論文題目 RESILIENCE OF COMMUNITY FORESTRY -A CASE STUDY OF COMMUNITY-BASED FOREST MANAGEMENT PROGRAM IN THE PHILIPPINES ASSESSED WITH THE TRI-CAPITAL

FRAMEWORK-

(共同体林業の弾力性 - フィリピンにおけるCBFMプログラムの三次元資本構造の評価事例 -)

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The current structure of community forestry agenda, driven by international and national politics, predetermines many of the community forestry groups on very vulnerable positions, depending on financial assistance in short and long run. Moreover, these groups are already located on degraded and low-value resources, with limited usufruct to the forest. It treats the coherence of the forest users' groups (FUGs), and sustainability of the resources. In such vulnerable arrangements, community agenda relies in large extends on performance of the FUGs, although facilitated by government. The group must perform adequately to withstand unstable arrangements. The resilient state would be enhancing endogenous capacities of FUGs, and enabling their self-organization, and "locking" them in a such state. Developing resilience, apart from being a recommended by international forum for forest dependent communities in sustainable forest management guidelines, was recognized by most recent scholars as ability to respond to drivers of change and unpredictability in ways that sustain the multiple dimensions of well-being. In community forestry context the resilience is still on trial stage with major methodological limitations requiring further endeavors in understanding the concept and its operationalization.

The study takes as an example of community forestry programs in the Philippines, one of leading countries in the area of community forestry, especially Southeast Asia and Pacific, in terms of longest experience, progressive policy, including complete forest devolution - a process of passing rights and decision power to local users. In 1995 a new scheme of Community-Based Forest Management (CBFM) designed with foreign agencies, was enacted, that could be implemented together with indigenous cultural communities' claims to land, issued by Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR). CBFM program on protected land was changed into Protected Area Community Based Resource Management Agreement (PACBRMA). Community-Based Forest Management (CBFM) agreements shall be renewed or canceled after 25 years, upon project outcomes. By first quarter of 2014, CBFM program accounted for 1888 contracts, 1.6mln hectares of land covered, and 192,000 participants. CBFM programs was recognized as very progressive policy but on the other hand it was strongly dependent on international loans, donors and technical assistance. Alternatively, to CBFM, a complete devolution of natural resources to indigenous cultural communities was possible through Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title (CADT) according to Peoples Right Act form 1997

The objective and sub-objectives of this research are to capture the challenges posed by global forest agenda and trends on local community forestry, making it vulnerable due to livelihood change during short-term project funding, and more susceptible to fail or overuse local resource after decline of other benefits. Such threats lead to necessity to build resilience through multi-functionality that would enable overcoming such sudden changes and find a path that can safeguard sustainability of community forestry group through reorganization and development of endogenous capacities rather than by forced external implementation. This research was conducted in three-folds i) community forestry resilience assessment construction ii) assessment of CBFM under indigenous cultural communities and non-indigenous cultural communities with implication on their resilience capacities developed through short and mid-term phase of the program to sustain the FUGs in long-run of the program iii) comparative synthesis of CBFM projects' mid-term outcomes under indigenous and non0inidgenous cultural communities, and denoting resilience paths.

Previous research has overlooked these issues and therefore, the knowledge gaps on the implementation of community forestry programs and addressing shortcoming of international and national agenda that impacts local level, and lack of strong criticism of the CBFM program in the Philippines, make the following contributions: i) enhancing community forestry resilience discussion currently still underdeveloped with shortcomings in the methodology; ii) enhancing understanding of resilience concept in the indigenous cultural communities context that is unformed; and iii) contributing into emerging debate of "community-based" approach enforcement into indigenous realm; iii) proving critical assessment of decentralized policy of CBFM as lacking of reality check and vision for the future thus curbing resilience of FUGs.

Framework of community forestry resilience in this research, dubbed tri-capital framework (Figure 1), was composed by interaction of three forms of capital, economic, socio-cultural, and natural, which are steering community capacities

and building resilience at household and community forestry organization level. Such capacities, together with impacts, changes from the past and vision on the future are set to be indication of strategy that FUGs are undertaking, e.g. localization, globalization, or one between – glocalization, or reversed to globalization a re-localization. Strong resilience in modern communities was defined by presence all forms of capital, interacting and yielding other forms of capital, and securing multifunctionality of groups; however, in context of indigenous cultural communities if which resilience was originally developed without strong or with none economic capital, their strong resilience is denoted by localization strategy (LOC), based on local resource and socio-cultural capital. were set to denote transitions of community forest groups and local communities. Capital forms assessment was organized into structured set of indepth indicators including organization's level and their household level. Households of non-participants of community forestry were taken into account to demonstrate alternative paths within local community and their competitiveness in term of resilience building to community forestry program.

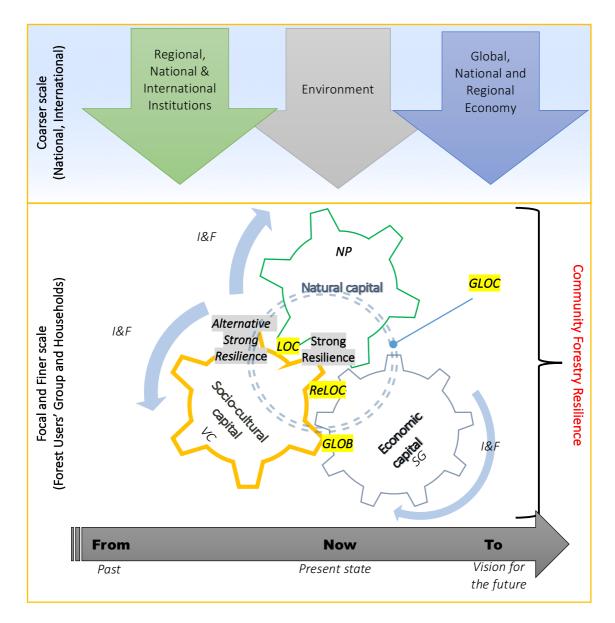


Figure 1. Tri-capital Framework for community forestry resilience in multi-scale reality
Note: LOC - localization strategy; ReLOC - re-localization; GLOC - glocalisation strategy; GLOB - globalization strategy;
I&F - Interactions and feedbacks; SG - super-globalized; NP - non-productivism, VC - vulnerable community.

In the research four pioneer cases of CBFM were studied, two of indigenous cultural communities' groups with the difference that one was converted into CADT; and two non-indigenous cultural communities' groups with the difference that one was changed into PACBRMA due to location on the protected area zone.

As the result of the study CBFM program was found as greatly differing between various ethnical groups and represented unedified various strategies of resilience, which were sourced either in the original capacities of

indigenous cultural communities or in building a new strategy through relocalization of non-indigenous cultural communities.

CBFM had very limited viability in developing community forestry among indigenous cultural communities which had their own resilient system and CBFM was only contesting these communities. Some of CBFM components however found applicability in these communities, such as farming and livestock keeping, but the organization structure itself was dissolved immediately after implementation period. As a result, these groups never established CBFM as a working program in long run. Thus, CBFM was unnecessary step to organized already existing resource management system, and not able to build set of capital forms throughout implementation. Regardless of CADT title, none of surveyed communities was selling timber as most valuable commodity, limiting their benefits form the forest to small non-timber forest products, and eco-services. Indigenous groups were found to be resilient based on localization strategy with low economic capital; however, resilience was too strong to lift the communities to desired multifunctionality, and low farm yield by economic capital but local obstacles were unsolved by CBFM strategy, the other group on the other hand was strongly resilient and CBFM consolidated the local strategy with more economic capital flow from the resource but making group more vulnerable to low pricing, weather, and malnourishment. In both cases local problems and context of groups were not taken into full consideration thus not overcoming real obstacles before introducing CBFM. CADT which granted could be alternative to CBFM, was less invasive to indigenous arrangements, not reorganizing these groups and recognizing indigenous community's rights to the land.

In non-indigenous cultural communities, the CBFM was a program brining potential change at various levels, increasing natural capital; and access to local resources supported income by inflow of cash from farm production, and local fuel wood was a strategy to reduce costs if household had lower income. CBFM areas were mostly developed into farms, and forest had smaller share. Timber was not used in not of the group, regardless of protection status. However, on the protected area with CBFM/PACBRMA obtaining permits was experience as very difficult, in the non-protected area case permits were also to be issued in advance, but timber was taken into consideration as future source of benefits. Organizing FUGs of CBFM increased socio-cultural capital in contrast to already losing social bonds local community. Various interests within CBFM groups itself led to internal stratification of the CBFM groups and their strategies. Devoted to CBFM project households were able to work on re-localization of their livelihood, but less interested households became a constrain to the CBFM groups, diminishing socio-cultural capital (e.g. trust, cooperation network). One of the possible revision of CBFM policy could introducing discontinuation of inactive membership in CBFM groups thus limiting CBFM groups to groups focused on action and development.

This research demonstrated a methodology that could be used for more accurate assessment of community forestry resilience, going beyond social memory-based recall of changes. Based on complete set of variables representing capital forms and investigated four study sites, CBFM program in the Philippines was found more applicable to non-indigenous cultural communities but certain modifications of the policy implementations are needed; whereas to non-indigenous people the CBFM was found as not fitting local context and needs, and causing conflicts that were beyond local conflict resolution system.