RESETTLING PHNOM PENH: 54 – AND COUNTING?

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Sahmakum Teang Tnaut • a Cambodian Urban NGO

Many at Sen Sok relocation site, also known as Anlong Kngan, continue to live in squalor 11 years since relocation.

Executive Summary

New research by Sahmakum Teang Tnaut identifies 54 relocation sites in and around Phnom Penh. Mainly established over the past two decades, the sites are primarily home to people evicted from Phnom Penh's four inner Khans, with residents from Khan Chamkarmon's Tonle Bassac area topping the list. Two peak years in the establishment of relocation sites can be identified: 2001 and 2006 when 11 and 12 sites were established respectively. 2001 marked the beginning of an encompassing relocation policy: 83% of all sites were established after that year.

Over time, relocation sites have been established further and further away from Phnom Penh's city centre. The average distance from the city centre, represented by Wat Phnom, to relocation sites is currently 20km, but has been growing steadily, from an average of 14km for sites established between 2000-2004, to 25km for sites established in the period 2005-2009. Households are also relocated increasingly far away from their previous locations. Only five communities were relocated within 5km of their previous homes, while 43% of all communities were relocated between 15-20km away, and a five communities - relocated between 2009 and 2012 - were moved over 50km from their previous homes.

The physical sizes of relocation sites vary, with some sites occupying less than 1.5ha of land, while others occupy more than 6ha. Small sites are however the majority, with 59% of sites occupying less than 3ha of land. Sen Sok relocation site (also known as Anlong Kngan) is the largest site, occupying some 8ha. Larger sites tend to be home to evictees from more than one city-centre community.

Residents at relocation sites report a number of problems affecting their livelihoods and living standards. Poor infrastructure is the most commonly reported problem, with 72% of all sites highlighting it as a key challenge. Lack of access to utilities is the second most pervasive problem – reported by 43% of sites - while 22% note unemployment as a difficulty. Other notable problems include poor sanitation and waste management, lack of social services, financial limitations, and threats of eviction.

Residents at the more remote sites tend to face not only poorer living standards than those at sites closer to the city centre, but also higher costs. Sites further away have less access to utilities such as state electricity supply and piped water from the Phnom Penh Water Supply Authority and hence have to rely on private suppliers. These can charge over 400% and 1600% more for electricity and water supply respectively.

Lack of tenure security in the form of land titles remains an issue at the majority of the sites. Although it is generally acknowledged – loosely following sub-decree #19 on Social Land Concessions – that relocated households should receive land titles after five years of occupancy at the new site, only 13 out of 46 sites established before 2007 have undergone systematic land registration and/or titling. Put another way, 33 sites established more than five years ago have to date not undergone the systematic land registration process. A large minority (15) of these are over ten years old.

Housing at Ponleu Pich site in Kandal province remains basic eight years after establishment

Introduction

As Phnom Penh develops and urbanises, the demand for land in the city's centre grows. Prime real estate occupied by the city's poor becomes sought after, and evictions of families, who have often lived on the land for several decades, ensues. It is estimated that some 150,000 people, or 11% of Phnom Penh's current population, have been displaced over the past twenty years.

Some of these evictees have ended up in the relocation sites which, since 2001 in particular, have been established in and around Phnom Penh. Although numbers of relocated households are unavailable, it is estimated that at least 14,000 families – equivalent to over 70,000 people – have ended up in these sites (although anecdotal evidence suggests many subsequently left).

The relocation sites rarely offer better living standards than what the households, often forcibly, left behind. Numerous cases of evictees simply being dumped in swampy rice paddies at the city's outskirts have been documented. A handful of cases, mainly from the late 1990s, exemplify better practice, with affected communities consulted and invited to participate in the planning and implementation of the relocation. Aphiwat Meanchey (Veng Sreng) is often cited as a case of 'positive' relocation, where the community, urban poor alliance Solidarity for the Urban Poor Federation (SUPF), the authorities, and local and international organisations collaborated closely to plan and coordinate the resettlement scheme over 1999-2000. Relocations to Kork Kleang I and II, as well as Toul Rokar Koh in 2000 were also characterised by participatory planning and community contributions to the process. Sadly, the 2001 fires – widely believed to be arson – that tore through poor communities in the city's Tonle Bassac area, marked the start of so-called 'emergency relocation' characterised by limited or no preparation and assistance to evicted households, as well as isolated and unserviced sites. This practice persists to this day.

This report features select findings of STT's extensive survey of relocation sites in and around Phnom Penh, conducted in 2011 and 2012. The aim of the report is to highlight some key issues facing residents at existing relocation sites, and provide recommendations for both improving existing sites and improving future relocation practices, in cases when relocation is considered unavoidable. The report follows STT's 2007 report 'Relocation Sites in Phnom Penh'.

Methodology

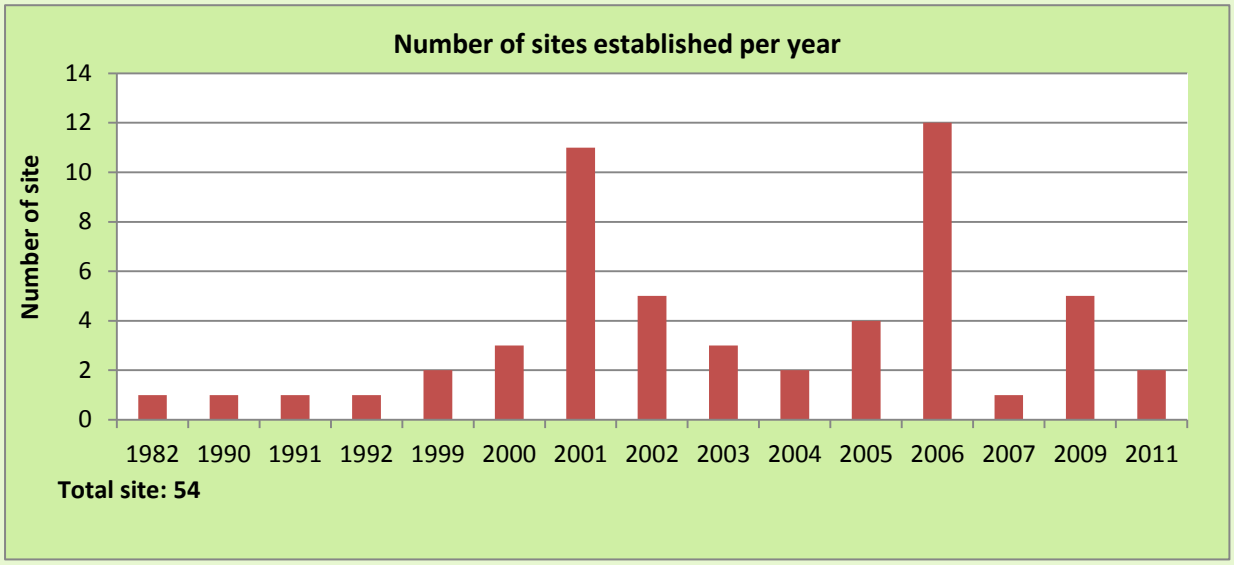
Each relocation site was visited between May to December 2011. During the visits STT staff interviewed either the village chief at the site or a community leader, although at nine sites neither could be identified so villagers were intereviewed. Data was re-confirmed over the phone in mid-2012 and a handful of additional site visits. During the site visits staff also identified the boundaries of each site using a handheld GPS, following advice from interviewees. Once collected, the data was analysed using SPSS.

The most recent relocation sites are in Phnom Bat, almost 50km from the city

Research Findings

Site Numbers

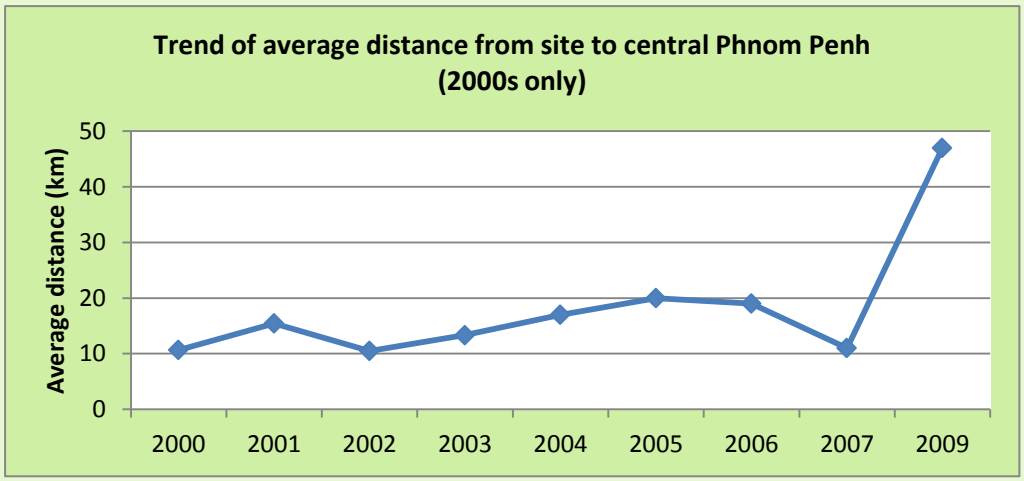
Since 1982, 54 relocation sites have been established in and around Phnom Penh. The majority (83%) were established after the year 2001. This was a a peak year for the establishment of sites with a total of 11 sites established. Many of these became homes for evictees from Khan Chamkarmon's Tonle Bassac area which was ravaged by a fire – widely believed to have been arson – in November 2001. Another peak year was 2006, when a total 12 sites were established.

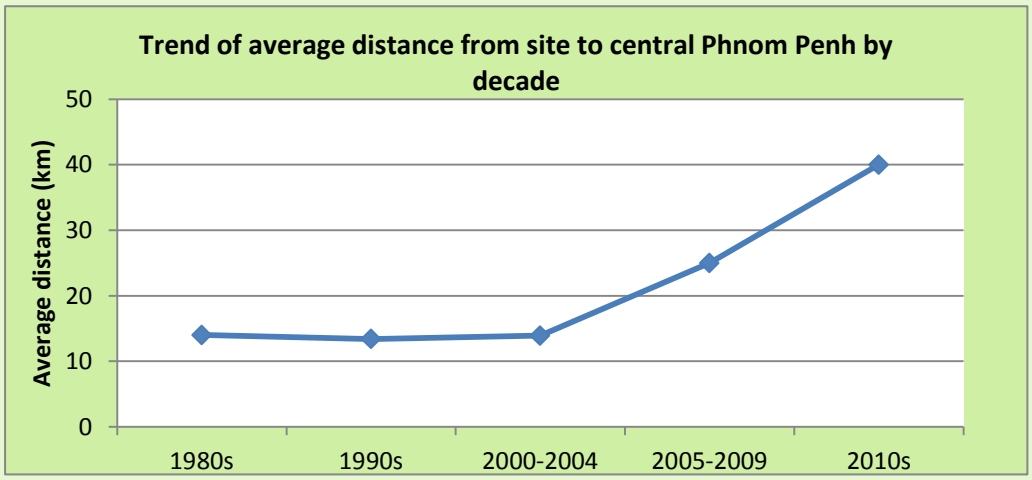


Site Locations

Over time, the distance between the original location and that of the relocation site has grown, as has the location of the relocation site vis-à-vis central Phnom Penh. Since 2001, a clear trend of increasing distance can be identified. Between 2001 and 2009 the distance between central Phnom Penh (Wat Phnom) and new relocation sites grew from an average of 11km to an average of 47km. Only ten out of the 54 sites identified are located within 10km of Wat Phnom, while only five sites are located at a distance of 5km or less from the evictees original location. Seven sites are located in Kandal Province.

Some sites, like Khmer Leu, (left) are located in distinctly rural areas. Others, like Kork Banchan (right), show signs of being incorporated into the urban fabric

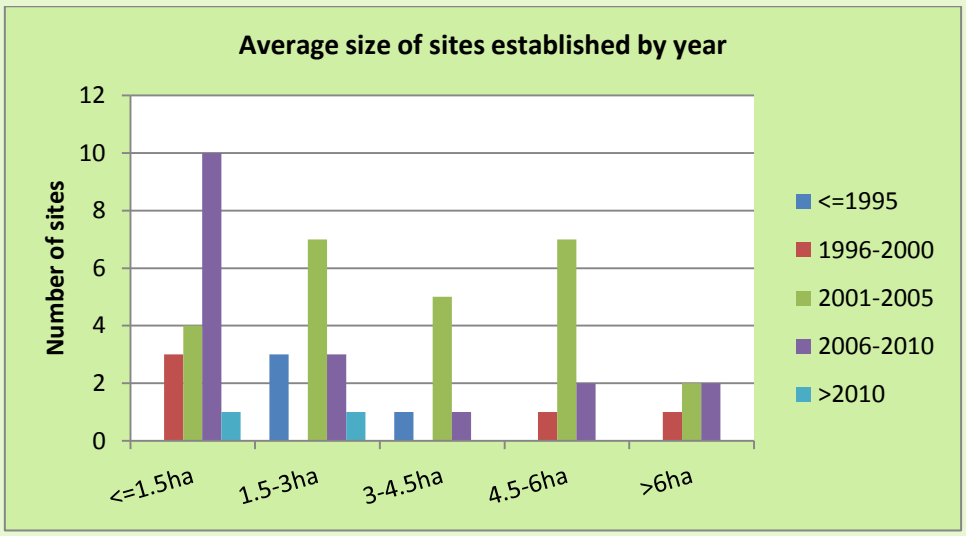




Site sizes

The physical sizes of relocation sites vary, with some sites occupying less than 1.5ha of land, while others occupy more than 6ha. Small sites are however the majority, with 59% of sites occupying less than 3ha of land. Only five sites are larger than 6ha, with Sen Sok relocation site (also known as Anlong Kngan) occupying the largest area, over 8ha. The majority (64%) of sites larger than 3ha were established between 2001 and 2005. Conversely, almost half (47%) of the sites established after 2006 are smaller than 3ha.

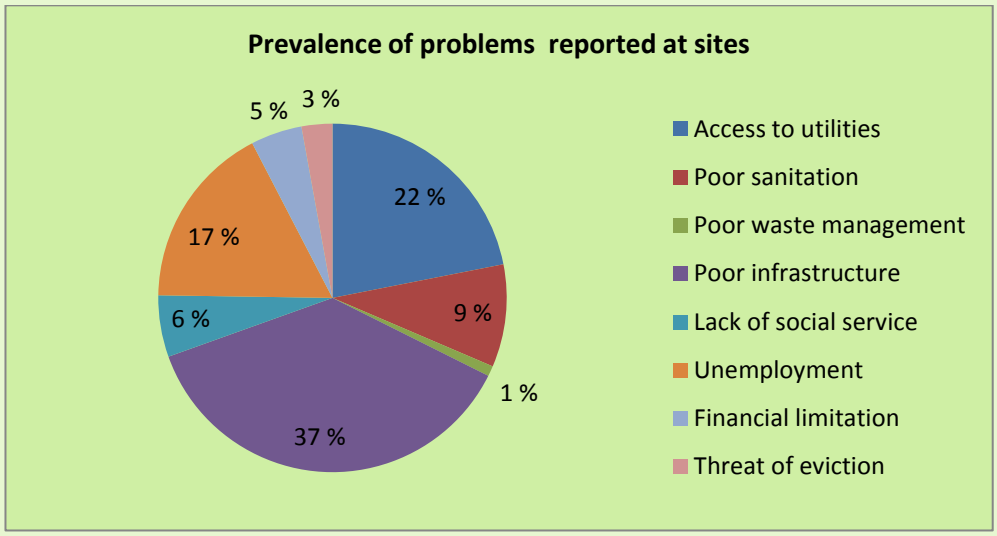
Sites like Trach Thom have emptied over the years



Problems identified

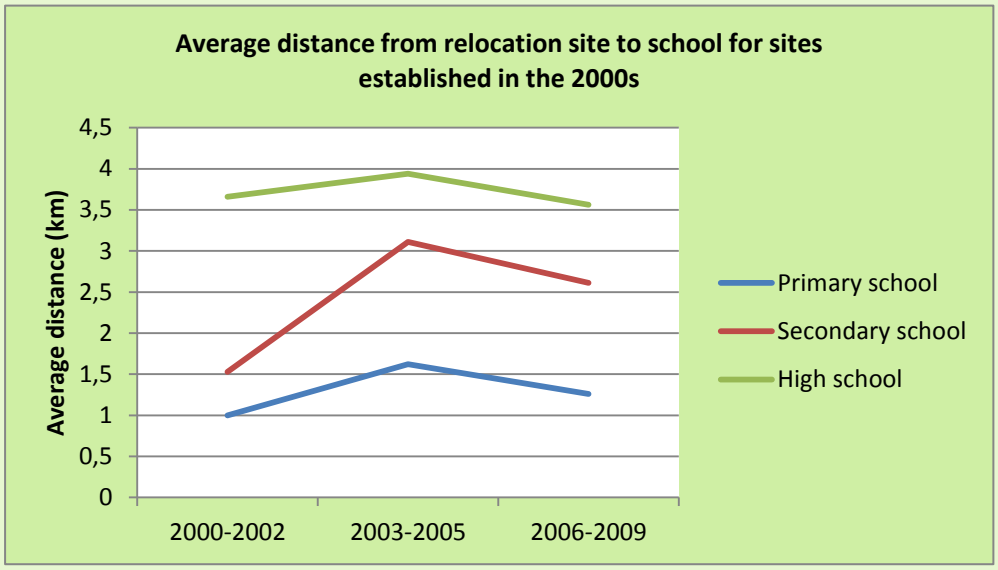
The most prevalent problem identified by residents in relocation sites is poor infrastructure (37%), followed by access to utilities (22%), and unemployment (17%). 72%, or 39 sites, identified poor infrastructure as an issue, while residents at 22 sites (43%) complained of utilities issues, and 18 sites (33%) noted unemployment as a problem. Three sites expressed fear of eviction as a concern.

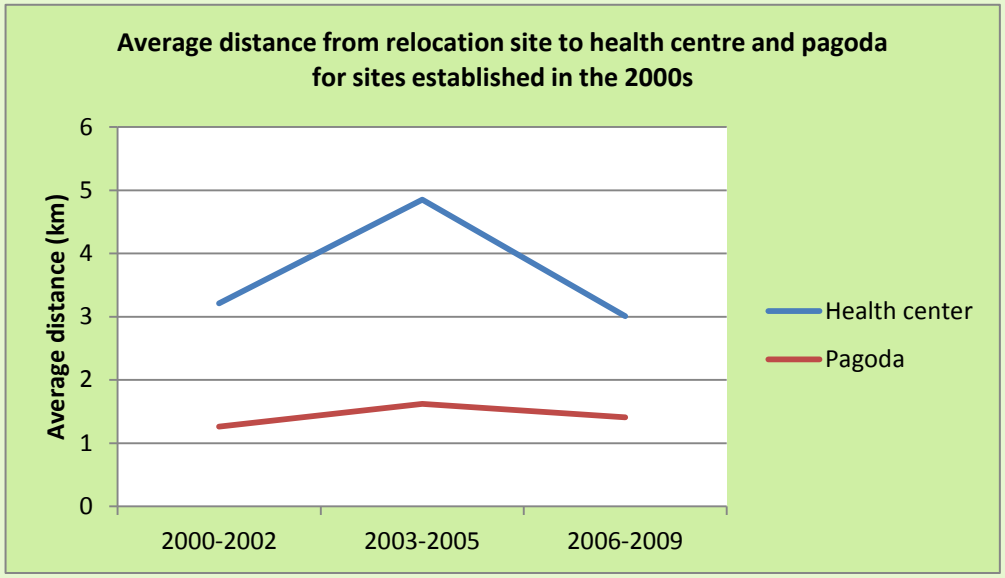
Flooding is a commonly reported problem at relocation sites, such as at Kork Kleang Thmey



Access to services

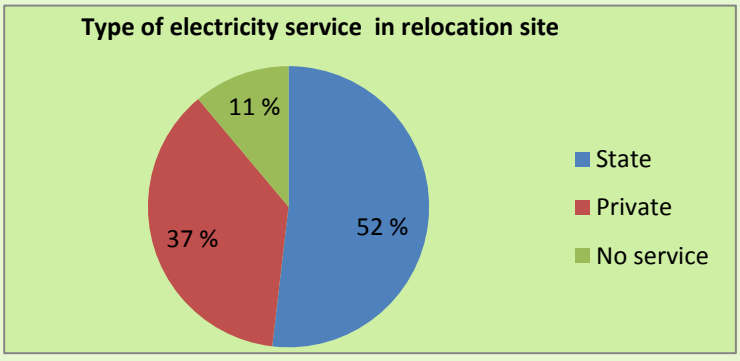
While the distance to schools, health centres, and pagodas is on average reasonable at all sites, residents on sites established between 2003 and 2005 have to travel further to access these than others.





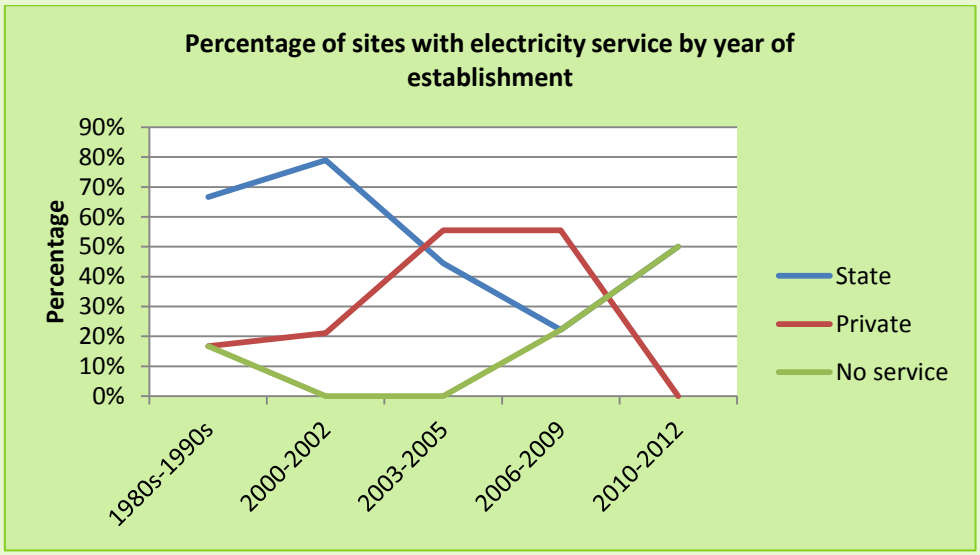
Utilities

A small majority (52%) of relocation sites have access to state electricity provision. The remainder are either reliant on private suppliers (37%) or have no access to electricity (11%) beyond possible personal generators. Older sites, particularly those established before 2003, tend to have higher access to state electricity, while newer sites do not: out of 20 sites established since 2006, only five have access to state electricity.

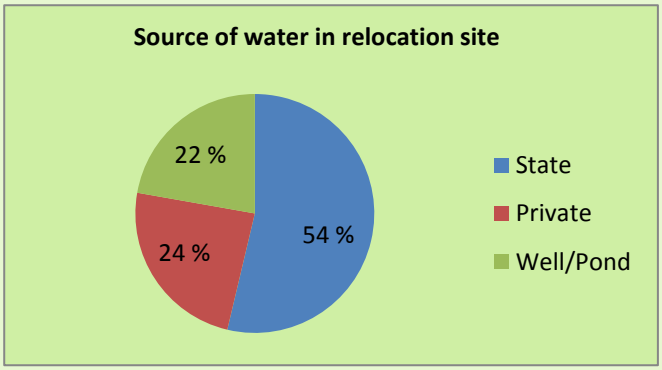


The price for electricity rises sharply when it is provided through private means. While charges from the state provider, Electricité du Cambodge (EDC) start at 610 riels per kilowatt hour (kWh) (Dec 2012 rate), private suppliers are known to double, triple, or even quadruple the price. 34% of all sites with access to electricity report costs exceeding 1,500 riels per kWh. The average price of electricity at privately supplied sites is 2,495 riels per kWh, around 400% higher than EDC charges.

Descriptive statistics were generated to explore the impact of distance from central Phnom Penh on electricity service, as measured by distance to site. The mean distance to sites with a state service (M=14.85, SD =4.87) was significantly shorter than the distance to sites without any electricity service (M =41.83, SD =18.98). Conversely, there was a smaller, although still notable, difference between sites with private service and those with a state service: sites with access to state electricity are on average 4.5km closer to central Phnom Penh than privately supplied sites. In sum, sites closer to central Phnom Penh tend to be connected to state electricity, while sites further away are not. Sites without either state or private electricity supply tend to be located the furthest from the city.



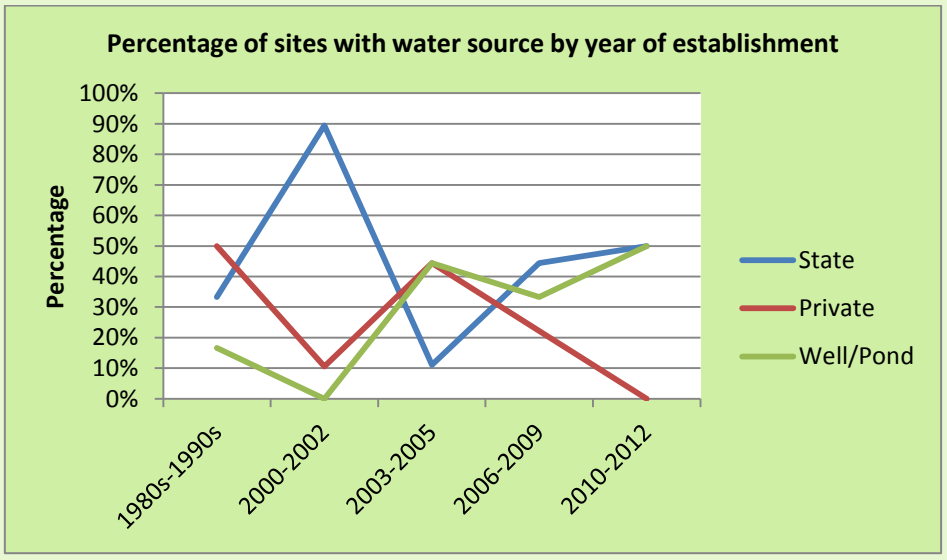
Similarly to electricity provision, a small majority of sites (54%) are connected to piped water through the Phnom Penh Water Supply Authority (PPWSA), an autonomous public utility company listed on the Cambodian Securities Exchange. Twenty-four percent of sites are supplied by private vendors, while 22% of the sites rely on wells or ponds for water supply.



Privately supplied water can be significantly more expensive than piped water from PPWSA. The average price of privately supplied water at relocation sites is 8,807 riels/m^3, in contrast to rates starting at 550 riels/m^3 charged by PPWSA (Dec 2012 rate), reflecting an over 1600% mark-up. Of the 25 sites that do not have access to PPWSA water, 56% report paying more than 4000 riels/m^3. Nine of these report water costs exceeding 8000 riels/m^3.

Descriptive statistics were generated to explore the impact of distance from central Phnom Penh on water source, as measured by the distance from central Phnom Penh to site. The mean distance for sites with a PPWSA service (M=14.75, SD=5.59) differs significantly from those getting water from a well/pond (M=33.33, SD=18.47). Sites with a private water service (M=17.38, SD=3.96) were far closer on average to the centre of the city than those sourcing water from a well/pond. Conversely, sites with a private water service were at a similar distance to the city centre when compared to the sites with a state service (approx. 2.5km difference).

In sum, sites located furthest away from the city tend not to be connected to piped water, while sites closer to the city have access to either piped water or private suppliers.



Another perspective on utilities is provided by dividing the sites between those that are connected to state electricity (EDC) and PPWSA water, and those that are connected to neither. The below table shows that only 21 sites have access to both state electricity and PPWSA water, while six sites have no access to electricity supply (beyond possible private generators) and rely on ponds and/or wells for water. In total there are 18 sites which do not have any access to any form of state utility. The majority of these were established after 2001.

		Water Type			Total
Access to Utilities		**PPWSA**	**Private**	**Well/pond**	
Electricity Type	**State (EDC)**	21	4	3	**28**
	Private	8	9	3	**20**
	None	0	0	6	**6**
Total		**29**	**13**	**12**	**54**

A new variable was created to describe the six sites without electricity or water connections entitled 'no utilities'. The below table provides some information about their characteristics versus that of sites with either EDC/PPWSA or private connections (‘utilities’). The table shows that sites with no utilities tend to be established more recently, as well as located significantly further away.

		Years Since Relocation	Distance from Wat Phnom to site (km)
No utilities	Mean	7,67	41,8
	N	6	6
	Median	3,00	53,5
Utilities	Mean	9,27	16,7
	N	48	48
	Median	9,50	16
Total	Mean	9,09	19,5
	N	54	54
	Median	9,00	16

Access to clean water is a challenge particularly at more remote sites

It was also possible to create a new variable highlighting the 18 sites with no access to 'state/PPWSA utilities'. This variable divides all sites into those where there is some state/PPWSA presence and those where all utility access is either private, through informal methods such as a well/pond, or non-existent. Any sites with access to either state electricity or PPWSA water are considered to have some state/PPWSA access. The below tables show that while 78% of sites with some access to state/PPWSA utilities are located within 20km of Wat Phnom, 55% of sites with no access are located further than 20km away. The tables also show that newer sites tend to have less access to utilities. Thus, in sum, sites without state/PPWSA support for utilities appear to be further from the centre of Phnom Penh, and established more recently.

No State/PPWSA Utilities	Distance	No State/ PPWSA Utilities	State/PPWSA Utilities	Total
Distance from Wat Phnom	1-10km	0	10	**10**
	11-20km	8	18	**26**
	21-30km	5	8	**13**
	31-60km	5	0	**5**
Total		**18**	**36**	**54**

No State/PPWSA Utilities	Years	No State/ PPWSA Utilities	State/PPWSA Utilities	Total
Year of Relocation	1981-1990	2	0	**2**
	1991-2000	0	7	**7**
	2001-2006	10	27	**37**
	2007-2012	6	2	**8**
Total		**18**	**36**	**54**

Access to state water and electricity at a particular site is, however, no guarantee that all households at the site enjoy access. Connection costs – of US $140 and US $75 for water and electricity respectively – are often prohibitive for very poor households, who as a result end up purchasing water – at marked up prices – from neighbours or private vendors, or alternatively using water of undetermined quality from wells or nearby ponds.

Tenure Security

Upon relocation, households are generally provided with some type of documentation that acknowledges their rights to the new plots. These documents, which take different forms across sites, are however not land titles; in order to qualify for land titles, relocated households are generally expected to reside on their new plots for a period of five years during which time they are not allowed to transfer ownership. This practice appears loosely based on the idea of Social Land Concessions (SLC), and is outlined in sub-decree #19 on SLCs. However, out of 47 sites established before or in 2007, only 14 have undergone systematic land registration and/or titling. Put another way, 33 sites established more than five years ago have to date not undergone the systematic land registration process. A large minority (15) of these are over ten years old.

Although date of site establishment does not necessarily equal date of relocation to the site, it is evident that a clear majority of non-registered sites (82%) are older than five years, sometimes significantly so, and should hence be titled.

Systematic land registration/titling at relocation sites		
	Number of sites	**Percent of site**
Title	12	22 %
Registered	2	4 %
Not registered/titled	40	74 %
Total	**54**	**100 %**

Year of establishment of non-registered sites		
Year	**Number of site**	**Percent**
<1995	2	5%
1996-1999	2	5%
2000-2003	15	38%
2004-2007	14	35%
>2008	7	18%
Total	40	100%

Some residents at a minority of sites, such as in Toul Sambo (left), have received NGO support for housing. At most sites, however, evictees need to build their own homes, like evictees to Phum Andong (right)

Conclusion and Recommendations

The data presented in this overview shows how the Royal Government of Cambodia has over the past decade implemented an extensive policy of moving Phnom Penh's urban poor to the city's outskirts. Instead of upgrading 100 urban poor settlements per year as suggested by the Prime Minister in 2003, since 2001, 45 relocation sites have been established for several thousands of evicted families. Far from moving families into 'liveable communities' - emphasised by the Prime Minister in 2000 at the opening ceremony for Aphiwat Meanchey site in 2000 - many 'relocations' have amounted to little more than forced evictions, while the majority of relocation sites offer evictees lower living standards that persist for years after the move.

Over time, a disturbing trend of relocation sites being located further and further away from the city can be identified, with distance from central Phnom Penh a key indicator of access to utilities. Newer sites tend to not only be located at a considerable distance from the city centre – where many of the urban poor make their living – but also have less access to state electricity and piped water from the PPWSA and EDC. As a result, households at these sites often pay considerably more for potable water and electricity.

Although a corner stone of the government's relocation policy is the provision of plots of land to evictees, data shows the majority of relocation sites have not been titled despite being over five years old. Lack of land titles means households at sites do not have secure tenure, and it can also restrict families' access to formal credit, for which land titles are often required collateral.

Relocation of households in any context is a complex and demanding undertaking fraught with risks. Evictees often face multiple socio-economic traumas and vulnerabilities following displacement, including job loss, loss of social safety nets, and reduced access to basic services. As such, while relocation may at times be unavoidable, it should be regarded as a last resort following exploration of alternatives.

While this overview has highlighted only few of the findings from STT's extensive survey of relocation sites over the past two years, it is evident relocation of poor communities in Phnom Penh has in the majority of cases resulted in a retrogression in the evictees enjoyment of human rights, including the rights to adequate housing and basic services.

The below outlines some key recommendations for better relocation outcomes in the future as well as key steps that need to be taken to improve the conditions at existing sites:

- **Given the socio-economic costs associated with relocation, relocation should be considered a last resort, and conducted only following formal adjudication of the land rights of affected households and in accordance with the Cambodian legal framework and international standards;**

- **Alternatives to re-location, including on-site upgrading, re-adjustment, or re-blocking of affected households should be explored as viable options to relocation together with affected households prior to final decision-making;**

- **A Relocation Policy, outlining steps to be taken before, during, and after relocation should be developed. This policy should emphasise participation of affected households in all planning and decision-making regarding the move. Renters should be included in the process;**

- **When relocation is considered unavoidable, participation by households affected should be sought at all stages of the relocation. In particular, adequate time should be allocated to community organizing and participatory planning prior to relocation, including the choice of relocation site location and lay-out;**

- **Prior to relocation, all sites should have access to basic infrastructure and services, including (but not limited to) access roads, utilities, health care, and schools. Sites should be located near appropriate income-generating opportunities and transportation links;**

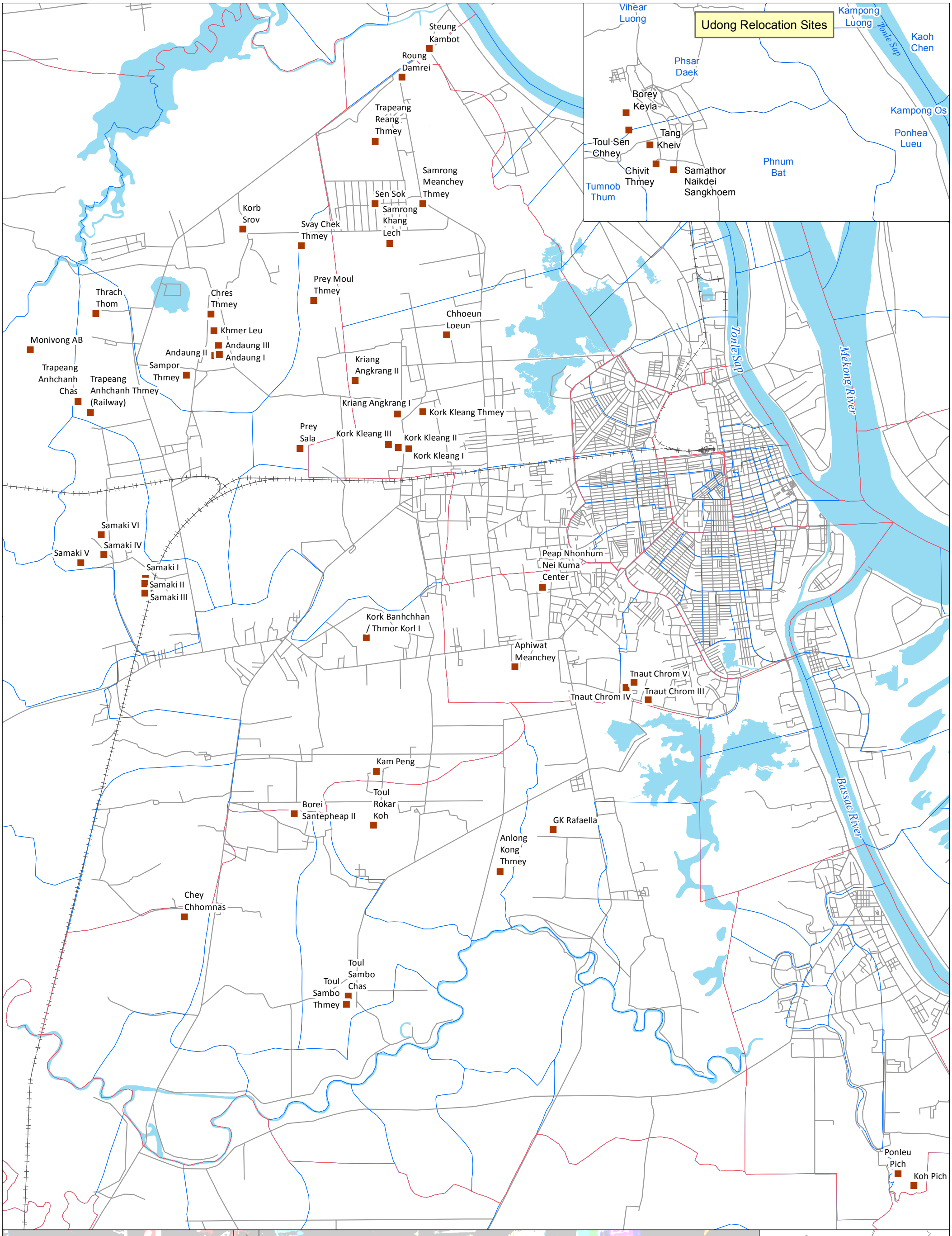
- **Existing relocation sites dating over five years should undergo systematic land registration and titling as a priority. Residents at sites that have previously been denied plots, such as renters, should be formalized to become part of the settlement;**

- **State electricity provision and access to piped water through the Phnom Penh Water Supply Authority should be extended to all sites as a priority, at subsidized rates.**

Relocation sites in and around Phnom Penh

	Popular Name	Local Name	Village	Commune	District
1	Peap Nhonhum Nei Kuma Center	Peap Nhonhum Nei Kuma Center	Ou Bek Ka orm	Teuk Thla	Sen Sok
2	Chhoeun Loeun	Chhoeun Loeun	Trapeang Svay	Phnom Penh Thmey	Sen Sok
3	Aphiwat Meanchey	Aphiwat Meanchey	Damnak Thom II	Steung MeanChey	Mean Chey
4	Tnaut Chrom IV	Tnaut Chrom IV	Tnaut Chrom IV	Boeung Tompun	Mean Chey
5	Kork Kleang I	Kork Kleang I	Kork Kleang	Phnom Penh Thmey	Sen Sok
6	Kork Kleang II	Kork Kleang II	Kork Kleang	Phnom Penh Thmey	Sen Sok
7	Boeung Tompun / Tnaut Chrom III	Tnaut Chrom III	Tnaut Chrom III	Boeung Tompun	Mean Chey
8	Prek Tal / Tnaut Chrom V	Tnaut Chrom V	Tnaut Chrom V	Boeung Tompun	Mean Chey
9	Kork Kleang III	Kork Kleang III	Kork Kleang	Phnom Penh Thmey	Sen Sok
10	Kriang Angkrang I	Kriang Angkrang I	Kraing Angkrang	Kriang Thnorng	Dangkor
11	Kork Banhchhan	Kork Banhchhan / Thmor Korl I	Thmor Korl I	Chorm Chao	Dangkor
12	GK Rafaella	GK Rafaella	Ta Lei	Dangkor	Dangkor
13	Kork Kleang Thmey	Kork Kleang Thmey	Kork Kleang	Phnom Penh Thmey	Sen Sok
14	Kriang Angkrang II	Kriang Angkrang II	Kraing Angkrang	Kriang Thnorng	Dangkor
15	Lorkambor	Steung Kambot	Lorkambor	Svay Pak	Russey Keo
16	Toul Pich / Aphiwat Thmey Prey Langor / Aphiwat Thmey Sampi	Kam Peng	Prey Langor	Chorm Chao	Dangkor
17	Samrong Meanchey Thmey	Samrong Meanchey Thmey	Samrong Meanchey Thmei	Khmuonh	Sen Sok
18	Toul Rokar Koh / Prey Ti Tuy	Toul Rokar Koh	Toul Rokar Koh	Prey Sar	Dangkor
19	Roung Damrei	Roung Damrei	Anlong Kngan	Khmuonh	Sen Sok
20	Sen Sok/Anlong Kngan	Sen Sok	Sen Sok	Khmuonh	Sen Sok
21	Prey Sala	Prey Sala	Prey Sala	Kakab	Dangkor
22	Damnak Troyoeung / Dey Krohom	Borei Santepheap II	Damnak Troyoeung	Chorm Chao	Dangkor
23	Samrong Khang Lech	Samrong Khang Lech	Samrong	Khmuonh	Sen Sok
24	Samaki I	Samaki I	Samaki I	Trapeang Krasang	Dangkor
25	Samaki II	Samaki II	Samaki II	Trapeang Krasang	Dangkor
26	Samaki III	Samaki III	Samaki III	Trapeang Krasang	Dangkor
27	Anlong Kong Thmey	Anlong Kong Thmey	Anlong Kong Thmey	Prey Sor	Dangkor
28	Trapeang Reang Thmey	Trapeang Reang Thmey	Trapeang Reang Thmey	Khmuonh	Sen Sok
29	Samaki IV	Samaki IV	Samaki IV	Trapeang Krasang	Dangkor
30	Toul Sambo Thmey	Toul Sambo Thmey	Toul Sambo	Prey Veng	Dangkor
31	Toul Sambo Chhas	Toul Sambo Chas	Toul Sambo	Prey Veng	Dangkor
32	Samaki V	Samaki V	Samaki V	Trapeang Krasang	Dangkor

33	Samaki VI / Phum Veal	Samaki VI	Samaki VI	Trapeang Krasang	Dangkor
34	Aphiwat Korb Srouv Thom	Korb Srov	Korb Srouv Touch	Kork Rokar	Dangkor
35	Svay Chek Thmey	Svay Chek Thmey	Svay Chek	Svay Chek	Dangkor
36	Chey Chhomnas	Chey Chhomnas	Kork Khsach	Bror Taslan	Dangkor
37	Ponleu Pich / Kroboa 2	Ponleu Pich	Prek Rang	Kampong Samnanh	Takmao
38	Koh Pich / Kroboa 1	Koh Pich	Prek Rang	Kampong Samnanh	Takmao
39	Prey Moul / Aphiwat Thmey IV	Prey Moul Thmey	Prey Moul Thmey	Kriang Thnorng	Dangkor
40	Kork Roka / Aphiwat Thmey III	Chres Thmey	Chres Thmey	Kork Rokar	Dangkor
41	Thrach Thom I/ Thrach Thom II	Thrach Thom	Prey Po Pel	Samrong Krom	Dangkor
42	Mlop Por II	Andaung II	Andaung	Kork Rokar	Dangkor
43	Phum Andong / Sambok Chap	Andaung III	Andaung	Kork Rokar	Dangkor
44	Mlop Por	Andaung I	Mlup Pou	Kork Rokar	Dangkor
45	Khmer Leu / Aphiwat Thmey I	Khmer Leu	Andaung	Kork Rokar	Dangkor
46	Sampor/ Chambok Thom	Sampor Thmey	Trapeang Por	Kork Rokar	Dangkor
47	Monivong AB	Monivong AB	Sre ampel	Snor	Dangkor
48	Trapeang Krasang	Trapeang Anhchanh Chas	Trapeang Anchanh	Trapeang Krasang	Dangkor
49	Trapeang Anhchanh	Trapeang Anhchanh Thmey (Railway)	Trapeang Anhchanh	Trapeang Krasang	Dangkor
50	Samathor Naikdei Sangkhoem	Samathor Naikdei Sangkhoem	Trapeang Sleng	Phnom Bat	Ponhea Loeu
51	Borei Keila (Phnom Bat)	Borei Keila (Phnom Bat)	Srah Por	Phnom Bat	Ponhea Loeu
52	Tang Khiev	Tang Khiev	Srah Por	Phnom Bat	Ponhea Loeu
53	Toul Sen Chey	Toul Sen Chey	Srah Por Chheung	Phsar Dek	Ponhea Loeu
54	Chivit Thmey	Chivit Thmey	Srah Por	Phnom Bat	Ponhea Loeu


Udong Relocation Sites
Vihear Luong
Kampong Luong
Tonle Sap
Kaoh Chen
Phsar Daek
Borey Keyla
Kampong Os
Tang Kheiv
Ponhea Lueu
Toul Sen Chhey
Chivit Thmey
Samathor Naikdei Sangkhoem
Phnum Bat
Tumnob Thum
Steung Kambot
Roung Damrei
Trapeang Reang Thmey
Samrong Meanchey Thmey
Sen Sok
Samrong Khang Lech
Korb Srov
Svay Chek Thmey
Prey Moul Thmey
Thrach Thom
Chres Thmey
Khmer Leu
Andaung III
Andaung I
Andaung II
Monivong AB
Sampor Thmey
Trapeang Anhchanh Chas
Trapeang Anhchanh Thmey (Railway)
Chhoeun Loeun
Kriang Angkrang II
Kriang Angkrang I
Kork Kleang Thmey
Prey Sala
Kork Kleang III
Kork Kleang II
Kork Kleang I
Tonle Sap
Mekong River
Samaki VI
Samaki IV
Samaki V
Samaki I
Samaki II
Samaki III
Peap Nhonhum Nei Kuma Center
Kork Banhchhan / Thmor Korl I
Aphiwat Meanchey
Tnaut Chrom V
Tnaut Chrom III
Tnaut Chrom IV
Kam Peng
Toul Rokar Koh
Borei Santepheap II
GK Rafaella
Anlong Kong Thmey
Bassac River
Chey Chhomnas
Toul Sambo Chas
Toul Sambo Thmey
Ponleu Pich
Koh Pich
0 0.5 1 2 3 4 Kilometers
N
Scale: 1:75,000
Authors: Sok Lida
Date: 02/07/2012
Surveyors: Sok Lida, Srey Vireak, Douk Boromreth
Coordinate System:
WGS 1984 UTM Zone 48N
Projection: Transverse Mercator
Sources:
MLMLC-GDCG: District, Commune Boundary (2010);
Openstreetmap.org: Roads, Railway, River /lake (2011);
Relocation Sites
Phnom Penh and Udong
Legend
Relocation Site
Railway
Road
District
Commune
River /Lake
សមាគមធានថ្មោត
Sahmakum Teang Tnaut • a Cambodian Urban NGO
Thailand
Laos
Vietnam
Phnom Penh
Gulf of Thailand
South China Sea