

**Experiences from Three Marine Community Fisheries:
Chikhor Krom and Chroy Svay communes, Koh Kong Province
and Stung Hav district, Kompong Som Province**



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About American Friends Service Committee:

AFSC began working in Cambodia in 1979 and has worked in Sre Amble District of Koh Kong Province since 1997, providing assistance on natural resource management, community development and agriculture. AFSC has worked with fishing communities to organize under the sub-decrees since 2001. AFSC's work in Koh Kong Province is generously supported by EED, Diakonia, ICCO, Christian Aid and Heifer International.

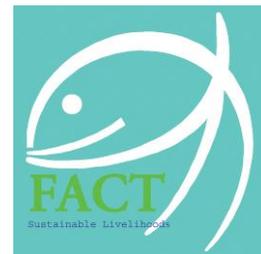
About Fisheries Action Coalition Team:

Fisheries Action Coalition Team (FACT) is a coalition of Non-Governmental Organizations [NGOs] established in 2000 by a group of NGO members working on the fisheries and environmental issues around the Tonle Sap Lake. Later it also began organizing a coastal fisheries network. FACT was originally established as part of the environment project of the NGO Forum on Cambodia, and became an independent local NGO in 2003. Its active members are all Cambodian NGO staff committed to do advocacy in fisheries and to monitor policy reforms.

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Cover Photo: Longtail fishing boats in Chroy Svay Lech village, Chroy Svay commune, Koh Kong province. (Kay Leak)

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I. Introduction

Cambodia initiated small-scale community-based management of fishery resources in 1994. Six years later, more than half of the country's commercial fishing lots on the Tonle Sap Lake were released to community management. This enabled widespread formation of freshwater and coastal community fisheries. The Department of Fisheries has encouraged further expansion, including finalization of a sub-decree on community fishery management in 2005. Nearly 500 community fisheries have since been established. Many more are in development or planned. Nonetheless, the concept of local resource management is still relatively new. Fishing communities, local and national government, NGOs and donors continue to learn from their initial experiences.

After 1996, improved security around Kompong Som Bay led to greater exploitation of fishery resources. As a result of overexploitation and destructive fishing practices, fish, shrimp, and other marine life began to decline and tensions between traditional fishers and trawler and pushboat operators increased. Fishing communities that before were able to make a living using traditional gear began facing food shortages. As trawlers and pushboats fished closer to the shore, they also destroyed small-scale fishers' nets, further jeopardizing their livelihoods. Conflicts at sea resulted in the deaths of at least 25 fishermen in the late 1990s. Safety concerns forced many traditional fishers to stop fishing entirely.

In response to declining resources and increased conflict, fishing communities in Sre Ambel district, Koh Kong Province organized their own fisheries. With support from American Friends Service Committee, the Chhikhor Krom community fishery was officially recognized by the government in 2003 and in early 2006, the Chroy Svay fishery was recognized. In Kompong Som Province, fishers in Stung Hav district have been working with support from the Sihanoukville municipality project (PemSea), Seila Program, district authorities, the Sihanoukville NGO Advocacy Network (SNAN) and Star Kampuchea since 2004 to establish their own community fishery in an effort to find a sustainable solution to the livelihood problems faced by trawler fishers living in the district. New fisheries are also being set up in Andoung Tuek and Thma Sa communes, Koh Kong, eventually bringing the whole Kompong Som Bay coastal area under local management.

Through the organizing process, fishers in Kompong Som Bay have learned that they can peacefully call attention to and improve their situation. The community-based fisheries have improved their livelihoods and their security. In Sre Ambel, dissemination of bylaws, enforced with joint patrols by fishery officers and community members, have reduced the number of trawlers and pushboats illegally fishing inside the community fisheries area. Marine life upon which fishers depend is making a rapid comeback in areas under protection.

Nonetheless, as fish stocks continue to decline elsewhere, fishers from surrounding communities have begun challenging the legitimacy of the community fisheries. Fishery members are deeply discouraged by ongoing encroachment of trawlers and pushboats, and occasional incidents of violence. The cases in this report document the experiences of members in three marine community-based fisheries: in Chikhor Krom and Chroy Svay in Sre Ambel district of Koh Kong province, and in Stung Hav district, Kompong Som province. The cases enable men and women to tell their own stories in their own voices.

The goal of this research is to engage the three fishery communities in a process of reflection, review, and analysis in order to draw lessons from their experiences of the past in order to help communities adjust to the challenges of the new situation. The purpose of these cases is: (i) to document the history of community members' respective fishery and its impact on their livelihoods, as well as their fears, hopes, and dreams for the future; (ii) to provide a basis for dialogue with each other about their shared situation; and (iii) to serve as an advocacy tool for community members to help the wider society and authorities recognize the importance of marine fisheries and problems that their community fisheries are facing.

The case history research concluded with a workshop, held from 28 -29 December 2006 in Sihanoukville, Cambodia. The workshop provided a forum for key stakeholders of marine community-based fisheries around Kompong Som Bay, including community-based fishery members, NGOs, and government officials from the Department of Fisheries and commune, district, and provincial levels, to examine why conflicts are happening, and to identify and agree on a way forward. The workshop recommendations are included in this document.

II. Methodology

The three case studies in this report were prepared by the research team through a participatory process involving fishery community members in the design of the research, in the analysis of the findings, and in the development of the community case histories. The research team also sought views of other key stakeholders, including relevant local government officials and NGO staff. These views were shared with community members in a way that respected all parties and opened up opportunities for dialogue. The research was designed and conducted in stages, both to avoid making heavy demands on the community members' time and to allow for a return to key issues and for follow-up questioning and reflection.

Research was conducted in three villages of Chikhor Krom commune (An Chi Eut, Taben, and Ksach Krahorm) and three in Chroy Svay commue (Saray, Chroy Svay Lech, and Nisat). In Stung Hav, research was conducted in coastal villages of three communes – Kampenh, Tumnup Rolork, and Otres.¹ Additional research was conducted in Batum Sakor district, Koh Kong, Sihanoukville (Kompong Som), and Phnom Penh in order to engage with key stakeholders. The information collection process took place over a period of four months (mid-March to mid-July 2006).

The research team held preliminary discussions with community members and other key stakeholders to introduce the research concept, in which participants were asked to identify key questions and priorities regarding their situation. The research team then identified participatory research tools to elicit community members' shared history, including their fears, hopes and dreams. Stakeholder-specific semi-structured research questionnaires were designed around a range of issues, including community solidarity, women's participation, problem-solving, human rights, and the effectiveness of different community organizing strategies.² Separate focus groups were conducted with men and women community fishery members and with committee members. In Stung Hav, additional focus groups were held with non-members. The target size for each focus group was 10-15 people. One-on-one, in-person interviews were held with government officials and NGO staff. (See appendix for a full list of interviews and focus groups.)

Following data collection, a draft case history was prepared using community member responses as the narrative. This draft was then presented back to community members in each village, providing an opportunity for changes to the draft through a facilitated discussion. These changes were integrated into the drafts and then presented to members of the three regional community fishery committees who approved the final versions of the case histories presented in this report. Finally, a workshop was held to present the research findings for discussion between community members, NGOs and government officials

¹ Fishing villages in Stung Hav district are more developed than their counterparts in Koh Kong. They are also more closely spaced than in Sre Ambel and Batum Sakor district. Consequently, while focus group participants came only from the commune in which the focus group was conducted, they often included participants from outside the village where the meeting was held.

² A separate report analyses the development and impact of community fisheries in Kompong Som Bay, with lessons learned and recommendations for the future. The target audience for this report is organizations working in community-based NRM, conflict resolution, and human rights.

The research team consisted of: Mr. Jake Sherman (team leader), Mr. Kay Leak (researcher), Ms. Sous Siem (AFSC), Ms. Chhom Theavy (FACT), and Mr. Pen Somany (AFSC).

Case Histories

Chikhor Krom Community Fishery

1. History of Fishing in Chikhor Krom

In the 1980s, we were rich in fishery resources. People were “just back from the forest” after Pol Pot’s regime – so we only had traditional gear. We used small boats without engines. We would row to Chamkar Leur and Tamor Sawr. We could use an even larger-holed net than now and still catch between 50-80kg / night. There were no pushboats or trawlers. There were no robbers either.

At that time, there were fewer people living here. We had only three jobs – fishing, rice cultivation, or plantations. Only about 30-50 percent of us were fishers; most people did rice cultivation. We lacked draught animals, so we got low rice yield. Sometimes there was not enough food from rice cultivation, so the farmers would forage for cassava. Fishers could catch big shrimp – we could not eat it all. Mudcrabs were the size of coconuts. There was no market at that time, so we would “share” the fish among the villagers. We would also salt or ice fish to sell to middlemen from Thailand.

It was very rare to see a trawler in Kompong Som Bay until 1988-1989. After this time, there started to be more trawlers, but they did not come into the shallow waters off Chikhor Krom. Then, in 1994-95, little by little trawlers started to come inside our area to fish. We could catch only 4-5 kg of fish / day because of the increase in trawlers. After 1995, we could catch only 1-2 kg/day. Fishers had to increase the number of nets that were used, but even with more nets we still caught less fish. By 1996-97, we could catch less than ½ kg of shrimp. We began to catch fish and shrimp inside the mangrove forest. Until that time, not many people caught crabs. Use of crab nets has continued to increase since then.

After the government stopped illegal cutting of the forest in 1999, many outsiders came to do illegal fishing. The number of trawlers increased significantly and resources started to decline dramatically. Trawlers came mostly from Stung Hav, Tamor Sawr, and Chamkar Leur. There were also pushboats from Tamor Sawr and Chamkar Leur, as well as a few from Chroy Svay, Sre Ambel, and even An Chi Eut.

Previously, we could not control illegal fishing on our own, so we requested the commune, police, and military to stop illegal boats. But they rarely went to do arrests. Usually, the authorities would just take money for their own, then release the fishers. After the 1993 election, the former military in the villages were retired. They no longer were government officials, so they could not control activities anymore. When the former military stopped, the fishery officer began making more arrests. But overall, there was an increase in illegal fishing because there were fewer stakeholders making arrests.

We took thumbprints many times to request interventions by the authorities to control illegal fishing. For example, in 1997-98, we collected prints five times asking the authorities, but there were no interventions.

One time, the whole commune took thumbprints and sent them to the provincial governor and to Samdech Hun Sen. We sent the letter through the commune, but we do not know if it actually went to the government. At that time, we did not know our rights and were very scared to send complaint letters. When there was no response, we did nothing and felt helpless.

Then, in 1999, the villagers requested the district governor to destroy illegal gear. Later, after the district governor agreed, the commune chief at Ksach Krahorn arrested three illegal boats and confiscated their gear. The commune chief told us to decide what to do with the boats. People wanted to burn their gear, but the police would not let us, so many fishers from An Chi Eut and Ksach Krahorn demonstrated at the commune hall. The police tried to control the fishers, but could not prevent us from burning the pushing nets.

Nonetheless, increasing numbers of trawlers and pushboats continued to operate in the sea near our villages, affecting our local gear, and making fishers poorer and poorer. We faced a food shortage because of declining resources.

2. Establishment of the Community Fishery

In 2000, Quaker American (AFSC) came to Chikhor Krom and started doing community development. AFSC did a participatory rural appraisal and asked us if we wanted to establish a community fishery to protect our resources. We said yes, so AFSC asked people in the villages of An Chi Eut, Ksach Krahorn, and Taben to work together to protect natural resources with support from AFSC. This is how we started to establish the community fishery.

During 2001-2003, AFSC organized trainings on natural resource management. Nearly everyone supported the community fishery. Some people worked on the community fishery bylaws, others built capacity to organize the community, and others negotiated

with the district and provincial authorities, and other stakeholders.



AFSC and Khmer Ahimsa strengthened our capacity to dare to advocate and protect our resources. Once we were aware of how to advocate and be strong enough to make a complaint to the authorities, we showed other villagers. From 2000-2002, people did not really trust that the community would work. But after 2002, our confidence

Longtail fishing boat, An Chi Eut village, Sre Ambel.(Kay Leak)

increased, especially after the community was approved.

After Khmer Ahimsa providing trainings here, some women realized that they could do advocacy without violence and solve problems peacefully. In late 2002 before the community fishery bylaws were approved, 19 women from An Chi Eut and Ksach Krahorn villages went to the district governor and asked him to control illegal fishing because people dared not go fishing, especially at night.

When we went to the district governor, he said that he would send police to control illegal fishing boats. They came, but only for a few days; they arrested a few boats. Later, people asked for cooperation from the local police for arrests and there were many cases.

After the police started to help – but before the approval of the bylaws – we arrested two boats from Tamor Sawr. We wanted to test who stood behind the fishers with illegal gear. Afterwards, when the police came to ask who did the arrests, we responded, “We all did.” Only men did the arrest, but everyone was involved in complaining when the police came. Women were willing to go because we were aware that if the men went to complain, there might be problems because they were angry. If women went, the police dared not do violence against them.

In 2003, the commune chief did not want to establish the community fishery. People had a meeting with the commune council chief, but he was not willing. We pressured the commune chief by saying that if he did not approve the community fishery, we would tell others not to vote for him in the election. He approved it before the election happened.

After we got approval for the community fishery, we had the right to control illegal fishing inside our boundaries. Those members of the community who used to use illegal gear stopped using it. Now, we go to arrest illegal boats if we hear the sound of their engines too close to the shore.

3. Impacts, Benefits, and Challenges

We believe that illegal fishing has been reduced 70-80 percent since the start of the community fishery. After we established the community fishery, fishers with illegal gear were more afraid to come to the sea at Chikhor Krom because they knew that there was good cooperation among the villages to control illegal fishing.

This reduction is also partly because of the negotiations between Stung Hav and Chikhor Krom fishing communities. In 2005, we had meetings every three months, organized by FACT’s fisheries network. The meetings help to solve issues because we can talk about difficulties and problems.

We negotiated with fishers from Stung Hav to try to improve the situation between us. We agreed not to keep their boats as long when we arrest them and are negotiating the fine. We also agreed that the fines would be processed by the fishery officer at the district level in Sre Ambel, rather than at the provincial level in Koh Kong, which is much farther away. This way, fishers using illegal gear spend less time and money negotiating and get their boats back quicker.

We would still prefer to keep illegal boats longer, but we realize that this could lead to violence. For this reason, it is better to keep the boats fewer days. We will continue to arrest trawlers and pushboats, but we respect our bylaws and do not use force. Our members are aware of active non-violence, so they do not fight with the illegal fishers. The fishery officer can protect us because he represents the law and has legitimacy when he arrests illegal boats, so now we cooperate for patrols.

There is also less illegal fishing inside our boundary now because of the establishment of Chroy Svay fishery community. Chroy Svay is closer to Stung Hav, so it is first to control illegal boats. As a result, there has been less conflict here.

Our experience has not been the same in every village. In Ksach Krahorn especially, patrollers have had a bad experience trying to protect fishery resources from illegal boats. After the incident in which one pushboat fisher was accidentally killed, illegal fishing by both trawlers and pushboats declined. But Lay Nak, one of the patrollers from Ksach Krahorn village, is in prison in Koh Kong. He is there because he tried to protect our resources. We try very hard to get him out, but we cannot. Now, we are afraid that if we try to protect our resources in the future, this will happen again and no one will be able to help us.



Pushing boat in Kompong Som Bay. The long poles push a net through the water in front of the boat as it moves. (Kay Leak)

When we established the community fishery, we had strong cooperation with each other to protect our natural resources because at that time we did not catch enough fish. Later, our unity was threatened because a few members of the committees used their position for their own benefit, but with help from AFSC we reorganized the committees and elected new leaders. Now that our fishery resources have become richer and there are fewer trawlers and pushboats coming in, we need to continue working hard to maintain good cooperation. We have more benefits from the community fishery, but we have to remember that we worked hard to get these benefits. We need to continue to protect our resources even though we are getting richer. We cannot wait until they run out again.

4. What We Want for the Future

To ensure that our community fishery continues to be strong, the most important thing for the future is the active participation of all community fishery members. If we are all willing to work for the community fishery, then we can continue to make our resources richer. We want Quaker American to organize a meeting of the three villages. They should facilitate a discussion about how we can improve cooperation with each other. We also need means of communication, because our villages are far from each other.

Since the committees were reorganized in early 2005, some villagers are not sure who the regional leader and committee members are. The committee should organize a meeting with the community members to inform us about themselves. If the current committee members are not willing to work for the community, then we should have a new election.

We also want to have regular elections for group leaders so that other people have the opportunity to work for the committee. Currently, there are only elections for committee members. Maybe we need a certificate for good work to the community.

In the future, we want to see a wide increase in fishery resources. To do this, we want more community fisheries established around the coastal area so that everyone protects



Fishers in Chroy Svay Lech village, Sre Ambel district clearing their nets. (Kay Leak)

their resources and everyone gets richer. If only one or two communities protect their resources but the others continue doing illegal fishing, then it is impossible to protect natural resources. We want to have NGO support to establish a fish habitat around Nea P'say village at P'yiern Dangkan.

To increase our own fishery resources, we want the fishery officer to do dissemination activities – especially in Rondo Chhoar village – so that local fishers do not use so many nets, even if they are legal. Now, some

boats use 100 or 200 nets. In the future, this could lead to the “conflict of many nets,” so we should limit them now. We want to change the bylaws to do this. When we can limit the number of nets, we can improve making natural resources richer, and with it our livelihoods. Now, we also have the idea to plant mangroves to increase the habitat for fish, crabs, and other fishery resources..

We want the community fishery to have its own market for fish, shrimp, and crab. If we do this, later we can buy a truck to send the fish to bigger markets. The profit can be used to pay an allowance for the committee members, who will then play the role of buying fish from members. We request that AFSC help us to visit other community fisheries to see this kind of work.

Chroy Svay Community Fishery

1. History of Fishing in Chroy Svay

During the time of King Sihanouk's regime, the sea near Chroy Svay commune was rich in fishery resources. There were many varieties of shrimp, crab, and fish. Sometimes, we could catch them using just our hands.

After the time of Pol Pot, this area was still rich in natural resources. We could catch 5 – 10 kg of shrimp and 20-40 kg of fish per day. Most of us used rowing boats and traditional gear. Only very few of us used trawlers.

During the 1980s, we were catching enough fish to sell to middlemen from outside Chroy Svay, so trawler fishers living in Stung Hav and Tamor Sawr found out that we were rich in natural resources. Around 1987-1988, the first trawlers from Stung Hav and Tamor Sawr started to expand their fishing grounds into the sea around Chroy Svay.

After the trawlers started to come, we began to notice that there were fewer fish. The trawlers used nets with small holes, which collected more fish, even the small ones. We set our nets in the shallow water near Chroy Svay, but the boats from outside were coming and destroying our nets. People were not aware of the law, but we thought what these boats were doing was illegal.

In response, we asked the soldiers who were based in our villages at that time to help stop the outside fishing boats. They would collaborate to "arrest" these fishers and take a fine. Some of the boats, especially from Tamor Sawr, were protected by soldiers. Others bought or rented guns to fight with the fisherman in this area. During the arrests, there was often conflict with shooting. There were many injuries and deaths, especially of fishers from Chroy Svay Kach. There was anarchy and a lot of violence during this time.

During the 1990s, the problem of illegal fishing boats continued to worsen. There were still a lot of fish in the 1990s, but compared to the 1980s, there were less. Conflict between fishers remained high despite interventions by Ta Yi Hay, the former commune chief of Chroy Svay, and by the district governor. There continued to be many deaths from the fighting, even after there were no more military in the villages.

By 2000, many traditional fishers in Chroy Svay commune had stopped fishing because of problems with trawlers, pushboats, and robbers. In Saray village, nearly 80-90 percent stopped fishing. When we stopped fishing, we cleared flooded forest for rice cultivation and upland forest for plantations. Many men had to leave to find work in other places, so women and children had more work to do at home.

In Chroy Svay Lech and Nisat, however, we were more dependent on fishing – 80-90 percent of us continued to fish, but we dared not go far from the shore. When we went fishing, our nets would be removed or ruined by illegal boats after only one or two days so we could not catch fish and lost our nets. Many of us owed money to middlemen because we borrowed money for the nets, then earned no income when the nets were lost.

From 1998-2003, those of us who were clearing forest were less affected by conflict. The government outlawed cutting the forest in 1999, but we continued to clear land because we still could not do traditional fishing. We began fishing again in 2003 only because there were no more forests to cut.

But for those who never quit fishing, the fighting continued to get worse and more people were killed. By now, there were less and less fishery resources and it was difficult to

support our families. More and more illegal trawlers from Stung Hav came. An Chi Eut³ was patrolling their area, so illegal boats came to Chroy Svay instead.

In 2003, we heard about the establishment of the community-based fishery in Chikor Krom commune. We also heard about fresh water fisheries being established on the Tonle Sap. We never thought that we could establish a community fishery here because there were so many illegal boats and conflicts.

We could not manage a solution between the traditional fishers and illegal trawlers on our own. We needed help from outside.

2. Establishment of the Community Fishery

Then, during 2002-2003, Quaker American (AFSC) began doing community development in Chroy Svay. They asked us about our problems with fishing and we asked for help in solving them. AFSC encouraged us to begin establishing our own community-based fisheries. Also in 2003, Khmer Ahimsa began activities to help teach us how to advocate for ourselves in order to solve our own problems and to “build peace in the heart of people”.

We believed that the community fishery would help us protect our natural resources and keep them from running out so that fishers could catch more. Before establishing it, we didn't expect success, but when we started to organize, all the villagers were involved.

AFSC encouraged fishers in Chroy Svay commune to go learn about community organizing and conservation from the experience of villages in Chikhor Krom. AFSC and Khmer Ahimsa also began to educate people about natural resource management. During 2004, some members of the villages went to see the community fisheries in Tonle Sap and Kampong Chhnang. At first we did not know what to do with the knowledge because we had no community fishery yet.

To organize the community, we had meetings at the commune level and provincial level, and many meetings with AFSC. We selected regional and village committees and elected our own leaders. To make our bylaws, many people, men and women, were involved in the discussion about what was important. Ideas included not cutting mangroves and banning illegal gear, like nets with small holes.

Women participated in this process. Before the establishment of the community fishery, we went to a meeting of all the villagers about whether we agreed to establish the fishery. We collected thumbprints of people to become members, and we participated in other meetings. We participated in the community elections and, later, helped place the boundary demarcation poles.

After the bylaws were approved, the committee members asked AFSC to help with dissemination among the members of the community. Many small group meetings were held to do this. Sometimes we did this on our own.

We established received approval for the bylaws in May 2005. During this time, some community fishery members did not believe in the fishery because nothing was being

³ An Chi Eut is a fishing village in Chikhor Krom commune.

done to stop trawlers and pushboats. We were waiting for the boundary demarcation. Without this, we had no right to go stop illegal boats. This was a long process because the bylaws gave 8 km, but then we negotiated with Stung Hav to reduce our boundary to 6km. When we set the boundaries, Stung Hav representatives and middlemen came and participated. Then, in 2006, the boundary was approved and we started doing patrols, so the community got more trust. Since then, we have been practicing what we learned from An Chi Eut, Ksach Krahorm,⁴ and elsewhere.

After the community fishery was established, some people here thought it would take a long time to see any benefit. They saw that when An Chi Eut was established, more illegal boats came to Chroy Svay because of the patrols there. Some villagers said, “We organized a community, but there are still many trawlers.” But at that time, the community fishery was still not officially recognized, so we took no action. After the bylaws were passed, we started to change our attitude because then we could patrol.

In late March 2006, we started arresting illegal boats. We went very rarely at first, but now we have started to increase. Sometimes there are not enough people, so we cannot go. There is good cooperation with the other villages, especially between Nisat, Chroy Svay Lech, and Chroy Svay Kach. We inform each other, but we usually do not go with each other. We do not do



Arrested trawler at Chroy Svay Lech awaiting payment of fine. (Kay Leak)

regular patrols, but we will go arrest illegal boats if we see them. In Saray, we have never gone on patrol because we are farther from the sea and we have only small boats. The other villages recognize this. We are willing to go with other villages if they call us for help.

3. Impacts, Benefits, and Challenges

Our fishery resources have already started to increase a little bit. We now can catch enough to support our families, though it is still maybe only 30 percent of what we caught during the 1980s.

As a result of the fishery, unity among the people in Chroy Svay increased. Before the establishment of the community fishery, we did not have relations with other villages to control illegal fishing. When the trawlers would destroy our nets, we would go to fight. Now when we have problems, we have more people to think together to solve our problems. We can contribute labor and money. We can go and arrest illegal boats. We can work together to protect our natural resources and to develop our community.

⁴ Ksach Krahorm is also in Chikhor Krom commune.

Unity within the community is still not as strong as it can be, but we recognize this and are trying to improve our situation.

Since our bylaws were approved, our members have stopped illegal fishing activities. The regulations have helped stop fishing with electricity and explosives. But we cannot control illegal boats from outside. Before the community fishery was established, fishers from Stung Hav and Tamor Sawr came very close to the shore. After we established the community fishery, fewer illegal boats came. They also did not come as close, but they were testing us. Now, the number of trawlers seems to be increasing. Every night we can hear them near the shore. We continue to lose a lot of fishing gear.

We are not opposed to fishers coming from outside to fish in our community, but they have to follow the bylaws and use traditional gear. If we all had the same gear, then there would be no need for boundary demarcation. Since 2003, we have requested fishers from Stung Hav and Tamor Sawr to follow the law and not use trawlers in the shallow water. Our bylaws were disseminated on the radio, but boats using illegal gear continue to come. We marked the boundary with posts, but then someone removes them. We negotiated together, but the conflict continues. Even with the regulations, we are still afraid when we go fishing. We dare only to do fishing in groups, not alone. We are also afraid to go to Stung Hav to sell our fish because of the conflict between fishers. Now we have to sell our fish in Sre Ambel or send it by truck to Kampong Som instead.

There is less violence today than before the community fishery was established. Although several fishers have been injured while trying to arrest illegal boats, no one has died since 2003. Although we are increasing our patrols, we have not been going regularly because it remains dangerous. But if community members do not go to stop illegal boats, then we will have nothing to eat. In several of our villages, there is no alternative to fishing. We have no rice land and we are not allowed to cut the forest. So even though there have been threats against our safety, we still patrol.

We try to follow the bylaws when we go on patrol, but illegal boats do not follow the law. Sometimes, they try to fight us or ram our boats. If we try to defend ourselves, the fishers accuse us of using violence. If the violence continues, then maybe someone will be killed soon. We are worried that some illegal boats will bring guns again. It is getting hard to call people to go patrol. We have meetings, but the trawlers still come.

We are deeply frustrated. We are afraid that if we do not find a way to solve the conflict between traditional gear and illegal gear soon, there will be a return to violence and the fishery community will be destroyed.

4. What We Want for the Future

We want to end the conflict between traditional fishers and fishers who use illegal boats. We want to negotiate with fishers from Stung Hav and Tamor Sawr so that they stop coming inside our area. We request help from Quaker American, the fishery officer, and also related NGOs to facilitate this discussion.

In the future, we want activity by illegal boats inside our boundaries to be reduced, if not completely stopped. Fishers from outside know our fishery has bylaws to control the area. We want to make fishers in Stung Hav and Tamor Sawr aware of our regulations and of the importance of fishery resource management.

To improve cooperation with the fishery officer, we want the fishery officer to be based in Chroy Svay Lech or Nisat village so that he can better respond to our requests for help with patrols and arrests. We request AFSC to build a community fishery headquarters like in An Chi Eut. This way, the fishery officer has a place to stay and can be based in the community longer.

We want to strengthen the unity of our community fishery. To do this, we want more transparency about how the money from fines is used. This will improve the willingness of people to go on patrol because they will know they are getting a fair share. We request AFSC to organize more training for community members about the bylaws on fining and how to manage the money. We also want more training about the best way to arrest illegal boats, with whom we can cooperate, and, for people who still do not fully understand, about the purpose of the community fishery.

We also need means of communication and transportation to contact each other for patrols and to meet together. There should be more notice given when the committee calls a meeting so that we have more participation. Women should have a greater role in the community fishery, because they can contribute ideas to solve the problems and can help negotiate. If there is poor unity in the future, then the community will be less effective and outsiders will be able to come and can catch more.

We want to continue to protect our natural resources so that we get good income from fishing. We want to identify the size of net that is permitted inside the community and to clarify the boundary markers. Now, we cannot protect our resources as well as we want because we do not have the right materials, like bigger boats for patrolling illegally.

If the regional community fishery leader is away from Chroy Svay, we want him to delegate responsibilities to the deputy leader so that the deputy can take decisions and run activities in the leader's absence.

Finally, we want to ensure that our all of our committee members are dedicated to working for the community fishery. If they do not want to continue in their jobs, then we should have a new election. In Chroy Svay Lech and Nisat, we believe that the regional committee leader should come from one of our villages because we have the greatest problem with illegal boats.

Stung Hav Community Fishery

1. History of Fishing in Stung Hav

The original inhabitants of Stung Hav commune were moved here from Sihanoukville by the government in 1984. The government wanted to expand the city boundaries and develop its coastal areas. We used to live in old Otres, Tumnuol Rolok, and Kampenh.⁵ At that time, those who wanted to do fishing came to Stung Hav. Those people that wished to do farming or rice cultivation were settled in neighboring Prey Nup commune.

⁵ Old Kampenh was near the Seven Chhan Hotel, old Tumnuol Rolok is near the Sihanoukville Port, and old Otres is around Otres beach.

At that time, we did not complain. We followed the authorities. If we saved enough money, we bought boats and gear and began fishing on our own during 1984-1985.

Between 1984 and 1987, there were fewer fishers in Stung Hav commune than there are today. In 1984, there were only about 50-60 boats in the whole of Stung Hav. Most of us used traditional gear. We had shrimp and crab nets. There were also some trawlers and pushboats, but fewer than today. At that time, we could easily get a boat full of shrimp and crab in shallow water.

Then, from 1987 to 1990, more fishers started moving to this area. The newcomers to Stung Hav were from other provinces. Most of us who came were from Kampot province. We heard that Stung Hav fishers caught a lot, so we sold our land and livestock and moved. When we came to Stung Hav, we started using long tail boats and trawlers.

Then, in 1987, the government passed Decree 33. This banned trawlers from operating in shallow water less than 20m deep and outlawed pushboats. Decree 33 made it illegal



for us to fish in the waters of Kompong Som Bay with our boats. After the law was introduced, the fishery officers started to arrest our boats more often. But we had no choice other than to continue fishing in the shallow water. Our boats are not big enough for fishing in the deep water because there is a lot of wind and high waves. If the decree had been issued before we moved to Stung Hav, we would not have agreed to move.

Trawlers docked at Stung Hav pair. (Kay Leak)

Despite Decree 33, the number of trawlers in Stung Hav continued to increase. In 1993,

more outsiders from other provinces started to move to Stung Hav. Those of us who arrived at that time also began to use trawlers because we saw other boats were catching a lot of fish – we all started following each other's example. We were competing for the fish, shrimp, and crabs. We wanted to own boats for ourselves, so we started to build them. At that time, people bought their boat and gear for \$3,000-4,000. We had to borrow about \$1,000 of this from middlemen and could pay the rest ourselves. In comparison, today a boat and gear costs \$6,000-7,000, but we have to borrow more than half of this from the middlemen. So actually we were richer then compared to now. Until this point, there mostly traditional gear was used.

Robberies at sea started around 1987 and increased in the 1990s, especially before the arrival of UNTAC. There was a lot of conflict between thieves and fishers. The robberies lasted until the government began collecting guns from the villagers in 1997-1998. By 2002, they stopped completely.

During the 1990s, the economic situation in Stung Hav started to get worse. After the 1993 election, the fishery officers, chalam krahom, and police increased their arrests of trawlers. They did arrests in Sre Ambel, Tamor Rien, Chamkar Leur, Tamor Sawr, and Chikhor Krom. This was mostly done by authorities that had guns, like the police and fishery officers. Fishery officers would fine us 100,000-200,000R if they caught us fishing in the shallow water. Stung Hav fishers operating in these areas often got arrested and had to pay the money. Problems with fishing were solved by paying the authorities – rich men would give money to get a favorable outcome.

At this time, there was not much change in the level of fishery resources. The price of shrimp was cheap, but so was petrol. But by the mid-1990s, we began to see a decrease, especially after the change in gear and use of more trawlers. From 1995-2000, there were definitely less fish. Nearly 50 percent of boats were catching fewer fish. The situation was getting worse year by year.

Yet, even more outsiders came here to live in 1998-2000. The population in Stung Hav kept growing. All of us were dependent on fishing.

Then, in 2003, community fishery members in Chikhor Krom began arresting and fining us. Since January 2006, Chroy Svay community fishery also has been making arrests. We have to pay a fine according to the size of the engine, so the fine is about 400,000R for a 200-cc boat. We also have to spend money on transportation to go negotiate to get our boats back, so the total is often closer to 500,000R. We pay the fine to the fishery committee, which is supposed to share it with the fishery officer. Sometimes the fishery officer is present, but sometimes not.

Although trawlers do go inside the community fishing grounds in Sre Ambel and get arrested, we believe that sometimes they are arrested outside of the community fishing grounds as well. If the community fishers did not try to arrest the trawlers, then there would be no problems.

2. Community Fishery Supporters: An Active Minority

Several years ago, Kampenh, Otres and Tumnup Rolork tried to establish “flooded forest protection communities” by themselves. The main goal was to raise the awareness of authorities about our livelihood problems, to contribute to the protection of mangroves and fishery resources, and to change fishers from illegal to traditional gear.

The commune chief in Tumnup Rolork began working on establishing the flooded forest protection community around 2002-2003. The following year, Otres began organizing as well after a FACT workshop on the loss of biodiversity in the area, the importance of the mangroves, and the effect of illegal gear. At first, there was a lot of opposition by villagers here because they believed the protection communities would “break their rice pot,” but later FACT started doing dissemination activities about the importance of conservation and began to convince people of the benefit. In 2004-2005, the protection communities in Tumnup Rolork and Otres received support from Danida, so the commune councils selected committee members and held elections to determine the leaders in November 2005. Then, in early 2006, Sihanoukville municipality, the Department of Fisheries, and Seila, also started to support the flooded forest protection communities in Tumnup Rolork and Otres communes. In Kampenh commune, the

Sihanoukville NGO Advocacy Network (SNAN) began helping community members there to organize their own flooded forest protection community in 2004. Later, the three communes established a district-wide federation, which organized elections in April 2006.

In 2004, 25 – 30 people from the three communes here had the idea to establish a district-level community fishery for Stung Hav because fishery resources had declined, the economy was very poor, and we had more conflict with neighboring fishery communities. All of us were active in going to negotiate the fine with Sre Ambel when trawlers were arrested. We also collected complaints about corruption and networked among the people living here. Then we began studying how to establish our own district-level fishery community and explained to others about the importance of community fisheries.

Many of us who first had the idea for the district fishery community use traditional gear for small-scale fishing, catching crabs and shrimp, and collecting shellfish near the mangroves. Some of us use trawlers, but we recognize the importance of conservation and are trying to change our way of fishing.

Several women were very active in supporting the community and encouraging other women to participate. We promoted women as candidates for the district fishery committee and the mangrove protection committee in Kampenh commune. Three women stood and were elected to the district level; at the commune level, there are six women and five men committee members. [Otres, 3]

In 2004, the activists took the idea of establishing a district fishery community to SNAN and Star Kampuchea. Star Kampuchea and SNAN started to help us organize. The NGOs got petitions from the people and got us involved in helping to solve our problems. Then, in December 2005, we organized an election for the district committee. AFSC is now providing technical support to help us get funding from UNDP. We are awaiting final approval for our bylaws and boundaries.

The district fishery committee will help coordinate the three commune-level mangrove protection communities in Stung Hav, and will also help solve problems with other community fisheries around Koh Kong Bay. Our principles are to: (i) form a group so that we have one voice to advocate, (ii) request from the government an area in Kompong Som Bay where small trawlers (less than 250 cc) are permitted to fish, (iii) create alternative jobs, like animal-raising, (iv) protect existing mangroves and plant new ones, and (v) attract eco-tourism to this area.

In 2004, there were only 30 families involved in establishing the community fishery. By end of 2005, there were nearly 290 in the three communes. This is about 10 percent of the families living in Stung Hav. Many fishers in Stung Hav are not yet aware of the community fishery because there have not been enough dissemination and extension activities. Others have not joined because they are waiting to see how the community is run – if the current members get benefits, then the others will become members.

3. Non-members: Waiting to See the Benefit

Today, 80-85 percent of people living in Stung Hav are fishers. There are nearly 700 trawlers in the district. Without trawlers, there are no other economic activities in this

area. Even those of us in Stung Hav who do not fish – shop owners, motodops, middlemen – are dependent on the fishing economy. We do not have land for rice cultivation, farming, keeping livestock, or other alternatives to fishing. We have only the land on which our houses sit. What we get from fishing is sold at a cheap price, but gasoline is expensive. If other jobs existed in Stung Hav – like factory work – then many trawler fishers would quit fishing.

Debt to Aclada and middlemen is a big problem for all of us. When we fish with trawlers, we get arrested by the fishery officer, chalam krahorm, and fishery members in Sre Ambel. Then we have to borrow money to pay the fine. A few fishers also borrow in order to pay unofficial fees to local authorities in order to get permission to fish. Some people have to give up their house or their fishing gear because of the debt. Then they have to work on someone else's boat and rent a house.

There are trawler and pushboat fishers who know that the best way to protect natural resources is to use legal gear. But it is difficult for them to stop using illegal gear because they spend most of their money to buy and repair their fishing gear, to pay their debts, and to feed their families. They do not have enough money to buy legal gear.



Crates of small fish used for fertilizer and animal food after being unloaded from trawlers at Stung Hav pier. (Kay Leak)

Those of us who were involved in organizing the fishery communities see this differently – we understand the importance of natural resource protection. If we use traditional gear, then our resources will return. We believe that if the nonmembers see the community fishery work, then they too will support it. We believe they would change to legal gear if resources increase because then they can pay off their debts and support their families.

Fishers who have joined the community fishery – and those who want to join – see different advantages of being a member. Only very few people understand the importance of conserving natural resources because there has not been enough dissemination yet. Most want to be members because then they can get support to improve their livelihood. They can get alternatives to fishing, like animal-raising. Others want to join because when they are arrested, they will have other people to help negotiate for them. We are trying to convince other fishing communities to reduce the fine for our members.

It will take a long time to get illegal fishers to understand the benefit of the community fishery. We need to develop our community first, then others will become involved. We want them to know that we use traditional gear and do not have problems with arrests. Little by little we are able to pay back our debts and still support our families.

4. What We Want for the Future

In the future, we want our community fishery to be accepted by the government. We want to have large enough boundaries to support the fishers in Stung Hav. Stung Hav has small fishing grounds – most of Kompong Som Bay belongs to Koh Kong province and has been given to community fisheries. As part of our community boundaries, we want an area for community members to legally use trawlers with engines of less than 250 cc. This would reduce how often we are arrested by the authorities and provide an incentive for other fishers to join the community. It would also allow us to pay off more of our debts. Eventually, however, we want fishers with illegal gear to switch to legal fishing gear if they continue to fish.

We also want more dissemination activities about the community fishery and natural resource conservation so that fishers in Stung Hav will understand why it is important and more will join.

We want to protect the mangroves in Stung Hav district so that this area again becomes a habitat for fish and crabs. This includes preventing rich and powerful people from cutting the mangroves, even if they own land inside the community boundary. We want to make this area an ecotourism site, which will provide a source of income other than illegal fishing.



Hired fisher on trawler with catch on deck, Stung Hav pier. (Kay Leak)

We want support from the government and NGOs for creating other jobs in Stung Hav. We support government plans to make a duty-free port and factories in Stung Hav. We believe this is the way to reduce poverty in this area. We also want assistance from NGOs to help us with other alternatives, including raising pigs, ducks, and chickens.

Finally, we want to be arrested and fined less, though we also realize that if there was no fine, more illegal boats will go to the community fisheries in Sre Ambel, which will cause more problems. We do not want the communities in Sre Ambel to arrest us, especially without the fishery officer.

Workshop Report: Reflection Workshop On Results of the Research On Fishing Conflicts Sihanoukville, 28 -29 December 2006

1. Objectives of the Workshop:

Know

- Acquire a better understanding of the political, economic, social, and environmental interlinkages driving conflict over fishery resources, as well as each others' positions, interests, and needs. This includes how poverty and indebtedness both drive and are reinforced by illegal fishing and, related, how this cycle is further exacerbated by corruption.
- Reach a fuller understanding of the needs and interests that drive continuing illegal fishing practices, and denial of their impending destructive consequences;
- Acquire a better understanding of the implications of community bylaws and of not strictly following them, e.g., with respect to fining and patrolling.

Do:

- Identify ways to reduce and resolve violence between communities, while upholding the rights and needs of poor fishers;
- Discuss and agree on common recommendations that reflect the connections between community livelihoods, NGO programming, and government policy.
- Identify gaps in our current knowledge related to the issue of marine fishery conflict;

Expectation

- The community fisheries of Sre Ambel and Stung Hav and stakeholders better understand the real issues that concern them most, and discuss the ways to respond to the cause of the problems.
- The participants have a chance to share different experiences and perceptions. These will lead to better cooperation between fishers, local authorities and fishery officials in dealing conflicting situation and elimination of destructive fishing activities.

The workshop is designed for the fishery communities, NGOs and government participants so that they can engage to reflect, review and analyze the situation in order to draw lessons from the experiences of the past and chart the way forward. The total participant of the workshop is 48 persons (07 women) from fishery communities, local authorities and specialized departments of Kampong Som, Koh Kong Phnom Penh and NGOs concerned.

Workshop Proceedings:

Day One Workshop Proceedings

After the **introduction** by Mr. Oung Tivea of the Integrated Sustainable Livelihoods Program, Mr. Doung Vuthy of AFSC presented the findings of the research in the form of ABC triangle outlining the attitudes, behaviours and contexts of the different communities. He described the different situations of natural resources in the different communities around Kampong Som bay. He also highlighted how people in the fishing communities think about their resources and how they act and what they do for supporting their livelihoods. These three factors affect each other and relate to the needs and fears of each party. To improve the conflict situation, all relevant

stakeholders must work together to bring about change in all three dimensions: attitudes, behaviors and context

After this first session, Mr. Pech Sereivath was the resource person presenting the bio- ecology of coastal fishery resources such as fishing zones, conservation zones, and the government policy on coastal resource management.

Presentation by the communities:

Stung Hav Fishers: the representatives of the communities presented the situation in their respective communities. Representatives said that most of the fishers in Stung Hav use trawlers with engines smaller than 240-CC (medium scale trawlers). Some use traditional fishing gear and the rest use large scale trawlers (called 'Mong Hos'). These large scale trawlers deplete all resources in the area and as a result, the smaller trawlers decided to fish in target area of the communities.

The communities expressed a strong intention to solve the conflict and rehabilitate the resources by growing mangrove, establishing conservation areas and introducing alternative income generation activities. The presenters also propose that all stakeholders, including local authorities, specialized departments, NGOs and communities should work together to find ways to solve the coastal fishery conflicts.

Sre Ambel Fishers: The presentation highlighted the situation of the fishers in Sre Ambel. Fishers in Sre Ambel use traditional fishing gear. They have seen resources decline and their traditional fishing gear destroyed by the trawlers. Fishery resources have come back since the fishery communities have been able to enforce the regulations and protect their area. However, the trawlers continue to fish in the community fishery target areas. There are conflicts between the small fishers and trawlers when the Sre Ambel communities enforce their area through patrolling activities. They said that their boats were often under attacked by the trawlers when they apprehend them. The communities do not want to violent confrontation with the trawlers during their patrolling activities but they need to rehabilitate the coastal fish. Also the communities want to work together with the nearby communities to protect and rehabilitate the resources and agree that all punishment should be made by the fishery officials. Finally the communities suggested that there should be mutual respect and that all should stick to peaceful conflict resolution mechanisms agreed by the representatives from both communities. The community suggested the participation and promotion of fishery law extension and enforcement.

Day Two of Workshop Proceedings

Mr. Mak Sithirith of FACT presented the finding from his research on issues and causes of the conflict between Sre Ambel and Stung Hav. The presentation highlighted the same points that are the root causes of the conflicts. They are conflict of fishing territory, conflict of thinking, conflicts of resource uses, and the difference between policy and reality.

After this presentation, Mr. Bunna of the fishery department presented the community fishery laws and guideline to participants. Then, the participants were divided into small group for discussion: Stung Hav fishers, Sre Ambel fishers, Fishery department and NGOs. Each group was asked to discuss the **general problems, problem rankings and their commitment** toward the problems. Then,

the participants prioritized the problems in the plenary discussion. Finally, the small groups presented the results of the discussion. As results, the prioritized problems are identified as follows:

1. Conflict over Fishing Ground
2. Violence during the patrolling
3. Lack of information sharing between Stung Hav and Sre Ambel fishers
4. Knowledge about the fishery laws and knowledge about NRM principle and community fishery is poor among the fishers in Sre Ambel.
5. The commercial fishers have become the main threats for fishery resources in both Sre Ambel and Stung Hav.
6. Lack of alternative income sources for fishers. Fishers lack land and other sources of income and so rely on coastal fishery resources.

After this, the participants were divided into three groups to discuss their commitment and each group presented the results of the discussion, as follows:

A. Local Authorities, NGOs and Specialized Departments

1. Promote extension on law and other relevant procedures on fishery issues
2. Strengthen the extension system, law mechanisms, human rights and principle of sustainable natural resource management.
3. Establish community maps and boundaries of fishing zones for different fishing practices
4. Encourage and support establishment of sustainable fishery resource management
5. Encourage better cooperation between local authorities and fishery officials for problem solving
6. Fishery officials and other relevant departments must strengthen their participation in patrolling activities and other community fishery activities
7. Local authorities from both Stung Hav and Sre Ambel must improve their collaboration
8. Establish alternative income generation activities
9. NGOs must support the development of skills to respond to the needs of the factories that are expected to be established soon in Stung Hav

B. Sre Ambel Communities

1. Stung Hav trawlers must respect the patrolling boats, stop trying to ram into the patrol boats
2. Stung Hav trawlers must respect the boundaries of the community fishery areas
3. Stung Hav community fishery committee must help to conduct extension of community rule and regulations to their members.
4. Stung Hav fishers and Sre Ambel fishers must work together to set up the community boundaries
5. Stung Hav and Sre Ambel fishers must establish a joint committee and joint patrolling groups to solve fishing conflicts

6. Sre Ambel committee must tell their patrolling group not commit violence during their patrolling

C. Stung Hav Communities

1. Each community must respect their respective community's boundary line
2. Each community should work together to promote extension of law and policy for the illegal trawlers
3. Stung Hav committee should tell the Stung Hav fishers not to commit violence against the patrolling group (such as impolite gesture to the patrolling group)
4. Establish a mixed committee for investigation and conflict resolution
5. Set up the community fishery protected areas
6. Participants in patrolling should stop the commercial trawlers (Flying Net) in cooperation with the fishery department and relevant communities.
7. Try to establish alternative income sources
8. Participate in extension of fishery law and NRM principle

With the above results of the presentation, the participants discussed and identified common guidelines as follows:

1. Each community must respect the community fisheries boundaries
2. The two communities must work together to establish and mark the boundary line and must respect the boundary
3. The two communities must assign their representatives to establish a joint working group including participants from Stung Hav, Sre Ambel, local authorities from both sides and specialized departments. The group is to be responsible for management of the conflicts.
4. Two communities must actively participate in providing information to each other
5. The committee from both Stung Hav and Sre Ambel must build capacities for non-violence for their patrolling groups and fishers so that they do not commit violence during patrols.
6. Local authorities and fishery officials must participate in patrolling groups
7. Local authorities, NGOs and fishery officials must work together on awareness-raising of fishery laws and on the rules and regulations of the community fishery for the fishers.
8. Fishery officials and local authorities must enforce the fishery law to stop the commercial trawlers (Flying Net) in the target areas of the community fishery in Sre Ambel and Stung Hav.
9. There must be establishment of alternative income sources for fishers
10. Members of CFi of Stung Hav and Sre Ambel and non members must respect the rules and regulations of the community.

Recommendations

With the results above, the workshop participants prioritized the following strategies:

1. Identify common strategies and agreements
2. Disseminate the results of the workshops to relevant people
3. Have the Committee discuss their common guidelines and agreements. The agreements made based on the results of the workshop

4. NGOs must help in establishment of the working group of two communities as soon as possible
5. NGOs help in dissemination of the recommendations and agreements reached between two communities to the members of fishers and non members
6. Agreement of two communities must be recognized by the local authorities and specialized department

Conclusio

The participants from local authorities, fishery officials and fishers actively participated in the workshop. The project observed that they are very extremely interested in common problems and actively discuss their commitment to solve the problems. There is still a long way to go before real solutions can be found. This will require energy from all stakeholders to protect the resources and solve the problems together.

Appendix: List of Interviews and Focus Groups

Second Provincial Governor, Koh Kong province*
Chief, Provincial Department of Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries, Koh Kong province*

District Governor, Sre Ambel (Koh Kong province)*
Deputy District Governor, Sre Ambel (Koh Kong province)
District Governor, Batum Sakor (Koh Kong province)
Deputy District Governor, Stung Hav (Kompong Som province)

Commune Council Chief, Tamor Samor, Batum Sakor district
Commune Council Chief, Tameak, Batum Sakor district
Commune Council Chief, Chhikhor Krom, Sre Ambel district
Commune Council Chief, Chroy Svay, Sre Ambel district
Commune Council Chief, Otres commune, Stung Hav district
Commune Council Chief, Tumnuol Rolok commune, Stung Hav district

Chief, *Sangkat Nisat* (Fishery Officer), Sre Ambel
Chief, Municipal *Sangkat Nisat*, (Fishery Officer), Kompong Som
Deputy Chief, *Sangkat Nisat* (Fishery Officer), Tamor Sawr

Inspectorate, Provincial Department of Fisheries (“*chalam krahorm*”), Koh Kong

Seila Program, Sihanoukville Municipality
Partnership in Environmental Mgmt for the Seas of South East Asia (PEMSEA),
Sihanoukville Municipality*

ADHOC, Koh Kong*
ADHOC, Sihanoukville
Director, Khmer Ahimsa, Sre Ambel
Khim Sakhen, Coordinator, LICADHO, Sihanoukville
Coordinator, Sihanoukville NGO Advocacy Network, Sihanoukville
Advocacy Director, Star Kampuchea, Phnom Penh

Community Fishery Committee Members, An Chi Eut village (with regional committee leader)
Community Fishery Committee Members, Taben village
Community Fishery Committee Members, Nisat village
Community Fishery Committee Members, Chroy Svay Lech village
Community Fishery Committee Members, Saray village (with regional committee leader)
Community Fishery Committee Members, Otres commune
Community Fishery Committee Members, Tumnuol Rolok commune
Community Fishery Committee Members, Kampenh commune
Community Fishery Committee Members, Stung Hav (district level)
Community Fishery Committee Members, Tameak village (commune & village level)

Men’s Focus Group, An Chi Eut village
Women’s Focus Group, An Chi Eut village
Men’s Focus Group, Taben village
Women’s Focus Group, Taben village

Mixed Focus Group, Ksach Krahom village (including village fishery committee)

Men's Focus Group, Nisat village

Women's Focus Group, Nisat village

Men's Focus Group, Saray village

Women's Focus Group, Saray village

Men's Focus Group, Chroy Svay Lech village

Women's Focus Group, Chroy Svay Lech village

Individual interviews, non-members (x2), Chroy Svay Lech village

Mixed Focus Group, Tumnap Rolork villages 1, 2, and 4 †

Men's Focus Group, Tumnap Rolork commune

Women's Focus Group, Tumnap Rolork commune, village 1

Women's Focus Group, Otres commune, village 3

Men's Focus Group, Otres commune

Women's Focus Group, Kampenh commune

Women's Focus Group, Tameak

Men's Focus Group (trawler operators) Tamor Sawr

Woman pushboat owner and labor fishers, Tamor Sawr

Trawler owners and "labor fishers," Kampenh 1 village port, Stung Hav †

"Labor fishers," (deep water and trawler), Kampenh 1 village port, Stung Hav

"Labor fishers," Chamkar Leur village, Tameak commune

Secretary, Association of Deep Water Fishers, Stung Hav*

* *Preliminary discussion only*

† *Included men & women members (including commune-level committee) & nonmembers*

‡ *"Labor fishers" are hired hands on fishing boats who receive a percentage of the earnings from each day's catch.*