

: Case Study in Sar Pauk Village :

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PEINT

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# **Customary Land Tenure:**

Case Study in Sar Pauk Village

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# **Executive Summary**

The study was conducted by POINT (Promotion of Indigenous and Nature Together) in Sar Pauk village, and especially emphasized on the customary land tenure of the village. The objective of the study is to identify and document customary land tenure of the village, including livelihoods, land use, management of land and forest.

In order to conduct this study, the researcher went to the village three times (three days each trip) and spent 9 days in total in the village (in May, September 2015, and January 2016). The methods used in the study are group discussions (elders, women group, and youth), in-depth interviews, informal discussions, field visits and observation. During the last trip, the territories of some rotational farming areas were measured in collaboration with the villagers.

In regard with rotational farming, studied crop changes and method of doing farming and increase of orchard, including opportunities and threats of doing orchards. All the villagers including immigrants have the right to access rotational faming land and communal land. However, in connection with orchards, they have different rights. Introducing orchards in this village led to sale of land among the villagers but not to outsiders. According to customary land tenure system of Sar Pauk village women have no right to own land but use rights.

Another aspect of this study was forest management. The villagers' practice of rotational farming is integrated with good practices contributing sustainability of forest and water resources. Unfortunately, illegal logging is one of the issues facing inside of the territory. The concern of the villagers is external intervention like land confiscation happening in other communities in this area.

The recognition of customary land tenure is important and crucial for food security and better forest management because food security totally depend on security of the land and promoting good practices of customary forest management will contribute to betterment of forest.

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Figure 1: New Village of Sar Pauk

#### 1 Background of the village

Sar Pauk is located in Bone Baw village tract, Minbu District, Nga Pe Township, Magway Division. It was founded in about 400 years ago. The territory of the village is bordering with Wetsa Kyin in the east, Babwe in the west, Bone Baw in the northwest, Min Hla area in the south, and Myay Latt in the north. The landscape of village is hilly and the total area of the village territory is 4269.534 acres.

The people in Sar Pauk village belong to the Chin ethnic group also called "Asho Chin". Asho people also live in plain land areas such as Bago region, Ayarwady region, Magaway region, Rakhine state and Yangon division.<sup>1</sup> There are 52 households in the village and the total population is 270. About 16 households are immigrants who came from neighboring villages. The immigrants are also Asho Chin people.

<sup>1</sup> Chin Asho in Myanmar https://joshuaproject.net/people\_groups/10454/BM (accessed on 12 June, 2015).

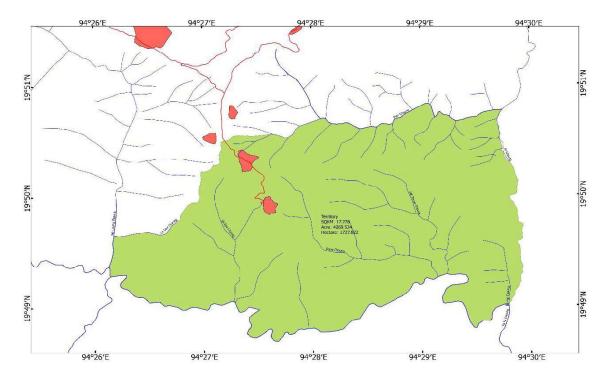
The villagers have their respective kinship groups or clans such as Tone Lone Kone, Kyey Lone Kone, Hle Lone Kone, Ka Lway Kone, Kong Kone. They inherit the land from forefathers and pass the land from generation to generation.

Recently most of the families moved to a new location which is about 603.5 meters from the old village. However, they are still cultivating rotational farming together as they had done before some of the villagers moved to a new location.

There is basic education primary school in Sar Pauk and those who finish primary education go and study further in Gote Gyi village which is about 1 mile away. There are no clinic or health care services in the village.



Figure 2: Old village of Sar Pauk



## Territory of Sa Bauk Village



Figure 3: Mango Tree in Old village

#### Methodology

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The methods used in this study are focus group discussions, in-depth interviews, informal discussions and observations through field visits. During the first trip, a group discussion was conducted with 11 participants, of which 6 out of 11 were male. In the second trip, a focus group discussion and mapping with a youth group were conducted. A focus group discussion with 11 persons (men and youth) was organized during the third trip. The participants in the group discussions were peoples who cultivate rotational farming and orchards. A group discussion with elders was organized separately as well as a separate group discussion youth in which the village map was updated. Seven of the elders participated in group discussions. A focus group discussion with women (eight participants) was organized separately for ensuring the opinions of women related to customary land tenure were documented. The participants in the women's group discussion have been working on rotational farming and orchard since they were young. All the participants know about land management and cultivation of the village comprehensively. The researcher visited rotational farming areas and orchards and studied the land use conditions of the villager. When mapping village territory, the researcher facilitated the villagers to draw maps of their own. Youth, elders and women participated in drawing the map of the village in the first trip and verified and updated it on the second trip.

Before conducting the research, head of the villagers were informed about the research and the time to conduct, and their approval was requested. In conducting the research, the head of the villagers especially participated and organized participants for group discussion. In Sar Pauk village, the pastor (who is leading a church) also actively participated in organizing the villagers for interview.

#### Table of Respondents

	1st Trip ( 23 to 25 May, 2015)	2nd Trip ( 12 to 14 September, 2015)	3rd Trip ( 11 to 13 January, 2016)
Focus Group Discussion with community members	11 persons (6 male 4 female)	11 persons ( 9 male and 2 female)	
Focus Group Discussion (Women Group)		8 persons	
Focus Group discussion (Youth Group)		9 persons	
Focus Group Discussion (Elders Group)		7 persons	
In-depth Interview			2 persons
Total	11 persons	35 persons	2 persons

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#### Livelihoods

As the topography of Sar Pauk village is mountainous and hilly, there is no wetpaddy field and the villagers mainly earn their livelihood by rotational farming and orchard. Another means of livelihoods are animal husbandry, collecting forest products and hunting. These are the sources from which the villagers make a living and meet food security.

## **Rotational farming**

In particular, the villagers depend on rotational farming (slash and burn) traditionally for their livelihoods. Food security of the village depends on such factors as fertility of the crops and the weather conditions as rotational farming is contingent on the rain. The crops they cultivate in rotational farming are paddy, corn, chili, tomato, pumpkin, marrow, roselle, cucumber, aubergine and other crops. However, mostly corn, paddy and chili are grown in rotational farming. Paddy is the critical crops for subsistence and corn and chili are sold for income generation. Rotational farming used to be only for their subsistence years ago but now the products from rotational farming are also sold to the market.

Contrary to other neighboring villages, all the villagers still doing rotational farming along with orchards. Access to the market is leading to a growing production of cash crops in rotational farming as vegetables can be sold instead of just growing for domestic consumption. Rotational forming also becomes the major source of income in this village by selling cash crops and vegetables to the market. During the last decade, cash crop plantations are increasing in rotational farming. Chili and corn can be sold with good prices.

Name of Crop	Quantity or Amount	Price
Corn	Average 30 -40 basket	8000 kyats per basket
Chili	500 to 700 viss in an acre	4000-4500 kyats per viss
Castor Oil	Average 100 viss	700 kyats per viss

As regards rotational farming, crop change has taken place in order to earn more income and cash crops are grown along with paddy. Rotational farming play not only the role of subsistence but also income generation.



Figure 4: paddy field and soya bean



Figure 5: Paddy Field



Figure 6: Multiple crops in Rotational Farming (Sticky corn, Corn, Castor oil plant, Chili)

## Orchard

Customarily, the villagers did not do orchards. To do orchards were started from about 1980 onwards. Even though rotational farming is the main way they make their living, orchards became an alternative way to earn their livelihood and to make extra money, especially after the construction of the Minbu-Ann highway in 1993. Having technical support from Dr. Than Tun's slope farming project also drove doing orchards. Therefore, some of rotational farming areas were converted to orchards. The villagers have the right to convert rotational farming plots to orchards. Immigrants were allowed to buy plots for orchard from the owner of the land to ensure food security. The land price for one acre of land for orchards is between 1 and 2 lakhs.

Nowadays, almost all of the villagers are doing orchards and about 15 households are able to sell crops from orchard. About 37 households are doing kitchen garden for domestic consumption. Cash crops planted in orchard land are banana, coffee, lime, orange, lemon, and guava. Currently, lemon plants are died and the villagers come to plant coffee more instead of lemon. They also grow grapefruit, jackfruit, mango and cassava.

Name	Quantity or amount	Price/Kyats
Banana	A comb of Banana	200
Coffee	1 viss (after peeling covering)	12000
Lime	1 (fruit)	5
Lemon	1 (fruit)	35
Orange	1 (fruit)	100
Castor Oil	Average 100 viss	700 kyats per viss

The orchard land of the people of Sar Pauk is less than that of their neighboring villages. In neighboring villagers, rotational farming is decreasing and orchard or planting cash crops is increasing over the last years. The main crops grown to earn income in orchard are banana, lime, coffee and lemon. Each crops occupied the land such as banana 90 acres, Lime 18 acres, coffee 19.5 acres and others 22.5 acres of land. In some plantations, they practiced multiple crop system in which many crops were planted together such as banana and coffee or lemon and coffee.

## Livestock

Livestock raising is common in the village but indeed, it is not for generating income. The raised animals such as pigs and chicken but raising livestock is especially for domestic use and for social events. However, sometimes some of the families sell livestock mainly pigs for income generation.

# **Collection of Non-timber Forest Products**

The forest is an important source contributing crucial needs of the villagers. Different kinds of resources can be collected form the forest such as timber and bamboo for the buildings and non-timber forest products. Timber and bamboo are the most important resources. The villagers also collect firewood from the forest but they collect dry wood, and do not cut living trees.

Regarding the NTFP, the villagers collected bamboo shoots, honey, orchids, yam, mushrooms, medical plants and other vegetables. Finding and selling orchids used to take place but they no longer find and sell due to decreasing of orchids. Collection of orchids is followed by collection of yam for income generation since last 10 years. Now, some families are growing yam. Honey is also one of the main NTFP by which some of the households make income.

# **4** Land use of the village

The land use of the village can be divided into three types such as agriculture land, forest and settlement area. In connection with agriculture, there are rotational farming land and orchard land. In terms of forest, we can see, reserved forest, communal forest and cemetery.

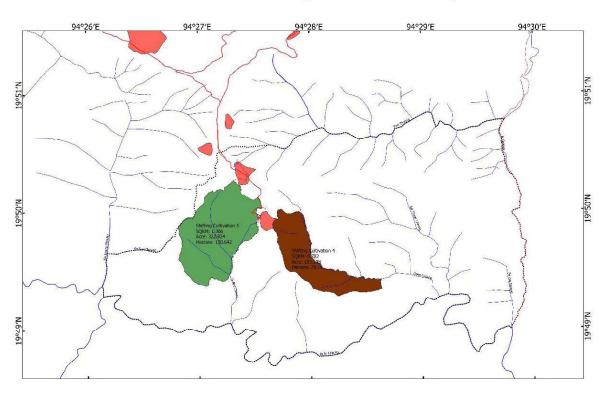
# **Rotational farming**

Parcels of plots were given local landscape names such as Yu Awe, She sho shet, Yashingone, Konshaul, Yakangai, tunghle, and shorm blung. Each of the parcels of plots are the names of rotational farming areas. Three of rotational farming areas were measured with GPS. Shifting cultivation 5 in the map occupied 322 acres and shifting cultivation 4 occupied 193 acres. However, there are forests among the certain plots and throughout the streams which areas were included in measuring

of rotational farming area and these areas probably occupied about 100 to 150 acres. Therefore, the area of cultivated land for a year is around 190 acres.

Rotational farming is traditional livelihood system in which the villagers used most of the land. Rotational farming land occupied about 1400 acres for 7 years rotation. Estimated acres of land use for crops in 2015, are 100 acres for corn, paddy 75 acres, chili 10 acres and other 5 acres. Clearing of secondary vegetation usually is carried out between December and February. After clearing of vegetation, they lay for one and half month for drying up vegetation, and usually burned in May. The village are working collectively in making fire break to keep fire in. After burning, the villagers clean wood and leaves that are not burned. Then, the villagers start growing different kinds of seeds and start weeding in June. Weeding is about three times a year.

Rotational farming is providing different vegetables starting to at the end of June such as rosella, pumpkin leaf and other leafy vegetables. Harvesting of corn starts in July followed by cucumber, pumpkin and other vegetables. Vegetables can be harvested from June to December.



#### Rotational Farming of Sa Bauk Village

In rotational farming, the villagers are practicing exchange of labor especially in weeding, harvesting of corn and paddy. Recently, growing of paddy is decreasing compare to last decades and corn is increasing because the villagers began to grow corn for selling for

# Orchard

Orchard is the increasing agriculture in last two decades. However, doing orchard is not increasing much in compare to neighboring villages. 150 acres of the land is under orchard in 2015. Orchard is not traditional livelihood system of the villagers but increasing land use change since last two decades. However, Rotational farming is still playing the main role in the villager's livelihoods. At present, it plays not only a role of subsistence but also income generation through growing cash crops. Change in rotational faming is the increasing the amount of cash crops in contrast with last decades. But according to the respondents, the villagers are reluctant to do more orchards because of dying of plants such as lime, lemon and other cash crops from orchard. On the other hand, they are able to earn income from rotational farming. Therefore, the villagers will still carry on rotational farming and it will remain an important part of their livelihood.

In pursuit of orchards, some of the villages have no land near transportation routes. If the land is far from roads it is difficult to do orchard. Therefore, Orchards can be seen chiefly near the road where products can be transported by motorcycle easily. The reason for not having orchards is also lack of suitable land for orchard doers, especially immigrants. On the other hand, doing orchard takes time.

# **Reserved Forest**

About half of the village boundary is inside of Man reserved forest established by the government; however, the villagers are still utilizing that area also because they have been depending on this for their livelihood and other use before establishing reserved forest.

The villagers have orchard in reserved forest area and concern about the intervention of the government and reluctant to do orchard in this area. Doing rotational farming is inevitable for the villagers because of occupying half of the territory of village utilized for rotational farming in the past.



Figure 7: Banana Plantation

# Watershed Area

Villagers preserved forest where water comes from for the village. In estimate, watershed area preserved by the community is about 20 acres. Cutting trees in watershed area is prohibited but collecting firewood is allowed. The villagers only collect dried wood. Cutting trees for firewood is not taking place in the village.

## **Communal Forest**

There are two types of communal land in this village. The first one is all of the land apart from agriculture land is considered as communal land, including forest along the streams, forest along mountain ridges and forest between agriculture lands. All the villagers have the right to access communal forest. When the villagers do rotational farming, the farmers maintain forest along the mountain ridges and streams as buffer zone to protect forest, to protect people from sun light, and to protect the streams. Buffer areas are also considered as communal forest. However, in the year of cultivation, cutting tree in buffer zone need permission of cultivator of certain plot which is connected with buffer area where a person would like to cut tree. The second type of communal land is the land given to Mel Lwin Kone by her father. When Mel Lwin Kone was passed away and her son's moved to other village. Therefore, the villagers who left in the village decided to utilize as communal land. There are forest and cultivation area in communal land. This land is chiefly forest and forest land occupied about 1250 acres out of 1500 acres and the land utilized for rotational farming in communal land is about 250 acres. Half of communal land is inside of Man Reserved Forest. Apart from rotational farming area, the rest of the land is Sal Tree dominant forest. Communal land was shared among the villagers for cultivation from village meeting but not allowed to grow long term plants. All the villagers have the right to access the land for cultivation. In the past, doing orchard is not allowed in communal land but now immigrants were allowed to do orchard. Communal land is far from the village and lack of access to cycle road. Therefore, those who did orchard came to stop doing orchard in communal land.

All the villagers have the right to access communal land and natural resources such as Sal Tree for building, orchids, resin obtained from Sal tree, honey, wild animals, bamboo, bamboo shoot, mushroom, Yam, soap acacia and other medical plants from communal land. There is illegal logging (of trees and bamboo) from other villages. Some of the people from other villages used to come and ask to log trees for residents and schools for the village. At that time the villagers decided during village meetings and got some donation from the outsiders in return. The donation was put in village fund and the village fund was used for making roads, building schools and other village activities.

#### **Settlement Area**

Settlement area of Sar Pauk village is about 30 acres, including forest around the settlement and home gardening areas. In settlement area, they also grow cash crops such as lime, lemon, banana, jackfruits, orange, mango, chayote and coffee. Chayote is prominent fruit to earn income from home garden.



Figure 8: Coffee plantation in Home garden

#### Cemetery

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Cemetery area is forest which has been conserved for years without cutting trees. Cemetery area occupied about 2 acres of the land.

#### **Customary Land Tenure and Management**

The villager have their own system of customary land tenure. According to their customary rules, they manage their land and forest. On the other hand, customary land tenure is the uniqueness of the villagers in connection with land and forest.

#### Ownership of the land

There are five clans in Sar Pauk village but two of them had no descendants, therefore, the present villagers are the descendants of three brothers. They are Kya Lone Kone, Hle Lone Kone and Tone Lone Kone. At present, there are 11 households in Kya Lone Kone clan, 16 households in Hle Lone Kone clan and 9 households in Tone Lone Kone clan. The villagers inherited the land and passing to generation to generation. The three clans are the owners of the land.

U Ya said that, "our forefathers began to slash primary forest since last 400 years and pass on the land to their relatives. Those who first settle, slash and burn certain areas become the owners of certain plot according to the Dama Ucha principle. The three brothers slashed the forest for rotational farming together, therefore, the clans own the land equally. Because of sharing plots of land, most of rotational farming plots became household claimed land. Some of the plots still own by the clan collectively. Forefathers shared the land to their descendants equally. However, there are some households who have more land than that of others among those three clans. The reason for having more land is that those who moved away to other villages gave their land to their brother who will stay in the village. This is the reason why some of the households in the village have more land than others. However, there is no big gap between rich and poor families related to land ownership. All of the households from three clans own the land. However, the immigrants have no the right to own the land but the land is shared with them for rotational farming."

The fallow period of the rotational farming is 7 years. The boundaries of plots are demarcated by streams, ranges, trees, blocks and vales. The villagers know the boundaries of each plot because of cultivating the fields in every seven years. However, there is no documents about rotational farming areas but some of the villagers applied form 7 for orchard land.

## Asses to Land by Immigrants

Those who have less land ownership in Sar Pauk village are immigrants (16 households) who settled in the village later. The immigrants have also the right to access the land for rotational farming without any charge for the land and the right to buy land for orchards.

Ko Yo Maung, whose grandfather immigrated about 100 years ago, explained that "we immigrants to this village have no right to own the land but the right to access the land for rotation farming and the right to buy the land for orchard. In rotational farming, we shared the plots equally. Regarding orchard, the land owners also have to buy the land suitable for orchard from other clans if they have no suitable land for orchard near the road."

Sharing of plots for rotational farming is conducted by organizing village meeting in which they share the plots but not by lottery. Sharing of plots depend on the size of plot, and size of household. For instance, a big size of plot has to be given to a big family and a small one have to be given to small family. Every household has the right to access rotational farming plots.

The immigrants have no right to land for orchard or to plant long term plants without buying land and clearing of virgin land is not allowed. The villagers share the plots to the immigrants who come to settle in the village. In particular, those who came and settled in the villagers are Asho Chin people and most of the people are relatives. The immigrants can buy the land but not outsiders. There is no selling of the land to other villagers. Currently, the people are likely to practice orchard, therefore, the suitable fields for planting long term plants were bought and sold among the relatives.

# The right to sell and share

Among the clans, each clan has its own private lands, however, a family in the clan has no right to sell or rent to others or immigrants without asking his clans. In rotational farming, the clans shared their lands among themselves in rough first and then the rest of lands will be shared to other clans or those who have no land for cultivation by a family who own the land. Meeting to share rational farming plots is organized every year. In the meeting, access to land by all the villagers is made sure. Even the immigrants also have the right to propose which land they would like to get for the year.

In selling of the land, the priority is families in his own clans, the second is other clans, and the third is immigrants. Even though, the lands are owned individually, in selling and sharing of the land to other clans and immigrants, informing to their relatives in the clan is necessary. After consulting and informing to the clans, a family can share and sell the land.

The present orchard lands are transformed from rotational farming lands and there is no land transform from communal land to orchard. According to the respondents, communal land is more secure than private claimed plots in transforming to orchard. Private claimed lands are more likely to sell to others but not communal land. Private claimed lands are only discussed among the clans and if certain clans agree to sell, the owner can sell it. But according to village regulations communal land cannot be sold without the approval of all the villagers and only for the benefit of all. If some of the villagers do not agree, it cannot be sold. Therefore the customary rule of not selling the land to outsiders ensures the stability of land available for cultivation in the village and can avoid land loss to outsiders.

# **Inheritance Rights**

According to the custom of the villagers, women have no right to own the land but use right. For instance, even females are given the right to use the land by her father and brothers, after her death (women) the land was given back to his or her brothers and there is no right to hand over to her sons or daughters. In a family, men have the right to own the land and women have the right to use. Women have no right to land tenure in this community. Women were given other treasures of the family as inheritance like traditional dresses, silver and gold etc. Recently, some families gave land for orchard to their daughters.

# **Customary Rules and Forest Management**

The villagers have been practiced their own customary rules that have been guided their relation to land and forest. In terms of rotational farming such as organizing village meeting for sharing of plots, making fire break collectively. Selling of the land among the villagers is also consulted and informed to members of the clan even private own land is going to be sold and selling of the land to outsiders is prohibited.

In pursuit of forest, the villagers have to follow maintaining of forest along the mountain ridges even among farming plots, leaving of forest around the streams, and preserving of forest in watershed areas without cutting. These practices are ecological sound practices and good forest management.

Huge area of forest along the streams is maintained in both side and watershed areas are protected and logging trees in watershed areas are prohibited. However, at present, some of the families, extended to the road and the forest is reduced along the ridges in some areas.

Challenges concerning forest is illegal logging in this area from outside. The villagers are not able to protect their forest by themselves. Some of the villagers are interested in Community Forestry<sup>2</sup> in which they would like to plant teak trees for the purpose of protecting illegal logging. They hope that receiving community forestry certificate would be enforcement in dealing with illegal loggers. In spite of that some people from neighboring villages come to village and ask to extract timber for housing. When the people from other village asked to log tree for construction from Sar Pauk territory, village meeting decided permission and get donation. Donation is used in village activities.

#### **Conflict resolution mechanism**

In Sar Pauk village, there is village administration committee and the leader of the village. Leader of the village and village administration committee are elected by the villagers in village meeting. However, connecting with conflicts in the village, the role of elders from each clan is important. Mostly, conflicts in relation to land disputes and social issues are tackled by leaders of the village and elders of the clan together.

#### 6

#### Challenges

In this village, there are issues and challenges they are facing. The first challenges is illegal logging from outsiders (even the villagers do not cut trees for commercial purposes) because of lack of law enforcement to prevent illegal logging. On the other hand, the outsiders do not recognize the customary land tenure of the community.

The second challenge is the dying of some perennial plants, especially lemon after harvesting four or five years. According to the respondents, they want to do productive orchard but technical help is necessary and how to protect dying of the plants because the plants died after harvesting three or four years especially cassava. On the other, they want to carry on rotational farming because it is still the main source of livelihood.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Community Forestry: Community Forestry means all kind of forestry operations for sustainable forest management in which local people are involved. The term covers afforestation and reforestation activities from small scale to commercial scale to create job opportunities and income; to produce fodder; to stabilize ecosystem and to enhance environmental conditions. Community forestry is initiated by the government to give local communities the right to manage and use legally by providing community forestry certificate. The terms allowed for CF is initially defined for (30) years and extendable.

The third challenge is that nearly half of the land is occupied by protected areas where they cultivate rotational farming areas and orchards. The villages' concern is eliminating their cultivation areas from reserved forest. The villagers are reluctant to do orchard and agroforestry in the land which is in reserved area because most of suitable land for orchard is in reserved area. Because the villagers worry about that after raising plantation, they will be banned from doing.

# 7 Conclusion

The people in Sar Pauk village earn their livelihood from rotational farming and orchard. Currently, there are some changes such as the introduction of cash crops which are also grown along with paddy to earn some cash income. During the last decade, the villagers also initiated more orchards. However, rotational farming is still the main way they earn their living. The villagers are still practicing customary rules with regard to land and forest, including management system.

In rotational farming, the plots are still shared among the villagers, including immigrants and everyone has the right to access land. However, for orchards, immigrants have to buy the land from the three clans who own all rotational farming plots privately. Those who have least chance to orchard are those who have no private land near the road and those who have no money to buy land near the road. The increase of orchards is leading to the land to be sold on the market among the villagers and is threatening customary land sharing practices. Regarding land, women still have no the right own the land but use rights. Customary land management is emphasizing the welfare of all the villagers and this system itself is ecologically sound. However, it is threatened by illegal logging and the villagers need the protection of the law to be able to conserve their forest.

Regarding environmental conservation and protection, the villagers want the recognition of customary land rights by the government because outsiders neglected the customary rights due to the government's lack of recognition. They also would like to certify all of the land as community title. Because of including about half of the village territory in reserved forest, land grabbing and loss of land and plants from development plans in surrounding villages, the villagers worry about not having the recognition of the government to customary land tenure.

#### Recommendations

- Recognition of customary land tenure is crucial to social, culture, livelihood and environmental sustainability
- Promoting customary forest management practices will enhance environmental sustainability
- The right to land of Women should be taken into account in customary land Tenure recognition

## Annex

#### Questionnaires

- 1. Name of village, tract, district/ township, State/Region
- 2. Ethnic group
- 3. Number of clans/kinship groups
- 4. No of households/families
- 5. Number of years the village has been located on the site
- 6. Name of neighboring villages. Define the land area that the village controls within is territory by naming boundaries to other villages. List neighboring villages and the boundaries
- 7. Who was responsible for the delineation of the boundary of the village territory? When?

## Definition of types of land use areas inside the village territory (Draw Maps on Flip Charts with Villagers)

- 8. Which types of lands are found in the village:( upland shifting cultivation, irrigated paddy fields, terraced paddy fields, rain-fed paddy fields, types of forest by official name and by village local name, grazing land, orchard garden land (what fruits), cash crop plantations (rubber, oil palm)? Vegetable crops or flowers for sale?
- 9. How does the village classify the land in its territory? Local landscape names.
- 10. Kinds of crops produced for subsistence? Food security from subsistence crops
- 11. Kinds of crops produced for the market? Income?
- 12. What is the relative size of each type of the lands mentioned in point 10?
- 13. How much of the upland shifting cultivation is under cultivation a given year and how much land is fallow? Fallow for how long? How do villagers know / demarcate where the boundaries of shifting cultivation fields are?

- 14. Has there been any land use planning and mapping of village lands ever?
- 15. Have any outsiders settled in the village within the last 20 years? How do they acquire land (given, borrow, buy from whom?).
- 16. Have any business companies or govt approached the village to get land since 2011?
- 17. Did the village loose land to the army or business before 2011? How much?What kind of land? Present status?