

学位論文の要旨

Abstract of Thesis

研究科 School	Graduate School of Environmental and Life Science
専攻 Division	Environmental Science
学生番号 Student No.	77D22155
氏名 Name	NICCA AIRA AREVALO MARQUEZ

学位論文題目 Title of Thesis (学位論文題目が英語の場合は和訳を付記)

A CRITICAL EVALUATION OF ABACA FARMERS' HABITUS IN THE RISK ENVIRONMENT OF
CATANDUANES, PHILIPPINES

フィリピン・カタンドゥアネス州のリスク環境におけるアバカ農家のハビトゥスの批判的評価

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Introduction (Chapter 1)

In this era where human is threatened by Anthropocene risk, the preparedness and readiness of local farmers to cope with these emerging risks are in question. Especially in disaster-prone Philippines and Southeast Asia, risk perception and its influences on behavior have been extensively studied, which found that farmers can often demonstrate flexibility when faced with agricultural risks. However, their coping strategies can sometimes fail due to underlying factors that influence farmers' decisions. These studies have focused primarily on individual-centered approach, often underestimating the psychosocial aspects of collectively-shared behavior influenced by broader external forces unique to specific environments. This calls for an exploration that considers not only individual farmers' choices but rather the collectively-shared unconscious decision and action to cope and adapt to farming risks. Recently, Bourdieu's concept of habitus has gained popularity in exploring how collectively-shared dispositions influence farmers' perceptions and decisions regarding risk, as well as their willingness to adopt new information and technologies to minimize these risks.

On the other hand, a simple dependence on the above individual/collective risk perception may not be enough to cope with newly emergent risks. Farmers are sometimes less inclined to adopt recommended scientific practices if their current environment aligns closely with their established farming methods (Crawshaw and Buton, 2009). This raises important questions about whether farmers' choices lead to adaptive outcomes and whether the potential benefits of their actions justify the underlying risks (Beck, 2014). Although, Bourdieu's concept of habitus has made valuable contributions to our current understanding of farmers' behavior, the functions, limitations, and transformation of habitus within specific risk environments remain underexplored. This gap highlights the need for further investigation into how habitus interacts with the unique challenges and new information that farmers face, particularly in countries marked by recurrent risks and uncertainties like the Philippines. In light of these, this study focuses on exploring the collectively shared risk-coping dispositions of abaca farmers in Catanduanes, Philippines to understand the processes that lead consciously/unconsciously to the development of practices for coping with and adapting to new risks.

Theory, Framework and Methodology (Chapter 2)

This thesis develops a methodological framework that combines Bourdieu's (1977) Theory of Practice

(TOP) and Rogers' (1995) Diffusion of Innovation (DOI) theory to understand the shared habitus of farmers. It explores how this habitus functions, limits farmers' ability to cope with risks, and transforms in response to introduced risk-reduction innovations. This aim was concretized through two case studies of abaca farmers in Catanduanes, Philippines. The first study is based on the framework of Bourdieu's Theory of Practice (TOP) and examines how the concepts of field and capital shape farmers' habitus given its present risk environment. This implicitly explains the role of habitus and how it limits the ability of farmers to cope with farming risks. The second study focuses on the processes of perception and decision-making as farmers go through the process of technology diffusion. It integrates Rogers' (1995) Diffusion of Innovation (DOI) theory with Bourdieu's Theory of Practice (TOP) as a framework. We argue that the innovation itself, along with the existing habitus and available capital, plays a crucial role in facilitating the transformation of habitus.

These were examined through the case of an abaca farmers' village in Catanduanes, Philippines. Catanduanes was decided to be the focus of this thesis due to its exposure and vulnerability to natural disasters, and the embodied resilience of its people. Catanduanes has also been a constant target of various government-led innovations, particularly in the agriculture sector. To gather data, qualitative measures were employed such as participatory rural appraisal workshops, focus group discussions, and in-depth interviews with farmers. Respondents were selected through snowball sampling or from recommendations from previously interviewed farmers. The narrative data were analyzed using thematic analysis, incorporating both inductive and deductive approaches, and were validated through the Spearman's rank coefficient correlational test.

Risk habitus and Catanduanes' risk environment (Chapter 3)

The first case revealed that the "risk environment" in Catanduanes, Philippines was predominantly triggered by weather disturbances, seasonal income losses, and infectious plant diseases. These individual farming risks were interconnected, with one risk often being the result of another and/or exacerbated by another. To cope, farmers consistently employ long-standing practices, such as alternative cropping, work migration, and engaging in informal loans. These were farmers' "default practices" shaped through the consistent reproduction of similar practices for generations. Although, this habitus shaped farmers' resilience to weather disturbances and seasonal income losses, nonetheless, it also limits their conscious decisions and actions in employing long-term solutions, particularly in addressing abaca disease infestation.

Such farmers' embodied practices possess the capacity to influence field structures and the accumulation of capital, contingent upon the community's risk environment. This interconnectedness could eventually shape or redefine the habitus, especially when new or unperceived risk arises. Thus, using the thesis framework, we were able to understand the functions and limitations of the existing habitus and its applicability to the future threat of unperceived risks.

Understanding habitus and farmers' adoption dilemma (Chapter 4)

The second case shows that innovation introduced to address the infectious abaca diseases, one of the newly emergent risks for farmers, was contradictory to their long-standing practices. It is notable, however, that some began to consider changes during the initial stages. An initial change in perception and decision-making was driven by the severity of the crisis and the trust they had developed with the government. Yet, adoption was inhibited by the prevailing misconceptions about the given innovation (especially chemical applications), stemming from farmers' low institutional capital, high embodied capital, and low economic capital. The findings suggest that farmers do not simply adopt or reject innovations. Instead, during the process of diffusion, they experience several phases: realization, perception generation, option evaluation, and decision-making. In

this case, these stages finally contributed to reinforcing existing habitus rather than rebuilding it. The study suggests that as farmers go through the process of diffusion, their embodied practices also go through a process of transformation given the influence of capital and field as drivers or inhibitors. Thus, through this framework, we were able to describe the process of habitus transformation as influenced by various elements (i.e. field, capital, innovation itself) that could drive or inhibit change in each stage of the diffusion process.

General discussion: the functions, limitations, and transformation of habitus (Chapter 5)

The finding indicates that abaca farming in the study site follows a long-established system of diversified cropping, scattered plantations, natural farming culture, and patron-client relationships. These systems and the interaction with other factors such as individual capital and the occurrence of disasters shaped the collectively shared habitus of abaca farmers in the risk environment of Catanduanes. Although the long-standing practices of farmers are seen to be resilient in addressing old farming risks such as typhoons, and unstable income during the wet season, this dependence on available resources and attachment to this long-standing habitus lead to greater vulnerability, particularly during the onset and spread of a “new threat” – the infectious abaca diseases.

This confirms that an individual-centered approach is insufficient for understanding the decisions and actions that farmers use to cope with risks, such as harvesting infected plants or choosing to harvest from disease-free sites due to the influences of a much deeper element - the habitus. Therefore, to effectively introduce innovations and ensure desired behavioral changes, it is essential to understand the existing habitus or the collective dispositions of farmers towards risks. In conclusion, the first framework proves useful in examining both the functions and limitations of established habitus while addressing the existing research gap mentioned in the introduction.

Guided by the second framework, the study was able to understand habitus transformation. We claim that while farmers go through the process of diffusion, farmers’ embodied practices also go through a process of transformation given the influence of economic, cultural, and social capital as drivers and/or inhibitors of change. This confirms that individual farmers’ decision is highly influenced not only by personal choices but by the influences from complex social elements. This case study provides a viable framework for understanding technology uptake vis a vis habitus transformation through the lens of habitus, field, and available capital.

Conclusion (Chapter 6)

This thesis presents evidence that integrating Bourdieu's Theory of Practice (TOP) with Rogers' (1995) Diffusion of Innovation (DOI) theory serves as an effective framework for understanding the collective decisions and actions of the community to cope with and adapt to farming risks. It emphasizes the importance of viewing these aspects as shared dispositions rather than merely individual choices.

Future researchers are encouraged to explore the functions, limitations, and transformation of habitus in the context of other risk environments such as in Japan. This is essential for effectively designing a behavior change innovation for local-level farming risk adaptation and management in preparation for the unperceived Anthropocene risks. Researchers and academic institutions interested in this topic are also encouraged to conduct in-depth case studies employing advanced statistical analyses to achieve a thorough understanding of habitus, considering the unique field and capital structures present in their specific risk environments.