRIVATION OF RECIPROCITY AND TRUST

In this section, we examine social network and social organization of slum people in terms of reciprocity and trust. We think that if the level of reciprocity and trust is high in the slum community, there will be good effect for social empowerment. On the contrary, if the level of reciprocity and trust is poor, it will not easy to empower the slum community as well as Cambodia society as a whole. Or else Cambodian society will fall into a great destruction if it finds no solution. Let us observe them as follows.

Q50-- How often do you help your neighbors-friends when they fell into food shortage, severe sick, etc.?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Always	99	23.9	23.9	23.9
Fairly Often	118	28.4	28.4	52.3
Sometimes	171	41.2	41.2	93.5
Almost Never	27	6.5	6.5	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Of *reciprocity*, Table Q50 shows, in general, how people feel a sense of help and care about their neighbors when they fall into shortage of food stocks, severe sick, and so on. Among 415 surveyed families, 23.9% replied that they always help their neighbors-friends; 28.4% said they fairly often help these people while other 41.2% responded that they sometimes help. The remaining 6.5% said that they have almost done nothing to help other people than their families. The last two categories seem to pay little interest to give assistance to other people. Therefore, we can say that a little more than half have some sense of help or care for others in certain degree. Beside sense of help, feeling of social responsibility is relatively strong.

Q51-- Do you strongly feel that you have a sense of obligation to help your neighbor-friend when there is a burglary or robbery occurred?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid I Strongly Feel	174	41.9	41.9	41.9
I Feel	190	45.8	45.8	87.7
I Don't Feel	35	8.4	8.4	96.1
I Don't Feel Strongly	16	3.9	3.9	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Table Q51 shows that 41.9% expressed strong feeling of obligation to help neighbor-friend when there is a burglary or robbery occurred in their community and other 45.8% expressed simple feeling of obligation to help their friends or neighbors when disaster happened. The remaining negative part of sense of obligation including strongly and not strongly feel to have their neighbors-friends is only 12.3%. Therefore, we can conclude that there is positive aspect in slum community in building friendship with other people and having sense of obligation to some degree.

Box—8

Story of San Sophy:

I am a 39-year old widow living with my 6 years old son and sister; I am the head of family. I divorced with my husband 4 years ago because he had an affair with another woman.

I was born in Kampong Cham Province, southeast part of Phnom Penh. I lived in Building, Phnom Penh since 1979 with my widow mother. She used to sell boiled-bay duck as her daily business. Whereas my father was killed in Pol Pot regime because they knew that he was a school teacher in the former regime. I have 12-blood-relatives-10 sisters and 2 brothers- 7 persons died in childhood.

For me, I have no job now. I rely on my sister- she gave me between 2000 to 4000 Riels per month. She also cannot earn so much because she is a low ranking governmental staff.

I do not have sufficient rice stock and fish paste. We have no television or radio. On the other hand, I also owe about 35 dollars to

neighbor. I borrowed this money when I was in serious sickness. I needed to pay interest. However, my sister helped me to pay it.

As for the future, it is so hard for me to predict; I feel no hope most of the time. What I can tell you is I throw my hope to my son. Although I have extreme hardship at this time, I will be not defeated. I continue to support my child's education. I hope at least he can get a job when he grows up.

Box 8 shows some community families help their fellows when they fall in food shortage, sickness, and lack of money. And relatives also play an important role to help their relatives, too. Some people help other people in the community if they can, for example, free cooking rice, free fish paste, some small amount of money and free labor.

As for free labor, if there is house moving, house repair, wedding, funeral and so on in the community, they are willing to help. Some friendly neighbors are willing to help their fellows without being asked for, especially when they see that their fellows are in trouble. As is seen in Sophy's story, she has poor health; she is dependent; and she has no job. Her life is almost completely dependent upon her sister. She sometimes gets help from her neighbors too.

But there is difference between men and women in this context. Women are not so active in attending some traditional ceremonies in or nearby community. A ceremony is a kind of network; it is not only a source of help or care, but also a form of social gathering. Social gathering offers people good chance to meet relatives, friends, neighbors and other people as well so that they can express their ideas and experiences about their lives and society; and at the same time, they also can learn something from other people, too. This is another good process of social empowerment to be

addressed as is also seen in Table Q49 and Q2.

**Q49-- How often do you attend the funeral of your friends-neighbors? * Q2--What is your sex?
Crosstabulation**

			Q2--What is your sex?		Total
			Male	Female	
Q49-- How often do you attend the funeral of your friends-neighbors?	Always	Count % within Q2--What is your sex?	61 59.2%	137 43.9%	198 47.7%
	Fairly Often	Count % within Q2--What is your sex?	13 12.6%	61 19.6%	74 17.8%
	Sometimes	Count % within Q2--What is your sex?	22 21.4%	100 32.1%	122 29.4%
	Almost Never	Count % within Q2--What is your sex?	7 6.8%	14 4.5%	21 5.1%
Total		Count % within Q2--What is your sex?	103 100.0%	312 100.0%	415 100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.718 ^a	3	.021
Likelihood Ratio	9.869	3	.020
N of Valid Cases	415		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.21.

Table Q49 and Q2 indicates that 59.2% of men always take part in funeral of their friend or neighbor whereas only 43.9% women always take part in the ceremony. It is only when men are reluctant to go or when they are busy with their work that women (or wives) will attend the ceremony. This is the reason why performance of female is better in attending the funeral in categories of *fairly often* and *sometimes*.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ We take funeral ceremony to stand for other social activities in community or society. We are not able to make several hypotheses to clarify about social deprivation of women in contexts of reciprocity and trust. In fact, other aspects that we have found can be correct to state about role of women in this society.

Furthermore, to understand more how women share idea or activity with men, we have made a comparison between them in sense of obligation as is seen in Table Q51 and Q2.

Q51-- Do you strongly feel that you have a sense of obligation to help your neighbor-friend when there is a burglary or robbery occurred? * Q2--What is your sex? Crosstabulation

			Q2--What is your sex?		Total
			Male	Female	
Q51-- Do you strongly feel that you have a sense of obligation to help your neighbor-friend when there is a burglary or robbery occurred?	I Strongly Feel	Count % within Q2--What is your sex?	53 51.5%	121 38.8%	174 41.9%
	I Feel	Count % within Q2--What is your sex?	39 37.9%	151 48.4%	190 45.8%
	I Don't Feel	Count % within Q2--What is your sex?	6 5.8%	29 9.3%	35 8.4%
	I Don't Feel Strongly	Count % within Q2--What is your sex?	5 4.9%	11 3.5%	16 3.9%
Total		Count % within Q2--What is your sex?	103 100.0%	312 100.0%	415 100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.303 ^a	3	.098
Likelihood Ratio	6.326	3	.097
N of Valid Cases	415		

a. 1 cells (12.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.97.

Men expressed their strong feeling of obligation more than women did: 51.5% men stressed strong feeling of obligation to help others such as friends or neighbors whereas only 38.8% (or about 13.0% lower than men) women stressed strong feeling of obligation to help others. In this context, one can state that women still do not show their strong feeling the same as men do.

Until contemporary time, Cambodian people continue to practice the culture of reciprocity and trust even though it shows some sign of decline because of rising social problems in recent years. Such decline of this good culture causes deep concern by Cambodian scholars inside and outside the country. More efforts need to be made to bring it back to its right track.

Of *trust*, we have observed that only certain people and agent of slum people show their support or trust. Women show their trust only to certain neighbors more than men do; they do not trust other people easily. On the contrary, men appear to be easy in trust relationship. Outgoing and easiness of adaptation to outside environment is a main process that men can make good network more than women. Another point is that community party or neighbor gathering parties create another chance for men to get more knowledge about their fellows whereas women rarely engage with such activities.¹¹⁹ Let us examine it in Table Q53 and Q2 and Table Q27 and Q52-2.

¹¹⁹ It shall be remarked that one reason for this is Cambodian society appears to be so sensitive with women with regard to drinking alcohols and smoking. In fact, women also do not like smoking and drinking men. These are additional reasons to understand women have not gained trust with other people. As we have just mentioned a little bit early, cultural dominance and traditional practice also retrains them to public appearance. For instance, due to Khmer women's moral code or norm, women have to be so careful with walking in front of guest, people, with dressing, sitting, eating and speaking. They shall not go out with men without parents' or relatives' company. Even though there have been changing a lot of changes with such conception and practice, they still remain influential.

Q53-- How many neighbors do you trust? * Q2--What is your sex? Crosstabulation

			Q2--What is your sex?		Total
			Male	Female	
Q53-- How many neighbors do you trust?	Zero	Count % within Q2--What is your sex?	27 27.2%	70 22.4%	97 23.4%
	1--9	Count % within Q2--What is your sex?	35 34.0%	164 52.6%	199 48.0%
	10--19	Count % within Q2--What is your sex?	20 19.4%	60 19.2%	80 19.3%
	20--Over	Count % within Q2--What is your sex?	21 20.4%	18 5.8%	39 9.4%
Total		Count % within Q2--What is your sex?	103 100.0%	312 100.0%	415 100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	23.662 ^a	3	.000
Likelihood Ratio	21.441	3	.000
N of Valid Cases	415		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 9.68.

Q27--What kind of jobs do you have? * Q52-2-- Do you trust neighbor? Crosstabulation

			Q52-2-- Do you trust neighbor?		Total
			Trust Neighbor	Do not Trust Neighbor	
Q27--What kind of jobs do you have?	No	Count % within Q52-2-- Do you trust neighbor?	136 43.9%	49 46.7%	185 44.6%
	Manual	Count % within Q52-2-- Do you trust neighbor?	74 23.9%	35 33.3%	109 26.3%
	Selling	Count % within Q52-2-- Do you trust neighbor?	83 26.8%	16 15.2%	99 23.9%
	Others	Count % within Q52-2-- Do you trust neighbor?	17 5.5%	5 4.8%	22 5.3%
Total		Count % within Q52-2-- Do you trust neighbor?	310 100.0%	105 100.0%	415 100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.264 ^a	3	.064
Likelihood Ratio	7.570	3	.056
N of Valid Cases	415		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.57.

From Table Q53 and Q2, we learn that women's trust from one person to nine persons have higher rate than men's trust by of 18.6%, but fall short in case of trusting people from twenty people or more; it is around 14.8% lower than men. Therefore, the world of women is narrower than men. On the other hand, if we figure out another issue dealing with trusting neighbors particularly between employed and unemployed people as can be seen in Table Q27 and Q52-2, we obtain that there are also different attitudes of trust between different jobs: 46.7% of unemployed or underemployed people said that they do not trust their neighbors and 33.3%

of manual workers replied that they do not trust their neighbors contrasting with sellers and people who work in other areas: 26.8% of sellers responded that they trust neighbors and 5.5% of people who work in others replied that they trust their neighbors. The reason here is high hope for interrelationship and reciprocity.

In business affair, people have to show and guarantee the quality and safety of their products and also deliver better services to their customers. In case of Cambodia, doing business is not easy; it is not only a matter of safe products and good services, but also of trust if you can sell first and you get money later or within a period of times. This practice has been doing or functioning in this society especially among small business in village or community. The sellers normally know their fellow customers. This is the reason that such exchange happens.

We can also remark that slum people trust community fellows rather than local community leader and local authority. We can find this in Table Q25 and Q52-5.

25-- How often do you participate in microfinance campaign in your community? * Q52-5-- Do you trust NGOs? Crosstabulation

			Q52-5-- Do you trust NGOs?		Total
			Trust NGOs	Do not Trust NGOs	
Q25-- How often do you participate in microfinance campaign in your community?	Always	Count % within Q52-5-- Do you trust NGOs?	10 5.7%	16 6.7%	26 6.3%
	Fairly Often	Count % within Q52-5-- Do you trust NGOs?	5 2.8%	8 3.3%	13 3.1%
	Sometimes	Count % within Q52-5-- Do you trust NGOs?	85 48.3%	61 25.5%	146 35.2%
	Never	Count % within Q52-5-- Do you trust NGOs?	76 43.2%	154 64.4%	230 55.4%
Total		Count % within Q52-5-- Do you trust NGOs?	176 100.0%	239 100.0%	415 100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	23.451 ^a	3	.000
Likelihood Ratio	23.442	3	.000
N of Valid Cases	415		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.51.

First is trust of non governmental organization: 64.4% (Table Q25 and Q52-5) replied they have never trusted NGOs because they have never known and they have never taken part in any campaign of microfinance. It is 21.2% higher than those who trust this agent but never participated. Meanwhile, 48.3% replied that they have taken part in the campaign and they trust this organization. Secondly, there is different evaluation on this organization about their works and activities within slum community among working people and non working people as can be seen in Table Q27 and

Q52-5.

Q27--What kind of jobs do you have? * Q52-5-- Do you trust NGOs? Crosstabulation

			Q52-5-- Do you trust NGOs?		Total
			Trust NGOs	Do not Trust NGOs	
Q27--What kind of jobs do you have?	No job	Count % within Q52-5-- Do you trust NGOs?	73 41.3%	112 46.9%	185 44.6%
	Manual	Count % within Q52-5-- Do you trust NGOs?	39 22.2%	70 29.3%	109 26.3%
	Selling	Count % within Q52-5-- Do you trust NGOs?	51 29.0%	48 20.1%	99 23.9%
	Others	Count % within Q52-5-- Do you trust NGOs?	13 7.4%	9 3.8%	22 5.3%
Total		Count % within Q52-5-- Do you trust NGOs?	176 100.0%	239 100.0%	415 100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.488 ^a	3	.037
Likelihood Ratio	8.444	3	.038
N of Valid Cases	415		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 9.33.

Table Q27 and Q52-5 shows that 46.9% of *unemployed people* and 29.3% of *manual workers* do not give so much trust on the organization because they do not expect anything from the organization. On the contrary, the organization has gained trust among sellers and other employees. 29.0% of sellers and 7.4% of other employed persons said they trust this agent. It might be because something had been done and they expect some other things will be done in the future. These findings show credibility gap towards NGOs. They may have benefited only certain slum families, whereas

majority of slum population have never got advantage from or they do not satisfy with activities of the organizations.

There is also question of credibility of community leaders' work performance. Higher educated people do not trust their community leaders' activities to help the community whereas uneducated and less educated people bear their trust on their leaders.

**Q10-- What is your education (grade categories)? * Q52-3-- Do you trust community leader?
Crosstabulation**

			Q52-3-- Do you trust community leader?		Total
			Trust Community Leader	Do not Trust Community Leader	
Q10-- What is your education (grade categories)?	NE	Count % within Q52-3-- Do you trust community leader?	98 35.4%	39 28.3%	137 33.0%
	1--3	Count % within Q52-3-- Do you trust community leader?	72 26.0%	27 19.6%	99 23.9%
	4--6	Count % within Q52-3-- Do you trust community leader?	56 20.2%	43 31.2%	99 23.9%
	7--Over	Count % within Q52-3-- Do you trust community leader?	51 18.4%	29 21.0%	80 19.3%
Total	Count % within Q52-3-- Do you trust community leader?	277 100.0%	138 100.0%	415 100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.956 ^a	3	.047
Likelihood Ratio	7.855	3	.049
N of Valid Cases	415		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 26.60.

Table Q10 and Q52-3 shows that 35.4% of no education and 26.0% of 1—3 grades education group of heads of families expressed they believe in their leader. But 31.2% of 4—6 grades education group and 21.0% of 7—Over

grades education group of heads of families answered that they do not trust their leaders. In this context, we feel that it is easy to gain trust from uneducated and less educated people because these people do not understand so much about complicated works in society. Their poor work and low earning make them cry for other people's help. It is true that sometimes they receive relief assistance from the authority, i.e., during political campaign and seasonal rain. Therefore, they obey the authority more than higher educated people do.

Concerning trust on leadership of local authority, we look at Table Q52-4.

Q52-4-- Do you trust local authority?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Trust Local Authority	223	53.7	53.7	53.7
Do not Trust Local Authority	192	46.3	46.3	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Although a number of slum people appear to trust local government rather than distrust, more than forty percentages of them question about local authority's leadership. The number of people who trust the authority and the number of people who do not trust the authority are not much different. It is nearly 10.0% (Table Q52-4) difference between these two groups. Therefore, we understand that government has also not done good works to help building social development of the slum. In addition, if we differentiate the trust between men and women we will perceive that there is different characteristic of trust between them, as is shown in Table Q52-4 and Q2.

Q52-4-- Do you trust local authority? * Q2--What is your sex? Crosstabulation

			Q2--What is your sex?		Total
			Male	Female	
Q52-4-- Do you trust local authority?	Trust Local Authority	Count	49	174	223
		% within Q2--What is your sex?	47.6%	55.8%	53.7%
	Do not Trust Local Authority	Count	54	138	192
		% within Q2--What is your sex?	52.4%	44.2%	46.3%
Total		Count	103	312	415
		% within Q2--What is your sex?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.093 ^b	1	.148		
Continuity Correction ^a	1.776	1	.183		
Likelihood Ratio	2.088	1	.148		
Fisher's Exact Test				.172	.091
N of Valid Cases	415				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 47.65.

Table Q52-4 and Q2 shows that 55.8% of female housewives replied that they trust their local authority whereas 52.4% of male said that they do not trust their leader. Women tend to respect their supervisors or superiors. Being so weak in education, employment, income earning and social participation leaves them to the corner of society. It is not so difficult for authority to govern them. Unlike this, men are not easy to control. And men seem to be more flexible in handling out any particular issue with their superiors.

In short, we can state that in the context of authority trust, women tend to obey the authority more than men do. Although women are more excluded than men in the society they are one of key roles in family's decision

making. This is not good if they are under political influence because their rights are violated.

2—6 GENDER INEQUALITY

Cambodia is a hierarchically ordered society with cultural attitudes and norms discriminating against women and limiting their freedom to act. Women remain marginal in terms of literacy, employment, and percentage as professionals and government officials.

We have found that most women-mothers still support sons to have good education and good job but not their daughters. We have asked both the father and the mother to choose between a son and a daughter for higher education. Firstly, we introduce a general opinion of parents about gender choice of education as is seen in Table Q16.

Q16-- If you can support only one child for higher education, do you support son or daughter?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Son	146	35.2	35.2	35.2
Daughter	60	14.5	14.5	49.6
Don't Care Neither Son nor Daughter	154	37.1	37.1	86.7
NA--DN	55	13.3	13.3	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

A large number of parents give their support to son rather than daughter. The choice of a son is about 20.7% higher (Table Q16). This percentage is very big and can imply that there is discrimination about playing social role between the two sexes. On the other hand, 13.3% of the whole slum residents have not yet decided whether they offer their support to son or daughter; they have no idea or no interest in that issue. The

percentage of parents who replied that they do not care either son or daughter to have good education is as high as 37.1%; they will support them for higher education if they have sufficient money or property for their education. This is a positive aspect. On the other side, if we look at the specific data in Table Q7 and Q16, the comparison of the same choice between husband and wife,¹²⁰ we can notice that husband leads the wife in all cases of no discrimination of love and care between son and daughter. Husband is about 8.2% higher than wife's support. Certain women-mothers have not made decision or no idea about giving priority between son and daughter. One can say long traditional practice directly or indirectly restrains women to take part in decision making. Gender inequality in this society is caused by poor education and unemployment or underemployment remains unsolved.

¹²⁰ Among 415 families we have selected for survey, we have found that there are 82 families headed by women, most of them are widows. They become widows either by divorce or husband's death. In general, men are the head of family; it is seldom to see women are the head of family in Cambodia. However, in case of some families if wives are more powerful than husbands, they will become the head. It shall also be remarked that in Cambodian history it is recognized that there were times that women was head of state in early stage of its history, and then in modern time they gained back their role to head over men. This is true via Cambodian legend story and remaining witness of historical site (Story of Phnom Pros, male-made mountain, and of Phnom Srey, female-made mountain. Now the mountains locate in Kampong Cham Province, northeast part of Phnom Penh. These mountains become attractive tourism sites in Cambodia).

Q7-- Who is the head of family? * Q16-- If you can support only one child for higher education, do you support son or daughter? Crosstabulation

			Q16-- If you can support only one child for higher education, do you support son or daughter?				Total
			Son	Daughter	Don't Care Neither Son nor Daughter	NA--DN	
Q7-- Who is the head of family?	Husband	Count	118	49	129	37	333
		% within Q7-- Who is the head of family?	35.4%	14.7%	38.7%	11.1%	100.0%
	Wife	Count	28	11	25	18	82
		% within Q7-- Who is the head of family?	34.1%	13.4%	30.5%	22.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	146	60	154	55	415
		% within Q7-- Who is the head of family?	35.2%	14.5%	37.1%	13.3%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.149 ^a	3	.067
Likelihood Ratio	6.498	3	.090
N of Valid Cases	415		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.87.

Seeing a real danger of women in the context of gender inequality, women appear to be more concerned by civil society and NGOs. It is because women's ignorance to such roles, NGOs normally regard them as main target for social empowerment. Many local NGOs, in particular those engage in empowering women have been working closely with women in the community. They have been providing some services such as financial loan, medicine, food, training, and educating them to know their full rights in society, for instance. Families led by women are given most attention as is also seen in Box 9 below.

Box—9

Story of Earm Mau:

I am 36 years old, a widow living with my two children. I was born in Takeo Province, southwest part of Phnom Penh. I moved to Phnom Penh in 1999.

In Takeo Province, I had a wooden house and a piece of land for growing rice. Unfortunately, because our living condition was not improving, and at the same time, my husband fell into serious sickness, we sold the house and farming land to cure his illness. Although we tried hard to save him, he did not survive. Not long after his death, I came to Phnom Penh.

I have no education. Everyday I can earn about 4000 to 5000 Riels. I am a small business retailer. I sell boiled baby duck in the community. I can save very little with community microfinance.

I have also got assistance from an NGO named Sister Obani. They support my children's education such as school uniform, school materials, and meals. They sometimes gave me some medicines for common cold and fever. I am happy with this relief assistance. Without it, I will face more difficulty.

As for the future, I hope I will be able to flee from this poverty. If the NGO continues to support my children's education, I hope they will have a good future. This is what I hope for.

Box 9 tells us a story of a widow who lives with two children. Her husband died by serious illness. She makes her living with small sales in the community. Although she cannot earn so much, she manages to save some money; she saves her money by a local NGO microfinance loan. Besides, she also makes good relationship with community leader and NGOs. She understands the important role of microfinance and the involvement of NGOs in community development. Especially with the help from a NGO, her family condition is improving; and she can send her children to school. Thus, one can say that if NGOs continue their support program to local community,

particularly women, they will improve their living condition. However, not many Cambodian poor families understand this and they remain in exclusion.

**Q59-5-- Do you know microfinance saving from NGOs worker? * Q2--What is your sex?
Crosstabulation**

			Q2--What is your sex?		Total
			Male	Female	
Q59-5-- Do you know microfinance saving from NGOs worker?	Yes, I do.	Count % within Q2--What is your sex?	5 4.9%	44 14.1%	49 11.8%
	No, I don't.	Count % within Q2--What is your sex?	98 95.1%	268 85.9%	366 88.2%
Total		Count % within Q2--What is your sex?	103 100.0%	312 100.0%	415 100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.360 ^b	1	.012		
Continuity Correction ^a	5.503	1	.019		
Likelihood Ratio	7.483	1	.006		
Fisher's Exact Test				.013	.006
N of Valid Cases	415				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 12.16.

As can be seen in Table Q59-5 and Q2 above, in term of microfinance saving, 14.1% of women said that they have learnt about microfinance institution through NGOs; and it is much better than men. Most men do not know this organization. Disregarding NGO's women empowerment policy, men usually do not stay at home in day time; they go to work whereas women or wives stay at home very often. In this case, they seldom meet any NGO workers. They do not know any specific goal and activity of this agent. Besides, there is lack of communication with the agent; and there is also lack

of trust between the two parties.

We learned that some local NGOs accessed to their community and promised to help community development, but in the end, there was no work done yet; and they never come back. On the other hand, although there is involvement of NGOs, still they have poor performance. We feel that the organization ought to do much more work to help them. Again as can be seen in Table Q59-5 and Q2, 95.1% of men and 85.9% of women said that they do not know microfinance saving from NGOs worker. Therefore, this community is more or less exclusive. There is not only the problem miscommunication or misconception of NGOs, but also inadequate assessment of NGOs. We found that due to poor road connection and long distance from the central office in the center of city, the community is ignored. Many local and international NGOs engage their development activities, mainly slum communities in the center of city or not far away from the center.

We can sum up that families led by women (in particular widows) can be described as living in social poverty more than families led by men. Therefore, in term of social poverty policy, it shall start to empower women more than men.

#--SUMMARY OF LACK OF SOCIAL EMPOWERMENT

Aside from social exclusion in welfare and economic dimensions shown by earlier data, the respondents in this community survey also expressed their lack of empowerment along 4 major social dimensions (financial services, markets, information, and social participation) that results in social isolation, weakened trust and reciprocity, and for women,

gendered inequality.

Social poverty works within social groupings, for example, women compared to men are not provided equal access, and in general, among groups that are compared with others in terms of their social participation and empowerment. Those with higher access to and participation in financial services, markets, information and social participation are expected to be more knowledgeable and to have confidence and power to control their life situations within their community.

The non-access of groups in the community, both to economic/welfare and to social assets and capital distinguish them from those with access, and the differentiation of other groupings based on access and non-access proceed from within one community compared to others (rural vs urban), local groups vs regional or national groups and national groups compared with global ones.

Hence, the emerged social poverty is social, multi-dimensional, multisector, multilevel as well as gendered. This multifaceted nature of social poverty requires approaches that are simultaneously multilevel, multi-dimensional and multisector, involving the poor people themselves linked to the rest of the social groupings within the community, the society and the rest of the world interested in resolving social poverty together.

PART III

SUMMARY, ANALYSIS, AND CONCLUSION:

RESEARCH AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

RELATED TO CAMBODIA'S SOCIAL POVERTY

In this concluding portion, we sum up main ideas of this dissertation into five:

- firstly, on a general theoretical framework of social poverty on global scale;

- secondly, short literature review on social poverty in contemporary Cambodia;

- thirdly, data presentation of social poverty within a selected poor community in Cambodia;

- fourthly, over-all summary and analysis of social poverty in Cambodia, and,

- fifth, social poverty research and policy recommendations for Cambodia, in particular.

I—ON POVERTY DEFINITIONS, EXPLANATIONS, AND POVERTY REDUCTION APPROACHES

We described the various conceptions and dimensions of poverty and its reduction approaches established by certain outstanding social thinkers from different places and times, in particular, economists and sociologists, for example, Hollander, Jackson, Richard, Sen (economists) and Booth, Rowntree, Townsend (sociologists), and some other social thinkers.

Through their studies on poverty, we can say that they made very significant contributions for social research on poverty because they had guided us about: how poverty shall be studied or observed; how poverty shall be defined or conceptualized; and what kinds of approaches or policies shall be appropriately used to cure poverty. Based on their guidance, we are able

to conclude that *poverty is a very complicated and relative concept, which requires multiple definitions and alternative approaches*. It means that no one can claim a single definition and approach to be used because different people hold different experiences and understandings of poverty as a complicated social phenomena based on certain conditions of life, education, and cultural, geographical, political and economic environments that influence people's lives.

There some social thinkers who did not offer certain definitions but instead offered broad explanations of poverty, to mention the economists Hollander, Jackson, Sen, among others.

We can sum up at least two major forms of poverty that have been distinctively explained, namely *absolute and relative poverty*. Any types of poverty definitions or conceptions are either in the context of absolute or relative poverty. Firstly, poverty was described in terms of absolute poverty, then of relative due to changes both in theory of knowledge and political, economic and social structures. In this sense, poverty is no longer described in contexts of lacking basic needs (physical or material needs), but also as relative deprivation (social needs: social relationship, social participation, social roles, etc.). That is why there is a great change of poverty reduction policy: poverty needs alternative approach to cure. Or poverty is no longer as only economic issue but also sociological one (or anthropological issue, too).

Despite the multidimensionality of poverty, however, antipoverty approaches generally remained un-integrated, concentrating separately either on just economic or welfare or social dimensions, separately.

Furthermore, even though there is change in the study on poverty in

such way, it seems that no integrated study on the two forms of poverty has been done yet. Poverty remains particularized concept, that is to say, it is still observed in terms of absolute or relative poverty with an expansion of dimensions of poverty.

Hence, I proposed to integrate concept of poverty that combines absolute and relative poverty into one integrated package. It is the concept of *social poverty*. As was stated and defined in chapter I, we think that social poverty is an appropriate way to capture the whole picture of poverty so that alternative approaches of poverty reduction can rightly work out. We shall not hesitate to use this term for subsequent scientific researches.

SOCIAL POVERTY views poverty as an integrated concept that combines both economic and social dimensions. *Therefore, social poverty is the integration of the economic and material dimensions to social exclusion and lack of social empowerment. Social poverty is the opposite of social welfare.* Poverty exists when social groups are unable to adequately and equitably provide for the welfare, for the economic, material and social needs of all their members. Poverty is defined as social, requiring the shift from the prior foci of poverty definitions from so being multifaceted to only 1, referring to lack of inclusion and empowerment of people, of social groups, not individuals, in both economic and social realms.

II—REVIEWING SOCIAL POVERTY IN CAMBODIA:

THE MACROSCOPIC WORLD OF LINKED SOCIETAL AND FOREIGN SOCIAL GROUPS

We can sum up the problems of social poverty in contemporary

Cambodian society as follows:

Firstly, we have learnt that poverty's conceptions can be also perceived in terms of absolute and relative poverty, too. *Secondly*, the absence of the socio-economic development caused by long-term war and conflict; and thirdly, the presence of negative factors, such as high illiteracy, low or unequal income/wage earnings, bad physical health, social exclusion and lack of empowerment are described as the major causes of social poverty in contemporary Cambodian society. All these negative factors remain unsolved and pose very serious challenges for daily socio-economic development of Cambodian people and will influence badly the future economic development of Cambodia regardless the complexity of political and economic changes around the globe. *Lastly*, we have learnt poverty reduction approaches and policies done by the Royal Government of Cambodia, WB, ADB, NGOs, and other involved civil society.

As for poverty reduction, like the rest of the world, in Cambodia, several significant approaches have been tried as reflections of the world system, globalization, and antipoverty policy. The failure of these macroscopic approaches lies in its too broad an approach, neglecting to link the local and foreign societal social contexts with the more specific microscopic world of the poor within their gendered and unequal communities.

As we have discussed earlier, the three approaches are no longer of central consideration for social poverty reduction today because all of these have failed to achieve their policy to abolish existing poverty. However, they are still good sources for any kinds of social poverty studies in the present

and future. Here, let us summarize these approaches again as follows:

Firstly, the world system approach seemed to play significant role for reducing the economic development gap between the central areas and marginal ones, but such approach is still insufficient: the world system has its own unequal exchange and unequal development. Unequal exchange is defined that a relative small quantity of labor in a certain economic system exchanged to a large quantity of labor in another system. It is created under condition of the relative liquidity of money and goods and the relative non-mobility of labor force. Thus, unequal exchange makes possible the accumulation in the global scale in the world system. While for unequal development thesis, it is a natural result of unequal exchange, within the world system, it is impossible that development simultaneously occurs. Here, we understand that world system theory or approach, whose key objective is to have worldwide revolution against capitalism, could not liberate the barriers between the unequal development of the central areas and periphery areas. On the other hand, the world system approach in which key social poverty reduction based on *socialist approach* could not abolish the structures of capitalism such as labor exploitation and low wage payment, high interest of loans, high income inequality gaps, unequal exchange of trade and business between the rich and the poor or between the advanced developed countries and the less developed countries. These negative impacts produce social exclusions and lack of social empowerment. Or we can state that world system approach as socialist approach has no strategy to meet with satisfactory needs of people around the globe. Therefore, we need new approach that gives the foundation for economy and society, and that

can make no distinction between the economic growth and societal development.

Secondly, globalization approach could be no longer a right choice for poverty reduction. There are a lot of strong reactions from less developed countries because it has not fulfilled with the socioeconomic development as its policies introduced. In short, we can say that globalization approach has produced social exclusions and lack of social empowerments in developing nations rather than providing social inclusions and social empowerment.

Thirdly, we have also studied that although antipoverty policy had played very important role to reduce social poverty, but like other three previous approaches it failed to reach its end. For instance, the United States had failed to achieve its goal on war against poverty in between 1960s and 1970s because they had not reduced or perished educational inequality of American people, unemployment and income inequality. There was also social exclusion and lack of social empowerment particularly between the whites and blacks. Social discrimination both at school and work places still exists in this nation. The under class people remain the margin of the American society. On the global level, the oil crisis in 1970s had shocked the economic development around the world. In Asia financial crisis in 1998 also gave bad impact on the economic development in the region as a whole. Furthermore, most less developed countries have not yet succeeded the war against poverty although policy master plan has been designed to tackle with it. On the other hand, there remains trade or business limitation in the global market even though there is free market policy in most developed nations and less developed ones. Under this situation, we have to design

poverty policy carefully so that it can solve all kinds of social problems that have not done by previous approaches. Therefore, we need an approach that cares for social exclusions and lack of social empowerment. This is the reason that social poverty approach takes place to fulfill the requirements of the poor people.

Social poverty approach does not concentrate only on political and economic development, but also cover all aspects of developments, that is, social welfare or social security as a whole. Its choice is to introduce a new sociologically scientific way for the study on poverty in the integrated context. This is the great and complicated task of social poverty approach to bring the fair standard of living and participation in any forms of social decisions and actions given by society to every social human being. And the most important role of social poverty approach is to seek for real actions which were applied insufficiently by world system approach, globalization approach, and antipoverty policy. These great approaches have produced good propaganda policies for equal development but they lacked the sustainable real plans and actions. They also lacked foundations of understanding the real conditions and needs of people who were excluded and not empowered. This is very important because we need to receive feedback from the poor people who need help. The flexibility of the policy is very important. A policy or approach for poverty reduction shall start from the reality of the poor people. Social poverty approach is not aiming to have equal social economic development between the most developed countries and the least developed countries, but to demonstrate that if both of the most developed and least developed nations are really willing to reduce poverty gaps between the haves and the

have-nots in their societies, they have to learn how to have a unified concept of a subject matter, and then learn how to access to people (victims) by observing the living conditions carefully.

III—REVIEWING SOCIAL POVERTY IN CAMBODIA:

THE MICROSCOPIC SOCIAL WORLD OF THE POOR

According to our study on an urban slum community, we can conclude the existence of social poverty in Cambodia as evidenced by social exclusion and lack of social empowerment. We summarized different dimensions of social exclusion and lack of social empowerment as follows.

1—as for education, we found that many poor people do not have good education. Poor education, unskilled labors and large family members create insufficient earnings and unemployment. In general, the poor people of both sexes living in slum areas with no education or primary school education are more than people with secondary school or higher education. On the other hand, there is educational gap between urban people and rural ones. We found that those who were born and live in urban places have better education than those who were born and lived in rural areas. In addition, poor education of heads of slum families is also influenced by their parents where mother's education is worse than father's. Therefore, we conclude that the poor people are neglected from good education, especially women. Therefore, we can say that in Cambodia *women are more excluded from having higher education.*

In short, we can postulate that a great number of illiterate (poor) people are derived from at least two influential factors: *lack of sufficient*

wage or income earning and high cost of education (high cost of education including *corruption in education*). The illiterate and low educated poor people face many problems to raise a sufficient living standard, not like the non-poor and well-educated people in the country. In this case, the poor Cambodian people do not only fall into illiteracy, but also poor/ill physical health.

2—in case of poor health, slum residents are deprived of the knowledge of health education. Several factors are the major causes of their poor health, for instance lack of food stock, lack of using safe drinking water, lack of sanitation and poor housing, and lack of safe sex. Their lives are surrounded by bad physical body resulting from low or insufficient earnings per day. We find that very few of the poor slum people have very good health. Their health is up and down frequently. We find that people who have never used boiled water are so risky. Furthermore, it is not only the problem of not using boiled water, but also there is lack of water supply. We have observed that water supply systems in Cambodia today are poor and not sufficient throughout the country. Responding to lack of water supply and high cost of water, they have to limit the water usage

Therefore, one can say that there is a social inequality of accessing to public assets, i.e., water. However, it is not only failing to use any kinds of safe drinking water and to have insufficient water supply as sources of poor health, but also food shortage is perceived as another crucial component of preventing good physical and mental development. Like water, food is recognized as primarily and necessarily material needs for both body and mind development. From our fieldwork study on food consumption of slum

people peculiarly of cooking rice and fish paste, our data point out that in general people live in urban slums do not have enough food stock or they are facing food insecurity.

In brief, we can conclude that lack of health care knowledge, lack of water supply and lack of food consumption are causes of poor health of all slum people. And poor health certainly influences badly not only physical and mental strength and education, but also employment or job opportunity.

3—in the context of unemployment, despite economic growth, there is increasing social inequality in the contexts of income distribution and types of works. The daily payment or monthly salary of workers is not high and not sufficient to the expenditure and high cost in market place. The number of unemployment is very high in urban slum areas. We have found that among the slum people generally male head of family works whereas his wife stays at home looking after children. It is hard to find a family that both husband and wife work. The lack of means of transportation to far distant work places and high cost of transportation leave housewife with no work. Therefore, here we can see that big quantity of female housewives contribute to large numbers of unemployment. If we try to compare employment between male and female, more female housewives or female heads of households are or have been excluded from employment. Women with jobs mainly involve in selling activities rather than men. And for the rest of works it seems that they are socially excluded either because of poor education or natural strengths weaker than men. In particular, disregarding for skill or technique and education background, women are not likely accepted for construction work and other works that require strong physical labors.

Therefore, according to our finding we can state that in general women are socially excluded from having employment if compared with men. On the other hand, women appear also to be excluded from having good position or status either in society or at work, i.e., they are employed unequally in other governmental ministries, public administrations and good position in either civil society, NGOs or private institutions.

4—in terms of income inequality, slum people do not earn so much money to carry on their daily living expenses, especially so if large members of family are dependent upon a single earner. This kind of earning and poor or low income earning we can imagine that most slum people face with a terrible living expense's management. We found that most of them can earn from 10 dollars to 29 dollars. This is neither sufficient nor enough saving. Those family heads that do not/did not make any earning and depending upon their children's are the worst because even their children can make it, the earning is still so smaller than others. Moreover, unequal income earning does not only occur between men and women but also between young couples and aged couples. Younger people who are physically strong and active appear to earn better than older people.

In short, our community findings also indicate that there is no equal income distribution in Cambodian society. Thus if we compare with Asian countries, Cambodia can be regarded as one of unequal societies in the region. Therefore, Cambodia needs a standard of income distribution to avoid income insecurity or high income inequality. And such poor earning also leads to poor housing. Poor housing is a condition of having poor education, poor health, no employment, poor work, no good performance of

self employment, and finally very low income earning.

5—as for poor housing, most households of urban slums either located at the center of or outskirts of city are unpleasant, not good looking places, with bad smell and unorganized and bad living environment. Those who live in cottages are much more than those who live in wooden houses. Most houses appear to have no separation between sitting room and sleeping room. The problem is that land space of housing is very limited, thus there is no proper location for kitchen. Lacking of private ownership of toilet is an obstacle of the slum people because they need to spend time to go to toilet and wait for a while to get into if someone occupied it. Another problem of using public toilet especially for women is that it has been built without having separation of men and women.

On the other hand, we also found that most slum people still need a number of means of media and transportation, such as radio, television, bicycle and motor cycle. Another case of poor housing is slum people appear to have several children, relatives and friends residing with them. It is extremely hard for parents to raise their children up in bad condition of poverty. The problem of having a lot of children in Cambodia as a whole or poor people in particular is because no family plan has been introduced widely by any agents, both of government and non government.

6—as for lack of access to financial services, we found that those zero income and very little earning people do not know about microfinance saving, do not know how to access to such loans. And some of them do not trust on such institution, on the one hand, and they cannot be loaned in cash money due to their poorness, on the other hand. There is unequal treatment or

discrimination in such loan service particularly for those who can earn nothing or very little in daily life. These people are rarely offered loan support from any loan institutions because they are afraid of having difficulty to pay back both of interest and whole borrowed cash on time unless they have a reliable guarantee. Beside this, it also occurs that so may slum families do not decide to take part in microfinance saving. Most of them do not feel trust on this institution yet. Some of them even experienced being deceived in previous saving by a small group of people who run similar business without having real foundation. They do not want to take part in. Therefore, in short, lack of access to financial support is a real threat to social welfare of the community as a whole.

7—In case of poor access to market, there is a gap in accessing to market. Both low income and poor people who are not able to hire a store or a very limited space at a particular market find themselves so troublesome: they can be easily caught and fined if they sell goods without permission from market authority. We have observed that there are a few families run retail business selling groceries and so on in slum area. There is also a market built by city authority in the slum but only very few people hire the stores. Market is nearly empty. There are no business agents supply goods and offer services to this community. This makes the price of goods more expensive.

8—as for poor access to information, we found that there are poor access to information and poor understanding about importance of information in the slum community. If Cambodia slum people can have at least a radio or television set at home, they may learn something useful for

their life. But our survey shows that nearly half of urban slum families do not have radio or television. Again in a simple sense we understand that around half of those who have televisions have attended any campaigns in the community in a certain period of time. Therefore, if all of them can have one television, they may know and speak out. On the other hand, we also understood that they have been excluded from accessing to any information not only in the way they do not have means of mass media, but also in the way that society as a whole treat them. Here, we perceive that slum people may have not built trust with other people who might become their friends.

9—as for lack of social participation, the slum people have been excluding from social participation in several ways, such as taking part in decision making. Our findings do turn out that men are more included in decision making process. Therefore, women have been losing their rights to social actions. It is a real threat of life which they are forgotten. Society will never learn completely the difficulties of women and what they are thinking about social development, unless they speak out what they need. However, if compared with men, women are isolated. So many housewives and women heads of families do not have jobs yet. They live dependent upon the earning of their husbands and children or on self business on the streets or some corners of public markets. Beside poor education and low income, we have understood that women lack of social connections or networks. Women have few good and high positions either in government or non government institutions.

10—as for lack of reciprocity and trust, we can conclude that there is positive aspect in slum community in building friendship with other people

and having sense of obligation; they form a good network. However, in terms of trust, women show their trust to only certain neighbors; they are not easy to trust other people. On the contrary, men appear to be easy in trust relationship. On the other hand, there is different evaluation on NGOs about their works and activities within slum community; working people trust more and non working persons less. It might be because something had been done and they expect some other things will be done more in the future. These findings show credibility gap towards NGOs.

As for trust on community leader, we found that higher educated people do not trust their community leaders' activities to help the community whereas no educated and less educated people bear their trust on their leaders. We think that it is easy to gain trust from no and less educated people because these people do not understand so much about complicated works in society. And women tend to respect their supervisors or superiors. Being so weak in education, employment, income earning and social participation leaves them to the corner of society.

In short, we can state that in the context of authority and trust, women tend to obey and trust the authority more than men do. Therefore, it is easy for the authority to control them and as well as the families as a whole. Although women are more exclusive than men in the society even though they have key roles in family's decision making. This is not good because their rights are violated.

11—as for gender inequality, we perceived that women remain at the margin of gender disparities in rates of literacy, employment, profession and government officials. As for choice for children, most women and mothers

still support boys or sons to have good education and good job rather than girls or daughters. A large number of parents give their support to son more than daughter.

IV—INTEGRATED ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL POVERTY IN CAMBODIA

In brief, we are aware that what we have found about social poverty in urban slum, Phnom Penh, Cambodia not only represent what is happening in the slum area itself but also show how social poverty exists in this country, but also tell us why and how social poverty still exists in other part of the world.

It cannot be denied that forms of social exclusions and lack of social empowerments remain elsewhere either in most developed countries or less developed nations. For example, there is not only poor education, poor health, poor employment or unemployment, poor earning and poor housing, but also others like race discrimination, religious conflict, and so on. We ought to recognize that if social groups either of minority or majority are socially excluded from the rest of their society, soon they will fall into social poverty because they are ignored. Therefore, we ought to create social poverty policy by concentrating on *integrated social safety net* and put it into real action in order to prevent more people to fall in social exclusions and lack of social empowerment.

Integrated social safety net has to include all sources of social development that maintain or sustain social welfare of society. Thus, it has to include economic capital, political capital, cultural capital, natural capital,

human capital and social capital. This integrated social safety net benefits all citizens. Failing to promote and sustain one of these capitals, a society will function in irregular way.

For instance, we cannot have economic development alone without having political stability, good human and social resources including something offered by the nature and human culture. And, because it is not easy to achieve this complicated task, we have to keep on trying all best to overcome.

In addition, human kinds, disregarding different races or nationalities, believes and religions, are bound by social norms or orders and state's laws. They have their similarities such as love, care, gratitude, interrelationship, responsibility, and compassion; no one wants to live in un-peaceful and poor society. It is not only to have good will of integrated social safety nets, but also real commitment and action has to put into function.

Again we shall remark that we are not going to propose social equality of living, especially in terms of having equal assets, good house and good income. But at least, we should offer a *proper standard of living* above social poverty. We need to take into deep consideration of this standard.

At last, basing on what we have learnt from literature of poverty and our finding through sociological fieldwork survey in urban Phnom Penh, we can regard social poverty approach as a good choice for social poverty reduction in the present and future because it takes alternative approaches as the foundation for the reduction of poverty; it is the expansion of former poverty reduction approaches. The most important role of social poverty

approach is to seek for real actions to fulfill what had gone wrong with former approaches. A policy or approach of social poverty reduction shall start from the reality of the poor people. Social poverty approach is not aiming to have equal social and economic development between the most developed countries and the least developed countries, but its aim is approach shall be used to reduce gaps between poor people and rich ones.

V—RESEARCH AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The following are some additional research and policy recommendations contributing to the existing social poverty reduction approaches/policies in contemporary Cambodia.

Firstly, we need to design overall programs or policy packages for real actions that offers benefit to all kinds of people and reduce gaps between the rich and poor people. The choices among alternative programs for public and private resources require any statement of social objective; they can be evaluated; and long planning and long implementation/action of poverty reduction policy/approach are currently lacking. When the poor people are excluded from equitable sharing, it increases output of specific disabilities. Thus it can be summarized as lack of physical and human capital and lack of access. Policies designed to offset these handicaps must take account of particular socio-economic characteristics of target groups.

Cambodia shall allow and maintain a favorable micro-finance environment in order to effectively reach the great numbers of Cambodian poor who currently do not have access to financial services; there needs to be an environment conducive to allowing Microfinance organizations to thrive.

Thus ensuring that every Cambodian, particularly the poor, has access to credit should be a primary concern. Cambodia shall formulate a social policy for a legal and regulatory framework that allows diversity in institutional structures and credit delivery schemes for both the formal and informal financial institutions. It shall also concentrate on regulation and supervision which creates an environment for micro-credit to thrive.

And Cambodia shall create *integrated social safety net* in order to promote and sustain both political and economic development under democratic principle. Economically this means designing social safety nets that do not simply try to cushion the fall of the left-behinds, but actually try to bring them into the system by helping them to acquire the tool and resources to compete.

Secondly, we badly need social poverty eradication policy that empowers women specifically to vanish big gap between men and women, the existing social problem in this society. What we have found so far is it is not only big social gap between the haves and the have-nots, but also social gap between men and women. Women are socially excluded and disempowered. To perish this gap we need to design social poverty reduction policy and increase further social poverty research on women. There are a number of general policy implications for empowering women. I shall outline these implications as proposal consistent with the analysis of the empirical survey in preceding chapter as follows:

1—an essential prerequisite of social poverty eradication policy is women empowerment or development, which guarantees the right of the (poor) women to participate in decisions that affect their lives, the right to water

and food as basic human right, the right to work, and the right to all information services. Literacy, primary education, healthy shelter and protection of children shall be also included in this list of priorities. Defining and promoting the role and status of women in society and ensuring the full participation of all strata and groups in development decision-making is necessary to make development holistic. And it is needed to make sure that economic growth is to bring a higher level of women empowerment and expand their choices. In this context, women empowerment or development itself creates more participation and equity, where economic growth and women empowerment need not to be tradeoff.

2—social poverty eradication policy shall include pro-poor planning for women, such as, firstly, to bring women to participate in the formal sector and benefit from the increased importance and attention being paid to micro and small enterprises. They must develop a market orientation in their economic and income-generating choices. They must be able to access capital and legal resources. Secondly, to provide life skills and advocacy support for women by instilling them in confidence and dignity, and by improving their ability to meet their needs at home, at work, and in community. This includes counseling and support for socio-cultural empowerment such as life skills and formation of mutual support groups, advocacy for women's rights and legal literacy. And finally, to train or educate women to know about health care and family planning, food security, and sanitation; and granting women an access to microfinance and market.

3—social poverty eradication policy shall establish social safety net to prevent prostitution and trafficking. Prostitution and trafficking debase

women and children, robbing them of their dignity. Sex trade violates the basic human rights of women and children, and prevents them from enjoying lives of economic, social and spiritual freedom.

4—social poverty eradication policy shall establish social protection safety net to prevent family abuse or domestic violence so that basic women's rights in family and society will be guaranteed and thus women will act freely.

5—social poverty eradication policy shall give its priorities to promoting and building up capacity of any social networks or organizations to empower women to engage in business, in work, labor market, information transfer, and social participation in their communities or society. And building trust environment in these networks is also significant and necessary. For example, if we have community-based information network for women, it is very important for them because they can learn, get and share information and they also may have new creative idea to solve their problem. Strong community or society is a well-organized society based social integration, good governance and network. If women are well-organized in community based on functional organization, they will be no longer excluded; and they may also become independent. Thus, social poverty policy cannot be achieved without social reconciliation or abolishing social discrimination of women or gender gap. We need many efforts to encourage women to engage in village or community participation in development implementation.

6—social poverty eradication policy shall also concentrate on educating the women to have good knowledge of traditional norms and social norms. In this way, they will become free agents with free choices and free decision making. They will realize and improve negative and positive aspects in these norms.

7—social poverty eradication policy cannot be successful without social insurances on education, health, employment, and housing. Cambodia lacks these kinds of insurances. This contributes to poor education, poor health, unemployment and poor housing. Simultaneously, this policy can be achieved if there a standard of minimum wage is set up and legally sanctioned. Not regarding difference between men and women, cheap labor and low payment or unequal payment by government, non government, and private sector cause certain Cambodian people live behind other people in the region. Thus, without any kind of social insurance and standard of minimum wage, this nation will not achieve their socio-economic development goal.

8- Social empowerment must also include NGOs that can serve as the important links between the microscopic and macroscopic social groups within and outside of Cambodia.

To fight against social poverty it needs multiple involvements of governmental institution, civil society group, NGOs, and individual. Social poverty cannot be solved by a single participation of government institution or NGO alone. In Cambodia local and international NGOs play important role in social, political and economical development. They have setup development programs and many actions have been taking place since they are created over nearly two decades (especially from early 1990s). They have provided relief assistance either through government or directly to the people by themselves; they have built and repaired infrastructure systems such as road, water and electricity power supply; they have also built schools and supplied school materials such teaching tools, textbooks, books, and pen.

They have also established and rehabilitated irrigation system for rural areas and drainage systems in urban ones such as in Phnom Penh, and provincial town of Siem Reap. Moreover, they have also helped to resolve social problems of the poor in both urban and rural areas.

As for urban areas especially Phnom Penh, there are uncountable slum areas throughout the city. Recently due to the rapid socioeconomic growth, the flux of foreign and local investment and the growth of tourist industry, land and house become very expensive. Slum communities located on prohibited land of the state, on park, in hospitals, Buddhist pagodas, and on along railway face emergent eviction. The eviction is the big problem between the Phnom Penh authority and the slum residents. Most slum families do not want to leave the places and relocate in other parts of the city far away from the center. So it makes a lot of troubles. NGOs and other civil society groups have tried to help these people to negotiate with the government not to remove them as the concerns of education of children, income earnings, living environment, and so on. NGOs and civil society concentrate the social development of slum community is place rather than relocation.

In brief, NGOs have closely involved their activities with urban slum communities situated at the center of the city rather than outskirts of the city. In the surveyed community, the NGOs' involvement to help the slum residents is very limited. They may help other communities much better than the community we chose for our study. NGOs workers come to this slum community not very often. As for their activities, we have found that they involved in some sorts of microfinance activities and health education. In the

past, they gave some relief aids to food like noodle and cooking rice, medicine and housing entities such as tent and cooking pan especially during the rainy season and if there was fire broke out occasionally. They work so closely with families that borrowed their money and HIV victims.

However, NGOs (either local authority or community leader) do not form automatically good relationships with the slum people. There is a need to overcome the lack of communication network between the people and the NGOs.

9- As already expressed earlier, unlike past approaches that separately targeted the accessibility of one need at a time, our social poverty data point to the need for simultaneous approach by multilevel partners and stakeholders to provide access to stable and better employment, education, housing and health and other opportunities, in an integrated and sustainable fashion.

This study also established that the emergence and face of social poverty is social, multi-dimensional, multisectoral, multilevel as well as gendered. This multifaceted nature of social poverty requires approaches that are simultaneously multilevel, multi-dimensional and multisectoral, involving the poor people themselves linked to the rest of the social groupings within the community, the society and the rest of the world interested in resolving social poverty together.

Then perhaps, with a simplified yet holistic definition of poverty, as social poverty, the people of Cambodia as well as the rest of the poor people in the world may find themselves with improved social inclusion access and empowerment as befit social beings.

APPENDIX

STATISTICAL OUTCOMES OF FIELDWORK SURVEY

Statistics

Q1--Where is your birthplace?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q1--Where is your birthplace?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	City	80	19.3	19.3	19.3
	Rural	335	80.7	80.7	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q2--What is your sex?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q2--What is your sex?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	103	24.8	24.8	24.8
	Female	312	75.2	75.2	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q3--How old are you (age group)?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q3--How old are you (age group)?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	20--29	84	20.2	20.2	20.2
	30--39	110	26.5	26.5	46.7
	40--49	102	24.6	24.6	71.3
	50--Over	119	28.7	28.7	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q4-1--How old is your eldest son (age-group)?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q4-1--How old is your eldest son (age-group)?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1--9	56	13.5	13.5	13.5
	10--19	55	13.3	13.3	26.7
	20--29	54	13.0	13.0	39.8
	30--39	21	5.1	5.1	44.8
	40--Over	9	2.2	2.2	47.0
	NA	220	53.0	53.0	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q4-2--How old is your eldest daughter (age-group)?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q4-2--How old is your eldest daughter (age-group)?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1--9	43	10.4	10.4	10.4
	10--19	72	17.3	17.3	27.7
	20--29	45	10.8	10.8	38.6
	30--39	25	6.0	6.0	44.6
	40--Over	9	2.2	2.2	46.7
	NA	221	53.3	53.3	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q5--What is your nationality?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q5--What is your nationality?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Cambodian	415	100.0	100.0	100.0

Statistics

Q6--What is your family status?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q6--What is your family status?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Married	340	81.9	81.9	81.9
	Widow	67	16.1	16.1	98.1
	Widower	8	1.9	1.9	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q7-- Who is the head of family?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q7-- Who is the head of family?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Husband	333	80.2	80.2	80.2
	Wife	82	19.8	19.8	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q8-1-- Do you have member of family?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q8-1-- Do you have member of family?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Have Member	415	100.0	100.0	100.0

Statistics

Q8-2-- How many children do you have?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q8-2-- How many children do you have?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid No Child	27	6.5	6.5	100.0
1--3	219	52.8	52.8	52.8
4--6	137	33.0	33.0	85.8
7--Over	32	7.7	7.7	93.5
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q8-3-- Do your parents reside with you?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q8-3-- Do your parents reside with you?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Zero Person	304	73.3	73.3	73.3
1	29	7.0	7.0	80.2
2	82	19.8	19.8	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q8-4--Do your nephew reside with you?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q8-4--Do your nephew reside with you?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1	14	3.4	3.4	3.4
2--3	7	1.7	1.7	5.1
No	394	94.9	94.9	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q8-5--Do your nieces reside with you?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q8-5--Do your nieces reside with you?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1	11	2.7	2.7	2.7
2--Over	6	1.4	1.4	4.1
No	398	95.9	95.9	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q8-6-- Do your friends reside with you?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q8-6-- Do your friends reside with you?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Zero Person	412	99.3	99.3	99.3
2	1	.2	.2	99.5
3	1	.2	.2	99.8
4	1	.2	.2	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q8-7--Do your brothers-sisters reside with you?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q8-7--Do your brother-sisters reside with you?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1	7	1.7	1.7	1.7
2--Over	5	1.2	1.2	2.9
No	403	97.1	97.1	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q8-8--Do your grandchildrend reside with you?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q8-8--Do your grandchildrend reside with you?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1--2	12	2.9	2.9	2.9
3--Over	10	2.4	2.4	5.3
No	393	94.7	94.7	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q9-- What kind of religion do you believe?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q9-- What kind of religion do you believe?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Theravada Buddhism	368	88.7	88.7	88.7
Islamism	1	.2	.2	88.9
Christianity	46	11.1	11.1	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q10-- What is your education (grade categories)?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q10-- What is your education (grade categories)?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	NE	137	33.0	33.0	100.0
	1--3	99	23.9	23.9	23.9
	4--6	99	23.9	23.9	47.7
	7--Over	80	19.3	19.3	67.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q11-- What is your father's education (grade categorie)s?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q11-- What is your father's education (grade categorie)s?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	NE	192	46.3	46.3	100.0
	1--3	29	7.0	7.0	7.0
	4--6	50	12.0	12.0	19.0
	7-Over	120	28.9	28.9	48.0
	DN	24	5.8	5.8	53.7
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q12-- What is mother's education (grade categories)?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q12-- What is mother's education (grade categories)?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	NE	263	63.4	63.4	100.0
	1--3	41	9.9	9.9	9.9
	4--6	40	9.6	9.6	19.5
	7--Over	40	9.6	9.6	29.5
	DN	31	7.5	7.5	36.6
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q13-- What is your spouse's education (grade categories)?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q13-- What is your spouse's education (grade categories)?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	NE	116	28.0	28.0	100.0
	1--3	48	11.6	11.6	11.6
	4--6	113	27.2	27.2	38.8
	7--Over	138	33.3	33.3	72.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q14-- What is your eldest son's education (grade group)?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q14-- What is your eldest son's education (grade group)?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	U.age	30	7.2	7.2	100.0
	NA	220	53.0	53.0	88.7
	NE	17	4.1	4.1	92.8
	1--3	61	14.7	14.7	14.7
	4--6	46	9.9	9.9	25.8
	7--Over	41	9.9	9.9	35.7
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q15-- What is your eldest daughter's education (grade group)?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q15-- What is your eldest daughter's education (grade group)?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	U.age	27	6.5	6.5	100.0
	NA	221	53.3	53.3	85.8
	NE	32	7.7	7.7	93.5
	1--3	42	10.1	10.1	10.1
	4--6	53	12.8	12.8	22.9
	7--Over	40	9.6	9.6	32.5
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q16-- If you can support only one child for higher education, do you support son or daughter?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q16-- If you can support only one child for higher education, do you support son or daughter?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Son	146	35.2	35.2	35.2
	Daughter	60	14.5	14.5	49.6
	Don't Care Neither Son nor Daughter	154	37.1	37.1	86.7
	NA--DN	55	13.3	13.3	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q17-- Could you please tell us about your health condition?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q17-- Could you please tell us about your health condition?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Excellent	8	1.9	1.9	1.9
	Good	119	28.7	28.7	30.6
	Fair	155	37.3	37.3	68.0
	Poor	133	32.0	32.0	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q18-- Could you please tell us about your under-ten-year old child's health condition?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q18-- Could you please tell us about your under-ten-year old child's health condition?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	NA	88	21.2	21.2	21.2
	Excellent	7	1.7	1.7	22.9
	Good	161	38.8	38.8	61.7
	Fair	125	30.1	30.1	91.8
	Poor	34	8.2	8.2	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q19-- How many times do you have meal everyday?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q19-- How many times do you have meal everyday?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Twice/day	285	68.7	68.7	68.7
	3-time/day	106	25.5	25.5	94.2
	Irregular	24	5.8	5.8	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q20-- How many grams or kilograms of rice do you have now?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q20-- How many grams or kilograms of rice do you have now?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	128	30.8	30.8	100.0
	Less 1kg	11	2.7	2.7	69.2
	1--9kg	226	54.5	54.5	54.5
	10--19kg	24	5.8	5.8	60.2
	20--29kg	10	2.4	2.4	62.7
	30kg-over	16	3.9	3.9	66.5
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q21-- How many grams or kilograms of fish-paste or paste of fermented fish do you have now?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q21-- How many grams or kilograms of fish-paste or paste of fermented fish do you have now?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	356	85.8	85.8	100.0
	Less 1kg	12	2.9	2.9	14.2
	1--9kg	37	8.9	8.9	8.9
	10kg--Over	10	2.4	2.4	11.3
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q22-- How often do you boil water before using it?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q22-- How often do you boil water before using it?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Always	206	49.6	49.6	49.6
	Fairly Often	7	1.7	1.7	51.3
	Sometimes	69	16.6	16.6	68.0
	Almost Never	133	32.0	32.0	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q23-- Where do you get water for everyday life?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q23-- Where do you get water for everyday life?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid From Public Well in the Community or Nearby	100	24.1	24.1	24.1
From Public Lake in the Community or Nearby	14	3.4	3.4	27.5
Buying from Market or Private Ownership	301	72.5	72.5	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q24--How many times do you take bath?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q24-- How many times do you take bath?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid More Than Twice/Day	274	66.0	66.0	66.0
Twice/2-day or More	58	14.0	14.0	80.0
One Time/Day	83	20.0	20.0	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q25-- How often do you participate in microfinance campaign in your community?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q25-- How often do you participate in microfinance campaign in your community?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Always	26	6.3	6.3	6.3
	Fairly Often	13	3.1	3.1	9.4
	Sometimes	146	35.2	35.2	44.6
	Never	230	55.4	55.4	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q26-- Do you have to participate in the rejection movement of community removal run by community leader or NGOs?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q26-- Do you have to participate in the rejection movement of community removal run by community leader or NGOs?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly I have to	86	20.7	20.7	20.7
	I have to	183	44.1	44.1	64.8
	I do not have to	110	26.5	26.5	91.3
	Strongly I do not have to	36	8.7	8.7	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q27--What kind of jobs do you have?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q27--What kind of jobs do you have?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No job	185	44.6	44.6	70.8
	Manual	109	26.3	26.8	26.8
	Selling	99	23.9	23.9	100.0
	Others	22	5.3	5.3	76.1
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q28--What kind of jobs does/did your father do?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q28--What kind of jobs does/did your father do?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No job	95	22.9	22.9	79.8
	Farmer	165	39.8	39.8	39.8
	Manual	71	17.1	17.1	56.9
	Selling	19	4.6	4.6	100.0
	Others	65	15.7	15.7	95.4
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q29--What kind of jobs does/did your mother do?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q29--What kind of jobs does/did your mother do?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No job	179	43.1	43.1	78.3
	Farmer	138	33.3	33.3	33.3
	Manual	8	1.9	1.9	35.2
	Selling	80	19.3	19.3	100.0
	Others	10	2.4	2.4	80.7
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q30--What kind of jobs does/did your spouse do?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q30--What kind of jobs does/did your spouse do?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No job	86	20.7	20.7	70.8
	Manual	208	50.1	50.1	50.1
	Selling	59	14.2	14.2	100.0
	Others	62	14.9	14.9	85.8
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q31-- What kind of jobs does/did your eldest daughter do?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q31-- What kind of jobs does/did your eldest daughter do?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No job	40	9.6	5.6	64.3
	NA	227	54.7	54.7	54.7
	Below school age	27	6.5	6.5	70.8
	Student	54	13.0	13.0	83.9
	Manual work	32	7.7	7.7	96.6
	Selling	21	5.1	5.1	88.9
	Others	14	3.4	3.4	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q32-- What kind of jobs does/did your eldest son do?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q32-- What kind of jobs does/did your eldest son do?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No job	28	6.7	6.7	61.0
	NA	225	54.2	54.2	54.2
	Below school age	30	7.2	7.2	68.2
	Student	56	13.5	13.5	81.7
	Manual	42	10.1	10.1	96.4
	Transportation	15	3.6	3.6	86.3
	Selling	4	1.0	1.0	82.7
	Others	15	3.6	3.6	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q33-- What kinds of wage or income earning do you have?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q33-- What kinds of wage or income earning do you have?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Permanent	85	20.5	20.5	20.5
	Temporary	28	6.7	6.7	27.2
	Irregular	256	61.7	61.7	88.9
	Multiple	46	11.1	11.1	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q34--How much do you earn in US\$/month?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q34--How much do you earn in US\$/month?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Zero	136	32.8	32.8	100.0
	10--19	75	18.1	18.1	18.1
	20--29	48	11.6	11.6	29.6
	30--39	74	17.8	17.8	47.5
	40--Over	82	19.8	19.8	67.2
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q35-- What is your whole family income in US\$/month?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q35-- What is your whole family income in US\$/month?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	10--19	53	12.8	12.8	12.8
	20--29	43	10.4	10.4	23.1
	30--39	90	21.7	21.7	44.8
	40--59	100	24.1	24.1	68.9
	60--Over	129	31.1	31.1	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q36-- Is your income or wage earning enough for expenditure?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q36-- Is your income or wage earning enough for expenditure?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Quite Enough	8	1.9	1.9	1.9
	Enough	88	21.2	21.2	23.1
	Not Enough	223	53.7	53.7	76.9
	Not Quite Enough	96	23.1	23.1	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q37-- Do you have a capacity to save money ?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q37-- Do you have a capacity to save money ?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Have a Capacity to Save	143	34.5	34.5	34.5
	Don't Have a Capacity to Save	70	16.9	16.9	51.3
	Strongly Do Not Have a Capacity to Save	202	48.7	48.7	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q38-- How satisfied are you with income earning?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q38-- How satisfied are you with income earning?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Extremely Satisfied	6	1.4	1.4	1.4
	Satisfied	137	33.0	33.0	34.5
	Disatisfied	179	43.1	43.1	77.6
	Extremely Disatisfied	93	22.4	22.4	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q39-- What kind of house do you live?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q39-- What kind of house do you live?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Wooden House	106	25.5	25.5	25.5
	Cottage	309	74.5	74.5	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q40-- Could you tell us about your sleeping room & sitting room?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q40-- Could you tell us about your sleeping room & sitting room?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Separation	40	9.6	9.6	9.6
No Separation	375	90.4	90.4	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q41-- Could you tell us about kitchen?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q41-- Could you tell us about kitchen?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Inside-Kitchen House	385	92.8	92.8	92.8
Outside-Kitchen House	30	7.2	7.2	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q42--Could you please tell us about your toilet?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q42--Could you please tell us about your toilet?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid No toilet	182	43.9	43.9	43.9
Inside-home toilet	41	9.9	9.9	53.7
Shared toilet	52	12.5	12.5	66.3
Public toilet	140	33.7	33.7	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q43-1--Of belongings, what kind of things do you have in your family?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q43-1--Of belongings, what kind of things do you have in your family?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Having	282	68.0	68.0	68.0
	Having Not	133	32.0	32.0	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q43-2-- Do you have radio?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q43-2-- Do you have radio?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, I do.	124	29.9	29.9	29.9
	No, I don't.	291	70.1	70.1	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q43-3-- Do you have television?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q43-3-- Do you have television?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, I do.	136	32.8	32.8	32.8
	No, I don't.	279	67.2	67.2	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q43-4-- Do you have bike?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q43-4-- Do you have bike?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes, I do.	131	31.6	31.6	31.6
No, I don't.	284	68.4	68.4	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q43-5--Do you have cyclo (tricycle)?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q43-5--Do you have cyclo (tricycle)?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes, I do.	14	3.4	3.4	3.4
No, I don't.	401	96.6	96.6	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q43-6-- Do you have motor-bike?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q43-6-- Do you have motor-bike?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes, I do.	145	34.9	34.9	34.9
No, I don't.	270	65.1	65.1	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q43-7-- Do you have car?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q43-7-- Do you have car?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes, I do.	2	.5	.5	.5
No, I don't.	413	99.5	99.5	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q44-- Do you strongly agree that you are excluded from participating in decision making process in your community?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q44-- Do you strongly agree that you are excluded from participating in decision making process in your community?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Agree	79	19.0	19.0	19.0
Agree	103	24.8	24.8	43.9
Disagree	192	46.3	46.3	90.1
Strongly Disagree	41	9.9	9.9	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q45-- Do you strongly agree that you are losing or excluded from having job opportunity?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q45-- Do you strongly agree that you are losing or excluded from having job opportunity?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Agree	73	17.6	17.6	17.6
Agree	140	33.7	33.7	51.3
Disagree	150	36.1	36.1	87.5
Strongly Disagree	52	12.5	12.5	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q46-- How often do you access to any financial services such as loan from government or NGOs etc.?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q46-- How often do you access to any financial services such as loan from government or NGOs etc.?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Always	23	5.5	5.5	5.5
Fairly Often	15	3.6	3.6	9.2
Sometimes	126	30.4	30.4	39.5
Never	251	60.5	60.5	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q47-- How can you access to sell anything at a market without renting a store?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q47-- How can you access to sell anything at a market without renting a store?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Extremely Easy	16	3.9	3.9	3.9
Easy	46	11.1	11.1	14.9
Not Easy	142	34.2	34.2	49.2
Not Extremely Easy	211	50.8	50.8	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q48-- How often do you attend the wedding of your friends-neighbors?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q48-- How often do you attend the wedding of your friends-neighbors?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Always	87	21.0	21.0	21.0
Fairly Often	113	27.2	27.2	48.2
Sometimes	156	37.6	37.6	85.8
Almost Never	59	14.2	14.2	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q49-- How often do you attend the funeral of your friends-neighbors?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q49-- How often do you attend the funeral of your friends-neighbors?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Always	198	47.7	47.7	47.7
Fairly Often	74	17.8	17.8	65.5
Sometimes	122	29.4	29.4	94.9
Almost Never	21	5.1	5.1	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q50-- How often do you help your neighbors-friends when they fell into food shortage, severe sick, etc.?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q50-- How often do you help your neighbors-friends when they fell into food shortage, severe sick, etc.?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Always	99	23.9	23.9	23.9
Fairly Often	118	28.4	28.4	52.3
Sometimes	171	41.2	41.2	93.5
Almost Never	27	6.5	6.5	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q51-- Do you strongly feel that you have a sense of obligation to help your neighbor-friend when there is a burglary or robbery occurred?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q51-- Do you strongly feel that you have a sense of obligation to help your neighbor-friend when there is a burglary or robbery occurred?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid I Strongly Feel	174	41.9	41.9	41.9
I Feel	190	45.8	45.8	87.7
I Don't Feel	35	8.4	8.4	96.1
I Don't Feel Strongly	16	3.9	3.9	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q52--Of trust, what kind of people do you trust?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q52--Of trust, what kind of people do you trust?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Trust People	365	88.0	88.0	88.0
Do not Trust Anybody	50	12.0	12.0	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q52-1-- Do you trust friend?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q52-1-- Do you trust friend?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Trust Friend	74	17.8	17.8	17.8
Don not Trust Friend	341	82.2	82.2	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q52-2-- Do you trust neighbor?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q52-2-- Do you trust neighbor?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Trust Neighbor	310	74.7	74.7	74.7
Do not Trust Neighbor	105	25.3	25.3	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q52-3-- Do you trust community leader?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q52-3-- Do you trust community leader?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Trust Community Leader	277	66.7	66.7	66.7
Do not Trust Community Leader	138	33.3	33.3	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q52-4-- Do you trust local authority?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q52-4-- Do you trust local authority?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Trust Local Authority	223	53.7	53.7	53.7
Do not Trust Local Authority	192	46.3	46.3	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q52-5-- Do you trust NGOs?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q52-5-- Do you trust NGOs?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Trust NGOs	176	42.4	42.4	42.4
Do not Trust NGOs	239	57.6	57.6	100.0
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q53-- How many neighbors do you trust?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q53-- How many neighbors do you trust?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Zero	97	23.4	23.4	100.0
1--9	199	48.0	48.0	48.0
10--19	80	19.3	19.3	67.2
20--Over	39	9.4	9.4	76.6
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q54-- How many community leaders do you trust?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q54-- How many community leaders do you trust?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Zero	135	32.5	32.5	100.0
1--3	210	50.6	50.6	50.6
4--6	56	13.5	13.5	64.1
7--Over	14	3.4	3.4	67.5
Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q55-- How many local authority leaders do you trust?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q55-- How many local authority leaders do you trust?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Zero	190	45.8	45.8	100.0
	1--3	174	41.9	41.9	41.9
	4--6	38	9.2	9.2	51.1
	7--Over	13	3.1	3.1	54.2
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q56-- How many NGOs employees do you trust?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q56-- How many NGOs employees do you trust?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Zero	236	56.9	56.9	100.0
	1--3	89	21.4	21.4	21.4
	4--6	64	15.4	15.4	36.9
	7--Over	26	6.3	6.3	43.1
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q57-- How many friends do you trust?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q57-- How many friends do you trust?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Zero	348	83.9	83.8	100.0
	1--2	26	6.3	6.3	6.3
	3--4	27	6.5	6.5	12.8
	5--Over	14	3.4	3.4	16.1
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q58-- Do you obtain any job information?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q58-- Do you obtain any job information?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, I do.	283	68.2	68.2	68.2
	No, I don't.	132	31.8	31.8	100.0
Total		415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q58-1-- Do you obtain job information from your friend?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q58-1-- Do you obtain job information from your friend?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, I do.	63	15.2	15.2	15.2
	No, I don't.	352	84.8	84.8	100.0
Total		415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q58-2-- Do you obtain job information from your neighbor?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q58-2-- Do you obtain job information from your neighbor?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, I do.	163	39.3	39.3	39.3
	No, I don't.	252	60.7	60.7	100.0
Total		415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q58-3-- Do you obtain job information from your community leader?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q58-3-- Do you obtain job information from your community leader?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, I do.	137	33.0	33.0	33.0
	No, I don't.	278	67.0	67.0	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q58-4-- Do you obtain job information from the local authority

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q58-4-- Do you obtain job information from the local authority

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, I do.	34	8.2	8.2	8.2
	No, I don't.	381	91.8	91.8	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q58-5-- Do you obtain job information from NGOs worker?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q58-5-- Do you obtain job information from NGOs worker?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, I do.	20	4.8	4.8	4.8
	No, I don't.	395	95.2	95.2	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q58-6-- Do you obtain job information from media?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q58-6-- Do you obtain job information from media?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, I do.	4	1.0	1.0	1.0
	No, I don't.	411	99.0	99.0	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q59-- Do you know about microfinance saving?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q59-- Do you know about microfinance saving?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, I do.	295	71.1	71.1	71.1
	No, I don't.	120	28.9	28.9	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q59-1-- Do you know microfinance saving from your friend?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q59-1-- Do you know microfinance saving from your friend?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, I do.	22	5.3	5.3	5.3
	No, I don't.	393	94.7	94.7	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q59-2-- Do you know microfinance saving from your neighbor?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q59-2-- Do you know microfinance saving from your neighbor?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, I do.	117	28.2	28.2	28.2
	No, I don't.	298	71.8	71.8	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q59-3-- Do you know microfinance from your community leader?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q59-3-- Do you know microfinance from your community leader?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, I do.	176	42.4	42.4	42.4
	No, I don't.	239	57.6	57.6	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q59-4-- Do you know microfinance saving from the local authority?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q59-4-- Do you know microfinance saving from the local authority?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, I do.	44	10.6	10.6	10.6
	No, I don't.	371	89.4	89.4	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q59-5-- Do you know microfinance saving from NGOs worker?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q59-5-- Do you know microfinance saving from NGOs worker?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, I do.	49	11.8	11.8	11.8
	No, I don't.	366	88.2	88.2	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

Q59-6-- Do you know microfinance saving from media?

N	Valid	415
	Missing	0

Q59-6-- Do you know microfinance saving from media?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, I do.	3	.7	.7	.7
	No, I don't.	412	99.3	99.3	100.0
	Total	415	100.0	100.0	

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Thinking of research methodology of a given study in the social sciences, it is stated, entails more than just a detailed knowledge of a single research method or procedure and its particular applications. It refers to the whole decision-making process that begins with a set of interesting questions, identifies the most appropriate method employed to resolve the problems, and culminates in the presentation of a set of defensible answers or hypotheses.

To this end, the goal here is to outline the steps by which the particular questions being addressed were operated into explanatory and dependent variables; to justify the selection of cases; to explain how the evidence was gathered and analyzed; and how the results were interpreted.

For the goals of the study, the particular questions are addressed, and the many constraints are conducted. The appropriate methodologies are qualitative and quantitative ones, fundamentally based on research methodology of sociologists Booth and Rowntree who studied problems of urban poverty in York and London of England. In addition, this research has developed for the purpose of the study that helps collecting data in the chosen field.

And in order to reach the goal, a *comprehensive random sampling or systematic random sampling* was employed. This kind of random sampling would be made in accordance with the reality of fieldwork location and organized lists of the residents in that location. Moreover, this study (fieldwork survey) selected only the *head of family* in a poor slum community

located in Khan Russeikeo, Phnom Penh City because we think that they can be a good source of poverty. The head of family is the root of family's prosperity or welfare. If they have failed to secure themselves and their family, the whole family will fall into welfare risk. And we chose 415 families among 589 families as random sampling.

Furthermore, I asked for assistance from my former colleagues and friends who are now working as both of high school teachers and university ones. These people had experienced with collecting data in the past. I also hired some students of sociology to help the study. The collecting data teams worked based on *a research guide* and *an appropriate training* will be given to familiarize them with the study. The field work took place from May 10th to June 16th, 2005. In fact, before this data collection was carried out, I had already done a personal participant observation under assistances from my former colleagues: the process of this research was open interviews with head or representatives of NGOs, head of poor communities and poor people; recording with radio cassettes and taking photographs. Finally, a closed research questionnaires are used to collect data. And I tried to have co-operation from heads of poor communities and NGOs so that this study has produced a good result.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

I am....., a doctoral candidate of Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Tsukuba, Japan. I conduct this survey for collecting data to fulfill the requirement of social research in the academic world, that is, in order to scientifically fulfill the primary need of doctoral dissertation in social sciences where I am a part of. My doctoral dissertation titled **PROBLEMS OF POVERTY IN CONTEMPORARY CAMBODIAN SOCIETY: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY ON URBAN SLUM, PHNOM PENH**, mainly focuses on social poverty with reference of Cambodia. Thus, it is very significant for me, as a social researcher, to do this survey by designing a sample questionnaire collecting a scientific data to prove the theory employed in the dissertation. I assure that this study does not deal with any political purpose and it does not involve with any government official, political activists and so on. I confirmedly guarantee you that all your answers to each question must be kept secretly and they will be used only for my study. Furthermore, your name will be not asked and written down in the questionnaire.

Questionnaire Code.....Date: Year.....Month.....Day.....

Interviewer.....Examiner.....

Place of Interview.....

I—Reason of Not Answering

- 1—Change of resident to other place
- 2—Not answer
- 3—Other (specify).....
- 4—NA·DN

II—Place of Birth, where do you come from?

1—City

2—Province: Name.....

III—What is your sex?

- 1—Male
- 2—Female

IV—How old are you?.....Years

V—How old is your eldest child? (Note: if the head of family is not yet married, please do not ask this question.)

1—Eldest son.....Years.....Months

2—Eldest daughter.....Year.....Months

VI—What is your nationality?

1—Khmer or Cambodian

2—Chinese

3—Kampuchearkrom

4—Khmer Islam

5—Vietnamese

6—Others (specify).....

VII—Please tell about us yourself

1—Orphan

2—Married

3—Single

4—Widow

5—Widower

6—Divorce- separation

7—Other (specify).....

VIII—Who is the head of family?

1—Husband

2—Wife

3—Eldest brother in the family

4—Eldest sister in the family

5—Others (specify).....

IX—How many people are there in your family? (If there are lots of people in the family, please check any options.)

1- Zero person

2- Your children.....persons

3- Parents.....persons

4- Grand parents.....persons

5- Nephew.....persons

6- Niece.....persons

7- Friend.....persons

8—Other (specify).....

X—What religion do you believe?

- 1—Theravada Buddhism
- 2—Islamism
- 3—Christianity
- 4—Others (specify).....

#--Of Education Background

XI—What is your level of education?

- 1—No Education

***--How many years in total did you go to school?.....Years**

\$\$--What kinds of school did you finish?

- 2—Finish Primary School in grade.....
- 3—Finish Secondary High School in grade.....
- 4—Finish High School in grade.....
- 5—University.....Years
- 6—Other Education.....

\$\$--What kinds of school did you quit or give up?

- 1—Quit Primary School in grade.....
- 2—Quit Secondary High School in grade.....
- 3—Quit High School in grade.....
- 4—Quit University.....Years
- 5—Other Education.....

XII—What is your father's education level?

- 1—No Education

***--How many years in total did he go to school?.....Years**

\$\$--What kinds of school did he finish?

- 2—Finish Primary School in grade.....
- 3—Finish Secondary High School in grade.....
- 4—Finish High School in grade.....
- 5—University.....Years
- 6—Other Education.....

\$\$--What kinds of school did he quit or give up?

- 1—Quit Primary School in grade.....
- 2—Quit Secondary High School in grade.....
- 3—Quit High School in grade.....
- 4—Quit University.....Years
- 5—Other Education.....

XIII—What is your mother’s education level?

1—No Education

***--How many years in total did she go to school?.....Years**

\$\$--What kinds of school did she finish?

2—Finish Primary School in grade.....

3—Finish Secondary High School in grade.....

4—Finish High School in grade.....

5—University.....Years

6—Other Education.....

\$\$--What kinds of school did she quit or give up?

1—Quit Primary School in grade.....

2—Finish Secondary High School in grade.....

3—Finish High School in grade.....

4—Quit University.....Years

5—Other Education.....

XIV—What is your spouse (husband or wife)’s level of education? (In case of family header is not married, please do not answer this question.)

1—No Education

***--How many years in total did he/she go to school?.....Years**

\$\$--What kinds of school did he/she finish?

2—Finish Primary School in grade.....

3—Finish Secondary High School in grade.....

4—Finish High School in grade.....

5—University.....Years

6—Other Education.....

\$\$--What kinds of school did he/she quit or give up?

1—Quit Primary School in grade.....

2—Quit Secondary High School in grade.....

3—Quit High School in grade.....

4—Quit University.....Years

5—Other Education.....

#—Children Education

XV—What is your eldest son’s education level?

1—No Education

***--How many years in total did he go to school?.....Years**

\$\$--What kinds of school did he finish? (Please select more than a choice)

2—Finish Primary School in grade.....

- 3—Finish Secondary High School in grade.....
- 4—Finish High School in grade.....
- 5—University.....Years
- 6—Other Education.....

\$\$--What kinds of school did he quit or give up? (Please select a choice)

- 1—Quit Primary School in grade.....
- 2—Quit Secondary High School in grade.....
- 3—Quit High School in grade.....
- 4—Quit University.....Years
- 5—Other Education.....

\$\$--What kinds of school does he still study? (Please select a choice)

- 1—Still in Primary School in grade.....
- 2—Still in Secondary High School in grade.....
- 3—Still in High School in grade.....
- 4—Still in University.....Years
- 5—Other Education.....

XVI—What is your eldest daughter's education level?

- 1—No Education

***--How many years in total did she go to school?.....Years**

\$\$--What kinds of school did she finish? (Please select more than a choice)

- 2—Finish Primary School in grade.....
- 3—Finish Secondary High School in grade.....
- 4—Finish High School in grade.....
- 5—University.....Years
- 6—Other Education.....

\$\$--What kinds of school did she quit or give up? (Please select a choice)

- 1—Quit Primary School in grade.....
- 2—Quit Secondary High School in grade.....
- 3—Quit High School in grade.....
- 4—Quit University.....Years
- 5—Other Education.....

\$\$--What kinds of school does she still study? (Please select a choice)

- 1—Still in Primary School in grade.....
- 2—Still in Secondary High School in grade.....
- 3—Still in High School in grade.....
- 4—Still in University.....Months.....Years
- 5—Other Education.....

#--Choice for Good or Higher Education between Son and Daughter

XVII—If you can support only a child for higher education, do you support son or daughter? If no or yes could you please tell us your reason?

- 1—Son: reason.....
- 2—Daughter: reason.....
- 3—I don't care neither son nor daughter: reason.....
- 4—NA—DN

#-- Of Health Condition

XVIII—Could you tell us about your health condition?

- 1—Excellent
- 2— Good
- 3—Fair
- 4—Poor

XIX—Could you tell us your under ten-year-old child health condition?

- 1—Excellent
- 2—Good
- 3—Fair
- 4—Poor

#--Of Food Condition

XX—How many times do you have meal everyday?

- 1—Two times per day
- 2—Three times per day
- 3—One time per day
- 4--Irregular

XXI—How many kilograms of rice do you have in your family now?.....kilograms

XXII—How many kilograms of Prahok (fish-paste or paste of fermented fish) do you have in your family now?.....kilograms

#--Of Safe Drink Water and Water Supply

XXIII—How often do you boil water before you use it?

- 1—Always
- 2—Fairly often
- 3—Sometimes
- 4—Almost never

XXIV—Where do you get water for everyday life?

- 1—From my own well or lake
- 2—From public well in the community or nearby

- 3—From public lake in the community or nearby
- 4—Buying from market or private-ownership
- 5—Others (specifying).....

XXV—How many times do you take bath?

- 1—More than two times per day
- 2—Two times per two days or more
- 3—One time per day

#--Of Social Participation or Opportunities

XXVI—How often do you participate in microfinance campaign in your community run by local authority and NGOs?

- 1—Always
- 2—Fairly often
- 3—Sometimes
- 4—Never

XXVII—Do you have to participate in the rejection movement of community removal run by community leader or NGOs?

- 1—Strongly I have to participate
- 2—I have to participate
- 3—I do not have to participate
- 4—Strongly I do not have to participate

#--Employment and Unemployment or Underemployment

XXVIII— What kinds of jobs do you have? (Please choose one choice, but if the answer here is no employment, please do not ask questions XXIX and XXX).

***--Of No Employment**

- 1—No employment
- 2—Old aged
- 3—Lose of labor physical power or sick

XXIX—How many occupations do you have? (Please check one option)

- 1—Only one
- 2—Two
- 3—Three and more

XXX—Could you please answer the jobs that you have as follow? (Please check any options)

***-Of Professional Person**

- 1—Teacher
- 2—Medical worker (nurse, pharmacist)
- 3—Actor
- 4—Dancer
- 5—Writer
- 6—Orchestra (player or organizer etc.)
- 7—Other(specify).....

***-Of Administrative person**

- 8—Bank Manager
- 9—Big shareholder or big investor
- 10—Higher rank officials (from chief or vice chief in a department to member of National Assembly)
- 11—Other (specify).....

***-Of Spiritual Work Person**

- 12—Financial worker or staff
- 13—Secretary
- 14—Computer expert
- 15—Accountant
- 16—Official at Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Co operation
- 17—Official at Ministry of Economy and Finance
- 18—Official at Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports
- 19—Official at other Ministries.....

***-Of Selling**

- 20—Small business person
- 21—Shop renter at a market
- 22—Shop-selling assistant
- 23—Other (specify).....

***-Of Security Guard**

- 24—Police person
- 25—PM
- 26—Soldier or army
- 27—Security guard at a restaurant and hotel
- 28—Other kinds of security guard.....

***-Of Transportation Person**

- 29—Motodub (motor-taxi driver)
- 30—Cyclo driver (Tricycle driver)
- 31—Romok taxi driver
- 32—Taxi driver
- 33—Taxi or bus worker
- 34—Working in other transportation.....

***-Of Agricultural Person**

- 35—Rice peasant
- 36—Farmer
- 37—Fish-person
- 38—Working in other kind of agricultural field.....

***-Of Manual Worker**

- 39—Permanent food factory worker
- 40—Permanent garment factory worker
- 41—Temporary food factory worker
- 42—Temporary garment factory worker
- 43—Entrepreneur or repairing shop worker
- 44—Construction worker
- 45—House cleaner
- 46—Street cleaner
- 47—Garden keeper
- 48—Other manual work.....

XXXI—Does your father have any occupation? (Note: in case, he passed away, please ask his occupation before he died. And please choose one choice, but if the answer here is no employment; please do not ask questions XXXII and XXXIII).

***--Of No Employment**

- 1—No employment
- 2—Old aged
- 3—Lose of labor physical power or sick

XXXII—How many occupations does he have? (Please check one option)

- 1—Only one
- 2—Two
- 3—Three and more

XXXIII—Could you please answer the jobs that he has as follow? (Please check any options)

***-Of Professional Person**

- 1—Teacher
- 2—Medical worker (nurse, pharmacist)
- 3—Actor
- 4—Dancer
- 5—Writer
- 6—Orchestra (player or organizer etc.)
- 7—Other (specify).....

***-Of Administrative person**

- 8—Bank Manager
- 9—Big shareholder or big investor
- 10—Higher rank officials (from chief or vice chief in a department to member of National Assembly)
- 11—Other (specify).....

***-Of Spiritual Work Person**

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- 13—Secretary
- 14—Computer expert
- 15—Accountant
- 16—Official at Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Co operation
- 17—Official at Ministry of Economy and Finance
- 18—Official at Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports
- 19—Official at other Ministries.....

***-Of Selling**

- 20—Small business person
- 21—Shop renter at a market
- 22—Shop-selling assistant
- 23—Other (specify).....

***-Of Security Guard**

- 24—Police person
- 25—PM
- 26—Soldier or army
- 27—Security guard at a restaurant and hotel
- 28—Other kinds of security guard.....

***-Of Transportation Person**

- 29—Motodub (motor-taxi driver)
- 30—Cyclo driver (Tricycle driver)
- 31—Romok taxi driver
- 32—Taxi driver
- 33—Taxi or bus worker
- 34—Working in other transportation.....

***-Of Agricultural Person**

- 35—Rice peasant
- 36—Farmer
- 37—Fish-person
- 38—Working in other kind of agricultural field.....

***-Of Manual Worker**

- 39—Permanent food factory worker
- 40—Permanent garment factory worker
- 41—Temporary food factory worker
- 42—Temporary garment factory worker
- 43—Entrepreneur or repairing shop worker
- 44—Construction worker
- 45—House cleaner
- 46—Street cleaner
- 47—Garden keeper
- 48—Other manual work.....

XXXIV—Does your mother have any occupation? (Note: in case, she passed away, please ask her occupation before she died.) (Please choose one choice, but if the answer here is no employment, please do not ask questions XXXV and XXXVI).

***--Of No Employment**

- 1—No employment
- 2—Old aged
- 3—Lose of labor physical power or sick

XXXV—How many occupations does she has? (Please check one option)

- 1—Only one
- 2—Two
- 3—Three and more

XXXVI—Could you please answer the jobs that she has as follow? (Please check any options)

***-Of Professional Person**

- 1—Teacher
- 2—Medical worker (nurse, pharmacist)
- 3—Actor
- 4—Dancer
- 5—Writer
- 6—Orchestra (player or organizer etc.)
- 7—Other(specify).....

***-Of Administrative person**

- 8—Bank Manager
- 9—Big shareholder or big investor
- 10—Higher rank officials (from chief or vice chief in a department to member of National Assembly)
- 11—Other (specify).....

***-Of Spiritual Work Person**

- 12—Financial worker or staff
- 13—Secretary
- 14—Computer expert
- 15—Accountant
- 16—Official at Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Co operation
- 17—Official at Ministry of Economy and Finance
- 18—Official at Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports
- 19—Official at other Ministries.....

***-Of Selling**

- 20—Small business person
- 21—Shop renter at a market
- 22—Shop-selling assistant
- 23—Other (specify).....

***-Of Security Guard**

- 24—Police person
- 25—PM
- 26—Soldier or army
- 27—Security guard at a restaurant and hotel
- 28—Other kinds of security guard.....

***-Of Transportation Person**

- 29—Motodub (motor-taxi driver)
- 30—Cyclo driver (Tricycle driver)
- 31—Romok taxi driver
- 32—Taxi driver
- 33—Taxi or bus worker
- 34—Working in other transportation.....

***-Of Agricultural Person**

- 35—Rice peasant
- 36—Farmer
- 37—Fish-person
- 38—Working in other kind of agricultural field.....

***-Of Manual Worker**

- 39—Permanent food factory worker
- 40—Permanent garment factory worker
- 41—Temporary food factory worker
- 42—Temporary garment factory worker
- 43—Entrepreneur or repairing shop worker
- 44—Construction worker
- 45—House cleaner
- 46—Street cleaner
- 47—Garden keeper
- 48—Other manual work.....

XXXVII—Does your spouse have any occupation? (Note: in case, he or she was divorced or his or her husband or wife was passed away, please ask their occupation before they died. And please choose one choice, but if the answer here is no employment, please do not ask questions XXXVIII and XXXIX).

***--Of No Employment**

- 1—No employment
- 2—Old aged
- 3—Lose of labor physical power or sick

XXXVIII—How many occupations does he or she have? (Please check one option)

- 1—Only one
- 2—Two
- 3—Three and more

**XXXIX—Could you please answer the jobs that he or she has as follow?
(Please check any options)**

***-Of Professional Person**

- 1—Teacher
- 2—Medical worker (nurse, pharmacist)
- 3—Actor
- 4—Dancer
- 5—Writer
- 6—Orchestra (player or organizer etc.)
- 7—Other(specify).....

***-Of Administrative person**

- 8—Bank Manager
- 9—Big shareholder or big investor
- 10—Higher rank officials (from chief or vice chief in a department to member of National Assembly)
- 11—Other (specify).....

***-Of Spiritual Work Person**

- 12—Financial worker or staff
- 13—Secretary
- 14—Computer expert
- 15—Accountant
- 16—Official at Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Co operation
- 17—Official at Ministry of Economy and Finance
- 18—Official at Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports
- 19—Official at other Ministries.....

***-Of Selling**

- 20—Small business person
- 21—Shop renter at a market
- 22—Shop-selling assistant
- 23—Other (specify).....

***-Of Security Guard**

- 24—Police person
- 25—PM
- 26—Soldier or army
- 27—Security guard at a restaurant and hotel
- 28—Other kinds of security guard.....

***-Of Transportation Person**

- 29—Motodub (motor-taxi driver)
- 30—Cyclo driver (Tricycle driver)
- 31—Romok taxi driver
- 32—Taxi driver
- 33—Taxi or bus worker
- 34—Working in other transportation.....

***-Of Agricultural Person**

- 35—Rice peasant
- 36—Farmer
- 37—Fish-person
- 38—Working in other kind of agricultural field.....

***-Of Manual Worker**

- 39—Permanent food factory worker
- 40—Permanent garment factory worker
- 41—Temporary food factory worker
- 42—Temporary garment factory worker
- 43—Entrepreneur or repairing shop worker
- 44—Construction worker
- 45—House cleaner
- 46—Street cleaner
- 47—Garden keeper
- 48—Other manual work.....

XXXX—What is your eldest daughter's occupation? (Please choose one. But please do not ask this question if the interviewee is not yet married. And if the answer here is no employment, please do not ask questions XXXXI and XXXXII).

***--Of No Employment**

- 1—No employment
- 2—Old aged
- 3—Lose of labor physical power or sick

XXXXI—How many occupations does she have? (Please check one option)

- 1—Only one
- 2—Two
- 3—Three and more

XXXXII—Could you please answer the jobs that she has as follow? (Please check any options)

***-Of Professional Person**

- 1—Teacher
- 2—Medical worker (nurse, pharmacist)
- 3—Actor
- 4—Dancer
- 5—Writer
- 6—Orchestra (player or organizer etc.)
- 7—Other(specify).....

***-Of Administrative person**

- 8—Bank Manager
- 9—Big shareholder or big investor
- 10—Higher rank officials (from chief or vice chief in a department to member of National Assembly)
- 11—Other (specify).....

***-Of Spiritual Work Person**

- 12—Financial worker or staff
- 13—Secretary
- 14—Computer expert
- 15—Accountant
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- 18—Official at Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports
- 19—Official at other Ministries.....

***-Of Selling**

- 20—Small business person
- 21—Shop renter at a market
- 22—Shop-selling assistant
- 23—Other (specify).....

***-Of Security Guard**

- 24—Police person
- 25—PM
- 26—Soldier or army
- 27—Security guard at a restaurant and hotel
- 28—Other kinds of security guard.....

***-Of Transportation Person**

- 29—Motodub (motor-taxi driver)
- 30—Cyclo driver (Tricycle driver)
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***-Of Agricultural Person**

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- 36—Farmer
- 37—Fish-person
- 38—Working in other kind of agricultural field.....

***-Of Manual Worker**

- 39—Permanent food factory worker
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- 41—Temporary food factory worker
- 42—Temporary garment factory worker
- 43—Entrepreneur or repairing shop worker
- 44—Construction worker
- 45—House cleaner
- 46—Street cleaner
- 47—Garden keeper
- 48—Other manual work.....

XXXXIII—What is your eldest son's occupation? (Please choose one. But please do not ask this question if the interviewee is not yet married. And if the answer here is no employment, please do not ask questions XXXXIV and XXXXV).

***--Of No Employment**

- 1—No employment
- 2—Old aged
- 3—Lose of labor physical power or sick

XXXXIV—How many occupations does he have? (Please check one option)

- 1—Only one
- 2—Two
- 3—Three and more

XXXXV—Could you please answer the jobs that he has as follow? (Please check any options)

***-Of Professional Person**

- 1—Teacher
- 2—Medical worker (nurse, pharmacist)
- 3—Actor
- 4—Dancer
- 5—Writer
- 6—Orchestra (player or organizer etc.)
- 7—Other(specify).....

***-Of Administrative person**

- 8—Bank Manager
- 9—Big shareholder or big investor
- 10—Higher rank officials (from chief or vice chief in a department to member of National Assembly)
- 11—Other (specify).....

***-Of Spiritual Work Person**

- 12—Financial worker or staff
- 13—Secretary
- 14—Computer expert
- 15—Accountant
- 16—Official at Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Co operation
- 17—Official at Ministry of Economy and Finance
- 18—Official at Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports
- 19—Official at other Ministries.....

***-Of Selling**

- 20—Small business person
- 21—Shop renter at a market
- 22—Shop-selling assistant
- 23—Other (specify).....

***-Of Security Guard**

- 24—Police person
- 25—PM
- 26—Soldier or army
- 27—Security guard at a restaurant and hotel
- 28—Other kinds of security guard.....

***-Of Transportation Person**

- 29—Motodub (motor-taxi driver)
- 30—Cyclo driver (Tricycle driver)
- 31—Romok taxi driver
- 32—Taxi driver
- 33—Taxi or bus worker
- 34—Working in other transportation.....

***-Of Agricultural Person**

- 35—Rice peasant
- 36—Farmer
- 37—Fish-person
- 38—Working in other kind of agricultural field.....

***-Of Manual Worker**

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- 40—Permanent garment factory worker
- 41—Temporary food factory worker
- 42—Temporary garment factory worker
- 43—Entrepreneur or repairing shop worker
- 44—Construction worker
- 45—House cleaner
- 46—Street cleaner
- 47—Garden keeper
- 48—Other manual work.....

#-Of Income Earning or Wage

XXXXVI—What kinds of wage or income earning do you have?

- 1—Permanent
- 2—Temporary
- 3—Irregular
- 4—Multiple

XXXXVII—How much do you earn per month in dollars?.....US\$/month.

XXXXVIII—What is the whole income earning of your family per month in dollar?.....US\$/month.

- NA

XXXXIX—Is your income earning or wage enough for expenditure?

- 1—Quite enough
- 2—Enough
- 3—Not enough

4—Not quite enough

XXXXX—Do you have a capacity to save money from expenditure?

1—Strongly have a capacity to save

2—Have a capacity to save

3—Do not have a capacity to save

4—Strongly do not have a capacity to save

XXXXXI—How satisfied are you with income earning?

1—Extremely satisfied

2—Satisfied

3—Dissatisfied

4—Extremely dissatisfied

#-Housing Condition

XXXXXII—What kinds of house do you live?

1—Stone house

2—Stone-wooden house

3—Wooden house

4—Cottage

5—Others (specify).....

XXXXXIII—Is your sleeping room separated from sitting room?

1—Yes, it is.

2—No, it isn't.

XXXXXIV—Is your kitchen room inside or outside the house?

1— Inside the house

2—Outside the house

3—Others (specify).....

XXXXXV— Could you tell us about toilet?

1—Inside-home toilet

2—Shared-toilet with other families

3—Public toilet (in the community)

4—No toilet

5—Others (specify).....

#-Of Belongings

XXXXXVI—What do you have in your family? Please choose any options that you have.

1—Radio

2—Television

3—Bicycle

- 4—Cyclo
- 5—Motorbike
- 6—Car
- 7—None

#--Of Social Entitlement

XXXXXVII—Do you agree that you are being excluded from participation decision making process in your community?

- 1—Strongly agree
- 2—Agree
- 3—Disagree
- 4—Strongly disagree

XXXXXVIII—Do you agree that you are losing or being excluded from information of job opportunity?

- 1—Strongly agree
- 2—Agree
- 3—Disagree
- 4—Strongly disagree

#--Social Empowerment

XXXXXIX—How often do you access to any financial services such as microfinance loan from the government and NGOs etc.?

- 1—Always
- 2—Fairly often
- 3—Sometimes
- 4—Never

XXXXXX—How can you access to sell something at market place without renting a store?

- 1—Extremely easy
- 2—Easy
- 3—Not easy
- 4—Not extremely easy

#--Of Reciprocity

XXXXXXI—How often do you participate in your neighbors or friends' wedding?

- 1—Always
- 2—Fairly often
- 3—Sometimes
- 4—Almost never

XXXXXXXXII—How often do you attend the funeral ceremony of your neighbors or friends?

- 1—Always
- 2—Fairly often
- 3—Sometimes
- 4—Almost never

XXXXXXXXIII—How often do you help your neighbors or friends when they fall in, particularly, severe sick, no money and short-time lack of meal?

- 1—Always
- 2—Fairly often
- 3—Sometimes
- 4—Almost never

XXXXXXXXIV—Do you feel that you have a sense of obligation to help your neighbors or friends when there is a burglary or robbery occurred?

- 1—I feel strongly
- 2—I feel
- 3—I do not feel
- 4—I do not feel strongly

#--Of Trust

XXXXXXXXV—What kinds of people do you trust in your community (beside your family and relatives)? Please select any choices.

- 1—Friends
- 2—Neighbors
- 3—Community leaders
- 4—Local authority
- 5—NGOs
- 6—Do not trust any person

XXXXXXXXVI—How many people among your neighbors do you trust in your community?.....People

XXXXXXXXVII—How many people among your community leaders do you trust?.....People

XXXXXXXXVIII—How many people among your local authority leaders do you trust?.....People

XXXXXXXXIX—How many people among NGOs, that usually engage with your community, do you trust?.....People

#--Of Social Network

XXXXXXX—Who do you obtain job information beside your family?

- 1—Friends
- 2—Neighbors
- 3—Community Leaders
- 4—Local authority
- 5—NGOs
- 6—Nobody
- 7—Other.....

XXXXXXXI—How do you know about microfinance?

- 1—Friends
- 2—Neighbors
- 3—Community Leaders
- 4—Local authority
- 5—NGOs
- 6—Nobody
- 7—Other.....

I would like to express my profound thank to your invaluable time spending and co operation to answering this questionnaire.

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ABSTRACT

Poverty has long been in existence, accelerating especially from the emergence of modern society and persisting until today.

Despite countless measures to resolve it, poverty still continues up to this day.

After a review of the various definitions, theories, and approaches towards poverty, it is our understanding that the continuing failure to combat and end poverty is related to the unclear and incomplete definition of this particular social problem. The problem of the definition also therefore affects the eventual approaches and programs to eliminate poverty.

Earlier theories and definitions of poverty have centered either on basic needs or deprivation (expressed as absolute and relative deprivation and income perspectives) and capability issues (in terms of social exclusion and lack of social empowerment). Such theories and definitions posit the causes and solutions of poverty generally on individuals. Hence, the resolution of poverty, given such views, is to enhance the income or need sufficiency or adequacy as well as the social capacities of individuals.

A wider societal, global and structural approach towards poverty and its causes and resolutions is offered by the World Systems Theory as well as by international agencies such as the World Bank. While these views broaden the definition and resolution of poverty beyond the individuals to societies and structures, their definition and resolutions for poverty are far too broad that these fail to provide special prominence for and involvement of the human agents and these fail to provide as well specific links and approaches with the poor people that are to be the beneficiaries of antipoverty approaches.

We start our premise that poverty is not an individual but a social problem, caused not by individuals but by social groupings that can include the family, the community, the society one lives in and the other global societies linked to one's own. Hence, we propose the term Social Poverty to highlight the social origin and social resolution of this social, global problem.

Social Poverty, to us, refers to the simultaneous social condition of both economic or material deprivation or insufficiency of income and basic needs PLUS the lack of social capability in terms of social exclusion and lack or absence of social empowerment. Poverty is caused BOTH by macroscopic (social and global structures and links) and microscopic factors (intimate and

other community social groupings) does not originate from the individual nor can be resolved solely or absolutely on the individual level nor on a societal level alone, for societies with strong past or present global links.

Unlike previous views and approaches that center the definition and resolution of poverty on individuals, it is our view that poverty is social, so that the deliverance of individuals who are in poverty can only be done through simultaneous multilevel, multisectoral, linked local and global approaches.

We test this concept in the case of Cambodia, a former successful, wealthy, powerful empire that, throughout time, plunged into series of wars and conflicts that found its society fragmented, unequal, with most of their people poor and its country well below the list of nations in terms of human development.

The history of Cambodia, as well as its links with the rest of the global world, has created an unequal society with the alleviation of the condition of the larger poor sector targeted by national and international agencies. The poor of Cambodia entered poverty as a result of the series of societal upheavals that uprooted and displaced their families.

The survey results conducted in one slum community of Cambodia clearly demonstrate the social origin and continuation of poverty in this country. Poverty is expressed and defined both in economic and material terms (income and basic needs as water, health, housing) PLUS in social terms (social exclusion and lack of empowerment).

Given the social origin and nature of poverty in Cambodia, alleviation and elimination of poverty in this country can only be done given simultaneous, coordinated local, societal, and global approaches, with emphasis on the local social networks that can be tapped for collaborative efforts to challenge social poverty among the Cambodian people and society.