

Land grabbing, conflict and agrarian-environmental transformations: perspectives from East and Southeast Asia

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Decentralization in Mangrove Restoration: a Critical Analysis – Case study in Central Coast of Vietnam

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Abstract

Nowadays, the issues of “land grabbing” and “green grabbing” have become a subject of contentious debate. Although the terms of “land grabbing” and “green grabbing” are referred to frequently, they prove to be relatively new problem in Vietnam. In this paper, the issue of “green grabbing” will be examined by using a case study of mangrove restoration in Central Coast of Vietnam to gain a better understanding of the central government’s control over resources and how right and ownership are transferred to different stakeholders. It is believed that human-nature interaction happens among stakeholders and that is the relationship between local people and nature or state and nature and it is need to have a joint effort among them. However, the fact is that the central government and local people have different views towards the restoration of mangrove. While the central government sees mangrove restoration from the angle of ecological services, local people views mangrove forest as a part of their culture and source of livelihoods. Another noticeable finding is the functional overlapping between two Ministries in the realm of forest and land management in Vietnam which leads to serious problems in terms of forest conservation policy. Local government acts as the connecting institution between local people and central government; however, local government’s interpreting of mangrove restoration policy goes astray from the original one, causing misunderstandings in the implementation of mangrove restoration projects. Finally, local people’s voice is not heard by the central government due to a variety of reasons. In this paper, the concept of decentralization, knowledge space, and livelihood strategies will be used to analyze the issue. It is believed that the controversies arising from mangrove restoration policy should be comprehensively discussed. The argument is that state policy should tackle the issue of mangrove restoration not only from the aspect of conservation but also from social, economic and cultural lenses. Mangrove forests play an important role in adapting to climate change and global warming, in the meanwhile, they serve as crucial sources for local community’s livelihoods. Hence, there is an urgent need to address any conflicts in policy which negatively affect local community’s access to mangrove forests.

Introduction

In recent years, the term “land grabbing” has been addressed broadly by both academic and civil society perspectives. ‘Land grabbing’ refers to the “transfer of ownership, use rights and control over resources that were once publicly or private owned-or not even the subject of ownership-from the poor into the hand of the powerful” (Fairhead, Leach, and Scoones, 2012: 238; Holmes, 2014: 549). In George Holmes’s point of view, “land grab defined as the transfers of control over property and resources over large areas of territory from local control to more powerful outsiders” (Holmes, 2014: 550). The outsiders here can be big company with a plantation projects or it is government with reforestation or land allocation projects. It links to power exclusion and power relation when the powerful can exclude the powerless from their rights to use land and resources. Although there are many forms of land grabbing such as green grabbing or blue grabbing, in this paper, we examine green grabbing under the case of mangrove restoration in central coast of Vietnam. Green grab here means property rights and rights to access have been grabbed under the name of environmental purposes. In this case, mangrove restoration has conducted under the conservation policy which concentrates on global innovation in terms of ecological services when socio-economic and cultural aspects are almost left out. Local people’s livelihood and customary area affected by this policy when the policy makers do not realize or just ignore it. Therefore, in this study, we will examine the problem of green grabbing in mangrove restoration under the main concept of decentralization.

The main question is “To what extent does mangrove restoration and green grabbing have a linkage and what is the solution for it?” following up by three questions:

- In what ways do local villagers participate in mangrove restoration projects and how does decentralization works in these projects?
- How has knowledge space is used by local villagers and how does mangrove restoration works under scientific knowledge?
- How can the community negotiate their rights and local knowledge to actively participate in the mangrove restoration project for the purpose of develop effectively livelihood strategies?

The research area is village 6 located in Quang Phong ward, Ba Don town, Quang Binh province, Vietnam. There are 159 households in this village. More than 60% come from agriculture and aquaculture sector which including in farmers and shrimp farm owners. Some villagers work on both agriculture and aquaculture field, while the others just work on one field for their livelihood. One hundred percent of households here hold the land for residence or/and cultivation. However, some people who have land next to the downstream area of the river cannot use shrimp farm land because of the changing of level of salt in the soil. Therefore, they have to borrow the paddy land of the others villagers who do not need to use the land and pay annual tax with specific amount of rice back to the land owner at the end of harvest time. The minority of villagers here work in another sector such as services or industrial worker.

Quang Phong ward is a coastal area in Central Coast of Vietnam - the region has been affected by natural disaster frequently every year and its own geographical characteristic is very complex. The mangrove forest here plays an important role not only in environmental, economic, and social aspect but also in cultural aspect and it is one of the remained forest in Central Coast of Vietnam. This ward has boundary with Ba Don town to the East, Quang Thanh ward to the West, Quang Long and Quang Phuong ward to the North, and Quang Loc , Quang Hai and Gianh River to the South. The total natural area of this ward is 470.04 hectares in which agriculture land makes up 240.00 ha, and non-agriculture land occupy of 230.04 ha.

The total population of this ward is 5483, of which 58% are farmers and fishers, following by 12 %

industrial workers and 30% other services. People in this area are Kinh people-the majority of Vietnam. They are mostly original people who live in this area from generation to generation. Their traditional livelihood heavily depends on farming and fishing and mangrove forest in the past. Therefore, they have a lot of experiences and knowledge in terms of using and managing mangrove forest. In the past, this area is one of the pilot for mangrove reforestation in central coast of Vietnam. In 1978, local government and local villagers organized and used local knowledge for a reforestation activity with the target of 8 ha mangrove and this activity has been kept going year by year. However, under the impact of natural disaster, the mangrove area has been decreasing dramatically. Therefore, the government started another mangrove reforestation project from 2009-2012 but the successful has been limited.

At the present, local villagers's livelihood has been changing due to the impact of development. Some new form of livelihood has been found such as industrial shrimp farm, working abroad, small business, and other service jobs. Most of local villagers do not realize on this mangrove forest for their livelihood. They just look the mangrove forest as a natural disaster reduction barrier for their village. In the past, local villagers actively participated to the project as one of their community activities. However, recently they participate to the project as a responsibility of Vietnamese citizen. In addition, the fact is that Vietnam is one of five countries will be affected by the climate change the most. Realizing the important role of mangrove forest to protect coastal area from the impact of climate change, the government set up and adopt mangrove restoration program. Quang Phong is one of the area has been chosen by the government. The government always look at the reforestation project as a tool to national scale. Mangrove forest as a ecological services tool, but they do not look up to local scale when local villagers struggle for their daily income.

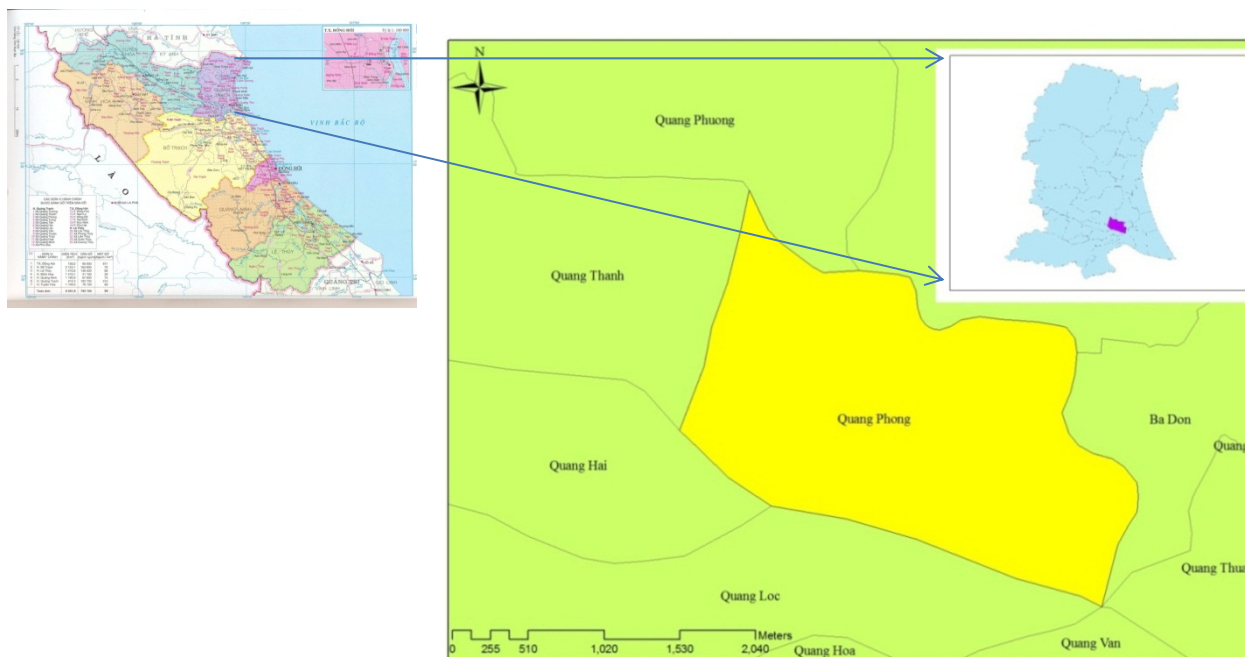


Figure 1: Map of study site in Quang Binh Province, Vietnam

The research site was visited twice in June and December 2014. Firstly, secondary data was reviewed in the field of mangrove restoration in Vietnam in general and in central coast of Vietnam in specific, and then data from district and ward level was collected in order to understand clearer about the problem in the area. And then the second fieldwork was conducted in December 2014.

Data collection methods include in both primary and secondary data collection. Secondary data

was collected from the previous literature related to the topic such as book, chapter in a book, journal articles, reports from NGOs, local government, central government as well as data from the internet such as satellite image and some online reports. Primary data was collected from the fieldwork. We used GIS and RS technology to get general understanding about geography and physical aspect of the research site, calculate the mangrove area. And then household survey is applied to get socio-economic information about the study site in general. After that, seven key informants interview, one group discussion, twelve in-depth interviews, participant observation, and field note were conducted to dig deeper to the topic of research.

The mangrove forest here is one of the remaining mangrove forest area in Central Coast of Vietnam extends along the adjoining land between the commune and the Gianh River. According to my interview information, the primary mangrove forest occurred before 1945 and it was one of the livelihood sources of local people for a long time. People come to the forest to catch fish and crab as well as collect non-timber forest products for making a living. They also can hunt animal in the forest. The forest area is calculated around 20 ha which go deeper from the river side to the village. During the Vietnam-America war, the mangrove forest was the shelter for Vietnamese military and local people's cargo boat. These boats carry goods for Vietnamese military and because of the density of the forests, it becomes a good shelter for both soldiers and boat. However, this forest was destroyed by American bomb during the beginning of 1970s decade. After that war, government activity occurred for mangrove restoration from 1978 to 1982 in which local people participated actively. They got points from that activity as a part of their earning for food vouchers according to Vietnam government's regulations at that time. In Quang Phong, this activity was organized by Veterans Association of Quang Phong and Quang Phong Association of the Elderly under the management of Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MARD) district level. Under this activity, 8 ha of mangrove was planted along Gianh river side and this mangrove area has been expended every year by annual activities of the community from 1978 to 2007. In this activity, many veterans and local people participated and use their local knowledge in combination with MARD officer instruction to regenerate the forest. Even so, under the impact of unsustainable development and natural disaster (storm and flood), mangrove area here has been decreasing significantly. Therefore, some government restoration projects was operated in Quang Phong from 2009-2012 and a small area of this project (around 30%) can generate new forest (Group discussion, 2014) These new projects are under the policy from the Government such as program 661 (1998-2010) and the program of Protection Forest Restoration projects which has been affected by some innovations from regional and global level like REDD and PES. According to Vietnam law, all of the forest belongs to the Government, so that this forest is under the management of two Ministries which are Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment (MONRE) and Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MARD).

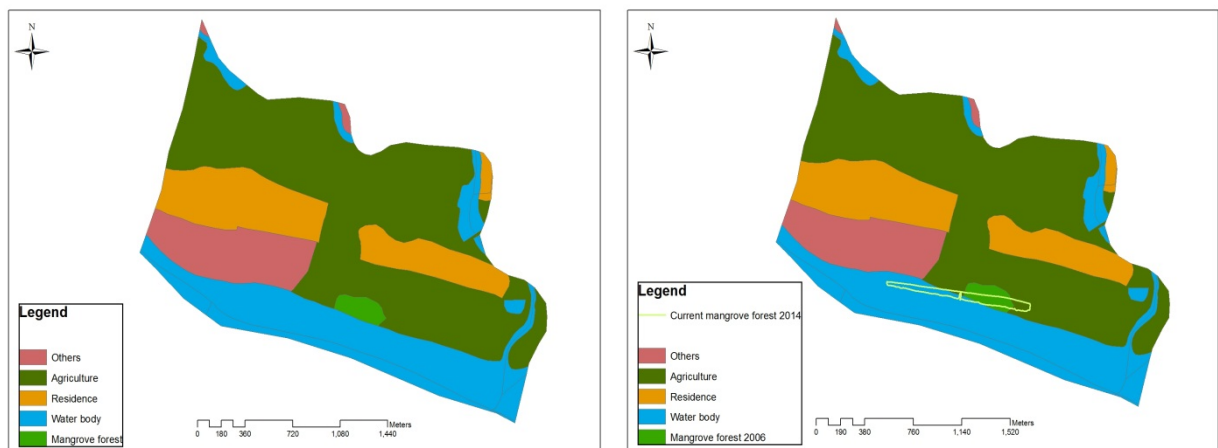


Figure 2: Mangrove forest in 2006 and 2014
 (Source: Quang Binh province Forestry Department and data collection in 2014)

Mangrove restoration without active participation: decentralization or centralization?

The natural resource decentralization has been discussed increasingly since the mid-1980s (Larson and Fernanda, 2008). It becomes a dominant theme in the discussion of natural resources policies for the purpose of the government in terms of development and conservation (Agrawal and Ostrom, 2001; Chusak and Vandergeest, 2010). However, decentralization is not simple process as many scholars pointed out previously, it needs a linkage among its components: social actors, power, and accountability. The involvement of all actors with clear understanding of the power in the decision-making process with accountability upward and downward will help decentralization work effectively. It can be a different about the scale in terms of power control and access to resources when local context is different with global or national context. It can be the overlapping of responsibility among stakeholders. There is a fact that decentralization in natural resource management link directly to property rights and power relations (Chusak and Vandergeest, 2010). Thus, it link to the way some actor have power to control over resources in the specific context. Here, in this paper, it can be the control over access to mangrove forest which is called a kind of green grabbing. However, mangrove restoration goes along with a so-called “sustainable development” which has been discussed since the 1980s, widespread in the reports of international consultancies and the agencies that employed them by the end of this decade. It has been looked at in a variety of ways. Neither individual or agency understand it similarly.

In terms of mangrove forest, in the era of industrial economic, a large area of mangrove has been destroyed because of economic development projects such as shrimp farm. As a result of that, human beings has been facing with more and serious natural disaster than ever. Realizing the importance of mangrove forest, the government point out that mangrove restoration is a must-do in the era of climate change and sustainable development. However, the success in mangroves restoration has remained very limited, which could be attributed to lack of policy integration and coordination among different agencies, narrow focus on the forest skills among the forest land use managers and inactive community participation in mangrove restoration (Memon, 2011). This problem is not only happen in each country but also happens in reforestation projects all around the world. The missing links with local involvement still exists (Datta, 2012). In the study site, a large primary mangrove forest has been destroyed by bombing under the Vietnam-America War and shrimp farm under economic

development. Mangrove forest here used to be not only a source of local people livelihood but also a part of their culture and spirit. It acts as a natural barrier for not only natural disaster but also bombing from America military. An interviewee pointed out that the forest supported Vietnamese soldiers and local people to protect their nation and nothing can replace its original meaning. The forest also provided aquatic species, leaves as well as birds for their daily food during the difficult time in the past when food was insufficient. Mangrove restoration is also conducted by local villagers after the war from 1978-1980; however the new mangrove restoration has been failed because of many reasons come from the climate change as well as inactive participation. Recently, local villagers almost forget the important role of mangrove forest because they are so much concerning on their livelihood, whereas government emphasize on the ecological role of mangrove. Therefore, the policy comes directly to an ends of a failed project in this area.

One of the reason of the above problem is that although there are mechanisms for creating mangrove restoration plans there are no forums set up for stakeholder negotiation. They further state that governments are often biased toward the interests of land owners without considering impacts on other sectors (Stone, 2008). In the study site, there is no meeting or training about mangrove restoration projects in the grassroots level. The understanding about mangrove restoration differs from this level to that level. With the same question about government policy, district officer could give which laws refers to the policy and when it has been conducted, while ward officers just know what it is basically and local villagers almost do not know where this project comes from and which policy refer to this kind of project. The level of understand here is vary from each level to each level. Therefore, it causes a problem of transferring power from higher level to lower level. Because the stakeholders have different understanding about the project, so that sometimes the project's direction goes different way with what it is intended to occur from central government's view.

The government and other powerful agencies have their own particular worldview, and through the use of language they create an image of mangrove restoration in order to serve their conservation purpose. However, they almost forget embedded environmental impact with economic and social aspect of these restoration projects. As Mills, 2003 pointed out in his chapter "Discourse" about Foucault view's, the distinction between true and false is a power relation: the ones who are being regarded as "experts" have the right to the truth, whereas the rest who possess no power are denied this right. In the case at hand, the government concentrate on conservation aspects, claim that mangrove restoration is a priority in this era. As Foucault pointed out, the combination between power and knowledge shapes the truth. The language chosen by the government influences the thinking of citizens in order to adopt the government worldview (Mills, 2003). The government has the power and therefore entertains only the knowledge and ideas of its choice.

In addition, it is not only the policy toward mangrove restoration but also the tenure security policy. Forest is considered as a common property in many countries. Common property, bundles of ownership are used to respond to Hardin's (1968) hypothesis of the 'tragedy of the commons' by examining the state-managed access regime and the potential to adopt local and collectively organized solutions (Roy et.al, 2013). There is a fact that local people use mangrove forest in their everyday livelihood with insufficient rights. Because the cost and benefit from the mangrove restoration project is unclear, so that local people just participate in this project inactively. In Vietnam, forest land is managed by the state and by industrial-agricultural-forestry enterprise associations. State policies regulate forests and their products as 'national assets', owned by the state. Therefore, local people do not have rights to manage and use either forestland or forest products (Luong Thi Truong and Orlando M. G). According to the data collected, local villagers are not sure about their rights to access to the forest. They cannot collect firewood or raise any kind of aquatic species for their income because all of the forest is under the control of local level administration. Local villagers raise a question what should we do if we have no benefit from the forest? Thus, the problem here is not only come from the

policy but also the villagers' awareness about mangrove forest. If mangrove restoration is a game, so in this game how can it be a win-win game for both.

Moreover, it can be said that policy-makers have failed to develop any best-fit measures to establish a clear connection between sustainable forest management and appropriate types of property rights regimes to address forest–people relationships (Roy et.al, 2012). According to Ostrom and Schlager (1996), forest is a common property and a property right is enforceable to undertake particular actions related to a specific domain. Common property need to be sharing cost and benefit. If the government or local people do it separately, it would be costly or zero. Therefore, it needs to share cost and benefit among stakeholders (Ostrom and Schlager, 1996). Hann, 1998 claims that property is not only in formal way, it is very informal in different perspective. It might be formal in theory, but it can practice informally in reality. Property not only related to the law, actually it is associated with social and culture in reality (Hann, 1998). Therefore, it is believed that regime efficacy should be fostered from state–forest communities' partnerships with a clear embedded property rights regime (Roy et. al, 2012). Property rights, land ownership, or land title is a controversial debate in Vietnam for a long time. Mangrove forest is one kind of common property and in the past, this kind of common property is shared cost and benefit among stakeholders in the case of war daily usages; however, after Doi Moi policy in 1986 new law and new regulations govern the traditional custom to be a new era of powerful-powerless relation which causes the unequal access to resources. In the past, every villager can access to the mangrove forest and now the mangrove forest is government's property officially. In the past, there is no shrimp farm and after economic development, more and more shrimp farms were operated. Local villagers' livelihood has changed dramatically under economic development.

One more point I will discuss here is that when all the forest belongs to the State, local people sometimes can collect some NTFPs, catch a fish or collect leaves in mangrove forest but because there is no tenure security, so that no livelihood is secure here. They have no rights to access mangrove forest legally and they cannot control it. Access here is frequently used by property and natural resource analysts without adequate definition. It means “the *ability* to derive benefits from things”, and the later as: “the *right* to benefit from things”. Following this definition, access is more akin to “a bundle of powers or abilities” than to property's notion of a “bundle of rights”. It includes a wider range of social relationships that constrain or enable benefits from resource use than property relations alone (Ribot and Peluso, 2003). In the case of mangrove restoration, local people cannot access the forest because they have no power acknowledged by the government policy. The forest has been under control of the local administration level governed by the policy.

In addition, the conflict not only happens between the government and local people, but also the conflict happens inside community. It is the conflict between those who have been able to capture nearly exclusive access and those who lost access as a result of the privatization of resources. In the past, all of local people can go to mangrove forest and collect NTFPs, crab, fish and shrimp, and dry branches for firewood. After the conducting of mangrove restoration, there are a new conflict happens inside local community in which someone can access to the forest and the others cannot access to because of lack of power. In this way, the poor and the powerless are excluded from the mangrove and marine resources (Hue and Scott, 2008). As a result of this dispute, communities differ significantly in their responses to reforestation proposals. Many people respond that mangrove forest needs to be restored, while others reply “do not need to restore anymore” because they have different benefit sharing form these projects. Thus, there are differing views on whether replanting is necessary. Therefore, many people are unaware of the stages involved in a successful reforestation operation. Community participation in nurseries and out-planting activities are variable: some people are eager initially to participate in the program but eventually abandon or resist it, while others refuse outright. Most people are willing to participate in activities, but conditioned such participation on factors such

as more training and especially the provision of incentives (Ekindi, 2008). In the study site, after mangrove restoration conducted an interesting case has been raised related to the primary mangrove forest caused the conflict among insider. As pointed out before, the primary mangrove has been destroyed by bombing and shrimp farm later. Before the mangrove restoration project, no one care about that shrimp farm, however, when a large area of river side were taken for mangrove restoration, many villagers have to change their livelihood because there is no more place for their traditional catching system. Villagers start to make a comparison between the shrimp farm and the mangrove restoration. Their question is “why both shrimp farm and mangrove has been operated in river side but only shrimp farm can help to improve our livelihood?”. Why only some villagers can own the shrimp farm? That causes a conflict among villagers just because of livelihood. In addition, because caring seriously about their livelihood, local villagers almost ignore what is mangrove restoration actually bring for them. The interview shows that local villagers know what mangrove forest can support for environment but they almost do not care much about that. This is really serious question need to be addressed.

All in all, it can be said that the top-down approach taken by the local governments in mangrove restoration makes local people confused about their livelihoods. People do not take care of mangrove forest because there is no clear sharing benefit system for them (Tuyen et. al, 2010) and there are no livelihood security after conducting these projects.

It is believed that there was limited analysis regarding the manner in which local property rights, resource access regimes and opportunities for equitable resource use and management are undermined by administrative bureaucracies and inadequate legal frameworks (Armitage, 2002). The challenge, therefore, is to find an alternative property rights regime to address the missing link between conservation and livelihood-security of forest-dependent communities using sustainable management practices in the SMF (Roy et. al, 2012). Empirical research has shown that co-management has been successful where defined property rights exist to ensure equitable distribution of resources and benefits governments, both in the developed and the developing world have adopted the co-management structure of forest management as a process of decentralization and devolution, where costs and benefits are shared with communities within a defined property rights' structure (Roy et. al, 2012).

Mangrove forest usage as knowledge space

In this part, concept of knowledge space is used to demonstrate the important role of mangrove forest for local people livelihood. Mangrove forest is not only a means for survival; it also carries more meanings. Space, according to Henry Lefebvre, referring to physical, mental and social space, is a social product. The concept of knowledge space was first introduced to social sciences by Turnbull in 1997. He began by recognizing that knowledge production is a social activity as well as a social history of space (Anan, 2008). Concept of space means how the same concept can be applicable to different situation and it include both the places of knowledge and of power production in the sense that they are contested spaces associated with complex social relations (Anan, 2008).

Local people use mangrove forest as adaptive strategies. People do not use the forest products for their livelihood only, it also a part of their traditional culture and history. Traditional knowledge has being used to control mangrove forests as social and cultural features. They cut timber for house or boat, catch fish and shrimp, take care of the forest tree and they do respect the forest. They use their knowledge variably, applying it to new situations to maintain their livelihood, still protecting the forest. It can be said that the local people relationship with their land and resources is deeply intertwined with their customs, culture, and political practices; it is the expression of their social wholeness (Tran Duc Vien, 2002).

Local customary use of mangroves is typically characterized by common access rights.

Mangrove forest plays an important role in local community. Local use of mangrove forest resources is varied and significant (Armitage, 2002). People rely on the resources related to mangrove forest such as firewood, food, and wood. The lagoon is an important nursery area for inshore and offshore fish species, and it indirectly supports the livelihoods of people living along much of the coastal area (Tuyen et. al, 2010). It has been found traditional mangrove use contributed proportionally more to household incomes than participation in the formal wage economy (Armitage, 2002). However, scientific knowledge do not recognize the important social and culture aspects of mangrove forest with local people which cause the conflict between state and local people in these projects. Local people used forest as a shelters, as a food market and as a source of livelihood strategy in the past, however, under historical and economic impact, villagers have to adapt their traditional usages in the new era. Under the new stage of development, the local knowledge of local villagers still act as both environmental knowledge and livelihood strategy for them, while scientific knowledge just concentrate on how to regenerate to mangrove effectively, so that it causes some hidden conflict inside the project.

According to Peluso (1992) the gap between scientific knowledge and local knowledge is that if you can demonstrate your knowledge is better than local one, you can make a claim to resources, even excluded local people. Knowledge can turn someone who is forest users before to illegal user. In this case if local people cannot demonstrate their knowledge as a tool of livelihood strategies, they will be excluded from mangrove forest. Therefore, they have to use knowledge space to protect themselves. But in the village, people cannot demonstrate their local knowledge as a tool of their livelihood strategies because of the lack of knowledge-knowledge here means policy and tool how to negotiate their rights. One hundred percent of the interviewee do not know the exactly forestry or land policy. They just follow their local administrator's guidance; whereas at the higher level of district, province, or state level the administrator understand that local people understand their policy. In addition there is different understanding about one policy and scientific knowledge in different administrative level.

One more thing is that according to Nygren (1999), local knowledge as situated knowledge. She argued that knowledge production should be recognized as a process of social negotiation, one that involves multiple actors and complex power relations. Local knowledge is situated knowledge because it is happening all the time and changes in response to the changing situation in a community from era to era. Moreover, it can be viewed as a continuous process of change, adaptation and contestation, and combines the traditional and modern, the situational and the hybrid, and local and global knowledge – all integrated together to create a complex local life (Nygren, 1999). People's livelihood does not fix to other traditional knowledge alone, they also situated with knowledge to cope with changing. They use their traditional knowledge combine with new one for a better solution under the changing. For example, in case of mangrove restoration, they use mangrove forest for their livelihood, but under the effect of climate change, they apply seawall to protect their forest also. The villagers can have a sufficient income from shrimp farm in the past, however, due to the effect of disease and some unidentified reason, the shrimp died significantly. Local people used their traditional knowledge to open the small hole for natural development and get income from shrimp, fish, and crab naturally. Some of them can also catch fish along the forest edge and new river side. It means that their knowledge is situated and adapted to new changes.

It can be seen clearly the expansion of shrimp farm through period of time as the following satellite image:

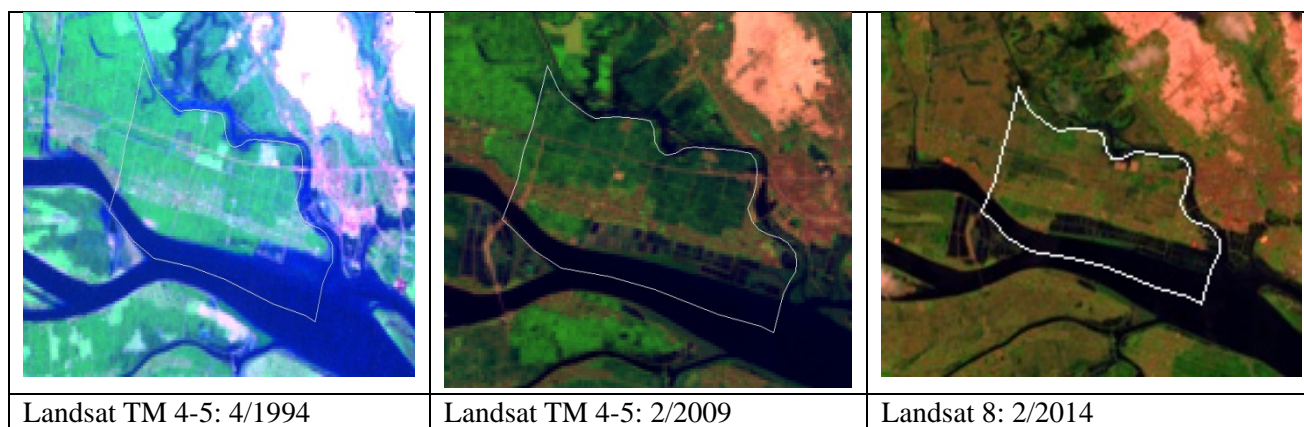


Figure 3: Land cover change of Quang Phong from 1994-2014

(Source: earthexplorer.usgs.gov)

The last but most important, people can negotiate by generate new knowledge space to prove that local communities cannot live without mangrove forest and they have their own knowledge to take care of the forest.

Participation of mangrove restoration as negotiating livelihood strategies

As mentioned above, local people should use their knowledge to protect their traditional livelihood from the impact of mangrove restoration policy and its discourse on mangrove forest. Local people have their own livelihood strategies through which they perceive and learn the environment, ecology and society. These are improved by the inter-relationships between humans, and between humans and nature. Therefore, the meaning of livelihood is regulated by the activities, the assets and the access that jointly define the living.

Local people's relationship goes beyond economic interests to cultural and spiritual connections to the places they have inhabited for generations. They have been transmitted and nurtured from generation to generation. The question here is that without land security and ownership, how can local people can live sustainably? Their relationship with their land and resources is deeply intertwined with their customs, culture, and political practices. In their view, living, working and nurturing the mangrove forest with full control and tenurial security is a key to living fully and surviving as a people. Sustainable livelihood security which refers to secure ownership and the rights to access to resources and income-earning activities, including reserves and assets to offset risk, ease shocks and meet contingencies. A household can have their own secure livelihood whenever they have their own ownership and they can control their resources.

One more thing is that livelihoods can be conceptualized as negotiate space used by local people to gain power to manage and control natural resources. They can struggle to get power and the rights to control the forest, in this case they can use their knowledge in natural resources management. They can maintain both conservation and livelihood with their knowledge space.

Although multiple of negotiation forms have already used, there haven't benefited in some contexts due to the term of social life is dominated by development policy which expresses the relationship between the economic, political, cultural and social dimensions. Therefore, to construct better livelihoods, people could have a choice of the assets and resources they have access to, for after that they have a choice of strategies. (DFID, 1999). For instance, the emphasis on this spatial

dimension of knowledge opens up the possibility of seeing knowledge more clearly as practices by knowledge producers. The practices, especially through social strategies of negotiation, allow knowledge producers to create spaces that can generate new knowledge from heterogeneous and isolated knowledge (Turnbull 1997: 553). They can regenerate their knowledge and negotiate for their livelihood strategies. They have to negotiate for better livelihood strategies under a new situation and the concept of knowledge space can help them better understand how they may negotiate and the concept of knowledge space is also useful for understanding the multiplicity of shifting cultivation (Anan, 2008).

Knowledge space should be seen as a strategic package of contestation and negotiation. They do not alone. It is based on a kind of multiple reasoning or mixing of different kinds of knowledge. They have to negotiate with different kinds of knowledge situated in a variety of places. Through their engagement in social forestry, people can generate different kinds of knowledge space in the community forestry movement in order to negotiate with the government. It means that local people do not only use their knowledge in one way, but also in different way. Although they base on local knowledge, they still can adapt news knowledge to survive under different circumstance. They can adapt and practice many kinds of livelihood by mix different kinds of knowledge

In addition, in order to negotiate for their livelihood strategies, they have to extend their networks and their social capital. According to DFID, 1999, a livelihood of each household depends on five types of capital: natural capital, human capital, financial capital, physical capital and social capital. They have to strengthen their capital if they want to negotiate with the government. What capital they have and whether it is sustainable or not? Because the state and other powerful agencies with their own interests, approaches, language and styles generate discourse and meaning in development which is intended at serving their purpose of power, so that the Government cannot see the potential in their strategies, how can they believe it. It means that they have to combine indigenous knowledge with scientific knowledge to reveal their belief in front of Government (Hirsch and Wyatt, 2004). In addition, in the pressure of climate change, it is no doubt that the government want to transform land to new mangrove forest. Therefore, the diverse methods of livelihood have to be shaped by the natural and socio-economic conditions of a given region in order to generate new knowledge to adapt to the new situation.

Put it in another word, local people have to demonstrate their sustainable livelihood in economic, social, and environment perspective. In economic perspective, mangrove usage provide food and livelihood for local people. In terms of social perspective, mangrove usage can be seen as a traditional livelihood, associated with the people from generation to generation. In addition of providing essential ecological and societal services and goods, mangroves also have aesthetic, historical and cultural significance (Datta, 2010). Local people usually associate development and conservation with making money. Thus, conservation is also linked to the negotiation for livelihood resources in the forest.

To sum up, local people can negotiate for their livelihood strategies and struggle to get access to resources by apply knowledge space flexible or ask for an alternative sources of livelihood increasing their livelihood options may reduce the pressure on mangrove forests. In contrast with other ecosystems, the linkages of mangrove ecosystem services with local livelihoods and security are direct and tangible. It is therefore possible to develop strong local support for sustainable management of mangrove forests in areas where a positive attitude towards mangrove conservation prevails. (Badola et. al, 2012)

Conclusion

Vandergeest (2006) said that community is not given, it is constructing and it will become a real community under a certain context. Work in communities, it doesn't mean only in terms of location, it

also a networks. Thus, the government needs to establish a network with community before conducting any mangrove restoration project.

Mangrove forest is an important nursery area for inshore and offshore fish species, and it indirectly supports the livelihoods of people living along much of the coastal area. Sustaining ecosystems and livelihoods within coastal lagoon systems is a complex challenge. Engaging stakeholders in the development of a co-management approach need a deeply understanding about local context (Tuyen et. al, 2010). The government policy puts conservation perspective in the top and almost forget local people's livelihood, but it overlooks other aspect of their livelihood as a form of culture, traditional knowledge and mountainous people livelihood strategy. They control over resources and rights to access to resources and the interaction between human-nature, it is the long term interaction between villagers and their nature.

Our opinion is that the government should encourage people take part in not only in implemented process but also in a planning process of mangrove restoration project. It is believed that local people can contribute their local knowledge as a tool to combine with scientific knowledge for a better solution and it is need to to build a shared understanding among user groups and stakeholders with regards to current lagoon resource use, livelihood problems, priorities, and appropriate management approach. In addition, the land tenure insecurity creates a lot of impacts to traditional livelihood and resources. The local people cannot legally access their resources and land, they have to do it through ways that are deemed "illegal". It is no doubt that there are the negotiation of local people to state and capitalists for getting their power relation by several ways because mangrove forest provide their daily livelihood.

To sum up, this problem is a hot issue all over the world recently. Therefore, in the present situation, mangrove forest area could be declared a conservation reserve, and efforts towards mangrove restoration and sustainable use can be taken up with community participation. The relationships between coastal communities and their environment are extremely complex. Thus, in order to sustain people's support for mangrove conservation, it is need to look at local people's attitudes and perceptions in conservation project. As long as the costs of conservation to the local communities are higher than the benefits, popular support for conservation will be compromised (Badola et. al, 2012). In addition, it requires a joint effort among stakeholders to set a better policy in which local people can raise their voice as legitimate participators. In this situation, local people will be active to negotiate for their own benefits and their livelihood and mangrove forest still has been protected and conversed.

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