TOWARDS A WORLDWIDE INFLUENCING NETWORK:

CITIZENS' ATTITUDES, NORMS AND VOICE IN CAMBODIA: IMPACT EVALUATION OF *RIGHT TO FOOD*

RESULTS OF THE STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP OF OXFAM NOVIB AND SOMO WITH THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN THE NETHERLANDS

JUNE 2020

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents the findings of the impact evaluation for the Right to Food project in Cambodia[1] in the outcome areas of increasing the citizens' voice and shifting attitudes. This project works on access to and governance of systems that support resilient livelihoods for smallholder food producers, such as land, inputs (especially seeds) and adaptation. This project was implemented as part of the Strategic Partnership – 'Towards a Worldwide Influencing Network' – of Oxfam Novib, the Centre for Research on Multinational Corporations (SOMO) and the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This evaluation report compares the results of the baseline survey of June and July 2016 and the endline survey of October 2019 to assess the contribution of the R2F project to increasing the citizens' voice and shifting attitudes.

OBJECTIVES OF THE REPORT & EVALUATION QUESTIONS

The objective of this evaluation was to determine the progress made by the R2F project in realizing the expected project outcomes for increasing the citizens' voice and shifting attitudes (described in section 1.2).

This objective was formulated in three evaluation questions:
- To what extent do the activities implemented by the R2F project in Cambodia have an attributable effect on changes in the **citizens' voice and attitudes** concerning land rights?
- To what extent do the activities implemented by the R2F project in Cambodia have an attributable effect on the citizens' **knowledge and awareness** of land rights and plans to protect the land and natural resources?
- To what extent have the activities implemented by the R2F project in Cambodia influenced the **determinants of the citizens' voice and attitudes**?

RIGHT TO FOOD IN CAMBODIA AND ITS ACTIVITIES

The overall objective of the project is to ensure that small-scale food producers and agricultural workers, particularly women, benefit from public and private-sector policies that protect and promote their prosperity and resilience. The project aims to empower women and men, who are small-scale food producers and agricultural workers, and especially the indigenous peoples in rural areas of Cambodia. As a result, small-scale food producers, agricultural workers and the indigenous peoples can claim and demand access to and control over their natural resources, particularly land. Through this result, the project assumes that ultimately women, men and children living in poverty realize their right to food.

The project participants are villagers/smallholder farmers and communities dependent on natural resources. This includes poor women, men, young people and children, and especially indigenous peoples, whose livelihoods depend heavily on natural resources, non-timber forest products, and agricultural land where they conduct traditional farming activities. In total, the project reached 52 villages and 13,800 project participants in Kampong Thom, Preah Vihear, Steung Treng and Ratanakiri provinces.

The intervention strategy implemented to increase the citizens' voice and shift attitudes differs between the partner organizations. HA uses a community-organizing approach, CIPO builds the capacity of local activists as role models for citizen activism, DPA uses an approach of constructive engagement with different stakeholders and communities.

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[1] From this point onwards, the Right to Food project is referred to only by the abbreviation R2F project.

METHODOLOGY AND SAMPLING

This was a quasi-experimental impact assessment, meaning that the impact of the programme was assessed by comparing the change over time of a group of project participants with a similar group of people who did not participate in the project. This was done at the start of the project (baseline) and the end of the project (endline). This approach allowed us to see to what extent the changes in outcomes were the result of the project itself, that is, to what extent the changes in outcomes could be attributed to the project's activities.

The evaluation was based on a sample size of 231 project participants and 446 non-participants for the baseline survey, and 343 project participants and 148 non-participants for the endline survey – a total of 1,168 interviews. The project participants were respondents who lived in the project areas and recognized one or more of the project activities. The non-participants were respondents who lived in non-project areas and did not recognize the project activities.

FINDINGS

CITIZENS' VOICE AND ATTITUDES

The first evaluation question reflected on the changes in the citizens' voice and shifted attitudes concerning land rights. For this evaluation question, we analyzed the project's impact on 19 indicators and found evidence of impact for six of these. We asked whether citizens had taken any of a wide range of civil actions[2] to contact duty-bearers and demand their rights, including online and offline actions. The project contributed to keeping the levels of civic engagement stable among the project's participants, despite the challenges of shrinking civic space in Cambodia. The use of the citizens' voice by participants was largely unchanged throughout the project, whereas we saw a reduction in the levels of the citizens' voice among non-participants.

We also looked at the issues on which participants in the R2F project in Cambodia took action. In accordance with the project strategy, we selected the issues of securing land rights, access to water, dealing with the effects of climate change, dealing with the influence of companies, and supporting farmers' rights in general. We observed a significant reduction in the level of the citizens' voice on R2F themes among both participants and non-participants. According to project staff, some of the reasons that could explain this reduction were: i) people's frustration and fear of speaking out due to a shrinking political space, ii) a reluctance to take action during the project period because of promises of financial compensation to be paid by the government or big companies to families for their land, or iii) some farmers preferred to take action on other priorities that were different from the R2F themes. Despite the reduction in actions taken for all themes, at the endline, the participation in securing land rights was higher than for the other R2F themes. Land rights were the main focus of the project in Cambodia.

Overall, the project helped to mitigate the negative consequences of the shrinking civic space in Cambodia, and according to project staff, project participants were still active in the field at the community level and taking actions to fight for their rights.

The project had a positive impact on the percentage of project participants who had an opinion of how the local government handled the land rights of farmers and citizen participation in decision making. Also, the project had a positive impact on the percentage of project participants who had an opinion of how big companies dealt with the rights of small-scale farmers. In general, the respondents' views on these issues were quite negative and did not change between the baseline and the endline.

The respondents perceived the local authorities as the most responsible stakeholder in a hypothetical scenario of forced resettlement due to a new land-based development project or a new company

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[2] The actions were: joining an event organized by a farms/local producers organization, signing a request, participating in meetings at local level, participating in online activism, contacting a central government representative, contacting a local government official, contacting a member of a civil society organization (CSO), writing to newspaper/calling a radio show, and/or other.

investment in the area. This was confirmed by project staff, who indicated that in relation to land rights most people only recognize the local government as a responsible stakeholder.

The project staff were aware that the project could do more to inform people about the roles and responsibilities of the national government and the private sector. Project staff thought that it was critical that people understood the role of the private sector in cases of land grabbing. Nonetheless, project staff faced limitations of time and resources for expanding the scope of the activities for this topic.

KNOWLEDGE AND AWARENESS

The second evaluation question addresses changes in knowledge and awareness of land rights and plans to protect the land and natural resources. Here, we analyzed the project's impact on ten indicators and found evidence of impact for six of these. The project participants' level of knowledge of land, forest and investments (three of the four R2F thematic areas) was slightly higher than that of the non-project participants. The results showed that both participants and non-participants rated themselves as having little knowledge about laws and policies in any of the four R2F thematic areas: land, forest, seeds and investments. Project staff used an example to show that project participants had empirical knowledge about the thematic areas but perhaps did not have much knowledge of formal laws and policies.

We observed a reduction in the percentage of respondents (both participants and non-participants) who had experienced land grabbing. According to project staff, a plausible hypothesis was that respondents might be afraid of reporting land grabbing due to the shrinking civic space. Nonetheless, at the endline, 26–28% of respondents still reported experiences of land grabbing.

We also found a reduction in the percentage of respondents (both participants and non-participants) who had taken action against land grabbing. However, the project ensured that this reduction was smaller among project participants than among non-participants. This was a positive impact, as it showed that in in the absence of project activities, a lower percentage of project participants would have taken action.

We also found that project participants were better equipped to act against land grabbing. For instance, when we compared project participants and non-participants at the endline, we found that a larger share of project participants said they were fully satisfied with the response to their action. Also, a smaller proportion of project participants said there was no response to their action.

The project had a positive impact on the percentage of project participants who lived in communities with a plan for protecting the land and natural resources. The project made a positive contribution to the percentage of project participants who participated in the formulation of the plans. This was an achievement of the project because it worked directly with communities to initiate these plans. The project delivered training sessions to communities on the protection of natural resources and how to formulate plans for the protection of farmland and forest areas.

The majority of project participants believed that the community would continue with the plan, either with their own resources or with support from the government, if the support from CSOs ended. However, the project staff had concerns about how realistic the long-term sustainability of these plans would be.

The majority of participants and non-participants (around 54%) did not usually sell their land. Among those project participants who usually sold their land, we found a negative impact on their perception of the fairness of the compensation for the land. This meant that project participants who usually sold their land were more aware that they were not receiving fair compensation. Project staff expected this result because project participants received information about market prices and the value of land during the project implementation.

Finally, the findings suggested the existence of gender inequalities in the capability of influencing land negotiations. On the one hand, we found that male project participants felt more capable of influencing

land negotiations. This positive result was attributed to the project. On the other hand, we did not find an impact for female project participants. Hence, female participants did not improve their capability of influencing land negotiations.

DETERMINANTS OF THE CITIZENS' VOICE

The third evaluation question was concerned with the project's influence on the determinants of increases in the citizens' voice and shifts in attitudes. For this evaluation question, we explored the project's impact on 13 indicators and found evidence of impact for six of these. The project had a positive impact on the levels of political interest by sustaining the same levels of discussion among project participants. We also found a positive impact on political efficacy, which was driven by the positive impact on external political efficacy. However, the levels of political interest, political efficacy, external political efficacy and internal political efficacy were quite low. This was consistent with the access to civic space in Cambodia.

We found that personal attitudes, normative expectations and empirical expectations towards CSOs were very positive among project participants and non-participants. However, the decreasing and low levels of trust in local CSOs contrasted with these results. According to project staff, trust in local CSOs might have decreased due to staff turnover, as the new staff had to build trust again among community members. Additionally, people had high expectations of CSOs, but sometimes CSOs could not meet all the demands from the community, and this may also have led to a reduction of trust in local CSOs.

The project had a positive impact on trust in international NGOs. This might indicate an improvement of trust in Oxfam in Cambodia due to the project activities. However, trust in international NGOs is still at low levels. Project staff mentioned that it is more difficult to build trust in international NGOs because people do not have direct interactions with them. Therefore, people find it more difficult to form an opinion about international NGOs.

The trust in the local and national government increased between the baseline and the endline. Nonetheless, the levels of trust in the national government were quite low still. According to project staff, the trust in the government might have increased because the government provided support and solutions for land conflicts in recent years. However, this was driven by an interest of the government in winning votes for the elections.

There was no change in trust in big companies, and the trust in them is low. Project staff expected this result because, according to them, people do not have a clear understanding of the role of big companies.

Project staff were aware that gender mainstreaming was not well incorporated in the project. Hence, they did not expect a significant change in attitudes towards women's empowerment. The project staff are working to improve this area in future programming with a Gender Assessment Report.

The project made a positive contribution to the reduction of perceived discrimination, but no impact was achieved. Project staff believe that the training sessions contributed to a higher sense of empowerment among project participants, especially among indigenous people.

CONCLUSIONS

The evaluation showed that the project contributed to maintaining the levels of participation in a context of shrinking civic space, as the levels of citizens raising their voice remained stable. Despite the reduction in the levels of participation in R2F themes, the level of participation in securing land rights was higher than for other R2F themes. Also, the project increased the percentage of respondents who formed an opinion of how the local government and big companies handled issues concerning their rights.

Additionally, the findings showed that the project had positive results for knowledge of the R2F themes, actions against land grabbing, the elaboration of protection plans for natural resources, and awareness-

raising about market prices and the value of land. The project participants' knowledge of laws and policies concerning land, forest and investments was slightly higher than the knowledge of non-participants. Also, the reduction in the percentage of respondents who had taken action after an experience of land grabbing was lower among project participants than among non-participants. Furthermore, the project contributed to an increased percentage of participants in communities with a plan to protect the land and natural resources and contributed by increasing the participation in these plans. Also, the project contributed to a raised awareness of market prices and the value of land. Male project participants perceived themselves as more confident in influencing land negotiations. Nonetheless, gender inequalities persisted in this area. Despite all the challenges from the shrinking civic space, the project staff believed that people remained active in their communities, and continued to take actions to fight for their rights.

LIMITATIONS

This evaluation looked at the outcomes of increasing the citizens' voice and shifting attitudes only and hence does not show the impact of the full project in all the outcome areas. The shrinking civic space in Cambodia could have had a strong effect on the possibilities for people to raise their voices, but this was outside the direct influence of the project.

The change of project partners made it difficult to visit the same villages and interview the same respondents for the baseline and endline surveys. This limitation was addressed through the statistical methodology but could still have influenced the results.

The evaluation did not address the potential spillover effects. A large proportion (40.5%) of interviewed respondents in project areas did not recognize any project activities, but these respondents were not included in the analysis for this evaluation report. Impact analysis of this specific group of respondents could provide insights into whether it is necessary to reach all inhabitants in project locations to achieve similar results.

Gender mainstreaming was not well implemented during the project implementation. We have presented the differences between genders in the summary tables. However, it was unclear whether the project contributed directly to the significant differences that we found between the genders.

RECOMMENDATIONS

At the reflection workshop, project staff stressed that project ownership was still at a very moderate level in the communities. The project should focus more on increasing ownership of the project in the communities.

At both the baseline and the endline, respondents thought the local authorities were the most responsible stakeholder in relation to land rights. However, the national government and the private sector also played an important role, but this was not yet clear to the project participants. The project could do more to inform project participants about the roles and responsibilities of the national government and the private sector. By doing this, citizens could also hold these actors accountable for their activities regarding land rights.

Furthermore, in future programming, it is important to consider the possibility of working with the subnational government, in addition to the local and national governments. Based on the experience of project staff, the power dynamics of national and subnational government are different. Therefore, a future project should also try to influence the subnational government. The subnational government could bring up citizens' concerns and demands to the national government.

Considering the current civic space in Cambodia, the project staff believed that for future programming, it is important to apply an advocacy approach more frequently. An advocacy approach has to be implemented in parallel with the rest of the project activities and would be important in documenting the current good practices of the project in relation to advocacy. In this way, the lessons learned can inform future programming.

The project is currently working on a Gender Assessment Report to identify the needs of project staff in terms of gender mainstreaming. The Gender Assessment Report will address how much the project staff has been able to achieve, and the current capacities of the staff in gender mainstreaming. This assessment will develop recommendations for future consideration.

Positive findings for shifting attitudes and social norms by CSOs suggest that there is a favourable context for the work of Oxfam and its partners in Cambodia. However, staff turnover and a mismatch of expectations limited the trust in CSOs and international NGOs. A better alignment between the citizens' expectations and needs and a future project's intervention themes may help to increase that trust.

The survey asked a question about which issues the NGOs should continue working on or supporting in the future. The three issues mentioned most frequently by project participants were land tenure, education and agricultural development. The project staff acknowledged that these were important areas to work on in the future.

1 INTRODUCTION

This report presents the findings of the impact evaluation for the Right to Food project in Cambodia[3] in the outcome areas of increasing the citizens' voice and shifting attitudes. This project works on access to and governance of systems that support resilient livelihoods for smallholder food producers, such as land, inputs (especially seeds) and adaptation. This project was implemented as part of the Strategic Partnership – 'Towards a Worldwide Influencing Network' – of Oxfam Novib, the Centre for Research on Multinational Corporations (SOMO) and the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This evaluation report compares the results of the baseline survey of June and July 2016 and the endline survey of October 2019 to assess the contribution of the R2F project to increasing the citizens' voice and shifting attitudes.

The objective of the evaluation was to determine the progress made by the R2F project in realizing the expected project outcomes for increased citizens' voice and shifted attitudes (described in section 1.2).

1.1 STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

Oxfam Novib and SOMO have a strategic partnership with the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs called 'Towards a Worldwide Influencing Network'. This programme runs from 2016 until the end of 2020 and covers three thematic areas: Right to Food (R2F), Greater Responsibility in Finance for Development (F4D), and Conflict and Fragility (C&F). The thematic programmes are operationalized through 23 projects in 16 countries and three global projects.

All thematic programmes work towards several or all of the following seven outcomes: improved policies of governments and public actors, improved policies of private sector actors, increased political will, strengthened CSOs, stronger and wider alliances, increased citizens' voice, and shifted norms and attitudes.

The impact evaluation is part of the larger MEAL framework of the R2F project. The MEAL framework ensures that relevant, high quality and comparable data is collected for all seven outcome areas. Each outcome area has one or more methodologies to track progress. The different components of the MEAL framework, as well as the position of the impact evaluation (baseline and endline surveys) in this framework, are shown in Figure 1.

This impact evaluation focussed on the outcome areas of increased citizens' voice and shifted attitudes. This is part of the larger MEAL approach, and the findings presented here will feed into the final evaluation of the SP-programme, which will link and validate the results from all outcome areas.

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[3] From this point onwards, the Right to Food project is referred to only by the abbreviation R2F project.
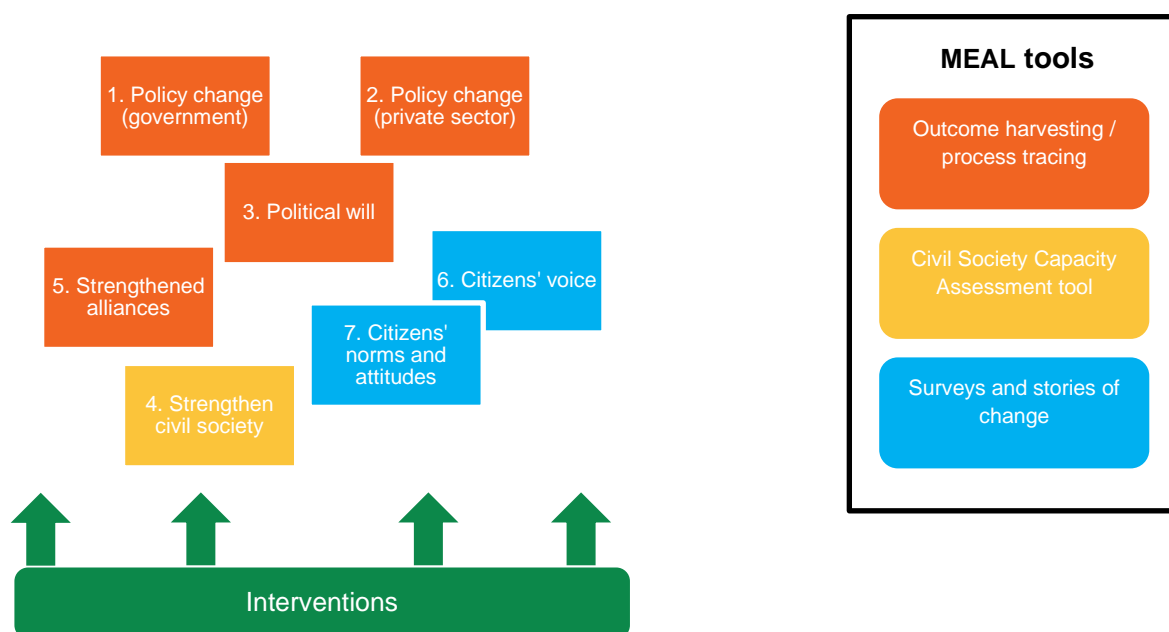
1.2 PROJECT OVERVIEW OF R2F IN CAMBODIA

The overall objective of the project is to ensure that small-scale food producers and agricultural workers, particularly women, benefit from public and private-sector policies that protect and promote their prosperity and resilience. Through this, the project assumes that, ultimately, women, men and children living in poverty realize their right to food.

To support this change, the project would like to ensure that small-scale food producers and agricultural workers, especially women and young people, are empowered to hold government and others with power accountable and to realize their right to build a resilient society free from poverty and injustice. The R2F project also supports women and men, and especially the indigenous peoples, in raising their voices, to protect their land tenure so they can use their land to secure sustainable livelihoods.

The project works closely with women and men who are small-scale food producers and agricultural workers, and especially the indigenous peoples in rural areas of Cambodia. The project aims to empower them so that they can claim, and demand access to and control over their natural resources, particularly land. This is important as rural areas in Cambodia face increasing investments in land for large scale agricultural developments, mining and infrastructure developments through economic land concession schemes. This results in redistribution of land that is not always consistent with the customary practices of indigenous people and communities. For example, the land around both public and private mining areas cannot always be accessed any longer by local communities. In 2012, the government of Cambodia attracted foreign and local investment by putting in place the sub-decree on Economic Land Concessions (ELC) to make way for companies to access and control large areas of land up to 10,000 hectares. This sub-decree undermined the rights of local communities.

The project works on four of the key outcome areas covered by the Strategic Partnership programme: i) improved policies of the government and global actors, ii) improved policies of the private sector, iv) increased citizens' voice, and vi) stronger and wider alliances. The project did not work in the outcome areas iii) increased political will and v) shifting norms and attitudes, due to the political context, civic space and the partners' capacity. This evaluation focussed on outcome area iv) increased citizens' voice. The project's targeted outcome is "villagers/small-scale farmers including youth and women, especially indigenous peoples (IPs), are empowered to realize their rights to challenge decisions regarding the governance of natural resources, particularly land in general and land in mining areas".

Although shifting norms and attitudes is not part of the project outcomes, this evaluation will also explore the impact of the project on shifting attitudes concerning land rights.

1.2.1 GROUPS OF PROJECT PARTICIPANTS

The project participants for the outcome area of increased citizens' voice are villagers/smallholder farmers, and communities dependent on natural resources including poor women, men, young people and children, and especially indigenous peoples (IPs), whose livelihoods depend heavily on natural resources, non-timber forest products, and agricultural land where they conduct traditional farming activities.

The project reached 52 villages and a total of 13,800 project participants in Kampong Thom, Preah Vihear, Steung Treng and Ratanakiri provinces. The project runs from January 2016 until the end of 2020.

1.2.2 ACTIVITIES TO INCREASE THE CITIZENS' VOICE AND SHIFT ATTITUDES

The activities (approach/interventions strategy) implemented to increase the citizens' voice and shift attitudes differ between the partner organizations. HA uses a community organizing approach, CIPO builds the capacity of local activists as role models for citizens activism, and DPA uses an approach of constructive engagement with different stakeholders and communities.

The activities of the R2F project in Cambodia that are concerned with the outcome areas of increased citizens' voice and shifted attitudes include:

- Capacity development
- Awareness-raising
- Community mobilization and organization
- Using community scorecards
- Support for community advocacy initiatives, campaigns and legal services
- Public forums
- Multi-stakeholder dialogues
- Engagement with communities in the Commune Development Plan (CDP)/Commune Investment Program (CIP) process
- Network/alliance mapping and assessment
- Public awareness via the media
- Support learning events for networks
- Link advocacy from local, national, and regional levels to the global level
- Link communities to business and NGOs
- Evidence-based documentation and fact-finding

2 EVALUATION QUESTIONS

The theory of change and the objective of this evaluation guided the evaluation questions listed below. These evaluation questions subsequently determined which indicators to assess – those that may influence the outcomes of increased citizens' voice and shifted attitudes.

Table 1 Overview of evaluation questions

Main evaluation objective: To what extent do the activities implemented by the R2F project in Cambodia have an attributable effect on changes in the citizens' voice, and the shifting of attitudes concerning land rights?		
Sub-questions:		
1. Raising one's voice and changes in attitudes	2. Improving knowledge and awareness	3. Determinants of raising the citizens' voice
To what extent do the activities implemented by the R2F project in Cambodia have an attributable effect on changes in the **citizens' voice, and the shifting attitudes** concerning land rights?	To what extent do the activities implemented by the R2F project in Cambodia have an attributable effect on citizens' **knowledge and awareness** of land rights and plans to protect the land and natural resources?	To what extent have the activities implemented by the R2F project in Cambodia influenced the **determinants of an increased citizens' voice and shifted attitudes**?

In addition to investigating the contribution of the project to the outcomes of increased citizens' voice and shifted attitudes, the report also explores more deeply the differences of gender and aims to answer the question: *Does the project have different results when we test separately for male and female project participants?*

3 EVALUATION DESIGN

3.1 EVALUATION DESIGN

This was a quasi-experimental impact assessment[4], meaning that the impact of the programme was assessed by comparing the change over time of a group of project participants with the change over time of a similar group of people who did not participate in the project. This was done at the start of the project (baseline) and the end of the project (endline). This allowed us to see to what extent the changes in outcomes were the result of the project itself, that is, they could be attributed to the project's activities. This methodology ensured that we did not confuse changes in the context in which the project was implemented or other non-project related influences on the people we work with, with the actual effects of the project itself. The people in the group of non-participants were assumed to be a reasonable counterfactual. The group of non-participants thus represented the situation of project participants in the absence of project activities.

3.2 SAMPLE

The sampling strategy for this evaluation followed a multistage cluster-sampling process. At the baseline survey, the sample strata were the provinces of Kampong Thom, Preah Vihear, Steung Treng, Ratanakiri, Kratie and Mondulkuri. At the endline survey, the sample strata included only the provinces of Kampong Thom, Preah Vihear, Steung Treng and Ratanakiri. In each province, we selected a sample of villages (clusters) in which to conduct the survey. The villages were randomly selected by considering the population size of each village. This means that villages with higher populations had a higher chance of being selected. This selection process ensured that people in larger villages had the same probability of being selected as those in smaller villages[5]. Finally, the respondents in each village were randomly selected by the enumerators, following a random walk process.

The endline fieldwork prioritized data collection from the same respondents as the baseline survey. Project staff used the code lists of respondents who were interviewed at the baseline to identify these same respondents. At the endline, it was only possible to interview about 35% of the baseline respondents in the project areas and 11% in the non-project areas. It was not possible to interview many of the respondents from the baseline survey due to migration, the respondent not being present in the household at the time of the endline survey or changes in project locations. At the baseline, the partners DPA, HA, ADHOC[6], BCV[7] and EC[8] were part of the project[9]. However, at the endline, only DPA and HA were still part of the project. Additionally, CIPO was a new partner of the project and so was not a partner at the baseline. Therefore, it was necessary to draw a new sample to include the project areas of CIPO and replace the areas that were surveyed by the partners that were no longer part of the project. The selection of these new areas also followed a multistage cluster-sampling process.

The data collected from new respondents at the endline was based on a random walk process through the villages. By chance, some of the respondents could have been living in the villages where the project

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[4] The selection and assignment of people to groups of project participants or non-participants was not random as would be done in a real experiment. We mimicked an experiment by comparing the results of a group of project participants with a group that did not participate in the project but who had a similar socio-economic and demographic profile. This makes this impact evaluation *quasi*-experimental.

[5] This selection method is called probability proportional to size and is useful when the sampling areas vary considerably in size.

[6] Cambodian Human Rights and Development Association.

[7] Build Community Voice.

[8] Equitable Cambodia.

[9] The project partners were changed based on the strategic focus of Phase 1 and Phase 2 and the capacity of those partners.

implemented its activities (potential project participants), but they had not engaged in or recognized any of the activities[10]. Therefore, in the endline survey, we asked the respondents the following question: *Since 2016, have you participated in any of the following activities organized by the Highlander Association (HA) / Development Partnership in Action (DPA) / Cambodia Indigenous Peoples Organization (CIPO)?*

Figure 2 shows the self-reported engagement in project activities for the survey respondents in the project areas[11]. It can be seen that 38.1% of respondents in project areas engaged in *Training / Capacity Building Workshops,* 19.8% in *Celebrations (IP Day, World Environmental Day, Human Rights Day, International Women Rights Day)*, 15.6% in *Regular Meetings[12],* and 10.6% in *Public Forums.* The rest of the activities were mentioned by less than 10% of respondents. It is worth noting that the scope of the activities varied. For instance, the project focused on training sessions and capacity building workshops for specific project participants. Activities such as public forums were open to everybody in the village. A further 40.5% of respondents in the project areas reported not engaging in any activity, either because they did not participate (37%) or they did not want to answer the question (3.5%).

Figure 2. Engagement in project activities (Endline survey, only respondents in project areas)
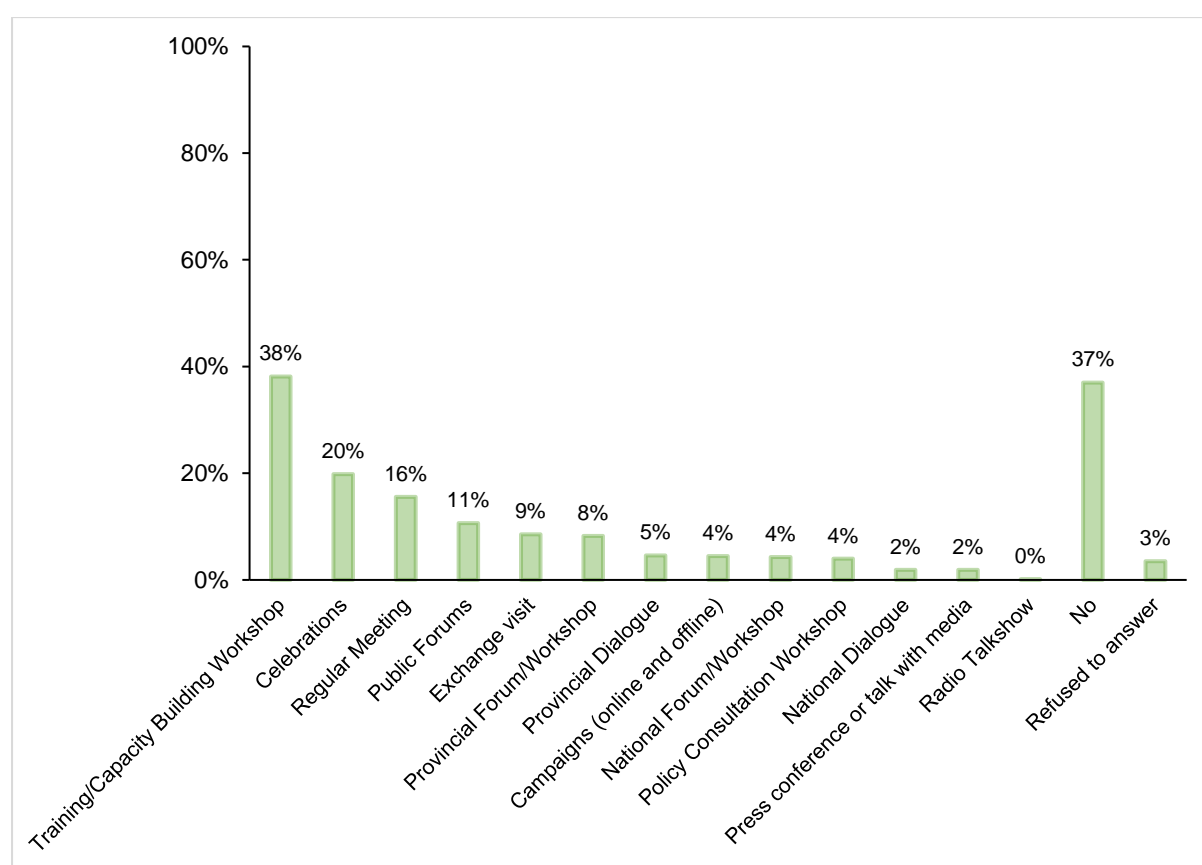
This impact evaluation considered only the respondents who had self-reported participation in the project activities to be project participants. We made this decision because we wanted to focus the evaluation on the changes that were an effect of the project itself. Since 40.5% of the respondents in the project locations said that they did not participate in the activities, assuming that all of the respondents in project locations were project participants might underestimate the effects of the project. In other words, we might not find an effect because we may have considered as project participants a

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[10] This group of respondents was different from the comparison group. The comparison group was formed by participants that lived in different villages from the project areas and did not participate in project activities.

[11] The percentages were based on the 630 respondents of the sample size in the project areas of the endline survey before propensity score matching. This technique is explained in section 3.3.

[12] According to the project staff, about 90% of the regular meetings were organized by the project.

large share of respondents who did not participate in any activity. In contrast, the project might have affected the actual participants. Furthermore, the 40.5% of the respondents in the project areas who did not participate in the project activities were not added to the comparison group. These respondents might not be an accurate comparison group because they lived in proximity to the project participants, and the project may have had spillover effects. However, an analysis of any spillover effects is beyond the scope of this evaluation report.

The evaluation was based on a sample size of 231 project participants and 446 non-participants for the baseline, and 343 project participants and 148 non-participants for the endline – a total of 1,168 interviews. This is the final sample size upon which the results presented in this report are based[13]. The project participants were respondents who lived in the project areas and recognized one or more of the project activities. The non-participants were respondents who lived in non-project areas and did not recognize the project activities. The map in Figure 3 shows the sample sizes for the baseline and endline surveys in each province:

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[13] Please note that more interviews were collected during the fieldwork, however, the evaluation methodology requires that respondents are very similar in terms of their socio-economic and demographic characteristics. Therefore, the sample size used in this evaluation was smaller than the total number of interviews collected. The details of the analysis techniques are explained in section 3.3.

Figure 3 Overview of sampled locations at the baseline and the endline[14]
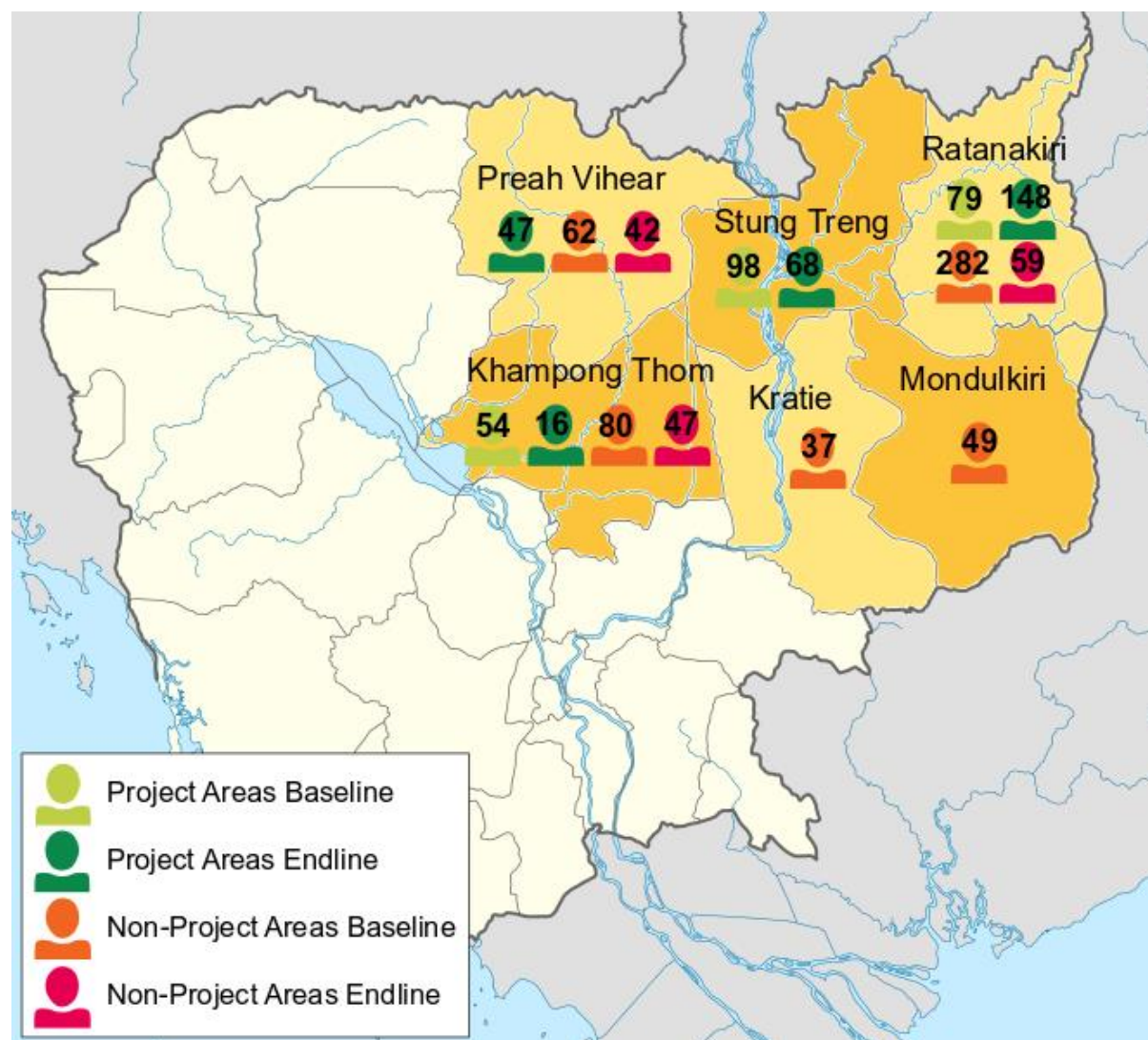
3.3 ANALYSIS TECHNIQUES

To assess the effect of a project on changes in the outcomes of increased citizens' voice and shifted attitudes in the R2F intervention areas, the standard statistical approach was to investigate what has changed for project participants compared to what would have happened in the absence of the project (a so-called counterfactual approach, which included non-project participants). We explored the difference over time between those who did and those who did not participate in the R2F project activities to see if there was an effect or impact that could be attributed to the project. Note that this impact could be positive or negative.

We used a process with three Propensity Score Matchings (PSM)[15]. The first PSM was of project participants at the baseline with project participants at the endline. The second was PSM of project participants at the baseline with non-participants at the baseline. The third was PSM of project participants at the baseline with non-participants at the endline. This approach helped to ensure that our comparisons between these groups were as accurate as possible. It may be, for example, that some

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[14] Base map sourced from Wikipedia: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:SVG_locator_maps_of_Cambodia_(location_map_scheme)

[15] For more information, please see Annex 1.

slight differences in the demographic or socio-economic characteristics of these groups made one group more likely to raise their voice on a particular topic or to have more prior knowledge of R2F topics. Using PSM helped to correct for any underlying differences between the project participants and non-participants so that our comparisons between them were more likely to reveal "true" differences in the outcomes of most interest to the project[16]. Findings in this report were based on calculations taking weightings from this PSM model into account.

For a few outcome indicators, we only had endline data, as the interest in these indicators only became clear in the process of setting up the endline research. For these indicators, we could not compare the project participants and non-participants over time, as we did not have baseline data for these indicators. Thus, the analysis was only done at a single timepoint and, therefore, shows the results for the project participants and non-participants at the endline.

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[16] Covariates included in the matching were the respondent's age, gender, level of education, literacy, occupation, marital status, gender of the household head, education of the household head, literacy of the household head, occupation of the household head, and an index of the economic profile of the household.

4 FINDINGS

This section presents the main findings[17] of the evaluation. The project was judged to have made a significant *impact on* an outcome indicator if the change in the project participants, from the baseline to the endline, was larger than the change for non-participants. When the report mentions a significant *impact*, it means that the difference between project participants and non-participants in that outcome indicator (between the baseline and the endline) was statistically significant at a confidence level of 95%. This means that if the survey were re-run 20 times, we would find that the project had an impact for 19 of those 20 times. **In short, a *significant impact* means that we have enough statistical evidence to believe that a change in an outcome indicator was entirely due to the project activities[18].**

We also explored whether the project contributed to the changes in an outcome indicator for only the project participants, regardless of any changes in the group of non-participants. The difference between the baseline and the endline for the project participants only was the *contribution* of the project, and it was statistically significant at a confidence level of 95%. **Generally speaking, a *significant contribution* meant that we had enough statistical evidence to conclude that the project had made a contribution to a change in an outcome indicator, *but other factors external to the project may also have influenced the results.*** In this case, we could not say that a change was entirely due to the project activities.

We do not discuss any impact or contribution in this report that was not statistically significant. Hence, if the text does not mention a change, either in terms of impact or contribution, it means that we did not find a statistically significant change at a confidence level of 95%.

Most figures in this report visualize the results as line or bar graphs that show the average response to a given question by respondents in the baseline and the endline surveys or the proportion of respondents answering a question in a certain way in these two surveys. Because data are based on responses from a sample of the people in the baseline and endline surveys, the results were subject to a degree of sampling error. These errors are visualized with a confidence interval in most figures, representing the range of the estimate at a confidence level of 95%. This means that if the survey were re-run 20 times, the result obtained should fall within the range indicated by the confidence interval 19 of those 20 times. As a general rule of thumb, if the confidence intervals of two estimates overlap, then, it is likely that there is no statistically significant difference between the estimates. If the confidence intervals do not overlap, then there is likely to be a statistically significant difference between the estimates. However, there are exceptions to this general rule and readers are encouraged to rely on the report text and summary tables for definitive results of which comparisons or associations were statistically significant and which were not.

4.1 DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

This profile gives a general picture of the characteristics of the respondents who were interviewed for this evaluation. To make valid comparisons between the baseline and the endline groups, it was important to make sure that we were comparing similar groups of people. Thus, both groups should be

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[17] Please note that the sample size for each outcome indicator can be different from the sample size mentioned in section 3.2. This could be due to one or more of the following reasons: respondents did not answer the question(s) related to that outcome indicator or respondents answered 'I don't know'.

[18] It is worth noting that in some cases, the outcome indicator might not have changed among project participants, but we still may find a significant impact. This can be the case when we observed a negative change in the group of non-participants, but the project helped to maintain an outcome indicator at the same level or helped to reduce a negative trend in the political and socio-economic context.

similar in terms of their demographic and socio-economic profiles. The profile presented in this section considered the weightings that had been calculated after the process of matching (see section 3.3)[19].

The average age of the respondents was 42 years old. The gender distribution was 55% men and 45% women. The education levels of the respondents were 45% had no education, 46% had completed primary school, and 1% had reached an educational level higher than primary school. In terms of literacy, half of the respondents were able to read and write. Almost all of the respondents were farmers (96%), with 3% doing other work and 1% were unemployed or doing irregular work. The marital statuses of the respondents were 2% were single, 88% were married, and 1% were divorced, separated or widowed. Just over half (52%) of the respondents were the head of the household.

A total of 87% of the respondents lived in households headed by a man, and 13% lived in households headed by women. The level of education achieved by the head of the household where the respondent lived was 45% had not completed any level of education, 46% had completed primary school, and 1% had reached an educational level higher than primary school. Slightly over half of the household heads (52%) were able to read and write. Most household heads were employed in farming (96%), 3% did non-farming work, and 1% were unemployed or doing irregular work.

The R2F project in Cambodia targets people at risk of experiencing land rights violations. The vast majority of the respondents (98%) declared that they had access to land, but they were at high risk of having their land rights violated by expropriation and deforestation due to mining and agribusiness activities.

4.2 IMPACT OF PROJECT ACTIVITIES ON CITIZENS RAISING THEIR VOICE

In this section, we will look at citizens raising their voice both from a general perspective and in relation to the R2F themes. From a general perspective, we measured the percentage of citizens who reported that they had taken action in the previous 12 months, the number of different types of actions taken and the number of actions taken by the respondents. On R2F themes, we measured the percentage of respondents who reported that they had taken action on securing land rights, access to water, dealing with the effects of climate change, dealing with the influence of companies, and supporting farmers' rights in general.

4.2.1 RAISING THE CITIZENS' VOICE

Raising the citizens' voice is about citizens taking action to have their concerns heard by duty-bearers, to challenge the power of the state and the corporate sector and to have a say in the future direction of their society. It is also about ensuring that duty-bearers consult and take into account the citizens to whom they are accountable. The baseline and endline surveys did not measure this aspect of raising the citizens' voice, but it will be measured using outcome harvesting methodology. The project aimed to contribute to citizens raising their voice by using community organizing approaches, building the capacity of local activists as role models for citizen activism and constructive engagement with different stakeholders and communities.

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[19] On this point, it is important to mention two observations. Firstly, the information presented in this section is the profile of the respondents in the group of project participants at the endline only. We chose to present only the project participants at the endline because there were no significant differences from the project participants at the baseline, or between the non-participants at the baseline and the non-participants at the endline. The matching process ensured that the four profiles were the same in statistical terms. The details of the four groups can be found in Annex 1. Secondly, this profile accounts for the weightings from the matching process, therefore some differences with the actual data that were collected are possible. However, for the accuracy of the results in this evaluation, we gave priority to comparing groups of respondents who were statistically similar, despite the differences in the actual data that were collected. The demographic and socio-economic profiles of the respondents before the matching process, and with no account taken for the weightings, can be found in Annex 1.

Raised citizens' voices can come in different forms and through different actions, so we measured citizens who reported that they had taken action. We also applied a set of questions from Afro barometer on participation and civic engagement. The question used in this survey asked whether citizens had taken any of a wide range of civil actions[20] to contact duty-bearers and demand their rights, including both online and offline actions. We excluded the action of participation in meetings at the local level from the analysis, as this was a very common activity in Cambodia, so it was not a good measure of civic engagement.

We explored the citizens' voice with three indicators: the percentage of respondents who took action on one or more activities (Figure 4), the variety of actions taken by the respondents (Figure 5) and the average number of actions taken by the respondents (Figure 6)[21]. The results showed a significant impact on the percentage of citizens raising their voice and on the variety of actions taken by the respondents (Figure 4 and Figure 5). We found a significant impact in the average number of actions taken by women in the previous 12 months, but we did not find a significant impact for this indicator either in general or for men in particular. Figure 4 and Figure 5 show that for these indicators, the significant impact was the result of a reduction in the actions of the group of non-participants. In contrast, the level of actions taken by project participants remained stable between the baseline and the endline.

During the reflection workshop, the project staff[22] mentioned that there had been a critical situation in Cambodia with a reduction of civic space. Some NGOs had not been able to work in recent years and had implemented fewer activities in the regions where the R2F project works, and in regions where the project does not work. Also, other NGOs faced decreased funding. This could explain why the levels of citizens using their voice decreased among non-participants. An important achievement of the R2F project was that the project participants were still able to participate, so the project contributed to maintaining the civic space. Without this civic space, the situation with regards to raising the citizens' voice among project participants might have been similar to that found for the non-participants.

Figure 4: Positive and significant impact on the percentage of respondents who took action on one or more activities (excluding participation in meetings at the local level)
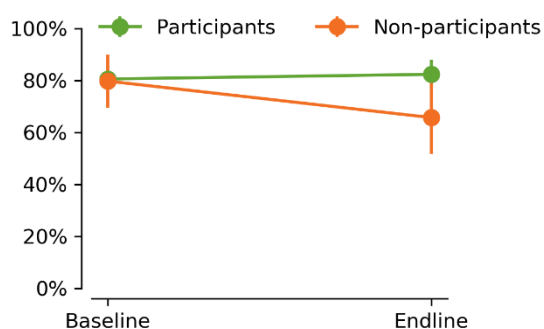
Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=1165

Figure 5: Positive and significant impact on the variety of actions taken by the respondents (excluding participation in meetings at the local level)
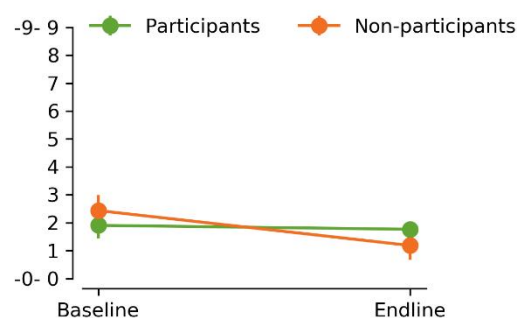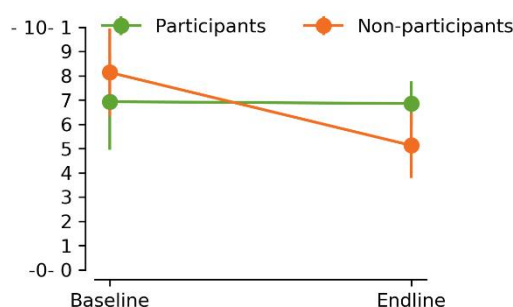

Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=1165

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[20] The actions were: joining an event organized by a farms/local producers organization, signing a request, participating in meetings at a local level, participating in online activism, contacting a central government representative, contacting a local government official, contacting a member of a CSO, writing to newspaper/calling a radio show, and other.

[21] The variety of actions was a simple count of the different actions taken by a respondent, regardless of how many times the respondent had done that action in the previous 12 months (Figure 5). For example, if a respondent signed three requests and contacted a member of a CSO, the value of this indicator for the respondent was only two (signed a request and contacted a member of a CSO). Whereas, the number of actions taken by a respondent (Figure 6) considered how many times the respondent did each action. In the previous example, the value of this indicator for the same respondent was four (signed three requests and contacted a member of a CSO).

[22] The term 'project staff' refers to the combination of staff from HA, DPA, CIPO and Oxfam in Cambodia.

Figure 6: No significant impact on the average number of actions taken by the respondents (excluding participation in meetings at the local level)

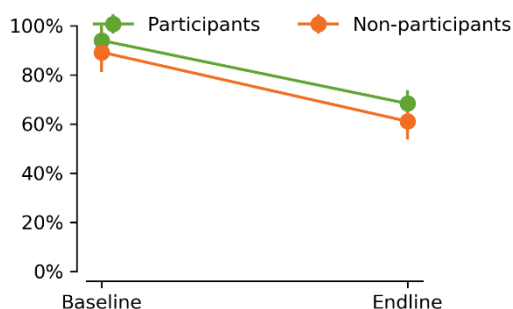Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=1055

4.2.2 RAISING THE CITIZENS' VOICE ON R2F THEMES

We also looked at the issues on which participants in the R2F project in Cambodia took action. In accordance with the project strategy, we selected the issues of securing land rights, access to water, dealing with the effects of climate change, dealing with the influence of companies, and supporting farmers' rights in general

Figure 7 shows that the project had no significant impact on the themes. There was a statistically significant reduction in the percentage of respondents who took action on R2F themes, for both participants and non-participants. The project staff at the workshop thought that this reduction could be due to people's lower participation in discussions with big companies and the government because they feel frustrated. This situation was linked to the risks of taking actions in the context of shrinking political space.
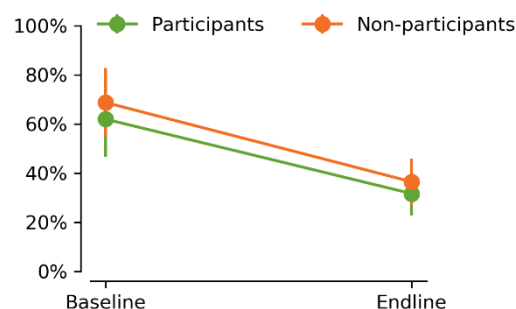
Figure 7: No significant impact on the percentage of respondents who took action on R2F themes
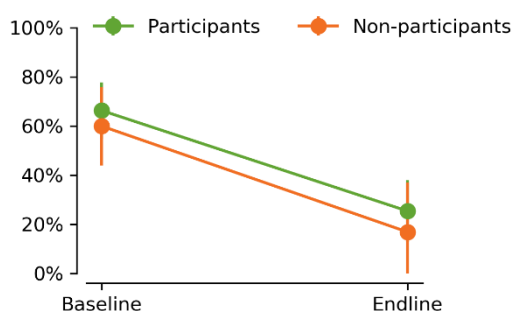
Securing land rights

Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=1165
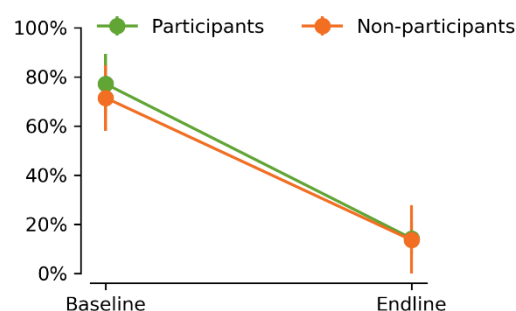
Access to water

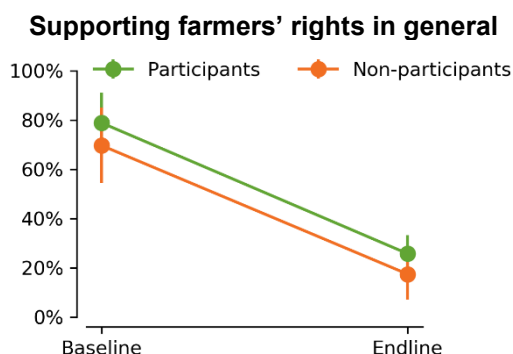Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=1165

Dealing with the effects of climate change

Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=1165

Dealing with the influence of companies

Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=1165

Supporting farmers' rights in general

Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=1165

The project staff also mentioned that in some implementation areas, the government or big companies promised financial compensation to people for their land. Therefore, some people deliberately took fewer actions on R2F themes so as not to compromise a potential financial deal. Furthermore, according to the project staff, some families had microfinance debts at a very high interest rate. Therefore, some families prioritized the financial compensation that they would receive for their land. The level of poverty of some families was another reason why some people took fewer actions. Living in poverty meant that people spent time on income-generating activities, reducing the time available for participating in project activities and taking action on R2F themes.

The situation portrayed by the project staff showed how the needs and financial situation of poor families were constraints on taking action on R2F themes, and how this was exploited by companies. It is important to bear in mind that projects such as R2F often work in this type of context. Thus, the importance of working with communities to improve their understanding of the value of their land, so that they avoid selling it unless necessary and at least negotiate fair compensation.

Despite the general reduction in citizens raising their voice on R2F themes, the project staff remarked that, at the endline, the levels of participation in securing land rights were higher than for the other themes. We concluded that the project had minimized the negative consequences of shrinking civic space for the theme of securing land rights. This was consistent with the project activities, which focussed primarily on land rights. The project staff also pointed out that, based on their experience, the people were still taking actions in the field at the community level, but this may not have been reflected in the survey. For instance, due to the shrinking civic space, the project changed to an advocacy approach with meetings but fewer demonstrations or gatherings. Therefore, some respondents might have said that they did not take action because they did not participate in demonstrations on R2F themes, although they were active at the community level.

4.2.3 SUMMARY

The project contributed to maintaining stable levels of civic engagement among project participants, despite the challenges of shrinking civic space in Cambodia. The number of instances of citizens raising their voice was largely unchanged between the baseline and the endline for project participants, whereas we saw a reduction in instances of citizens raising their voice for non-participants.

We found a significant reduction in instances of citizens raising their voice on R2F themes, for both participants and non-participants. The project staff suggested different reasons that could explain this reduction – for example, people's frustration and fear of speaking out due to shrinking political space, a reluctance to take action against either public or private interests because of promises of financial compensation to be paid by the government or big companies to families for their land during the project period, or just because some farmers preferred to take action on other priorities than those of the R2F themes. Despite the reduction in instances of citizens raining their voice, at the endline, the participation in securing land rights was higher than for the other R2F themes.

Overall, the project contributed to the mitigation of the negative consequences of the shrinking civic space in Cambodia, and, according to project staff, project participants were still active in the field at the community level and taking actions to fight for their rights.

Table 1. Summary of results for raising the citizens' voice

Concept	Outcome variable	Impact (attribution)?	Impact (attribution) only among men?	Impact (attribution) only among women?	Change in target group over time (contribution)?
To what extent do the activities implemented by the R2F project in Cambodia have an attributable effect on changes in the citizens' voice concerning land rights?					
Voice (General)	% of respondents who in the past 12 months participated in at least one of the following activities: joining an event organized by a farms/local producers organization, signing a request, participating in online activism, contacting a central government representative, contacting a local government official, contacting a member of a CSO, writing to a newspaper/calling a radio show, and other.	⬆	=	=	=
	Variety of activities on which respondents took action [same list as above].	⬆	⬆	⬆	=
	Total number of actions taken by respondents on average [same list as above].	=	=	⬆	=
Voice (R2F)	Total number of *different* R2F themes on which the respondent took action.	=	=	=	⬇
	% of respondents who took action on securing rights to land.	=	=	=	⬇
	% of respondents who took action on securing access to water.	=	=	=	⬇
	% of respondents who took action on dealing with the effects of climate change.	=	=	=	⬇
	% of respondents who took action on dealing with the influence that big companies have.	=	=	=	⬇
	% of respondents who took action on supporting farmers rights in general.	=	=	=	⬇

# 4.3 IMPACT OF PROJECT ACTIVITIES ON SHIFTING ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE ROLE OF STAKEHOLDERS

This section first explores the impact of project activities on shifting attitudes towards the effectiveness and functioning of local government. Next, we look at the respondents' views on big companies' handling of a variety of issues. Third, we show which stakeholder was considered by respondents as the most responsible in the hypothetical scenario of forced resettlement due to a new development project or a new company in the area.

4.3.1 LOCAL GOVERNMENT EFFECTIVENESS AND FUNCTIONING

The attitudes of citizens towards local government effectiveness and performance are key to citizens raising their voice and holding local duty-bearers responsible. First, we looked at the percentage of respondents who had formed an opinion of local government effectiveness in securing the land rights of farmers. We found that the project had a significant impact on the percentage of respondents who had formed an opinion on this matter (Figure 8). It is worth noting that there was a significant increase in the percentage of project participants who had formed an opinion for this indicator. At the baseline, only 64% had formed an opinion, but at the endline 92% had done so. In contrast, the percentage of non-project participants who had formed an opinion was high at the baseline (91%) but had decreased to 85% at the endline.

We also saw that respondents were not very positive about the effectiveness of local government in securing the land rights of farmers. When we compared only those respondents who had an opinion, on average, both project participants and non-participants said that the local government handled securing the land rights of farmers fairly badly (Figure 9). We did not find any significant impact on this indicator because both project participants and non-participants had a similar opinion from baseline to endline.However, when we looked only at the project participants, we found a significant change in their opinion and they were slightly less negative.

Figure 8: Positive and significant impact on the percentage of respondents who had formed an opinion of local government effectiveness in securing the land rights of farmers
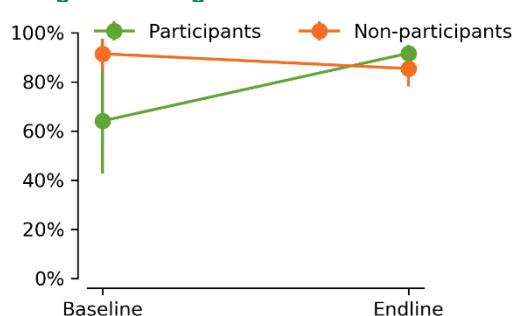
Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=1162

Figure 9: No significant impact on attitudes towards local government effectiveness in securing the land rights of farmers
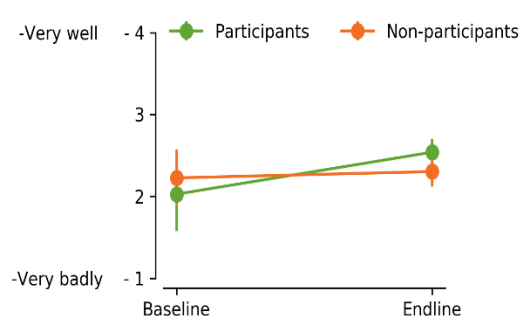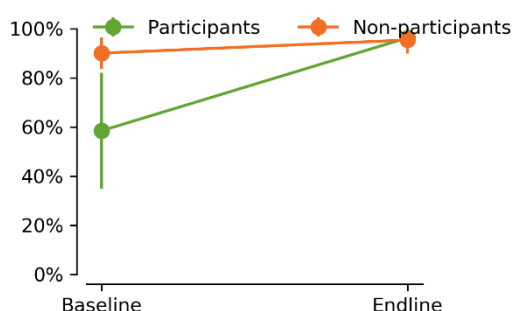

Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=980

We found similar results for opinions of government procedures, as the project had a significant impact on the percentage of respondents who had formed an opinion of how well the local government had functioned in allowing citizens to participate in decision making (Figures 8 and 10). Similarly, there was an important increase in the percentage of project participants who had formed an opinion (58% at the baseline and 96% at the endline). The percentage of non-project participants who had an opinion was already high at the baseline (90%), but this increased to 95% at the endline.

However, when we compared only those respondents who had an opinion, we did not find any significant impact. We did not find a significant impact because both participants and non-participants had a similar opinion at the baseline and the endline. When we looked only at the project participants, we found a significant change, and their opinions were less negative towards how well the local government had performed in allowing citizens to participate in decision making. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that Figure 11 shows that both project participants and non-participants rated how well the local government had functioned (in allowing citizens to participate in decision making) as below the category of 'fairly well'.

Project staff said that the results on government effectiveness and functioning were consistent with their expectations because project participants received information through participation in project activities, and now they had more information to consider when making an opinion. Furthermore, it is important to emphasize that people's opinion about how well the local government had performed was below the category of 'fairly well'.

Figure 10: Positive and significant impact on the percentage of respondents who had formed an opinion of the functioning of local government in allowing citizen participation in decision making

Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=1163

Figure 11: No significant impact on attitudes towards the functioning of local government in allowing citizen participation in decision making
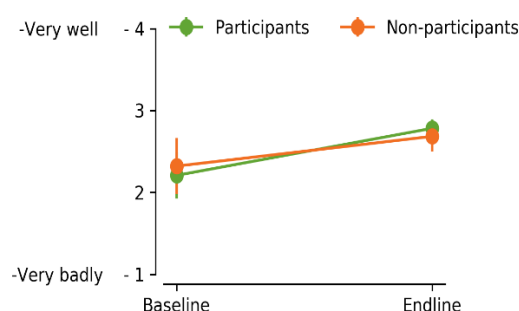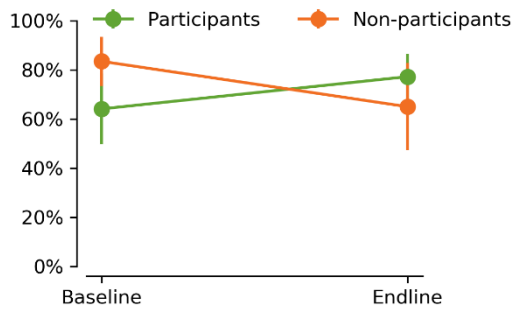

Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=994

4.3.2 BIG COMPANIES

We also asked respondents for their opinion of how big companies dealt with the rights of small-scale farmers. In the context of the project, the term 'big companies' can include project developers, operators of large projects, investors, international companies or corporations, private companies and state companies.

The project had a significant impact on the percentage of respondents who had formed an opinion of how big companies dealt with the rights of small-scale farmers (Figure 12). At the baseline, only 64% of project participants had formed an opinion, but at the endline, this had risen to 77%. In contrast, the percentage of non-project participants who had formed an opinion decreased from 83% at the baseline to 65% at the endline.

We also saw that for those respondents with an opinion (both project participants and non-participants) that this opinion was quite negative (Figure 13). Interestingly, we found that the views of project participants on how companies dealt with the rights of small-scale farmers were slightly less negative than those of the non-participants. However, in general, respondents rated how these companies dealt with the rights of small-scale farmers as 'fairly badly'.

Figure 12: Positive and significant impact on the percentage of respondents who had formed an opinion of how big companies deal with the rights of small-scale farmers

Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=1154

Figure 13: No significant impact on attitudes towards how big companies deal with the rights of small-scale farmers
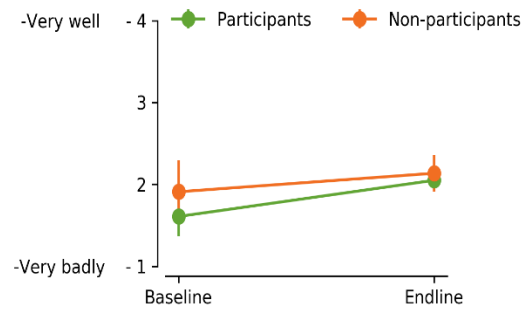
Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=870

4.3.3 STAKEHOLDERS' RESPONSIBILITY IN CASES OF LAND GRABBING

We asked the respondents who would be the most responsible stakeholder in a hypothetical scenario of forced resettlement due to a new land-based development project or a new company investment in the area. The majority of respondents at the endline (both project participants and non-project participants) thought that the local authorities, followed by the national government, would be the most responsible in a case of land grabbing. This perception did not change between the baseline and the endline for project participants, but for non-project participants, the national government were thought to be the most responsible at the baseline, followed by the local authorities.

Figures 14–17 show the percentage of respondents mentioning the national government, local authorities, the bank that funds the project, and the development project or company itself, respectively, as the main responsible stakeholder for forcing people to move away to allow a possible investment. Between the baseline and the endline, there was no significant change in the percentage of participants who said that the national government would be the main responsible stakeholder. In contrast, there was a significant reduction in the percentage of non-project participants who identified the national government as the main responsible stakeholder. Figure 14 shows that the percentage of project participants who placed more responsibility at the level of the national government was unchanged between the baseline and the endline.

We also found that there was a significant reduction in the proportion of project participants who identified the project or company behind the investment as the main responsible stakeholder. This reduction also held for non-project participants. We did not find any significant change in the proportion of people who identified the local authorities or the bank that funds the project between the baseline and the endline.

Project staff mentioned that in Cambodia, people thought that companies could only start a new land-based development project after the local government's approval. Also, people believed that the local government was like a parent for them. Hence, they placed more responsibility on the local government than on the companies. As we mentioned at the beginning of this section, the majority of respondents at the endline thought that the local authorities would be the most responsible stakeholder in a hypothetical scenario of forced resettlement resulting from a new land-based development project or a new company investment in the area.

A possible explanation for the findings in this section is people's perceptions of who was ultimately responsible for their wellbeing. According to project staff, the results were consistent with the context

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where the project works, as most people only recognized the local government as a responsible stakeholder in relation to land rights. On the other hand, people found it more difficult to understand the roles and responsibilities of the national government and the private sector. The national government, for example, was perceived as too far from citizens. Regarding the private sector (banks, companies or private investments), the project staff mentioned that people had very little knowledge of the role of these stakeholders in cases of land grabbing. Therefore, the project could do more to inform project participants about the roles of the national government and the private sector. During the project period, the limits on time and resources were barriers to expanding the scope of the project activities on the role of banks and the private sector.

Figure 14: No significant change in the percentage of participants saying that the national government would be the most responsible in a case of land grabbing, but a significant reduction among non-participants
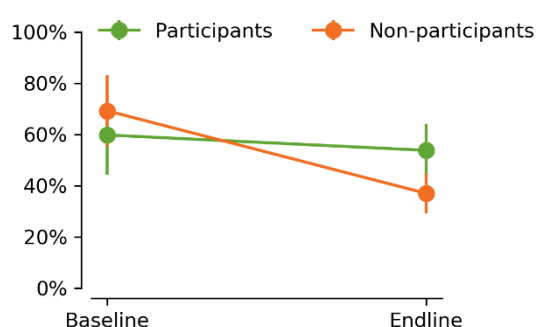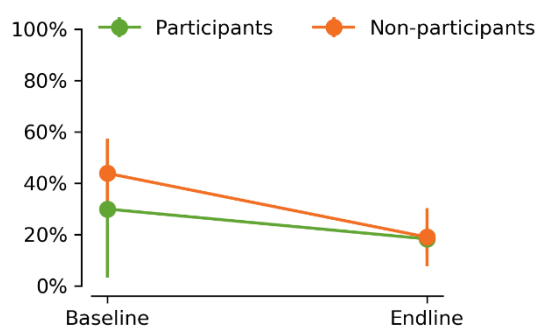

Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=1112

Figure 15: No significant change in the percentage of participants saying that the local authorities would be the most responsible in a case of land grabbing
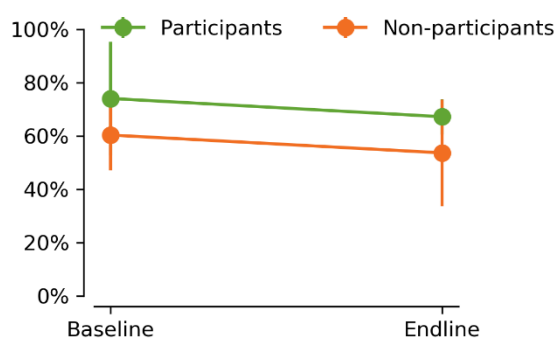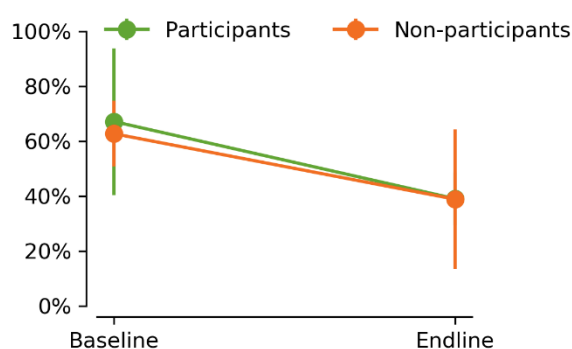

Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=1112

Figure 16: No significant change in the percentage of participants saying that the bank that funds the project would be the most responsible in a case of land grabbing

Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=1112

Figure 17: Significant reduction in the percentage of participants saying that the project or company itself would be the most responsible in a case of land grabbing

Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=1112

4.3.4 SUMMARY

The project had a significant impact on the proportion of respondents who had an opinion of how the local government handled the land rights of farmers and citizens' participation in decision making. Also, the project had a significant impact on the proportion of respondents who had an opinion of how big companies deal with the rights of small-scale farmers. However, the project did not have any significant impact on the attitudes of those respondents who already had an opinion. In general, the respondents' views on these issues were quite negative.

The local authorities were perceived as the most responsible stakeholder in a hypothetical scenario of forced resettlement due to a new land-based development project or a new company investment in the area. According to project staff, most people only recognized the local government as a responsible stakeholder in relation to land rights.

The project staff mentioned that the roles and responsibilities of the national government and the private sector in relation to land rights were more difficult for the respondents to understand. The project staff were aware that the project could do more to inform people about the responsibilities of these stakeholders, especially about the private sector, as the project staff thought that people needed to understand the role of the private sector in cases of land grabbing. Nonetheless, project staff faced limitations of time and resources in expanding the scope of the activities for this topic.

Table 2: Summary of results for shifting attitudes on the role of stakeholders

Concept	Outcome variable	Impact (attribution)?	Impact (attribution) only among men?	Impact (attribution) only among women?	Change in target group over time (contribution)?
To what extent do the activities implemented by the R2F project in Cambodia have an attributable effect on changes in shifted attitudes concerning land rights?					
Local government's effectiveness	% of respondents who had formed an opinion of local government effectiveness in securing the land rights of farmers	↑	↑	↑	↑
	Attitudes towards local government effectiveness in securing the land rights of farmers	=	=	=	↑
Local government's functioning	% of respondents who had formed an opinion of the functioning of local government in allowing citizens' participation in decision making	↑	↑	↑	↑
	Attitudes towards the functioning of local government in allowing citizen participation in decision making	=	=	=	↑
Big companies	% of respondents who had formed an opinion of how big companies deal with the rights of small-scale farmers	↑	↑	=	↑
	Attitudes towards how big companies deal with the rights of small-scale farmers	=	=	=	↑
Stakeholder's responsibility	% of respondents stating that the bank that funds	=	=	=	=

in case of people being forced to move away due to new investments	the project would be most responsible				
	% of respondents stating that the project or company that funds the project would be most responsible	=	=	=	⬇
	% of respondents stating that the national government that funds the project would be most responsible	⬆	⬆	=	=
	% of respondents stating that the local authorities that fund the project would be most responsible	=	=	=	=

4.4 IMPACT OF PROJECT ACTIVITIES ON KNOWLEDGE AND AWARENESS OF LAND RIGHTS

In this section, we first examine the context of land access and registration. Second, we present the findings for the knowledge and awareness of laws and policies concerning land, forest, seeds and investments. Third, we present the situation regarding land grabbing and plans for protecting land. Finally, we look at the capacity to negotiate land sales and purchases and practices linked to selling agricultural products.

4.4.1 LAND ACCESS AND REGISTRATION

Almost all respondents (98%) had access to land at the endline[23]. Among project participants, the most frequently mentioned types of land that they had access to were farmland (95%) and land for housing (86%). One-quarter of the project participants had access to forestry/sacred forest areas (25%). A further 8% of project participants had access to land held collectively, 7% had access to sacred land, and 5% had access to other types of land. Among non-participants, farmland (83%) and land for housing (88%) were also the most frequently mentioned types of land. A further 23% of non-participants had access to forestry/sacred forest areas, 7% had access to sacred land, 2% had access to collectively held land, and 2% had access to other types of land.

The type of land title held by respondents for access to land was quite diverse. Among project participants, 30% had a land ownership title issued by the national or provincial government (hard title), 21% had an ownership title issued by the local authorities (soft title), 47% did not have any land title, and 2% refused to answer this question. Among non-participants, 31% had a land ownership title issued by the national or provincial government (hard title), 34% had an ownership title issued by local authorities (soft title), 33% did not have any land documentation, and 2% refused to answer this question. We did not find any significant differences between the project participants and the non-participants in the proportion of respondents with access to land, the types of land they had access to, and the types of land titles. It should be noted that the project did not intend to increase land registration directly.

4.4.2 KNOWLEDGE AND AWARENESS OF LAWS AND POLICIES

The respondents were asked if they knew the laws and policies in the thematic areas of the R2F project in Cambodia: land, forest, seeds and investments. We only compared the results of participants and non-participants at the endline because we did not ask these questions at the baseline. We found a significant difference between project participants and non-participants in their knowledge of land, forest and investments. In these areas, the level of knowledge of the project participants was slightly higher than that of the non-project participants. This suggested that the project contributed to improving the level of knowledge of project participants in three out of four themes of the R2F project. However, for all themes, respondents (project participants and non-participants) rated themselves between "not knowledge about" and "somewhat knowledgeable about"[24].

Figure 18 shows that the level of knowledge of investments was the lowest of the themes. The project engaged with the private sector by lobbying companies on corporate social responsibility and conflict resolution. However, during the reflection workshop, the project staff pointed out that the project did not deepen private sector engagement enough. The project staff mentioned the need to work more in raising knowledge and awareness of the role of financial flows and the governance structure of the private sector and the effect they have on land rights.

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[23] The questions about access to land, types of land and type of land title were asked only at the endline.
[24] The question's scale was 1 not knowledgeable about, 2 somewhat knowledgeable about, 3 knowledgeable about and 4 very knowledgeable about.

According to project staff, the results shown in Figure 18 may also indicate that the respondents did not feel very confident about their level of knowledge of formal laws and policies. Nonetheless, it may be that project participants had empirical knowledge of the thematic areas. Based on field experience, the project staff thought that the respondents had empirical knowledge of the financial flow of company investments for the HAGL Company from the Follow the Money Initiative. R2F partners used the Follow the Money approach to look into the financial flow and the funding agency behind this investment. The partners found that the IFC/World Bank was funding HAGL to invest in rubber plantations in Cambodia, which was where conflict between the local indigenous community and the company was occurring. The affected community was informed and trained by R2F partners about local and international procedures and grievance mechanisms, which they could use to get the company to act responsibly in addressing the conflict.

Figure 18: Levels of knowledge of laws and policies regarding land, forest, seeds, and investments are low. The project participants have a significant and higher level of knowledge in the areas of land, forest and investments.
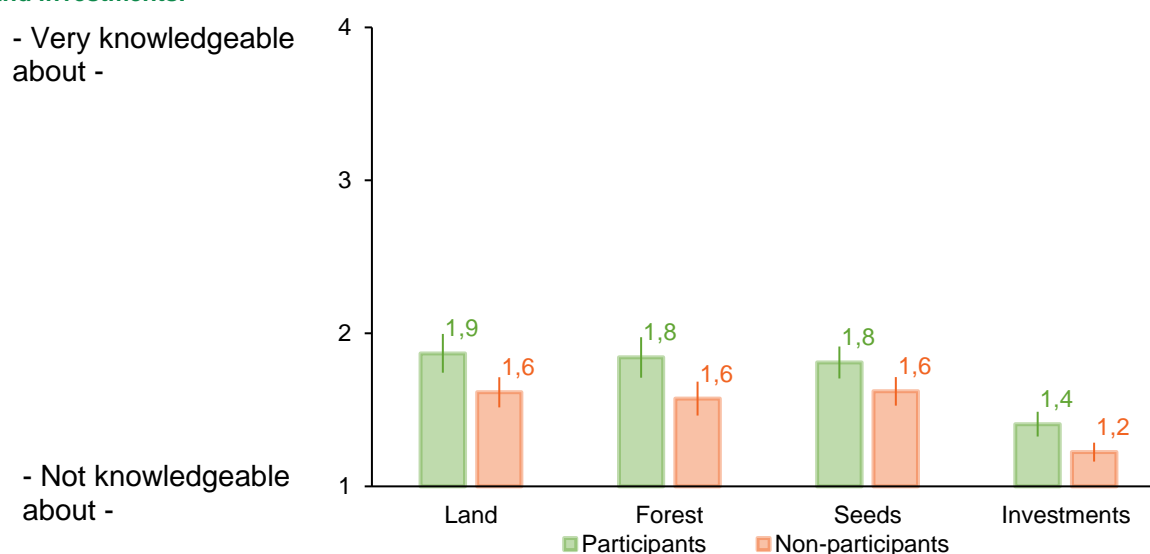

4.4.3 PROTECTION OF LAND RIGHTS

We asked the respondents to indicate if they had any experience of land being taken or being threatened to be taken from them. We found a significant reduction between baseline and endline in the percentage of project participants and non-participants who had experienced land grabbing. Despite this reduction, at the endline, 26–28% of respondents still reported experiences of land grabbing (Figure 19).

The results regarding land grabbing were consistent with the expectations of the project staff. During the reflection workshop, they pointed out that the proportion of respondents reporting land grabbing might have decreased because respondents might be afraid to report land grabbing due to the reduction in the civic space.

Additionally, the existence of land grabbing cases seems to contradict the findings in section 4.4.2, as 98% of respondents said that they had access to land. According to project staff, there were two main points related to this scenario. First, the government froze economic land concessions (ELCs) in 2012. Although there were still some ELCs after 2012, fewer conflicts occurred. Secondly, the government had addressed land disputes through Directive 001, and thousands of families received their land back. These two factors could explain why up to 98% of respondents reported access to land, despite persistent cases of land grabbing.

Figure 19: Significant reduction in the percentage of project participants and non-participants reporting experiences of land grabbing (no impact)
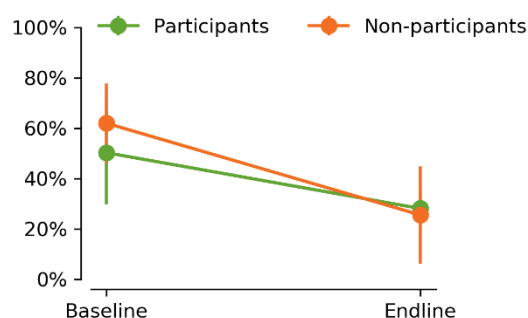
Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=1163

We asked those respondents who had experienced land grabbing whether they had taken action. Figure 20 shows that there was a reduction in the proportion of respondents (both project participants and non-participants) who had taken some sort of action, which could be explained by the shrinking civic space in Cambodia. Despite this scenario, the reduction for project participants was less than that for non-project participants. We concluded that in the absence of project activities, a lower proportion of participants in the project group would have taken action. Therefore, the project had a significant impact as it cushioned the reduction in the proportion of project participants who took action against land grabbing.

Figure 20: The reduction in the proportion of respondents who had taken action against land grabbing was smaller for project participants than for non-participants. The project had a significant impact as it cushioned the reduction for project participants.
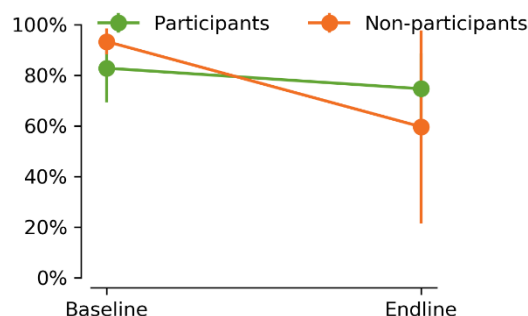

Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=514

A further contribution of the project was the participants' satisfaction with the results of their action. Figure 21 shows that the proportion of respondents who said they were fully satisfied with the response to their action was higher among project participants than among non-participants. Also, the percentage of respondents who said there was no response to their action was smaller among project participants than among non-participants. These two differences were significant[25] and suggested that project participants were better equipped to act against land grabbing, and their actions were more likely to succeed.

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[25] We asked this question only at the endline and only to those respondents who had taken action against land grabbing.

Figure 21: Satisfaction of project participants with the results of their action against land grabbing is higher than for non-participants
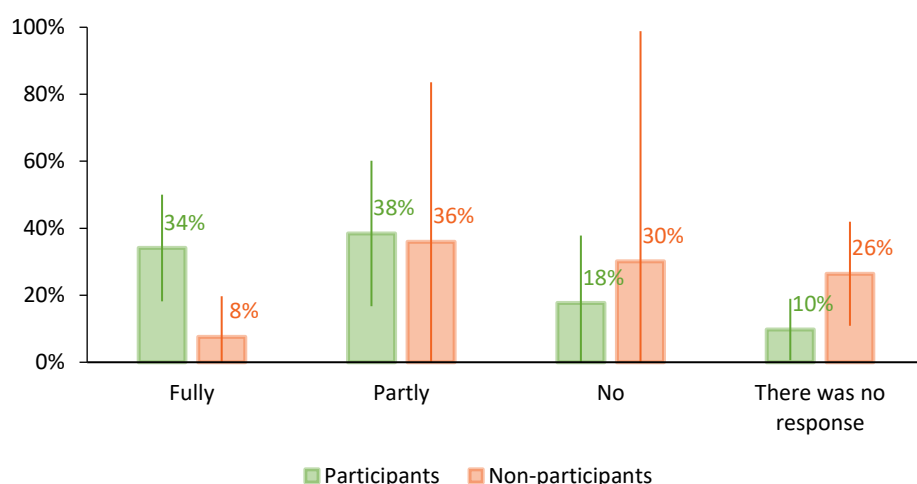

Finally, the formulation of plans for the protection of natural resources was one of the actions people could take to protect their land or natural resources from grabbing. The project worked directly with communities to initiate these plans. The project delivered training sessions to communities about the protection of natural resources and how to formulate plans for the protection of farmland and forest areas. The plans for protecting natural resources were very important for indigenous communities because they relied on farmland and forestry/sacred forest areas. Figure 22 shows that there was a significant increase in the percentage of respondents who lived in communities with a plan for protecting the land and natural resources.

If a plan existed in the community, the respondents were asked whether they participated in the formulation of this plan. Figure 23 shows that there was a positive contribution by the project to the percentage of respondents who participated in the formulation of plans. This means that the project contributed significantly to an increase in participation among project participants in the formulation of plans for protecting the land and other natural resources.

However, there was no significant impact by the project on the percentage of respondents who participated in the formulation of the plans. The levels of participation were already high in the group of non-participants and remained at about the same level from the baseline to the endline. This might explain why there was no significant impact. Nonetheless, when we looked at the endline, the project increased the level of participation among project participants to a level that was similar to that of the non-participants.

Figure 22: Positive and significant impact on the percentage of respondents in communities with a plan for protecting the land and other natural resources
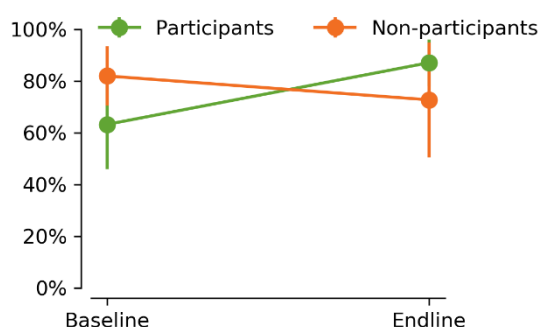
Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=1141

Figure 23: No significant impact on the percentage of respondents who participated in the formulation of the plan
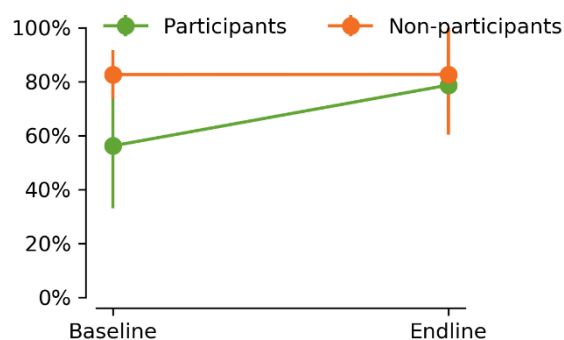

Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=872

Respondents were also asked at the endline how their community would continue with the plan if the support of the CSOs ended. We asked this question intending to acquire some insights about the long-term sustainability of the plans that the project supported. Figure 24 shows that the majority of respondents believed that the plan would continue and that there were no significant differences between the project participants and the non-participants. In particular, the respondents thought that the plan would continue with resources from the community or with support from the local government. According to project staff, this might indicate that the project participants had mixed opinions about how they would continue with the plan. On the one hand, the project participants were aware that they had to invest their resources, and they could not depend fully on the local government. On the other hand, they were also hesitant or had doubts about their real possibilities of investing their resources, so they also believed that they might require support from the local authorities.

Figure 24: The majority of respondents believes that they would continue with the plan. The views of project and non-project participants are not significantly different from each other.
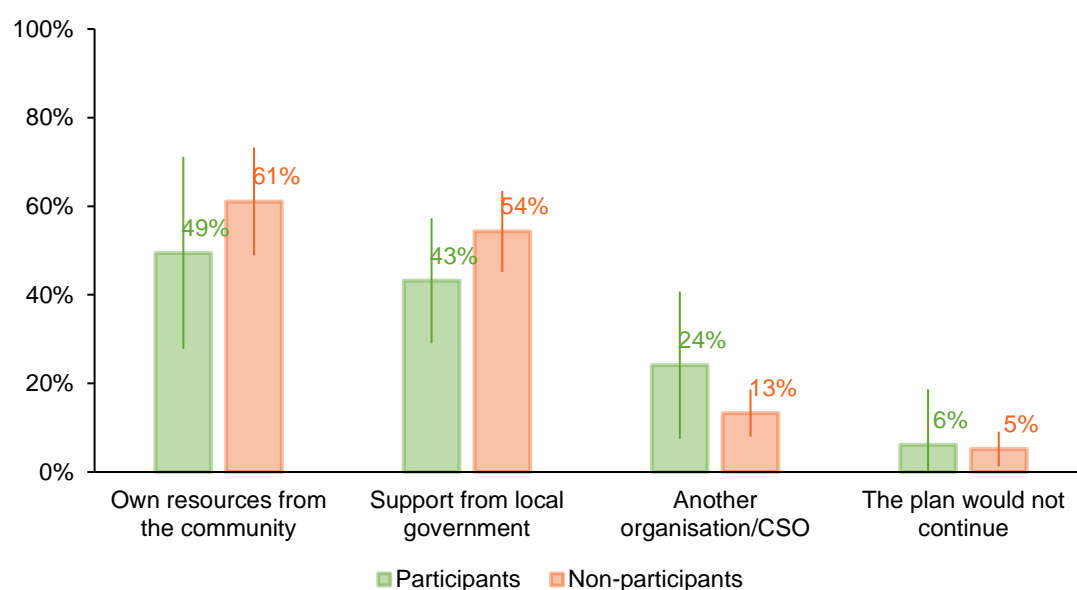
Respondents were also asked what they thought were the main barriers or problems that the community would encounter in continuing with the plan in the future. Figure 25 shows that the main barriers mentioned by both project participants and non-participants were land conflicts, forest conflicts, and livelihoods/family income.

Figure 25: Main barriers to continue the plan for protecting land and natural resources in the future are land conflicts, forest conflicts, and livelihoods/family income
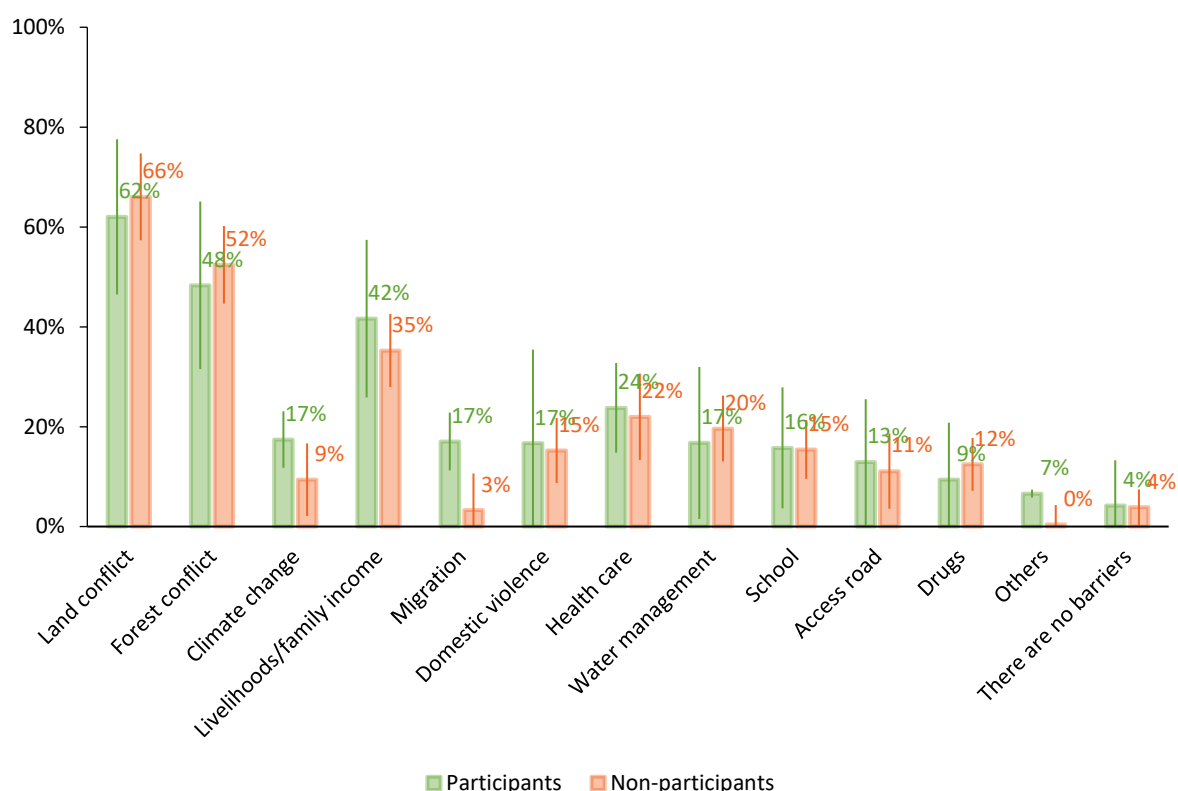

4.4.4 FAIR LAND TRANSACTIONS

One assumption of the project was that participants would keep their land and would not have to sell it, but the project was also aware that reality might differ from this assumption and some participants might have to sell their land. For example, if a development project was established near the participants' land and they had to move away, the affected people would need to negotiate fair compensation for their lost land and the impact on their livelihoods. Under these circumstances, project staff expected that the project participants would be better informed and better able to negotiate fair compensation. Firstly, the respondents were asked whether they usually sold their land. Then, we asked the respondents who usually sold their land, whether they usually received fair compensation for their land and whether they perceived themselves as a person who was capable of influencing land negotiations.

Figure 26 shows that at the baseline, more than 70% of respondents said that they did not usually sell their land. At the endline, this had declined to just over 50% of respondents. However, this reduction from the baseline to the endline was not statistically significant. Also, we did not find significant differences between project participants and non-participants. Thus, the majority of respondents did not usually sell their land.

Figure 26 also shows to whom the respondents usually sold their land. At the endline, project participants said that they usually sold their land to intermediaries (12%), other types of buyers (6%), direct buyers (5%) or cooperative societies (1%). Meanwhile, non-project participants said that they usually sold their land to intermediaries (24%), direct buyers (15%) or other type of buyers (5%).

**Figure 26. The majority of respondents do not sell their land**
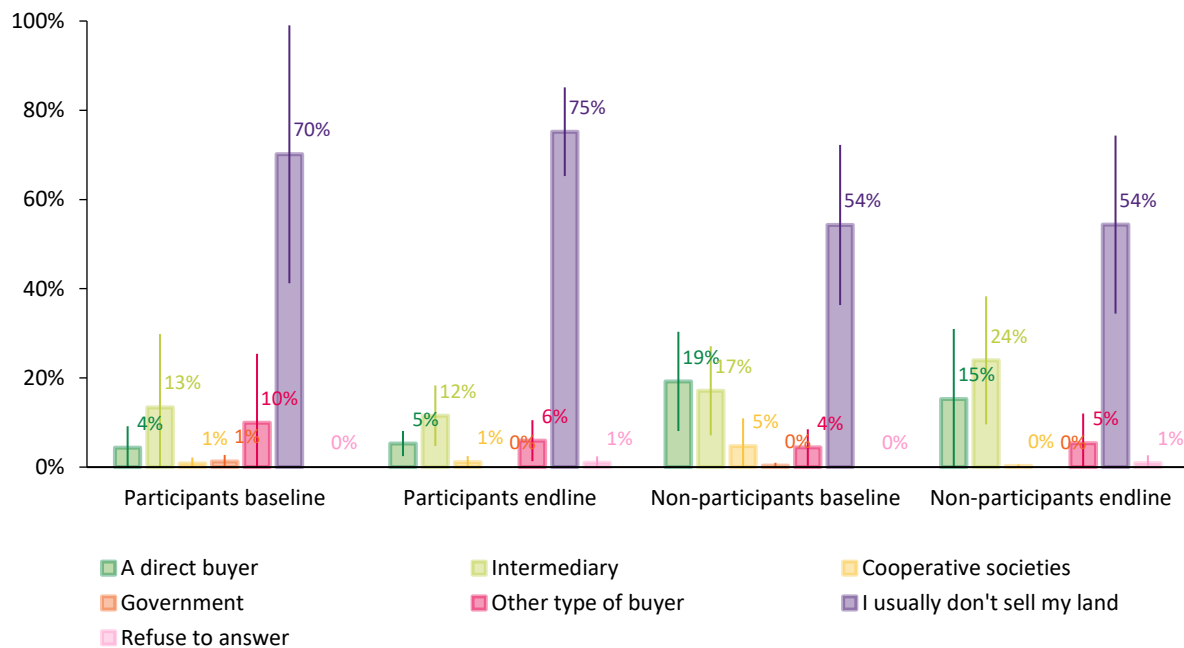
We also asked respondents who usually sold their land whether they usually received fair compensation for their land and whether they perceived themselves as a person who was capable of influencing land negotiations. Figure 27 shows a significant negative impact of the project on receiving fair compensation for the land.

The project staff pointed out during the reflection workshop that this result was expected because project participants received information about market prices and the value of land during the project activities. Therefore, project participants who usually sold their land had more information to judge whether they were receiving fair compensation for their land. The results suggested that before the project implementation, participants who usually sold their land were not fully aware of land prices and value. As project participants who usually sold their land had more information at the endline, they were more aware that they were not receiving fair compensation.

Figure 28 shows no significant impact on the respondents' perception of their capacity to influence land negotiations (only those who usually sold their land). However, we did find a significant impact on men for this indicator. This suggested that male project participants felt more capable of influencing land negotiations. This was a positive result. However, the findings also suggested the existence of gender inequalities with regards to influencing decisions taken about land. We did not find any impact for female project participants. Therefore, women still faced challenges in influencing decisions on land negotiations.

Figure 27. Negative and significant impact for the statement "I usually receive fair compensation for the land that I sell"
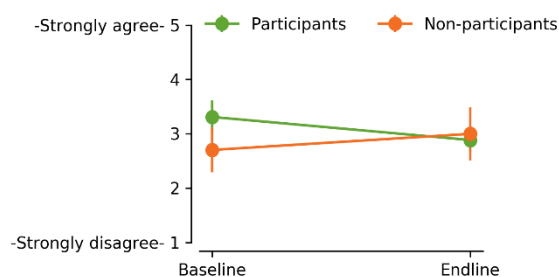
Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=412

Figure 28. No significant impact for the statement: "I regard myself as a person who is capable of influencing negotiations on land"
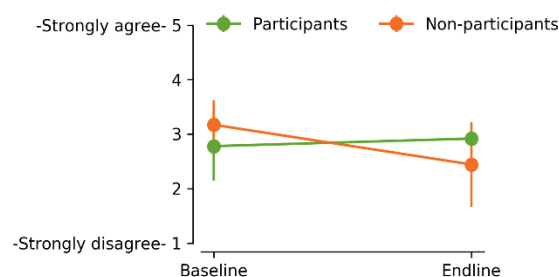
Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=412

4.4.5 SUMMARY

Almost all the respondents had access to land, and the most common types of land that they had access to were farmland and land for housing. More than half of respondents had some sort of land title (from the national, provincial or local government). We did not find significant differences between project participants and non-participants for these indicators.

The level of knowledge of project participants was slightly higher than for non-project participants in the areas of land, forest and investments. However, the results showed that both project participants and non-participants rated themselves as having little knowledge about laws and policies regarding land, forest, seeds and investments. Project staff suggested that project participants had empirical knowledge, but they might not feel very confident about their formal knowledge of laws and policies.

We observed a reduction in the percentage of respondents who had experienced land grabbing. According to project staff, a plausible reason was that respondents might be afraid of reporting land grabbing due to the shrinking civic space. Nonetheless, at the endline, 26–28% of respondents still reported land grabbing experiences.

Additionally, we found a significant reduction in the percentage of respondents who had taken action against land grabbing. However, the reduction for project participants was smaller than for non-participants.

The results also suggested that project participants were better equipped to act against land grabbing. For instance, when we compared project participants and non-participants at the endline, we found that a larger proportion of project participants said they were fully satisfied with the response to their action. Also, a smaller share of project participants said there was no response to their action.

The project had a significant impact on the proportion of respondents who lived in communities with a plan for protecting the land and natural resources. The project also made a significant contribution by increasing the proportion of project participants who participated in the formulation of the plans. It is important to mention that the project worked directly with communities to initiate these plans and delivered training sessions about the protection of natural resources and how to formulate plans for their protection.

The majority of respondents believed that the community would continue with the plan if the support of CSOs ended, either with their own resources or with support from the government. However, the project staff had concerns about how realistic the long-term sustainability of these plans was.

The majority of respondents did not usually sell their land (around 54%). Among those who did usually sell their land, we found a negative and significant impact on their perception of the fairness of the

compensation for the land. This meant that the project participants who usually sold their land became more aware that they were not receiving fair compensation. Project staff mentioned that they expected this result because project participants received information about market prices and the value of land during the project implementation.

Finally, the findings suggested the existence of gender inequalities in relation to the capability of influencing land negotiations. On the one hand, we found that male project participants who usually sold their land felt more capable of influencing land negotiations. This positive result can be attributed to the project. On the other hand, we did not find a significant impact for female project participants who usually sold their land. Hence, women did not improve their capability for influencing land negotiations.

Table 3. Summary of findings of knowledge and awareness of land rights

Concept	Outcome variable	Impact (attribution)?	Impact (attribution) only among men?	Impact (attribution) only among women?	Change in target group over time (contribution)?
To what extent do the activities implemented by the R2F project in Cambodia have an attributable effect on citizens' knowledge and awareness of land rights and plans to protect the land and natural resources?					
Knowledge and awareness of laws and policies	Average knowledge of laws and policies regarding land	**NA**	**NA**	**NA**	↑*
	Average knowledge of laws and policies regarding forest	**NA**	**NA**	**NA**	↑*
	Average knowledge of laws and policies regarding seeds	**NA**	**NA**	**NA**	=*
	Average knowledge of laws and policies regarding investments	**NA**	**NA**	**NA**	↑*
Protection of land rights	% of respondents with experience related to land being taken or threatened with being taken from them	=	=	=	↓
	% of respondents who had taken action against land grabbing	↑	=	=	↓
	% of respondents in communities with a plan for protecting the land and other natural resources of the villagers	↑	=	↑	↑
	% of respondents who participated in the formulation of the plan for protecting the land and other natural resources of the villagers (only respondents in communities with a plan)	=	=	↑	↑
Fair land transactions	Statement: I usually receive fair compensation for the land that I sell	↓	=	=	↓
	Statement: I regard myself as a person who is capable of influencing land negotiations: (a) in the household and (b) in the community.	=	↑	=	=

Notes: NA – analysis unavailable because the baseline information was not available.
          * – the analysis was done only at the endline, between project participants and non-participants not over time.

4.5 IMPACT OF PROJECT ACTIVITIES ON SELECTED DETERMINANTS OF CITIZENS' VOICE AND ATTITUDES

In addition to outcomes directly related to the R2F project, we also identified a selection of determinants that we consider as key enablers or barriers to citizens being able to change their attitudes and voice their concerns to duty-bearers, for example, on land rights. These determinants go beyond the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents, and in the case of the R2F project in Cambodia, they are characteristics related to empowerment and trust that may influence the extent to which the project succeeds in increasing the citizens' voice. At the same time, these characteristics may also be indirectly influenced by the project itself.

4.5.1 DETERMINANTS AROUND POLITICS

First, we look at the respondents' interest in politics. Citizens who discuss politics regularly are more likely to understand various political positions, discuss the pros and cons of different political standpoints, form opinions and attitudes, and they are more likely to hold duty-bearers accountable for their actions (Klingemann, 1979). Through their discussions, these citizens may also be more knowledgeable of political principles, and this may affect the acceptance of democratic principles, attitudes toward specific issues, and political participation (Galstone 2001). In light of this, we assumed that citizens who engaged in political discussions more often were also more likely to be sensitive to the actions promoted by our projects. Interest in and discussion of political affairs is an important motivating factor for citizens to be able to voice their concerns (Verba, Schlozman, Brady, 1995; Dalton, 2008).

We asked the respondents whether they discussed political matters frequently, occasionally or never, when they got together with their friends or family. We found a positive and significant impact of the project on the political interest of the respondents. This positive impact was mainly explained by the reduction in the political interest of non-participants. However, the levels of discussion were quite low and only slightly above the category 'never'. According to the project staff, this was linked to the political restrictions and shrinking civic space in Cambodia. The respondents who did not participate in the project were more concerned about discussing political matters. Nonetheless, the project managed to sustain the same levels of discussion among project participants.

Figure 29: Positive and significant impact on the frequency of political discussions
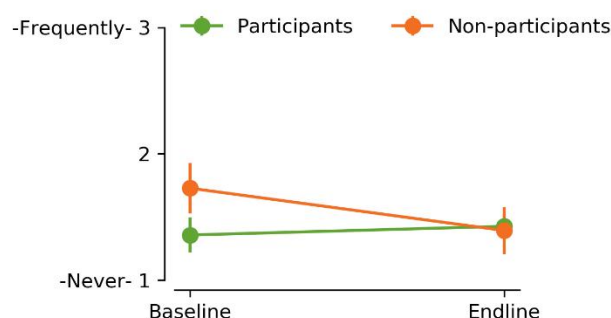
Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=1062

People's political efficacy is important for civic engagement. Political efficacy is a citizen's "feeling that political and social change is possible and that the individual citizen can play a part in bringing about this change" (Campbell, Gurin and Miller, 1954, p. 187). Political efficacy was expected to influence the extent to which an individual engaged with the topics covered by this project since people must believe change is possible and that they can play a role in this change. Political efficacy has both an internal and an external dimension. Internal political efficacy is the belief in one's competence to understand

and influence politics (Craig, Niemi & Silver, 1990). In other words, internal political efficacy deals with how a person feels about their skills, knowledge, and abilities and whether they can have an effect on the political system. External political efficacy is the belief that the government will respond to the citizens' demands.

To measure external political efficacy, we asked three questions: *Do you feel that people like yourself can generally change (improve) things in your community if they want to?[26] Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: People like me have no say in what the government does,* and *To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement? The leaders in government care very little about people like me.* For internal political efficacy, we asked the following question: *To what extent do you agree with the following statement? Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.* Political efficacy was determined as the average of the scores for external political efficacy and internal political efficacy.

The results showed a positive and significant impact on political efficacy in general. This was driven by the positive and significant impact on external political efficacy. We did not find any significant impact on internal political efficacy. Despite the positive impact, it is worth noting that the levels of both external and internal political efficacy were both quite low.

At the reflection workshop, project staff mentioned that these questions were not well understood during the interviews because people found it difficult to understand politics and were hesitant in considering the implications of the shrinking political space. Also, project staff thought that the positive impact in external political efficacy was because project participants believed that they should tell the government what to do, and they felt confident in doing things to improve their communities. The result for internal political efficacy was expected. Project staff pointed out that respondents, in general, were very busy with their agricultural work, they felt that the government was too far from them, and the respondents had different priorities. Therefore, they thought that they could not understand politics.
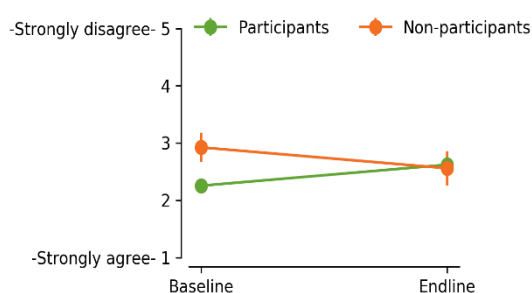
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[26] This survey question was recoded, such that the scale was similar to the scale of the other two questions.

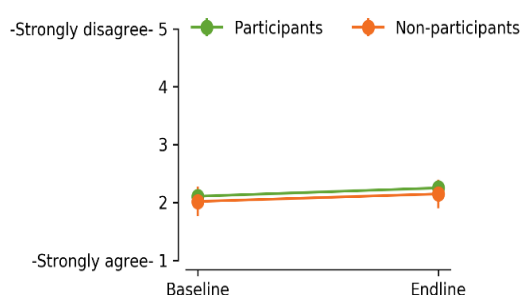**Figure 30: Positive and significant impact on political efficacy**
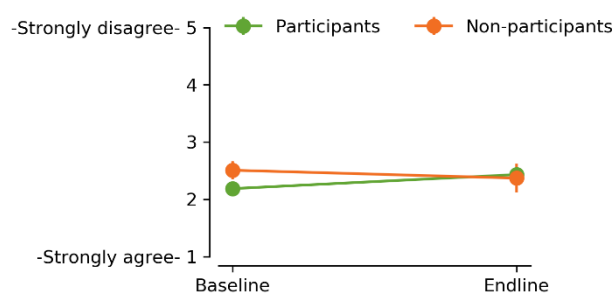
Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=1164

Figure 31: Positive and significant impact on external political efficacy

Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=1164

Figure 32: No significant impact on internal political efficacy
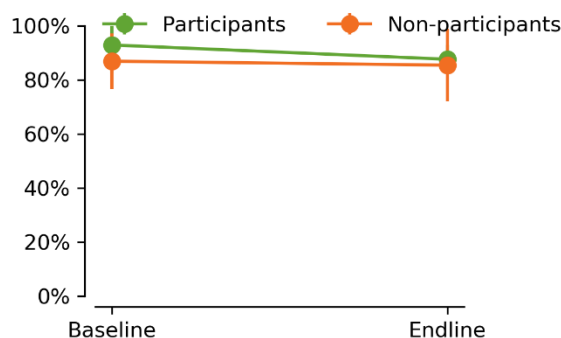

Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=862

4.5.2 DETERMINANTS REFLECTING ON CSOs

Civil society organizations are at the heart of the Strategic Partnership programme and carry out the majority of the work on citizens' attitudes, norms and voice. Therefore, in addition to measuring levels of trust in CSOs, we also measured attitudes towards CSOs and tried to identify whether social norms influenced an individual's participation in the activities of CSOs. We defined a social norm as "an unwritten behavioural rule to which individuals prefer to conform on the condition that they believe that most people in their reference group conform to it, and most people in their reference group believe they should conform to it" (adapted from Bicchieri, 2006 and Bicchieri et al., 2014). This relates to what they believe others do (empirical expectation) and what they believe others think they should do (normative expectation).

The results showed that personal attitudes towards CSOs remained very positive. To measure these attitudes, we asked respondents *How would you feel if the government took steps to limit the work of CSOs, or that led to the closure of many CSOs in this country?* Respondents that said *I would be concerned,* or *I would be outraged* were considered as respondents with a positive attitude towards CSOs. Figure 33 shows no significant impact on attitudes towards CSOs. However, it should be noted that attitudes towards CSOs were already quite positive.

Figure 33: Personal attitude: No significant impact on positive attitudes towards CSOs
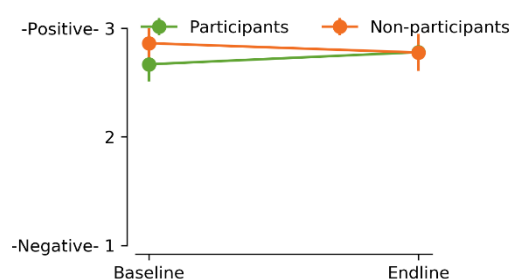

Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=962

To measure normative expectations, we asked respondents the following question: *What would other people in your community think if you were actively involved in the work of a CSO?* For this measurement, respondents with a positive perception were those who said: *They would think it is a good thing.* A neutral perception was the response: *They wouldn't care; they wouldn't know what to think about it.* A negative response was the answer: *They would think it is a bad thing.* We did not find a significant change in normative expectations. However, the levels of perception were already very positive in the baseline survey (Figure 34).

To measure empirical expectations, respondents were asked: *"How important do you think other people in your community find the work of CSOs?"* A positive and significant impact was found for the perceived importance of CSOs' work (Figure 35). Also, it is worth noting that, on average, the respondents believed that other people found the work of CSOs either quite important or very important.

The findings in this section suggested that the project and local CSOs were well embedded in the communities, and the findings reflected the reality of people encouraging each other to contribute to the work of CSOs.

Figure 34: Normative expectation: No significant impact on perceptions of participation in the work of CSOs

Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=946

Figure 35: Empirical expectation: Positive and significant impact on the perceived importance of CSOs' work
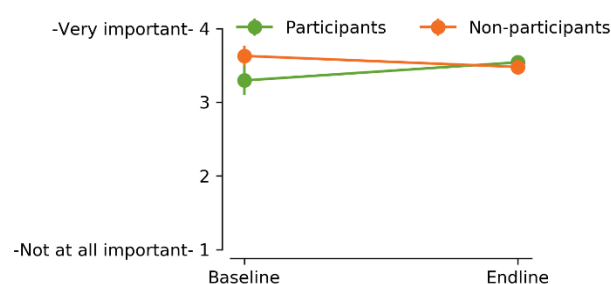
Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=1030

4.5.3 DETERMINANTS RELATED TO TRUST

Trust is defined as the belief that others will not deliberately or knowingly do us harm if they can avoid it, and they will look after our interests if this is possible. Citizens may trust or distrust institutions such as local and state governments, NGOs, and other civil society actors, based upon their sense of how these institutions work (Newton, 2009; 2014). Countries where citizens display high levels of trust in such actors have been associated with more democratic development (Inglehart, 1997), more equal income distributions (Knack & Keefer, 1997), and less corruption (Della Porta, 2000). Moreover, in countries where trust in other people, and (political) institutions is high, citizens are more likely to pay

their taxes and get better social services in return (Scholtz & Lubell, 1998). Furthermore, the level of trust in institutions relates to the willingness of citizens to engage with them actively (Fennema and Tillie, 1999).

We asked respondents whether they trusted a list of institutions either all the time, most of the time, not very often or never (Figure 36–40). There was no significant impact on trust in local CSOs, and this decreased for both project participants and non-participants. Project staff recognized that trust in local CSOs decreased for two main reasons. Firstly, there was a high staff turnover in the CSOs, and the new staff needed to build trust again in the communities, and this took time. Secondly, people had high expectations of CSOs, but in reality, the CSOs could not address all of the problems in the communities. At the reflection workshop, project staff mentioned an example which happened in the project areas. The project worked on capacity building on land, but some communities were asking for capacity building in different areas, such as vegetable growing skills or agricultural techniques. However, these were not part of the project's scope. Project staff pointed out that when CSOs could not provide what the community demanded, the community's trust in the CSOs was reduced.

The project had a positive and significant impact on trust in international NGOs. This might suggest that project activities had a positive impact on trust in Oxfam in Cambodia. Project staff mentioned that some people might know that the international NGOs had more funds to support the project and activities; therefore, the trust in international NGOs increased. Nonetheless, the levels of trust in international NGOs were still low. Project staff pointed out that it is more difficult for international NGOs to build trust in the communities because they have less direct interaction with people in the field, and some people might have had a negative perception of 'foreigners' (international NGO staff). Conversely, people had more interaction with local CSOs and could form an opinion based on their experience.

Trust levels in the local government increased for both project participants and non-participants. Also, there was a significant increase in trust in the national government, but this trust was still at quite low levels. According to project staff, these results were consistent with the political developments during the period of implementation of the project. Project staff pointed out that the government had been very active in communities by providing support and solutions for land conflicts. Underlying the increase in government activities was an interest in winning votes in the elections.

Finally, trust in big companies had no significant changes and was very low. According to project staff, this result was expected because many people did not have a clear understanding of the role of big companies.

Figure 36: Trust levels in local CSOs decreased. No significant impact on trust in local CSOs.
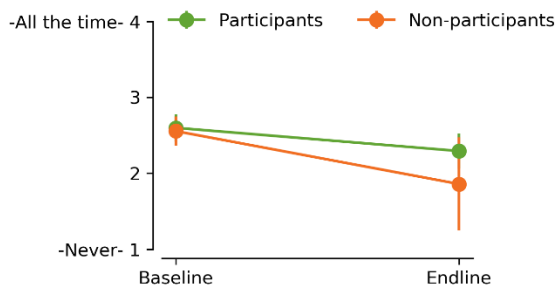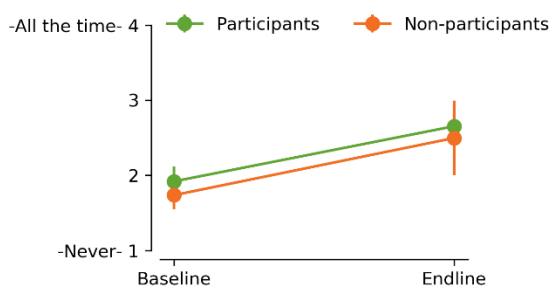

Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=1058

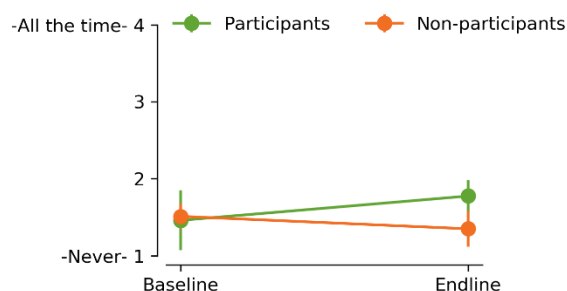**Figure 37: Positive and significant impact on trust in international NGOs.**
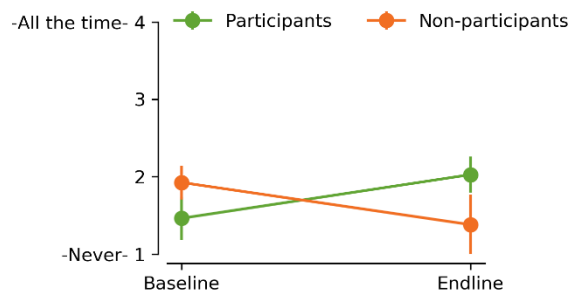
Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=906

Figure 38: Trust levels in the local government are increasing. No significant impact on trust in the local government.
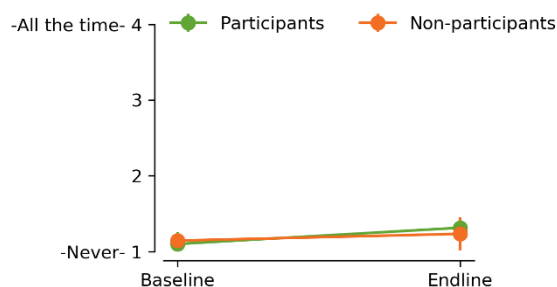

Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=1052

Figure 39: Positive and significant impact on trust in the national government

Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=920

Figure 40: No significant impact on trust in big companies.

Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=911

## 4.5.4 DETERMINANTS RELATED TO GENDER JUSTICE

Fostering gender justice is at the heart of our programming. Women are often at a disadvantage in comparison with men for different aspects of empowerment. We measured attitudes on gender equality to provide a general picture of attitudes towards women's empowerment and male privilege. Such attitudes, when held by women themselves, or by others in society, may influence the willingness of and possibilities for women to raise their voices. Respondents were asked about their attitude to gender equality in three domains: education, work and political leadership:

  i.   *A good education is more important for a boy than for a girl.*
  ii.   *When women work outside the home, the whole family suffers.*
  iii. *On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do.*

The results showed no significant impact on attitudes towards women's empowerment. For both project participants and non-participants, attitudes remained relatively stable from the baseline to the endline. Project staff expected these results because gender stereotypes were deeply rooted in the communities of both project participants and non-participants, and the project did not incorporate gender mainstreaming very well in the project implementation. According to project staff, the gender

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mainstreaming was limited because the project lacked capacity and staff. For instance, the project staff did not have a gender focus person. Project staff were aware of this limitation, and they were working to improve gender mainstreaming in future programming. We will address this in the recommendations.

Figure 41: No significant impact on attitudes towards women's empowerment
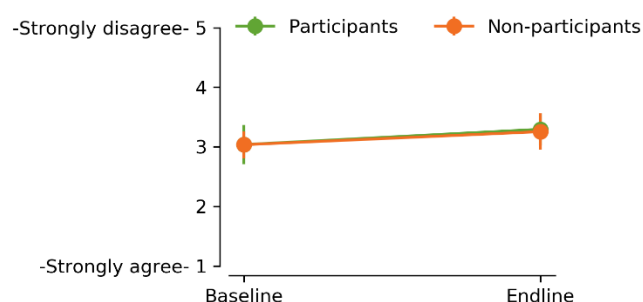
Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=1163

Lastly, we looked at experiences of discrimination. We asked the respondents the question: *To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement? "Generally, I feel like a full and equal citizen in this country with all the rights and protections that other people have."* Figure 42 shows that there was a significant contribution to the reduction of perceived discrimination. However, we did not find a significant impact on perceived discrimination because we observed this reduction for both project participants and non-participants. According to project staff, this significant contribution might be a consequence of the project's training sessions, as project participants, especially the indigenous people, now felt more empowered.

Figure 42: No significant impact on the perceived discrimination of respondents
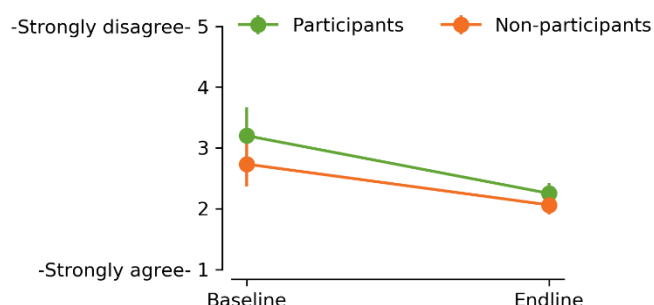
Source: SP CAM R2F surveys, n=1028

4.5.5 SUMMARY

The project had a significant impact on the levels of political interest by sustaining the same levels of discussion among project participants. Also, we found a positive impact on political efficacy, which was driven by the positive impact on external political efficacy. However, the levels of political interest, political efficacy, external political efficacy and internal political efficacy were quite low. This was consistent with the shrinking civic space in Cambodia.

We found that the personal attitudes, normative expectations and empirical expectations towards CSOs were very positive. However, the decrease in trust and the low levels of trust in local CSOs contradicted these results. According to project staff, trust in local CSOs might have decreased due to staff turnover in the CSOs, as the new staff had to build trust again among community members. Additionally, people had high expectations of CSOs, but sometimes CSOs could not meet all of the demands from the community. This may also have led to a reduction of trust in local CSOs.

The project had a positive impact on trust in international NGOs. This might indicate an improvement of trust in Oxfam in Cambodia due to the project activities. However, trust in international NGOs was still at low levels. Project staff mentioned that it was more difficult to build trust in international NGOs because people did not have direct interactions with them. Therefore, people found it more difficult to form an opinion about international NGOs.

The trust in the local and national government increased. Although the levels of trust in the national government were still quite low. According to project staff, the trust in the government might have increased because the government had provided support and solutions for land conflicts in recent years. However, this was driven by the interest of the government in winning votes for the elections.

There was no change in trust in big companies, and the trust in them was low. Project staff expected this result because people did not have a clear understanding of the role of big companies.

Project staff were aware that gender mainstreaming was not well incorporated in the project. Hence, they did not expect a significant change in attitudes towards women's empowerment. However, the project staff were working to improve this area in future programming.

The project made a significant contribution to the reduction of perceived discrimination, but no significant impact. Project staff believed that the training sessions contributed to a higher sense of empowerment among project participants, especially among indigenous people.

Table 4: Summary of findings of the influence of project activities on selected determinants of citizens' voice and attitudes

Concept	Outcome variable	Impact (attribution)?	Impact (attribution) only among men?	Impact (attribution) only among women?	Change in target group over time (contribution)?
To what extent have the activities implemented by the R2F project in Cambodia influenced the determinants of citizens' voice and attitudes?					
Political interest	When you get together with your friends or family, would you say you discuss political matters never, occasionally, frequently?	↑	=	↑	=
Political efficacy	Political efficacy (of external and internal political efficacy)	↑	=	↑	↑
	External political efficacy	↑	↑	↑	↑
	Internal political efficacy	=	=	=	↑
Attitudes towards CSOs	% of respondents with a positive attitude (I would be concerned, or I would be outraged)	=	=	=	=
Social norms towards CSOs	Normative expectation: What would other people in your community think if you were actively	=	=	=	=

	involved in the work of a CSO?				
	Empirical expectation: How important do you think other people in your community find the work of CSOs?	↑	↑	=	↑
Political trust	Trust in local CSOs	=	=	=	↓
	Trust in international NGOs	↑	↑	↑	↑
	Trust in local government	=	=	=	↑
	Trust in national government	↑	↑	=	=
	Trust in big companies	=	=	=	↑
Attitudes towards women's empowerment	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? i) A good education is more important for a boy than for a girl ii) When women work outside the home, the whole family suffers. iii) On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do.	=	=	=	=
Perceived discrimination	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement? Generally, I feel like a full and equal citizen in this country with all the rights and protections that other people have.	=	=	=	↓

5 CONCLUSIONS

This section presents the main conclusions of the evaluation report of the R2F project in Cambodia. The conclusions are presented in three parts. The first part presents the main conclusions from the research questions and is divided into three parts: citizens' voice and attitudes, knowledge and awareness, and determinants of citizens' voice. The second part presents the limitations, and the third part presents the main conclusion of the evaluation.

5.1 CONCLUSIONS FOR EACH RESEARCH QUESTION

5.1.1 CITIZENS' VOICE AND ATTITUDES

The project contributed to sustaining stable levels of civic engagement among the project participants, despite the challenges of shrinking civic space in Cambodia. However, we observed a significant reduction in the levels of the citizens' voice on R2F themes for both participants and non-participants. Despite this reduction, the proportion of project participants raising their voices on securing land rights was higher than for the other R2F themes. This was consistent with the project activities, which focused on land rights.

The project had a significant impact on the percentage of respondents who had an opinion of how the local government and big companies handle issues concerning their rights. This was indicative of project participants having more information about what government and companies should do concerning this matter. People who spoke out had, in general, a very negative or negative perception of how the government and companies handle issues concerning their rights.

Participants perceived the local authorities, at both the baseline and the endline, as the most responsible stakeholder in the hypothetical scenario of forced resettlement due to a new development project or a new company. Project staff pointed out that this reflected reality because in relation to land rights most people only recognized the local government as a responsible stakeholder.

5.1.2 KNOWLEDGE AND AWARENESS

Project participants had a higher level of knowledge of laws and policies in the areas of land, forest and investments than non-project participants. Nonetheless, the level of knowledge of laws and policies in R2F themes was very low for both project and non-projects participants. It is important to bear in mind that this evaluation only enquired about knowledge of laws and policies. Project staff showed, with an example, that the project participants had empirical knowledge about the thematic areas but perhaps not much knowledge of formal laws and policies.

The percentage of respondents who had experienced land grabbing reduced between the baseline and endline. This could not be attributed to the project but was instead related to the political context of Cambodia. It should be noted that the percentage of respondents who took action against land grabbing also decreased, although the reduction among project participants was less than among non-project participants. Hence, in the absence of project activities, a lower percentage of project participants would have taken action against land grabbing.

The level of satisfaction with the results of actions taken against land grabbing was greater among project participants than among non-participants. This suggested that the project participants were better equipped to act against land grabbing and to succeed.

The project increased the percentage of citizens who lived in communities with a plan for protecting farmland and forest areas and the percentage of project participants who participated in the formulation of these plans.

We found that the majority of respondents did not sell their land. Among those who usually sold their land, we observed a negative and significant impact on the perception of the fairness of the compensation for the land. Project participants received information about market prices and the value of land. Hence, project participants who usually sold their land were more aware that they were not receiving fair compensation.

Lastly, there were inequalities between men and women in their capabilities to influence land negotiations. Male project participants felt more capable of influencing land negotiations, but we did not find a significant impact for female project participants.

5.1.3 DETERMINANTS OF INCREASED CITIZENS' VOICE

The project had a significant impact on the levels of political interest, political efficacy and external political efficacy, and no impact on internal political efficacy. However, the levels of these four indicators were quite low and were consistent with the shrinking of civic space in Cambodia.

There were mixed results for CSOs. Personal attitudes, normative expectations and empirical expectations towards CSOs were very positive. However, the reduction in trust and the low levels of trust in local CSOs contradicted this finding. According to project staff, people had high expectations of CSOs, but staff turnover and difficulties for CSOs in meeting all the demands of the community might explain these conflicting results. Trust in international NGOs was also low, but the project had a positive impact. This might indicate that the project activities had helped to improve the trust in Oxfam in Cambodia.

The trust in the local and national governments increased. According to project staff, the local and national governments had been very active in recent years because they wanted votes to win the elections. The local and national governments' activities in the communities were mostly in the form of support to resolve land conflicts, which may have contributed to the increased trust in the local and national governments.

The project did not have a significant impact on attitudes towards women's empowerment. Nonetheless, the project staff were aware of this limitation, and they are working to improve this area in the future.

5.2 LIMITATIONS

- This evaluation only looked at the outcomes of raising the citizens' voice and shifting attitudes, and hence does not show the impact of the full project in all the outcome areas.
- The shrinking civic space in Cambodia could have had a strong influence on the possibilities for people to raise their voices. This was outside the direct influence of the project.
- The change in project partners made it difficult to visit the same villages and interview the same respondents for both the baseline and the endline surveys. This limitation was addressed by using appropriate statistical methods, but this problem could still have influenced the results. For example, we did not have baseline data for the new project partner (CIPO), so we matched the baseline data from the project participants for two partners with the endline data from project participants for three partners. Therefore, it was not possible to explore whether the different approaches of each partner led to different results.
- The evaluation did not address the potential spillover effects. A total of 40.5% of the interviewed respondents in the project areas, who did not recognize project activities, were not included in the analysis for this evaluation report. However, it would be interesting to analyze the spillover effects as it would provide insights into whether it was necessary to reach all of the inhabitants in the project locations to achieve similar results. Unfortunately, this analysis was beyond the scope of this evaluation report.

- Gender mainstreaming was not well implemented during the project implementation. Therefore, the results of the evaluation were indicative of the project in general. We have presented the differences between genders in the summary tables; however, it is unclear whether the project contributed directly to the significant differences that we found between genders.

5.3 CONCLUSION

This evaluation showed that the project helped to maintain the levels of participation in a context of shrinking civic space, as the general levels of the citizens' voice remained stable. Despite the reduction in the levels of participation in R2F themes, the level of participation in securing land rights was higher than for the other R2F themes. Also, the project increased the percentage of respondents who formed an opinion of how the local government and big companies handled issues concerning their rights.

Additionally, the findings showed that the project had positive results regarding the knowledge of R2F themes, actions against land grabbing, the elaboration of protection plans for natural resources, and the awareness of rising market prices and the value of land. Project participants' knowledge of laws and policies concerning land, forest and investments was slightly higher than that of the non-participants. Also, the reduction in the percentage of respondents who had taken action after an experience of land grabbing was lower for the project participants than for the non-participants. The project also contributed to an increase in the percentage of participants in communities who had a plan to protect the land and natural resources, and it contributed to the increase in participation in these plans. In addition, the project contributed to an increased awareness of market prices and the value of land. Male project participants perceived themselves as more confident in influencing land negotiations than female project participants, and gender inequalities persisted in this area. Despite all the challenges arising from the shrinking civic space, the project staff believed that people remained active in their communities, and continued to take actions to fight for their rights.

6 RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CURRENT IMPLEMENTATION

- At the reflection workshop, project staff stressed that project ownership was still at a very moderate level in the communities. The communities needed to take ownership of the project so that the progress could continue after the end of the project. The project should focus more on increasing ownership of the project in the communities.
- At both the baseline and the endline, respondents perceived the local authorities as the most responsible stakeholder in relation to land rights. However, the national government and the private sector also play an important role, but this is not yet very clear to the project participants. The project could do more to inform people about the roles and responsibilities of the national government and the private sector so that citizens can hold these actors accountable for their roles concerning land rights.

6.2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE PROGRAMMING

- Considering the current civic space in Cambodia, the project staff believe that for future programming, it is important to apply an advocacy approach more frequently. The advocacy approach has to be implemented in parallel with the rest of the project activities. Also, different groups of project participants could apply different advocacy approaches. In this way, people would be more able to speak out, and the government might be more likely to listen to them. It would also be important to document the current good practices of the project in relation to advocacy so that the lessons learned may inform future programming.
- In future programming, it is important to consider the possibility of working with the subnational government, in addition to the local and national governments. Based on the experience of project staff, the power dynamics of national and subnational government are different. Therefore, a future project could also try to influence the subnational government. The subnational government could bring up citizens' concerns and demands to the national government.
- The project is currently working on a Gender Assessment Report to identify the needs of project staff in terms of gender mainstreaming. The Gender Assessment Report will address how much the project staff has been able to do and what the current capacities of the staff are in gender mainstreaming. This assessment will propose recommendations that can be considered in the future.
- Positive findings on attitudes and social norms towards CSOs suggest that there is a favourable context for the work of Oxfam and its partners. However, staff turnover and a mismatch of expectations limited the trust in CSOs and international NGOs. An adequate alignment between citizens' expectations and needs with a future project's intervention themes may help to increase the trust in CSOs and international NGOs.
- The survey asked a question about what issues the NGOs should continue working on or supporting in the future. The three issues mentioned most frequently by project participants were land tenure, education and agricultural development. The project staff acknowledged these findings because land security will be an important theme in Cambodia in the future. Also, people considered education in Cambodia to be very important for their development. Lastly, people considered agricultural development as an important part of their communities because it can help to address the negative effects of climate change and can build resilience.

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ANNEX 1. STATISTICAL ANNEX

To assess the project's effects on an outcome, we investigated to what extent that outcome indicator of interest had changed over time. Therefore, we compared the values on the outcomes at the baseline, the start of the project, with those at the endline (close to) the end of the project.

Solely assessing change in an outcome indicator over time for those who participated in the project did not lead to an accurate measure of the impact of a certain project, as we were only looking at those who actually participated. A lot of things that were not in the project's or programme's sphere of influence might have had some influence on the project as well. Therefore, a more reasonable and accurate method would be to ask ourselves the question "what would have happened in the absence of the project?", in addition to describing what happened to the project participants. In order to arrive at a reasonable estimate of the effects of the project on an outcome indicator, one would thus need to compare the change over time among a group of people that actually participated in our interventions, with the change over time in a situation where the project was not implemented. Both groups operate in the same context, but the only difference between them is whether they participated in the activities of the project. This is a so-called counterfactual approach, a comparison in the change over time in project areas with change over time in areas where the project was not implemented.

To create this counterfactual for the target group, we incorporated a comparison group in our design. By comparing the changes over time in an outcome indicator of the target group, with the change over time on the same outcome indicator in the comparison group, we could assess the project's impact. If the difference between the baseline and the endline in the target group was greater than the difference between the baseline and endline in the counterfactual (the comparison group), the project had had an impact on that indicator. Thus, if for example, the increase in citizens' voice in the target group is larger than the increase in citizens voice in the comparison group, one can say that the project has had an impact or effect on the indicator citizens' voice. In other words, we can say that it was the project that was responsible for this change, as the comparison group had experienced the same context but did not join in the project. The changes we found were thus attributable to the project. This is called a difference-in-difference approach (Athey & Imbens, 2017; Snow, 1855). Note that these effects can be positive or negative.

We know it is very likely that the target and comparison groups are not directly comparable; they likely differ systematically on a range of characteristics at the baseline. For instance, when a project's aim is to increase the extent to which people voice their concerns towards duty-bearers, citizens with a higher socio-economic status might be more likely to voice their concerns towards duty bearers or might be more likely to join in the project's activities (or are more likely to be targeted by the project). In econometric terms, the probability of being targeted by the project's activities is unknown[27] and affected by people's characteristics before they join a project's activities (baseline). This probability – the probability of being treated or targeted by the project – is called the propensity score. Our use of propensity score matching ensured that the target and comparison groups were balanced or comparable based on their age, gender, level of education, literacy, occupation, marital status, the gender of the household head, education of the household head, literacy of the household head, occupation of the household head, and an index of the economic profile of the household.

We used propensity score matching in two stages to solve the problem of incomparability between the target and comparison groups. In the first stage, we calculated the propensity score to select or match

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[27] Compare this to a situation where participation in the project would be determined by a coin toss (a randomized experiment). In this case, participation in the project would be solely determined by chance, not by any pre-exisiting characteristics of the people that intend to participate in the project. The propensity score (the probability of being the in the target group) would be known and equal to 0.5

a comparison group where the distribution of age, gender, level of education, literacy, occupation, marital status, the gender of the household head, education of the household head, literacy of the household head, occupation of the household head, and an index of the economic profile of the household, was similar to the distribution of these same covariates in the target group. Finding these matches was done based on the calculated propensity scores. Each person in the comparison group received a weight, based on their propensity score[28]. This weight can colloquially be interpreted as a measure of similarity between that particular person in the comparison group and its match in the target group. Second, we calculated the values fo the relevant outcome indicator for the comparison group using a weighting for each observation in the comparison group. By doing so, bad matches, or in other words, people that were not very comparable to those in the target group, received a lower weighting in the calculation of the outcome for the counterfactual (comparison group). Better matches, or people in the comparison group who were more comparable to the people in the target group, received a higher weight. By doing this, we ensured that the target and comparison group were comparable and balanced while still employing a large share of the sample that we had collected.

To assess changes over time in any outcome indicator, one would ideally want to interview the same people at least twice to accurately assess changes over time (i.e. collect panel data). This was, however, not possible. Instead of surveying the same people twice, we surveyed a mirror image of the target (and comparison) groups at both the baseline and the endline. To make sure that we were making a valid comparison over time, we used a process with three Propensity Score Matchings (PSM). First, a PSM of the target group at the baseline with the target group at the endline. Second, a PSM of the target group at the baseline with the comparison group at the baseline. Third, a PSM of the target group at the baseline with the comparison group at the endline. By doing this, we ensured that we assessed the changes in outcomes for a comparable set of people through time. In other words, by first matching the target groups over time, and subsequently matching observations of the target group to comparison groups, we ended up with a so-called 'pseudo-panel' with which we could calculate the difference-in-difference measures used to assess the impact of the project on a given outcome indicator. This approach is an adaptation of Binci *et al.* (2018) to the characteristics of our survey sample.

As a result of propensity score matching, the panel of respondents used for the impact evaluation was smaller than the panel of data actually collected. In this report, we used the number of respondents who were actually part of the analysis (so they were able to be matched over time as well as within their group). In this way, we avoided confusion of different sample sizes at different moments in the report.

For some outcome indicators, we had only collected information at the endline, as the interest in these indicators only became clear in the process of setting up the endline research. For these indicators, we could not compare the target and comparison group over time, as we did not have baseline data these indicators. Thus, the analysis was only done at a single point in time and, therefore, only showed results of the target and comparison group at the endline.

The extent to which these groups were balanced before and after matching on the relevant characteristics used is shown in Table 5.

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[28] We have implemented propensity score matching using a normal (Guassian) kernel estimator, where each person in the com-parison is given a weighting based on the characteristics used in the matching model. This weighting is a kernel-weighted average of the distance between a given person in the target group to all people in the comparison group, where the weighting is expressed as a proportion of closeness between a subject in the comparison group and the target group. Subsequently, when calculating the average values for the outcome indicator for people in the comparison group, each person in the comparison group was given a weighting, so that closer and better matches, thus more comparable people, had a greater influence on this average compared to worse matches.

Table 5: Balance table before and after matching

Socio-demographic characteristic	Pre-balance							Post-balance						
	Baseline target group (1)	Baseline comparison group (2)	Endline target group (3)	Endline comparison group (4)	Difference (1)-(2)	Difference (1)-(3)	Difference (3)-(4)	Baseline target group (1)	Baseline comparison group (2)	Endline target group (3)	Endline comparison group (4)	Difference (1)-(2)	Difference (1)-(3)	Difference (3)-(4)
Age	39.3	40.0	40.8	37.1	-0.7	-1.5	3.7**	39.2	40.0	42.4	39.2	-0.8	-3.3	3.2
% of female respondents	49.6%	43.1%	56.3%	69.3%	6.5%	-6.7%	-13.0%	49.8%	45.5%	45.1%	50.4%	4.3	4.7	-5.3
% of respondents in households with a female head of household	14.2%	18.2%	25.7%	25.8%	-4.0%	-11.5%***	-0.1%	14.3%	13.0%	13.1%	12.8%	1.3	1.2	0.4
% of respondents who can read and write	48.3%	49.2%	42.6%	37.4%	-1.0%	5.7%	5.1%	48.1%	50.4%	49.9%	51.8%	-2.4	-1.9	-1.8
% of respondents in households where the head of household can read and write	53.4%	53.6%	44.6%	45.4%	-0.2%	8.9%	-0.8%	53.2%	57.0%	52.1%	53.0%	-3.7	1.1	-0.8
% of respondents who have not completed education	46.1%	46.4%	49.4%	51.5%	-0.3%	-3.3%	-2.1%	46.3%	45.2%	45.3%	47.3%	1.1	1.0	-2.0
% of respondents who have completed Primary School	44.8%	36.3%	37.1%	36.2%	8.6%	7.7%	0.9%	45.0%	45.4%	46.2%	43.6%	-0.4	-1.2	2.7
% of respondents who have completed more than Primary School	9.1%	17.4%	13.4%	12.3%	-8.3%**	-4.4%	1.2%	8.7%	9.4%	8.5%	9.2%	-0.7	0.2	-0.7
% of respondents in households where the head of household has not completed education	42.2%	42.4%	51.1%	50.3%	-0.2%	-8.9%	0.8%	42.4%	40.1%	44.6%	44.4%	2.3	-2.2	0.2
% of respondents in households where the head of household has completed Primary School	48.3%	39.6%	38.9%	38.0%	8.7%	9.4%**	0.8%	48.5%	50.4%	45.6%	47.3%	-1.9	2.9	-1.7
% of respondents in households where the head of household has completed more than Primary School	9.5%	18.0%	10.0%	11.7%	-8.5%***	-0.5%	-1.7%	9.1%	9.5%	9.8%	8.3%	-0.4	-0.7	1.5

% of respondents with occupation as farmers	94.8%	91.0%	86.3%	84.0%	3.8%	8.5%***	2.2%	94.8%	95.0%	95.9%	93.6%	-0.2	-1.1	2.2
% of respondents in occupations other than farmers	4.3%	7.3%	9.7%	10.4%	-2.9%	-5.4%**	-0.7%	4.3%	4.2%	3.3%	4.8%	0.1	1.0	-1.4
% of respondents in irregular employment or unemployed	0.9%	1.8%	4.0%	5.5%	-0.9%	-3.1%***	-1.5%	0.9%	0.8%	0.8%	1.6%	0.1	0.1	-0.8
% of respondents in households where the occupation of head of household is farmer	94.0%	90.8%	90.6%	85.3%	3.2%	3.4%	5.3%	93.9%	93.9%	96.2%	94.3%	0.1	-2.2	1.9
% of respondents in households where the head of household is in occupations other than farmer	5.2%	7.9%	6.3%	8.6%	-2.7%	-1.1%	-2.3%	5.2%	5.3%	3.1%	4.8%	-0.1	2.1	-1.6
% of respondents in households where the head of household is in irregular employment or unemployed	0.9%	1.3%	3.1%	6.1%	-0.5%	-2.3%**	-3.0%	0.9%	0.8%	0.7%	1.0%	0.1	0.2	-0.3
% of respondents who are single	2.6%	5.3%	8.9%	11.7%	-2.7%	-6.3%**	-2.8%	2.6%	2.3%	2.0%	2.8%	0.3	0.6	-0.8
% of respondents who are married	86.6%	84.0%	77.1%	75.5%	2.7%	9.5%	1.7%	87.0%	88.0%	88.1%	87.9%	-1.0	-1.1	0.2
% of respondents who are in an unmarried couple	0.0%	1.3%	2.0%	5.5%	-1.3%*	-2.0%	-3.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	N/A	N/A	N/A
% of respondents who are divorced, separated or widowed	10.8%	9.5%	12.0%	7.4%	1.3%	-1.2%	4.6%	10.4%	9.7%	9.9%	9.3%	0.7	0.5	0.7
Progress Out of Poverty Index	38.0	38.9	34.7	32.6	-0.9	3.3	2.1	38.1	38.7	35.4	33.7	-0.6	2.6	1.7