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# 木材資源と先住民社会

## —先住民族コミュニティ、ドス・デ・マジョの事例—

Indigenous community in Peruvian Amazon and timber resources

: Case study of Native Community "Dos de Mayo"

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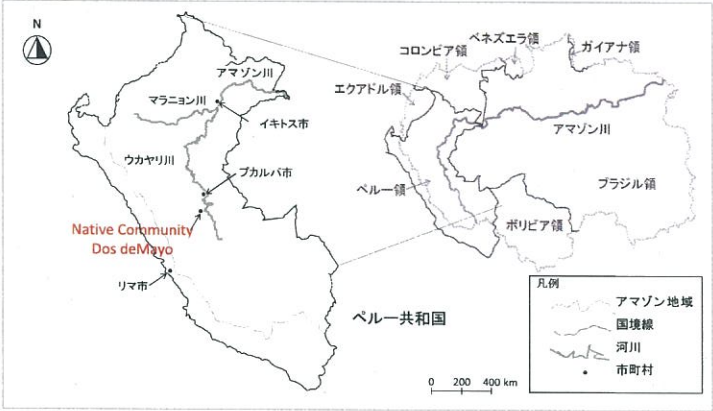
Ohashi Mariko

The University of Tokyo

Graduated School of Agricultural and Life science

Global Environmental Forest Studies

# Research Site



出所) 筆者作成

# 畑の位置

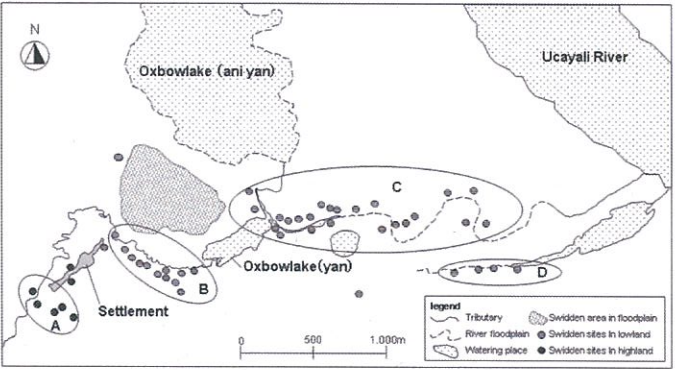
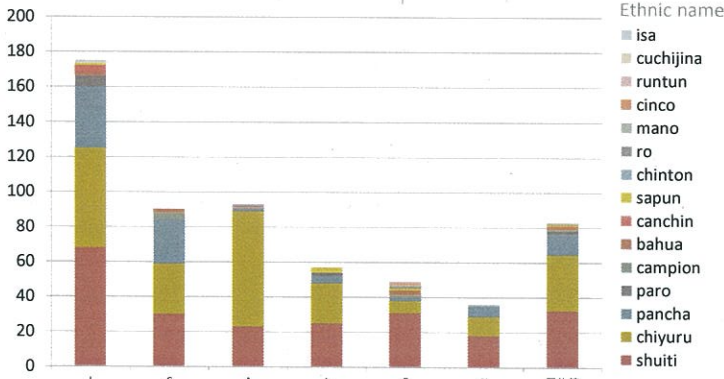


Fig. 2. Map of the Swidden Sites of D Village in 2009  
Note 1: Locations of swidden sites principally were recorded by "Garmin 60CSx" GPS receiver. Some villagers were interviewed in order to gain complementary information to confirm locations.  
Source: Field Research



Harvest of Banana in each household (果房数/62日間)  
注1) バナナの種類名は便宜上、識別可能とされる名称のみを記した。

出所) 大橋 (2013)

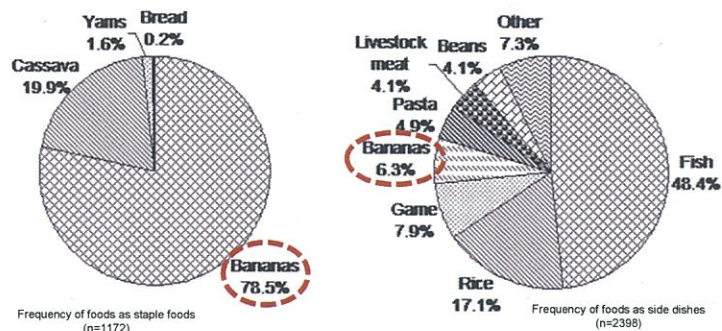


Fig. 3. Frequencies of Various Foods in Meals

Note 1: The research was conducted from May 9 to May 28, 2009, from June 9 to June 29, 2009, and from July 6 to 18, 2009. Thirteen households were selected, and women or household members who prepare meals were principally interviewed. Observations and interviews were conducted a total of over 1213 times.

Note 2: In the right-hand figure, the category "Others" includes canning fish (1.5%), eggs (0.7%), maize (0.6%), shellfish (0.6%), and cassava (0.2%).

Note 3: Occasionally, villagers ate only a staple food or only a side dish. Also, they sometimes ate two or more side dishes together.

Source: Field Research

出所) Ohashi et al.(2011)

## Banana consumption

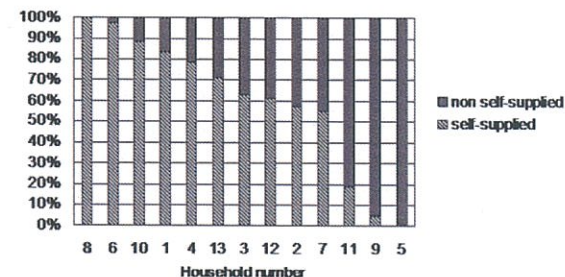


Fig. 4. Self-sufficiency Rates for Bananas in Meals in Each Household (n=913)

Note 1: When a household cooked and mixed bananas self-supplied by its members and bananas acquired from other households, both examples were counted by 0.5. But such instances were observed only 11 times.

Note 2: Because a household member worked for a timber production operation, household 6 was researched from May 6 to 29 and from July 6 to 18, 2009, for a total of 37 days.

Source: Field Research

出所) Ohashi et al.(2011)

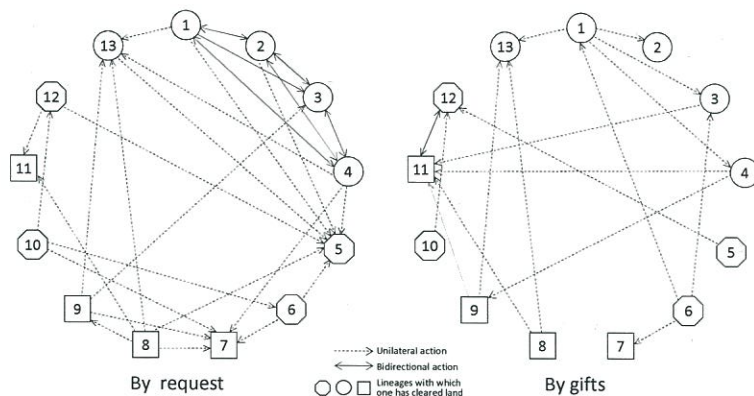


Fig.5 Sociograms of banana distribution in the D village

Note 1: The research was conducted from May 9 to 29 and from June 8 to July 18, 2009, for a total of 62 days. Since a member of household 6 was working for a timber production company, the household was researched from May 9 to 29 and from June 20 to July 18, 2009, for a total of 50 days.

Note 2: Lineages are basically categorized by matrilineal residences. Yet, households 3, 7, 9, 11, and 13 have patrilineal residences, because the wives of 3, 11, and 13 had migrated from other communities. 7 and 9 married villagers, 7 lives patrilineally, and 9 lives near the house of his father in the lowland.

Source: Field Research

出所) Ohashi et al.(2011)

## Banana consumption

Household number	Consumption for household (kg)	Supply to others (kg)	Acquisition from others (kg)	Post-harvest in settlement				Harvests from other households' fields				
				Requests (kg)	Gifts (kg)	Requital and exchange (kg)	Purchases (kg)	Harvests permitted by owners		Tacit-permission harvests		
								Requests (kg)	Gifts (kg)	Close kin of owners (kg)	Field looks like secondary forest (kg)	Owner is absent (kg)
1	1063.2	201.0	52.0	32.4	12.6	7.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
2	538.0	70.5	91.6	24.3	8.2	0.0	0.0	12.4	12.4	0.0	11.5	22.8
3	942.2	112.0	191.1	64.9	63.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	24.8	15.6	9.7	1.9
4	1152.7	152.3	89.7	15.1	22.3	0.0	0.0	56.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
5	672.0	7.6	629.7	170.0	15.7	11.0	12.9	114.7	0.0	0.0	35.9	269.5
6	245.9	251.4	4.4	4.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
7	657.8	3.0	220.5	72.2	4.4	0.0	0.0	55.8	52.9	12.9	0.0	22.3
8	1596.9	495.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
9	368.1	55.1	410.8	18.0	4.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	18.0	369.4	0.0	0.0
10	544.8	25.9	22.4	12.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.4	0.0	0.0
11	374.9	27.1	217.3	42.2	68.6	0.0	0.0	42.5	38.5	12.5	0.0	13.1
12	347.3	43.2	19.4	12.0	7.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
13	619.7	0.0	140.8	38.9	98.2	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.0

Note 1: The research was conducted from May 9 to 29, and June 8 to July 18, 2009, 62 days in total. Since a member of household 6 was working for a timber production operation, that household was researched from May 9 to 29, and from June 20 to July 18, 2009, for a total of 50 days.

Note 2: In this table, weight the banana skin. Primarily, bananas were weighed by a spring balance and scale with a 10-g capacity. Some bananas were measured by sight estimation. The first author calculated average weights of bananas harvested from each field based on a sample of weighed bananas. The edible portion of bananas in D village is 47.3%.

Note 3: Generally speaking, the unit of banana distribution and acquisition in the village is a "hand," while it is a "bunch" when acquired from others' fields.

Note 4: In this table, harvests from fields whose owners were not absent from the village were categorized under "owner is absent" because the harvesters did not tell from which farms they harvested bananas. On the other hand, the category "Supply to others" was allowed with the permission of the owners or close kinship with the owners.

Source: Field Research



## Outline of this presentation

- コモンズ論(欧米、日本)、環境社会学
- 先住民コミュニティ制度
- 誰が森林資源にアクセスできるか？
  - 複数のアクター、複数の森林資源
  - 先住民コミュニティ認定後、木材生産プロジェクト導入後
- Background: Commons study, environmental sociology in Japan
- What is Native Community?
- Who can access to forest resources?
  - Plural actors and various forest resources
  - After becoming a native community, and after the introduction of “community-based” forest management (timber production).

## コモンズ論 Commons study

- 「コモンズの悲劇」(Hardin 1968)
- 「コモンズのドラマ」(National Research Council 2002)
  - 社会学、人類学、経済学からの批判: 地域社会の管理「制度」は持続可能性を実現するシステム
  - 所有だけではなく利用の実態に着目
  - 資源の持続的な管理の条件
- “The tragedy of the commons” (Hardin 1968)
- “Governing the commons” (Ostrom 1990)
- “The drama of the commons” (National Research Council 2002)
  - Common property resources(CPRs)
  - Focus on not only formal property right but also informal rules and actual use in the community
  - Sustainable management of resources

## 環境社会学のレビュー

### Reviews of Environmental Sociology in Japan

- 森林管理論: 外部者がかわるなかでの森林資源の権利関係 forest resource rights in local societies under the interaction with outsiders
  - 政府 government
    - CBFMというローカル・コモンズ導入、組織を優先して個人の利用を制限(関 2001)
  - 移民 immigrant laborers (安部 2006)
  - 商業伐採 commercial logging 都市滞在の村人 community member who live in city(田中 2004)
  - 地元出身の現場森林官 a forester from the local community (楢本 2013) → 政府も一様ではない the government is not a uniform entity
- レジティマシー Legitimacy
  - 誰がどんな価値のもとに管理するかの社会的認知・承認(宮内 2006)

## 環境社会学のレビュー

### Reviews of Environmental Sociology in Japan

- 環境ガバナンス Environmental Governance
  - 荒川(2009:35)「政府や行政(ガバメント)だけに任せてきたそれまでのやり方を変えて、地域住民やその環境に利害関係をもつ組織、あるいは環境に関心をもった人たちが結成されたNPO/NGOなどを含めた、環境を守るしくみ」
  - 複数のアクター、プロセスの重視
- Cross-Scale Linkages (Berkes 2002): スケールを超えた制度間の連関
  - 菅(2008)「コモンズの喜劇—人類学がコモンズ論に果たした役割」の整理がよい

## 環境社会学にみるガバナンスの議論

Discussions of Environmental Governance

- 順応型ガバナンス (Folke et al. 2005)
- 「環境保全や自然資源管理のための社会的しくみ、制度、価値を、その地域ごと、その時代ごとに順応的に変化させながら試行錯誤していく協働ガバナンスのあり方」 (宮内 2013:25-26)
- 協治 (井上 2004, 2010): 「中央政府、地方自治体、住民、企業、NGO・NPO、地球市民などさまざまな主題 (利害関係者) が協働 (コラボレーション) して資源管理を行う仕組み」
  - 地域住民が外部者に与えるレジティマシー
- 参加ありきのガバナンス論への疑問 (佐藤 2009)
- Adaptive governance (Folke et al. 2005; Miyauchi 2013)
- Collaborative governance (Inoue, 2004)
  - a “mechanism for the administration of the environment and resources realized through the solidarity and collaboration of a range of diverse stakeholders centered around local residents”
- Question for the discussion based on the assumption of participation (Sato 2009)

## コモンズ論、木材資源と地域社会の関係に関する議論

Commons studies on the relation between local society and timber resources in Peruvian Amazon

- 海洋資源 (Stocks 1986; Pinho 2012)
- 新たなコミュニティビジネスの共同運営 (Lee 2010)
- 木材資源と先住民社会 (Stocks and Hartshorn 1992)
  - 先住民が企業と協同での伐採の実現を目指す
- 移動性／流動性の高い社会をめぐる議論の少なさ
- Stocks 1986, Pinho 2012: Marine resources
- Lee 2010: Community business
- Stocks and Hartshorn 1992: Logging activity with a company
- Few studies addressing local communities composed of highly mobile members
- There is criticism that “community” are wrongfully conceptualized as spatially small units with homogeneous social structures and sure norms, but cross-scale linkages between local communities and the outside world attracts a growing interest (Agrawal and Gibson 1999)

## 分析の視点

Analytical point

- ソト: 外部者の介入
  - 伐採企業、政府、先住民権利復権組織、開発援助機関
- ウチ: だれが森林資源にアクセスできるか?
  - アクター: 村人、他村居住親族、近隣村民、ふらふらする村人、伐採移民
  - 資源: 企業/伐採移民からの伐採権料、住民主体の伐採、建材、薬/民芸用植物採集
- Outsiders
  - Commercial logging company, government, National NGO, donors etc.
- Insiders?
  - Actors: Villagers (community member), families and members of other villages, *maderero*
  - Resources: Royalty, timbers, medicines etc.

## 分析の視点

Analytical point

- 二つの時期に着目
  1. 先住民民族コミュニティ認定後
  2. 木材生産プロジェクト導入後
- Focusing on
  1. 1970s: Registration as a native community
    - Rights for forest resources were introduced based on *indigenismo* by the government
  2. 2000s: Implementation of timber production project
    - In order to protect the rights of indigenous people
    - For the improvement of people's income through “community-based” forest management.

## 先住民族コミュニティとは？

### What's Native Community?

- 1974年に先住民擁護主義 (cf. Favre 1996) のガルシア (Garcia) 政権が実施
- 登録方法: →書類作成、AIDSEP (Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana)、ORAU (Organización Regional de AIDSEP-Ucayali) に相談可能
- 所有権は国家、住民の利用を容認→土地の売買は禁止
- 商業伐採から住民が直接に利益授与を目的として
- IBC(Instituto bien común)が発行
- 登録数 (2012年12月時)
  - 1270の先住民族コミュニティが存在
  - 663が申請中および承認後の認定書の受け取り待ち
  - 認定面積10,879,392ha
- 認定後: 村長 (jefe de la comunidad)、助役 (teniente)、行政係 (agente municipal) の選定が義務づけられる

## 2006年 木材生産プロジェクト

### 2006 Projecto "bosques inundables"

- 持続可能な森林管理を謳ったUNDP支援IIPA (Instituto de Investigaciones de la Amazonia Peruana) 主催、行政村単位で導入
- 生産至上主義と先住民擁護主義
  - 収入向上: 伐採権販売ではなく住民主体の伐採販売の促進
  - 移民との共同労働も推奨しない
  - 行政村の境界・「居住者=森林資源の占有的利用者」
- Implementing community-based project. The project began in 2006. A national institution, IIPA brought a community-based project to D community.
- "resident = the exclusive user of resources," : villagers were directed to enclose forest resources so that non-villagers would be excluded, and to cut trees by themselves to increase their income.