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主 論 文 の 要 旨

論文題目

The Effects of Stakeholder Participation on Local Development: The Logging Process in Mongala Province, the Democratic Republic of Congo

(関係主体の参加が地域開発に与える影響：コンゴ民主共和国モンガラ州における伐木過程)

氏 名

BOSAKAIBO Bomino Georges

論 文 内 容 の 要 旨

The aim of the study is to investigate on the reasons why riparian communities do not benefit from the logging through the participatory approach as promoted by the DRC Forest Code. Many scholars investigated on the usefulness and limitation of participation, but little has been said about the dominance and power relations in participation. Therefore, this study investigates on ways and reasons that stakeholders used and seeks to determine whether participation could be a solution for Mongala province in the context of logging process.

The dissertation is divided into seven chapters. The introductory chapter presents the relevant background to the study including the problem statement, research objectives and questions, motivation and significance of the study, scope and limitations and outline of the methodology employed in this research. Chapter 2 reviews the theoretical and ideological overview of participation and its usefulness in development. However, participation in forest governance aims for the involvement of all stakeholders in terms of decision making, implementation, benefit sharing and monitoring and evaluation. Despite its usefulness, many scholars considered participation as inefficient, limited and prone to elite capture. In line with this, this chapter presents as well how participation can be dangerous, dominant, dependent and demanding. Some ideologies of participation that emerged, such as neoliberal, social democracy and awareness of the asymmetric power, are presented as well. In addition, the power relation is also discussed in hybridity as the outsider tries to include the local actor in each project while neglecting the local actor as power relation is ignored within the local elites by including only the elites and ignoring the rest of the people. In addition, the informal governance and participation is also explored as these play a role in affecting local development.

Chapter 3 explains the importance of the logging industry and benefit sharing. The legal framework provides the recession of 40% of revenue to provinces and the signing of a social clause

– called Social Responsibility Contracts (SRCs) – between parties for local community benefit. The local and state institutions are connected to SRCs as the administration takes charge of forest that contributes to local development. The chapter underlines the importance of logging in DRC for its potential contribution to alleviate poverty toward the socio-economic development (2002 Code, art.36). However, the logging has not yet shown its positive impacts in Mongala province because of the use of informal arrangement that neglect the enforcement of rules. In fact, three main stakeholders like the logging companies, the state and the local community have been identified and supposed to play their roles and responsibilities to foster participation for a better outcome. However, they do not play their role because of the use of informal governance and arrangement that obstructed the involvement of all stakeholders in the logging process.

Some problems exist in relation to the law and institution. The legal related problems includes the central government's reluctance to release the 40% for the provincial government, motivated by the budget constraint. The institutional related problems encompassing the issuance of logging permit by the Minister of Environment and the Provincial Governor is also a complex issue of competitive competence between the two. The creation of the local institutions was intended to rebalance power, but it has not much effect because the logging company has an economic power that is bigger than other actors. This illustrates the contrast between the ideal and the practice.

The chapters 4 and 5 present the findings that resulted from data collection. Chapter 4 investigates on ways and reasons for central and provincial government as well as local committees' failure to realize the SRCs. The major finding is the failure of the territorial administrator and the forest official to ensure local development fueled by lack of incentives for the civil servant and their involvement in informal arrangements for personal gain. Various deficiencies occurred due to budget constraints. The logging company then acts as a substitute to the state due to its failure to supply government officials. This substitution is done in providing everything to the forest officials creating conflict of interest.

Equally important is the local communities' inability to carry out their duties through the two committees that shows weaknesses in the process. These weaknesses are evidence that confirm that the SRCs failure can be caused not only by the local or central administration but also by the local structures. Thus, the responsibility of the SRCs failure is shared among stakeholders as well but in different levels.

Chapter 5 investigates the logging companies' responsibility as they used informal arrangements to maintain their dominance and hinder local development. Various problems have been revealed in every phase of participation in consultation and decision making, implementation and monitoring. Those problems also include manipulation and corruption used to put aside participation in favour of the logging companies. The manipulation of the local administration is illustrated by Bokweli and Sambo cases of conflict resolution failure by the

territorial administrator and through the corruption of traditional chiefs. In substituting the state, the logging company (patron) takes advantage in manipulating and corrupting the local administration to gain favours. In accepting the offer, both the traditional chiefs and the local administration officials (clients) accept to work in favour of the logging companies in return to the received bribe. Consequently, the logging company neglects participation promoted by the 2002 Forest Code, in contradiction to participatory principles.

Chapter 6 analyses the connection between the theory of participation as well as power relations and the problems in Mongala province that resulted to a dichotomy between the findings and the existing literature. Participation is seen by neo-liberals as the interaction between citizen and the private sector with minimal central government involvement for sustainable development. Although the government is minimal, the impact on the sustainable development is not positive. Besides, the neoliberals' promotion of participation focused on people empowerment. Instead, the private sector disempowered the local communities.

Participation as promotion of people in central position and as actors of their own development is the social democratic tradition's view. Nonetheless, community participation is not considered by other stakeholders due to the asymmetric power relations. Mongala province's reality is in contradiction with the argument of Figueres (2003) that emphasizes the community's active role in its own affairs. On the other hand, the local communities' shortcomings prevent them from being in a central position. Another radical ideology perceives participation as awareness of the asymmetric distribution of power in society leading to 'elite capture'. However, the informal relationship between the elite and the logging company allows hijacking of the process by the company. Then, the solution of a social transformation and empowerment is not acquired in Mongala province. Thus, the application of various ideological views of participation to the findings shows that participation is not implemented and therefore irrelevant.

The critical analysis of hybrid approach in the context of participation highlighted the neglect of the local elites by the logging company using the latter's economic power. Because of this, participation, which is supposed to be a valid and creative alternative for internal forest management failed in Mongala province. The logging company neglects local elite power in participation. While it seems that the elite are participating, their voice is not considered. This neglect of the elite and the power of the other members of the society who exert efforts in participation is unnoticed by many authors promoting participatory approach. Therefore, participation in this case seems to refer to a neo-colonial, capitalist and irrelevant concept.

Chapter 7 concludes this dissertation and draws some pre-conditions for participation to be effective. The investigation on ways and reasons for central and provincial government as well as local committees' failure to realize the SRCs resulted to the local administration's failure to provide incentives to civil servants and ensure the local development as accomplice of the logging company. The latter used various informal arrangements including manipulation and corruption

to maintain their dominance in the logging process for its interest maximization qualifying participation as irrelevant, neo-colonial and capitalist. This cannot be the solution for Mongala province. In addition, the critical analysis of participation shows a tendency for the notion to be a valid and creative alternative for internal forest management, but it is not the case regarding poor result in Mongala province. Moreover, the neglect of the local elite power is another important factor as the logging company does not consider the power relations within local elite. After analysis, participation is seen as neo colonial, capitalist and irrelevant concept.

The contribution of this study to the academic realm is twofold: a critic towards the neo-liberal ideological view on participation as interaction between the citizen and private sector with minimal government involvement. This study shows that despite the minimal intervention of the government and the dependence on the private sector as an engine for growth, participation does not always lead to sustainable development. Another theoretical contribution to the debate is a critique on the power analysis in the context of participation as the foreign or international stakeholders emphasize the importance of power relations but still neglects the power within the local actors.

The findings support the argument put forward in this study in confirming the fact that the logging company has absolute dominance over the logging process proven by various strategies used that had negative impact on the local development. Various ideological views of participation promote sustainable development, but the findings proved that it is not the case. In addition, another supporting point to the argument is the undermining of the local power elite by the logging company. If this elite power relation is not critically assessed, the real participation implementation will not occur.

To make participation work, some pre-conditions can be considered to ensure accessible and inclusive stakeholder commitment, observe the legal responsibilities, and have adequate capacity and resources, establish an adequate public administration, provide mechanisms of accountability and transparency for all stakeholders, recognize peoples' rights to be actors of their own development, and consider the power relation of every actor without discrimination.