The Continuum of Land Rights and Links to Food Security:

An Overview of Community Studies from Cambodia, Nepal and Philippines

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Small farmers and producers have served as the backbone of Asian agriculture and food security. Asia is home to 75 percent of the world's farming households, 80 percent of whom are small-scale farmers and producers. However, majority of them are resource poor, and lacking tenure security and access to productive assets, especially land and water. Moreover, agricultural households face limited access to basic services, low productivity, and underemployment. Small rural producers also often lack access to financial services, education opportunities, advisory services, infrastructure, and well-functioning markets.

The great irony is that poverty and hunger remain largely rural and agricultural, and that small food producers continue to count among the most vulnerable to hunger. In the Philippines, for instance, statistics show that fisherfolk and farmers are the two poorest sectors. The poverty incidence is 40 percent among farmer households and 50 percent among fisherfolk households – compared to the national poverty incidence of 21 percent in 2009.

This three-country study was undertaken by the Asian NGO Coalition for Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (ANGOC) in order to explore the

This is based on a review and analysis of three in-country studies - "Land Tenure and Food Security: Case Study of Two Forest Communities in Pursat Province, Cambodia,""Study on Continuum of Land and Property Rights in Nepal," and "Connecting Land Rights to Food Security: The Philippines Case." The edited version of the Cambodia case study, and the abridged versions of the Nepal and the Philippine case studies are included in this publication.

linkages between land tenure and food security at community level, with the perspective of developing tools and strategies towards monitoring and addressing rural hunger and poverty. ANGOC is an Asian regional network of civil society organizations (CSOs) that has been advocating for land rights since its founding in 1979.

This study builds upon an earlier *200-Village Project* initiative that the ANGOC network undertook in 2000, focused on food security of rural households, with land tenure security as a major component of the program. The current research has been undertaken jointly with ANGOC partners: STAR Kampuchea in Cambodia; the Community Self-Reliance Centre (CSRC) in Nepal; and the Center for Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (CARRD), Solidarity towards Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (Kaisahan, Inc.), Xavier Science Foundation (XSF) and Philippine Association for Intercultural Development (PAFID) in the Philippines.

This research initiative is supported by the Global Land Tool Network (GLTN), an alliance of international partners focused on poverty alleviation through land reform, improved land management and security of tenure. This study also builds on the "Continuum of Land Rights" – a tool developed by GLTN as a cornerstone of its philosophy and approach.

Study Objectives

The overall goal of the three-country study is "to pilot a participatory evidence-based documentation on access to land as a key intervention in addressing food insecurity in rural areas." In this regard, community-level studies were undertaken in three countries: Cambodia, Nepal and the Philippines.

The specific objectives of the study are: a) to outline a *land rights continuum*, and; b) to describe the *links between land access and food security* in selected communities in each of the three countries.

Methodology

The study uses both secondary and primary sources. Data collection methods include: *desk reviews* on information regarding the countries' land tenure systems and food security status, *key informant interviews* (KIIs) for gathering

local and community-level profiles, and *ocular inspection and direct observation* of community conditions and practices. *Focus group discussions* (FGDs) was the principal tool used for gathering and discussing relevant data at the neighborhood/community and household levels.

The guide questions for KIIs and FGDs were initially drawn up based on the data gathering tools and questions used in ANGOC's earlier *200-Village Project*, which focused on food security. The shortened questionnaire was then field-tested in two community sites in the Philippines, then discussed at a regional planning meeting in April 2017 involving lead researchers from the three countries. More specific discussions were conducted to: (a) identify the specific focus of the study for each country, including an initial draft continuum of land rights (for each country study); (b) develop the FGD guide questionnaire; and (c) obtain feedback on a community profile format. Participants also finalized the research design framework, including the sampling methodology and selection of communities, the guide questions, the proposed outline of each study, and the overall work plans for the country and regional studies.

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The agreed FGD guide questions focused on eight major topics: a) general household profiles, b) housing and homelots, c) incomes and livelihoods, d) migration, e) credit and inputs, f) tenurial status of farmlands, g) perceptions of food security, and h) perceptions of community problems. In particular, the questions on food security used a self-assessment system, a seasonal calendar, and a discussion guide on the factors that contribute to household food security and/or hunger. The guide questions were translated into local languages and dialects. Based on purposive sampling, FGDs were conducted among the different land tenure groups spread across the land rights continuum for each country. A total of 49 community-level FGDs were conducted – seven in Cambodia, 20 in Nepal and 22 in the Philippines. The qualitative data was then analyzed by searching for patterns in data, particularly on existing land tenure practices, and on the relationship between land tenure and food security. Insights were gained by comparing the findings of the FGDs among the different tenure groups in the continuum.

Aside from the three in-country studies, an initial effort was made to undertake a separate study focused on indigenous peoples communities (in the Philippines). However, the study could not be completed due to limited time and resources. Aside from having to travel to distant locations, the researchers would need to obtain the free, prior and informed consent of indigenous communities. An initial write-up was prepared but was not presented and discussed at the regional forum. It focuses on the recognition of indigenous peoples in the Philippines from the legal and statutory perspective, and provides a historical narrative of how these laws were promulgated. Nevertheless, the continuum of land rights from the perspective of indigenous peoples communities is a subject for future study.

This study has its limitations. It is largely an exploratory and descriptive study, due to the limited sample size and the amount of data that could be generated with limited resources and within a short period of time. Nevertheless, it identifies certain trends in the continuum of land rights, and describes the links between land tenure and food security. In the Nepal case study, which covered distant and diverse communities from three eco-geographic regions, researchers commented that the "continuum" perhaps could have been better analyzed with more financial support for an extended period of "fieldwork," instead of relying entirely on FGDs, or rapid rural appraisal methodology.

Food Security Framework

The study builds around existing frameworks and initiatives related to *food security* and the *continuum of land rights*.

The *concept of food security (FS)* has evolved over time. Earlier concepts focused on the *physical availability* of food, regardless of whether people had access or not. In 1983, FAO expanded the FS concept to include *economic access* by vulnerable people to available supplies: "… ensuring that all people at all times have both physical and *economic access* to the basic food that they need." In 1986, the World Bank report *"Poverty and Hunger"* included the *adequacy* of food, making a distinction between *chronic food insecurity* brought about by structural poverty and low incomes, and *transitory food insecurity* caused by natural disasters, economic collapse or conflict. In the mid-1980s, there was a shift in focus towards *rights* and *entitlements,* influenced by Amartya Sen's 1981

study "Poverty and Famines" that showed how famines thrive even with food availability. Sen's work provided the underlying impetus and framework for the Human Development Index (HDI), which was launched in 1990.

In the mid-1990s, there was a concern to link access to sufficient food with *food safety* and *nutritional balance*. According to the 1996 World Food Summit, "Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life." Thus, the four dimensions of food security are: *food availability*, *food access*, *utilization* (food safety and nutrition), and *stability* (security of access and protection against risks).

Meanwhile, CSOs criticized the over-reliance on external markets, trade and food aid for ensuring food security. Instead, CSOs advocated for the principle of *food sovereignty*, or the need for communities and countries to produce and ensure their own food, to the extent possible. Related to this is the working principle of *reducing food kilometers*, or reducing the distance between where food is produced and where the same food is consumed. This principle emphasized the rights of small producers, along with the need to develop local markets, and the need to reduce the environmental effects and carbon dioxide (CO_2) emissions associated with transporting food over wide distances.

ANGOC's earlier *200-Village Project* examined food security at the *household and community level* as a basis for community-level planning and action, and for linking village-based initiatives with policy advocacy at the national and regional levels. It surveyed 188 village communities in 10 Asian countries. The level of food security was measured by asking respondents to rate their consumption ("sufficient," "insufficient," or "insufficient at times") across a number of food groups, and based on these responses, the level of household food security was categorized as "food secure, moderately food secure, food insecure and highly food insecure." The food security analysis was then correlated with various factors (nine key indicators and 30 sub-indicators) to identify relationships and to monitor trends.

The ANGOC study found that only 40 percent of the rural households surveyed rated themselves as "food secure." It also found that the level of household food security is positively correlated with: (a) access to land and level of security of tenure; (b) agricultural productivity; (c) gender equity and food distribution

within households; (d) household incomes and purchasing power; (e) access to credit; and (f) health status and low incidence of disease among household members.

When asked about their perception regarding "what factors would ensure their food security in the future," the household respondents cited the following (ranked according to number of responses):

- support to agricultural production
- improved incomes (most respondents derived their incomes from agriculture)
- access to credit/capital
- social services and infrastructure
- agricultural land

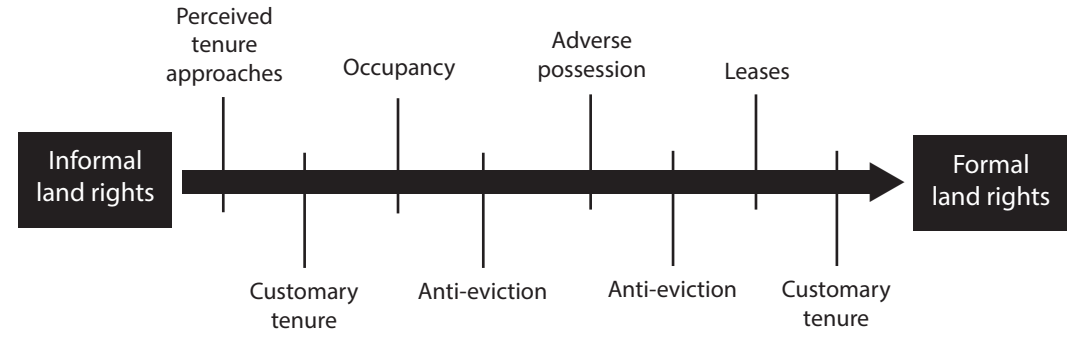
Regarding the link between food security and access to land, the earlier *200-Village Project* found that food secure groups had the highest incidence among owner-cultivators (70 percent), and the lowest incidence among share tenants (seven percent) and leaseholders (seven percent). This seemed to indicate that household food security is directly linked to access to land and the type of land tenure, among other factors.

Continuum of Land Rights

The *Continuum of Land Rights* is a tool developed by the Global Land Tool Network (GLTN) as an aide to describe and explain an existing tenure situation and predicting how a range of tenure types may transform over time given different scenarios and intervention strategies. The continuum has gained wide acceptance among a number of international agencies.

The rights to land are shown as lying in a continuum (Figure 1). As explained by GLTN, at one end are formal land rights, where the owner holds a set of registered rights to a parcel of land that are enshrined in law; the parcel is delineated on a map held in a records office; the owner has the right to occupy the land, build on it (subject to approvals), sell it, rent it out, transfer it to his or her heirs, and prevent other people from coming on to it. At the informal end of the continuum are informal rights. The boundaries of the land may not be clearly marked on the ground or on a map, and there may be no official paperwork certifying who owns or has what rights to the land. In between these two poles a number of different

Figure 1. Continuum of Land Rights



Source: GLTN. An Overview of the Continuum of Land Rights

tenure forms may exist. They may overlap and transform as change occurs and they are likely to be supported by a mix of formal (State systems) and informal (non-State) institutions.

A number of important observations, however, should be made about the continuum. These observations also stem from *criticisms* of the continuum itself (including Fig. 1 above), and how it was viewed and applied. The continuum earlier gained wide acceptance among UN and international agencies, and has often been used to describe official processes in land titling and land administration projects.

First, it should be noted that the continuum is a *metaphor*, not a theory (of property) in its own right (Barry and Augustinus 2015). It originally emerged as a *tool* and can be used for describing a land tenure situation from different ideological and theoretical perspectives; it can also be used to make predictions about how a situation is likely to evolve.

Secondly, the continuum itself does not advocate that formal land rights in the form of individual land ownership should be the sole tenure form of choice in development strategies. There is often the misconception that private individual tenure (private property) lies at the apex of legal and economic evolution, as the precondition for efficient and free markets. Land is more than just an economic asset or commodity. In reality, land involves a web of interests, and individual private ownership is seldom the appropriate tenure form for many poor sectors of society (Barry and Augustinus 2015). Furthermore, markets are seldom the most equitable allocators of interest over land and resources.

Thirdly, although the continuum of land rights might imply a simple linear progression, reality shows that the changes in tenure and property relations are much more complex, heterogenous, non-linear and with multiple directions. Land (and water) may have overlapping interests and serve multi-functions; there may be a *de facto* plurality of tenure forms over land, some of which may not be recognized by law. While some changes are evolutionary, others are drastic. People may experience increases or decreases in land tenure over time due to several factors, including war, conflict and natural disasters, political and social changes, and the behavior of the State and other powerful institutions. Some forms of tenure may be temporary, while others may be deemed illegal or unethical which the State or civil society may wish to eradicate. (*Thus, in this study, arrows in the continuum point both left and right.*)

Finally, some definitions of relevant terms are important here. A *right*, along with its restrictions and responsibilities, is defined as an entitlement supported by law, long-standing custom or common practice (Barry and Augustinus 2015). This means that a right is not limited only to those codified by law (i.e., legal rights) but includes interests in land that flow from customary systems and conventional practice.

Land tenure is the relationship, whether legally or customarily defined, among people, as individuals or groups, with respect to land and related resources (FAO 2002). However, *security of tenure* does not solely refer to the legal right of ownership of land, in the form of individual land titles. Land may have multiple uses by different people in ways that are defined and protected by customary law or practice, and community norms.

A key element of tenurial security lies in the protection and *enforcement of rights*. On this matter, the central State is not the sole enforcer of rights, nor does it necessarily have the reach or capacity to do so, at all times. The enforcement of rights is also implemented by communities and institutions in ways that may, or may not be, officially recognized by the central State.

For purposes of this study, it might be useful to note that there are three main types of security of tenure. First, *perceived* tenure security relates to a community's own subjective perception that individuals within it will not lose their land rights through forced eviction. Secondly, *de facto* tenure security refers to the actual

control of land and property, regardless of the legal status. Thirdly, *legal* tenure security refers to tenure protection backed up by State authority.

The Continuum as Applied to Different Country Contexts

There is no universal land rights continuum, and the tool should be used to describe or reflect specific contexts. The three countries selected for this study have experienced significant changes in property regimes, along with the implementation of State programs on land tenure and agrarian reforms. Each country therefore provides a unique working context for study, especially when the continuum of land rights is viewed from below, from the perspective of local communities.

Cambodia Context

Cambodia presents a unique case of a country that has experienced four major property regimes within a single generation due to decades of internal war and foreign occupation. French colonization and a return to monarchical rule (1953-1975) was followed by land collectivization under the Khmer Rouge (1975-1979), then partial de-collectivization under Vietnamese occupation, and finally the move towards privatization after 1989 (Quizon, 2013). In 1975-79, the Khmer Rouge regime abolished private property, destroyed cadastral maps and wiped out the entire administrative and institutional infrastructure of the land system. Decades of war and forced relocation resulted in the massive movement of millions of people and the loss of property rights.

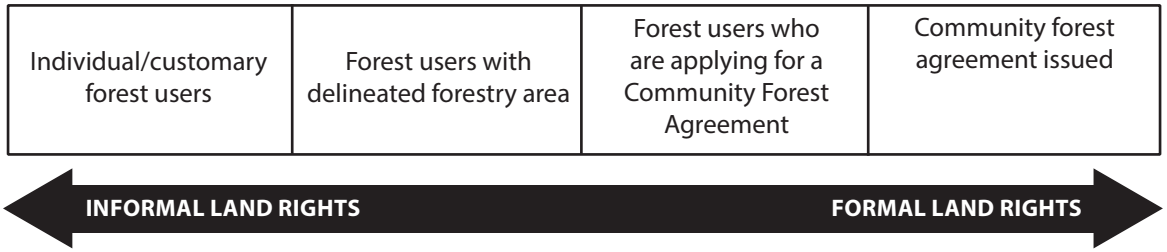
After the Vietnamese departed in 1989, Sub-Decree 25 was enacted, permitting Cambodians to buy and sell land. However, land disputes arose in the process of reclaiming lands. In 1992, the Basic Land Law was then promulgated; but in the period of 1993-2000, the recourse to markets, inappropriate use of power and the absence of effective measures to protect peasants resulted in landlessness, land concentration and land insecurity. There were no public institutions able to tackle land tenure problems. Thus, the priority was to create a strong legal basis to allow for the establishment of land tenure institutions. In this context, the 2001 Land Law introduced a cadastral system, a central registry of titles and a land classification system.

In Cambodia today, the State directly owns and manages 80 percent (14.5 million hectares) of the country's 18.1 million hectares.[1] However, State land management has favored large-scale economic land concessions (ELCs) to private entities; today, some 20 percent of State lands (3.6 million hectares) have already been awarded to large-scale agricultural concessionaires. In the wake of heightened violence and conflict between concessionaires and displaced communities, the Prime Minister in May 2012 issued a moratorium on granting ELCs, and Order 01 to initiate a land titling campaign in those areas of conflict between concessionaire companies and existing communities on State land. Thus, the challenge facing many small farmers is how to formalize their land property rights under the 2001 Land Law in the face of competing claims. Central to this is the formalization of individual and collective tenure rights over State lands (domain), to include lands classified as forest lands and agricultural lands.

In the Cambodia case study, two land rights continuums were formulated. *First*, the land rights continuum for State-owned *forestlands* illustrates a process of how informal settlers in forest communities gradually gain increasing State recognition of their "possession" rights or claims over forestland, leading towards obtaining Community Forest certificates (rather than land titles).

It identifies four main categories or phases in this land rights continuum. The specific areas of study are two forest communities located in Pursat Province in Western Cambodia.

Fig. 2. Continuum of Tenure Rights for Forest Users in Cambodia



Second is the case of Cambodia's land rights continuum for State grants of *agricultural lands*. Five categories of tenure were identified based on an analysis of increasing rights recognition and the enforcement of such rights. A cursory look into which institutions actually provide and enforce land rights was instrumental in identifying the different categories, as it allows for an understanding of the

[1] In comparison: in the Philippines, the State controls 53 percent of the country's land area (2015 data); and in Indonesia, the State controls 62 percent of the country's total land area.

abundance or absence of legal rights for farmers. These categories were then viewed against the bundle of rights made available to farmers according to who (or which institution) recognizes and enforces the farmer's land rights. The continuum also demonstrates how local institutions might provide some level of recognition or protection to local land claims even in the absence of official recognition by the central State.

Fig 3. Continuum of Tenure Rights among Tillers of State Agricultural Lands in Cambodia

Land under claim	Land claim recognized by neighbors	Land claim recognized by village	Land under possession right document given by the commune and village chief	Titled land
Primary recognition & enforcement of rights by:				
Household	Neighborhood community	Village	Commune	Central State

Nepal Context

Nepal is a country where the land systems have been governed by statutory laws, as well as historically by customary and non-formal practices. In a country where indigenous ethnic groups comprise 37 percent of the population, customary laws continue to play an important role in the management of land, and in the exercise of tenure rights.

The system of land tenure has evolved into various forms and phases over the years. Historically, State ownership was the traditional form of land tenure in Nepal, as the land belonged to the State and its rulers (monarchs). After 1946, six major types of land were officially recognized: *Raikar*, or State-owned land on which the State levies taxes; *Birta,* or land grants awarded to individuals by the State; *Jagir*, where civil servants were authorized to collect land taxes; *Rakam*, or lands temporarily assigned as compensation to particular workers; *Kipat*, or land collectively owned by the community and managed under usufructory rights, and *Guthi*, or land allocated for the purpose of religious, charitable, cultural or

social functions, which was sometimes farmed by tenants. Today, however, only two major types of legal tenure prevail in terms of *Raikar* and *Guthi,* as many of the other land types were legally subsumed under *Raikar*. Currently, *Raikar* covers both privately-owned and State-controlled and managed lands, while *Guthi* refers to trust lands (of four types). Meanwhile, a third type of tenure exists in terms of the growing slums and settlements of landless and homeless people, also called *informal tenure*.

In the Nepal case study, the land rights continuum illustrates eight major types of smallholder farmers, based on their legal tenure and bundle of rights effected under contemporary law.[2] These include: public land tillers, contract farmers, sharecroppers, tenants (on private lands), farmers tilling land on mortgage, *Guthi* land tillers, *Birta* land tillers and smallholders. Yet, as noted in the Nepal case study, this continuum presents a somewhat simplified picture of reality, for actual tenure relations in rural areas are much more diverse and complex. For example, while much of customary practices of land resource management have been eroded by statutory land laws, indigenous communities of the hills and mountains still manage rangelands and pastureland based on community traditions and institutional norms. Also, several sub-categories of tenurial arrangements exist under both *Raikar* and *Guthi* land. Finally, feudal and exploitative practices continue to exist, such as *Haliya* and *Haruwa*, and forms of bonded labor that are considered illegal under the law.

The Nepal case study had informant-groups from 20 communities representing different categories of land-poor farmers, and distributed by geo-ecological region (*Tarai,* Hills, High Hills). The FGD groups also focused on different tenure groups of women, different indigenous (minority) communities (*Tamang, Thami, Sherpa*) and groups of different castes (*Dalit, Brahmin, Chetri*).

Fig. 4. Continuum of Smallholder Farmers in Nepal

Public land tillers	Contract farmers	Share croppers	Tenants (in private lands)	Farmers tilling land on mortgage	*Guthi* land tillers	*Birta* land tillers	Small-holders

Increasing tenure security and exercise of "bundle of rights"

[2] For Nepal, small farmers are defined as having less than half of a hectare of operational farmland.

Philippines Context

The Philippines is a country with a long history of agrarian reforms since the 1950s. Major land reforms were legislated in 1955 and 1963 in direct response to escalating agrarian and social unrest, yet their implementation was stifled by landowning interests entrenched in power, and by the lack of government support and implementation. In 1972, the martial law regime instituted a land-to-the-tiller act, but this was limited to tenanted farms planted to rice and corn, which were hotbeds of agrarian unrest, while large plantations in other crops (e.g., sugarcane) remained untouched.

Following the 1986 revolution that ousted the dictatorship, and with the formulation of a new constitution, the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP) was instituted in 1988 that aimed to redistribute land and to reform tenure arrangements over some 9.1 million hectares of existing private farms and public lands deemed suitable for agriculture. However, over the years the implementation of CARP has shown to be slow and cumbersome, in part due to the complexity and scope of the program, corruption in the bureaucracy, the poor state of land records and system of land administration, as well as agrarian disputes especially involving private lands.

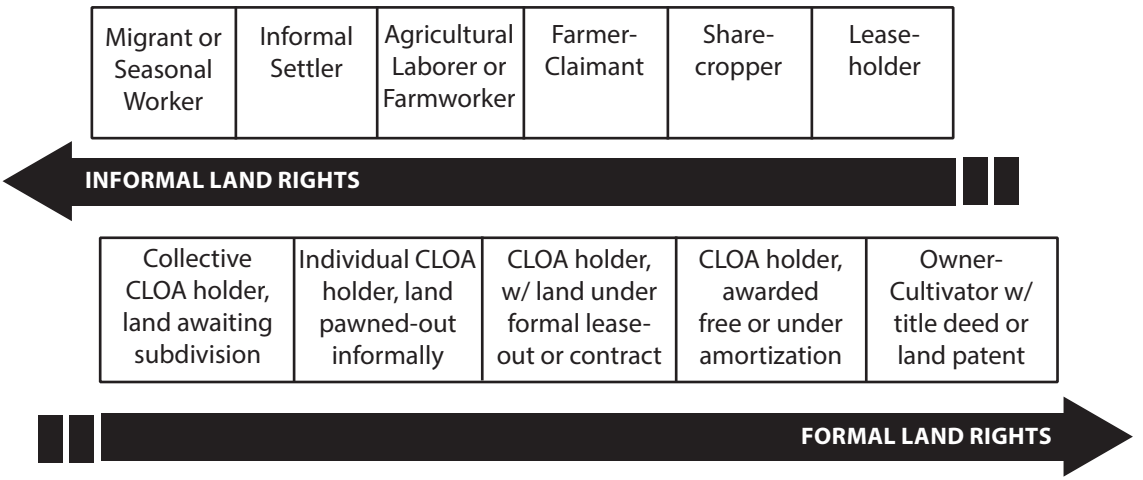
Consolidated data show that, between 1988 and December 2015, a total of 5.2 million farmer-beneficiaries were awarded *direct land ownership* over 7.3 million hectares. These consisted of 2.8 million beneficiaries in 4.7 million hectares of *existing private farms*, and 2.4 million beneficiaries who were awarded land patents over 2.5 million hectares of *erstwhile State lands* that were transferred as private property. Also in private lands, an undetermined number of farmers have benefited from tenancy reforms under CARP, with the institution of leasehold (fixed rental) arrangements for tenanted lands retained by landowners.

However, an estimated 600,000 eligible beneficiaries have yet to be covered by the program, as of December 2015. Moreover, many *existing* beneficiaries are unable to fully exercise their land rights, or experience insecurity over their tenure. Many of those who have been awarded lands under collective titles are still awaiting legal partition of the land into their individually-assigned plots. Farmer cooperatives have entered into various long-term contracts (long-term lease, joint venture, marketing contracts) with large agribusiness companies under problematic contractual arrangements unfavorable to smallholders.

Some may have received their land award documents but do not have actual possession of the land, and are prevented from doing so. Sharecropping systems continue despite being declared illegal under the law. Some awarded lands may be under dispute or competing claims. Also, many farmers are known to have illegally pawned their awarded lands due to poverty and indebtedness.

Thus, in the Philippines case study, the land rights continuum illustrates a set of 11 different tenure categories of lowland farmers and farmworkers in alienable and disposable lands.[3] The continuum – from informal to formal rights – categorizes farmers and farmworkers according to their (a) *physical access* and actual use of the land, and (b) their *tenure instrument* and legal recognition of rights over the land, which includes the various milestones towards land ownership provided under CARP. The field study focuses on two main crops – rice and sugarcane – owing to the high poverty incidence and the different prevailing tenure systems in these two crops. The focus of the study are 22 small farming communities in the provinces of Iloilo (for rice) and Negros Occidental (for sugarcane).

Fig. 5. Land Rights Continuum for Farmers in A&D Lands, Philippines



*Note: CLOA refers to the "Certificate of Land Ownership Award" given to beneficiaries under the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program.

[3] In the Philippines, all lands are either public domain (State-owned) or alienable and disposable (A&D). Only A&D lands can be privately owned, (which include agricultural lands). State-owned (non-A&D) lands, on the other hand, are subject only to usufruct and resource utilization rights under certain conditions.

Summary

Table 1 provides a summary of how the continuum of land rights has been applied in the different country contexts.

Table 1. Summary of the Continuum of Land Rights as Applied to Different Country Contexts

	CAMBODIA	NEPAL	PHILIPPINES
FOCUS OF CONTINUUM	Formalization of rights in State lands	Tenure status among small producers in the context of cultural & geophysical diversity, & pending land reforms	Tenure status of farmers in alienable and disposable (A&D) agricultural lands in the context of agrarian reform
CONTINUUM TOOL	2 processes: (a) 4 stages towards community *forestry land* (usufruct) rights, and (b) 5 stages towards titling of State *agricultural land*	7 major tenure types of land-poor farmers, based on their legal tenure and bundle of rights	11 tenure categories of lowland farmers and farmworkers in A&D lands
BASIS FOR CONTINUUM	Bundle of rights Institutions providing recognition	Type of tenure instrument Bundle of rights	Physical access Type of tenure instrument Bundle of rights
FGDs CONDUCTED	7 FGDs in 2 communities; 110 households	20 FGDs in 3 geophysical regions; 190 households	22 FGDs in 2 provinces
OTHER BASIS FOR FGDs	—	caste, women, geophysical regions (*Tarai*, Hills, High Hills)	crops (rice and sugarcane)

Summary of Major Findings from the Community Studies

Housing and Homelots

In the Philippines case study, those with formal tenure instruments such as a title or Certificate of Land Ownership Award (CLOA) or Emancipation Patent (EP) feel that they have tenure security in their homelots, with no threat of being evicted. On the other hand, informal settlers, agricultural laborers, and tenants

(sharecroppers and leaseholders) feel that they have no tenure security over their homelots, as they are vulnerable to decisions of the landowner. It may be noted that in most of the FGD sites, respondent families have been living in their communities for around 30 years.

"Those who own and control land are able to plan according to their household needs, including for food needs and long-term food security. These include decisions regarding crops to plant, use of labor, production inputs, consumption and marketing of produce, as well as long-term investments on the land."

In the Nepal case study, tenure security over one's house and homelot is positively correlated not just with *ownership* documents, but also with *tenancy certificates*, *provisional documentary evidence of settlement/cultivation*, *certificates of settlement* issued by local government units, and *certificates of landlessness* issued by the Landless Problem Solving Commission. Households also feel secure over their homelots if they have organizational strength and are organized into Village Land Rights Forums (VLRF) and District Land Rights Forums (DLRF). On the other hand, those who have no documentary evidences of their tenancy, settlement or those without certificates of landlessness do not feel security of tenure over their homelots.

In the Philippines case study, households with legal tenure tend to have houses built with permanent housing materials and tend to occupy larger homelots than those with informal tenure.

Livelihoods and Income

In all three countries, farming (land) is the main source of livelihood. Both men and women heads of household engage in farming. Those who own and control land are able to plan according to their household needs, including for food needs and long-term food security. These include decisions regarding crops to plant, use of labor, production inputs, consumption and marketing of produce, as well as long-term investments on the land. However, these decisions are not open to land claimants, landless agricultural workers and tenants.

There are slight differences in the way small farmers and workers perceive the stability of their livelihoods.

a. The Philippines case study found that those who own and control land consider their livelihoods and income sources to be stable and secure. On the other hand, farmworkers and tenants consider their income sources to be "temporary" and "unstable" as they are wholly dependent on decisions of the landowner.
b. The Nepal case study found that farmers generally consider farming as a permanent source of employment if and when they receive their portion of yields or on-farm income periodically during every harvest.

Given the seasonality of farming, nearly all households have *secondary* sources of income. In the Philippines case study, those with land tend to engage in secondary on-farm activities such as poultry and livestock raising, or raising cash crops. Others work as paid farm laborers.

In the Nepal case study, rural households have to diversify their livelihoods as a conscious strategy to survive, as reliance on agriculture alone is often not sufficient for families to meet their basic food requirements. Agricultural labor is often paid in kind. However, there is gender discrimination in the wage structure, as female laborers receive Rs. 100 less than male laborers. Meanwhile, non-agricultural labor (paid in cash) usually consists of construction work, employment in brick kilns, collecting pebbles/stones from rivers, and serving as tourist trekking guides and porters.

Migration

Due to poverty, low and unstable agricultural productivity and the lack of local employment opportunities, there is a continuing out-migration of the economically-productive youth from the rural areas in all three countries.

In the Nepal case study, each of the 20 FGD groups had at least one family member who migrated overseas to find work. Rural out-migration in Nepal seems to be driven largely by "push-factors" – grinding poverty, landlessness, limited landholdings, indebtedness, lack of work opportunities, subsistence agriculture and political instability. Remittances from family members overseas play a paramount role in ensuring food security among smallholder farmer households.

In the Nepal case study, as young males migrate to cities and abroad in search of work, agricultural tasks tend to be left in women's hands. And as agriculture is increasingly feminized, it will be increasingly important to ensure equal tenure rights for women. Moreover, the Nepal case found that some young women have also begun migrating overseas for employment. These women belong to certain indigenous ethnic groups of the Hills and High Hills, where there is relative egalitarianism with regards to women.

In the Cambodia case study, migration appears to be driven more by "pull-factors," as family members move from the village to the commune, district or province to open a small business, to study in school, or to work in a factory. Oftentimes, the family members relocate their residence to save income from travel. Only a few migrate abroad to work as construction workers in Thailand.

In the Philippines case study, the lack of investments and employment in rural areas drive family members to seek work in urban centers or abroad. However, only those with land ownership (titles, CLOAs, EPs) are often able to send family members (usually women who finished at least high school) to the city or abroad for employment. In turn, remittances from Filipino migrant workers provide the needed buffers for families during the hunger months and in times of calamity.

Credit and Inputs

In all three countries, most of the respondents (regardless of tenure status) took loans for various purposes. In the case of Cambodia, 95 percent of all respondents took loans for (in order of priority): investment in farming, health and medicine, children's education, and to purchase goods. In the case of the Philippines, loans were used primarily to buy farm inputs.

Sometimes, land is directly used as collateral for loans – both for formal and informal credit sources. In the Philippines case study, distressed farmers pawn their newly-awarded lands (under agrarian reform), even though it may be illegal under the law. The Cambodian case study reported that land titles are commonly used as collateral for loans from banks and microfinance institutions. Where land is used as collateral, one bad harvest might cause a farmer to lose his/her land altogether.

In the Nepal case study, 154 out of 190 households took loans over the past year. The majority (56 percent) took loans from banks and formal credit sources, while a sizable portion (44 percent) depended on traditional moneylenders. In Nepal, banks have increasingly begun reaching villages for credit lending, especially those in the *Tarai* due to better road infrastructure and aggressive penetration of the market economy. Banks offer loans at 14 to 18 percent annual interest. However, landless farmers – including low-caste groups traditionally working on *Guthi* trust land and marginalized *Tarai* indigenous groups still resort to traditional moneylenders for credit. The interest rates charged by moneylenders range from 36 percent to 60 percent per annum. These interest rates are much higher in the *Tarai* among the landless, *Dalits* caste group, and among the marginalized indigenous peoples, even higher than the reported highest interest rate of 36 percent per annum in the Hill and High Hill regions.

"Improved tenurial status provides households with a better sense of overall security that comes from the independence to make informed decisions about their livelihoods."

Similarly, in the Philippines case study, the FGD findings seem to indicate that those with formal and legal tenure rights tend to have better access to formal credit sources at lower interest rates than those who are landless or have informal tenure. In the Philippines, banks and formal lending institutions may require documentary evidence of ownership or legal tenure, and of sources of income in order to avail of formal credit.

It should be noted here that family, kin and the community generally continue to be the traditional main sources of support when emergencies and household needs do arise. But because families within the same village or community tend to face similar conditions and cycles (poverty, drought, famine, typhoons, seasonal hunger), they often have to resort to *external* sources (including remittances) for credit and assistance.

In the case of Nepal, local credit and savings groups and cooperatives have helped to reduce dependence on traditional moneylenders who charge usurious rates. In other communities, the *movement fund* under the VLRFs organized by CSRC, have become the main source of credit for its members. Loans were obtained and used for the treatment of sick household members (health), agricultural

inputs, household construction, and for special events (mortuary rites, marriage ceremonies, and the cultural practice of *tilak* or paying cash money to the groom).

In addressing seasonal hunger, study teams in Cambodia and Nepal also found some interesting community self-help initiatives to avert famine in the local community during food-scarce periods in the agricultural cycle. These include the *community foodgrains storage* (or *dharma bhakari*) in Nepal, and *community rice banks* in Cambodia. In both cases, member-households each contribute a certain amount of grain during the time of harvest to a pool, from which they can withdraw or buy during critical periods of the year.

Tenurial Status of Farmlands

Improved tenurial status provides households with a better sense of overall security that comes from the independence to make informed decisions about their livelihoods. For instance, farming households with secure access or ownership over land are able to more efficiently allocate their resources to improve productivity, unlike farmworkers or tenants who have to consider their landowners in the decision-making process.

A very large portion of the landless and land-poor have undocumented tenure. Claimants/tillers, farmworkers and tenants in the continuum of land rights have a higher chance for enjoying their use, control or decision-making rights over the land if they possess *tenure instruments* (including documentary evidence thereof). In the Nepal case study, these include *certificates of settlement*, *certificates of landlessness*, *certificates of ownership of homelots*, or *sharecropping agreements*. There are also *leasehold contracts* in the Philippines, and *Community Forest Agreements* in Cambodia.

In the Philippines case study, those with formal tenure rights tend to have larger farmland sizes. Land reform beneficiaries (CLT holders, collective CLOA, EP holders) tend to cultivate an average of one hectare, while land claimants and leaseholders cultivate only half of a hectare on average. Particularly among Filipino *rice* farmers who consider farming as their primary source of food, farm size impacts directly on household food security. *First* is through the provision of food grains: those with at least one hectare tend to consider themselves as having an adequate supply of food, compared to those with half of a hectare or less tend to consider themselves as food deficit. *Second* is through farm

diversification which impacts directly on household nutrition, as larger farm sizes allow farmers to diversify their crops (e.g. to include vegetables) and to raise poultry and livestock. This adds greater variety to the food on the table.

Overall, the average farmland sizes vary widely across respondent-households in the three countries. In the Cambodia case study, the average farm size is 2.14 hectares, around one hectare in the study sites of the Philippines, and 0.43 of a hectare in the Nepal study sites. The Nepal case study found that 90 percent of all FGD participants across different tenure groups stated that they experienced food deficiency for nearly five months each year.

The tenure status also determines the distribution and disposition of the produce of farmlands, which directly impacts on household food availability and incomes. While owner-cultivators are entitled to their full harvest; amortizing owners (under agrarian reform in the Philippines) are required to pay installments for their land. Tenants pay land rentals (in cash or kind) to their landowners; while landless agricultural workers receive daily wages.

Since most farmers (especially tenants) almost invariably experience seasonal hunger, the specific sharing arrangements between landlord and tenant can thus dictate the length and severity of the "hunger months" each year. Under tenancy systems, the sharing arrangements and rights of tenants (informal, formal) vary widely within and among the different countries. In the Philippines case study, leaseholders under formal contracts are entitled to the equivalent of 75 percent of the produce, while shareholders (mostly informal) receive a lower share. In the Nepal case study, traditional sharecroppers receive only 50 percent of their harvests, while short-term contract farmers under the *honda* system may receive as low as 25 percent of their harvests.

One issue often overlooked is women's rights to land. In the Nepal case study, for instance, there is a culture of discrimination against women which is deep-rooted in the *Tarai* social structure because of the caste-based patriarchal system. Regarding women's ownership of land, the FGDs revealed that only 47 households (out of 190) have women possessing land ownership certificates – either as single owners, or as joint owners together with the husband.

It should be noted here that secure land rights for women ensures better food security for the household. A growing amount of literature shows that when

productive assets (including land) are placed in women's hands, more benefits flow directly to the children. In Nepal, a study showed that the likelihood that a child is severely undernourished is reduced by half if the child's mother owns land. Households where women control greater shares of assets and land at marriage have shown to spend more on basic household needs, such as food, and on children's welfare and education.

Perceptions of Food Security

In all three countries, farming is the main source of *food* (primarily staples and grains), regardless of the tenure status. This is true among rice farmers in the Philippines study sites where rice cultivation is primarily geared for household consumption, augmented by backyard gardens and the raising of farm animals. In the Cambodia study sites, farmers grow paddy rice, corn, cassava, farm animals as well as small-scale cash crops such as cashew. In the Nepal study sites, paddy rice (both irrigated and rainfed) is the main crop in the *Tarai*; maize is the primary crop in the Hills; and potato is the main crop in the High Hill region. In the Nepal case study, in 14 out of the 20 FGDs, participants said that 100 percent of their primary crop is used for household consumption.

A smaller number of groups/communities primarily grow *cash crops for income* to buy food for the household. This includes sugarcane farmers in the Philippines study sites, where sugarcane was earlier introduced as a colonial crop and used to be farmed by landless workers (who are now agrarian reform beneficiaries). In the Nepal case study, farmers from six FGD sites also sell part of their primary produce (besides household consumption); however, the amount is marginal, with the sole exception of one site in the High Hill region where 75 percent of the potato produce is sold in order to buy rice.

Those who traditionally have no land have to sell their labor. For landless agricultural workers, the wages from both farm and non-farm labor is their main source of food for the whole year. However, agricultural work opportunities are seasonal and low-paying. In the Nepal study sites, agricultural workers also look for non-farm employment during the agricultural off-season such as in brick-kilns and stone/sand collecting. Yet these are still insufficient to meet household food security.

In all three countries, many farming households said that they experience *seasonal hunge*r, as the production or income from agriculture is often not enough to meet household food requirements. However, the country studies show some differences in pattern on how food security is linked to tenure.

In the Philippines study sites, where agrarian reform has been widely implemented, *rice* farmers said that they had sufficient food supply, whereas *sugarcane* farmers said that they experience seasonal hunger each year. The pattern of responses seemed the same, regardless of one's tenure status. While rice is a crop traditionally grown on family farms, sugarcane used to be grown on colonial plantations based on wage labor. Sugarcane has a cropping cycle of nine to 10 months, and the lean months would be three to four months. Also, there is little or no crop diversification on sugarcane farms.

"In the Philippines case study, the overall perception of food security is directly connected to tenurial status. Those who are secure about land ownership are also secure about the sufficiency and diversity of their food supply. "

However, the *diversity* of food is linked to tenurial status. *Rice* farmers with weak tenure (agricultural workers, sharecroppers) said that while their household food supply appears sufficient, they lack *diversity* of food (and nutrition) in their diets, due to low wages or lack of land where they could grow other crops.

In the Philippines case study, the overall perception of food security is directly connected to tenurial status. Those who are secure about land ownership are also secure about the sufficiency and diversity of their food supply. Food security is also linked to land size, productivity, and the absence of natural disasters.

In the Cambodia case study, 45 percent of respondent households said that they experienced seasonal hunger or the lack of food for four months (August to November) immediately before the harvest season. Food insecurity was linked to: low agricultural production, lack of access to viable livelihoods, poor health, and lack of access to clean and safe potable water.

In the Nepal case study, most respondents said they experience food insecurity for nearly five months each year, especially during the waiting period before

the harvests (of the primary and secondary crops). This seasonal lack of food is experienced by different tenure groups in the *Tarai*, Hills and High Hills. This is also the period when the demand for agricultural labor is low, so there is a lack of available employment. Some problems cited are: low yields, absence of irrigation, lack of timely availability of seeds and agricultural inputs, and weather (drought). There are a few exceptions, such as *Tarai* areas with irrigation systems that result in higher cropping intensity and higher agricultural crop yields.

"Although security of land tenure is cited as a key factor for ensuring food security, in the Nepal case study, respondents link food security to many other factors, such as availability of employment opportunities, presence of irrigation and inputs, reasonable prices for farmer's agricultural produce...."

There is some diversity of food to satisfy the household nutritional needs across all sites, with the consumption of rice, pulse, bread and vegetables although meat or fish are limited due to low incomes. However, those with weak tenure are unable to meet their nutritional needs – i.e., landless agricultural laborers, non-agricultural workers and *Dalits* have limited diets and consume mostly rice, potatoes and vegetables only and thus suffer from nutritional deficiency.

Although security of land tenure is cited as a key factor for ensuring food security, in the Nepal case study, respondents link food security to many other factors, such as availability of employment opportunities, presence of irrigation and inputs, reasonable prices for farmer's agricultural produce, remittances, crop protection, and income generating opportunities at the household level.

Thus, the factors cited for ensuring household food security are: (a) ensuring security of tenure for land tillers and occupants through the issuance of legal instruments; (b) providing safe land for the landless; (c) providing irrigation to increase cropping intensity; and, (d) creating local employment opportunities. Security of tenure would provide the incentive for more intensive cultivation, higher investments in agricultural inputs, and long-term investment in facilities such as irrigation.

Perceptions of Community Problems

In both the Nepal and Philippines case studies, the FGDs identified a long list of major problems affecting their respective communities. The Nepal groups cited weak tenancy rights, high land rents, threats and eviction in public lands, lack of legal documentation, lack of irrigation and impact of monsoon floods, lack of employment, inadequate local facilities, unsafe drinking water, marketing support, and lack of fair-price shops for the poor. The Philippine groups mentioned problems with potable water, roads, understanding land reform laws, etc. In other words, the community problems raised were beyond issues of land access and tenure.

The role of government in addressing these issues was emphasized – that is, through formulation of responsive laws and policies, and their immediate implementation through the provincial, district and village-level agencies. But in order for government to act, there needs to be pressure from local land-poor organizations – in the case of Nepal, through increased advocacy campaigns supported by CSOs such as CSRC and the National Land Rights Forum (NRLF).

Membership in local organizations was seen as important, in order for poor farmers to undertake self-help initiatives (e.g., credit, inputs, marketing) as well as to advocate for changes with a collective voice.

In the Cambodia case study, which focuses on communities in State-owned forests and in State agricultural lands, there is insecurity over the land which is linked to wider issues. The largest cause of insecurity was poverty, followed by land grabbing, corruption, lack of food, lack of land for the next generation, and inadequate access to health care. Forced and distress land sales added to this insecurity.

Conversely, the main sources of security were: having a land title, schooling opportunities, affordable healthcare, strong community networks

"Although land titles were seen as an important source of security, many people in the study felt that it did not provide full security. Most were still worried that their land would be taken away, nor did they trust the judiciary."

and supportive local authorities. Land food and livelihood were seen as linked, and even those with no land disputes said they lacked security as they did not receive adequate agricultural extension of fair prices for their products.

Although land titles were seen as an important source of security, many people in the study felt that it did not provide full security. Most were still worried that their land would be taken away, nor did they trust the judiciary. Sometimes, there was land grabbing even during the titling process, which causes land values and predatory purchases to increase. However, some communities were satisfied with the titling process. Knowledge of the legal framework and official processes was limited. Even commune officials seemed unclear about their role in resolving land disputes or marital property issues. Some local officials were involved in land disputes themselves.

Links between Land Tenure and Food Security

Upon review, the above findings may be summarized in the following statements:

Tenure Instruments

Majority of the landless and land-poor have undocumented tenure. Thus, claimants/tillers, farmworker and tenants in the continuum of land rights have a higher chance of enjoying their use, control or decision-making rights over the land if they possess *tenure instruments* (including documentary evidence thereof).

"In the Philippines study sites, where agrarian reform has been widely implemented, rice farmers said that they had sufficient food supply, whereas sugarcane farmers said that they experience seasonal hunger each year."

However, tenure instruments are often not enough. In the Cambodia case study, which focuses on communities in State-owned forests and in State agricultural lands, tenure insecurity is linked to wider issues. The cited causes of tenure insecurity were poverty, followed by land grabbing, corruption, lack of food, lack of land for the next generation, inadequate access to health care, and cases of forced and distress land sales.

The main sources of tenure security cited in the Cambodia case study were: having a land title, schooling opportunities, affordable healthcare, strong community networks, and supportive local authorities.

Food Security

In all three countries, farming is the main source of *food* (primarily staples and grains), regardless of the tenure status. A smaller number of groups/ communities primarily grow *cash crops for income* to buy food for the household.

In the Philippines study sites, where agrarian reform has been widely implemented, *rice* farmers said that they had sufficient food supply, whereas *sugarcane* farmers said that they experience seasonal hunger each year.

In all three countries, many farming households experience *seasonal hunger*, as the production or income from agriculture is often not enough to meet household food requirements.

"Many farming families with insecure tenure also suffer from nutritional deficiency. In the Philippines and Nepal case studies, it was observed that landless agricultural laborers, sharecroppers and Dalits also have limited diversity in their diets..."

Those who have no land sell their labor. However, agricultural work is seasonal, unstable and low-paying.

Many farming families with insecure tenure also suffer from nutritional deficiency. In the Philippines and Nepal case studies, it was observed that landless agricultural laborers, sharecroppers and *Dalits* also have limited diversity in their diets (and possibly lack of nutrition) – due to unemployment, low wages and lack of access to land to grow other crops.

While security of land tenure is cited as a key factor for ensuring food security, food security is linked to many other factors, such as availability of employment opportunities, presence of irrigation and inputs, reasonable prices for farmers' agricultural produce, remittances, crop protection, and income generating opportunities at the household level.

"Tenure status determines the distribution and disposition of the produce of farmlands. While owner-cultivators are entitled to their full harvest; amortizing owners are required to pay installments for their land. Tenants pay land rentals while landless agricultural workers receive daily wages."

Homes and Homelots

Those with formal tenure instruments feel that they have tenure security in their homelots, with no threat of being evicted. Those without formal tenure feel vulnerable to decisions of the landowner.

Tenure security over one's house and homelot is positively correlated not just with "ownership" documents, but also with *tenancy certificates*, *provisional documentary evidence of settlement/ cultivation*, and even *certificates of settlement* and *proof of occupancy. Tenure security can be seen as a continuum.*

In many areas, households with legal tenure tend to have houses built with more permanent housing materials and tend to occupy larger homelots than those with informal tenure.

Livelihoods and Income

Those who own and control land generally consider their livelihoods and income sources to be stable and secure. On the other hand, farmworkers and tenants consider their income sources to be "temporary" and "unstable" as they are wholly dependent on decisions of the landowner.

Nearly all households have *secondary* sources of income as a way to address the seasonality of work and the inadequacy of harvests. Diversification of livelihoods is a survival strategy as reliance on agriculture alone is often not sufficient for families to meet their basic food requirements.

Farm Management

As farming (land) is the main source of livelihood, those who own and control land are able to plan according to their household needs, including for food needs and long-term food security. However, these decisions are not open to land claimants, landless agricultural workers and tenants.

Ownership status provides households with a better sense of overall security that comes from the independence to make informed decisions about their livelihoods.

Farm Size

Those with formal tenure rights tend to have larger farmland sizes. Farm size impacts directly on household food security either through the direct supply of food or through farm diversification, which impacts directly on food variety and household nutrition (as larger farm sizes allow farmers to diversify).

Sharing and Disposition of Produce

Tenure status determines the distribution and disposition of the produce of farmlands. While owner-cultivators are entitled to their full harvest; amortizing owners (under agrarian reform Philippines) are required to pay installments for their land. Tenants pay land rentals (in cash or kind) to their landowners; while landless agricultural workers receive daily wages.

"Those with land are able to access better credit from formal sources with lower interest rates. Those with weak tenure often have to resort to moneylenders who charge usurious interest. "

Also, since most farmers (especially tenants) invariably experience seasonal hunger, the specific sharing arrangements between landlord and tenant can dictate the length and severity of the "hunger months" each year.

Credit and Inputs

In all three countries, most of the respondents (regardless of tenure status) took loans for various purposes. Sometimes, land is directly used as collateral for loans – both for formal and informal credit sources. But where land is used as collateral, tenure security is threatened, as one bad harvest might cause a farmer to lose his/her land altogether.

Those with land are able to access better credit from formal sources with lower interest rates. Those with weak tenure often have to resort to moneylenders who charge usurious interest.

The cost of credit in the informal market tends to be higher among the poor and those with weak tenure.

Traditionally, family, kin and the community are the main sources of support. But when emergencies arise, such as from natural disasters, families often have to resort to *external sources* (including remittances from relatives) for credit and assistance.

"In the Philippines case study, migration seems to be due to 'push-pull factors' as the lack of investments and employment in rural areas drive family members to seek work in urban centers or abroad."

Migration

There is continuing out-migration of the economically-productive youth from the rural areas in all three countries. Migration in the Nepal case study has been driven largely by "push-factors" – grinding poverty, landlessness, limited landholdings, indebtedness, lack of work opportunities, subsistence agriculture and political instability. Remittances from family members overseas play a paramount role in ensuring food security.

As young males migrate to cities and abroad in search of work, agricultural tasks are left to women. And as agriculture is increasingly feminized, it will be increasingly important to ensure equal tenure rights for women.

In the Cambodia case study, migration appears to be driven more by "pull-factors" as family members move from the village to the commune, district or province to open a small business, to study in high school, or to work in a factory.

In the Philippines case study, migration seems to be due to "push-pull factors," as the lack of investments and employment in rural areas drive family members to seek work in urban centers or abroad. However, only those with land ownership (titles, CLOAs, EPs) are often able to send family members (usually women who finished at least high school) to the city or abroad for employment. In turn, remittances from Filipino migrant workers provide the needed buffers for families during the hunger months and in times of calamity.

Support Groups

Community self-help initiatives have been observed, such as savings and lending groups, cooperatives, and pooled *movement funds* under VLRFs. To address seasonal hunger, there are also *community foodgrain storages* (or *dharma bhakari*) in the Nepal study sites, and *community rice banks* in Cambodia.

Membership in local organizations is seen as important to enable poor farmers to undertake self-help initiatives (e.g., credit, inputs, marketing) as well as to advocate for changes with a collective voice.

Role of Government

In all three country studies, the FGDs identified a long list of major problems affecting their respective communities. The role of government in addressing these issues was emphasized. But in order for government to act, there needs to be pressure from local land-poor organizations – and in the case of Nepal, through increased advocacy campaigns.

Governance

Although land titles were seen as an important source of security, many people in the Cambodia case study felt that it did not provide full security. Most were still worried that their land would be taken away, nor did they trust the judiciary. Thus, t*here can be no land tenure security without good governance.*

Reflection on the Methodology

The continuum of land rights is a tool that has been used largely by State agencies and international organizations, often focused solely on *legal* tenure. But when constructed from a grassroots perspective, the continuum shows a very different picture of reality. This includes *de facto* tenure rights, or how families and communities actually practice and assert their tenure rights through traditional, customary and other forms that may lie beyond the legal and statutory framework. It also shows the *perceived* tenure rights of families and communities, which they associate with various other factors, such as livelihood, a sense of personal security, access to services, and food security. ■

Acronyms

ANGOC	Asian Non-Governmental Organizations Coalition for Agrarian Reform and Rural Development
A&D	alienable and disposable (land)
CARP	Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program
CLOA	Certificate of Land Ownership Award
CSO	civil society organization
DRLF	District Land Rights Forum
ELCs	economic land concessions
FGD	focus group discussion
FS	food security
GLTN	Global Land Tool Network
NLRF	National Land Rights Forum
VLRF	Village Land Rights Forum

Definition of Terms

Birta	Tax-free land grants in favor of priests, religious teachers, soldiers and members of the nobility and the royal family
Dalit	Term used for the members of lower castes in Nepal
Guthi	Land held in trust by a certain community for public religious and social use
Tarai	Lowland regions at the foothills of mountains

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