

CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN CAMBODIA

An Overview of the Company Perspective,
Focussing on Agribusiness, and the Mining
and Extractive Sectors

A Report Prepared for Development and Partnership in Action

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations Employed in the Report

ACRONYM	MEANING
CAMEC	Cambodian Association of Mining and Extractive Companies
CEDAC	Cambodian Centre for Study and Development in Agriculture
CFSMEs	Cambodian Federation of Small and Medium Enterprises
COrAA	Cambodian Organic Agriculture Association
CNRP	Cambodian National Rescue Party
CPP	Cambodian People's Party
CRF	Cambodian Rice Federation
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
DRR	Disaster Risk Reduction
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICC	International Chamber of Commerce
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
ILO	International Labour Organisation
MFA	Multi-fibre Agreement
MFI	Microfinance Institution
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
RGC	Royal Government of Cambodia
SIDA	Swedish International Development Authority
SME	Small and Medium Sized Enterprise
UN	United Nations
UNTAC	United Nations Temporary Administration in Cambodia
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

1. Executive Summary

CSR in Cambodia remains poorly understood as a concept, with the majority of small businesses believing that it is something to be undertaken only by larger companies. Moreover, even many larger companies possess little understanding of the meaning and practice of CSR. Consequently, the prevalence of formal CSR policies in Cambodia is low and limited to a few companies that have actively redirected their business model towards the production of CSR compliant, ethically produced, goods.

This low level of formal CSR penetration has been attributed to various factors. In the mining and extractive sectors, some larger companies have formal CSR policies and cooperate actively with NGOs and community stakeholders in the course of their operations. However, these companies are in a minority. The majority of mining operations in Cambodia are undertaken either by large scale Chinese mining operations or by small scale domestic or regionally based companies. These tend to operate independently, often lack significant regulation, and fail to adhere to international standards.

In the agri-business sector, several obstacles to CSR uptake have been identified, with three themes emerging in particular: the currently low price of rice in global markets, which has strained inter-business relations and lowered standards in Cambodia's primary agricultural market; the relatively low added value attributed to CSR compliant products by international buyers; and the impact of climate change, which continues to raise the cost of agriculture and push many rural workers to migrate in search of work.

Nevertheless, despite these challenges, a high proportion of companies across various sectors undertake activities that could be described as CSR. Indeed, although the majority of Cambodian businesses lack a formal budget or department for CSR, many view activities similar to CSR as part of long term, sustainable business strategy.

Consequently, the drivers of CSR in Cambodia are primarily commercial. Most businesses that undertake CSR activities claim to be self-motivated, or motivated by their (domestic or international) customers, rather than NGOs, government, or international regulations. Although domestic business federations are a significant factor in promoting cohesive, sector-wide CSR initiatives, their influence is often secondary to economic factors.

This has resulted in a somewhat uneven uptake of informal CSR activities. Whilst some areas – in particular business to business relations, workforce ethics, sustainable community management, and customer focussed ethics – are addressed relatively commonly by companies, others, such as gender relations, are attended to only rarely.

Indeed, those companies that report a beneficial impact upon gender relations in the course of their business practice tend to do so only indirectly, as a result of higher attendance at non-gender specific training or vocational programs. Thus, any improvements in this area are deemed to arise through economic empowerment, rather than specific programs directed at gender-based goals.

This report therefore recommends that CSR in Cambodia be improved in three interlinked ways. First, companies should be encouraged to focus CSR towards gender based outcomes to a greater extent. This may be achieved by, second, encouraging stronger linkages between NGOs and smaller and mid-sized companies in order to broaden and deepen the culture of CSR in the business community by emphasising its economic benefits. Thirdly, any such efforts must be underpinned by work with international and national buyers to recognise the higher market value of CSR compliant goods.

2. Background: The CSR context in Cambodia

2.1. Politics and the Law

2.1.1. Politics in Overview

Writing on Cambodia's political landscape from the perspective of CSR in 2008, the last year of Cambodia's pre-downturn economic boom, Chhabara (2008: 29) wrote confidently that not only does 'Cambodia now enjoy...[the]...political stability crucial for attracting foreign investors and tourists' but also a government willing and able to invest in the future. Indeed, as he continued, 'the government is visionary, very supportive and open to innovative initiatives which can help the country achieve sustainable development' (Chhabara, 2008: 29).

There was and remains a degree of truth to Chhabara's (2008) positivity regarding the stability of the Hun Sen administration. However, in retrospect the absence of conflict may be ascribed in large part of the lack of an effective political challenge. For more than a decade and a half after the CPP coup that installed Hun Sen as first prime minister in 1997, Cambodia appeared to have achieved an uneasy political stability. With the gradual demise of Funcinpec – the royalist party and briefly the dominant force in Cambodian politics as Prince Rannaridh assumed power in the elections of 1993 – the CPP appeared to have emerged unchallenged in the national political landscape.

This situation would change rapidly in 2013, when the return from exile of Hun Sen's long term political opponent Sam Rainsy generated a surge of popular enthusiasm for the newly created merger of the Sam Rainsy Party and the Human Rights Party, led by Kem Sokha: the Cambodian National Rescue Party [CNRP]. Whilst, as Hughes (2015) notes, the popular enthusiasm this union generated failed to chip away significantly at the core support of the CPP itself, whose number of votes remained roughly stable, it nevertheless amalgamated a previously fragmented opposition. Political plurality and debate, a long term absentee, had returned emphatically to the Kingdom.

The implications of a strong political opposition for CSR manifested most rapidly and clearly in the garment sector. The CNRP had garnered a large part of its support via strong linkages to Cambodia's numerous migrant workers – up to a third of the total workforce according to some estimates (NIS, 2010) – and their suddenly considerable presence on the political stage presented a boost to the factory union movement, which had been growing steadily since the early 1990s (Arnold, 2013). The result was mass protests in favour of better wages and conditions, resulting both in the widely publicised government shooting of protesters in January 2014, and a far more subtle process of re-trenchment by the garment industry regarding CSR goals.

Indeed, although the nationwide \$160 and \$177 campaigns achieved limited success, resulting in mandatory rises of \$28 per month [to \$128] in 2014 and a further \$12 per month [to \$140] in 2015, these victories were accompanied by a far more subtly mediated defeats in the realm of CSR. Recent accounts of the industry report worsening, rather than improving, labour conditions for the majority of workers, as short term contracts become the norm (Parsons and Lawreniuk, 2016) and the focus on wages by national level union campaigns has detracted from the specific daily needs of female workers in particular (Parsons and Lawreniuk, 2015).

Moreover, this trend is in evidence beyond the garment industry. Much of the modern sector has been subject to the progression of neoliberal working practices (Springer, 2011) in recent years, leading to

shorter migration times, higher turnover of workers and the increasing usage of short term contracts, which are not associated with most of the benefits accorded to “full time” workers in the construction as well as garment industries (Parsons and Lawreniuk, 2016) and which tend to be consequently overestimated by CSR monitoring projects.

As such, the political changes underway in Cambodia during the past five years have been a mixed blessing from the point of view of CSR. In one sense, the presence of a strong opposition ready and willing to work with a burgeoning union movement has placed workers’ conditions and pay in the national spotlight, extending the campaign for better wages even beyond the core interests of the garment industry. The recent \$177 campaign incorporated support from teachers’, farmers’, and informal workers’ unions, as well as social movements concerned with young people and women. The unity displayed by these grassroots campaigners for change highlights a vast civil society resource to be harnessed in the interests of CSR initiatives within Cambodia.

Nevertheless, there is also a danger that the cohesion and wage-focussed nature of this campaign has the potential to undermine support for smaller and more specific improvements in CSR. The needs of women, minorities, and the young, have been only peripherally addressed within the broad narrative of change adopted by such campaigns and the overwhelming focus on workers has come at the expense of other key elements of CSR. For instance, the environmental and (non-employed) social costs of the industry, in terms of pollution, displacement and the consequent disruption of livelihoods, has received comparatively little attention. The following sections will present an overview in this regard.

2.1.2. The Labour Law

As in many countries, the Cambodian labour law does not derive from a single source, but operates according to the interaction of a variety of practical statutes existing at a number of scales. These include both national and international labour regulations and guidelines. Moreover, labour law in practice also refers to smaller scale and institutional legal frameworks, including contracts and agreements reached via collective bargaining. In broad terms, the following sources may be identified as the key determinants of the Cambodian legal frameworks for labour (Better Factories Cambodia, 2014).

- The Constitution
- The Labour Law
- Regulations of the Royal Government (Sub-decrees) and the Ministry
- Ad hoc outputs from those in charge of Labour (Prakas, Circulars and Notices)
- International Labour Standards of the ILO
- Collective Bargaining Agreements
- Employment Contracts
- Employers' Internal Regulations

The balance of these various influences varies significantly across sectors. In the garment industry – the Kingdom’s largest employer – the influence of collective bargaining is felt particularly strongly, with unions supporting agreements reached with government and factories via industrial action. In other sectors, by contrast, this is a less significant factor. However, in both the mining and agri-business communities, cooperative groups are involved in negotiating the terms of employment.

Similarly, the extent to which international legal frameworks are a factor varies between sectors. The Cambodian government’s signature of the ILO’s international working conventions (Better Factories Cambodia, 2013) means that all labour sectors in Cambodia, including mining and agri-business are

subject to the international standards set out by the ILO. However, additional standards also apply on a sectoral basis.

2.1.2.1. Specifics of the Labour Law in Relation to the Mining and Extractive Sector

Although Article 1 of the Cambodian labour law identifies workers in the mining and extractive industries as being covered by the general terms set out therein, they are not subject to the same specific provisions as other sectors. Indeed, in contrast to agriculture for example (which possesses its own chapter in the labour law), specific national laws on the management of labour and company staff are notable by their absence.

Indeed, one of the only labour related legal reference points in the sector relates to the granting of artisanal mining licenses, which specifies that 'artisanal miners must use their own labour, or their family's labour (maximum 7 people)' (BABC and DPA, 2012: 55). Even this law, however, has been notably poorly implemented: as shown in this report, a high proportion of artisanal mines are in fact foreign owned and operated using non-familial labour.

Part of the reason for the lack of legal specificity relating to labour in the mining sector is the focus on license granting, which has tended to take precedence over labour. In the mining sector, the exploitation of mineral resources is governed by voluntary national and international standards and legal frameworks originating inside and outside the Kingdom. In summary:

Two laws cover their management and exploitation: the Law on Mineral Resource Management and Exploitation (2001) and the Law on Environmental Protection and Natural Resources Management (1996). In addition to this, some foreign companies are also bound by the legal frameworks of their home countries and OECD social accountability guidelines. Civil Society has a number of concerns about this legal framework' (Global Witness, 2008).

2.1.2.2. Specifics of the Labour Law in Relation to the Agribusiness Sector

In the agri-business sector, there are two key areas covered by legal frameworks. The first of these, concerning the rights of agricultural workers, is set out in Chapter 7 of the Cambodian labour law, which outlines a number of specific rights and benefits available to agricultural workers employed on "plantations". These include a maximum legal working week of 48 hours (article 194); the statutory provision of rice to plantation workers' family members – ranging from 200g per day for a child under two years old to 800g per day for the wife of a worker – (article 200); and free housing (article 204).

As such, the labour law in relation to agricultural workers, in common with much of the labour law in general, is 'comprehensive and relatively progressive' (ILO, 2008: 6), in that it sets out not only limitations on the power of the employer, but also a range of non-monetary rights possessed by workers in the sector. Nevertheless, as elsewhere, 'coverage and implementation is critically lacking' (ILO, 2008: 6). As highlighted in this report, most agri-business do not comply with many aspects of the labour law, with those that do tending to view such activity as voluntary, rather than statutory.

The second area of legal concern in relation to the agribusiness sector is land legislation, where frameworks concerning the acquisition and ownership of land for clearance and agricultural development are comparatively sparse. In this respect, despite improvements in the national land law, the implementation of legal frameworks in rural areas is notably deficient, with communities poorly informed about their rights and hard titles rare. In particular, areas of low population such as Rattanakiri and Mondulkiri, in which land prices are lower and indigenous peoples more common, have been poorly captured by land law implementation. Consequently:

‘Although laws have been passed which notionally allow the recognition of indigenous peoples’ lands, so far only 5 villages have secured titles and even these titles have been for relatively small parts of their ancestral domains’ (Chao, 2013)

2.2. Economy

2.2.1. The Economy in Overview

The implications of the Cambodian economy for CSR have shifted rapidly over a relatively short period of time. With the Kingdom’s economy having more than quadrupled between 1994 and 2011 (U.N., 2012), the ‘miracle’ (Madhur, 2013) of Cambodia’s economic performance over the past quarter of a century has been lauded around the world, as the concerted arrival of the garment industry in 1994 laid the groundwork for a new millennium in which Cambodia has emerged as the 15th fastest growing country in the world since 2000. Moreover, supported by the construction and tourism sectors, the Cambodian economy was able to recover quickly from the 2008 global downturn, recording robust GDP growth figures from 2010 onwards, although the pace of this growth has declined. Indeed, whilst ‘the garment sector, together with construction and services, continues to propel growth...the 2015 and 2016 projection for economic growth is about 6.9% as it confronts stronger competition in garment exports, continued weak agriculture sector growth, and softer growth in the tourism sector’ (World Bank, 2015: 8).

As such, there is a general awareness that Cambodia’s strong growth since the turn of the century may be starting to slow in the face of mounting international challenges. In the garment sector, for instance, the engine room of Cambodia’s growth over the past two decades, ‘the continued appreciation of the US dollar, emergence of other low-wage regional competitors, in particular Myanmar, and the enduring impact of past labour market unrest on garment orders’ are beginning to take their toll. (World Bank, 2015: 1). The result has been year on year sectoral growth slowing from 17.6 to 9.2% growth in value terms (World Bank, 2015: 1).

In this increasingly competitive global market, CSR is acquiring a renewed importance within the export sector, as manufacturers seek new ways to attract and retain international buyers. Indeed, driven by a recognition that compliance with international labour standards, such as the Better Factories Cambodia program in 2001, had underpinned some of the sector’s most historically impressive growth – from exports totalling \$1.1 billion in 2001 to \$2.8 in 2007 (Ministry of Commerce cited in Chhabara, 2008) – leading figures within the garment industry are increasingly seeking ways to restore buyer confidence in the ethics of their working practices in the wake of the protests and crackdowns which have blighted international perceptions of the domestic industry (World Bank, 2015).

In this respect, the key period from which to draw lessons is early 2005, when the end of the Multi-Fibre Arrangement – which governed the world textiles trade by imposing quotas on the amount that developing countries could export to developed countries – gave rise to widespread predictions of the demise of the Cambodian garment sector. Nevertheless, the gloomy predictions surrounding the Cambodian economy did not arise. Rather, ‘despite predictions to the contrary, when the MFA ended, Cambodia was in a strong position to refocus its apparel sector to align with key CSR principles that resulted in increased apparel exports’ (Frost and Ho, 2006: 45). As such, via a strong labour law, and the presence of effective monitoring and training frameworks, the garment industry was able to reposition itself as a best practice industry and to maintain largely strong sectoral growth up to the present day.

Moreover, of particular relevance here is the background of labour unrest that in many ways mirrors the current situation. Indeed, ‘a spate of worker unrest during January seemed to underline the problems the industry would face in attracting orders in a post-MFA world’ (Frost and Ho, 2006: 38), but in fact served ultimately as a catalyst for the government to work more closely with unions in drawing up and implementing CSR compliance frameworks. In this light, the current economic slowdown constitutes a strong incentive towards collaboration between employers and workers on CSR related issues within the industry.

2.2.2. The Investment Environment

As demonstrated by the success of the garment industry during the past two decades, achieved primarily on a basis of foreign direct investment, the potential for investor returns in Cambodia is strong. Moreover, Cambodia is especially attractive to business investors due to its economically open status. It is currently one of the most open countries in Southeast Asia, itself a relatively open region (ICC, 2003), and has attracted significant international interest following its political and economic adjustment under the United Nations Temporary Administration in Cambodia [UNTAC] from 1989-1993. Moreover, since its economic reformulation, Cambodia has continued to improve and protect its framework for international investment. Today:

‘Cambodia has an open and liberal foreign investment regime with relatively pro-investor legal and policy framework. Investment incentives available to foreign investors include 100 percent foreign ownership of companies, corporate tax holidays of up to eight years, a 20 percent corporate tax rate after the incentive period ends, duty-free import of capital goods, and no restrictions on capital repatriation’ (US Department of State, 2015: 3)

Table 1. Capital Investment in Cambodia by Country (CDC, 2015)

INVESTMENT CAPITAL BY COUNTRY

Year	2011		2012		2013		2014		2015	
Total	\$5.7 Billion		\$2.9 Billion		\$4.9 Billion		\$3.9 Billion		\$4.6 Billion	
Rank	Country	%	Country	%	Country	%	Country	%	Country	%
1	Cambodia	41.24	Cambodia	42.08	Cambodia	66.80	Cambodia	64.00	Cambodia	69.28
2	China	30.55	China	20.69	China	15.68	China	24.44	China	18.62
3	Vietnam	11.99	Korea	9.89	Vietnam	6.10	Malaysia	2.18	U.K	3.00
4	U.K	4.30	Japan	9.15	Thailand	4.37	Japan	1.72	Singapore	2.18
5	Malaysia	4.20	Malaysia	6.04	Korea	1.76	Korea	1.66	Vietnam	1.92
6	Korea	2.91	Thailand	4.53	Japan	1.59	Vietnam	1.26	Malaysia	1.61
7	U.S.A	2.47	Vietnam	2.89	Malaysia	1.04	UK	1.13	Japan	1.28
8	Japan	1.15	Singapore	2.59	Singapore	1.03	Singapore	0.89	Thailand	1.18
9	Australia	0.43	U.K	0.51	UK	0.43	Thailand	0.88	Korea	0.21
10	Singapore	0.28	U.S.A	0.42	France	0.27	Australia	0.51	Canada	0.19
11	Others	0.48	Others	1.21	Others	0.94	Other	1.36	Others	0.52

Indeed, as the above data – produced by the Council for the Development of Cambodia (2015) – demonstrate, the investment landscape is both robust and subject to a significant international

presence. Nevertheless, the proportion of international investment has declined during the past five years, with Cambodian companies now providing almost 70% of investment, compared with just over 40% in 2011. This highlights the increasing strength of the domestic investment market and helps to reduce dependency on China, Cambodia's primary investment partner.

A further notable trend is the decline of tourism and agriculture investment, which had previously been strong supporters of growth in the Kingdom, in favour of continued strong investment in the infrastructure and industrial sectors, which together account for 76% of total investment revenue. In the case of agriculture, this may be due to a variety of factors, which are discussed in further detail below. However, it is worthy of note that currently low agricultural prices in some sectors, combined with high land values and improving legislation may be driving down investment at the present time.

Table 2. Investment by Sector in Cambodia (CDC, 2015)

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2011-2015
Agriculture	794.5	556.6	1,128.8	264.7	482.6	3,227.2
Industries	1,340.8	1,489.7	1,106.7	2,835.6	919.3	7,692.1
Infrastructure	2,782.3	227.8	2,620.8	353.5	3,129.8	9,114.2
Tourism	845.6	691.5	106.0	479.6	111.9	2,234.6
Total	5,763.2	2,965.6	4,962.3	3,933.4	4,643.6	22,268.1

2.3. Social and Human Development

CSR in Cambodia is inextricably intertwined with the rapid economic, social, and human development underway during the past two decades, which continues – through a combination of government policy, NGO intervention and entrepreneurship – to remould the structure and composition of the Cambodian populace. So rapid has been the transformation from an economically stagnant country to one which, as noted above, has been amongst the fastest growing in the world since the new millennium, that it is often difficult to separate the impact of CSR from that of economic growth more generally.

Indeed, alongside the 'tremendous' (World Bank, 2014: xiii) economic growth that has transformed the Cambodian economy since the 1990s, macroscopic poverty count indicators across the Kingdom have been encouraging. Over the period 2004 to 2011, Cambodia's historically strongest period of sustained growth in GDP, poverty rates more than halved, from 52.5% to 20.5% overall (World Bank, 2014). However, explanations for this trend are less convincing. Whilst the World Bank (2014) echoes the government's position that increased rice production and rising rice prices are the source of this sustained improvement in poverty figures, there are serious concerns about such an interpretation, which assumes that the poor and poorest Cambodians are the beneficiaries of rising rice prices, where in reality a figure of 20% (IFAD, 2014) and rising are landless and hence net consumers of rice.

As various authors have noted (e.g. Bateman and Chang, 2012; Bylander 2013, 2014, Bylander and Hamilton, 2015), a large part of the perceived reduction in poverty across Cambodia may be attributed not to sustainable gains, but instead to the smoothing of ongoing income instability with loans derived from Cambodia's burgeoning microfinance sector. Where not long ago many parts of Cambodia were isolated even from physical markets, nationwide integration into credit markets has skyrocketed in recent years. Cambodia is now one of the top five countries in the world for MFI penetration rates (Gonzales, 2010), engendering significant changes to the structure and functionality

of the rural Cambodian economy (Bylander and Hamilton, 2015; Bylander, 2014; 2013). Moreover, like agriculture, the provision of loans is strongly linked to urban work, with microfinance lenders indicating a widely understood preference for households containing members working in urban areas (Bylander and Hamilton, 2015). This has resulted in a strong co-dependence between loan provision, factory work and agriculture, which in some cases has helped families to achieve significant improvements to their livelihoods, but in others merely the additional burden of onerous debts without the means to repay them.

Indeed, the successes of Cambodian micro-finance in terms of supporting SMEs and households 'well above the poverty line' (Ovensen and Trankell, 2014: 178) must be balanced against 'the pernicious consequences for the economically most vulnerable, many of whom experience a gradual exclusion from their local societies and customary occupations' (Ovensen and Trankell, 2014: 179). Although some of these issues are common to microfinance in general, moreover, a significant proportion of the deleterious impact of microcredit in Cambodia is associated with two specific elements of the domestic industry. First, the speed and breadth of its expansion has not been effectively managed either by government or independent regulators and second, many actors within the industry have not complied effectively with industry CSR standards (Bylander and Hamilton, 2015; Ovensen and Trankell, 2014). These two factors have contributed to a situation in which far greater numbers of Cambodians too poor to either benefit from or repay debt have been able to take on large loans, temporarily boosting poverty reduction figures, but ultimately harming the livelihoods of the poorest.

As such, although the gross reduction in poverty achieved since the 1990s is impressive (even if the numbers themselves are somewhat dubious and likely flattered by credit uptake amongst the poorest) this trend of sustained poverty reduction may have been achieved in part against a backdrop of corporate irresponsibility in the microfinance sector and elsewhere. CSR practices in both the urban modern sector and rural microfinance spheres have in many cases been poor or non-existent, but this has not prevented positive human development figures from emerging in periodic surveys.

2.4. Environment, Climate Change and DRR

Despite historically being amongst the world's less polluting nations, recent investigations of global climate change (Althor, Watson and Fuller, 2016) have highlighted the Kingdom as one of the world's most vulnerable countries to the effects of global warming. Moreover, although such warnings relate to macro-ecological factors, in particular annual rainfall patterns and the frequency and severity of natural hazards, there exists strong evidence that the impact of climate change has – via human behaviour and adaptive strategies – begun to feed back to other ecological sectors.

In this respect, one of the key factors linking global to sub-national climate pressures may be found in the changing nature of Cambodian farming. Indeed, as Oeur et al. (2012) have noted, the frequency and severity of those climate events, such as floods and droughts, which impact most negatively upon agriculture, has increased markedly since the turn of the millennium. Beginning with three consecutive years of floods and droughts, alternating or in tandem, from 2000 to 2003, Cambodia's recent environmental history has offered its farmers little respite since. Not only have six of the Kingdom's ten worst historical crop failures taken place since 1993 (EM-DAT, 2016), but climactic instability has now become so commonplace that floods and droughts are no longer viewed as isolated events, but as symptoms of long term shifts in rainfall patterns that are severely reducing the viability of smallholder rice production throughout the Kingdom (Bylander, 2013; MoE and BBC, 2011; Norm, 2009).

As noted above, much of the strategic adaptation to these changing conditions has taken the form not of land abandonment, as posited in the wider Southeast Asian context by Rigg (2012; 2006), but the development of translocal livelihoods (Brickell and Data, 2011) in which urban work features increasingly prominently in rural household income portfolios. The CSR implications of this process have already been touched upon from the perspective of urban employers and companies involved in the agricultural production chain. However, the environmental dimension is equally important, constituting as it does a feedback from global scale ecological changes to local patterns of energy usage, which has risen in response to economic growth and rural marketisation.

In one sense, this process has been inevitable, given that economic growth has historically demanded energy to sustain itself (Ozturk and Al-Mulali, 2015). However, it is both the scale of this increase and the manner in which it has taken place which deserves attention. Cambodia's gross energy usage rose by 35% between 1996 and 2012 (Ozturk and Al-Mulali, 2015), alongside an associated increase in carbon emissions of 50% during the last 17 years (World Development Indicators, 2014). At the same time, unplanned urbanization and poor governance of the environmental aspects of the Kingdom's economic development (Ozturk and Al-Mulali, 2015) are symptomatic of the wider problem of the country's failure to tackle corruption effectively and a lack of good governance strategies in many areas (World Bank, 2013). Consequently:

'Cambodia is facing a number of challenges, such as, the lack of effective management of land planning which might result in an unplanned urbanization and the negative effect of untreated sewage, industrial waste, and solid waste which most of the Cambodian cities suffer from.' (Ozturk and Al-Mulali, 2015: 324)

Resulting from this lack of effective governance have been growing pressures in four key sub-national spheres: loss of bio-diversity, deforestation, land degradation, and water pollution and scarcity (SIDA, 2010), which have served to compound the broader trend towards modern sector work, fertiliser use and high energy consumption by eliminating many of the traditional "safety nets" of Cambodian rural livelihoods. In particular, the water resources which yield fisheries, irrigation and other goods have been threatened by upstream dam projects in some areas, whilst the availability of non-timber forestry products continues to be severely depleted by the activities of legal and illegal loggers and agribusiness (SIDA, 2010).

Consideration of the wider implication of agri-business for the livelihoods of affected communities is, therefore, of paramount importance not only in view of the short term goals of CSR in relation to the natural and human environment, but also with respect to nationwide energy usage and industrialization trends. Indeed, in a changing environment for primary agriculture, the diminution of traditional "safety net" livelihoods by corporations is likely to increase the rate at which the rural populace transitions to more energy intensive translocal livelihoods. Understanding these secondary processes and feedbacks is therefore essential in building a coherent and comprehensive CSR framework.

2.5. Agriculture

Low prices for agricultural resources and slow yield improvements continue to hold back growth in the agricultural sector (World Bank, 2015), an area crucial to poverty reduction in a country where 80% of the population live in rural areas. Moreover, although agriculture has declined as a proportion of GDP in recent years (Hang, 2011), the enduring importance of rice cannot be ignored. The staple continues to account for 68% of caloric intake nationwide and some 30% of total household expenditure (IFAD, 2014), meaning that fluctuations in prices impact severely (albeit in differing ways) upon landowners and landless alike.

Moreover, the increasingly unstable climate for smallholder rice production, combined with sharply rising rural wages – agricultural wages have almost tripled since 2005 (IBRD and World Bank, 2015) – has led over the past twenty years to widespread changes in rural farming practices. In particular, as the growing irregularity of rainfall during the wet season necessitates rapid reactions to changes in the weather, the longer timeframes required by transplanting practices have come to seem increasingly problematic to rice growers. Facing these conditions, farmers have increasingly adapted their farming practices from the traditional transplanting method – wherein rice seeds mature initially in a “nursery” plot before transplantation to a larger field – to the broadcasting method, in which seeds are scattered over the plot where they will mature.

This latter approach has the dual advantages of shorter maturation times – essential in an increasingly capricious environment – and lower labour requirements, needing only about 2 work-days/ha compared with 20 to 30 work-days/ha (Liese et al., 2014). However, it is considerably more expensive in terms of farming inputs. This means that Cambodia’s farmers are increasingly reliant upon companies involved in agricultural production to achieve their livelihoods, bringing CSR practices relating to agriculture to the forefront of contemporary relevance.

These changes to agriculture during the past decade may in macro-economic terms be labelled an unequivocal success. Indeed, the mean 5.3% annual growth rate in agricultural value added (the value of gross production less the value of intermediate farm inputs) from 2004 to 2012 was ‘amongst the highest in the world’ (IBRD and World Bank, 2015). However, the broader trend is one of farmers becoming increasingly linked in not only to agricultural markets, but wider modern sector markets, as the need to fund expensive agricultural inputs on an annual or sub-annual basis has engendered a growing reliance upon rural-urban (Parsons and Lawreniuk, 2014; Parsons, forthcoming) and international remittances (Bylander, 2013; 2014; Bylander and Hamilton, 2015).

Consequently, remittance flows within the Kingdom are vast and growing. Various studies (e.g. Lim, 2007; Bylander, 2013, 2014, Bylander and Hamilton, 2015; Parsons, forthcoming; Parsons and Lawreniuk, 2014) have shown that the proportion of gross wages sent back to rural households by modern sector workers exceeds a third in most cases (Parsons, forthcoming), with garment workers sending nearly 50% on average. This flow of money – which using a figure of 600,000 workers in the garment industry (ILO, 2015) suggests annual rural-urban remittance flows of nearly half a billion dollars per year from the garment industry alone – is used in large part either to fund agricultural inputs directly (Parsons and Lawreniuk, 2014; Bylander, 2013), or to service debts incurred in purchasing these inputs.

From a CSR perspective the implications are clear: the growing inter-linkages between the agricultural and modern sectors mean that employees within the latter can no longer be considered only in terms of their own interests. Rather, garment workers, construction workers, and other modern sector employees must be viewed as a component within a broader household system. As a result, CSR within such businesses must take account in particular of the need for flexibility in working arrangements, in recognition that workers have a responsibility to their household as well as their employer.

3. Methods

3.1. Methods of study

The methods utilised in the course of this study were designed to take account of the general paucity of literature and data concerning the Cambodian CSR landscape. This meant that it was necessary to obtain both general, introductory, data – qualitative and quantitative – and introductions to cooperative companies during the course of the research timeframe. Multiple concurrent approaches were therefore required in order to effectively pursue the project’s research aims.

In view of these requirements, the methodology was divided into four sections, the first of which was an in-depth desk review of CSR practices in Cambodia, as well as related fields of concern such as economic and environmental change, labour migration, politics, and human development in the Kingdom. Following this, a preliminary period of qualitative data gathering was undertaken, during which general data on agri-business and mining were collated via semi-structured interviews with industry representative bodies.

In addition to the overviews of the industry acquired during the course of undertaking these interviews, recommendations of companies engaging in CSR were sought, together with contact details and introductions where possible. In this way, a degree of triangulation and cross-checking was facilitated, whilst industry contacts were utilised to affect agreement for interviews with industrial stakeholders.

The subsequent period of industry interviews, which like those conducted with industry representative bodies were semi-structured, was undertaken concurrently with a fourth and final methodological element: the quantitative survey. This quantitative element to the study requested the participation of 48 companies in a short survey of CSR practices. Of the 25 agri-business companies contacted and the 23 mining and extractive companies contacted, 13 and 7 businesses respectively agreed to a quantitative survey. The quantitative data sets (combined with the data from qualitative interviews, which also collected relevant quantitative information) utilised in this report are therefore based on a total of 40 data points.

3.2. Participants in the Study

The participants in this study fall into three groups: industry representative bodies, agri-businesses, and mining businesses. However, as noted above, there were also two types of interview undertaken: quantitative and qualitative interviews.

In total, 20 qualitative interviews were undertaken, including 5 with industry representative bodies, 5 interviews with mining companies and 10 interviews with agri-businesses companies. Of these, all of the interviews with industry representative bodies were qualitative, whereas the majority of interviews with mining and agribusiness companies were quantitative. The full list of qualitative interviewees is provided here.

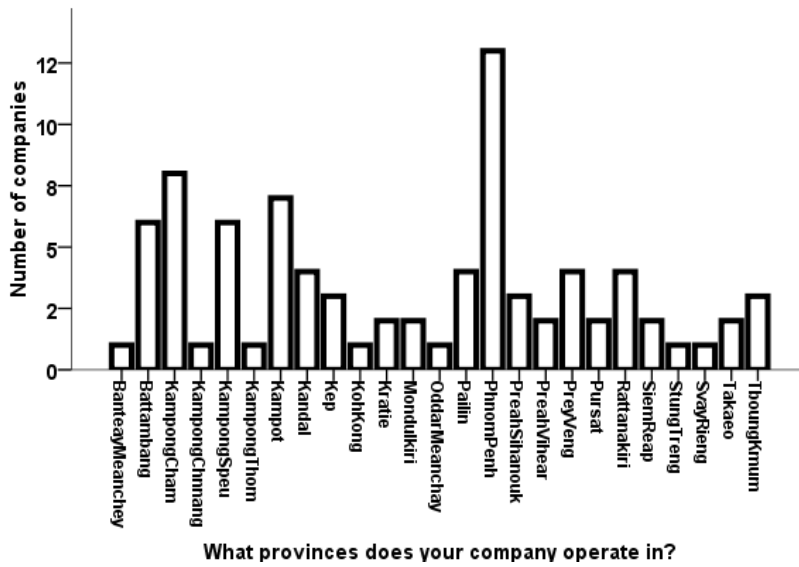
Table 3. List of Participants in Qualitative Interviews

ORGANIZATION TYPE	NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS
Industry Representative Bodies	5
Agri-business companies	10
Mining and Extractive Industries Companies	5

Moreover, as listed in Appendix B, a further 20 quantitative interviews were undertaken, of which 13 were with agribusiness companies and 7 were with mining and extractive companies. Unlike qualitative interviews, which were selected according to participation in the CSR platform or recommendation by industry representative bodies, these were randomly selected according to a two-stage process. First, a review of all companies in the relevant sectors was conducted using publicly available company listing resources (the Cambodian yellow pages, for example). Having compiled these lists, companies were placed in random order and called to request participation.

The difference in the number of quantitative interviews here is reflective of two things. First, the relatively small number of mining and extractive companies which are formally registered (and thus available to contact), compared with agribusiness companies and second, the relatively low response rate and rate of agreement to interview obtained from these companies. Indeed, on average, only 48% percent of mining and extractive companies agreed to either quantitative or qualitative interview, compared with 76% percent of agribusinesses. Nevertheless, in spite of such difficulties, the survey succeeded in conducting interviews with companies operating in every province in Cambodia.

Figure 1. Provincial Distribution of Surveyed Company Operations (n=40)



3.3. Limitations of Study

Given that this study is based primarily on corporate information that has not been made publicly available, it carries inherent limitations. Most notably, the voluntary nature of the research means that sample bias is unavoidable: those companies that follow good (formal or informal) CSR practices were more likely to agree to participate than those whose CSR practices are poor or non-existent. This bias is felt most notably in the mining and extractive sector, which is known for its poor corporate practice in several areas (Bader, 2014) and in which only a small proportion of businesses agreed to be interviewed.

Several efforts have been made to ameliorate these issues, including the recruitment of industry representative bodies which are able to provide a broader and more neutral perspective than companies themselves. Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind throughout this report that the results here are likely to overstate the prevalence of good CSR practices and understate that of poor or non-existent practices. Moreover, the nature of the sample means that this study constitutes essentially a survey of corporate attitudes to CSR, rather than a multi-lateral analysis of the subject. Further work should therefore be directed towards evaluations and assessments of CSR projects and activities including a wide range of stakeholders and impacted groups, in order to fully gauge impacts.

4. The CSR Landscape in Cambodia

4.1. Definition and Overview

ISO 26000 is one of the best known international standards of CSR. It identifies 7 areas in which companies must enact formal CSR policies in order to meet ISO 26000 standards and be accredited as an ISO26000 company. These 7 areas are:

1. Organizational governance
2. Human rights
3. Labour practices
4. The environment
5. Fair operating practices
6. Consumer issues
7. Community involvement and development

The finding of this report is that the number of companies in Cambodia who are signatories to international CSR evaluation bodies is very small. Indeed, only three companies of the 38 who participated in the quantitative survey were signatories to an international CSR evaluation body such as EcoCert, Global G.A.P., or HACCP.

In addition, apart from the single agricultural company that was voluntarily participating in the EcoCert program, no other company in the quantitative sample possessed a systematic commitment to a CSR guidance package, such as ISO 26000. Consequently, assessing the status of CSR in Cambodia via the uptake of CSR programs such as EcoCert, Global G.A.P., HACCP, or ISO26000 produces a very small figure for CSR uptake, when viewed as a proportion of national business.

For the purposes of this report it was therefore decided that CSR should be assessed using a specific framework for the Cambodian situation. This framework is laid out as follows:

Formal CSR is defined as CSR practices that are formally incorporated into the financial, administrative and operation structure of the company. They must be arranged in accordance with internationally recognised CSR standards such as EcoCert, Global G.A.P., HACCP, or ISO26000.

Informal CSR is defined as CSR practices that are not arranged in accordance with internationally recognised CSR standards such as EcoCert, Global G.A.P., HACCP, or ISO26000, but which include at least one of the dimensions of CSR included in the Cambodia Specific CSR Evaluation Tool.

The Cambodia Specific Evaluation Tool (included here, in section 8.2) utilises a slightly different framework, substantially based in the ISO26000 framework but nevertheless designed to capture a greater variety of the real-life CSR related activity underway in Cambodia at the present time. This specific framework assesses CSR activity according to the following areas:

1. Labour practices
2. The Environment
3. Consumer issues
4. Promoting Gender Equality in the Workplace
5. Community involvement and development

It may be noted that the two elements removed from the Cambodian Specific Framework are “Organisational Governance” and “Human Rights”. This is not because these issues are not important

in Cambodia: they are highly important. However, only those companies who are signatories to recognised, international CSR frameworks undertake work in these areas.

Thus, in order to better reflect the programs and initiatives undertaken by Cambodian companies, these were removed in favour of a question pertaining to promotion of gender equality. In doing so, this Cambodia specific CSR framework aims to better reflect the reality of good business practice in the Kingdom.

Even amongst larger companies, knowledge of CSR was low: very few companies possessed CSR policies that conformed to international CSR frameworks. However, several companies conducted business practices that were similar in nature to those contained in formal CSR frameworks such as ISO26000. These will be detailed in the following sections.

However, the following table summarises the formal and informal CSR practices obtained from the results of the survey. Please note that it arranges companies by their highest level of CSR achievement, so if a company has a formal CSR policy, they will not be included in the other categories of CSR, even though they would technically meet the criteria.

Table 4. Companies with Formal and Informal CSR Policies (Survey Data, 2016)

COMPANIES WITH FORMAL AND INFORMAL CSR POLICIES		
CSR Type	Description	Number of Companies
Formal CSR Framework	A CSR policy that is formally incorporated into the financial, administrative and operation structure of the company. They must be arranged in accordance with internationally recognised CSR standards such as EcoCert, Global G.A.P., HACCP, or ISO26000.	3
Informal CSR Policies with its Own Budget	CSR practices that are not arranged in accordance with internationally recognised CSR standards such as EcoCert, Global G.A.P., HACCP, or ISO26000, but which include at least one of the dimensions of CSR included in the Cambodia Specific CSR Evaluation Tool <i>and possess a separate annual budget to fund them.</i>	8
Informal CSR Policies with Written Commitment	CSR practices that are not arranged in accordance with internationally recognised CSR standards such as EcoCert, Global G.A.P., HACCP, or ISO26000 <i>and do not possess a separate annual budget to fund them, but which are written into formal company policy.</i>	7
Informal CSR Policies with no Budget or Written Commitment	CSR practices that include at least one of the dimensions of CSR included in the Cambodia Specific CSR Evaluation Tool.	16
None	No CSR Activity of any kind.	4

4.2. Quantitative Data

4.2.1. The CSR Landscape in Cambodia

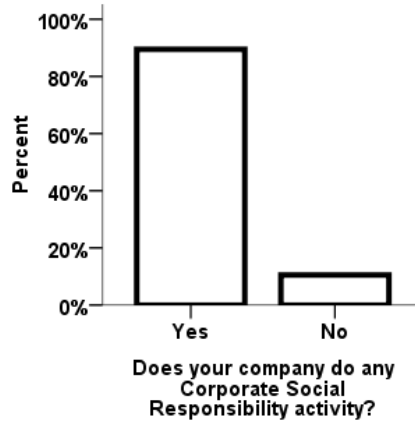
As demonstrated in figure 1, awareness of CSR in the Cambodian business community is low, with less than 40% of surveyed companies initially stating that they knew what CSR was. Nevertheless, once the concept of CSR had been explained to the interviewed businesses, a far greater proportion

of companies claimed to do CSR. This is shown in Figure 2, which highlights that around 90% of surveyed companies undertake some degree of CSR related activity.

Figure 2. Understanding of CSR (n=40)

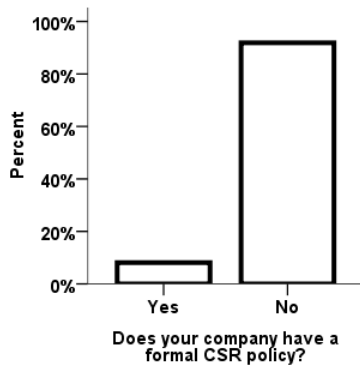


Figure 3. Uptake of CSR (n=40)



The low level of understanding of CSR evidenced amongst the Cambodian business community means that, although a high proportion of companies undertake CSR related activity of some sort, the prevalence of formal CSR policies remains low. These data are shown in Figure 3, which demonstrates that less than 10% of companies surveyed had a formal CSR policy.

Figure 4. Uptake of Formal CSR Policies (n=40)



Moreover, the prevalence of both formal and informal CSR activities was strongly linked to the size of a company's workforce: the 10% that did no (formal or informal) CSR activity, were all companies with less than 10 members of staff. Similarly, the proportion of companies undertaking formal CSR activities also increased with the size of the workforce. These data are shown in Figures 5 and 6, below.

Figure 5. CSR (any) by Workforce (n=40)

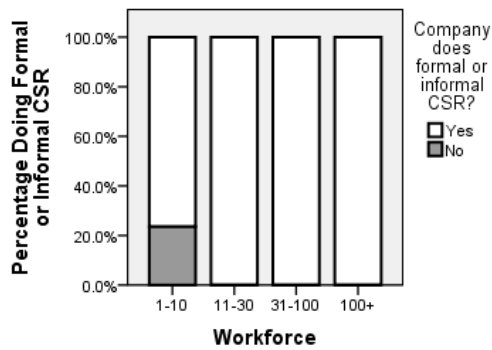
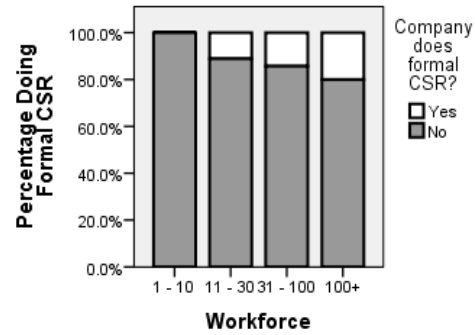


Figure 6. Formal CSR by Workforce (n=40)



Taking the sample as a whole, however, one of the key impacts of the low prevalence of formal CSR policies in Cambodia is that companies tend to focus on certain aspects of CSR at the expense of other aspects. Indeed, as will be explored in greater detail below, most companies choose aspects of CSR based both on convenience and the benefits they expect to receive in the relatively short term. Consequently, as shown in Figure 7, gender focused CSR is strongly under-represented in Cambodia.

Figure 7. Uptake of Five Dimensions of CSR (n=40)



4.2.2. Geographical Differences in CSR Practices

Although the data demonstrate an overall trend, there is a notable difference between companies that are based in Phnom Penh and companies based in other provinces in Cambodia. Indeed, not only are Phnom Penh based companies more aware of CSR than their provincial counterparts, but they are also considerably more likely to undertake formal or informal CSR related activities.

In this respect, the data shown in figures 8 and 9 highlight that the difference here is highly significant: compared with companies based in the provinces, more than twice as many companies based in Phnom Penh had heard of CSR. Moreover, the uptake of CSR showed an even greater discrepancy. All of the surveyed companies based in Phnom Penh undertook CSR or CSR related activity of some description, whilst only a fifth of provincially based companies did so.

Figure 8. Geographical Distribution of CSR Awareness (n=40)

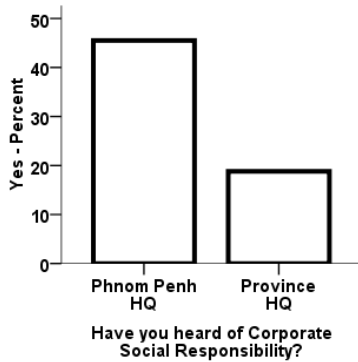
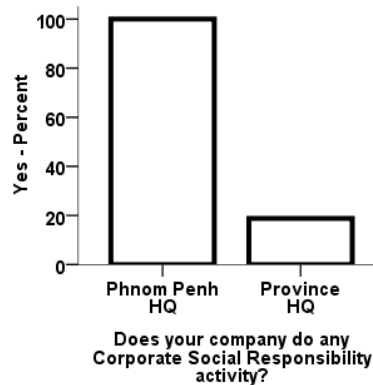


Figure 9. Geographical Distribution of CSR Uptake (n=40)



4.3. Building a definition of CSR in Cambodia

From a definitional perspective, the notion of Corporate Social Responsibility has in many ways been a victim of its own success, having been enthusiastically adopted across so many areas of business, development and government that a unitary framework has become increasingly elusive. Efforts to bring a degree of categorical order to the CSR landscape have largely been viewed as incomplete or inadequate, so that 'despite numerous efforts to bring about a clear and unbiased definition of CSR, there is still some confusion as to how CSR should be defined' (Dahlsrud, 2008). In Cambodia, moreover, where many businesses are small in scale and lack formal CSR policies, this definitional uncertainty may even hold business people back from engagement in CSR. As an industry body representing SMEs explained, for instance:

'I really appreciate those companies which implement CSR in Cambodia and we encourage our members to do it. For instance, if they can give some money for donations that is useful...[but]...CSR, as in other countries, is mostly done by larger companies because they do more harm to society so they need to give something back. A lot of our members are just small family businesses [so they don't do it]' (representative of industry body for SMEs, 12/02/2016).

In this way, the predominant view of CSR in Cambodia is that it is primarily an activity undertaken by larger companies. Moreover, it is generally poorly defined, informal and specific to existing business activities. Most companies do not therefore view their activities as CSR, but as good business practice; they do not seek to improve their social and physical environment out of duty, but out of a largely pragmatic desire to stand out from their competitors. For instance:

'I'm not sure about CSR, but what I do is provide free seeds, technical advice and sometimes funds [to farmers] based on the market. Then we provide a sustainable market based in contract agreement [stating] the condition that farmers use only organic fertilizers; they cannot use any chemicals...The environment is very important for us because we have to make our products high quality for the customers, so [the farmers] can't use insecticides or anything like that...All of these activities are motivated by overseas buyers' (representative of agricultural firm A, 18/02/2016)

On this basis, no single definition of CSR is applicable to all of the CSR related activities in the Kingdom. However, many CSR activities do share common themes. In particular, CSR in Cambodia

tends to be motivated by broader and longer term business concerns such as the need to improve the conditions faced by staff, communities or business partners as a means to longer term business sustainability. Indeed, although such schemes vary hugely in their nature and the scope of their operations, they are invariably symptomatic of long term and holistic approach to business, as opposed to a commitment to the wellbeing of Cambodian society in general.

Where it does take place, CSR in Cambodia tends to be more focussed upon long term sustainable business practice and involves care for workforces and communities in areas of operation, or financial support for partners lower down the supply chain during difficult harvests. Nevertheless, those businesses that do undertake such activity report a lack of such long term perspective across all sectors, stating that ‘in Cambodia, they think about income first and then after that they think about the community [later]’ (representative of agricultural firm B, 18/02/2016).

In view of this situation, this report makes a distinction between formal CSR and informal CSR. The first of these is defined as CSR which is conducted in accordance with national or international frameworks – such as EcoCert, International Standards Organisation, or Global G.A.P. – and is subject to (internal or external) assessment on this basis. In the Cambodia CSR Evaluation Tool (see section 8.2), formal CSR is therefore defined as CSR activity conducted according to “a formal policy with its own annual budget”.

Informal CSR, by contrast, is defined as activities that contribute to the wellbeing of any of the five key CSR areas identified in the Cambodia CSR Evaluation Tool – company staff, other businesses, communities, gender equality, and the natural environment – which does not meet the criteria for formality. As such, informal CSR may range in nature from regular annual programs which are not assessed or do not possess their own budget, to ad hoc investment by the company in any of these areas.

In summary then, informal CSR in Cambodia is defined in this report as any investment of company resources that delivers demonstrable benefit in one of the following five areas:

- The wellbeing of company staff
- Long term and supportive linkages to other businesses
- The wellbeing of communities affected by the operations of a business
- Gender transformation
- The natural environment

Formal CSR in Cambodia may therefore be defined as that which delivers demonstrable benefit to one of the above areas, via a formal program of activities with its own annual budget.

4.4. Overall Trends in Policy and Practice

4.4.1. Drivers of CSR

Across all of the stakeholders interviewed, the following five areas of influence were identified as the primary drivers of CSR in the Kingdom: the RGC, international NGOs, international buyers, industry representative bodies, and companies themselves. However, there was no consensus regarding the most or least important of these. Rather, the drivers of CSR in Cambodia are highly specific not only to each industry, but within each sector or area of operation. Using the two primary areas of interest within this study, agri-business and the mining sector, as examples, the key areas of influence in each sector and sub-sector are summarised below.

Table 5. Influences on CSR in Various Sectors

SECTOR	SUB-SECTOR	PRIMARY INFLUENCE
Mining	CAMEC Group	U.N. Guidelines on international mining practice CAMEC
	Chinese Companies	Companies themselves Chinese Mining Industry Representatives
	Small Scale Domestic and Foreign Mining Operations	Government Guidelines in some cases
Agri-business	Farmer Cooperatives	Rice Millers Industry Representative Bodies (e.g. CRF, CORAA)
	Rice Millers	International Buyers Industry Representative Bodies (e.g. CRF, CORAA)
	Exporters	International Buyers Industry Representative Bodies (e.g. CRF, CORAA)
	Rubber Growers	Companies themselves The RGC

4.4.2. Barriers to CSR

4.4.2.1. Weaknesses in the national “culture of CSR”

Given the economic stagnation that characterised the Kingdom until the mid 1990s, corporate social responsibility is a relatively new concept to many Cambodians, who often view the concept with scepticism concerning the aims of any such initiative. As various commentators argued, ‘the obstacles are cultural; It’s education’ (representative of agricultural firm C, 14/02/2016):

‘A lot of people [in Cambodia] still have old ideas. They only think about their own benefit, so why should they do CSR? It’s no benefit to them [they think]. They also think that other people do CSR only to promote their own company, so when younger people introduce these ideas they feel sceptical’ (representative of industry body for SMEs, 12/02/2016).

However, the sense amongst industry bodies is that this culture is beginning to change, as younger people become increasingly aware of the nexus between good business practice and development. In part, the changing economic landscape in Cambodia has forced a change in outlook, as growing competition means that companies must seek out and cultivate new markets. However, widening participation in higher education has also helped to engender new ideas about business practice in the next generation of leaders within the economy:

‘If you go to the universities you can see many young people taking part in initiatives to help their communities...[they understand that]...Owning a business is not just about developing your own business...If you want to develop your business then you must develop your country first. Poor people cannot buy your products.’ (representative of industry body for SMEs, 12/02/2016)

Indeed, as various informants bemoaned, there is lack of ‘long term vision’ in the Cambodian business community (representative of agricultural firm D, 17/02/2016) and a tendency to prioritize short term profits over long term sustainability (representative of agricultural firm B, 18/02/2016). This is viewed as an impediment not only to the growth of business, but also social development in the Kingdom in general, which some argue derives also from an excessive concern with profit. Indeed, as a representative of an agricultural farm (agricultural firm E, 18/02/2016) argued, ‘if more people did

[CSR] then the country would be getting better and the gap between the rich and the poor would be getting smaller’.

However, whilst ‘there are signs of [CSR] increasing’ (representative of agricultural firm F, 19/02/2016), there remains a difficulty in balancing profits and CSR activities within the Cambodian business community. Indeed, in the current business environment, where demand – both domestically and internationally – for CSR complaint products is relatively low, ‘it’s not an easy thing for a company to think with two faces: social responsibility and their own profit’ (representative of agricultural firm F, 19/02/2016).

The ongoing success of CSR in the Kingdom will depend upon the achievement of a better balance in this respect. However, there is evidence that the cultural resources necessary for such a shift in business practice already exist. In particular, several businesses cited Buddhist principles as one of the key informal drivers of CSR in their company, an approach that encourages cohesive consideration of human and environmental issues in a manner analogous to formal CSR. Indeed, as the owner of an organic farm enterprise explained:

‘Our business follows Buddhist religious principles: try not to kill anything, even insects. That is why we do not even kill flies. Try to do no harm to anyone: don’t harm human beings, don’t harm society, don’t harm the environment. We must take care of everyone.’
(representative of organic farm enterprise, 18/02/2016).

4.4.2.2. Concerns over Political Interference

As noted above, the political landscape in Cambodia has changed markedly since the formation of the Cambodian National Rescue Party in 2012. Political discourse is now far more common than during the period of deepening CPP dominance from 1997 to 2013 and the emergence of a viable opposition has, in the most basic sense, divided the local administration of the country. In this context, becoming involved in community focussed CSR projects at the village, district, or commune level carries with it inherent political complications, which companies are aware of and view as a barrier to engaging in such initiatives. Indeed, as an industry body for SMEs explained, the desire to avoid the appearance of party preference is a significant barrier for the largely small-scale Cambodian business community:

‘In this country we have a lot of political problems...sometimes if you come to do a project in the community then they think that you just want them to join your party...[But] people in Cambodia are very kind. They are Buddhist [after all]. So we need to explain to them how they can share things with others because they really don’t want to get involved in politics’ (representative of industry body for SMEs, 12/02/2016).

As such, the entanglement of CSR projects with politics may be attributed in large part to the relatively weak national understanding of CSR in Cambodia generally. As several businesses and industry bodies attested, a lack of familiarity with the concept of CSR means that communities tend to associate any such efforts with the types of interventions they have already come across. Widening awareness of CSR must therefore be undertaken not only within, but also beyond the business community in order to reduce the scale of this barrier to positive community focused initiatives by the business community.

4.4.3. CSR Partnerships

4.4.3.1. Businesses and NGOs

Across Cambodia as a whole, few businesses operate significant CSR partnerships with NGOs. Nor, indeed, are domestic NGO activities a major driver in influencing the activities of the majority of Cambodian enterprises. Nevertheless, the relatively few companies that possess formal CSR policies

are more likely to cooperate with NGOs than the rest of the Cambodian business community. In addition, certain companies, in the mining industry in particular but also including environmentally focussed agri-business companies, operate regular partnerships with environmental NGOs such as the WWF, as part of formal CSR policies.

Moreover, those agri-business enterprises which possess a greater commitment to formal or informal CSR often also report linkages to national and international NGOs. Indeed, some of the most progressive agri-businesses have actively called for greater international NGO involvement in the market. As they argue, this is not only 'because it would be useful for businesses in setting up social protection' (representative of agricultural firm C, 14/02/2016), but also in order to attribute greater value to their ethical, CSR compliant, products, which currently continues to be valued alongside non-CSR compliant products that are far cheaper to produce.

Less clear cut is the involvement of NGOs in certain sub-sectors of the Cambodian mining industry, where companies such as Renaissance Minerals Inc. operate in close partnership with environmental organizations, in particular the WWF. Such partnerships are notable, though rare, examples of extra-industry cooperation in a sector which tends to prefer to manage itself.

4.4.3.2. Businesses and Businesses

Much of the cooperation underway in the formal and informal CSR landscape in Cambodia happens between businesses, often with the active assistance and intervention of industry representative bodies. Indeed, several among these are perhaps the best examples of industry bodies which actively encourage mutual cooperation amongst their members, urging companies build linkages between the various sub-sectors of each industry, using sustainable business practices to pool and minimise risk via contracts and large deposits for produce.

For the most part, however, cooperation between businesses and mutual good practice continues to be undertaken at the will of individual CEOs, with industry standards tending to be set more by imitation than regulation or framework compliance. Indeed, as a representative of a company – one part of a larger group of agricultural businesses under the same executive leadership – explained, good practice standards are informally determined by philanthropic business leaders in many cases:

[The CEO] has been doing [CSR like activities] for almost 20 years since 1996. He does it himself; nobody pushes him to do it...He usually works alone, but other businesses have seen him doing it so they follow him. For instance, he donated some waiting room chairs to a local hospital recently and posted it on Facebook. Other businesses saw this and invested in the same thing.' (representative of agricultural firm E, 18/02/2016).

Ad hoc cases of generosity and imitation such as this constitute the majority of the CSR landscape in Cambodia, where CSR regulation is scarce and general understanding of the term is poor. Moreover, such initiatives tend not to be seen as CSR per se, but as good business practice: a concept which is far better understood than CSR itself.

4.4.3.3. Businesses and International Buyers

The vast majority of the businesses currently operating in Cambodia are small in scale and conduct their business domestically, or via domestic middlemen who form part of international production chains. Such businesses usually have little contact with international markets and are therefore unaware of their demands or preferences.

Nevertheless, there are some notable exceptions, of which the garment industry is the clearest example. The Cambodian garment industry's strong links to international markets are reflected in relatively high levels of involvement with NGOs and international bodies, including Better Factories

Cambodia – which transformed safety standards in the industry in the early part of the century – and the Safe Working Group, which operates as a partnership between the GMAC industry representative body and CARE International.

In the agri-business sector, by contrast, international buyers demonstrate a relatively low level of interest in the production practices of the products they purchase. Indeed, as noted above, greater involvement of NGOs in the sector has been actively called for by some, who argue that international NGOs must intervene in international markets to raise the profile and market value of CSR compliant products (representative of agricultural firm D, 17/02/2016).

5. Case study: CSR in the Mining and Extraction Sector

5.1. The CSR landscape in the Cambodian Mining and Extraction Sector

Like much of the CSR landscape across the Cambodian business community, the term CSR is in fact rarely used in the mining and extractive industries sector. Indeed, the term is viewed as somewhat out of date in the mining industry. Nevertheless, despite a lack of engagement with the concept itself, numerous extractive companies engage in activities and community initiatives which would fall comfortably within the definitional boundaries of CSR.

For instance, one gold prospecting company, similarly, cooperates with a number of NGOs and institutional partners in order to ensure that their practices are accountable to the communities in which they work. As they explained:

‘We work with the [local] media over there [in Rattanakiri] and Radio Free Asia, [as well as the NGOs] Ad Hoc and DPA to advertise to everybody involved that they should please feel free to criticise us so that we can improve our practice...We help and study each other think about the future of the local people. When we plant a mine out there we think of the far future, the long term [so] when we asked the local people if they supported the mine they said yes, because we give profit to the people, not just the company’ (representative of mining and extractive firm A, 19/02/2016).

In spite of such positive case studies, however, CAMEC members constitute only a small proportion of total operations in the country, the illegal element of which is reportedly ‘huge’ in comparison. Moreover, the promise of mineral resources ripe for extraction has not only attracted large international companies from overseas. Far smaller operations from neighbouring countries are currently operating in large numbers, many of them illegally:

In this way, it is likely that the most visible mining companies in Cambodia – in terms of accessibility, accountability and adherence to international good practice guidelines – are also the most likely to undertake various aspects of CSR, whereas smaller mining operations are both obscure and unaccountable in the many cases. Similarly, those parts of the mining industry not directly involved in extraction frequently view themselves as holding no responsibility for the ethics of the goods they deal in, explaining that ‘We are just a small family company. We buy and sell mountain stones, so [regarding CSR], first I need to think about myself, because we need to help ourselves before we can

help the community or others' (representative of mining and extractive firm B, 23/02/2016). Moreover, this was regarded very much as a generalized attitude, with 'most companies thinking about profit first and [only] after that thinking about helping the community' (representative of mining and extractive firm C, 23/02/2016).

However, a far more visible issue may be found in the Chinese dominated segment of the Cambodian mining industry which are large scale, but unregulated by an industry body such as CAMAC and who tend to 'work only with a small group of Chinese people and don't know about CAMEC or other NGOs' (representative of mining and extractive firm D, 18/02/2016).

These companies have a reputation for 'trying to get profits very fast...[and]...not thinking about sustainability in the future' (representative of mining and extractive firm A, 19/02/2016). Indeed, given that the activities of Chinese extractive companies have been amongst the most 'controversial' (Bader, 2014: 109) undertaken in Cambodia, the lack of transparency of the Chinese sub-sector appears problematic, not least because it means that any efforts to promote CSR must be disaggregated and considered in the light of the specific needs of each. Frameworks applicable to the CAMEC group are unlikely to hold much influence over the Chinese dominated companies and vice versa. Similarly, far greater regulation is necessary over the extensive small scale mining sector, which is likely to be the poorest performer in the sector in terms of CSR.

5.2. Gender Focussed CSR in the Mining and Extractive Sector

Even within the CAMEC group, heavily regulated compared with the Cambodian mining industry as a whole, the promotion of specifically gender focussed CSR remains weak. Indeed, rather than being a key aim of many mining and extractive companies, the gender agenda often becomes lost in the more general aim of meeting the demands, and answering the concerns, of the community.

Nevertheless, the lack of a specific focus in many cases does not mean that no positive work is achieved in terms of gender relations. Those companies that engage most closely with long term community management and planning often include a gender dimension to their vocational programs. Nevertheless, some companies have reported low levels of uptake in this respect, with Khmer families often preferring to send their children to university, rather than encourage them to participate in vocational training.

5.3. Drivers of CSR in the Cambodian Mining and Extraction Sector

5.3.1. Companies

Although some of the larger, primarily Western, extractive companies operating under the CAMEC umbrella have engaged with NGOs during the course of their community management projects, this mutual engagement has tended to take place on a consultation, rather than a regulatory basis. Indeed, overall, the extent to which NGOs may be argued to influence the operations of the mining and extractive sector is minimal, even within the CAMEC sub-sector, where the majority of NGO cooperation takes place. Part of the reason for this is that those companies which have a sufficiently good environmental record to seek NGO engagement tend to believe that their own way of doing CSR is the most efficient means of delivering benefit to the community.

Thus, there is a strong and entrenched view within the Cambodian mining industry that companies know best about the specific demands and opportunities of mining and that external bodies not directly engaged in extraction simply do not have the background knowledge to improve on their efforts. In essence, the perspective that companies themselves are the best placed to decide upon their own CSR responsibilities pervades the industry.

5.3.2. International Best Practice

Nevertheless, although the mining industry does not believe that stronger or broader domestic frameworks are necessary in order to regulate their CSR activities, they do claim to adhere to wider international frameworks. In particular, the UN guidelines on mining are used as a basis for membership of CAMEC, all of whose members are reportedly required to provide evidence of their efforts to follow them. Nevertheless, as with the domestic legality of the extractive industries, many smaller companies are either unaware of international mining regulations or do not follow their guidelines. Moreover, the extent to which the large contingent of Chinese mining companies in the Kingdom adheres to international regulations is poorly understood, although their refusal to accept CAMEC's invitation to join (contingent on acceptance of international best practice guidelines) combined with documented cases of poor mining practices (Bader, 2014) suggests that adherence may be relatively low.

5.4. Challenges to CSR in the Cambodian Mining and Extraction Sector

5.4.1. Dislocated sub-sectors requiring different solutions

One of the primary issues facing the CSR landscape as a whole in the Cambodian mining and extraction sector is the uneven commitment evidenced across the various stakeholder groups. Many companies connected to the mining industry – especially those involved in the export of numerous commodities including but not limited to mineral resources – do not view themselves as holding any responsibility to undertake CSR, arguing instead that 'we have no policy on the environment...this firm is not related to the environment so it has no effect on the environment' (representative of mining and extractive firm E, 19/02/2016).

However, despite the allusion to a balance between companies which do and which do not participate in (either formal or informal) CSR activities, the reality is that the vast majority of extraction in contemporary Cambodia is undertaken without either a strong CSR framework, or even an informal commitment to the underlying principles of CSR. The reasons for this are complex. However, one of the key issues is the relative youth of the Cambodian mining sector, which means that many companies' activities in the Kingdom are still in the exploratory phase. This perspective was echoed by a representative of one mining company, who explained that:

'Now my company just explores [potential] mining areas in Rattanakiri province. My company is very young, so we don't know too much about other companies and I don't know much about CSR at all. As for [staff focussed CSR] we have a policy planned for the future but my boss hasn't implemented it yet' (representative of mining and extractive firm D, 18/02/16).

This phase based constraint on CSR activity applies as much to small scale Chinese and domestic operations as it does to larger international companies. However, the presence of industry bodies

such as CAMEC offers a potential framework for longer term CSR planning, whereby even those members who are not participating in active community and environmental initiatives may be expected to conform to basic international labour and environmental guidelines.

Chinese companies by contrast, though often unavailable for comment, have ‘violated Cambodian law’ in numerous cases (Bader, 2014: 108), as well as being subject to ‘various examples of dubious Chinese joint ventures in the resource sector’ (Bader, 2014: 108). Consequently, stronger assessment and regulation is necessary to specifically address the activities of Chinese extractive companies in Cambodia, rather than expecting that a single piece of regulation may be able to cover the majority of larger extractive corporations.

5.4.2. The difficulty of regulating small scale extractors

Moreover, a second key challenge to promotion of CSR in the industry is the continuing lack of regulation association with smaller scale extractors, many of whom neglect to undertake CSR of any sort. Indeed, local mining companies often operate in an entirely ad hoc manner, locating a potential site and simply beginning to mine if they believe the location in question has the potential to yield minerals. Government regulation of such operations is complex, given many perform at least some of their work illegally, concessions are either not fully respected, or entirely ignored and – most troublesome to regulators – the extractive sector on this scale is highly mobile, frequently comprising opportunistic ventures from neighbouring countries such as Vietnam.

5.5. Benefits of CSR to the Mining and Extractive Sector

Each of the three sub-sectors of the mining and extractive industries stands to benefit in different ways from CSR activity. For instance, large, international companies have a significant reputational asset to protect and must ensure that they are seen to comply as well and as widely as possible with regulatory frameworks. A failure to do so may lead to dips in share prices and the withdrawal of third party investment, as has been seen already in various cases in Cambodia and elsewhere.

Although Chinese companies have tended to see themselves as somewhat separate from the voluntary regulatory frameworks adopted by Western companies, these would also stand to benefit. Working together with other members of CAMEC – membership of which requires adherence to a CSR inclusive regulatory code – would bring strong informational advantages, for example and would ultimately serve to improve the overall reputation of the sector amongst investors.

Even smaller and artisanal companies would stand to benefit from CSR enacted on a small and informal scale. If these companies were allowed to integrate elements of CSR slowly in return for membership of a wider mining community, then both themselves and the CSR landscape generally would likely stand to benefit.

6. Case study: CSR in Agribusiness

6.1. The CSR Landscape in Cambodian Agribusiness

All those working in Cambodian agribusiness, as well as agriculture more generally, are aware of the scale of the sector’s importance to the Kingdom. Not only does agriculture contribute a significant –

albeit falling (UNDP, 2011) – proportion of national GDP, but ‘80 to 85% of people in Cambodia are farmers’ (CORAA, 15/02/2016; see also World Bank, 2015), meaning that change here underpins the development of the country as a whole. Nevertheless, formal CSR engagement remains generally low. As an industry body of rice producers and exporters explained, ‘we try to encourage our members to do more [CSR], but I’m not really sure that they understand CSR very well’ (representative of industry body for rice producers and exporters, 12/02/2016).

Indeed, throughout the agri-business sector, there is a generalized lack of engagement and even ‘scepticism’ (representative of industry body for SMEs, 12/02/2016) concerning CSR, which has inhibited the spread of formal projects. Throughout the entire sector, only one large firm has – with its EcoCert certificate – achieved an ‘international organic certification’ (representative of industry body for organic farming, 15/02/2016) including strict CSR guidelines, whilst the majority of agri-businesses fail to undertake any dedicated CSR initiatives at all (representative of industry body for rice producers and exporters, 12/02/2016), in part due to their size and the prevailing view that ‘only the big companies care about [CSR]. The small companies take no interest in it’ (representative of agricultural firm H, 18/02/2016).

Nevertheless, despite a lack of widespread formal engagement in CSR projects, many companies do address some of the core principles of CSR in their business practices, promoting capacity building and development across the sector, though usually without recourse to a CSR executive or department. For example, much of the work one large agricultural group do does not form part of a formal CSR policy, having ‘tried to do CSR 16 years ago, but receiving no support from NGOs’ (representative of large agricultural firm, 17/02/2016). However, in the course of their business activities, they undertake a number of activities which could comfortably be classified as CSR:

‘As for CSR, we have built 1000km of roads: public roads, not private like some companies, as well as well as reservoirs that villagers can use to fish in to support their livelihoods. We stop people from cutting [trees on] the mountains. Where we work, you can see that the mountains are still green. [In addition], 500 houses for villagers, with the titles transferred to them; where we work, there are no migrants...There are also few land conflicts. We pay our communities compensation because we want to avoid demonstrations.’ (representative of large agricultural firm, 17/02/2016)

In a similar manner, another company (representative of agricultural firm H, 18/02/2016) described the following activities:

‘In my company we have two programs. One is the hospital, where we give free access to all of the workers, especially the poorest workers on the condition that we deduct 2% of their salary every month. [The second] is that every 1 or 2 years, we have a program giving gifts to poor families who work for us and who live around our rubber plantation: around 300 to 500 families.’

As such, one of the key characteristics of such activities is their specificity to the operations undertaken by companies, as opposed to more general CSR initiatives aimed at benefiting the country as a whole. Indeed, the high cost of undertaking such activities – estimated at ‘40% of our capital’ (representative of large agricultural firm, 17/02/2016) – is borne for reasons specific to labour intensive agro-industries. Otherwise put, such operations ‘need manpower, so if we don’t make them secure they cannot stay with us’ (representative of large agricultural firm, 17/02/2016).

However, beyond the demands of individual companies are the structures and particular demands of the sector. In the rice sector, for instance, there are three distinct interest groups, each with their own business and CSR practices:

'We have three key stakeholders [in this sector]: farmer cooperatives, rice exporting companies and rice millers. In terms of farmer organizations, mostly they work closely with the community in the countryside, educating them in farming techniques and helping them to work together...Working together is important because some families have too much labour and others have not enough so they can share labour and machinery also' (representative of industry body for rice producers and exporters, 12/02/2016)

Usually, farming cooperatives such as these do not form on their own, but are encouraged by industry bodies, who deliver initial training and guidance with a view to long term independent sustainability. CRF, for instance, 'is working on how to integrate more farmers to work together [in cooperatives]' by undertaking 'regular activities at the sites to meet with them and also training sessions to help people understand cooperation' (representative of industry body for rice producers and exporters, 12/02/2016). Similarly, in the sphere of organic rice farming:

'Farming cooperatives have been associated with CORAA since 2012, during which time we have supported training costs to train, so we are capacity building. They receive an organic certification from CORAA and we find a market for them so they don't have to ask for any more help from CORAA as they already have a contract with organic millers' (representative of industry body for organic agriculture, 15/02/2016).

With the help of umbrella associations, then, the majority of the direct engagement with the community in the Cambodian rice sector is undertaken by the smallest organizations, farming cooperatives. Although not a corporation in the profit making sense, these groups are a vital element in the rice sector's CSR landscape because they constitute a point of contact between the communities in which rice farming takes place and business community. Consequently, the informal CSR practices adopted by Cambodia's rice millers are distinct, but closely related:

'Each rice mill normally brings very important benefits to their community. For example, in each district there is only one big rice mill. When the farmers harvest their rice and bring it to the mill [even if] the quality is too low then the miller buys it anyway because he doesn't want to break the farmer's hope. This is why millers sometimes have to accept a loss like this to support the farmers and the community' (representative of industry body for rice producers and exporters, 12/02/2016).

Thus, the rice mills are aware of the need to retain farmers within agriculture and – though many do not view it as a CSR policy – willing in some cases to accept a loss in order to smooth the income of suppliers. Moreover, during the frequent years in which environmental pressures affect the quality or quantity of a harvest, contract millers require a perspective which takes farmers' situations into account:

'If [farmers] lose their crops, then we postpone [repayment] until next year; they can pay us back then. It's all we can do: we're not an NGO, but we don't squeeze them. They're in a bad situation. They don't have anything to eat, so they can't pay us back either.' (representative of rice milling company, 22/02/2016)

The role of farming associations is, as noted above, a vital link here because it facilitates a degree of collective bargaining and places farmers in a stronger position to negotiate with millers over the price of their produce. Moreover, millers receive incentives from the demand as well as the supply side, with pressure from international buyers having led to measures being adopted to improve the health and wellbeing of those working in mills:

'Now there is a new requirement to pack rice in bags of 50kg or 25kg bags or less so as to incentivise labourers not to carry more than they can. This is a requirement from the international buyers, but [the millers] don't just want to do only what the buyers want. They

want to set their own standards as well' (representative of industry body for rice producers and exporters, 12/02/2016).

Although it is the millers who must shift their production practices in view of international buyers' requirements, Cambodian millers rarely communicate directly with those purchasing their goods from overseas. Rather, it is the third stakeholder in the rice sector, the exporters, who provide the final link here, generally adopting a more formal approach to CSR in view of their larger size and international outlook:

'Rice exporting companies don't just run businesses exporting rice, but also do much more in society. Some have funded and clearly defined [CSR] activity as well. [But on an everyday basis] they are the ones who provide information to the millers and also provide financial support to the millers with large deposits so that millers can purchase a larger paddy crop and seek out new suppliers' (representative of industry body for rice producers and exporters, 12/02/2016).

In this way, the hierarchical structure of the Cambodian rice industry means that much of the formal and informal CSR activity which occurs there operates at the linkages between the three key sub-sectors. Thus, one of the reasons why some of the activities undertaken (by millers and farmers' organizations in particular) are not viewed as CSR is the mutually beneficial nature of such arrangements: large down payments paid to millers are good business practice, but also a means of safeguarding future profits; similarly, the purchase of low quality rice produce is a key means of retaining a strong supplier base, rather than a discrete CSR initiative; community training and labour sharing schemes are viewed as mutually beneficial, rather than charitable.

Given their central position within this hierarchy, millers have tended to be the most active in promoting formal – as well as informal, but regularly funded and monitored informal – CSR initiatives. Some large firms demonstrate that high levels of compliance with international CSR regulations can be economically viable, albeit up to '30% less' (representative of agricultural firm D, 17/02/2016) profitable in the short term than non-compliance. However, this does not diminish the importance of sectoral inter-linkages and trust. Rather, the nature of the Cambodian rice sector means that a mutual commitment to CSR is essential if it is to 'survive' (representative of agricultural firm D, 17/02/2016) in any form in the country.

As various stakeholders explained, trust and the building of long term relationships between farmers, producers, exporters and buyers is essential to building CSR in the Kingdom. Informants speaking from different perspectives highlighted distinct drivers of CSR and CSR like processes, from industry representative bodies (industry body for SMEs; industry body for rice producers and exporters), to farmers cooperatives (industry body for organic agriculture), to international NGOs, (agricultural firm D), highlighting the need for an integrated approach to CSR across the rice sector.

Indeed, despite the efforts of organizations such as the key industry bodies in the rice sector, and others like them in the rubber and cash crop sectors, CSR in Cambodian agri-business continues to be personalized and uncoordinated, driven more by a strong desire to 'do unto others as you would have them do unto you' via ethical business practices (representative of agricultural firm J, 25/02/2016), than an adherence to formal regulatory frameworks. Even those agri-business companies that dedicate large proportions of their profits to such activities tend to do so in a manner which, though viewed as an investment in good business, is nevertheless presented essentially as charitable work. As the CEO of one company (representative of agricultural firm B, 18/02/2016) explained, for example:

'I don't know much about CSR policies in the rubber sector, but I know that other people do policies like this company. We spend about \$900 per month on [community

investment]. Generally the people in the community go to the commune chief [when they need something] and then he requests this from the company. Then they will implement it on the basis of affordability’.

Although this voluntary, cost-based approach to CSR is in many ways logical, it has resulted in a low level, often shallow, implementation of CSR principles across agri-business. As numerous agri-businesses explained, undertaking good CSR is often simply not profitable in the current market because Cambodia ‘is a poor country and organic agriculture is more expensive so there is less demand for it’ (representative of agricultural firm F, 19/02/2016). Thus, there is a need for ‘people to be made aware’ (representative of agricultural firm F, 19/02/2016) of the benefits of sustainable agri-business in order to generate the demand which fuels the uptake of CSR in the sector.

6.2. Gender Focussed CSR in Cambodian Agribusiness

As in the mining and extractive sector, the specific promotion of gender equality within formal and informal CSR programs is sparse, indirect and weak. Although international CSR guidelines necessitate such measures, only a single agribusiness company interviewed has achieved the international standard set by EcoCert. Moreover, with a few notable exceptions – such as one company who ‘have hired consultants to analyse the gender dimensions of their entire value chain’ (representative of agricultural firm C, 14/02/2016) and another who ‘aim to come up with projects that better suit the ladies’ (representative of agricultural firm J, 25/02/2016) – the vast majority of those that remain do not have a formal CSR policy focused on gender, explaining instead that they ‘do not have a specific programme for women; we treat them all the same’ (representative of an organic agriculture company, 18/02/2016).

Nevertheless, although specific policies are rare, several agri-business companies noted that their training programs had the indirect effect of empowering women – who ‘work harder to save and improve than men’ (representative of an organic agriculture company, 18/02/2016) – via a stronger economic role in the community. In particular, the need to attend training workshops and learn new farming techniques whilst simultaneously earning household income was viewed as a motivating factor both for women to attend these meetings and to take charge of new farming practices related to agri-business themselves. As an industry body for organic agriculture explained, for instance:

‘In the cooperatives, there are many women involved. A lot of ladies attend our training workshops. They say that their husband goes out to the fields to farm, so they cannot attend the training themselves, but afterwards they discuss it’ (representative of industry body for organic agriculture, 15/02/2016).

Similarly:

‘Most of the growers now are ladies and housewives. The husband is also involved, but often he tries to look for another job outside [the village], so he leaves the farming to his wife. [In any case, women] are the ones who are better for this type of production’ (representative of agricultural firm F, 19/02/2016).

6.3. Drivers of CSR in Cambodian Agribusiness

6.3.1. Agribusiness Companies

Depending upon the stakeholder's perspective, views on the major drivers of CSR in Cambodian agribusiness varied, with each interest group understandably emphasizing its own contribution to the Cambodian CSR landscape. Nevertheless, by triangulating the various viewpoints involved it may be broadly established that CSR – albeit often informal and largely unrecognised as such – does play a significant role in the functioning of the agribusiness sector. Moreover, these various initiatives and working practices allow the sector to supersede the key issues which impact upon those involved in it, in particular (as outlined in greater detail below), international economic pressures and climate change.

In this respect, there are two key actors: private companies and industry representative bodies, both of which play distinct but complementary roles in managing and growing the CSR landscape of Cambodian agribusiness. With respect to the first of these, moreover, it must be recognised that the nature of CSR changes significantly depending upon where in the sector it occurs. Some large scale rice exporters undertake formal CSR initiatives, for instance:

'[Company D] is a good example. They have an international organic certification, so it means that they consider the environment and society and besides this they also run trade fairs to buy products at premium prices.'

'CSR [of this sort] is very important for businesses at the present because through CSR farmers can get an opportunity to sell products at a premium price. Through CSR, these programs can help to reduce emigration, especially of people who live in rural areas...[because]...rural people can achieve a sustainable income, so they can continue their farming. For instance, if you buy a product for a low price, then the farmer cannot continue their farm activity, so it's not sustainable' (Representative of industry body for organic agriculture, 15/02/2016).

6.3.2. Industry Representative Bodies

As noted above, moreover, many agribusiness companies undertake less formal means of CSR in their industry, agreeing to purchase poor quality crops or giving larger deposits to farmers and millers to support the wider industry. However, businesses do not do this independently, but are supported and encouraged to a large extent by industry bodies, who undertake workshops, seminars and meeting to build trust between the various agribusiness sub-sectors and stakeholders. Indeed:

'The biggest influence on CSR is [an industry body]. They talk about the transparency and building unit and thinking about the social impact [of business] as well. We ask many key stakeholders, as mentioned, to work closely together...[and]...we are working on how to integrate more farmers to work together. We have regular activities at the sites to meet with [stakeholders] and training sessions to help people to understand cooperation.' (representative of industry body for rice producers and exporters, 12/02/2016)

6.3.3. International NGOs

Many companies who undertake extensive CSR activity, whether formal or informal, do so in the hope that they 'will get an opportunity to sell their products at a premium price' (representative of industry body for organic agriculture, 15/02/2016). Consequently, those companies 'who spend a lot of time, too much time' on CSR (representative of large agribusiness group, 17/02/2016) in many cases do not receive the financial rewards that they expect for taking an ethical approach to production.

Indeed, despite the efforts of industry bodies to encourage CSR in Cambodian agri-business, such endeavours are ultimately predicated upon the international market, where the additional value added

to products by CSR initiatives tends not to be fully reflected in purchase prices. Consequently, the long term future of CSR in Cambodian agri-business depends upon the ability of international NGOs to raise the profile of ethically produced products in the market. Indeed, as one executive explained of CSR compliant agri-businesses in Cambodia:

‘At the moment it is only international NGOs that support us. With nobody’s support we will not survive [because] now only 5 to 10% [of buyers] understand and care about the importance of CSR, but we need the buyers to support us...The best thing is to lobby the big international traders with conferences and workshops to set up standards of CSR’ (representative of agricultural firm D, 17/02/2016)

6.4. Challenges to CSR in Cambodian Agribusiness

6.4.1. Economics

One of the key challenges to the Cambodian rice sector at present is the poor economic environment for the product. The price of rice has fallen considerably during the past year (representative of industry body for producers and exporters, 12/02/2016) and, coupled with the rising price of inputs such as seeds and fertilizer (Bylander, 2013) this has posed a major challenge to the mainstream rice industry. Notably, moreover, it has placed strain on the areas in which – as described above – the informal CSR practices characteristic of the rice sector tend to take place, i.e., at the linkages between the three subsections of stakeholders. As the a representative from an industry body explained, from an industry perspective this has manifested in a significant loss of the trust that binds the industry:

‘[As a result of unfavourable economics] farmers and millers have lost trust in each other. During the harvest season there was a disagreement about prices so we need to build trust back up. We need an information system to inform people about prices [because] the farmers think that when the price of rice is low that the millers have [colluded to] set a price, but this actually happens in only very few cases. Mostly the millers want to support the farmers.’

‘[This distrust means that] some farmers are not willing to sell to the millers. They can find a Vietnamese trader to purchase [their rice] for a higher price, so the millers have competition from them now’ (representative of industry body for rice producers and exporters, 12/02/2016).

As such, economic pressures within the rice sector have resulted in a reduction in the quality and quantity of informal CSR activities within the mainstream rice sector. However, these have not been mirrored amongst organic producers of rice. Rather:

‘For organic rice, the price of rice is not a big challenge because the companies provide a premium price for the farmer, but for normal rice [growers] this is a big problem because the price of rice in Thailand is cheaper.’

‘Also, organic farmers do not purchase organic fertilizer from the market, they produce it locally themselves, whereas normal farmers have to purchase it on the market’ (representative of industry body for organic agriculture, 15/02/2016).

In this way, CSR initiatives related to agribusiness are impacted in different ways by economic factors, with the mainstream rice sector having suffered a problematic loss of trust, whilst organic rice farmers have been largely insulated from price changes in farming inputs, and bolstered by the

premium prices paid for their product. Moreover, the experience of such price changes is often not direct, but enhanced or mediated by the presence of a third party. For instance, some bodies operate schemes wherein prices are agreed in advance, so that farmers are able to plan without fearing the impact of a changing market. Thus:

'If farmers have already made a contract with us, then [changing prices] don't matter because the price is fixed, but for normal farmers, of course they have a problem when the price goes down. Also, if they cannot supply the contracted amount then, as long as they are truthful, then we accept [what they have]' (representative of agricultural research and community development organisation, 15/02/2016).

Moreover, in contrast to the ameliorating impact of this organisation and some rice millers, the presence of middlemen often serves to exacerbate any such problems. Indeed:

'The middlemen watch the farmers every season. When they see the farmers really need more money, then they put down the price [they will buy at] at that time. As a result, the farmers don't have any choice. They really need the money so they have to sell at that price.'

Now the middlemen are affecting the price of products a lot. But you can't only blame the middlemen. The government must have a strict law or regulation to control that problem, so the middlemen can't do anything' (representative of agricultural research and community development organisation, 15/02/2016).

6.4.2. Low International Value of Ethically Produced Agri-business Products

The economic issues facing the development of CSR in Cambodian agri-business extend beyond the domestic. Indeed, those companies which had invested heavily in CSR complained of a lack of additional value attached to their products by large international buyers, even in the wake of heavy investment in CSR. Rather than viewing ethically sourced, produced and packaged products as more valuable, such companies complained, their highly expensive, CSR compliant produce continues to be evaluated by price alone, in an export market dominated by non-CSR compliant producers. As an executive of a large rice processing and exporting company explained:

'CSR is very difficult, not easy. It increases [a business like ours' costs at least] 30%. Most of this cost goes to the farmers, to give them fairness [in the market], so if you are just thinking about short term profits then it's really difficult for you [to do CSR]. But AMRU is very long term thinking. Before we did CSR we had high profits, but now they have gone down a lot' (representative of agricultural firm D, 17/02/2016).

As the reduction of their profits highlights, the high costs of investment in CSR initiatives are not reflected in the prices paid by international buyers, or the demand for ethically produced products. Rather, producers who wish to engage seriously in CSR have to do so at their own (often substantial) expense in the short term at least, trusting in a greater value being placed in their products in the future:

'Even though I got the first entry to the [French CSR regulatory body EcoCert in the Cambodian agri-business sector], I have not recovered the benefits I expected. I thought I would receive a 6 month contract, or a 1 year contract, but no. They still compare us to the millers who produce poor quality rice and whose mills are not clean. How can we compete with them [on price]?

Guidelines are costly. To make everybody happy, including the farmers [costs money]. At this price, how can we achieve it?...If [our goods are valued] on price alone, then CSR [in this country] will fail' (representative of agricultural firm D, 17/02/2016).

Consequently, he explained, more international regulation is necessary in order to raise the profile and value of CSR compliant agri-business products:

'Of course we need to have more international regulation. More lobbying is necessary to influence the international buyers [because] the big buyers like Tesco only care about price. They always want to lower the price, even though it means lower quality and lower wages for farmers' (representative of agricultural firm D, 17/02/2016).

6.4.3. Environmental Change

Unlike variation in the price of rice and farm inputs, which appears to have had an uneven impact across different parts of agri-business, the result of environmental change has been felt across all areas of the sector. As noted above, the quality of the environment for farming has declined markedly since the turn of the millennium, since when the farmers 'have faced floods and droughts' (representative of large rice processing and exporting firm, 22/02/2016) with such regularity that many can no longer balance the financial equations of agriculture. Indeed, it can now be said with some assurance that:

'Cambodia is a country that has experienced climate change...[but]...not only companies but also the government have no means of preventing this problem...So if companies and government do not resolve this problem then farmers and organic farmers will all face a big problem' (representative of industry body for organic agriculture, 15/02/2016).

More specifically, climate change is argued 'to affect agribusiness in three ways' (representative of agricultural research and community development organisation, 15/02/2016). First, it means that 'farmers cannot make the contracts they have agreed because the yield has collapsed' (Ibid.); second, it engenders labour migration, causing 'many people to migrate from their home village to Phnom Penh at the time of having problems like these' (Ibid.); and finally, it provides further opportunities for predatory middlemen to exploit farmers indebted by additional fertiliser, irrigation and replanting costs. The combination of these factors means that bad years, which 'result primarily from drought and insects can reduce farmers' livelihoods to around 70 to 80% of their normal level' (representative of industry body for organic agriculture, 15/02/2016).

6.5. Benefits of CSR to Agribusiness

Informal and formal CSR already brings numerous benefits to agribusiness. First, many agribusiness companies are aware that building long term business relationships – both horizontally and hierarchically – is better for business than short term profiteering. Consequently, the flexible agreements and loans offered by some millers may be shown to build strong linkages between the two, which minimise the impact of both middlemen and environmental risk. Similar benefits may be seen in the linkages between exporters and millers.

Formal CSR is less well developed and offers fewer examples. However, some companies have won numerous international awards for their CSR compliance and – although they have been forced to bear a short term loss – are well positioned to profit extensively once the international market begins to recognise and place a higher value on CSR compliant goods.

7. Conclusions and Recommendations

Formal CSR in Cambodia is extremely sparse, with only a small selection of companies possessing formal CSR policies and even fewer applying for international accreditation of their CSR or CSR related activities. This is in large part due to a domestic and international market which attributes only a low value to CSR compliant products, meaning that companies wishing to engage in extensive, formal CSR must do as a long term investment in a future market. Indeed, every company which has adopted a dedicated, formal, CSR policy has reported a significant fall in earnings as a result.

Nevertheless, although there is a general lack of engagement with the broader, development focused type of CSR, CSR viewed as long term, sustainable business practice is more common. This is especially true within agri-business, where the multi-stage production chain necessitates the fostering of long term relationships between growers, millers and exporters and which manifests in the provision of contracts and larger deposits to farmers and millers, or the purchase of low quality produce during poor harvests.

Such initiatives, which may be described as informal CSR, are positive and relatively widespread. However, their ad hoc nature and lack of regulation means that they are frequently incomplete. Few companies undertake CSR in all five key areas identified for this report: labour, business ethics, community consultation and engagement, environment, and gender transformation. Instead, they invested money in those areas they view as likely to yield economic returns in the near future. In particular, dedicated gender focussed CSR initiatives are relatively rare in Cambodia across all surveyed sectors.

7.1. General Recommendations

1. Both domestically and internationally, cultural attitudes to CSR within the business community need to change. Currently, Cambodian companies have a generally poor understanding of the aims of CSR and rarely possess the long term view necessary to reap the benefits of engagement with CSR initiatives. A key issue here is that international buyers do not provide sufficient financial incentive to producers to take on such commitments.

A crucial next step for the NGO sector will therefore be to secure agreements or backing from international buyers for a differential pricing structure for Cambodian products manufactured in a CSR compliant manner. Simply put, NGOs need to make international buyers agree to pay more for CSR compliant products.

Having done so, the second step will be to publicise these agreements domestically. Cambodian companies need to know that CSR is not simply a sunk cost, but can result in increased long term revenue.

2. Gender focussed CSR remains weak across all sectors. Most companies consider the promotion of gender equality as a secondary objective of good business practice, rather than a primary aim.

In order to promote gender related CSR, NGOs and civil society organizations need to emphasize the business case for gender transformative policies. Companies need to be made aware that raising the number and profile of women in the workplace – and facilitating their presence by gender specific measures such as maternity leave and flexible hours –

means that they are giving themselves access to a larger pool of high quality staff and that this will improve the performance of their business in the long term.

3. The experience of companies that have worked with NGOs on CSR initiatives is almost universally positive. Consequently, there is a clear role for NGOs in promoting and facilitating the uptake of both gender focussed CSR and that in other areas.

The CSR platform should therefore seek to expand its membership, bringing in smaller, domestic, NGOs and CSOs to promote both gender specific and more general CSR initiatives. Expanding the number of NGOs and CSOs that are aware of and interested in CSR is crucial in order to broaden and deepen awareness and understanding within the business community, which is currently very low.

4. Further research is necessary in two key areas. First, the stakeholder perspective on CSR is notably poorly developed in Cambodia and requires in-depth exploration in order to fully assess the *impact*, as opposed to the *extent* of CSR in the country. Secondly, the one of the key findings of this report is that CSR can only be fully understood on a sectoral basis. Further research is therefore required in other sectors not thus far explored, including fisheries, construction, retail, and manufacturing, amongst several others.

7.2. Recommendations Specific to Agri-business

1. Within the agribusiness sector, there is a clear demand for the government to implement a stronger legal framework to regulate the activities of middlemen, who are currently exacerbating economic and climate related problems in multiple areas of agriculture. It is now common practice for middlemen to identify farmers whose harvests have been poor in order to buy or secure deals for produce at rates below market levels.

Given that such activity is currently legal, NGOs can have little direct impact in mediating it. However, they may be able to affect change in the medium term by lobbying the government to pursue such legislation in the near future

2. Also within the agribusiness sector, there is a demand for more action to be taken by government in relation to climate change adaptation CSR initiatives. CSR in this respect is already undertaken – to a greater or lesser extent – by a high proportion of agribusiness enterprises and industry representative bodies, but there is strong backing for further government intervention to complement these private sector strategies.

As such, NGOs generally – and the CSR platform specifically – should lobby the government for changes to the law to reflect the contemporary realities of climate change. For instance, there needs to be greater protection within the law for independent farmers, who need greater security from millers. Regulation would help to ensure that millers honour formal and informal contracts, and to expand the reach of responsible contract farming.

In addition, the government should be encouraged to take direct action to assist climate vulnerable farmers. Two key measures would be to create affordable seed banks for farmers, so that they may respond effectively to changing conditions, and improving the provision of irrigation in drought hit areas.

3. International buyer demand is a major factor in the uptake of CSR practices – both informally and formally – in agri-business. However, international buyers tend to place CSR compliance

relatively low in their decision making process. Further lobbying is needed for international buyers to place a higher value on CSR compliant agri-business products.

This point has been reiterated specifically for agribusiness because it has been identified as especially relevant in this sector. Indeed, those companies that undertook formal CSR stated that doing so was currently extremely costly in business terms as the heavy investment required was not recouped in the cost of produce. NGOs must therefore specifically target international buyers of agribusiness produce – in particular rice – in order to see sustainable improvements in CSR uptake in the sector.

7.3. Recommendations Specific to Mining and Extractive Industries

The mining and extractive sector is varied. Moreover, unlike the rice sector, which has several distinct scales of operation, but nevertheless retains strong inter-linkages between each, the Cambodian mining sector may be divided into three distinct sub-sectors: the Western dominated CAMEC subsector, the Chinese sub-sector and the large and diffuse “artisanal” sector of small extractive companies. Each of these has vastly different CSR profiles and needs to be addressed through different policy mechanisms. These are addressed separately below.

7.3.1. Large Scale Mining Companies

Even amongst those companies that adhere to international guidelines in their operations, many remain in the exploratory stage, meaning that they are disinclined to invest in CSR and not strongly obliged to do so by international mining regulations. Further domestic regulation of this early stage of mining operations may help to broaden and deepen the CSR initiatives associated with the sector.

NGOs therefore have a role to play in two respects. First, they must work with CAMEC in order to encourage larger mining companies to undertake CSR initiatives in the exploratory phase of mining operations. Secondly, they should lobby the government to implement legislation in this respect and to improve the labour law in relation to mining specifically. Adopting these twin approaches concurrently will help to improve the breadth and depth of CSR in the mining and extractive sectors in short, as well as long term.

7.3.2. Chinese Mining Companies

The CSR platform must make significant efforts to initiate dialogue with Chinese mining and extractive companies. Currently, CAMEC does not represent any Chinese companies, meaning that none are bound by voluntary good practice frameworks. In addition, this means that communicating the message that CSR is necessary and beneficial to these companies is very difficult. The CSR platform must therefore work with CAMEC to reach out to Chinese companies in an effort to bring as many as possible under the influence of voluntary regulatory frameworks and involved in CSR initiatives.

7.3.3. Small Scale and Artisanal Companies

Further effort is required to control and regulate small scale mining operations and to crack down on illegal operations. Although small in scale and often difficult to locate and contact, such companies are generally the source of the poorest CSR practices in the sector.

Consequently, NGOs – and the CSR platform in particular – must direct specific attention to finding and making contact with such companies in order to encourage them to participate in (initially small and informal) CSR initiatives. In order to do so, a specific framework of approaches must be developed in order to locate and work with such companies.

Indeed, knowledge of small scale mining activities is available, but requires systematic research at a local level. Working contacts must therefore be established with local NGOs and CSOs, and local government, in order to begin the construction of an active data base of small scale mining operations.

8. CSR Evaluation Tools

8.1. General Frameworks

There are a number of general frameworks for the assessment of CSR in business. Given the lack of a fixed definition of CSR, each of these differs slightly in the nature of their approach, so for completeness the five most prominent evaluation tools have been included below. Nevertheless, following the analysis of CSR in Cambodia presented herein, it is recommended that these general frameworks are suitable for only a very small percentage of the business community and that it would be preferable to design a tool that can be appropriately delivered to a wider variety of stakeholders in order to gain a fuller picture of CSR in the kingdom as a whole. Consequently, an additional, simplified CSR assessment tool has been included here in section 8.2.

UN Global Compact

The Global Compact is a United Nations initiative to promote sustainable and responsible business practices. The scheme is voluntary. To join, CEOs must sign a 'letter of commitment'. The letter of commitment is a declaration to uphold ten principles regarding human rights, labour, the environment and anti-corruption. Global Compact members produce short annual reports to describe their activities in support of the ten principles.

See: <https://www.unglobalcompact.org/>

International Standards Organisation (ISO)

The International Standards Organisation, or ISO, develops and publishes international standards for product quality assurance. Companies who meet the ISO's standards can apply for certification of their products. Currently, the ISO has published over 19,000 standards. Popular standards include 'environmental management', 'social responsibility', 'occupational health and safety', and 'food safety management'.

See: <http://www.iso.org/iso/home.html>

Ecocert

Ecocert is an inspection and certification body for sustainable development. Certification is available to companies committed to environmentally friendly and socially responsible production. A range of certifications are available, including 'organic farming' and 'natural and organic textiles'.

See: <http://www.ecocert.com/en>

GLOBAL G.A.P.

G.A.P. represents Good Agricultural Practice and the core of GLOBAL G.A.P's objectives is to promote safe, sustainable agriculture worldwide. GLOBAL G.A.P. work in three principle sectors: crops, livestock and aquaculture. They provide a voluntary standard of certification that guarantees product safety, environmental impact, and the health, safety and welfare of workers and animals.

See: http://www.globalgap.org/uk_en/

Hazard Analysis and Critical Control Point (HACCP)

The HACCP promotes food safety by identifying biological, chemical and physical hazards in production processes. Following the principles of HACCP, producers are guided to build a food production management system, which helps ensure that the food they make is safe for consumers.

See: <http://www.haccpalliance.org/sub/index.html>

8.2. Cambodia Specific CSR Tool

The following three part CSR assessment tool has been designed to assess CSR at the low level at which it currently exists in Cambodia. It combines the collection of basic company data with a five point scoring system targeted at five key areas of CSR: Developing the capacity of company staff, developing the capacity of other businesses, developing the communities in which you work, promoting gender equality in the workplace, and protecting and enhancing the natural environment.

During the compilation of this report, this questionnaire was tested and refined so as to reflect the CSR landscape as fully as possible. Thus, unlike the frameworks included above, it does not include multiple questions regarding the specifics of compliance to CSR frameworks because according to such an assessment only very few companies would be identified as undertaking CSR in a competent measure. Rather, it seeks to measure the informal activities which constitute the majority of CSR in Cambodia.

In this way, this simple tool is able to provide data on the CSR landscape as a whole in Cambodia, rather than only the very small proportion of companies that undertake comprehensive, internationally accredited CSR frameworks. Moreover, the questionnaire is designed to be completed in fifteen minutes, meaning that quantitative data can be collected on a regular basis and on a much larger scale than would be possible using one of the general frameworks outlined above.

Indeed, the very low level of formal CSR officers in Cambodia means that few companies have a staff member willing to undertake a long survey. Interviews must generally be conducted with company heads or senior staff, meaning that few companies will agree to submit to a lengthy assessment process. This tool, on the other hand, was found to be generally well received and understood. Further, cross-sectoral, work with this tool would therefore be expected to yield instructive results and an improved understanding of CSR in the Cambodian context.

8.2.1. Survey Instrument: Cambodian CSR Evaluation Tool

BASIC COMPANY INFORMATION

Company Name:

Is your company publically traded or privately owned?

- Public
- Private

Where is the location of your company's headquarters?

- Either country (if **outside** Cambodia).....
- Or province (if **inside** Cambodia).....

In which provinces does your company operate in Cambodia? (tick **all** that apply)

<input type="checkbox"/> Banteay Meanchey <input type="checkbox"/> Battambang <input type="checkbox"/> Kampong Cham <input type="checkbox"/> Kampong Chhang <input type="checkbox"/> Kampong Speu <input type="checkbox"/> Kampong Thom <input type="checkbox"/> Kampot <input type="checkbox"/> Kandal <input type="checkbox"/> Koh Kong <input type="checkbox"/> Kep <input type="checkbox"/> Kratie <input type="checkbox"/> Mondulkiri <input type="checkbox"/> Oddar Meanchey	<input type="checkbox"/> Pailin <input type="checkbox"/> Phnom Penh <input type="checkbox"/> Preah Sihanouk <input type="checkbox"/> Preah Vihear <input type="checkbox"/> Pursat <input type="checkbox"/> Prey Veng <input type="checkbox"/> Rattanakiri <input type="checkbox"/> Siem Reap <input type="checkbox"/> Stung Treng <input type="checkbox"/> Svay Rieng <input type="checkbox"/> Takeo <input type="checkbox"/> Tboung Kmum
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What are your main products and services?

Approximately, what is the size of the company's workforce?

Approximately, what is the company's annual turnover?

CSR ACTIVITY

Does your company do any Corporate Social Responsibility activity?

Yes
 No
 Not sure what CSR is

Which of these areas does your company take a particular interest in? (choose as many as appropriate)

Developing the capacity of company staff
 Developing the capacity of other businesses
 Developing the communities in which you work
 Promoting gender equality in the workplace
 Protecting and enhancing the natural environment
 For each of the areas your company prioritises, please indicate your company's level of engagement:
 A formal policy with its own annual budget
 A formal policy, but no annual budget
 No formal policy, but annual investment
 Occasional investment
 Little investment but a strong commitment

CSR STRUCTURE

Does your company have a formal CSR policy?

Yes
 No

Has your company signed up to any national guidelines or standards for any of its CSR initiatives, business practices or products? For example, from a government ministry or industry body.

Yes – please specify which

No

Has your company signed up to any international guidelines or standards for any of its CSR initiatives, business practices or products? For example, ECOCERT certification or the United Nation's "Global Compact".

- Yes – please specify which
- No

Have you worked with any of the following partners in your CSR initiatives? (Tick all that apply.)

- NGOs – please specify
- Government officials or ministries – please specify
- International donors – please specify
- Industry associations – please specify
- Media organisations – please specify
- Research or academic institutions – please specify
- Other – please specify

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Appendix A: List of Companies Contacted in the Course of the Research

Farms and Agribusinesses

COMPANY NAME	RESPONSE TO INTERVIEW REQUEST
Monita Group	Declined
Kampot Papaya	Agreed
Sothy's Pepper Farm	Agreed
Japan Farm products	Incorrect number
Sela Pepper Co	Agreed
Holley Eco-Industrail	Uncontactable
Michael Farms International Co.	Busy. Requested later date.
Pig Farm Kbal Oh	Incorrect Number
Orchel Organic Farm	Agreed
Amarak Organic Garden	Agreed
CT Mettapheap Pailin	Agreed
K.A & Tech Co	Incorrect Number
Kannika Hydroponics Farm	Agreed
Meanleap Gourmet	Declined
Cambodia Mushroom Farm	Uncontactable
Kratie Soybean & Sesame Farm	Incorrect Number
Sacha Imchi Cambodia	Agreed
Kim Teng Chicken Farm	Agreed
Chay Sor Black Pepper	Agreed
Hydro D.R.N Farm	Agreed
Phea Pi Mix Asia	Incorrect Number
Chamroeun Chey Company	Agreed
Prom Tim Farm	Incorrect Number
Yos Sovann Sokunthearos Co	Declined
GG World	Agreed
Rosewood Co	Uncontactable
Phlut Ran	Uncontactable
Drycorpkh Cambodia	Agreed

Alminco	Incorrect Number
The Kampot Green Farm	Agreed
JNJ Bora Co	Agreed
Khmer Aquaplantae Farm	Incorrect Number
Agricultural Products to Export	Company ceased to trade
Tapioca Starch Air Plane Manufactory	Declined
NCE Cambodia ImEx Co	Incorrect Number
Keo Sothearith Development Co	Incorrect Number
Tianguan Global Cassava Processing	Agreed
AMRU Rice	Agreed
Angkor Kasekam Roongroeng	Agreed

Rubber Plantations

COMPANY NAME	RESPONSE TO INTERVIEW REQUEST
Long Sreng International	Agreed
Vietnam Rubber Group	Declined
Rithmony Samnang Leap	Uncontactable
TTY Corporation	Agreed
P.C Rubber Industry Co	Uncontactable
DTC Group Co	Incorrect Number
SK Plantation	Uncontactable
Socfin KCD	Incorrect Number
Rubber King International	Declined
BNA Corp	Agreed

Mining and Extractive Industries

COMPANY NAME	RESPONSE TO INTERVIEW REQUEST
Southern Gold (Cambodia)	Uncontactable
Angkor Gold	Uncontactable
Renaissance Minerals (Cambodia) Limited	Requested interview at later date
Cambodian Resources Limited	Uncontactable
Gold Metal Group Co., Ltd	Uncontactable
Cambodia Iron & Steel Mining Industry Group	Uncontactable
Future Environment American Group	Agreed

Sun Hill Minerals Co., Ltd.	Agreed
Riva Natural Resource Co	Incorrect Number
Phu Yang Cambodia Co	Agreed
Golden Resource Development Co	Agreed
Cambodian China International Mineral Resource Development Group	Agreed
Cambodia Wan jun International Investment Co	Incorrect Number
CGN Group Co	Agreed
Indo Evo Tech	Agreed
Ruby Affa Development	Uncontactable
Mo Srun Sand	Declined (due to retail status)
HSC Co. Ltd.	Busy. Requested later interview.
Tong Sreng	Declined (due to retail status)
Southern Gold Cambodia	Incorrect number
Sin Sovorn	Agreed
Sand Resource	Agreed
Jirech	Uncontactable
FuHai Investment	Incorrect number
SSV Group	Declined (due to middleman status)
Ang Wee Kioung	Uncontactable
Ang Sok Ghek Enterprise	Declined
HSC	Declined (due to export status)
SOk Mouy Development and Construction Co. Ltd.	Incorrect Number
Lem Piseth Sand Stone	Declined (due to retail status)
Eng Sok Ngich Enterprise	Declined
KPY Development Group	Uncontactable
Yi Charya Construction	Declined due to retail status
Ly Hak Seng	Declined due to retail status
Lim Borin Depot	Declined due to retail status
Kam Va International Partnership	Declined
5 Siblings and NH	Agreed
Hav Un Sand and Crusher	Agreed

Appendix B: Full List of Companies Surveyed

Industry Representative Bodies

Number of Interviews: 5

NAME	WORKFORCE	INTERVIEW TYPE
Federation of Small and Medium Enterprises of Cambodia	N/A	Qualitative
Cambodia Rice Federation	N/A	Qualitative
Cambodian Organic Agriculture Association	N/A	Qualitative
Centre of Education and Development of Agriculture in Cambodia	N/A	Qualitative
Cambodian Association of Mining and Exploration Companies	N/A	Qualitative

Agri-business Companies

Number of Interviews: 23

NAME	WORKFORCE	INTERVIEW TYPE
AMRU Rice	500+	Qualitative
Long Sreng International Rubber	Withheld/unknown	Qualitative
BNA Corp.	50	Qualitative
Reththy Kiri Seyma	500+	Qualitative
Natural Garden	50+	Qualitative
Socha Imchi Farm	7	Qualitative
Soth's Pepper Farm	8	Qualitative
Angkor Kasekam Roongroeng	50+	Qualitative
The Sustainable Green Fuel Enterprise	29	Qualitative
Bambusa Global Ventures	20	Quantitative
Kampot Papaya	5	Quantitative
Sela Pepper Co.	25	Quantitative
Orchel Organic Farm	16	Quantitative
Amarak Organic Garden	Withheld/unknown	Quantitative
CT Mettapheap Pailin	11	Quantitative
Kannika Hydroponics Farm	7	Quantitative
Chay Sor Black Pepper	10	Quantitative
Hydro DRN Farm	16	Quantitative
Chamroen Chey Company	8	Quantitative

GG World	29	Quantitative
The Kampot Green Farm	6	Quantitative
Tinghuan Global Cassava	15	Quantitative
TTY Corporation	40	Quantitative

Mining and Extractive Industries Companies

Number of Interviews: 12

NAME	WORKFORCE	INTERVIEW TYPE
Cambodia China International	8	Qualitative
MESCO Gold	Withheld/unknown	Qualitative
SRAM and MRAM Resources Ltd.	25	Qualitative
Cam Stone	Withheld/unknown	Qualitative
Sand Resource Co. Ltd.	30	Qualitative
Phu Yang Cambodia	6	Quantitative
Golden Resource Development Co.	6	Quantitative
CCN Group Co.	15	Quantitative
White Gold	10	Quantitative
Sin Sovorn	5	Quantitative
Hav Un Sand and Crusher	25	Quantitative