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学位論文の題目 Forestland Devolution Policy in Vietnam: An Examination on Its Implementation and Impacts to Local Forest Management and Livelihood

(ベトナムにおける林野土地配分政策：政策過程及び森林管理と住民生業への影響)

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学位論文内容の要旨

The research examined the implementation of the forest devolution policy and investigated its impacts on local forest management and livelihood. The field survey was conducted in Thua Thien Hue province belonging to the North Central Coast region of Vietnam. A first look was given to customary elements, such as indigenous governance system and customary laws, of ethnic minorities in relation with forest management in order to understand the local forest management before the forestland devolution. Results show that ethnic minorities have begun to govern forests in accordance with their customary systems since time immemorial and this forest governance harmonized forest utilization and forest protection. For approximate three decades, until the 1980s, these customary elements underwent the state-centred forest management in which people were excluded from the forest and no attention was paid to customary elements. Moreover, after 1970, they were distorted by the expansion of the state administration system and the resettlement by the government, and then have been affected by the population growth and the market development. However, the customary elements have existed and influenced local forest management.

Since the 1990s, the forestland devolution has been promoted in which forest and forestland were mainly allocated to village communities and individual households respectively. Despite of the persistence of customary elements, the implementation of forest allocation to village communities made no space for the customary forest governance to be integrated with due to its poor approach. As a result, the new system was not consistent with the existing customary system which had ever been effective in local forest management, so the village community was unable to sustain this new system and to mobilize people for forest management. In addition, the regulations for forest protection which were established during the allocation contained legal prescriptions rather than village rules, and this made the village community unable to bring them into the effect. These facts imply that customary elements still hold as a determinant to whether success or failure of the forest management. Moreover, the forest allocation paid much attention to forest protection but little one to forest utilization, and thus it has given a little chance to generate income from forest for local people. This resulted in people being less interested in and less motive for forest protection.

However, the implementation of forestland allocation to individual households could not ignore but had to recognize customary elements because people strongly held customary right claim on land. This recognition established the incorporation between customary and statutory laws, and then both together enhanced the security of land use rights and incited people to put a long-term investment in land use. This finding implies that customary elements play important role in securing land use rights for local people. Besides, the forestland allocation encouraged people to maximize land utilization by providing follow-up supports such as technical assistance and input materials. This encouragement, when combined the security of land use rights, promoted people to convert the land into economically effective use. Although this conversion has generated large income to many households and significantly contributed to poverty reduction, it has caused serious threats to environment and livelihood in the long-term. It is suggested that livelihood outcomes from the forestland devolution are still distant from the sustainable livelihood.

論文審査結果の要旨

本研究は、ベトナムにおける林野土地配分政策の実態と、それに伴う森林管理と住民生業の変化を徹底的なフィールドワークを通じて明らかにしたものである。すなわち、ベトナムの山岳地帯では、主に少数民族によって、伝統的に広く焼畑が行われてきた。ところが、ベトナム政府は焼畑農業を森林破壊の主たる要因として非難し、焼畑林野土地から彼らを排除する政策を取ってきた。しかし、近年までベトナムの少数民族の多くは、代替する生業がなかったため、林業警察らの監視の目が届かない、より条件の厳しい奥山で焼畑農業を続けざるを得なかった。このような山地焼畑農民の抵抗を効果的に制御できなかったベトナム政府は 1990 年代以降、①少数民族による焼畑農業の抑制と定住農業への転換、②森林保護、③山地民の生活向上を目的とした林野土地の配分政策を実施してきた。こうした林野土地配分は、脆弱な行政システムの下に、林野土地と元来のその利用者であった少数民族に対する「干渉」を強めながら、他方ではほかの林地に対する「制御」を強化しようとするものと言える。こうした背景の下で、本研究ではベトナム中部・フエ省の 3 つの村を事例として取り上げ、まず慣習的な森林管理の諸要素とそれらの変容を明らかにし (第 5 章)、森林保護を目的としたコミュニティへの林野土地配分が、慣習的な地域ガバナンスと結合できなかったため、住民参加に失敗してしまったことを論証する (第 6 章)。続く第 7 章では個別世帯を対象とした林野土地配分政策を取り上げ、住民生活に及ぼした影響を、世帯レベルでの経営戦略の変化と地域ガバナンスの変容から解明している。すなわち、個別世帯を対象とした政策では、少数民族の慣習法に従って森林の使用権を追認する形で林野土地の配分が行われたが、これは政府の指針とは異なり、慣習的な森林ガバナンスと政府による林野土地配分政策がローカルレベルで結合した結果であると結論づけている。また、配分された林野土地にはゴムやアカシアのプランテーションが奨励され、ベトナム農家平均収入をはるかに超える所得増加をもたらしたが、他方では自然災害と国際市場価格変動に影響を受けやすい、脆弱なモノカルチャー的な農業システムに変わってしまったことを立証している。以上、本研究で得られた成果は、研究対象地域の中中部ベトナムのみでなく、近年、様々な環境問題と社会階層間の格差が生じている東南アジアの山岳地帯全般において、森林の利用と保全に新たな視点を与えるものと評価できる。よって、本論文が博士 (環境学) の学位論文に値すると認定する。