CENTRE FOR NEW ECONOMICS STUDIES (CNES)

Governing Dynamics of Urban Informality:
A Case Study of Local Markets in Phnom Penh (Cambodia).

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Executive Summary

Cities in modern times are spatially reflected through a kaleidoscope of diverse, pluralistic social processes; shaped by forces of globalization and urbanization under a proliferating level of informalisation. By defining and studying the dynamics in the process of informalisation i.e. well beyond the unaccounted incomes earned and the economic reasons for it; one can gauge a metropolis or city’s ability to absorb increasing migration of people from a number of semi-urban and rural spaces.

The trends in increasing migration across urban cities of the Global South may largely be explained by the stagnation witnessed in the agriculture sector (in rural areas), complimented by a lack of (alternative) employment opportunities in the rural hinterland. Amidst the formal (organized) sector's inability to sufficiently create employment opportunities for (low skilled) migrants, the prolific rise was seen in the expansion of the informal (unorganized) sector in countries across south and south-east Asia evolves an interesting social phenomenon to explore.

From studies conducted by institutions like the World Bank, the unregulated informal sector covers a wide range of labor market activities that combine two groups that are different in nature. One which is cognitively formed by a mutually cooperative behavior of individuals and families coming together in an environment where economic resources remain scarce and livelihood opportunities are circumscribed and the other presents itself as a product of rational behavior amongst entrepreneur's who wish to escape the procedural compliance required by state regulations. Our study views these two concepts in an intertwined, existential way through case studies of local markets in the Phnom Penh (Cambodia).

The Kingdom of Cambodia, with more than 95 percent of its workforce employed in the informal sector contributing about 80 percent towards the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is chosen as a case study here. Various studies focusing on Cambodia's rapidly growing informal economy in cities like Phnom Penh and Siem Reap show an increasing number of workers employed by this sector (mostly migrants from other provinces).
The study provides an ethnographic account of migrants and people working as street vendors/traders/merchants in the local markets of Phnom Penh. Through a documentation of semi-structured interviews and inter-personal accounts completed in three identified market spaces of Phnom Penh including Doeum Kor Market, Orussey Market and Psa Toul Tom Poung (famously called the Russian Market), the report illustrates the governing dynamics of commerce and exchange functional in these local market spaces to highlight an empirical and epistemic conflict within the discourse of formality-informality (in the urban context).

We debate the idea of urban informality and the discourse around it with an inclusive framework of reasoning (i.e. relevant for developing countries in South and South-East Asia). The need for an accommodative urban planning mechanism that seeks to acknowledge the fragmented, dynamic nature of labor market structures in countries like Cambodia warrant a departure from conventional (pre-existing) approaches to understand and study urban informality. The idea of the predominant “informal” merits to be seen as a part of the knowledge on the “formal” (and vice-versa) for developing societies, is reflective of complex socio-cultural and economic arrangements.

Acknowledgment
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We are indebted to the local support, guidance and research assistance received from Professor Vanaka Chhem Kieth (Assistant Dean, Social Sciences and International Relations, Paññāsāstra University of Cambodia) and Mr. Ou Ritthy who contributed to the study as Co-Investigators. The local contextual background gained on the social, cultural and economic aspects of Cambodia during our continuous interactions shaped our project’s methodology and further allowed us to get an in-depth coverage into Phnom Penh’s local markets.

We exclusively acknowledge the invaluable contribution made to this study by Leng Sean Yong, Kimmey Mong and Singh Senneess (students at Paññāsāstra University of Cambodia) who worked as Research Assistants during the project’s field work in Phnom Penh. Their instrumental role in conducting primary interviews of local street vendors in each of the markets and help as interlocutors (throughout the field-work) enriched our analysis on the operational dynamics of the markets.

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1. **Introduction**

The conceptualization of formality and informality and their governing dynamics in different parts of the developing global South (including in some cities of the Developed North) continues to invoke interesting academic discourses. While a large volume of classical informality literature sought to identify distinctive aspects of both formality and informality in a somewhat dualistic way (Giddens, 1984; Hart, 1973; Jenkins, 2001; Santos, 1979), the inclusive informality discourse, attempts to challenge this dualistic nature (Bhowmick, 2005; Daniels, 2004; Portes, 1983; Roy, 2005) by viewing informality in a more inclusive way to accommodate for a hostile orientation of the labor markets and the complexities present in understanding the structure-agent relationships within the socio-economic arrangements present in different societies.

The reflection of these divergent ideas is very much presented in the policies on urban formality, with its resonance being found in the street vending activities in countries of the global South. McGee and Yeung define street vendors as people who offer goods or services for sale in public places, primarily streets and pavements; therefore, playing a significant role in shaping the informal economy by making a significant contribution. While the global count on number of street vendors is difficult to estimate, there might be more than a billion of street merchants selling goods and rendering services across the globe (Poon, 2015).

The lack of ability and capacity of the formal sectors coupled with poverty in rural area and stagnation in the agriculture sector; complimented by the lack of employment opportunities in rural hinterland has increased the number of people in the informal economy and thereby street vending activities. According to rough estimates, currently, there are 1.8 billion, who are part of the informal economy. More than half of non-agricultural employment in developing countries lies within the informal sector. This employment figure is as high as 82% in South Asia and up to 65% in the East and Southeast Asia together. Similarly, Asian countries like Bangladesh, Nepal, Cambodia, India, and Vietnam have a very strong presence of informal markets in the country with India employing 80% of its workforce in informal
sector and Cambodia with more than 95 percent of its workforce employed in the informal sector, thereby economies make significant contribution towards the country’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

Various studies show how an increasing number of workers employed by this sector remain mostly migrants. For the purpose of our study, we have looked at one such category of migrants, in the form of street vendors/traders/merchants, who operate and find employment in local weekly market spaces; making these (un)regulated markets as a source of their livelihood in the urban city (Phnom Penh, Cambodia for our case).

According to National Institute of Statistics (NIS), 2013 Cambodia has 505,134 establishments out of which 41,771 belong to street businesses accounting for 8.3 percent of the whole establishments. According to the study, many owners of the street business are Cambodians comprising 98.9 percent of the whole establishment, followed by Vietnam (0.7 percent), Chinese (0.4 percent) and other (0.0 percent). Interestingly, most of the street businesses are handled by a female representative. The share of a male representative of street business is 23.4 percent compared to female representatives’ share of 76.6 percent (NIS, 2013). This is in sharp contrast as compared to the case in India where most street vending activities are conducted by men.

Given how street vending is vital as a source of livelihood and employment opportunity for the people, this report attempts to shed interesting observations in understanding the governing dynamics of commerce and exchange in identified informal market spaces of Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Three market spaces namely; Doeum Kor Market, Orussey Market and Psa Toul Tom Poung or Russian Market is identified and studied to understand

a) Vendor Profiles and
b) Supply chain dynamics of the consumer’s baskets available in the identified market spaces.
To capture these aspects, an interdisciplinary methodological approach has been used. Given the complexities involved in the study of urban informality that makes the quantitatively designed indicators of income and consumption pattern less useful in understanding the scope of the study, an ethnographic approach that relies on participant-observer has been the basis of this study. We have relied extensively on questionnaire-based interviews and have collected 12-15 samples of oral accounts in each of the markets to better understand the profiles of the vendor, nature of the business and inventory management in these identified local markets of Phnom Penh. Since the findings of the study are largely derived from interviews and conversations with vendors, this technique while having its advantages, also involves its own challenges and limitation which is further explained in the report.

The report, therefore, attempts to comprehensively build a case for contextualising informality that explains the labor markets and the complexities of the socio-economic arrangements present in different societies. The section to follow will provide background to the informal economy of Cambodia by explaining the rational for choosing Phnom Penh for the study. The section 3 of the report focuses on the scope and the methodology used for the analysis of the identified markets of the Phnom Penh economy. The detailed analysis of these markets is explained in section 4 of the report. The fifth section of the report covers the limitation and is followed by a conclusion.

2. Significance of Choosing Cambodia as a case study

Since the stabilization in the political environment from 1970 onwards, Cambodia has undertaken significant steps towards rapid and inclusive economic growth by maintaining the growth rate of almost 8 percent per annum. The strong export performance and positive investment climate have more than halved its poverty rates from 47.8 percent in 2007 to a low of 18.9 percent in 2012\textsuperscript{v}. However, the benefits of development have largely been confined to urban centers and income distribution is notably uneven. Almost 71.0 percent of Cambodians still earn less than $3 a day, which means that many of them remain vulnerable to falling back into poverty\textsuperscript{vi}. For instance, the city of Siem Reap despite observing bustling
tourism remains the second poorest provinces in Cambodia. This is largely being attributed to the lack of job opportunities available within the formal economy of the country. With concerns mounting on sustainability on formal sectors like garments, tourism, and construction that are credited with drivers of economic growth, Cambodia needs to diversify its economy and promote growth in agricultural sector.

As an agrarian-based society and economy, more than 80 percent of Cambodia’s population live in rural areas. Families living in these areas send their children and women to the cities to ensure a survival and complement to the family’s incomes. As an agrarian society, Cambodia employed more than 70 percent of its population in the agriculture sector (Heinonen, 2008). Given this, Cambodia is very vulnerable towards any changes in its natural resources. For example, drought and floods in the recent times have hard hit the country’s economy leading to a shrinking agricultural sector. However, employment in agricultural sector fell below 60 percent by 2009 in Cambodia and by 2010 agriculture sector employed 54.1 percent of the population aged between 15-64 years while industry and services employed 16.2 percent and 29.6 percent respectively (UN Data, 2018). By 2013, employment in Cambodia’s agricultural sector decreased to just under 50 percent (Asian Development Bank, 2015). With unemployment rising in rural areas due to diminishing agricultural activities, people are driven out of their villages in search of employment to the cities. Because they lack the necessary skill set and education required to find a secured job in the formal sector, they end up working informally.

The informal economy absorbs the increasing labor force migrating from rural to urban areas, as the formal sector does not grow at the same pace as the increasing labor force. The informal sector also offers opportunities to seasonal migrants. Children and teenagers are also involved in informal sector activities like shoe cleaners, sellers, rag pickers or even beggars and are more vulnerable to harassment and exploitation (Oslen and Kimsay, 2017). Therefore, the informal economy continues to play a major role in Cambodia’s economy.
Cambodia defines the informal economy as actions without official or solid legal status, regulation or protection by state institutions, or as actions that are identified with some of the following characteristics xvii:-

1. No firm or postal address
2. Employees are self-employed or road-side vendors
3. Labour-intensive nature of operations and quick turnover
4. Use of energy input from human or animal sources
5. Non-structured premises without regulations, licenses, insurance, or taxes

Specific articles of Cambodia’s minimum wage law include Articles 104,105,107,108,109 and 11 of the Labour Law. The minimum wage should ensure each worker of a decent standard of living compatible with human dignity. But informal economy workers are not regulated, not recognized and are not entitled to legal protection. These jobs in the informal economy are called ‘informal’ specifically because: (EIC, 2006)

- they have little or no access to formal markets, formal training and education, credit institutions etc.
- they are unregistered and unrecorded in the census collection or official statistics, giving them an unrecognized status by the government.
- they are compelled to operate outside the legal framework and beyond the pale of social protection, labor legislation or protective measures, even if they had registered and respect certain aspects of the law.

Coupled with this, are poor labor standards in the informal economy of Cambodia, where workers are prone to bribery, harassment (including sexual) and extortion by authorities. Along with poor labor standards and poor working conditions, informal workers in Cambodia are not covered by social security laws like retirement benefits. They are indeed subject to accidents and health hazards. Informal workers do not have the likelihood to negotiate or bargain with their employers or public authorities for their rights.

The signing of Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Labour Organization’s fundamental conventions by Cambodia, along with its constitution, supports
the protection of all workers- formal or informal (EIC, 2006). Cambodia’s constitution
recognizes that everyone has an equal right to participate in political, economic, social and
cultural life, to choose employment, to be members of trade unions and get equal pay for
equal work and social security coverage. The UN Declaration of Human Rights recognizes
that everyone has the right to work and to be protected against unemployment. Along, as
Cambodia also ratified ILO’s conventions, it is obliged to protect its workers in all sectors.
However, it is the nature of work and lack of capacities created by formal sector, that makes
the working conditions and the environment in the informal sector, highly vulnerable for
workers.

The labor force report 2013, by International Labour Organisation (ILO) has reported that
of the 7.2 million employed persons aged 15 or older, 5.84 million people (81.2 percent
)worked in the informal sector, 1.3 million (17.7 percent) were employed in the formal
sector and 1.1 percent were involved in household activities.

Table 1: Employed population aged 15 or older, by formal/informal sector, sex and
area, 2012
Source: Labour Force Report, ILO 2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Cambodia</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Both Sexes</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal Sector Enterprise</td>
<td>1276331</td>
<td>733571</td>
<td>542761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal Sector Enterprise</td>
<td>5845356</td>
<td>3046084</td>
<td>2799271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household</td>
<td>75729</td>
<td>18051</td>
<td>57678</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7197416</td>
<td>3797706</td>
<td>3399710</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The presence of informal market in Cambodia has been the result of the low capacity of the formal sector to create new jobs for its expanding labour force. Additionally, the high cost of doing business and the complicated registration processes which discourage most of the entrepreneurs from setting up a business in the formal sector is also one of the significant reasons for the rise in the informal sector.

The formal sectors of Cambodia mainly located in the cities of Phnom Penh and Siem Reap are relatively small and limited, faces innumerable transaction costs and operational barriers. As a result, the small formal sectors of Cambodia have not been able to reap the rising labor force of the country. According to the National Institute of Statistics, the labor force in Cambodia has expanded by 3.3 percent annually, and new employment (formal) increased only by an annual average of 3.6 percent for the period 2000 and 2011\textsuperscript{xix}. The rising labor force is attributed to the two most important factors which are as follows:

a. The decline in the birth rates well before the significant increase in the lifespan of the people, leading to an extraordinarily large working age population

b. A very high rate of internal migration motivated substantially by economic factors has played a substantial role in Cambodia’s demographic dynamics.

The labor force report of Cambodia stated that a total of nearly 1.9 million migrants including national and foreign migrants\textsuperscript{2} were estimated to be in Cambodia in 2012.

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\textsuperscript{2} For the survey, migrants were defined as persons who moved at any time in the past from a province elsewhere in Cambodia or from outside the country into the enumeration area.
Not surprising, more migrants were found in urban areas than in rural areas, at nearly 1.1 million persons (56 percent of all migrants), compared with 822,789 persons (44 percent). There were more male migrants in rural areas (55.5 percent) than in urban areas (48.5 percent). Among both past and current migrants, internal migration is by far more prevalent and larger in volume.

According to Cambodia Socio-Economic Survey (CSES) 2013 data, 2.18 million Cambodians were living in the country but away from their original home in 2010\textsuperscript{25}. Cambodia’s intercensal population survey (CIPS) 2013, which counts migrants as individuals with a different place of enumeration than that of the last place of residence estimated that about 28 percent of Cambodians were living away from their last residence in 2013.

The internal migration in Cambodia is motivated by various factors including the relocation of the entire family, repatriation, and return after displacement, marriage and employment. According to Cambodia’s inter-censal population survey (NIS 2013), around 10 percent of migrants who had completed their migration reported employment as major factors driving their decision to migrate to other provinces\textsuperscript{26}. While it seems small as a fraction of total migrants, it is still significant compared with the workforce; the implied number of migrants
having moved for employment reasons exceeds half a million workers. However, given the limited jobs available in the formal sectors most of the migrants find employment in informal, vulnerable, unstable, unaccounted and poorly rewarded markets of Cambodian Provinces. It is in this regards, we have chosen Phnom Penh, as one of our markets for this study.

2.1 Rationale for Choosing Phnom Penh as a Case Study

Though Cambodian formal sectors are based in towns and cities, especially in Phnom Penh, informality is present in the country’s economy. Informal workers in Phnom Penh include self-drivers of motor taxis, street vendors, garbage collectors, construction workers and domestic workers. On the other hand, in rural areas, they include farmers or non-farmers like fishermen, miners, and weaver or handicraft workers. Garment and tourism are the dominant sectors offering formal employment in Phnom Penh (Arnold, 2008). Additionally, many people in the formal economy are involved in the informal economy to complement their income. It is important to note that, the formal sectors in Phnom Penh are unable to offer employment for all of its increasing labor force every year. This leads to Phnom Penh’s citizens joining the informal sector, even on a part-time basis.

Phnom Penh, for instance, offers formal employment in three of its most dominant sectors which are public administration, garment industry, and tourism. However, for some employees, these sectors do not provide enough income for their sustenance. As a result, most of the Phnom Penh citizens (including migrants) work informally, at least on a part-time basis. Around 80 percent of the city’s 400,000 slum dwellers earn their income from informal sources. Some of the informal businesses that have a major role in the economic performance of Phnom Penh include –micro and small enterprises, non-permanent labor workers, motor-taxi drivers, street vendors, and domestic helpers.

Street Business according to the economic census of Cambodia is defined as establishment such as a stall, a booth that runs at a fixed location on the sidewalk or the roadside, or
around but outside a market. According to the economic census of Cambodia, around 26.6% of the establishments in Phnom Penh is categorized as street business, with a number of establishment running under street business being 11,118.

Table 2: Number and percentage of Establishment and Person Engaged

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Street Business</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Street Business</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of Establishment</td>
<td>Number of People Engaged</td>
<td>Number of Establishment</td>
<td>Number of People Engaged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>50,5134</td>
<td>41,771</td>
<td>1,673,390</td>
<td>62,780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phnom Penh</td>
<td>95,848</td>
<td>11,118</td>
<td>556,865</td>
<td>16,419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Concentration Rate</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Concentration Rate</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phnom Penh</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phnom Penh</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Similarly, district wise data on establishments shows that Doun Penh district concentrates about 15.7% of the total street business in Phnom Penh, followed by Mean Chey (14.5%), Toul Kouk (12.9%) and Chamkar Mon (12.3%) (See Annexure 2 for district wise establishment details).

The rapidly increasing informal sector and prevalence of street businesses make Phnom Penh, an interesting economy to explore. Since a large number of the local and migrant population depends for their sustenance, we have chosen street business as one of the activities and Phnom Penh as one of the provinces to study the dynamism of commerce and exchange in identified local markets of the city.

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3 We have chosen Doeum Kor Market from this district.
4 Russian Market covered in our study belongs to Chamkar Mon District
For the overall study, our focus remains on the three identified local markets in Phnom Penh province of Cambodia. These include:

1. Doeum Kor Market in Tuoi Kouk district,
2. Orussey Market in Prampir Meakkakra district
3. Psa Toul Tom Poung or Russian Market in Chamka Mon District, Phnom Penh

The structure of our research study has looked at two critical aspects in broadening the mainstream conceptualization of ‘informality’ in the identified market spaces:

1. Capturing samples of oral account(s) from merchants/vendors operating in targeted informal markets
2. Gauging the supply chain dynamics of the consumer's baskets available in these markets

The first aspect of the study was covered through an ethnographic account capturing the oral interviews of merchants/vendors within each of these markets. The objective was to explore and understand the physical, social, cultural and economic context of the participants by understanding the relationship among and between people, contexts, ideas, norms behaviors and the activities they do. The objective was to acquire the vendor profiles with a sample size of merchants being in the range of 12-15 vendors per market.

The second aspect of the study looked at different approach in traditionally understanding supply chain dynamics, which explain the movement of goods (from source to the market) in such targeted informal geospatial places, while, conceptually covering the entire physical process from obtaining the raw materials through all process steps until the finished product has reached the end customer.

The objective of the study is to understand the operational dynamics of these markets that cover the entire physical process from obtaining the raw materials through all process steps until the finished product reaches the end consumer.

This includes:

a)  Procurement of goods
b) Distribution of goods

c) Inventory management & Final sales

While, a market study of Supply Chain Management encompasses every effort involved in producing and delivering a final product or service; from the supplier's supplier to the customer's customer. Supply Chain Management includes managing supply and demand, sourcing raw materials and parts, manufacturing and assembly, warehousing and inventory tracking, order entry and order management, distribution across all channels, and delivery to the customer. Unlike research done on such formally regulated market where information is more readily available and the supply chain management is highly organised; our analysis on the targeted informal markets looked at different approach to traditionally understand ways of supply chain dynamics, in particular, understanding how inventory of commercial goods (perishables and non-perishables) is managed in informal, unregulated market spaces within identified markets in Cambodia.

The focus of our study, therefore, has been to analyze how inventory is being managed in these markets. Inventory, according to Black et.al, are expandable physical articles held for resale, for use in manufacturing a product or for consumption in carrying on business activity. In other words, it is defined as the materials used directly or indirectly in the manufacturing process or the items that are used in making finished products. It may be

a) saleable in the market;

b) directly or indirectly useable in the manufacturing process of the undertaking; and

c) Ready to send it to the outside parties for making useable or saleable products out of it.

Being the “Graveyard of business” it has to be effectively and efficiently managed. Inventory management is concerned with the optimal level of investment for each component of the inventory such that the components are efficiently used, controlled and the review mechanism are effectively controlled. This requires careful planning such that both the excess and the scarcity of inventory in relation to the operational requirement of an undertaking may be avoided. However, the application of such organized structure of
inventory management is only limited to formal, regulated markets with strong information and feedback systems. The informal market spaces do not follow a standardized model because of a chaotic, organizational structure. Hence, our study will shed interesting light on these aspects.

3. Methodology

A mixed method approach involving more focus on qualitative research techniques have been the basis of the methodology for this study. We have relied extensively on questionnaire-based interviews; oral inter-personal accounts. In shaping the methodology for such a study, which is more evolutionary and a subject of study by itself, the research process involved visits to the various markets functioning on different days/time in Cambodia. We chose 3 markets that provided us an understanding of how the form and character of a given informal market change with respect to a geospatial location.

Based on the questionnaire (See Appendix 1) prepared for merchant interviews, we collected a minimum of 12-15 samples of oral accounts providing detailed insights into each of these targeted market spaces. Based on the participant-observation and interaction, a broader conceptualization of informality is developed by analyzing the physical and economic aspects of these markets.

The questionnaire was formulated with respect to the scope and objectives of the study, which enabled us to acquire the relevant information for the purpose of our study. Five critical aspects were looked at:

a) Vendor Profiling,
b) Motivation for conducting the business,
c) The nature of the business,
d) Profit and Sales, and
e) Inventory management.

For capturing the Interviews, we

- Targeted established Seller
- Product-wise distribution of sellers
Table 3: Number of Interviews and Product Basket Covered for the Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Market</th>
<th>Number of Interviews Conducted</th>
<th>Product baskets covered</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Doeurm Kor Market,</em></td>
<td>12 (4 for each product)</td>
<td>Vegetable, Fruits and Cooking Spices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Orussey Market</em></td>
<td>15 (5 for each product)</td>
<td>Cooking Spices, Curtain stores, Hair Accessories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Psa Toul Tom Poung or Russian Market</em></td>
<td>15 (5 for each product)</td>
<td>Souvenirs (Handicrafts, Scarfs, and T-shirts), Motorcycle Machine parts (Seat, Wheel, Disc brake), Clothing/ Apparel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The technique adopted in this study was a combination of *Unstructured* and *Semi-Structured* ethnographic interviewing. While on the one hand, the interviewee had the freedom to choose the own scope, depth, pace and length of the response using unstructured questions, on the other hand, using *Semi-Structured Interviewing*, the researchers guided the informants back to the scope of the study when they deviated from it and also, in situations where the details provided were considered completely irrelevant to the study.

The researchers regularly used field notes and memos to keep track of the emerging theoretical insights. The literature review including any historiography of the targeted informal markets is based on the secondary resources available.

4. Analysis from a Few Market Case Studies from Phnom Penh (Cambodia)

4.1 Doeum Kor Market

4.1.1 Profile of the Market

**Location:** The name, Doeum Kor originates from the Kapok Tree market symbolizing a giant tree that serves as a big provider of food.

![Figure 2: Overview of Doeum Market](image)
With the market infrastructure of around 110m x 90m (rough estimation), vendors at Doeum Kor Market cover all the small streets surrounding it making the streets inaccessible for public transport.

The market space is divided into 2 main parts: the regulated, central market area and an unregulated street area that lie outside the central space. This market is situated in very close proximity to Phsar Plaecher market and Neak Meas Market, where food products are sold exclusively in a wholesale manner. This accessibility has developed Doeum Kor Market into a niche that allows its vendors to easily sell stocks of vegetables, fruits and cooking spices directly to consumers. It is a place for buying extremely low price dried, fermented, fresh, and processed food products and ingredients of various kinds. The market also sells several others products such as apparels, household appliances, and jewelry.
Due to the lack of adequate warehousing or cold storage facilities for storing vegetables, fruits etc., the market constantly smells of an unpleasant odor of decaying food.

However, the most noteworthy feature of the market is the informal or unregulated operational dynamics of the market space that offer vendors a lot of flexibility in conducting their day to day sales. *This is a market where customers can buy retail food products at the wholesale prices.*

**Demographic features:** One can see vendors of all age group operating in the market. *Noticeably, the number of female vendors is overwhelmingly larger than male vendors.* For every 3 women vendor working in Douem Kor, only 1 man can be seen in the market. Most of the male vendors present in the market, furthermore, are working with their wives in a form of family run business. *As reflected later in our analysis, from the total number of interviewees from Doeum Kor Market (out of 12), only 3 people were male.*

The product baskets sold in this market in diverse that range from fruits, vegetable to household appliance and jewelry.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4: Products Available in Doeum Kor Market</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Products sold by many vendors</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruits both exotic and common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meats, fishes, and dairy products</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apparels for practical uses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spices and general ingredients</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1.2 Product Category

For this study, 3 products were chosen from Doeum Kor Market: Vegetables, fruits, and Spices. 4 interviews were taken from each of the product categories. Of the 12 interviews conducted, 5 vendors had their stalls inside the market infrastructure, while the other 7 were scattered outside the market infrastructure.

The interviews covered the following aspects:
   a) Vendor Profiling,
   b) Motivation for conducting the business,
   c) The nature of the business,
   d) Profit and Sales, and
   e) Inventory management.

I. Vegetable

We chose to study vegetable as one of the product baskets because of the following reasons:
   a) The product is abundantly sold in the market
   b) The product is sold in the exclusive zone instead of being spread over the whole market spaces
   c) Additionally, the short life span of vegetables makes it an interesting product to understand how the inventories are being managed by vendors.

A. Vendor Profiling

The vendors who were interviewed, aged between 42 to 60 years old.
Most of the vegetable vendors were female. While their education level ranged from no education to lower secondary school; their experiences as a vendor ranged from 2 months to 22 years.

B. Motivation to work in the market.

There are several motivations to work in the market as can be gauged from the interviews conducted. Some of the motivating factors include:

- **Sense of ownership**
  Those who are satisfied with their businesses said that owning their own business and making profit empower them. One of the vendors interviewed stated that "it is better than working for another person. Right now, I have freedom and dignity."

- **Sustenance:**
  On the other hand, the motivation for the other two respondents was less optimistic because

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5 We are not using the names of the vendors who were interviewed and hence, for the purpose we will be using vendor 1, 2...N
they said that they work just to sustain their livelihood and their family.

However, the vendor’s earnings are barely enough to cover their health, daily expenses, and expenses of their children. This makes them unenthusiastic.

C. Nature of business practice

Some of the observations drawn:

• Of the vendors interviewed, two of the respondents sold the products alone, while the other two sold the vegetables jointly with their family members.

• Interestingly, 2 of the vendors interviewed were exclusively retailers who operated for 24 hours per day. While the other two retailers accept wholesale orders on demands from their customers and sell from early morning until evening.

• The festival months are cited as one of the favorable months of their business that see a huge influx of regular customers and thereby increase the sales and earnings of the vendors.

• Bargaining plays a key role in the final determination of overall prices where customers persistently bargain. However, as stated by one of the vendors, the bargaining capacity of customers is extremely low because of the already prevailing low prices of the vegetables.

• All of the vendors interviewed did not pay rents for their shops because they were selling outside of the market infrastructure. It should be noted that vendors on the south side of the market said that they pay small amount of money to the market authority every day. Whereas, the vendors on the east side said that they do not pay any money for setting up their small stalls.
D. Profit and Sales

- The vendors interviewed stated their profit margin to be in the range of 200 Riel (r) to 400 Riel (r) (0.05$ to 0.1$) per kilogram of goods sold.

- Two of the vendors stated that on average they make sales worth 10,000r to 30,000r (2.5$ to 7.5$) per day. The seller with 2 months of experience said her profit margin is around 200r (0.05$) to 500r (0.125$), and generally she is willing to reduce around 15% of her price so that she can clear her stock.

Interestingly, one of the vendors interviewed stated that she looks at people face and then makes a judgment instantaneously on how much she should charge.

E. Inventory management

- The life span of vegetables is just around 1-3 days as the market lacks proper storage facilities. As a result, some sell their leftover vegetable at "Lei Long" price, which translates into selling at a bare minimum profit or sometimes also at loss. Most of their inventories are bought either from Neak Meas Market or from trucks that come around their shops in the morning.

- All the vendors bargain with their suppliers. Those who buy from the truck can bargain for much lower price than those who buy from Neak Meas Market. One of the Vendors with 22 years of experience said that she can sometimes bargain with the wholesalers to reduce the price to 3,500r (0.875$) from 5,000r (1.25$)

- Vegetable vendors use cash as a means to buy from their wholesalers.

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6 With this low and flexible profit margin, makes it hard to calculate the average amount of profit they made in a day because this profit margin is a baseline where they will sell the goods, but they may be able to fetch a higher price if they can gain the upper hand in bargaining.
II. Fruits
We interviewed 4 fruit vendors. The market sells common fruits such as bananas, longans, mangos, oranges, tangerines, and others as well as exotic fruits such as avocado and grapes can also be found in a substantial amount.

A. Vendor Profiling
- Vendor 1, 60 years old, 10 years of experience
- Vendor 2, 50 years old, more than 20 years of experience
- Vendor 3, 51 years old, 15 years of experience
- Vendor 4, 48 years old, 10 years of experience

3 out of 4 of them are residents of Phnom Penh, with one exception of a vendor who travels frequently to Takao, her hometown. In term of education, some of the vendors interviewed received no education, while some were high school graduates.

B. Motivation to work in the market
Similar to vegetable vendors, it is the sense of ownership as well as the urge to support family and sustenance that motivates the vendors to work in the market.

Even though they all have different outlooks on their current jobs, their motivation is to sustain their livelihood by conducting business.

One of the fruit vendors that was interviewed, however, had a slightly more optimistic opinion. Even though the business is tiring and not very profitable, she said by doing business she can maintain her “dignity”. According to her, it is better than working for another people. On the other hand, the other vendor operates the shop with his wife to support their family.

C. Nature of Business Practice
3 out of 4 vendors interviewed operate the stalls alone.

- 3 vendors with relatively small stalls were retailers. Only one vendor had a wholesale set up.

- Two of the stalls were located inside the market infrastructure while the other two were located in the periphery of the market infrastructure.

- The fruit vendor opens their shop from very early morning (from 3 am to 6 am) until evening even though the market is open for 24 hours.

- All of the vendors interviewed reported that they have to pay taxes and other fees. While they did not specify how much tax they have to pay per month, a few of them mentioned that they pay cumulatively around 150,000r ($37.5) or up to 300,000r ($75) per month. One of the vendors stated that she has to pay 150,000r per month for the rent and around $1 per days for general market fees.

D. Profit and Sales

The vendors’ profit lies between the range of 20,000r to 30,000r ($5 to $7.5) per day. However, two of the fruit vendors interviewed said that their profits fluctuate unpredictably. Bargaining plays an important role in the market. However, a vendor stated that “loyal customers do not bargain unless they feel that the products are being sold at unusual market price”.

Another vendor stated that she buys 200 bunches of banana at the price of 1600r per bunch. And quote customers 2000r ($5) (400r or $0.1 profit) to earn a profit of 400r.

The vendor with at least 20 years of experience said that he “inflate” his price for ordinary customers to open the stage for bargaining.
However, as the life span of fruits are less and there is no storage facility available, sometimes vendors are forced to sell it at a relatively low profit margin of 100r ($0.025). Overall, the profit margin for fruit sellers ranges between 100r to 500r (This applies to all the other fruit vendors as well).

E. Inventory Management

- Most of the inventories are bought either from Neak Meas Market or from trucks that carry fruits to Doeum Kor Market in the morning. Except one of the vendors, who claimed that his fruit is sourced to him from farmers in Koh Thom, and his products are seasonal.
- The average lifespan of fruit is around 2 to 4 days. If the vendors cannot sell them on time, they lose profit. This is why most of the vendors prefer to keep their inventory small and work flexibly as both retailer and wholesaler.
- The leftover fruits are kept at the stalls according to the respondents; with one exceptional vendor who stores her bananas stock at her house and wait for it to ripen first before she brings them to the market.
- For those who buy their retail stock from Neak Meas wholesale market preferred carrying the load themselves and sometimes took assistance from local Tuk-Tuks (auto-rickshaws) for a small fee. The distance between the Neak Meas wholesale market and the Doeum Kor Market is less than a kilometer.
- Vendors bargain with the wholesalers and pay them in cash.

III. Cooking Spices

4 vendors were interviewed. We chose this product for following reasons:

- The stalls that sell spices and general ingredients are located inside the market infrastructure, and virtually no vendors sell spices outside on the street.
• This category contains items such as dried fishes, dried shrimps, dried vegetables, fermented fish, palm sugar, and general ingredients such as regular sugar and salt.

• Spices have a longer life as compared to the other two perishable products (i.e. fruits and vegetables). This makes it a unique product in comparison to fruits and vegetables and hence an interesting product in terms of analyzing how vendors stores and manage inventory of spices.

A. Vendor Profiling

The age of the interviewees ranged from 20 to 46 years’ old

• Vendor 1, 25 years old, 3 years of experience.
• Vendor 2, 20 years old, 3 years of experience.
• Vendor 3, 40 years old, 20 years of experience.
• Vendor 4, 46 years old, 20 years of experience.

All of them were residents of Phnom Penh. Their experience as vendors varies from 3 years to 20 years. While some of them had gone to secondary school, some vendors received a bachelor degree. Interestingly one of the vendors selling spice and was interviewed is a graduate in major Finance.

B. Motivation to Work in the Market

Most of the vendors operating in the market find sense of ownership, flexibility, and profitability as the major factors motivating them to run business in the market.

2 of the interviewees were optimistic and happy about their business as spices sellers. The vendor with graduation degree states that this business gives him the sense of ownership which wouldn’t have been the case had he been working for some financial firm. He is working with his wife operating the spice stall. On the other hand, fresh high school graduate
(another vendor), help her mother in the business and is motivated as he can make a substantial profit.

In contrary, the other two vendors hold indifferent attitude towards the business.

C. Nature of Business Practice

- All of the stalls interviewed were family owned.
- The interviews revealed, that the sale picks up whenever there are festivals and marriage (from November to April).
- All of the stalls that sell spices are located inside the market infrastructure including the four interviewed. All four of the businesses are run from early morning 3 am to early evening.

One of the vendors, further, added that some stalls inside the market can be rented for $300 per month. They pay tax, water and electricity bills. He added that the price of water is 5,000r per cubic meter, which is expensive in comparison to general price water. Another vendor said that she is required to pay a tax of 50$ per month for her large stall.

D. Profit and Sales

The profits and sale margins vary from vendor to vendor in the market.

One of the respondents stated that he can make a profit around $50 to $100 per month. Similarly, other two vendors said that she makes a profit of $125 per month and more if the sale peaks. However, another vendor is only able to make small profits.

Customers of the spice vendors usually don’t bargain as the vendors sell at the minimum profit margin. The loyal customers often buy without questioning the prices quoted by the vendors.

- The profit margin range from 200r to 300r ($0.05 to $0.075) per kilogram. Since their products can be kept for a long period of time, they are not really concerned about them going bad.
• Most vendors operate on a competitive price for vegetables (including cooking spices etc.) that is the market price which is collectively set based on the number of sellers (selling the same product basket) within the market.

E. Inventory management

• All four of the vendors place their order to local depots for the packaged products that come from Thailand or Vietnam. However, some products are made in traditional fashion in Cambodia which is brought to them by trucks carrying those items from province to the market.
• They generally cannot bargain with the depots, but if the price is too high, they tend to bargain. The price of transportation of products is included in the price of the products already according to one of the vendor.
• Their suppliers accept cash
• All of them store their inventory inside their stalls

4.2 Orussey Market, Prampir Meakkakra district

4.2.1 Profile of the Market

Built around 1980, Orussey market\(^7\) is the biggest traditional market in Phnom Penh. Facing to the South and located in the commercial area of the city, it is always very busy and crowded with a large number of people ranging from consumers to Tuk Tuk drivers. Mainly, people go there for buying either retail or wholesale goods.

\(^7\) Its address is on street 182 (Oknha Tep Phan Street) in Orussey 1 Commune Khan 7 Makara (Figure 2)
Orussey Market is a large rectangle-shape building consisting of 3 main floors – the ground floor, the mezzanine, and the 1st floor\(^8\). Because it is a closed building, all stores are lightened by electrical light.

- Half of its ground floor space is occupied by the wet market. A large variety of household goods can be seen in the other half of the market.
- The mezzanine consists of shops selling curtain, shoes, fake and real jewelry, stationery, bags, and so on. Noticeably, the center space of the mezzanine and the 1st floor is left unoccupied.
- Similarly, the 1st floor is a dry market. The products range from hair accessories to Khmer traditional fabric. There are also some shops which serve salon and tailor service.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Products sold/service served by</th>
<th>Products sold/service served by a few sellers</th>
<th>Products exclusively sold by a single seller</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>many sellers</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

\(^8\) The market has up to 12 main entrances. In front of or near most of the entrance stands at least one stair leading to both the mezzanine and the 1st floor, 8 stairs in total. At the center of the market, there are another 2 stairs facing each other and leading straight to the 1st floor.
The market sees hardly any foreign tourist and hence, the major consumers in these markets are local people. Almost 90% of the sellers in the market is women in the age group of 20-50, with the majority of them being aged 40-50 years. The business operations start as early as 5 am and the market is closed by 5 pm.

### 4.2.2 Product Category

3 different kinds of products, each in the different floor of the market, were chosen for the study\(^9\). Given that sellers in the wet market seem to be very busy and hard to approach, we have only chosen one wet market product for the analysis, with rest two products belonging to...

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\(^9\) All in all, the point of choosing what products to be focused on is to make sure that the 3 of them have different features and characteristics and especially that they are located in the different floor so that each of them can be a good study example of the other shops in their own floor.
to dry market. A total of 15 interviews, 5 from each product were conducted. During the interview field, there are several observations made. (The General Observation is included in Appendix 3.)

I. Spices

Five interviews with vendors selling spices were taken. The product belongs to the wet market. The availability of the vendors and their willingness to share information made this interviewing vendors of spices extremely easy.

A. Vendor Profiling

The cooking spices are sold on the ground floor of the market. Most of the stores located in this market are owned by women (aged around 40 to 60), with some shops operated by both men and women (of the same family).

Most of the sellers were born in different provinces of Cambodia such as Takeo, Kampong Cham, Kampong Speu, and Kampong Thom, they have been living in Phnom Penh for almost 20 years now. They travel to their hometown only when there are national festivals like Khmer New Year in April and Water Festival in November, or when there are ceremonies or emergency situation.

In terms of education, two of the sellers have finished primary education, while the other two have only studied in grade 2 and 3, and the one never got any formal education.
B. Motivation for conducting the business.

Most of the sellers have owned their spice shop in the market at least for 10 years and at most since 1980. Before that, two of them used to be a farmer, while the other two mentioned spice selling to be their first job.

The reasons for quitting their previous jobs include migration, the amount of profit earned; (less income in the previous job) and work load.

Most of the vendors live in a joint family with 3 to 6 children. Hence to support the family, some women help their husband, in doing this current business.

C. Nature of Business Practice

Their nature of the business is pretty much the same in a way that it is a self-employed business in a traditional market. This kind of business is open every day from 5 o’clock in the early morning to 5 o’clock in the evening. They can be found mostly in the Western part of the market.

D. Profit and Sales

Being able to sell at least 7kg a day, the sellers can earn an average daily income of $50-$100. This number rises to around $300-$500 during the marriage season which usually starts from early November and goes until late March (annually). They can earn an average profit of 25%-35% on the overall cost incurred. Bargaining plays a key role in the retail price determination and products (like cooking spices, vegetables, fruits etc.) that are largely perishable in nature are discounted by vendors in the absence of adequate warehousing facilities. On such perishable goods, the vendors (i.e. sellers interviewed) mentioned a discount range of 10% to 15% which is offered on the final price.
The income and profit earned is spent on managing daily expenditures of the market and in making monthly payments for running the business. Surprisingly, none of the vendors pay rents for the store as most of them own the shops or have inherited from their parents who had bought the shop at a price of $8000-$10000. The major expenditure is made to refill the stock where they need to spend around 500-1000USD$ in refilling the stock (after a stock of products have been sold).

Additionally, they pay 300khr and 200khr “P’sy\(^{10}\)” price and cleansing price respectively every day and 20000khr for market security services monthly. In addition to this, they have to pay for the use of electricity which costs them 1500khr per kilowatt.

**E. Inventory Management**

The spices are procured from Vietnam, Thailand, and China. Vendors do not store all the products in the shop. They stock at home and hence no costs on storage are incurred. They use a motor taxi or Tuk Tuk to bring the products to the shop. This transportation costs them approximately 5000khr.

When asked about whether they set the price as a group or individually, the respondents said that most of the product’s prices are set by them which is in the range of prices set by their competitors in the market while also offering small discounts (5-10%) on the products to lure more customers.

**II. Curtains**

For this category, 5 interviews were conducted. Besides the reason that it can only be found in the mezzanine of the market.

\(^{10}\) There is lack of clarity on what P’sy price is. According to some vendors it is price charged for selling in the market.
A. Vendor Profiling
Curtain stores, located only on the mezzanine of the market, are all owned by women aged 25 to 45. Only one shop was seen to be looked after by both men and women who are husband and wife. There is an almost equal number of the sellers who were born in Phnom Penh and in the provinces respectively. For those who were born in provinces, traveling to their hometown only occurs when there are national festivals like Khmer New Year and Pchum Ben, or when there are ceremonies or emergency situation. Most of them have been living in Phnom Penh for almost 12 years now.

Walkway at the curtain shop area                       One of the curtain shops on mezzanine

In terms of education, only one of the sellers has graduated from high school, while two of them completed primary education, the other two have finished grade 7 and 10 respectively. Of the vendors interviewed, one of them was a single parent who was raising 6 children from the business. The other two vendors had a nuclear family and rest of them belonged to a joint family.

B. Motivation to work in the market.

Curtain sellers have been running the business for almost 2 to 15 years. Before that, they were involved in different jobs of being teacher, farmer, clothes seller, housewife, and factory worker.
The reasons for quitting their previous jobs include migration, not enough income to support the family, and changing market trend. However, there was a seller who had inherited the business from her mother-in-law.

When asked why they chose this business, they mostly said the reason is that their relatives invited them to do this business

C. Nature of Business Practice

Their nature of the business is pretty much the same in a way that it is a self-employed business in a traditional market. Their curtain shops are open every day from approximately 8:30 am to 4:45 pm. They can be found mostly in the Western part of the market.

D. Profit and Sales

Being able to sell at least 3 or 4 curtains per day, the sellers can earn an average daily income of $50-$100. On some rare days when their loyal customers come to buy their curtain, they can earn more than $1000. They earn an average profit of 25%-35% and usually, offers 10% discount on the final price. However, in an exceptional case when they have not sold any curtain and it is almost time to close the shop or when the style of the curtain is almost out of date, they offer more discount.

Most of the income and profit earned is spent on managing daily and monthly expenses of the market. Some of the additional expenditure includes:

- While 2 sellers had bought the shop for $80,000 and $ 110,000 respectively, 3 of the sellers have to pay $250-$300 per month as the rental fee.
- The major expenditure is made on refilling the stock. They had made an initial investment of approximately $30,000 per block of curtains and when the curtain is running out of stock, they spend around $2500-$5000 to restock. The wholesaler sets a fixed price for curtain and usually accepts cash as a payment method.
- They also have to pay 200khr and 100khr daily for the “P’sy” price and cleansing price to the market respectively and pay 20,000 khr monthly for security services.
• In addition to this, they also pay 1500 khr per kilowatt for the use of electricity.

E. Inventory Management

Most of the curtains are bought from China. Quite often vendors make purchasing orders through other companies with only their contact number, who later distribute the products to these vendors based on the purchase order. Each vendor procures the curtains and the material from different companies to diversify their retail stock of curtains (for sale).

All of them said that when they order the curtains (the curtain cloths to be specific), the company does not bring them directly to the shop but to their home. Then, the sellers themselves bring the cloth to the tailor and get them sewn and designed. However, that does not mean they only sell the final products of the curtain cloth. They also sell the original cloth if any customer wants to buy them. Accordingly, keeping the stock does not cost them anything and sometimes they store the stock in their own house.

They bring the curtains that are already designed to the shop by the means of motor taxi or Tuk Tuk. The average transportation cost is around 6000khr. When asked whether the final price of the curtains sold to a customer is set collectively (owing to the competition present in the market), most respondents said that the products’ price remains set by them individually.

III. Hair Accessories

A total of 5 interviews were taken for this category. The shops are mostly found on the 1st floor. Few observations made:

• First, just like the spice shops, they sell varieties of product that includes hair straightener machine, hair clips, wig, headband, bow, crown, and hair shaver. This is in sharp contrast to the one sold by the owner of curtain, shoes, or clothes.
• Second, it is classified as a dry market. Most of the customers of hair accessory shop are women.
A. Vendor Profiling

Hair accessory stores, located on both the mezzanine and 1st floor of the market, are also almost all owned by women aged from 25 to 40. Nevertheless, there are some young men sitting in some stores, who are just the staff or relative of the shop owners. Almost all the sellers of hair accessories were born in Phnom Penh. For those who were born in other provinces, traveling to their hometown only occurs when there are national festivals like Khmer New Year and Pchum Ben.

Moreover, an average duration of their moving to live in Phnom Penh is 17 years. In addition to that, only one of the sellers has graduated from high school, while the other one has stopped studying when she was in the second year of her college, and the other three have finished grade 7, 8, and 10 respectively.

B. Motivation to work in the market.

Some sellers have been running the business in the market for 1 year and some for as long as 8 years. Before that, four of them were involved in different jobs and tasks such as studying, helping with parents’ business, being a staff in an organization, and selling fruits.

The reasons for quitting their previous jobs include no motivation to study, not enough income to support the family, inherited the business and changing market trend. *When asked why they chose this business, they mostly said this business was inherited to them by their parents.*
C. Nature of Business Practice

Their nature of the business is pretty much the same in a way that it is a self-employed business in a traditional market. Their shops are open every day from approximately 8:00 am to 5:00 pm. They can be found mostly in the center part of the market.

D. Profit and Sales

Being able to sell at least 5 to 6 kinds of hair accessories per day, the sellers can earn an average daily income of $50. On some rare days when their loyal customers come to buy their product, they can earn up to $600. They usually earn an average profit of 25%-30% and offer 10 % discount on the final price. However, in exceptional cases, when sellers have not sold anything in the day or when the style or the life of the product is almost out of date, they can discount more.

Most of the income and profits generated are spent on managing daily and monthly expenses of the markets and making payments to the wholesalers.

- They pay around $700 per month for the rental fee. The shop is too expensive to buy ($180,000 more or less).
- Initially, they had made the investment of approximately $35,000 and to restock they spend around $6500 per month.

The wholesaler sets a fixed price for every kind of accessories and usually accepts cash as a payment method though sometimes they can transfer the money via companies (that provide mobile banking services such as Wing or True Money) or via international bank.

- Third, they have to pay 200 khr daily for the “P’sy” price and 100khr for the cleaning fee and pay 20,000 khr monthly for security services.
• In addition to this, they have to pay for the use of electricity which costs them 1500khr per kilowatt and 40,000khr a month on an average.

E. Inventory Management

The hair accessories originally come from two sources which are China and Thailand. There are companies, whose only contact number is known, which distribute the products to the sellers based on the order they make. Besides buying products from those companies, some sellers also travel to China or Thailand to buy some products by themselves.

Accordingly, keeping the stock does not cost them anything as they store the stock in their own house. In addition to this, they use the means of motor taxi or Tuk Tuk to transport the products from their home to the shop. This transportation costs them 6000khr more or less. Sometimes they themselves bring the products to the shop using their own vehicle. When asked about whether they set the price as a group or individually, they all said that most of the products’ price is set by them, or by their own observation of the market price.

4.3 Psa Toul Tom Poung or Russian Market.

4.3.1 Profile of the Market

Psar Toul Tom Poung market, meaning market on a big hill is also called Russian Market, a popular local market that receives the most visitors including foreigners and local people.

It is located in the south of the Phnom Penh city, street 155 in Tuol Tom Pong 1 Commune, Chamka Mon District. The area around the market is not as crowded as other markets. Located in the South part of Phnom Penh (Phsar Toul Tom Poung), Russian Market is the
most popular market among tourists and expats where one can find beautifully hand carved statues, colourful lanterns and handmade silk scarves to fake bags, printed T-shirts and DVDs. There is also a large number of stands geared towards “the best coffee in Cambodia”.

**Figure 4: Overview of Psa Toul Tom Poung, Chamka Mon District, Phnom Penh**

The market has sixteen entrances, four motorbike parking spaces, and one car parking

**Figure 5: Map of the Russian Market**
The main entrance of Russian market is on the Eastern side (on the clothing block), which local people call as the front side of the market, and the Western side is called back side of the market (car and motorbike parking space). In the evening, the back side of the market is opened for street foods operation from 5 pm until midnight.

The market is a bit narrow and steamy because there are more than 1000 stalls with no air-conditions and the market roof is made of the metal standing seam. Conversely, it is worth visiting because it is a retail and wholesale market. Inside there are a variety of products including exotic foods, antique furniture, traditional carvings and handicraft, hand-woven silk, silverware, gems, bags, shoes, Khmer musical instruments and brand-name clothing.

**Table 6.: List of Products sold in Russian market**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Products having more sellers</th>
<th>Products having less seller</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
- The Russian market is a closed market.
- All vendors need to register at the office of the market.
- All vendors pay the same amount of sale licenses, security fee, environment fee, and an annual payment to state (monetary distribution).
- Most of the vendors in Russian market have been running their business for 20-25 years.
- Most of the vendors are women and aged range from the 20s to 60s.

The unique and key feature of the market is that it has divided operation 'hours' into two main groups. The first group is called daytime operation from 6 am to 5 pm. In between this time, the market is opened for vendors selling inside market. At the end of 5 pm, all market entrances will be closed, so vendors will close shops before 5 pm. However, vendors selling at areas around the market are allowed to open shop until night. The second group is called evening operation. The market car parking space is used for selling street foods.

### 4.3.2 Product category

Our research has focused on three products:
### Table 7: Products chosen for Interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Number of Interviews conducted</th>
<th>Specific Kinds of Product</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Souvenirs                      | 5                              | 1. Handicrafts  
2. Scarf  
3. T-shirt |
| Machine Part/Motorcycle Part   | 5                              | 1. Seat  
2. Wheel  
3. Disc brake |
| Clothing                       | 5                              | 1. Clothes from Thailand  
2. Clothes from factory |

#### I. Souvenirs

Every day, heaps of souvenirs including traditional handicraft, scarf, and many other souvenirs are sold to tourists. Almost 90% of their customers are foreigners or tourists. Therefore, it is interesting to study the origin of those souvenirs and why souvenirs are so appealing to foreigners.

![Souvenirs stalls in Russian Market](image)

#### A. Vendor Profiling

According to the profile of the vendors interviewed, the study has highlighted some of the very interesting observations on the vendors.
• Most vendors are women and there are very few male vendors, aged between 23-28 years.
• Most of the vendors are living in Phnom Penh and, we also observed that few interviewed vendors are from province including Prey Veng and Svay Reang. They don’t travel very often, and they visit hometown only on national public holiday.
• Similarly, all of them have finished bachelor degree, and we also observed that one of them could speak and communicate in French; Spanish, English and Chinese language.

B. Motivation to Work in the Market

Amongst the vendors interviewed, we observed that the majority of souvenir vendors have been selling in Toul Tom Poung market for past 2-3 years. Moreover, before coming into this business, they had worked in different careers including a flight attendant, accountant, and NGOs.

The reason for switching to business as stated by vendors was that business can make more profit than working under someone. However, what is more, interesting is that those vendors are actually selling the same things as their parents, that is a so-called line of business. As a consequence, vendors tend to have a positive view on business practice rather than working for someone else.

C. Nature of Business Practice:

Most interviewed vendors are running a business in the traditional market.

• They have made an investment in their own businesses which range between $4000 to $30000 depending on the kind of product they import.
• The stall renting fee is different and is dependent on the location, block in the market and the size of the stall. Stall owners set renting fee individually. According to the interviewed vendors, renting fee ranges between $300 to $600 monthly but the majority pays $350 as the stall fee.
Each month, vendors need to pay approximately 15000 riels to the officer in the markets. What is more interesting is that the electricity fee is collected in every 2 weeks or 15 days (1kwh = $0.38). Vendors also spend on electricity fee, but the fee depends on the type of fluorescent lamp they are using.

Of the vendors interviewed, the average electricity fee ranges between 40000 riels to 60000 riels, but in majority cases, they spend at least 60000 riels. Similarly, all vendors inside market have to pay state 57000 riels annually (known as a monetary contribution to states).

Before state set up the monetary contribution policy, the police administration there came to collect license fee 35000 riels and sale tax 16000 riels monthly.

One of the souvenir vendors said, "She has not seen police administer collecting the sale license and tax fees for months."

D. Profit and Sales

Although vendors get products from the same hubs, they set the cost of products individually. However, this becomes a major problem causing sale price to decline. Vendors set lower sale prices for being able to sell more products with a small profit. All the vendors stock their product either in their stall or at their home, and the average cost of storage range from $2000 to $30000.

Through the interviews, it was observed that the most favorable months are from September to December. During this period, foreign customers purchase more souvenirs for exchange on the Christmas day. Beside these months, vendors make less profit since their loyal customers are mostly tourists or foreigners. In between September to December, vendors can make an income of $100 to $200 per day and once the Christmas season ends, their earnings drop down to $50 per day.

E. Inventory Management
Most of the products are originally procured from Cambodia's Kom Pong Thom province, Kom Pong Chnang province, and Siem Reap city, Vietnam, Thailand, and China. For each product, there is a centralized person, who distribute the products to market vendors. Almost all the vendors buy the same product at the same wholesale price from the same hubs. For vendors who purchase from the province, they need to pay at least $15 for transportation cost.

II. Clothing: Clothing from Thailand and Clothing from factory

For this category, 5 interviews were taken. 25% of stalls in Russian market sells clothes, and those are brand-name clothing which is manufactured in Cambodia but gets rejected in exports due to quality control issues. Clothing stalls are located on the Eastern side of the market.

A. Vendor Profiling

Most interviewed clothing vendors in the market are women, in the age group of 27 to 33. Most vendors interviewed started their business after they had finished their bachelor degree. All of them have been living in Phnom Penh.

Vendor selling Factory and Thailand clothing in Russian Market
B. Motivation to Work in the Market

It was observed that the three of the clothing vendors have been selling in Toul Tom Poung market for about 3 to 6 years while another two sellers have just started their business. All of the interviewees have the same view on business. They said, "I want to work for myself and not be controlled by anyone."

C. Nature of Business Practice

Most interviewed vendors are self-employed in the traditional market and operate from 8 am to 5 pm. They have made investments of approximately 4000-5000 $ for starting the business. Besides, the vendors also have to pay for the stalls. The stall renting fee is set up according to location, block inside the market and the size of the stall. According to the interviewed vendors, renting fee range from $350 to $700 monthly (350$, $400, 500, $600, $700).

Each month, vendors need to pay approximately 15000 rielos to the officers in the market. The electricity fee is collected in every 2 weeks or 15 days (1kwh = $0.38). According to vendors, the average electricity fee range between 40000 rielos to 60000 rielos. Most of them spend at least 50000 to 60000 rielos for electricity. Similarly, all vendors inside the market have to pay state 57000 rielos annually to make a monetary contribution to states.

D. Profit and Sales

Although vendors get products from the same hubs, they set the cost of products individually. Vendors stock their product in the stall and home, and the average cost of storage range from $500 to $2000 (factory clothes), and $2000 to $10000 (Thailand clothes). Each month, all vendors restock product 3 to 4 times and each new stock costs them $500 to $2000.
There is no favorable month for clothing vendors because their loyal customers are only Khmer. As a consequence, their income and profit are very inconsistent. For factory clothing vendors, they could make an income of around 100 to 200 dollars per day (30-40 clothes) while Thailand clothing seller could make 100 to 200 dollars (10 to 20 shirts). The cost of the product is negotiable. Some vendors usually offer a discount of 1-2 dollars while other vendors don’t provide a discount. One of the vendor’s interviewed stated that "My products are sold at fixed price, but if customers purchase more than five clothes they receive 1 or 2 dollars’ discount."

E. Inventory Management

Most products originally come from various factories and Thailand. There are two sellers, purchasing a product on their own. For example, one of the factory clothing sellers goes to buy products from factory directly. Similarly, a seller of Thailand clothes goes to Thailand to buy products. And the other three vendors purchase products from centralized hubs. Most of the vendors buy the same products for the same price and from the same hubs, and they don’t need to pay transportation cost since the hub covers it.

III. Motorcycle Machine Parts: Seat, Wheel and Disc brake

A total of 5 interviews were taken for this category. Almost the Northeast corner of the market comprises of most stores selling motorcycle machine parts. It is interesting to see vendors selling machine part in this tourist market.
A. Vendor profiling

Most of the vendors of the machine parts who were interviewed were women and one of them was a man, with their age ranging from 39 to 73. Three of the vendors have been in the business since the 1990s.

Three among five vendors were from province including Takeo province, Kompong Cham province, and Kondal province, but they have moved to live in Phnom Penh and had access to only primary school. However, the other two interviewed vendors were living in Phnom Penh, and none of them were educated.

B. Motivation to Work in the Market

We have observed that the most of machine part vendors have been selling in Toul Tom Poung market since the 1990s (20-27 years). One of them was a farmer before he came into the business. He said that "He stopped doing farming in the 1980s because it made less income, then he moved to Phnom Penh and involved in a relative line of business."

C. Nature of Business Practice:

Most interviewed vendors are self-employed in the traditional market and operate from 8 am to 4 pm. Three vendors spent approximately 30,000-50,000 US dollars for starting a
business while other two spent 20,000 US dollars. One of the vendors who invested more start-up capital (around 50,000 USD) imported a significant stock of his retail products from parts of Thailand, Vietnam, and China which raised his overall capital requirement.

Five of interviewed vendors don't pay rents because they own the stall. However, each month they need to pay approximately 15000 riels to the officer in the markets. And electricity fee is collected in every 2 weeks or 15 days. According to interviewed vendors, the average electricity fee range between 30000 riels to 50000 riels and all vendors inside the market pay state 57000 riels annually. Majority of vendors purchase products on credit (return in one week). However, they sometimes buy in cash when they go to purchase at another market (Kliang Rom Sav market)

D. Profit and Sales

There is no favorable month for machine part vendors because their loyal customers are Khmer people (from the province) and Vietnamese people. As a result, their income and profit are not fixed. The four vendors' income range between 50-100 dollars (sold 5-6 products). And the other one could make more than 200$ per day because she is both wholesale and retail seller. Her customers are from the province. Motor parts vendors usually provide a discount of 1-2 dollars and profit amounts to 30-40 % of their income.

E. Inventory Management

Most products originally come from various companies in Vietnam, China, and Japan. Vendors purchase it from those companies. Two vendors buy a product from Kliang Rom Sav market. And the other three of vendors purchase product from centralized hubs. Most of the vendors buy the same products for the same price from the same hubs, and they don’t need to pay transportation cost since the hubs will deliver to their stalls.

The cost of products is sent individually. Vendors stock their product in stall and home, and the average cost of storage ranges from $1000 to $2000 (three vendors), and 20000 to
30000$ (two vendors). Each month, all of the vendors restock product for 2 to 4 times and each new stock costs them 1000 to 2000 dollars.

### 4.4 Summary

The market has shed some interesting observations in the way business is conducted in these unregulated local markets of Phnom Penh. Each and every product covered is unique in itself and the study has been insightful in understanding the way supply chain of the products are being managed. The operational dynamics of these markets that cover the entire physical process from obtaining the raw materials that not only includes procurement and distribution of goods but also Inventory management and final sales has been explained for every product line.

The analysis also reflects the role of bargaining in determining the final price of the products and the role of the state in providing necessary infrastructure; water, electricity and parking facilities that have defined the informality in a much more inclusive way. Lastly, the uniqueness of Phnom Penh as a market for case study lies in its gender aspects where most of the street businesses in Phnom Penh is operated by a female. This is in sharp contrast with any markets of the South Asian countries especially India, where we observed that most of the street vending activities are conducted by men²xxv.

Hence, on the basis of the participant-observation and interaction, a broader conceptualization of *informality* is developed by analyzing the physical, social and economic aspects of these markets. The methodology employed, however, has its own set of challenges and limitations which have been explained in the section below.

### 5. Limitation

We have categorized the limitation or the resistance factors surfacing from the study in two groups: **Methodological challenges** and **Logistical challenges**.

#### a) Methodological Challenges
Conducting interviews in the informal sector can be a rigorous task characterized by unresponsiveness, wariness, and reluctance on behalf of the participants. The validity of research inferences and findings in informal, chaotic market spaces brings a broader paradoxical research question: ‘are the research tools measuring what they were meant to measure’? The use of qualitative interviews requires the researcher to be flexible and open to deviations from the respondent. This technique while having its advantages also involves a risk of transforming a fruitful conversation into a dialogue that has connections with the objectives of the research.

Another limitation of the study is the sample size. With a variation in the number of vendors across the markets, an accurate representation of the product market itself is questionable. A sampling error may exist where a sample set may not truly represent the population. Given that the study extensively followed qualitative approach, it is sometimes not as well understood and accepted as quantitative research, and the quality of research is highly dependent on the individual skills of the researchers and the results could be easily influenced by the researcher’s personal biases and idiosyncrasies.

b) Logistical Challenges

A crucial part of the interview involves researcher's disclosing their identity and research objectives at an early stage. While this technique was effective in drastically reducing the resistance and overcoming trust vacuums, it also brought into play a set of challenges, known as the ‘reactive effect’. This refers to the probability that the respondent, upon knowing the identity of the researcher, might shape his/her responses in a manner that allows for a certain level of social desirability. This would then alter the responses and create hurdles in data analysis. Some of the challenges observed by Interviewers includes:

- Not being responsive: Some vendors felt that sharing a personal story and business practice, which would cause a negative impact on them. This restrains them from being open up and addresses the questions. It is only after several visits that they become comfortable with the interviewers.
• Negative thought on the use of the word "state" or "government": People tend to have a fear of expression, especially when something was asked in reference to the role of the state or government of local municipal authority. As a consequence, none of the questions framed to understand the role of the local government in providing infrastructural support to vendors could evoke response (from the respondents).

6. Conclusion
The study has covered a range of products sold in the (un)regulated markets of Cambodia. From fruits and vegetables to clothing, motor machine parts and souvenirs has enabled the study to draw out a clear understanding of the vendor profiling, reasons to work in the informal sector and the nature of business practice carried out in these (un)regulated market spaces.

As we have chosen three (un)regulated markets of Cambodia, namely Doeum Kor market, Orussey market and Psa Toul Tom Poung or the Russian Market, it has enabled us to consider the markets which are tourist attracting as well as the ones only used by the local residents. All the markets consist of vendors selling a wide range of products both - perishable and non-perishable. Given the size of the product basket, 3 products for each of the above-mentioned markets have been considered, for the purpose of the study.

Vendors in these market spaces consist of migrants and people from Phnom Penh also. These vendors are usually as 20 years old and range up to 60 years old. With the profit margin ranging from 100r to a maximum of 500r per day in certain markets, most of this is either paid for tax, rent or the cleaning services. With their sales being very unpredictable at times coupled with bargaining of customers at these (un)regulated market spaces, profit margins usually tend to remain low or negative at times. However, some of the vendors displayed
content in working in the (un)regulated markets were chosen for our study, because it is 'dignified' and 'empowering' instead of working in an organization which is 'overloading'.

The Russian market has a better profit margin compared to the others. It is to be noted that, on an average, most of the vendors in these (un)regulated markets are women. Due to the resistance factor at the time of interviews, it is not known if these vendors, especially women, are subject to exploitation or harassment. But it can be observed that these vendors are working in unhealthy conditions as seen especially in Doeum Ko Market where the bad odor of the perishable goods is consistent. The Orysssey and the Russian market though are closed and regulated by the office of the market, they are still untidy and squeezed.

This study has provided insights into the governing dynamics of identified, semi-regulated market spaces in Phnom Penh. However, the level of resistance researchers faced in order to understand the internal dynamics, supply chain and governing dynamics is a key limitation of our study. Vendors displayed resistance in providing the answers to the researchers. Yet, we have relied on the information collected via interviews during field visits and reporting it here as it is.

Paying closer attention to better understanding the structural roots of formal-informal divide and going beyond the previously categorized regulatory aspect of the difference between them (via legal standards and rule of law), there is almost an urgent need by the state (across developing economies) to accommodate an inclusive view in urban planning.

The mutual interdependence seen in the governing dynamics of economic exchange (for example, in manufacturing-selling commodities and services) and political arrangements requires a tolerant atmosphere in the policy approach to accommodate for hostilities in the orientation of dynamically evolving labor markets and socio-economic arrangements. Since our study could not acquire adequate information regarding this aspect it would be interesting to explore more on vendor-state relationship aspects through a deeper understanding of use of “resource space” i.e. in case of land, access to basic utilities (power,
water)- an exploratory aspect often captured in studies on urban informality and urban economics.

7. Annexure

Annexure 1

Tentative List of Questions\textsuperscript{11}

I. Vendor Profiling

A. Profile and Background

1. Vendor Details (Name, Age, and Gender)
2. Are you from Phnom Penh/ Siem Reap? If no, when and how often do you travel to Phnom Penh/ Siem Reap?
3. What is your background? (say, Education, Work Experience)

B. Motivation To Work in the Market

4. How long have you been involved in this business practice?
5. What did you do before this? Why did you leave the earlier trade?
6. How many family members do you have? How many of them are engaged in your line of business?
7. What factors motivated you to choose this business practice?

C. Nature of Business Practice

8. What is nature of the business practice?
   - Street Business/ Home Business/ Business in traditional Market/ Others;
     Sole Proprietor/ Unpaid Family worker/ Regular Employees/ voluntary Engaged Persons

\textsuperscript{11} These constitute an indicative list of broader questions to be asked during the interviews conducted on the field.
9. What are the most favorable months in the sale of the product? (Testing for seasonality)
10. What is the location of the business? It is centrally located in the market or is at the periphery?
11. What are the days and operational hours of business?
12. Morning operation/ Afternoon Operation/ Night Operation/ 24 hrs operation/others
13. What is your average daily income?
14. Additional details on Average Daily Sales/Expenses/ Profit and Loss
15. How much are the operating costs involved in the business like setting up stalls, electricity, rent etc.?
16. Do you pay any taxes or fee to any Local Development officer?
17. What is the average life of goods (perishable/non-perishable) as per the nature of products sold?
18. Are the prices of the goods fixed or its negotiable?
19. What factors affect the bargaining on the price of the product with the customer?
20. Do you use any alternative modes of payment for transactions or while buying products from the wholesalers? (Credit or debit card/cheque /paytm)

II. Inventory Management
21. Where are the goods originally sourced/procured from?
22. If sourced from outside Phnom Penh/ Siem Reap, where do you collect it from in Phnom Penh/ Siem Reap? Is there a centralized hub for distribution?
23. Do you maintain a storage facility for your goods? How is the retail inventory managed?
24. What are the costs associated with storage of goods?
25. What are the means of transportation used for goods? Cost of transport?
26. Do you determine the prices individually or collectively in a group? How much does competitive pricing matter to you in your market?
27. Do you think that center/state/local government can do anything else to facilitate your trade in any manner? What kind of support do you currently receive from the government?
Annexure 2: Number of Establishment: District

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Street business</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cambodia</td>
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<td>41771</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Phnom Penh</td>
<td>95848</td>
<td>11118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1201 Chamkar Mon</td>
<td>16591</td>
<td>1371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1202 Doun Penh</td>
<td>11139</td>
<td>1744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>8783</td>
<td>1315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1204 Tuol Kouk</td>
<td>12942</td>
<td>1438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1205 Dangkao</td>
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<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1206 Mean Chey</td>
<td>13937</td>
<td>1607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1207 Ruessei Kaev</td>
<td>10956</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1208 Sen Sok</td>
<td>7429</td>
<td>865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1209 Pou Senchey</td>
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<td>1305</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Concentration Rate of Number of Establishments

<table>
<thead>
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<th>District</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
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<td>1201 Chamkar Mon</td>
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<tr>
<td>1202 Doun Penh</td>
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<td>1203 Prampir Meakkakra</td>
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<td>1205 Dangkao</td>
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<tr>
<td>1206 Mean Chey</td>
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<tr>
<td>1208 Sen Sok</td>
<td>7.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>1209 Pou Senchey</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Annexure 3: General Observations from field visit to Orussey Market

- Sellers do not like people asking for price and then deciding not to buy without any bargaining.
- Sellers do not like to be interviewed when they have not sold anything yet especially in the morning.
- There are a lot of vendors walking from stores to stores and shouting out loud in order to ask who wants to buy their products which include only food like snack and drinks. However, vendors like them do not have to pay anything to the market.
- There are also vendors selling various products at every in front edge and along the handrails of every stair. Their case is different from the vendors mentioned above for they have to pay a rental fee to the market in an amount of 30,000khr more or less. However, they do not have to for the “P'sy”, cleansing, nor security price.
- Vendors offering food and drinks can also be found below the car park and at the Northeastern of the 1st floor. There are also some of them under the stairs, on the side of the entrances, and in the middle of the walkway.
- Besides these vendors, there are also a group of men serving the transportation service. These men are paid to transport the products from the outside entrance of the market to a particular shop or from shops to shops.
Annexure 4. Some interesting points and vendors' expressions from Russian Market:
A perspective on Role of State

- Few interviewed vendors said that states should strengthen both public and market security because it really affects their business. The number of Customers keeps declining, and their incomes also decrease accordingly as a result of security concerns.
- Some clothing vendors stated that state should act like parents, who care for own people. States should maintain political stability because politics and economics are linked.
- A motor parts vendors stated that states don't need to provide any support, but try to Unite Cambodian people.

Annexure 5: Some Pictures from Russian and Orussey market

Machine part block with narrow walkway  a vendor selling souvenir

Photos of Orussey Market and Sellers
Main Entrance on Street 182

Ground floor

The stair connecting the ground Floor to the mezzanine

The stair in the middle leading straight to 1st floor

One of the sellers selling hair accessories
Reference

[i] Concept of Informality, *The world Bank Group*, http://lnweb90.worldbank.org/eca/eca.nsf/1f3aa35cab9dea4f85256a77004e4ef4/2e4ed e543787a0c085256a940073f4e4


Ibid.


Ibid.


