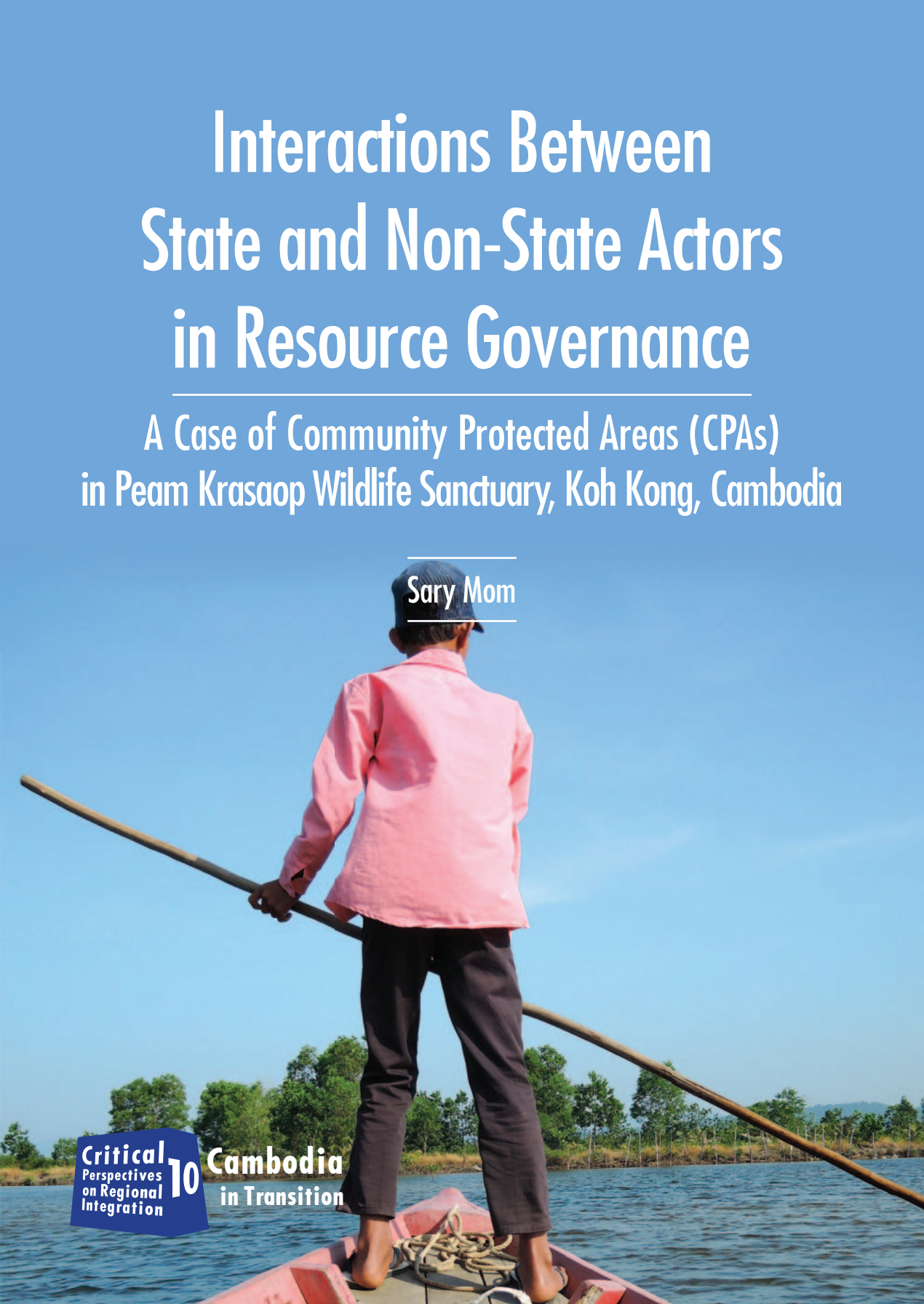
Interactions Between State and Non-State Actors in Resource Governance

A Case of Community Protected Areas (CPAs) in Peam Krasaop Wildlife Sanctuary, Koh Kong, Cambodia

Sary Mom



Critical Perspectives on Regional Integration 10
Cambodia in Transition

Series Foreword

The monographs that comprise the Critical Perspectives on Regional Integration series have emerged from dissertations based on original primary field research, and written as a major part of the requirements for the Master of Social Science (Development Studies) program of the Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development (RCSD), in the Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University.

As Senior Editorial Adviser, I was engaged by the Center to conduct an overview of the dissertations—dating back to 2001 and now well over 100 pieces of work—and select which of them would best illustrate the quality of graduate student research. This was by no means an easy task, but it was decided to choose primarily those written in the past few years, given that empirical research in social science tends to date rapidly. Another consideration was that the monographs should give expression to the main theme of the series of Critical Perspectives on Regional Integration.

As the selection and editorial work proceeded it was then decided to organize the publications into sub-series focused on different parts of mainland Southeast Asia. The first several volumes focus on Myanmar, covering such subjects as livelihood strategies, changing ethnic identities, borders and boundary-crossing, and the commoditization of culture within the context of ethnic tourism. Following volumes are devoted to Thailand, Lao PDR, Vietnam, and Cambodia.

The series also illustrates the concern to bring together social science and natural science knowledge in order to further the understanding of sustainable development issues. Over some 20 years Chiang Mai University has developed considerable research expertise in such fields as resource management, environmental impact assessment, upland agricultural systems and indigenous knowledge, health, and ethnic and gender relations. Teaching and research in development issues also deploys social science concepts within the development field to address decision-making, policy and practice, and the responses and adaptations of local populations.

This current monograph series also focuses on the processes of social, cultural, economic, political and environmental change among populations and territories undergoing rapid transformations within the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS) and the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC).

Victor T. King
Senior Editorial Adviser, Critical Perspectives on Regional Integration Series

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A Case of Community Protected Areas (CPAs) in Peam Krasaop Wildlife Sanctuary, Koh Kong, Cambodia

Sary Mom

Sary Mom takes a deep and methodical look at the inner workings of Community Protected Areas in Cambodia. Through careful analysis of the local dynamics of the people living in the Toul Korki commune in the Peam Krasaop Wildlife Sanctuary, Sary Mom astutely assesses why some Community Protected Areas succeed while others fail to live up to their promises. Her insightful observations and recommendations offer hope that mangrove conservation can indeed coexist with secure and sustainable local livelihoods.

Growing up in remote rural Cambodia Sary Mom was tempted at a young age to leave school for factory work. Encouragement from teachers and family motivated her to instead complete her Bachelors in English Literature from the University of Cambodia and Master of Arts in Social Science from Chiang Mai University, Thailand. She first began looking at coastal resource management issues in 2011 while working at the Ministry of Environment, Cambodia, where she is currently employed.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This study primarily focuses on mangrove forest governance at the local level and examines supporting examples of mangrove resource administration at the national and global levels to provide a deeper more nuanced understanding of the topic. There presently exists underutilized potential for development of mangrove ecosystems which can benefit communities, reinforce efforts to protect biodiversity and reduce threats to mangrove forest viability. This chapter begins by describing the potential of mangrove ecosystems for human benefit and biodiversity, and identifies key factors which threaten mangrove ecosystems. The author briefly classifies relevant international and national agencies involved in the protection, conservation and utilization of mangroves, and mentions the principal state agencies that supervise natural resource management in Cambodia. And further, this chapter introduces a research site example, key people resident in the community where the site is located, and livelihoods of local people living in the community. The discussion cites a few past studies, and describes past efforts at mangrove conservation and protection, environmental issues, and the resulting adaptations made by local people living in the Toul Korki commune (TKK), Peam Krasaop Wildlife Sanctuary (PKWS). A discussion of the political mechanisms used by state and non-state actors participating in the mangrove governance process in PKWS is integral to topics covered in this chapter, as well as those that follow.

Background and research problem

Effective mangrove conservation and protection is a part of environmental governance organized to ensure the sustainability of ecosystem services, augment carbon sequestration and improve livelihoods of those living in Community Protected Areas. Although mangrove forest areas provide natural resources which benefit both the local and national economy, mangrove forest areas now face diverse threats. It is estimated that 15.2 million hectares of mangrove forest exist worldwide in 123 countries and territories (Mangrove for the Future (MFF), 2012), with 70,000 hectares in Cambodia. Mangroves provide vital ecosystem services including forest products, environmental education opportunities, and reduction of carbon emissions (Saenger et al., 2013; Vannucci, 2004). Mangrove forest use is detailed in Bann's environmental economic perspective which describes both direct and indirect uses (Bann, 1997). Direct uses include wood for fuel, edible food, construction materials, and as sites for human habitation. Indirect uses include ecological benefits such as natural barriers to shoreline erosion and the reduction of storm surge and flooding effects. Mangroves improve water quality by filtering pollutants and support a wide range of wildlife. It is therefore clear that mangrove forests represent an important resource providing crucial sources of livelihood for coastal communities which adds to the national economy, and contributes to the natural environment.

Despite their critical importance to the economy and ecology of coastal areas, leading institutions involved in mangrove projects have reported potential and actual threats to mangrove resources. MFF (2012) showed that, during the last 100 years, 50 percent of worldwide mangrove forests have been destroyed by unsustainable human development activities. The International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) (1997) reported that although most mangrove forests are managed under national parks or protected areas, one third of them are being converted, modified or transformed by farming, logging, mangrove cutting and clearance for aquaculture, charcoal burning and other resource exploiting activities. The World Wildlife Fund for Nature (WWF) (2013) and Ek (2013) have conducted studies on mangroves in the Mekong Region which confirm that multiple factors threaten mangrove ecosystems. These threats include increasing human population as well as income inequality; unsustainable levels of resource use throughout the region driven by the increasing demands

of export-led growth rather than local use; unplanned and frequently unsustainable forms of infrastructure development such as dams, irrigation and roads; misguided government policies and lack of integrated planning, poor resource governance, corruption and wildlife trafficking on a massive scale.

Cambodia's mangrove forests are found in Kampot, Koh Kong, Preah Sihanouk and Kep provinces. A recent study conducted by Rizvi and Singer (2011) showed that Kampot province is facing mangrove degradation due to shrimp farming, and charcoal production. Preah Sihanouk is affected by environmental issues related to mangrove degradation, port management, land reclamation, solid waste management and pollution due to industrial effluents. Kep province faces mangrove and sea grass degradation due to salt farming and overfishing. Meanwhile, Koh Kong is subject to mangrove degradation, habitat destruction, biodiversity loss, issues related to marine aquaculture, sand mining, and flooding. Regarding mangrove degradation in the four coastal provinces in Cambodia, infrastructure development projects are the major cause (Marschke, 1999; Lisa, 2001; Adeel and Pomeroy, 2002; Kim et al., 2008; Rizvi and Singer, 2011). Recently, large scale land acquisitions through government promoted economic land concessions (ELCs), increased urban development, effects of climate change, and sand mining have all contributed to destruction and degradation of coastal habitats (Rizvi and Singer, 2011; MFF, 2015). Destruction of coastal regions is seen as a combined result of social, economic, environmental and governance problems in Cambodia. It is estimated that 70,000 hectare (ha.) of mangrove forest remain in the four provinces (Doma, 2014). According to 1980, 1990, 2000, 2005, 2010, and 2015 investigations, mangrove resources declined significantly from 91,200 ha., 82,400 ha., 73,600 ha., 69,200 ha., 56,000 ha., to 50,000 ha. continuously (WWF, 2013; FAO, 2015). This indicates a lack of success at preventing Cambodian mangrove deforestation (management) from 1980 to the present.

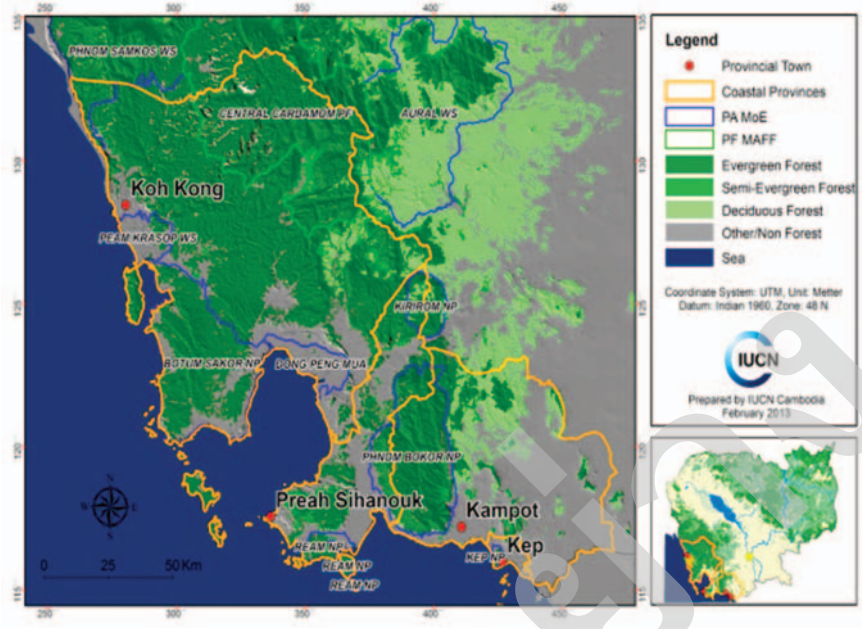

Figure 1.1: Coastal provinces of Cambodia, Source: MFF, 2013

The state of the environment including mangrove reforestation is a global issue. There are many diverse actors involved including both state and non-state actors (Donors, NGOs, communities, private sector) working to create mechanisms for sustainable environmental governance (Chervier et al., 2010; WWF, 2013). These initiatives recognize the importance of mangrove forests to the world's ecology including the use of mangroves for blue carbon with a focus on mitigating climate change (Zoological Society of London, 2014). Many countries are increasing efforts to restore, conserve, and manage mangrove sustainability (Field, 1999; Lewis, 2005; Walton et al., 2006; Bosire et al., 2008; Morrisey et al., 2010; MFF, 2012). The actions of multiple actors in mangrove management and conservation can be viewed as a hybrid governance system at the local level. Today, PKWS is regulated by the General Department of Administration for Nature Conservation and Protection (GDANCP) (An et al., 2009), however government agencies do not act alone to effectively manage and conserve mangroves in PKWS. Many stakeholders are involved in mangrove management and conservation in this area, including local communities and relevant sub-national authorities (sanctuary authorities, local village/commune

level, and provincial authorities), supported by a diversity of donors and multi-level NGOs.

Leading conservation groups in Cambodia have provided funds and technical assistance aimed at increasing capacity for local communities and local government officials to manage natural resources and institute conservation measures. Since 1997, various agencies have contributed to conservation efforts in Cambodia, including the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), World Wildlife Fund for Nature (WWF), Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS), World Bank, Wild Aid and other projects (World Bank, 2009). These agencies are part of wider natural resource and conservation management assistance provided to the Cambodian government working in partnership with local government agencies and local communities. The WWF, for example, provides overseas scholarships for Cambodian government officials and support staff of involved NGOs.

The WWF (2013) and Duggin (2014) identified mechanisms designed to reduce human impact to ecosystems allowing degraded ecosystems to recover, contributing to poverty reduction in rural areas and local communities. Mechanisms include REDD+ (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation), a natural capital and environmental service promoting lower-carbon growth through PES (Payment for Ecosystem Services) re-plantation, and establishment of efficient market driven mechanisms. In Cambodia, forest conservation mechanisms include National Protected Areas and Parks, Community-Based Organizations, Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM), Community Forestry (CF), Community Fishery (CFi), Community Protected Area (CPA), and market-oriented mechanisms (Kim et al., 2008; Sango and Milne, 2015).

During the 1980s and 1990s, Cambodian mangrove areas attracted commercial enterprises from both insiders and outsiders, Vietnam and Thailand, with opportunities to establish shrimp farms which led to significant negative impacts to mangrove forests. The designation "insiders" refers to people that migrated to PKWS for settlement and economic purposes after the Khmer Rouge period (1975-1979). At the time, natural resources including mangroves were classified as common pool resources which were not controlled by any state agency. In 1993, the PKWS was established by royal decree (Bann, 1997; Marschke, 1999; An et al., 2009) during a period when mangrove areas

became threatened by shrimp farming, salt farming, charcoal production and water bird trapping. The will of local authorities and local people to participate in natural resource conservation and protection programs was disregarded, resulting in continued control and management of natural resources by one state entity. A decentralization mandate was not instituted until 2002.

From 1997 to 2004, some projects, such as the Participatory Management of Coastal Resources (PMCR), formed partnerships with the Mangrove Action Project (MAP) working closely with local people through the CBNRM in a pilot project to provide awareness to local people concerning the beneficial potential of natural resources. Under this pilot project local people participated in mangrove conservation, restoration and plantation (PMMR, 2000) leading to an end of illegal high yield charcoal making kilns, as well as increased awareness of local people about the potential of natural resources to benefit livelihoods for themselves and following generations. After the Protected Area Law was established in 2008, local authorities and local people became more involved in natural resource conservation and protection (PA Law, 2008). The author's research is a case study of the Community Protected Area in Toul Korki, PKWS in Cambodia. The study focused on the relationships between the CPA, local authorities, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and the emerging Non-State Market Driven (NSMD) approach to mangrove management and conservation in PKWS.

This study was conducted at the Toul Korki commune, Mondol Seima district, located in PKWS, Koh Kong province. In 2016, there existed 11 CPAs in Koh Kong province (7 CPAs in PKWS). The CPA presented in this research was legally recognized by the Ministry of Environment in 2013. Little research had been conducted in PKWS; it is remote with few projects to support livelihoods of local people or raise local resident awareness concerning potential of natural resources. Approximately 80 percent of TKK households are farmers planting rice and managing *chamkar* (farms growing vegetables and fruit trees). Local people collect Non-Timber Forest Products (NTFPs) as well as catch fish inside mangrove areas for subsistence livelihoods (Kim et al., 2015). Decline in fishery resources, unstable or low income, and lack of available land all have impacted livelihood strategies.

Impacts related to climate change in Toul Korki include more severe storms with heavier rains that impede fishing, as well as changing tides which

interfere with crabbing, pushing gillnets, and other methods of fishing. Heavy rains caused increased inflow of fresh water from rivers and canals altering ocean water salinity, forcing fish to move further offshore. Larger tidal surge required stronger infrastructure to prevent flooding of homes. Villagers in TKK are also challenged by insufficient fresh water for rice production, and degradation of fish habitats and mangrove forests (Kim and Kim, 2012; Doma, 2014; fieldwork, 2016). Each CPA in PKWS employs unique strategies to deal with climate change related impacts. The CPA has responded to these challenges by using different varieties of rice seeds, raising more chickens and improving home gardening. Recently, there has been more involvement of local authorities in TKK engaged in natural resource conservation and protection.

The aforementioned examples provide a more in-depth understanding of actor relationships in CPA development, as well as current practices among these actors and other groups at different levels in the mangrove conservation and protection process. The CPA development in TKK involved both state and non-state actors. This research set out to understand how the CPA has evolved within PKWS which is itself an area under the responsibility of the government's GDANCP and MoE.

The interactions of local authorities, communities and NGOs is a case of actors influencing environmental governance, especially in the context of conservation and management issues affecting mangroves in PKWS. State actors were involved in a number of areas bearing on: the local economy, the environment, infrastructure and local political stability, as they formulated natural resource protection policy (Ek, 2013; UNEP, 2014; Tacconi, 2015). Non-state actors usually focused on pursuing an environmental protectionist agenda with solutions and incentives for the local community (Chervier et al., 2010; WWF, 2013; Clements et al., 2013). Non-state actors also had individual political and economic agendas which they pursued while acting to facilitate more general mangrove conservation and restoration programs.

Research questions

This research aimed to better understand how and why state and non-state actors interacted to further mangrove conservation and management goals. It represents an attempt to observe state and non-state actors' interactions relevant to mangrove resource management as they established a CPA, and to

analyze strategies employed by local people as they negotiated livelihoods. Moreover, the researcher maintains that positive mangrove governance in PKWS can be improved through application of similar models and knowhow provided by state and non-state actor entities operating elsewhere. This research sought to answer the following questions:

1. What were the key factors that influenced the current process and patterns of decentralization for CPA management? How were stakeholders involved as a hybrid governance system in mangrove conservation and management?
2. How did the local community perceive decentralization, and what tools or processes were used to negotiate with the dominant power for both community livelihoods and mangrove forest conservation? What differences existed within the community concerning how they understood and negotiated important issues?
3. How were non-state market driven (NSMD) systems of environmental governance viewed and used by state actors, villagers, and NGOs as alternative methods for governance of mangrove forests in PKWS?

Research objectives

Following from the main research questions, three research objectives were pursued:

- Examination of how institutional structures and strategies involving state and non-state actors determined the success of decentralized decision making with respect to halting the decline of mangrove resources in the coastal area in PKWS;
- Learning how policy and regulations (related to mangrove forest policy, coastal zone management, and protected areas) were created and implemented at the local level to manage and protect mangrove resources and its impact on livelihoods of the local community;
- Exploration of the perceptions of state actors, villagers and NGOs regarding new ideas and methods of mangrove forest management in PKWS.

Operational definitions

Peam Krasaop Wildlife Sanctuary is one of 23 protected areas in Cambodia managed by the government's Ministry of Environment. PKWS covers 23,750 hectares and is surrounded by mangroves. It provides ideal conditions for fishing and other natural resource-based livelihoods.

Protected Area (PA) is a category of conservation area which includes a strict nature reserve area, wilderness area, national park area, space for natural monuments or features, habitats or species management areas, protected landscape or seascape, and a protected area for sustainable natural resource use (Dudlley, 2008).

Community Protected Area (CPA) is a part of the PA territory under the management of residents (people who have been living in the PA since before it was established) and state agencies. Key residents proposed to the government that some parts of the PA be put under their control, allowing them to manage and access natural resources. A definition of the CPA was provided by Kim et al., (2015, p. 226): "CPAs are neutral resource schemes co-managed between the MoE and a club of authorized users represented by a committee. Authorized users are entitled to use and manage natural resources in accordance with their requirements and with management plans they have submitted."

Decentralization is a redistribution of responsibilities and capacities of central state governments to local state governments (Larson, 2002). Decentralization in this study is more focused toward the commune level involving multiple actors and different levels in mangrove conservation and protection in PKWS.

Stakeholder refers to anybody who can affect or is affected by an organization, strategy or project, or those who have the power to impact an organization or project in some way. Stakeholder refers to individuals and social groups of various kinds with an interest or stake in a particular issue or system (Agrawal and Gibson, 1999). Stakeholders here refers to cooperation among state actors and non-state actors such as the commune chief, village chief, CPA people, and Mangrove for the Future (MFF)/ Development Khmer Center (DKC) partnerships with the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) in Cambodia, some of the national staff from

the Ministry of Environment and the Provincial Department of Environment in Koh Kong province, the PKWS director, and the owner of a tourism enterprise.

Local governance refers to decentralized governance comprised of a set of state and non-state institutions, mechanisms, and processes to ensure that public goods and services are delivered to citizens to meet their interests and needs, mediate their differences and exercise their rights and obligations (UNDP, 1997).

Negotiation livelihoods is a back and forth communication designed to reach an agreement when two or more parties have interests that are shared or opposed (Fisher and Ury, 1981). Negotiation livelihoods concerns negotiating to access natural resources (Bebbington and Simon, 2001). Different forms of negotiation and involvement of different actors exist within the CPA boundaries in TKK. Livelihood refers to the abilities of people or households to transform assets into income, dignity, power and sustainability (Bebbington and Simon, 2001).

Hybrid governance system refers to multiple actors and roles of state and non-state actors in mangrove conservation and protection. There are both state and non-state actors in the Toul Korki commune. Existing state actors in Toul Korki commune include village chiefs, the commune chief, the commune police, the PKWS manager and rangers, the DoE, MoE, Fisheries Administration (FiA), Forestry Administration (FA), and the MoT. Existing conservation projects in Toul Korki commune are the Participatory Management of Costal Resource project, Ministry of Environment (PMCR-MoE), the IUCN/MFF and DKC projects, Wildlife Conservation Society, and the owner of a private tourism enterprise.

Research methodology

Research sites

The CPA in Toul Korki was established in 2013, and is located within PKWS, Koh Kong province. PKWS was established in 1993 by Royal decree. It is under the control of the GDANCP of the MoE (Ken, 2003). The CPA in TKK is located in Toul Korki Commune, the district of Mondol Seima, 10 kilometers from the town of Koh Kong. Toul Korki has 275 households and