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Preface

CIDSE-Laos has undertaken the following study to determine the effects of land concessions and tree plantation on the project's target villages. Three communities in one district of Savanhakhet Province were studied, each with a different species planted.

Development concepts in Laos involve using natural resources in a sustainable manner to improve the growth of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the nation as well as the lives of people who have used the resources for a long time. It should not always be thought that turning those resources into a source of capital is the only way to benefit people. The consequences and effects on livelihoods and the environment must also be considered.

In this study destroying "degraded" forest has clearly impacted the food security of the rural people, the wildlife, the water resources and livestock rearing practices. The forest is the source water resource, dry land rice cultivation and non-timber forest products collecting for consumption and income generation. Clearing forests at a large scale for the purpose of planting one species of industrial tree plantation is different from natural forest. This major landscape change results in a lose of bio-diversity and changes the climate and can cause natural disasters such as mudslide, erosion and flooding.

One planned benefits of plantations in rural areas is to provide job opportunities for the people and improve living condition. This research shows that only a small percentage of the effected people area able to work full time with the companies. The processes of granting the concessions are also not transparent and included manipulation and threats to the villages.

Overall the research has shown that there are negative impacts from poorly planned concessions and that benefits gained by the communities are minimal. The expansion of these plantations to help Laos generate income should be seriously reconsidered.

Acknowledgements

This research could not have been done if the team didn't receive kindness, patience and cooperation from various sectors, particularly rural villagers and commune leaders in CIDSE-Lao communities: Bangbetkhok, Khamphou, Dongmakkor, Atsaythong, Kokdeng, Kangtew, Dongkhuang, Nonyang, and Nakhea villages.

We would like to express our sincere thanks to local authorities of Atsaphone District, Savannakhet Province to provide assistance to the research team to conduct each stage of the field work and providing official letters to village chiefs. In particular, District Administration Office Head Mr. Phouvieng Sayaphet, Mr. Sichanh Soulidet from District Health Care Office and Mr. Chantha Si-amkha from Agriculture and Forestry Office.

Finally, the research team would like to give our acknowledgements to the field based office of CIDSE in Atsaphone District for their kind coordination at district level. They also joined the team to help with the interviews and give feed back to improve the field discussions.

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Executive Summary

This research was done to contribute to the debate on the economic concession model by providing local people's perspectives and experiences of the plantations. As well as to formulate policy recommendations in order to avoid livelihood impacts from future land concessions. This research is one aspect of CIDSE-Laos' future strategic planning in becoming an organization working specifically on land issues.

The research was conducted between February – August 2008 in and outside of CIDSE-Laos' Communities in Atsaphone District, Savanahkhet Province. Communities include Bangbetkhok, Khamphou, Dongmakkor, Atsaythong, Kokdaeng, Kangtew, Dongkhuang, Nonyang, and Nakhea. Interviews with 112 local respondents were done. The team collected data within CIDSE's and neighboring communities. The land concession covers large areas of communal land used for finding food, doing agriculture and animal grazing.

The team had to change from the districts of Atsaphone, Savannakhet Province and Saybouathong District, Khammuan Province to only Atsaphone as mentioned in ToR (Term of Reference) when the District Chief of Saybouathong did not approve any concessions even though the companies already conducted a land and financial surveys.

The team collected general data in 9 communities. Of these 3 were selected for data collection. In each village, the team stayed one and a half to two days to conduct individual and group interviews, drawing community mapping, observe community livelihood activities and visit the plantations areas. Families interviewed within the 3 communities totaled 112 and were selected by random sampling, the number sampled (one quarter or one third of total village population) depended on the number of households in the villages. The three case studies in this report the impacts to local livelihood activities, environmental circumstances and as well as animal/ wildlife in term of grazing areas and hiding places as a result of land concessions.

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1. Rational/Background.

Lao People's Democratic Republic (Lao PDR) is a land locked country located on the Indochinese peninsular, and is of the one of poorest countries (in terms of GDP) in the world. Since 1986 the Government of Laos has carried out its open-door policy known as "New Economic Mechanism" with a strategy to make both an economically liberal and socialist nation. Since this time the country has undergone rapid change in socio-economic mechanisms, with the encouragement of foreign investment, industrialization, intensified agriculture, and integration with both the regional and global market. Through the ADB's Greater Mekong Sub-region strategy (GMS), Lao PDR is presently in the process of developing the country from a land locked country into a land-linked country through both economic integration into global markets and physical integration through large scale road infrastructure projects such as the North-South and East-West Corridors. The GMS plan also included an integrated electricity grid powered by the many river found in Laos.

The Party and Government of Lao PDR is extremely committed to eradicate poverty and bring the country out of Least Developed Status at any costs by 2020, by transforming the country from a traditional agriculture system into an agro-industrial system, with the aim of producing sufficient food for consumption and export and by turning natural resource into capital. To do so the government encourages both local and inter-foreign sectors to invest in Lao PDR by permitting land concession to plant industrial trees and agricultural cash crops. The government also guarantees investors property rights by approving regulations and giving priority to their business such as the 1986 law on promoting foreign investment (amended 2004). Beside this, the government receives benefits for the national budget and expenditures through tax collection from the (foreign) investors. They also claim that investors provide job opportunities for unemployed local workers to upgrade their living conditions.

However, due to the lack of an effective management and administration system on land concession, the government has not given adequate consideration about possible negative impacts. As a consequence, the land concession policy contains numerous shortcomings regarding social, economic and ecological balance with the livelihoods of local villagers. Increasingly and repeatedly there are reports emanating from the country side of concession areas of uncompensated losses of the natural resources of forest dependent villagers (such as non-timber forest products), out migration, decreased food security and loss of biodiversity. Investors have cleared land for concessions, which were under crops and trees owned or utilized by villagers. In some cases these are high value crops (coffee and teak) and frequently villagers are not consulted nor informed about the clearing. There is a serious lack of transparency and participation from communities in the concession processes. This has resulted in increased conflicts between local authorities and villagers and villagers loss of faith in the government. Some concessionaires also clear private (villagers') assets without paying suitable or any compensation to the owners. In some cases, "investors" also used concessions as a cover for logging operations in natural forest areas, clearing an area, then abandoning the land leaving a devastated ecological system. The consequences of these operations effects whole communities because villagers lose access to natural resources resulting in the lack of food and saleable non-timber forest products, as well as places for raising animals and timber resources for home construction (Mike Dwyer, 2007: 1).

After the increasing visibility of the negative impact to local people and natural resource caused by large scale of land concession for industrial tree and agro fuel crops plantation, in May 2007 Lao Prime Minister Bouasone Bouphavanh announced a moratorium on further concessions. He urged the investors to proceed carefully and adequately study and evaluate local values and environmental impacts prior to starting their business. He also said that investment must be in

accordance with the laws and policies of Laos including the 2+3¹ policy (Mike Dwyer, 2007: 1). However, in reality, some provinces continued to approve land concessions without using the 2+3 policy but instead use 4+1 (i.e.: community land is acquisitioned). In some cases local people have become temporary workers and forced to give up their land to investors for long periods of time with unfair or no compensation (Somsack Pongkhao, 2008: 3).

The plantation sector in Laos has an important role in the Countrywide Forest Strategy for 2020 as stated at the 7th Round Table Meeting in September 2000. The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry was assigned as the lead agency to preserve and increase the density of forest cover to 53% by the year 2010 and 70% (1 million ha) in 2020 "Forestry Strategy to the Year 2020" [Online]. As of 1989 forest cover was only 47% and in 2008 it now falls between 35-40% (Update, 2008: 14-15). A significant weakness of the policy is the inclusion of tree plantations as forests, this has only encouraged the spread of plantations. Other issues involving plantations include the low land concession fees and a shortage of domestic labour. The National Economic Research Institute has shown that rubber plantations currently cover about 200,000 hectares and if other industrial tree and agro fuel crops are included this exceeds 300,000 hectares. In the future Laos will face labour shortages and will likely need to rely on foreign labour. Some provincial governments are aware of the negative impacts of concessions and they have limited the plantation areas and are emphasizing livestock breeding and small agricultural practices (Somsack Pongkhao, 2008: 3).

International Cooperation for Development and Solidarity (CIDSE-Laos) is a non-governmental organization working in social development programmes in Lao PDR since 1981. CIDSE aims to improve the quality livelihood for the poorest communities especially the marginalized ethnic and indigenous people in the remote areas. CIDSE saw the need for village level research to help learn more about concessions and their impacts. This research can be used by projects and the government to help in making decisions regarding policy related to concessions and work that may be impacted by them.

2. Objectives.

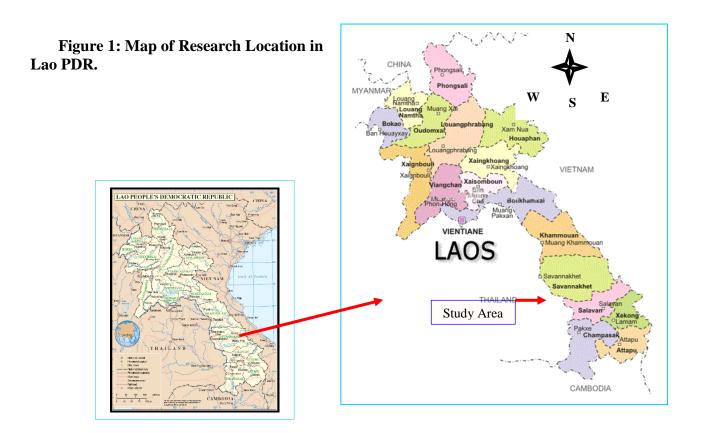
- To contribute to the debate on the economic concession models by providing local people's perspective and experience of plantations.
- To establish the extent of socio-economic impacts on the CIDSE target communities located within and close to land concessions, in particular to collect data on the changing livelihoods of communities affected by land concessions and to determine whether the concession has had a beneficial or negative impact.
- To determine to what extent local people have been able to gain employment on plantations.
- To document through discussions with villagers the nature of the relationship between local authorities, plantation companies and communities, and to show how the process of investors acquiring land functions at the village level.
- Formulate policy recommendations in order to avoid livelihood impacts from future land concessions, and to ensure that villagers derive benefits from concessions.

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¹ 3+2 refers to government policy that promotes an investors contribution as seed, technical and market support (3) and a communities as land and labour. There are variations on this such as 4+1, where the communities supply only land and labour is sourced outside of the concession area.

3. Selection of Area and Target Group.

The target areas and groups of people are based on target villages within CIDSE Integrated Rural Development project that has been implemented in Atsaphone District, Savannakhet Province (Figure: 1). The populations of the district are mostly economically poor communities that are highly dependent on the natural resources surrounding their villages. As a result there has been rising conflict over land between these communities and local authorities and concessionaires.



4. Research Methodology.

Firstly, the research team reviewed related documents and existing studies on land concessions. Cooperation and coordination was mainly with the Agriculture and Forest Offices in Atsaphone District, Savannakhet Province.

After discussions with CIDSE district staff, the research team decided on which villages are suffering from the loss of land to concession companies. Once research target villages were decided, the team conducted an initial survey in each of the target villages. An initial survey questionnaire was developed with the aim of finding out background information about 1) the village, 2) communities' livelihoods, 3) the concession area and 4) the process by which the company acquired village land. However, it should be stated that this survey was completed through a combination of both formal and informal interviews with villagers and local authorities to ensure that all information regarding the concession and village livelihoods was obtained. During the initial survey the research team visited and met community leaders such as village authorities, group heads of CIDSE activities, district officials, as well as with impacted families. The research team also viewed the concession areas and the surrounding forest areas upon which village communities depend on for their livelihoods.

Following the gathering of information from the initial survey the team returned to Vientiane to summarize initial findings and to develop village specific questionnaires to be conducted with individual families. Following this the research team visited villages to undertake livelihood impact surveys with affected communities. Depending on the size of villages, and the time constraints of the research team, the surveys were conducted on a random basis with either 50%, 33%, or 25% of village households. Targeted surveys were conducted with specific households that have had specific losses of recognized assets, such as paddy fields, large horticultural areas such as fruit tree orchards, or areas where land tax has been paid to district authorities.

Depending on circumstances, methodological process was adapted by the team so as to ensure accurate information was obtained from normally quite segments of the community. The team also carried out individual interviews and sub-groups or group discussions and observed the community condition and environment. To get access to reliable information, the team took time to stay and explore around the communities and take photographic evidence of livelihood activities, as well the concession areas.

5. Tentative Work Plan.

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6. Expected Results.

- It is expected that the research will contribute to the overall discussion on concessions and rural land management in Lao PDR and contribute to government policy and concerns regarding national land management strategies.
- The research will assist local people to identify land disputes and recognize their fundamental rights on properties and natural resources utilization use as a sustainable way.
- The research will provide a useful reference document for further research on livelihoods and land concessions in Lao PDR.

7. Process of Data Collection at Field Work.

To start, the team first went to visit and meet with community leaders such as village chiefs, vice heads, elders and respectable persons, unit heads, youth leaders and group heads of rice bank and saving credit. These groups had previously worked with CIDSE on it's earlier community development work and already implemented some activities with CIDSE. At this time the official letter (*Bai Kitsamphan*) from the district administration office head was given to village chiefs (*Nai Ban*) which informed them of the research. Unfortunately the team couldn't speak with women's union leaders because local culture does not encourage women to speak out, particularly in front of strangers. Women were occupied with taking care of family members and food preparation. The team carried out individual interviewing and sub-group discussion the following day.

The team also had a walk to explore around the communities and took pictures of livelihood activities and the areas impacted by the concessions and tried to become familiar with the local people and community by informal greetings and discussion. The team stayed one and a half to two days to organize activities, individuals and groups and observe community life.

The team divided the data collection into two periods, one about community background and formulation and testing of questionnaire, and two about livelihood impacts and data collection. For the first stage the team conducted the general data collection survey in Bangbetkhok, Khamphou and Dongmakkor villages from 17 to 23 of February 2008 and 17-29 of March 2008 in Atsaythong, Kokdaeng, Dongkhuang, Kangtew, Nonyang and Nakhea villages. After, the team summarized the data and improved the questionnaire sheet by focusing more on community changes so to measure the extant of socio-economic impact to people (Losing NTFPs and paddy field) and animal grazing areas before and after concessions. Of the original 9 villages visited 3 were selected for data collection; Nonyang village on 15-17 May and Kangtew and Bangbetkhok from 27 May - 10 June. The team chose 3 communities for the second stage as the company's concessions covered more than one village, which is the same company but the others are different cases and initial data collection survey showed that the concessions have impacts on people.

Families interviewed within the 3 communities were selected by random sampling, the number sampled (one quarter or one third) depended on the number of households in the villages. The second stage of data collection was done when people were working in their paddy fields during the rainy season therefore, the team had to carry out the interviews late at night and early in the mornings.

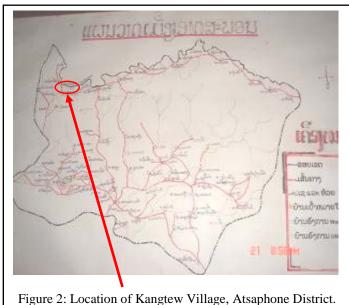
8. Research Findings from Each Case Study.

The following data offers perspectives of local people on industrial tree plantations supported by 3 companies; the Korean company (KOLAO), the Thai company (Lao-Thai Hua Rubber Co, LTD), and the Indian company (Birla Lao Pulp & Plantations Co; Ltd).

8.1 Kangtew Village.

Background to Village.

The village was established in 1953 after moving from the Xebangfai River banks which they left after many deaths caused by malignant spirits. The old name of this village was Kangtha. Presently it is located along Road No.10. leading Saybouathong District, Khammuan Province. The total village area is 70.9 hectares of which 3.8 hectares are village residential area. In 2007 the village was administratively brought under one unit with Kangtew, Kangbone and Taptao villages. The original village names were kept and there was not physical relocation. Each community has their administration structure but the Village Heads are now called Vice Heads (Nai Ban Noiy) and the



main Village Head is called the "Big Village Head/ Nai Ban Yai". The government's Land and Forest Allocation policy has not been done in this village.

The total population of the village is 510 people, 253 are women and there are 108 families in 81 households. The ethnic group is Bru or Ka Long which belong to the Mon-Khmer language group. Their language is used to communicate within the village with Lao language used only when meeting with officials or others who do not speak their language.

8.2 Village Livelihood.

The team used a random sampling technique to select one third (36 families) of the total 108 families for represent respondents. It was found that there are 33 families (97%) doing paddy practices and considered this their main livelihood activity. Thirty families (82%) said their livelihood activities included fishing, 7 families (21%) collect NTFPs and 10 families (29%) did timber processing. There are also 16 families (33%) producing various types of baskets (Ka Ta, Ka



Figure 3: Drawing map of Kangtew community.

Boung, Moang) and rice boxes. Only 3% of respondents think that working with the plantation is most important.

Forest Area.

Seventy-four percent of the people said the forest was previously *Pa Khok* or a dry diptrucapus with areas of planted rice and fruits. Trees consisted of *Mai Khaen, Mai Du, Mai Yang and Mai See*. After the concession was approved, these trees were cut down and load for outside wood processing by a company. Most of the concession area was Pa Khok.

Ninety three percent of respondents replied that in the plantation area there were many big trees that were cleared, 70% mentioned *Mai Daeng*, 53% said *Mai Du*, 50% said *Mai Peuan*, and other kinds (*Mai Hung, Mai Kung, Mai Sak* and *Mai Yang*).

8.3 Background to the Plantation Development.

Lao-Thai Hua Rubber Co, LTD is a joint venture company from Thailand and China with an office in Xeno the capital of the Outhoumphone District, Savannakhet Province. The company has received land concession in various provinces in central Laos covering a total of 1,213 hectares for planting rubber. There are 3 concession zones in Atsaphone district totaling 687ha. The first zone covers the communal and individual lands between the villages of Dongkhuang and Kangtew and totals 301ha. The second zone covers Khamphou, Dongmakkor, Atsaythong and Kokdaeng villages totaling 306 ha and the third zone covers 79 hectares of a single village, Nakhae (Atsaphone DAFO, 2007).

The company paid compensations in different forms for each zone. For example in the first zone Dongkuang Village (next to Kang Tew) was paid in a traditional way (*Kha Hit Khong*) with 1,000,000 kip and a pig but other villages received no compensation.

The concession agreement and contract is between the company and Military Battalion No. 4 for 35 years of concession period and land lease of 1 ha/ 8 USD/ Year but the area previously belonged to the villagers. Five families from Kangtew also had paddy fields which they gave to the military as requested. The military planted paddy rice for 3 years (1993-1995) but were not satisfied with the production and lack of water, therefore it transferred use of the land back to the people. However, the military still controlled the land. The military had the power to make an agreement with the company for concession approval and earned benefits from the concession fees without district permission. As well the former village chief Mr. Vuen also approved the concession without district and community approval.



Figure 4: 3 zones of Lao-Thai Hua plantation areas in

The plantation area covers both communal and individual lands and the company didn't pay any compensation because the villagers did not have official land documents but, they did have recipients from land tax paid in the past. This is different than in some other concession areas in

Laos where the tax receipts were enough to receive compensation. People did not know whether the concession was permanent or temporary. At the time of the concession the land was considered state property of the military from battalion 04 from Xeno. There was a meeting between provincial level and Lao-Thai Hua Company, which it immediately cancelled the previous contract of the Military Battalion No. 4 and the company must propose the concession acquirement to the Savannakhet Provincial Land Management Authority.

The company started to clear land in April 2007 without marking the concession with specific poles or markers. Some local villager's lands were cleared and they confronted the company but representatives said that if they disagreed they should meet the military or district administration office but they might be taken to the jail. Beside this, the company also announced if the villagers' cattle destroy the young rubber trees fines for 250,000 kip per sampling would be given.

8.4 Impact on Livelihood and the Environment.

Seventy four percent of the respondents said the plantation area contained dense forest (*Pa Dong*). Many people gave more than one answer. Sixty-eight percent said it was communal forest (*Pa Som Sai*) and 68% said it was *Pa Khok*. The local villagers used these areas for daily livelihood activities such as hunting animals and collecting NTFPs including frogs, mushrooms and bamboo. Seventy five percent said they sold NTFPs. The frequency of respondents that collected bamboo (*Nor San, similar to rattan*)was 65%, 50% collected rattan and 35% of *Nor Yae*. Various kinds of fruits were collected: 65% collected sour berry (*Mak Fai*), 70% collected lichi (*Mak Gnew*), 60% collected *Mak Khor Laen and* 25% collected forest mango. Eighty-four percent of the respondents collected *Khee See* and 95% collected *Khee Yang* which provided income. Seventy percent of respondents think that the company destroys the forest,

Ninety-five percent of respondents said NTFPs are now harder to find and 100% said that some NTFPs are gone completely. Seventy-seven percent (77%) of respondents now have to collect NTFPs in other village areas. Previously, the plantation area was also used for animal grazing, 18% of respondents raised animals in the area. The villagers said (57%) that the animal grazing area decreased and that 20% of respondents had to sell their cattle because of a lack of grazing land. Thirty percent of respondents have bought tractors using money from cattle sales since the plantation was established. The respondents expected that if the company had not come to the village they would have more NTFPs (68%) and animal grazing areas (28%).

Wildlife and Fishery.

The villagers used to hunt wildlife in the plantation area: 68% of the respondents said they had killed muntjak deer, 41% wild pig and 41% squirrel. Another impact of cutting down the trees and pushing soil and debris over streams has been less aquatic life and clean water. Therefore, 85% of respondents find fish more difficult to catch after the land was cleared.

Firewood.

The villagers say that they can find firewood easily because the company left many small trees after clearing the land. Nineteen percent of respondents said they collect firewood around the plantation area.

8.5 Employment on the Plantation.

In total, 47% of respondents reported that they had worked with the plantation company. The work was mainly planting seedlings (21%), clearing grasses (29%), applying fertilizer (10%) and making wooden fences and watering the seedling nursery. Sixty percent of respondents said that it was good to have more job opportunities. Twenty percent replied that there was no benefit to their family. Presently, the company hires 16 families (33%) for permanent work for looking after trees and cutting the grass.

The average number of days worked per month at the plantation after the company finished planting in 2007 was 5. People received 20,000 kip per day for clearing and planting rubber samplings and 5,000 kip per 1.5 meters for making wooden fence but they are responsible for providing the material. Since January 2008, the company has provided permanent work for 8 families of Kangtew village, which live in huts on in the plantation area. The main type of work for these families is clearing grasses nearing the sampling; each family is responsible for 6 hectares and receive 500,000 kip per month (400,000 for basic salary and the rest is in rice). The salary is normally paid every two or three months by the Village Headman of Dongkhuang who is the company's representative and the leader of the guard group for the plantation.

Incomes were as follows: 29% of the respondents replied that they have no cash incomes, 52% of respondents said they earn 0-50,000 kip per month, 5% earn 50,000-100,000 kip and 3% earn 100,000-150,000 kip (the remaining 11% is unclear due to date recording error). After the company provided jobs, 6% of respondents said that their income increased, 38% said their living condition improved and 44% said there was no change in their income.

8.6 Summary.

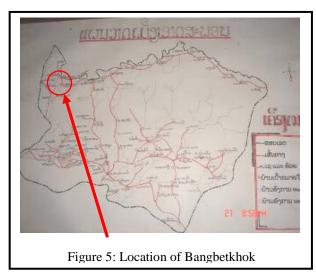
Kangtew village did not receive any form of compensation when the plantation company took both the communal and individual lands because the area is considered as the state property. Battalion No.4 signed the agreement for concession contract without district approval and the district supported the technical staff to survey and select land for plantation.

Overall, when the local villagers compared the negative and positive impacts it was found that 72% believed the impacts were negative, especially losing natural resource, food and animal grazing areas. Twenty percent thought that there were positive consequences in the form of employment.

9. Bangbetkhok Village.

9.1 Introduction the Background to the Village.

The location of the village is along the Road No.10. This village has been administratively created from 3 other villages: Bangbetkhok, Khantakien and Nontaka which now make up one administrative entity. However, the villages are not physically joined and still use their previously village names. Ban Bangbetkhok was located on the banks of the Xe Noiy River but had to resettle in the new area when major flooding occurred in



9

1993 and there was disease causing both people and animals to die. The two other villages moved to the area in 1994 and they were told by the district head to join into one village in 2006. The population of Ban Bangbetkhok (one village) is 311 people with 178 women classified into 52 households and 58 families. Almost all people are from the Katang minority group and the rest are Phu Tai and Lao Luom (mainly soldiers). The Katang speak their own language daily but speak Lao language when dealing with officials and other non-Katang.

The total area of the village residential area is 3.00hc. There is 120.33 hectares of paddy fields and other kind of land is 84.8 hectares. The main livelihood activity is paddy field practices with of 92% and 39% doing shifting cultivation or gardening. These statistics show that some families are doing both paddy and dry land agriculture.

9.2 Background to Plantation Development.

KOLAO is a South Korean company granted land to plant jatropha for bio-diesel production on a total area of 100 hectares at Bangbetkhok Village. Overall, the company requires an area of 5,000 ha from the province but has not been able to find it. The jatropha will be used to make bio-fuel in one of its 2 Lao refineries. The company began the work in 2006 for both the seedling nursery and plantation preparation.

The company and district authorities of Atsaphone District came to the village in 2006 to search for land and the officials tried to help the company to negotiate and influence the villagers of Ban Bangbetkhok for concession approval and signing of concessions



Figure 6: Young jatropha nursery area.

documents. Because of Bangbetkhok villagers as the other rural communities in Laos still lack of various components to protect their own rights, for instance the approach and power to negotiate with company representatives and (some group) state authorities and obligation recognition of Lao citizen as stated in the policy and law of the Party and Government of Lao PDR, the villagers had to sign the compliance document which the district authority sent to the village authority.

9.3 Village Livelihood.

The team used a random sampling technique to select 28 families (48%) in total number of 58 families. Based on the interview we found that the main livelihood activity of the people (28 families) is paddy cultivation (96% or 24 families), the second activity is fishing (65% or 17 families) and working with the company (62% or 16 families). Some villagers of the Lao ethnic group are soldiers (27% or 8 families) who later moved to the village. After rice planting and harvesting is finished, the villagers also have additional livelihood activities such as bamboo basket weaving and rice box and rice cooking holder weaving (*Mouay Khao*)(31% or 7 families). Before the area was converted to plantation 92% collected NTFPs. and 42% hunted animals in the same area.

Forest Area and NTFPs.

Of the respondents 73% said the concessions included *Pa Khok*, 68% said it included *Pa Dong* (Dense forest) and 38% said it included fallow land (*Pa Lao*). The most commonly named species being cleared was (60%) *Mai Jik*, (56%) *Mai Du*, (52%) *Mai Yang*, 44% of *Mai Hung and 36%* of *Mai Daeng was cleared*.

There are 24 families (92%) who collect NTFPs for daily consumption. Forty two families said they sell NTFPs. Families collected fruits such as Litchi (*Mak Gnew 23%*), sour berry (*Mak Fai 41%*) and *Mak Khor Lean*. Before the concession, traditional medicines (roots, rattan seeding and heads of fruits) were used by 89% of respondents after the concessions this decreased to 75%. Many people (58%) also used rattan to tie fence. Eighty percent of respondents said that NTFPs amounts have decreased.

Livestock.

Half of the respondents said that they used to raise their animals in the plantation area and let them live in the forest until the season of rice planting arrived and they then take their animals to keep near the house. The reason for dying of animals is disease outbreaks. There were 0% of respondents who thought that the reason of animal decrease is lack of grazing area.

Wildlife and Fisheries.

The villagers also hunt wildlife for daily consumption: 62% hunt chipmunk (*Ka Tae*), 54% trap rats, 54% of respondents trap squirrel (*Ka Hok*).

In the plantation area, there is a small stream flowing through to the Xe Noiy River which the people used for catching fish however now the stream is dry and they have to cross the river to catch fish on the other side in Khammuan Province. Therefore, 68% of respondents replied that they find it harder to catch fish after the company came to their community. The company dammed the river to use as irrigation water the jatropha nursery but the company does not allow the villagers to use the water.

Firewood.

After the company cleared the area, there is still some dead (small) trees which the company threw away. Therefore the villagers (women) collect this wood for cooking and some collect the wood to use in their houses for furniture. However the answers of the respondents on wood collecting differ; 35% of respondents said finding wood is harder; 35% of respondents said it had not changed and 30% of respondents replied that they could find wood easier that before.

9.4 Employment on Plantation.

Employment on the plantation was done by 62% of respondents. Most of this work (94%) was in the seed nursery (adding soil into plastic bag and watering) clearing grass was done by 6% or respondents. The company paid 20,000kip per day without any benefits or social welfare, such as sick leave. During 2006 the respondents worked with the company on average for 27 days. From January to July 2007 this had decreased to 18 days pre person.

After the company came to the community, 53% of respondents said their income increased. However, 25% said that even though they had jobs and made more money their living condition had not changed and 19% said the situation (entire community) was the same. When villagers worked on the plantation the previous month (May 2008), 35.7% of respondents remembered making 0-50,000 kip which means they worked 2.5 days, 17% of respondents said that they earned from 100,000 – 150,000 kip the previous month. Twenty-five percent of families said they earned 200,000 – 300,000 kip.

When the project representatives and district officials came to the village they didn't show any evidence on what size of land area was needed. They did not make an agreement with local people for compensation and didn't guarantee jobs with the project. The local people can't negotiate for suitable working time periods and benefits. They work under strict rules and long hours but have low salaries. They receive only half their salaries at each payment which is often a few weeks after the period worked. Even though the pay is low the plantation project is a job opportunity to earn money for villagers. Every morning both women, men and youths have to get



Figure 7: Villagers waiting for names to be called

up early to prepare food and dress to go to the project field where they stand in line and hope their names are called to work in the plantation. Normally many people's names are not called to work. The morning the research team was there the company said they can't hire all of them, the unlucky villagers would stay at home, go fishing or collect non-timber forest products. Below is an extract from an interview with a villager who works on the plantation.

"We are exploited for our work. At first, we started at 8 o'clock and took a rest for 10 minutes at 10 am and stopped to have lunch at 12 pm for one hour. We then took a rest for 10 minutes at 3 pm and continued working until 4:30 pm (total 7.5 hours). The employer then changed the schedule and we start working at 7 am and have lunch at 11 pm and start again at 1 pm until 5.30 pm (8.5 hours), but still receive 20,000 kip per day. If we don't obey and disagree with the new rules, we will be fired and not get paid for that day and as well late salary. Another point I would like to make is for the company to take care of workers and provide social welfare when we are sick and get hurt."

9.5 Summary.

The main benefit from the plantation to the villagers is jobs. Interviews show that 89% of respondents had some type of job opportunity. Negative impacts on the environment were reported by 44% of respondents. A decrease in NTFPs amount was stated by 95% of the respondents. Ninety percent of respondents said the forest was damaged by the plantation and 55% said that they lost paddy or garden areas. It is harder for local people to catch fish because the level of river has decreased. Overall 52% said that the overall impacts are negative and 28% said there were some positive impacts when the company came to their community; 20% were unsure. Nearly 70% of respondents said that if the company did not clear land, they would have more NTFPs. Trees for house construction were still available according to 40% of respondents, 38% said that they still

have animal grazing areas and 28% said they have paddy and garden fields to plant rice, fruit and other practices for daily consumption and selling.

10. Nonyang Village.

10.1 Background to the village.

Nonyang is in Atsaphone Distirct of Savannakhet Province. It is located 4 kilometers off of road No. 10 which is the border between Atsaphone and Sayboury Districts. This community was established more than 200 years ago and has Phu Tai as the main ethnic group. Total population is 1,228 people of which 623 are women; there are 192 households and 236 families. The district implemented the government policy on joining smaller communities with larger ones (village consolidation) for the purpose of easier administration and management. Therefore Nonyang was administratively joined with one other village, Nonsavanh. The team conducted data collection using a random sampling technique to select 48 families of the total 236 families.

Forest Area.

The district has not yet implemented the land and forest allocation policy in this community therefore the people use customary law to manage land and forest and to settle conflicts among neighbors. Within forest lands there are areas of agriculture land which have individual owners. There are areas of communal land and forest for everyone's use. In the areas of forests there are streams where water levels decrease only slightly during the dry season. There are also dense areas of primary forest (Pa dong) which have not decreased much. There is a small sacred forest located near the village and far from the



Figure 8: Drawing map of each type of land use in Nonyang village. Concession area is in red.

plantation area. NTFPs can be collected from this area but no timber may be cut. For the agricultural areas the villagers have paid land tax but also declare smaller areas than are used to avoid taxes. As a result the government gave permission to the company to clear agricultural land that did not have taxes paid.

10.2 Background to Plantation Development.

Birla Lao Pulp & Plantations Co; Ltd is a trans-national corporation from India that has planted eucalyptus trees in Laos since 2007. The headquarters are located on the 5th floor of Vientiane Commercial Building in Vientiane Capital. However it also has the sub and field offices in Kaysone Phomvihan district and Ban Dongmakfai, Sayboury district of Savannakhet Province.

Birla Lao Company was granted 50,000 hectares from the Government of Laos to plant eucalyptus trees throughout the nation (Ministry of Planning and Investment, 2007). In Sayboury District 2,207 hectares have already been cleared and 1,610 hectares have been planted in Phouko,

Phouhom, Soungyang and Nongvaeng Villages. Included in the 2,207 hectares have been 250

hectares of communal and individual areas of Nonyang Village in Atsaphone District (A Report No. 31 of Savannakhet PAFO, 2007).

The Savannakhet Provincial Governor approved a team from the provincial forest extension office to cut the trees in the concession area. This followed provincial notice No.254 stating that trees smaller than 19cm in circumference belong to the district and bigger than 20cm belong to the province. In contrast, there is another notice, No.16 which describes that the trees bigger than 8cm in circumference belonged to the province and the smaller than 7cm the district ((Interview Khamma Xayasen on 24 March 2008). The villagers were

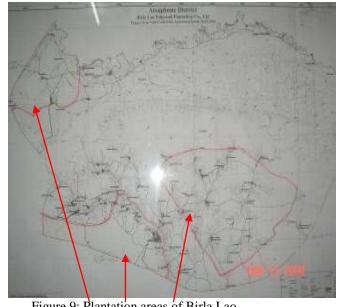


Figure 9: Plantation areas of Birla Lao.

prohibited from cutting any of the trees in the concessions area prior to clearing even though the area was in their communal forest and had been inherited from their ancestors.

10.3 Company and villager interaction.

Before the company started to clear the plantation area in December 2007, they coordinated with the district officials to conduct a technical survey for the appropriate land areas of Nonyang Village. They also organized a village meeting to ask the local villager's opinion, this was the only one of the three companies to do so. They were told the company will only take the areas of state and communal land. In fact, the company did not care about whose parcels were taken because most villagers did not pay taxes so it was interpreted as abandon and state lands. Therefore the company did not pay compensation to people even though they have inherited user rights from their ancestors. Presently, the villagers have only 50% of their original land and forest area because they now only have the land that they paid land tax.

The company and district officials organized a village meeting to hold discussions with villagers. The company promised to provide job opportunities for unemployed villagers who usually look for work in and outside the village as well as Thailand. This work would provide cash to improve living condition. The company also verbally promised (no contract letter) to support school construction, road improvement and electricity connection. These promises made the villagers feel happier and they imagined their lives would be better in the near future. Therefore they accepted the plantation.

From December 2007 until the time of the data collection in June and July 2008, the company had not provided any support as promised. In fact, the opposite happened, the timber loading trucks of the company destroy the roads which link the main road No. 10 from Sayboury district to the village and from their houses to farms. In terms of legal interpretation, verbal promises can not be used as evidence to claim for compensation; therefore the local villagers could not ask for the compensation and lacked power for negotiation with the company and the district.

10.4 Village Livelihood.

The natural resources are used in a self sufficient manner. Non-timber forest products are heavily relied upon, protein comes mainly from fishing, animal hunting and medicine to cure sick peoples comes from the forest. Animal raising of buffalo, pig, chicken, cow and goat is done for sale and for use during traditional festivals and weddings.

There are 45 families (93%) working in the plantation area. Villagers still collect and use natural resources even after land clearing. Forty families (83%) go fishing and 19 families (39%) hunt animals. The villagers also use their spare time after paddy planting or harvesting to produce basket, rice box and rice holding (16 families or 33%), NTFPs collection only 8 families (17%), shifting cultivation is also important (75%) and horticulture plantation (family gardening) (13%) and animal raising (63%). The main livelihood activity is paddy field practices (100% of interviewees) but only 98% said it was the most important livelihood activity. These activities have continued on from generation to generation with some hardship conditions such as flooding and drought.

10.5 Impact on Livelihood and the Environment.

The forest types most often mention by the villagers used to find the most frogs, mushrooms, and bamboo and other natural resources were 90 per cent of *Pa Khok*, 19 per cent of *Pa Lao* and 10 per cent of *Pa Dong*. This is for daily consumption and selling (94%). Villagers said the NTFPs included vegetables (35%), mushrooms (49%) and fuits (31 per cent collected *Mak Fai*, 24% mangoes and 24% *Mak KhorLan*.

After the plantation, 97% of the villagers reported that natural resources for their daily livelihood practices had decreased. Ninety per cent said they used the area for grazing and 89% reported that the number of animals has decrease because a lack of grazing area. Some people have bought tractors instead and some animals died because of diseases outbreak. Now the villagers say they can find wood or charcoal for fuel cooking easily because the company just cut trees and abandoned or burnt them around the plantation area. Big timber trucks also destroyed the road to the villagers' farms and community without repairs from the company. Even though they have another area for NTFPs collection or animal hunting, 97% said that it is quite difficult to find them because there are many people from Ban Nonyang and neighborhood communities collecting at the same place and wildlife is decreasing.

Wildlife and Fisheries.

The wildlife which the villagers named as hunted for consumption before the plantation were 39% of wild boar, 34% squirrel and 21% of civet cat (*Gnen*). People named the following trees as existing in the plantation area before clearing; 88% of Maijik, 77% of Maidaeng, 65% of *Mai Du*, 56% of *Mai Hang* and *Mai Kung*, 33% of *Mai Sak* and 27% of *Mai Yang* trees. After cutting all the trees the level of the streams decreased and the villagers can not find fish in that area any more, therefore they have to walk a longer distance to another place but still can not find the same amount. Eighty-six per cent of respondents reported that finding fish is harder and they used to walk only 15 minutes to the old fishing place but now they have to walk at least 2 hours.

10.6 Employment on Plantation.

Some form of plantation employment was held by 92% of the respondents. Of those 83% had planted trees, 56% had cleared grasses, 25% had applied fertilizer and 14% had done other jobs such as making fences, watering, digging holes and pole marking.

The wage is 20,000 kip per day per person which they receive at the middle of each month. They receive no other benefits such as sick leave or annual leave. The employment was limited last year with the average number of days worked per person at only 7 days. The average number of days worked over the Jan-Apr period of 2008 was 5 days. Over a quarter (28%) of respondents replied that they saw no benefit returning to their family, 21% get 0-50,000 kip per month, 23% received 50,000-100,000 kip per month and 10% of respondents received 100,000-150,000 kip per month. The company allows children to perform light labour such as marking poles, pouring water and spreading fertilizer. The age of the children is unknown but if below 14 years in age this is against the Lao Labour Law. This would be consistent with the use of child labour in rubber plantations other parts of Laos.

10.7 Summary.

The company still did not support any social activities as promised before clearing the plantation area. No school building construction, road condition improvement or support for electricity connections were ever given. However, most people (85%) think that after the company came to their village they have had more job opportunity, 17% have access to income, 15% said their incomes increased and 4% said their income didn't change. Eighty-three percent of respondents replied that after the company came to their village, there are negative impacts on the forest, 81% of respondents said they lost NTFPs, 77% of respondents said they lost animal grazing area and 75% of respondents lost paddy and fruit fields. The road conditions are also very bad and the wet season is shorter and hot season hotter and less good fishing.

Twenty-one percent of interviewees said that they had some form of conflict with the company representatives (Labour controlling). An important statistic is that almost all (95%) of respondents said that the negative impacts out weigh the benefits of the company coming to their village and 63% of respondents think that if the Birla Lao would not have come they could still find NTFPs more easily. The villagers are also concerned about future generation in terms of them finding food from natural resources and trees for housing.

It would appear from the above information that despite some small opportunities to gain casual employment through the company, there has been relatively little in the way of benefits to villages and a high degree of impacts on village livelihoods. This is supported by the majority of respondents (95%) who felt that overall the village had lost more than it had gained from the plantation development in their village.

11. Overall Research Summary.

11.1 Livelihoods and natural resources.

The research has shown that prior to land concessions all the communities relied on surrounding natural resource for their living. This included both wet and dry land rice cultivation, collection of non-timber forest products (plant and animal) for consumption and sale, small scale handicraft production, animal raising and selling of labour. The level of reliance on these factors is not static

but rather dynamic, depending on yearly weather, national economies, population and resource availability. The effects of the concession in each community varied but there were common trends. The most obvious being the change from livelihoods based on natural resources to one based on wage labour. The labour was sporadic and has not been a complete livelihood substitute and in many cases there is no labour available at all.

Large areas of the concessions included forest area that were previously used for hunting, NTFP collecting and agriculture. The loss of these areas has meant a decrease in these resources which has meant decreased food security and in some cases income. Fisheries were also impacted with local hydrology changing after the plantation. Villagers must now travel further to fish in other areas which is increasing competition and in the future, possibly conflict. The majority of respondents in all the communities stated that their natural resources had been negatively impacted by the concessions and that they had lost more than they had gained. An aspect for further research is the use of herbicides by the companies as this has been found to have serious impacts on natural resources (water) and health of communities in other parts of Laos.

11.2 Labour and company relations.

Understanding labour issues in the villages is challenging, especially as there was different company working in each of the 3 villages. Of these only one, the Birla Lao Pulp & Plantations Company, held any village level meetings. During the meeting for a school construction, assistance in electrifying the village and road upgrades was offered by the company but at the time of research done of these had not been done. Transparency and relationship building with the communities has been poorly undertaken by all the companies. They have instead chosen to work through the local authorities using a top down approach. In some cases threats of incarceration were made by government officials to make villagers given up their land.

The number of families having ever worked on the plantations was 46%, 62% and 92%. The variation might be explained by trees planted (rubber, jatropha, eucalyptus respectively) and their different labour demands. Although the figures range from medium to high, it is the number of days worked that shows the benefits reaped. The number of days worked was less than 5 per month and people felt that the low amount of labour provided had little benefit for them. Detailed preconcession income studies would have been useful in making comparisons to post-concession incomes. In Kengtew only 3% of those interviewed said that working for the company was their most important livelihood activity even though 47% has worked for the company. This demonstrates that the plantation, in the opinion of those that it is supposed to "develop" is not successful.

The companies are also in violation of the Lao Labour Law as they provide no social benefits (sick leave, holidays, overtime). As the communities do not know the law they are unable to act on this and the companies or governments have made no effort to inform labours of their rights. It appears that the companies are employing children below the minimal working age (14 year of age).

11.3 Legal Issues.

Also worth noting is the companies and government ignorance of the compensation decree which should have been followed when concession land was taken from individuals had land that tax was being paid. However, the legal and compensation aspects are complex given that the villages have never been through Land and Forest Allocation and had no formal tenure or rights (other than customary) to use the land. No compensation was paid to any of the villages for the lose of the

lands, either individual or communal. What is clear is that in all 3 villages the government made no effort to inform people of their rights but rather facilitated the concession process.

12. Recommendations.

- The involved government sectors should declare a notification to stop land concession under the 2007 moratorium of the Lao Prime Minister and apply the 2+3 policy and do surveys that included participation of local people and their opinions.
- The trans-national corporation and state authorities should strictly apply the 2007 amended law on forestry and law on labour.
- The trans-national corporation and government should respect local villagers' rights and provide suitable compensation or provide new land areas.
- The state authorities should disseminate laws (especially the Decree No. 192/PM, July 2005 on Compensation and Resettlement of the Development Project) related to natural resource management especially land and forest issue to empower local villagers and acknowledge their communal properties management and use.
- The state should formally approve efforts by communities or projects to protect land and management forests.
- The state at various levels should have monthly and quarterly evaluations and monitor the concession to ensure the trans-national corporation applies the regulation process under the sate and party policy on poverty reduction for local communities.
- State sectors from various levels should provide additional technical assistance to introduce the industrial tree plantation under the policy 2+3 and support additional livelihood activities in both short and long terms.
- Government officials abusing their power or not following the Lao law should be subject to investigation and punishment if found guilty.
- Government authorities should represent and protect the communities and not act as representatives of the companies.
- Investors must understand the law of Laos before starting the projects.

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Appendix

Questionnaire Sheet

Village: Respondent name:; Sex: Date:
A. Background of family
1. How many people in this household? Adults Living outside Adults Children the village: Children
 * Get villager to draw a map to facilitate understanding and include at least the following Villagers' house Villagers' agricultural lands (both present and past) Any other lands of the villager (both present and past) Concession area
 2. Agricultural Lands Now a) Paddy fields (ha) How many ha planted b) Other Rice fields (ha) How many ha planted c) Orchards (ha) d) Gardens (ha) e) Other land (ha) Explain
*In Q2 a) and b), how many hectares of this land do you normally farm per year?
 3. a) Did you or anyone in this family loose any of your own land to the company? Yes / No (if Yes continue, if No go to Question 5) b) How many hectares of land did you loose?
If the family has lost land to the plantation then Q4, if not Q5
4. Did you pay land tax on the land you lost? Yes / NoI. When was the last year you paid land tax?II. how many years did you pay tax on the land?III. How much (kip) did you pay?
Any other relevant information

4.	Family Livelihoods What kind of livelihoods did your family have last year from Jan to December (income d personal consumption)
0	Farming Rice
0	Eating meat: Hunting / Fishing / Other
0	Own a shop or business
0	Making handicrafts
0	Growing crops for sale
0	Working at the plantation company (more details in Section C)
0	Other Labour work
0	Family member sends money (see Q6)
0	Other Work Explain
	 5. Not including money from working at the plantation, last month how much income did your household earn? No income 0 to 50,000 Kip 50,000 to 100,000 Kip 100,000 to 150,000 Kip 150,000 to 200,000 Kip 200,000 to 300,000 Kip > 300,000 Kip
	 6. Does anyone in your household live outside the village? Yes / No a. Who? b. Where? c. When did they leave? d. What do they do? e. How often do they send money? f. How much do they send? g. When was the last time you heard from them?
	7. Of all your livelihood activities, which do you think is presently the most important for you households' livelihood?

C. Labour at plantation

o No change

o Yes, contin	anyone in your household ever been hired to work at the plantation? ue with question 9 e with question 16
9. How many	persons have worked for the company in your household?
10. What work	did you/they do?
11. What was/	is the daily wage in Kip?
12. When was	the last time each member of the household worked for the company?
13. How many January?	days have you and the other members of the household worked since
14. How many plantation la	days did you and the other members of your household work at the ast year?
	our monthly household cash income changed since you (or other HH began working at the plantation?

D. Plantation Area

*Using the villager's map, facilitate discussion on the situation of the plantation area before it was cleared by the company.

- 16. Before the company came, which type of village forest areas were located in the cleared area?
- o illage Production Forest
- Village Spirit Forest
- Village Cemetery Forest
- Village Conservation Forest
- o Paa Lao
- o Paa Kok
- o Paa Dong
- o Other _____
- 17. Which species of tree can you remember were previously in the cleared area?

- 18. Were there previously many large trees in the area where the plantation is located? Yes / No
- 19. How tall were the tallest trees
- As tall as the height of 2 villagers
- o As tall as the height of 3-5 villagers
- As tall as the height of 6-8 villagers
- o As tall as the height of 8-10 villagers
- o Taller than the height of 10 villagers
- 20. How thick were the biggest trees
- o As thick as 1 person standing up
- o As thick as 2 people standing side by side
- o As thick as 3 people standing side by side
- As thick as 4 people standing side by side
- o As thick as 5 people standing side by side
- Thicker than more than 5 people standing side by side

E. Impact on land accessibility

Agricultural Land

	21. Did you previously plant anything in the concession area? Yes / No If yes continue, if no go to question 23
	o Rice Paddy
	 Other Rice Field
	o Fruit trees
	Other crops (Mak Duai, rubber, corn etc)
	Explain -
	22. When the company cleared the land, did you receive anything for the loss of this land? Yes / No a. What did you receive?
	<u>Grazing land</u> 23. Do you presently have any livestock? Yes / No
	Buffalo Cows Pigs
	24. Has the number of your livestock decreased because of the plantation? Yes / No Previously how many Buffalo Cows Pigs If decreased, explain why
	25. Did your livestock previously graze in the cleared area? Yes / No
If Y	es continue, If no go to 28
	26.a) If yes, now where do they graze? (use map) Closer to village
	Further from the village
	Same distance to the village
	Nowhere to graze Explain
<u>lf fu</u>	urther from village 26.b) Compared to before the company came, do livestock go missing or die at a higher / less / same rate as before?
	27. Are there any other problems concerning your livestock due to the plantation? If so what kind of problems? Yes / No Explain

- 28. After the company cleared the land are the remaining grazing areas sufficient for the whole village?
- o Plenty
- Sufficient
- o Insufficient
- o No

Non Timber Forest Products

29. Before the company and cleared the land came did you previously collect non timber forest products $\underline{in\ the\ cleared\ area}$? Yes / No

If Yes continue

If No Q 37

30. What kind of NTFPs did you used to collect in the area that the company cleared?

No.			Usage											
		Sales	Consumption	Medicine	Construction									
I	Vegetables													
II	Fruit													
III	Wild animals													
IV	Vines and barks													
V	Tree Resins													
VI	Bamboo and grass													
VII	Root/tuber crops													
	_													
VIII	Other													
7 111														

where do you collect all the above products? (Use map)		•		

31. Now that the area has been cleared / planted with trees by the company from

that you take their forest products? Yes / No Explain
Since the company came is it more difficult for you and members of your household to find forest products? Yes / No Explain
Yes continue No go to Q 37
33. Which products are more difficult for you and your family to find since the compan cleared the land?
34. Are there any NTFP that you used to collect in the company area that you can no longer find?
35. Has your family lost any income because of the loss of NTFPs? If so, how much per month / year?
Il respondents to answer Q37
 36. Since the company came do you think that the total number of NTFP in the village has Increased Decreased Stayed the same
Only respondents who DID NOT report any loss of NTFP due to the company
37. Since the company came and many other people lost their NTFP resources do these people come to collect NTFP from your areas? Yes / No Explain

F. Impact on Environment

<u>Firewood</u>

38. Did you previously collect firewood from the concession area?

0	Yes, continue with question No, continue with question
39	 Since the company came, do you think finding firewood is now Easier to find More difficult to find The same as before
	Before the company cleared the land did you cut trees for firewood purposes? Yes No
0	At present, do you cut trees for firewood? Yes, the same amount as before Yes, more trees than before No
	Fisheries Since the company came, do you think catching fish is now Easier More difficult The same as before more difficult explain why
	Before the company came did you previously take fish from the cleared area? ss / No
	continue go to Q 50 Benefits of plantation
44	. When the company came, what happened to the waterways where you previously caught fish?
45	Before the company came, did the previous waterways that the company cleared provide enough fish? Yes / No
46	. Now is there enough fish? Yes / No
47	. How far did you previously have to walk to catch fish?
48	.How far do you have to walk to catch fish now?

G. Benefits plantation

0	Increase in employment opportunities / income
0	Improve infrastructural conditions
O	Improvement in the natural environment
0	Other: -
50	. What are the main problems that you or members of your household have
50	encountered with the plantation?
0	Did not receive wages
0	Other problems (aside from wages) with managers
0	Disease/health problems related to plantation work
0	Difficulty in communication (language)
0	Loss of agricultural land
0	Loss of grazing land
0	Loss of forest
0	Loss of NTFPs
0	Not any problem
0	Other, explain:
51	.When we balance what the village has gained from the plantation with what the village has lost, do you think that overall the village has o Gained o Lost o No gain or loss = same as before
52	If the plantation did not exist what would be different (beside employment opportunities) from the present situation?

49. What are the main benefits for you and your family from the plantation?