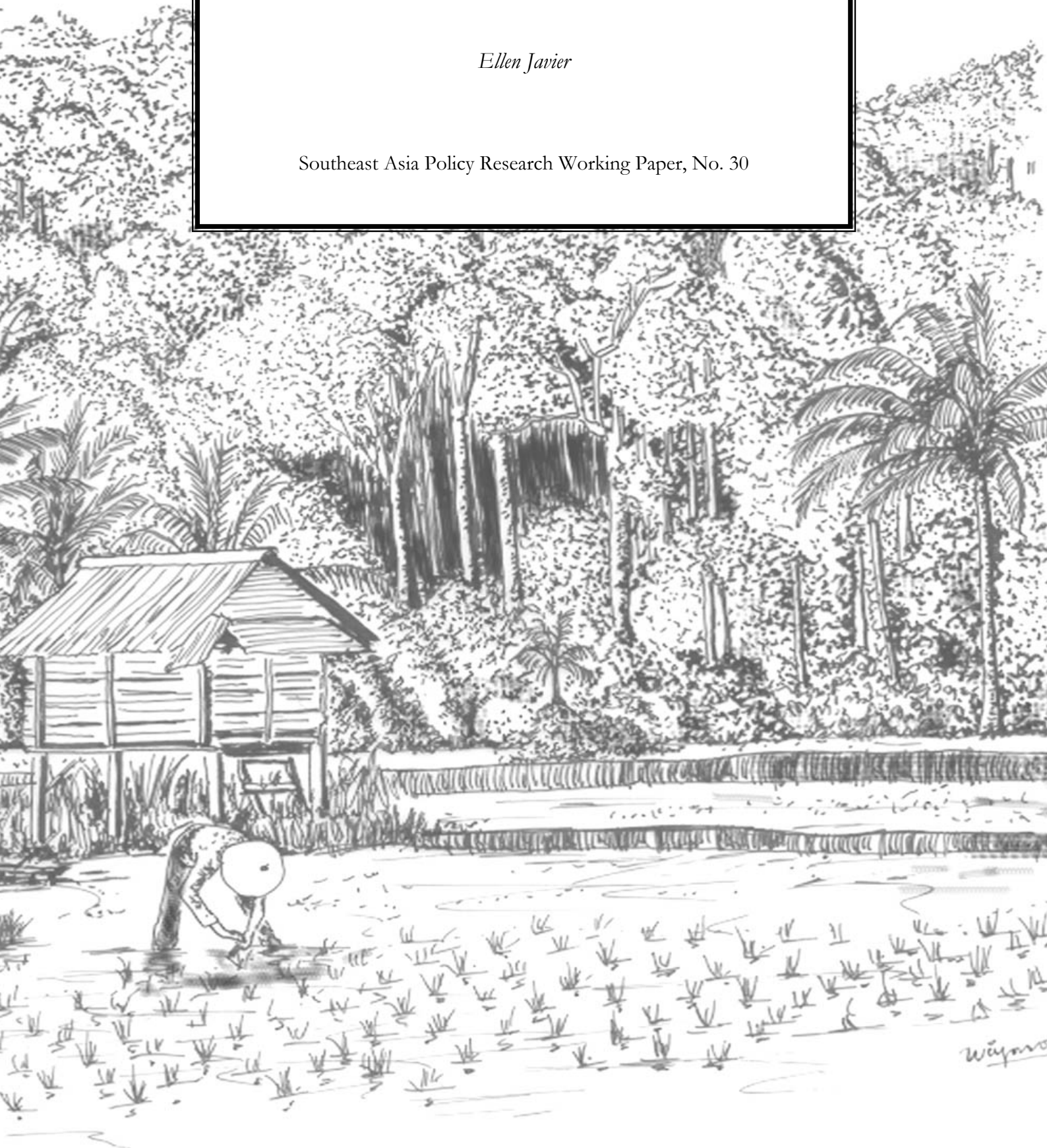


Local Organizations Involved in Natural Resource Management Experience in the Philippines

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**LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED IN
NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT EXPERIENCE
IN THE PHILIPPINES**

Ellen Javier

INTRODUCTION

Upland development experiences in the Philippines particularly during the past two decades have established the crucial role of local communities and organizations in the sustainable management of natural resources, both land and water. Lessons from the recent collaborative work undertaken by the International Centre for Research in Agroforestry (ICRAF) with a range of partner institutions in the uplands of Northern Mindanao have shown that farmer-led organizations are quite effective in improving and sustaining the productive capacity of the natural resources upon which they depend for survival. Hence ICRAF funded this study in order to further learn how to assist in strengthening or building locally-led organizational approaches that can more effectively address sustainable agriculture and natural resource management in the Philippine uplands. The study is part of a three-country ICRAF research initiative in Southeast Asia that includes Indonesia and Thailand, and represents the initial phase in a series of research undertakings on local organizations.

The Philippine study sought to (1) understand the social and political context that provided the impetus for local organizations (LOs)—specifically farmer- and community-led organizations—to undertake natural resource management (NRM) in the uplands, (2) identify both public and private initiatives to support these local organizations in their NRM endeavors, (3) characterize the local organizations that are active in NRM, as well as the biophysical and socioeconomic environments within which they operate and their specific NRM initiatives, and (4) determine the likely trends, issues and challenges for local involvement in NRM.

Data for this study were obtained through two qualitative research methods. The first was a brief review of the literature on the topic, with emphasis on the unpublished or “gray” literature. The materials covered in the review were relevant books and research publications, conference or seminar papers, and selected reports, documents, records and/or brochures of pertinent organizations, technical consultancy groups and various projects concerned with upland development. The other method was an in-depth interview of key informants involved in upland NRM. The informants were comprised of farmer-leaders from selected people’s organizations (POs) that are reported to be actively engaged in NRM activities, project personnel, representatives of government institutions and nongovernment organizations (NGOs), and academic researchers (Annex B). The conduct of these interviews, particularly with representatives of POs and NGOs, entailed field visits to the offices and/or project sites of these organizations (Annex C). Due to their work with POs, NGO informants became the sources of information on a majority (22 of 27 POs, or 81%) of the POs included in the study. Five other POs located in the provinces of Misamis Oriental, Bukidnon and Quezon and some local farmers’ labor exchange groups (called *hungos* or *alayan*) in Leyte were visited.

SOCIOPOLITICAL CONTEXT FOR LOCAL INVOLVEMENT IN UPLAND NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

The State, NRM and the

Upland Forestry Crisis

In the Philippines, the state owns and controls all lands of the public domain, inclusive of waters, forests and other natural resources by virtue of the Regalian Doctrine promulgated during the Spanish times and upheld by the 1987 Constitution. The Regalian Doctrine, as described by La Viña (1996:3), allowed a few vested interests to control the exploitation of Philippine natural resources and provided the foundation for the state's mandate to exercise full supervision over all exploration, development and utilization of these resources. This mandate is carried out by the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) as the primary agency responsible for the conservation, management, development and proper use, licensing as well as regulation of the country's environment and natural resources, specifically forests and grazing lands, mineral resources, including those in reservation and watershed areas, and lands of the public domain.

How has the state or the DENR carried out its mandate particularly with regard to upland or forest resources? In a comprehensive review of forest policies and programs, Winrock-NRMP (1995) characterized the state's management of forest resources during most of the 20th century as guided by resource use policies that paid little attention to their long-term implications for efficient allocation and sustainable development. The national government declared potentially arable lands of the public domain as alienable and disposable, then subdivided and distributed these as homesteads to landless settlers. It also granted timber licenses as well as regulated the harvesting of forest products and the reforestation of open areas. Land use conflicts were easily resolved through extensive land use because population was low up until the 1960s, enabling the country's upland resource base to sustain the country's needs.

The 1960s represented a turning point as the Philippine upland resource situation moved from a relatively stable to an endangered state. In the ensuing decades, Revilla (1997) reported that the country slid from being the world's largest producer of tropical hardwood in 1975 to a timber-importing nation by 1994. The country's per capita forest cover of 0.085 ha/person in 1994, when measured against the norm (0.7 ha/person in the tropical domain), had made it one of the 11 worst cases among 89 tropical countries worldwide. As of 1995, forest cover had dwindled to barely 5.6 million has. (about 19% of the country's total land area and 32% of the total upland area estimated at 17.6 million has.) and continues to lose some 100,000 has. annually. By this time it was a foregone conclusion that the estimated minimum forest resource base of 40% of the land area (about 12 million has.) which is required to yield sufficient economic, social and environmental benefits for the country was not being met (Revilla, 1997; Winrock-NRMP, 1995; DENR-FAO-UNPF, n.d.).

Complicated land use conflicts in the uplands had caused this severe depletion of the forest resource base. The conflicts were, in turn, brought about by pressures of a rapidly expanding population and exacerbated by a lack of clear and consistent framework of government policies for forest resource management, poorly planned and coordinated programs, and the so-called "moral hazards" (i.e., corrupt behavior) attending policy and program implementation. These factors resulted in the widespread practice of unsustainable resource use, primarily indiscriminate and illegal logging, unplanned conversion of forestlands to agricultural, mining and other purposes, and kaingin or slash-and-burn cultivation, all of which accelerated deforestation. Inadequacies in the prevailing policy climate spawned confusing and conflicting directions that abetted indiscriminate and illegal forest harvesting activities and discouraged responsible private sector partnership in programs for sustainable resource conservation, rehabilitation and management. Agricultural conversion occurred by default and often in forest areas where topography and soil quality could not even support intensive cropping (Revilla, 1997; Winrock-NRMP, 1995). While logging was usually the first major disturbance in old growth forests, kaingin cultivation in logged-over areas had come to be known as the leading cause of actual forest clearing today (Cruz, 1996).

Before 1970, the state was unwavering in exercising sole and centralized authority over forest governance in the country, and dealt punitive measures against occupants of public forestlands. Following the legacy of the Regalian Doctrine, which destabilized traditional local modes of resource use and management, it prohibited the practice of slash-and-burn cultivation or *kaingin* in the uplands under pain of severe penalties to the violators (Magno, 2000). These swidden farmers and other forest occupants were regarded as illegal users of or squatters in public land and were evicted from the forests in accordance with the prevailing though antiquated Kaingin Law.

However, the national government was unable to control the encroachment on open access or logged over areas by landless and impoverished lowlanders. This contributed to increased upland migration and the proliferation of forest communities, swelling the upland population to about 17.8 million in 1994. The forest communities occupied over 17 million has. of upland areas, 10 million has. of which were located in designated forest zones (Winrock-NRMP, 1995). There appears to be no currently reliable estimates on these upland dwellers, but a census projection had placed them at 21.4 million in 2000 (DENR-FAO-UNPF, n.d.). What is so striking is that the poorest of the poor are found among these upland inhabitants, both indigenous peoples and migrant groups, whose survival is heavily dependent on a steadily thinning and degrading resource base to which they have insecure access and no control because it is owned by the state.

Changing State-Civil Society Relations

Starting in the 1970s, the fast deteriorating resource situation and changing socioeconomic conditions in the uplands gradually forced the national government to face the fact that it was ineffective in implementing its mandate by itself and thus it needed to make substantial modifications in its vision, policies and program strategies. This realization grew in the midst of parallel global economic and social transformations that swept the eighties and the nineties, and eventually redefined the relationship between the state and civil society—i.e., the “intermediary realm of voluntary organizations located between the state and the family” (Magno, 2000:2)—in many aspects of social life including forestry governance.

As the Philippines and other developing countries opened up in the seventies to involvement in a globalizing economy in their search for economic development patterned after that of prosperous nations in the North, they became increasingly dependent on foreign donors and creditors for financing much of their development activities. This involvement might have weakened the state’s autonomy from global forces (Contreras, 1997), but it also appeared to have unwittingly paved the way for greater participation by civil societies in national development efforts. The development failures which were evident through the deepening debt crisis and the alarming increase in absolute poverty levels experienced in the Third World by the 1980s served as a catalyst for redefining and strengthening the development roles not only of national governments and multilateral donor agencies but, more importantly, also of various forms of civil society especially the development-oriented NGOs. These events ushered in the 1990s as a decade of voluntarism that (a) recognized the complementary roles of the different sectors in bringing about socioeconomic and environmental improvements, and (b) centered on innovation and change—in values, institutions and technologies—within the realm of civil society (Korten, 1990:105).

The Philippine government’s concern for the welfare of local people in forestry development caught momentum around the late seventies with its participation in the Eighth World Forestry Congress of 1978 convened in Jakarta which carried the theme, “Forests for People.” According to Durst (1996), the Congress underscored the contribution of forestry to meeting the problems of food security, development of rural communities and rural energy, and the importance of small-scale forest industries, non-timber forest products, and gender and equity issues. Its participants signed the Jakarta Declaration which warned that unless the return from forest utilization reaches the communities owning, living or working in the forests, the serious gap between the world’s needs for forest products and the capacity of the world’s forests to supply these products cannot be averted.

Local People's Involvement in Upland NRM: A Paradigm Shift

In Philippine forestry, the shift away from the traditional paradigm that recognized the state's exclusive authority over NRM towards the view that upland dwellers have a constructive role to play in forest resource conservation and development occurred within a span of about 26 years (1971-1997) during the last three decades (Magno, 2000; La Viña, 1996; Rebugio and Chiong-Javier, 1995). As described by former DENR Undersecretary La Viña (1996:2), this was a period when a new "idea, paradigm or construct first appears in legal and policy texts, begins to take root, evolves as it is implemented, and finally, irreversibly, becomes the policy." The new paradigm and the subject of DENR's social reform agenda in the 1990s is seen as embodied in Community Based Forest Management (CBFM), the present national strategy that recognizes the critical role played by empowered upland communities, indigenous peoples included, in the sustainable management and development of the country's natural resources, specially those upon which they depend for survival. CBFM is subsumed under the broader term, Community Based Resource Management (CBRM), which covers lowland and coastal resources.

Table 1 presents a chronology of the titles and salient features of the major legal and policy instruments that have contributed to the attainment of this paradigm shift and enriched the experiences of all sectors involved in enabling local communities and organizations to undertake NRM in the uplands today. Needless to say, these instruments were formulated in accordance with the spirit of the 1987 Philippine Constitution, which followed the first EDSA People Power uprising that ousted a dictatorial regime. To attain the aim of promoting social equity and social justice, the Constitution provided for the recognition and protection of the rights of indigenous cultural communities and encouraged the establishment of nongovernmental, community-based or sectoral organizations.

Early beginnings. In the realm of policy, the paradigm shift could be initially discerned in three people-oriented forestry programs, namely Forest Occupancy Management (FOM; 1971), Communal Tree Farming (1978) and Family Approach to Reforestation (1981; Table 1). Through these programs, the government legitimized the forest occupancy of slash-and-burn farmers or kaingineros by awarding them a Kaingin Permit. It also involved them in soil and water conservation and tree farming activities especially in open and denuded forestlands. The FOM policy was the very first policy that veered away from the punitive orientation applied to kaingineros who were traditionally regarded as illegal occupants and forest violators. But since it was motivated largely by the immediate need to prevent further forest destruction by containing forest occupancy (there was a cut-off date for kaingineros to qualify for the program), the early programs were designed with little or no active participation of the people expected to benefit from them. Due to many difficulties encountered, they could not be sustained (Payuan, 1985).

Table 1. Enabling legislations and policies for local organizations' involvement in upland NRM

Year	Legal/Policy Instrument	Enabling Features
1971	Forest Occupancy Management (FOM; Forestry Administrative Order No. 62)	Forest occupants or kaingineros engaged in slash-and-burn farming are allowed to remain in public forestland provided they undertake soil conservation and tree farming activities. These activities are to be indicated in their Kaingin Management Plan which is required for the issuance of their Kaingin Permit.
1974	Forestry Reform Code (Presidential Decree 389)	Directs the then Bureau of Forest Development (BFD) to develop a program for the settlement of and kaingin management of forest occupants.
1975	Revised Forestry Code of the Philippines (Presidential Decree 705)	Kaingineros and other forest occupants who entered the forest before May 19, 1975 shall not be prosecuted provided that they do not expand their clearings and that they undertake forest conservation and protection activities.
1978	Communal Tree Farming (Ministry Administrative Order No. 11)	Directs every city and municipality to establish tree farms or reforestation in open and denuded forestlands with the participation of forest occupants, civic organizations and city/municipal governments.
1981	Family Approach to Reforestation (FAR)	Allows the BFD to enter into short-term contracts with families to set up tree plantations in open and denuded public forestlands.
1981	Upland Development Program (UDP)	Develops effective strategies for enabling forest occupants, particularly farmers, to participate in the BFD's task of managing upland resources, and at the same time, builds and strengthens the agency's capacity to undertake participatory upland management. The program provides tenurial security and agroforestry/ livelihood assistance. The lessons from this program were used to strengthen the implementation of ISFP.
1982	Integrated Social Forestry Program (ISFP; Letter of Instruction No. 1260; also known as PROFEM II; later revised through Department Administrative Order No. 97)	Kaingineros and other forest occupants/ communities who participate in the program are granted the right to occupy and develop forestlands for a period of 25 years, renewable for another 25 years, through the issuance of individual or communal stewardship agreements. This program addresses tenurial and livelihood concerns of upland dwellers.

Table 1 (cont.)

Year	Legal/Policy Instrument	Enabling Features
1986	National Forestation Program (NFP)	Opens the door for interested and competent parties from all sectors of society to participate in the rehabilitation of denuded forestlands. DENR enters into a 3-year contract with an upland family or diverse organizations including NGOs and LGUs to implement a reforestation activity. After the termination of the contract, the contractor may apply for a Forest Land Management Agreement (FLMA) to manage the plantation. The FLMA covers 25 years and is renewable for the same period.
1989	Community Forestry Program (CFP; Department Administrative Order No. 39; Revised by Department Administrative Order No. 22, s. 1993)	Promotes direct participation of local communities in the development, management and utilization of natural resources within second growth residual forests and residual mangrove areas. Organized upland communities are granted the Community Forest Management Agreement (CFMA) for a period of 25 years renewable for another 25 years. Timber harvesting and other forms of forest utilization are allowed in consonance with an approved Community Resource Management and Development Plan (CRMDP).
1992	Regional Resource Management Program	Combines livelihood activities with watershed conservation and management. The program develops the capacity of local governments and community institutions to retain, expand and replicate efforts to replace environmentally destructive activities in the degraded watershed areas with less destructive livelihood activities that yield equally productive income.
1991	Local Government Code (Republic Act No. 7160)	Instructs LGUs to promote the establishment & operation of POs and NGOs as active partners, involve them in the Local Devt. Councils, have joint ventures or cooperative arrangement with them, and/or fund their activities.
1992	National Integrated Protected Areas System (NIPAS; Republic Act No. 7586)	Recognizes the presence of indigenous and migrant communities within protected areas and allows them access to a range of livelihood opportunities based on sustainable resource utilization in the buffer zone areas. They also lay a prominent role in developing the plans, policies, and rules for buffer zone management and are represented in a site-based Protected Area Management Board (PAMB) along with representatives of DENR, LGUs, and NGOs.

Table 1 (cont.)

Year	Legal/Policy Instrument	Enabling Features
1993	Identification, Delineation and Recognition of Ancestral Land and Domain Claims (Department Administrative Order No. 2)	Indigenous communities receive help from special task forces created at the DENR provincial and community environment and natural resources offices in filing their claims. For an approved claim, they are awarded a Certificate of Ancestral Domain Claim (CADC) which guarantees tenurial security and entitles them to regulate entry into the domain, negotiate contracts for resource use and claim adjacent areas proven to be once part of the domain. The community must also formulate and observe a Comprehensive Management Plan for the CADC area.
1995	Adoption of Community Based Forestry Management (CBFM) as the National Strategy for the Sustainable Development of Forestlands (Executive Order 263)	Ensures the attainment of sustainable forestry and social justice and integrates all people-oriented forestry programs of DENR. Participating organized forest communities are granted access to forestland resources through the 25-year CBFM Agreement, provided they employ environment-friendly, ecologically sustainable, and labor-intensive harvesting methods. They shall be guided by a Community Resource Management Framework (CRMF) to be prepared with the assistance of DENR, LGUs, NGOs and other concerned government agencies.
1997	Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act (Republic Act No. 8371)	Defines the principles and rights related to resource management in ancestral domains and provides the guidelines for the recognition, delineation and awarding of the Certificate of Ancestral Domain Claim (CADC) or Title (CADT). The rights of indigenous peoples to their ancestral domains are protected to ensure their economic, social and cultural wellbeing. Their role in natural resource management is strengthened.

However, the lessons drawn from these early people-oriented program experiences were encouraging. Supported by the then worldwide trend in social/community forestry, they bolstered the government's resolve to pursue a participatory policy in forestry development. Thus in 1981, the DENR's then Bureau of Forest Development (now Forest Management Bureau) initiated the Upland Development Program (UDP) to develop effective strategies for enabling forest occupants to participate in managing upland resources, and to build and strengthen the agency's capabilities to meet the challenges of participatory upland management. This program was funded by the Ford Foundation who had just seen very favorable results in the National Irrigation Administration's pilot participatory communal irrigation development program, which involved lowland rice farmers in rehabilitating or constructing irrigation systems and which it had also funded. The UDP served as the research and training arm for all of DENR's upland development efforts at the time. UDP sites became learning laboratories where appropriate community organizing approaches, tenurial instruments and agroforestry technologies were field-tested with upland farmers' participation. The resulting lessons, managed by the Upland Development Working Group, were translated into policy guidelines and training manuals and utilized to strengthen the Integrated Social Forestry Program (ISFP) that was launched almost simultaneously with UDP (Chiong-Javier, 1987).

Social/community forestry. Started in 1982, the ISFP consolidated previously existing people-oriented forestry programs. With this program, the government had finally come around to recognize that it could no longer continue to be adversarial and punitive towards forest occupants in its desire to protect and conserve the uplands. It had come to accept that these forest occupants who rank among the poorest sectors in the country have as much stake in the uplands as government, and deserve equal access to forest production resources and other forms of government assistance to improve their welfare (Chiong-Javier, 1995).

Thus ISFP aimed to achieve social and economic development by democratizing the use of public forestland, promoting a more equitable distribution of the forest bounty, and ensuring tenurial security by awarding stewardship agreements. Program participants were granted tenure through the Individual or Communal Stewardship Agreements good for a period of 25 years, renewable for another 25 years. In return for training received on leadership, farming technologies and livelihood assistance, they were supposed to undertake forest conservation and reforestation activities. While the ISFP was lauded for democratizing access to forest resources, it was still deemed inadequate especially in addressing the ancestral domain rights of indigenous cultural communities (La Viña, 1996:5).

Nevertheless, the ISFP signaled DENR's critical transition from industry-based forestry to more social- or community-oriented forestry. This was a tacit admission that the usual practice of favoring a few privileged groups with forest utilization permits was depriving forest communities their share of the resources and kept the latter perennially poor. It also reflected the agency's belief, as echoed in its newer policies and programs, that upland communities were becoming potent allies in the daunting task of conserving and managing the remaining forest resources of the country.

Ten years later, in 1992, ISF projects were devolved to the Local Government Units (LGUs) in accordance with the Local Government Code of 1991. Although the process of devolution was far from ideal and therefore had adversely affected the gains of the ISF program (Chiong-Javier, 1995), there was no doubt that the devolution policy was a supportive step in the paradigm shift. It not only legally established the participation of LGUs in NRM, a task that was once DENR's exclusive domain, but also instructed LGUs to promote and support an active partnership with NGOs and POs in their pursuit of local autonomy and development. This further paved the way for local upland organizations and communities to participate in managing local resources.

The eighties and nineties therefore saw the launching of a succession of participatory social or community forestry programs, some more successful than others, with financial support from multilateral donor agencies. These programs highlighted policy changes favoring multisectoral (GO-LGU-NGO-PO-private groups) or trisectoral (LGU-NGO-PO) participation in environmental programs, people's access to lands of the public domain through various stewardship agreements with government, site-specific plans to guide local resource management and development, limited resource utilization rights for local forest communities, and non-forest based livelihood opportunities.

Ancestral domain management. The inadequacy of social and community forestry policies and programs to address the issue of ancestral domain rights of indigenous peoples in the country prompted the DENR to experiment on the rules and processes for the identification, evaluation, delineation, recognition and issuance of ancestral lands in the Cordilleras (1990) and Palawan (1991).

While this experiment was underway, the National Integrated Protected Areas System (NIPAS) Act of 1992 was passed. This was significant for it was the first time that the ancestral domain rights of indigenous peoples were mentioned in a national statute (La Viña, 1996). Consequently, the protected areas program recognized the presence of indigenous as well as migrant communities and their right to stay in protected areas (like national parks), allowed them access to sustainable resource utilization in the buffer zones, and involved them in delimiting the boundaries of the protected areas and developing the plans, policies and rules for managing the buffer zones.

From the lessons of the Cordilleras and Palawan projects, the Ancestral Domain Management Program was established for nationwide implementation in 1993. Through this program, many indigenous cultural communities inhabiting the forests were able to file ancestral land and domain claims entitling them to utilize and manage the land in accordance with their customs. This had the full protection of the law with the passage of the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act (IPRA) of 1997. IPRA transfers the management of ancestral lands and domains claims from DENR to the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples. However, this has not been fully implemented owing to a petition filed at the Supreme Court questioning its constitutionality.

Community based forest management. The government's adoption in 1995 of Community Based Forest Management as the national strategy for sustainable upland resource management is now widely regarded as the culmination of almost three decades of experiences in working with upland people. The CBFM program of DENR is the umbrella program for all previously initiated people-, social- and community-oriented forestry programs. The policy underlying this program allows participating communities to gain security of land tenure and resource use through the 25-year CBFM Agreement provided that they employ environment-friendly, ecologically sustainable and labor-intensive harvesting methods.

As the embodiment of a new paradigm, CBFM (or CBRM) is viewed in some quarters as replacing the outdated conception of the Regalian Doctrine giving government full control over the utilization and management of the country's resources (La Viña, 1996). The strategy, according to former President Ramos (cited in La Viña, 1966:10), is founded on the belief that rights to the enjoyment of natural resources must be restored to indigenous and local communities and that it is only by empowering these communities to manage these resources that the country can arrest resource degradation and loss. It aims to achieve not only sustainable resource management but also social justice in the uplands.

INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT FROM THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS

Public Sector Support

In the context of this paper, the public sector refers to DENR and LGUs at the provincial, municipal and/or barangay levels. As established in the preceding section, the most critical form of support from this sector was laying down the basis for institutionalizing the LOs' or POs' role in upland NRM in the various statutes and policies of government. Owing to such a favorable climate, the number and kind of government program initiatives that sought and nurtured this role have increased in the last decade.

DENR initiatives. Based on the latest report, there are a total of 4,882 CBFM sites all over the country, with an aggregate size of 5.47 million has. of which 4.26 million has. (78%) are tenured, and benefiting 455,568 upland households belonging to 2,133 POs (Table 2). This means that to date, government has placed some 31% of the total upland area under the care of local communities and organizations as CBFM program participants, and about 24% have been placed under one or more types of stewardship agreement.

The CBFM programs directly supporting POs are the ISF and the CADC programs, as well as a good number of foreign-assisted programs or projects. Almost two thirds (3,160 sites) of the CBFM sites belong to the ISF program which has served around 124,079 households, but the total ISF area (0.975 million has.) comprises only about 18% of the entire CBFM area. The ISF sites are now managed by the LGUs with DENR assistance. In the case of ancestral domains, only about 4% (181 sites) of the CBFM sites are covered by CADCs, however this represents approximately 47% (2.54 million hectares) of the total CBFM area. Each CADC site is managed by an indigenous PO.

Foreign-assisted projects, in turn, make up less than a quarter (1.30 million has.) of the CBFM area, with more than 90% (1.18 million has.) of its total coverage under tenured status (Table 3). Aimed at enhancing the development of forest-based resources and local enterprises, these special projects serve an estimated 109,540 households that are predominantly migrants located in major watersheds of the country. Among the projects are the Natural Resources Management Program, Forestry Sector Project, Regional Resources Management Project, Low-Income Upland Communities Project, and Community Forestry Project.

These projects operate on grants and/or loan packages made to the government by international financing institutions that possess their own social development agenda, policies and strategies. In recent decades, for instance, donor agenda in the natural resources sector have favored local stakeholder participation and donor support is likely to be ensured for government projects that share the same agenda. The net effect in the case of DENR's foreign assisted projects is a common thrust where local communities and organizations undertake project implementation with technical support from NGOs, LGUs and DENR or other partner agencies.

In these various projects, informants reveal that donor assistance has enabled DENR to actively help in (1) identifying and creating community organizations and farmer groups for NRM, (2) developing and strengthening the capabilities of local communities and organizations for handling NRM, (3) sourcing foreign and domestic financial and technical assistance for local NRM activities of LGUs, NGOs and POs, (4) granting secure tenure for upland or forest occupancy through various stewardship agreements or by recognizing ancestral domain claims, and (5) providing direct institutional and technical development interventions to client communities and POs. DENR has also collaborated with other government line agencies like the Department of Agrarian Reform (DAR) to implement the CBFM-Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP), formerly the ISF-CARP. Available data on this program show that some 47 POs have been formed in 10 regions.

Table 2. Selected data on ongoing DENR-CBFM initiatives that support LOs in upland NRM

Type of Information	No. of Sites	CBFM Area (has.)	Tenured Area	No. of Hh Beneficiaries	No. of POs
Total for all CBFM programs	4,882	5,473,169.14	4,266,546.92	455,568	2,133
ISFP	3,160	975,859.09	975,859.09	124,079	not available
CADC	181	2,546,035.00	2,546,035.00	87,152	181
Foreign-assisted Programs	369	1,303,708.14	1,178,991.51	109,540	not available

Source: CBFMO Report, 3rd Quarter, 2000

Lately, the DENR has also been in the forefront of federating POs at the regional level. A directive from the agency's top management last year (2000) resulted in the formation of 15 regional federations of CBFM POs (Table 4). Based on existing data, the number of PO members per regional federation ranges from 16 to 141. The largest federations or those with over 100 PO members are in Regions 10, 3 and 11; the smallest one with 16 members is in Region 12. The data also reveals that as few as 23% (Region 2) and as much as 83% (Region 10) of the total number of POs in a region had joined the federation.

Table 3. Selected data on foreign-assisted NRM programs/projects at DENR

Name of Program/Project	Donor Agency	Amount (\$)	Duration	No. of Regions	Aggregate Area (ha.)	How implemented
1. Natural Resources Management Program II/ Forest Resources Management Component (NRMP II/FRMC)	US Agency for International Devt. (USAID)	211.95 M (grant)	Apr 1995-Dec 1999; Extended To 2002	6	622,194	Through P0s, in partnership with LGUs, NGOs, and the private sector
2. Forestry Sector Project (FSP)	Asian Devt Bank (ADB) & Japan Bank for Int'l Coop.	159.27 M (loan)	1993-2000	15	123,833.95	P0s and communities are implementors; NGOs provide technical assistance
3. Regional Resources Management Project (RRMP)	Bank (loan & grant) (JBIC)	64.6 M (loan & grant)	1992-1999	6	134,090 (watershed areas)	In partnership with GOs, LGUs, NGOs, P0s and communities and private sector
4. Low-Income Upland Communities Project (LIUCP)	IBRD & Japan-WB	30.82 M (loan)	Feb 1990-Dec 2000	1	223,931 (8 watersheds)	In partnership with LGUs and NGOs in Mindoro island
5. Community Forestry Project (CFP)	ADB	7.56 M (grant)	1997-2001	1	46,000	Institutional strengthening of LGUs, NGOs & financial institutions as partners; with indigenous peoples (IPs)
6. International Tropical Timber Organization-Quezon (ITTO-Q)	Federal Republic of Germany	957,135 (grant)	1998-2001	1	3,000 (Magat WS)	Partnership between DENR & Municipal Government
7. Water Resources Devt. Project/ Watershed Mgmt Improvement Component (WRDP/WMIC)	ITTO	440 M (loan & grant)	2000-2002	2	3 watersheds	Multiagency led by National Irrigation Admin (NIA), Through DENR-FMB
8. Debt-for-Nature Swap Initiative Program (DFNSIP)	World Bank & Danish Intl Devt Agency (DANIDA)	DM 12,775,044.82 (loan & grant)	1998-2002	-	10 watersheds	Partnership between P0s, communities, LGUs, NGOs, and private sector
9. Philippine Model Forest Approach for Sustainable Forest Mgmt (PMFSP)	Federal Republic of Germany	20,291 (grant)	2000-2002	1	86,514 (Ulot Watershed)	Various stakeholders in Samar Island
	Food & Agriculture Organization (FAO) & Government of Japan					

Source: CBFM: Status of Foreign-Assisted Projects, CY 2000, DENR-CBFM Office

It is not clear why the CBFM POs were federated or what the regional federations' activities are since no written information was available. But what is notable is the observation that DENR's move to federate the POs seems to run parallel to the NGOs' efforts to federate themselves and those POs they work with. Among the NGOs, it is commonly believed that federating is a means of gathering organizational strength and maximizing organizational resources: a federation of organizations becomes a force to reckon with, and within the federation the more capable organizations assist the less capable ones.

LGU initiatives. Since the implementation of the Local Government Code, LGUs have increasingly assumed responsibility for co-managing the natural resources and maintaining ecological balance within their respective jurisdictions. By participating in DENR programs that emphasized multisectoral partnership and capability-building initiatives for LGUs, they have improved their understanding of the upland social and physical/natural resource environment. They have likewise acquired and/or developed their knowledge and skills for (a) drawing up NRM plans, viz., watershed management and forest land use plans, (b) implementing projects that promote agroforestry, environmental awareness, education and volunteerism as well as resource conservation and protection, (c) sourcing internal and external funds for NRM purposes, and (d) building viable NRM partnerships with national agencies, fellow LGUs, NGOs, POs and others in the private sector.

Table 4. Selected data on CBFM POs and regional federations by region in the Philippines

Region	No. of POs	No. of Regional Federations (RFs)	POs in RF	
			No.	%
ARMM	7	no data	no data	-
CAR	38	1	82 (sic)	-
Region 01	234	1	100	43
Region 02	96	1	22	23
Region 03	221	1	119	54
Region 04-A	65	1	28	43
Region 04-B	71	1	no data	-
Region 05	125	1	52	42
Region 06	205	1	no data	-
Region 07	259	1	79	31
Region 08	87	1	40	46
Region 09	293	1	no data	-
Region 10	170	1	141	83
Region 11	156	1	114	73
Region 12	35	1	16	46
Region 13	71	1	49	69
TOTAL	2, 133	15	842	39

Source: DENR-CBFMO Report, 3rd Quarter, 2000

In the area of NRM planning, the LGU of Lantapan (a small municipality in the Manupali Watershed in Bukidnon) has gained national recognition for innovating a creative planning process within its given resource limitations and unique socio-environmental conditions (ICRAF NRM Notes, 2000). In 1998, the LGU developed a 5-year Natural Resource Management and Development Plan using a participatory, multi-sectoral planning approach. All types of stakeholders--from local communities

and private corporations to national agencies and international resource organizations—were given a chance to input their own agenda into the plan. The plan then became the basis for public-private partnerships in cost sharing and implementing integrated NRM programs and projects in the municipality. The Lantapan experience has inspired neighboring municipalities to prepare their NRM plans and programs in a similar way. It has also demonstrated that while its preparation may be difficult, a plan that details land and other resource uses can be a very important tool for local governance, particularly for directing resource development policies and programs.

The LGUs' ability to support LOs engaged in NRM activities has also been enhanced over the past years. Based on a documentation of LGU self-help initiatives in 11 provinces—namely Misamis Oriental, Bukidnon, Cotabato, Sarangani, Palawan, Nueva Vizcaya, Mt. Province, Iloilo, Bohol, Capiz, and Camarines Sur--done by Queblatin, et.al. (2000), the kinds of assistance extended to local communities and POs are in the following modes:

1. Provision of technical and organizational assistance to a farmer-driven "landcare" movement, and creation of ordinances that give a range of incentives for widespread adoption of soil and water conservation technologies (Claveria Municipal LGU, Misamis Oriental).
2. Creation of a municipal-level council for environmental concerns--viz., the Environment and Natural Resources Council in Arakan, Cotabato or the Natural Resources Management Development Council in Lantapan, Bukidnon—which invites participation from a cross-section of the local populace, including PO and community representatives.
3. Securing tenurial security for upland farmers in Barobob Watershed, the source of water for the provincial capital, by working out a 25-year Land Management Agreement with DENR in return for protecting the remaining forests and the government's forest plantations (Nueva Vizcaya Provincial LGU).
4. Allocating forest management responsibility to interested user groups in the upland migrant and indigenous communities based on a forest land use plan jointly developed with the provincial government and DENR, and awarding community management agreements to these user groups (Maitum Municipal LGU, Sarangani).
5. Establishing a small farmer agroforestry program with grassroots participation at the barangay level (Arakan Municipal LGU, Cotabato).
6. Providing financial and technical support for smallholder farmers to establish tree farms (Provincial LGU, Bukidnon), or tapping local resource organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce and an agricultural college to promote small tree farms in order to ease the pressure on the remaining forests and to improve farmers' income (Bohol Provincial LGU).

In support of the NRM initiatives of low-income LGUs and communities, the Department of Finance-Municipal Development Fund Office (DOF-MDFO) has implemented the Community-Based Resource Management Project (CBRMP) in four pilot regions (5, 7, 8 and 13) of the country prior to going nationwide. Funded by the World Bank using a loan-grant-equity mix, the project is done in collaboration with DENR, DA-Bureau of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources, the Department of Interior and Local Government-Local Government Authority and the National Economic Development Authority. Known as the rural window of the MDFO, it finances NRM projects of 4th to 6th class municipalities. It also supports training and technical assistance to strengthen planning and implementation capabilities of LGUs and their client communities, as well as to enable national agencies to transfer environmental technology and improve implementation policies particularly on land tenure, access and security. The organization of POs by LGUs in CBRM communities is one of the accomplishments of the project.

Private Sector Support

The private sector covered in this paper includes only two forms of civil societies—development NGOs and academic-oriented institutions—whose work complements and supports the efforts of the

state to devolve NRM to local communities and organizations. Their principal contributions range from institution building to various forms of research and technology development. (The exclusion in the subsequent discussion of other civil society players like the commercial or forest industry sector and donor organizations is a function of the unavailability of data and is not intended to disregard their roles in the decentralization of NRM.)

NGO initiatives. The NGOs are nonprofit, secular or church-related organizations operating in the uplands. They are known in the literature as social development or environmental NGOs because of the nature of their concerns, or technical resource organizations in reference to the services they provide, or public service contractors when they contract out their services to help in project implementation.

Data obtained from NGO brochures and field visits to selected NGO offices (Table 5) indicate so much variety in who they are and what they do for LOs in NRM. The major findings on the profile of 15 NGOs included in the study are as follows.

1. The NGOs have been in existence for a range of four to 35 years, or an average of over 16 years. Those that started their offices in Metro Manila now have regional branches located strategically to serve clients in Luzon, Visayas and/or Mindanao. Those that began in the regions, like the Participatory Research, Organization of Communities and Education Towards Struggle for Self-Reliance, Inc. (PROCESS-Bohol) have outreach offices in northern Luzon, and Western and Central Visayas.
2. Except in one case, the NGOs were formed and staffed by professionals (e.g., community organizers, lawyers, researchers, and academicians). Some were established for certain lofty, general aims--viz., improving the quality of life of the Filipino poor, responding to rural poverty and underdevelopment, or seeking to protect and assert environmental rights, equitable access and control of natural resources in the Philippines; others for more specific purposes--e.g., to render assistance to Philippine cultural communities especially on land tenure, to assist members involved in agroforestry, land tenure and marketing in the uplands, or to establish viable community organizations that are able to generate sustainable livelihoods.
3. The usual clients of NGOs are local communities and POs but they also provide capacity building and technical consultancy services to LGUs and national government agencies that implement local development projects. However, NGOs that were set up as federations of NGOs like the Upland NGO Assistance Committee (UNAC) and the Philippine Partnership for the Development of Human Resources in Rural Areas (PhilDHRRA) prioritize the needs of their member NGOs.
4. The most mentioned services undertaken or extended by NGOs to their clients are (a) organizing, building and strengthening communities, cooperatives and other POs, as well as NGOs, particularly through training; (b) promoting and providing training on sustainable upland farming or agriculture systems (especially agroforestry) and technologies, including soil and water conservation; (c) initiating community enterprise schemes and developing entrepreneurship skills; (d) undertaking advocacy on environmental, legal, policy and political reform issues; and (e) conducting research for information sharing and documentation (Table 6). They actively prepare communities to participate in development projects, meet requirements like preparation of NRM plans, secure land tenure, and negotiate with state institutions and other civil society players. They also develop the capabilities of government and private stakeholders to understand and undertake community development work in the uplands. In some cases, they may themselves implement government contracts on reforestation and other NRM activities.
5. Individual NGOs, especially those located in a common geographic area or region, have formalized their alliances or coalesced into distinct NGOs of varying size and reach. For example, NGOs in Bohol Island belong to the Bohol Alliance of Nongovernment Organizations (BANGON). Some have also joined PhilDHRRA-Visayas, a regional group based in nearby Cebu City. PhilDHRRA-Visayas, in turn, is a member of UNAC, a national group based in Metro Manila, so that gives the former's members access to the

latter's services. In addition, the mother unit of PhilDHRRA-Visayas is part of three Asian networks namely AsiaDHRRA, CODE-NGO, and ANGOC. A Visayan NGO may therefore enjoy multiple-membership through such alliances or coalitions.

6. The smallest NGO alliance group visited for this study has 12 members (BANGON). PhilDHRRA-Visayas has 21 member-NGOs in the region, but PhilDHRRA-National counts a total of 65 member-NGOs nation-wide. The largest NGO alliance is UNAC with 86 members in all: eight are institutional members which include academic institutions, and 78 are development NGOs and POs. As exemplified by UNAC's case, membership in the NGO alliance may be open to organized POs.

Table 5. Data on selected development NGOs assisting upland NGOs and P0s by island classification

Name/Location	Geographic areas/ groups served	Nature	Types of services/programs provided
A. LUZON			
1. Legal Rights and Natural Resources Center, Inc.- Kasama sa Kalikasan (LRC-KSK), Quezon City (Luzon reg'l off.); w/ regional offices in Cagayan de Oro (see below) & Davao Cities	*Indigenous communities in Luzon - Ibaloi, Kankanaey, Agta, Aeta, Bugkalot, Ifugao, Mangyan, & small farmers/landowners *In Mindanao - B'laan, Mamanwa, Bunwaon, Subanen & small farmers/landowners	*Organization of lawyers, researchers, professionals, academicians, & community workers for the promotion of indigenous peoples' rights & equitable use & management of natural resources *Forging partnerships w/ local communities & building solidarity w/ national & international support groups *Funded by foreign sources *Since 1987 (13 yrs)	*Strategic & progressive legal assistance to organized rural poor communities in forests & uplands *Research & environmental policy development *Campaigns at national & international communities on issues crucial to LRC's advocacies *Public information & external linkages
2. Philippine Association for Intercultural Development (PAFID), Quezon City; w/ regional off. in Bayombong, N. Vizcaya; Sn Luis, Aurora; Palawan; & Davao City	* Indigenous communities in various parts of the country - more than 55 IP-POs in the last 5 years only	*Organization of professionals devoted to rendering assistance to Philippine cultural communities especially on land tenure *Funded by local (PBSP) & foreign grants *Since 1967 (33 yrs)	*Land tenure: gather evidences/proofs of ancest'l domains, legal document'n, survey, delineation & mapping, tech. assistance in AD mgmt planning, community organizing, spatial analysis through GIS *Health & literacy - appropriate school, spring water devt *Capacity building for environmental NGOs *Estab. of digital national database, env'tal defense through community radio network
3. Philippine Business for Social Progress (PBSP)/Manila (NCR) w/ regional offices in Cebu & Davao	*In provinces w/ high poverty incidence: Antique, Cam. Sur, Capiz, Davao Norte, Negros Occ., Northern & Eastern Samar, Nueva Ecija, Quezon, South Cotabato,	*Non-profit, non-stock social development foundation established by business companies as expression of corporate social responsibility to improve the quality of life of the Filipino poor *Funded by voluntary annual contributions of member-companies & by	*Agoforestry - appropriate farming systems & micro-enterprise technologies *Marketing - identification of market opportunities, trends & linkages for NGOs & P0s

	Surigao Norte *Uplands & lowlands	foreign grants *Since 1970 (30 yrs.)	
4. Philippine Partnership for the Development of Human Resources in Rural Areas (PhilDHRRA), Nat'l Secretariat in Quezon City; w/ regional offices in Luzon (Q.C.), Visayas and Mindanao (see below)	*Started w/ 25 member-NGOs; now 65 member-NGOs nationwide *Helped in forming the PAKISAMA, a peasant federation *Assists 62 POs on agrarian reform & rural development	*Non-stock, non-profit organization engaged in rural development *Established as a nationwide network of NGOs responding to rural poverty & underdevelopment *Part of asian networks: AsiaDHRRA, CODE-NGO, ANGOC *Funded by local & foreign grants *Since 1983 (17 yrs)	*Project development & resource accessing *Institution building *Management information services *Policy research & advocacy in relation to agrarian reform & rural development *Tripartite collaboration among NGOs, POs & GOs in agrarian reform & rural development (TriPARRD) & in upland development (TriPUD) *Other anchor programs in local governance and sustainable integrated area development
5. Tanggol Kalikasan - Haribon Foundation (TK-HF), Quezon City, w/ another office in Lucena City	*Nationwide; currently in Bulacan, Quezon, Mindoro, Camarines Norte & Sur	*Environmental law office of the Haribon Foundation for the conservation of natural resources	*Para-legal training & organizational development *Direct legal services - in all aspects of environmental law *Environmental legal education through publications *Legal & policy advocacy *Networking with NGOs & public interest groups
6. Upland NGO Assistance Committee (UNAC), Quezon City	CAR-5; R1-2; R2-4; R3-2; R4-12; R5-9; R6-6; R7-14; R8-4; R10-8; R11-12 (N=78)	*Partnership of 8 institutional members & 78 participating NGOs/POs throughout the Philippines *Established to assist members involved in AF, land tenure & marketing in the uplands *Funded by foreign grants *Since 1989 (11 yrs)	*Technical capacity building in (a) NRM--AF, watershed management, sustainable upland agriculture; (b) marketing-CB enterprise devt & mgmt, industry/market analysis & planning; © land tenure impv't - area mapping, paralegal skills; (d) community org'g in the uplands - process, approach & methodology, conflict mgmt, paralegal, & advocacy; (e) research & documentation *Upland marketing - product devt, regular merchandising *Research & information management *Advocacy support- land tenure, NRM, devt. Aggression
B. VISAYAS			
7. Bohol Alliance of Non-Government Organizations (BANGON), Tagbilaran, Bohol	*comprised of 12 member-NGOs in Bohol	*Institutionalized network of social development organizations in Bohol committed to strengthen & capacitate its members, promote social dev't programs,	*Community organizing, cooperative/organizational dev't *Health & nutrition, family planning *Micro-enterprise/livelihood, trading & marketing *Sustainable agriculture

		sustain the growth of marginalized sectors,	*Agroforestry, watershed development & management
7. BANGON (cont)		& conserve the integrity of natural resources as an expression of Christian precepts & values	*Coastal resource management *Local governance & development, audit *Advocacy, gender, education & training *Research & documentation, consultancy *Community communication & community mortgage progs
8. Bol-anon Foundation, Incorporated (BFI), Tagbilaran, Bohol	*Target communities in Bohol	*Originated from an informal association called NACIDA Integrated Producers Ass'n representing micro/cottage industry sectors *Registered as Bohol Integrated Producers Foundation, Inc. *Aims to establish viable community organizations in Bohol that are able to generate sustainable livelihoods *Member of BANGON & other local & foreign networks *Since 1988 (12 yrs)	*Community organizing *Cooperative Development *Agroforestry & tree farming technologies *Mangrove reforestation *Sustainable agriculture *Education & training *Social credit *Permaculture technology *Entrepreneurship & marketing assistance *Political reform advocacy & eco-tourism projects *Environmental monitoring & consultancy services
9. Participatory Research, Organization of Communities and Education Towards Struggle for Self-Reliance, Inc. (PROCESS-Bohol), Tagbilaran, Bohol	*165 POs in Bohol w/ over 8000 members comprised of women, fisherfolks, farmers, agrarian reform communities, urban poor & water & sanitation associations	*Evolved from Sarilakas Proj. funded by ILO & MOLE in 1981; established as non-stock non-profit org'n in 1982 *Branches found in Northern Luzon, Western & Central Visayas & working among fishing & farming communities *Seeks to facilitate the formation of strong, autonomous POs & build their capabilities for participatory & self-reliant development *Member of BANGON *In Bohol since 1985 (5 yrs)	*Fishery dev't w/out prejudice to marine/coastal resources *Community-based resource management *Gender & development *Community-based sustainable tourism *Resource tenure improvement *Enterprise development *Training & consultancy for skills building *Participatory action research, gender disaggregated databank
10. Environmental Legal Assistance Center - Cebu (ELAC-Cebu), Cebu City	*With branches in Bohol, Tacloban & Ormoc in Leyte, & Puerto Princesa &	*Non-profit organization seeking to protect & assert environmental rights, equitable access, & control of natural resources of the Philippines	*Developmental legal assistance to promote environmental rights *Environmental ducation & training for community leaders, NGOs & POs engaged in environmental protection

10. ELAC-Cebu (cont)	Coron in Palawan	<p>*Began as special project of the Protestant Lawyers' League of the Philippines (PLLP) in Manila in 1990 but became a distinct entity in 1997</p> <p>*First area-based office established in Palawan in 1994 (6 yrs)</p>	<p>*Community-based resource management to enable local communities to participate in addressing environmental degradation problems</p> <p>*Advocacy</p> <p>*Research & publicat'n - newsletters, flash bulletins, primers</p> <p>*Institutional capacity building, viz., linkage, networking</p>
11. Mag-uugmad Foundation, Inc. (MFI), Cebu City	<p>*Assists 20 upland P0 partners & 1 lowland P0 partner all found in Cebu City & province</p>	<p>*Non-profit organization established by farmer-leaders & staff of World Neighbors-assisted Cebu soil & water conservation project</p> <p>*Addresses environmental degradation and organizing communities; promotes sustainable upland development through farmer-based extension</p> <p>*Funded by local & foreign grants</p> <p>*Since 1988 (12 yrs), excluding 6 yrs with World Neighbors</p>	<p>*Sustainable upland agriculture resource center</p> <p>*Health - primary/family, reproductive</p> <p>*Community organizing</p> <p>*Water resources development</p> <p>*Cooperative enterprise development</p> <p>*Advocacy/development communication</p> <p>*Training courses on SWC, farmer-based extension, gender-responsive family farm planning, value formation & basic leadership, community devt planning/PAR/CIPS, basic CO, GST, pre-membership education seminar and mgmt of livestock, AF nursery, forage & cutflower</p>
12. PhilDHRR-Visayas, Visayas Secretariat Cebu City	<p>*21 NGO-members from Regions 6, 7 & 8</p>	<p>*Set up to address NGOs' problems of sustaining their operations</p> <p>*Aims to reduce NGO dependency on foreign & project-based funding thus increasing NGO autonomy & flexibility to continue working towards social change environmental protection</p>	<p>*Training workshop for NGOs w/ no strategic plan for sustainability and w/ a need to diversify to more options</p> <p>*More focused on coastal/aquatic resources programs but includes other areas like uplands</p>
13. Ramon Aboitiz Foundation, Inc. (RAFI), Cebu City	<p>*Assists NGOs, POs & communities in Cebu Province, in uplands & lowlands, urban & rural</p> <p>*CIADP- 13 POs</p>	<p>*Established by the Aboitiz Family to promote community/people empowerment through community organizing, social devt programs, advocacy, coalition building & networking</p> <p>*In existence for 35 years</p> <p>*Co-founded Cebu Uniting dor Sustainable Water (CUSP), a coalition of NGOs, POs & LGUs concerned w/ watershed issues</p>	<p>*Cebu Integrated Area Devt Program (CIADP) - strengthens POs & LGUs in & bgys & 4 mun of Kotkot Lusaran Watershed</p> <p>*Eduardo Aboitiz Devt Studies Center undertakes training & dialogue, policy studies & devt, research & info systems, technical assistance & fellowship</p> <p>*CUSW - brought diverse stakeholders to address water & watershed issues & undertake NRM planning & projects</p> <p>*Also engages in microenterprise devt, preservation of cultural heritage, award giving & other philanthropic works</p>

MINDANAO

14. Balai Mindanaw Foundation, Inc. (BMFI),
Cagayan de Oro City

*24 partner communities in Claveria & 10 communities in Gingoog City, Mis.Or.
*10 partner bgys of Loreto, Dinagat Island, Surigao del Norte
*2 partner multipurpose cooperatives in Davao del Sur
*1 partner foundation in Iligan City

*Mindanao-based & -focused non-stock, non-profit foundation committed to integrated area development, people's participation in local governance & agrarian reform implementation
*Pursues rural development work through principled partnerships with POs, NGOs, Gas & other sectors
*Interventions made at the barangay, municipal, provincial & sub-regional (northern Mindanao) and regional (Mindanao) levels
*Networks with national & international movements for people's development
*Since 1996 (4 yrs)

*Area-based development work in agrarian reform & local governance
*Developmental legal assistance
*Leadership in coalition-building & advocacy in Mindanao, eg. Mind. Coalition of Development NGOs Network (MINCODE), Mind. Congress of Development NGOs (MINCON), Mindanao Peace Advocates Conference (MPAC), Kusog Mindanaw (Mindanao Force) & Mindanao Advocacy for Agrarian Reform Campaign (MAPALAD)
*Institution-building & capability-building, for local NGOs as well as BMFI staff
*Information, education & training

15. Legal Rights & Natural Resources Center, Inc.- Cagayan de Oro (LRC-CDO),
Cagayan de Oro City
(Northwestern Mindanao)

*Manobo & Mamanwa of Surigao del Sur
*Banwaon & Manobo of Agusan del Sur
*Subanen of Midsalip, Zamboanga del Sur

*Regional office of LRC in NCR to assist the indigenous communities in Mindanao
*Also staffed by lawyers & other professionals

*Provides alternative legal assistance and advocacy locally
*Evaluates the implementation of official state policies on the ground
*Provides documentary research sources to partners in the regions
*Establishes & maintains working linkages with other local formation in their areas

Table 6. Types of NGO services or programs extended to POs and/or other upland NGOs in the Philippines (most to least mentioned)

Type of service/program	Multiple response (N=15)
Community organization, institution-building, cooperative development	10
Farm technologies, farming systems, soil & water conservation, agroforestry, sustainable agriculture	10
Resource management & development: watershed, coastal, community based, mangrove reforestation, tree farming, fisheries	10
Enterprise development: microenterprise, entrepreneurship, cooperative enterprise, credit	9
Advocacy: environment, legal, policy, political reform	9
Research and documentation/information, participatory action research	9
Land/resource tenure assistance	6
External linkage, networking, collaboration, coalition	5
Legal service/education/assistance	5
Marketing assistance/analysis, product development	5
Public information, communication, management information system	5
Environmental education, literacy	4
Policy research & development	3
Local governance & development	3
Health & nutrition	3
Consultancy services	2
Gender & development	2
Ecotourism, tourism development	2
Environmental monitoring, project development, accessing resources/funds	1 each

Many development NGOs have distinguished themselves because of the nature of their work with or services rendered to upland communities and POs. The following three accounts describe just a few of them.

For 33 years now, the Philippine Association for Intercultural Development, Inc. (PAFID) has been assisting indigenous peoples (IPs) in the country to deal with land rights issues. Starting in 1994, they have adopted a mapping technique called “3-D modelling” (based on the geographic information system technology) as a tool for community organizing and planning. Trained to use this technique, the members of IP communities themselves map the parameters and land uses of ancestral domain and water claims during three time frames: past (50 years ago), present and future (10 years from now). The 3-D maps become a major basis for substantiating ancestral claims filed at DENR. Utilizing the technique in the last five years, PAFID has helped some 55 IP-POs lay claim on almost a million has. of ancestral domains and waters. Many of the claims have already been awarded CADCs to date.

In Cebu, the Mag-uugmad Foundation, Inc. (MFI) evolved out of the World Neighbors’ soil and water conservation project in the early eighties; it was formed by a group of farmer-leaders and project staff to conserve the project’s gains (Tesda, 2000; Cerna, et. al., 1999). As an NGO, it has had 12 years of experience in organizing upland communities to address environmental degradation. MFI is known for training farmers in the use of appropriate farming technologies that both conserve soil and water and increase farm productivity. It employs a “farmer-based extension system” where the farmer-trainees become MFI’s part-time trainers or instructors of other farmers; these voluntary farmer-extensionists each maintain a model farm where they experiment on new technologies and where they showcase the technologies they teach. Cross-farm visits facilitate the farmers’ teaching and learning experiences. MFI also taps the *alayon*, a traditional form of village cooperative group, as an

institutional mechanism for technology experimentation, equity promotion, group learning and problem solving, participatory farm planning and analysis, and technology dissemination. As farmers increasingly take on the role of extensionists, MFI limits its role to facilitation, support, training or upgrading of extension skills, and networking with technology resource centers. Presently it assists 20 upland PO partners in the province.

In the southern part of the Philippines, the Mindanao Baptist Rural Life Center (MBRLC) located in Kinuskusan, Bansalan, Davao del Sur has pioneered in the Sloping Agriculture Land Technology (SALT) as a method that combines soil and water conservation with farm production. The SALT method and other innovative approaches to natural resource husbandry are demonstrated onsite at MBLRC, thus making it a popular visiting site for upland farmers and agricultural extensionists from all over the country. Two of these approaches are (1) the Small Agrofruit Livelihood Technology or SALT 4, a variation of the original SALT method, and (2) the Mountain Integrated Development and Stewardship (MIDAS). SALT 4 combines the production of fruit trees with food crops on a small sloping farmland with hedgerows of nitrogen fixing trees and shrubs planted along its contours (Tacio and Ringer, 1999). MIDAS is a crop-livestock farming scheme that conserves and rejuvenates the soil, making the land productive on a sustained basis (RAFI 1999 Annual Report). The innovative technologies developed at MBLRC have influenced the NRM practices of many upland resource-poor communities.

Academic initiatives. These initiatives come from academic institutions, whose strengths are in research and education although not all are necessarily affiliated with national or local colleges and universities. They support the efforts of LOs in NRM largely in an indirect way by conducting social or technology researches, feeding back the research results to development agencies, LGUs and NGOs for the improvement of program implementation processes, and providing social and technical training to these groupings. Some may be directly working with the grassroots through their community extension programs. A few of the many initiatives from the academic sector are as follows.

The Institute of Agroforestry (IAF) based at the University of the Philippines Los Baños (UPLB) developed in 1997 a program called “Agroforestry Support Program for Empowering Communities Towards Self-Reliance (ASPECTS) in Sustainable Development of the Uplands” (Solatre et.al, 1999). The ASPECTS was a new approach that harnessed and strengthened the potentials of collaborating agroforestry schools—a regional state university (Benguet State University), a municipal college (Dingle Agriculture and Technical College in Iloilo) and a provincial state college (Misamis Oriental State College of Agriculture and Technology or MOSCAT)--to help partner communities set up and maintain their own “community managed agroforestry extension services” (CMAFES). This approach depended on participatory processes, multisectoral and multidisciplinary partnerships between the academics and communities on the one hand and the NGOs, LGUs and pertinent national agencies on the other hand, farmer-led education and training, technology transfer, research and management of learning experiences. It had proven that upland communities could become self-reliant in providing agroforestry training and extension services to its farmer-members and neighboring communities. Moreover, it had shown the agroforestry schools to be a valuable force in empowering communities and no longer confined to their traditional role of educating and research development.

Certain institutions of higher learning like the De La Salle University (DLSU)-Manila (through the Social Development Research Center or SDRC), the Ateneo de Manila University (through the Institute of Philippine Culture or IPC), the UPLB College of Forestry (through its Social Forestry Department) and the Asian Institute of Management (AIM) have partnered with government agencies, LGUs, NGOs and sometimes with local communities and POs to further the understanding and improvement of NRM practice in the country. Their involvement began in the early 1980s when they joined the Upland Development Working Group (UDWG) together with NGOs like PAFID and the Philippine Business for Social Progress (PBSP) to guide the DENR in its transition from a regulatory to a social-and-service oriented agency. The UDWG documented and managed the implementation

experiences of pilot upland development and social forestry projects and utilized the learnings to reorient policies, train a new cadre of government managers and personnel with social orientations, and develop field extension training manuals to implement the new ISF program. The success of UDWG had inspired the “working group concept” as an approach to managing development experiences in the country and parts of Southeast Asia.

In the late eighties, most of the UDWG member academic institutions and NGOs formed the UNAC that was initially hosted by DLSU-SDRC under the Philippine Upland Resource Center (PURC) funded by the Ford Foundation. PURC built a database of upland resource materials. It also served as the Secretariat for UNAC, which was formed to meet the needs and strengthen the capacity of members to provide agroforestry extension, land tenure and marketing services to upland communities. As the group’s membership expanded and its operations became stabilized, it set up an office outside of DLSU. UNAC is now a strong coalition of 78 academic institutions, NGOs and POs from different parts of the country.

Certain private initiatives have grown out of an active partnership between international research institutions and local institutions. One such international research institution is ICRAF, whose onsite involvement in participatory research to develop conservation farming and smallholder agroforestry technologies in Northern and Central Mindanao led to the evolution of the “landcare approach” (Garrity and Mercado, 1998). Started in Claveria, Misamis Oriental in 1996, this approach generated a groundswell of enthusiasm for contour hedgerow management options to conserve soil and mobilized the support of as many as 5000 families belonging to 250 farmer groups now organized under two large municipal landcare organizations (Catacutan, Mercado and Patindol, 2000). Through ICRAF’s facilitation, self-motivated local communities voluntarily organized to address their agricultural and land degradation problems in partnership with public sector institutions. Owing to its success as an inexpensive extension method and the promise of transforming its popular following into a self-perpetuating farmer movement, the landcare model has recently been scaled out to interested groups in the Visayas.

Also worth noting are the efforts of a consortium to integrate biodiversity conservation and agroforestry development through active local participation in the Kitanglad Range Nature Park in the upper reaches of the Manupali Watershed in Central Mindanao (Garrity, Dennis P., et. al., 2000). Kitanglad, being one of the most important biodiversity reserves in the country, is the site of the Sustainable Agriculture and Natural Resources Management (SAMREM) Program managed by this consortium composed of a university, NGOs, government agencies and ICRAF. Under the program, local communities (including the Tala-andig People) and LGUs assisted in developing technical innovations suited to the biophysical and socioeconomic conditions of the buffer zone; supported institutional innovations to enhance resource management and to protect the natural biodiversity of the park, including designing a social contract among the major stakeholders; devised and implemented an NRM management plan for the municipality of Lantapan; and/or participated in the dynamic movement of farmer-led landcare groups near the park boundary to conserve natural and managed ecosystems. The SAMREM experience has been hailed by DENR as a national model for NRM planning and watershed management in the Philippines.

CURRENTLY ACTIVE LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS IN NRM: TYPES, CHARACTERISTICS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

Classification of LOs

Various phrases in reference to LOs in rural development have emerged in the literature and program operations and these include: community-based organization (CBO), community-led organization (CLO), farmer-led organization or association (FLO/FLA), people’s foundation (PF) and people’s organization (PO), cooperative and federation. This study has sought to clarify their usage with key informants from government and NGO sectors engaged in upland NRM work. The main distinctions are as follows.

1. CBO is used when stressing that the organization is based or located in a community, whether barangay or sitio. Its membership does not necessarily represent the majority of barangay or sitio residents, or all walks of life in the barangay or sitio. It is often externally initiated (by state or NGO). Organizations established in CBFM projects are examples of CBOs.
2. CLO is a variant of CBO with emphasis on the leadership being borne by representatives chosen by a cross-section of community members. Its concerns affect the common good. It is self-initiated (by community). Many IP communities seeking ancestral domain recognition are said to belong to this type.
3. FLO or FLA is more specific than CBO as it refers to a sectoral grouping of farmers. Both its composition and leadership are derived from this sector. It is self-initiated (by farmers). The adjectives farmer-led and farmer-driven appear to be synonymous in the literature. Landcare groups are classified as FLOs. But as the practice of landcare becomes widespread and other sectors of the community such as schools and the professionals begin to support and participate in the movement, landcare groups may no longer be exclusively FLOs.
4. PF is a variant of FLO with an outward service-orientation. It exists to serve not only its members but also external clients who may be CBOs or FLOs. It is also self-initiated (by community or farmers). The Mag-uugmad and the Kalahan Educational Foundations are examples of PFs.
5. A cooperative is a formal organization registered with the government; it has a well-defined socioeconomic agenda and capital build-up, and is oriented toward some form of social enterprise (e.g., credit lending or marketing). It may have a community-wide or sectoral membership.
6. PO is a generic or umbrella term that embraces all the abovementioned groupings. As popularly used, it is a form of civil society at the grassroots level.
7. The federation is a formal (i.e., government registered) or informal alliance or coalition of several or many types of organizations, associations or cooperatives. It may have a multisectoral composition when POs coalesce with NGOs (such as UNAC) and/or LGUs (as in the case of CUSW in Cebu).

The term LO, as used in this report, encompasses all the abovementioned groups. Informants have pointed out, however, that LO could be used or misused in the context of anything local, therefore making it applicable to local government entities (LGUs) and private groups like business or sports organizations and the like.

In all, 27 LOs are included in this study. Identified by NGO informants, these LOs are considered to be currently active in upland NRM meaning that their continuing commitment to NRM is evident in their organization's goals and projects as well as in the NRM activities engaged in by their membership. The 27 LOs may be categorized into two main types based on their sociocultural and ethnolinguistic differentiations: 10 non-indigenous or migrant LOs and 17 indigenous LOs. Whenever applicable, findings on these two types are compared in this report.

Biophysical and Socioeconomic Environment of LOs

Data on the biophysical and socioeconomic conditions affecting the migrant LOs (Table 7) reveal that they are generally found in mountainous regions or islands of the country, covering such provinces as Quezon in Region 4 (Luzon), Cebu and Bohol in Region 7 (Visayas) and Misamis Oriental and Bukidnon in Region 10 (Mindanao). They occupy altitudes ranging from 150 to 1500 masl, where rainfall tends to be high during most of the year. The quality of land in their mountainous localities appears variable, but assessed to be mostly medium to high (sandy loam soil type). On the uplands LO members practice agroforestry, sloping agriculture or some slash-and-burn cultivation, integrating food and tree crop production with animal husbandry. Cultivation of upland farms tends to be permanent rather than shifting because land is no longer a free commodity and in many cases, government has already determined specific land uses through legislations and policies. LO members are also sedentary, residing in permanent villages with moderate access to markets for the sale of their

products. Available information seems to indicate that these villages still have low density and also have few other rural institutions in their midst.

In the case of indigenous LOs, some information on the general conditions under which they operate can be gleaned from Table 8. Like the migrant LOs, they are also located in mountainous parts of Luzon and Mindanao, namely the provinces of Quirino (Region 2), Zambales and Tarlac (Region 3), and Aurora, Mindoro Oriental and Palawan (Region 4) for Luzon; and Zamboanga del Sur (Region 9), Agusan del Sur and Bukidnon (Region 10), and Sultan Kudarat and North Cotabato (Region 12) for Mindanao. These LOs are themselves the indigenous communities that have obtained recognition for ancestral domain and water claims or are still lobbying for this recognition. Their villages and farms are found in ancestral domains that are predominantly situated inside watershed areas. They engage in swidden farming and agroforestry, and depend on forest and/or aquatic resources to augment subsistence needs. Their location in the watersheds usually makes them inaccessible to the market and to rural institutions. But their desire to obtain ancestral domain recognition has made them seek NGO contacts that could help in their cause.

Institutional Arrangements of LOs

Based on their nature and composition, there appears to be four institutional models of LOs. These models are all present among the migrant LOs, making this type more varied than the indigenous one (Tables 8 and 9). The most dominant models are the farmer-user group (i.e., comprised only of farmer-stakeholders in a defined area) and the federation (i.e., composed of several farmer-user groups in contiguous or non-contiguous areas). The least dominant models are the cooperative (i.e., a type of farmer-user group that operates on capital build-up to sustain a business venture) and citizen-volunteer group (i.e., consisting of community members who volunteer some time to safeguard a public good such as water quality).

In all, there are 13 user groups: eight are indigenous and five are migrant. Federations add up to 12 with the majority (nine) being indigenous. The cooperative and citizen-volunteer group (one each) are both found among the migrant LOs only.

Table 7. Characteristics of the biophysical and socioeconomic environment where LOs are found in the Philippines

Name of FLO/ Municipality	Region/ Province	Altitude Range	Rainfall Range	Land Quality (high, mdm, low)	Topography (flat, hilly,mountainous)	Farming System	Settlement Patterns	Access to Markets (good, moderate, poor)	Population Density Range	
1. Claveria Landcare Association (CLCA), Claveria	Reg. 10, Misamis Oriental	350- 1200 masl	1500- 2500 mm/yr	Low-mdm	Hilly - mountainous (only 8% of total land area is flat)	* Cereal based (350-600 elev) rice-corn, corn-rice, corn-corn * Vegetable-based (600- 1000+ elev) veg-corn, corn-veg, veg-veg * AF	Sedentary	Poor-moderate	250-350 persons/sq/km (estimate)	Fe ot
2. Lantapan Landcare Association (LLCA), Lantapan	Reg. 10 Bukidnon	350- 1500 masl	2500- 3500 mm/yr	Mdm-high	Flat - Mountainous	* Cereal based (350-600 elev) rice-corn, corn-rice, corn-corn * Vegetable-based (600- 1000+ elev) veg-corn, corn-veg, veg-veg * AF * Some slash and burn	Sedentary	Moderate	(data not available)	Fe
3. Tigbantay Wahig, Inc. (TWI), Lantapan	Reg. 10 Bukidnon	800- 1200 masl	2500- 3500 mm/yr	Mdm-high	Mountainous	* Slash and burn * AF * Crop/livestock integrat'n (using organic & inorg. fertilizers for crops)	Sedentary	Moderate	(data not available)	Fe 2 U 2 U
4. Agroforestry Tree Seeds Association of Lantapan (ATSAL), Lantapan	Reg. 10 Bukidnon	800- 1200 masl	2500- 3500 mm/yr	Mdm-high	Mountainous	* Slash and burn * AF * Crop/livestock integrat'n (using organic & inorg. fertilizers for crops)	Sedentary	Moderate	(data not available)	Fe
5. Nagkahiusang Grupo sa	Reg. 7 Cebu	640 masl	high rainfall	High (sandy loam)	Hilly - Mountainous	* Sloping agriculture (corn) AF, with tree crops	Sedentary	Poor	1058/sq. km (as of 1999)	V (F)

Mag-uuma sa Tag-ubi (NAGMATA) Tag-ubi River is headwater of watershed						* Vegetables-livestock integration * Permanent cultivation					W
6. Mulao Compostela Farmers Association (MCFA), Compostela	Reg. 7 Cebu	At least 300 masl	Moderate rainfall	High	Flat - hilly (mostly hilly & rolling)	* AF & corn prod'n with tree crops * Vegetables-livestock integration * Permanent cultivation	Sedentary	Moderate (with 2 jeepneys plying the market route)	(data not available)		Ve RC
7. Cancabalong-Obo Multipurpose Cooperative, Inc. (COFAMCO), Dalaguete	Reg. 7 Cebu	At least 300 masl	Moderate	Poor - rocky limestones	Hilly - mountainous (30-65 deg. slopes)	*Corn-vegetables-rootcrops with livestock * AF with tree crops * Permanent cultivation esp. vegetable prod'n	Sedentary	Good - transport'n by bus, jeepneys & motorcycles available; Obo is next to market town of Mantalongon	(data not available)		Ma oth
8. Federation of Tabuan Farmers' Assn (FETAFA), Antequera	Reg. 7 Bohol	(No available data)	Moderate	Medium	Generally flat; valley - in between hills	*AF with rice farming, vegetables and livestock	Sedentary	Poor- 35 kms away from city	Low density		Ma Ka chu
9. Cansague Norte Farmers Association (CANOFA), San Isidro	Reg. 7, Bohol	(No available data)	Moderate	Medium	Generally flat-valleys	*AF with rice farming, vegetables and livestock	Sedentary	Very poor - market is located very far; no market in locality	Very low density - high out-migration; aging pop'n structure		Few far
10. Kapit-Bisig Farmers Association Inc. (KBFAI), Atimonan	Reg. 4 Quezon	150-600 masl	Type 2- very dry in Feb-June, wet for the rest of the year	Medium - Macolod clay loam, a little acidic	Flat to rolling with hilly portions	*AF, combination of crops and fruit trees (dominant on agricultural crops)	Sedentary	Good - site is accessible; along the highway	Low, only 125 households		Ma

Table 8. Organizational features of selected currently active migrant local organizations (LOs) in the Philippines

<p>1. Claveria Land-care Assn. (CLCA) & other LC groups in upscaled municipalities w/o assns, Claveria, Misamis Oriental</p>	<p>*Soil & water conservation for increased farm productivity *Biodiversity enhancement at farm level through agro-forestry (AF)</p>	<p>*Conservation farming for developing & testing innovations, esp. crop propagation *Tree planting w/ nursery estab/ mgt, methods of propagation *Water impounding for irrigation *Freshwater fishpond devt *Riparian mgt (river bank stabilization) *Lobbying for NRM ordinance at municipal level</p>	<p>Federation of LCs - mainly farmer-user groups</p>	<p>*Spontaneous local action after an ICRAF training; now promoted by ICRAF *28 barangays in 5 municipalities: Claveria-17 bgys, 142 sitios, 3000 members Malitbog-5 bgys Libertad-3 bgys Sugbongcogon-2 bgys Hasaan-1 bgy *11 organized POs affiliated with CLCA, e., ANGELA in Mat-I, Hinaplasan Sm. Farmers Assn (HISFA) in Hinaplasan, women groups in Sta. Cruz *CLCA is inst'l member of Bgy Devt Council (BDC) & Mun. Devt Council (MDC) *Relationship with LGU is formal, collaborative, complementary</p>	<p>Geographical location</p>	<p>*Financial support from LGU & Phil. German Foundation *Technical assistance & facilitation from ICRAF *Germplasm (seeds of different species given to CLCA) *Leadership training from LGU & ICRAF</p>	<p>Org'd March 26, 1996 SEC Registration Sept 7, 1996</p>
<p>2. Lantapan Land-care Assn (LLCA), Lantapan, Bukidnon</p>	<p>*Soil & water conservation for increased farm productivity *Biodiversity enhancement at farm level through agro-forestry (AF) *Watershed mgt & protected areas/buffer zone mgt</p>	<p>*Conservation farming-developing & testing innovations, esp. crop propagation *Tree planting w/ nursery estab/ mgt, methods of propagation *Water impounding for irrigation *Freshwater fishpond devt *Riparian mgt (river bank stabilization) *Lobbying for NRM ordinance at municipal level *Soil analysis</p>	<p>Federation of LCs - mainly farmer-user grps</p>	<p>*Spontaneous local action after an ICRAF trng; now promoted by ICRAF *Composed of 7 LC assns w/ 34 subchapters in all *LLCA w/ about 1000 members *LLCA is federated w/ 4 other POs & has informal links w/ other local groups *LLCA is inst'l member of Bgy Devt Council (BDC) & Mun. Devt Council (MDC) *Relationship with LGU is formal, collaborative, complementary</p>	<p>Geographical location</p>	<p>*Material support from LGU, KIN-IPAS (Kitanglad Integrated NGOs), business sector; plantation companies give plastic bags *Livestock from ICRAF *Technical assistance from Mun. Agric'l Office (MAO)-DA *Seeds/germplasm from ICRAF *Institutional devt. training from others</p>	<p>Started April 1999 SEC Registration June 2000</p>

Table 8 (cont.)

Name of LO/ Location	Principal Natural Resource Focus	Types of NRM Activities	Type of Local Organiz'n	Origin/Composition of Group & External Relationships	Basis for Farmer Assn.	Types of Assistance Rec'd	When Initia- Ted
3. Tigbantay Wahig (TWD), Lantapan, Bukidnon	Water quality	*Water quality monitoring *Tree planting *Livelihood project-use of goat manure as organic fertilizer	Group of citizen volunteers from differ- ent commu- nities	*Promoted by SANREM-IRRI *27 members (males & females) from 4 barangays *Federated with LLCA *Informal coordination with LGU, ex, in tree planting assn gives seedlings while LGU provides transportation	Geogra- phical location	Financial assistance from Heifer Philippines, Inc. (HPI) for trainings on leadership, organizational mgt, technical knowhow; seedlings for tree planting activities	1994
4. Agroforestry Tree Seeds Assn of Lantapan (ATSAL), Lantapan, Bukidnon	Tree germplasm	*Collection & propagation of seeds *Marketing of seeds & seedlings	User group	*Initiated & promoted by ICRAF *70 members from 5 barangays (approx) *Federated with LLCA *Informal links with LGU (ATSAL is not yet registered with SEC)	Geogra- phical location	From ICRAF-technical training, linkages and networking	1997
5. Nagkahiusang Grupo sa Nag- Uma sa Tag-Ubi (NAGMATA), Tag-ubi, Compostela, Cebu (located inside protected area)	Comprehensive site devt – plant- ation forestry & reforestation w/ tree harvesting (forest conserv'n with economic benefit to get tenurial security- CBFM Agreement)	*Tree planting *Riparian management *Nursery establishment *Potable water system *Forest protection-active as “watchdogs” for DENR *Environmental awareness	User group	*Promoted by Mag-uugmad Foundation (MFI) which entered Tag-ubi in 1994 *100-120 members from Tag-ubi barangay *Informal relations with local groups-e.g., some NAGMATA members are also members of the Rural Community Workers (RCW), a women's group organ- ized by DA *Informal relations with LGU-most barangay officials are NAGMATA members; a top assn leader is close to the Mayor, hence also close to LGU	Geogra- phical location	*Got water system project from PACAP (Phil. Austr- lian Community Assistance Program) *From RAFI-train'g on lead- ership, team building, org'l devt, forest fire protection & mgt *From MFI-community org- anizing (CO)/inst'l devt, potable water proposal submitted to PACAP *From DA & LGU- livelihood projects like goat raising, cow fattening, swine dispersal	Org'd by MFI- 1994, regist- ered w/ DOLE as RCW RAFI re- org'd- March 1997

Table 8 (cont.)

6. Mulao Compostela Farmers Association (MCFA), Mulao, Copostela, Cebu (alienable & disposable or A&D area within the watershed)	*Forest conservation *Farm productivity	*Agroforestry *Tree planting *Riparian management *Nursery establishment *Water impounding for fishpond tilapia) *Forest protection-guards against illegal logging & sand & gravel quarrying	User group	*Organized by Ramon Aboitiz Foundation Inc. (RAFI) *95 members from 3 barangays, but mostly from Mulao *Informal relationship with RCW *Informal relationship with LGU-at least 3 orgn leaders are also bgy officials; 1 orgn leader is close to the Mayor and hence to LGU; 1 orgn leader and bgy ofiicial is a member of the Protected Area Management Board (PAMB)	Geographical location	From RAFI-training on organizational development	Org'd by RAFI-March 1997 & registered with DA
7. Cancabalong-Obo Multi-Purpose Cooperative (COFAMCO), Obo, Dalaguete, Cebu	*Forest protection & conservation (for 62% of classified timberland/forestland or 369 has) *Farm productivity	*Agroforestry *Tree farming in individual parcels using forest & fruit tree species *Tree plantations-2 patches planted to Gemelina, Agoho & Acacia *Nursery establishment *Soil & water conservation practices like rockwalling, terracing, hedgerow planting, adoption of sloping agricultural land technology (SALT) from Mindanao *Forest foot patrol monitoring/checking illegal logging & illegal kaingin *Advocacy for resource use ordinance & against resource exploitation (coal & guano)	Cooperative of farmers holding Certificates of Stewardship Contract (CSCs)	*First organized by DENR as Cancabalong-Obo Farmers Assn (COFA); later merged with a family-initiated cooperative to form COFAMCO *152 members from 4 sitios of Obo, mostly CSC holders *Informal relationship with other orgns in the community which are school- & church-based; COFAMCO members are also members of these orgns *Informal coordination with the Barangay Devt Council (BDC) to monitor, control or block resource exploitation; advocated with BDC to pass quarrying ordinance	Possession of CSCs & geographical location	*From DENR-tenurial security through CSCs, various trainings on farm & SWC technologies, community organizing, cooperative devt, cross-farm visits, & livelihood projects *From NGOs like Mag-uugmad Foundation-trainings with DENR funding *From BDC, legal support through passage of ordinance	Org'd as COFA 1989 & registered as COFA MCO-March 28, 1994 w/ P60T capital

Table 8 (cont.)

8. Federation of Tabuan Farmers Assn (FETAFA), Tabuan, Antequera, Bohol	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Farm productivity *Forest conservation- reforestation on indiv initiative, e.g., having a memo of agreement w/ a landowner to get 10-yr sharing for trees planted; or establishing 1-ha communal tree farm in private land as demo farm of DA 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Agroforestry, focus on vegetable production *Nursery establishment *Reforestation, mahogany plantation *Tilapia fishpond 	Federation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Used to be Tabuan Farmers Assn (TAFA) organized by DA; then reorganized & strengthened by PROCESS-Bohol *51 members from 4 orgns: TAFA, Small Coconut Farmers Orgn (SCFO), Tabuan Multipurpose Cooperative (TMPC) & Tabuan Women's Orgn (TWO)—organized by different agencies; but all from 1 barangay *FETAFA is member of Avatan Watershed Technical Working Group *Formal relationship with LGU where it is accredited *All bgy officials are FETAFA members hence it has access to bgy/municipal/provincial support 	Barangay location	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *From PROCESS-trainings on leadership, value formation, org'l devt, assistance on AF, nursery estab, orgn of hungos (like alayon) for farm preparation & labor exchange *From DA-planting materials & fingerlings *From DSWD-training on cooking 	As TAFA In 1996; FETA FA in 1999
9. Cansague Norte Farmers Assn (CANOFA), Cansague Norte, San Isidro, Bohol	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Farm productivity *Forest conserv'n *Reforestation-involving 8 has <p>(FPE-funded survey found the area to have high biodiversity in a critical location; it is close to the main tributary of Avatan River/ watershed)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Agroforestry, vegetable prod'n *Nursery establishment *Reforestation-mahogany plant'n *Bamboo plantation to secure riverbank *Tilapia fishpond 	User group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Organized by DA *Strengthened by PROCESS-Bohol *35 members from 1 barangay *Member of Avatan Watershed Technical Working Group *Some members belong to hungos groups-w/ max of 5 members/group to rotate work within 1 week in adjacent farms of relatives & neighbors *Formal relationship with LGU where it is accredited *Has access to Congressman Erico Aumentado's Countryside Devt Funds (CDF) 	Barangay location	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *From PROCESS-trainings on leadership, value formation, org'l devt, assistance on AF, nursery estab, orgn of hungos (like alayon) for farm preparation & labor exchange *From DA-fertilizers & vegetable planting materials *From Congressman & DENR-funding for reforestation project 	Registered w/ DOLE in 1996

Table 8 (cont.)

Name of LO/ Location	Principal Natural Resource Focus	Types of NRM Activities	Type of Local Organiz'n	Origin/Composition of Group & External Relationships	Basis for Farmer Assn.	Types of Assistance Rec'd	When Initiated
10. Kapit-Bisig Farmers Assn Inc (KBFAI), umbrella orgn including Sama- hang Pangkau- laran ng Kaba- balian na Ka- balikat sa Kaun- laran ng Kapit- Bisig (SPKKB) & Young Up- landers Farmers Assn Inc (YUFAI), Sta Catalina, Atimonan, Quezon	*Forest protec'n & conserv'n *Agricultural devt /farm produc- tivity *Livelihood enter- prise devt	*Tree planting along CSC boundaries, river banks & areas prone to soil erosion *Tree farming-50 has ibn all (dispersed) *Demo farms (2) for farm/SWC technologies *SALT adopted in CSC farms *Soil sampling analysis *Water quality monitoring *Lobbying for NRM ordinances at LGU *Farmer-trainers giving CBFM trainings to other farmers in the KBFAI training center	User group	*Organized by DENR under ISFP in 1984 *Later assisted by UNDP project in 1989 *Made a model UDP site in 1992 *Finally granted CBFMA by DENR on June 27, 1997 *331 KBFAI members (including approx 20 plus SPKKB women & 20 YUFAI young farmers) from 2 barangays- Sta Catalina (w/ 5 sitios) in Atimonan & Silangan Malikboy (w/ 1 sitio) in Pagbilao, both in Quezon *Member of CBFM Federation of Quezon Province (automatic membership) composed of 19 CBFM orgns, 7 of whom are active, with monthly meetings *Formal partnership with LGU & DENR is ensured under CBFM Program	All CSC holders at the time of ISFP (some no longer residents there now)	*From DENR-funds for tree farming, small income ge- nerating projects, feeds, sari-sari stores, piggery, credit lending, copratrad- ing, AF technologies, CBFM trainings on leader- ship, cross-farm visits *From mun LGU-small water impounding structure *From Prov'l LGU, estab- lishment of training center *From Local Water District- potable drinking water *From FAO Technical Sup- port to Agrarian Reform & Rural Devt (TSARRD)- additonal assistance	SEC registr ation 1999

Membership in the user groups is reckoned in terms of individuals in the migrant type but in terms of households or clans in the indigenous type. In the former, membership size ranges from 35 to 331 persons; these members come from between one and five communities. For indigenous user groups, membership is derived from between one and 10 barangays. In the case of federations, members can be barangays, communities or tribes, POs or associations as well as CADC awardees. Indigenous federations tend to have a larger membership, with sizes ranging from five to 25 groupings, while migrant federations tend to be smaller except in the case of the Claveria Landcare Association.

The organization of migrant LOs is often externally initiated and actively promoted by NGOs or the state (four cases each out of 10) in connection with some project purpose. Only two cases (landcare federations) are described as having been spontaneously formed following a farmers' training. With regard to indigenous LOs, however, most have been created spontaneously and the impetus comes from within the community (10 of 17 cases). Their formation is motivated usually by (a) perceived threats from such sources as commercialization, illegal land titling and influx of migrants, (b) experienced violence and human rights violation, (c) denial of access to traditional farming or hunting grounds, and (d) tales of successful ancestral domain claims made by other indigenous groups. Externally initiated indigenous LOs are organized through the efforts of NGOs like PAFID, academic institutions like DLSU and the state through DENR and LGUs.

There are more bases for organizing indigenous LOs than migrant LOs (five and two, respectively). However, the major basis for both types is geographic location, i.e., defined as barangay, village, island or region. The other bases are possession of a stewardship contract for migrant LOs and kinship, ethnic language, contiguity of ancestral claims, and shared project or political boundaries for indigenous LOs. Both migrant and indigenous LOs generally came into existence in the decade of the nineties.

The migrant LOs have forged both formal and informal links with other local community groups. Formal relationships are realized through the process of federating, as in the case of Kapit-Bisig Farmers Association, Inc. which became a member of the CBFM Federation of Quezon Province. Informal links with other groups are established in such instances, namely, when an LO is represented in a watershed technical working group, or when LO members join another PO. In the case of indigenous LOs, there appears to be no account of relationships with other local groups possibly because they are already all members of a common federation, because neighboring communities, villages or tribes have been formed into one PO, or because there are no other local associations in the area.

The nature of their relationship with the LGU is likewise either formal or informal for migrant LOs. Examples of formal ties with LGUs are: LO's membership in the Municipal or Barangay Development Council or partnership with LGU in the CBFM program (mandated by law or policy), accreditation by the LGU and receipt of financial grant from LGU. Informal links, on the other hand, are perceived to take place when LO and LGU coordinate in the monitoring and implementation of project tasks, when LGU provides transportation and other support for LO's activities, when LGU recognizes the LO despite its lack of a legal personality and when LGU officials are also LO members.

On the part of indigenous LOs, the accounts do not seem to indicate linkages with their LGUs probably because their main preoccupation with addressing ancestral domain issues necessitates them to be more in contact with NGOs and other private sectors like donor agencies that actively support their cause. Besides, until the advent of the Local Government Code, the LGUs and indigenous LOs have traditionally maintained their distance. This is due to a number of possible reasons, including the fact that LOs live mostly in far-flung sitios or barangays of the municipality, making them difficult to reach, their sociocultural uniqueness which sets them apart from the mainstream lowland Filipino culture which the LGU represents, and their long history of experienced political autonomy. Accounts from the field also reveal that the awarding of ancestral domain claims to indigenous groups

do at times conflict with the economic interests of LGU executives who make a business of extracting forest resources inside the claims.

The migrant LOs obtain different types of support from six categories of sources, but these are mostly from NGOs like Heifer Philippines Inc., Mag-uugmad Foundation or Kitanglad Integrated NGOs (six of 10 cases). The other sources are the provincial, municipal or barangay LGUs, donor agencies like ICRAF or Philippine German Foundation, national agencies like DENR, DA, and DSWD, the business sector and even from a politician. The types of assistance received from these external sources are (from most to least mentioned) as follows.

1. Technical assistance/facilitation (7 of 10 cases).
2. Training on leadership/capability building (7 cases).
3. Institutional/organizational development, community organizing (6 cases).
4. Planting materials, e.g., seeds, seedlings, bags (5 cases).
5. Financial support (4 cases).
6. Livelihood/income generating projects such as livestock raising (4 cases).
7. Potable water/impounding system (3 cases).
8. Cross-farm visits and organization of labor exchange (2 cases each).
9. Networking, forest fire management, land tenure, environmental ordinance, nursery establishment and construction of training center (one case each).

In comparison, indigenous LOs get external assistance from half the number of sources that assists the migrant LOs, namely three: the NGOs, donor agencies and a foreign embassy (Belgian). The most mentioned NGOs, including international ones, are PAFID, MISEREOR, Katutubong Samahan ng Pilipinas (KASAPI), UNAC, Fund for Philippine Environment (FPE), and Oxfam. The donor agencies include the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the European Union (EU). The kinds of external assistance are usually those that strengthen the organizational capability of indigenous LOs to pursue their goal of acquiring ancestral domain recognition from government. These and other specific support (from most to least mentioned) consist of the following.

1. Leadership training (15 of 17 cases).
2. Community mapping training and on-ground survey and delineation (14 cases).
3. 3-D modeling and land use planning workshop (7 cases).
4. Community radio training and radio facilities for Bantay-Gubat and Bantay-Dagat (literally, forest- and ocean-watch) activities (7 cases).
5. Health, literacy and numeracy project on ancestral domain and environment (3 cases).
6. Infrastructure grant (3 cases).
7. Extension and capacity building grant (2 cases).
8. Research and advocacy grant (2 cases).
9. Cross-visit/seaweed culture training, information advocacy via radio program, development program/fund, agroforestry project, community forestry project, sustainable farming, LIUCP area fund and potable water system (one case each).

NRM Foci, Activities and Achievements

Data on the currently active LOs included in the study show that they have a total of eight principal NRM foci, namely: (a) increased farm or agricultural productivity, (b) ancestral domain management, (c) soil and water conservation, (d) watershed or protected area management, (e) forest protection, conservation and/or development through tree planting or reforestation, (f) biodiversity enhancement particularly through agroforestry, (g) water quality, and (h) tree germplasm (Tables 8 & 9).

Table 9. Organizational features of selected currently active indigenous local organizations (LOs) in the Philippines

Name of LO/ Location	Principal Natural Resource Focus	Types of NRM Activities	Type of Local Organiz'n	Origin of Group	Basis for Farmer Assn.	Types of Assistance Rec'd	When initiated
<p>1. SARAGPUNTA Regional Federation of Tagbanwa- Calamianen Communities in Northern Palawan</p> <p>Members: A. Tagbanwa Foundation of Coron Island B. Tagbanwa Pundasyon ng Malawig C. Tagbanwa Pundasyon ng Bulalacao D. Tagbanwa Pundasyon ng Tara E. Tagbanwa Pundasyon ng Turda F. Tagbanwa Pundasyon ng Buena- vista G. Tagbanwa Pundasyon ng Biong</p>	<p>Ancestral domain management of both terrestrial and aquatic resources w/in their AD claim</p> <p>1st ancestral domain claim w/c includes parts of the ocean</p>	<p>*Conservation farming-adopt- ing/propagating alternative crops for livelihood i.e. casuy tree planting & establishment of nursery. *Bantay-Gubat/Dagat w/ PAFID & FPE. The Fed'n is part of the Environmental Protection through Commu- nity Radio Network. Com- plete facilities i.e., base/ssb/ handheld 2-way radio *Lobbying for recognition of ancestral domain claim through issuance of a CADT. (CADC already issued) *Construction of 1:10,000 3D model for ancestral domain management planning and for advocacy. *Thematic data transposed in digital form for planning purposes. *Lobbying for recognition of all-IP Protected Area Mgt. Board (already accepted by the NIPAS/EU)</p>	<p>Federation- mainly Tagbanwa- Calamia-nen com- munities</p> <p>Local indige-nous peoples organiz'n</p>	<p>Spontaneous, spurred by the success of the Coron Island community, and the threats posed by commercialization & illegal titling of islands in Northern Palawan.</p> <p>* Spontaneous, established after a PAFID consultation. Response to the disenfranchisement of the community in birds nest gather- ing w/c was illegally taken over by the LGU. * Spontaneous, established after a general assembly of Tagban- wa communities facing problems w/ resource control and access within Northern Palawan.</p>	<p>Geogra- phical location</p> <p>Geogra- phical location</p>	<p>*Bantay dagat/gubat grant from FPE *Leadership training from PAFID, UNAC, KASAPI *Community radio grant from FPE *Community radio training from MAGI, PAFID *Cross-visit trngs from KKP, KASAPI *Seaweed culture trng from FSSI *Community mapping trng and on-ground survey and delineation from PAFID, MISEREOR</p>	<p>1997, SEC reg'n as of 11/23/ 99</p> <p>1988, SEC reg'n in 1991</p>

Table 9 (cont.)

Name of LO/ Location	Principal Natural Resource Focus	Types of NRM Activities	Type of Local Organiz'n	Origin of Group	Basis for Farmer Assn.	Types of Assistance Rec'd	When initia- ted
2. Molbog Indigenous Cultural Communities of Balabac. Coalition of Molbog communities in Bgys. Rabor, Melville, Agutayan, Pasig, & Pob. Balabac	* Ancestral domain mgt. *Soil & water conservation *Increased farm productivity *Conservation of mangrove & fishery hatchery areas	*Ancestral domain mgt. Planning involving all Molbog communities-constructed a 3D model of the AD claim in Balabac for land use planning *Digital thematic maps for past, current & future uses already completed & available *Bantay dagat/gubat w/ FPE & PAFID *Part of Environmental Defense through Radio Communication Network *Lobbying for recognition as CADT (for approval w/in 1 st Quarter of 2001)	Federation of Molbog Communities in the Island of Balabac	Spontaneous action upon entry of Adverse land claimants migrating From Sulu and Zamboanga	Geographical location	*Grant from FPE *Leadership trng. from PAFID, UNAC, KASAPI *Community radio grant from FPE *Community radion trng from MAGI, PAFID *3D modeling & land use planning workshop from PAFID, UNAC, ICCO *Community mapping trng & on-ground survey & delineation from PAFID, MISEREOR	May 1994, SEC reg'n ok
3. NAKAMATA Coalition of 11 Manobo-Higaonon communities in the Province of Bukidnon	* Ancestral domain mgt. *Soil & water conservation *Increased farm productivity *Local watershed Mgt.	*Tree planting w/ nursery establishment *Ancestral domain mgt. planning *3D mapping in areas beside the North Cotabato & Bukidnon Borders *Information dissemination and extension work via regular radio program *Advocacy/lobbying for ancestral domain recognition *Health, literacy and numeracy project focusing on AD and env.	Federation of Manobo-Higaonon tribal groups in Bukidnon	*Spontaneous local action after the continuous violent actions against the landless indigenous communities in South-Central Bukidnon *Initial activities supported by Oxfam, PARFUND, PAFID, PAHRDS, TFDP	Geographical location	*Info/advocacy grant from PARFUND *Leadership, org. strengthening from PAFID *Community mapping trng and on-ground survey and delineation from PAFID, MISEREOR *Health/literacy & numeracy grant from CORDAID *Research and advocacy grant from Oxfam	1997
4. NATRILUBO Coalition of 25 Manobo Peoples Organizations in Central-North Bukidnon	* Ancestral domain mgt. *Soil & water conservation *Increased farm productiv. *Local watershed mgt.	*Ancestral domain management planning *Actual on-ground delineation and survey of CADT claims. *Lobbying/advocacy for recognition of AD	Federation of Peoples Organiz'ns in Central-North Bukidnon	Same as NAKAMATA	Geographical location	*Community mapping trng & on-ground survey and delineation from PAFID, MISEREOR *Research and advocacy grant from Oxfam	1999

Table 9 (cont.)

Name of LO/ Location	Principal Natural Resource Focus	Types of NRM Activities	Type of Local Organiz'n	Origin of Group	Basis for Farmer Assn.	Types of Assistance Rec'd	When initiated
5. DUM'A Ple'Kuka Coalition of 7 Manobo tribal groups in Sultan Kudarat/North Cotabato	* Ancestral do- main mgt. *Soil & water conservation *Increased farm productiv- ity *Local watershed Mgt.	*Ancestral domain management planning *Actual on-ground delineation and survey of CADT claims *Lobbying/advocacy for recognition of AD	Federation of indige- nous Manobo Peoples Organiz'ns in Sultan Kudarat, and South Cotabato	Spontaneous organising after the series of investigations conducted by the DENR/PAFID/PAHRA/ TFDP on the alleged human rights violations perpetrated by the IFMA holders, the Consunji family	Geogra- phical location (IP com- munities w/in the bounda-ries of the Consunji IFMA	*Community leadership strengthening from PAFID *Community mapping trng & on-ground survey and delineation from PAFID, MISEREOR	1996
6. TAGPUAN ng mga Agta/ Dumagat sa Hilaga at Timog Aurora	* Ancestral do- main mgt. *Soil & water conservation *Increased farm productiv- ity *Local watershed Mgt.	*Ancestral domain management planning *Actual on-ground delineation and survey of CADT claims *Completed/accomplished claims already filed w/ the NCIP *Lobbying/advocacy for recognition of AD claims *Implementation of the Agta Comprehensive Development Program in partnership w/ OXFAM & MISEREOR *Health, literacy and numeracy project focusing on AD and the environment	Indigenous groups, clans & POs in North/ South Aurora	Initiated by the elders of Dingalan w/ the assistance of the Katutubong Samahan ng Pilipinas (KASAPI), a nationwide coalition of IPs	Geogra- phical location/ Ethno- linguistic grouping	*Health/literacy & numeracy grant from Oxfam, *Funds for local devt project from MISEREOR (new) *Infrastructure grant from AIDP/EU *Community leadership strengthening from PAFID community mapping trng & on-ground survey and delineation from PAFID, MISEREOR	1998
7. Pundasyon Hanunuo Mangyan (PHM) Bailan, Umabang & Amindang, Bulalacao, Or. Mindoro	* Ancestral do- main mgt. *Soil & water conservation *Increased farm productiv- ity *Local watershed Mgt.	*Tree planting and nursery establishment *Establishment of potable H2O system *Forest protection *Collation and approval of a CFSA *On-ground survey and delineation *Lobbying/advocacy of AD claim *Estab. of culturally appropriate school	Local group represent- ing the CFSA holders from Bailan, Umabang and Amindang (PO)	Established w/ the support of a PCV on site along with the assistance of IESAM, PAFID, DLSU, et. al.	Project (CFSA) boundar-ies	*Agroforestry project grant from PACAP *Sustainable farming grant from Canadian Hunger Foundation *Community leadership strengthening from PAFID *Community mapping trng & on-ground survey and delineation from PAFID, MISEREOR	1985

Table 9 (cont.)

Name of LO/ Location	Principal Natural Resource Focus	Types of NRM Activities	Type of Local Organiz'n	Origin of Group	Basis for Farmer Assn.	Types of Assistance Rec'd	When initia- ted
8. Mangyan BALATBAT Bgys. Balditan, Layagan, Balading, Abintang, Aypod, Tinablahan, Binuni, Sui- Tuong, Ambulong & Budburan	* Ancestral do- main mgt. *Soil & water conservation *Increased farm productiv- ity *Local watershed mgt.	*Tree planting and nursery establishment, *Establishment of potable H2O system *Forest protection *Collation and approval of a CFSA *on-ground survey and delineation *Lobbying/advocacy of AD claim *Completion of an Ancestral Domain Mgt. Plan	Local Hanunuo Mangyan groups w/in the Kabilyan watershed (PO)	Established as a result of the collective demand of Mangyan communities in the Kabilyan watershed to drive out the Pasture Lease Agreements in the area and its consequent declaration as Mangyan AD. The whole watershed is within the project area of the LIUCP of the DENR/ADB.	Geogra- phical location	*Community leadership strengthening from PAFID *Community mapping trng & on-ground survey and delineation from PAFID, MISEREOR *LIUCP area funds from ADB	1990
9. Lumadnong Kahugpungan Alang sa Kalambuan Marbon, Talakogon, Agusan Del Sur	Ancestral domain management	*Area w/in the IFMA of Provident Tree farms, Inc. (PTFI) *Reforestation *Indigenous Swidden w/in approved individual CSC *Advocacy and lobbying for AD recognition *On-ground survey and delineation of AD completed *CADT application completed and submitted to the NCIP	Local Manobo clans within the PTFI IFMA (PO)	*Spontaneous organizing in response to the awarding of the IFMA w/c denied them access to their traditional farming/hunting grounds. *W/ assistance from Sildap- Sidlakan Indigenous Peoples Apostolate, GUIDE Fdn., PAFID	Local (clanship)	*Community leadership strengthening from PAFID *Community mapping trng & on-ground survey and delineation from PAFID, MISEREOR	1986
10. Panaghiusa Alang sa Kaugalingnan Ug Kalingkawasan San Teodoro, Bunawan, Agusan Del Sur	*Ancestral domain mgt. *Soil & water conservation *Increased farm productiv- ity *Local watershed mgt.	* Development of AD Mgt. Plan *Agroforestry activities *Health and literacy prog. *Info dissemination and extension work through a regular radio program. *AD survey and mapped on ground *AD requirements fully accomplished and submitted to the NCIP *Continuous lobbying/advocacy for recognition of AD	Federation of 7 Manobo communi- ties/local POs	Organized through the instance of the IPA in the area in response to the non-recognition of AD.	Inter- Municipal, Provincial	*Community leadership strengthening from PAFID *Community mapping trng & on-ground survey and delineation from PAFID, MISEREOR	1987

Table 9 (cont.)

Name of LO/ Location	Principal Natural Resource Focus	Types of NRM Activities	Type of Local Organiz'n	Origin of Group	Basis for Farmer Assn.	Types of Assistance Rec'd	When initiated
11. Glompo'k Bag Bagela'l Diocese of Ipil, Zambo. Sur	*Ancestral domain mgt. *Soil & water conservation *Increased farm productiv- ity *Local watershed mgt.	*Bantay Gubat w/ FPE/PAFID *Part of Environmental Defense through Radio Comm. Network. *Community tree plantation/ nursery *AD survey and mapped on ground *AD requirements fully accom- plished and submitted to NCIP *Continuous lobbying/advocacy for recognition of AD *ISF, 1 st CFSA in the Zambo. peninsula	Federation of of 24 Subanen Peoples Organiza- tions in Zambo Sur, Norte and Misamis Occ.	*Spontaneous organizing due to the success of the Subanen of Surabay (WEZPESAI) in their fight against ZAMBOWOOD and consequent approval of their CFSA and due to the adverse claim and proliferation of mining claims w/in the region. *Received assistance from the Diocese, PIF, PAFID, KASAPI, et. al.	Regional, Geogra- phical location	*Grant from FPE *Leadership training from PAFID, UNAC, KASAPI *Community radio grant from FPE *Community radio training from MAGI, PAFID *3D modelling and land use planning workshop from PAFID, UNAC, ICCO	1998
12. PAMAAS Pasakaddoy Manobo Association, Inc Imamaling, Magpet, Cotabato	*Ancestral domain mgt. *Soil & water conservation *Increased farm productiv- ity *Local watershed mgt.	*AD survey and mapped on ground *AD requirements fully accomplished and submitted to the NCIP *Continuous lobbying/advocacy for recognition of AD *Agroforestry *Establishment of tree plantation & nursery w/ assistance from MISEREOR	Local PO of Manobo communi- ties in North Cotabato	*Established as a movement to push for the recognition of AD claim *Received assistnce from MAGI, PAFID, PANAGTAGBO	Geogra- phical location	*Grant from FPE *Leadership training from PAFID *3D modelling and land use planning workshop from PAFID *Community mapping trng & on-ground survey and delineation from PAFID, MISEREOR	1995
13. KAFCD Kadikitan, Farmers for Community Development Bgys. Tapaw, Kadikitan, Guibyen and Landingan, Quirino	*Ancestral domain mgt. *Soil & water conservation *Increased farm productiv- ity *Local watershed mgt.	*Existing CFP site *Forest protection and establishment of community tree plantation, *Holders of a Community Forest Mgt. Agreement (CFMA) *Bantay Gubat w/ FPE/PAFID *Part of Environmental Defense through Radio Comm. Network *Community potable H2O system	Local PO of Bugkalot/ Ilongot communi- ties in Quirino and boundary of Aurora Province	Organized as the PO partner of DENR and PAFID in the CFP/CBFM project.	Local, project site	*Grant from FPE *Leadership training from PAFID, UNAC, KASAPI *Community radio grant from FPE *Community radio training from MAGI, PAFID *Grants from NRMP- USAID for CFP project *Grant from Belgian Embassy for H2O system	1992

Table 9 (cont.)

Name of LO/ Location	Principal Natural Resource Focus	Types of NRM Activities	Type of Local Organiz'n	Origin of Group	Basis for Farmer Assn.	Types of Assistance Rec'd	When initiated
14. Kapulungan Para sa Lupaing Ninuno (KPLN) Lalud, Calapan, Or. Mindoro	*Ancestral domain mgt. *Soil & water conservation *Increased farm productiv- ity *Local watershed mgt.	*Extension work and information dissemination, *Local seminars/capability bldg. *Initiatives on environmental protection *Continuous lobbying/advocacy for recognition of AD	Island-wide federation of Mangyan POs/ Communi- ties in Mindoro	Organized w/ support from the Church, PAFID, NGOs of Or. Mindoro in response to the threat against the AD of the Mangyans in the Island.	Geogra- phical location, island-wide	*Grant from FPE *Leadership training from PAFID, UNAC, KASAPI *Extension & Capability bldg grant from KASAPI and PARFUND *Institutional grant from MISEREOR *Institutional support from the Diocese of Calapan	1994
15. PASS Pederasyon ng mga Aeta Sa Zambales Cabangan and San Felipe, Zambales	*Ancestral domain mgt. *Soil & water conservation *Increased farm productiv- ity *Local watershed mgt. *Biodiversity Conservation	*Ancestral domain mgt. planning. *Implementation of a Biodiversity Conservation project w/ the UNDP *Continuous lobbying/advocacy for recognition of AD *Potable H2O *Animal Dispersal *Agroforestry *Survey and delineation of AD claim *3D mapping including complete digital thematic maps for land uses past present and future	Federation of 4 CADC holders in Western Zambales	Organized w/ the assistance of NGOs in response to the adverse claimants (Ranchers) who have encroached into the AD of the indigenous communities	Contigu- ous CADCs	*Grants from UNDP *Extension funds from KASAPI *Leadership training from PAFID *3D modelling and land use planning workshop from PAFID *Community mapping trng & on-ground survey and delineation from PAFID, MISEREOR	1991
16. Samahang Katutubong Aeta sa Pastolan (SKAP) Pastolan, SBMA, Olongapo	*Ancestral domain mgt. *Soil & water conservation *Increased farm productiv- ity *Local watershed mgt. *Biodiversity Conservation	*Ancestral domain mgt. planning. *Continuous lobbying/advocacy for recognition of AD *Potable H2O *Animal dispersal *Agroforestry *Survey and delineation of AD claim *3D mapping including complete digital thematic maps for land uses past present and future	Local PO of the three Aeta villages w/in SBMA	Organized w/ the assistance of the WB-FAPO project in response to the peoples' demand to lobby for the recognition of AD w/in the SBMA	Local/ village	*Leadership training from PAFID *3D modelling and land use planning workshop from PAFID *Community mapping trng & on-ground survey and delineation from PAFID, MISEREOR *Infrastructure funds from SBMA-WB *Development funds fr. WB	1997 CADT appr'd 02/02/ 01

Table 9 (cont.)

Name of LO/ Location	Principal Natural Resource Focus	Types of NRM Activities	Type of Local Organiz'n	Origin of Group	Basis for Farmer Assn.	Types of Assistance Rec'd	When Initia- ted
17. SANAMA- NIBAAG Samahang ng Nagkakaisang mga Aeta sa Manibukyot at Baag Capas, Tarlac	*Ancestral domain mgt. *Soil & water conservation *Increased farm productiv- ity *Local watershed mgt.	*Ancestral domain mgt. planning. *Continuous lobbying/advocacy for recognition of AD *Potable H2O *Animal dispersal *Agroforestry *Survey and delineation of AD claim	Local PO of Aeta peoples in the villages of Manibukyot and Baag	Organized w/ the assistance of PAFID in response to the encroachment of migrant farmers from Pangasiinan and Tarlac	Local , inter village	*Leadership training from PAFID *3D modelling and land use planning workshop from PAFID *Community mapping trng & on-ground survey *Infrastructure & health & literacy support & funding from the Methodist Mission	1997

Source: D. de Vera/PAFID

Comparing the natural resource foci of the LOs in each of the two types, some variations are noted. For most of the migrant LOs, their principal foci are two: increased farm productivity and forest protection, conservation and/or development (7 and 6 cases, respectively, out of 10). However, for most of the indigenous LOs, the foci are four: ancestral domain management, increased farm productivity, soil and water conservation, and watershed management.

Table 10. Types of NRM activities undertaken by migrant and indigenous LOs in the Philippines

Types of NRM activities	Types of LOs		Total (MR)*
	Migrant	Indigenous	
Resource conservation & development			
Nursery establishment/management	7	6	13
Tree planting (indiv. Farms, CSC boundaries)	7	3	10
Tree plantation/farming, reforestation	5	4	9
Riparian management/riverbank stabilization	6	-	6
Soil & water conservation methods/demo farm	5	1	6
Collection & propagation of seeds, seedlings	2	-	2
Implement'n of biodiversity conservation proj. & Agta comprehensive devt. prog.	-	2	2
Resource monitoring & protection			
Environmental defense through radio network, <i>bantay-gubat/dagat</i> program	-	7	7
Forest protection/foot patrol, against illegal logging & kaingin, quarrying	3	3	6
Water quality monitoring	2	-	2
Soil sampling/analysis	2	-	2
Education & advocacy			
Lobbying for passage of municipal/barangay ordinances on resource use, e.g., quarrying	4	-	4
Information disseminat'n & extens'n by radio prog.	-	3	3
Environmental awareness	1	1	2
Establishment of appropriate Mangyan school	-	1	1
Farmer-to-farmer extension	1	-	1
Appropriate/alternative resource use			
Agroforestry practices	4	6	10
Potable water system	1	6	7
Fishpond/tilapia development	5	-	5
Non-forest based livelihood-animal dispersal	1	3	4
Propagation of alternative crops	2	1	3
Water impounding for irrigation	2	-	2
Vegetable production	2	-	2
Use of organic fertilizer	1	-	1
Ancestral domain management			
Advocacy/lobbying for ancest. domain recognit'n	-	16	16
Ancest. dom.mgt./land use planning w/ digital data	-	12	12
On-ground survey & delineation of CADT/CADC	-	12	12
3D modeling/mapping	-	5	5
Filing of claims at NCIP	-	5	5
Literacy/health &/or numeracy on ancestral Domain and environment	-	3	3
Lobbying for local composition in PAMB	-	1	1

*Multiple Response

In terms of NRM activities undertaken by the migrant and indigenous LOs, there are a total of 31 specific types (Table 10). These activities may be grouped under the following five types: resource conservation and development, resource monitoring and protection, education and advocacy, appropriate or alternative resource use and ancestral domain management.

Most of the activities aimed at conserving and developing the resource revolve around nursery establishment, planting trees in individual farm plots or boundaries, reforestation or establishment of tree plantations, stabilizing riverbanks and employing soil and water conservation measures. Activities that intend to monitor and protect the resource center on setting up an environmental defense program called “*Bantay Gubat* or *Bantay Dagat*” with NGO assistance, and organizing forest foot patrols to report, stop or apprehend illegal logging, slash-and-burn and quarrying with the help of DENR authorities. Those activities classified under education and advocacy focus on lobbying for the passage of local ordinances that regulate or control resource use (e.g., anti-quarrying), disseminating environmental information to the public through a regular radion program and building environmental awareness through training.

The activities under resource use include practicing agroforestry as a productive system and a means to conserve biodiversity, constructing a potable water system or fishponds in which to raise *tilapia*, depending less on forest-based products through alternative livelihoods (e.g., animal husbandry) and propagating fruit trees like *casuy* for their commercial value. Finally, the specific tasks under ancestral domain management, which is peculiar to the case of indigenous LOs, cluster around three: advocating or lobbying for recognition of the ancestral claim, devising a land use map or ancestral domain management plan and doing the ground survey and delineation of the claim. The indigenous LOs have accomplished these activities using digitized technology made available to them by PAFID, the assisting NGO.

Comparing the NRM accomplishments by type of LOs, Table 10 reveals that certain accomplishments tend to be associated with a certain type. For instance, only indigenous LOs could claim and therefore manage ancestral domain, hence it is only they who appear to have had the chance to access, receive training on and employ the digital mapping technology in order to manage their claim and its resources. The unique experiences indigenous peoples have had with lowland encroachment on their ancestral domain perhaps also predisposes them to becoming more vigilant and defensive about the resources within their domain. Some other accomplishments like systematically collecting and propagating seeds and seedlings, monitoring water quality, analysing soil samples, and fishpond development seem to be more associated with migrant LOs. These activities are research-oriented and consistent with lowland interests.

To sum up, what have the LOs accomplished thus far in NRM? The evidences presented in the preceding sections and data obtained from interviews point to achievements in at least four areas, namely, environmental, economic, social and project-related. The significant ones are as follows.

A. Environmental achievements

1. Increased forest or tree cover due to reforestation, tree plantation and/or tree farming activities (in Lantapan, the reported increase is around 16,000 has.); this is believed to also increase the water-holding capacity of the land.
2. Rehabilitation and stabilization of riverbanks where trees are also planted.
3. Conservation of water and protection of slopes against soil erosion with the use of such measures as natural vegetative strips (NVS), SALT, hedgerows, and rockwalls.
4. Biodiversity conservation through the adoption of agroforestry and seed or alternative crop propagation practices.

B. Economic achievements

1. Increased farm productivity with better soil and water management and/or water impounding methods.
2. Savings resulting from lower production costs owing to efficient nutrient conservation and/or reduced fertilizer loss.
3. Work opportunities that come with NRM projects implemented in partnership with government, nongovernment and/or private organizations.
4. Capital build-up and business ventures in the case of cooperatives.

C. Social achievements

1. Greater knowledge, awareness, appreciation, and capability for undertaking NRM in the uplands obtained from training and extension work provided by external agencies, allowing LOs to embark on a farmer-to-farmer extension education.
2. Acquisition of organizational and leadership skills within LOs through institutional development programs, enhancing their ability to lobby or advocate for NRM ordinances or secure upland tenure.
3. Tenurial security granted to LOs in exchange for more active and sustained local involvement in NRM.
4. Functional linkages with like-minded POs, NGOs, LGUs and government agencies for fund sourcing, service provision and capability building purposes.

D. Increased management capacity

1. Increased ability to prepare project proposals on NRM needs for external funding with some help from NGOs. This is evident among the more mature POs assisted by government and NGOs like MFI in Cebu.
2. New capability among indigenous LOs particularly those assisted by PAFID to collect data for devising a 3D model map that plots not only the extent of ancestral domain claims but, more importantly, directs land use planning.
3. Some nascent efforts to monitor and collect data for assessing the impact of some NRM projects. Examples include the use of monitoring charts or boards and diagnostic cards to gauge technological adoption and training in the landcare sites in Mindanao and the conduct of stream discharge and bacteriological surveys, biological assessment and total suspended solids study to gauge water quality and quantity and to monitor aquatic biodiversity in Tigbantay Wahig.

The factors that affect the development and effectiveness of LOs in upland NRM may be supportive as well as inhibiting, and external as well as internal to the LOs.

The supportive factors that are external to LOs are: (1) the paradigm shift in the forestry development sector that paved the way for local communities to become involved in NRM which used to be the traditional domain of the state, (2) government legislations and policies in the last 20-30 years which actively encouraged and facilitated the growth, formation, development and federation of LOs in NRM, and mandated the involvement of NGOs and LGUs in these tasks, (3) the varied government and NGO program or project initiatives most of which addressed the organizational and technological capability building needs of LOs, (4) the cooperative web of alliances between the service agencies—i.e., government, LGUs and NGOs—and their client communities and POs that fosters collaboration and partnership in NRM, and (5) the available financing windows and economic incentives for local participation in NRM from the state and from local and foreign donor agencies.

Those supportive factors that are internal to LOs, as gleaned from interviews with varied informants including farmer-leaders, appear to be: (1) the improved capacity of LOs especially their leaders to organize themselves, to identify their needs, to source the services or funds they require, and to lobby for support or to push for change, (2) the ability to forge informal and formal alliances with other POs and NGOs for mutual support and cooperation, (3) the possession of a secure tenure in the uplands

through stewardship instruments or recognized ancestral domain claims, and (4) the dynamic exchange of information and innovative technologies for better resource use and management through farmer trainings, cross-farm visits and farmer-to-farmer extension.

On the other hand, the external factors inhibiting the development and effectiveness of LOs in NRM include the following. First, there are varied problems encountered due to the implementation of NRM legislations, policies and programs. A classic case is the hasty devolution of ISFP to the LGUs after the passage of the Local Government Code, resulting in very serious setbacks for the program since the LGUs were not technically and financially equipped to take over from DENR the task of assisting LOs. In many instances, former ISF communities later became the sites of foreign funded forestry and CBFM projects which required new POs to be formed, which provided different tenurial instruments and which varied in the kind of incentives given to POs. This situation has reportedly bred confusion, envy and opportunism among the LOs. Second, government policies and practices are not coordinated towards the same NRM goals. For example, MFI promotes organic farming in support of DENR's call for NRM practices but this is being undermined when the LGU endorses the use of chemicals in the hillyland development project. Third, unresolved land tenure issues especially in areas like Guba and Pinamungahan, Cebu continue to plague upland farmers and create a disincentive against local participation in NRM.

Other external inhibiting factors pertain to (a) the propensity of NRM programs to be male-dominated and male-focused, hence minimizing the role and potential contributions of women to NRM, (b) the limited harvesting rights granted by government to local communities that have invested in tree farming or plantations, (c) the growth of population in the resource poor upland environment that is exacerbated by the continuous influx of landless lowland poor, and (d) the peace and order situation in areas where some factions of the National Peoples' Army (NPA) are active and are believed to have joined or infiltrated POs.

The inhibiting factors internal to LOs may be traced to certain inadequacies in social capital that create problems and deficiencies such as poor leadership, members' apathy, multiple organizational membership which increases access to external aid but decreases one's capacity to participate, tendency to depend on the state or NGOs for directions and initiatives in NRM, low involvement in local land use planning and inability to engage in policy issues. Other inhibiting factors concern the LOs' lack of financial resources to undertake NRM activities and insecure resource rights that deter their members from investing time and effort in NRM.

TRENDS, ISSUES AND CHALLENGES FOR LOCAL INVOLVEMENT IN NRM

The Philippine experience during the last three decades of launching and sustaining the initiative of localizing upland resource management, hence devolving this responsibility to forest-user groups and societies, highlight certain emerging trends, issues and/or challenges for LOs and other concerned sectors in upland NRM. These may be grouped under three main themes, as follows.

Conditions That Affect LOs

The study has shown that wider social, economic and political forces influence the developments in local NRM and shape the structural and behavioral responses of grassroots organizations. Increased local involvement cannot be understood apart from the events and processes in the sociopolitical spheres such as modifications in the state's orientation toward land and its resources, the environmental or forestry crisis, the shifts in theoretical paradigms about development and the concomitant roles of the state and various forms of civil society including multilateral donor agencies. The emergence and activism of LOs in upland NRM are not at all possible without the direct intervention and help of the state through facilitating laws, policies and programs. However, their effectiveness and sustainability as resource managers appear to be contingent on two interacting

factors--the varying types of support from civil society players, principally NGOs, and the LOs' own interest and internal capacity to capitalize on this support.

Findings have also indicated that changes in the macro-level orientations, structures and processes would not have occurred without actions at the micro-level. Thus increased local involvement must be seen relative to local dynamics such as competition and conflict over land and resource use between indigenous and migrant upland settlers as well as between local communities and external groups in both public and private sectors, struggles against oppressive poverty and resource scarcity, and pressures aimed at transforming elite-controlled resource use and management practices.

Institutional Arrangements

This study has likewise revealed that a modified sociopolitical environment can and does promote what were once unlikely collaborations in resource management between and among the following sectors: national government agencies, LGUs, NGOs, academic institutions, other private entities including multilateral donor agencies, and the local grassroots communities/organizations. This trend of multisectoral involvement in addressing NRM issues and practices will not only continue but will most likely escalate in the 21st century as the challenges of resource degradation and depletion are felt more acutely.

The different sector stakeholders will continue to play distinctly important roles in relation to facilitating local NRM involvement. But to be more effective, these roles may need to be well defined or redefined instead of crisscrossing. As the primary state agency, DENR's role is still pivotal in providing an enabling policy environment and in influencing a favorable sociopolitical and financing climate for LOs to flourish. But some of the tasks it now handles, principally those relating to institutional development and capability building, are better left to the charge and coordination of development NGOs. It is known from past experiences that many state-organized LOs have failed to perform well and are usually short-lived because they are hastily formed and inadequately developed. DENR's recent effort to federate POs in every region of the country illustrates this. What effects, if any, such an effort has on the motivation and consequent development of LOs has yet to be determined.

The NGOs' role and the strategies they have devised to fulfill this role have a far-reaching effect on the LOs' structure and NRM capability. NGOs have proven their mettle at establishing and nurturing organizations. To enhance their individual and collective capacity to meet their role obligations, they have built their own network of informal and formal alliances, which provide members the opportunities to share knowledge, learnings, strategies and resources. This effort is repeated or replicated in the NGOs' partner communities or organizations such that there is now a growing number of PO alliances, coalitions or federations. Moreover, evidences indicate that more NGOs are acquiring newer technological skills to complement their work of institutional development. Not only have they been providing farming and conservation technologies, but also started to render highly specialized services like the use of digitized mapping for land use planning and delineation of ancestral domain claims. In this regard, NGOs have observed that some of them have tended to treat technology transfer as their end goal rather than as a means to achieve an enabled LO. Whether this will have adverse effects on their client organizations remains to be seen. Nonetheless, it demonstrates that as NGOs respond to the NRM needs of LOs, their traditional role may change or varied dimensions of this role may emerge.

The study's findings have also underscored the supportive roles that LGUs and private entities like academic institutions play in enhancing local NRM involvement. LGUs are replicating at the micro level what DENR has done at the macro level, that is, promoting the establishment of LOs, creating an enabling environment for local participation in resource planning and management through NRM councils and ordinances, and implementing environmental programs. The LGUs' support in terms of financing NRM activities that involve local stakeholders is perceived to be crucial in the coming years. As for academic institutions, they are no longer confined to the ivory towers of education and

research and have increasingly moved into the development arena, visiting far-flung communities if necessary, in order to put their expertise to the best use for social development. Their contributions will continue to be significant in the areas of technology research, training and development as well as documentation and feedback of lessons learned to improve the process of local NRM participation. The challenge facing academic institutions is how to work in tandem LGUs and NGOs without duplicating their roles.

Effects of LOs' Involvement

Since LOs have become involved in upland NRM, they have contributed progressively to the wellbeing of the upland resource environment through the tasks of adopting conservation measures and appropriate farming technologies, expanding forest cover with tree planting and reforestation, monitoring of resource use and misuse and helping to bring violators to DENR's attention, advocating for local NRM ordinances and policies, mobilizing mass actions to press for NRM demands, and building and maintaining networks of organizations committed to NRM.

Although the study has indicated these contributions, the nature of the data is unable or insufficient to establish the extent to which LOs have been effective in improving local NRM or in enhancing watershed-level environmental services and production. Besides, in measuring this extent of effectiveness, appropriate indicators are needed. Presently, however, there seems to be a dearth of such indicators and this points to the need for future studies in local resource management to develop the needed indicators. In developing such indicators, it may be important to resolve the question of from whose perspective the issue of effectiveness must be considered. In development discourses, the perspective of program implementing institutions like DENR, LGUs and NGOs is paramount and usually sought. It would be interesting to see instead what parameters and measures of effectiveness are included in the local community's or the LO's perspective, and to compare these with that of implementing agencies.

While the study has surfaced many factors that could account for the rise and development of LOs, it is worth noting that tenurial security initially provides a significant motivation for LOs in general. Among the indigenous LOs, the desire for tenure via a secure claim on ancestral domain encourages them to seek external assistance more aggressively than migrant LOs. It is evident from the data that security of land tenure may provide the impetus for local involvement in resource management but it is certainly not enough to sustain this involvement. Sustainability appears to be closely related to LOs' viable alliances with other LOs with whom they share similar aspirations and who complement their needs, and to LOs' ability to enhance internal social capital by forging effective partnerships with varied resource institutions from the public and private sectors. In this regard, it would be interesting to determine how the different sectors envision a sustainable, enabled or empowered LO in upland NRM.

In conclusion, it is important to consider that, despite the advances gained in involving LOs in upland resource management, NRM remains a multisectoral concern that requires a multisectoral approach. All sectors in Philippine society have a stake in the state of wellbeing of the country's land, water and natural resources, although their individual stakes may vary in breadth and depth. While it is obvious that local resource users may directly benefit from sustained and sustainable resource management, this concern cannot be left exclusively in the care of local upland communities where the poorest of the country's poor belong. They not only cannot do the job effectively without external assistance, but it is unfair

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