

Proceeding of the Workshop on Tenure and Institution in Shifting Cultivation

29th November to 2nd December 2009

Hotel Holiday Home, Paro, Bhutan

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Background

The RPSC project

This workshop is part of the “Regional Project on Shifting Cultivation (RPSC): Promoting Innovative Policy and Development Options for Improving Shifting Cultivation in the Eastern Himalayas”, in Bhutan, Bangladesh, and Nepal with financial support from the International Development Research Centre (IDRC). The project aims to contribute to the livelihood security of the shifting cultivators in the eastern Himalayas by researching policy options that support the improvement of shifting cultivation systems in terms of natural resource management and tenure security. It works through three approaches: (1) Engaging policy and decision makers in dialogue; (2) Regionally comparable interdisciplinary research; and (3) Regional sharing and exchange.

The project’s specific objectives are:

- (i) To assess tenure changes and institutional arrangements in different shifting cultivation areas caused by various policy interventions and evaluate economic, social and ecological impacts, and identify gaps and needs for improving the relevance of policy interventions
- (ii) To analyze and compare good practices and options related to shifting cultivation and alternative options adopted to generate new knowledge for appropriate policy recommendation
- (iii) To share good policies and practices related to shifting cultivation and alternative options through regional exchange.

Workshop objectives and process

The main purpose of this workshop is to design the regionally comparable interdisciplinary research and prepare the country teams to address the first objective. For this, the ICIMOD team has developed a draft research protocol on “Tenure and Institutions in Shifting Cultivation” (T&I), presenting key concepts, the research questions, and methodologies and tools. The reason for such a protocol is to have the same research questions and use the same methodologies in each country, even though the local situations are very different. This way the country teams can compare results more easily and share experiences by speaking the ‘same language’.

The objectives of this workshop are:

1. To discuss, refine and finalize shifting cultivation tenure and institution research protocol
2. To train the participants and share experiences on key concepts, methodologies and research skills required for implementing the research.

A total of 10 participants from Bhutan, Bangladesh, and Nepal participated in the workshop (see [annex 1](#)). The programme is presented in [annex 2](#), it covered 4 components:

- Conceptual framework (day 1)
- Research questions (day 2)
- Methodologies and tools (day 3)
- Research protocol finalisation and presentation (day 4)

Day 1 (29th November 2009)

Session 1: Inaugural Session

In his welcome speech, Mr. Tayan Raj Gurung, Program Director, RNR Research & Development Centre, Ministry of Agriculture, Bhutan thanked the ministry of Bhutan and ICIMOD for their support, which gives legitimacy of the work on shifting cultivation and the work they have been doing.

Ms. Elisabeth Kerkhoff, Project Coordinator, presented the purpose of the workshop. In her presentation she explained how currently misunderstanding and disagreement between shifting cultivators and their governments is creating problems for both. Shifting cultivators have different needs than other farmers, and their farming system should be studied at a landscape scale, since crop fields, fallows and forests are managed in an integrated way. Adaptive learning and management, supported by research, could bring farmers and policy makers together to address this situation. For this they should agree on a common goal to improve natural resource management in shifting cultivation, particularly looking at land use management and resource tenure.

In his Opening Remarks, the Chief Guest, Dasho Sherub Gyaltsen, Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture, RGoB, highlighted the fact that shifting cultivation is the oldest and yet, even today, a predominant land use in the Eastern Himalayas. Among the shifting cultivators, the progressive ones continue to graduate to other more productive economic alternatives, while the marginalized ones continue to eke out a living, in some cases solely, from shifting cultivation. Therefore, shifting cultivation stands in need of special attention from all the stakeholders. Shifting cultivation is not practiced by choice but by compulsion, because the shifting cultivators lack better economic options. The Bhutanese government has decided to change shifting cultivation land into dry land in the land records, but recognises that the practice still exists. The Secretary expressed the wish that the research protocol provides adequate scope to study various factors that impact on the customary tenure and institutions that govern shifting cultivation systems in our respective countries. The full version of the Opening Remarks is presented in [Annex 3](#).

Mr. Karma Phuntsho, Action Area Team Leader Community and Livelihood Forestry, ICIMOD, gave the Vote of Thanks to the honourable chief guest for his guidance and inspirational deliberation.

Session 2: The research protocols and workshop process

Common research protocol: What is it and why do we need it?

A research protocol describes research questions (or hypotheses), their justification, the underlying concepts and theories, and the research methodologies used to answer them. To have a common protocol for research in different countries and situations means to ask the same questions and apply the same methodologies in each of the countries and sites, even though the answers and findings may be very different according to the local situation. The assumption is that there are common issues underlying each of the situations, which need to be studied under different circumstances. The common protocol makes the research findings from each situation comparable with the others, so we can learn common lessons across the region from the different situations. This is especially advantageous for policy research, because the same policies usually apply to the entire country, and it is difficult to change that for the sake of an experiment. By comparing situations in different countries, various policy options can be assessed.

How to develop the research protocol during the workshop?

The protocol content is given in the table below. There will be five main chapters, each consisting of several sections. One or more sessions are dedicated to each topic, to discuss its specifics and make sure we all understand it in the same way. The group exercises (day 2 and 3) will be to play with the new concepts and methodologies for better understanding, and to think how each country team will apply the methodologies and tools in the case of their country. At the workshop, the country teams worked on the underlined sections.

Protocol Chapters and Sections

1. Introduction

- a. Background
- b. Objective
- c. Specific situation(s) and issue(s) in the countries that this project will address

2. Conceptual framework

- a. Shifting cultivation development and adaptive management
- b. Climate change adaptation
- c. Governance
- d. Land and natural resource tenure
- e. Institutions

3. Research questions

- a. Main and sub-questions

4. Methodologies and tools

- a. Policy analysis
- b. Social equity and gender analysis
- c. Stakeholder analysis
- d. Tenure analysis
- e. Institutional analysis

5. Country work plans

- a. Bangladesh
- b. Bhutan
- c. Nepal

Session 3: Key Concepts

The purpose of the presentations on key concepts was

Background information on each topic was made available to the participants in the form of handouts.

Climate change and Shifting Cultivation

In the current global climate change debate, shifting cultivators play a key role. For some they are an easy scapegoat to blame for carbon emissions. Others, including ICRAF and CIFOR, recognise that they have a strong potential for conserving forests as part of the fallow cycle, and as such they have a stake in the current debates on REDD, or reduced emissions from avoided deforestation and forest degradation. At the same time they and their farming systems are vulnerable to the impact of climate change. Increasing their tenure security will reduce their vulnerability and enhance their capacity to adapt to climate hazards.

In his presentation on Shifting Cultivation and Climate Change, Mr. Amba Jamir raised the issue of how traditional agriculture can face the challenge of coping with climate change. He highlighted how shifting cultivators in Nagaland, India, have the potential to adapt to climate change and even to contribute to mitigation. Farmers adapt to climate change in the way they select crops for different elevations, planting seasons and timing, and the ways they maintain crop diversity. They keep changing the times and season; researchers could learn from them how and what they are doing, and should look for innovations together with the farmers. Shifting cultivators' potential for adaptation and mitigation should be harnessed through enabling policies that address their increasing vulnerability and market influence.

Governance

Local governance in natural resource management is an important underlying theme in the research on tenure and institutions in shifting cultivation. Ms. Noorin Nazari, Governance Specialist at ICIMOD, presented the topic explaining that governance is the means by which authority is exercised in a locality for the common good. It sets rules and regulations; and checks and balances on the way programmes are managed. There are eight principles of good

governance, including: Participation, Rule of law, Transparency, Responsiveness, Consensus orientation, Equity and inclusiveness, Effectiveness and efficiency, and Accountability. These can apply to programmes of governments, research and development organisations, but also of communities themselves.

The presentation was followed by group exercise to identify governance issues in shifting cultivation in each country. The country groups analysed which principle was most applicable for each case. The results are presented in [annex 4](#).

Land and natural resource tenure

Land tenure insecurity is a major issue for shifting cultivators in all three countries of the project, and strongly linked to government policy. Mr. Karma Phuntsho, NRM specialist at ICIMOD, explained that the problem is becoming more persistent and complex as shifting cultivation is changing. Tenure insecurity is caused by conflicts between diverse interests. The loss or weakening of formal and customary tenures results in increased social and economic vulnerability, because farmers not only lose formal ownership, but also use rights, access to and control over their land and natural resources. As tenure is a complicated issue, difficult to define and complex to understand in the case of SC, but still a very important concept, therefore, he urges each country to come up with the context specific situation.

Tenure is the relationship, defined legally or customarily, among people, as individuals or groups, with respect to land and the associated natural resources. It guarantees “a bundle of rights” to the owners; also brings a set of responsibilities to bear upon them. This “bundle” includes:

- the rights to use the asset (*usus*), including access and withdrawal,
- the right to appropriate the return from the asset (*usus fructus*), including earning income from it,
- the right to change its form, substance, and location (*abusus*), including decision-making rights such as management and exclusion, as well as
- alienation rights - the right to transfer rights to other, either by inheritance, sale or gift.

A complete title is generally interpreted as holding all the four sets of rights.

Tenure can be formal, protected by government laws and regulations, or customary, protected by communities’ own rules, customs and traditions, and are usually a combination of both. In shifting cultivation, land and other natural resources can be private property, common property or government property. In the past, most shifting cultivation land was held in common property, but this has changed as a result of government efforts for land registration and the weakening of customary tenure regimes because of cultural change. It is a commonly held misconception that shifting cultivators use their land as an “open access” resource, where everyone can use whatever they want, because they shift their crop fields each year. However, most communities have strict rules and regulations on the use of all their resources, which are strongly embedded in their culture. *“Common property is a form of resource management in which a well-delineated group of competing user participates in extraction or use of a jointly held, fugitive*

resource according to explicitly or implicitly understood rules about who may take how much of the resource.” (Stevenson, 1991)

Institutions

Mr. Min Gurung, Institutional Development Specialist at ICIMOD explained “institutions” as a sociological concept. Any laws, norms, values, rules, and customs by which people and organizations interact with each other are called institutions, also known as the “Rules of the Game”. In common language, the word institution is often used to mean organisation, but here organisations are considered to be the actors or “Players of the Game”. People as well as organisations have norms, values and rules through which they work, and it is important to separate the players and the rules, in other words the actors and their institutions.

The main actors in the shifting cultivation are the communities and their governments; they together regulate the tenure and management of the natural resources. However, they often have conflicting views and objectives (norms and values), and the customary rules and regulations do not fit the formal standard of the government. This is why it is important to focus on institutions in this research.

Session 4: Country specific issues

The country teams were asked to draw a “Rich Picture” of the of the shifting cultivation situation in their country. It should reflect the issues they want to address in this research using the key concepts presented in the previous session. A “Rich Picture” is a schematic picture a drawing that has pictures, symbols, text and other items. It shows the actors who are involved in managing the shifting cultivation, their relationships, and the various concerns of each group. It shows what institutions they have for NRM, including norms, values, rules, regulations, and customs. The Rich Pictures are presented in [Annex 5](#).

Brief report on rich picture

Bhutan

Government concern to preserve and maintain 60 % forest coverage for all times visa vie the field observation where shifting cultivars in remote areas still practice slash and burn of agriculture practice. Government foresees a threat to overall forest coverage and biodiversity. Therefore, it is a concern for the researchers and policy makers to look at in depth both at policy and field level.

There is also a concern on how far the improved technologies, different land use options and approaches has really tickled down to these shifting cultivars after ban on shifting cultivation practice. What about in terms of their household food security and livelihood situation in the past and now? It is again an area which needs real actual field research

A farmer (Shifting cultivar) wants to grow crops and rear livestock for his/her livelihood however; there is a fear of wild animal damaging the crop field and domestic animals.

Do the policy makers, local administrators and agriculture extension operate in harmony to address the genuine need of these cultivars? It is also an issue to look at more closely from different perspectives. Finally, the rich pictures portrays that do the current project and the partners involved in the project address issues and concerns of these shifting cultivars so that they can live better?

Bangladesh

At the bottom, the Shifting Cultivators (SC) are shown directly involved with Natural Resource Management (NRM) who have some customary institutions and they have positive role to NRM. The Outside Settlers (OS) are closer to NRM and their role is to that negative towards shifting cultivation. The Forest Department (FD) who are organizations as well as have institutions have negative role to NRM. In the other hand NGOs and Union Parishad (UP) are organizations and as well as have their own institutions have positive role to NRM. Similarly, Hill District Councils (HDC) and Chittagong Hill Tracts Regional Council (CHTRC) are organizations and as well as have their own institutions and their role to NRM are positive. The Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs (MoCHTA) is organization as well as institution and their role to NRM is also positive. Finally, the Ministry of Forest and Environment (MoFE) is organization as well as institution and their role to NRM is about hardly positive of their total function.

Nepal

There is a conflict between government programme/policy and the Chepang communities. According to Chepang, shifting cultivation is their traditional agriculture system and has full rights to practice it which is the major source of their livelihood support. However, the government organisation/institutions are trying to stop and or push new programme and policies without consultation. Those policies and programmes which are developed without consulting chepang people are not acceptable to them. In the other hand, some of the research and development organisations are working with the chepang people considered that the system itself is not a bad practice however need some positive improvement in the system. In the meantime, Nepal is one of the signatories of ILO convention 169 and already committed to implement the convention however indigenous community (Chepang) thinks that government is ignoring the convention too. So the conclusion here is that there should be multi-stakeholder consultation and participation while formulating and implementing any policies that are relevant to shifting cultivation system and shifting cultivators.

Day 2 (30th November 2009)

Session 4: Country specific issues (continued)

Based on the Rich Pictures, the country teams identified the following issues for further take up in the research.

Bhutan

1. Resettlement: The 1993 national assembly resolution has banned shifting cultivation and the shifting cultivators need to be resettled. How far they have to be resettled is the major issue.
2. Conversion of tseri to dryland: Following the ban, all the tseri land are to be converted to dry land category but till date we do not know to what extent the conversion has been done.
3. Ignorance to customary norms of the shifting cultivators by the government.
4. Understanding the perspective of shifting cultivators: Did government take on board the shifting cultivators' perspective into account while banning it is another major issue?

Nepal

1. Contrast and conflicts between government policy and customary law/traditional practices
2. Concerned stakeholders are not consulted in the process of policy formation
3. Land rights/tenure insecurity
4. Lack of multi- stakeholders consultation/participation/approach
5. International policies not implemented

Bangladesh

The norms and values of various organisations and institutions, and whether they are supportive or negative towards shifting cultivation, including:

1. Traditional social governance
2. Union Parishads
3. Forest Department
4. Hill District Councils
5. The Chittagong Hill Tracts Regulation, 1900

Session 5: Research questions and sub-questions

The objective of this session was to discuss and finalise the research questions, and to develop sub-questions. They will be the same for all the countries. The main research questions that the teams decided on are:

1. What are the policies and implementation mechanisms related to shifting cultivators' tenure of land and national resources and the institutions regulating them, and what is their impact on tenure and customary institutions?
2. What are the formal and customary institutions that regulate land use and natural resource tenure, and why and how are they changing?

Two groups were formed to work on the formulation of the sub-questions under each main one. Bhutan worked on question no.1, and Nepal and Bangladesh worked jointly question no.2. The method of "Consulates" was used for the group work process, which is presented in box 1. The final research questions and sub-questions are presented in [Annex 6](#).

Session 6: Methods and Tools

Country teams were asked to brainstorm on any useful methods and tools for data collection on the research questions. Based on what the teams presented, a selection was made on useful methodologies to be presented the next day. The following format was prepared for further work on the research plans.

Main Research Question			
Sub-Questions	Information	Source	Methods and Tools
	What information do you need?	Where is it? /Who has it?	How will you get it?

Day 3 (1st December)

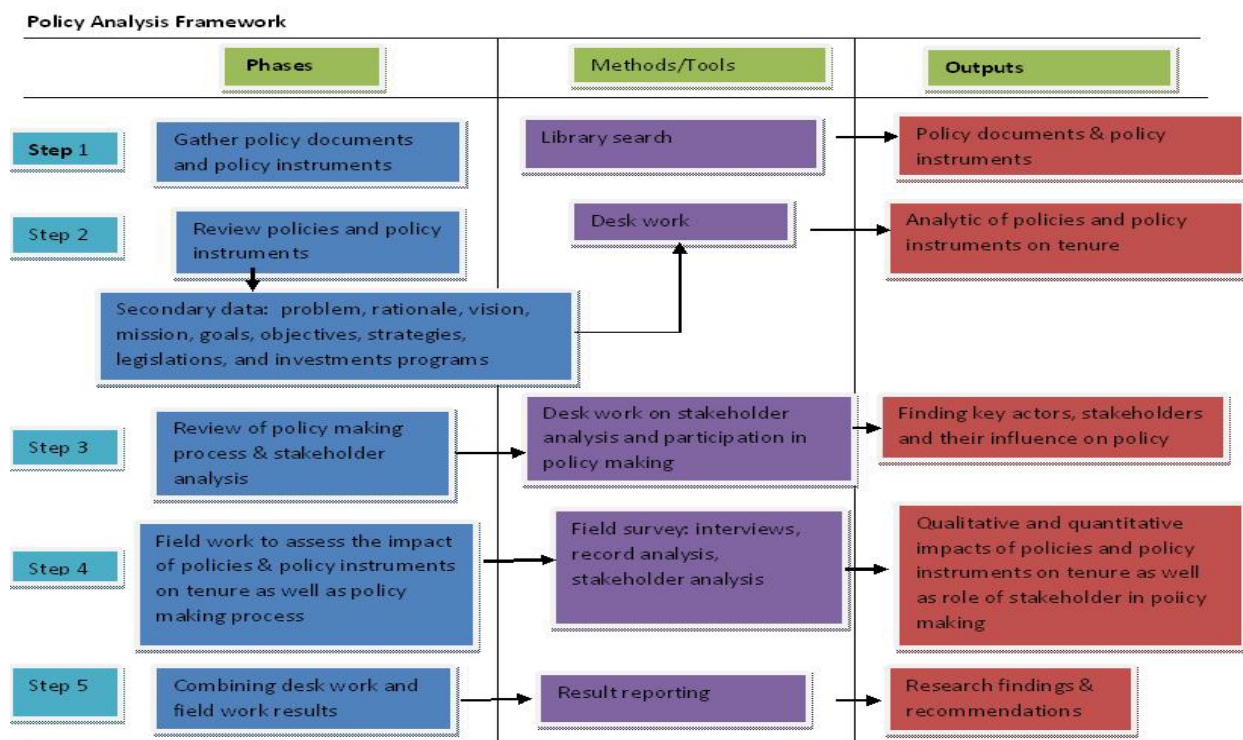
Session 7: Some useful methodologies

Three brief presentations were made during the sessions are institutional analysis (Min Gurung), policy analysis (Karma Phuntsho) and gender and equity analysis (Min Gurung). The objective of the session was to discuss potential analytical tools that can be used for the study. Hand outs on each topic were made available to the participants.

Box 1: "Consulates"

There is a separate 'Consulate' for each research question, where one group will prepare the sub-questions for one question. After a while, the groups move to the next consulate to comment on the previous groups work and add their questions. Each group has a 'Speaker' who must always remain in the first Consulate, while the others go as 'Consultants' to the other Consulate(s). The Speaker explained the sub-questions listed to the visiting 'Consultants' and reported back to the main group. The visiting Consultants must add related questions that are specific to their country situation using respective colour pens. They must also write down every comment that they make. Each Consulate must prepare a final presentation representing the collective sub-questions.

Policy analysis: The methodology for analysing the impact of policy on tenure includes the analysis of policies, policy instruments and policy making process, as well as the assessment of the implication of policies on tenure. Policy instruments can be legislations and/or investment programmes. The following framework was suggested for the policy analysis of this project.



Institutional analysis: It is important to understand the institutional context of shifting cultivation under different situations for its transformation and adaptability. An institutional approach can be used to understand how individuals and groups construct institutions, how they are operating, and what results they have generated for transforming themselves and other stakeholders. For this, we have to examine the formal and customary rules (institutions) at the regional and national levels, as well as explore both customary and formal rules experienced by individuals at the local level. There are formal, customary and informal institutions; of each the visible and the invisible but not less important aspects have to be analysed. Useful tools in institutional analysis can be force field analysis, and strengths/opportunities and constraints/threats analysis.

Social and gender analysis: This is important to analyse social exclusion and marginalization of shifting cultivators as well as specific social groups among them. Shifting cultivators as a group are often socially excluded, because of negative perceptions of their farming system, because they belong to ethnic minorities, and/or because development programmes do not address their specific needs. Within the shifting cultivators, some groups are often more

marginalised or socially excluded than others, on the basis of gender, or social or economic status.

Important concepts are equity and equality. Equity refers to fairness, different treatment, or special measures for some persons or groups. It recognizes the specific conditions or characteristics of each human group (gender, class, religion, ethnicity, age). Equity is concerned with “equality of outcomes”. Equality refers to the same treatment in dealings, quantities and values; treating everyone as same, regardless of outcomes. To enhance equity, special measures or affirmative action, or positive discrimination can be an option.

To analyse and address gender aspects in the research, it is important to involve both men and women in the research, but we also know that women participation in the research is not easy due to social, cultural, religious, and economical barriers. Guidelines & tips on how to involve women in the research are: (1) to have gender-sensitive research questions that cover perspectives of both women and men; (2) to separate women and men groups to allow a variety of viewpoints based on their different situation and interests; (3) to avoid generalizations and be precise as far as possible e.g. “women farmers” instead of “farmers”.

Session 8: Country research plans

Country group continued their work on the field research format and feeling the required information that was presented and discussed in the first session of the day.

Day 4 (2nd December)

Session 9: Country research plan presentation

The day was started with the recap of the third day and followed by the country research plan presentation on methods and tools to be used by using the field research format. Mr Jatan Dewan presented for Bangladesh ([annex 7](#)). Mr. Suresh Dhakal presented for Nepal ([annex 8](#)), and Mr. Chencho Dukpa presented for Bhutan ([annex 9](#)).

Session 10: Way forward and vote of thanks

The last session was about the future plan of action. Lies briefly discuss about the proposed time frame for the activities which was discussed in plenary and a participatory decision was made for the tentative time frame. The revised timeframe was proposed based on the assumptions that there will be one year project extension. Regarding the research protocol, it was decided that ICIMOD will work on country team’s research plan and compile the research protocol and send it back to partners by 31st December 2009.

Finalise research protocol	31 December 2009
Draft report outline based on field research format	31 December 2009

Country teams will finalise field research plan				Complete before start of LUO workshop
Activities and timeline will be completed after Land Use Options workshop				Last week of January 2010
Research work	National level policy dialogue	Website with document repository for regional sharing and e-discussion	Regional sharing, exposure, networking	
GIS workshop				
Mobile workshop				May/ August 2011
Draft publications: Comparative analysis reports				February 2012
Regional workshop/ Writeshop? regional policy document policy briefs				March 2012
Final comparative analysis reports				July 2012
Regional policy dialogue workshop				August 2012
Prepare final M&E report for IDRC				September 2012

At the end, on behalf of ICIMOD, Mr Karma Phuntsho thanks all the participants, and concerned organizations and individuals who were directly or indirectly involved in the workshop to make it a successful one. He further mentioned that workshop is successful in achieving its objective.

Annexes

Annex 1: List of participants

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Annex 2: Programme

DAY 1		
Session 1	Inauguration	
9.00 – 9.10	Welcome Address	Tayan Raj Gurung
9.10 – 9.30	Shifting cultivation and adaptive management	Elisabeth Kerkhoff
9.30 – 9.45	Key note address	Chief Guest, Dasho Sherub Gyaltshen, Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture, RGoB
9.45 – 9.55	Vote of Thanks	Karma Phuntsho
9.55 – 10.00	Group Photograph	Courtyard outside
10.00 – 10.30	Tea	
Session 2 and 3	Key concepts	
10.30 – 11.00	Workshop process	Elisabeth Kerkhoff
11.00 – 11.45	Climate change adaptation Presentation	Amba Jamir
11.45 – 12.30	Governance and policy research Presentation	Noorin Nazari
12.30 – 13.30	Lunch	
13.30 – 14.00	Group exercise: governance issues	Noorin Nazari
14.00 – 15.00	Land and natural resource tenure Presentation	Karma Phuntsho
15.00 – 15.30	Tea	
15.30 – 16.00	Institutions Presentation	Min Gurung
16.00 – 17.00	Group exercise: rich picture	Min Gurung
DAY 2		
Session 4	Country specific issues	
9.00 – 9.15	Recap	Noorin Nazari
9.15 – 9.35	Based on yesterday's rich picture, please identify the key issues you want to address through this research (country groups)	Elisabeth Kerkhoff
9.15 – 9.25	Country group work	
9.25 – 9.35	Each group presents in 3 minutes	
Session 5	Research Questions and Sub-questions	
9.35 – 9.45	Moving from the issues toward the research questions	Elisabeth Kerkhoff
9.45 – 10.25	Plenary discussion to agree on the main common research questions, based on the issues identified in session 4, plus what was raised in the inception workshop	
10.25 – 10.30	Decide on final questions	
10.30 – 10.45	Tea	
10.45 – 11.00	Energiser	
11.00 – 11.30	Sub-questions, in three country groups	Amba Jamir
11.30 – 12.00	Move to each group and brainstorm on sub-questions	
12.00 – 12.30	Presentation of sub-questions in plenary (3 groups) (Kamal)	
Session 6	Methods and tools (Brainstorm)	
12.30 – 14.45	Lunch + group work: methods and tools	Amba Jamir

	brainstorm	
14.45 – 15.30	Groups present on methods and tools brainstorm	
15.30 – 16.00	Tea	
16.00 – 17.00	Interactive discussion on useful methods and tools	Amba Jamir
DAY 3		
Session 6	Methods and tools (Field research formats)	
11.00 – 11.15	Recap	Noorin Nazari
11.15 – 11.30	Format presentation, discussion and clarification	Elisabeth Kerkhoff
Session 7	Some useful methodologies	
11.30 – 11.50	Institutional analysis Presentation	Min Gurung
11.50 – 12.00	Clarification and Discussion	
12.00 – 12.20	Policy analysis presentation	Karma Phuntsho
12.20 – 12.30	Clarification and Discussion	
12.30 – 13.30	Lunch Break	
13.30 – 13.50	Social equity and gender analysis	Min Gurung
13.50 – 14.00	Clarification and Discussion	
Session 8	Country research plans	
14.00 – 17.00	Country group work	
15.30 – 16.00	Tea	
DAY 4		
09.00 – 10.30	Recap	Elisabeth Kerkhoff
10.30 – 11.00	Tea break	
11.00 – 11.30	Country presentation, discussion and clarification (30 minutes)	
11.30 – 12.00	Country presentation, discussion and clarification (30 minutes)	
12.00 – 12.30	Country presentation, discussion and clarification (30 minutes)	
12.30 – 13.30	Lunch	
13.30 – 14.30	Plenary discussion	
15.00 – 15.30	Tea	
Session 10	Way forward	
14.30 – 15.00	Plenary discussion on way forward	Elisabeth Kerkhoff
15.00 – 15.30	Closing	

Annex 3: Opening remarks by the Chief Guest, Dasho Sherub Gyaltshen, Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture, RGoB

Shifting cultivation is the oldest and yet, even today, a predominant land use in the Eastern Himalayas. Among the shifting cultivators, I understand that the progressive ones continue to graduate to other more productive economic alternatives, while the marginalized ones continue to eke out a living, in some cases solely, from shifting cultivation. Therefore, particularly in the present time, shifting cultivation stands in need of special attention from all the stakeholders if the already marginalized segment of shifting cultivators is to be saved from further marginalization.

As a policy maker, I am aware that shifting cultivators, in general, are faced with a serious challenge of improving their quality of life from the income that shifting cultivation per se provides. In fact, the shifting cultivation resource being finite, the population growth is shortening the fallow period and posing the danger of rendering shifting cultivation systems environmentally and socially unsustainable. Therefore, policy makers as well as the shifting cultivators, today face the challenge of overcoming this impeding peril.

In tackling this common problem, common to the policy makers and shifting cultivators, it is only logical that policy interventions are designed with genuine participation of the shifting cultivators. Indeed, if policy interventions are designed by fusing ideas of shifting cultivators and the policy makers, the interventions are bound to impact more positively and sustainably: positively, because the shifting cultivators would feel secured that they are given enough space for their own innovations and ideas, while the policy makers ensure technological, research and extension support. Fusion of their ideas will create a win-win situation for the policy makers and the shifting cultivators.

Now let me shed some light on what the Royal Government of Bhutan has done to improve the plight of our farmers some of whom combine sedentary farming with shifting cultivation. Most of know that shifting cultivation in Bhutan is known as *tseri*. In 1993, there were 25,126 households in Bhutan who were fully dependent on *tseri* cultivation. They practiced slashing and burning activities over 200,000 acres of *tseri* land across the country (National Assembly Proceeding, 72nd Session, July, 1993). The same session passed a resolution to ban *Tseri* cultivation in Bhutan by the end of 7th Five Year Plan (1992-1997). The National Assembly resolution is based on the following premises:

- (1) The burning of an acre of *Tseri* land to make it cultivable resulted in burning additional 7 to 8 acres of nearby forest land which is very detrimental to environment. Not only this, the practice of *tseri* cultivation has been seen to bring about minimal benefits to rural livelihood as most of the agriculture produces in these areas were prone to wild animal depredation.
- (2) Provision of basic services to the concerned communities was not feasible as the *tseri* cultivators moved from place to place in rugged and remote areas to look for new *tseri* land.

The resolution offered resettlement of the *tseri* cultivating communities to fertile and productive areas in the country where there is adequate water supply and where such areas are feasible for provision of basic service facilities. However, as of now not all *tseri* cultivators could be resettled and the remaining communities continue to depend on *tseri* land and its associated practices. Therefore, the objective of the National Assembly resolution is not fulfilled.

In the absence of a better livelihood option, shifting cultivation is a continuing farming system. The areas that were under shifting cultivation in the past (known as *tseri* land) are registered as Kamzhing (permanent dryland agriculture) in the name of individuals who used these lands as *tseri*. The problems underscored by the National Assembly continue with additional problem of local communities having to deal with restriction on traditional form of *tseri* practice. The practices of *slash and burn* are discouraged as *tseri* land use is removed from legal tenders as a land category.

However, we are aware that such lands are technically not feasible for permanent agriculture without interventions to improve the quality of the land. Having realized this, we are now into finding the technical solutions to enable our farmers to use such lands in a more ecologically sustainable manner to reap sustainable economic returns and environmental services.

Back to this workshop: Shifting cultivation does exist in all our countries. But given our distinct individual country specific bio-physical and socio-economic settings, we know that shifting cultivation systems in our respective countries are inevitably endowed with their unique cultural, social, and economic characteristics. In other words, bio-physical, socio-economic and cultural characteristics of shifting cultivations in our respective countries bear differences. And this being the case, overall policies, tenure and institutions, both formal and customary, that govern the use of shifting cultivation resources, are bound to have differences. Therefore, it is only logical that this workshop accord due consideration to this fact while debating and finalizing the research protocol.

To conclude, I have lived as a neighbor of shifting cultivators some part of my life. I do know that shifting cultivation is not by choice, but by compulsion because the shifting cultivators lack better economic options. Given a choice a shifting cultivator would opt for sedentary farming and choose wet land farming over shifting cultivation, for example. Therefore, it is very critical for the research protocol that this workshop is going to develop and finalize to provide adequate scope to study various factors that impact on the customary tenure and institutions that govern shifting cultivation systems in our respective countries. The eventual research findings should generate useful but realistic ideas for the follow up action so that tenure and institutions governing the shifting cultivation systems become stronger to ensure the shifting cultivators in our countries better economic, social and environmental securities.

It is my privilege to be able to declare this workshop open. I wish this workshop every success!
TASHIDELEK!

Annex 4: Governance group exercise

Nepal

Governance Principles	1. Explain the principle in the context of shifting cultivation applicable in your country?	2. How well is this principle followed in development activities in shifting cultivation areas in your country?
<i>Equity and inclusiveness</i>	Government adopted the same rules for all over the country, not recognizing the specific needs of Chepang	Principle of equity and inclusiveness is not followed by the government. But, NCA and other IPOs and civil society organization are claiming for equity and inclusiveness
<i>Participation</i>	Chepangs were not consulted during land survey and policy formulation,	Principle of participation of the SC was not followed at all
<i>Consensus orientation</i>	Land that are not registered as private land are registered as community forest or leasehold forestry, for these there was no consensus between government and SC	The principle of consensus orientation between government and SC and CF and LF group is not followed. However, there have been some initiatives between CF, LF and SC is going. Government has in some cases, given liberty (indication of consensus) to SC whose land is registered under LF

Bhutan

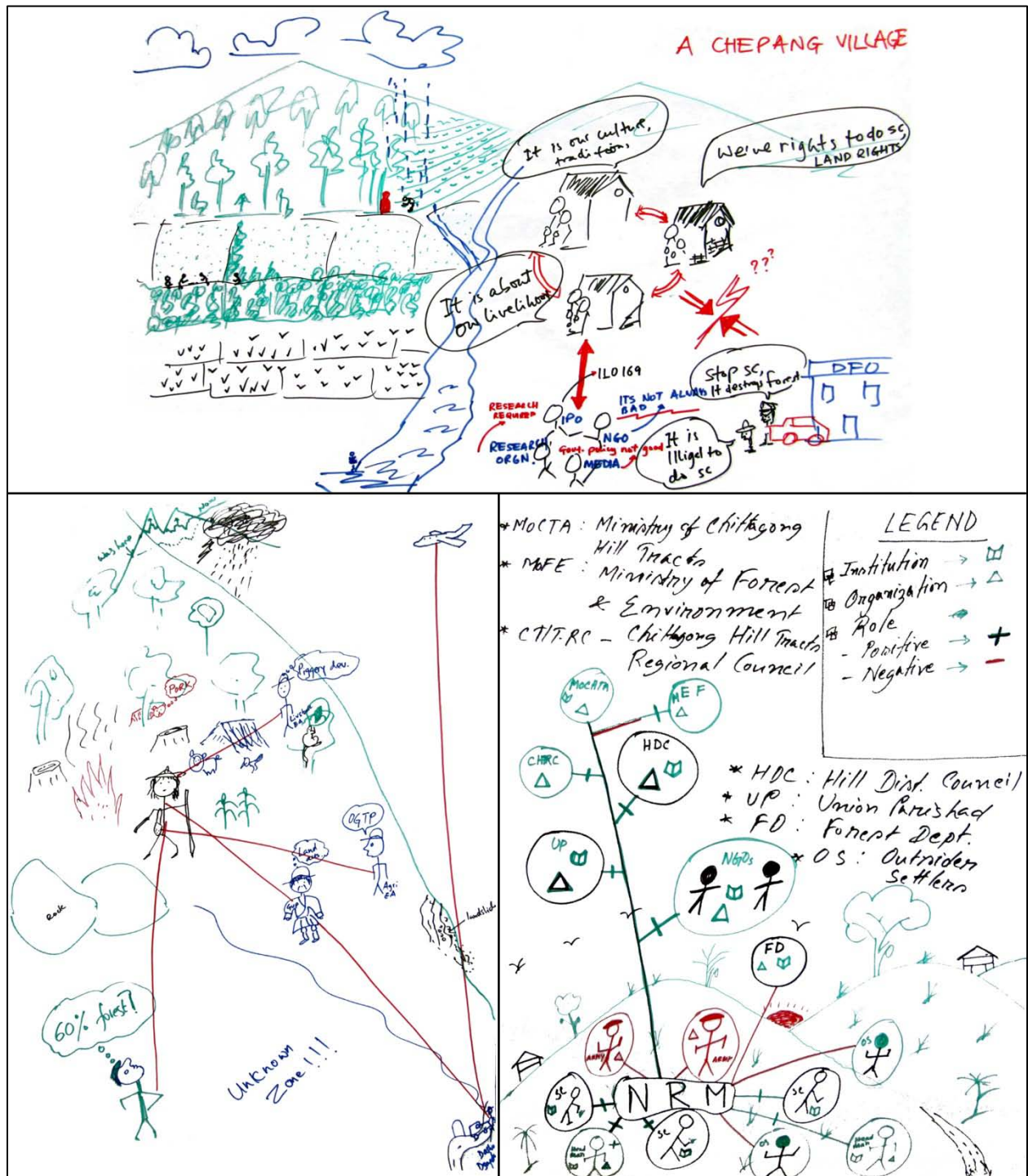
Governance Principles	1. Explain the principle in the context of shifting cultivation applicable in your country?	2. How well is this principle followed in development activities in shifting cultivation areas in your country?
<i>Participation</i>	Decision made without much consultation and based more on environmental concerns	Looking at the real world, there appears to have little participation done
<i>Rule of law</i>	Ban on shifting cultivation applicable to all shifting cultivators (in the same way conversion of SC to dry land applicable to all)	Resettlement, promotion of horticultural crops in SC areas
<i>Responsiveness</i>	Despite seeing so many shifting cultivation after the ban, government not doing enough research, not providing alternatives	The government is still pushing forth the ban

Bangladesh

<i>Governance Principles</i>	1. Explain the principle in the context of shifting cultivation applicable in your country?	2. How well is this principle followed in development activities in shifting cultivation areas in your country?
<i>Rule of Law</i>	<p>Food insecurity and vulnerability.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Deprivation of land ownership -Hamper in traditional life support system. -Preference to the national interest ignoring the local. - Institutional complicity 	<p>Relevant stakeholders including shifting cultivators were not involved in different stages of decision making process and still this is continuing.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Currently no specific laws and policies. -The national environmental policy-1992 is not being properly implemented. -Ignorance to the traditional customary rights.
<i>Responsiveness</i>	<p>Misconception of the central government and its structural bodies</p>	<p>The real vulnerability and issues of the CHT is not being addressed in different development projects properly.</p>

Annex 5: Rich pictures

The country teams presented the following rich pictures: Nepal (top), Bhutan (bottom left) and Bangladesh (bottom right).



Annex 6: Research questions and sub-questions

Q 1: What are the various policies and policy gaps related to shifting cultivators' tenure of land and natural resources and the institutions regulating them, and what is their impact on land tenure

1. What are laws, strategies, policy and legal instruments that regulate and affect shifting cultivator's tenure over land?
2. What are laws, strategies, policy and legal instruments that regulate and affect shifting cultivator's tenure over natural resources (water, Forest resources and other services)?
3. What are laws, strategies, policy and legal instruments that regulate and affect customary institutions?
4. What are the government organizations (macro, meso and micro) that deal with shifting cultivation, and their relationships?
5. What are the perceptions of different stakeholders on these policies, and the way they were formulated and implemented?

Stakeholder	Formulation & Process	Relevance	Interpretation
Shifting cultivators			
Policy makers			
Administrators			
Others			

6. What are the direct and indirect impacts of those policies on tenure of land and other resources?

	Direct	Indirect
Land tenure		
Tenure over other resources		

7. Are there any international conventions/ treaties that (can) affect policies, and the way they are formulated and implemented?
8. Are there any local movements, advocacy initiative, etc. that (can) affect policies, and the way they are formulated and implemented?

Q2: What are the customary institutions that regulate land use and natural resource tenure, and why and how are they changing?

1. What are the different customary institutions prevalent in the project areas?
2. How have the customary institutions changed from the past, in terms of their roles and structures, and why? And are there any past customary institutions that no longer exist now?
3. What are the changing relationships of customary institutions to/with other formal/informal institutions?
4. What is the effect of this change on land and natural resource tenure and land use?
5. Are there any changes in land use that have affected the customary institutions on tenure of land and natural resources?

Annex 7: Bangladesh field research plan

1. What are the various policies and policy gaps related to shifting cultivators' tenure of land and natural resources and the institutions regulating them, and what is their impact on land tenure			
Sub question	Information What information do you need?	Source Where is it? /Who has it?	Methods and Tools How will you get it?
1.1 What are laws, strategies, policy and legal instruments that regulate and affect shifting cultivator's tenure over land?	The CHT 1900 Regulations, Forest Act, National Environment policy, Hill District Council Act, UP Act	HDC, DC office, CHT-RC, CC, GH	Contact to office and interview KI.
	Instruments that regulate and affect shifting cultivator's tenure over land. Major GOB's development schemes. Women development programs.	CHTDB, Agriculture Department. Forest Department	Review of secondary data, Time line, Trend analysis, cause effect diagram, Focus group discussion.
1.2 What are laws, strategies, policy and legal instruments that regulate and affect shifting cultivator's tenure over natural resources (water, forest resources and other services)?	The CHT 1900 Regulations, Forest Act, National Environment policy, Hill District Council Act, UP Act	HDC, DC office, CHT-RC, CC, GH	Contact to office and interview KI.
	Instruments that regulate and affect shifting cultivator's tenure over land shifting cultivator's tenure over natural resources (water, forest resources and other services). Major GOB's development schemes. Women development programs.	Do CHTDB, Agriculture Department. Forest Department	Review of secondary data, Time line, Trend analysis, cause effect diagram, Focus group discussion.
1.3 What are laws, strategies, policy and legal instruments that regulate and affect customary institutions?	The CHT 1900 Regulations, Forest Act, National Environment policy, Hill District Council Act, UP Act	HDC, DC office, CHT-RC, CC, GH	Contact to office and interview KI.
	Instruments that regulate and affect customary institutions. Major GOB's development schemes. Women development programs.	Do Agriculture Department. Forest Department	Review of secondary data, Time line, Trend analysis, cause effect diagram, Focus group discussion.
1.4 What are the government organizations (macro, meso and micro) that deal with shifting cultivation, and their relationships?	Role, functions and relationship of different GOB organizations of different levels related to shifting cultivation.	Forest Department, HDC, Development Board, Agriculture department, DC, UP	Review of secondary data, Trend analysis, cause effect diagram, Interview KI, Focus group discussion.

Sub question	Information What information do you need?				Source Where is it? /Who has it?	Methods and Tools How will you get it?
1.5 What are the perceptions of different stakeholders on these policies, and the way they were formulated and implemented?	Stakeholder	Formulation & Process	Relevance	Interpretation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shifting cultivators (men and women). Circle Chief Local headman UP chairman. Related GOB officials. Relevant CSO representatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interview of different stakeholders. Focus group discussion.
	Shifting cultivators					
	Traditional Social Leaders					
	Women					
	Policy makers					
	Administrators					
	Others (CSO)					
1.6 What are the direct and indirect impacts of those policies on tenure of land and other resources?			Direct	Indirect	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shifting cultivators (men and women). Local headman UP chairman. Relevant CSO representatives NGOs Jumea rehabilitation Committees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Study relevant documents Cause and Effect diagram. Time line Focus group discussion. Interview KI Well being analysis
	Land tenure					
	Tenure over other resources					

2. What are the customary institutions that regulate land use and natural resource tenure, and why and how are they changing?			
Sub question	Information What information do you need?	Source Where is it? /Who has it?	Methods and Tools How will you get it?
1.1 What are the different customary institutions prevalent in the project areas?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Listing of different customary institutions prevalent in the project areas. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Circle Chief. • UP • Relevant NGOs • Headman 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interview • Focus group discussion
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Norms and values of different institutions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • do 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collection of prevalent norms and values. • Social map
1.2 How have the customary institutions changed from the past, in terms of their roles and structures, and why? And are there any past customary institutions that no longer exist now?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • List of past and current customary institutions. • Their past and current role, function and structure. • Causes of changes • Position and function of women in the customary institutions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • do 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review of norms and values of different past and current customary institutions. • Study available relevant documents. • Interview KI. • Focus group discussion • Cause and effect diagram. • FF analysis
1.3 What are the changing relationships of customary institutions to/with other formal/informal institutions?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Listing formal and informal institutions. • Changing trend • Causes of changes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UP • Circle chief • Headman • Relevant NGOs • Upazila Parishad • Relevant GOB office 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interview KI • Trend analysis • Cause and effect diagram
1.4 What is the effect of this change on land and natural resource tenure and land use?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Current land use and natural resource tenure. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Headman • Shifting cultivators • UP • Relevant NGOs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • FF analysis • Cause and effect diagram • Review available secondary docs • Interview KI.
1.5 Are there any changes in land use that have affected the customary tenure of land and natural resources?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • do 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • do

Annex 8: Nepal field research plan

1. What are the various policies and policy gaps related to shifting cultivators' tenure of land and natural resources and the institutions regulating them and what is their impact on land tenure			
Sub question	Information What information do you need?/Information Required	Source Where is it? /Who has it?	Methods and Tools How to get it?
1.1 What are laws, strategies, policy and legal instruments that regulate and affect shifting cultivator's tenure over land?	Related policies and policy instruments on land tenure What are the implications and how	Policy documents Archives	Literature review
1.2 What are laws, strategies, policy and legal instruments that regulate and affect shifting cultivator's tenure over natural resources (water, forest resources and other services)?	Related policies and policy instruments on associated natural resources tenure What are the implications and how?	Policy documents Archives Key Informants	Literature review Interviews
1.3 What are laws, strategies, policy and legal instruments that regulate and affect customary institutions?	Related policies and policy instruments on customary institutions What are the implications and how?	Policy documents Archives Study area Key Informants	Literature review Interviews Field observation Cause-effect diagram
1.4 What are the government organizations (macro, meso and micro) that deal with shifting cultivation, and their relationships?	Relevant government organizations at macro, meso and micro levels Inter- organisational relationships : horizontally and vertically, with particular relation to shifting cultivation/cultivators Relationships between different organisations as perceived by the shifting cultivators	Secondary sources (govt. documents, etc.) Key Informants (representatives of organisations at different levels) Shifting cultivators/study areas	Review Stakeholder analyses Key Informant interviews Group discussions

Sub question	Information What information do you need?/Information Required				Source Where is it? /Who has it?	Methods and Tools How to get it?
1.5 What are the perceptions of different stakeholders on these policies, <i>and the way they were formulated and implemented?</i>	Stakeholder	Formulation & Process	Relevance	Interpretation	Official documents Key Informants Study areas Shifting cultivators	Review Interviews Perceptions mapping Informal discussions
	Shifting cultivators	If consulted, who, when, where, how, and why	Any results/impacts observable in the practices	How do they interpret?		
	Policy makers	Do	Do	Do		
	Administrators	Do	Do	Do		
	Others (NGOs/CBOs)	Do	Do	Do		
1.6 What are the direct and indirect impacts of those policies on tenure of land and other resources?		Direct	Indirect		Policy, legal documents, study reports study area shifting cultivators Different stakeholder Key informants	Review interviews Field observation Key informant interviews Group discussions Land use pattern mapping (resource mapping + time-trend) Impact analysis
	Land tenure	on land ownership pattern access, control and utilisation pattern customary institutions land use pattern production and productivity	on livelihood on labour allocation/relation social relationship (viz. Patron-client relationship) cultural impacts economic impacts			
	Tenure over other resources	access, control and use to/over/ of the resources status of resources	Generation or deterioration of social and cultural capital (IK) Resistance, conflict, etc. Livelihood (HH economy) Environmental			

2. What are the customary institutions that regulate land use and natural resource tenure, and why and how are they changing?			
Sub questions	Information What information do you need?	Source Where is it? /Who has it?	Methods and Tools How will you get it?
2.1 What are the different customary institutions prevalent in the project areas?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inventory (types, structure and their functions) of the existing institutions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Study area local leader, elder persons, head of the local institutions, social workers, local community organisations, local NGOs, IPOs etc. Secondary data (library, offices) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Literature Review Institutional mapping KI interviews FGD Observations Kuragraphy
2.2 How have the customary institutions changed from the past, in terms of their roles and structures, and why? And are there any past customary institutions that no longer exist now?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Changes in the rules/regulation, structure/roles/functions Possible reasons/causes for the changes Listing out of the institutions that no longer exist 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Secondary sources (library, office documents. Study reports) Study area Local leader, elder persons, head of the local institutions, social workers, local community organisations, local NGOs, IPOs etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Review KI interviews FGD Time Trend KI interviews Cause-effect diagram
2.3 What are the changing relationships between different customary institutions and to/with other formal/informal institutions?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Existing relationships between these two Changes in the relationship overtime 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Informants from local IPOs , NGOs and other relevant institutions and with local elder person, head of the local institutions, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Literature Review KI interviews FGD
2.4 What are the effects of this change on land and natural resource tenure and land use?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Different effects of the changes on land and natural resources tenure and land use 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local people/shifting cultivators, key informants from relevant expertise/knowledge/field 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Time trend (with regard to the land use pattern and the changes in the institutions)
2.5 Are there any changes in land use that have affected the customary tenure of land and natural resources?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Information on the land use changes Changes on the customary institutions due to the changes in the land and natural resources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local people/shifting cultivators, key informants from relevant expertise/knowledge/field 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Venn Diagram/ Institutional Diagram (with relationship) KI interviews FGD Observations Kuragraphy Cause (land use change) – effect (on customary institutions)

Annex 9: Bhutan Field research plan

Field research format

1. What are the various policies and policy gaps related to shifting cultivators' tenure of land and natural resources and the institutions regulating them, and what is their impact on land tenure								
Sub question	Information What information do you need?			Source Where is it? /Who has it?			Methods and Tools How will you get it?	
1.1 What are laws, strategies, policy and legal instruments that regulate and affect shifting cultivator's tenure over land?	Laws/legal instruments/acts			Websites of MoA, GNHC, NLC, dzongkhags			literature review, interviews with policy related officials	
	Policies							
	Rules and regulations							
1.2 What are laws, strategies, policy and legal instruments that regulate and affect shifting cultivator's tenure over natural resources (water, forest resources and other services)?	-do-			-do-			-do-	
1.3 What are laws, strategies, policy and legal instruments that regulate and affect customary institutions?	-do-			-do-			-do-	
1.4 What are the government organizations (macro, meso and micro) that deal with shifting cultivation, and their relationships?	The list of concerned organisations (macro) and their mandates			GNHC, RCSC, OD exercise docs			Lit review; personal talk;	
	The list of concerned organisations (meso) and their mandates			Dzongkhag administrations			Interview and focus group discussions	
	The list of concerned organisations (micro) and their mandates			Dzongkhag administrations			Interview and focus group discussions	
1.5 What are the perceptions of different stakeholders on these policies, and the way they were formulated and implemented?	Stakeholder	Formulation & Process	Relevance	Interpretation		Stakeholders	Stakeholder analysis; interviews; kurakani; focus group discussion	
	Shifting cultivators							
	Policy makers							
	Administrators							
	Others							

1.6 What are the direct and indirect impacts of those policies on tenure of land and other resources?		Direct	Indirect		Stakeholders	Stakeholder analysis; interviews; kurakani; focus group discussion
	Land tenure					
	Tenure over other resources					
2. What are the customary institutions that regulate land use and natural resource tenure, and why and how are they changing?						
Sub question	Information What information do you need?		Source Where is it? /Who has it?		Methods and Tools How will you get it?	
1.1 What are the different customary institutions prevalent in the project areas?	Information on customary institutions (past and present)		Stakeholders in project areas		interviews; kurakani; focus group discussion	
1.2 How have the customary institutions changed from the past, in terms of their roles and structures, and why? And are there any past customary institutions that no longer exist now?	Trends/changes pertaining to the roles and structures		Stakeholders in project areas		Stakeholder analysis; interviews; kurakani; focus group discussion	
	Reasons behind the changes		Stakeholders in project areas		•	
1.3 What are the changing relationships of customary institutions to/with other formal/informal institutions?	•		•		•	
1.4 What is the effect of this change on land and natural resource tenure and land use?	Informal tenure		Key informants/village oldies		Kurakani with oldies	
	Land tenure information; land record info (past and present)		Thram records at Asho Gup's office		Lit rev;	
1.5 Are there any changes in land use that have affected the customary tenure of land and natural resources?	Past and present land use info		Key informants/village oldies		Kurakani with oldies	
	•		Thram records at Asho Gup's office		Lit rev;	
	Land use maps		NLC; dept of forest; PPD of MoA		•	

Detailed methodologies

1. What are the various policies and policy gaps related to shifting cultivators' tenure of land and natural resources and the institutions regulating them, and what is their impact on land tenure

1.1 What are laws, strategies, policy and legal instruments that regulate and affect shifting cultivator's tenure over land?

1.2 What are laws, strategies, policy and legal instruments that regulate and affect shifting cultivator's tenure over natural resources (water, forest resources and other services)?

1.3 What are laws, strategies, policy and legal instruments that regulate and affect customary institutions?

Table 1: Draft list of all documents required to answer question 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3			
Policies/plans	Laws/acts	Strategies	Rules and regulations
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Forest Policy 1974; • Draft National Forest Policy 2009 • Five Year Plan for agriculture from 1st – 10th • Draft Pasture Policy 1992 • NA resolutions of 1993 (74th session?) • Water policy 2007/08? • RNR Extension Policy 200??? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forest (and Nature Conservation?) Act 1969; 1995; • Land Act 1979; 2007 • Inheritance Act 19?? • Thrimshung Chenmo 1952 • Constitution of Bhutan 2008 • Draft Water Act 2007/08? • Cooperative Acts 2006/7? • NEPA 2007 • Biodiversity Act 2003 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BNFSSP 1995 • Guidelines for Cadastral Survey • NWFP strategy • SLM strategy • Rural Access Master Plan 200??? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forest and Nature Conservation Rules version 1995 and 2006 (find out more) • Rules and Regulations of Land Act 2007

1.4 What are the government organizations (macro, meso and micro) that deal with shifting cultivation, and their relationships?

Table 2: Draft list of organizations in answer to question 1.4			
Organisations	macro	meso	micro
Govt	MoA, NLC, MoHCA, NEC, NSB, CBS, NComWC, NA, NC, Gyalpoi Zimpon	Dzongkhag adm, DYT, Dungkhag adm, RNR Research and Development Centres,	GYT, geog adm,

	office	GZO, ADPs,	
NGO	Tarayana, RSPN, NWAB		
Private	Hazelnut Project	Hazelnut Project	Hazelnut Project
International - Multilateral	WWF, FAO, UNDP, IFAD, ICIMOD, WFP, World Bank, ADB, SAARC, SNV, UNICEF, CGIARC, EU	SNV	
International - Bilateral	Danida, SDC/Helvetas, Gol, JICA/JOCV		
Others			Farmer groups

1.5 What are the perceptions of different stakeholders on these policies, and the way they were formulated and implemented?

Table 3: Stakeholder related questions to answer sub-question 1.5			
Stakeholder	Formulation & Process	Interpretation	Relevance
Shifting cultivators	-what, when, with whom and how - SC issues were discussed - policy dissemination (when and how)	-ask their opinions on policy objectives, scope and implementation process	-ask their opinion on the appropriateness of the policy objectives/impact, and adequacy of the scope and efficacy/reach of the implementation
Policy makers (GNHC, PPDs, concerned MPs/NCs, Secretaries, etc)			
Administrators (Dzongda, dungpas, gups)			
Others (land record officers, forest officer, EAs, mangmis, tsogpas, researchers, village oldies)			

1.6 What are the direct and indirect impacts of those policies on tenure of land and other resources?

Table 4: Land tenure related questions to answer sub-question 1.6		
	Direct (Intended by the policy(based on policy objective)	Indirect (Impacts not intended by the policy)
Land tenure	Rights - to use	Rights - to use

	- to return - to change - to transfer	- to return - to change - to transfer
	Access - To services -	Access - To services - To
	Responsibility - To manage	Responsibility - To manage
Tenure over other resources (water, forest products, etc)	Rights - to use - to return - to change - to transfer	Rights - to use - to return - to change - to transfer
	Access - To services -	Access - To services -
	Responsibility - To manage -	Responsibility - To manage -

2. What are the customary institutions that regulate land use and natural resource tenure, and why and how are they changing? *By institution we mean village policies, norms, values, practices and not organizations.*

2.1 What are the different customary institutions prevalent in the project areas?

Table 5: List the customary institutions in the project area, incl. norms/rules/ etc.			
	On Rights (Yes /No: describe if yes)	Access (Yes /No: describe if yes)	Responsibility (Yes /No: describe if yes)
Traditional Rules	On Rights to return	On Access to services	To manage
	On Rights to change		
	On Rights to transfer		
Traditional Values & Culture	On Rights to return	On Access to services	To manage
	On Rights to change		
	On Rights to transfer		
Traditional Roles	On Rights to return	On Access to services	To manage
	On Rights to change		
	On Rights to transfer		
Traditional Relations	On Rights to return	On Access to services	To manage
	On Rights to change		
	On Rights to transfer		
	On Rights to change		
	On Rights to transfer		

2.2 How have the customary institutions changed from the past, in terms of their roles and structures, and why? And are there any past customary institutions that no longer exist now?

Table 6: Changing roles of customary institutions			
	Past	Present	Why the change
Traditional Rules			
Traditional Values & culture related to			
Traditional Roles			
Traditional Relations related to			