
IV. Lessons Learned from Case Studies

This chapter summarizes the findings and draws lessons from the two case studies of the Phnom Penh to Ho Chi Minh Highway Improvement Project (Highway 1) and Kab Srov Flood Protection Dike Sub-Project (Kab Srov). However, the information herein is mainly drawn from the resettlement audit of Highway 1. Information from Kab Srov is limited.

A. Compliance with Resettlement Policy

Resettlement is a new concept in Cambodia and has only been implemented for about 6 years. The first project that required an RP was the Highway 1 Project funded by ADB in 1999. Prior to this, no experience with preparing an RP existed unless one was required by the funding agencies. To date, the World Bank, ADB, and JICA may be the only development partner agencies that impose such a requirement. RPs for Highway 1 and Kab Srov projects were prepared complying with ADB's Involuntary Resettlement Policy. However, the implementation was not in accordance with RPs in many aspects.

B. Compensation and Entitlement

In the two case studies, affected assets were classified into four main categories, namely, land, house, trees, and other structures. APs were entitled to cash assistance⁷ for their eligible affected assets; rights to salvage building materials; and additional allowances (in cash) were to be given to vulnerable households (female- and disabled-headed households, elderly families, and families who had monthly incomes of less than \$10); and disruption allowance for removing the affected structures; and shifting allowance for

transporting salvaged materials. Households not entitled to compensation for residential land in road ROWs were, nevertheless, entitled to a plot of land on a resettlement site.

In the case of the Highway 1 Project, the compensation payment processes were delayed, causing APs losses in compensation benefits. Although the compensation agreements were accepted and signed by affected households, it took a long time to deliver compensation and, thus, delays caused losses in value as a result of inflation and unstable market prices of materials or assets. In some cases, the affected households had moved away from the project site before the compensation had been paid and sometimes there were objections to compensation awards offered by the IRC working group.

Experience from Highway 1 indicates that no cash compensation was paid for land and trees located on so-called public land or ROW regardless of the period of time persons may have lived on the site. The government may have at least violated adverse possession laws accepted by most countries with a developed legal system. Road Rehabilitation of NR 51 funded by the World Bank received cash compensation for trees located on ROW but not for land. Households made landless when cleared out of ROW on Highway 1 were not offered a relocation site during RP implementation. However, the Government finally did agree to provide a resettlement site with basic infrastructure as a result of resettlement audit. For households made landless by removal from road ROW clearance for the Kab Srov Dike, in all cases, a relocation site was offered during RP implementation. For privately owned land needed for the project, the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC) purchases the land at a rate specified by a designated working group or IRC. Basically, there are two to three categories of land price: village land (for rural areas), residential land (for urban areas), and farmland. The price set for land is rarely subject to negotiation. There is no specified method used to value the land. Affected

⁷ The Royal Government of Cambodia uses the term assistance rather than compensation as stated in the ADB's policy on involuntary resettlement attempting for losses within ROWs where APs do not have rights to land.

houses, other structures, and trees are compensated in cash.

According to the laws/policies, compensation must be “fair and just”. This, however, is subject to a wide range of interpretations. In reality, what is considered “fair and just” has usually simply been what has been negotiated between a government authority and an AP. APs that are better off and better educated tend to have more negotiating power. The problems with this type of approach are obvious and are clearly stated in FGDs with APs.

Although the present laws protect individual rights to ownership and compensation, there are no clearly defined provisions or mechanisms for land acquisition by the State through expropriation. Without such a legal framework, there are many practical issues regarding valuation and expropriation of immovable properties and, therefore, it is based on decisions of government staff. In the two case studies, IRC was charged with determining entitlements, valuation of affected assets, and in fixing compensation rates, although compensation rates are now determined through a replacement cost study. The absence of specific acquisition procedures and compensation policies for assets acquisition will remain difficult issues in resettlement projects in Cambodia.

C. Inventory of Affected Assets

The three surveys—inventory, census, and socioeconomic—were conducted together. Most members of the IRC working group involved in the surveys had no past experience nor had they been trained in this work. The number of affected households and assets were not properly recorded. Survey tools, such as checklists and questionnaires, were not comprehensively designed. Therefore, the quality of work was uncertain. Interviews conducted among a number of IRC members, especially those from line ministries and provincial and local authorities, found that very few of them were aware of the relevant resettlement policy. This resettlement planning was inadequate despite the presence of ADB-financed project preparatory technical assistance (PPTA) to conduct resettlement planning activities and to prepare the RP.

D. Asset Valuation

The asset valuation conducted by the project authorities was just a rough estimation without explanation of any

justification to APs. Thus, APs were not fully informed or consulted. In some cases, the affected properties were not properly valued and compensated. Some APs received compensation that was less than the agreed upon formula specified in RPs.

The land valuation was estimated based on detailed measurement survey (DMS) and market survey. There is difficulty in reaching agreement on what constitutes fair market value for land. Basically, the market value for land should be based on transactions that have taken place for the same type of land in the same geographic area. Unfortunately, in practice, very few land transactions are actually registered. Furthermore, transactions that are registered do not necessarily reveal the true purchase price paid for the land. Prices set for farm/agricultural land are generally acceptable to APs, while the price for urban land is allegedly far below the market price and, to a large extent, not acceptable to APs. The price for village land is somehow accepted by APs.

Residential structures were classified into only four subjective categories for compensation, while ongoing projects are classified into 14 categories. The small number of housing categories has created large gaps between the various categories, leading to some alterations made in the compensation formula in an attempt to restructure this inequity. This became a core subject of negotiation during resettlement implementation. Increasing the number of housing categories or subcategories to narrow the gaps between different types of housing has proven to be more productive and transparent for compensation, as has been tried on the GMS Road Improvement Project (Loan 1945) from Siem Reap to Poipet. Some simple calculating or estimating techniques used by engineers and architects, e.g. unit-based cost estimate, can also be applied for calculating costs of affected houses and other structures.

Experience from the case studies shows that the compensation estimates for affected houses were not based on a replacement cost survey. In the Highway 1 Project, the calculation of compensation for affected houses was based on deduction for the depreciated value of construction materials and for the salvageable materials. In compliance with ADB's audit recommendations, the Government agreed to recompensate the deducted amount for APs' lost assets. Thus, all APs will now receive their full entitlement.

Other structures entitled for cash compensation include fences, graves, tombs, fish and lotus ponds. No

payments were made for land filling (land improvement) by APs or soil excavation during the civil work. Lump-sum payments were made. However, the method used to calculate the compensation value of each affected structure was unknown.

Compensation was not paid for affected trees located on ROW. Trees that were entitled to compensation were those that add value to household income or livelihood, including tamarind, jackfruit, palm tree, coconut, mango, bamboo, cashew, and other locally planted trees. Trees that were considered to have grown naturally were not entitled to compensation. The compensation was paid in a lump sum per tree regardless of age and production. The method used to calculate compensation for each tree species remains unclear. The compensation estimated for each tree species was even less than the yield for 1 year. FGD with APs from the Highway 1 Project found that some households depend on the income from the affected trees, i.e., mango, palm tree, and cashew nut. On more recent projects funded by ADB, World Bank, and JICA, compensation for trees and perennial crops is calculated to account for loss of productivity.

Community properties included school and temple fences and gates, community water ponds, and amenities. The compensation for these properties was in-kind, e.g., gate for gate and pond for pond. In practice, many communities complained about the poor quality of new replaced properties especially the temple gates. In general, the communities were not consulted on the design of the new replacements.

E. Income Restoration and Economic Rehabilitation

On both case studies, APs experiencing severe impacts were those who would lose their entire land and they would be entitled to resettlement at a new relocation. Fully-serviced relocation sites were provided to landless APs for the Kab Srov Dike Sub-Project, although water supply has not yet been extended to that area.⁸ At the new relocation sites, each AP was provided a plot of land for housing and compensation for value of the affected housing. Apart from this, the sites were provided with some basic infrastructure and services, including road, toilet, and water well. No rehabilitation plans have been developed for the projects. As a result

⁸ Basic infrastructure, such as wells, access road, and latrine, of the Stoeung Slot relocation site will be developed very soon after completing the second compensation, according to the order of the Inter-Ministerial Resettlement Committee (IRC) Chairman.

of the resettlement audit of Highway 1, displaced APs will receive additional cash for livelihood restoration. Highway 1 APs complained about the poor quality⁹ of well water on the resettlement site and no funds for maintaining the wells, no space for running businesses for their livelihood. APs who lost permanent spaces for their business were not provided rehabilitation assistance. For Highway 1, following the APs' complaints put forward through NGOs and ADB's subsequent audit, one resettlement site was built and RGC agreed to build others, and provide lump-sum cash payment to assist APs with livelihood restoration.

F. Gender and Vulnerable Groups

Vulnerable households have not been well-defined, and only a flat rate allowance is provided. Households who have female and disabled heads and elderly households are entitled to receive an additional \$20 allowance. This allowance does not make any change to their quality of life. Moreover, it can lead to unfairness among members of these groups, as some APs are more severely affected than others and may need more assistance, whether in the form of social services or cash compensation. However, very little effort has been made in this regard. The resettlement audit of Highway 1 clearly indicated that vulnerable APs—e.g., female-headed households with many dependents, households with elderly persons, and disabled households—are facing hardships and remain in temporary shelter awaiting government assistance. A study conducted by the Municipality of Phnom Penh in August 2005 found that of 86 households resettled in Kab Srov in 2001, only 37 (43%) remain in the relocation site. The rest moved back to Phnom Penh City. This is due to the lack of job opportunities in and around the relocation site and deficiency or malfunction of infrastructure and services, such as water supply, drainage, and solid waste collection system.

G. Public Participation and Consultation

Full public participation and meaningful consultation is key to success. The policies of the development partner agencies, as well as that of the RGC as stated in the Forestry Law, require having full participation and consultation with the people and communities who

⁹ APs in all cases refer to individuals, households, and communities who are affected by the project.

may have potential adverse impacts from development activities. The policies also require that full information about the project and its impacts should be disseminated to APs¹⁰ in a transparent manner. In practice, this has never been realized. APs and communities were invited to a public meeting once before the compensation payments were made. At the meeting, APs were informed about the project, its impact, and compensation rates. APs voiced their complaints about compensation rates but no action was taken to address them. They were informed that the rate was fixed by RGC and could not be changed. During the meeting, APs were told that there was assistance from RGC but no compensation because RGC was too poor to pay APs the full amount.

In Highway 1, a public meeting was held only prior to the payment of compensation and no Public Information Booklet was distributed to APs. Likewise, only limited information was revealed to APs. Information about full compensation, entitlement, and grievance redress were rarely or had never been given to APs. In short, APs had not been fully informed or closely consulted in a transparent manner.

H. Grievance Redress

In all cases of resettlement implementation in Cambodia, only in the two case studies was grievance redress coursed through the IRC working group. Although the official Grievance Redress Committee is established, its members are from IRC. Therefore, IRC plays a dual role, one is as resettlement implementation agency and another is dealing with complaints. Hence, most of APs' verbal claims were not entertained or solved and they (APs) were asked to write official claims. As a result, many complaints were ignored by APs, as they neither know how to write a complaint nor can they spend time on this. Traditionally, when talking about complaints, Cambodians perceive that it involves lawsuits and they may have to end up spending money and time on the complaint. Most poor or powerless people do not rely on the court system as they believe that they would lose their cases especially complaints or lawsuits against the Government. However, on more recent projects, including Loan 1945-CAM, APs can put forward their complaints through the village chief, commune head, or project NGO, and the process is explained to APs.

¹⁰ APs in all cases refer to individuals, households, and communities who are affected by the project.

I. Monitoring and Evaluation

The internal monitoring and evaluation has proven ineffective and lacking in transparency. Perhaps external monitoring and evaluation is the only opportunity for APs to raise their voice publicly. Furthermore, external monitoring and evaluation agencies, whose contracts are with IRC or RGC, are reluctant to write strong and independent monitoring reports. More recently, some external monitoring and evaluation contracts have been signed by the project implementing agency (e.g., MPWT or MOWRAM) and the external monitor but the decision still rests with IRC or MEF especially with regard to payment to external monitors. There have been differences of opinion between the external monitoring agencies (usually local NGOs or consulting companies) and IRC, who perceived NGOs as misrepresenting the real situations and not being objective. IRC had proposed, therefore, that the process of selecting external monitoring agencies should include participation by IRC, project supervision consultants, ADB's resident mission, and the project executing agency.

J. Impoverishment Risks

Risks affect people differently i.e. rural and urban communities, tribal and nontribal groups, children and the elderly, poor and nonpoor communities. The case study of the Highway 1 Project shows that the risk of adverse effects on the social and economic welfare of people living along Highway 1 is due significantly to an ineffective resettlement implementation strategy. Additionally, risk was not clearly defined in the RP. Hence, risk minimization measures were not provided in the RP. Most poor households, particularly those headed by women, had suffered the impacts of displacement more severely than nonpoor households. For example, poor people who were not compensated sufficiently were not able to replace or restore structures, land, or businesses and, thus, became more impoverished. They were made landless, jobless, and homeless by the project. Host populations are also subject to additional risks resulting from increasing population densities at the relocation sites and a more intense competition for resources and business.

As a result of the resettlement audit, IRC did provide option of a plot on a resettlement site and cash for livelihood rehabilitation, or cash instead. A resettlement site has been developed at Stoeung Slot

for those APs wishing to relocate to a site, and they have been provided with \$300 cash as a livelihood restoration measure. On more recently prepared projects, APs are being properly compensated and provided with rehabilitation assistance, although the capacity to design and implement livelihood programs is still very weak in Cambodia.

Michael Cernea has suggested eight basic risks in resettlement, based on historical experience, and predictable in most resettlement situations: landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, increased morbidity and mortality, food insecurity, loss of access to common property, and social (community)

disarticulation. In this section, Cernea's Risk Matrix is used to reflect the risks found in the Case Study of Highway 1.

Lessons learned from the first experience of resettlement implementation of the Highway 1 project illustrate Cernea's Risks and Reconstruction Model. All of the risks identified by the resettlement audit (discussed below) have been reduced as a result of the Government implementing the recommendations from the case study. The following situations are examples of Cernea's Risks before the second compensation, resettlement, and rehabilitation program was implemented following the audit.

Box 2: Professor Michael Cernea's Risks and Reconstruction Model

Landlessness. Expropriation of land removes the main foundation on which many people build productive systems, commercial activities, and livelihoods. Often land is lost forever; sometimes it is partially replaced, and seldom is it fully replaced or fully compensated. This is the main form of decapitalization and pauperization of the people who are displaced. Both natural and man-made capital is lost.

Joblessness. Loss of wage employment occurs both in rural and urban displacement.

People losing jobs may be landless agricultural laborers, service workers, or artisans. The unemployment or underemployment among resettlers may linger long after physical relocation. Creating new jobs for them is difficult: it requires substantial investment, new creative approaches, and more reliance upon sharing project benefits with the resettlers.

Homelessness. Loss of housing and shelter may be only temporary for many people, but for some it remains a chronic condition and is felt as loss of identity and cultural impoverishment. If neighboring households belonging to the same kinship group get scattered, loss of dwelling may have consequences for family cohesion and mutual help patterns. Group relocation of related people and neighbors is therefore preferable to dispersed relocation.

Marginalization. Marginalization occurs when relocated families lose economic power and slide down toward lower socioeconomic positions: middle-income farm households become small landholders; small shop-

keepers and craftspeople lose their businesses and fall below poverty thresholds, and so on.

Increased morbidity and mortality. Vulnerability of the poorest people to illness is increased by forced relocation, because relocation tends to be associated with increased stress, psychological trauma, and the outbreak of parasitic and vector-borne diseases. Serious decreases in health levels result from unsafe water supply and sewage systems that spread epidemic infections, diarrhea, dysentery, etc.

Food insecurity. Forced uprooting diminishes self-sufficiency, dismantles local arrangements for food supply and, thus, increases the risk that people will fall into chronic food insecurity. This is defined as calorie-protein intake levels below the minimum necessary for normal growth and work.

Loss of access to common property. Poor farmers, particularly those without assets, suffer a loss of access to the common property goods belonging to communities that are relocated: forests, water bodies, grazing lands, etc. This represents a form of income loss and livelihood deterioration that is typically overlooked by planners and, therefore, usually uncompensated.

Social disarticulation. The dismantling of community structures, social organizations, local associations, etc., is a massive loss of social capital. Many informal and formal networks get dispersed. Such disarticulation undermines livelihoods in ways usually not recognized and not measured by planners, and causes impoverishment through disempowerment.

1. Landlessness

The resettlement audit for Highway 1 found that many APs lost land and had not been relocated and compensated. At the time of commencement of the audit, the landless APs were resettling temporarily either along Highway 1 ROW or on other privately owned land. At least 75 APs—about 10% of surveyed APs—lost their entire land. During the resettlement audit phase 2, many more APs complained that they were also landless, about 90 of them claimed that they were residing on privately owned land and had been asked to leave by the landowner (see quotations from APs). Landless APs, who were affected by loss of ROW or bypass land and were identified by the resettlement audit as eligible for a plot of land on a serviced resettlement site, have been provided with a resettlement site, as per the agreed RP. All such APs have already moved to a group resettlement site provided.

I am vice-chief of the village. I was asked by the IRC working group to remove my house from the affected land in order to be a show-model to others and I was promised that I would be paid compensation. So far, I received nothing and lost entire land. Now I am temporarily resettling on my neighbor's land.

(Male AP in Neak Loeung)

We had no land to resettle, as we are required to move too far from the road.

(Male AP in Chi Pho)

We lost the entire land, house, and business. We are waiting so long for RGC to offer us land in a new relocation site. Temporarily, we are now squatting along the Highway 1 right of way nearby Stoeung Slot Bridge.

(Female community leader in Stoeung Slot)

Landlessness is causing hardships for income generation, as APs have no land for farming or for business. Some APs lost a part or all of their farmland located in the bypass and were not paid anything. At present, these families are facing hardships and living conditions are worsening. The displaced APs are facing more impoverishment.

Since the project started, I've lost my land. I had no other resources to make a living. I used to have a comfortable life and prospered because of this land. Now I have fallen deep into poverty. I had a rice field of about 0.5 hectares and it was right in the road bypass. I got no compensation for it. It was a very productive land during dry-season cropping. Rice yield from this land was enough to feed my family for a whole year. At that time, my family income heavily relied on this rice field. In fact, the project acquired about 50% of my farmland but the rest cannot be cropped after the road was constructed because irrigation water could not be provided as it is blocked by the road. Later, I sold the remaining portion due to hardship of income generation. Now, I am a Remok¹¹ taxi driver.

(Male landless in Stoeung Slot)

Unfair and unjust compensation causes inequality among the poor and the nonpoor and among educated and uneducated APs. In general, the poor and uneducated APs are the most affected and vulnerable. Although some APs received compensation for their affected land, the amount was not sufficient to purchase new land of equal size, value, and production.

My land of 31 square meters was affected and compensated with \$60 and his land of only 22 square meters was compensated with \$1,100. I relocated the house after they gave me a blue card and they compensated me with \$70 with which I can hardly buy a palm roof, let alone buy wood.

(Male AP in Chi Pho)

I received some compensation for land, but the money was so little that we could not afford to buy any land.

(Female landless AP in Stoeung Slot)

People are reluctant to invest in land due to the uncertainties in land policy.

¹¹ Motorbike with trailer.

It is ironic to say that the IRC did not accept the legal document [land title] issued by the Provincial Department of Cadastral. My land has full title and clearly states ROW of 15 meters but now it is not recognized by IRC and even the Cadastral itself.

(Male AP in Neak Loeung)

If they asked me to retreat 30 meters, I would have no land to settle. Now we are in a difficult situation and do not know what to do. We are waiting [for the officials] to know what would happen to us.

(Female AP in Neak Loeung)

My house and land were affected. First they asked me to retreat 25 meters, later they asked us to relocate within 30 meters from the middle of the road. Now I have no land to settle. If only 10 meters, I would have some land left to settle.

(Female AP in Neak Loeung)

The lesson learned is that lost land must be replaced. Agricultural land must be replaced with land of equal productive value so that income does not decline. Residential land must be replaced by land of equal value so that living standards do not decline.

2. Joblessness and Lost Business Opportunities

The study did not find many APs who lost wage employment as a result of resettlement. However, it found many self-employed APs that had lost their jobs and business opportunities, as land was acquired for road widening. Some APs who lost their jobs traveled to Phnom Penh or other parts of the country seeking jobs. Some remain jobless, while others changed their jobs.

Before (road construction), my daughter ran her grocery shop close to the road. After the land was acquired for road bypass (without paying compensation), she has no land to run her business. Now (after road construction), she is a garment worker in Phnom Penh leaving two kids for me to take care of.

(Female AP in Prey Chhor)

We lost our land that we used to do business on. Now we have no business.

(Male AP in Neak Loeung)

Before, I had a grocery shop, now I am living at the back, I cannot do any business. I am a farmer now. And as there is no water, we cannot grow anything. Our life is getting worse.

(Female AP in Chi Pho)

Before, we used to carry wood for sale, then the road was built and now trucks carry wood for sale, we lost our business/job. It is so miserable now.

(Landless female AP in Stoeung Slot)

Now I moved to live at the back. I lost my business, the coffee shop. Now I cannot do anything living at the back. I don't have any profit anymore. I live as a farmer now.

(Female AP in Chi Pho)

Road construction also has indirect impacts on informal sector businesses located along the road especially those selling food and operating motorbike and vehicle maintenance facilities.

The lesson learned is that sources of income must be restored or replaced so that income levels do not decline.

3. Homelessness

No single case of homelessness leading to the loss of identity and cultural links of APs was found during the study. APs temporarily lost their shelter and now are resettling on new land regardless of status of tenure. However, they complained that they had spent a lot of time for relocation and, as a result, they lost their business, either temporarily or permanently.

We lost both our land and house, we spent lots of money for demolition and we got poorer. We lost our business, too.

(Landless male AP in Stoeung Slot)

We're finished. We lost land and house and we could not find any business to do anymore. We have become even poorer than before.

(Landless male AP in Stoeung Slot)

4. Marginalization

It is obvious that some APs have become poorer after the road was constructed. This is due to the loss of their productive lands and business spaces. Some APs are heavily indebted.

We have tried our very best to recover from the loss of land, house, and property, but this has been too much for us. We have sold everything left to survive the next day. We have no land to settle, no food to eat, no business to make a living. What a life!

(Landless female AP in Stoeung Slot)

Our living deteriorated since the demolition. We lost our business and had no land to do any business. We even got into debt to rebuild a new hut. We could not access the bank, as we don't have any land for security deposit.

(Landless female AP in Stoeung Slot)

My stall was removed, but I haven't received any compensation. My 24 palm trees were cut off without any compensation. I benefited a lot from the palm trees. The palm leaves alone can give me 5,000 riels (\$2) a year per tree. Some of them even produce juice. I haven't received any card from them. I really regretted [the loss of] my trees.

(Female AP in Chi Pho)

Since the project started, I've lost my land. I had no other resources to make a living. I used to have a comfortable life and prospered because of this land. Now I have fallen deep into poverty.

(Landless male AP in Stoeung Slot)

Before (road construction), I ran a small grocery shop in front of my house and my husband collected firewood for sale. Now (after

displacement) I lost my grocery shop and became a firewood collector. We are both collecting firewood, and it is becoming scarce and far away from home. The income from daily firewood collection is insufficient to survive a day.

(Landless female AP in Stoeung Slot)

5. Increased Morbidity and Mortality

Some APs reported that a few children died due to poverty and lack of food as a result of the project. However, the causes are unclear. Some respondents in FGD said that they died in the flood in 2000.

Some of the families here even lost one or two children due to poverty and lack of food [crying]. A child was sent to hospital and died there. That old woman lost two children. Our children got sick and we could not even afford to make porridge for them.

(Landless female AP in Stoeung Slot)

A woman here with sick children sold her belongings, including her bed, from the demolished hut for some money to treat her daughter. Unfortunately, her daughter still died miserably. Now only one daughter out of six children of hers is alive. She [the mother] pointed to the girl, who now has psychological illness.

(Landless female AP in Stoeung Slot)

RGC provided water wells to the displaced Kab Srov community. However, APs complained about the poor quality of water that could not be used for drinking and cooking. Waterborne diseases affecting the health of APs and children were not reported.

6. Food Insecurity

In Stoeung Slot community, some children and APs, especially the females, had physically weak appearance. It cannot be assumed that it is due to lack of food resulting from poverty caused by road development. However, it is obvious that road development caused hardships and impoverishment to APs.

7. Loss of Access to Common Property

No cases were found where the project caused loss of access to common property. The displaced APs were not relocated far away from their former areas. Common property available in the project area includes fishing water bodies and the river, animal grazing and firewood collection area. Some APs complained that firewood is getting scarce.

8. Social Disarticulation

No community structures, social organizations, local associations, etc. were dismantled by the project. Most of the road rehabilitation projects in Cambodia may not face such risks due to land acquisition as

road improvement is a linear strip. Therefore, land acquisition for this purpose hardly causes the loss of entire community. Of course, there may be some disruption to good relationships between APs and their neighbors and between APs and their community once they are relocated far away from the project area. However, this was not found during the study. Few cases were reported where the internal structure of AP families was disrupted as a result of resettlement.

The relocation would affect our lives and businesses, even our children's education. We spent lots of money to rebuild the house and do all the work to return to normal.

(Female AP in Neak Loeng)