

**The Role of the Non-Profit Sector in Transitional Asian Economies:  
Cambodia Ten Years after UNTAC<sup>1</sup>**

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**Introduction**

This paper is drawn from the first stage of research in a comparative project on the non-profit sector in transitional Asian economies of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. The project is funded by a grant from the Hang Seng Educational Fund for which I am very grateful. The paper firstly presents a synopsis of the research, and then comments on initial work in progress from the first phase of research conducted in Cambodia in May 2004. The paper is not meant to provide an update on the political situation in Cambodia in the aftermath of the 2003 national election. However, the future book manuscript intends to deal with the contemporary political environment, and its impacts on the functioning of the NGO sector. Further fieldwork will be conducted in Laos and Vietnam in 2004/2005.

The main aims of the study are to: (1) analyse and compare the emergence of the NGO sector (indigenous and international) in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam to assess its impact on the development of state-civil society relations in those countries; (2) draw upon internal NGO and

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donor documentation and evaluation of programmes into a scholarly analysis of the above; and (3) draw comparisons between the emergence, and/or lack thereof, of an indigenous NGOs sector in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam, and to comment on the implications for international NGOs and donors involved in those countries.

Another main aim of the research is to investigate how donors are interpreting the definition and use of the notion of civil society. How does this relate to the Cambodian government's view, and what can it tell us about the quest to build and nurture civil society in developing countries from a predominantly western model? Here the work of Howell and Pearce (2002) is insightful. They have categorised the development industry's encounter with civil society into two main categories: the mainstream view, and the alternative view. In the mainstream view, they argue that multilateral banks and major international organisations (IOs) promote the idea that problems of poverty and inequality can be solved by the "right" set of economic policies that leads to a consensual approach to development among civil society, the market and the state. In this context, development "partnerships" are viewed as important mechanisms through which this consensus can be operationalised. An alternative view of civil society, they argue, can be found within grassroots movements and "change-oriented" NGOs whose view articulates a critical approach to the global economy. Such NGOs contend that a pre-subscribed set of economic policies are not enough to address poverty and inequality. In this context, development "partnerships" highlight the embedded power relations and inequalities that make development more often a conflictual rather than a consensual process. The research will therefore also take into account how civil society is being interpreted by development actors in the case studies to further inform this debate.

In terms of comparison, the research is interested in how participatory development programmes (PDP) implemented by NGOs are implemented differently between case studies. In Cambodia, the NGO community is very free to design stand-alone programme activities, which is generally not the case in Laos or Vietnam, where partnering with government agencies is compulsory. While the latter system does increase government control over NGO activities, it does direct capacity building and human resource development opportunities to government officials, in the hope that such partnering enhances their knowledge and capacity to implement future government programmes.

On the other hand, implementing PDPs, where the community participates and voices concern about development agendas and outcomes, is mediated by this regulatory environment. In Laos, this relationship is often referred to by development workers as the "Lao way" – meaning that nothing can be done without the presence and guidance of the government at all

levels. The research also aims to explore how partnerships between state, NGO and community are implemented under different regulatory conditions. What implications does it have for PDP, particularly ones with overt or covert “democratisation” goals? The research will use comparative, qualitative case study methodology, supported by statistical data where available and relevant.

The research also will inform how NGO activities are impacting at the country level on discourses on human rights and human security, through their programmes and advocacy with government elites. The concluding analysis will look at how/to what extent NGO (and regional groups they participate in), mediate and promote, or alternatively use and perpetuate traditional development concepts in the area of human security discourse.

### *Background on relevant Cambodian literature*

Much previous research on the NGO sector in Cambodia has focused on two broad periods: the first in the period leading up to the UN mission in Cambodia and the period afterwards. The first set of literature reviews the development of international and then local NGO activities and intervention in Cambodia from the late 1980s to 1990s. For example see the work of (Benson 1993; Boua 1992; McAndrew 1996; and Mysliwiec 1989, 1994) The second group could be characterised as literature covering the second phase of INGO and local Cambodian NGO activities from the mid-1990s to the present. This includes both scholarly work, and a growing number of international NGO and donor commissioned project evaluations, as well as local NGO’s internal research reports, surveys and evaluations. For example, see the work of (Asia Foundation 2001, 2003; Centre for Social Development 1998, 2002; Cooperation Committee for Cambodia 2003, 2004, Gorman et. al, 1999; Krishnamurthy 1999; O’Leary and Nee 2001; Siddiqui et. al. 2004).

This paper concentrates on the present challenges facing the NGO sector in the context of international development agendas and the Cambodian political/economic context.<sup>2</sup> The paper is divided into four main sections: (1) the Cambodian development context, which includes a brief review of the regulatory environment for NGOs in Cambodia, and donor and sectoral coordination activities; (2) challenges for the NGO sector in terms of the socio-political environment and internal management issues; (3) strengths; and (4) themes for analysis in the Cambodia research.

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<sup>2</sup> It is the intention of the author, however, to conduct a scholarly analysis and review of the aforementioned groups of literature in the book length project.

In May 2004 I spent two weeks in Phnom Penh interviewing people working in international and local NGOs, foundations, and research institutes. A list of interviewees is attached in Appendix A. I also spent some effort to gather a range of documents on civil society, NGO development in Cambodia, democratisation, and issues relating to the development of the NGO sector in general in Cambodia. Internal evaluations, external evaluation by donors, and various consultants' reports in recent years have used a variety of research methods to research a range of issues that relate to the project. The point of collating them has been to draw in existing NGO and donor research into my study – as many of them involved extensive fieldwork research, surveys and focus groups – with valuable insights from the field. These primary documents are listed in bibliography at the end of the paper (under Documents on the Cambodian NGO Sector).

### **Cambodia: Development Context**

Changing external and internal conditions have resulted in considerable changes for the NGO sector in Cambodia in the ten years since the Royal Government of Cambodia took office after the 1993 UN-supervised elections. As has been identified by a number of authors (Mysliwiec 1994; McAndrew 1996) the situation in Cambodia in the late 1980s and early 1990s resulted in NGOs being involved heavily in post-conflict reconstruction, emergency relief work, repatriation and resettlement of refugees, and assisting with the implementation of basic services and infrastructure. Having said that, there was also an immediate and considerable influx of donor aid channeled through NGOs in areas of human rights and democratisation programmes (voter education, human rights training for government officials etc).

While NGOs still participate in these areas, towards the end of the 1990s there has been a trend towards the localisation of NGOs to be run and managed by Cambodian staff (VBNK 2002). More recently, there is some evidence to suggest that funding to NGOs for social development and agricultural programmes is in decline in favour of a more sectoral and “issue specific” funding approach (Interviews 9 & 10). Areas that appear to be benefiting in the current environment are: women and children, trafficking, and HIV/Aids. Some respondents also suggested a decline in funds to NGOs was occurring in Cambodia for human rights and democratisation (Interview 10).

#### *Regulatory Environment*

NGOs in Cambodia are required to register with the Ministry of Interior and provide annual reports. Unlike Laos and Vietnam, they are not required to partner with government agencies, where partners are predominantly regional or local government units. There is currently some discussion within the government to enact a new NGO law, although it does not appear to be high on the government's legislative agenda now the new coalition government is formed (Interview 9). Therefore, in Cambodia the regulatory environment for NGOs can be characterised as relatively unregulated, with NGOs able to plan and implement development programmes largely unhindered by the government. One exception is the forestry sector where NGOs working in anti-logging advocacy have been intimidated and harassed by the government. Due to its activities and advocacy/monitoring of the government's actions in 2003 in forestry sector, the Phnom Penh based NGO *Global Witness* was removed as the government's appointed monitor for the forestry sector, as a compromise for not being expelled from Cambodia (Interview 7).

#### *Donor and Sectoral Coordination*

Donor and sectoral coordination does take place via various bi-and tri-lateral working groups. It is up to each group to decide whether NGOs participate. Two forums for donor and sectoral coordination include the Technical Working Group on Private Sector Development (TWG on PSD). This is co-chaired by the ADB and the World Bank and may become trilateral (to include NGOs) in the future. Another is the government-led Private Sector Forum (PSF). This consists of seven technical working groups, and is co-chaired by private sector and the government (Interview 8).

NGO sectoral networking and advocacy is highly developed in Cambodia. As of 2003 there were approximately 32 working groups in 11 different broad sectors which met to exchange, discuss and collaborate on issue of common concern. The make-up of these working groups varies from international and Cambodian NGOs, governmental officials, officials of international organisations, and grassroots community and farming groups (Cooperation Committee for Cambodia 2003). These 11 sectoral areas are: (1) Cambodian NGO coordination; (2) de-mining; democracy and human rights; (3) disability and rehabilitation; (4) environment and natural resource management; (5) gender; (6) NGO membership organizations; (7) social sector (8) health; (9) HIV/Aids; (10) child welfare rights; and (11) education (Cooperation Committee for Cambodia 2003).

## **Challenges Facing the NGO Sector**

Based on respondent interviews, I now review some of the main challenges that face the NGO sector, both in terms of the socio-political environment, and internal management issues, and how they are related to the Cambodian context. A number of the points discussed below are addressed both generally and specifically in the development studies literature. A discussion of these arguments in the context of the case studies will be presented in future analysis. The following are noted by respondents as particular challenges.

**Government capacity.** The government's capacity to drive and coordinate policy in development is weak. Policy coordination between departments is low and the implementation of development projects varies considerably across sectors (Interview 2, 7 & 11).

**Lack of trust in society.** The trust on the part of individual Cambodians towards institutions, and their belief in the political will of politicians to make changes to enact reform is low. A considerable lack of trust exists between people and the government, and between donors and the government (Interviews 2 & 9). This situation is consistent with conditions identified in other post-conflict countries (UNITAR 2002).

**Corruption.** Corruption in the government is widespread and its negative impact on governance and policy implementation is widely understood by the NGO community. Corruption and nepotism hinders communication and the building of trust between the community and government. It also has a negative impact on the nascent business environment (Interview 2). Recognition of widespread corruption does not appear to have directly resulted in a reduction of donor aid yet (Interview 7), but the potential exists for donors to begin to question the government's commitment, and whether they want to continue to work with the government, after an ongoing political malaise following the 2003 elections (Interview 11).

**Aid dependency.** The Cambodian economy is highly dependent on international aid (McAndrew 1996; Kang and Chan 2003) of which technical assistance programmes accounted for over half in 1998 (Godfrey et. al 2000: 11). As Godfrey et. al. note, in 1998 total external assistance amounted to US\$404 million. When viewed in relation to other important parts of the economy, aid flows were equivalent to 14 percent of GDP, 70 percent of domestic exports, and 167 percent of government revenue (2000: 11). The government has limited capacity to effectively implement aid, while there are also questions over the potential for aid, including technical assistance, to distort the economy. One respondent noted that this—coupled with other problems in the Cambodian economy such as unemployment—results in a structural incentive to start an NGO rather than a business (Interview 3).

**Donor driven-NGO agenda.** NGOs often have to shift their agendas to that of donor agencies to maintain their funding. Such shifts in policy focus may not be appropriate for the NGO in terms of expertise, or for the particular development needs of the various communities they work in (Interview 2 & 7).

**Localisation.** Managing the transition from expatriate driven INGOs to Cambodian led NGOs is another challenge facing the sector (VBNK 2000). Cambodian NGOs have also looked towards capacity building programmes to develop from NGOs led by a “charismatic” Cambodian leader, to more structured, “sustainable” management (Interview 3 & 9).

Despite these challenges, a number of strengths and areas of progress relating to the NGO sector were also identified by respondents.

### **Strengths**

In reviewing the period since the Paris Agreements in 1991 and the influx of international aid (bilateral and channeled to NGOs), respondents noted a number of strengths about the current state of the NGO sector. By this I am referring to both international and Cambodian NGOs. Some of the main strengths are reviewed below.

**Knowledge of legal rights.** Overall, the Cambodian people had a greater awareness of their rights and had more access and knowledge of legal avenues, and how they could exercise their rights, than the period before the UNTAC mission (Interview 3 & 10).

**Developing an institutional resource.** There was a sense that, as the NGO sector progresses from the post-conflict stage to the reconstruction phase and more NGOs become localised, the Cambodian government will be able to disseminate funds and implement programmes through them as institutions (Interview 4). The government also recognises the gap that exist in its ability to implement social welfare programmes, and view NGOs as an important resource in this regard (Interview 7).<sup>3</sup>

**NGOs well linked into the community.** Some respondents voiced the opinion that collectively NGOs are well linked into the Cambodian community, and the specific context and situation of rural people. NGO networking forums such as the NGO Forum and the Cooperation Committee for Cambodia (CCC) provide an ongoing organisational structure for advocacy, policy coordination, and government liaison so that NGOs’ community linkages can be translated and

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<sup>3</sup> On this point, there is also a view, however, that donor money, included that channeled through NGOs, has enable the government to spend even more on defence and the military, by letting NGOs take of role which should be provided by the government. See (Godfrey et. al. 2000: 1).

channeled more effectively via these networks into policy inputs (Interviews 4 & 10). An example of the utility of such work is the survey work that the Centre for Social Development (CSD) has done on voter attitudes towards corruption and the Khmer Rouge trials, and livelihoods issues in the rural areas (CSD 1998, 2002). The CSD has encouraged public debate about the Khmer Rouge trials and the importance of this issue to the Cambodian people in the reconciliation process (Interview 2). As an issue it has been highly politicised between the Cambodian government and the UN, and between Cambodia and its neighbours. NGO intervention in this respect has been able to focus on people's attitudes towards the trial in different geographical regions, to gauge their relevance to post-conflict reconstruction and the building of trust between the government and community, rather than, or in addition to, the politicised aspects noted above.

**Progress on collaboration with Government on Human Rights (HR).** There had been some progress made on collaboration between human rights NGOs and the government in a number of areas (Interview 9). While there are many remaining issues, cooperation in areas such as voter rights and election debates have progressed to a degree (Interview 10).

**Opening of space for HR and democratisation NGOs since 1998.** Some respondents noted an opening of space for HR and democratisation NGOs since the 1998 election. For example in the 1998 elections, the government was not accepting any type of multi-party debate either in the provinces or in Phnom Penh. In the 2002 commune elections, there were a few multi-party debates live in some places and on TV, radio, which were facilitated by NGOs. In 2003, the respondent noted that there were many multi-party debates and an opening of a window for NGOs in those activities. The National Election Committee could have stopped these types of activities if it wanted to but did not (Interview 10). International media coverage at election time can overshadow progress that has been made in between.

Overall, while the government has a better, less conflictual relationship with NGOs implementing social welfare programmes than NGOs involved with HRs, democratisation and forestry issues, it has accepted the NGO sector as an integral part of society in post-conflict Cambodia. As one respondent noted, the Cambodian government views emergent civil society as part of the inevitable social changes that occurred in Cambodia in the 1990s, when the country opened up to the international community after some time (Interview 7). There is no doubt that the government continues to be dependent on considerable levels of external aid. In a country therefore where donors hold considerable influence, and who in turn listen to the views of NGOs, the Cambodian government is also mindful of the relationship between NGOs and major bilateral donors.

### **Creating Civil Society in Cambodia: An Agenda for Further Research**

I intend to focus on the following issues in more detail as the research progresses. Most of these points are debates contained within the development studies literature. Future analysis of these issues will provide an up-to-date analysis of the contemporary situation in Cambodia for the NGO sector and its contribution to “civil society,” and how this nexus relates to ongoing state-society relations. This analysis will take into account Cambodia’s current economic/political environment, drawing upon developments between its key neighbours (Vietnam, China, Thailand) and trade liberalisation in East Asia. The role of NGOs and the development agenda within the human security debate will also be addressed.

**Changing donor agendas and attitudes.** There are two aspects to this point. The first is to ask how the donor agenda is changing in Cambodia a decade post-UNTAC. That is, how major bilateral and foundation donors have reviewed their interaction with the Cambodian government during this time, and their activities with implementing partners including NGOs. It appears there have been mixed results and experiences. The second aspect is what I call the 9-11 effect. To what extent have the terror attacks on the US in 2002 impacted on donor agendas? Has there been a shift towards aid that focuses on the nexus between transnational organised crime, terrorism, and human trafficking. Is it specific to the US? There is also some suggestion, as I noted above, that funding is trending towards a more specialised and sectoral focus, which has implications for social development NGOs in Cambodia who work in agriculture and social development. This may also relate to an apparent shift in the last few years for bilateral donors in Cambodia to support the state to take up these functions (for example, education, health and agriculture).<sup>4</sup>

**Challenge of “Sustainability” and “Localisation”.** The debate about the sustainability of NGOs, particularly for southern NGO partners of northern NGO donors, has been a major issue in the development literature for some time (Edwards and Hulme 1996; Fowler 2000). In Cambodia, this is becoming more of an issue now ten years after UNTAC, along with the challenges of localising NGO staff and the potential advantages/disadvantages of this process. Within this theme I want to explore what is described as the second wave of NGO development in Cambodia, the difficulties of “sustainability”, and how some NGOs and donors are dealing with this. One of my respondents said that now they talk about “funding diversification” rather than “sustainability”, as there is more recognition that for some types of NGO work, sustainability is an unrealistic expectation (Interview 10). For example, the work of NGOs in legal aid does not easily lend itself to commercialisation activities.

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<sup>4</sup> Data is currently been collated on this point for further analysis.

This brings me to the point of commercialisation activities as one means of increasing sustainability. This could include income generation projects such as handicrafts (weaving, embroidery, fabrics) that serve to train and empower beneficiaries, and at the same time develop a commercial side to the NGO to fund social development work. The situation in Cambodia, however, is that some work that NGOs are doing, such as legal aid or combating child sex tourism, will not be adequately taken over by the government in the short or even medium term. These types of project interventions are also not suitable to commercialisation as a means to increase sustainability. This places more need on NGO staff to diversify funding sources via grant applications and fund raising, that is a time and a human resource challenge. In sum, this theme will look at these issues, also in the literature, and in current Cambodian context.

**Donor-NGO relations.** This theme will explore the relations between international donors and Cambodian NGOs. Two aspects are important here. The first is related to the issue of sustainability, that is NGO dependency on donors for funding and the implications of this; and secondly, to explore the specific evolution of NGOs in Cambodia. During the 1980s when international aid to Cambodia was banned because of the Vietnamese “occupation”, NGOs that did work in Cambodia developed a specific relationship with the government. During and after the UNTAC mission, NGOs also developed a strong relationship with international donors due to the huge influx of interest and money in the post conflict and reconstruction phase. This theme relates to the impact of this particular history, and implications for current donor-NGO-Government relations.

**Civil Society.** There is much discussion within the development literature on the ability of NGOs and development projects to “nurture”, “create”, and “foster” civil society and even democracy (Howell and Pearce 2002). This debate is particularly pertinent in the Cambodian context for a number of reasons. Because of the history of genocide in the country, the international settlement process, and the acceptance of democracy as the form of government to resolve the dispute, civil society was accepted as an important part of post-conflict Cambodia to be developed. NGOs that worked in various aspects of human rights (training for officials, legal aid, voter education, access to rights, democratisation), social development, and environment have emphasised the role of developing civil society as a development tool and mechanism to communicate concerns to government.

Some of my respondents commented on how NGOs in Cambodia were/are often seen as the equivalent to (and representative of) civil society, although are only one part of it (Interviews 7 & 10). While they contribute to civil society in many ways, there is the sense that, at times, they lack the ability to be representative of their constituencies, with the ability to mobilise them

(Interview 10). There appears to be increasing interest among NGOs and donors in the role of grassroots organisations in the rural areas (for example, Buddhist organisations, village development groups, irrigation committees etc) and their future potential to contribute to development of civil society in Cambodia. Questions in this theme vis-à-vis NGOs/donors are to ask: How to support GROs without taking up the space for people to do it themselves? How do Cambodian GROs position themselves towards the new commune councils? What are the implications for democratisation?

**Politicisation of Cambodian NGOs.** Respondent's comments were conflicting over whether or not there is the trend towards greater politicisation within the Cambodian NGO community. The decentralisation process in place via the commune elections sets the stage for an increase in relations between community GRO/NGOs and the government. Key question here are: How will they deal with this? How can GRO/NGOs strengthen community organisations and mentors, and protect them from being incorporated into corruption which is rampant in the government?

### **Concluding Comments**

The first phase of fieldwork resulted in the identification of two potential case study comparisons across Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. These include a comparison of the implementation of rural livelihoods programmes with farmers and fisherfolk coordinated by Oxfam US (Phnom Penh) in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, which are designed around the central theme of the Mekong River as a source of income and livelihoods for these groups. Another potential case study comparison is of NGO commercialisation projects (such as income generation projects) in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam, funded by the Mekong Private Sector Development Facility, part of the International Finance Corporation, a finance arm of the World Bank. Using such case study comparisons, the project research aims to critically examine the implementation of participatory development programmes and other NGO activities under different political systems, to consider the implications for communities and donors (e.g. in capacity building), and the “creating” civil society argument in the development literature. The latter point will also be insightful to scenarios for future political and economic change in the governments of Vietnam and Laos.

Finally, the human security debate and its connections with the development community could be explored in more depth, in the context of the case study material. This aspect of the study would aim to speak to the debate in the human security literature about the utility of

including development issues in the “human security” concept, and whether this inclusion reduces human security’s conceptual clarity. On a methodological note, case study comparisons in this type of research must recognise that each local setting has its own social hierarchy and agenda, such that local responses to similar programmes will always be an important variable.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, the study’s methodology will recognise the unique nature of each local setting, while attempting to draw similarities from case study comparisons using set criteria.

### *Future Comparative Research*

Governments in Laos and Vietnam differ significantly to Cambodia in their attitude towards the concept of civil society, and the regulation of NGO activities. As one person noted from the floor, Cambodia is emerging from a difficult period of history when society was subsumed by the state and civil war. However, now it is in the process of creating a civil society for citizens in the context of democracy, with many players cognisant of the various difficulties involved in this process. Contrastingly, Vietnam and Laos are governed by communist parties which present, on the surface, a structural difference to the political system in Cambodia. In Vietnam, like in China, indigenous NGOs are likely to be closely connected to the government apparatus. In Laos, the government is suspicious of the concept of civil society and programmes that may directly or overtly facilitate alternative forms of organisation with the community at the grassroots. This is not to say, however, that considerable donor involvement in Laos, like Cambodia whose economies are heavily dependent on donor aid, does not influence government actions and attitudes towards development and organisation in the community. There may also be some truth to the suggestion that, while Cambodia is implementing multi-party democracy, the legacy of a similar one-party system is still strong in its political/economic decision making structure. Therefore the comparison regarding government systems aims to probe more carefully assumptions made about the functioning and implementation of aid programmes under democratic and community systems, and the potential benefits of the structures in place in the latter. In this regard, similarities and connections may be found with the literature on the emergent Chinese NGO and GONGO (government-organised NGO) sector.

Alternatively, the way in which the state in all three countries may successfully resist forces of change (i.e. administration reform associated with aid conditionality) is also insightful. Furthermore, the regulatory environment in Laos and Vietnam may also have useful insights for the issue of government capacity development. One development practitioner, for example, noted

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<sup>5</sup> I am grateful to Miwa Hirono for this point.

that in their experience Lao government officials had a greater professional and technical capacity to implement development projects, possibly due to their experience from doing so in the past, as a result of the government-required partnership system (Interview 11).

In conclusion, the book-length study outlined in the introduction and above plans to draw from case study insights to comment on the policy implications for international funding to indigenous NGOs in countries studied, and on donor agendas and mis/perceptions about the possibility of “real” civil society developing in market-socialist style, and post-communist transitional countries in Asia.

**Appendix A: List of Interviewees**

1. Dr. Larry Strange, Executive Director, Cambodian Development Research Institute (CDRI) (18/5/04).
2. Ms. Chea Vannath, Director, Centre for Social Development (CSD), (19/5/04).
3. Mr Justin Whyatt (2<sup>nd</sup> Secretary), Australian Embassy, Phnom Penh, (19/5/04).
4. Ms Fleur Davies (AusAID), Australian Embassy, Phnom Penh, (19/5/04).
5. Mr. Hieng Sokchea (Programme Officer), Australian Embassy, Phnom Penh, (19/5/04).
6. Ms Boua Chanthoa, Director of Padek (Partnership for Development in Kampuchea), (20/5/04).
7. Mr Russell Peterson, Director of NGO Forum, 21/5/04.
8. Ms Karla Quizon, Deputy Manager, Mekong Private Sector Development Facility, (25/5/04).
9. Ms Carol Strickler, Executive Director, Cooperation Committee for Cambodia (CCC), (26/5/04).
10. Ms Nancy Hopkins, Representative, Asia Foundation Cambodia (26/5/04).
11. Ms Kate Lazarus, Oxfam US, Cambodian Regional Office, (26/5/04).

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