

# Land Registration in Cambodia

Phalthy Hap\*

## ABSTRACT

*The purpose of this article was to discover how private land in Cambodia has been registered since the introduction of land privatization in 1989. Many government strategies have been made in order to successfully grant private ownership to Cambodian citizens. The annual reports from the Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction were mainly used to analyze the result of output of the land registration. The research result found that government commitment plays an important role in completing the nation-wide land registration via systematic land registration. The research suggested that speeding up land registration would attract investors to invest in land since the land ownership security can be guaranteed.*

**Keywords:** Land registration; land management; land ownership; land privatization; Cambodia

## INTRODUCTION

The Khmer Rouge regime from 1975 to 1979 remarkably destroyed private land ownership and brought collective ownership. After the collapse of this regime, collective ownership still continued. The new government started introducing a policy of solidary groups for farming which allowed Cambodian citizens to work together but receive the shared produce according to the number of persons who worked in the group. The implementation of policy was greatly successful in the early stage between 1979 and 1983, but from 1984 showed a big sign of failure.

Land privatization in Cambodia has been introduced since 1989 after 10 year experience of solidarity groups for farming. The failure of the policy of solidarity groups for farming which started from 1979 pushed the government to privatize the land to Cambodian citizens. Ownership was granted only on residential land with no more than 2,000 m<sup>2</sup> while possession for agricultural land with no more than 5 hectares.<sup>1</sup> The call for land applications was opened within the limited period of time. Those who failed to register their land between June to December 31, 1989, their land was considered as vacant land without owners. Therefore, many people tried to apply for land occupancy. The extension of land applications were allowed as the second phase until June 30, 1990.<sup>2</sup> The permission from the Minister of Agriculture allowed cadastral staff to accept land applications from July 1990 without any reference to a specific deadline.<sup>3</sup> The figure reflects the open

calls for land applications in the early start of land privatization in Cambodia.

Figure 1: Calls for land applications in Cambodia in 1989-1990



It should be noted that the cadastral administration during the early stage of land privatization suffered from limited human resources. Before 1975, the number of cadastral officers was approximately 1,000 and this number came down to less than 50 after the collapse of the Khmer Rouge regime in 1979.<sup>4</sup> There were no records of the alive cadastral officers until 1989. As such, when the Department of Cadastre was established in October 1989,<sup>5</sup> the number of cadastral officers was probably inadequate. Despite such a hardship, approximately 3.7 million land applications were remarkably submitted by landholders, accounting to 70% of the nationwide land parcels.<sup>6</sup> Yet, land certificates were not yet issued on time.

## EVOLVEMENT OF COMPETENT AUTHORITIES FOR LAND REGISTRATION

Before going into detailed discussion, it is necessary to understand the current territorial administrative system in Cambodia. The whole territory of Cambodia is divided into 24 provinces and one capital that is Phnom Penh. The province and capital, hereinafter called the province, has equal authority. The province is broken down into districts and the district is sub-divided into communes. The national authority or

\* Phalthy Hap, PhD, Royal University of Law and Economics  
Email: [hphalthy@yahoo.com](mailto:hphalthy@yahoo.com)

national level refers to the ministerial level while local authority or local level includes from provincial authorities to commune authorities. Noticeably, since 2002 only the commune councils have been elected by the people within the territory while district governors and provincial governors have been appointed by the government.

Interestingly, district and provincial authorities played a vital role in the early land privatization process. The competent authorities with power to grant land possession were given to district authorities while land ownership was given to provincial authorities. However, such authority was shifted to the Department of Cadastre in 1994. In 1995, before the Department of Cadastre could issue land certificates, all land application documents were required to be sent to the Office of Council of Ministers.<sup>7</sup> Until 2000, some provinces received a signature delegation for signing the land certificates. Finally, in July 2010, all provincial authorities throughout Cambodia have been entitled to issue land certificates in their respective territorial province. It is important to recognize the year that the respective provincial governor has received the signature delegation to sign the land certificates. For more information, please refer to the table 1.

Table 1: Date of Signature Delegation from the Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning, and Construction to Provincial Offices to Issues Land Certificates

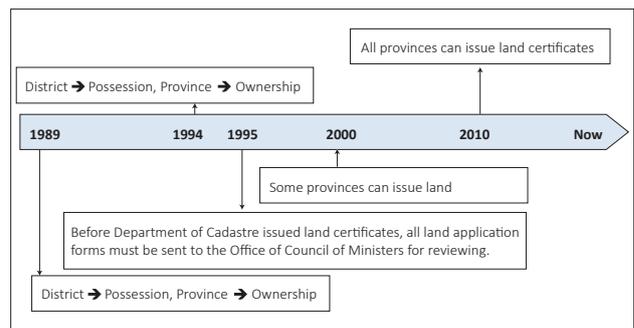
No	Provinces/Capital	Date of Receiving Signature Delegation
1	Kandal	July 18, 2000
2	Phnom Penh	July 18, 2000
3	Sihanoukville	August 12, 2002
4	Kampot	August 12, 2002
5	Kampong Thom	August 12, 2002
6	Takeo	August 12, 2002
7	Prey Veng	December 23, 2003
8	Kampong Cham	December 23, 2003
9	Battambang	April 25, 2005
10	Siem Reap	October 13, 2005
11	Kampong Speu	October 13, 2005
12	Svay Rieng	August 13, 2007
13	Kep	August 13, 2007
14	Kratie	September 5, 2007
15	Oddar Meanchey	September 5, 2007
16	Banteay Meanchey	September 5, 2007
17	Pursat	September 5, 2007
18	Kampong Chhnang	September 5, 2007

19	Koh Kong	October 1, 2009
20	Preah Vihear	October 1, 2009
21	Stung Treng	October 1, 2009
22	Ratanak Kiri	October 1, 2009
23	Mundul Kiri	July 1, 2010
24	Pailin	July 1, 2010

(Source: Letter of signature delegation from the Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction, 2000-2010)

In order to deepen the discussion of this article, the understanding of the nature of land certificates together with their evolvement is important. The term land certificate is a common term used to cover all types of land certificates starting from 1989. Soon after the land privatization, the government was able to provide land certificates in form of possessory land certificates or simply speaking sporadic land certificate. This type of possessory land certificates is still available until now in the case that landholders individually apply for land registration. However, from 2002, another co-existent land registration has been available when Cambodia received the international cooperation to start systematic land registration projects, since then the land certificates have been issued in the form of certificates of ownership or other words, systematic land registration certificates. Figure 2 shows the power of competent authorities to issue land certificates and how land application process has been made.

Figure 2: Evolvement of the power of competent authorities to issue land certificates



Centralizing the power to issue land certificates results in more disadvantages to advantages. Such centralized power deters landholders from registering their land because the land registration process became costly, time consuming and complicated. Since the land identification mainly depends on land certificates, those who failed to register their land may encounter the difficulties when the location of that land is subject to development. One of the main causes of land disputes is between those who have actual possession and those who have the land certificates.

From the inception of land privatization in 1989 to 1994, district authorities were responsible for issuing land certificates with regard to possessory rights over agricultural land while provincial authorities were responsible for issuing land certificates concerning ownership rights over residential land. As a result, 448,277 sporadic registration certificates were issued as of 1995.<sup>8</sup> In September 1994, the government required the Department of Cadastre which was under the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries to sign land certificates.<sup>9</sup> More remarkably, in October 1995 the government transferred the Department of Cadastre to be under the supervision of the Office of the Council of Ministers in an attempt to have better land administration.<sup>10</sup> However, the output of land registration was far from expectation. Consequently, only 70,357 sporadic registration certificates were issued during the period of five years from 1995 to 2000.<sup>11</sup>

It is noted that a ministry dealing with land issues was established after 10 years of land privatization. The Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction established in 1999 with the mandate to regulate land management and administration including urbanization and construction in the whole country. However, following the 2001 Land Law and relevant legal regulations, the sporadic land registration processes still require the power of provincial authorities and national authority to issue land certificates. District authorities just fulfill the cadastral work such as demarcation, survey and adjudication but do not have authority to finalize the registration. The reasons may come from the limited cadastral knowledge and resources at the district level. However, the 2001 Land Law requires that Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction issue certificates of ownership.<sup>12</sup>

## LAND REGISTRATION

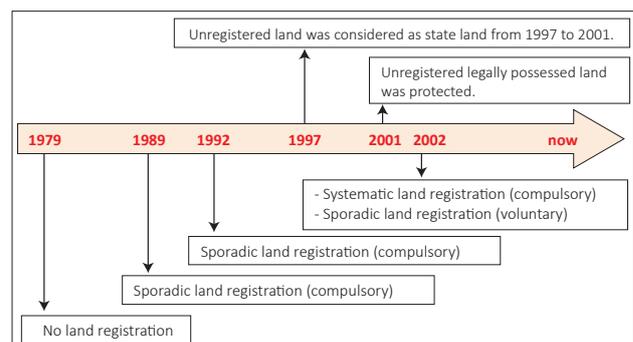
The Cambodian Government has been trying to improve the security of land tenure by conducting various strategies. Land registration has commenced since 1989 with sporadic land registration and then systematic land registration. On August 30, 2001, Cambodia just made efforts to respond to the 1993 Constitution by enacting a new Land Law, hereinafter referred to as the 2001 Land Law. According to the law, land registration system provides two options for landholders to obtain land certificates through whether systematic land registration or sporadic land registration.

Land registration serves several important purposes, and is particularly important to a young land system such as that in Cambodia. Registered land certificates foster trust and stability in land transactions. They provide a basis for national and local taxation to support the functioning of the government. In a nation recovering basic legal and administrative institutions, registered rights in land are also an important channel for dissemination of legal consciousness and expertise.

Unfortunately, the registration process in Cambodia has not been fully successful. During the first year in the early stage of land privatization, each individual landholder was required to apply for land possession and ownership within a given period of time.<sup>13</sup> As a result, from June 1989 to June 1990, 3.7 million land applications for land possession or ownership were filed,<sup>14</sup> which overwhelmed the human resources at the local level with the result that most of those applying received only application receipts and these newly recognized interests did not find their way into a land register. As a result, the landholders could not fully benefit from such rights.

Since 1992, sporadic land registration continued from the 1989 instruction which provided that landholders were required to register within the period of 5 years. Apparently 448,277 sporadic registration certificates were issued from 1989 to 1995.<sup>15</sup> This number had increased to 518,357 certificates until 2000.<sup>16</sup> According to the 1992 Land Law, the land parcels which were not registered by 1997 would become state land.<sup>17</sup> The 2001 Land Law however provides more flexible land registration options. The systematic land registration is compulsory as compared to sporadic land registration which is optional. It is noted that those who failed to register their legally possessed land before 2001 are still protected by law.<sup>18</sup> The figure 3 shows evolution of the land registration after the collapse of Khmer Rouge regime.

Figure 3: Evolution of land registration policy

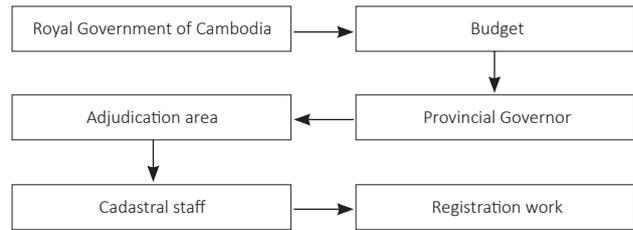


## SYSTEMATIC LAND REGISTRATION

It is unforgettable that the financial and technical support from international donors in dealing with land issues has considerably contributed to the Cambodian land system. Apparently, a lack of legal tools to identify landholders is bound to have widespread social ramifications in terms of land disputes. There was a great motivation on the part of international donors to focus on land management and administration projects encompassing the systematic land titling program since 1995.<sup>19</sup> In March 2000, an outcome resulted from the international support led to the issuance of the Sub-decree on the Procedure of Establishing Cadastral Index Maps and Land Registers aimed at registering land through systematic land registration.<sup>20</sup> The 2001 Land Law requires this sub-decree to be slightly amended on May 31, 2002.<sup>21</sup> Regarding land disputes which cannot be resolved by the administration commission, the amended sub-decree requires that the cases be submitted to the national cadastral commission as compared to the previous practices of sending to the court. Therefore, it is necessary to know how the new sub-decree directs the procedure of systematic land registration and how the project under the support of the international donors works. The challenges arising from systematic land registration are also discussed.

The Sub-decree on the Procedure of Establishing Cadastral Index Maps and Land Registers describes clearly the procedure of systematic land registration. Unlike sporadic land registration, systematic land registration requires that the action be made by the government's side. It also requires highly technical equipment and technical staff to conduct land registration in the areas which are determined by provincial governors. Consequently, the support from international donors is very much needed in order to proceed with systematic land registration. Yet, the cooperation of landholders in the determined areas for systematic land registration project is also very necessary. The systematic land registration provides landowners and land possessors with trustworthy land certificates which are registered in land registers. The simplified chart of systematic land registration is shown in figure 4 below.

Figure 4: Brief systematic land registration process



The systematic land registration witnessed the cooperation of international donors in the form of the Land Management and Administration Project also known as LMAP which was a remarkable achievements in the Cambodian land history in this twenty first century. Since 2002, four partners including the Royal Government of Cambodia, the World Bank, the German and Finnish Governments made a 15 year project for conducting systematic land registration. With financial support of 100 million US dollars from the World Bank, the project was supposed to exist in 3 phases in which each phase projected to achieve 1 million land parcels to be registered with a limited budget approximately 34 million US dollars.<sup>22</sup> It is noted that the assumption of the number of total land parcels was only 6 million but in fact the actual number of land parcels may be approximately 10 million. In the aftermath of this project, as of September 2008, only 902,968 systematic registration certificates were issued and distributed to the landowners.<sup>23</sup> The project has so far focused on 11 provinces out of 24 provinces with approximately 700 cadastral staff. In 2009, however, this project was extended to other 4 provinces that required approximately 100 cadastral staff. It was therefore expected that within the second phase, 2007-2012, the number of registered land parcels would remarkably increase. However, the fact has shown that the registration pace was still slow. As a result of systematic land registration, until the end of 2017, the systematic land registration projects have issued 3,626,158 land certificates, excluding the output of youth volunteer for land registration.<sup>24</sup>

It is important to note that the output of land registration has resulted in a remarkable number even after the funding from the World Bank had stopped in September 2009. The systematic land registration has remarkably maintained a stable data. Since then the government has tried to invest more in the systematic land registration. In 2009, the government spent only 600 thousand to 2 million dollars to make the systematic land registration output stable as shown in table 2. The table proves

that in 2009, while the government received support from World Bank, the number of systematic land registration certificates issued was 234,437 while in 2010, the number reached 271,560.

Table 2: Statistics of systematic land registration certificates 2009-2011

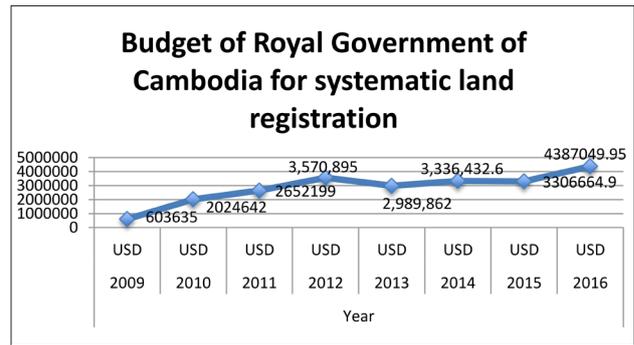
Year	Systematic land registration certificates
2009	234,437
2010	271,560
2011	324,020

Sources: Reports of Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction in 2009, 2010 & 2011

Until 2009, although the international donor cooperation contributed a great deal in the systematic land registration, challenges existed. Difficulties in receiving budget in order to run the project were complained by the Cambodian side. Moreover, cadastral staff’s allowance was limited with a strict condition that if the work was done more slowly than the project’s plan, the allowance was reduced to half of the total amount per month.<sup>25</sup> When extending to other 4 provinces, the project would lack more technical staff. Technical knowledge remained also one of the major problems in the systematic land registration. Furthermore, unclear commune territorial boundary makes it more difficult to adjudicate in each unit of systematic land registration which covers one commune.<sup>26</sup>

It is noted that the cooperation between the government and the World Bank was drastically discontinued in September 2009. The systematic land registration projects started earlier largely depended on the World Bank budget of 100 million US dollars. Since then the government increased the national budget for systematic land registration substantially from approximately USD 603,635 US dollars in 2009 to USD 2,024,642 in 2010. The government budget for systematic land registration continued to grow to USD 2,652,199 in 2011. The government budget invested in systematic land registration from 2009 to 2016 is shown in figure 5.<sup>27</sup>

Figure 5: Contribution of the government budget to the systematic land registration from 2009 to 2016



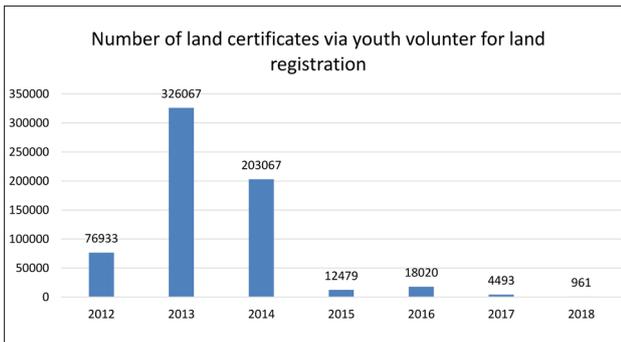
Sources: Letter of Land Administration Sub-sector Project, 2009-2016

Figure 5 shows the efforts of the government to invest in systematic land registration after the suspension of the fund from the World Bank. The drastic increase in government’s budget between 2009 and 2010 reflected the political commitment of the government to show the financial independence on the systematic land registration.

The first ever policy from the Prime Minister with regard to land registration happened in June 2012.<sup>28</sup> This policy was originally planned for one year in order to speed up land registration in an attempt to calm down land disputes which were affected by the economic land concessions. The Prime Minister decided to introduce a youth volunteer for land registration. The youth movement mainly included students from universities throughout Cambodia. However, students from the Faculty of Land Management of the Royal University of Agriculture were required to join the project.<sup>29</sup> The project used the Prime Minister’s budget to provide allowances to the youth for approximately 225 dollars per person. There were two stages in the project in which one stage consisted around 2000 people working for a period of 6 months.

Despite the completion of the youth volunteer for land registration policy in June 2013, the work of issuance of land certificates continued to clear the land applications which have yet to receive the certificates. The complaints arising therefrom have to go to local competent authorities to resolve. Figure below shows that as of 2018, the total number of land certificates through youth volunteer for land registration is 642,020<sup>30</sup> among which only in 2013, the registration peaked up to 326,067 land certificates.

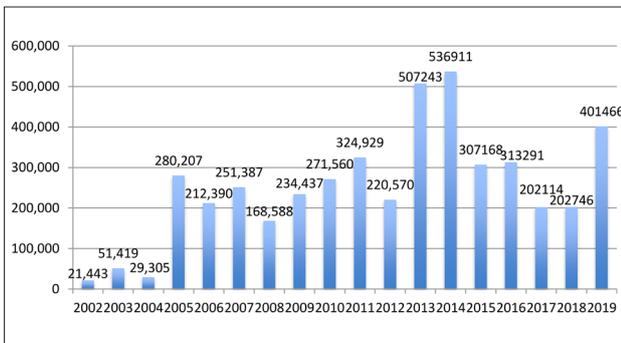
Figure 6: Number of land certificates via youth volunteer for land registration from 2012 to 2018



Source: Reports from the Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction 2012-2018

The government has made a big effort to register land via the systematic land registration. After the completion of the implementation of youth volunteer for land registration policy in June 2013, the systematic land registration has continued actively. Figure 7 shows the number of land certificates issued via the systematic land registration together with youth volunteer for land registration from 2002 to 2019. However, as of August 2020, the total of land certificates issued via the systematic land registration together with youth volunteer for land registration is 5,253,454 in which the number of land certificates distributed to the people is 4,899,872.<sup>31</sup>

Figure 7: Number of land certificates from 2002 to 2019 via the systematic land registration and youth volunteer for land registration



Source: Annual reports of the Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction 2002-2019.

### SPORADIC LAND REGISTRATION

Before studying how sporadic land registration in Cambodia works, one should understand the meaning of this technical term. In the Cambodian land system, the term “sporadic land registration” was firstly found in the 2001 Land Law and in subsequent legal regulations. Although it is so, there is no real definition of this term. However, it was generally understood that the sporadic land registration means the voluntary land registration in which each landholder applies for a land certificate when he or she needs it. With this

regard, from the inception of the land privatization in 1989, sporadic land registration has been available. As of November 2008, only 589,827 land certificates were issued the through sporadic land registration.<sup>32</sup> This number shows a slow pace of sporadic land registration. Therefore it is necessary to know clearly how sporadic land registration procedure works and what advantages result from such a registration. It is necessary to study the shortcomings of the sporadic land registration which may discourage landholders from registering their land through this approach. However, it is vital that the government provides a possible way to successfully motivate landholders to voluntarily register their land.

It is necessary to understand the actual change of the land registration nature from the beginning of the land privatization in 1989 to the present time. It was mandatory for landholders to apply for land certificates within a set period of 1 year after June 1989. Each landholder submitted land applications to the district authority through the commune authority and the village authority. There was no detailed procedure determining the number of days that the applicants could receive their land certificates from the date of filing applications. Consequently, huge number of landholders applied for land certificates making it difficult for the responsible authorities to issue the certificates. As of 2000, approximately 518,258 sporadic registration certificates equivalent to about 12 percent of the total 4.5 million land applications were issued.<sup>33</sup> This number has unremarkably increased to 589,827 until 2008.<sup>34</sup> This slow pace of registration has resulted in a great deal of uncertain land tenure since most of landholders do not have land certificates. Remarkably, after May 2002, a detailed procedure of sporadic land registration was issued allowing any landholder who intends to receive a land certificate to apply for.

Sporadic land registration has several advantages. For those who wish to have their land certificates can apply for the certificates at any time. Although the state does not oblige landholders to apply for land certificates, landholders realize the importance of right to land which is registered, for registered land is fully protected by law. More importantly, it is necessary for those who want to transact their land if they have land certificates. If landholders apply for land certificates through sporadic land registration, cadastral service fees obtained therefrom will increase state income. Furthermore, the procedure of sporadic land registration which requires that land disputes be resolved before issuing land certificates

makes it clear that the areas where all landholders have land certificates will not have land disputes.

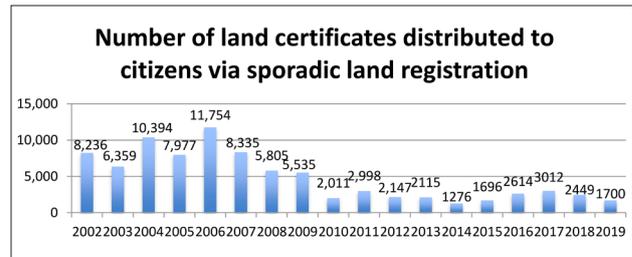
Although advantages arising from sporadic land registration exist, their shortcomings need to be taken into consideration as well. It is noted that although the attempt to speed up the cadastral work has been made,<sup>35</sup> the actual days of completing land registration has not been reached. For example, the legal regulation determines only the period from the date of collecting data to the date of issuing land certificates, but it fails to mention how much time the cadastral administration has to respond to land applicants from the date of filing applications.<sup>36</sup> The decision also fails to mention the punishment provisions if the period stated in the decision is not followed. This flaw in law may result in corruption especially in the case that landholders who want to receive their land certificates within a short period of time may bribe cadastral staff. Therefore, it is necessary that the sporadic land registration include the specific period of time for its whole procedure and complaint.

Albeit imperfect nature of land certificates through sporadic land registration,<sup>37</sup> landholders should be encouraged to register their land through sporadic land registration. An attempt of the 2001 Land Law is to provide a definitive certificate of land ownership which cannot be contested if there is no refusal when creating a land register.<sup>38</sup> As such, only the systematic land registration, in which cadastral index maps and land registers are included, can provide such a definitive certificate known as an owner certificate for immovable property which is also known as a certificate of ownership hereinafter called a systematic registration certificate. On the other hand, the sporadic land registration can usually provide a certificate of immovable property which is also known as a possessory certificate hereinafter named sporadic registration certificate.<sup>39</sup> Since the systematic land registration takes more efforts from the government side including budget and modern technical equipment, it is therefore necessary that landholders register their land through sporadic land registration within the set period of time. So when the systematic land registration project happens at their areas, their possessory certificates can be changed to certificates of ownership.

The output of sporadic land registration has been remarkably low achieving only 86,413 sporadic registration certificates from 2002 to 2019 as shown in the figure below.<sup>40</sup> This inefficient cadastral work

has consequently resulted in several drawbacks although the systematic land registration can now be a main task of the government to speed up more registration. However, areas where systemic land registration projects are not available, disadvantages to unregistered land may exist in case landholders wish to get some loans for business purposes.

Figure 8: Number of land certificates distributed to citizens from 2002 to 2019 via sporadic land registration



Source: Annual reports of the Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction 2002-2019.

## CONCLUSION

Stability of land ownership has played a vital role in land investment. Since Cambodia has privatized land in 1989, many laws and legal regulations relating to land rights have been introduced to serve the emerging economy. After the government has stabilized the land ownership, then legal regulations to manage real estate development have been made which shows the close connection between land ownership recognition and the boost effect of land development.

Speeding up land registration is important to encourage real estate investment. The registered land ensures the identification of proper landowners and thereby preventing land disputes. Investors usually look for land which is free from disputes. The registration effort of the government has provided full legal protection to landowners. For example, economic land concessions require that the land be registered so that when investors start their economic land concession projects, they will not face any disputes as a result of clear land identification. As discussed previously, the number of construction projects increased from 1694 in 2012 to 3053 in 2017.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, the licensed housing development companies increased drastically from 2 in 2010 to 42 in 2017.<sup>42</sup> The increase in number of construction projects and licensed housing development companies reflect land safety and stability through the registration.

**ENDNOTES**

- 1 Instruction on the Implementation of Land Use and Management Policy, No.03SNN, June 03, 1989 in Phalhy Hap, Comp. Compilation of Laws and Legal Regulations Relating to Land and Urbanization 1985-2015 (Phnom Penh: Chork Chey, 2018), 28-29 (hereinafter Hap 2018).
- 2 Letter of the Office of the Council of Ministers on the Request to Delay the Acceptance of Land Applications, No.94SCN/KS, January 17, 1990; Letter of Ministry of Agriculture on the Delay of Acceptance of Land Applications, No.485KSK/ M/ RB, January 29, 1990 in Hap 2018, 49 & 52.
- 3 Notification on the Acceptance of Land Applications and Subsequent Measures, No.3451KSK/SCN, July 21, 1990 in Hap 2018, 56.
- 4 Voan Lim, "Land System in Cambodia," (Phnom Penh, 2006), 7.
- 5 Proclamation on the Appointment and Activity of the Department of Cadastre, No.111PK/KSK, October 31, 1989 in Hap 2018, 45.
- 6 Instruction on the Amendment of Instruction No.03SNN dated June 03, 1989 of the Council of Ministers, No.03SNN, December 08, 1990 in Hap 2018, 63.
- 7 Letter of the First Prime Minister to the Second Prime Minister Requested that the Applications of Land Possession should be Passed to the Office of Council of Ministers, No.918KhT/94, June 16, 1995; Letter of the Second Prime Minister to the First Prime Minister on Agreeing with Letter No.918KhT dated June 16, 1995, No.97Kh/2-95, June 22, 1995 & Letter of the Council of Ministers on the Land Conflict Issues between Authorities and People, No.1052SCN/SR, July 05, 1995 in Hap 2018, 208, 209 & 212.
- 8 Sophal Chan et al., Land Tenure in Cambodia: A Date Update 30 (Phnom Penh: Cambodia Development Resource Institute, Working Paper No. 19, October 2001).
- 9 The Form for Filling Certificates of Immovable Property "New Certificates" by the Department of Cadastre, dated September 7, 1994.
- 10 Sub-decree on the Transfer of the Department of Cadastre of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries to be under the supervision of the Office of the Council of Ministers, No.58ANK, October 03, 1994.
- 11 SOPHAL CHAN ET AL., LAND TENURE IN CAMBODIA: A DATE UPDATE 30 (Phnom Penh: Cambodia Development Resource Institute, Working Paper No. 19, October 2001).
- 12 Land Law of Cambodia, No. NS/RKM/0801/14, August 30, 2001, Art. 226; also the interview with Hor Lim, Under Secretary of State of the Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction of Cambodia (May 25, 2010).
- 13 Instruction on the Implementation of Land Use and Management Policy, No.03SNN, June 03, 1989.
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- 15 SOPHAL CHAN ET AL., LAND TENURE IN CAMBODIA: A DATE UPDATE 30 (Phnom Penh: Cambodia Development Resource Institute, Working Paper No. 19, October 2001).
- 16 SOPHAL CHAN ET AL., LAND TENURE IN CAMBODIA: A DATE UPDATE 30 (Phnom Penh: Cambodia Development Resource Institute, Working Paper No. 19, October 2001).
- 17 Land Law of Cambodia, No.100K, October 13, 1992, Arts. 18 & 224.
- 18 Land Law of Cambodia. No. NS/RKM/0801/14, August 30, 2001, Art. 42 (hereinafter called the 2001 Land Law).
- 19 Setha Sek, "Land Registration to Improve Security, Transparency, Governance and Sustainable Resource Management" (presented at regional workshop on land issues in Asia, Phnom Penh, Cambodia, 4-6 June 2002).
- 20 Sub-decree on the Procedure of Establishing Cadastral Index Maps and Land Registers, No.46ANK/BK, May 31, 2002, art. 12.
- 21 Sub-decree on the Procedure to Establish Cadastral Index Maps and Land Registers, No.11ANK/BK, March 22, 2000, art. 12.
- 22 Vanna Siek, Chief of the Department of Land Registration, in the interview with the author on December 3, 2008.
- 23 Report of the Outputs of Land Registration System from the Start until September 2008, by Land Management and Administration Project, No.0894 LMAP (Phnom Penh: Land Management

- and Administration Project, Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction).
- 24 Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction, Report on the Outputs of Work in 2017 and the Work Plan 2018 of the Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction (January 12, 2018), 7.
  - 25 Mr. Vanna Siek, in the interview with the author on December 3, 2008, said that each staff received USD180 per month. If the work is done slowly, the allowance is reduced to USD 90 per month.
  - 26 When starting, one unit of systematic land registration previously covered one commune and later from 2008 covered one village.
  - 27 Letter from LMAP, No.0321LMAP dated March 28, 2007; Letter from LMAP, No.0389LMAP dated May 5, 2008; Letter from LMAP, No.0501LMAP dated March 23, 2010; Letter from LMAP, No.0321LMAP dated April 29, 2011; Letter from LMAP, No.210LMAP dated March 16, 2012.
  - 28 This policy is the consequence of the Prime Minister Order on the Measures of Strengthening and Improving Efficiency of Economic Land Concession Management, No.01BB, May 7, 2012.
  - 29 An interview with a student of Faculty of Land Management of the Royal University of Agriculture in December 2017. The author reserved the right to show the student anonymously
  - 30 The report from the Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction from 2012 to 2018.
  - 31 Sophara Chea, Report on the Outputs of Work in August 2020 and the Work Plan of the Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction, No.050DNS/ARB/NRB/RBa, (Phnom Penh: Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction, September 4, 2020), 7.
  - 32 Department of Land Registration, Summary of the Result of Sporadic Land Registration from 1989 to November 25, 2008, by Vanna Siek, Chief (Phnom Penh: General Department of Cadastre and Geography, Department of Land Registration, November 25, 2008).
  - 33 Sophal Chan et al., Land Tenure in Cambodia: A Date Update 30 (Phnom Penh: Cambodia Development Resource Institute, Working Paper No. 19, October 2001).
  - 34 Department of Land Registration, Summary of the Result of Sporadic Land Registration from 1989 to November 25, 2008, by Vanna Siek, Chief (Phnom Penh: General Department of Cadastre and Geography, Department of Land Registration, November 25, 2008).
  - 35 Sub-decree on Sporadic Land Registration, No. 48ANK/BK, May 31, 2002 saying that “District governor shall issue the announcement on the date of demarcation land boundary to land applicants and post it publicly at least 14 days before the demarcation starts” while the Amendment of this Sub-decree dated on June 9, 2016 reducing the number of 14 days to 7 days; also Joint Proclamation on Providing Public Services of the Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction, No.995SHV/PK, December 28, 2012 fixes the period of days for registration work.
  - 36 Decision on Providing Cadastral Services, No.51SSR, December 21, 2006.
  - 37 The chief of Department of Land Registration under the General Department of Cadastre and Geography of the Ministry of Land Management, Urban Planning and Construction said that land certificates issued through sporadic land registration are not 100 percent recognized, but just around 90 percent (my interview on December 3, 2008).
  - 38 The 2001 Land Law, art. 40.
  - 39 Sub-decree on Sporadic Land Registration, No.48ANK/BK, May 31, 2002, art. 11.
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