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## 主 論 文 の 要 旨

論文題目

The Quest for Social Security among the Indigenous Peoples in the Upland Areas of Cambodia: Livelihood Diversification among Phnong Civil Servant Families

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## 論 文 内 容 の 要 旨

Recently, various disciplines began to research on various topics relevant to indigenous peoples (IPs) such as in policy, environment, tourism, social development, etc.; however, IPs continue to be stereotyped, misunderstood and are mere participants in development projects. Livelihoods studies take on a people-centered approach to reduce poverty; however there are worries that the approach may focus mainly on economic aspects and means to achieve goals, and ignore the sociocultural components and the context of structural constraints. Therefore, studies relevant to IPs livelihoods require an alternative approach that treats IPs as a moving target through taking into consideration both their perspectives and livelihood patterns to adjust to the sociopolitical transformation. Therefore, the research has two aims that consist of recognizing the IPs as an active actor with a moving target and understanding the social security mechanism in the upland areas of Cambodia using alternative development concepts.

This research concentrates on the indigenous Phnong people's social security mechanism in northeastern Cambodia. I applied the alternative development concepts in an attempt to disentangle regularities in the relationship between access and decision making and to show heterogeneities in livelihood strategies among the Phnong families.

This ethnographic research was conducted in two Phnong villages in the Ou Reang district

of Mondulkiri Province, northeastern Cambodia. The Phnong villages' names are Pu Rang village and Pu Treng village. The research, including preliminary field research, was conducted between August 2013 and September 2014. The selection of the two villages was based on two criteria. First, the villages are both considered vulnerable to climate changes and deforestation. Second, they have gone through numerous sociopolitical transformations in past decades. Regarding ethnicity, the research focused on the Phnong because they are considered one of the most adaptive indigenous minority groups in Cambodia.

The main question for this study is how the Phnong have developed their strategic behaviors towards livelihood security in the sociopolitical transformation in Cambodia.

Sub-questions for each chapter are:

- Chapter Three: What are the conflicts of interests between state, development agencies and the Phnong?
- Chapter Four: What are the current Phnong livelihoods and what are their social security strategies?
- Chapter Five: What are the livelihood strategies of the families of Phnong civil servants? Why do some families living in the same group and structural context fare better than others?
- Chapter Six: What are their strategies to pursue education and job opportunities? How is their orientation towards education influenced by their parents and relatives and conditioned by the sociopolitical transformation in Cambodia?

The structure of each of the dissertation sub-questions and main findings from each Chapter are organized as follows:

In Chapter One, I provided mainly the background of the study, rationality and methodology for the research in the selected two villages.

In Chapter Two, I provided literature reviews surrounding livelihoods studies, the shift from

sustainable livelihoods to livelihood pathways, and the alternative development concepts for a research on IPs. Then I provided arguments for how the alternative development concepts could provide insightful ideas and approach to understand the Phnong lifeworld and locally-organized forms of social security in the upland areas of Cambodia.

In Chapter Three, I provided some understandings of indigenous development in Cambodia and constraints. Also, I discussed the ambiguity of the term development and revealed the differences in the policy and the reality. In addition, I revealed the conflict of interests between the Phnong, state and development agencies. The chapter will serve as a reference for why IPs began to internalize the outsiders' views and establish their social security amidst the lack of attention from the state and development agencies.

In Chapter Four, I provided the picture of the Phnong livelihood transformation since the early 2000s in the two selected villages. I began by giving the description of their memories with development: their encounter with cash crops, livelihood activities and their perceptions of the wanted and unwanted opportunities. In addition, I offered a justification for their strategic behaviors that could not only be explained by the structural constraints alone. From their livelihood patterns, orientations towards both mutual support and self-reliance was revealed. These strategic behaviors can be habitual and non-habitual behavior. Hence, to understand their livelihood transformation, both habitual and non-habitual behaviors along with sociocultural components are needed in addition to the already known-structural factors.

In Chapter Five, I provided the picture of the livelihoods of the Phnong families of civil servants and revealed their strategic behaviors facing structural constraints and sociopolitical transformation. Specifically, I provided a description of the background and characteristics of the families of civil servants, their livelihood transformation and their strategies. I found that through development discourse, this group had internalized the Khmer society's views into their cultural understandings of livelihoods development and self-insurance. They adopt the Khmer people's

livelihood style to reduce social insecurities and maintain some of their traditional livelihoods for traditional security. Also, I revealed heterogeneity of the families of civil servants. The families comprised of the high income, average income, and the low income. Mutual support and networks are some of the main reasons behind the differences. I concluded that the high-income families can generate more benefits from mutual support than the rest because they can access many networks and afford to travel and invest in education. In other words, the high income families have more options to change their pathways such as to consolidate their social security and invest in the education of their children. Some families who are struggling to reduce insecurities tend to have big families, old members, lack of networks and are facing social and environmental constraints. These families are likely to apply strategies that are risky such as selling their ancestral lands and leaving their community. In this Chapter, I found that all families are oriented towards education acquisition. To follow up, their strategic behaviors towards education acquisition will be explained in Chapter Six.

In Chapter Six, I revealed the strategic behaviors that are leaning towards obtaining higher education for the future. I used the cases of the Phnong youth of the families of Phnong civil servants to reveal their livelihood orientation and strategies towards education acquisition. I found that they are all oriented towards education regardless of their socioeconomic differences. They risked investing in an education although some of them do not meet livelihood security yet. Also, I revealed their education pathways and outcome. The families of Phnong youth relied on information and assistance from their close relatives, and coordinated with outsiders such as development agencies, donors and state agency. In term of status, high income and some average income families have more opportunities to maintain the successful strategy or shift to another strategy. Therefore, the chapter revealed that their pathways to education arise from coordination with various actors and their strategic behaviors are embedded in the family or group that tends to orient towards education acquisition for the future.

In Chapter Seven, I provided the main conclusions from each chapter. Then I provided some implications for practice and new exciting topics for further research. Lastly, I offered recommendation in connection to the indigenous research and IPs development policy in Cambodia.

In conclusion, the research found that within the Phnong group, the families of Phnong civil servants was able to adjust to the sociopolitical transformation to obtain social security. It is confirmed that their livelihood pathways include patterns of coordination with various actors that form strategic behaviors to acquire social security. They possess shared experiences and values, and are under the influence of sociopolitical changes in Cambodia. These structural factors lead them to behave strategically or habitually to reduce livelihood insecurities and improve their lives, and even investing in their children's high education. Their strategic behaviors keep changing according to their historical repertoire, structural factors that form their livelihood strategies to coordinate with various actors ranging from relatives, the state, donors and development agencies. In addition, by applying alternative development concept, I could reveal the heterogeneity of the Phnong families of the same group and community and expose new exciting topics. In terms of contribution, the findings will be invaluable for indigenous livelihood studies and the IPs development policy.