

Forestland as Contested Space: The Impact of Agricultural Land Concession on Local Household Livelihoods in *Khla Krapeu* Village, Cambodia

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1. Introduction

Land is one of fundamental value resources for farmer in any society. Access to land for farmer is not only represented as the main resource of their livelihoods; but it is also represented as their social organization and an integral part of their spiritual life. Over the past 20 years, AFR (2007) revealed the region's reviewed of South East Asia stretching from Laos across to Indonesia has experienced major changes in large areas of land and forest which have been converted to timber plantations and estate crops. However, during the same period they are both for better and for worse, for example, the forest peoples who inhabit those areas have been through tumultuous changed; each country has led to confusion and conflict over land and forest tenure, as several cases here, in Laos all forestlands belong to the national community represented by the state. The government imposed plantation concessions handed out to army and foreign concessionaires have caused land conflict and out breaks of violence. In Malaysia lands and forests are treated as state matters. For community rights and access to forests are limited, customary rights in land are not recognized by the government. Forest policies have favored industrial-scale logging and the establishment of timber plantations on forest. These have triggered long term disputes and, especially for Sarawak's forest people.

In Vietnam, it is possible that the emergence of differential access to land in particular provinces, districts and communes may be debt-driven, as the credit market interlocks with the land market to facilitate alterations in the pattern of access of farm households to the means of production. Akram-Lodhi (2005) argued that access to land in Vietnam in 1990s could be seen; first, there was clearly a lack of consistency between nationally representative data and the evidence that had accumulated; second, tenancy relations, including

sharecropping, had returned to rural Vietnam during the 1990s, as the land market had become increasingly active; third, landlessness in rural Vietnam was increasing dramatically; and fourth, fragmentation of land holdings had increased significantly since decollectivization despite the emergence of the land market.

This paper reviews Cambodia after the political turmoil and a combatting field in the last few decades, land development has always been seen as a problematic. In addition, there has been no major survey conducted in recent years which has surveyed and mapped all land, for example, land covered by forests or under agricultural use is not always clearly demarcated. In rural areas, private ownership of land and boundary demarcations is, to an extent, still recognized according to consensus within the community. For an agrarian society in such Cambodia, land is not only the main means of livelihood but it also is the principle way of accumulating wealth and transferring that wealth between generations. Rights to land affect production and social status, Deininger and Feder (1999) have seen that, *Land is therefore central to cultural identity*.

More recently, access to land and forest for rural Cambodia is a prominent issue in debate and widely discussed amongst local, international NGOs, and government departments. With an intensifying pressure of needs, Cambodia's forestlands have changed and become an exclusive rights and restricted access. The rapid growth of population and industrial commercialization are currently pressuring on land and forest, in which as today the frontier in forestland expansion has been reached and a serious declined. It is often assumed that local processes of change are merely micro-level manifestations of national and international processes. This perspective, although it may allow satisfactorily neat generalizations to be made, is an oversimplification of reality. By looking at the case of Cambodia, it becomes clear that it is not enough simply to have a grasp of political forestland destruction must also be understood.

Due to current land policy has been market-reoriented, Cambodian Government considers while encouraging a market-oriented economy, land should be used in the most productive manner. It means that the policy aims to extend access to market processes and to the opportunities they offer to all sections of the population. The Government intends to encourage an open up land market in the hope that will permit land owners to move land towards its most desirable uses in accordance with the preferences of parties to the transaction. The Government seeks to promote the efficient and equitable operation of private land markets. Land markets should permit land to be allocated for preferred economic uses and provide access to land for those who seek to acquire it (CLP, 2002).

I argue that it is impossible that private land market mechanism will improve land into the productive manner for Cambodia society. I optimize that, it is achievable if a country where is well developed in structural land system. By looking in case of Cambodia in practice the new mechanism is not well achieved. As today, the mechanism may result to social and rural economic problems particularly the conflict over right ownership of land; because private land ownership was abolished during the Khmer Rouge regime. However, since the failure of Khmer Rouge, land boundaries in rural areas are recognized in according to consensus within community and most of them lack of legal land titles to protect their rights.

This could be seen that since land market-reoriented, various kinds of problems are occurred. These problem can be affected from three major different aspects: first, the mechanism of recreation of land ownership rights by giving titles to the land; second, the emergence of land market-driven in term of free market economic development; and third, the increasing of agricultural land concessions policy. This paper does not analyzed all of these component aspects, but it draws attention on a study of how agricultural land concession policy is impacting on local household livelihoods particularly in *Khla Krapeu* Village since the policy makers have paid little attention on how important implications for the manner in which farmers own and use the forestland resource.

To analyze this case study, I will make use the concept of space and elaborate on how space can be seen as a complexity of rights in access to resources. Moreover, the paper will investigate how space has been contesting in *Khla Krapeu* village since right and access have been restricted and excluded by national policy. This paper argues that the operational policy of agricultural land concession in *Khla Krapeu* village is not only reducing of local traditional practices to their endowment resources but it may allow meeting various kinds of social and rural economic problems. The paper assesses the implication of this trend for the way policy makers are likely to view the concession process and its amenability to future policy influence. The aim of this study was to analyze the impacts of agricultural land concession policy on local household livelihoods, and at the same time was to have villagers express their thoughts. The paper concludes by reflecting on implication of agricultural policy design and recent research finding in *Khla Krapeu* village. The paper will first analyze on space as complexity of rights in access to resource; second, Evolving from wealthy forestland approaches to depleted forestland; third, changing resource use and local household livelihoods in *Khla Krapeu* village.

2. Conceptual Analysis: Space as Complexity of Rights in Access to Resource

The space in which we live inside, which we draw ourselves, our experiences and our history occurred, a set of heterogeneous space and all are embedded in complexity of rights.

Space is one of complex concepts that has been approached from different angles and at different levels—philosophical, scientific, and social—and it is obvious from dictionary definitions that the word “space” has a whole range of meanings related to these different approaches. Space is not a single meaning; it is a multiple and contested meanings; space can be seen as an abstract space with hidden meaning (e.g., memory, time); and another physical space which we can see and touch it (e.g., building, sea etc.); it has changed the meaning depends on who give the meaning or who is constructed for what purposes. Space is therefore social constructed in both formal and informal institutions. This section emerged as an analysis of concept of space with contested meanings. I begin this part with an outline of anthropologists’ approach to concept of space, and then to extend in discussion beyond the term of rights and access, which are frequently used by property and natural resource analysts. This paper argues that the term of right and access within the notion of property study are acceptable to replace into space analysis in my case study.

Theorizing analysis by Low and Zuniga (2003), who have considered space with “contested spaces” they defined “contested spaces” as geographic locations where conflicts in the form of opposition, confrontation, subversion, and defined by differential control of resources and access to power. This term they mean space is closely connected to the physical area which is concrete and measurable. This account seems different from the analysis by Kuper’s (1972); space must be varied not to equate space as a feature of the physical (tangible) world, with social space. Space is involved to language and politics. In each event revealed a wide range of social facts (common things and concepts) expressed in the language of sites. Ultimately the classification was a replication of the complex social classification embodied both in an enduring system and in historical change. The system of classification was not itself spatial but expressed in the language of space. Therefore, the politics of space emerged in manipulating the language of sites—pieces of social space.

Space has at least three meanings (Dear, 1997; Lefebvre, 1991; Chayan, 2000). The first one is geographical/physical-nature space, which means a ‘setting or locale’, which can be demarcated by a Global Position System. Space is the arena for day-to-day life and where interrelations of people take place and it has ecological characteristics, such as mountains, valleys, and cultivation systems. The second meaning of space which includes logical and formal abstractions comes from the meaning given by local people, who link place, idea,

social practice and settlement; local community's space is expressed as identity (Scott, 1998). The practices and interrelations of experience of the local people's 'place' become their memory, their life and the place for what Foucault has called the 'power space' or 'political space'. Similarly, Chayan's analysis "space" is shaped by experience, the historical memory, consciousness of relationship to place, land and territory in the environment and ways of life in everyday practice (Chayan, 2000: 13). People create meaning through tales and stories, which also serve to mentally stipulate the boundary of their space (Feld and Basso, 1996; Kahn, 2000; Basso, 1996 in Chayan, 2000: 14).

Third meaning is the "Third Space" of Foucault and Lefebvre. The meaning is developed from three categories of space, which comprise first, physical space, second, mental space, and third, social space. "Third space" comes from the interaction between the first and the second. The mental space comes from interpreting the meaning of the physical space that we can see and touch. It leads us to the complexity of social space that includes both reality and the imaginary (Kahn, 2000). Space, knowledge, and power can't be separated from each other and make up the essentials of the political space of politics. This is a concept of space as means and goals at the same time, as mediator of context of resistance and also as "habitat of social practice" in which idea, events, phenomenon and meaning of space are dynamic or changing (Soja, 1996 in Kahn, 2000: 1-2). Golledge and Stimson (1997) analyze that places are particular social spaces, and are infused with social use and meaning. They are spaces that have been organized according to the demands of myriad social patterns.

Despite the very real differences in the approaches ranging from different levels, method, and interpretations, but there is a fundamental shared intellectual orientation stemming of society and social relationship. Some have been concerned specifically with symbols and values evident in spatial arrangements, others with the manipulation of social relationships in territorially defined areas over a period of time, and others with ideologies. All of these we call structuralist of social relationship of space. Therefore, space can be both tangible and intangible world with various meanings depending on the contexts, for my case study, space is not a physical/geographic location or of other theorists' interpretation; beyond these, space should be conceptualized as rights with multiple of rights and these rights are shaped by a complex social experiences to benefit from things; rights are not relationships between me and an object, but are rather relationships between me and others with respect to that object (Bromley, 1999). For example, as local people in Khla Krapeu village are contesting to forestland resource which has affected by RATANA VISAL Company; contesting in this case is not means an object or physical location, beyond these is about to gain the power of rights in access to their livelihoods and control of natural resources. Rights

could be derived from their cultural everyday practices or experiences with an object, but in regarding to the multiple ways of rules in use, are not rules in national law. I have borrowed the term of right and access from Bromley and other natural resource analysts which are always used in property studies to replace into analysis the term of space which is meant that contesting space is not the contesting about territory in place; but I will call contesting the space of rights instead in order to gain access to resource control. Obviously, in order to understand more on the concept of space in my case study, one way we should pay attention on an extending to include the concept of property analysis, the notion of right and access.

For many dimensions of right and access that we discuss have been explored or include somewhere within the broad definitions used in property studies. Property by Bromley (1991) is not an object such as land, but rather is a right to a benefit stream that is only as secure as the duty of all others to respect the conditions that protect that stream, to mean that when one has a right one has the expectation both in the law and in practice that one's claims will be respected by those with duty. And it is the essential function of the state to stand ready refrains those with duty; if the state is unwilling or unable, to ensure that compliance to duty, then rights are meaningless. A right is being capacity to call upon the collective to stand behind one's claim to a benefit stream. If I have a right in some particular situation then it means I can turn to the state to see that my claim is protected. Rights are not relationships between me and an object, but are rather relationships between me and others with respect to that object. Rights can only exist when there is a social mechanism that gives duties and binds individuals to those duties.

Right then comprises a “bundle of rights” Hollowell (2003), not a single right, nor an absolute right. These rights may be of different kinds. It is necessary to determine, whether only the right of using is implied or also the right of using up. Is there the right to destroy things or without destroying them, or of things destroyed in the using? Is the right of alienation? Or is the right of bequest? All of these rights and others that make up a “bundle” of property rights may be found as more or less independent variables in different cultural contexts and appear in different combinations and move from one society to another. Even theorists did not mention property to matter of law (Macpherson, 1978; Neale, 1998: 54) saw property as the moral claim to rights arising from the mixing of labor with land. This right was then codified in law to be protected by the state.

The notion of access's theory, which we can see here as bundles and webs of powers that enable actors to gain, control, and maintain resource access. More recently, Ribot and Peluso (2003) have also expanded beyond the “bundle of rights” the notion of property which they borrowed from Ghani (1995: 2) to a “bundle of powers” within the social and political-

economic contexts that shape people's abilities to benefit from resources. They differentiated between property and access, and defined access as the ability to benefit from things—including material objects, persons, institutions, and symbols. Property as the rights to benefit from things; and these rights are generally evoked some kind of socially acknowledged and supported claims or tights—whether that acknowledgement is by law, custom, or convention. Anyway, access may also be enabled indirectly and not socially sanctioned in any domain of law, custom, or convention.

Ability has defined by access is akin to power, which we define in two senses—first as the capacity of some actors to affect the practices and ideas of others (Weber 1978:53; Lukes 1986:3) and second, then power as emergent from, though not always attached to, people. Power is inherent in certain kinds of relationships and can emerge from flow through the intended and unintended consequences can cause people to act in certain ways without any apparent coercion (Foucault, 1978, 1979). Bundles of powers in fact represent a whole new concept that can be incorporated into our notion of access (Ghani, 1995). These bundles of powers become nodes in larger webs and, at the same time, can be disaggregated into their constituent strands. Placing this analysis within a political economic framework helps us identify the circumstances by which some people are able to benefit from particular resources while others are not (Bell 1998:29).

Access's analysis helps us understand why some people or institutions benefit from resource, whether or not they have rights to them. This is a primary difference between analyses of access and property. It can be used to analyze a specific resource conflicts to understand how those conflicts can become the very means by which different actors gain or lose the benefits from tangible and intangible resources. It can also be focused on the policy environments that enable and disable difference actors to gain, maintain, or control resource access or the micro-dynamics of who benefits from resources and how.

The study of property is concerned with understanding claims, particularly the claims that Macpherson (1978) defines as rights, then the study of access is concerned with understanding the multiplicity of ways people derive benefits from resources, including, but not limited to, property relations. In short, through earlier analysis, the authors warn us to pay attention more on access term as ability, rather than *rights* as in property theory, because it brings attention to a wider range of social relationships that can constrain or enable people to benefit from resources without focusing on property relations alone. Property analysis is acceptable to understand the notion of right and access; rights and access can't be separated each other they are interacted and interconnected; to have access is to have enable right; to have right is to have ability of access. This notion is an important tool for operationalizing

into a phenomenon of resources conflict, particularly forestland conflict between land concessionaires with local community in *Khla Krapeu* village whether or not local people have right and ability to access resource. However, understanding the meaning of property will help us to understand the space of rights in access to resources management in its more complex meaning.

3. Conceptual Framework

Under the interaction of global economy into the region, Cambodia is one among the regional countries has survived to benefit from global economic influence; however, this can also be seen little benefit for rural people. The pressure of global economy has leading Cambodia society forwards to social conflict and the depletion of natural resource. As currently, there are many cases of conflicting right in access to forestland resource. The conflict can be seen among local people themselves on the one hand and between local people and policy makers on the other hand. For example, in case of forestland conflict in *Khla Krapeu* village, the diagram shows that, the state might be viewed rights in access to resources is socially sanctioned, and therefore to mean that power relations can affect rights-based mechanism of access and limit in regulation and law; forestland resources is defined by the state policy in land law, and it is for state private property.

Anyway, in the fact that local people's view right in this case is not socially sanctioned by national law, it affects rights-based negotiating power relations, which is embedded in social institutional arrangements both formal and informal. Access is the bundle of power relations which is a person's ability in access to resource for livelihood. Rights to resources access might be different kinds and at multiple levels; right then a mixing or bundle of rights which is embedded in social relations. Rights can be defined both in national law and in customary law; forestland is not belong to anyone, because in theoretically no one can create private property on forestland; in reality forestland belong to who use it in everyday livelihoods. A livelihood can be most simply defined as the means for making a living. A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living (Chambers and Conway, 1992).

Chambers and Conway have divided and categorized livelihood assets into the tangible and intangible assets. Tangible assets include stores (food stocks, valued items, and cash savings) and resources (natural resources, livestock, farm equipment, tools). These comprise financial and natural capital. Intangible assets include claims and access, which are equivalent to human and social capitals. Claim tend to be based on a combination of rights, precedent, social convention, relation, power and moral obligation and can be potentially

made on other individuals, agencies, relatives, communities, NGOs or chiefs. Access is another paramount livelihood asset and includes access to resources, services, information, technology, material, employment, food, income, education, health, transportation, markets, and common property resources (*Ibid*).

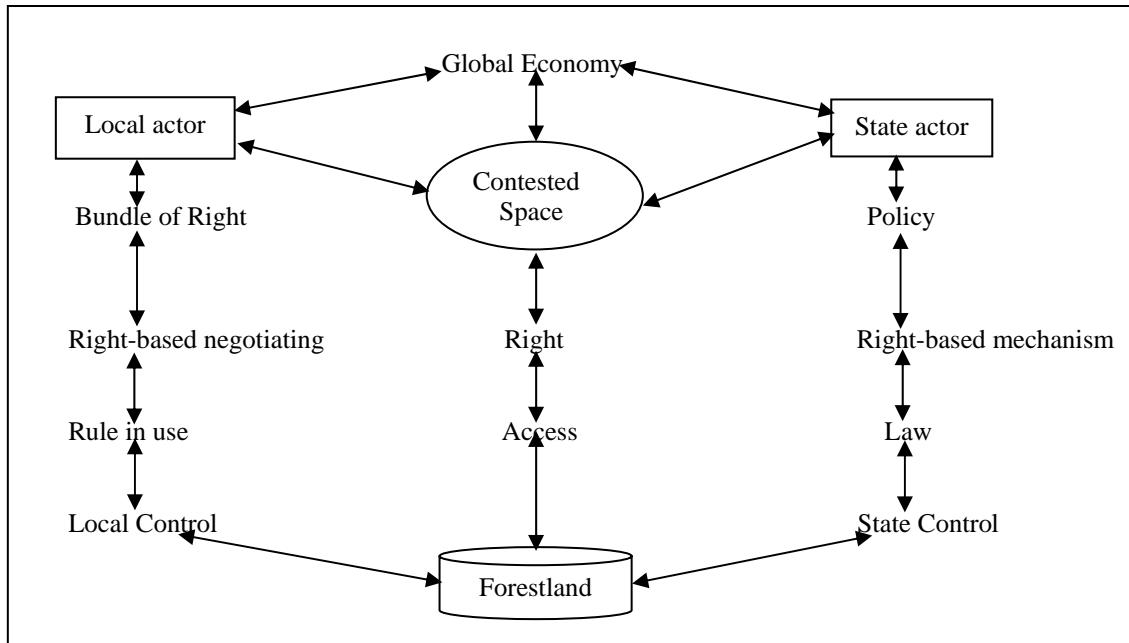


Figure 3.1 Diagram of Contested Space in the Politics of Development

Before the paper goes on to analyze local livelihoods change in *Khla Krapeu* village; one way, we should understand the context of forestland in Cambodia as well as in my research area has been evolved its pattern along with the growing of new mechanism within state policy at multiple levels which is caused to resources destructions.

4. Evolving Wealthy Forestland Approaches to Depleted Forestland

Cambodia's total land area is approximately 18.1 million hectares, of which 2.7 million hectares are cultivated under subsistence (WB, 2002). An estimated 85% of the people live in rural areas; which 70% of them live in the lowland provinces along the Mekong and Tonle Sap River, which occupy 25% of the land area of the country. However, forests have also played a crucial role in supporting rural livelihoods in Cambodia. They provide fuel wood, livestock fodder, construction materials, resins, vines, wild fruits and vegetables and medicines. They are also valued for a number of non-extractive contributions to rural people such as cultural and spiritual value, flora and fauna diversity and vital ecological services such as watershed and flooding regulation (McKenney and Tola, 2002).

In 1969, land covered by forest was 13.2 million hectares or 73% of the country's total land area, consisting of diverse types such as mangroves, flooded forested, coniferous forests, dry deciduous and moist deciduous rainforest or moist evergreen forests, moist mountain forest and dwarf evergreen forest. These forest ecosystems occur at varying altitudes under different climatic conditions representing valuable natural resources such as rattan, bamboo, resins, palms, fruit trees, medicinal plants, etc.

In 1993 land covered by forest was 11.9 million hectares in which 63% of the total land area; and during the period of 1996 to 1997, the data provided by satellite imagery based on GTZ/MRC project shown that forest was covered only 10.6 million hectares in which 58% of the total land area (Sohkun, 2002). However, between 1997 and 2002, the country lost 1.3 million hectares of forestland, especially along the corridors road around the villages (AFR, 2007). The data has shown clearly, only four years forest had decreased from 11.9 million hectares in 1993 to 10.6 million hectares in 1997. Totally, since 13.2 million hectares of forest in 1963 was reduced to 9.3 million hectares, which 51% of the total land area in 2002. With the numbers have shown earlier, forestland has been gradually depleting. This can be understood the privatization of land and forest since 1989.

The Cambodia government has actively promoted a transition from a command-to a free market-oriented economy and developed private sector framework into the world economy. The government, therefore, in 1994 of Investment Law provided incentives for investment in certain sectors and geographical regions in Cambodia. Much of the legislation regulating investment was written on a piecemeal basis; including legal texts that were initiated and inspired by international aid agencies or their technical assistants and are inconsistent with the government's stated policy of sustainable development and environmental protection. On the other hand, a 1997 sub-decree defining sectors subject tax incentives lists paper manufacture, tree plantations, in particular for pulpwood production and agro-industrial ventures as some of the sectors in which the government encourages investment (WRM, 2005).

For instance, in 2002 the government promulgated the new policies in such (i.) improving rural livelihoods by access to land and promoting agricultural development (ii.) priority of private sector development focused on small and medium enterprises, local and international companies (iii.) promoting industrial development policy focused on natural resource-based industries, a major investment program, and so on (NPRS, 2002). The policy is recognized in three aspects of land management (1) land will be administered in a way which makes property rights legally clear and secure; (2) concessions for social purposes will be made to distribute vacant state's land to socially needy households; and (3) land will be

managed in an environmentally sustainable way, which provides the poor with the opportunities for secure access to natural resources, especially land to secure housing, to credit, and to employment, and for investment (MAFF, 2006).

Moreover, on October 2004, Cambodian Prime Minister announced that his government's policies aimed at "improved access to land and effective use of the crucial resource for promoting economic growth, generating employment, ensuring social equity and fairness, and strengthening effectiveness in the reforms, therefore, it can be helped in reducing poverty and achieve sustainable development".¹ on March 2005, the Prime Minister said that "before granting any land concessions in any location, we must go to that area and investigate it, to make sure it is not affecting the land of the people, to make sure it is not affecting the environment". Prime Minister added that "investment must be sound and have the participation of the local people in those communities".²

Not surprisingly, the policies are expected to improve local people's livelihood, its have always seen various kinds of environmental, social, and rural economic problems. For example, as today access to traditional land and forest are being hardly for rural families Cambodia, due to increasing agro-industrial based natural resource exploitation. A study on livelihoods of people in Tumring Commune in Cambodia have begun a rapid change due to the arrival of forestry concessions and a rubber plantation in recently years (Kirkpatrick, 2005). Forestland belongs to the state and is state public property. Theoretically therefore no private property rights can be created in forest. Forests are defined generically in the land law so that even the possibility of private property rights in privately planted forests including community forests is unclear (Williams, 1999). The distinction between agriculture and forestry concessions is blurred by two circumstances: 1) that most of those concessions designated as agricultural are leased for the plantation of trees for pulp and paper rubber, teak, or palm, and 2) that most of these lands conceded for agricultural plantation are located in forested area. It has suggested that since the recent government tightening of forestry regulations, agricultural concessions may act as a "loophole" for continued forest exploitation (McKenney and Tola, 2002).

Forest and agricultural concessions are not distinct matters in Cambodia. They both clarify similar concerns of livelihoods, natural resource access and rights, governance and environmental protection and sustainability. This paper is relevant to agricultural and forest concession policies; however, it focuses more on agricultural land concession and its impacts on local people livelihood since the policy has restricted local people's right in access to their

¹ Hun Sen, speech at the National Forum on Land Management, 18 October 2004.

² Hun Sen, Speech at the 8th Government-Private Sector Forum, 14 March 2005.

endowment natural resources.

The data obtained from MAFF in 1999, there were 30 companies awarded forest concessions with the total under forest concessions was 6,370,099 hectares (William, 1999). This number approximately about 4.12 million hectares of forest concession. About two years later, as in 2001 many companies have been cancelled, withdrawn, or/and transferred to the other companies, therefore the number of forest concessions have reduced from 6,370,099 hectares in 1999 to 4,212,278 hectares in 2001. The reason was that some concession contracts have been cancelled either due to violations in terms of reference and/or non-utilization of the resources.

Beside of forest concession, agricultural land concession has also given out to companies for commercial farming and growing farm products for both international and national markets. The concessions are held both by foreigners-mainly Chinese and Malaysian-Cambodians. The total area under agricultural concessions as in 1999 was 662,524 hectares, had given out to 47 companies (**See Table 3.1 below, in annex A**). The distribution of these concessions was located in forested areas rather than the plain land areas. Almost all were in plantations or diversified perennial crops: only four concessions were into rice production. The most of land concessions are large and could be more than 10,000 hectares, a limit in Land Law 2001. For example, the largest concession, to a company called Pheapimex/Wuzhisian up to 315,028 hectares and this concession can extend until 70 years.

In 2001 and the latest data by MAFF revealed that the number of agricultural concessions had reached 55 before falling to the current number of 39 (**See Table 3.2 below, in annex B**). Sixteen concessions were cancelled and withdrawn (the reason involved to the violation, or investment without experts and a clear objective, or timber exploitation, and so on). Seventeen concessions have not contracted yet. The remaining 39 companies are holding a total area of 705,394 hectares. In addition, in 2003 the MAFF had granted 25 land concessions more for agricultural production, increasing and covering about 724,000 hectares.

Despite the numbers of concessions are increased, however, the data show by NPRS (2004), there are currently only ten of the concessions have initiated any planting activities, which have involved less than 14,000 hectares- less than 2 percent of the total concession area. The slow of the other company's activities are always observed by NGOs, they revealed that some companies are merely kept the land for free without any productive activities or have not enough capital for investment on the one hand. Some companies are facing with the protesting from local people during its operation, due to hundreds of thousands of people are standing to lose land, homes and important sources of income on the other hand. Moreover, some of other companies are poor in welfare of local habitants and workers.

For example, Pursat is a province where the most serious problems have occurred recently. In Pursat there are five companies awarded forest and land concessions. Those awardees are both national and international investors in which two of forest concessions and three agricultural land concessions. However, the two of forest concession companies first called You Rysaco Co. Ltd., company awarded 21,000 hectares of forest concession since 1999 in Pursat and Battambang provinces, the concession has not inventoried yet. Another company called Super Wood IPEP Lt., company awarded 94,000 hectares of forest concession since 1999 in Pursat and Kampong Speu provinces, the concessions being inventoried but not yet in commercial activities (MAFF, 1999).

The other three of agricultural land concession companies such as Pheapimex Co.LTD/Wuzhishan; Sour Khar Co. Ltd; and Ratana Visal Development Co. Ltd (**see Annex A and B**). In 1997, MAFF granted a 315,028 hectare of agricultural land concession to Pheapimex/Wuzhishan Company in Pursat and Kompong Chhnang provinces for eucalyptus plantations in supplying raw materials to a pulp and paper mill. Pheapimex/Wuzhishan and MAFF signed the contract which was agreed Chinese Farm Cooperation Group to invest in the concession, and arranged US\$70 million financing from the Export-Import Bank of China. However, Phearpimex/Wuzhishan was completely disregarded for the welfare of the local inhabitants and related human rights abuses, the company's poor treatment of workers, the bias of government officials towards the company and the environmental devastation in the concession area (**See pictures in Annex C**). In Pursat, three districts and 13 communes are affected, in which 108, 051 people live, of these the entire land area of two communes, with 18, 408 inhabitants are entirely within the concession area; including Cheu Thom commune with a total population of 11, 854 and Svay Sar commune with a total population of 6, 555 (WRM, 2005). Sour Khar Co. Ltd is a company awarded 300 hectares of land concession since 1999 for cashew nut plantation, but has not contracted yet.

RATANA VISAL Development Co. Ltd., is another crop plantation company located in Pursat province, in which awarded 3000 hectares of agricultural land concession since 1999. The purpose of the company is to plant cashew nut and castor oil palm in which covered forestland in three communes in Krakor district. However, since its operation, many problems are occurred with local communities. Because of hundred hectares of forestland have been cleared cut, and at the same time it impacts on many hundreds people who live nearby their ancestral forestland, particularly cut off their customary rights in access to their endowment natural resources, which is mainly for subsistence livelihoods.

In responding to this impact, on 24 December 2007, more than 200 of people from different villages in different communes were demonstrated and protested in front RATANA

VISAL Company's office while forestland was bulldozing. One of district authorities gave a hint that the agreement had already signed by Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery since 1999 contracted with Ratana Visal Company for a 70 year covered 3,000 hectares of forestland. For local people contended that they didn't know even since when the government has granted this forestland to private Company, they said that the government has never consulted with local people and ignored the important implications for the manner in which farmers own and use the forestland resource before granted it out to Private Company.

After people's demonstration, the bulldozers stopped its clear-cut activities. Then the day after, each representative from local community, district governor, and Company had together negotiated. The agreement had been approved to what local people had requested before; in addition the authorities made several promises to local inhabitants, but without any official documents. People currently are still unsatisfying to those solutions, they attempt to request to the provincial governor authority through the submission of letter with three scenarios suggestions (i) The Company should be avoided to clear-cut and bulldozing forestland any more; (ii) The Company should return forestland to community; and (iii) The agreement must be made in official documents.

In connection to this phenomenon, the paper has analyzed how local people expressed their thoughts after the arrival of agricultural Company. The paper then focused on *Khla Krapeu* village, where one of the most impacts on local household livelihood; and investigated whether or not local villagers had rights in access to their resources.

5. Changing Resource Use and Local Livelihoods in *Khla Krapeu* Village

Kla Krapeu is a village in remote area. Its location is along a laterite road N° 55 in Anlong Tnaot commune, Krakor district, Pursat province, Cambodia. With the data reported on land preparation and map setting of Anlong Tnaot commune in 2003, *Khla Krapeu* was situated in an area of 4840 hectare of land. The distance between *Khla Krapeu* and Krakor district town is about 8 kilometers, where is approximately 164 kilometers from Phnom Penh city by National Road 5. According to Commune's census 2007, *Khla Krapeu* was made up of 167 households, within 35 households were Cham ethnic (Islam). It is the village consisted of 745 of total population, within 91 of Cham. The village is surrounded by small plot of rice fields with a large forestland along the village sideway and connects to the mountainous areas.

A. History of *Khla Krapeu* Village

Khla Krapeu is a name combined between two words *Khla* and *Krapeu*. *Khla* means Tiger and *Krapeu* means crocodile. Interviewed with an elder woman Doep Deoum 68 year-

old; another elder man Porng Tham 53 year old, and other elder's villagers who is currently lived in *Khla Krapeu* village described that the history of *Khla Krapeu* village had long been established for hundred years ago. It was a hometown of Khmer native people who had adapted their ancestors' culture for generations. The villagers had also addressed that the name of *Khla Krapeu* was come from a story of a man who one day he was looking after his cattle nearby a lake and saw a Tiger attempted to eat crocodile. Meanwhile, the Tiger claimed up on a big tree and waited for the crocodile came up on the shore of Lake; suddenly, the Tiger saw and quickly jumped on crocodile and fought for a while, but the Tiger did not successfully. Since that time the man who saw that event was always called the Lake of *Khla* and *Krapeu*, it means that Tiger and crocodile's Lake; later on local people called '*Khla Krapeu* Lake' instead; and then it continued to shift to be officially used for the name of a village where was located nearby the lake to be become "*Khla Krapeu* village" until today.

Interviewed with an elder woman Duch Nann 70 year-old said that *Khla Krapeu* village before and during the French colonists (pre-1863-1953), and until Lon Nol regime, there were more than forty household families lived in the village. That time, the French constructed a road along *Khla Krapeu* village for transport the stones from Roliang Trach Mountain to build the new road nearby the District Town. *Khla Krapeu* people during this period they wore the rice sack, instead of cloths. Villagers' livelihoods were mainly relied on subsistence wet rice farming, hunting wild animal and collective forest products particularly resin tapping. Natural resources including wild animals, wild fruits, wild vegetables, and other forest products were plentiful. Local people had rights in free access to natural resources as much as they can, depending on household member's labor. Local people were enjoyed without restricted or prohibited access; they let their cattle grazed and roam freely nearby forest, sometime until 10 days or half month they could also find their cattle and took them back; they could survive their life together without any threatened feeling from anyone.

Within traditional culture, *Khla Krapeu* people classified land into three categories: residential land, cultivated land, and spiritual forestland. In every years, they prepared spiritual forest ceremony called *Lok Yey Sork Kro Oup* means 'fragrant hair grandmother', who had more powerful in take good care of all forestland, local people's welfares, and villagers' cattle while they let them roam freely to graze nearby the forest. All people had to respect to the big trees because they believed that the big tree was belong to the spirits especially for *Lok Yey Sork Kro Oup*, which no one could cut it down; the spirits could punish or make someone get lost the way in the forest, got a serious sick or died out of family if they violated their promises with the spirits or if someone swindled other villagers. Interestingly, when someone was sick or lost their cattle in the forest, they always went to pray *Lok Yey*

Sork Kro Oup spirit with few incense stick and offered some snacks for helping them; and a few minute after praying, the sick people was become normal, and their cattle could also find.

Under the Khmer Rouge regime from 1975 to 1979, *Khla Krapeu* village had been abandoned. The Khmer Rouge moved all people out of the village and forced them to work very hard in the new place, and some were died at that time. After falling down of the Khmer Rouge regime on 7 January 1979, more than thirty household families were returned to their home and attempted to rebuild their lives, because of their sense was very connected to their hometown. However, even they could return back to their village, but they could stay only in the day time and they had to move to the district town at night time because *Khla Krapeu* after liberated from Khmer Rouge in 1979, the village was still the combating field between the Cambodian government's military party and the existing of Khmer Rouge's military party led by Pol Pot. In 1984 natural resources were plentiful even giant timber had been anarchy logging by Cambodian forestry Officers and the head of military share with Vietnamese traders. The situation was continued until 1996, the integration and consolidation's day between government party and the Khmer Rouge party to stop down of fighting.

As discussed earlier *Khla Krapeu* village during the period of 1979-1996 was taken control by the Cambodian government military party and disturbed sometimes by the Khmer Rouge party until sometime fought each other and caused many villagers died, especially men who had mostly served as military of Cambodian government party, therefore, currently many widows and children whose father is no longer living.

B. Changing Livelihoods in *Khla Krapeu* Village

*“In the rural areas if you have land and forest you have everything”. It means that land for growing rice and forest as sources of food. This statement made by *Khla Krapeu*’s villagers (on 6 Feb 2009).*

Due to the course of development, the manner in which Cambodia's forestland resources has been exploited. In part, this can be understood in terms of a change in the degree of the politics of development and a growing population has exerted greater pressure upon a declining resources. In the fact that in rural areas, there has also changed in the kind of resources exploitation since the arrival of new actors in such plantation companies. Currently, in rural areas are quickly changed and serious impacts on environmental, social and particularly rural economic. Obviously, this can be seen the changing of local household livelihoods in *Khla Krapeu* village through their expressions.

Interviewed an elder woman Kai Chay 74 year-old as well as other elder villagers revealed that there are four stages caused *Khla Krapeu*'s forestland resources have declined

and changed rapidly; particularly to change their household's livelihoods for a countless generations. The first stage was an illegal anarchy timber logging by Forestry Officers and Cambodian's military leaders shared with Vietnamese traders in 1984s; the second stage was the emergence of commercial charcoals oven making by outsiders in 1990s; the third stage was the privatization of agricultural land to RATANA VISAL Company on 15 Oct 1999; and the fourth stage was the increasing number of land market speculators into the village in 2003s. Undoubtedly, all of these phenomena are the main components caused *Khla Krapeu* village moving forward to resource destruction, particularly to lose local traditional practices and customary rights in access to livelihoods. However, recently RATANA VISAL Company is one of the most impacts on local household livelihoods in *Khla Krapeu* village (Interviewed villagers on 2 February, 2009). As Figure 5.1 shows that a part of Khla Krapeu's land area before 1999 was mostly covered by forest; and after 1999 forestland has completely changed to be RATANA VISAL Company which is accompanied with the new settlers.

RATANA VISAL as mentioned earlier is an agro-industrial plantation Company which was granted by Ministry of Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries (MAFF) over a 3000 hectare of agricultural land concession in 1999. Since that time many hectares of forestlands had been clear-cut. More than five household families were impacted and forced them to move out from the concession area. Later on the Company blocked villagers' natural stream in order to convert water into the company's canal. Local people had been cut off water for many years. As a result, *Khla Krapeu* villagers started to stand up and protested to Company in order to request the company opened their natural stream; however, local people had successful and open on 19 March 2006. Beside water, the Company forbade villager's cattle to graze nearby the Company's land where an area which local people from many villages have been used and let their cattle roams freely. More importantly, local people lost their spiritual forestland and mainly their additional cash income from forest products. On 24 December 2007 as previewed earlier, more than 200 of people from many villages in different communes were demonstrated and protested in front Company's office during its bulldozing forestland; after that the Company has stopped its clear cut activities until today.

According to the data surveyed by Pursat's provincial working group in 2005 found that within a 3000 hectare of forestland concession was impacted on local people's land in three communes such as Kbal Trach commune was affected on Kralanh village in which 229 hectares of land with 33 household families; another commune called Anlong Tnaot was affected on *Khla Krapeu* village in which 30 hectares of land with 5 household families; and the last one called Sna Ansa commune was affected on Ansa Kdam village in which 83,8 hectares of land with 41 household families.

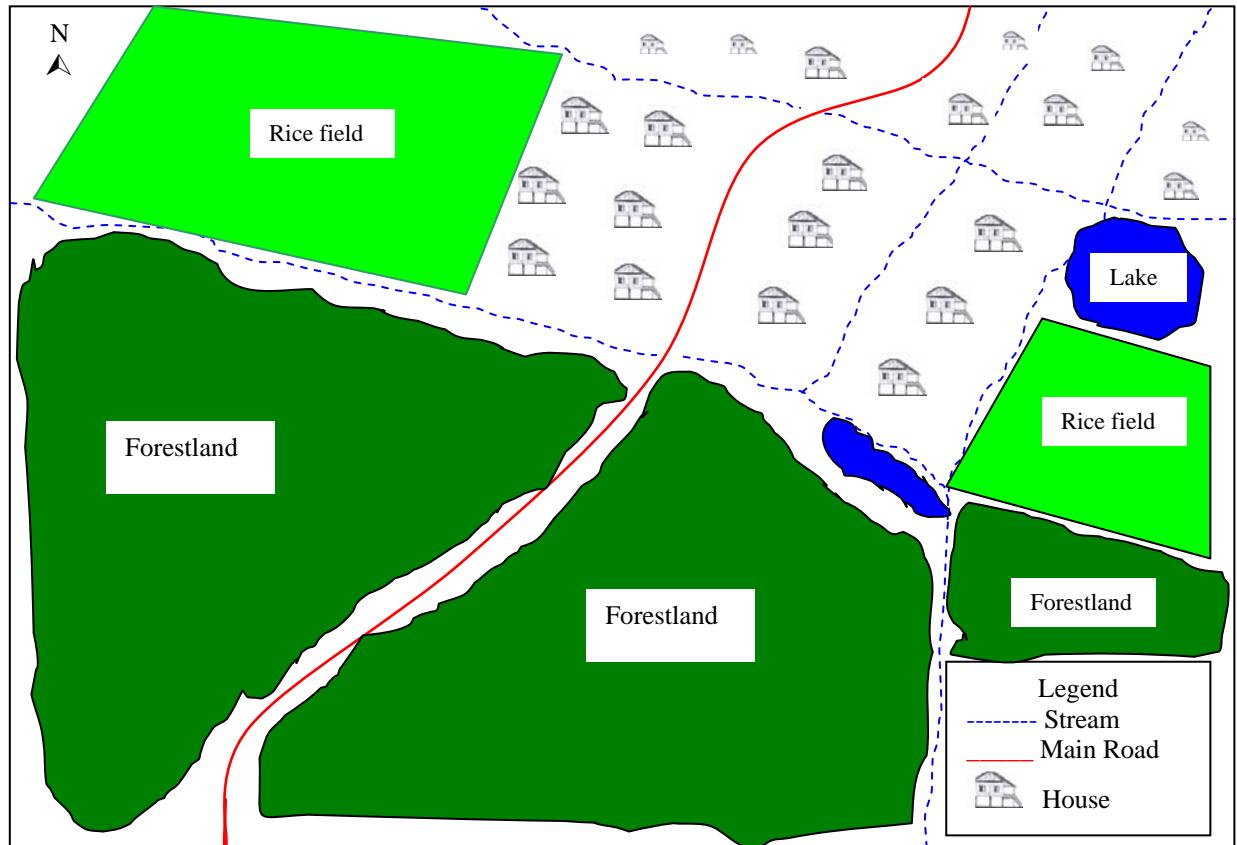


Figure 5.1 Location of *Khla Krapeu* Village, Area Before 1999

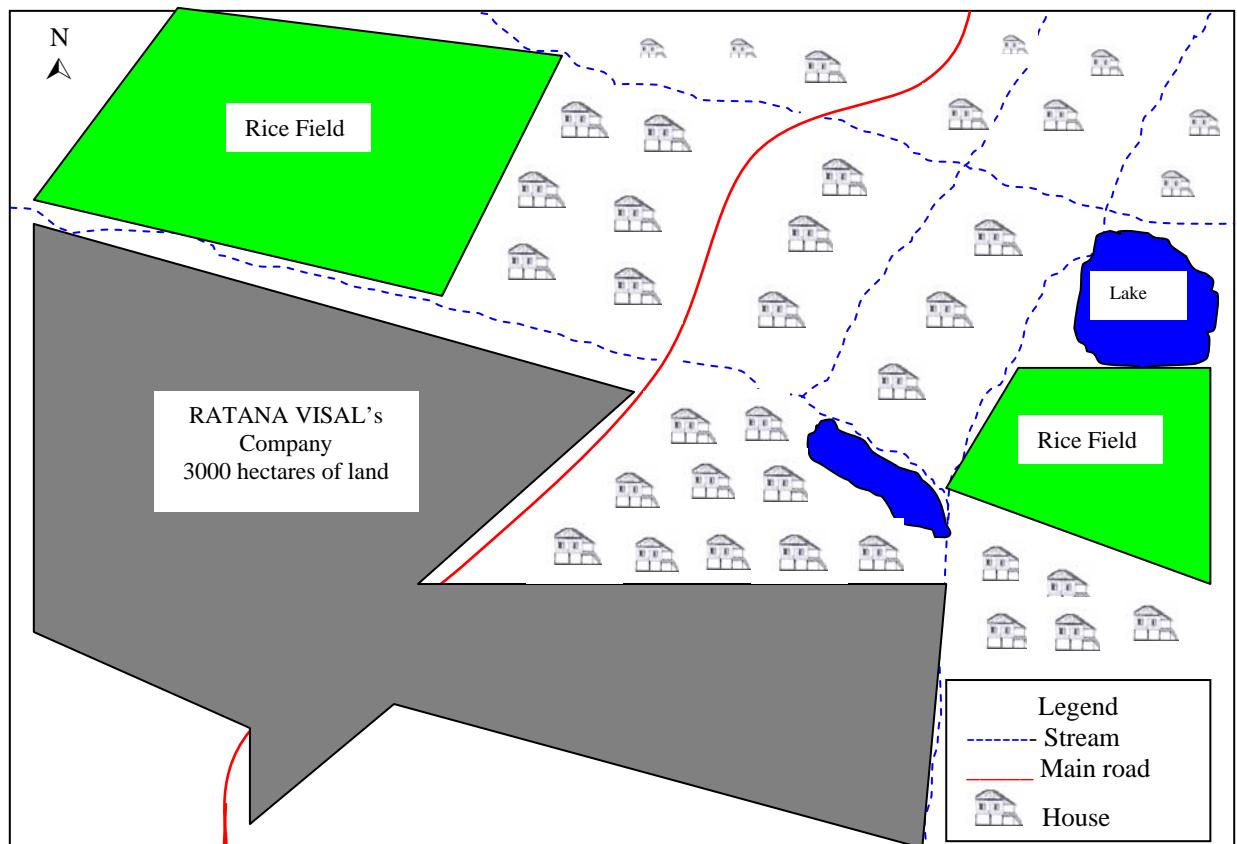


Figure 5.2 Location of *Khla Krapeu* Village, Area After 1999

During the meeting of provincial working group, the Company reported: “most of the land is sandy and unfertile and has not enough water for agricultural and industrial crops, except for trees such as eucalyptus and acacia that grow quickly and other raising animal such as fish, pigs, chicken, and cattle. Rice farming can be done but it depends completely on rainwater, which is normally too little and is absorbed quickly underground resulting in yields of not more than one ton per hectare”. However, one of government agencies from MAFF had complained that since the Company awarded the concession from 1999 until 2005; the Company had very little plantation activities and particularly the Company had changed its master plan from agro-industrial crop plantation to raising animal instead. This is contrasted to the proposal master plan made by Company in 1999.

However, the meeting didn’t mention whether or not the provincial government agencies working group were responsible for those impacts or any fines to the Company; the working group had only suggested the Company should prepare clearly on master plan again and submitted to MAFF as soon as possible. This can be seen the development of RATANA VISAL Company is not clearly surveyed before operation. More interestingly, the Company has employed workers from other provinces; they did not employ any local workers. In reality the Company has not to serve local people’s livelihoods as land concession policy mentioned.

Doeum Touch 50 year-old woman said that before and after the Khmer Rouge regime there were more than fifty households in *Khla Krapeu* village; by that time local people had rights in access to natural resources for subsistence livelihoods. Currently, *Khla Krapeu* village has rapidly changed. Access to natural resources becomes more difficult because of the arrival of new settlers and agro-industrial plantation Company. The new settlers mostly are Cham (*Islam*). They come to clear land in forested area and sold to speculators, and then they continued to clear in the new places. On the other hand, since RATANA VISAL Company comes here hundred hectares of ancestor’s forestland have been clear-cut; and some villagers have been seriously forced by company to move out from their land which they have been lived for generations. Doeum Touch has more than one hectare of wet rice farming land for subsistence livelihood, but now company take over her land, she described that:

‘*Khla Krapeu*’s people is approximately half of their income made through wet rice farming and the other half is from the collection of forest products, particularly resin tapping, wild vegetables, various wild fruits, chop wood and small timber, and traditional medicines etc.

She added that: ‘I own more than 35 resin trees, both *cheuteal* and *trach*. I visit my trees every three to seven days. Every month I am able to make 220 resin torches. I inherited my big trees from my mother, who inherited them from her mother. I can earn everything from the forest products from 30000 up to 35000 riel per day.

Recently all of my trees and others have been cut down by Company; the Company destroyed everything that we had before'. I also own the other resin trees behind of the village about 700 meters behind my house, currently all of them had also cut down by the outsiders in such the charcoal oven makers during 1990s. Due to the depletion of these resources, I have changed my job become a palm sugar maker, my family now rely on insufficient rice production and palm sugar making, even I can earn 13000 riel (3US\$) per day from palm sugar but not enough in every day life for my family. Now I cannot survive like before' (17 February, 2009).

One 56-year-old woman said: 'I have five children; my family livelihood is mainly relied on half from rice production and the other half from collective forest products. In every morning I am with my two children go into forest to collect small timber; bamboo shoots; wild potatoes; Kralanh, Kuy, and Romdoul fruits; wild vegetables; young herbal leafs; and other traditional medicines then we return back in the afternoon; and at mid night I am with my elder daughter ride two old bicycles about 8 kilometers to Krakor district market to sell those forest products because Vietnamese shop owners on the floating villages they always come to buy at mid night. I can earn from 15000 up to 20000 riel per day. Now this forestland is belonging to Company, and I have nothing to do more (4 February, 2009).

Traditional medicines are made from various plants. One woman reported that there are over 100 plants uses for traditional medicines. Medicine plants are very commonly taken by various people. More significantly is for women after they have given birth. Most women or other family members collect medicines from the forest for the childbirth. Traditional medicines are not only for household consumption but also the main source for additional cash income for villagers through selling to the merchants who has ordered. They cut a small pieces and mix many kind of plants and dry everyday under the sun light. They can get a usual income about 3000 riel per a medium basket of dry medicine plants. These plants, at least, are generally still very abundant and common around villages. Several people indicated that these plants are harder to find now due to the forests have been depleted.

Until recently, *Khla Krapeu* village as well as other villages where located nearby forestland in Krakor district they are interdependent relationship between farmers and forest products collectors and fishers on Tonle Sap Lake. Villagers sold or bartered all most forest products such as resin, vines, bamboo and timber etc. for fish. Fishers and shop owners on floating villages on Tonle Sap Lake describe how in the past they purchased most of the products from *Khla Krapeu* village and other villages in Ansar Chambok Commune. Recently the largest resin merchant stopped buying resin from *Khla Krapeu* and other villages in Ansar Chambok commune because the supply is hard to buy from local markets. He now buys resin

from Kompon Thom province. However, the price of resin has increased because of the additional transportation costs. Therefore, some of the poorest fishermen can no longer afford the annual resin coating of their boats and resort to using cement or plastic sheeting.

In addition, local people have also identified the plethora of biodiversities. Livelihoods before 1960s were not only subsistence farmer but the advantages of forestland were provided for all. One 70-year-old woman recounted how during the rainy season, when the trees were in full leaf, the canopy of the deciduous forest was so dense that one could not see the sky. Trees were old and even the pine trees were ancient giants. Deer, wild pig, bear, rhinoceros, elephant, kouprey (wild ox), tiger, and various types of monkey were roamed everywhere; the natural fishes were also plentiful in the stream, natural ponds, and lakes. Villagers trapped wild game and caught natural fish easily and shared among villagers. With perhaps the exception of clothing, the forestland provided everything: food, medicine, shelter and commodities to consume or sell. Now all of these are extinct or endangered because of anarchy hunting by some of villagers, military officers, and the destruction of forest. She added that:

For *Khla Krapeu* village, land during that time was still available. Landholdings were usually unequal between household families, depending on household member's labors. If they want to hold more land they could clear more. Land boundaries were usually recognized only within consensus villagers and without any land receipts or land certificates. However, they could not clear and cut the spiritual forestland if they didn't get any permissions from the spiritual forester first. Every year in May, *Khla Krapeu* villagers have always prepared the spiritual forest ceremony called *Lok Yey Sork Kro Oup* means '*fragrant hair grandmother*'; now this forestland is no longer, it belongs to Company.

The changing of livelihoods in *Khla Krapeu* village now can be seen as a problematic due to forestland has been depleted and causes people to turn their job become a palm sugar maker. Palm sugar is not well produced in rainy season; therefore beside this job, some people have to spend time and serve as charcoal oven workers where located far in forested area with a maximum wage of 5000 riel for half day. Some villagers are migrated to work in the city or neighboring country. Numbers of children have to Abondon School in helping their parent. Interviewed with Head of Villager Seng Mup a 52 year-old man said:

"I have lived here since 1982. I have 9 children and four hectares of land. I have allocated one hectare of land for my elder son after he get married and now only three hectares are left. During 1983 livelihood was relied on resin tapping and wet rice farming. Today, livelihood is changed because of resources destruction. Beside of wet rice farming I am now living as palm sugar maker. Life depend upon in the air, and very dangerous. I own more than 30 sugar palm trees, some of sugar

palm trees I leased from villagers and return them five kilograms of palm sugar per a tree for a season. I can make thirteen kilograms of sugar palm per day in the price of 1400 riel per kilogram; totally, I can earn 18000 riel per day but cannot survive and unable to send my children to continue their study. Livelihood now is quite harder and unlike when we had natural resources” (2 February, 2009).

Cham ethnic (*Islam*) is comprised of 35 household families are living in *Khla Krapeu* village. Most of them are moved from various places and holding land in *Khla Krapeu* village since 1998; some are moved from Kompon Chhnang province; and some others are moved from Kompong Laung where its location nearby Tonle Sap Lake. They are illegal occupied land in forested areas. However, since they settle in *Khla Krapeu* village, they maintain their culture and set up the Mosque and lived their life normal as Khmer people. Even they are new settlers but their livelihoods are also impacted. Most of the time they work on wet rice farming, charcoal oven making, raising animal, open small stalls, fishing in Tonle Sap Lake, and collective forest products. Interviewed one 42 years old man in a poor family said that:

“During 1998 my family was subsistence livelihood; that time I could easily access to firewood, small timbers, and other forest products, and sold for Kompong Laung’s fishers on Tonle Sap Lake, but now livelihood is changing due to forestland is belonging to Company. Recently, I’ve got one hectare of land inside RATANA VISAL’s company for sharing rice yield and divided 20% of yield for Company. Livelihood is depending on Company’s land and insufficient forest products. If the company takes the land back my family will face more difficult” (7 February, 2009).

Interviewed One 50 year-old of Cham woman said: “After I sold a small plot of land in Kompong Laung near Tonle Sap Lake, then in 1993, I came to buy land in *Khla Krapeu* village with a cheap price only ‘*two domloeung meas*’ (equal to 75 grams of gold) with 50 meters width and 300 meters long for house construction and rice field, and then we plan to work normal as Khmer people. Because I think that life on the river is not easy, and very dangerous. Moreover, I worry when I get old I will stop for fishing and I have nothing land for my children. A part from wet rice farming now I work for fishing in Tonle Sap Lake for additional livelihood; we all go fishing together with two boats and approximately two or three months we will come back” (8 February, 2009) .

According to Head of community in *Khla Krapeu* village Mr. Ly phak said that in order to protect and conserve some of existing forestland, villagers have initiated to establish forest community. They have submitted a letter of forest community to commune council leader for official registration; however, the commune council has refused to the proposing letter by responding, the commune has no forestland for community to conserve themselves.

6. Conclusion

This paper has analyzed a case study of forestland conflict in *Khla Krapeu* village in Cambodia in which currently as contested space. Space for my case I would call the space of right in access to livelihoods. Contested space in this case means contested right in order to gain access to control natural resources. Right is not a single right but a bundle and power of rights to enable actor's ability in access to resources. Rights are derived from a unity of local cultural consciousness in everyday practice. Right in this case is not socially sanctioned which is governed by regulation or law, but rather the right-based negotiating power relations with regard to both formal and informal institutional arrangement.

For more than 100 years between 1884 and 1989, land had been subjected to various laws, collectivization of different kinds and privatization. However, the traditional method of land holding and control has not been fully given up by farmers and other land users. With the formal privatization of land in 1989 and, more recently, a review of the land laws to make them more exhaustive and complete, the stage is set for putting a more comprehensive land policy in place. The privatization of land has emphasized the extent to which agricultural concession is a process managed by government but one subject to collective norms and assumptions that may shift through time. These accounts point to the inherently complex nature of the interaction between the macroeconomic forces of capitalist development, the different forms or modes of state action and the response of individual economic agents, such as farmers. Much of these literature focuses on the role of the state in underpinning and legitimizing the accumulation of capital within and increasingly globalized agricultural sector.

Due to the course of development and interaction of global economy into rural Cambodia society, the manner in which *Khla Krapeu*'s forestland resources has been exploited. In part, this can be understood in terms of a change in the degree of the politics of agricultural land concession development policy and a growing population has pressured upon a declining resources. This paper has argued that the operational policy of agricultural land concession in *Khla Krapeu* village is not only reducing local traditional practices to their endowment resources but it may allow meeting various kinds of social and rural economic problems.

Losing right to land and access to forestland would have a serious impact on villagers' livelihoods. Although economic integration is expected to bring new opportunities, providing jobs for local people or reducing pressure on natural forests. However, as of witnesses of my interview with *Khla Krapeu* villagers show very different to state's development policy in which is aimed to assist the rural poor who lack opportunity in access to capital. In reality, since the government awarded land concession to RATA NAVISAL Company, *Khla*

Krapeu's people are standing to lose of forestland and rights in access to their resources resulting local livelihood change; unemployment, and local migration to the city or neighboring country and so on. I suggest that even all forestland in the law is belonged to the state, but in practice it belonged to the one who used it productively.

Recommendations and Discussions

1. I suggest for any development processes should be locally informed and participatory.
2. Before granting any land concessions, the government should conduct the detail survey on both social and environmental impact.
3. In order to achieve sustainable development in Khla Krapeu village, the poor should not be overlooked by developers; the poor should get reasonable benefit from the riches.
4. Local villagers, on the one hand they want access to their forest products; and on the other hand they also want to see proper schools and medical facilities and access to goods and services in their communities are improved, but they also want to be affordable. The developer could bring the positive development.
5. In order to improve local livelihood and sustainable use of natural resources, should government cooperate with local communities in term of joint management?
6. Local customary rights in access to natural resources should be ignored by the national law or should be incorporated?
7. By looking in the case of Khla Krapeu village, local people's livelihoods have changed themselves or changed in term of the arrival of new actors?

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Annex A

Table 3.1 Agricultural Concessions in 1999

No	Name of Companies	(ha)	Location	Crop
1	Pheapimex	315,028	Pursat & Kompong Chhnang	Cashew
2	Talam Plantation Holding SDN BHD	36,700	Koh Kong	Rubber & Palm Oil
3	Cambodia Haining Group	23,000	Kompong Speu	Potato
4	Angkor Industrial Crop Development	20,000	Kompong Speu	Sugarcane & Grazing
5	Mensarun Friendship & Rama Khmer	20,000	Rattanakiri	Palm Oil
6	Unique International Commerce	20,000	Mondolkiri	Rubber & Coffee
7	Chiel Jandang	18,300	Kompong Speu	Sweet Potato
8	Un Borin Trading & Agr. Devt.	16,600	Kompong Speu	Potato
9	Cambodia Palm Oil	15,200	Koh Kong	Palm Oil
10	M. Consolidated Plan	12,700	Kompong Speu	Cashew & Rice
11	Development of Industrial Crop	12,506	Kompong Speu	Cashew
12	Cambo Came	11,400	Kompong Thom	Rice
13	Mong Rithy	11,000	Sihanoukville	Palm Oil
14	Maca Plantation	10,800	Kompong Speu	Agricultural Crops
15	Cambodia Eversky	10,000	Kompong Thom	Agricultural Crops
16	Shing Yue Commercial	10,000	Kampot	Rubber & Palm Oil
17	Sokimex	9,900	Kompong Cham	Rubber
18	China National Coecid	8,000	Kompong Speu	Agro-industrial Crops
19	China Cambodia State Farm 999Int.	7,500	Koh Kong	Grazing
20	Potato Powder Ltd.	7,400	Stung Treng	Cashew
21	Sin Thai Kampot	5,700	Kampot	Cashew & Durian
22	Cambodia Tapioca Ent.	5,100	Kampot	Palmoil
23	Bopha Angkorimex Trankong	5,000	Kompong Cham	Rubber
24	Henan Economic	4,200	Kompong Speu	Agricultural Crops
25	Asia Golden Dragon	4,000	Kompong Cham	Cassava
26	China Evergreen Cambodia Agr.	4,000	Kompot	Agro-industrial Crops
27	S.K. Chamreung Devt.	4,000	Rattanakiri	Rubber
28	Cambodia Shan Shoei	3,830	Koh Kong	Orchard
39	Yean Jan Trading Co.	3,800	Kampot	Cassava
30	Mieng Ly Heng	3,000	Kompong Cham	Rubber
31	RATANA VISAL Devt.	3,000	Pursat	Cashew
32	Wat Vanny	3,000	Kompong Thom	Rice
33	Agrostar	2,400	Kompong Cham	Cashew
34	Hur Hong Investment	2,040	Kompong Speu	Agricultural Crops
35	Nacorice	2,000	Battambang	Rice
36	Tay Seng Import-Export	2,000	Rattanakiri	Rubber
37	Chung Shing Cambodia	2,600	Koh Kong	Palm Oil
38	Khem Len Imp. Exp.	1,600	Kampot	Palm Oil
39	Sor Uth	1,550	Kompong Speu	Tee & Coffee
40	TTY	1,070	Kompong Cham	Rubber
41	Lim Kry	1,050	Takeo	Rice
42	Chung Thai Investment	550	Koh Kong	Cassava & Fruit
43	Family Agr. Devt. Community	500	Kompong Cham	Rubber
44	Heng Savath	500	Kompong Cham	Cashew
45	Ly Seng	500	Takeo	Cashew
46	Sour Kear	300	Pursat	Cashew
47	Ford Thai	200	Mondolkiri	Agriculture
Total		662,524		

Source: Department of Planning and Statistics, 1999 in Sophal et al, 2001:20

Annex B

Table 3.2 Statistics and activities of companies invested concession land in 2001

No	Name of Companies	Location	Land size, ha	Type of crop	Date of Contract	Remarks
1	Angrostar	Kompong Cham	2400	Cashew	09/01/95	Has been growing
2	Heng Savath's Family Association	Kompong Cham	500	Cashew	23/01/92	Lost relationship
3	Sokimex investment on rubber	Kompong Cham	9900	Rubber	27/05/98	Ready to determine concession land
4	ITY Company	Kompong Cham	1070	Rubber	02/05/00	Lost relationship
5	CAMBODIA EVERSKY	Kompong Thom	10000	Agricultural crop	03/11/98	Provincial workgroup is taking statistics
6	Com Chi International Agri. Dev.	Kampong Thom	26500	Cassava	03/03/00	Provincial workgroup is taking statistics
7	Leng Ho Hong Industrial and Processing Development	Battambong	8000	Sugar cane & potato	07/06/00	Provincial workgroup is taking statistics
8	RATANA VISAL Dev. Co LTD	Pursat	3000	Cashew & Castor Oil plant	15/10/99	Lost relationship
9	PHEAPIMEX Co: LTD	Pursat & Kompong Chhnang	315028	Tree cultivation & Paper Factory	08/01/00	Ministry is intervening with provincial level
10	Mong Rithy investment CAMBODIA OIL PALM Co LTD	Sihanoukville	11000	Pal Oil	09/01/95	Has been growing
11	Mong Rithy investment Cambodia Cassava	Sihanoukville	1800	Cassava	18/03/00	Lost relationship
12	China Cambodia State Farm 999 international	Koh Kong	7500	Agricultural crop & livestock	06/10/98	Ministry intervenes to province
13	TALAM Plantation Holding SDN BHD	Koh Kong	36700	Rubber & palm oil	05/10/98	Provincial workgroup is taking statistics
14	The Green Rich Co: LTD	Koh Kong	60200	Palm oil & acacia	25/11/98	Requested to postpone contract: pay insurance
15	HENAN (Cambodia) Economic & Trade Development zone	Kompong Speu	4100	Agricultural crop & livestock	29/07/99	Provincial workgroup is taking statistics
16	Cambodia Haining Group Co.Ltd	Kompong Speu	23000	Cassava & palm oil	23/07/99	Intervened to MLMUPC
17	Corporation CJ Cambodia Ltd	Kompong Seu	3000	Cassava	15/11/99	
18	Produce Cassava Powder Ltd	Stung Treng	7400	Tea & cashew	13/11/99	Ministry is studying company's main plan
19	Meng Sarun Fellowship and RAMA Khmer	Ratanakiri	20000	Palm Oil	21/12/99	Lost relationship
20	CHINA	Kompong Speu	8000	Agro-industrial	26/09/00	Ready to

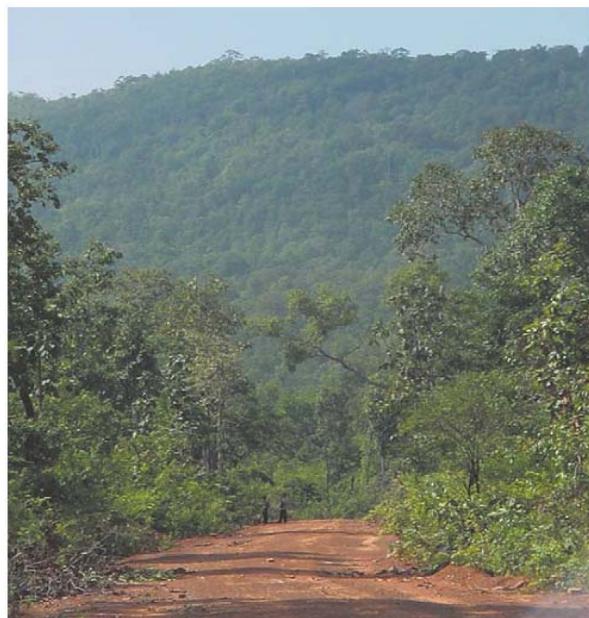
	NATIONAL COECLD Co: LTD			crop		determine concession land
21	KIMSVILLECORP	Kompong Speu	3200	Cassava	24/10/00	Determine concession land, is taking statistics
22	Keim Lein Import Export	Kampot	16400	Palm Oil	26/10/00	Lost relationship
23	FORDTHAI	Mondolkiri	200	Agriculture	Has not contracted yet	Lost relationship
24	Shing Yui Commercial	Kampot	10000	Rubber & palm Oil	Has not contract yet	Lost relationship
25	China Everget Cambodia Agriculture Development	Kampot	4000	Rubber & palm Oil	Has not contract yet	Lost relationship
26	Hour Angkori mehch trong kong	Kompong Cham	5000	Rubber	Has not contract yet	Lost relationship
27	Cambo Victor & investing Developing	Kampong Speu	28500	Agricultural crop	Has not contract yet	Has provision of right & is protesting about location overlapped
28	Ok Khun Industrial Crop Development	Kompong speu	12506	Cashew	Has not contracted yet	Is requesting signature on contract
29	Hong Hourt Investment	Kompong Speu	2040	Agricultural	Has not contracted yet	Lost relationship
30	Unborin Trade Agriculture Development	Kompong Speu	16600	Potato	Has not contracted yet	Lost relationship
31	Tai Sang import Export	Ratanakiri	2000	Rubber	Has not contract yet	Lost relationship
32	Mean Ly Heng Corporation	Kompong Cham	3000	Rubber	Has not contract yet	Had met to be readied for rechecking location
33	Lim Kris Agricultural Development	Takeo	1050	Rice growing	Has not contract yet	Had met to be readied for rechecking location
34	Sour Kear Co.LTD	Pursat	300	Cashew	Has not contracted yet	
35	Cambodia Tapioca Enter	Kampot	5100	Cassava	Has not contracted yet	intervenes to committees dealing with land problems at provincial and municipal levels
36	Sin Thai Kampot. Co: Ltd	Kampot	5700	Cashew & durian	Has not contracted yet	Lost relationship
37	Chung Shing Cambodia	Koh Kong	16000	Palm Oil growing	Has not contracted yet	Lost relationship
38	M. Consolidated Plantation	Kompong Speu	12700	[Suntan], potato & rice	Has not contracted	Request for giving right

					yet	
39	NAACO Rice	Battambang	2000	Rice growing	Has not contracted yet	Lost relationship
40	Angkor Industrial Crop Development	Kampong Speu	20000	Sugar cane & animal food	Contract cancelled	Announcement n° 406 on 15/9/98
41	Sor Out	Kompong Speu	1550	Coffee & tea	Contract cancelled	
42	Ly Seng Import Export	Takeo	500	Cashew	Agreement cancelled	Cite the letter n° 442 on 20/3/00
43	Yean Jan Trading Co: Ltd Cambodia tapioca Corporation Limited	Kampot	3800	Cassava	Agreement cancelled	Cite the letter n° 442 on 20/300
44	Chel Jadang (C & J Cambodia)	Kompong Speu	18300	Cassava	Agreement cancelled	Cite the letter n° 442 on 20/3/00
45	SK Prosperous Development	Rattanakiri	4000	Rubber	Agreement cancelled	Cite the letter n° 442
46	Yunex International trade Unity	Mondolkiri	20000	Rubber & coffee	Agreement cancelled	Cite the letter n° 442 on 20/300
47	Asia Golden Dragon	Kompong Cham	4000	Rubber	Agreement cancelled	Announcement n° 333 on 31/5/00
48	K>Q ehSsuin Enterprise	Kompong Cham	6250	Cassava	Agreement cancelled	Announcement n° 31/5/00
49	Cambodia Palm Oil	Koh Kong	15200	Palm Oil	Agreement cancelled	Announcement n° 333 on 31/5/00
50	Agricultural Development Association	Kompong Cham	500	Rubber	Agreement cancelled	Cite the letter n° on 14/8/00
51	Vat Vanny	Kompong Thom	3000	Rice growing	Agreement cancelled	Cite the letter n° 1381 on 14/8/00
52	Cambo Can Co: LTD	Kompong Thom	11400	Floating rice	Agreement cancelled	Cite the letter n° 381 on 14/8/00
53	Maco Plantation	Kompong Speu	10800	Rubber	Agreement cancelled	Cite the letter n° 381 on 14/8/00
54	Chung Thai investment	Koh Kong	550	Cassava & fruit tree	Agreement cancelled	Cite the letter n° 381 on 14/8/00
55	Cambodia Shan Shoei	Koh Kong	3830	Fruit tree	Agreement cancelled	Cite the letter n° 381 on 14/8/00
Total for the whole country			829074			

Note: This is a literal translation from Khmer to English, without formal editing.

Source: MAFF (31/01/2001) in Sophal et al, 2001: 21-23

Annex C



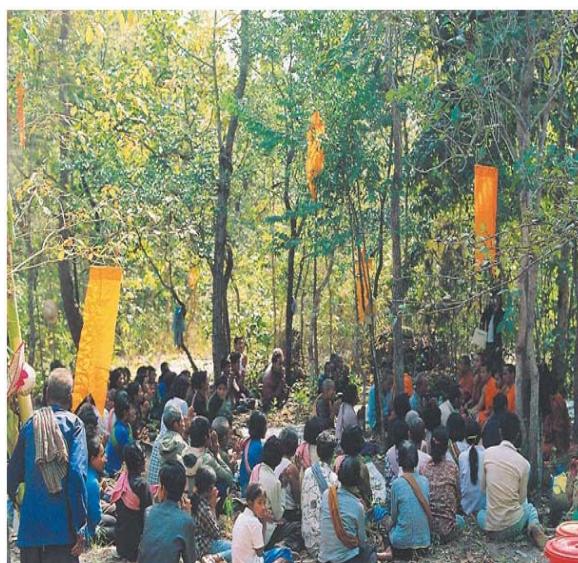
Before: Forest area west of the main Wuzhishan's camp, Pursat.
Source: WRM, Nov. 2004



After: The same area west of the nursery, Photographed 2 months later, Pursat.
Source: WRM, Jan. 2005



Worker accommodation, described by some as 'rural slums', Pursat.
Source: WRM, Jan 2005.



Spirit ceremony, Pursat
Source: WRM, Jan 2005



Area cleared by Wuzhishan, in Kompong Chhnang Province
Source: WRM, March, 2005



Workers worked hard in the fields, in Kompong Chhnang Province
Source: WRM, March, 2005



Khla Krapeu villagers protested to Ratana Visal Company
Source: ADHOC, 24 December 2007



Ratana Visal Company land area after clear-cut
Author: 07 Feb 2009