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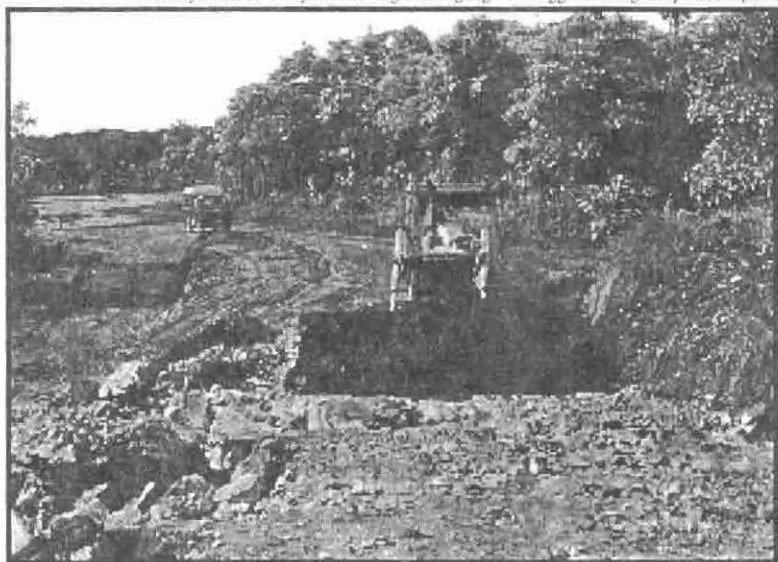
Policy-making for Sustainable Development: The Case of Makiling Forest Reserve

Ang paggawa at pagpapatupad ng mga patakarang lokal kaugnay ng paggugubat na sumusunod sa prinsipyo ng *sustainable development* ang paksa ng papel na ito. Sa pamamagitan ng paggamit ng *Makiling Forest Reserve* (MFR) bilang kaso sa pag-aaral, ipinaliwanag ang mga patakaran, ang mga prosesong kaakibat ng paggawa ng mga ito at ang mga salik na makakaimpluwensya ng mga proseso. Kabilang sa mga *stakeholders* sa MFR ang UPLB, ang mga magsasaka, mga NGO's at lokal na pamahalaan. Napatunayan na ang paggamit ng lapit na *people-oriented* at metodong pakikilahok ay epektibo sa pagkamit ng mga layunin ng MFR.

The concept of sustainable development-- which highlights the importance of sustaining the world's resources "to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987)-- had gained more acceptance in the last two decades of the twentieth century (Korten, 1990).

As the pursuit of sustainability requires a production system that "respects the obligation to preserve the country's ecological base" (*Ibid*), the Philippine government formulated its own strategy contained in a document entitled "Philippine Strategy for Sustainable Development" (PSSD) recognizing

courtesy of KSSP-Inisyatibo sa Pag-aaral ng mga Etnoligwistikong Grupo sa Pilipinas



Since sustainable development has come to mean inter-generational equity, proper management and regulation of the use and exploitation of environmental resources become urgent tasks.

poverty as both a cause and consequence of environmental degradation (DENR, 1990). Close to 50% of the country's labor force depend on agriculture, fisheries and forestry (Briones, 1991:223). These contribute about 25% of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and earn 40% of export revenues. Therefore, the sustainability of basic environmental resources is very crucial since it plays a vital role in economic development.

For many years, Mount Makiling has been known for its beautiful scenic features and legends as well as for being the site of leading agricultural and forestry academic research centers in the Philippines and Southeast Asia (Abraham, 1991:1). Not only has it contributed much by being an outdoor laboratory for scientists and students but also by providing an indispensable water reservoir to many communities surrounding the town of Los Baños, Laguna. On top of these, there are also forest occupants who depend wholly on the resources of Mount Makiling for their livelihood. Since it serves the resource requirements of at least five towns (Los Baños, Bay, Calamba, Alaminos and Sto. Tomas), serious degradation of Mount Makiling will inflict a tremendous impact on the lives of the people depending on it.

The University of the Philippines Los Baños (UPLB) was granted full jurisdiction over the Makiling Forest Reserve (MFR) under Republic Act 6967. Except for a brief interruption in 1987-88, UPLB has taken full responsibility as administrator of the forest reserve for the past 33 years.

Confronted for many years with the problem of occupancy within the forest reserve, UPLB administrators started to recognize that the presence of claimants, farmers and occupants inside the MFR poses a serious threat on Mount Makiling. However, punitive approaches to solve the problem have been proven ineffective in the past. Hence, a number of proposals were suggested to formulate a strategy in dealing with the

communities within the MFR.² Part of this is considering the farmer-occupants as partners in managing the MFR, for instance, in agroforestry. While UPLB has not come up with a specific position regarding the issue of occupancy, it nevertheless continues to implement various programs and activities in pursuit of the sustainable development of the forest reserve.

This paper will discuss the formulation and implementation of the policy on sustainable forestry development focusing on the case of the Makiling Forest Reserve. It will identify the policy for the MFR, describe the process by which the policy is determined, and identify the factors that influence the policy-making process.

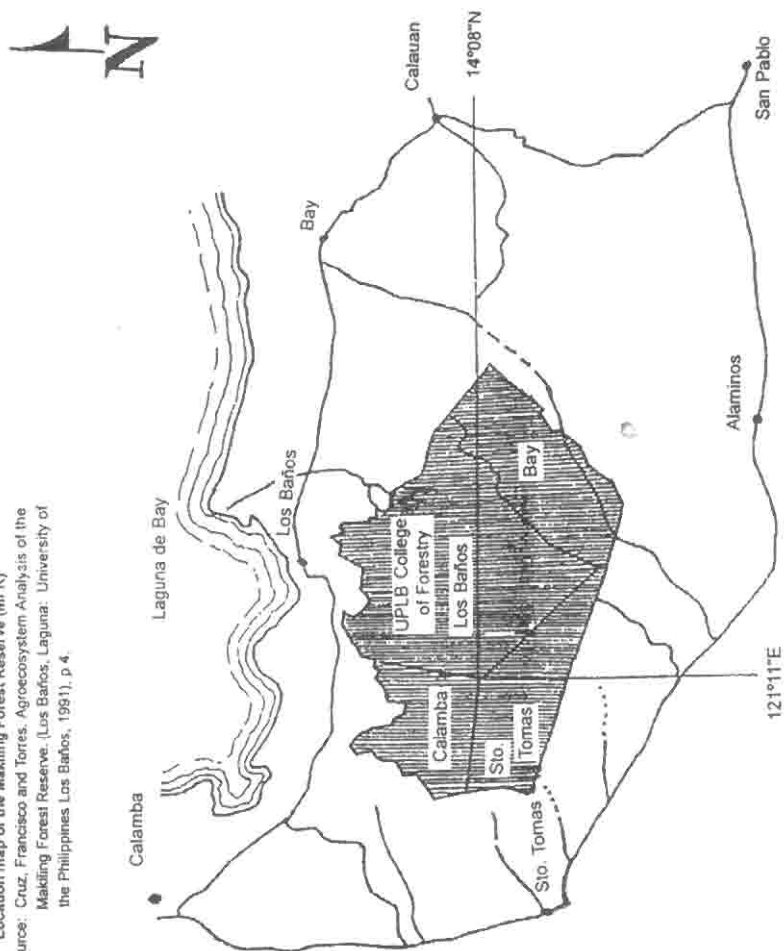
The Makiling Forest Reserve (MFR)

The MFR covers a total of 4,244 hectares. It is located at 14°08' north and 121°11' east and lies within 65 kilometers of Metro Manila (Cruz, et al., 1991:20). The MFR lies within the municipalities of Los Baños, Bay, Calamba and Alaminos, Laguna and Sto. Tomas, Batangas. The entire forest reserve area is divided into six major zones based on the specific watershed each covers.³

The MFR was first established as a reserve area in 1910 by Proclamation Number 106 issued by Governor General William Cameron Forbes.⁴ Then in 1920, it was declared a National Botanic Garden by Governor General Francis B. Harrison. In 1933, it was named the Makiling National Park and its administration was placed under the Bureau of Forestry. The bureau administered the area for 42 years although it was intended to serve as the field laboratory for forestry students of the University of the Philippines (U.P.). Republic Act 826, enacted in 1952, transferred the administration of the Park to the Commission of Parks and Wildlife.

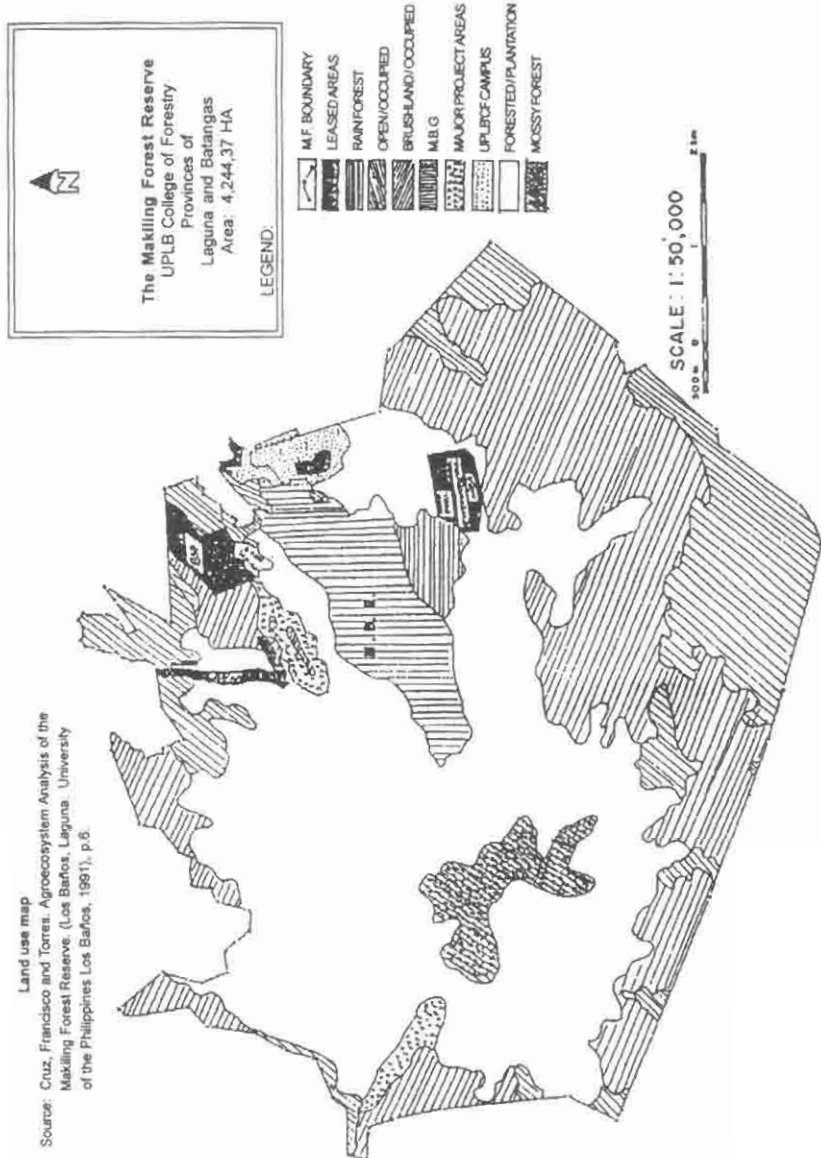
Location map of the Makiling Forest Reserve (MFR)

Source: Cruz, Francisco and Torres. Agroecosystem Analysis of the Makiling Forest Reserve. (Los Baños, Laguna: University of the Philippines Los Baños, 1991), p. 4.



Land use map

Source: Cruz, Francisco and Torres. Agroecosystem Analysis of the Makiling Forest Reserve. (Los Baños, Laguna. University of the Philippines Los Baños, 1981), p.6.



In 1956, the University of the Philippines started its struggle to acquire jurisdiction over the area. Finally in 1960, President Carlos P. Garcia issued Proclamation Number 692 which transferred the administration of the Park to the University. However, the condition was that the area was to be preserved as a national park.

The Makiling National Park was again declared a forest reserve area under Republic Act 3523 enacted in 1963. The area was declared as *"a land resource to be used for carrying out a program for public education and information in forestry to promote appreciation of forest values among the public"*.⁵ U.P.'s administration of the MFR was briefly interrupted in 1987 when Executive Order Number 224 was issued by President Corazon Aquino. Complete jurisdiction, control and regulation of watershed areas including the MFR was given to the National Power Corporation (NPC) in support of the government's energy development program. However in 1988, the University reacquired its control over the MFR through a Memorandum of Agreement signed between UPLB and NPC. Finally in 1990, the administration and management of the MFR was fully reverted to UPLB through Republic Act 6967.

According to historical records, the first settlement in the area dates back to 1898-99. About 19 families settled in the Bay area, and later, in the Sto. Tomas area. The most recent census of occupants in the MFR recorded a total of 280 houses in the area, 251 of which are permanent residences while 29 are temporary abodes (Torres and Rebugio, 1991). Actual population was recorded at 1,426. Majority or 60% of the population was settled in Zone 5 (Cambantoc Watershed). It is in this area where the largest community called Barangay Bagong Silang is located. This area is most vulnerable to occupation because of its accessibility. It is lowest in slope and has the biggest cultivated hectareage (Cruz, et al, 1991).

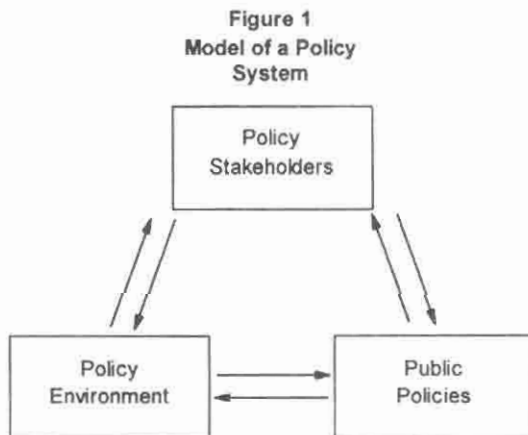
Migration to the area greatly increased at the outbreak of World War II. After the war, most migrants never went back to the lowlands. As a result, the *kaingin* system proliferated. At present, the continuing influx of migrants is still considered a major problem (Bagadion, 1992; Cruz, et al, 1991). The natural growth of the upland communities within the MFR even with zero migration threatens the very existence of the mountain specifically as an outdoor laboratory for forestry and biological sciences. Majority of the resource users in the MFR are the forest farmers. Although the area they use is relatively less than that of other users (the institutional lessees, tourists/campers, forest products gatherers, and the NPC), the farmer-occupants use the land more intensively.⁶ They engage in agriculture which is not an appropriate resource utilization strategy in a fragile ecosystem such as the MFR.

In the 1970s, the University tried to apply an iron hand in approaching the problem of occupancy in the MFR. The settlers were evicted from the area and resettled in Sampaloc, Quezon. This approach, however, was proven ineffective. Due to the limited resources available to both UPLB and the government, they were not able to control the people coming back to the area.

To date, nine groups have been identified as stakeholders which have various interests in the MFR. These are: (1) the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR); (2) the farmer-occupants; (3) the Environment Resource and Management Project (ERMP); (4) the different units of UPLB such as the Institute of Environmental Science and Management (IESAM) and the Institute of Forest Conservation (IFC); (5) the local government units; (6) the military; (7) non-government organizations; (8) the institutional lessees of the MFR (National Arts Center, Pook ni Maria Makiling, Boy Scouts of the Philippines, Environment Research and Development Bureau, Forest Products Research and Development Institute, and LPR Enterprises; and (9) the subdivision and resort owners

Framework of Analysis

The framework used in studying the policy-making process for the sustainable development of the MFR is Thomas Dye's model of a policy system shown in Figure 1 (Dye, 1978:9). This model puts emphasis on the relationships among three elements of a policy system. These are: (1) the policy environment or the specific context in which events surrounding a policy issue occur; (2) the policy stakeholders or the individuals or groups which have interest in policies because they affect and are affected by governmental decisions; and (3) the public policy itself.⁷ Dye identified these three as the elements of a policy system or the overall institutional pattern within which policies are made. The use of this framework shows how each of the elements affect and are affected by the two other elements. The framework also helps in explaining the dynamics of the relationships among these elements.



Source: Thomas R. Dye, Understanding Public Policy, 3rd Edition, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1978) p.9, cited in William Dunn, Public Policy Analysis, (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1981), p.41.

The use of Dye's model in studying the policy-making process for MFR required the identification of various stakeholders and the determination of how they affect the

outcome of such process. Important factors that shape the nature of the policy as well as those which have been possibly missing in the process of making appropriate policy for the sustainable development of MFR were ultimately identified.

The Stakeholders in the MFR

Policy stakeholders consist of individuals and groups who have a stake or interest in public policies because they affect or are affected by decisions made by government. As mentioned above, "policy stakeholders" is considered as one of the three elements of the policy system. The actions of these groups can have an impact on policies that will be made.

Stakeholders in the MFR consist of people who live inside and outside the area. This section will identify these groups and discuss their interests in the MFR.

The University of the Philippines Los Baños (UPLB)

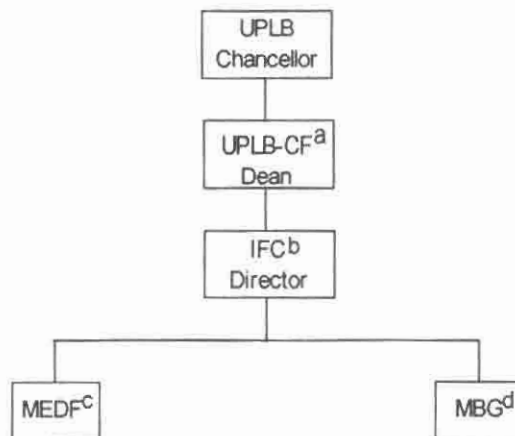
Republic Act 6967 granted full powers of administration, management and supervision of the MFR to UPLB. It likewise empowered the University to formulate rules and regulations pertinent to the provisions of the law.

As legal administrator of the MFR, UPLB is considered as one of the major stakeholders in the forest reserve. Actions taken by the University will definitely have an impact on the interests of other stakeholders. Furthermore, the success or failure of UPLB in managing the MFR will certainly affect the management of other forest reservations. As the leading forestry and agricultural institution in the country, UPLB's management of the MFR will serve as a model for government and other institutions.

The Chancellor of UPLB has consistently been on top of the MFR's policy-making structure. When Republic Act 3523

was enacted in 1963, UPLB was not yet an autonomous unit of the U.P. System. Thus, the Dean of the College of Forestry was then designated to *“have immediate direction and administration of the Makiling Forest and Botanical Garden”*.⁷ As UPLB acquired its autonomy in 1972, the Chancellor as its head came to assume this function. Figure 2 illustrates the organizational structure for the administration and management of the MFR from 1972 to 1991.

Figure 2
Organizational Structure for
Management of the MFR
(1972-1991)



Source: Rex Victor Cruz, Herminia Francisco and Cleofe Torres, *Agroecosystems Analysis of the Makiling Forest Reserve*. (Los Baños, Laguna: ERMP-UPLB, 1991), p.4.

^aUPLB College of Forestry

^bInstitute of Forest Conservation

^cMakiling Experimental and Demonstration Farm

^dMakiling Botanic Gardens

Under this structure, the College of Forestry (UPLB-CF) served as the lead agency in the management and administration of the MFR. It was also responsible for coordinating with relevant units in the University concerning

the sustainable development, scientific management, conservation, protection, and maintenance of the forest reserve. The Institute of Forest Conservation (IFC) served as the MFR's direct supervisor and executive agency for its various programs and projects. The Makiling Experimental and Demonstration Farm (MEDF) carried out the day-to-day activities pertaining to the protection and development of the MFR while the Makiling Botanic Gardens (MBG) took charge of managing 200 hectares for scientific studies of plants and trees.

This organizational set-up apparently failed to come up with an effective strategy to address the critical issues in the MFR, particularly forest occupancy and land tenure. The number of household occupants in the MFR as well as the area cleared for occupancy continued to increase over the past ten years (Torres and Rebugio, 1991).

The assessment of tenurial policies in Mt. Makiling made by Professor Linda Penalba of UPLB revealed that past policies on occupancy and land tenure in the MFR have been influenced largely by national policy directions concerning forest conservation and management. Such influence was evident in UPLB's move to evict the forest occupants from the MFR in 1976 in accordance with a Presidential Decree issued by then President Ferdinand Marcos.

However, UPLB as MFR's administrator did not have definite land tenure policies at that time. The guidelines which were drawn to implement RA 3523, approved in 1969 by the Board of Regents of the University of the Philippines, did not tackle forest occupancy. The assumption made was that the MFR is to be used as a training laboratory and experimental forest by scientists and students of the university. This was assumed in spite of the fact that during that time, there were already 45 families which have settled in the MFR.⁹

The administrators of the MFR considered the presence of forest occupants as destructive to the MFR. On the other hand, the forest farmers perceived UPLB administrators as their enemies and the policy they implement as punitive and confrontational. Such relationship affected the implementation of programs and projects for the protection and conservation of the forest reserve.¹⁰ Later on, the punitive approach to the problem of occupancy in the MFR was relaxed. After the failed resettlement of the forest occupants, a number of proposals from the MEDF were submitted to the UPLB administration.¹¹ These proposals recognized the negative impact of the continued presence of forest farmers in the MFR and suggested that the University consider promoting agroforestry among the occupants so that the latter will act as partners instead in the management of the forest reserve.

In 1987, national policies on forest management changed considerably. In accordance with the New Constitution, the government pursued several forestry programs founded on the principle of community forest management. The right of forest occupants to stay in upland areas were recognized by the government although the former are still required to abide by the rules on forest occupancy. A partnership between the government and many upland communities regarding forest conservation and management was forged in recent years.

In line with this, RA 6967 was passed by Congress in 1990. In accordance with this new law, the UPLB administration under Chancellor Ruben Aspiras introduced a new approach in dealing with the problems of the MFR. The Makiling Implementing Task Force (MITF) was created in July 1992 to address immediately all critical issues concerning the MFR through the active participation of various sectors within and outside UPLB.¹² It aimed to mobilize all forest users and forge a partnership between UPLB and the communities in the conservation and rehabilitation of the MFR. It is tasked to perform the functions of identifying resources, formulating plans and strategies for

the conservation and development of the MFR. Membership of the MITF consisted of experts in the fields of forestry and upland development, community organizing and livelihood. Organizationally, the Task Force was placed directly under the Office of the Chancellor.

UPLB as a major stakeholder is interested not only in the protection of the MFR to serve its educative and scientific functions but also in preventing the devastating impact of environmental degradation of Mt. Makiling on the people of Los Baños and surrounding towns. The changes in the policy for the MFR indicated that the concern of the University included the welfare of the people who have settled in the area in pursuit of their livelihood. The task of UPLB is to implement a policy that would be beneficial to both parties, that is, a policy consistent with the principles of sustainable development.

The Farmers

The other major stakeholder is the community of forest farmers who depend on the area for their livelihood. According to a study made by Dizon and Mallion (1990), the migrants in Mt. Makiling are products of various socioeconomic dislocations and other unfavorable conditions from their points of origin. Many of them expressed satisfaction on the quality of life in the MFR as well as a general intention to settle there permanently. This can be attributed to the favorable bio-physical features of Mt. Makiling (climate, topography, and accessibility) and the capability to provide economic opportunities.

Forest farmers have their own perceptions regarding their right to utilize the resources (especially land) within the MFR. This had greatly limited UPLB's options to deal with the problem of occupancy. Conflicts between the University and the farmers have been experienced in the past, especially when UPLB ordered the eviction of the forest farmers from the forest reserve in 1976. Most of the farmers claimed that they have

occupied areas in the MFR even before its declaration as a forest reserve. Apparently, these farmers are the descendants of the first known migrants to the MFR who arrived in the area in 1898. During that time, there were no laws yet which regulated land use and property rights and every piece of land was open for cultivation.

In the 1960s to the 1970s, sustained movement of migrants in the MFR was observed and the average population growth rate was reported at 8.4% per year.¹³ This is in spite of the adoption of a punitive approach in dealing with the problem of occupancy. It is also believed that migration to the MFR further increased in the years following the 1986 People Power Revolution. Those who were resettled in 1976 came back to the MFR after the government which forced them out of the area was deposed.

The forest farmers have taken concrete actions to express their demands to the UPLB administration. In an attempt to legalize their claim to the land which they occupied, the farmers went to the Department of Agrarian Reform (DAR) in 1991 and petitioned for the land to be put under the coverage of the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP). In response to the farmers' petition, the DAR asked UPLB to give up some 400 hectares of the MFR to be distributed among the forest farmers. However, University officials argued that because of the nature and classification of the MFR (as mandated by RA 6967), there is no legal basis for the MFR to be covered by the CARP.¹⁴

It is quite evident that the interests of the farmers could not be easily reconciled with those of the University. Hence, the farmers were hostile to the programs implemented by UPLB. Their hostility can also be attributed to the fact that the forest guards were their only main link to the administrators and their main source of information on policies, rules and regulations for the MFR. With forest protection as the main focus of the

guards' work, the related prohibition (for example, the cutting of trees) had been given more emphasis in their contact with the farmers.¹⁵ Thus, the farmers developed a negative perception towards the Institute of Forest Conservation (IFC) and its forest guards. This apparently became the main reason for the failure of the programs for conservation and rehabilitation of the MFR.

The relationship between the forest farmers and UPLB improved significantly with the creation of the Makiling Implementing Task Force (MITF) in 1992. The use of community organizing as a strategy to transform the forest farmers as forces of conservation were important points in the evolution of the policy for the MFR. This development can be related to the change in the national policy which adopted the concept of community forest management. As a result of UPLB's initial attempts, the farmers have come to accept their role as partners of UPLB in conserving and protecting the MFR. Furthermore, they have realized that like UPLB, they have a responsibility to conserve the forest reserve for their own good.

In 1993, after one year of working closely with the MITF, six farmers' associations were formed. These are as follows: (1) Samahan ng Bagong Pag-asa sa Bundok Makiling, Inc. (SBPMI) in Bagong Silang; (2) Samahan ng mga Magsasaka sa Mataas na Lupa ng Lalakay sa Bundok Makiling (SAMALUP) in Lalakay; (3) Kaisahan para sa Kapakanan ng mga Magsasaka para sa Pagpapaunlad, Inc. (KAKAMPI) in Sta. Cruz; (4) Samahan at Ugnayan ng Magsasaka sa Masaya para sa Kaunlaran (SUMAMA KA) in Masaya; (5) Samahan ng mga Magsasaka sa Paanan ng Bundok Makiling (SMPBM) in Timugan; and, (6) Pamayanan ng mga Magsasakang Nagkakaisa (PAMANA) in Tranca. These associations are also under the umbrella of a federation of farmers' associations called "Kaisahan ng mga Samahang Magsasaka sa Bundok Makiling (KASAMA)".

Each of the farmers' associations formed committees concerning forest protection and conservation, education, livelihood, water, accreditation, and tribunal. It is also through these associations that the farmers have formulated their own rules and regulations, which they refer to as their "policies", within the areas they have occupied. The farmers decide on cases of violation committed by the members of the associations through its tribunal committee.

The farmers from the six organized communities were also deputized by DENR Secretary Angel Alcala as forest guards in the MFR. This does not only make the farmers "partners" in conservation but also "guardians" in the protection of the forest reserve area.

The new strategy adopted by the UPLB administration opened up new opportunities for the farmers to articulate their demands. The MITF served as their channel to communicate with the administrators of the MFR. The farmers also made use of their associations to initiate dialogues with University officials.

Other Stakeholders

Aside from the two stakeholders discussed above, there are also other groups that derive benefits directly or indirectly from the forest reserve. These include the private owners of land just outside the boundaries of the MFR, the subdivision and resort developers, NPC, ERMP, the municipal governments of the towns adjacent to the areas covered by the MFR, NGOs, institutional leasees, and other claimants to the land within the forest reserve.

The presence of these other stakeholders in the area and the activities they undertake affect the efforts of UPLB to protect and rehabilitate the MFR. Land tenure conflict in the forest reserve was not only brought about by the occupation of some

areas by forest farmers. Private individuals who are either direct cultivators or “absentee owners” also claim portions of the MFR. Some of these claimants have managed to get titles for the land while others claim they have acquired the “property” through purchase and were able to produce tax declarations on these. This contributes further to the difficulty in regulating land use and resource gathering in the MFR and poses some constraints on efforts towards conservation and protection.

The institutional lessees are also considered as stakeholders since they occupy portions of the MFR and the activities they undertake certain activities affecting the forest reserve. The occupancy of these institutions have been legitimized through the execution of Memoranda of Agreement (MOA) with UPLB. The actual contributions of the lessees can be assessed based on the types of activities or programs they have actually implemented. The NPC contributes to the protection of the MFR through the conduct of patrol and police work within the areas of operation as well as rehabilitation through reforestation projects.¹⁶ The other lessees have also been active in planting trees within their leased areas. Pook ni Maria Makiling and Boy Scouts of the Philippines have also been involved in the clearance of the areas within their responsibilities of squatters as provided in their MOA. The contributions of the institutional lessees have primarily focused within the areas leased to them and their activities are influenced by their mandates according to the agreement they signed with UPLB.

The activities of NGOs which are also among the stakeholders in the MFR are focused mostly on research and community organizing. Local government units (LGUs) have likewise been involved in issues concerning the MFR because of the possible effects that the degradation of the forest reserve might bring about on areas surrounding the MFR which are under their jurisdiction. Among these possible effects are the inadequacy of water supply and energy, flashfloods, localized

warming, decline in local tourism (as a consequence of the lack of water supply for the resorts), and atmospheric pollution.

Positive contributions towards the conservation and sustainable development of the MFR have also been recently initiated by the LGUs. The municipal governments of the towns surrounding Mt. Makiling and the provincial government of Laguna expressed great concern over the situation in the MFR and the Laguna de Bay area. The LGUs have been involved in the activities of a movement initiated by Representative Rodolfo Tingzon of the second district of Laguna in 1992. The "Save Laguna Lake and Mt. Makiling Movement" attempts to mobilize municipal governments, government agencies, private institutions, NGOs and the citizenry in the rehabilitation of Laguna Lake and Mt. Makiling. The movement's initial efforts concentrated on disseminating information regarding the condition of the said areas to promote awareness among the different sectors which may be affected directly or indirectly by the degradation of Laguna Lake and Mt. Makiling. The movement also aims to be actively involved in the formulation of policies and programs concerning the areas. These efforts can be considered as part of the support to attain the goals of sustainable development.

Policy-making Process for the MFR

Prior to the change in philosophy introduced by Chancellor Ruben Aspiras in 1992, the policy for the MFR had strongly emphasized its protection and conservation solely in pursuit of its scientific and academic functions. The past policy concentrated too much on the conservation of the forest reserve area in the interest of upgrading forestry research. It had one major shortcoming in its inability to address the root cause of the problem of occupancy within the MFR. Because of the UPLB administration's strict stand against occupancy, the policy was often interpreted as confrontational. The occupants were perceived as enemies and destructive to the MFR. Such a

strategy lacked one important component--opening up the communication channels with the forest occupants.

In the past, administration of the MFR seemed to be the concern of the College of Forestry alone although various units of the university have been tasked to perform specific functions. The lack of participation on the part of the relevant units within the university was another factor which contributed to the inadequacy and ineffectiveness of the past policy.

Since the issuance of Administrative Order Number 127 by Chancellor Ruben Aspiras, critical issues concerning the MFR were placed under the jurisdiction of the Makiling Implementing Task Force (MITF). With only eight members including the Chancellor of the University, policy-making process was less bureaucratic and tedious. The Chancellor directly communicated with the MITF Coordinator as well as its members.

Efforts to clearly define the policy for the MFR were still pursued even after the end of the term of Chancellor Ruben Aspiras. In July 1994, Chancellor Ruben Villareal signed Executive Order Number 2 which contains the new set of rules and regulations in the conservation, sustainable development and management of the MFR pursuant to the provisions of RA 6967. Its statement of policy expresses that the

entire MFR shall be administered and conserved primarily as a training laboratory for research, instruction and extension to promote scientific and technical knowledge particularly in the preservation, protection, conservation and development of the forest, flora and fauna, and other natural resources in the interest and for the general welfare of the Filipino people.

The new rules and regulations adopt the principle of sustainable development through people's participation. One of its stated objectives is "to work with bonafide occupants, their

organizations, and other concerned sectors in the conservation, sustainable development and management of the MFR".¹⁷ The UPLB administration has accepted all forest occupants who have entered and/or occupied a portion of the forest reserve on or before 15 October 1990.

The openness of the new set of rules and regulations to a partnership with the forest occupants is an important feature that distinguishes it from the old one. This is explicitly stated in Chapter 5, Section 5 of Executive Order Number 2:

A conservation program for the Forest Reserve shall be drawn by the University. This shall focus on the participation of people and concerned institutions in its protection, proper use, development and maintenance.

To realize the goals stated in Executive Order Number 2, Chancellor Villareal reconstituted the MITF (See Figure 3). Twelve teams were formed, each with a team leader, and membership was expanded to 63 including the Chairperson and the Overall Coordinator of the Task Force. All members of the MITF hold regular meetings every second Friday of the month. It is during these regular meetings that proposals for programs and projects for the MFR are suggested and discussed. Team leaders also give updated reports on the progress of programs and projects that are currently being implemented in the forest reserve. Recommendations are communicated to the Chancellor by the Chairperson of the MITF and the Chancellor acts on these recommendations after consulting with the Management Committee composed of the three Vice-Chancellors of the University (Academic Affairs, Planning and Development, and Administration), the Deans of the seven colleges (Agriculture, Arts and Sciences, Engineering and Agro-industrial Technology, Economics and Management, Forestry, Human Ecology, and Veterinary Medicine), and the Directors of Instruction, Research, Extension, and Public Affairs and Alumni Relations.

Figure 3
Organizational Structure of the
Makiling Implementing Task Force
As of September 1994



It is quite evident that the other stakeholders in the MFR have very indirect participation in the actual policy-making process. However, since the University adopts the participative approach, the other stakeholders, especially the forest farmers are consulted through public hearings and dialogues before decisions are finalized and projects are implemented in the area. One evidence of this was the process undertaken before Executive Order Number 2 was finalized. The draft of the Executive Order which was translated to Filipino was presented to the farmers for their feedback. And before the EO was finalized, a public hearing was held to explain its contents to the farmers, other stakeholders and the general public.

Factors Affecting Policy-making

Other factors within the larger environment also affect the nature of the policy as well as the policy-making process for the MFR. The national government's policy on forest protection and utilization may be considered as one of these factors. Although UPLB has been granted sole jurisdiction over the entire MFR area, the programs it implements should be in accordance with the programs endorsed and prioritized by the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR). So far, the policy as well as the programs implemented for the MFR are consistent with the national government's declared policies. It should be stressed, however, that the case of the MFR is quite unique since occupancy in forest reservations is prohibited under forest laws and regulations and is exempted from the social forestry program of the government.¹⁸

As a positive sign that the DENR accepts the policy on occupancy in the MFR, Secretary Angel Alcala deputized the forest farmers as stewards of the forest reserve area on March 5, 1994. In terms of providing the necessary funds for the programs intended for MFR's conservation, protection and sustainable development, the national government's role is still a major one. A study revealed that the financial support for the MFR has dwindled through the years as a result of the expansion of the various units of the UP System and the move towards specialization (Torres, 1991:2-3).

Actions of the executive and legislative branches of government also affect policy-making for the MFR. Executive Order Number 121 issued by President Fidel Ramos on 24 August 1993 created the Makiling Forest Reserve Area and Laguna de Bay Commission composed of representatives from the DENR (which serves as its secretariat), and eight other executive departments of the government, the National Economic and Development Authority, Metro Manila Development Authority, Laguna Lake Development Authority,

and the provincial governments of Laguna, Batangas, Cavite, and Rizal. The University of the Philippines Los Baños has been designated as the Commission's technical arm.

This Commission serves as an advisory body to the President on matters related to the Mt. Makiling and Laguna de Bay areas as well as coordinates and oversees efforts for their preservation and development. It is likewise tasked with the formulation of a 25-year Master Plan and immediate action plans for Mt. Makiling and Laguna de Bay. The Commission is also in charge of the declaration of moratorium in the issuance of land development permits for construction/operation of fish pens/fish cages in Laguna de Bay and the lease or sale or other mode of disposition of portions or adjacent portions of the MFR.

Considering the above functions that must be performed by the Commission, it means that responsibilities in policy-making no longer belongs exclusively to UPLB. Furthermore, it also implies that the task of policy-making will move up to the executive level of government.

In the legislature, senators have set their sights on the problems of Mt. Makiling through the filing of resolutions in the Senate. Three separate measures were initiated by the senators,¹⁹ all of which seek to create separate bodies or commissions to solve the problems of Mt. Makiling. Some sectors within UPLB believe that if the funds for the creation of these offices were instead channeled to the University, then perhaps, efforts to save Mt. Makiling would be more effective. Furthermore, they believe that there is no need to repeal RA 6967 which had granted UPLB the jurisdiction over the MFR. On the other hand, involvement of the higher levels of government in policy-making may mean more funds can be generated for the implementation of projects that promote sustainable development of the MFR.

Another factor which affects policy-making is the claim of local government units to have a part in the process and to have authority in apprehending illegal activities done inside the MFR. In addition, the provincial governments of Laguna and Batangas also seek to have the power to pass and enact resolutions or ordinances for the protection of the areas outside or within the peripheries of the forest reserve. Such claims raise serious questions on the authority of UPLB over the whole area covered by the MFR. Given this, the University must consider the potential participation of this sector in terms of achieving the objectives of sustainability for the MFR.

Problems and Issues in Policy-making

Issues and problems concerning policy-making include those which relate to certain realities within the external environment of the MFR, the policy-making structure, the allocation of resources, and the still unsettled issue on land tenure and occupancy.

The achievement of sustainable development for the MFR would necessarily be affected by economic policies implemented by the national and local government on the MFR's influence areas. For instance, the Ramos government's "Medium Term Philippine Development Plan" requires the creation of an environment suitable for foreign investments. In order to achieve this, the following conditions must be met: (1) provision of good power supply for the industries that will be established; (2) provision of good infrastructures; (3) cheap labor; (4) peace and order; and, (5) available land space for the establishments. The fifth condition necessarily requires the conversion of agricultural lands to industrial estates. This means that industrialization of areas surrounding the MFR will limit the efforts to pursue the sustainable development of the forest reserve.

The environmental policies implemented by the government also have an impact on the achievement of desired goals for the MFR. The state's commitment towards forest protection and forest resource conservation will determine if the programs for the MFR will be given ample financial support. RA 6967 provides that it is UPLB's responsibility to allocate and source the necessary funds for the projects intended for the MFR's sustainable development. However, UPLB administrators claim that the University lacks the financial resources to mount an earnest protection, conservation and rehabilitation program in the MFR since fund allocation for the forest reserve relies mainly upon budget appropriation by the national government for UP. Given its programs and priorities, UPLB cannot adequately cover the funding requirements of a comprehensive program for the MFR, and therefore needs adequate financial support from the national government.

Lack of funds may also mean that there would be less personnel to implement the programs for the protection and rehabilitation of the MFR. The small number of forest guards fielded to patrol and control the illegal activities in the MFR area has been a long time problem of the Institute of Forest Conservation. Even the MITF does not have its own budget allocation and is dependent on the budget of the Office of the Director of Extension. The problem in resources is considered a major one because it may mean that the programs implemented would not be assured of sustainability.

Another issue concerns the policy-making structure which was enlarged tremendously due to the reconstitution of the MITF in 1994. While the desired goal might be to involve the different units of UPLB in addressing the problems in the MFR, the enlargement of the MFR has led to a more bureaucratic process in decision-making. The expansion of its membership also made policy-making more tedious. With its present size, the members of the MITF may no longer enjoy a significant role

in determining specific actions, projects, and strategies in implementation.

Defining the extent of the farmers' participation in policy-making is another issue that needs to be settled. The University should explain to the farmers that their role in policy-making is limited at a particular level. As the legal administrator of the MFR, UPLB is the policy-maker. Inputs from other stakeholders can be accommodated to determine the best possible arrangements that can be made.

There is definitely a need to reconcile the interests of the University and the farmers to achieve the desired goals for the MFR. Both will either gain or lose as a consequence of the policies that will be implemented. UPLB must determine how the resources of both sectors can be mobilized for the MFR's sustainable development and how both parties can assume their role as "partners" in conserving and protecting the MFR.

Another issue that has not been completely settled is occupancy. This is in spite of the implementation of Executive Order Number 2 which clearly stated that those who have entered the MFR as of 15 October 1990 are to be considered as bonafide occupants. Since the accreditation committee of the University has not yet finalized the implementing guidelines of the policy, accredited occupants are still unidentified and the regulation of activities within the MFR becomes more difficult.

Although both the UPLB and the farmers attempt to settle the differences in their perspectives regarding the issues in the MFR, there are also other stakeholders whose claims and interests affect the nature of the policy-making process for the MFR. For instance, land tenure conflict has become more complicated because of the presence of claimants who were able to secure land titles and other documents proving their rights on lands within the MFR area. In this case, land use regulation

becomes more difficult for UPLB since it is not empowered to cancel the titles given on supposedly forest lands.

Conclusions and Recommendations

For many years, defining the policy for the MFR was a problem. Although Executive Order Number 2 clearly stated the policy on occupancy in the forest reserve, this issue has not been completely settled and must be resolved soon in order to clarify the legal status of the occupants of the MFR.

The University's inability to fully implement its policy on occupancy remains to be its major weakness. If accreditation of bonafide occupants will not be done at the soonest possible time, all past accomplishments might be put to waste.

The farmers claim for greater participation in policy-making. They demand a more significant role in determining the programs to be implemented in the area. They believe that this is their right as a "partner" of the University as stipulated in the MOA they signed with Chancellor Aspiras. But then, the concept of partnership must be clearly defined first. It is already quite evident that the University administrators and the farmers do not have a consensual definition of their roles as "partners" in the conservation and protection of the MFR. It is important to settle this first before determining actual projects to be implemented in the forest reserve area.

The farmers' perception of their role in the MFR should also be considered by the University. Since the signing of the Memoranda of Agreement between UPLB and the communities, the farmers have formulated their own rules and regulations (which they sometimes refer to as policies) within their respective areas. The different farmers' organizations decide on the "violations" committed by their members. Perhaps, the University can work with the farmers in determining how their respective strategies can be reconciled. Certainly problems

would arise once the farmers do not recognize the University's policy, which is the official policy. This should be explained clearly to the farmers. While the University possesses the legal authority, the farmers can do their share in helping solve cases of violation in the MFR.

If the farmers are to be considered as stewards of Mt. Makiling, UPLB must take concrete actions towards educating the farmers and their families. It must continue to provide formal programs to train farmers on sustainable upland farming systems and agroforestry. Seminars and trainings on other livelihood programs can also be an option for the University. Granting of scholarships to the farmers' children can likewise be considered as part of this education process. This would make the future generations more self-reliant and less dependent on the forest reserve for livelihood. The policy-makers should likewise continue to view the farmers' presence in the MFR positively, i.e., as a "*force of conservation*" rather than as a "*force of destruction*".

The Chancellor should also resolve the issue regarding the present role of the MITF in the policy-making process. The problems posed by the Task Force's present structure must likewise be considered.

Furthermore, the university should look into its other resources to address the problems in the MFR.²⁰ Mobilizing students for environmental action, and raising environmental awareness among the people in the communities surrounding Mt. Makiling could very well be a major part of extension works rendered by faculty members of UPLB. Their expertise in agriculture, forestry, and other fields should contribute significantly in uplifting the living conditions of the farmers while at the same time meeting the objectives of protecting and conserving the MFR. The University could likewise solicit the expertise and financial support of its alumni and institutions such as IPDI and SEARCA

Some lessons learned from this case study might be relevant and useful for government agencies and other institutions which have jurisdiction over particular natural resources in the country.

The adoption of people-oriented and participative approach was proven effective in achieving some of the desired goals for the MFR. One major accomplishment of this strategy is easing up the relationship between UPLB and the farmers who used to perceive each other as adversaries. As the University adopted the new strategy, farmers' participation in issues concerning the MFR increased. Through their own associations, they initiated activities for the conservation and protection of the MFR. Hence, the farmers are no longer perceived as destructive forces in the forest reserve.

The policy-making process for the MFR is far from being flawless. The administrators of UPLB still have a lot of thinking to do regarding the role of the MITF and the different stakeholders, most especially the farmers in policy-making. At the same time, the University has to assess the current status, structure and role of the MITF.

Finally, efforts to achieve sustainable development in the MFR cannot be isolated from the Philippine government's commitment to realize sustainable development for the whole country. The economic and environmental policies implemented by the national government would certainly affect conservation and protection efforts in the MFR and even in the whole Mt. Makiling area. Unless people have enough opportunities for livelihood in the lowlands, they will continue to exploit the upland areas and contribute to the deterioration of the country's natural resource base©

Endnotes

¹ Emmanuel R.G. Abraham, "The Makiling Forest Reserve", (Unpublished Paper, College of Forestry, U.P. Los Baños, 1991), p.1.

² For a discussion of this, see Linda M. Penalba, "An Assessment of Tenurial Policies in the Mt. Makiling Forest Reserve", (Unpublished Paper, UPLB-IESAM).

³ These zones are: Zone 1-Molawin/Maralas Watershed; Zone 2-Dampalit Watershed; Zone 3-Puting Lupa/Tigbi Watershed; Zone 4-Sipit/Sto. Tomas Watershed; Zone 5-Cambantoc Watershed; and Zone 6-Maitim Watershed.

⁴ This historical account was based on the chronology cited by E.R.G. Abraham in his unpublished article, "The Makiling Forest Reserve"; also by Cruz, Francisco and Torres, *Agroecosystem Analysis of the Makiling Forest Reserve*, (Los Baños, Laguna and Halifax, Nova Scotia: UPLB and Dalhousie University, 1991).

⁵ Republic Act 3523, "An Act To Authorize The University Of The Philippines To Carry Out A Program For Public Education And Information In Forestry And To Provide The Necessary Funds And Land Resources For These And Other Purposes", Republic of the Philippines, 1963.

⁶ Linda Penalba, "Assessment of Tenurial Policies in the Mt. Makiling Forest Reserve", (Unpublished Paper, UPLB-IESAM), p.3.

⁷ Dye's framework was cited in William Dunn, *Public Policy Analysis*, (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1981), p.41.

⁸ Excerpts from the Minutes of the 787th Meeting of the Board of Regents of the University of the Philippines, 29 September 1969, p.5.

⁹ Penalba, op.cit.

¹⁰ A study made by Fr. Peter Fernando Arun entitled "Dynamics of Facilitative Communication in People's Participation: A Case Study in a Filipino Village" (*Masteral Thesis*, Institute of Development Communication, U.P. Los Baños, 1993) revealed that the reforestation project implemented by the IFC in Timugan was unsuccessful because it failed to consider the participation of the people in this project.

¹¹ Penalba, op.cit., p.8.

¹² "Task Force Makiling Conservation Formed", Makiling Update, January 1993, p.2.

¹³ Penalba, op.cit., p.3.

¹⁴ Ibid, p.2.

¹⁵ E.R.G. Abraham, "Policy Research on the Protection and Enhancement of the Natural Quality of Mt. Makiling: Selected Stakeholders of Mt. Makiling Forestry Reserve", (Unpublished Paper, College of Forestry, U.P. Los Baños, 1991), p.2.

¹⁶ Abraham, *op.cit.*, p.3.

¹⁷ Executive Order Number 2 Series of 1994, Chapter 2, Section 6, p.2.

¹⁸ Administrative Order 97 exempts forest reserves and critical watersheds from the Integrated Social Forestry Program (ISFP).

¹⁹ Resolution Number 576 was co-authored by Senators Tatad, Lina, Sotto, Roco and Mercado. Senate Resolution Number 73 was filed by Senator Shahani and Senate Bill Number 1695 was proposed by Senator Rasul.

²⁰ Benjamin Bagadion, Jr., "Towards a Strategy for Mt. Makiling", (Unpublished Discussion Paper, IESAM, UPLB, 1 July 1992).