![Katie Gibson Consulting logo]

COMMUNITY IMPACT EVALUATION: COMMUNITY MAPPING AND COMMUNITY EXCHANGE PROJECTS

Sahmakum Teang Tnaut
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The assessment team would like to thank all those who gave generously of their time. We express our gratitude to the community leaders and members who participated in our interviews. We also thank the staff members of STT for their input and guidance.

The assessment was led by Ms. Katie Gibson. Mr. Lim Vannak coordinated and participated in data collection.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

STT has been implementing its Community Mapping and Community Exchange projects in over thirty tenure-insecure communities in Phnom Penh since 2009. This evaluation assesses the impact of STT's Community Mapping and Community Exchange projects on these urban poor communities. In order to assess impact and sustainability, we also address the projects' relevance, effectiveness, and inclusion and equality.

Project Background

Community Mapping

STT has implemented a Mapping, Infrastructure and Titling project since 2009. STT conducts participatory mapping of communities under threat of eviction with the aim of strengthening their tenure security or their bargaining position vis-à-vis local authorities and developers. Each community receives a large map and a community booklet which includes the results of a community survey.

STT also assists the community with setting up a revolving fund to upgrade community infrastructure.

Community Exchanges

STT organizes three to four Community Exchanges each year, which bring together leaders from urban poor communities to visit different communities and learn from each other. STT aims to strengthen community solidarity and increase communities' ability to articulate their needs and concerns by providing information and networking support.

Findings on Relevance, Effectiveness, and Inclusion and Equality

Relevance

Overall, both Community Mapping and Community Exchanges are highly relevant to the communities involved. Both projects respond to the problem of tenure insecurity in urban poor communities in Cambodia and the government's failure to remedy this problem. None of the communities interviewed for this evaluation have secure tenure, and a number of them face specific threats to their security.

Community Mapping is relevant to the needs of the communities. Only communities that submit a request are eligible to participate, and the final selection is made by the community

members themselves. In all four communities interviewed, community leaders had identified a need for mapping. The infrastructure upgrades also appear to be very relevant. The selection process is participatory, and when asked about STT's involvement in their community, the leaders in several communities mentioned the infrastructure upgrades first before talking about mapping or other activities.

One issue undermining the Community Mapping project's relevance is a duplication of efforts: in two communities interviewed, both STT and another NGO, CEDT, had mapped the community. Another concern is that STT has had difficulty reaching those communities that are under the most severe threat of eviction.

Community Exchanges are also highly relevant. All communities leaders interviewed expressed an appreciation of networking and learning from other communities, and many community members have dedicated precious time to participating without remuneration. Some who have not yet participated expressed a desire to be involved.

While other opportunities for networking exist, these various projects appear to be complementary, not duplicative. Building solidarity and strengthening networks requires time and trust, and multiple opportunities for contact are crucial. In addition, visits to communities have numerous advantages over meetings in NGO offices.

Effectiveness

Both projects are effective. In general, they have met their goals, although STT's suspension and the flooding in 2011 delayed some activities. The effectiveness of both projects has improved over time.

One area of weakness in both projects is monitoring and follow-up. For Community Mapping, staff members are following up regularly with communities after the mapping is finished, but they are not properly logging these phone calls and visits, making tracking difficult. For Community Exchanges, participants fill out evaluation forms, but staff reports on the exchanges do not contain significant reflection or learning.

Inclusion and Equality

The Community Mapping project is inclusive. While STT staff members have concerns about overall levels of community participation, community leaders and members expressed satisfaction. One issue is the exclusion of renters in at least one community.

The participants in the Community Exchanges are a diverse group. However, the extent to which other community members benefit depends on the steps community representatives take to share their knowledge. Our interviews suggest that knowledge-sharing varies across communities, with much sharing happening only sporadically and informally. In addition, while the exchanges are fairly gender-balanced, some women who are garment factory workers have been excluded because they work every day except Sunday.

Impact and Sustainability: Key Areas of Impact

Community Mapping

The Community Mapping project has had the following key effects:

- **Laying the Groundwork for Tenure Security**: While none of the communities that were mapped have acquired land titles, strengthening tenure security is a long-term goal. The maps will likely play a useful role in applying for titles or negotiating for compensation or upgrading.
- **Improved Relations with Local Authorities**: The mapping and infrastructure upgrades have cemented good relations, with local authorities participating in one or other of the activities in all communities interviewed.
- **Training and Knowledge Transfer**: Community leaders and members have learned how to read maps.
- **Creative Uses of the Maps**: Communities have used the maps in a variety of ways, including securing garbage collection services.
- **Infrastructure Upgrades and Revolving Funds**: Infrastructure upgrades have a lasting effect on communities by changing the perceptions of the local authorities and the communities themselves. In general, the communities interviewed have successfully maintained the revolving funds.

Community Exchanges

The Community Exchange project has had the following key impacts:

- **Transmitting Key Messages**: Communities appear to be learning some lessons of fundamental importance: they have rights that are protected by law, there are steps they can take to prepare for evictions, and there are

ways to upgrade their communities. Many community members referred to the *Land Law* and spoke of the need for solidarity.

- **Building Solidarity across Communities**: The Community Exchanges are succeeding at building solidarity among urban poor communities. Three of the four communities interviewed reported telephoning members of other communities, participating in demonstrations and rallies, and mobilising community members to support other communities' land rights.
- **Increasing Confidence and Decreasing Isolation**: Community Exchanges have built community members' confidence and decreased their feelings of isolation. Interviewees spoke of gaining confidence, standing in solidarity, and feeling that they were not alone.

Recommendations for Increasing Impact

We provide the following recommendations for increasing the impact of the Community Mapping and Community Exchange projects.

Community Mapping

Work with Communities to Secure Land Title
Strengthening tenure security is a long-term goal. The Community Mapping has not yet helped any of the communities interviewed to secure land title, and none of the community leaders appeared to understand the official process for securing land title. STT should consider ways to assist communities to secure land title. One option, as soon as mapping is complete, is (1) to develop a clear step-by-step plan with community members for how they will use the map and (2) to then help the community to implement this plan. This could be done with the assistance of other NGOs.

Ensure Understanding of how Maps and Booklets Can be Used
The assessment team observed some confusion as to how the maps and booklets can and cannot be used. Some community leaders seemed to believe that these maps have legal force and grant rights. From the very beginning of the process, staff should spend time explaining the status and possible uses of the maps and community booklets. Related to this, staff should also explain clearly to all community members why the materials should be kept and how they should be stored.

Eliminate Duplication of Efforts
Both STT and CEDT, another NGO, have been providing maps to some of the same communities. STT should continue to work towards avoiding duplication of efforts.

Share Community Best Practices
Some community leaders are implementing good practices, apparently on their own initiative. For example, one community leader has drafted written contracts for loans made from the revolving funds. Others have developed good systems for managing their documents. STT staff should take note of these best practices and share them with other communities.

Protect Personal Data
The assessment team has a concern about the protection of community members' personal information. The community surveys reveal potentially sensitive information, such as whether individuals have voting cards and how long they have lived in the community. We are concerned that if this information fell into the wrong hands, it could be used to identify weaker members of the community and to pressure them. STT should consider how to protect personal data. It should also ensure that community members understand how their information will be used and shared.

Standardise the Approach to Renters
The assessment team heard that in one community, renters had been excluded from the mapping process. In other communities, renters were fully involved. While renters cannot secure land title, their participation is valuable, and STT should standardise its approach to involving renters.
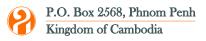
Continue Infrastructure Upgrades
In the assessment team's view, the infrastructure upgrades are effective and sustainable. Community members are enthusiastic about the improvements, and in some cases the projects have enhanced cooperation with local authorities. For the most part, the revolving funds appear to be well-managed and loans are being repaid, benefitting more and more community members. The infrastructure upgrades have enhanced STT's image in the communities. Community members are grateful.

Community Exchanges

Enhance Learning
Overall, community members appear to be learning some lessons of fundamental importance, but they have retained little specific information. STT may want to consider

new methods for boosting learning and recall. One option is to encourage participants to record their learning and observations.

Increase Knowledge-Sharing

The extent to which other community members benefit from Community Exchanges depends on how effectively community representatives share their knowledge. STT should encourage more formal, regular mechanisms for sharing knowledge among community members. In addition, if STT hopes that communities will apply the lessons they learn, this may require additional follow-up with communities.

Increase Gender Diversity

While almost half of the participants in the community exchanges have been women, STT should consider holding some exchanges on Sundays to enable women who work in garment factories to participate.

Consider Including More Participants

The project has evolved to provide deeper knowledge and connections to a few individuals rather than providing less deep knowledge and connections to more individuals. This model has many strengths: repeat interactions among the same community members are helping to building solidarity between communities, and the participants develop a deeper understanding of the issues. One risk is that by providing training and contacts to just a few key community leaders, the community's success rests heavily on the shoulders of just a few people. If leaders are weak, burnt out, or unavailable, the whole community suffers. One solution could be to try to include more participants from each community.

PROJECT BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

STT Overview

Founded in 2005, STT's vision is "A society in which urban inhabitants enjoy adequate housing within a sustainably developing city". Its mission is "To provide pro-poor technical assistance for housing and infrastructure, and to inform dialogue and raise awareness about urban issues". STT works with urban poor communities that are directly affected by the consequences of inequitable development in Cambodia.

STT currently has two main programs:

1. Technical Program;
2. Advocacy Program.

The Technical Program focuses on providing technical support and creative solutions to urban poor communities and the wider public. It is comprised of the following projects:

- Mapping, Infrastructure, and Titling Project: builds capacity within communities to improve tenure security and physical infrastructure;
- Alternative Housing & Urban Planning Project: explores alternative pro-poor options to urban development plans using a participatory approach;
- Research Project: conducts topical research on a variety of urban poor issues.

The Advocacy Program works to strengthen urban poor communities' ability to articulate their own needs, as well as raise awareness of urban issues in society more generally. It is comprised of the following projects:

- Youth Project: involves students and young people in housing issues through volunteering schemes and workshops;
- Community Project: works to strengthen community solidarity and increase communities' ability to articulate concerns;
- Media Project: collects, prepares and presents information about housing issues affecting urban poor communities.

Community Mapping

Overview

As part of its Technical Program, STT has implemented a Mapping, Infrastructure and Titling project. STT conducts participatory mapping of communities under threat of eviction with the aim of strengthening their tenure security or bargaining position vis-à-vis the authorities and developers. The primary output is that each community receives a large map and a community booklet. This booklet includes the map and the results of a community survey.

STT also assists the community with setting up a revolving fund to upgrade community infrastructure. Communities receive $500-$1,000 for an infrastructure upgrade (e.g. road building). The community spends the money and then saves more for additional upgrades.

Evolution

STT piloted the Community Mapping project in 2009. The 2009 funding proposal to DED lays out STT's initial concept for the Community Mapping project:

> The main goal of this community mapping project is to provide accurate data, statistics and mapping for 12 urban poor communities with a particular focus on those threatened by eviction in Phnom Penh. There are 2 main components of the community mapping
>
> - Community profiling: the collection of baseline data and statistics on each selected community related to number of families, gender composition, employment, education and health access etc
> - Physical mapping: using GPS handsets STT will map each of the selected communities and transfer the information to their GIS programme and create an accurate map for each community. The value of this is that an accurate record of the community made which can be used at a later date to assist resident claims and prevent any opportunism by families outside the community.

The proposed benefits were the following:

> This community mapping exercise should provide very tangible results for the community helping them to understand their own community and providing them with accurate tools and data. With this data they are potentially in a better position in which to negotiate with authorities/companies who are looking to land grab/encroach on their village area. NGO are unable to advocate directly on behalf of communities but they are able to assist the provision of accurate data with which the community stands a better chance of refuting false claims. It is not full proof but it

certainly puts communities in a better position and in many cases gives them confidence to understand and articulate their concerns and rights.

Indicator One: Community committee has copies of and access to digital mapping of their community which can be used in negotiations.

Indicator Two: HRTF partners have access to the results of mapping urban poor communities and are able to lobby Government more effectively using accurate data on communities (mapping and tenure for informal communities currently not included in LMAP process or by the Ministry of Land).

STT continued the Community Mapping work in 2010. STT identified the following goal for 2010:

MIT Project Goal: build capacity within communities to improve tenure security and physical infrastructure

It identified the following beneficiaries:

STT aims to work with 12 communities (10 in Phnom Penh, 2 in Kampot), some of which are under severe threat of eviction while others have stronger tenure security. Community members will work closely with the STT survey and mapping team and depending on their availability and application they will be able to learn the basic technical elements. STT aims to recruit two volunteers from each community we work with, to serve as primary liaisons. Once the project is completed, the community members will receive a package of information about their community and household showing household information, photos of tenure/ID documents and a map of the community with their dwelling marked on it.

STT will look to work with local, Municipal and national Government bodies where possible by sharing information and inviting particularly local authorities to take part in the different activities (such as visiting the community during mapping, surveying) and, if possible, gaining their approval of final maps. Unfortunately, in some situations engagement with the authorities is becoming very difficult with 2009 seeing more direct and widespread threats against STT staff. However in general STT continues to have strong working relations with many local authorities both in PP and Kampot and hopes to build on these. The small-scale infrastructure upgrading component of the project is an effective, positive, way in which to engage with the authorities.

STT foresaw the following outcomes in 2010:

Outcome indicator	Means of Verification
12 communities have reliable maps and survey data	Survey data and map booklets exist, photos of distribution, attendance list from distribution
6 communities have improved local infrastructure	Photos of completed project, report on group discussion evaluating project
80% of community members can read and interpret the map of their community	Community members are asked to identify their own household during dissemination of maps
Community members have stronger tenure security	Report on group discussion during project reflection, community has not been evicted or community has received adequate compensation/onsite upgrading or community has received land title
Community has improved/increased dialogue with local authorities	Report from group discussion during 6-monthly project monitoring meeting

Misereor continued to fund the Community Mapping project under the Community Infrastructure Program:

Objective 1: To improve and upgrade local infrastructure and to strengthen community solidarity in target communities.		
Intermediate Objectives	Planned Measures (activities)	Indicators (planned outcome)

Year 1: infrastructure improvements related to clean water supply, basic sanitation, drainage and vehicle access have begun in 7-10 communities in Phnom Penh and 3-5 in Kampot of which at least 25% will have created a revolving fund in which community controlled funds can be re-used for subsequent projects. STT links and understanding of target communities is increasingly broadened

Year 2: Year 1 activities have been expanded to 8-12 new projects in Phnom Penh, 4-6 in Kampot and 2-4 in Kampong Som. STT continues to monitor 3-6 revolving projects (from previous year) in PP and 1-2 revolving projects in Kampot, while the rest have become entirely community managed. STT links and understanding of new target communities is further broadened and capacity to achieve this increased | *Stage 1 (S1): Scoping and Selection*

Initial scoping and selection of target communities will also include consideration of the community's interest in participation, suggestions by local authorities (eg link to Commune/ Sangkat plans) and other concerned organisations, and STT's past knowledge and experience with communities. Communities demonstrating strong cohesion are preferred, but STT uses its discretion to assist some communities facing dire situations, regardless of their current level of solidarity

S2: Community workshops and proposal

Deepening understanding of communities through participatory exercises, such as Photovoice, in which 3 groups (male, female, children) are selected from the community and invited to take one positive and one negative image of an object or view within the village. The groups assemble the images into exhibition, which is used as the basis for further discussion on village issues. Through discussions, particular problems are focused upon and prioritised, and villagers are invited to offer solutions. Where solutions are financially and practically viable, and fit the project framework, they are taken onto the next stage

S3: Community Action Plan (CAP)

Selected communities are invited to | *Number of communities at different stages of the process*

Number of community projects that are completely community managed

Number of revolving fund community projects

Time required from project start to project completion

Number of people/families benefited from project |

	prepare CAPs with assistance from STT and partners .To this end, STT facilitates planning workshops with the community covering topics such as objectives, resources (financial and human), cost budgets and timelines. *Upon completion, the community reviews the plan and decide whether they want to commit to its implementation.STT similarly reviews the CAP, assessing the level of community contribution and commitment, and*	

In its 2011 report to Misereor, STT described the evolution of the project's objectives towards a greater focus on tenure security:

> While the objective to upgrade local infrastructure as well as to strengthen community solidarity remains, **the project has over the past two years also more explicitly come to focus on strengthening tenure security in target communities**. Mapping communities in particular provides them with crucial documentation that can be used either in applying for land titles, or alternatively in negotiations regarding the future of the community with actors that are looking to displace them (e.g. communities along the railways used STT maps to demand adequate compensation). Out of the 25 target communities, twelve are under threat of eviction, while seven are attempting to get land titles. The remaining communities are either not under acute threat of eviction and/or cannot apply for titles (e.g. they are located in the railways right of way). [Emphasis added.]

Community Exchanges

Overview

STT organizes Community Exchanges through its Advocacy Program. The Community Exchanges bring together leaders from urban poor communities to visit different communities and learn from each other. STT aims to strengthen community solidarity and increase communities' ability to articulate their needs and concerns by providing information and networking support.

Model 1: When the project was first implemented, three to four exchanges would take place each year. In each exchange, 18 people from nine communities would tour all nine communities in one day. There was little time for reflection. Different communities were involved in each exchange.

Model 2: Since 2011, STT has changed the model so that the same 18 people from nine communities come together three or four times a year. Each time, they visit three communities in the morning and meet together in the afternoon for presentations and reflection. STT has also incorporated annual themes into this model.

Evolution

STT's 2009 proposal to DED locates Community Exchanges within its Community Advocacy Support activities:

- *Network building*: to join other NGOs in building up skills within communities to voice their concerns articulately at local and national level. This includes training in community cohesion, non-violent action, housing and land law as well as community exchanges and other events (eg street rallies and public events). This usually involves working with individual communities but also links to the Peace building network which has national links.

    (i) Community exchanges: 3 times per year with around 50 people/activists per event giving participants a chance to see the situation in other communities and to share stories and information in an informal manner.

STT identified the following outcomes:

> Community exchanges: 3 exchanges per year x 50 Community activists able to meet each other and share information/tactics

STT's Concept Note for 2011 states, "The aim of the exchanges in 2011 is to work with a new set of 9 communities. Additionally, each exchange will focus on a particular theme relevant to the target communities: Circular 3, Community Upgrading & Revolving Funds, Mapping for tenure security".

The Concept Note for 2012 updates the aims:

> The aim of the exchanges in 2012 is to work with a new set of 9 communities. Additionally, each exchange will focus on a particular theme relevant to the target communities: Approaches/methodologies currently used by community members to persistence the force of being eviction, the way the community members using to draw attention from the NGOs, national and international human rights agencies

and development donors to support, approaches to mobilize community members to protest and community motivation to fight for their housing and land.

The Quarterly Report for Q1 2012 states, "The focus of the series of exchanges this year will be sharing successful community activism and resistance to evictions. The first exchange will take place in the second quarter".

Misereor funding for this project falls under the **Community Advocacy (Housing Rights Program)**:

Objective 2:. Target communities affected by eviction issues are provided with means to express and articulate complaints and concerns to the Government, local Authorities and the media in a non-violent way.

Planned Activities:

…

A3: Community Exchanges

3 times per year(in each urban area STT will work with) STT will assist the network to draw together 6-10 communities who can spend one day visiting each other's communities and sharing stories. Sometimes this initiates informal exchanges and friendships between activists.

EVALUATION OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGIES

Evaluation Objectives

The overall objective of this evaluation is to assess the impact of STT's Community Mapping and Community Exchange projects on tenure-insecure communities in Phnom Penh. In order to assess impact and sustainability, it is also necessary to address the projects' relevance, effectiveness, and inclusion and equality.

Both projects have been operating since 2009, involving more than 30 communities in Phnom Penh. This is the first external evaluation that has been conducted. Both projects will continue in 2013, and are currently under review. The results of this evaluation will be used to modify the programs to increase their impact.

Evaluation Methodologies

The evaluation team was composed of two assessors. We used the following methodologies.

Desk review

We reviewed relevant project documents including funding proposals, concept notes, quarterly and annual reports, and monitoring reports.

In-depth interviews with STT staff members

We interviewed four STT current and former staff members. See Appendix A for a list of staff members interviewed.

In-depth interviews with community leaders

We interviewed community leaders from six communities. Communities fit the following criteria:

- Two communities that participated in both Community Mapping and Community Exchanges;
- Two communities that participated in Community Mapping only;
- Two communities that participated in Community Exchanges only.

Within each pair, we sought to include one community identified by STT staff as a stronger participant, and one weaker. In addition, we sought to include communities that had been involved with STT during different time periods.

We interviewed individuals identified by STT as the community leaders. In four of the six interviews, other community members joined in the interviews. It is important to note that STT does not engage in community organising. It works with individuals that the communities have previously identified as community leaders, and membership in the community is also defined by the community itself.

See Appendix B for a list of community members interviewed.

Limitations

We were limited by the time and budget available. This restricted the number of communities we could interview and limited us to speaking only with community leaders. Ideally, we would like to have interviewed other community members. For example, it would have been useful to verify whether community members had retained the small maps given to them and to discuss how they had participated in the project activities. It would also have been useful to interview other stakeholders, such as local authorities or other NGOs working in the communities.

A general limitation is the difficulty of attributing any observed change to STT's interventions versus the activities of other organisations. Social change is not linear, and it is difficult to attribute effects to specific causes. In our analysis, we have endeavoured to highlight these issues.

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

This evaluation focuses on **Impact and Sustainability**: What effects, if any, have the Community Mapping and Community Exchanges had on vulnerable communities?

In order to assess Impact and Sustainability, it is necessary to address three other key research questions:

1. **Relevance**: Is STT engaged in the right activities with the right communities?
2. **Effectiveness**: Is STT meeting its project objectives and implementing its activities in the right ways?
3. **Inclusion and Equality**: Is STT reaching all community members, including the most marginalised?

These are addressed in turn, setting the stage for a discussion of **Impact and Sustainability**.

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Relevance

The issue of relevance examines whether STT is engaged in the right activities in the right communities. To be relevant, activities must meet community needs.

Eviction and Relocation of Urban Poor in Phnom Penh

The Community Mapping project and Community Exchanges are highly relevant responses to the evictions and relocations of urban poor in Phnom Penh. These evictions stem from government failures to strengthen land tenure as Cambodia develops and land becomes ever more valuable. Helping communities to strengthen their tenure security is an appropriate response to this weakness in government efforts.

Land Titling and Legislation
Many Cambodian families do not hold land titles, as private land ownership was abolished and most land records were destroyed during the 1975-79 Democratic Kampuchea regime. There is little precedent for land titling in Cambodia, although possession and ownership rights have been informally recognised over the years.
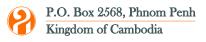
Cambodia passed a *Land Law* in 2001, which provides a legislative basis for the protection of land rights. Pursuant to this law, most households occupying their land since 2001 are eligible for title; those living on state public land are excluded.

Land Law and Land Management and Administration Project (LMAP)
The World Bank, Germany, Finland, and Canada began funding a multi-million dollar Land Management and Administration Project (LMAP) in 2002. This program aims in part to strengthen tenure security by undertaking systematic and sporadic land titling. This project has succeeded in granting over one million land titles, mainly to rural farmers.

However, many have argued that the LMAP has failed to improve the tenure security of vulnerable and marginalised communities. As noted in one report,

> LMAP is not improving tenure security for segments of Cambodian society that are most vulnerable to displacement. Vulnerable groups that have legitimate claims to land are routinely and arbitrarily denied access to land titling and dispute resolution mechanisms, undermining the project's aim of reducing poverty and promoting social stability.[1]

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[1] Bridges Across Borders Southeast Asia, Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions, Jesuit Refugee Service, *Untitled: Tenure Insecurity and Inequality in the Cambodian Land Sector* (2009), pg. 1.

One of the concerns is that the LMAP expressly set out to avoid any contested areas or informal settlements, effectively excluding vulnerable families:

> A key factor in the design of LMAP, and one that has effectively excluded tens of thousands of households from being eligible for titling, is that areas "likely to be disputed" and areas of "unclear status" would not be targeted by the titling system. These terms are not defined in the LMAP design, and in practice this has resulted in a lack of access to the titling system for households and communities that lie in the path of planned developments or concessions, or whose lands have been targeted by well connected individuals or companies. There are many examples of communities that, despite having well documented possession rights, are not targeted for systematic titling and have had requests for sporadic title ignored. This means that many households at risk of being evicted and becoming landless, even if they qualify for title under the *Land Law*, are not being served by this project.[2]

The LMAP may have actually weakened the tenure security of the most vulnerable families:

> In areas where households have been able to access the new titling system, tenure security has likely been improved; however, by expanding access to titling through LMAP, the pre-existing tenure system has simultaneously been weakened. This has arguably left urban and rural households that have been unable to access the new system, despite having possession rights, with weaker tenure and further exposed to accusations of being illegal "anarchic squatters." In turn, these households may have become more vulnerable to land rights violations, including land confiscation with inadequate compensation. The fact that these households do not have title is often used against them as a justification for eviction, despite the fact that many have documented rights under the law. Meanwhile, the wealthy and well-connected have little difficulty in acquiring land title in high value areas in which poor communities reside due to their connections or their ability to pay the high "unofficial fees" for sporadic title.[3]

The result has been that Ministry officials now control land documentation and the standard informal fee for sporadic title is between 1,000-4,000USD per plot.

The rate at which vulnerable and marginalized communities have been forcibly relocated has been increasing. A study completed by STT shows that since 2000, over 100,000 Phnom Penh residents have been displaced. Evictions have typically been conducted with little or no warning with government or municipality support. Communities have often been

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[2] *Ibid.*, pg 3.
[3] *Ibid.*, pg. 7.

offered little or no compensation, or have been relocated to economically unviable sites far from the city centre.

Circular 03

The relevance of the Community Mapping and Community Exchange projects has increased in the face of Circular 03, "on the resolution of temporary settlements on state land illegally occupied" which was approved in May 2010. It is critical that communities be prepared for its implementation.

In its proposal to Selavip, STT described how Community Mapping can help:

> Despite the potential negative provisions of the Circular, the more positive provisions - including consultation, public displays of information, and significantly, on-site upgrading as a possible "resolution" – can be used by communities to demand due process and resist relocation in favour of on-site upgrading. (As documented by STT, relocation almost invariably leads to further impoverishment in Cambodia.)

> However, this can only happen if the communities are equipped with the right information about themselves and laws/policies affecting them. Based on experience working in Satrey Kleang Sang and many other communities, STT believes community mapping is a key starting point for strengthening tenure security. Maps help establish whether or not a particular household or community in fact has possession rights to a plot of land, helps strengthen community cohesion and solidarity, and are a starting point for community upgrading. By combining mapping activities in communities with insecure tenure with awareness-raising about Circular 03, STT strengthens communities against loss of shelter while simultaneously educating communities about legal means to demand on-site tenure security through upgrading, or, if necessary, participatory relocation.

We note that in Satrey Kleang Sang, community members referred specifically to Circular 03 when asked about knowledge gained from working with STT.

Communities' Tenure Security

None of the communities interviewed for this evaluation have secure tenure, and a number of them face specific threats to their security. The projects are therefore highly relevant to them.

STT's 2009 proposal to DED states that "[t]here are approximately 62,249 urban poor households in 569 communities in Phnom Penh (SUPF/ACHR 2003), the vast majority of

whom do not have formal title to their property, and many of whom are under imminent threat of eviction. STT will link with partner organisations and community leaders to identify those 12 communities in most need and will prioritise these for mapping".

The situation in all six communities interviewed is tenuous:

- In **Boeung Chhuk**, several community members have been sued for using violence. They do not know who is bringing the suit, but this person also claims to own their land.
- In **Choeung Ek**, the community leader reported hearing rumours that the area was under a development plan of the government.
- In **Koh Norea**, the community members have heard that the area is under a development plan of the government and that the government wants to buy their land. No families have received land title.
- In **Prek Takong 1**, they have heard no rumours of eviction, but no families have title and the leader believes that some are living unauthorised on the lake.
- In **Prek Tanou**, the police and Sangkat authorities attempted to evict the community, and there was a confrontation with the police. The rumour is that a company wants to take over their land. A middleman whose status is unclear has offered community members farmland in Siem Reap for five years.
- In **Satrey Kleang Sang,** there is a rumour that someone wants to buy the land, but the community does not want to sell the land. In addition, a company is filing in dirt around the community, and they have heard that there is a plan to build a market.

Community Mapping

STT's Community Mapping project appears to be highly relevant to the communities that have participated.

Selection Criteria and Process
STT has developed clear selection criteria and a participatory selection process. Only communities that submit a request are eligible to participate, and the final selection is made by the community members themselves after touring the communities. This helps ensure that the project is relevant to the participating communities.

STT's 2010 proposal to DED identifies the following selection criteria:

- under threat of eviction and/or able to get land title

- very poor as identified by STT's 8 Khan Survey

- community is willing to join project, has strong commitment

- community is located along railway, road edge, lake side, canal edge etc…..

- local authority is willing to participate and cooperate

- community size is between 20 and 300 households

- community members or representatives have submitted request to STT

- community is organised

Requests for Mapping

To participate in Community Mapping, the community must submit a request. In all four communities interviewed, community leaders had identified a need for mapping. For example, the leader in Choeung Ek requested mapping as she thought it would help people to know the exact size and boundaries of their land. In Prek Takong 1, the leader learned about mapping from World Vision and asked for STT's support in conducting mapping.

Usefulness of Infrastructure Upgrades

According to staff, the infrastructure upgrades are relevant for three primary reasons.

First, infrastructure upgrades can help strengthen tenure security. Local authorities and government officials seem more likely to ignore the rights of communities living in what they consider to be "slum" or "temporary" communities. For example, Boeung Kak Lake was criticized for being a slum with drug users, bad water, and floods. In communities like Satrey Kleang Sang, after STT supported a drainage system on the road, electric poles, and house repairs, it was more difficult for local authorities to call it a slum.

Second, staff members believe that infrastructure upgrades improve participation in Community Mapping activities. The communities believe that STT is there to support them, and it reduces their sense of hopelessness.

Third, infrastructure upgrades help strengthen relationships with local authorities and can give STT access to communities under threat of eviction.

The selection process for infrastructure upgrades is participatory and democratic. Communities request assistance, and community members visit each community and then vote.

Interviews with community leaders confirmed the relevance of infrastructure upgrades. When asked about STT's involvement in their community, the leaders in several communities mentioned the infrastructure upgrades first before talking about mapping or any other activities. At Satrey Kleang Sang, for example, the leaders first discussed the $746 STT had provided as seed money for the revolving fund. When describing infrastructure upgrades, all of the community members present became animated, and enthusiastically described how the road had made their lives easier. They noted that pregnant women had previously had great difficulty entering and exiting the community. One woman said that she and her family had not received anything personally (presumably referring to upgrades to six individual homes), but that she was very happy with what STT had done for the whole community.

Duplication of Efforts of Other NGOs
There are at least two other NGOs conducting community mapping in Phnom Penh, namely CMDP and Community Empowerment and Development Team (CEDT). This alone does not affect the relevance of STT's work, as there is a greater demand for the mapping than STT can supply.

However, our research found some duplication of efforts, which undermines the relevance of STT's work. Specifically, Prek Takong 1 and Satrey Kleang Sang had maps made by CEDT and by STT.

In Prek Takong 1, CEDT made a number of large maps including one showing electricity and water supply, one showing sewage and garbage collection, and one detailing community members. These maps were made in April 2011 after STT made its map. Interestingly, when Prek Takong leaders met with Sangkat authorities in 2012 to request land titling, only STT's map was used.

In Satrey Kleang Sang, both STT and CEDT made maps of the community in 2011. When the community put together a letter requesting land titles for 46 families, they included only the map created by CEDT. When asked why they used CEDT's map, they explained that a young staff member of CEDT who lives in the community had helped by typing up the letter.

According to STT staff, this problem is largely due to CEDT intervening in areas where STT already works. They note that CEDT was founded by former STT staff. Nonetheless, this duplication of efforts undermines the relevance of STT's work in the community. STT should continue to work to address this problem.

Communities under Severe Threat of Eviction
Another caveat relating to the question of relevance is whether STT is able to access those communities that are under severe threat of eviction. In its 2009 report to DED, STT wrote,

"There were problems accessing communities under severe threat of eviction. Need to reconsider which communities STT conducts project in". Two staff members gave the example of Tonle Bassac, where seven communities were excluded from the systematic land titling process. The local authorities did not want STT to work with the community, and as a result, community members were afraid to cooperate. While STT's work would be highly relevant to these communities, without cooperation, STT is unable to help. Similarly, in 2009 STT staff were warned by the village chief and military police not to go to the Boeung Kak Lake community to "spy" on company land.

Community Exchanges

Community Exchanges also appear to be highly relevant to the participating communities.

Desire to Participate

All communities leaders interviewed expressed an appreciation of networking and learning from other communities. Scores of community members have taken time away from earning a living and tending their families to participate in these exchanges without any remuneration. The community of Koh Norea has not been involved in Community Exchanges, but, without prompting, the leader stated that he wished to be involved; this is a strong testament to the relevance of the project.

Selection Criteria and Process

The project staff members are responsible for selecting the communities. They consult with communities that have already been involved in the exchanges and with NGOs active in the sector. They include participants from communities under threat of eviction, ones facing eviction, and ones that have already been evicted and relocated. They try to mix new and experienced communities, so that the new communities can learn from the experienced communities.

Community members confirmed their appreciation for learning from both strong and weak communities and for visiting communities large and small. In Satrey Kleang Sang, for example, community members stated that they wanted the project to continue because they wanted to see what happens to other communities, both good and bad.

Other Opportunities for Sharing and Networking

The relevance of the Community Exchanges depends in part on its uniqueness. What other programs encourage networking and learning across communities?

A number of community leaders who have participated in STT's exchanges also attend the Housing Rights Task Force's monthly Monday meetings for all Phnom Penh communities

under threat of eviction. This includes leaders from Prek Tanou, Boeung Chhuk, and Satrey Kleang Sang.

In the assessment team's view, these projects are complementary, not duplicative. Building solidarity and strengthening networks among urban poor communities can be a slow, messy process. Personal relationships and bonds of trust develop over time. Indeed, a leader from Prek Tanou talked about supporting other communities because of his "personal relationships" – precisely the kinds of links the Community Exchanges seek to foster. Multiple opportunities for contact are therefore crucial.

In addition, Community Exchanges have advantages over meetings. First, seeing the conditions in a community is more powerful than simply hearing about them. This kind of experiential learning can be more effective as it engages more of the senses. Second, participants have more time to get to know each other as exchanges last for a whole day, including some unstructured time. Third, exchanges have an impact on the community members who are being visited. For example, Satrey Kleang Sang leaders reported that community members come out and cheer when the exchange participants visit.

One staff member noted that other NGOs, such as World Vision, may have similar projects in similar communities (e.g. Stung Mencheay), but they may take a different approach. In addition, NGO Forum invites communities impacted by railways to meet together. However, we did not find evidence of duplicated or wasted efforts.

Conclusion

Overall, both Community Mapping and Community Exchanges are highly relevant to the communities involved. Both projects respond to the problem of tenure insecurity in urban poor communities in Cambodia and the government's failure to remedy this problem. None of the communities interviewed have secure tenure, and a number of them face specific threats to their security. The projects are therefore highly relevant to them.

Community Mapping is relevant to the needs of the communities. Only communities that submit a request are eligible to participate, and the final selection is made by the community members themselves. In all four communities interviewed, community leaders had identified a need for mapping. The infrastructure upgrades also appear to be very relevant. The selection process is participatory, and when asked about STT's involvement in their community, the leaders in several communities mentioned the infrastructure upgrades first before talking about mapping or any other activities.

One issue undermining the Community Mapping project's relevance is a duplication of efforts: in two communities interviewed, both STT and another NGO, CEDT, had mapped

the community. In one instance, the maps were made in the same year. This duplication of effort undermines the relevance of the work of both organisations, and it is troubling that while some communities receive two maps, some receive none. Another concern is that STT has had difficulty reaching those communities that are under the most severe threat of eviction.

Community Exchanges are also highly relevant. All communities leaders interviewed expressed an appreciation of networking and learning from other communities, and many community members have dedicated precious time to participating without remuneration. Some who have not yet participated expressed a desire to be involved.

While other opportunities for networking exist – notably the Housing Rights Task Force's monthly Monday meeting – these projects appear to be complementary, not duplicative. Building solidarity and strengthening networks requires time and trust, and multiple opportunities for contact are crucial. Visits to communities have numerous advantages over meetings in NGO offices.

Effectiveness

The question of effectiveness examines whether STT is meeting its project objectives and implementing its activities in the right ways.

Community Mapping

In general, the Community Mapping project is meeting its objectives, and the project's effectiveness has increased over time. One area of weakness is monitoring and follow-up with communities after mapping is completed.

Progress against Objectives - Annual

STT has met most of its annual objectives, although there has been a tendency not to be able to complete mapping in as many communities as planned. In 2011, this was explained in part by STT's suspension by government authorities and flooding which hindered access to two communities.

In addition, STT has generally fallen short of its target to have 50-80% of community members participate in the mapping activities. It revised this goal down to 50% in 2010, noting in its report to DED, "[f]rom experience and discussions with community members, many in the urban poor communities rely on a daily wage, and hence taking time to participate in project activities means time away from earning their daily income. Consequently, achieving a 50% participation rate of total households is a good, and achievable, goal for STT in Phnom Penh".
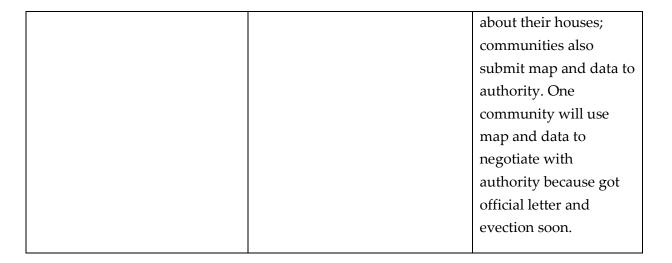
In **2009**, STT foresaw engaging in mapping with 12 communities. This proved to be too ambitious, and project activities were completed in only eight communities.

In **2010**, STT worked with 11 communities, out of the twelve it had proposed. In its 2010 report to DED, STT reported the following results:

> At the end of November, project mapping and surveying activities funded by DED had been conducted in 11 communities, four of which also benefited from infrastructural upgrades. Two further communities also benefited from upgrading, but were mapped under a separate project. Infrastructural upgrades were still ongoing in one community funded by Misereor.

Outcome indicator	Means of Verification	Result
12 communities have reliable	Survey data and map booklets	Activities in 11

maps and survey data	exist, photos of distribution, attendance list from distribution	communities successfully completed. There was only 1 target community in Kampot but work with that community was more intensive.
6 communities have improved local infrastructure	Photos of completed project, report on group discussion evaluating project	Successfully completed in 8 communities (6 in PP, 2 in Kampot)
80% of community members can read and interpret the map of their community	Community members are asked to identify their own household during dissemination of maps	Successfully completed with participating community members rating over 80% understanding overall based on test
Community members have stronger tenure security	Report on group discussion during project reflection, community has not been evicted or community has received adequate compensation/onsite upgrading or community has received land title	No communities have been threatened with immediate eviction, but communities have used map and data as basis for requesting support from other NGOs. One community is using map and data to pursue formal land title
Community has improved/increased dialogue with local authorities	Report from group discussion during 6-monthly project monitoring meeting	In Daun Taok in Kampot very good relations with the local authority was established. In Phnom Penh, Community and authority have chance talk with each other and express concern

		about their houses; communities also submit map and data to authority. One community will use map and data to negotiate with authority because got official letter and evection soon.

In **2011**, STT's work was hampered by its suspension by the government. Its 2011 report to Misereor describes the impact:

> 5 communities in Phnom Penh and one community in Kampot participated in project activities in 2011. In Phnom Penh, 5 projects started with infrastructure upgrades in all communities, continuing with Kids' Days, and mapping/surveying. Due to the suspension, this work was not completed in 2011, as the MIT project was heavily hit by the suspension due to the amount of 'face' STT has in these communities. Project activities will be completed in 2012.

STT addressed the suspension in greater detail in its Quarterly Report for Q3 2011:

> Given the amount of "face" STT staff have in the MIT target communities, the MIT project was one of the hardest hit by the suspension. In order not to put staff and the communities at risk, all activities in the communities were put on hold in August. Instead, staff focused on digitising maps and preparing community profiles based on data gathered in previous months. In September, the situation was reviewed and it was decided a community mapping workshop for activists in all target communities would be organised in early October to empower the participants to complete project activities on the ground by themselves, while STT staff provide technical assistance remotely.

STT provided a summary of its infrastructure upgrades in its 2011 report to Misereor:

> Since project inception in 2009, STT has worked with 25 communities in Phnom Penh. Out of these, 18 communities received upgrades using a revolving fund. One community is now at the third round, two are at the second round, and seven are on the first round. The revolving fund is on hold in the remaining communities due to eviction threats or other uncertainties.

Upgrades in communities have included building toilets, erecting safe electricity poles, re-building bridges, connecting to state electricity or water, improving roads, and upgrading individual homes. Funds for the upgrades have been limited and community members have usually provided labour. The revolving fund nature of the upgrades, together with the Community Action Plan however ensure there is a strategy in place for future upgrades. In some communities, e.g. Satrey Kleang Sang, the project has empowered the community to ask for further assistance from other NGOs as well as to connect in a positive fashion with the local authority. Revolving funds continue in at least 55% of the target communities.

Improvements over Time

The outputs of the Community Mapping have improved significantly over time.

Maps: Early on, the project provided only one map and one booklet. No materials were translated into English. It has since implemented its learning from 2009: In its 2009 report to DED, STT wrote, "It is better to provide the communities with more than one map and booklet. STT should print A4 maps to all community members, and distribute A0 maps and survey booklets to at least VC and community representatives". Now, the outputs are a large map, a booklet, and a smaller laminated map for each household with information relevant to that family. Some information is translated and included in a shorter report in English.

Statistical Data: The community questionnaire has been improved significantly. It originally included only a few questions, but now asks more questions about the families (e.g. where they come from, how they acquired the land, what their occupations are) and about the houses (e.g. materials used, condition).

Methods: STT has considerably improved its methods over time, which has enhanced its effectiveness. Some examples of learning:

- It has increased community participation by holding an Introduction Day;
- It has cemented community learning by holding a Submission Day at the end and providing maps to all community members;
- Since 2010, it has held a Kids' Day to engage the community as a whole. Its 2010 report to DED stated, "The project framework had been improved after the 2009 pilot project, with the Kids Day a key addition". In its 2010 report to DED, STT wrote, "It is good to conduct Kid's Day before Mapping Day, or maybe even before Introduction Day, as it helps to create a positive relationship with community members, and also increases community members' interest in the project. There may also be

> a need for more than one introduction day in the community, if they find it hard to understand the project".

Community leaders endorsed some of these improvements. In both Choeng Ek and Prek Takong 1, leaders mentioned children's involvement in the project.

Concerns about Accuracy

Several interviewees expressed concerns about the accuracy of maps and statistical data, noting that this was an area for improvement. This is especially important given that STT plans to put some maps online in the near future.

Generally, however, the community leaders felt that the maps were accurate. Their main concern related to changes over time. For example, the leader in Prek Takong 1 noted that some families have moved away and others have built houses since the mapping was completed in 2010. He no longer wanted to use the map, worrying that he would be held responsible for inaccuracies. STT staff confirmed that he had requested updated maps, but this had not yet been done.

Communities will change over time. STT should put some thought into how it will deal with these changes and whether updating maps on a regular schedule should be prioritised.

Concerns about Safety

According to project reports, community members have expressed concerns about their safety, which can reduce participation and undermine the effectiveness of the project. However, in interviews with community leaders, none identified safety concerns as a barrier to participation in mapping activities.

Staff safety is another concern. In its 2009 report to DED, STT wrote, "As working on the project, STT must consider about the safety of its staffs and protect them from possible danger (threat of arrest from military police). Key to have good relationship and communication with community". STT should continue to prioritise staff safety.

Community Monitoring and Follow-Up

Overall, STT staff members appear to be conducting effective follow-up, but their monitoring records should be improved.

STT early on identified the need for greater monitoring and follow-up. In its 2009 report to DED, it wrote, "STT needs to devise a system for monitoring long-term impacts of project and evaluate project success". It proposed "regular visits to community and further training on how the community can use the survey result and map".

STT staff members engage in some community monitoring, following up with communities to investigate how the maps are being used. They have used the following methods:

- **Follow-Up Calls and Visits**: Staff reported that one member of the team of three is supposed to call each community every three months and visit each community every six months. He reported that this required contacting all 34 involve communities associated with STT since 2007. Since 2012, the team has used a spreadsheet where updates can be entered. In reviewing this spreadsheet, it is clear that not all communities have been contacted in 2012. In addition, it is unclear what monitoring activities took place in prior years.
- **Additional Training**: STT has provided one Training of Trainers workshop. The objective of this two-day workshop is to train members of communities that have already been mapped to be able to help other communities complete maps.
- **Follow-Up Mapping**: Staff also report that if the composition of a community changes, it can request updated maps from STT. For example, when the number of households increased in Prektakong 1, the community requested an updated map; this has not yet been provided. Similarly, the number of houses in Kaksekar has increased since 2010.
- **Annual Reflection**: Starting in 2010, STT has held Annual Reflection sessions each December in which all communities are invited to share their views on the projects, including both Community Mapping and Community Exchanges.

In its 2009 report to DED, STT wrote, "Evaluation of each meeting should be conducted to monitor STT's activities among community members". This has not occurred.

In general, communities report fairly regular follow-up by STT staff. Much of this contact appears to take place via phone calls or in the Housing Rights Task Force's monthly meetings. Community visits appear to be less common.
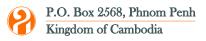
Community Exchanges

The Community Exchanges project has been meeting its annual objectives. As with the Community Mapping, monitoring and follow-up could be improved.

Progress against Objectives
Generally, the Community Exchanges are meeting their objectives: each year, three exchanges have been held.

In 2009, three community exchanges were held with 34, 35, and 39 community members respectively.

STT's 2009 report to DED provides the following details on the three Community Exchanges held that year:

Date	Participating communities	Number of participants	Location	Duration	Content
7/7/09	Cheang Ek, Mittapheap, Chomroeun, Phall, Toul Cheko, Wathan, Wath Niroth, Hem Cheat, Samaki 1, Chea Sophara's land, Sen Sabay, Community 104, Samaki 3.1, Trapieng Chouk, Toul Sen Chey, Samaki	34 people, 22 Male 12 female from 16 communities, 1 from HRTF, 1 Japanese volunteer, and 7 from STT	Mittapheap, Rolos Cenag Ek, Samki 1, Toul Sombo and Trapieng Chork	Full day	Participants share their experiences while visiting each others' communities and learning about initiatives and successful approaches in each community
28/8/2009	Boeng Kak Phum 2, Boeng Kak phum 3, Boeng Kak phum 4, Krang Angrang I, Boeng Kak phum 6, Boeng Kak phum	35 people, 20 male, 15 female.	Sras Trey, Toul Rada, Samki 1, Krang Angkrang, Kok Klang I and Kok Klang I	Full day	Participants share their experiences while visiting each others' communities and learning about initiatives and successful approaches in each community

	20, Boeng Kak phum 21, Boeng Kak phum 22, Boeng Kak phum 24, Chao Ponheahok, Toul Rada, Lor Kombor, Samaki 1, Apiwat Thmey, Sahakum Thmey, G78, Reak Reay				
26/9/2009	Hem cheat, Samaki 3.1, Phum 4 boeung Trabek, Kasika, Somrong MeanChey, Sen Sabay, Boeung Chhok, Toul Chheyko, Chheyko Thmey, Toul Rada, ChombokThom, Sen Sok, Monivong AB, BoriMitapheap, Samakirongreang, Chey Chomneas and SreyKlang Sang.	39 community members (14M, 25F), 10 STT staff, 2 NGO partners	Srach Trey, Toul Rada, Samaki1, Krang Angrang, Kok Klang I	Full day	Participants share their experiences while visiting each others' communities and learning about initiatives and successful approaches in each community Savings, credit Specific topics covered: - Community solidarity - Land tenure security - Obtaining land

					titling

In its 2011 report to Misereor, STT wrote that there were "3 community exchanges with nine target communities (average 22 (9F) participants). One reflection together with MIT project target communities – total 35 communities participants, with 64 (31F) participants".

Relations with Local Authorities
One staff member reported that local authorities may cause problems when they see large groups of people visiting the community. STT asks community representatives to explain the situation to local authorities. None of the community leaders identified this as a concern.

Community Monitoring and Follow-Up
Monitoring and follow-up appears to be a weakness.

According to a staff member, the STT asks for feedback after each exchange. Currently, participants fill out a Visit Feedback and Evaluation Form. It is not clear how long these forms have been in use, but we could not locate forms prior to 2012. Starting in 2012, staff members have been writing reports after each exchange, but these reports do not contain significant reflection or learning. Staff also report updating a Community Profile for each community. However, many profiles were missing and there is no record of when updates have been made.

Conclusion

Both projects are effective. In general, they have met their objectives, although STT's suspension and the flooding in 2011 delayed some activities. The effectiveness of both projects has improved over time.

One area of weakness in both projects is monitoring and follow-up. For Community Mapping, staff members are following up regularly with communities after the mapping is finished, but they are not properly logging these phone calls and visits, making tracking difficult. For Community Exchanges, participants fill out evaluation forms, but staff reports on the exchanges do not contain significant reflection or learning. In addition, they are not properly tracking or recording updates in the communities.

Inclusion and Equality

The issue of inclusion and equality examines whether STT's projects are reaching all community members, including the most marginalized.

Community Mapping

The Community Mapping project is inclusive, and community members expressed satisfaction with overall community participation. One issue is the exclusion of renters in at least one community.

General Level of Participation

While staff members have raised concerns about participation levels, community leaders seem satisfied.

Only some households participate in the mapping activities. STT has set a goal of 50% participation. In general, the maps show a number of houses that are not identified or surveyed, often because the households are not part of the "community" as it is defined by community members.

A staff member commented that finding suitable meeting times and ensuring participation can be difficult, as community members work during the day.

In its 2009 report to DED, STT outlined its concerns about participation and possible solutions:

> STT organized meetings have had relatively low turn outs, yet are key to engaging community in project. Planning meeting schedule together with community, as well as compensation for attendance should be considered. Submission of completed project must be announced not only to VC but also to the entire community members. STT wants to invite the local authorities from other communities as well to promote the mapping project.

However, community leaders were generally satisfied with the level of participation in mapping activities. The Choeng Ek leader said that all households were involved in the mapping and that they crowded around to read the map and confirm its accuracy. Similarly, in Prek Takong 1, the leader reported that everyone participated. In Satrey Kleang Sang, the community leaders said that everyone participated in the activities and agreed with the results. They noted that the community holds a lot of meetings, and one joked that they were going to get in trouble for not inviting everybody to the interview with the assessment team. It was only in Koh Norea that the community leader said that four families refused to participate, saying that being part of the community was complicated.

Owners versus Renters

Staff members reported that the Community Mapping helps house owners more than renters. This was borne out in Koh Norea, where renters did not participate in the mapping. The community leader stated that they observed the process, but did not participate. Their names were not included on the map.

Renters cannot apply for land title, but their participation is still valuable. In other communities, renters have participated fully, so this need not be a barrier. STT should standardise its approach to including renters.

Community Exchanges

The participants in the Community Exchanges are diverse, but the benefits are not spread equally across communities. Our interviews show that in two communities, formal structures facilitate communication, but in two others, knowledge is shared only informally. In addition, while the exchanges are fairly gender-balanced, some women who are garment factory workers have been excluded because of the timing of the exchanges.

Community Representatives versus Other Community Members

Knowledge is not distributed equally across communities. In each community, the representatives who participate in the Community Exchanges benefit the most. They gain knowledge and experience and make personal connections with other participants.

The extent to which other community members benefit depends on the steps community representatives take to share their knowledge. One staff member gave the following examples. In Stung Meanchey, the community representatives always hold meetings to share their learning. By contrast, the Spean Cheu and Sammaki Rong Reung community representatives never hold meetings with their members.

Our interviews show that knowledge-sharing varies across communities.

In two communities, formal structures facilitate communication. The Boeung Chhuk community holds meetings once or twice per month for two hours in the afternoon in a community leader's house. They reported sharing with the community lessons learned from other communities, such as a savings groups in Stung Meanchey. They have also informed community members of the activities of other communities facing eviction and have discussed solutions. A number of community members enthusiastically joined the conversation, explaining that they had learned to be strong in protesting, to be brave when talking to authorities, to know their rights, not to be discouraged when talking to authorities, and not to use violence.

Similarly, Satrey Kleang Sang holds monthly community meetings, sometimes in a home or sometimes in the community learning center. Meetings usually take place at 2pm on a Sunday. They provide updates on activities in the community, describe the situation of the revolving fund, and report on lessons learned in community exchanges.

By contrast, two communities have no formal structures for sharing knowledge. In Choeung Ek, the community leader reported that only three people have participated in exchanges and that she shares knowledge informally when community members come to meet with her. She said she tells people about problems in other communities, what NGOs have supported them, how they have been evicted, and how they have come together to confront the problem.

In Prek Tanou, four people have been involved in the exchanges. They reported that the men share information informally when they gather for a chat or a drink and that the men then share the information with their wives at home.

While informal sharing can be effective, STT should encourage more formal mechanisms for sharing knowledge among community members.

Level of Organisation and Sophistication
One staff member suggested that the knowledge transfer often goes in one direction: communities with more experience teach communities with less experience. He concluded that those with less experience benefit more from the exchanges.

The assessment team was not able to verify this observation with communities. However, it seems that members of stronger communities could also benefit by gaining confidence from being perceived as a strong community with important lessons to share.

Gender
Gender equality is an important concern. STT noted in its 2009 funding proposal to Misereor, "it is well documented that resettlements and evictions have a particularly strong negative impact on women and children".

STT has made efforts to include women in the Community Exchanges. According to STT's reports, just under half of the participants are women. Staff report that women can be involved, since they tend to work at or near the home. Also, there are reports of men being threatened in their workplaces. For example, at Boeung Kak Lake, husbands were asked by their bosses why they let their wives protest. Two staff members also suggested that women are more effective peaceful protesters than men.

However, in Prek Tanou, community members reported that women had not been as involved as men. The women work in garment factories, so they are not available during the day. The women present reported that they would be able to attend exchanges if they were

held on Sundays, and said they would like to participate and not just rely on the men. STT should consider holding some exchanges on Sundays to enable women who work in garment factories to participate.

Conclusion

The Community Mapping project is inclusive overall. While STT staff members have concerns about levels of community participation, community leaders and members expressed satisfaction. One issue is the exclusion of renters in at least one community.

The participants in the Community Exchanges are a diverse group. However, the extent to which other community members benefit depends on the efforts community representatives make to share their knowledge; the benefits are not spread equally across communities. In two communities, formal structures facilitate communication, but in two others, knowledge is shared only informally. In addition, while the exchanges are fairly gender-balanced, some women who are garment factory workers have been excluded because they work every day except Sunday.

Impact and Sustainability

The main question this evaluation seeks to answer relates to impact and sustainability: What effects, if any, have the Community Mapping and Community Exchanges had on vulnerable communities?

Community Mapping

Some of the objectives of the Community Mapping project are to strengthen tenure security, improve relations with local authorities, strengthen relations among community members, provide training and knowledge transfer, provide outputs that will last (maps, community booklets), and build relationships with other NGOs. These are all important long-term effects. In addition, a well-managed revolving fund for infrastructure upgrades could have a lasting impact. The extent to which the project has had these positive effects on communities is examined in the sections that follow.

Strengthening Tenure Security
Strengthening tenure security is a key objective of the Community Mapping project, but also the most difficult to achieve. At this stage, none of the communities interviewed have been evicted, but nor have they received land titles.

If the community is not under threat of eviction and is not located on state public land, it can use the map to apply for land title. One staff member reported that some communities have started to apply for titles:

- **Prekalong 4** (worked with them 2011) – local community will discuss titling with the Sangkat Office.
- **Kaksekor** (worked with them 2010) - local community has started thinking about applying for title and has sent a request for Sangkat Office.
- **Satrey Kleang Sang** (worked with them 2011) – see below.

If the community is already under threat of eviction, it can use the maps as part of a demand for compensation. A staff member provided the following examples:

- **104 Railroad Community** (worked with them 2009) – This community burned down. The community used the maps to make claims for compensation and to rebuild the community.
- **Phsartauch AB (Riverbank)** (worked with them 2010) – This community was under threat of eviction because the Municipality of Phnom Penh wanted to build a public garden along the river. The community

requested STT's assistance, and sent the map to the Khan Office. It provided clear statistics on how many households were in the area.

In its reports, STT has confirmed that securing tenure remains a challenge. In its 2010 report to DED, STT wrote, "[g]aining formal recognition for the maps remains one of the most challenging parts of the project. In Phnom Penh, only one community is pursuing formal titling. The reason for this is that most of STT's target communities are already under threat of eviction".

In its 2010 report to DED, STT wrote, "[t]itling remains the weakest part of the project, though that is not unexpected given how politicised tenure security and land titling is in Phnom Penh. Next year, STT may consider partnering with BABC [now Equitable Cambodia] to provide tenure security training to target communities".

Interviews with community leaders confirmed that titling remains a challenge. None of the communities have managed to secure title. Efforts that to date have been unsuccessful. Only one community has used STT's map to aid this effort.

Of all the communities interviewed, Satreay Kleang Sang, has taken the most steps toward securing title. There was a rumour that someone wanted to buy land for $90 per square meter, but community members do not want to sell their land because they do not think they can afford to buy another house in Phnom Penh. In addition, a company is filling in dirt around the community, and they have heard that there is a plan to build a market.

With the help of CEDT, the Satreay Kleang Sang community leader wrote a letter to the Phnom Penh Governor asking for land titling in July 2012. He included the details and thumbprints of 46 families and attached a small map that CEDT had produced along with some families' documents. He received approval of the Village Chief, Sangkat Chief, and Khan Governor to send this letter. In August 2012, the community received a response refusing land title and stating that the community should wait until a study concerning the issue was complete. The community leader has discussed the situation with the Sangkat authorities. He does not want to simply wait.

Prek Takong 1 has also taken steps to secure title. The community leader stated that there is no rumour of eviction yet, but that people are living in unauthorised areas on the lake. World Vision worked with the community to present STT's map to Sangkat authorities in July 2012. In this meeting, land titles were requested. The Sangkat authorities denied the request, explaining that the Municipality had not yet fixed the boundaries of the Sangkat.

In Choeung Ek, the community leader had asked the Village Chief and the Sangkat Chief for land titling in 2010, *before* STT's mapping. She was told that land titles would not be given. After receiving the map, she has not taken any further steps. She stated that the map is

useful, but the community can do nothing if it is under a development plan of the government. When asked what steps she would take if the community received eviction notices, she repeated that she would make a letter with thumbprints from all the households; she did not mention using the community map or booklet.

In Koh Norea, none of the community members have land titles, and the community leader stated that he had not led the community to apply for land title. There is a rumour that the area is under a government development plan and that the government wants to buy the land. Most people would sell their land for the right price. Reportedly, land on the riverbank is worth $200-300 per square meter.

At this stage, the Community Mapping has not yet helped any of the communities interviewed strengthen their tenure security. STT should consider ways to assist communities after the mapping is complete. That said, strengthening tenure security is a long-term goal. It is possible that some communities may secure title in the future. Alternatively, it is very likely that if a community receives an eviction notice in the future or is the victim of a land-grab, the maps will play a useful role.

Strengthening Relations with Local Authorities

A good working relationship with local authorities is a precondition for success, and building stronger relationships is also an objective of the project. Our interviews show that the mapping project has helped cement good relationships with local authorities.

Gaining passive or active support from local authorities is key to the project's effectiveness. This has been a challenge. In its 2009 report to DED, STT wrote, "[i]t is difficult to conduct the project in communities without support from the village chief and sometimes also other local authorities, who perceive the project as a threat. Need to look at how communities are selected for the project".

In its 2010 report to DED, STT explained that these problems persisted:

> Gaining participation/agreement by the Village Chief and Group Leader have a significant effect on the success of activities in each community. These local authorities can provide useful information such as details about the official boundaries of each community. Also, without the participation of these, working conditions for STT in the community are often very limited and communities have limited use of outputs.

The communities interviewed generally had pre-existing working relationships with local authorities. In Choeung Ek, Koh Norea, and Prek Takong 1, the community leaders reported having good relationships with village and Sangkat authorities. In Satrey Kleang Sang, the

community reported that a new Sangkat authority had been elected in this year's elections and the community was not sure whether the good relations will continue.

That said, the mapping and infrastructure projects appear to have cemented these good relations. In Choeung Ek, the leader reported that the Sangkat Chief observed the mapping, received a copy of the map, and was happy with the mapping because it would prevent conflicts among community members. Local authorities have not been involved in infrastructure upgrades. Similarly, in Koh Norea, the Village Chief held a meeting and informed the Sangkat about the mapping and the Sangkat authorities approved the mapping.

In Prek Takong 1, the Sangkat authorities were not involved in the mapping, but they played a role as a witness when STT provided $500 to the community for the revolving fund. With the help of World Vision, the community has met with the Sangkat and presented the map. Similarly, in Satrey Kleang Sang, the Sangkat authorities were not involved with the mapping but participated fully in the infrastructure upgrades.

Overall, none of the communities reported that the Community Mapping transformed poor relationships into good ones, but this is to be expected given that reasonably good relationships are a precondition for project implementation. The net effect seems to be positive, as the project has provided opportunities for increased contact and cooperation.

Strengthening Relations among Community Members
The Community Mapping does not yet appear to have made a significant impact on relationships between community members. It is possible that if the communities face evictions or land grabbing in the future, having the map may provide a rallying point and allow community members to present a united front.

Only one community leader expressed that the Communtiy Mapping has reduced conflicts between neighbors. In Choeung Ek, the leader stated that the community considers the map as their land plan, showing ownership of their land, so the map can ensure that no one takes land from another.

In Koh Norea, the leader stated that there have been no conflicts since the mapping. If the community committee had to intervene in a conflict, it would use the map. However, if the local authorities intervened, they would not use the map.

In Satrey Kleang Sang, the community leaders stated that community members do not have conflicts. However, they reported that there is increased solidarity in the community because everybody is happy with the map.

Retention of the Maps and Booklets

A lasting effect of the Community Mapping project is simply leaving the community with maps and booklets. In recent years, community households have each received a laminated card showing the map and information and a photo of their own family and home. Ideally, the community leaders would keep the large printed map and a copy of the community booklet and each family would keep their individual card. It would be nice if the community were able to display the map. This has not happened in all communities.

In both Choeung Ek and Prek Takong 1, the community leader had the large map, but did not have the community booklet. Neither leader was sure what information community members had kept.

In Koh Norea, the community leader had the large map and community booklet. He had distributed about half of the laminated cards, but had kept the other half. He stated that he would only distribute these cards after he had explained to families what the card contained and that they must not lose it.

In Satrey Kleang Sang, the leaders had a large and small version of the map. A community model currently hangs at the community centre. They reported that World Vision has borrowed the community booklet to make copies for all community members and other stakeholders. They were not clear about whether laminated cards had been distributed, but seemed to think that community members had lost whatever materials they had received. One community member reported hanging something on her wall and then losing it, but she may have been referring to a card provided by a different organisation.

The fact that communities have not kept, protected, displayed, and shared the mapping outputs is a concern. STT should consider how to ensure that the communities retain the materials produced.

Training and Knowledge Transfer

Another lasting effect of the Community Mapping is community skill-development. Community members have learned map-reading skills, but not technical mapping skills.

Map-Reading Skills

Basic training in how to read maps can be extremely useful for communities with low education levels. In Choeung Ek, Koh Norea, and Satrey Kleang Sang, leaders confirmed that community members learned how to read maps; most could identify their house on the map that was produced. The leader in Koh Norea also stated that he was very happy to learn how to draw a map. He enjoyed the participatory process.

Technical Mapping Skills

It appears that community members have not gained technical GPS/GIS mapping skills.

In its 2009 report to DED, STT wrote, "STT has been unable to engage community members and train them in GIS/GPS understanding and technical mapping knowledge. This is partly due to staff being young and inexperienced, and hence unable to engage the community members in the more technical parts of the project. More focus on training and community engagement is required".

Staff reported that it is difficult to train community members in technical skills, especially those requiring knowledge of English. They noted that the GPS training may not be especially helpful. Community members confirmed this. While some of the communities interviewed stated that STT used GPS, none of the leaders reported that community members learned these skills.

Building Relationships with other NGOs

Building relationships with other NGOs does not appear to be a significant outcome of the mapping project. Prek Takong 1 and Satreay Kleang Sang have used the community maps in their work with World Vision, but no other ties with NGOs were reported.

Unexpected Uses of Maps

Communities reported other creative uses of maps. Several communities show the map to visitors to the community. In Koh Norea, the individual laminated family cards were used for requesting garbage collection. The community leader had unsuccessfully requested garbage collection several times. When he had a meeting with Sangkat authorities and the garbage collecting company (Cintri) and showed them the cards, he was able to secure services. Interestingly, some families in Koh Norea have also used their small laminated map to borrow money from private lenders; the community leader did not seem to approve of this.

Staff reported that some communities have used the map to create a Community Development Plan (e.g. for creating a drainage system or a community hall). They also said that the documents are useful for other NGOs in their work (e.g. Housing Rights Task Force, LICADHO, Community Legal Education Center, Equitable Cambodia).

Infrastructure Upgrades and the Revolving Fund

It appears that infrastructure upgrades leave a lasting impact on communities by changing the perceptions of the local authorities and the communities themselves.

Sustainability is enhanced if the community continues the revolving fund to solve priority infrastructure problems. It is only if the fund revolves – loans are repaid and then spent on future projects – that the fund is sustainable. Staff members identified three communities that had successfully maintained the revolving fund:

- Prektakong 1 (2010) – built toilets and want to build more;

- Kos Norea (2011) – built toilets and then a road;
- Kaksekar (2010) - uses revolving fund.

In general, the communities interviewed have successfully maintained the revolving fund, with some bumps along the way.

In Prek Takong, the community has built 17 toilets, with each family borrowing around $60. The fund is managed by a five-member community committee. It lost around $65 when a former Vice Chief fled the village because of a family conflict. Otherwise, the fund appears to be well-managed.

In Koh Norea, the fund is starting to revolve. The community received about $400. Of this, five families split $200 to pump out sewage waste, three others received $30-35 for pumping sewage, and two families each received $50 for building toilets. In addition, when the Sangkat decided to work with the community to build a concrete road, some families borrowed money from the fund to make their contribution to the road upgrade. Three families have already repaid the money. The funds appear to be well-managed: the community leader has created his own contracts for lending the money, which show the amount borrowed and are thumb-printed by the house owner, a witness, and a community representative.

In Satrey Kleang Sang, STT provided $746 initially for road upgrades. Each family is supposed to repay around $0.50 per month; some do and some do not depending on their circumstances. The community leaders produced bank receipts showing that there is more than $200 in a bank account registered to three people. In addition to the revolving fund seed money, STT has also provided money for upgrading houses and electrical poles.

It is only in Choeung Ek that the revolving fund does not appear to be revolving. Two families each received $100 for building toilets, and the community leader does not think they will repay the money. The community leader spent $36 on gravel for road repairs, but does not plan to ask for contributions. She reported that a plan to build three other toilets is now on hold because families have postponed building their houses after hearing rumours of evictions. Now, she just uses the remaining funds to make emergency loans. There does not appear to be strong, accountable management of these funds.

Overall, the money provided for infrastructure upgrades is having lasting effects on the communities.

Community Exchanges

The Community Exchanges aim to have the following lasting effects: participants learning skills and transferring knowledge to other community members, building solidarity across communities, and changing community members' feelings and attitudes about their communities. These are examined in the sections that follow.

Learning Skills and Knowledge
One lasting effect of the Community Exchanges can be the skills and knowledge gained by the participants in the exchanges.

In general, the participants' recall of the content of the exchanges was fairly basic. For example, in Choeung Ek, the leader said that she learned that we need to improve the community, have solidarity, and love each other. In Boeung Chhuk, members recalled lessons from specific communities: Stung Meanchey taught them about infrastructure upgrades and savings groups, and Satrey Kleang Sang taught about house renovations and road upgrades. They also said they had learned about the *Land Law*. In Satrey Kleang Sang, the leader reported learning about the situation of other communities and evictions in the railway communities. The community members in Prek Tanou listed a number of topics including law relating to evictions, what they should be informed of before an eviction, how communities deal with local authorities, the situation in other communities, savings schemes, and non-violence.

Overall, communities appear to be learning some lessons of fundamental importance: they have rights that are protected by law, there are steps they can take to prepare for evictions, and there are ways to upgrade their communities. However, STT may want to consider new methods for enhancing learning and recall.

Sharing and Applying Learning
As noted in the section on Inclusion and Equality, knowledge-sharing among community members seems to vary widely, with only some communities having formal structures for transferring knowledge.

Another question is the extent to which community members apply the learning in their communities. One staff member noted that some communities do not apply the knowledge they have gained in Community Exchanges. For example, the Boeung Chhuk and Number 104 and 105 Communities learned how to create a savings group, but did not follow the process in their communities.

The leaders in Prek Tanou repoted that they learned about savings schemes, but they do not trust each other enough to implement one in their community.

If STT hopes that communities will better apply what they learn, this may require additional follow-up.

Building Solidarity across Communities
Another key effect of the Community Exchanges is building solidarity among urban poor communities. The project has been successful on this front.

The 2009 report to DED notes that while participants expressed satisfaction about participating in the exchanges, "[t]he current situation in Phnom Penh however is that solidarity across community boundaries is weak. Efforts such as the community exchanges are important in strengthening that solidarity, however, it is likely any lasting impacts (such as the development of a community-run network in Phnom Penh) will take longer than the timeframe of this project".

A staff member expressed frustration at some communities' lack of "commitment". He noted that when Beoung Kak Lake communities were being evicted, not many members of other communities supported them. He had hoped that they would contribute something – like a banner or water or joining protests – but they were too busy with their daily lives. He also noted that in Dey Krahorm, members of the Borei Keila community were paid $5/day to dismantle the community. However, he likened the Community Exchanges to training men to be soldiers; they will be prepared when the war, or in this case the eviction notice, comes.

The interviews with community leaders revealed that the Community Exchanges are succeeding in building solidarity across communities.

In Prek Tanou, leaders reported maintaining connections with other communities without STT's coordination. They said that they have each other's telephone numbers and that they call each other for help. For example, the Borei Keila community requested that they show support at the court for the Boeung Kak Lake members who had been arrested, and three or four Prek Tanou community members attended, carrying a banner. One of the community leaders is a motodop driver, so he joins in rallies and protests when he encounters them. They said that they hope that other communities will support them when it is their turn.

Similarly, in Satrey Kleang Sang, community members reported being called to attend protests and demonstrations. One of the community leaders is a tuk tuk driver, so he transports community members on his tuk tuk, sometimes without payment. He gave the example of the Lor Kambor Community. Almost 300 people, including ten from Satrey Kleang Sang, attended an event to protect the community when bulldozers arrived. Similarly, he took a tuk tuk full of community members to the police office where the activists were being held who had written SOS messages to President Obama. The community members expressed that they needed to help others because when they have a problem in the future, they want others to help them.

In Boeung Chhuk, community members have been sued and have had to attend court. They have been supported by the Boeung Kak Lake, Borei Keila, railway communities, and Prek Tanou, who visited the court to show solidarity. They have also joined public protests and mobilise their community members if they have advance warning. The leaders said that they got to know a lot of people in the exchanges. They said that they communicate by phone and also during Housing Rights Task Force monthly meetings.

It was only Choeung Ek that has not been involved with other communities' struggles. The community leader expressed that she did not want to get her community involved in any protests or demonstrations. She said they were poor, only wanted to do good things, wanted to live in peace, and did not want to create problems for the community.

Overall, the project appears to be succeeding at building connections and solidarity between communities. While this cannot be attributed solely to STT's efforts, and indeed the Housing Rights Task Force seems to be playing a key role, STT is certainly playing an important part.

Effects on Community Members' Feelings and Attitudes

Another important impact of the Community Exchanges is building confidence and decreasing feelings of isolation among community members. For example, Prek Tanou is a small community of only 19 households, but the leaders said that they learned that an even smaller community of only nine families had managed to protect itself from a land grab, which gave them confidence that they too could prevail if they united. Similarly, in Boeung Chhuk, community leaders said that they felt that the Community Exchanges taught them that they needed to stand in solidarity. In Choeung Ek, the community leader said the exchanges made participants feel that they were not alone.

KEY AREAS OF IMPACT

Below, we describe some of the key areas of impact of both the Community Mapping and Community Exchange projects.

Community Mapping

Laying the Groundwork for Tenure Security

Thus far, none of the communities that were mapped have acquired land titles. However, we recognise that strengthening tenure security is a long-term goal. It is possible that some communities may secure title in the future. Alternatively, it is very likely that if a community receives an eviction notice or is the victim of a land-grab, the maps will play a useful role in negotiating for compensation or upgrading.

Improved Relations with Local Authorities

None of the communities reported that the Community Mapping transformed poor relationships into good ones. This is unsurprising, given that STT has learned that reasonably good relationships are a precondition for project implementation. The mapping and infrastructure upgrades do seem to have cemented good relations, with local authorities participating in one or other of the activities in all communities interviewed. The net effect is positive, as the project has provided opportunities for increased contact and cooperation

Training and Knowledge Transfer

The main skill community members have learned is how to read a map. Community leaders confirmed that community members could identify their house on the map that was produced. This seems to be a more useful skill for community members than more technical skills, such as use of GPS, which are difficult to learn and have limited practical application.

Creative Uses of the Maps

Communities have used the maps in a variety of ways, including showing the maps to visitors to the communities and referring to them in community planning. One creative use of the map is that the use of the individual laminated family cards to secure garbage collection services in Koh Norea.

Infrastructure Upgrades and Revolving Funds

Infrastructure upgrades have a lasting effect on communities by changing the perceptions of the local authorities and the communities themselves. Upgrades have included building roads, putting up electricity poles, building toilets, and pumping sewage. Community members interviewed were very proud of infrastructure upgrades.

Sustainability is enhanced if the community maintains the fund to solve priority infrastructure problems. It is only if the fund revolves – loans are repaid and then spent on future projects – that the fund is sustainable. In general, the communities interviewed have successfully maintained the revolving funds.

Community Exchanges

Transmitting Key Messages

Overall, communities appear to be learning some lessons of fundamental importance: they have rights that are protected by law, there are steps they can take to prepare for evictions, and there are ways to upgrade their communities. Many community members referred to the *Land Law* and spoke of the need for solidarity.

Building Solidarity across Communities

The Community Exchanges are succeeding at building solidarity among urban poor communities. Three of the four communities interviewed report telephoning members of other communities, participating in demonstrations and rallies, and mobilising community members to support other communities' land rights. While this cannot be attributed solely to STT's efforts, and indeed the Housing Rights Task Force seems to be playing a key role, STT is certainly playing an important part.

Increasing Confidence and Decreasing Isolation

Community Exchanges have built community members' confidence and decreased their feelings of isolation. Interviewees spoke of gaining confidence, standing in solidarity, and feeling that they were not alone.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR INCREASING IMPACT

Below, we make recommendations for how STT can increase the projects' impact and sustainability. We propose some options for implementing the recommendations.

Community Mapping

Work with Communities to Secure Land Title

Strengthening tenure security is a long-term goal. The Community Mapping has not yet helped any of the communities interviewed to secure land title. Only one has used an STT map to apply for land title for some households, and this effort has thus far been unsuccessful. Moreover, none of the community leaders appeared to understand the official process for securing land title. Their efforts have consisted of asking the Village Chief, asking the Sangkat authorities, and writing a letter to the Municipality of Phnom Penh.

STT should reflect on this weakness and consider ways to assist communities to secure land title. One option, as soon as mapping is complete, is (1) to create a clear step-by-step plan with community members for how they will use the map and (2) to then help the community to implement this plan. This would be especially helpful given that maps have a limited life-span: as families move and homes are built or destroyed, the map becomes less accurate and less useful. Communities should be encouraged to take action immediately. This focused, long-term effort would require additional staff time, which may mean working in greater depth with fewer communities. Another option is to link the communities with other NGOs that can work with them on securing tenure.

Ensure Understanding of how Maps and Booklets Can be Used

Some community leaders are confused about how the maps and booklets can and cannot be used. Some seemed to believe that these maps have legal authority and grant rights. For example, the community leader in Prek Takong 1 worried about using a map that was outdated because he feared that he would be sued for using an inaccurate map. This is a problem: time and resources were devoted to creating a map that will never be used because the community leader is mistaken about the consequences of using it. In Kos Norea, the community leader explained that he had not yet used the map or booklet "officially", which suggests that he believes that the map may have some formal status. Members of that community have also used their family maps to apply for loans, and the community leader indicated that they believe that the cards give them land title.

It is important that community members understand clearly the status and possible uses of the maps and community booklets. Staff should spend more time explaining this from the very beginning of the process.

Related to this, staff should also explain clearly to all community members why the materials should be kept and how they should be stored. It is a concern that some communities have not kept, protected, displayed, and shared the mapping outputs. It was not clear whether individual community members had retained the laminated cards with their families' information, so STT staff should pay particular attention to this issue.

Eliminate Duplication of Efforts

Both STT and CEDT, another NGO, have been providing maps to some communities. In the case of Satrey Kleang Sang, these maps were made around the same time. This duplication of effort undermines the relevance of the work of both organisations. It is especially unfortunate because the demand for mapping outstrips the supply; while some communities are receiving two maps, some are receiving none.

According to STT staff, the problem is due in part to CEDT intervening in communities where STT already works. STT should continue to address this problem. It could be addressed on an *ad hoc* basis by communicating with CEDT before starting mapping in a particular community. A longer-term solution would be to work out a plan for dividing communities and for updating one another as projects progress.

Share Community Best Practices

Some community leaders are implementing good practices, apparently on their own initiative. For example, one community leader has written contracts for loans made from the revolving funds. Others have developed good systems for managing their documents, ensuring that nothing gets lost.

STT staff should take note of these best practices and share them with other communities.

Protect Personal Data

The assessment team has a concern about the protection of community members' personal information. The community surveys reveal potentially sensitive information, such as whether individuals have voting cards, whether couples are married, and whether they are

new to the community. There is a concern that if this information fell into the wrong hands, it could be used to identify weaker members of the community and to pressure them.

It does not appear that the community booklets are well-protected. For example, in Satrey Kleang Sang, another NGO is making copies of the community booklet to provide to all community members and other NGOs. In two other communities, the booklets are missing.

STT should consider whether and how to protect personal data. Community members should be told exactly how their information will be used and shared.

Involve Renters

The assessment team heard that in one community, Koh Norea, renters had been excluded from the mapping process. While renters cannot secure land title, their participation is valuable. STT should standardise its approach to including renters.

Continue Infrastructure Upgrades

In the assessment team's view, the infrastructure upgrades are effective and sustainable. Community members are enthusiastic about the improvements, and in some cases the projects have enhanced cooperation with local authorities. For the most part, the revolving funds appear to be well-managed and loans are being repaid, benefiting more and more community members.

The infrastructure upgrades have enhanced STT's image in the communities. Community members are grateful. While it is difficult to measure, it is likely that this enhanced image increases trust and boosts participation in community mapping.

It is difficult to assess at this stage whether the infrastructure upgrades are enhancing tenure security. In Choeung Ek, there is a bit of a chicken-and-egg problem: community members do not want to upgrade their homes because they fear they will be evicted and lose their homes anyway. This may well be a longer-term goal, but increased cooperation with local authorities, more permanent infrastructure, and greater community pride can only help.

Community Exchanges

Enhance Learning

Overall, community members are learning some lessons of fundamental importance: they have rights that are protected by law, there are steps they can take to prepare for evictions,

and there are ways to upgrade their communities. However, they appear to have retained little specific information.

STT may want to consider new methods for enhancing learning and recall. Given that the majority of the participants are literate, STT could provide more written materials. One option is to encourage participants to record their learning and observations. STT could, for example, create a handout for each exchange with space to reflect on specific issues.

Increase Knowledge-Sharing

The extent to which other community members benefit from Community Exchanges depends on how effectively community representatives share their knowledge. In most communities, this is happening only informally.

While informal knowledge-sharing can be effective, STT should encourage more formal mechanisms for sharing knowledge among community members. Methods include the following:

- Adding to the end of the exchange agenda some time for participants to think about and record the main points that they will share with their communities;
- Helping participants make a plan for formal knowledge exchange (e.g. holding a community meeting);
- Following up to ensure that knowledge has been shared.

In addition, if STT hopes that communities will better apply the lessons they learn, this may require additional follow-up with communities. For example, communities have learned during exchanges about setting up savings groups, but they may need help setting up their own group.

As with the community mapping, more in-depth follow-up with each community demands staff resources. This may require working with fewer communities overall.

Increase Gender Diversity

While almost half of the participants on the community exchanges have been women, STT should consider holding some exchanges on Sundays to enable women who work in garment factories to participate.

Consider Including More Participants

In moving from Model One to Model Two, STT has chosen to provide deeper knowledge and connections to a few individuals rather than providing less deep knowledge and connections to more individuals.

Model Two has many strengths. Probably the most important benefit is that repeat interactions between the same community members are helping to building solidarity between communities. This is a key objective of the project. Another strength is that the participants develop a much deeper understanding of the issues as they participate in more sessions.

Model Two also has risks. One risk is that by providing training and contacts to only a few key community leaders, the community's success rests heavily on the shoulders of just a few people. In Choeung Ek, the leader was not very engaged and did not appear to be interested in including other community members in activities. In both Prek Takong 1 and Satrey Kleang Sang, the leaders stated that they were very busy with meetings and they appeared to be at risk of burning out. If leaders are weak, burnt out, or unavailable, the whole community suffers.

One solution could be to continue some of the improvements of Model Two, but to try to include more participants from each community. One staff member suggested that four to five participants from each community could attend without making the group unmanageable.

Two improvements that should be maintained are the following:

- **More time for reflection and discussion**: Under Model Two more time was allotted for reflection and discussion than in Model One.
- **Introduction of Themes**: Model Two introduced themes. The theme for 2011 was to reflect on the question, "Are evictions ever justified?". In its 2011 report to Misereor, STT explained, "STT wanted to encourage this dialogue as the government often uses so-called divide-and-rule tactics of depicting some communities as illegal to destroy both cross- and inter-community solidarity".

APPENDICES

Appendix A: STT Staff Interviews

	Name	Title
1	Ee Sarom	Programmes Coordinator
2	Ket Mengcheang	Mapping Project Manager
3	Lors Sren	Community Project Manager
4	Meas Kimseng	Founder

Appendix B: Community Leader Interviews

	Name(s)	Community	Project(s)
1	Mr. Chev Channy, Ms. Im Pho, Ms. San Sok Teng, Ms. Sa Ros	Satrey Kleang Sang	Community Mapping and Community Exchanges
2	Ms. Te Phat	Choeung Ek	Community Mapping and Community Exchanges
3	Mr. Som Nin, Ms. Hem Hen	Kos Norea	Community Mapping only
4	Mr. Koun Sokha	Prek Takong 1	Community Mapping only
5	Mr. Kuk Bo, Mr. Bean Seat, Mr. Mey Mony, Mr. Man Borin, Mr. Sot Samnang	Prek Tanou	Community Exchanges only
6	Ms. Khieu Chenda, Mr. Chhim Sophon	Boeung Chhuk	Community Exchanges only