

SOCIAL COHESION AND CAMBODIA:
A CONTEMPORARY CONTEXTUALIZATION

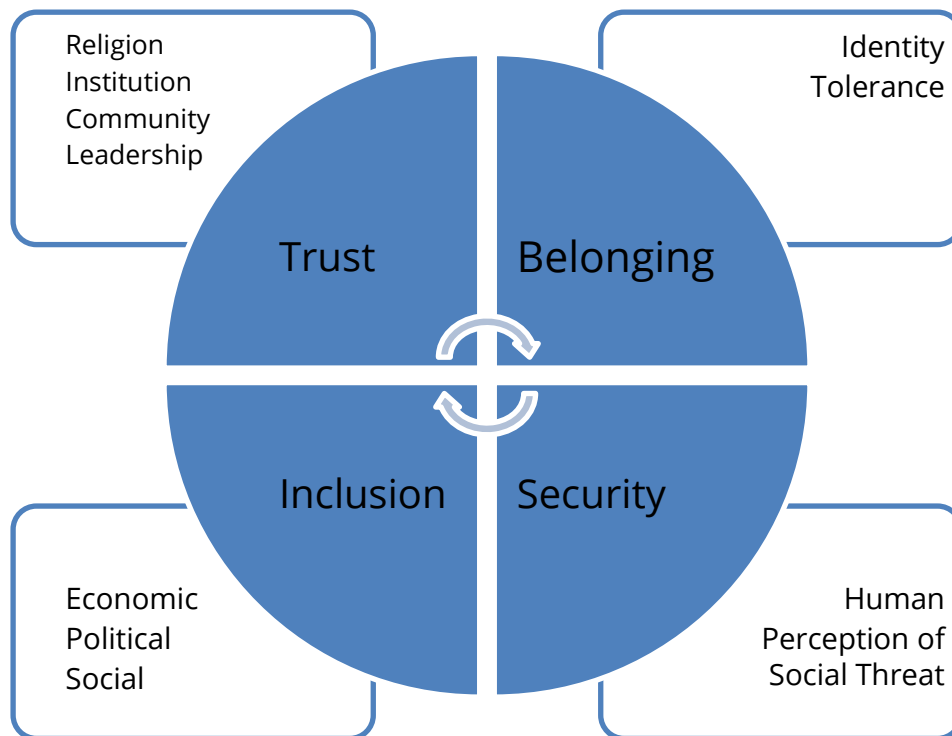


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1. INTRODUCTION

Cambodia has made remarkable economic progress over the past decade, with an average growth rate of 7.7% between 1998 and 2019.¹ This has shifted the nation of over 16 million people to lower-middle-income status in 2015. Despite a 3.1% decline in 2020 due to the global coronavirus disease, Cambodia's economy is forecast to grow 4.0% in 2021 and 5.5% in the following year, according to a recently published report by an Asian Development Bank (ADB).² The progress in this Southeast Asian nation also extended beyond the economic growth rate. Cambodia Human Development Index (HDI) is at 0.594 in 2019, an increase of 61.5 percent since 1990. This HDI put the country in the category of medium human development, with a ranking of 144 out of 189 countries and territories.³ Supported by its remarkable economic growth, Cambodia has made progress in providing social services and in improving human, social, and physical capital needed for modernization.

This has led to the Cambodian youth of today,⁴ particularly urban youth, experiencing a considerably different basket of surrounding infrastructure, culture, and development from the generations before them. Necessarily this lends itself to forming a worldview that is unique from the generations that have preceded them, which includes their parents and grandparents. Beyond experiencing the evolving economic and social dynamics in the kingdom, the youth population is unique in the fact that they constitute the majority of Cambodia's population.

At this time almost two-thirds of the population is under the age of 30.⁵ Figure 1 captures the generational disparity in the population pyramid. This youth segment under-30, compared to the generation before them, is more informed and more engaged in the civic space owing to rapid penetration of accessible internet, especially social media.⁶

¹ The World Bank In Cambodia. (2021). Retrieved 8 November 2021, from <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/cambodia/overview#1>

² Cambodia's Economy to Recover in 2021, Accelerate in 2022 — ADB. (2021). Retrieved 13 November 2021, from <https://www.adb.org/news/cambodia-economy-recover-2021-accelerate-2022-adb>

³ The Next Frontier: Human Development and the Anthropocene. (2020). Retrieved 19 November 2021, from <http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/Country-Profiles/KHM.pdf>

⁴ Cambodian youth are referred to as people of both sexes aging between 15 and 30 years and with Cambodian nationality regardless of their marital status. (MOEYS, National Policy on Development of Cambodian Youth, 2011)

⁵ Cambodia Youth Data Sheet 2015. (2016). Retrieved 14 November 2021, from https://cambodia.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/Flyer_Cambodia_Youth_Factsheet_final_draft_%28approved%29.pdf

⁶ Bong, C., & Sen, C. (2017). Research Brief: Youth Political Participation in Cambodia. Politikoffee and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Cambodia. Retrieved from https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=b71a2520-4428-56c4-c937-b56948c9bde0&groupId=252038

Figure 1: Cambodian Population Pyramid (%)⁷

Cambodia Population Pyramid 2022



Cambodia Median Age

26.4 25.6 27.2



Cambodia Population by Age

There are 10,999,663 people over age 18 in Cambodia.

Census Years

Year	Date
1998	3 March 1998
2008	3 March 2008
2018	3 March 2018

Cambodia’s economic advancement has nevertheless come at a price that will be familiar to many countries with similar economic status: unequal distribution of income and wealth has become more apparent. Despite increased economic opportunities and mobility, vulnerable and key populations in society, including ethnic minorities, women, people with disabilities,

⁷ World Population Review (2022). Retrieved from <https://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/cambodia-population>

and LGBTQI+, still face many barriers which hinder their economic mobility, security, and opportunities.⁸

Additionally, and of importance to the context of the time that this report is being written, a developed understanding of Social Cohesion is crucial for addressing the effects of the Covid-19 pandemic.

Throughout the pandemic, Cambodia's comparable success can be attributed to the proactive steps taken around border control and preventative measures (including school closures and a nationwide vaccination campaign). Despite the health successes, the kingdom still confronts difficulties. For example, the informal sector, farmers, micro and small enterprises continue to encounter challenges around income and productivity resulting due to the preventive measures implemented in Cambodia and abroad. The impact goes beyond health and touches social and economic realities that will require addressing for a long time to come.

As the kingdom picks up pace in its development trajectory with its youthful population, it continues to move away from the dark history of the Khmer Rouge era. Despite such positive steps, some historical narrative remains pervasive. In its effort to sustain peace, a prescriptive narrative of *peace through unity* continues to be utilized. There must be a renewed focus around peace through a social cohesion lens – embodying and its constituent and relevant dimensions.

Accordingly, this report continues to explore the concept of social cohesion and proposes its relevant conceptualization within the context of contemporary Cambodia.

Note on Methodological Approach

Prior to moving on to explore the definitions and measurements of social cohesion indicators, it is important to touch on the methodological approach for this report.

The report is built on three research components that build into different features of the report and modeling:

1. **Desk Review.** The process of identifying and examining relevant conceptual materials to build a concept of Social Cohesion that is relevant and applicable to Cambodia.

⁸ Cambodia Development Resource Institute (CDRI). (2020). Gender & Inclusive Development Analysis. USAID Cambodia. Retrieved from https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00X7PN.pdf

2. ***Expert Panel and Peer Review.*** Presentation of the concept note for feedback from civil society leaders and international organizations. Their feedback is captured in the indicators and sources proposed in the methodology.
3. ***Social Cohesion Commentary Exploration.*** The production of 30 public policy commentaries in Khmer and English exploring the concept of social cohesion across thematic lines. The value of this activity has been to build a community of interest in the concept and build salient points into the report and modeling.

2. SOCIAL COHESION: CONCEPTS AND THE KINGDOM

Social cohesion is not a new concept but is certainly a fluid one. Despite gaining popularity among the academic and policymaker community, a precise definition of social cohesion remains ambiguous and context dependent.⁹ The conceptual definition can accordingly vary between authors, often leading to a conceptualization through absence as opposed to criteria for existence. Despite lacking an agreed upon and concrete definition, the core building blocks for social cohesion begin with exploring the concepts of solidarity and trust. Subsequently, and depending on conceptual purpose, the core is typically expanded to incorporate dimensions such as inclusion, social capital, and poverty.¹⁰

No matter the dimensions incorporated, one concrete feature of social cohesion is dynamism. Related concepts, definitions, and dimensions can be considered necessarily ever changing in order to reflect the context of their employment. They encapsulate cohesion at a moment in time, related intrinsically to the social characteristics of the country at the time of modeling. They may subsequently change to reflect progress or lack-there-of.

To classify concisely, the concept of social cohesion is elastic without a fixed endpoint. The term can be analyzed through both the academic and the policymaking lens, however this report will employ a policy discourse due to its suitability for clarity and conceptualization in the Cambodian context.

In particular, the current relationship between peace and unity must be explored in the Cambodian context as a precursor to development through a social cohesion lens. Unity is, by its nature, proposing a fixed set of beliefs within the population around a shared goal. In the aftermath of the Khmer Rouge and the subsequent UNTAC-era this has delivered a solid ground of peace, from which prosperity (both economic and social) has begun to flourish. Paradoxically, this grounding must give way to a more encompassing concept for sustaining peace. As the kingdom continues its rapid growth, society will also continue to diversify through age, education, religion, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and economic opportunity (to name but a few). This necessarily requires a multi-dimensional conceptualization to adequately capture potential disharmony, support political understanding of a diversifying population, and to engage genuine civic participation within that very population.

⁹ Chan, J., To, H., & Chan, E. (2006). Reconsidering Social Cohesion: Developing a Definition and Analytical Framework for Empirical Research. *Social Indicators Research*, 75(2), 273-302. doi: 10.1007/s11205-005-2118-1; Croissant, A., & Walkenhorst, P. (2021). *Social Cohesion in Asia: Historical Origins, Contemporary Shapes and Future Dynamics* (pp. 1-25). Oxon: Routledge.

¹⁰ Ibid.

The Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) defines a cohesive society as the one that “works towards the well-being of all its members, fights exclusion and marginalization, creates a sense of belonging, promotes trust, and offers its members the opportunity of upward mobility”.¹¹ With this definition, the OECD measures social cohesion through three dimensions: social inclusion, social capital, and social mobility.

- Social inclusion looks at the extent of exclusion and marginalization such as poverty, inequality, and social polarization.
- Social capital refers to the networks of relationships between individuals and groups, the degree of interpersonal and societal trust and the level of civic participation.¹²
- Social mobility is the degree to which individuals are able to, or believe they can, improve their position in society.

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) has its own definition of social cohesion and dimensions. According to UNDP, social cohesion can be conceptualized along two dimensions: Vertical social cohesion, which concerns relations between citizens and their governments and horizontal social cohesion, which concerns relations between citizens and within and between groups of society.¹³

- Vertical or state-centered social cohesion describes the degree of trust in national, subnational, or local governments and institutional processes, e.g., elections, access to justice and public services. It is reflected in the ability of governments to ensure effective service delivery, promote inclusive political processes and public policies, and the trust, legitimacy, and confidence that citizens ascribe to governments, institutions and political processes.
- Horizontal or society-centered social cohesion describes the sense of trust, relationships, and interactions among citizens across different identities or other social constructs, and in the way that social organizations, civil society and social institutions exhibit a sense of interdependency and ‘common destiny’. These horizontal relationships include bonding social capital, i.e., trust and attachment within groups with shared commonalities; bridging social capital, i.e. relationships and networks that extend across groups and societal divisions; and linking social capital, i.e. the cooperation across societal organizations, institutions, and leaders, such as inter-faith religious organizations.¹⁴ Across the vertical and horizontal

¹¹ OECD (2011). Perspectives on Global Development 2012: Social Cohesion in a Shifting World, OECD Publishing.

¹² Ibid

¹³ UNDP (2020). Strengthening Social Cohesion: Conceptual Framing and Programming Implications, UNDP.

¹⁴ Ibid.

dimensions, there are 14 sub-dimensions. These are trust, belonging (or a common or shared destiny), inclusion, interdependence, human security, negative stereotypes, intergroup anxiety, social distance, perceptions of social threat, positive feeling, cultural distance, propensity for forgiveness, propensity for retribution, and intergroup contact.¹⁵

Looking at these dimensions and characterizations, it is noticeable that there is no explicit attempt to define the term social cohesion itself. In an attempt to correct the disparity in definition, Chan et.al¹⁶ propose a minimalistic definition of social cohesion. They do this through analyzing what they propose as the many flaws that multiple definitions of social cohesion held and utilizing a combination of means-end approach and the pluralistic approach:

- Means-end approach: social cohesion being an end goal with whatever comes between as means.
- Pluralistic approach: giving up on trying to find a single definition of the terms.

Chan et al. argue that social cohesion concerns how well people in a society “cohere” or “stick” to each other. People in a society are said to be “sticking” to each other only if the following three criteria are met simultaneously:

1. they can trust, help, and cooperate with their fellow members of society.
2. they share a common identity or a sense of belonging to their society.
3. the subjective feelings in (1) and (2) are manifested in objective behavior.¹⁷

Hence, social cohesion can be considered to be a state of affairs concerning both the vertical and the horizontal interactions among members of society as characterized by a set of attitudes and norms that includes trust, a sense of belonging and the willingness to participate and help, as well as their behavioral manifestations. Similar to the UNDP conceptualization, vertical interactions here refer to relationships between the state and society at large, and horizontal refers to interactions among different individuals and groups in society.¹⁸

In addition, the referenced materials above, The Social Cohesion Radar (SCR) defines social cohesion as a quality of social cooperation and togetherness in a territorially delimited community that is expressed in the attitudes and behaviors of its members. According to

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Chan, J., To, H., & Chan, E. (2006). Reconsidering Social Cohesion: Developing a Definition and Analytical Framework for Empirical Research. *Social Indicators Research*, 75(2), 273-302. doi: 10.1007/s11205-005-2118-1

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

SCR, cohesive society is characterized by resilient social relationships, a positive emotional connectedness between its members and the community, and a pronounced focus on the common good.¹⁹ Table 1 below provides a side-by-side definition overview from the three organizational perspectives.

Table 1: Definitions of social cohesion²⁰

OECD (2011)	UNDP (2020)	SCR (2021)
“A cohesive society that works towards the well-being of all its members, fights exclusion and marginalization, creates a sense of belonging, promotes trust, and offers its members the opportunity of upward mobility.”	“Conceptualized along two dimensions: vertical social cohesion, which concerns relations between citizens and their governments and horizontal social cohesion, which concerns relations between citizens and within and between groups of society.”	“A quality of social cooperation and togetherness in a territorially delimited community that is expressed in the attitudes and behaviors of its members.”

In order to understand social cohesion in Cambodia, it is also important to touch upon the concept as it has been used in the wider Asian context. It is a common consideration that the Asian region is one of the most heterogeneous regions in the world. It has gone through rapid and drastic socio-economic, cultural, and political transformations over recent decades.²¹ Yet, the concept of social cohesion has rarely been applied systematically. While the region might not be explicitly using the term social cohesion, they have used other concepts to describe similar phenomena such as social harmony, social integration, unity, and social inclusion.²² An analysis conducted by SCR²³ highlights that most of the

¹⁹ Social Cohesion Asia. (2021). Retrieved 12 November 2021, from <https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/de/unsere-projekte/deutschland-und-asien/social-cohesion-asia>

²⁰ Alternative sources on Social Cohesion exist beyond the three discussed in this paper's conceptualisation. This includes the work of Kim, J., Sheely, R., Schmidt, C. (2020). *Social Capital and Social Cohesion Measurement Toolkit for Community-Driven Development Operations*. Washington DC: Mercy Corps and The World Bank Group.

²¹ Croissant, A., & Walkenhorst, P. (2021). *Social Cohesion in Asia: Historical Origins, Contemporary Shapes and Future Dynamics* (pp. 1-25). Oxon: Routledge.

²² Ibid.

²³ [Social Cohesion Radar](#) is a project initiated by the Bertelsmann Stiftung to advance research in the field of social cohesion and stimulate the relevant policy debate. [The Bertelsmann Stiftung](#) stimulates debate and provides impetus for social change through its projects, studies and events.

economically advanced countries in Asia tend to have the strongest indicators of social cohesion.²⁴ In Cambodia, and as noted previously, the term “unity” is commonly used and can be translated in Khmer as “Samakipheap”. Following the Khmer Rouge regime, The Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC) has been using a combination of “peace and unity” to pursue their national development aspirations around economy, politics, and social harmony.

When it comes to the body of specific research on social cohesion in contemporary Cambodia, not much can be found. Notably, however, Cambodia is one of the 22 countries that underwent the social cohesion assessment within the aforementioned SCR report.

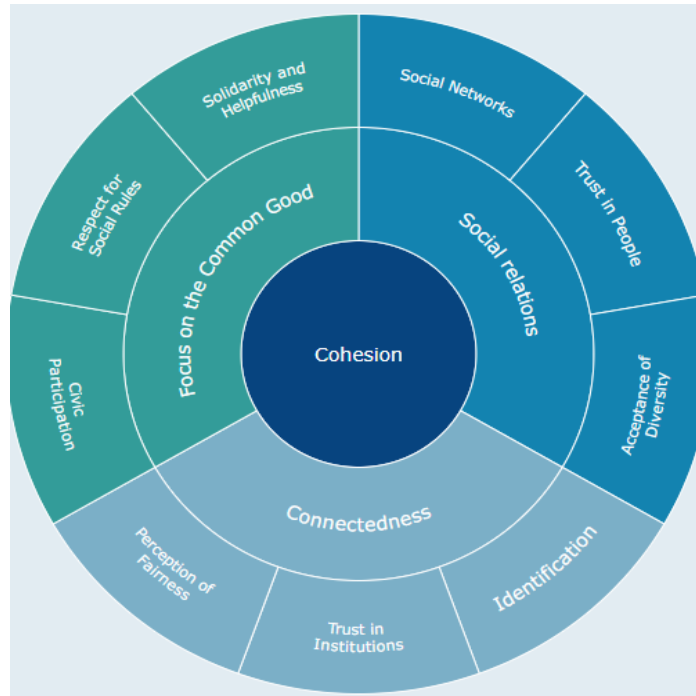
The SCR conceptualization of social cohesion comprises these three domains, each of which contains three measurable dimensions (Figure 2 captures these domains and their constituent dimensions below):

- Social Relations: social networks, trust in people, and acceptance of diversity.
- Connectedness: perception of fairness, trust in institutions, and identification.
- Common Good: civic participation, respect for social rules, and solidarity and helpfulness.²⁵

Figure 2: Social Cohesion Domains by SCR

²⁴ Social Cohesion Asia. (2021). Retrieved 12 November 2021, from <https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/de/unsere-projekte/deutschland-und-asien/social-cohesion-asia>

²⁵ Ibid.



One might wonder why social cohesion embodies multiple definitions and how the multiplicity of definition supports a Cambodian contextualization. The concept is often used to promote the understanding of opportunities and challenges around peace and trust within society among citizens and the state. Accordingly, the concept needs to recognize multiple dimensions of cohesion, set within a dynamic system, wherein change to context can engender change to measurement. It is also important to note that how social cohesion is measured is contingent on the motivating objectives of the research at hand. In the case Cambodia in 2022, we are interested in identifying how the kingdom can build forward from a narrative on peace through unity, and towards peace through participation, diversity, and inclusion.

Noting this, in the development context, the concept of social cohesion has become increasingly important in building access to justice, strategic programming for conflict prevention, and an inclusive, responsive, and accountable political process; all of which contribute to reaching the national sustainable development goals.

As noted by the World Bank²⁶ Social cohesion and resilience create opportunities for people who live in fragile societies to thrive by building strong households and communities that can withstand divisions caused by conflict and violence. Additionally, the UNDP²⁷ identifies that where a sense of a shared vision of the future exists, social cohesion creates resilience

²⁶ World Bank (2022) Social Cohesion and Resilience.

²⁷ UNDP (2020). Strengthening Social Cohesion: Conceptual Framing and Programming Implications, UNDP.

to escalating conflict at the individual level, which often ensues from contentious politics and, at times, social mobilization based on identity.

A significant point that should not be overlooked when analyzing social cohesion is the outcome of organic cohesion that exists in a 'cohesive society'. Many definitions laid out above point to sustainable peace achieved through organically cohesive societies; meaning that there should be no dominant group enforcing a sense of social cohesion. This is the intersection of time and development to promote beyond trauma and, instead, towards progressive inclusivity and participation for all stakeholders. As noted by the UNDP, cohesion may be seen as synonymous with control, where it is understood to refer to bonding relationships within a dominant group, rather than a bridge across divides that can bring all within the boundaries of community.²⁸ It is time to build that bridge.

²⁸ Ibid

3. CAMBODIAN CONCEPTUALIZATION: SOCIAL COHESION DIMENSIONS

The report will start by assessing each of the dimensions proposed by UNDP²⁹ first by applying Cambodia-specific historical, economic, political, and cultural lens. The original set of dimensions are identified because of their attribution to social cohesion and peaceful and inclusive societies.³⁰ An argument will then be made on which sub-dimensions are applicable to Cambodia and which are not, and how they might need to be adjusted to fit the Cambodian context.³¹ In addition, relevant conceptualizations from competing definition sets will be incorporated as appropriate. A companion measurement guide is contained in Annex 1.

Dimension 1. Trust

Trust	Personal attribute/belief in another person, group or institution or a rational expectation of exchange or reciprocity.
Trust in Religion	Trust based on the belief of religious institutions, leaders, and practice.
Trust in Institution	Trust in political governance systems.
Trust in Community	The horizontal relationships and interaction between the citizenry ³² .
Trust in Leadership	Trust in political leadership personnel.

Varying conceptualizations of social cohesion often share one common attribute, i.e. Trust. For the purpose of the report, **Trust** is defined as a personal attribute/belief in another person, group or institution or a rational expectation of exchange or reciprocity. Trust presents itself along both vertical and horizontal lines of social cohesion.

²⁹ UNDP (2020). Strengthening Social Cohesion: Conceptual Framing and Programming Implications, UNDP

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ It is worth pointing out that under many sub-dimensions, there are multiple uses of the term “adversarial group”. For the purpose of this report, we will be utilizing the language of “different group” in order to ensure conceptual engagement is not undermined by the language employed to represent it.

³² Defined as the collective group of people who live within the kingdom’s geographical boundaries.

In Cambodia, as in all nations, there is the potential for endless scenarios within which trust may be observed. Throughout its history, Cambodia has witnessed multiple fluctuations of trust.

A ***trust in religion*** forms a prominent sub-dimension for Cambodia. The majority of ethnic Khmer are Theravada Buddhists, from which it is considered that many of the observed Khmer social and psychological characteristics have emerged including conservatism, patience, gentleness, and lack of concern for material wealth.³³ It was the state religion of Cambodia until 1975 and restored once more in 1993. It is of course very important to remember that all Cambodians are not Khmer, and therefore not necessarily Buddhist. Khmer Loeu groups follow local religions, while Vietnamese and Chinese populations may practice Mahayana Buddhism, Daoism, or Roman Catholicism. The Cham community is Muslim, whilst many urban Khmer have converted to Evangelical Protestantism. A sub-dimension of trust is therefore greatly important to understanding potential nodes of cohesion or disruption. Notably, it renders apparent why the concept of *unity* cannot be a sustaining feature for peace.

Keeping with the Theravada Buddhist consideration, the adherence to religious tenants arguably underpins the reverence to monarchy and the historical prominence of Angkor. Such belief can be extrapolated towards the view that such a population entrusted their destiny in the hands of their leaders who were born to lead. Based on this belief, people accept their role in society as given.

The belief in destined leadership can also be observed during the French colonial era and serves as a poignant example of the ***trust in institution*** sub-dimension.

At this time it is important to differentiate between system-based trust and actor-based trust. The former refers to perceptions of trust in institutions, practices, and processes. The latter regards trust for individual actors who represent institutions, such as a prime minister or a village chief. In the context of Cambodia, it is often the case that institutions are judged through the lens of actor-based trust with regards to the figureheads who represent them.

The sub-dimension is defined as trust in governance systems, not in actors. The latter is covered as a part of trust in leadership. Ultimately, a combination of high taxation and limited investment in education, healthcare, or the judicial system³⁴ bred a healthy skepticism within the Cambodian population. This was scaled to unhappiness in some quarters following the end of World War II and a brief period of Cambodian independence

³³ Britannica (2022)

³⁴ Chandler (2003) *An end to 90 years of colonialism 'sans heurts'*, The Phnom Penh Post.

under Japanese oversight. The swift return of the French, and resultant removal of interim leader Son Ngoc Thanh, sowed the seeds for a move towards complete independence. This was completed during King Norodom Sihanouk's 'royal crusade for independence' which was ultimately granted in 1953 (albeit with close French ties). For brevity, history then witnesses Cambodia move through a cold war ousting of Sihanouk, and towards the rise, bloodshed, and ultimate removal of the Khmer Rouge. Following 1979, Cambodia's governance system has undergone many changes; notably including, UNTAC and the current and long rule of the RGC.

Despite the positive changes witnessed throughout this time, mistrust remains embedded intergenerationally as a result of the civil war. This can be traced to the realities of survival under the Khmer Rouge regime. This often resulted in people having to adopt an individualist mindset for the sake of surviving including deeds of mistrust such as the reporting of neighbors for perceived missteps.³⁵ The collective memory of war remains prominent and necessarily affects the aforementioned sub-dimensions, in addition to those around ***trust in community*** and ***trust in leadership***.

Trust in community describes the horizontal relationships and interaction among people in society. For example, between different demographic groupings, interests, and day-to-day activities. Community trust is the extent to which one feels comfortable going about their business without fear of recrimination or retaliation.

By comparison trust in leadership is trust based on political and government actor's inherent qualities.

Reflecting on the previously noted difference between trust in actors and trust in institutions, the confusion between the two is often manifested in the perception of Prime Minister Hun Sen, in the sense that he is an individual perceived to be holding the combined powers of legislative, executive, and judiciary branches.

The same complexity can be observed in vertical trust. For instance, people may choose to vote for a certain party during a commune election not because they trust that party but because they trust a commune or village chief that the party represents. Therefore, it is worth exploring trust in the idea that either individual or institution represents in Cambodia instead of looking at it at face value as a mere individual or institution. In doing so, trust could be examined through these smaller dimensions along both vertical (leadership, institutions, and religion) and horizontal (community) lines.

³⁵ Kiernan, B. (2008). *Pol Pot Regime 1975-79: Race, Power, and Genocide in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge*. Yale University Press.

Looking through the economic lens, trust is in question because, despite making great progress in terms of growth and development, Cambodian society demonstrates hallmarks of dissatisfaction between groups that can be categorized along lines of: urban versus rural; Khmer versus non-Khmer Cambodians; university educated versus under-educated citizens; to name but a few.

Trust is a considerably relevant dimension for assessing social cohesion in Cambodia as it encapsulates many layers of interactions among Cambodians that continue to transform in accordance to changes in the country's historical, political, economic, and social landscapes. As mentioned in the previous section, social cohesion can be conceptualized along vertical and horizontal dimensions. In Cambodia, the dimension of trust is rather complex because in some respects, a citizen's view towards an individual actor may not distinguish between an actor's qualities and a system or an institution.

An overview of potential indicators, sources, and methodologies can be found in Dimension Table 1 of the modeling companion.

Dimension 2: Belonging

Belonging	The concept of togetherness constructed based on cultural and national identities
Identity	The characteristics with which individuals or groups feel associated.
Tolerance	The acceptance of diversity.

In their 2020 report, the UNDP noted that the sense of belonging, or *a common or shared destiny based on shared values and loyalties*, is an important element to social cohesion.³⁶ In this context, belonging is defined as the concept of togetherness constructed based on cultural and national identities. However, questions remained as to how one can measure the level of togetherness in a nation whereby the two elements underpinning it (cultural identity and national identity) are often incompatible. On the one hand, Cambodia's national identity appears to be very Khmer-centric. The narrative of Khmer pride and nationalism can be observed in many places from government policy documents to pop music. On the other hand, Cambodia is more culturally diverse than things appear to be. Despite being the majority ethnic group, the Khmer is not the only ethnic group that call themselves Cambodian. There are other ethnic groups living in Cambodia (see Figure 3) as well as other social groups such as the LGBTQI+ and people with disabilities who have been advocated for their rights and more inclusion.

As a result, it must be posited that it may be impractical to assume that a sense of togetherness equates to a shared destiny. After all, the construction of identities with respect to inclusion is expected to change over time (as it can be more or less). So, the exercise becomes how to measure togetherness. Is it by examining how well various groups in one nation are functioning and tolerating each other? Or is it by looking at how diverse a society is? What if a society is not that diverse or inclusive but is functioning smoothly - what is the togetherness level of that society?

These questions ask us to consider whether togetherness can be considered equivalent to unity or whether it is rooted in tolerance, which is defined as acceptance of 'otherness' and differences.

Once again, it is crucial to point out that defining the term "unity" in Khmer is challenging. A quick Google translate would give a Khmer definition of unity as "Ruob Ruom Cheat", but as

³⁶ UNDP (2020). Strengthening Social Cohesion: Conceptual Framing and Programming Implications, UNDP.

mentioned earlier on in this report, it is the term “Samakipheap” that has been used to connote the meaning of unity. Confusingly, the term “Samakipheap” is a literal translation of “solidarity” in English. Therefore, it is important to emphasize that the Cambodian government version of unity might not translate to a version of unity that would contribute to an organic social cohesion this report is exploring. Therefore, the definition of belonging is the sense of togetherness or organic cohesiveness among diversified individuals and groups.

In the context of Cambodia, the kingdom’s national and cultural identities are a good place to begin when it comes to examining how the kingdom and the sense of citizenry togetherness.

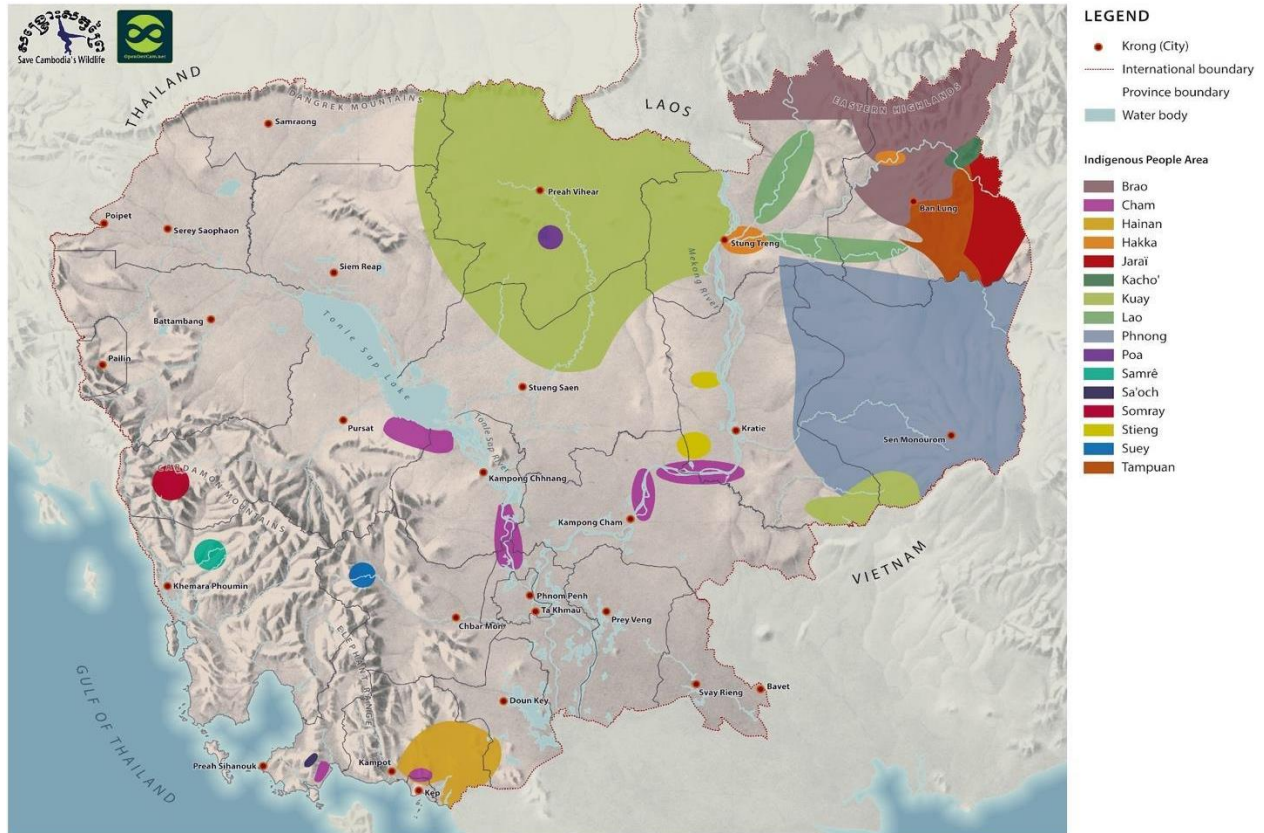
Identity, the characteristics with which individuals or groups feel associated, is also a primary sub-dimension of exploration and modeling. As previously mentioned, Cambodians are bound by collective tragedy, loss, and memory of the Khmer Rouge. Many research papers and studies are written about Cambodia’s collective memory linked to challenged sense of belonging resulted from the genocide. In today’s Cambodia, one of the dominating national identities is strongly informed by trauma perpetrated by the regime.³⁷ In this context, Cambodians generally recognize the existence of the Khmer Rouge regime and post-Khmer Rouge devastating consequences. Victory Day, celebrated annually on January 7, has been strategically labeled as a Cambodians’ second birthday by the ruling government. A strong sense of rebuilding the nation from year zero is still deeply instilled until these days, over 40 years later. However, with generational differences, the trauma-informed identity is gradually shifting. There is a tension between Cambodian young people who are attempting to diversify the nation's identity to reflect their values and the older generation who hold on to traditions and decision-making power. While there are not many local public discourses on Cambodia’s national identities, it can be observed that a sense of Khmer identity has become increasingly enforced through many government-led initiatives. For example, the Guinness Book records the world's longest hand-woven scarf, world’s longest wooden boat and world’s largest traditional sticky rice cake. Each of this world’s records were achieved through collective action initiated by government-led youth organizations instilling a sense of Khmer pride and attempting to showcase Khmer culture. It is worth noting, however, that Khmer is only one of multiple other ethnicities to be Cambodian.

In Cambodia, it is common that the term “Cambodian” and “Khmer” are used interchangeably. However, this does not reflect the country’s ethnicity breakdown which also

³⁷ Din, D. (2020). *Cambodian Identity, Culture and Legacy*. In S. Deth, B. Murg, V. Ou & M. Renfrew, *Cambodia 2040: Culture and Society*. Phnom Penh: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Cambodia and Future Forum.

includes Vietnamese, Chinese, Cham and other ethnic minorities, some of whom have their own languages.³⁸

Figure 3. Indigenous Population Map³⁹



Despite the melting pot of culture, ancestry, and religion, Cambodia has continued to develop an identity as one of a Khmer and Buddhist majority. Khmer is the recognized official language of Cambodia and is the only language in the majority of the public education system. Encouragingly, there was an effort to provide a multilingual education curriculum in five indigenous languages (Bunong, Kavet, Kreung, Tampuan, and Brao) after the launch of the 2014-2018 Multilingual Education National Action Plan (MENAP) by the Royal Government of Cambodia in 2015.⁴⁰ However, the offer was applied to specific provinces such as Mondulkiri, Ratanakiri, Kratie, and Stung Treng, and a segment of indigenous children.

³⁸ Ethnic minorities and indigenous people | Open Development Cambodia (ODC). (2016). Retrieved 7 November 2021, from <https://opendevdevelopmentcambodia.net/topics/ethnic-minorities-and-indigenous-people/#ref-95458-1>

³⁹ Open Development Cambodia (2016)

⁴⁰ Evaluation of the Multilingual Education National Action Plan in Cambodia. (2019). Retrieved 19 November 2021, from <https://www.unicef.org/cambodia/reports/evaluation-multilingual-education-national-action-plan-cambodia>

The domination of Khmer identity also sets a tone for Cambodia's cultural dynamic because culture and identity are interconnected. Khmer culture takes center stage and is enforced even in Cambodia's National Policy for Culture.⁴¹ The dominant presence of Khmer identity may serve to propagate an illusion of cohesiveness in Cambodia's society. It is therefore crucial to ensure that social cohesiveness in the dynamic of belonging, set within the Cambodian context, captures the realities of those marginalized and vulnerable groups. However, this cannot be far from the truth as many ethnic minorities witnessed their land being taken away and their languages and cultures ignored, unpreserved and forgotten. The submission for the 3rd Cycle of Universal Periodic Review of Cambodia on "Situation of Indigenous Peoples in Cambodia" for January to February 2019 highlights major challenges faced by the community. There is no recognition of indigenous peoples' relationship to their lands, territories and sources. Despite being recognized by their languages, many could no longer speak their mother tongue as a result of long history of discrimination and lack of legal recognition.⁴² Indigenous people in Cambodia also lose their rights to land through economic land concessions, land conflicts, population growth and in-migration; whilst forest degradation adversely affects their livelihood.⁴³

The exploration of ***tolerance*** is accordingly an additional sub-dimension of importance in considering belonging. It is the acceptance of diversity and relates to general and inter-group sentiment towards "others". Traditional tolerance discussion will consider attitudes towards gender, sexuality, and ethnicity. Taking into consideration this view of an unbalanced Cambodian society, in the context of identity and culture, sub-dimensions around *belonging* focus on facilitating knowledge around a more inclusive and shared Cambodian identity and culture. The prevailing sense should be one of 'harmony' over and above one focused on unity. Modeling indicators can be found in Dimension Table 2 of the modeling companion.

⁴¹ National Policy for Culture, 2014.

⁴² Situation of Indigenous Peoples in Cambodia. (2019). In 3rd Cycle of Universal Periodic Review of Cambodia, 32nd Session of the Human Rights Council. Retrieved from https://www.upr-info.org/sites/default/files/document/cambodia/session_32_-_january_2019/js1_upr32_khm_e_main.pdf

⁴³ Ibid.

Dimension 3: Inclusion

Inclusion	The extent to which one may participate within their society without fear of recrimination, exclusion, or coercion.
Economic	Represented by the indicators around economic participation and decision making.
Political	Represented by the equal and active participation of people in the political sphere.
Social	Represented by the process of improving the terms on which individuals and groups take part in society.

Inclusion represents the extent to which one may participate within their society without fear of recrimination, exclusion, or coercion. Three sub-dimensions constitute the inclusion dimension, and they will be discussed in turn below. Inclusion in this context refers to collective inclusion, or non-exclusion, based on identity.⁴⁴ As the belonging notion is deeply rooted in tolerance to diversity, inclusion is a choice of individuals and not an obligation.

In Cambodia, the sense of inclusion is often wrapped up in the assumption that all Cambodian's are Khmer. As examined in the previous section, the term "Khmer" refers to an ethnic classification within the Cambodian citizenry. It is not in itself an encompassing criterion as a Cambodian citizen may be one of the many other ethnic groups represented in the kingdom. The importance of highlighting this point is in the sense of otherness that can be observed within Cambodian society. For example, the anecdotal, yet often observed, circumstance whereby Khmer-Cambodians may refer to non-Khmer Cambodians by reference to their different ethnic identification, such as Cham, Chinese, or Vietnamese.

Ethnic identification is of course only one category from which issues around inclusion may stem; and this is true for all social cohesion dimensions. Factors of social and economic outcomes, and demography, provide intersection for issues of 'otherness'. Features of a nation's gender identity, marital status, or income may lead to a sense of inclusivity and tolerance or lead to a sense of disharmony.

⁴⁴ UNDP (2020). Strengthening Social Cohesion: Conceptual Framing and Programming Implications, UNDP.

In the Cambodian context, inclusion will be examined through three sub-dimensions: is represented by the indicators around economic participation and decision making economic inclusion, political inclusion, and social inclusion.

Economic Inclusion . This includes income levels, business ownership, and land ownership. A disparity in economic outcomes can lead to a disparity in social cohesion, political stability, and national peace.

As defined by The Rockefeller Foundation⁴⁵ economic inclusion is the expanded opportunity for more broadly shared prosperity, especially for those facing the greatest barriers to advancing their well-being. There are five broad characteristics from which economic inclusivity may be considered:

1. **Equity**. More opportunities are available to enable upward mobility for more people. All segments of society, especially the poor or socially disadvantaged groups, can take advantage of these opportunities. Inequality is declining, rather than increasing. People have equal access to a more solid economic foundation, including equal access to adequate public goods, services, and infrastructure, such as public transit, education, clean air, and water.
2. **Participation**. People can participate fully in economic life and have greater say over their future. People can access and participate in markets as workers, consumers, and business owners. Transparency around and common knowledge of rules and norms allow people to start a business, find a job, or engage in markets. Technology is more widely distributed and promotes greater individual and community well-being.
3. **Growth**. An economy is increasingly producing enough goods and services to enable broad gains in well-being and greater opportunity. Good job and work opportunities are growing, and incomes are increasing, especially for the poor. Economic systems are transforming for the betterment of all, including and especially poor and excluded communities. Economic growth and transformation are not only captured by aggregate economic output measures (such as GDP), but must include and be measured by other outcomes that capture overall well-being.
4. **Sustainability**. Economic and social wealth is sustained over time, thus maintaining inter-generational well-being. In the case of natural capital, inclusive economies preserve or restore nature's ability to produce the ecosystem goods and services that contribute to human well-being, with

⁴⁵ The Rockefeller Foundation (2016), Inclusive Economy Indicators.

decision-making incorporating the long-term costs and benefits and not merely the short-term gains of using our full asset base.

5. **Stability.** Individuals, communities, businesses, and governments have a sufficient degree of confidence in the future and an increased ability to predict the outcome of their economic decisions. Individuals, households, communities, and enterprises are secure enough to invest in their future. Economic systems are increasingly resilient to shocks and stresses, especially to disruptions with a disproportionate impact on poor or vulnerable communities.

This definition incorporates the principles of inclusive growth, whereby the focus is on ensuring all members of society should be able to contribute to, and benefit from, economic growth, whilst examining factors of disadvantage.

In the Cambodian context, two decades of significant economic transition has resulted in the kingdom moving up into lower-middle-income status. With ambitions to move into upper-middle-income status by 2030, an emerging middle-class is going to represent the next step in both economic prosperity and disparity. As captured by the indicator table in the modelling companion, economic inclusion captures movements in income, education, healthcare, nutrition, and access to technology.

Political inclusion is perhaps the most sensitive of dimensions discussed in this report. It is represented by the equal and active participation of people in the political sphere.

As has been well documented, Cambodia's political system has been dominated by the Cambodian People's Party (CPP) for more than three decades.⁴⁶ The kingdom's rapid consolidation into a one-party state under the party is considered to be part of an ongoing transformation of the post-Cold War liberal international order⁴⁷. The legitimacy of the party is heavily premised on its ability to deliver on promises of stability and prosperity⁴⁸ which has underpinned the kingdom's rapid economic development across the 21st century. That very stability and prosperity has gone hand-in-hand with accusations of corruption, cronyism, and limited civil space⁴⁹.

⁴⁶ Freedom House (2021) <https://freedomhouse.org/country/cambodia/freedom-world/2021>

⁴⁷ J. Ikenberry (2018), *The End of Liberal International Order?*, *International Affairs* 94(1): 7–23.

⁴⁸ K. Travouillon (2021), *From "Sphere of Scrutiny" to "Sphere of Opportunity"*, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 43(2): 370-394.

⁴⁹ Markus Karbaum (2021), *Cambodia's Leadership Succession: One small Step Further*, *The Diplomat*.

Examples are numerous cited and include the dissolution of the Cambodia National Rescue Party⁵⁰, and the prosecution of activists⁵¹, and the shuttering of press outlets.⁵²

From an illustrative citizenship perspective, the idea of non-exclusion is almost unheard of from some ethnic groups in Cambodia – beside the Khmer. Participation from ethnic minorities in the political sphere is rarely discussed, and some negative sentiment toward certain ethnic groups are being exploited as political tools. A clear example to illustrate this case is the anti-Vietnamese sentiment utilized by politicians to gain popularity.⁵³ While it is not uncommon for neighboring nations to dislike each other because of their histories, the anti-Vietnamese sentiment displays a strong path dependence when viewed through a social cohesion lens. In addition to being a scapegoat between the ruling party and the opposition, ethnic Vietnamese are often excluded from the process altogether.⁵⁴ Another exclusionary aspect is women participation in Cambodia's political leadership. As of 2020, women only make up of 15 percent in the National Assembly.⁵⁵ Hence, a political fault line could be explored along with how far Cambodians are willing to tolerate the decline of their rights and the lack of freedom to express their opinions and criticisms.

In order to develop a better understanding of political inclusion in Cambodia, sub-dimension will explore representation and participation.

Social Inclusion. Social Inclusion is represented by the process of improving the terms on which individuals and groups take part in society.

Socially, there are several aspects worth exploring. Firstly, there has increasingly been an apparent divide among different social classes in Cambodian society. On the one

⁵⁰ Ben, S., Mech, D., & Baliga, A. (2017). 'Death of democracy': CNRP dissolved by Supreme Court ruling. The Phnom Penh Post. Retrieved from <https://www.phnompenhpost.com/national-post-depth-politics/death-democracy-cnarp-dissolved-supreme-court-ruling>

⁵¹ Khy, S. (2021). Four environment activists arrested and accused of plotting, according to NGO. Cambodianews. Retrieved from <https://cambodianews.com/four-environment-activists-arrested-and-accused-of-plotting-according-to-ngo/>

⁵² <https://www.ifj.org/actions/ifj-campaigns/charting-cambodias-declining-press-freedom.html>

⁵³ Willemyns, A. (2017). CNRP clings to anti-Vietnamese rhetoric. The Phnom Penh Post. Retrieved from <https://www.phnompenhpost.com/national/cnarp-clings-anti-vietnamese-rhetoric>

⁵⁴ Cambodia: Freedom in the World 2020 Country Report | Freedom House. (2022). Retrieved 15 January 2022, from <https://freedomhouse.org/country/cambodia/freedom-world/2020>

⁵⁵ Ibid.

hand, Cambodia sees the wealthy living an extremely lavish lifestyle.⁵⁶ On the other hand, the disadvantaged and most vulnerable continue to be pushed to the sidelines, their livelihoods threatened. Additionally, Cambodians have begun to develop a sentiment of being excluded from the economic advantages brought by the Chinese with the recent influx of Chinese investment in Cambodia. This stemmed from an observation that many Chinese businesses and construction sites prefer to hire their own nationals.⁵⁷ The increased presence of Chinese nationals working and living in Cambodia has also created a sense of being under threat among Cambodians. Consequently, the country sees a rise in anti-Chinese sentiment as well.⁵⁸ The example here reflects the difference between emerging wealth-tiers in Cambodian society and the differences in their available opportunities for social inclusion.

To sum up, this inclusion sub-dimension needs a close examination in Cambodia as part of its cohesiveness measurement because there are many layers and angles to the discussion when looking at how inclusive some groups in Cambodia feel. There are some fault lines for exclusion specifically in the political and economic aspects that will require more analysis such as tolerance toward the lack of freedom of expression and tolerance toward being excluded from the country's economic growth. Accordingly, social inclusion will capture features of civil society, arts and culture, and social protection.

⁵⁶ Baldwin, C., & Marshall, A. (2019). Khmer Riche: How Relatives and allies of Cambodia's leader amassed wealth overseas. Retrieved 13 November 2021, from <https://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/cambodia-hunsen-wealth/>

⁵⁷ How Chinese money is changing Cambodia | DW | 22.08.2019. (2022). Retrieved 16 January 2022, from <https://www.dw.com/en/how-chinese-money-is-changing-cambodia/a-50130240>

⁵⁸ Wright, G. (2018). Anti-Chinese Sentiment on the Rise in Cambodia. Retrieved 13 November 2021, from <https://thediplomat.com/2018/11/anti-chinese-sentiment-on-the-rise-in-cambodia/>

Dimension 4: Security

Security	The extent to which someone feels safe within their day-to-day circumstances.
Human security	The safety and satisfaction of basic human needs for food, secured livelihood, and freedom from harm
Perception of Social Threat	Relates to daily fears around intergroup contact and violence.

Security defines the extent to which someone feels safe within their day-to-day circumstances. It is determined by sub-dimensions exploring *human security* and *perception of social threat*.

Human security is a relevant dimension to be explored in the Cambodia context, especially during and after the pandemic. This dimension reflects safety and satisfaction of basic human needs for food, secured livelihood, and freedom from harm. Covid-19 has unearthed and amplified many existing societal issues in the country. Certain groups of people such as migrant workers and informal workers saw their basic needs incredibly jeopardized when put under the pandemic magnifying glass. In Cambodia, the quality of healthcare remains very limited even in normal times, and vulnerable groups such as ethnic minorities, informal workers, and those living in remote areas. A disparity in access to human needs would certainly shape a gap in social cohesion.

Perception of social threat relates to daily fears around intergroup contact and violence. In 2020, it is reported that the numbers of violent crimes – murders, suicides, and weapon-based violence, rose significantly as an escalation of financial difficulties, unaddressed mental health issues and substance abuse.⁵⁹ Beyond crime itself, and as defined by the UNDP, the social threat dimension measures the extent to which individuals consider their own group's way of life to be actively discriminated against and potentially threatened by other groups.⁶⁰ This is very relevant to the Cambodian context with respect to historical occupations capturing settlers from China, Thailand, Vietnam, France, and the US. The

⁵⁹ Lay, S., & Phoung, V. (2021). Violent Crimes Increasing in Cambodia. *Cambodianess*. Retrieved from <https://cambodianess.com/article/violent-crimes-increasing-in-cambodia>

⁶⁰ UNDP (2020). *Strengthening Social Cohesion: Conceptual Framing and Programming Implications*, UNDP.

perception of us-vs-them can work in both directions and is disruptive to cohesion in a nation.

Using anti-Vietnamese sentiment as an illustrative example, the ethnic Vietnamese in Cambodia are reported as facing discrimination and challenges incorporating mass eviction⁶¹ and statelessness (for long-term residents). By comparison, a longstanding narrative of Vietnamese invasion following the fall of the Khmer Rouge may be seen as creating a narrative of Cambodian oppression. Herein exists the basic ingredients for social discontent and misaligned perceptions. In a more recent example, the past decade has seen a common concern among Cambodian citizens towards the influx of Chinese nationals. The resentment stemmed from a perception that, despite large scale investment in the kingdom, Cambodian sovereignty was under threat.⁶²

Perception of social threat has also become a more pronounced issue for the indigenous community. Indigenous groups continue to report a greater degree of lost land to logging and land concession, although some examples of reclamation have also been reported.⁶³ Perceptions of social threat, as a sub-indicator, need to be aligned with the perceptions of the groups being measured. For example, perception of threat as perceived by Cambodian nationals versus perception of threat as perceived by Chinese citizens in Cambodia. In addition to sub-categorization, there are three categorizations that can be utilized in the form of: *Negative stereotype, intergroup anxiety, and social distance*.

When considering the perception of social threat, it is more resourceful to look at the three dimensions together because when it comes to dealing with another group in the society, may it be gender, ethnicity, or social class, the Cambodia context requires more nuance than what was provided under previous definitions.

UNDP describes negative stereotypes as “a measure that captures the extent to which individuals consider members of adversarial groups to be, for example, aggressive, trustworthy, not hardworking, ‘unclean’ or unfriendly”; intergroup anxiety as individuals’ negative emotions happened when being alone with other adversarial groups; and social

⁶¹ Blomberg, M. (2021). 'Please show mercy': Evicted by Cambodia, ethnic Vietnamese stuck at watery border. Retrieved 19 November 2021, from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-cambodia-vietnam-evictions-idUSKCN2E75RA>

⁶² South China Morning Post. (2022). Change in Cambodia: Sihanoukville's Chinese influx [Video]. Retrieved from <https://www.scmp.com/video/scmp-originals/3021938/change-cambodia-sihanoukville-chinese-influx>

⁶³ Mech, D., & Baliga, A. (2021). This is My Land: Kuy Villagers Reclaim Preah Vihear Sugar Plantation. VOD. Retrieved from <https://vodenglish.news/this-is-my-land-kuy-villagers-reclaim-preah-vihear-sugar-plantation/>

distance as a way to measure the acceptance of a variety of social relationships with members of an adversarial group.⁶⁴

In order to generate useful insights from these definitions there needs to be an association of action related to the outcome. Take negative stereotypes, for example. In Cambodia, the negative stereotype toward ethnic-Vietnamese Cambodians living in the country may manifest itself entirely differently to the negative stereotype held about ethnically Chinese Cambodians. Whilst we can define the stereotype on paper, we must consider the context of its application and how it leads to the outcomes it underpins. Leading into intergroup anxiety, the manifestation of the stereotype may play out subjectively as to how a certain group in society is going to act in relation to their adversarial group. The expectation of outcome remains to motivate the anxiety levels at that moment in time. This of course contributes to the social distance between groups.

⁶⁴ UNDP (2020, pp 19-20). Strengthening Social Cohesion: Conceptual Framing and Programming Implications, UNDP.

4. SUMMARY

Similar to many countries in Asia, Cambodia has gone through dramatic changes economically, culturally, and politically over the past few decades. Despite marvelous progress enriched by its rapid economic development, the country is still facing countless societal challenges. This Southeast Asia nation still processes unhealed wounds from its genocidal past. Politically, Cambodia is unfavorably perceived by the international community for its authoritarian regime which has seated one of the longest serving leaders. Despite higher HDI and GDP, contemporary Cambodia has witnessed some of the lowest rank in corruption index, world press freedom index, world justice report project rule of law index, to name a few. At the juncture of progress and regress, Cambodia finds itself with new sets of challenges to keep the country together as a united whole, learning from its scarred experiences.

While the term social cohesion might be relatively new to Cambodia, the idea is not. This can be observed by the government effort to explicitly promote peace and unity, despite their political motivation. Cambodia, akin to many other Asian nations, is known for its family and community centric values and patron-client system. These values will play instrumental roles when characterizing social cohesion in Cambodia. Many dimensions of social cohesion suggested by UNDP can be adapted and applied to the Cambodia context; nevertheless, some of them need to be more nuanced and some need to be combined. It is also recommended that UNDP consider other dimensions provided by a project such as Social Cohesion Radar which looked at many Asian countries including Cambodia. Therefore, the suggested dimensions are:

Table 2: Summary of Social Cohesion Dimensions

Dimension 1: Trust. Personal attribute/belief in another person, group or institution or a rational expectation of exchange or reciprocity.	
Trust in Religion	Trust based on the belief of religious institutions, leaders, and practice.
Trust in Institution	Trust in political governance systems.
Trust in Community	The horizontal relationships and interaction between the citizenry.
Trust in Leadership	Trust in political leadership personnel.
Dimension 2: Belonging	

The concept of togetherness constructed based on cultural and national identities	
Identity	The characteristics with which individuals or groups feel associated.
Tolerance	The acceptance of diversity.
Dimension 3: Inclusion	
The extent to which one may participate within their society without fear of recrimination, exclusion, or coercion.	
Economic inclusion	Represented by the indicators around economic participation and decision making.
Political inclusion	Represented by the equal and active participation of the citizenry in the political sphere.
Social inclusion	Represented by the process of improving the terms on which individuals and groups take part in society.
Dimension 4: Security	
The extent to which someone feels safe within their day-to-day circumstances.	
Human Security	The safety and satisfaction of basic human needs for food, secured livelihood, and freedom from harm
Social Threat	Relates to daily fears around intergroup contact and violence.

Annex: Social Cohesion Key terms

No.	English Terms	Khmer	Note
1.	Social Cohesion	សាមគ្គីភាពសង្គម	
2.	Trust	ការជឿទុកចិត្ត	
3.	Belonging	ភាពចូលចំណោម	
4.	Inclusion	ភាពបរិយាប័ន្ន	
5.	Dimension	វិមាត្រ	
6.	Contemporary	បច្ចុប្បន្ន	
7.	Concept	ការយល់ឃើញ	
8.	LGBTQI+	ក្រុមអ្នកស្រឡាញ់ភេទដូចគ្នា (LGBTQI+)	
9.	Means-end approach	អភិក្រមមធ្យោបាយ-គោលដៅ ឬ គោលវិធី មធ្យោបាយ-គោលដៅ	
10.	Connectedness	ភាពភ្ជាប់គ្នា	
11.	Cohesion	ភាពស្និទ្ធស្នាល	
12.	Sense of togetherness	អារម្មណ៍អំពីភាពចុះសម្រុង	