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BRIDGING, LINKING, AND BONDING SOCIAL CAPITAL IN COLLECTIVE ACTION

The Case of Kalahan Forest Reserve in the Philippines

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ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to identify the factors which are responsible for successful management of natural resources when communities are given opportunities to manage those resources. Applying the social capital framework, it analyzes empirical data from the well known case of Kalahan Educational Foundation, the Philippines. The study confirms previous findings, which have emphasized the high level of cohesion and traditional norms among a homogeneous community of indigenous peoples (bonding social capital) as a success factor. This study further identifies that for effective management of collective action, mobilization of bridging and linking social capital are equally important as they do not only help mobilize external resources but, at times, also promote bonding social capital.

Keywords: Kalahan PO, Philippines, Bonding, Bridging, Linking Social Capital, Governance, Collective Action

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The Case of Kalahan Forest Reserve in the Philippines

Ganga Ram Dahal ¹ and Krishna Prasad Adhikari

1. INTRODUCTION

Recently the role of social capital in the governance of collective resources such as forest resources has become a topic of widespread interest especially in development policy debates. It is increasingly agreed that customary institutions as a form of social capital matter in the management of collective resources as they provide structure and foster trust and norms of reciprocity for cooperation and coordinated actions. These institutions are the local equivalents of the rule of law as they are deeply tied to local notions of identity and social norms of cooperation.

Local participation is an important element for the successful governance of collective action including the management of natural resources such as forestry (Uphoff, 2000; Hobley, 1996). Thus, studies often take community management of collective resources for granted as such management is assumed to be a form of enhanced local participation. However, the success of managing collective action differs from community to community, as some are more successful than others (Bebbington et al., 2006; Bebbington et al, 2004; Pretty, 2003; World Bank, 2003b; Krishna and Uphoff, 1999; Uphoff et al., 1998; Bunch and Lopez, 1995; Bagadion and Korten, 1991). Most of these studies have shown that the endowment of community social capital, which is often defined as trust, norms and networks facilitating cooperation and collective action (Putnam, 1993), is the prime aspect that plays a vital role in determining success or failure of management of collective actions. Despite this acknowledgement, most studies have applied a social capital framework that does not acknowledge the multi-faceted aspects of social capital. As a result, many such studies have overemphasized the local relations, or the bonding social capital, in the management of natural resources. This emphasis in explaining the success or failure of community collective action fails to recognize or tends to downplay the mutual interaction among bonding, bridging, and linking aspects of social capital.

Based on a "mini ethnography" carried out in the Kalahan Forest Reserve (KFR) in the Philippines in 2004, this paper explores aspects of social capital of three distinct kinds (bonding, bridging, and linking) and their distinct as well as mutual roles in the management of collective resources at the local level. The Kalahan Educational Foundation (KEF), which is a formally registered membership based users' organization commonly referred to as People's Organization (PO), manages the KFR. The foundation is often presented as a very successful example

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of collective management of natural resources. This PO was selected as a case of excellence by the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) of the Government of Philippines, and was later successfully selected as an exemplary forest management case in Asia and the Pacific and published in a book, entitled *Search for Excellence* (Durst et al., 2005; Dahal and Capistrano, 2006). These studies have highlighted the merit of the PO attributing this to the homogeneous and cohesive community with an indigenous system of governing collective action (bonding social capital). Less emphasized by these studies is the relative presence of both bridging and linking social capital in the KEF. The KEF not only provides a case study in terms of bonding social capital, but it also provides an excellent case for comprehensive analysis that includes bridging and linking aspects of social capital. This study analyzes the broader case, exploring the possible role of social capital generated by maintaining relations at various levels in the governance of natural resources at local level. The findings from this study open grounds for further investigation in order to identify whether there is causal relation between the successful management of natural resources by community people and high bringing and linking social capital.

The paper starts with presenting a brief conceptual and theoretical overview of social capital in relation to collective action, followed by the presentation of the methods applied. Then, it presents the case descriptions along with findings. Finally, it attempts to integrate findings with the theory of social capital and presents a conclusion.

2. METHODOLOGY

This study is based on qualitative research conducted in the Kalahan Forest Reserve in the Philippines. The research team, comprised of both expatriate and local researchers, spent an extended period of time (March–June in 2004) in the community. This period was sufficient to immerse researchers into the local setting while observing day to day practices of social relations, particularly in relation to management of collective issues. We also had the benefit of knowing the local language so we could directly communicate with the local people. The local research assistant was fluent in both English and Kalanguya, the local language. In addition, the local residents were able to fluently communicate in English. We listened to and engaged in conversation, and developed an understanding about people's behavior within the Kalanguya community in Kalahan. We observed how people behaved, interacted, and how decisions were made within the KEF as both participants and non-participants. A set of instruments was devised to collect and triangulate the information such as semi structured interviews, meetings and discussion with officials of the KEF and the local Barangays: ² Imugan, Malico, Baracbec, Unib, Sta Rosa, Baeneng, and San Nicolas. Some focus group discussions were also conducted as a tool to understand how individuals collectively interact and make sense of the initiatives taken by KEF and construct meaning around such initiatives. This extensive qualitative process has formed a "mini ethnography" (Bebbington et al., 2004) and explored local issues and contexts and generated a

² A barangay is the lowest unit of local government.

good deal of information. Qualitative data was further analyzed with the help of the software for qualitative data analysis QSR N6, which helped to build themes out of narrative text collected from semi structured interviews.

3. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: SOCIAL CAPITAL, CUSTOMARY INSTITUTIONS, AND COLLECTIVE ACTION

The concept of social capital has made considerable headway in development policy debates and research and policy discussions, particularly within the last two decades. Now, social capital theory has been picked up in the field of development practice by many development agencies and national governments. The World Bank has played a major role in promoting the concept regarding it as an important development tool or the "the missing link" (Grootaert, 1998) which is essential for alleviating poverty and achieving societal development (Eade, 2003:307). Similarly, management experts have regarded it as a way of thinking about organizational development and maintenance (Cohen and Prusak, 2001).

Social capital has been defined in various ways, but definitions by three seminal authors (Bourdieu, Coleman, and Putnam) are of particular importance for their contribution to the development of the concept. Putnam's work (1993) further contributed to the recent upsurge of the concept in the development policy debates. According to Bourdieu (1986: 251), "Social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition." Coleman (1988:96) defines social capital by its function that "It is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities having two characteristics in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within that structure." Putnam (1993) defines social capital as features of social organizations, such as networks, norms, and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefits. Despite their emphases at different levels and for different purposes, at the heart of all these definitions lie "relations" (Narayan and Cassidy, 2001; Portes, 1998) and the benefits, such as mutual cooperation or various other resources that result from these relations.

Studies of collective action, such as management of natural resources in general and forestry in particular, have widely used the social capital framework as defined by Putnam for three significant reasons. First, Putnam relates social capital to meso (collective) level units, such as associations, communities, and regions. Second, Putnam (1993) presents social capital as a solution to the dilemmas of collective action. Third, Putnam applies the social capital framework to the study of the performance of institutions, such as regional governments. In a broader, analytical sense, application of the social capital framework in the study of the management of collective issues is useful because it includes networks (both formal and informal), including users' groups, as the structural social capital facilitating collective action (Uphoff, 2000; Pretty, 2002); and various formal and informal norms and institutions (such as norms of reciprocity, trust) as the cognitive social capital which predisposes groups to cooperation and collective action (Uphoff, 2000). Furthermore, while facilitating or predisposing to cooperate, sanctions arise

as an integral part of the social capital framework. Therefore, social capital is a multifaceted concept (Dasgupta and Serageldin, 2000).

The concept of social capital is expanding. Putnam's original idea of relationships at a horizontal level was narrow (DeFilippis, 2001) and was later expanded by including connections and interaction between heterogeneous groups (Putnam, 1998). Based on relationships of connections between actors located at different levels, social capital has been presented as bonding, bridging, and linking. According to Woolcock and Sweetser (2002:26), "bonding social capital refers to connections to people like you [family, relatives, kinship]...bridging social capital refers to connections to people who are not like you in some demographic sense," and "linking social capital pertains to connections with people in power, whether they are in politically or financially influential positions." Linking social capital also includes vertical connections to formal institutions (Woolcock, 2001; Mayoux, 2001). Bonding social capital is the relationship within a homogeneous group and "bridging social capital tends to bring together people across diverse social divisions" (Field, 2003; ONS, 2001). Bonding and bridging social capital have resonance with Granovetter's (1983) ideas of "strong ties" and "weak ties" respectively.

Studies on indigenous organizations have often shown a link between social capital and sustainability of these organizations, though these studies are limited to the bonding level (Garforth and Munro, 1995). Since the KEF is predominantly related to indigenous people and traditional system of management of their collective resources, a brief review of studies on indigenous organizations is useful for the purpose of present study.

Traditional organizations are rooted in culture and tradition, the sources of social norms. "Tradition is not and has never been static, but it survived because of the close fit to the needs, values and interest of people who uphold it." (Uphoff, 1996: ix)

Esman and Uphoff (1984) highlight the social capital represented in the existing organizations as too important to be bypassed or discarded. Wolff and Wahab (1996) found that government attempts to supersede indigenous organizations in Nigeria failed. The indigenous organizations were found to be sustainable because membership forged strong social and economic links and members recognized and trusted their leaders who were appointed based on age and experience. In Cernea's (1987) opinion, the degree of group cohesion is critical for the persistence of indigenous organizations. Garforth and Munro (1995:30) observe that their viability comes "because of the stability of structure and members, a set of operational rules and sanctions and an economy of scale, which permits specialization."

The experience with traditional organizations suggests that social capital (recognized norms, roles and responsibility, based on trust, and resultant collective actions) contributes to the sustainability of the organizations. It also indicates that recognized and accountable leadership, loyal members and consensual processes, and informality have contributed to the mitigation of conflicts and creation of conducive environments for institutionalization of such organizations.

Despite these characteristics of successful nature of indigenous organizations in general, the studies presented above have failed to address the implications of external linkages on such organizations. The studies undertaken so far on the KEF

also replicate this bias. How indigenous organizations can extend their boundaries in order to access external benefits, and how these expanded relations impact on them remain unresolved questions with high policy importance. This paper attempts to relate some of these issues.

4. EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS OF KEF

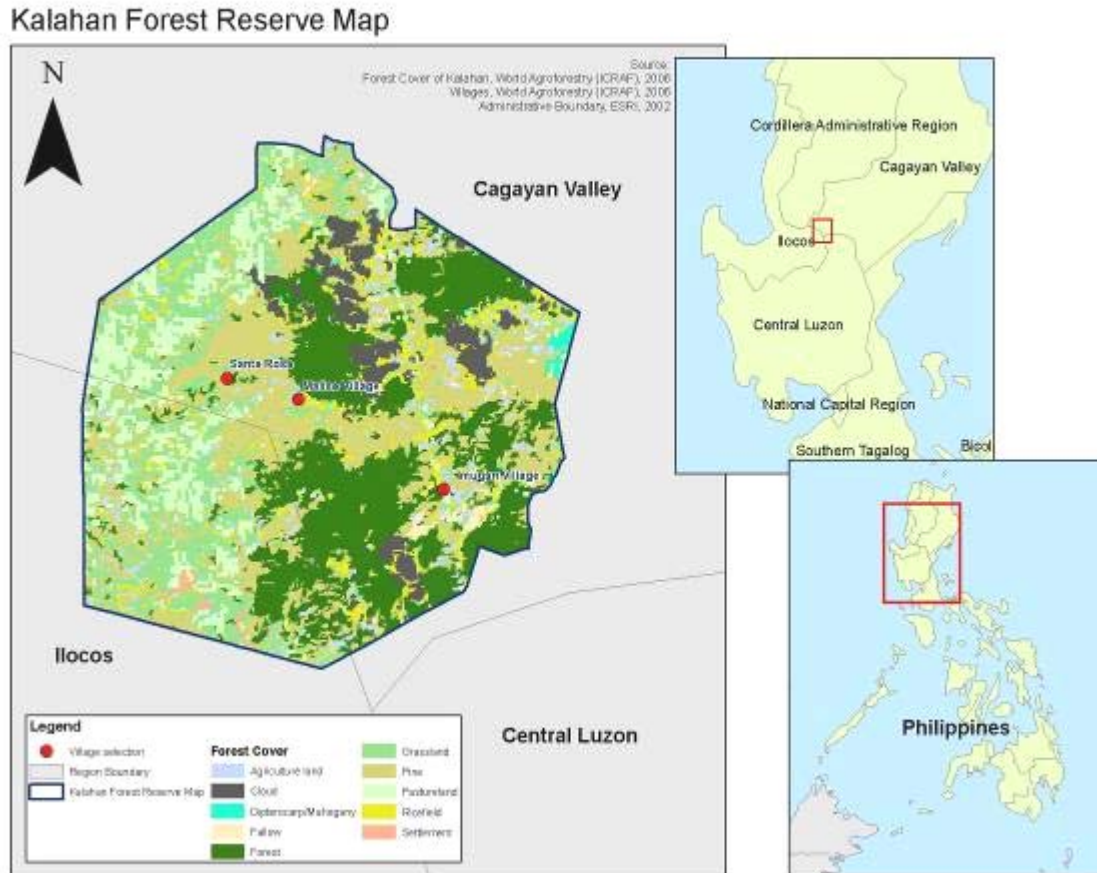
This section presents an analysis of the KEF in relation to the social capital frameworks presented above. In order to help answer the research questions—whether the success of KEF is only due to the high bonding nature of strong indigenous community, or whether it is also due to their bridging and linking social capital—this section presents an analysis of the three distinct types of social capital introduced in the previous section: bonding, bridging, and linking social capital. The section starts with brief contextual information on the Kalahan Forest Reserve and Kalahan Educational Foundation.

Kalahan Forest Reserve, the KEF, and collective activities

The Kalahan Forest Reserve (KFR) is located in the South West part of Nueva Vizcaya province in Northern Luzan in the Philippines. The reserve extends over seven barangays, namely Imugan, Malico, Baracbec, Unib, Sta Rosa, Baeneng, and San Nicolas. Of these seven barangays, six belong to Sta Fe municipality of Nueva Vizcaya province and one to the province of Pangasinan. Kalahan lies between 600-1700 meters above sea level. The reserve is surrounded by the provinces of Nueva Ecija and Pangasinan. Total forestland covered by this reserve is 15,000 hectares, which is managed by 500 member households under the tenure instrument known as Certificate of Ancestral Domain Claim (CADC) as part of a Community Based Forest Management (CBFM) Agreement.

The reserve has been managed by the Kalahan Educational Foundation since 1970. The functions of KEF are not limited to conserving and managing forests. It has different organizational sections: forest and natural resources, health and sanitation, education, and enterprise development. They engage in various activities, such as managing schools and carrying out income generating activities, such as food processing and marketing. For the management of the Kalahan Forest Reserve, the KEF established an agroforestry section, which is responsible for dealing with forest issues. A forestry college graduate from a local village is in charge of the agroforestry section and works as a fulltime employee in KEF. This section formulates policies about forestry and agricultural practices. Some of the key policies to govern the forest management practices are described below.

Figure 1. Kalahan Forest Reserve Map



Land use policy

Before the formation of CBFM agreement, Kalahan had open access to forestland for local communities, with freedom to practice *swidden* (slash and burn) farming inside the forest. In addition, there were no restrictions on hunting wild animals and collecting fruits from the forest. People were cultivating land inside the forest to grow corn, comate, potato, and upland rice as their source of livelihoods. But after the formation of the community forestry organization, the livelihoods of the people changed. The people are provided with limited land under the provisions of Certificate of Stewardship Contract (CSC) in order to grow fruit and vegetables for their livelihoods. Now, any person who wants to prepare a new farm for cultivation (also called "Uma") must get a permit from the agroforestry section and pay five pesos as a permit charge. Whenever a newly cleared area is to be burned, the owner must maintain a fire line of 10 meters. This should be inspected first by a forest guard before the clearing is burned; violation of this regulation is penalized by the KEF. One of the respondents from Kalahan said:

"Yeah, when I was here in 1975, the area was bare. People had the practice of slashing and burning. Although they had a limited slashing and burning area at that time people agreed to continue as it was the source of livelihood. People also used to do farming inside the forest."

Besides the swidden system of farming, the people obtained several other forest products from the communal area to generate additional cash income. One of the members of the Kalahan Educational Foundation put his views as follows:

"There is a communal area where people are collecting fruit from trees. As far as I know people can just go and collect the fruit trees from the communal land in the area with secondary growth forest. Also, people collect orchids for their income generation. For these they really don't need any permit as long as they are following the general rules of KEF."

Timber harvesting policy

Any person who wants to cut trees for household construction purposes must get a permit from the agroforestry section, which costs 50 pesos for personal construction and 150 pesos for institutional use such as construction of barangay or municipal buildings.

Land distribution policy

Any bona fide resident may claim a maximum of 10 hectares of private land within the Kalahan reserve after getting approval from the agroforestry section. But sale, transfer, or mortgage of land must be endorsed through the Board of Trustees (BOT) of the KEF. At present, almost all (except a few newly arrived migrant households) have agricultural land inside the larger forest area, which they use for livelihood purposes under a Certificate of Stewardship Contract (CSC).

In Kalahan, the forest is well protected under a Land Use Plan (LUP) specifying protected areas, watersheds, bird sanctuaries, and agroforest farming lots. People have their indigenous system of swidden farming (including fallow for some years) inside the forest but in a limited and fixed area, which needs prior approval from the agroforestry section of the KEF. Major forest species are dipterocarps, pine, narra, mahogany, alnus nepalensis, and ipil ipil. The forest classification under the LUP is shown in Table 1.

The forests have also been useful resources for promoting local livelihoods. The exploration of internal resource generation through forest and non-forest products increased the economic capacity of the community people to sustain their livelihoods.

Table 1: Land use plan in Kalahan

Land Use Plan	Area (hectare)
Titled land	300
Sanctuaries	3,500
Fruit production	60
Vegetables	40
Upland farms	250
Fallow areas	750
Old growth outside sanctuaries	20
Pine forest	3,000
Pine and grass	3,000
Dipterocarp	1,170
Dipterocarp and grass	1,810
Grasses	2,000
Total	15,000

Source: Rice, 2000

b) Bonding relations in KEF (PO)

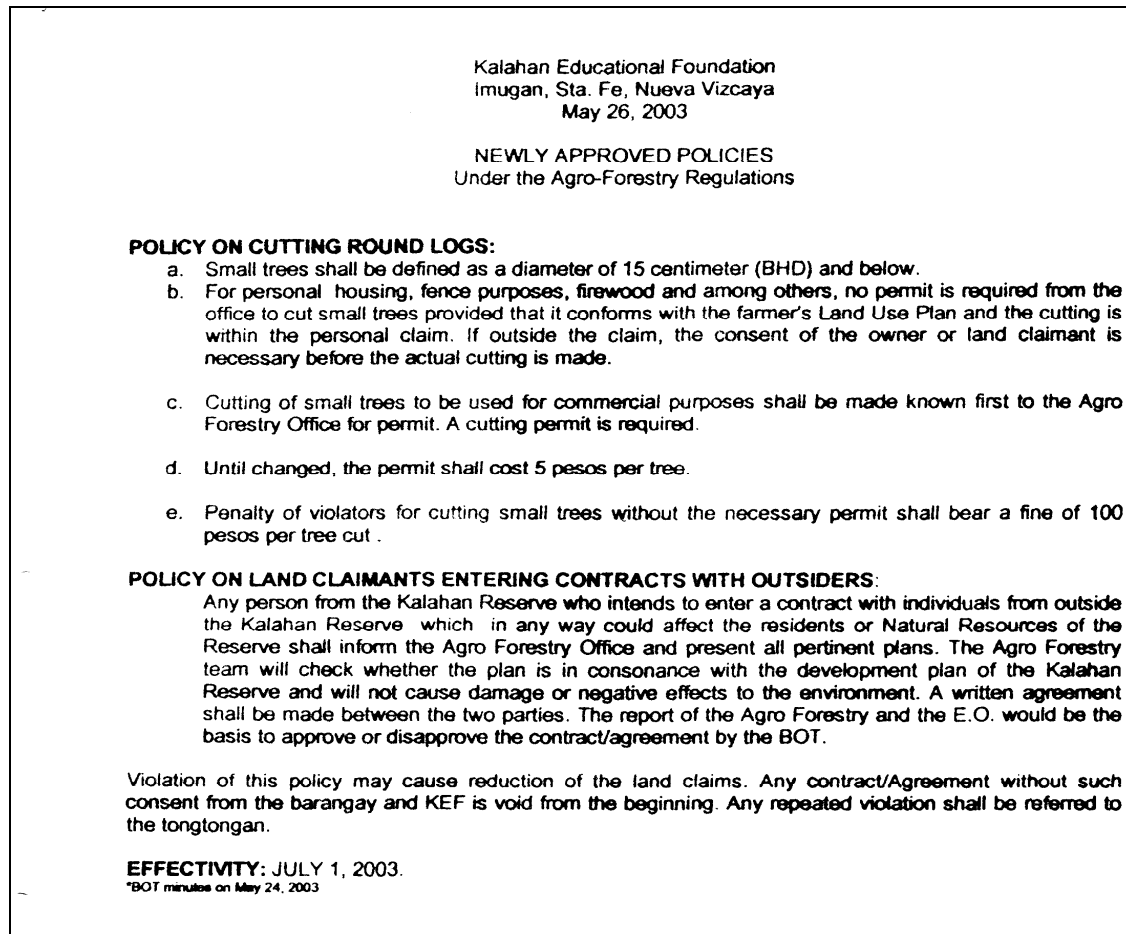
As defined earlier, bonding social capital refers to connections to people with some shared demographic characteristics such as family, relatives, and kinship. It is cooperation resulting from the relationship within a homogeneous group (Woolcock and Sweetser, 2002). Given the high level of cooperation among people at the local level, Kalahan possesses high bonding social capital which is mainly due to the indigenous and homogeneous character of the people living in the area. The centre point of the reserve is Imugan, or Mount Imugan as it is sometimes also called. The people living in Kalahan are called Ikalahan. In the local language (Kalanguya), *Kalahan* literally means “forest” and *I* means “living in”; so the term Ikalahan signifies the people living in the forest. Ikalahan, also known as Kalanguya, is a sub group of the Ifugao tribe living in the area of the Caraballo Mountain near Sta Fe in Nueva Vizcaya. More than 90 percent of the population living in Kalahan Reserve belong to the Kalanguya tribe (Encarnacion, 1999; Borlagdan et al., 2001).

The Kalahan Reserve is pioneering successful management of forests through local community participation. Apart from having the tribal characteristic of strong unity among the members of the Kalanguya tribe, the threat they faced from land grabbers (encroachers coming from the lowland areas, particularly from Nueva Ecija and Pangasinan Provinces) during the 1960s and 70s brought them even closer and made their tribal unity stronger. In this period, the community felt fear of losing their ancestral domain and other customary rights that were not safeguarded by formal government policies. In order to institutionalize their struggle and prevent their common property from being encroached by outsiders, the community decided to form the Kalahan Educational Foundation (KEF) and registered with the Security and Exchange Commission in 1970.

The foundation is also supported by the “Tongtongan” (a traditional informal institution composed of local elders), tribal leaders, and barangay officials.

Tongtongan is stronger than the elected political body of a barangay. The entire community respects the decision of the Tongtongan and considers it to be a local court, with the right to make final decisions about any social conflicts or problems. For example, the final decision to punish people who violate rules set for forest management depends upon the Tongtongan (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Policy on cutting round logs and role of Tongtongan



The high level of bonding relations among the people of the same ethnic origin is backed up by the formal participatory organizational management process. It is based on a traditional system of collective decision making and involvement of tribal institutions. The KEF has long experience in organizational management, sustainable resource generation at local level, participatory decision-making, conflict resolution, and maintaining equity and fairness. In addition, the members of the CBFM are treated equally in terms of sharing benefits and resources and penalizing the violators of norms. In one case, even the chairperson of the Board of Directors of the PO was penalized for illegal harvesting and transportation of timber from the CBFM site. Good leadership, a participatory approach in planning and implementation, and transparency contribute equally to making the collective forest management successful.

c) Bridging relations of KEF (PO)

According to Woolcock and Sweetser (2002:26), "Bridging social capital refers to connections to people who are not like you in some demographic sense;" and according to Field, it "tends to bring together people across diverse social divisions" (Field, 2003). Because of the high level of homogeneity among the people living in Kalahan, bridging relationships among the people of different ethnic groups concerning the management of KEF are not relevant in this case. However, in this paper, we focus on the bridging level of relationships among various informal and formal institutions participated by locals in Kalahan, which have different functions and are located in different barangays.

Institutionally, the Board of Trustees is the main governing body through which people from different Barangays and Tontongan are involved in decision making in KEF (Figure 2). The Board of Trustees of KEF is bringing together elected political units, local informal leaders and community elders, hence representing a very broad array of stakeholders. Since its inception, KEF has been championing the cause of Ikalahan people by launching various programs for their collective benefit. As mentioned earlier, it has four major dedicated sections: forest and natural resources, health and sanitation, education, and enterprise development (see Figure 2). The Kalahan Academy as a part of the Kalahan Educational Foundation started to run schools in the area in 1992. Furthermore, some income generating activities such as food processing, water filtration plants, and health services are in operation with the help of the KEF. KEF operates a food processing plant producing juice from wild Guava, which is sold both in the Philippines and in the USA.

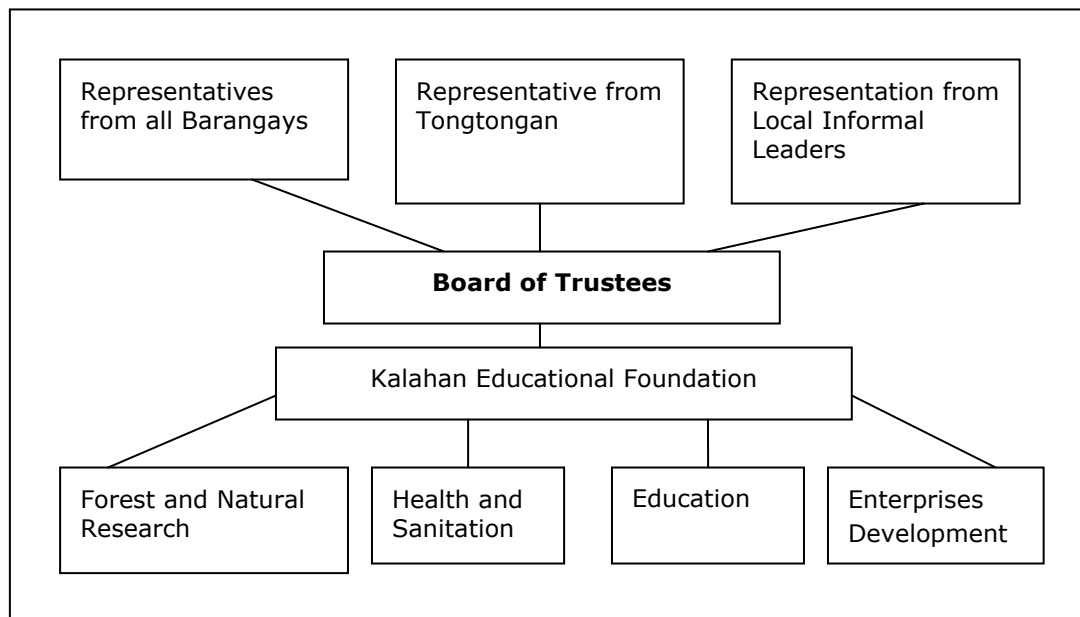
There is good level of cooperation between the local government units (barangay) and KEF. Any chainsaw operating in the reserve must be registered annually at the agroforestry section of the KEF. Interestingly, the KEF has relationships with different barangays based on trust and mutual cooperation. The KEF and barangays have set the terms of partnership under which the proceeds from the timber permit is shared on the basis of 40:60 between barangay and the KEF, respectively. This partnership has been successfully implemented without any problem so far. Such partnership has discouraged prospects of illegal logging and forest destruction as all stakeholders are responsibly enforcing rules and fulfilling their duties. This good understanding among different organizations epitomizes that local government and forest users groups can work in tandem for mutually beneficial collective action.

At a time when many collective enterprises established with the support of various donors have failed in many CBFM schemes in other parts of the country, the collective efforts in Kalahan are bearing good fruits (Dahal and Capistrano, 2006).

How such a bridging relationship among different stakeholders has been possible is an interesting issue. As mentioned by respondents, even though the unity among local homogeneous people is a reason inspiring different stakeholders to work together, the idea for unity and that emergence of mutually beneficial mechanism that links them is not solely internally grown. The fact that there is a smooth relationship among different formal and informal local institutions (Figure 2), which are well governed, consequently, also motivates the local community to work cohesively for their personal as well as collective goal. One of the members of KEF from Imugan village stated that "our barangay captain is very nice as he is

providing good services to the people of Imugan and also to KEF. People are happy with his leadership and he is managing barangay very well.” The issue of external local relationship is further explored in the section of linking social capital.

Figure 2. Institutional set up of KEF



d) Linking relations of KEF (PO)

According to Woolcock and Sweetser, (2002:26), “[l]inking social capital pertains to connections with people in power, whether they are in politically or financially influential positions.” Linking social capital also includes vertical connections to formal institutions (Woolcock, 2001; Mayoux, 2001). Since the relationship between the KEF local governments has already been explored, this section will present the relationship between KEF and central government as well as relationships at broader scales.

KEF (PO) has a long history of relationships with government, particularly at the central level. Their relations with government started right from the beginning of their organized struggle to protect the rights of the people living in the forest. As discussed above, the people of Kalahan started their struggle to safeguard their forest rights as they felt unsafe due to external encroachment on their land and forest resources. This struggle led a high level of unity among the people living within the forest which in turn encouraged them to institutionalize their struggle through the establishment of the KEF. The fight for land security was successful in 1972 when the Kalahan Forest Reserve became the domain of the indigenous Kalanguya community.

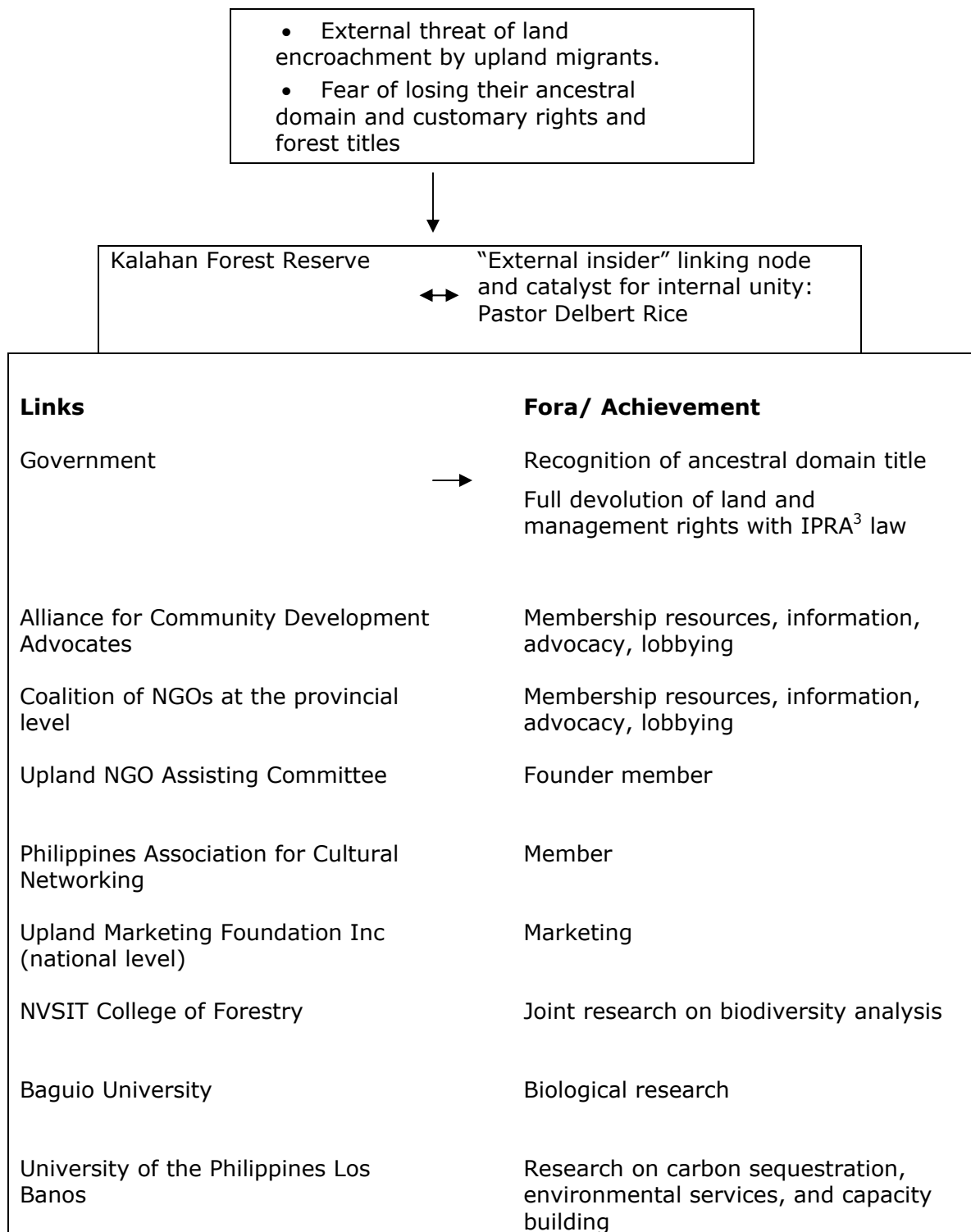
For the first time in the history of the Philippines, the Kalahan community successfully pressured the government to undertake an agreement with local people to designate a local forest as community forest in 1974. A Memorandum of Agreement was signed between the Bureau of Forest Development of that time and the KEF for the local community to manage the Kalahan Reserve under the

Communal Forest Stewardship Agreement (CFSA) for 25 years. Under this agreement, the community was given sole authority in forest management. Unlike in other provinces, the individual Certificate of Stewardship in Kalahan is issued by the KEF itself. Also, unlike in the other devolved sites, the Resource Utilisation Permit (RUP) is under the jurisdiction of the KEF, as it can issue such permits to individual households for harvesting forest products (mainly timber and rattan) from the communal area.

The KEF has been expanding its external links to various government, civil society and market institutions and became member of various national and international forums (Figure 3). In this regard, the Forester of KEF said:

“KEF has membership with the Alliance for Community Development Advocates (ACDA) and the coalition of NGOs at the provincial level. In fact KEF is a founding member of the Upland NGO assisting committee, Philippines Association for Cultural Networking and UMFI (Upland Marketing Foundation Inc.) at the national level. Also, we have relations with universities like NVSIT College of Forestry—joint research on biodiversity analysis, similarly with Baguio University for biological research and UPLB for different research purposes. Just last year we submitted a nomination for the Asia Pacific Region for model forest management. I prepared document for that, In Search for Excellence—out of 150, our foundation selected. Another short-listed PO from the Philippines is Muyong of Ifugao.”

Figure 3. Linking relation in KEF



³ Indigenous Peoples Rights Act

Existence of such strong networks has built strong social capital at different levels and facilitated the successful implementation of community forestry in practice. It is important here to note that behind all the success of the KEF lies the role of an American Missionary who migrated to Kalahan in 1965. Pastor Delbert Rice has been continually supporting the Kalanguya people in Kalahan since he settled there and became an integral part of the Kalahan community. He played a role as catalyst in the community and established linkages with various institutions, both governmental and non-governmental sectors in the Philippines. His support to the communities started in two ways: first capitalizing the external threats through raising awareness for local unity and fights against common threats, and, second, working with (and pressuring) government policy makers to create an enabling policy environment for collective action at local level.

The establishment of effective internal and external linkages has not been limited to this initiative, however. The personal relationship of Pastor Rice with higher ranking DENR personnel, including the secretary, NGO communities, and donor agencies, has been playing an even more significant role in strengthening KEF activities and its relations with others. Due to his backing for pressure at the local level as well as high level relations at the center, the government formulated special laws devolving the rights to forests in Kalahan. As mentioned earlier, the KEF enjoys rights to decision making and rights to land title, which is not the case for other CBFM organizations.

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSION

The KEF People's Organization is a case with social capital of all three kinds of relationships: bonding, bridging, and linking. This case presents us with some information so that we can question the ability and limitations of indigenous organizations to expand relationships; and potential implications of this relationship at various levels for the successful management of collective affairs by local communities.

This study of the KEF confirms the literature showing how indigenous communities generate strong connectedness among them and carry out collective activities successfully (Garforth and Munro, 1996; Uphoff, 1996; Wolff and Wahab, 1996; Cernea, 1987; Esman and Uphoff, 1984). Our study shows that successful collective resource management in Kalahan can be partly attributed to the practice of governing forests through traditional systems of decision making, the networks of tribal communities belonging to one ethnic group and availability of some livelihood options based on forest and non-forest products. However a crucial question is whether they would have been able to establish and manage the KEF as successfully as they have done had they not had a dedicated outside leader who had direct networks as far as the president of the country. Would they have been able to manage their forest without having enabling policy support and good external linkages in place? Would they be able to manage their forest maintaining equity and fairness internally?

The studies with indigenous organizations and social capital give us basis to raise those questions regarding KEF. Studies have shown that indigenous homogenous communities too have various problems and suffer internally from the "downsides" of their high bonding social capital (Adhikari and Goldey, 2006)

because traditional organizations, like traditional norms, are in many cases used in favor of elites. Those in a leadership position, who are normally drawn from elite strata, are likely to be dominant and exploitative (Esman and Uphoff, 1984). Thus, the indigenous groups may be closer to members, but might be easily dominated by traditional elites (Uphoff, 1996).

Even though such groups may be internally strong, a lack of external connections may limit their effectiveness (Uphoff, 1996). Communities with strong ties, based on the close circle of family, clan, kinship, caste and ethnicity, etc. create cleavages, which sometimes create interlocking difficulties in their upward movement (Field, 2003; Portes and Landolt, 1996). According to Narayan and Cassidy (2001), a good infrastructure does not result in production opportunities in homogeneous or poor groups unless they have a relationship with influential outsider groups. Similarly, a cross cutting connection of micro and macro levels is necessary for high social capital (Woolcock, 1998; Krishna, 2002).

In the case of KEF, Pastor Rice had a catalytic role by mobilizing high bonding relations, which led to fairer internal management as well as promotion of the organization and thus securing unprecedented rights. External threats, as well as access to external resources have all helped to consolidate internal strength as well as get rid of the problems that many indigenous organizations internally suffer. On the other hand, the homogeneous character and common interest among the local people made them more responsive to externally led calls for unity in a common struggle. The argument here is not whether promotion of linking social capital automatically results in high bonding social capital. It is, rather, that internal cohesive indigenous groups also require external support and linkages, and an enabling environment to successfully manage local resources. The KEF is an example of the synergetic outcome of the symbiotic relationship between external linkages and internal performance.

Presence and mutual interplay among different types of social capital have made the case of Kalahan exceptional. This experience with Kalahan shows that management of collective resources can be successful when communities manage not only to embolden their bonding relations, but expand their linkages so that they can draw benefits from these expanded networks. It is an example where the community needed an external driver to get united and put pressure on and influence the policy makers to devolve a certain authority to the local communities. This indicates that the community can have their say in state policy if they are united and have a good network to facilitate them in accessing resources and information.

The case of Kalahan also signifies how supportive government policies, especially full devolution of management rights to communities, can help generate a conducive environment. In turn the Kalahan case provided the government with lessons that communities with devolved rights can protect and manage their forest resources. Rice (2000) reports that the successful management of the forest by the Kalahan community motivated the politicians and bureaucrats of the forest departments. Based on the successful story of Kalahan, the then President Fidel Ramos issued the Executive Order (EO) 263 in 1995, which established Community Based Forest Management (CBFM) as a national strategy for sustainable management of forests and social justice.

The foregoing discussions suggest that assigning local communities with the responsibility of managing natural resources does not necessarily result in success if the community lacks certain kinds of social capital. The stock of different types of social capital and their mutual interaction is something needed for the effective management of collective resources as in the case of Kalahan. Combining multiple types of social capital, rather than attempting to increase one type alone, can be useful in resolving public problems and enhancing wellbeing (Woolcock and Sweetser, 2002; Pretty, 2002).

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