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Adaptive Social Protection in Cambodia - Situation Analysis

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for the UNDP Cambodia Country Office

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List of Acronyms

ASP	Adaptive Social Protection
ASPA	Adaptive Social Protection Approach
CARD	Council for Agricultural and Rural Development
CCA	climate change adaptation
CCCCA	Cambodian Climate Change Alliance
CCCSP	Cambodian Climate Change Strategic Plan
CCD	Climate Change Department
CCDM	Commune Committee for Disaster Management
CCFF	Climate Change Financing Framework
CCTT	Climate Change Technical Team
CDCF	Cambodian Development Cooperation Forum
CMDGs	Cambodia's Millennium Development Goals
DCDM	District Committee for Disaster Management
DM	Disaster Management
DPs	Development Plans
DRR	disaster risk reduction
EFAD	Emergency Food Assistance Project
FMMP	Flood Mitigation and Management Program
FWUCs	Farmer Water User's Communities
HDR	Human Development Report
HFA	Hyogo Framework for Action
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
INC	Initial National Communication
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IWG	Interim Working Group
IWG – SSN	Interim Working Group on Social Safety Nets
IWG-SSN/SP	Interim Working Group on Social Safety Net/Social Protection
MAFF	Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries
MEF	Ministry of Economy and Finance
MoE	Ministry of Environment
MoEF	Ministry of Economy and Finance
MoEYS	Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport
MoH	Ministry of Health
MoLVT	Ministry of Labour and Vocational Training
MoP	Ministry of Planning
MoSWVY	Ministry of Social Welfare, Veterans and Youth Rehabilitation
MTR	Mid-Term Review
M&E	monitoring and evaluation
MOWRAM	Ministry of Water Resources and Meteorology
MRC	Mekong River Commission
NAPA	National Adaptation Programme of Action to Climate Change
NCCC	National Climate Change Committee

NCDD-S	National Committee on sub-national Democratic Development
NCDM	National Committee for Disaster Management
NCRP	National Contingency and Response Plan
NDMS	National Disaster Management Strategy
NPEM	National Policy for Emergency Management
NSDP	National Strategic Development Plan
NSPS	National Social Protection Strategy
PCDM	Provincial Committees for Disaster Management
PWPs	Public Work Programmes
RGC	Royal Government of Cambodia
RILGP	Rural Investment and Local Governance Project
RSPIII	Rectangular Strategy Phase III
SCCAP	Sectoral Climate Change Action Plans
SCCSPs	Sectoral Climate Change Strategic Plans
SLF	Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
SNAP	Strategic National Action Plan
SP	Social protection
SPCG	Social Protection Core Group
SPCU	Social Protection Coordination Unit
SPTF	Social Protection Taskforce
TWG	Technical Working Group
TWG-FSN	Technical Working Group on Food Security and Nutrition
UNDP-CO	United Nations Development Programme Cambodia Country Office
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UN-ISDR	United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction
WCDR	World Conference on Disaster Reduction
WFP	World Food Programme

Acknowledgments

The views expressed in this publication are the authors' and do not necessarily represent those of the UNDP.

1. Introduction

1.1. Problem Statement

Global crises, such as the Food-Fuel-Financial crisis that affected the entire world in 2008-09, but also more localised shocks (floods, droughts, hurricanes) are part of the wider pool of climate change-driven events and natural disasters that are increasingly impacting local populations and deepening the risks faced by many poor and vulnerable communities, particularly those involved in agriculture and other ecosystem-dependent livelihoods, in developing countries (Adger 2007; Fiott et al. 2010; IPCC 2007).

Social protection (SP), disaster risk reduction (DRR) and more recently climate change adaptation (CCA) are three communities of practices that were developed with the main objective of reducing the impacts of those shocks and hazards on individuals and communities by anticipating risks and uncertainties. All three communities of practices are therefore linked by a fundamental concern with reducing vulnerability and building resilience – be it to poverty, disasters or long-term changes in average climate conditions and their distribution over time and space.

To date, however, little cross-fertilisation has been occurring between these three communities (World Bank 2011). The three streams seem to work essentially in silos, ignoring or being unaware of their commonalities and overlapping agendas, or being unable to overcome institutional constraints or poor communication that prevent them from working together. This lack of collaboration matters, because there are increasing concerns that these three communities of practices will not be successful to reduce vulnerability in the long run if they continue to be applied in isolation from one another (cf. Bayer, 2008; Bockel et al., 2009; Heltberg et al., 2009; Shepherd, 2008).

Yet, the integration of social protection (SP), disaster risk reduction (DRR), and climate change adaptation (CCA) holds intuitive appeal. Many already recognize that it would help creating and fostering synergy between vulnerability-reduction interventions that are often planned in and implemented by different ministries. In a context of scarce human and financial resources (as it is often the case in developing countries) a more integrated or coordinated approach between these three communities would also help reduce the risk of duplication or possibly conflicting interventions.

1.2. Objective of this Report

In this context, following the publication of the National Human Development Report on ‘the future of rural livelihoods in the face of Climate Change’ in 2011, the United Nations Development Programme Cambodia Country Office (UNDP-CO) decided to embark upon an internal exploration around the possibility of using the concept of Adaptive Social Protection (ASP) to strengthen the integration between SP, CCA, and DRR within their own programmes/projects at country level –with the ambition to be soon in the position to promote ASP beyond the UNDP-CO.

The concept of ASP has been developed in an effort to foster the integration of SP, CCA, and DRR in policy and practice (Davies et al. 2008; Davies et al. 2009). By bringing together the objectives of three streams of work, it aims to provide a framework that helps social protection interventions become more resilient to risks from disaster hazards and climate change, and at the same time help

understand how social protection, through its vulnerability reduction interventions, can play a critical role in buffering the negative impact of climate change and disaster. As such the concept of ASP is a direct attempt to respond to the silos approach that characterises SP, CCA, and DRR and has prevented policy-makers, institutions, and practitioners in those three domains from working together.

This report is the first step toward this in the context of Cambodia. The work is the result of a combined effort by a team of two experts: one international expert from the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) (Chris Béné) and one independent national-level expert (Chey Tech). Their task of this report was to conduct a 'Situation Analysis' in order to identify the challenges and opportunities encountered in the Cambodian context in order to embark into an ASP approach. This first report is expected to be followed by a Strategy Paper. The objective of this Strategy Paper will be to identify and discuss the different options that the UNDP country office should consider in order to move forward a ASP agenda.

1.3. Methodology

The Situation Analysis was completed over a four month period (March – June 2014). During this period, the best practices available through the literature (published articles and grey literature - governmental and non-governmental organizations' programme and project reports) were reviewed and decisive factors in which the Adaptive Social Protection approach has succeeded in addressing people's vulnerability to climate change in contexts similar to Cambodia were identified. In parallel to this international literature analysis, the strong in-country experience of the national consultant was instrumental to conduct primary and secondary in-country research and identify and collect key information and documents in Cambodia. The documents covered published and grey literature, official documents from the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC), available technical and financial partners' reports, NGOs and research projects' reports.

Working in close collaboration with the national-level consultant, the international consultant ensured that the information was organized, analyzed and synthesized in a way that feeds directly into the Situation Analysis. For this the international expert used methods derived from impact pathways analysis, and relied on his experience gained as coordinator of two recent ASP programmes (the 'Adaptive Social protection in the context of Agriculture and Food security' programme funded by DFID¹ and the 'Social protection and climate change adaptation: convergence and transformation' project funded by IrishAid) and related work –e.g. the review commissioned by the OECD on 'Social Protection and Climate Change (Béné et al. 2013). The objective was to structure the analysis so that it provides an appropriate overview of why an Adaptive Social Protection approach is needed and what policy lessons and options are relevant in the Cambodian context. The secondary data was then completed and cross-checked through formal and informal discussion that took place during a short six days in-country mission and the different meetings that were organized with key-stakeholders (See detail in Appendix) and UNDP staff, in the relevant domains of social protection, disaster risk reduction and climate change adaptation.

¹ <http://www.ids.ac.uk/project/adaptive-social-protection>

2. Rapid Review of the Literature on Adaptive Social Protection

A review of recent literature from a variety of different sources confirms a growing consensus emerging around the need to integrate SP, CCA and DRR. The Stern Review (Stern 2006), for instance, called for strong action on climate change and for integrating this into development thinking more broadly, not least because of the probable increases in the frequency and intensity of natural disasters resulting from climate change. The 2007/8 UN Human Development Report (HDR) made a similar point, recommending that CCA should be at the heart of the “post-2012 Kyoto framework and international partnerships for poverty reduction” (2008: 30). The same HDR also argued that it would be important to “expand multilateral provisions for responding to climate-related humanitarian emergencies and supporting post-disaster recovery” (ibid). Stern later went on to single out social protection as a key component of adaptation and called for integrating “climate risk, and the additional resources required to tackle it, into planning and budgeting for and delivering these development goals” (2009: 37).

In parallel with the release of the 2007/08 HDR, the World Bank also published a review of the role of major cash transfers in its various post-natural disaster interventions implemented in Turkey, Sri Lanka, the Maldives and Pakistan (Heltberg, 2007). It followed this up with a report on the contributions social policy interventions – such as health, education, community-driven development and in particular social protection interventions – can make to adaptation, and to reducing vulnerability to extreme climate impacts at the household level (Heltberg et al., 2009). To the central role of social protection in adaptation, they add another critical consideration, namely that of adapting at many different levels, such that household adaptations are supported by international actions that endorse a social justice agenda and propose to share the burdens of climate change globally.

According to Heltberg et al. (2009), SP has formed an important and well-performing part of the World Bank’s disaster response in several major recent climate-related disasters in South Asia. In these circumstances, support is often provided directly as cash to affected households, although workfare (cash-for-work) is another commonly-utilised instrument which is well-suited to the short-term relief phase (Creti and Jaspars 2006)². Experience suggests that it is important to have such programmes in place before the onset of natural disasters –as demonstrated in the case of the 2008 Wenchuan earthquake in China (Kabeer et al. 2010)-, with flexible targeting, financing and implementation arrangements for scaling up as appropriate (Alderman and Haque 2006), and prevention and risk management measures already integrated in (Bockel et al. 2009).

Other social protection instruments that are also used in disasters include conditional cash transfers, near-cash instruments such as vouchers and fee waivers, social funds, and specific services such as child protection, orphanages, and rehabilitation for persons with disabilities. In Bangladesh, recent experiences of asset restocking following disasters (Marks 2007; Devereux and Coll-Black 2007; Tanner et al. 2007) demonstrate that such approaches can contribute to reducing vulnerability to climate shocks by providing liquidity and alternative sources of income during times of household stress (Davies et al. 2009).

² Cash for work, however, can also be used with long-term objectives.

A particular type of risks that needs attention is idiosyncratic and covariate risks associated to the market. Due to their growing dependence on markets for inputs (e.g. fertilizers, gasoil) and outputs (commercialized farming products), rural farmers are increasingly exposed to market shocks. Those can be induced by climate or weather-related disasters such as drought, or by macro-economic (national or global) crisis. To address these, efforts have so far focus essentially on ex-post relief interventions or price stabilization mechanisms. A growing number of projects are exploring alternatives to these types of operations, pointing out in particular the potential role of ex-ante approaches such as index based weather insurance, to reduce the vulnerability of rural farming households to these market-based risks (Belete 2007; Skees 2008).

Much less has been done to link SP and CCA, and bringing the SP and CCA discourses together is now recognised as a major challenge for the next few years (Shepherd 2008; Béné 2011). Heltberg et al. (2009) argue that past social responses to ongoing climate volatility have failed to offer effective protection to the poor, and suggest that promoting approaches such as social funds, social safety nets for natural disasters, livelihoods, microfinance and index insurance would help address this gap. Coverage of programmes and instruments helping poor and vulnerable people manage climate risks remains low however, although an increasing number of examples of good practice are now documented in the literature (Jones et al 2010).

The concept of ASP built on those various considerations. It aims at bringing together the agendas of SP, DRR, and CCA together both conceptually and in policy and practice (Davies et al. 2009). The underlying assumption is that combining components of these three domains can improve the efficiency of interventions and increase impacts on the poor's unsafe living conditions, counter the underlying causes of vulnerability, and promote people's ability to adapt to a changing climate. Taking vulnerability as the starting point provides the core conceptual link between SP, CCA and DRR. But ASP adopts a particular approach to vulnerability, where vulnerability is viewed not simply as a function of risks and shocks, but also as a result of a pre-existing socio-institutional context. In that sense, ASP goes beyond shock or disaster-related vulnerability and attempts to embrace other more insidious root causes of vulnerability.

In addition to the fundamental concern with reducing vulnerability, ASP is characterized by considerations of temporal scale (from the short to the longer term – see Jones et al. 2010) and geographic scale (from the local to the global level – see Heltberg et al. 2009). Previous works have set out the conceptual foundations for bringing the three domains together (cf. Davies et al. 2008a; Davies et al. 2008b; Cipryk 2009).

In a broad sense, ASP derives from the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) which describes how people utilize different forms of capital, such as natural or financial resources, to construct a living (Scoones 1998; Marsh 2002). But it also recognizes that the everyday risks that people face in their life do not just result in variability in living standards, and that a lack of means to cope with risk and vulnerability is in itself a cause of persistent poverty and poverty traps (Chambers 1989; Sen 2003; Dercon 2005; Wisner 2009). At the same time, there are potentially numerous different pathways out of poverty and vulnerability, and approaches to interventions to address these problems will vary in their suitability, depending on the national and sub-national context encountered (Brooks et al. 2009). These pathways do not just concern the transfer of material goods to poor and vulnerable people, but also the development of rights-based approaches as a means of

empowering people to exercise their ‘voice’, and so acquire immediate benefits, but also influence processes of change and social transformation (Conway et al. 2002; Devereux and Wheeler 2004).

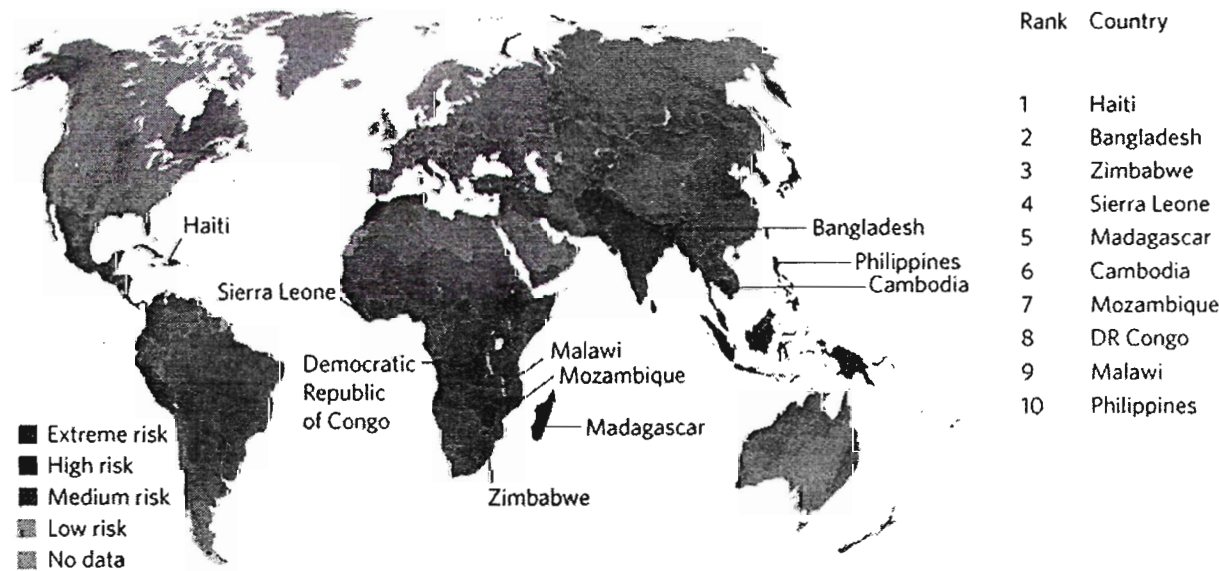
Drawing on these, ASP is premised on the potential synergies to be gained in moving away from the single-stranded approaches used so far, and promoting instead strong integration of SP, DRR and CCA policies and practices. This body of research has already outlined some of the benefits but also challenges of integrating SP with DRR and CCA, both in response to short-term climate disasters, as well as long-term risks posed by climate change. Davies et al. (2009) for instance discuss in detail the benefits and challenges that specific types of SP instruments can have in promoting CCA and DRR.

3. Policy and Institutional Background

3.1. The Importance of Climate Change and Disasters in Cambodia

Cambodia is considered the second most hazard-prone countries in South and South-East Asia after Bangladesh (Fig.1). The major disasters faced by the country are, in order of prevalence, floods, droughts, typhoons, forest fires, landslides and storms.

Fig. 1: The Ten Countries Most Vulnerable to Climate Change



Source: Petherick 2012

The impact from flood and drought events in the past has resulted in a high number of casualties and destruction of infrastructure, property, crops, and livestock. The Ministry of Environment (2005, 2006) reported that the most severe floods, which occurred in 2000, killed some 350 people and caused US\$150 million in damages to crops and infrastructure. The latest flood in 2013 was also particularly important: it affected 377 thousands households, killed 168 people, and caused a total damage and loss of 356 million US\$ (RGC 2014). In terms of drought, the most severe recent event, which occurred in 2002, affected more than two million people and destroyed more than 100,000 ha of paddy fields. Particularly vulnerable are populations that experience chronic vulnerability and poverty, including food insecurity, poor access to public services and lack of SP support.

The impacts of climate change on Cambodian agriculture, particularly on rice cultivation, are predicted to adversely affect food production and food-security in rural areas. Various climate models depict different trends in annual precipitation, with some predicting substantial increases in total precipitation (i.e. more intensive rainfall events following after longer dry spells), and some predicting a rise, followed by a fall (UNDP 2009).

In addition to food and drought, Cambodia is also exposed to other economic shocks such as price shocks. The NSPS 2011-2015 proposed a summary table of the different economic and climate shocks identified as major sources of vulnerability for Cambodia (Table 1).

Table 1. Risks, Shocks, Determinants of Vulnerability and Vulnerable Groups.

Main risks and shocks		Determinants of vulnerability	Outcomes	Most vulnerable groups
Situations of emergency and crisis	Economic crises (<i>price shocks, economic slowdown</i>)	- Limited income-generating opportunities - Food insecure - Concentrated in insecure, unstable employment - Reductions in number of jobs in key sectors of economy - Reductions in purchasing power of salaries/ earnings	- Rise in under- or unemployment - Increase in poorly remunerated, insecure and risky jobs - Lower remittances - Increase in food insecurity	All poor and near poor
	Climate, environmental, natural disasters (<i>floods, droughts</i>)	- Crop farming and livestock rearing for subsistence and income provision - Dependence on (often degraded, over-exploited and contested) common natural resources for livelihoods - Live in remote, isolated areas and suffer a low level of community infrastructure - Low savings and assets to cover emergency needs	- Destruction or degradation of assets and resources - Increase in under- or unemployment - Increase in incidence and severity of food insecurity - Lower incomes	- All poor and near poor - People living in flood- and drought-prone areas

Source: NSPS 2011-2015

3.2. Recognition of the Importance of Climate Change at the Policy Level

Cambodia has adopted a range of policies to address issues of climate change risk and adaptation. The country ratified the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) on 18 December 1995 and acceded to its Kyoto Protocol in 2002. In this regard, the threats and established facts around climate change are fully recognized by the Cambodian government at national level and at international level by the international community.

In 2006, the Cambodia National Adaptation Programme of Action to Climate Change (NAPA) presented a range of priority projects to address urgent and immediate needs and concerns of people at the grassroots level for adaptation in key sectors such as agriculture, water resources,

coastal zone management and public health³. These projects were aligned with Cambodia's development objectives as outlined in the "Rectangular Strategy for Growth, Employment, Equity and Efficiency" (adopted in July 2004), as well as in the "National Strategic Development Plan 2006-2010" (NSDP 2006-2010).

Since the elaboration of the NAPA, several other key documents have been developed by the RGC (with the support of different partners), that have some strong link to CCA. In particular the implementation of the NSDP Update of 2009-2013 has been marked by

- (i) the operationalization of Climate Change institutions: National Climate Change Committee – (NCCC), established in 2006; the Climate Change Technical Team (CCTT); and the Climate Change Department (CCD),
- (ii) planning for national and sub-national climate change responses (Cambodian Climate Change Strategic Plan, CCCSP) and corresponding sector strategies and action plans in nine key line ministries, Climate Change Financing Framework (CCFF), preparatory work for national monitoring and evaluation (M&E) and legal framework for climate change), and
- (iii) implementation of a first generation of climate change projects and pilots, which provided opportunities for government departments, civil society organizations and academia to gain experience in managing climate change programmes, and generating knowledge on potential CCA and mitigation options in Cambodia.

In 2011 the Cambodian Climate Change Alliance (CCCA) was initiated. The CCCA plays a unique role in strengthening the national institutional framework for the coordination of the climate change response. The CCCA programme was designed to be fully aligned with and strengthen the national institutional framework for climate change. It is implemented by the MoE, in its capacity as chair and secretariat of the NCCC. Key NCCC members sit on the CCCA Programme Support Board, and the members of the inter-ministerial CCTT are involved in the implementation of CCCA activities. Within the MoE, the CCD, as the Secretariat of NCCC, is in charge of overseeing programme implementation.

The Cambodian Climate Change Strategic Plan (CCCSP) is another relevant document for our situation analysis. The CCCSP was developed under the overall coordination of the MoE, with the active participation of the CCTT, the NCCC and several international and bilateral development agencies. Interestingly, amongst the eight strategic objectives that have been identified, one of them makes direct reference to ASP (objective no.6)⁴: "Promote **adaptive social protection** and participatory approaches in reducing loss and damage due to climate change".

³ The NAPA document stresses the need to improve agricultural productivity through climate-resilient expansion of irrigation and improved management of freshwater resources to ultimately reduce the vulnerability of rural farmers to hydro-meteorological hazards. The NAPA consisted of 39 adaptation projects which were identified based on gap and policy analysis, results of a field survey, national and provincial consultations, expert review, and inter-ministerial review. Twenty of these projects focused on issues of water resources and agriculture (UNDP 2009).

⁴ The 8 strategic objectives are:

1. Promote climate resilience through improving food, water and energy security;
2. Reduce sectoral, regional, gender vulnerability and health risks to climate change impacts;
3. Ensure climate resilience of critical ecosystems (Tonle Sap Lake, Mekong River, coastal ecosystems, highlands, etc.), biodiversity, protected areas and cultural heritage sites;

The National Climate Change Committee (NCCC) was established in 2006 with the mandate to coordinate and monitor the implementation of the Government's policies, strategies, regulations, plans and programmes in response to climate change issues. The Prime Minister of Cambodia is the Honorary Chair of the NCCC, while the Minister of Environment serves as its Chair. The CCTT was established as an inter-ministerial body to provide technical support to the NCCC in fulfilling its mandate. The CCD within MoE serves as the Secretariat for the NCCC and coordinates the activities of the CCTT. There are climate change focal points and working groups appointed by key line ministries to oversee climate change related activities, such as the development of Sectoral Climate Change Strategic Plans (SCCSPs), action plans and projects.

3.3. Overview of Disaster Risk Reduction Policy in Cambodia

The second important area to be considered in this situation analysis is that related to disaster, and how the RGC manages disaster reduction.

In January 2005, one hundred and sixty-eight nations including the RGC participated in the World Conference on Disaster Reduction (WCDR) held in Kobe, Japan, organized by the United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UN-ISDR), which resulted in a resolution for the implementation of the Hyogo Framework for Action (HFA).

At the follow-up Action for Disaster Reduction in Asia Conference in Beijing, it was proposed that countries in Asia should develop national action plans for disaster risk reduction to comply with the principles of the HFA, establish action plans for building capacities at the national and community levels, and manage the administrative and infrastructure systems in order to deal with the impact of disasters. It was recommended that these national action plans for disaster risk reduction should address the main priorities under the HFA.

To address the implementation of the HFA in Cambodia, the National Committee for Disaster Management (NCDM) and the Ministry of Planning (MoP) established an inter-institutional task force to spearhead the formulation of a "Strategic National Action Plan for Disaster Risk Reduction 2008 – 2015" (SNAP) for the RGC. The primary motivation of the RGC in the formulation of the SNAP was the vulnerability of the population, especially the poor, to the effects of natural, environmental and human-induced hazards. This was expected to be achieved by strengthening the disaster management system in Cambodia and by incorporating a DRR perspective into the policies, strategies and plans of government in all sectors and at all levels. The SNAP was conceived and formulated to serve as the "road map" or guide for strengthening and undertaking DRR in Cambodia.

In addition to the SNAP, the NCDM initiated in 2012 the development of a National Contingency and Response Plan (NCRP) for disaster response. Two scenarios, (flood and drought), were selected as the priorities to establish the NCRP. The development of this plan was contributed by various

-
4. Promote low-carbon planning and technologies to support sustainable development;
 5. Improve capacities, knowledge and awareness for climate change responses;
 6. Promote adaptive social protection and participatory approaches in reducing loss and damage due to climate change;
 7. Strengthen institutions and coordination frameworks for national climate change responses; and
 8. Strengthen collaboration and active participation in regional and global climate change processes.

Ministries which are the members of the NCDM, working groups of the NCDM, most of the Provincial Committees for Disaster Management (PCDM) and representatives from local and international humanitarian organizations including representatives from the UNDP in Cambodia.

This NCRP was expected to be the strategy aimed “at reducing the negative impact of the flood and drought at a minimum [in order] to prevent and response, or emergency rescue effectively and timely” (NCRP 2012, p.3). At the same time, this plan was also expected to contribute significantly to the achievement of the implementation of the RGC’s Rectangular strategy. With contribution to the development of the plan and implementation from relevant stakeholders, the NCDM hoped that risks and vulnerability that could happen due to disaster, particularly drought and floods as well as other epidemic and targeted hazards caused by climate change, would be reduced and national development works would also progress gradually with sustainability.

Effectively, the importance of mainstreaming DRR into relevant ministries has been highlighted in different key documents. Disaster risk reduction was for instance highlighted in the recent RSIII – 2014-2018. Among the key cross-cutting issues that this plan will attempt to bring within its fold are, gender, environment, natural resources and green growth, disaster management, and Public Finance Reform. In particular as part of its first objective (on growth) the RSIII recognizes that:

“This growth should be sustainable, inclusive, equitable and resilient to shocks through diversifying the economic base to achieve a more broad-based and competitive structure with low and manageable inflation, stable exchange rate and steady growth in international reserves.” (2014-2018 National Strategic Development Plan p. 2 – our emphasis)

The plan also recognizes that there is greater need for different implementing ministries and agencies to work together and work more closely with the sub-national levels.

Beyond the national level actions, strong emphasis was given towards strengthening sub-national capacities, particularly at the community level, to fully support the government priority of poverty reduction as elaborated in national development plans and policies (i.e., NSDP 2006-2010, NPRS, CMDG, NAPA 2006).

3.4 Overview of Social Protection in Cambodia

With the adoption of the Master Plan for the Development of Social Health Insurance in 2003, Cambodia made the first step towards a unified social health protection system. Since then, a series of national policies and guidelines have been developed to supervise the expansion of various forms of a social health protection mechanism in a coordinated way, with the ultimate goal of universal coverage. In particular, the Health Financing Strategic Framework (2008-2015) groups the various existing forms of health financing in Cambodia under one single coherent plan.

In 2009, the RGC appointed the Council for Agricultural and Rural Development (CARD), with the support of the Interim Working Group on Social Safety Nets (IWG – SSN), to develop an integrated national social protection strategy (NSPS). The NSPS was designed to accelerate progress towards achieving Cambodia’s Millennium Development Goals (CMDGs) in the wake of the food and fuel prices crises and global economic slowdown in 2008. The NSPS which was endorsed by the Council of Ministers in 2011 and launched in December 2011, includes a sets of 5 objectives, indicating

related existing programmes and potential future programmes to achieve them. These objectives are:

1. Basic needs of the population in situations of emergency and crisis;
2. Poverty and vulnerability of children and mothers;
3. Seasonal un- and underemployment and livelihood opportunities;
4. Affordable health care for the poor;
5. Social Protection for special vulnerable groups

The NSPS provides a vision for the development of a coherent SP system, in a phased approach, starting with the establishment of a SP floor for all those in need of protection and ensuring that more and more people can enjoy progressively higher levels of benefits. Further, the recently adopted RSPIII places emphasis on the effective and coordinated implementation of the NSPS

At the present time, social assistance is also provided by the government of Cambodia through different line ministries, mainly the Ministry of Social Welfare, Veterans and Youth Rehabilitation (MoSVY), which provides supports to orphans, the disabled, the elderly and the poor. The Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport (MoEYS) runs a scholarship programme to support poor students. Other benefits provided include emergency food assistance as coordinated through the NCDM, and vocational training through the Ministry of Labour and Vocational Training (MoLVT).

SP benefits are also provided under donor-funded programmes including the World Food Programme (WFP)-support schooling feeding programme, under which school meals are served and take-home rations are provided to school children. Other interventions comprise public works programmes implemented under the Rural Investment and Local Governance Project (RILGP) and the ADB-funded Emergency Food Assistance Project (EFAD).

Overall, SP programmes accounted for 5.5 per cent of GDP in Cambodia in 2010 (ILO 2012). However, according to the ILO Social Security Inquiry database, public SP expenditure accounted for only 1.79 per cent of GDP in 2011 (ILO 2012), while the rest came from Donors.

After 2008, in order to have effective coordination at the inter-agencies level on the SP agenda, CARD organized several platforms of coordination where the first mapping and scoping exercise on existing social safety net was carried out. These coordination mechanisms included:

- Interim Working Group on Social Safety Net/Social Protection (IWG-SSN/SP) established in 2009, as a continued subset of the Technical Working Group on Food Security and Nutrition TWG-FSN), as an open platform for all agencies involved in the SP agenda;
- Social Protection Core Group (SPCG) established in 2010 as part of the IWP-SSN included major Development Plans (DPs) involved in SP
- Social Protection Coordination Unit (SPCU) established in 2011 at the recommendation of the Cambodian Development Cooperation Forum (CDCF)
- Social Protection Taskforce (SPTF) established in 2012 with CARD, NCDD, SNEC and MoP as the lead coordinators

Since February 2014 SP is under the Food Security and Nutrition Technical Working Group, which *de facto* substitutes the IWG – SSN.

Target beneficiaries of the different SP programmes are identified through the National Targeting system (the IDPoor). IDPoor covers rural areas and is soon to cover the urban areas of Cambodia following a community validated asset poverty measure.

4. Evaluation

4.1. Drawing on Previous Experience

What can we learn from previous ASP experience elsewhere?

The concept of ASP is based on the premise that integration between SP, DRR and CCA will improve the efficiency of interventions and increase impacts on the poor's unsafe living conditions, counter the underlying causes of vulnerability, and promote people's ability to adapt to a changing climate. This is the 'theory'. In practice, however, the understanding of the conditions under which this integration is taking place is less advanced. Arnall et al. (2010), for instance, analyzing 124 agricultural programs in five South Asian countries – Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal and Pakistan – found that 42 per cent of these programs reviewed in their analysis are not integrated at all, 42 per cent include interventions that integrate two domains, and only 16 per cent present objectives that integrate the three domains together.

Table 2. Key Characteristics of SP, CCA and DRR

	Social protection	Adaptation	DRR
Core disciplinary grounding	Development & welfare economics	Environment and physical sciences, more recently from social sciences	Physical sciences and engineering, increasingly more from social sciences
Dominant focus	Implementation of measures to manage risk	Enabling processes of adaptation	Prevention of disaster events and preparedness to respond
Main shocks and stresses addressed	Multiple – idiosyncratic and covariant	Climate-related	All natural hazard-related, including hydro meteorological, biological and geophysical
International coordination	Informal, OECD task group	UNFCCC – Nairobi work program	UNISDR Hyogo Framework for Action
Main funding	<i>Ad hoc</i> multilateral and bilateral, NGOs, national community- and faith-based organizations	Coordinated international funds: Global Environment Facility, UNFCCC/Kyoto funds, Fast-start finance, <i>Ad hoc</i> bilateral	Coordinated international funding; multilateral and bilateral, UNISDR, GFDRR, UNDP, Red Cross/Red Crescent, <i>ad hoc</i> civil sponsored, bilateral

Source: Adapted from Davies et al. (2008)

Arnall's analysis confirms what Andrew Steer pointed out in his address to the 2011 Addis Conference (World Bank 2011): that practitioners and policy-makers from the three domains have not yet managed to coordinate effectively among themselves and that they are still mainly working

in silos (see **Table 2** for a brief breakdown of each silo). Several potential explanations for this situation can be brought forward.

First, in most countries, CCA, SP and DRR typically have separate institutional ‘homes’, often Ministries of Environment for CCA, Ministry of ‘Social Affairs’ for SP, and Ministries of the Interior or civil protection agencies for DRR, each with their own inter-sectoral coordination groups, each with their own channels of funding, and each with separate entry points in different international agreements (e.g. UNFCCC for CCA or HFA for DRR). This background impedes good communication and contributes to an environment where each domain ‘talks’ to itself and little collaboration emerges between the three domains.

Another important impediment to the integration of SP, CCA, and DRR is financing. Financial barriers relate both to the insufficiency of funds and to the nature of the funds available, which are often identified as ‘inappropriate’ for the required cross-sectoral, multilevel and flexible framework. While political momentum exists to create new institutional systems, lack of dedicated resources from national budgets (and of trained personnel to implement plans) hampers the operation of such systems. Countries with strong DRR mechanisms and political commitment towards integrated efforts highlight the lack of financial support, appropriate processes, frameworks and program guidelines for integration of DRR in CCA at policy levels and lack of capacity on climate risk management as the main drawbacks for convergence.

Timescales are another important issue. Although all three domains recognize the necessity to go beyond short-term interventions, there is not yet a complete convergence between SP, DRR and CCA in terms of timescale. Arguably, the focus in disaster risk reduction is on the relatively short term compared to adaptation, which by many definitions is preoccupied with longer term timeframes. This is potentially challenging. As pointed out by the 2010 World Bank’s World Development Report: “Climate change policies require tradeoffs between short-term actions and long-term benefits, between individual choices and global consequences” (World Bank 2010: 52). Longer term wellbeing may require shorter term sacrifices, and it would be useful to have greater clarity on the implications of this for integrating activities with sometimes markedly different temporal focuses.

The consequences of this lack of effective collaboration are multiple. These include duplication of efforts, administrative inefficiencies, or even competition among various groups, which could not only hamper their respective efforts, but possibly compromise the overall effective use of resources. At a more technical level, there are risks that non-collaboration leads to some counterproductive effects. For instance, the rapid expansion of climate change-related efforts may waste time and risk reinventing older approaches if they neglect learning from the experiences, methods and tools developed for DRR. On the other hand, efforts on DRR that do not take account of the impacts of climate change on the frequency and magnitude of hazards, exposure and vulnerability may not only fail to achieve their objectives, but even increase vulnerability, for instance when flood defenses provide a false sense of security, but will fail to provide lasting protection against rising flood risk triggered by long-term climate changes.

How and to what extent do these lessons derived from other countries help in analyzing and understanding the situation in Cambodia?

4.2 Assessing the Situation in Cambodia

4.2.1. Is Climate Change Recognized and Accounted For?

In an earlier document the question of whether the RGC had effectively embraced climate change in their development planning was raised: “Although the RGC has taken a firm stance to support the promulgation of the Kyoto Protocol, current national policies and programmes do not address anticipatory climate risk management and long-term climate change adaptation” (UNDP 2009: 12). The analysis of more recent official documents seems to indicate that this lack of awareness and recognition of the climate change reality is behind. In effect, the RGC is now considering “Green Growth” as a key feature of its RSP III for 2014-18. The new NSDP 2014-2018 recognizes climate change as one of its cross-cutting issues (with gender and disaster risk management), and it integrates specific climate change actions in relevant sectors, as well as climate change-related indicators. The objective of a low carbon, climate-resilient society is also reaffirmed in the CCCSP 2014-23, which provides a framework for climate change integration at the national and sub-national levels.

Time will tell rapidly whether these declarations are only strategic moves in order to attract donors’ support and funding, or whether they reflect a true commitment and political will to address the climate change agenda.

4.2.2. Inadequacy of Climate Change Adaptation Planning?

Cambodia's Initial National Communication (INC) to the UNFCCC has examined the country's vulnerability to climate change. As seen in the previous sections, there is emerging evidence that agriculture-based livelihoods and overall food security in Cambodia are already affected by increased frequency and severity of floods, dry spells and drought events (CCCSP 2014). These successions and combinations of drought and floods have resulted in a significant number of fatalities and considerable economic losses, which have been further exacerbated by deforestation.

According to an earlier document (UNDP 2009), such dynamic climate trends have not necessarily been benefiting from appropriate reflection in the government's planning and decision-making processes (at least up to the end of the 2000s), mainly due to the fact that climate change challenges in Cambodia were predominantly addressed through post-disaster relief operations after extreme weather events. It was said that “A major constraint in moving from a focus on post-disaster relief management to anticipatory agricultural and water resources planning is the limited institutional and individual capacity in both government agencies and community organizations to understand potential climate change impacts and to internalize a perspective of longer-term resilience and preparedness into sectoral policy and development planning processes” (UNDP 2009: 5).

Yet the reading of more recent documents reveals that the RGC does not plan its CCA interventions simply on *current* climatic conditions any longer, but relies on projections as well. The CCCSP 2014-2023 report for instance refers to the SRESB1 and SRESA2 scenarios and to the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) in the first pages of the document. It also refers to the “medium” (2014-2018) and “long term” (2019-2023). One may certainly wonder whether 2023 (10 years from the date the report was produced) can effectively be considered as ‘long term’ from a climate perspective or whether this refers more to a political cycle perspective,

but the eight strategic objectives identified for the CCCSP in the document (see list in footnote 4 above) suggest that Cambodia is moving in the right direction - at least in terms of vision. In fact as pointed out by the CCCA updated document "Domestic financing in support of Climate Change programmes is limited but growing (around 25% of total climate change expenditure)" even if it "is [still] primarily allocated to disaster management and small rural infrastructures" (CCCA2 2014: 5).

4.2.3. Lack of Capacity in Climate Change Adaptation?

The point made by the 2009 UNDP document was not, however, simply about the lack of long-term vision but also about the "limited institutional and individual capacity in both government agencies and community organizations" (ref and page number?), a conclusion that was also highlighted by a Danish Development Cooperation document: "Currently there may already be an adaptation deficit, i.e. a lack of capacity and capability to adapt and avoid impacts of current climate variation" (DANIDA 2008).

The authors of the present report are not in a position to evaluate whether these statements describe appropriately today's situation in Cambodia, but it seems that this lack of capacity is recognized even within the RGC. The NSPS 2011-2015 report for instance points out that "Although many regions in Cambodia are relatively shielded from climate hazards, almost all provinces are considered vulnerable to the impacts of climate change owing to low adaptive capacity resulting from financial, technological, infrastructural and institutional constraints" (RGC 2011: 22). Capacity development is in fact one of the objectives of the medium phase of the CCCSP 2014-2023. In that regard, the CCCA2 document states that the early phase of the CCCA programme "has contributed to significant improvements in national capacities during the period 2010-2014, particularly in relation to policy and planning of the climate change response, through the process of development of the Cambodia Climate Change Strategic Plan (CCCSP) and related sector Climate Change Strategic Plans and Action Plans" (CCCA2 2014: 7). Effectively the members of the CCTT have benefitted from training and mentoring, including vulnerability assessment tools, planning and prioritization of climate change actions, M&E, financing mechanisms, and legal/institutional issues.

As the different ministries move into a full-scale implementation phase of the CCCSP and start implementing the related sector Climate Change Strategic Plans and Action Plans, more technical support is likely to be required. Planning departments in relevant ministries, and central institutions such as Ministry of Economy and Finance (MoEF), National Committee on sub-national Democratic Development NCDD-S, MoP, and the Council for the Development of Cambodia have been involved in the work on the CCFF, but these initial efforts have been focused on a few focal points and there is a need to extend support to more staff (particularly in the MoEF), to support the actual implementation of the CCFF. This includes capacities to conduct cost-benefit analysis in the context of climate change, to estimate climate change impacts on various sectors of the economy, to cost climate change actions and track climate change expenditures and impacts through the budget and M&E systems (CCCA2 2014).

Beyond the staff of the RGC in the central ministries, the need to strengthen capacity is also critical for the rest of the country and in particular at the local level for both government and population. For instance, in relation to water management and agriculture, the NAPA-follow-up report

recognizes in its barrier analysis that two of the main issues/constraints which currently prevent progress in CCA are:

- Lack of local institutional capacity - Although the policy of decentralization is placing more responsibility in the hands of local institutions like provincial and district departments of agriculture and water resources and meteorology, and with commune councils, efforts to develop their capacity have been limited thus far.
- Individual capacity - Strengthening of Farmer Water User's Communities (FWUCs) is very important. It is still unclear how and where community level water management can be done, but there is a need to strengthen the capacities of these FWUCs. In that domain "there has been little progress in building the adaptive capacity of rural communities to cope with current climate variability or the risks associated with future climate change" (UNDP 2009: 18).

4.2.4. An Underdeveloped Policy and Institutional Disaster Risk Reduction?

Cambodia is a disaster prone country and RGC claims to have recognized this reality. For instance, RGC announced that the role of the NCDM in coordinating and implementing the 2014-2018 National Action Plan and Strategy on Disaster Risk Reduction will be strengthened through five areas of interventions:

- Disaster Management Institutions at the national, sub-national, and local community levels strengthened, to ensure the effectiveness of DRR;
- Enhancing disaster risk assessment and monitoring and improving early warning system;
- New knowledge and innovation developed, training provided and culture of safety and disaster resilience built;
- Risk factor reduced;
- Preparedness for effective emergency response strengthened at the national, sub-national and local community levels.

Yet, a few years ago the SNAP already stressed that "While disaster risk management is the primary responsibility of government, prevailing conditions reflects a significant lack of disaster risk management capacity and resources in the country" (SNAP 2008: 22). The conclusions of the recent Institutional Review & Capacity Assessment of the NCDM (IRCA 2013) seem to suggest that only little progress has been made. The report found that "there is no solid foundation for the practice of DRM in Cambodia" (IRCA 2013: 10) as the key legal and policy instruments (i.e., National Disaster Management Strategy (NDMS), National Policy for Emergency Management (NPEM) and a proposed Disaster Management (DM) law) are still in the process of development and have yet to be adopted and approved. While some general policies do exist, they are primarily designed and focused on ensuring coordinated disaster relief and response.

In fact, according to the IRCA report "The government has relegated DRM as a residual concern (...) [and] the NCDM General Secretariat does not appear to have sufficient political clout and abilities in advocating and lobbying for DRM" (IRCA 2013: 11). As a result, the NCDM has, for the past several years, been unable to access adequate fiscal support from the national government to effectively perform its mandate. Current efforts are thus focused on the passage of a proposed DM law that presumably will help address this lack of resources (IRCA 2013). At the sub-national or provincial

level, problems seem to be even bigger as policy formulation is non-existent as they depend entirely on the national level.

4.2.5. A Dysfunctional Disaster Risk Reduction Apparatus?

Beyond the lack of resources (or because of this lack), the review also found that NCDM operations are severely challenged at all levels including the absence of functional DM structures.

At the national level, the IRCA reports that the NCDM meetings do not occur regularly and that for the past several years' government ministries and stakeholders have only met as a result of emergencies and disasters. The inter-ministerial DM Working Group which includes representation from the Cambodia Red Cross, International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and UN Disaster Management Team, is also not fully functioning. For instance, at the time of the IRCA review, the working group members had not met for several years. Likewise the five sectoral Sub-groups on Emergency Response, Food Security, Health, Small-scale Infrastructure, Water & Sanitation, and Preparedness & Mitigation, do not seem to be functional. As a result, an increasing number of government ministries (e.g. Ministry of Health (MoH), MoEYS, Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MAFF) and Ministry of Water Resources and Meteorology (MOWRAM)) appear to be undertaking their own disaster management and climate change adaptation related activities and projects (IRCA 2013).

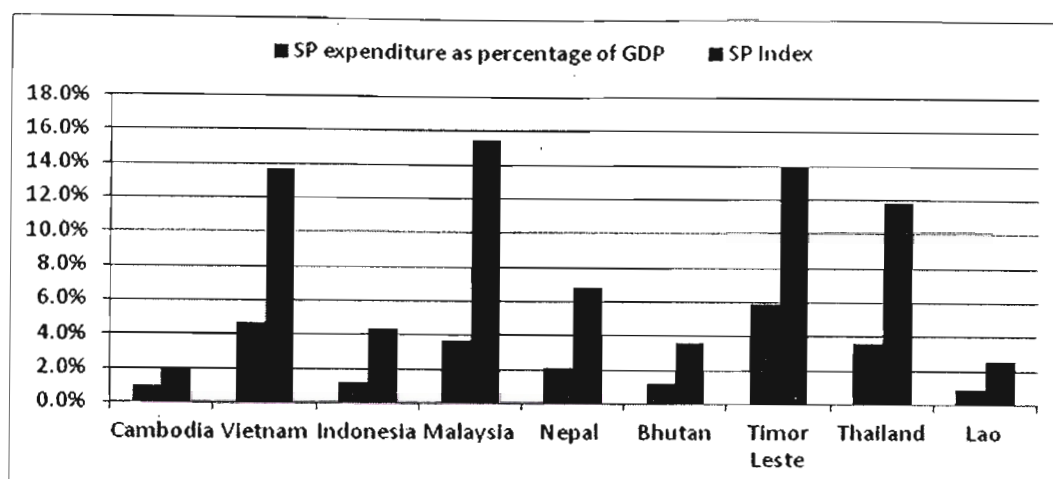
Likewise at the sub-national level, the different DM committees have been given the responsibility to lead disaster management efforts at their respective administrative levels without being provided adequate resources and training. The IRCA report considers that the conditions at sub-national level are even more challenging than at the national level, given that these sub-national entities (PCDM-DCDM-CCDM) are in effect the front-line actors that have to address the direct effects and impact of emergencies and disaster events. The operation of these sub-national entities is also constrained by the lack of clear cut guidelines and Standard Operating Procedures in relation to the roles and responsibilities among each other. Actual capacities differ considerably from one area to another and depend primarily on the presence or absence of external stakeholders (IRCA 2013).

4.2.6. Is Social Protection Firmly Anchored in the Royal Government of Cambodia's Agenda?

A Mid-Term Review (MTR) of the NSPS was conducted in earlier 2014 with a series of objectives, namely: (i) to assess whether intended NSPS results have been achieved; (ii) to analyze the successes and challenges of the NSPS over the last three years; (iii) to assess to what extent new programs and activities have been implemented or scaled up in line with NSPS objectives; and (iv) to identify lessons learned from key challenges and successes in the program.

The MTR found that the results were mixed. Good progress has been made on raising the profile of SP, engaging in policy dialogue and facilitating capacity development. The numbers of beneficiaries of all social assistance programmes, social and health insurance schemes, and labour market programmes was estimated at over four million in 2009. SP spending in 2009 was estimated to be around 1.0 per cent of GDP. Yet according to the SP index elaborated by the ADB, Cambodia records among the lowest score for the SP index in South East Asia, lower than the average of 2.6 per cent among the group of six low-income countries included in their comparative analysis (see **Fig.2**).

Fig. 2. Comparative Analysis of Social Protection Expenditure in Six South Asian Countries



Source: ADB (2013)

The MTR also stresses that in the absence of well-defined roles and functions guiding CARD's coordination role in support of line agency implementation, it has been difficult so far for CARD to mobilize whole-of-government ownership and buy-in from government line agencies. As a result, CARD has not yet been able to contribute to improved sector component performance through better coordination. In effect, discussion with different stakeholders reveals that the institutional arrangement conceived with the birth of the Strategy in 2009 has demonstrated to be ineffective and support is failing to improve it. In fact CARD/SPCU shows very little capacity to lead the policy dialogue both for lack of skills, recognition and clear role. To make things worse, the establishment of a SP steering committee across line agencies has not been achieved. However, in order for CARD/SPCU to effectively carry out the core functions of its coordination mandate, such institutional relationships will be needed. Besides, SP does not have an official Technical Working Group (TWG) but only a SPCG (Government and DPs) and an Interim Working Group (IWG). This situation put CARD and DPs work on SP in a weak position in comparison with other TWGs (such as Nutrition, Education and Health).

According to the MTR evaluation, CARD/SPCU has faced other significant challenges over the previous three years. One concerns the low base of awareness about SP at the national and sub-national levels of government. A great deal of effort has been required to inform relevant agencies about SP in principle and practice. A second challenge concerns the weak human resource capacity and a lack of financial resources in the face of a very complex and perhaps overly ambitious action agenda as outlined in the NSPS. The limited means of the Government and a tight national budget (due to a narrow tax base and weaknesses in revenue collection) weakens the ability of the CARD/SPCU to deliver its mission. With many competing spending priorities, including capital investments for infrastructure, basic public services, and the remuneration of low-paid civil servants, little fiscal space remains for the design and implementation of SP programmes, including those targeting the poor and vulnerable (ILO 2012).

As a result, CARD has had to rely on somewhat unpredictable resourcing from development partners that has been limited and project-based. Accordingly, progress has been piecemeal and slower than expected. As the authors of the MTR puts it: "the provision of social protection services remains

highly fragmented with little coordination across the five components. More work remains to be done to establish an integrated social protection system for poor and vulnerable households in Cambodia” (MTR 2014: 4).

4.2.7. Lack of Political Will to Support Social Protection?

All these issues raise the question of whether SP is effectively a high priority in the RGC’s agenda. According to a 2011 UNDP evaluation exercise, the answer to that question is not necessarily positive. It is stated in this report that:

“Line Ministries are uninterested in the strategy until the details of the interventions for which they are responsible are elucidated and costed, and the incentives of co-ordinate action are specified. According to the roadmap, dialogue with line ministries should [have] start[ed] in 2010. (...) The lack of involvement of line ministries and of core ministries (Planning and Economy and Finance) during the formulation/discussion that led to the NSPS is one of the weaknesses of this process that need to be addressed immediately. It would be recommendable to give serious consideration to the involvement of official focal points of line ministries with the SPCU (Social Protection Coordination Unit) within CARD” (UNDP IPC-IG 2011: 2).

Likewise, the MoP perceives the strategy to be, essentially, a donor driven exercise. This poses a lot of problems since the MoP is potentially the main planning partner for SP Policy makers (UNDP IPC-IG 2011). The MoEF is apparently supportive, but still reluctant to work with CARD/SPCU. It has requested a costed Action Plan that has not yet been put together.

Finally, various conversations with different actors revealed that several of them expressed some reservations regarding the strong emphasis currently put by CARD/SPCU on developing social security schemes targeting (mainly urban) formal sector workers. It seems that with the majority of its population in their working age, living and working in the rural areas and engaged in informal economic activities, the emphasis and limited resources should be focused instead on finding ways to incorporate better these informal workers into the existing social protection system.

4.3. Any Current Sign of Adaptive Social Protection in Cambodia?

ASP is about breaking the silo. It is about integration, cross-sectoral planning, and coordination between SP, CCA, and DDR at both policy and programme levels. What do the different documents that were reviewed for this study tell us about the current level of ASP awareness?

4.3.1. Level of Integration between Social Protection, Climate Change Adaptation, and Disaster Risk Reduction

SP is explicitly listed in the CCCSP document on several occasions. First in the strategic objective 2 ‘Reduce sectoral, regional, gender vulnerability and health risks to climate change impacts Strategies’ where it is mentioned in point (c) “Promote integration of the CCCSP into other national strategies such as the National Strategic Development Plan (NSDP) and the National Social Protection Strategy (NSPS)” (CCCSP 2014: 14 – our emphasis).

This is in line with the wider Integrated Programming approach that the CCCSP document claims to adopt in relation to climate change: “Due to the cross-cutting nature of climate change, integrated programming is critical to capitalize on interdisciplinary, multi-sectoral, multi-stakeholder and multi-

dimensional approaches in programming response actions. All concerned ministries and agencies will be asked to consider links with other sectors when developing their action plans, and the NCCC Secretariat will provide dedicated support to review these links” (CCCSP 2014: 23). Effectively, alongside the CCCSP, line ministries have indeed developed their SCCSPs to guide the integration of climate change into their sectoral planning. While the CCCSP is expected to provide a national perspective and framework for addressing climate change, these SCCSPs focus on sector-specific responses to climate change and the line ministries are now developing their Sectoral Climate Change Action Plans (SCCAP) to operationalize their SCCSPs.

SP is also explicitly mentioned as a cross-cutting issue in the same CCCSP document where it is stated: “Programming under the CCCSP will also target common issues shared by all sectors such as gender, social protection, research, education, awareness and communication, M&E, climate financing and knowledge management” (CCCSP 2014: 23).

The CCCSP document is silent however on how this integration will effectively take place and how it will engage effectively with SP, as SP is not a sector *per se*, but rather a series of cross- or inter-sectoral interventions and programmes. It would be important to scrutinize the SCCSPs and the associated SCCAPs to determine if, effectively, social protection is getting recognized as an area of interventions in the different sectors.

The RGC is not the only key-player guilty of overlooking the critical role that SP interventions can play in relation to climate change and disaster management. Two of the recent major UNDP documents (UNDP 2009; CCCA2 2014) also omit SP in their analysis⁵. While this omission in the early document (UNDP 2009) may still be understandable as the SP agenda was still in its infancy in the late 2000s, the lack of reference in the second (CCCA2 2014) is more surprising.

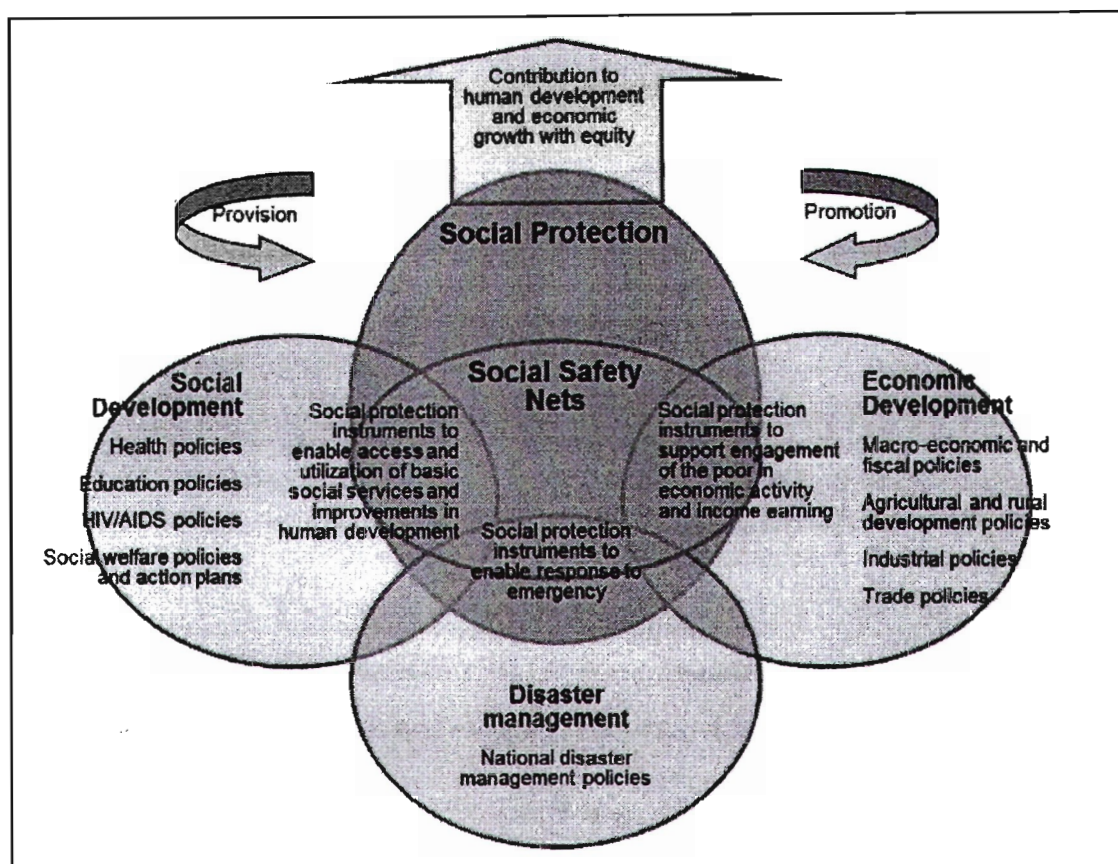
This absence of reference to SP cannot however be explained by a lack of information and documents highlighting the recent and current role of SP interventions in the context of disaster management and CCA. The EFAP, implemented by the Ministry of Economy and Finance (MEF) for instance, is a good example: The project focuses on 100 communes in ten provinces, all of which were severely affected by the 2011 floods. The intended impact of the project is reduced vulnerability of food-insecure households in the target provinces with an outcome of improved access to sufficient and nutritious food by food insecure households. Two significant components of the project involve a cash-for-work scheme and subsidized sales of quality seeds and fertilizer for the wet season. Based on the actual number of participants reflected in the document’s Table 7, the Cash-for-Work and Food for Assets schemes represent the single largest public works program in Cambodia. As pointed out by the MTR, it is correct to assume that an impact and lessons learned assessment from EFAP implementation that is shared with relevant stakeholders could help better inform about the programme, but the latter must have been known by those who wrote the CCCA2 document. The fact that despite this information SP was still omitted in the CCCA2 document is certainly a clear indication that there is still a long way to go in terms of advancing the agenda of SP - not to mention ASP- even within UNDP.

On the other side of the equation, if we search for evidence of integration of DRR or CCA in the Cambodian SP literature, a good indicator would be to look for references to DRR and/or CCA in the

⁵ The term ‘social protection’ does not appear one single time throughout the whole two documents.

2011 NSPS document. There, disaster and climate change are abundantly referred to, and disaster management is effectively acknowledged as a key pillar for SP – as illustrated in Fig.3 –extracted from the NSPS document (their Fig.1 p. 4).

Fig.3. Diagram Extracted from the Cambodian NSPS Document – Highlighting the Recognition of Disaster Management as a Key Component of Social Protection



Source: RGC 2011

The third chapter of the NSPS proposed a diagnostic of poverty and vulnerability in Cambodia, including an analysis of the types of existing and unseen risks, shocks and crises that affect the population. This chapter also raises the issue of the negative impacts of economic and financial crises and climate change on people's livelihoods. The diagnostic section concludes that "Climate change impacts will have significant implications for food security" (RGC 2011: 22).

Yet the only place in the NSPS document where adaption (and mitigation) to climate change are mentioned, is on page 54 through the potential role of Public Work Programmes (PWPs). While PWPs can certainly be a powerful entry point for adaptation (World Bank 2013), this single option to reduce the impacts of climate-related disasters and shocks seems by far insufficient, and many other approaches, tools and interventions can (or should) be considered in order to make SP more climate-sensitive.

This conclusion about the low profile of CCA and DRR in the actionable part of SP, was also pointed out in the recent UNDP evaluation of SP where it is stated that: "At topic level among the instruments proposed there is a neglection [sic] of Disaster preparedness instruments and climate change adaptation instruments/adaptive social protection, both for lack of awareness of how to put

these measures in place and for the high cost of the infrastructure investments that they might require” (UNDP confidential note: 2-3).

What about the integration of DRR and CCA together? Discussions on the concept and rationale for complementation and integration of DRR and CCA have been initiated through several dialogues and workshops but the authors of the IRCA review consider that “interaction between CCA and DRR agencies in the country is still in its early stages” (IRCA 2013: 15). The IRCA report further suggests that “NCDM now needs to establish regular lines of communication and more formal coordination mechanisms. Joint efforts towards mainstreaming into the NSDP should also be seriously considered” (Ibid).

More globally, it is useful to examine closer the actual integration of CCA and DRR in the more general documents, for instance by analyzing the content of the NSDP. While the link is clearly stressed in terms of impact of disasters and climate change-related extreme events on the economy of the countries (and to a lower extent on the livelihood of people), the NCDM is mentioned only three times (not even in the body of the document but in the Annex) of the NSDP -as part of the action plan for object 5 “Improve capacities, knowledge and awareness for climate change responses”. For a country where the impact of climate-related extreme events and disasters has been recognized at the highest level, the absence of reference in the main planning document of the key entity in charge of coordinating disaster response at the national level seems rather surprising. It could be interpreted as a sign that the NCDM is not considered as a serious interlocutor in the dialogue on disaster at the highest level, or that the discourse about the importance of accounting for disaster/climate change in the national planning process has remained so far purely rhetorical.

4.3.2. Adaptive Social Protection

A final step in this analysis is to examine the references (if any) made in the Cambodian literature to the concept of “Adaptive Social Protection”. At the time of completion of this report, the only reference to the concept of “Adaptive Social Protection” as conventionally understood (Davies’s definition) in the whole Cambodian context is the specific mention made in Objective no.6 of the CCCSP document, where the objective is to: “Promote adaptive social protection and participatory approaches in reducing loss and damage due to climate change”.

The fact that ASP was referred to in such an important document is good news (at least for those who want to promote it). However, a more thorough look at the list of activities that are proposed to operationalize ASP in the context of the CCCSP (**Box 1**) reveals that many of these activities are not ASP activities *per se* -or even SP activities- but refers to a broader agenda. For instance, while the series of activities under point (e) “Institute public engagement, participation and consultations as primary entry points for adaptation planning, promoting the involvement of multiple stakeholders including NGOs, community-based organizations (CBOs), youths, indigenous communities and the private sector” may arguably contribute to support adaptability at the local level, these are not SP activities. They can possibly be relabelled ‘deconcentration activities’ but not SP activities (at least not in the conventional sense). Likewise, activities under (f) “Promoting public-private partnerships, including corporate social responsibility” are not SP activities and their potential effect on adaptability would also need to be considered quite carefully. Even activity (a) “Promotion of micro-financing arrangements” as a tool to reduce vulnerability is still debated.

Past and more recent experience suggests that while such preventive SP instruments have indeed potentially an important role to play in reducing household vulnerability, the evidence also highlights that the extreme poor on average participate much less than their share in the population in these insurance and other similar schemes. More research is therefore required to determine how preventative projects can work alongside protection-oriented interventions to achieve the greatest coverage possible when promoting resilience to climate change. Overall, some would probably argue that the list in Box 1 is not a list of 'pure' ASP activities.

Box 1. Operationalizing ASP?

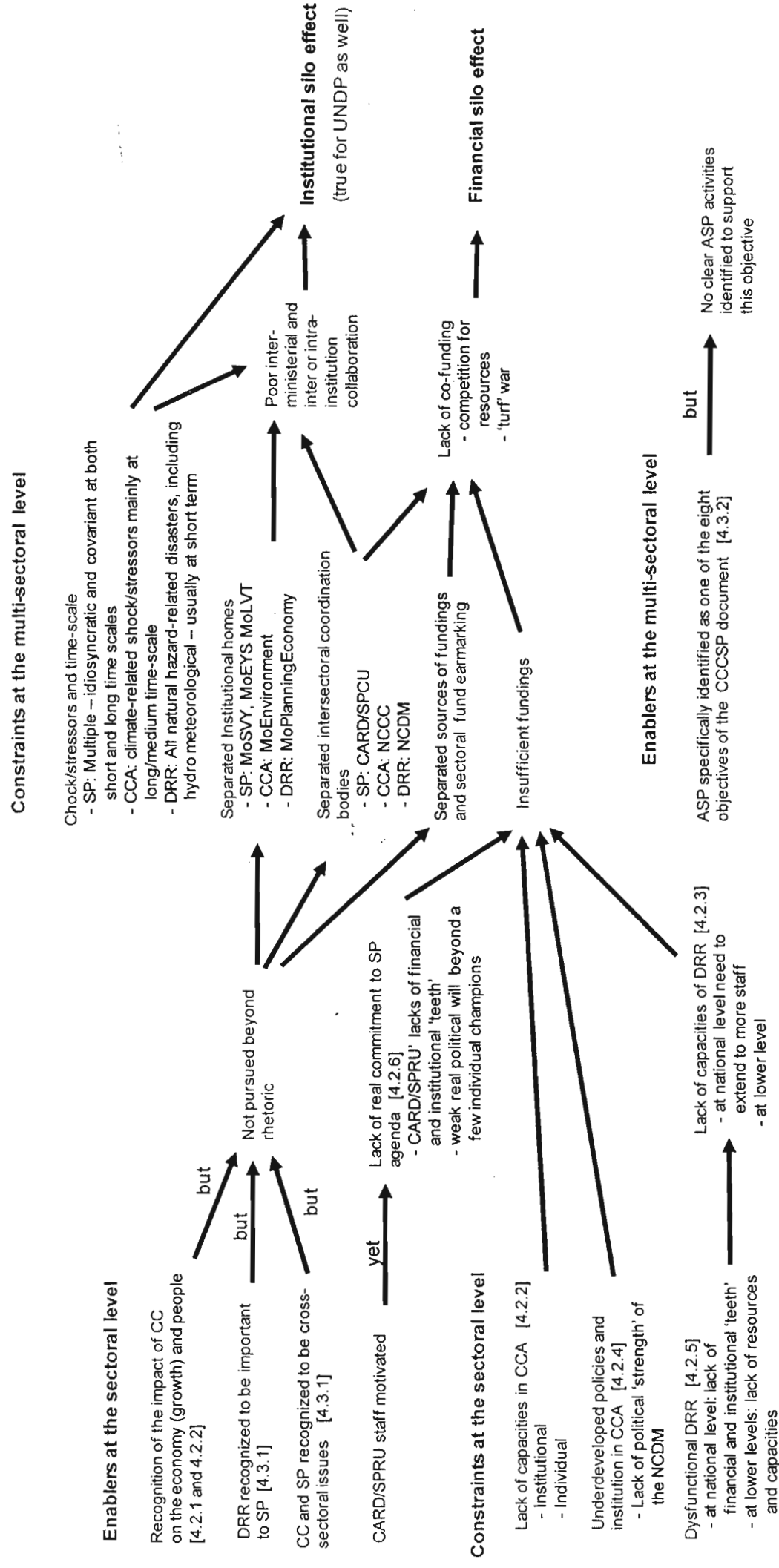
- a) Promote micro-financing to improve access to credits by local communities for climate change responses;
- b) Promote and encourage insurance schemes for reducing climate-risk and disaster burdens on society; [see comment below]
- c) Integrate gender into climate change response planning;
- d) Leverage the decentralization process to strengthen financial and institutional processes for local adaptation;
- e) Institute public engagement, participation and consultations as primary entry points for adaptation planning, promoting the involvement of multiple stakeholders including NGOs, community-based organizations (CBOs), youths, indigenous communities and the private sector;
- f) Promote public-private partnerships, including corporate social responsibility.

Source: CCCSP 2014: 17-18

5. Mapping the Enablers and Constraints to Adaptive Social Protection in Cambodia

In this last section we build on the information presented in the previous parts of this document to generate an Enabler and Constraint pathways analysis whereby both the factors that foster or conversely hold back the promotion and implementation of an Adaptive Social protection agenda in Cambodia are linked together into a coherent and comprehensive map (Fig.4).

Fig.4. Enablers and Constraints pathways analysis



Note: [2.1.6] = sections in this report

6. Conclusion

Cambodia is considered the second most hazard-prone countries in South and South-East Asia after Bangladesh. In particular floods and droughts are among the most damaging shocks for rural households, and climate change will heighten their severity.

Social protection, disaster risk reduction and climate change adaptation are three communities of practices that were developed with the main objective of reducing the impacts of shocks and hazards on individuals and communities. To date, however, little cross-fertilisation has been occurring between these three communities. The three streams seem to be unaware of their commonalities and overlapping agendas, or to be unable to overcome institutional constraints and poor communication, which prevents them from working together.

Yet, many recognize that the integration of social protection, disaster risk reduction, and climate change adaptation would help creating and fostering synergy between vulnerability-reduction interventions. In a context of scarce human and financial resources, a more integrated or coordinated approach between these three communities would also help reduce the risk of duplication or possibly conflicting interventions.

In this context, following the publication of the National Human Development Report on 'the future of rural livelihoods in the face of Climate Change' in 2011, the Cambodian UNDP-CO decided to explore the possibility of using the concept of Adaptive Social Protection (ASP) to strengthen the integration between SP, CCA, and DRR within their own programmes/projects at country level –with the ambition to be soon in the position to promote ASP beyond the UNDP-CO.

The present report was commissioned by the UNDP-CO with the objective to conduct a 'Situation Analysis' and in particular to identify the challenges and opportunities encountered in the Cambodian context in relation to the implementation of Adaptive Social Protection. Based on a combination of primary and secondary data, the report identifies a series of serious constraints at both sectoral and inter-sectoral levels. These constraints, it is argued, create the conditions for the existence of entrenched institutional and financial silo effects. As a consequence, little cross-fertilisation has occurred so far between the potential key actors (both individuals and institutions).

The report, however, provides additional information in the form of an Enablers and Constraints pathway analysis. This pathway will be useful for the building of a Theory of Change - as the basis for the UNDP-CO to plan its future activities in relation to the promotion of an ASP agenda.

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8. Appendix 1

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