Gender Issues in Land Allocation

A Case Study in Lung Vai Commune - An Oxfam UK/Ireland Funded Project

Muong Khuong District, Lao Cai Province

Report prepared by

Oxfam UK/Ireland

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One of the central elements of Doi moi policy, at the beginning was to liberalize potentials of the rural area in VN where inhabits 80% of the population. The most important attempt to unleash agricultural production was the promulgation of the first land law in 1988. The second version was revised and approved by the National Assembly on September 27, 1993. In this it was clearly stated that “the state shall allocate land to land users on a stable and long-term basis”. The Land law, among other things, served to transform Viet Nam from a net food importer to the third largest rice exporter of the world. Despite of the impressive outcome, land allocation contains numerous problems e.g. coherency in proliferation of land laws from central level to local level, poor participation of people, especially women and ethnic minorities and lack of transparency etc. This is particularly the case in upland areas such as Lung Vai commune in Muong Khuong district of Lao Cai province.

Oxfam decided to assist land allocation in Lung Vai commune because (1) Lung Vai was not considered a priority for land allocation in Lao Cai province. Due to staff and financial limits, the province gave priority to districts denoted as "low-land district" with potentials for economic growth. Lung Vai, an "upland commune" was not prioritized. However in a Participatory Rural Appraisal done by Oxfam April 1994, one of the problems identified by local people was land dispute between the state farm workers and Lung Vai farmers. It was proposed to have land allocated thus it can stop forest destruction caused by the state farm workers; (2) Oxfam is very much interested in land allocation in rural areas such as Lung Vai commune. Oxfam’s agroforestry projects in Lao Cai and elsewhere are largely and closely linked to land allocation. More precisely, land allocation is a key component of Oxfam’s agroforestry projects. Deep and reliable insights into one of the most complicated issues of rural development, the land allocation issue, will certainly serve to improve the sustainability of Oxfam supported projects. Further, the findings of the impact of land allocation on rural areas will be very useful for the advocacy of Oxfam on land issues.

Acronyms

Commune Cadastral Staff
District Cadastral Department
Land Use Certificates
Oxfam UK/I
Provincial Cadastral Department
Inter Uterine Device
Women Union

CCS
DCD
LUC
OUKI
PCD
IUD
WU

Exchange Rate: VND11,000 = US$1.00

PREFACE

One of the central elements of Doi moi policy, at the beginning was to liberalize potentials of the rural area in VN where inhabits 80% of the population. The most important attempt to unleash agricultural production was the promulgation of the first land law in 1988. The second version was revised and approved by the National Assembly on September 27, 1993. In this it was clearly stated that "the state shall allocate land to land users on a stable and long-term basis". The Land law, among other things, served to transform Viet Nam from a net food importer to the third largest rice exporter of the world. Despite of the impressive outcome, land allocation contains numerous problems e.g. coherency in proliferation of land laws from central level to local level, poor participation of people, especially women and ethnic minorities and lack of transparency etc. This is particularly the case in upland areas such as Lung Vai commune in Muong Khuong district of Lao Cai province.

Oxfam decided to assist land allocation in Lung Vai commune because (1) Lung Vai was not considered a priority for land allocation in Lao Cai province. Due to staff and financial limits, the province gave priority to districts denoted as "low-land district" with potentials for economic growth. Lung Vai, an "upland commune" was not prioritized. However in a Participatory Rural Appraisal done by Oxfam April 1994, one of the problems identified by local people was land dispute between the state farm workers and Lung Vai farmers. It was proposed to have land allocated thus it can stop forest destruction caused by the state farm workers; (2) Oxfam is very much interested in land allocation in rural areas such as Lung Vai commune. Oxfam’s agroforestry projects in Lao Cai and elsewhere are largely and closely linked to land allocation. More precisely, land allocation is a key component of Oxfam’s agroforestry projects. Deep and reliable insights into one of the most complicated issues of rural development, the land allocation issue, will certainly serve to improve the sustainability of Oxfam supported projects. Further, the findings of the impact of land allocation on rural areas will be very useful for the advocacy of Oxfam on land issues.
The approach of the project was to support land allocation in Lung Vai through the Land Section of the Pro vincial agroforestry department at the time, lately referred to as the Provincial Cadastral department (PCD). The rationales for choosing the PCD to be Oxfam’s project partner were (1) The PCD was more capable than the district cadastral department (DCP) in terms of staff and experience. Through initial research trips, it was found that the PCB had executed a trial project for land allocation in Bac Ha district, a “low land district”, thus gaining certain level of experience in this sector; (2) One of the main objectives of this project was capacity building for cadastral staff at district level. Hence the PCD was considered more feasible for diffusing experience gained and lessons learnt in the project; (3) The essential task of Oxfam’s advocacy on land allocation was to put forward the message of the participation of people, especially the participation of disadvantaged people and women in the land allocation process. Provincial level is often decision making level, thus it is more useful to channel the findings and recommendations directly to them.

The project was the initial stage of a long-term involvement and commitment in land allocation sector. This stage started with the project in 1995 and finalized with an evaluation in 1996. The second stage followed by a research on the impact of land allocation in rural areas, mostly in Oxfam’s project areas. The third stage involved a two-year training project for the cadastral staff of Lao Cai PCD. And the fourth stage which is ongoing at the moment, largely concentrates on the gender issues and land allocation. This will be done in three main project areas of Oxfam, Lao Cai, Ha Tinh and Tra Vinh.

SUMMARY

Our main findings corroborated previous research in the area and confirmed many of our assumptions prior to the trip. One notable exception is that we found that the majority of the LUCs were in the husband, or head of household’s, name and that many people still believed that putting two names on the certificates was not possible. On the other hand, according to the findings in previous trips to the area, not a few people, including cadastral staff at all levels seemed not to have any particular resistance to the two-name certificates. Their only concern was about the paper procedures. The official certificates, all land application forms and dozens of land papers were printed for one signature only. Putting two names on the official certificates means that all the papers must be adjusted which according to them would be very much time consuming and costly. We found that issues such as names on LUCs or land rights were poorly raised by Commune Cadastral Staff (CCS) with households in any land related meetings. Women’s Union meetings, the main meetings attended by women, were about family planning or good motherhood techniques or credit, but never about land.

LUCs are also supposed to serve as collateral for loans or proof of land for agricultural extension activities. As far as we could tell this had not been the case. Many households had borrowed money either from the OUKI Credit Programme through the Women’s Union or the Bank for the Poor and many had received seedlings from OUKI Agro-forestry Programme, but none had ever had to show an LUC. The team concluded that since most households have only received LUCs recently and many have not received them at all yet, it was too early for poverty alleviation activities to demand them before granting loans. The reasons of the late issues of LUCs are clearly stated in the previous researches of Oxfam. Still the team would like to recommend to OUKI that in its programmes it begin to ask to see LUCs, both as a way of checking people’s land and to promote their use as a form of collateral.

The issue of LUCs to be used as collateral for loans is subject to many factors. The question posed here is that whether a poor farmer even with the LUC, can use it as collateral for loans or will the bank accept that LUC? This leads to the issue of the rural banking and financial system. The assumption is that land in Lung Vai is hardly considered commodity, except some small residential areas along the main road. Thus, the bank may be reluctant to accept the LUC as collateral if there is not any market yet for land in remote area as Lung Vai. But this issue goes beyond the scope of this paper. The conclusion here is that the issue of the LUCs used as collateral in poverty alleviation programme is more complicated than stated above and dependent on an integrated efforts of many sectors such as the rural banking and financial system, mass organizations and market etc.

In mapping of daily activities, we confirmed that women were involved in every activity on the land. Some activities were primarily the responsibility of the men and some were primarily the responsibility of the women, but few activities happened with no knowledge or participation from the women. Additionally, there were some larger types of activities, such as cultivation of hill land which were mostly the responsibility of the women as we found out in Ban Sinh, a village inhabited by Padi and Tudi.

Knowledge about land rights was lacking in general but was especially poor among women, particularly among minority women. Many women are illiterate and had never been told what was on their LUC. Some had never seen the LUC and did not know its purpose at all. The majority had some cursory knowledge of the use of the
Finally, in all of our discussions we found that women wanted greater access to information about land use and land rights and greater participation in any projects related to their land. Due to their greater interest and involvement in this land, women were particularly concerned about this process, citing difficulties they had already encountered and fears about mistakes in the future.

1. INTRODUCTION

Lao Cai Province lies in the northern mountains of Vietnam. Across the river lies formidable China, with its carefully tended hillside rubber plantations and the flashing neon of its cities. On the Vietnamese side, vestiges of the 1979 war with China are still apparent but now this peaceful land is green and fertile, bearing rice, fruit, corn and cassava. For the people here land is at the heart of their economic and family lives. The land they work, and often have for generations, is usually a family’s sole asset and defines their level of wealth or poverty. These feelings have survived the trials of a centrally planned economy and are now being reawakened through land reforms.

When the Vietnam Government initiated land allocation as the heart of the doi moi reforms, the relationship people had with their land began to change rapidly and irreversibly. While land has been at the core of doi moi reforms since they began, land allocation began in earnest in 1986 under contract systems “Khoan 10” or “Khoan 100”. With the 1993 Land Law, land use-rights were given to individual households, making the household the unit of production instead of the cooperative or brigade, and the “five rights” were articulated. These five rights are: exchange, transfer, rent, inherit and mortgage. The Land Law also extended tenure. With these changes a new understanding of and place for land in family life has grown -- or perhaps has resurfaced.

The goals one hoped to achieve through land allocation are part of the Vietnam government’s philosophy behind the switch to a market economy. Where a centrally-planned economy supposedly depressed production by creating dispassionate and unmotivated farmers, a market-based economy was to increase investment in land – investment of time and energy as well as money. If land belonged to the people who worked on it, its productivity should rise as the people vest more in the land. The theories of market economy predict this positive outcome, and the initial numbers seem to support the theories with Vietnam moving from a rice importer to one of the greatest rice exporters since doi moi. What affects these changes have had on people’s attitudes and behaviors are harder to measure, but are already palpable.

In Lung Vai Commune, of Muong Khuong District, one of the first places to officially allocate land in Lao Cai Province. Total area of the commune is 5,673 hectares of which arable land is only 583 hectares; land with forest is 2,152 hectares and bare land and hills are 2,938 hectares. Although the figure clearly shows that forestry land seizes a considerable part of the area and the problems of forestry land allocation are quite distinctive from that of land types, this report will not try to separate these land categories since the effects of these lands on the people are interrelated. These affects are beginning to be seen in every village and in every household. Investment in agricultural inputs has risen, awareness among the people, as to their rights and privileges to the land especially, is on the rise, and confusion and frustration abound. The process -- too slow, for some, and tortuous for most -- was fraught with inconsistencies and mistakes and misinformation.

Due to Oxfam UK/I’s long involvement in land allocation in Lung Vai, a number of evaluations and research trips have been undertaken to ascertain the affects of the process and the level of participation of the people in the allocation. Those surveys have found that participation, across the board, was poor and that in critical steps such as mapping of the land and identification of borders, farmers were not fully engaged. In an effort to garner lessons from this process and influence future allocation of land in other communes and districts, OUKI has been involved in a lengthy discussion with the Cadastral Department staff at all levels about ways to improve the process in the future.

OUKI has planned to carry out studies on the issues of gender and land allocation in some areas covered by its projects. The performance of the survey in Lung Vai commune was the first step of this plan. After this survey, it has also intended before extending its activities to other regions, such as Ha Tinh and/or Tra Vinh provinces, to conduct a mission for examining the situation in one of the Muong Khuong district's communes where Land Use Certificates (LUC) have not been applied in order to compare the situations in these two commune types.

This research trip was designed as part of the same effort. One of the consistent failings of the Communal Cadastral Staff was the exclusion of women. Women were not actively involved in information meetings, consulted in any step of the process, or named in their family’s Land Use Certificates (LUC). While questions about the purpose of including women were common, the most common query was what does it matter if
women were ignored if the needs of everyone were ignored. In fact this team found that the exclusion of women was particularly damaging to the process and deserves attention apart from the other failings of the process.

Women have a basic right to knowledge about their land and to equality in the title of the family lands. Women work in every activity related to the land; whether or not they are the primary decision makers or the head of the household in name, they are involved in every level of their family’s activities. This fact cannot be said of the men. Men often leave their homes for some period of the year to find work when the farming season is over or the agricultural load is light. Women on the other hand work on every kind of crop, on every kind of land and in all seasons. While they rarely say so in direct questions, it is clear from conversations that women know as much if not more about their land than their husbands.

During this research the team aimed at finding out what it is that women know and where women can and should be included in the land allocation process. We proposed to map out for each ethnicity and each area the role of the women in the family and on the land. We also hoped to understand what women know about their land and what knowledge they feel they have been denied. With this information, we will make a number of recommendations regarding how women can be included, and dispel any questions about the efficacy of including women.

2. METHODOLOGY

The research team consisted of four members of OUKI, Mr. Do Thanh Lam, Programme Officer for Lao Cai Province, Ms. Le Kim Dzung, Programme Assistant, Mr. Truong Duc Tung, Project Officer for Communication & Advocacy, and Ms. Khadijah Fancy, Summer Intern, aided by Ms. Nguyen Nu Hoai Vi of CARE International, Dr. Vu Dinh Loi of The Institute of Ethnology and Ms. Le Hoang Thu of the Lao Cai Provincial Cadastral Department. The research was lead by Dr. Tran Thi Van Anh of the Center for Family and Women’s Studies. Field research was conducted from 12-16 August 1997. However before that, the team held several meetings in Hanoi to discuss the research hypothesis and the interview format. Secondary information on gender and land have also collected and shared by team members.

Lung Vai Commune has 398 households in 14 hamlets and seven main ethnic groups, Kinh, H’mong, Nung, Dao, Day, Pa Di and Tudi. Most populated ethnic groups are Kinh, Dao and Day, least are H’mong and Padi, Tudi (Table 1). In Lung Vai, people from some different tribes can live together in same villages, e.g. in Tao Giang 2 there are residents of King, Nung and Day people. However, some ethnic minorities, such as Hmong and Dao, reside separately and form their own villages, but their terraces can be nearby that of other people (Table 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Ethnicity as % of Commune Total</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nung</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>15.60</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinh</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>21.83</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dao</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>20.30</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa Di</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>8.20</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>20.89</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H’mong</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>13.19</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>2025</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>991</td>
<td>1034</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Number of Residents of Lung Vai Commune by Main Ethnicity and Gender

Source: Lung Vai People’s Committee, 1997

The team selected a sample of 40 households to interview, within which a representative percentage of each ethnic group was included. The households were also selected based on their proximity to or distance from the
main road which runs through the commune. In total the team visited six villages: Tao Giang 1, Tao Giang 2, Bo Lung, Cui Chu, Dong Cam 7 and Ban Sinh. For greater detail on the sample, please see the attached breakdown by name of household, ethnic group and village [Appendix 1].

Table 2: Hamlet Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Hamlet</th>
<th>Number of Households</th>
<th>Ethnic Groups Living in Hamlet</th>
<th>Number Interviewed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tao Giang 1</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Kinh</td>
<td>4 (all are Kinh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tao Giang 2</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Kinh, Nung, Day</td>
<td>16 (5 Kinh, 7 Nung and 4 Day)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dong Cam 7</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Day, Day, Nung</td>
<td>4 (all are Day)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ban Sinh</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Tu Di, Pa Di</td>
<td>5 (4 Day, 1 Tudi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo Lung</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>H'Mong</td>
<td>5 (all are Hmong)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cui Chu</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Dao</td>
<td>6 (all are Dao - Dao TuyÔn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>178</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each household interview followed the attached semi-structured interview format, and as much as possible the woman was interviewed separately from her husband. The household interview format was designed to reflect the main assumptions and theories of the team with respect to knowledge of the land rights and participation in the process. In a previous research trip to Lung Vai OUKI had been assured that all the LUCs in the commune had the names of both the husband and the wife on them. While in the large registry book kept by the Cadastral Staff in Lung Vai two names are listed for every household, we discovered on this trip that the only actual LUCs with both names were among those 129 that had been returned for correction after the initial issuing. This fact had some affect on the format of the household interviews.

In addition to the household interviews, we held two focus groups. The first was only with women and the second was mixed. The format of the discussion groups was loose and revolved around issues of gender and land allocation as they were raised by the participants.

Finally, we met with Cadastral Department staff at all levels, provincial, district and communal. These meetings were scheduled late in the trip to allow the team to ask questions based on issues raised by the households.

3. FINDINGS

3.1 Participation in Land Allocation

The process of land allocation, on paper, is designed to encourage feedback and participation from the villagers at all stages. The process of land allocation as described to us by Cadastral Staff, and corroborated by our reading of Decree No. 64 on agricultural land and Decree No.2 on forestry land can be summarized in five steps:

1. establishing a Land Allocation Council or Committee, with members from local People’s Committee, Women’s Union, CCS, Village Heads, and others;
2. holding organization meeting with farmers in each hamlet in which the farmers are asked to write down the land they were using and identify it on a map;
3. submitting registration to council by farmers;
4. measuring and identifying borders and verifying the farmers’ information with other villagers; and
5. issuing of LUC.

While these five steps are in the regulations and are meant to be followed in each village, no one was clear as to whose responsibility it was that they are respected. Households we spoke to often mentioned that they pointed out their land on the map of agricultural land or that they signed what they were given to sign without being told what it was or being able to read it. (This latter case was particularly a problem in Bo Lung, a village of newly resettled H’Mong.) No farmers mentioned the five steps in any systematic way. On the other hand many spoke of procedures which clearly violated the above. Another fact must be mentioned is that too many meetings with too many visitors to a small area in a long period also contribute to the confusion of the farmers in general and the women in particular about land information.

The above steps are supposed to assure that a system of checks by the farmers of the farmers exists to avoid common mistakes. Unfortunately, it is just these kinds of avoidable mistakes which villagers mentioned numerous times. The second step and the fourth step seem to have been merged in most villages, leaving no time for villagers to contest each other’s claim to land. This point was mentioned especially, in Bo Lung, where people were still questioning why some people were allocated more land than others, and in Tao Giang 2, where land formerly belonging to five separate households was all allocated to one farmer from Tao Giang 1. Many mentioned that they thought that measurement took place at the beginning of the process instead of towards the end. Further, the information meetings seem to have been rather haphazardly planned and poorly organized. As a result, much critical information was lost or not conveyed at all, leading to many other disputes (for more detail see the previous reports).

All official policies are gender neutral, in that they never refer to the target as he but rather as the user, the farmer or the household. Yet in practice this gender neutrality often translates in to male. The farmer is the head of the household who is considered to be the main labourer and therefore the man. These assumptions are tacitly made by the almost exclusively male decision makers, such as the CCS or the village heads. All policies in practice are targeted at the men then, and women are excluded by custom if not by law. This fact was clear in assessing female participation in land allocation [Table 3].

Table 3: Gender Make-up of Cadastral Staff

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cadastral Level</th>
<th>Total Number of Employees</th>
<th>Number of Women</th>
<th>Women as a Percentage of Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Provincial</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8 (only 3 in the field)</td>
<td>32.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commune</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A number of women noted that they attended no meetings related to land and were not involved in the actual allocation. Ethnic minorities especially mentioned that all meetings related to the land allocation process and attended by someone from outside of the village, were held in Kinh, and since many women do not speak Kinh, they were de facto excluded. While the Cadastral Staff insisted that they always had interpreters, none of the villagers ever mentioned an attempt at interpretation.

While meetings within the village are often held in the minority language, these meetings were few and far between and none of the land related meetings seem to fall into this category. For most women though, any kind of meeting was rare. Some of the women had never even attended a Women’s Union meeting and thought that one had not been held in their hamlet in many years. For other, WU meetings had not help them with land information.

Box 1: Women Union (WU) meetings
Another issue mentioned in relation to women not attending meetings or participating in allocation was timing. It seemed that meetings and measuring of the land were scheduled at times that are particularly busy for women, or that prohibit two members of the household from leaving at once. Women noted that after lunch was a better time and perhaps more women would participate at this time.

Still the head of Tao Giang 2 emphasized that if women are not invited by name to a meeting they will not go. He said that no matter what else you do, if you invite each household to send a member, or even two members, women will not necessarily go. But if you specifically invite the woman, then she will attend and there will be no question of her being able to go or not. Additionally, many women mentioned that a meeting on land issues, including but not limited to issues surrounding the LUC, should be held for just women in each village.

As it stands now in most villages, women only attend meetings when their husbands cannot go. Notable exceptions were Tao Giang 2 and Ban Sinh, where men and women noted that more women than men attended meetings. In these two villages it was clear that women were active in later stages of the land allocation process because of the unusual number of problems which have arisen. One man noted that when women go to meetings they are very vocal about disputes. In another case, a woman noted that she had discovered a problem on her family’s LUC which had arisen because her husband had not been given the time to look at the LUC properly when it was issued. A number of H’Mong women in Bo Lung mentioned that they had caught mistakes on their LUCs which their husbands had missed, and this despite the fact that they were illiterate.

That women are disproportionately involved at the dispute resolving stage of the process is testament to the fact that they are not adequately involved in the rest of allocation when mistakes could have been avoided instead of needing to be caught later.

3.2 Gender Division of Labor

In general discussions about attitudes about land, many people in villages and in Cadastral cadre mentioned that women were more closely tied to their land than men were. They emphasized that women cared more about the land and understood it better. When questioned further though they could not articulate exactly why this was or demonstrate any of its manifestations.

Table 4: Gender Division of Labour

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Land</th>
<th>Women’s Work</th>
<th>Men’s Work</th>
<th>Joint Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice Paddy</td>
<td>transplanting; fertilizing; weeding; bundling</td>
<td>ploughing; carrying seeds and fertilizer and bundled rice</td>
<td>reaping and harvesting; decision making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hill Land</td>
<td>sowing; fertilizing; decision making</td>
<td>ploughing; carrying</td>
<td>clearing the land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forest Land</td>
<td>gathering wood; fertilizing; weeding; protecting seedlings</td>
<td>digging holes for trees; planting; decision making</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In an attempt to understand this attitude more systematically we sought to develop a map of the gender division of labour [Table 4]. In each household, we asked the woman, or the woman and the man if both were present, to complete the form (attached here as an Appendix) to explain the division of labour in the household. This method may not have proven to be the most effective way to get a picture of the gender division of labour and more attention should be paid to gathering this information during future research. Understanding the division of labour in a household is important for land allocation because patterns may emerge which Cadastral Staff can exploit during allocation.

For example in Ban Sinh, women in the focus group mentioned that in the village women were more aware of the shortage of food that resulted from poor or limited rice paddy than men were. These women would urge their husbands to cultivate hill land to supplement their food supply, something men would not otherwise do since hill cultivation is very labour intensive. We would like to have explored this issue further with other villages with limited rice paddy supplies as well but did not have the time. If this fact proves to be a pattern though Cadastral Staff could benefit by soliciting women’s help in identifying borders of hill land for allocation, since women would know more about how much they use or need for their families.

In other discussions about division of labour, we were struck by the high degree if mutual and shared work, especially traditionally gendered work, in households. For example, in some homes we were told that either husband or wife would cook lunch or dinner if he or she happened to return first or have the time. Unfortunately this spirit did not extend to sharing child care in the evening in order to allow for social activities for the women. None the less the finding of a high degree of shared work could have arisen, as some of our team speculated, due to a desire on the part of the households to be polite or tell us what they imagined we wanted to hear. Further research could better explore this issue.

Despite difficulties with this form of research, overall the team felt two things were certain. First, it seemed that women and men had equal amounts of knowledge about agriculture and livelihoods. There were no activities which we asked about of which either member had no knowledge. This belies the assumptions made by some male Cadastral workers and others that men know more about the land, and supports the assumptions we mentioned above. Secondly, we found that in the slow season many men leave their homes to find work while women stay behind to continue with what work remains. Since many women were home for more months of the year than men and these months are the lean months, highlighting shortages in food, women may be more tied to the family’s food supply and land requirements.

Gender division of labour is one way of assessing the differences in interests and knowledge between men and women. It also helps to corroborate or refute some assumptions commonly made about men and women. This is especially important for many minority groups, for whom stereotyped knowledge is relied on by many. One stereotype we heard often during this research was that one lesson learned during the Lung Vai allocation process was that minority women should be consulted more often since all their men do is drink. While this particular assumption was probably mentioned because it seemed to favour women, there are many others which we did not hear but which are also commonly believed. Rather than relying on stereotypes -- which usually prove to be, at best, grossly simplified versions of the truth and, at worst, false all together -- policy should be based on more information and better research.

3.3 Knowledge of Rights

Box 2. Women with small children can’t go to the meeting

Young women with children under 6 or single mother with a small child are always busy. They often caring smallest child with them while going to market, cooking at home or working in the field. A Padi lady, Ms. Mai from Ban Sinh said that whose name should be on LUC - she didn’t care in the past, but now as she stopped breastfeeding her child she wants her name on it (she is now able to go to the meetings).
There are two main sets of rights to land: those protecting against outside encroachment and those related to rights between members of the same household. While generally knowledge of the first kind was better than the second, in general knowledge was appallingly low, and for women and ethnic minorities it was even worse. The five rights seem to offer primarily protection from elements outside of the household, but they can also be read to protect family members from each other.

As we have established, participation of women in the allocation process was low. Women noted that it was sufficient for only the men to go to meetings since they insisted that their husband’s shared any information they garnered with their wives. Yet often we found that lack of time or a lack of understanding on the part of the men contributed to anywhere from complete misinformation to general ignorance on the part of the women.

Additionally, in Cui Chu and Bo Lung, both remote and minority hamlets, illiteracy abounded. Coupled with language difficulties, women’s illiteracy meant that many had absolutely no idea what was marked on their LUC and many expressed concern about this fact.

There are some cases of blatant misinformation, particularly of minority groups. At times people mentioned facts that they had been told clearly by officials, such as costs for changing LUCs or the issue of two names on the LUC, which were blatantly wrong. While misinformation or deliberate withholding of information seems not often to be the problem, it has none the less contributed to some of the poor knowledge of the people.

**Rights against Encroachment**

Almost all men knew at the minimum that the LUC gave them the right to use the land marked and only the land marked, with the notable exception of one man who thought it was a place to mark any significant purchases or sales of property including buffalo. Many could explain that they could use it to contest a counter-claim to their land, and some understood that they had the right to exchange plots with other people. Very few women on the other hand could articulate this many uses for the LUC. Most women noted the first two but did not know why this was, only that they had been told as much.

In Tao Giang 2 the villagers are embroiled in a losing battle to reclaim some of their hill land which was allocated to a man from Tao Giang 1. This issue has affected a number of villagers directly and most of the village is in some way involved. While in discussions with the Cadastral Department, we were told that there was no recourse for the people since the LUC has been issued and counter-claims are now too late. Blame for this situation abounds. One woman in Tao Giang 2 said that she had no idea that the land had been allocated at all until one day she went to plant some trees on her plot and found someone else working the land.

**Box 3: Improper dissemination of information to women**

> A 42 year old Nung woman, who is a mother of three children and represents the most of her family’s labour force said to us with a discontented voice: "Why other people knew and applied for hill land, while I did not? Now I am told that as I have not applied for, no land will be allocated to my household. My family is big, with little land how can we have enough foods?"

Discussing with the provincial Cadastral cadres we have been told that in many cases women were already informed, but they either forgot afterwards or decided not to apply for land because at the beginning they did not fully appreciate its values. If this is true, the local Cadastral cadres should spend more effort on information dissemination to the women. In case villagers have not understood, more meetings should be organized properly, not just as a matter of form, so that all the target people can catch the information as required.

In this case, lack of information has been the cause of serious loss for the village, but also of a new found interest and vigilance in land rights. The residents of Tao Giang 2 now know more than most other villagers about land allocation and about their rights to the land and the vagaries of the allocation process. In our focus group meeting, the people in Tao Giang 2 suggested a new way of allocating land, which included measuring land with the farmer and all Neighbours present and having a waiting period before issuing the LUC. It is hoped that, though this one case probably cannot be resolved favorably, the people will remain active enough that no
such situation could ever repeat itself in the future.

Encroachment on land by neighbours was a predictable threat which by and large people seemed to know how to handle. Encroachment by the government evoked different feelings. In some cases people stated that the government would do so because they would have a good reason. One family in Tao Giang 1 lost some of their land in the building of the road but they said that it was justified and they were compensated through tax relief. One woman in Tao Giang 2 said that she would never give up the fight against an individual taking her land, but she could see why the government would do so. On the other hand some people felt that the LUC protected them from encroachment by the government and stated that while they were not sure what they could do if it were to happen, they were certain some redress was available.

Rights within the Family

Issues of women’s rights within their own families often flowed out of discussions about names on LUCs. While dissemination of information was very poor, most women still quickly grasped the myriad implications of their names not being on the LUC. At first the majority of women said that only one name was needed or appropriate or even legal. Yet, after brief discussion about LUC and land rights, many women added that it was important that their names be added. Women cited widowhood, changes in the family dynamics over time, divorce and even second wives as reasons why their names should be on the LUC. Many noted further that if two names are on the LUC the whole family’s security in the land would increase and that the household’s claim would be that much stronger.

While in and of itself the fact of having two names on the LUC was not seen as critical, it was the symbol that it represented which affected people. Women connected their name being on the LUC with issues reasonably remote to their realities (or so we were assured), like divorce and second wives, demonstrating some changes the new type of land tenure has brought. Women are concerned about their well-being should their family lives change, and they no longer assume that more land is available elsewhere or that the government will simply reassign them some land.
### Box 6: To whom will the land and the house belong if divorce happens

**Mrs. Huong and Mr. Thai** - a Nung married couple - had a daughter. After their divorce the land previously allocated to their household was shared equally between the husband and wife. Mrs. Huong with the daughter moved to her mother's house in Lung Vai and has still farmed on that land part of hers. Mr. Thai got remarried, took with him every thing from the old house, where he used to live with Mrs. Huong before the divorce, and built a new one in a new village. So, apart from the land apportioned to him he has also used all the hill land and terraces, which used to belong to both him and Mrs. Huong.

**Mrs. Do Thi Ut and Mr. Nguyen Van Lan**, a King couple from a same hamlet, after their marriage in 1993 lived together with Mrs. Ut's mother in her house. The land allocated to Mr. Lan was included in their household's common land use certificate under the name of his mother-in-law, as she was the household's mistress. After their divorce, he moved to his parent's house. Mrs. Huong and her mother refused to share land with him. He now moved to another area with his new wife and the land allocated to him has been used by Mrs. Huong household.

This two cases demonstrate that, although not common the problem of how to share the land in cases of divorces has arisen in Lung Vai. Whether the land will be shared or not, as in both cases mentioned above, totally depends on each household's decision. Though different, the solutions are made on the basic of the following common practice: among the husband and wife, the one who first requires divorce has to leave without bringing any thing with him or her. He or she must then find new land for housing and living.

Nowadays, the inter-household disputes over the land have gradually solved on the basic of principles specified by the land law, e.g. farmers can ask each other whether this/that land have already been allocated to some household, or they can address their questions to the commune's authority. In case of divorces, however the problem has still been considered an in-door issue of each household to be solved solely by its members, including how to share the land and who will have rights over this/that piece of land etc. This indicates the gap between the rights of the household as a whole and of each of its members over the land. While land allocation and LUC have created new relationships - more legally binding and stable - between the households in term of land use, no principle regulating the intra-household relationships exists.

When the solutions are made solely by the household's members, some of them can be deprived, partly or totally, from his/her rights over the land. This can happens to both men and women, but more likely to women. This is because, firstly, after divorce the children often live with their mother, so even in the fairest case where the land is equally shared between the husband and wife the actual average land area per capita of the wife and children is smaller than that of the husband. Secondly, some ethnic minorities, e.g. Dao people in Cui Chu, have a custom that the one who is "given" more children will be given less land, i.e. the one who raises the children will obtain less land. Before, when the land area used by a household could be unlimited, this practice seemed to be fair. At present, however it will bring great difficulties not only to the one who takes responsibility to raise the children but also to the children themselves. More researches into this issue will be done in the future. It is also interesting to link the marriage law with the land laws and to see how these laws can overlap to protect the right of the women.

Also, according to the customs of some ethnic minorities (Hmong, Padi, Tudi and so on) in case the husband dies first, the rights over the land rests to the wife only as long as she stays alone. If she get remarried, all the land will be shared between the sons. In contrast, if the wife dies first the husband will have rights over all the land and this does not depend on whether he stays alone or remarries.

Inheritance raised many interesting issues in discussions. While practically every household mentioned that land would go to their sons first, many also added that if daughters did not marry or if they stayed within the village they would have right to the land. While most were hesitant to say they would flout tradition entirely, they did add that many things depended on the circumstances. Not only men but many women also believe that the custom of apportioning the land only to the sons in a household is fair. Three Nung women in Tao Giang 2 village unanimously said: "As no land was given to our daughters-in-law when she got married to our sons, it is fair that our daughters do not have rights to obtain any land". According to the customs of some ethnic minorities, including Nung, Padi, Hmong etc., when a girl gets married she can be given 2 sets of clothes (often made by themselves), a blanket, a mosquito-net, a pig, and a chicken (Hmong people) or some silver if her family can afford (Nung people), while a boy can be provided with some land and a house. Nevertheless, after discussions, the three women mentioned above also agreed: "it will be very difficult for the families with many sons as there will not be enough land for all of them". People felt that agricultural land had
been allocated based on the number of people in the household and therefore each member had claim to the part that had been allocated to them, daughters included. Therefore though tradition dictated male heirs, the realities were more complicated. The relationship between traditional and customary practices and land ownership in a multiethnic is another issue. Different ethnic groups with different traditions and customs render the issue of gender and land allocation more complicated.

In terms of division of land among new families there were also new problems and ideas. One family noted that they did not know what to do since they had been allocated land before two of their seven sons were married and that now they did not have enough land to give to those two new families and the five to come in the near future. Before land was limitless, or so it seemed with unclaimed areas still available, but now there is a sense that there is no more land and that if one stays in the village one will have to live off of what has already been parcelled out. The team was struck by the possible effects this new system may have on family sizes in the next generation. It is worth noting that this is the common problem of densely populated country as Viet Nam. Land has increasingly become scarce. In Lung Vai, the problem first came with paddy fields which are very limited. Forestry land is still available but either too far or not really cultivable.

Therefore while information about the actual five rights was poor, the implications of the LUC were often clearer to the people than they articulated directly. While people could not list the rights or tell us what they would do if they faced some types of problems, they all seemed to have thought about them and of the implications for their newly acquired land. Discussions proved to us that, even if they could not tell us what support they could already seek from the laws, women were thinking into the future about protecting their and their children’s right to the family land.

3.4 Access

While women realize that they have been largely excluded from the allocation process and they are concerned about that fact, they are more concerned about exclusion from access to future activities on the land. Since the land have been allocated and will be in the family for longer, it carries new weight. Women are well aware of this new importance and would like to be involved in every aspect of the land in the future.

One women noted that when training was given on planting and caring for trees recently, it was only provided to men. She expressed dismay at this since all of the trees died and she insisted it was because the men had either been badly trained or they had forgotten some things they had been taught. Mistakes and forgetting could be avoided if two members of the family were trained.

Women take an active role in their land. Whether they claim to be the main decision makers or not, they are involved in every decision. By being denied information and say in the land allocation process, women are concerned that the trend will continue and they will continually be denied information about changes in their land. This is a dangerous precedent and they do not want it to be repeated.

While fundamentally women have a right to the information and to be able to participate, there is also the fact that women’s participation may benefit any agricultural programmes. In the same way that women’s perspective and insight could have alleviated some of the difficulties faced by the land allocation process, so women’s unique point of view may improve the impact of any extension activities on the land.

Women, as we have noted before, are more aware than men of the needs of their families. They know how much food they can produce and how much they need. They are keenly aware of the costs and benefits to changes on the land or in the crop choices. Men often mentioned that their wives questioned risky decisions and at times vetoed them for fear of adversely affecting the family’s food supply.

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**Box 7: Women love land more then men.**

Ms. Su Thi Lan, a 31 year old Nung woman answered to a question concerning the land appreciation: "Women love land more than men do". How does this happen? "We never lend or give any land away as men do".
Promoting any changes in crops or in investments in the land without giving women the chance to fairly assess the costs and benefits of these changes, will seriously affect a family’s ability to make wise decisions with respect to these changes. Women must not be made to feel that they have no voice in the progress of their land, especially since, given a voice, they may help to avoid potentially bad decisions. As land is changing and everyone’s investment in it is rising, women as well as men should be prepared to meet the future of their land.

4. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR INCLUSION OF WOMEN

After numerous interviews and discussions, this team devised a number of suggestions for ways in which women can be included both in future land allocation and in future activities on the land.

4.1 Training in Rights

There are numerous nuances to the uses and rights of the LUC which could be taught and discussed with people. The changes they will face in the next few years as these rights get practiced more and more often will help to increase awareness. Until such time, better training is needed of Cadastral Staff as to the implications and meanings of the five rights.

While Cadastral Staff receive some information about the rights as they apply to inter-household disputes, they need more information about intra-household issues. It is this second category which most adversely affects women. With better information themselves, Cadastral Staff will be more sensitive to the needs of women in land allocation and to the possible consequences for the allocation on women.

Women, especially those represent the local women's associations in the LA councils at different levels, must be encouraged to attend the training courses on land allocation organized at provincial and district levels. At the commune level the representatives of different social organizations, including women's association, in LA councils are responsible for disseminating the contents of all the meetings concerning land allocation to their organizations' members and for reminding their people on their rights and responsibilities to the land. The LA councils have to assist their members in this issue.

4.2. Women’s Meetings

In general there is a bias, structural or traditional, against women attending communal meeting. The team therefore found that it would be beneficial to hold meetings for women alone. Whenever possible, any important information should be given as many times as it takes to make sure that all the people in the hamlet have had a chance to understand or hear it. Women only meetings will ensure that women get the information they need directly instead or relying on bad or second-hand information from their husbands or sons.

The women we spoke to all felt that this method would ensure the proper dissemination of information in the hamlet. moreover, in most places women only meetings are common through the Women's Union and would therefore not be unusual. Even in those hamlets where the Women's Union is weak or non-existent, the women felt women only meetings would be well attended and beneficial.

The meeting should be organized in time when women are able to attend, if possible, in off-farm seasons. The time for women-only meeting would be best right after lunch, or in night time.
Village's meetings

In order to encourage women to attend the village's meetings, the village's cadres should make it clear to both wife and husband that they are both invited to the meetings. This must be done at least two days prior to each meeting so that people can arrange to come.

Wherever there are King people residing in same villages with ethnic minorities, interpretation is necessary for the ethnic men and women to be able to catch and comprehend the meeting's content. In case all the villagers are from a single ethnic minority, such as in Sinh and Bo Lung villages, the village’s cadres should in advance master the meeting's contents so that they can explain to their people at the meeting in their own languages. Otherwise, if the information is interpreted to these cadres right at the meeting, they may not be able to pass it on to their people properly. In some ethnic languages, there are not enough words for translating some new concepts, such as "land use certificate", the local cadres often use Vietnamese instead. In these cases, it is necessary to explain thoroughly so that the ethnic people, both men and women, can understand the main concepts and terminology used in land allocation and LUC granting, as well as their rights over the land.

At the meetings, enough time must be spent for open forum, so that farmers can ask their questions and get the answers.

4.3. Promote the Use of the LUC

OUKI runs a credit programme and an agro-forestry programme in Lung Vai. By asking to see the LUC during application to these programmes, OUKI could contribute to increased awareness of the uses of the LUC and its value. Currently, people are ambiguous about the uses of the LUC and have not seen many of the rights they have (or have not) heard about in practice. By promoting its use, OUKI could use its other activities in Lung Vai to educate people about their LUCs and bring it into their daily life.

Moreover, since the credit programme is run through the Women’s Union and targets women, OUKI could in this way reach the women that the allocation process ignored and educate them specifically about heir LUCs.

LUCs are for long term use, but they are poorly kept by many farmers (many are torn), women and man should be advised to maintain LUC safely. Cadastral department should keep good files and facilitate for farmers in case of poor maintenance.

Of course as stated above, the use of the LUC is subject to another facts as well such as the regulations of the rural banking and financial system or wheather land is commodity in the area

Using PRA to promote women’s participation.

As PRA exercise (village meeting, mapping, transect, etc. to make land use planning) has become a good tool to promote people participation in land allocation, it is advisable to practice wisely to encourage women to participate. Normally, land allocation process will be followed by development work like agro-forestry extension, saving and credit, the use of PRA to make land use planning and village development planning would be the best to promote women’s participation.

4.4. Gender Division of Labour Research

As noted above our information on the gender division of labour is fairly cursory. This brief view did lead us to believe though that a more thorough investigation and categorizing of this issue may prove fruitful. With better information on this score we can make concrete recommendations to Village Heads or other officials about where women’s participation specifically could be useful.

We could already see that one area in which women may prove to be more informed is in hill forest land issues. Women seem to have more say in family decisions about this land and they seem to be more concerned than the men about the amount the family has.
Information on division of labour may also help to dispel some of the negative (or positive) stereotypes which pervade popular conscience at the moment. With better information about what it is that people do and how they spend their time, interventions can be targeted and much more effective.

Finally this research could better inform us on how to shape and implement agricultural extension activities, to best take advantage of the knowledge and priorities of both genders.

4.5 Women’s Land Rights Research

While long-term land tenure is a fairly new concept in Vietnam, it has been around for many years in other places. By producing a report on the gender issues in land which have arisen in other systems, OUKI could better judge which issues the women in Vietnam may face in the future and how these issues have been handled in other places. This research may prove particularly useful in advocacy for more rights for women in land tenure in Hanoi and in Lao Cai.

4.6 Dispute Resolution

Women in Lung Vai seem to be very involved in the resolution of disputes which have arisen since land allocation. One way in which future land allocation procedures could redesigned to take advantage of this asset would be to encourage women to participate especially in the stage between the measuring of the land to identify borders and the issuing of the LUC.

Slowing down the process in order to reap full benefit from this step could prove to be especially beneficial to women and to all people. This step could help to ensure that all, and particularly women, are clear as to the potential effects of the allocation of land.

This mechanism for resolution of disputes will reduce the burden on the Cadastral Staff after LUCs are issued and encourage people to take responsibility for the land they ask to have allocated to them.

5. CONCLUSION

Land allocation will change the fabric of rural life in Vietnam. While its impacts may be subtle and often will be ignored, eventually the accumulated effects will be far-reaching, legally and culturally. Already, land allocation has affected the myriad considerations which a family must give to its well-being and future. Parents now think of how much land will be available to divide between their children; mothers devise ways of feeding their families from limited resources; women think of their security should divorce or death reshape their lives. Where as land was seen as plenty and acquiring a new plot was only a matter of work, from now on all the land will parcelled out and accounted for.

The new behaviors and attitudes that accompany these changes will surely affect everyone. OUKI has committed itself to playing a role in the lives of the rural poor in Vietnam. In Lung Vai, this role encompasses a number of innovative programmes for targeting poverty in a changing world. Land allocation only brings into further relief the importance of viewing those interventions with an eye at their effects on women, as mothers, providers and care-givers, as well as individuals, in a world where all of those roles are fast taking on new shapes.

Appendix 1: Semi-structured Interview

Second Research Trip to Lung Vai
Semi-Structured Household Interview

Background …

- What is your full name? What is your age?
- How many people live in your household? What are their ages and relationships? How many laborers?
- What is your ethnicity?
- How long have you lived here? Where were you born?
- How much land do you have? What type of land is it? Is that the total land for this household?
- What do you grow on this land? How much was your yield last year?
- What animals do you have?
- Have you had land allocated to your household? How much and what kinds?
- When was it allocated?
- What steps were involved?

If women have their names on the LUC …

- Did you register your name on the application for the LUC? Why or why not?
- Is your name on the land use certificate (LUC)? Why or why not?
- Did you discuss this with someone? Whom?
- Do your female neighbors have their names on the LUCs? What about your sisters/mother/daughters?
- Why do some households have women’s and men’s names on the LUCs?
- Why do some LUCs only have women’s names?
- Why do some LUCs only have men’s names?
- Do you see any advantages for women to have their names on the LUCs? What are these advantages?
- Do you see any risks of not having a name on the LUC?

Hypothesis B: Participation in the LA Process…

- Were you involved in any meetings about:
  - Giving information to commune Cadastral staff
  - Establishing actual land use practices
  - What to do with land
  - Dividing and allocating land
  - Identifying borders
- Why did you/didn’t you go to these meetings?
- (If she is single) Did you face any particular difficulties during the process as a widow/divorced woman, ...?
- Is there anything the Cadastral Department could do to make it easier for you to go?
- Do you see any benefits to your attending meetings instead of or with your husband?
- Do you see any disadvantages?
- Do you think women go or would go more often if their names are on the LUC?
- When women go to the meetings do they speak as much as the men?
- Do you think there is anything the Cadastral Department or the Women’s Union could do to increase women’s participation during these meetings?
- Do you think there should be meetings for women alone about land issues?

Hypothesis A: Affects of having name on the Certificate on...

Access to Loan:

- Have you taken a loan from a bank or the government? From what bank?
- If yes, what was the procedure for borrowing?
- If no, why not?
- Did you need to show a LUC?
- Have you ever been denied a loan? From what bank? Why?
- Have you ever received any agricultural inputs from the government?
- If yes, what was the procedure?
- If no, why not?
- Did you need to show a LUC?
- Have you ever been denied inputs? From whom? Why?
- Have you ever been asked to show your LUC for any legal or governmental purposes?
- What is a LUC for?

Secure in Rights to the Land:

- Do you feel more secure about having rights to your land in the future?
- What kind of activity can you do if you don’t have land?
- What rights do you have if your husband decides to sell the land?
- What rights do you have if the government takes your land? Where can you go for help? How would you be able to earn a living?
- If your husband takes a second wife, what happens to your right to the land?
- In the case of a divorce, will you have the right to keep half of your family’s land?
- In the case of divorce, will your children still have right to your family’s/husband’s land?
- Who does your family’s land go to if your husband dies before you?
- What will happen to your children’s right to the land if you die before your husband?
- Who will inherit your family’s land? What about your other children?
- (If she has daughters) What happens if one of your daughters does not marry or needs land?
- When women from outside of this village marry men who live here and move here, do their names get added to their husband’s LUCs? If not, is there ever a problem for those women?
- Are there any risks for a woman, if she asks for her rights to the land – either from beating by her husband or difficulty with the town?

Role in Family:

- Has your position or role in the family changed since the land was allocated and your name has been added to the LUC?
- What did you do on your land before the land was allocated?
- What do you do now?
- Why did this change?
- Who made the decisions in your family, before the LUC, about:
  - What to plant?
  - When to plant?
  - Who does what work?
  - What to sell?
  - How much to sell for?
  - Who should work?
  - The involvement of the children in the work?
- Did the decision making change recently? Did these changes have anything to do with the LUC or the Land Allocation process? Did it have anything to do with your name being on the LUC?
- What do you think about having your name on the LUC? What does your husband think?

Appendix 2: List of interviewees

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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Note</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Mrs. Lai Thi Khanh</td>
<td>Kinh</td>
<td>Tao Giang 1</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>with her husband</td>
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<td>2. Mr. Lai Van Toan</td>
<td>Kinh</td>
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<td>his wife in the field</td>
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<td>3. Mrs. Nguyen Thi Tham</td>
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<td>with her husband</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Mrs. Nguyen Thi Hong</td>
<td>Kinh</td>
<td>with her husband</td>
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