



Power and politics in national REDD+: approach, methods, key findings

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Outline

- CIFOR's climate change research and the global comparative study
- Theoretical background: transformational change and the 4Is
- Political economy research approach
 - Institutional path dependencies
 - Discursive power
 - Policy networks and the role of information
- Progress with transformational change in REDD+ ?
- Conclusion





Research
component

Climate change adaptation and mitigation

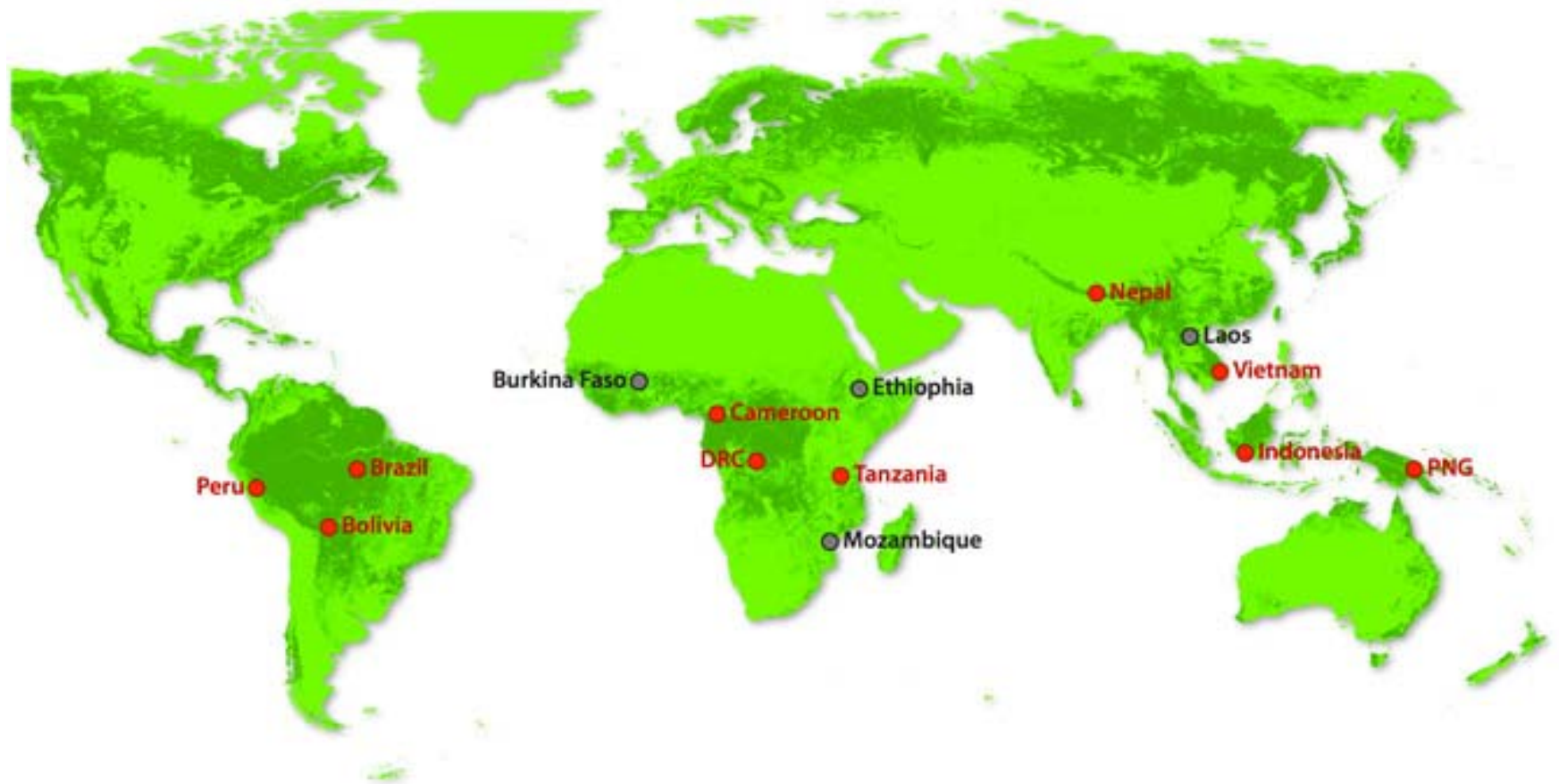
- Harnessing forests, trees and agroforestry for climate change mitigation
- Enhancing climate change adaptation
- Understanding synergies between climate change mitigation and adaptation



CIFOR's Global Comparative Study (GCS-REDD+)

- To support REDD+ policy arenas and practitioner communities with
 - information
 - analysis
 - tools
- so as to ensure 3E+ outcomes:
 - effectiveness
 - efficiency
 - equity and co-benefits





Analysis of national REDD+ policies and processes
in 14 countries since 2009

<http://www.forestclimatechange.org/global-comparative-study-on-redd.html>



Transformational change versus business-as-usual

Transformational change:

‘a shift in discourse, attitudes, power relations, and deliberate policy and protest action that leads policy formulation and implementation away from business as usual policy approaches that directly or indirectly support deforestation and forest degradation’

(Brockhaus and Angelsen, 2012; Di Gregorio et al, 2012 in ‘Analysing REDD+’)

Examples of transformational change

In the context of REDD+, transformational outcomes can be

- i) changes in economic, regulatory and governance frameworks, including the devolution of rights to local users;
- ii) removals of perverse incentives, such as subsidies and concessions that serve selective economic interests and stimulate deforestation and forest degradation; and
- iii) reforms of forest industry policies and regulations that effectively reduce unsustainable extraction

How do the 4 Is hinder or enable change (1)

- **Institutional stickiness:** Formal power typically rests with the ‘stickiest’ organisations – those with enough influence to resist change – while new institutions and actors are ignored or remain isolated (e.g. colonial rules, Ministries responsible for natural resources)
- **Interests:** State’s interest in social and economic welfare can fall short if lack of autonomy from interests that drive deforestation and degradation (e.g. rent seeking, fraud, collusion and corruption practices inside the bureaucratic system)

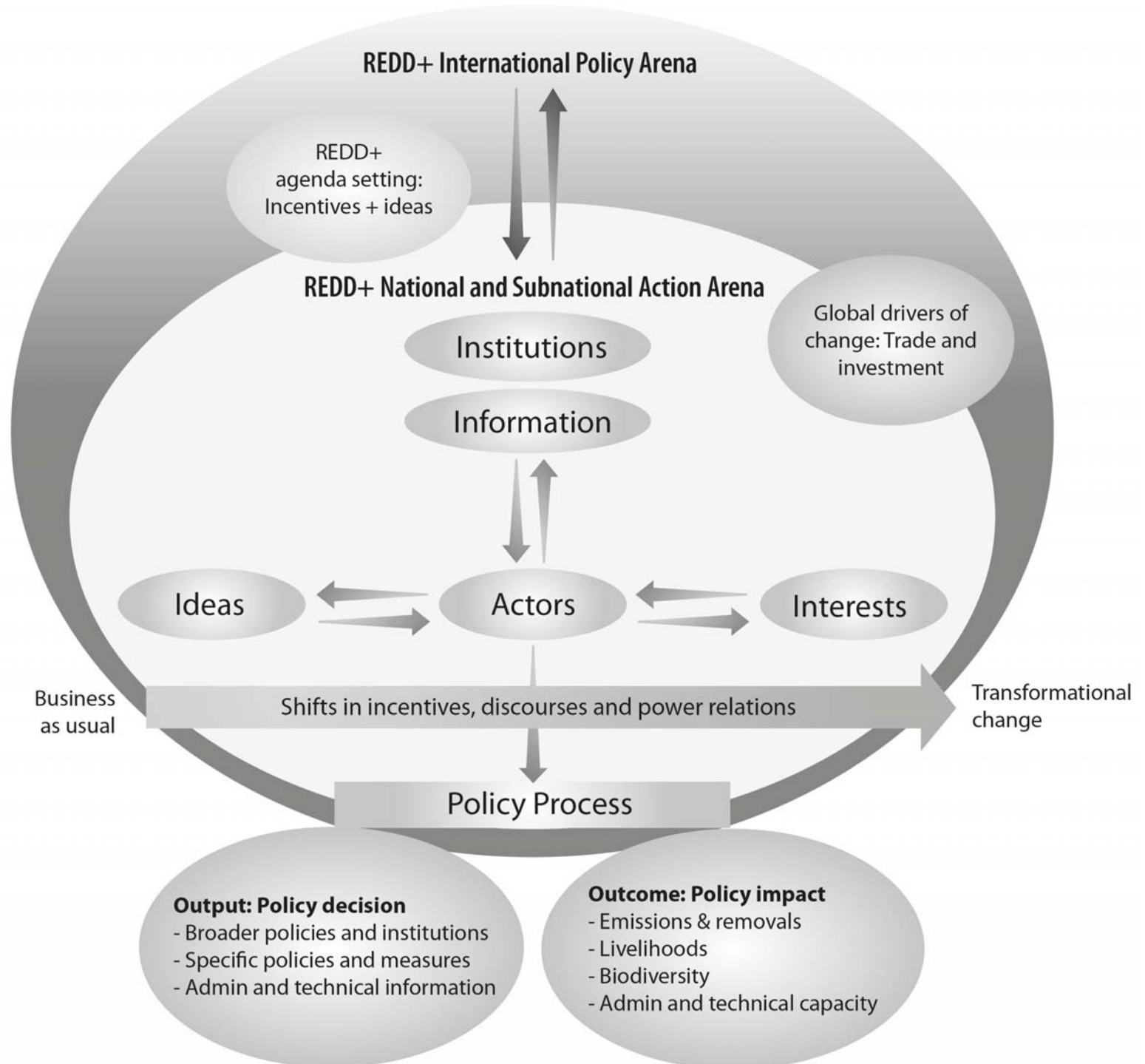
How do the 4 Is hinder or enable change (2)

- **Ideas:** discourse affects policy making, they frame the problem and present a limited set of choices of what is 'reasonable' or what is put forward as 'the possible' (e.g. REDD+ benefits for those who contribute to efficiency and effectiveness, versus benefits for those who have moral rights based on equity considerations)
- **Information – a currency in today's world:** Facts, rather than speaking for themselves, are selected, interpreted, and put in context in ways that reflect the interests of the information provider (e.g. reference level setting)



Seeing REDD+ through 4I's:

institutions, interests, ideas, information
(Brockhaus and Angelsen 2012)



Approach: investigating politico-economic constraints to effective national REDD+ strategies

(Brockhaus, M., and M. Di Gregorio. 2012. A brief overview: Component 1 on national REDD+ policies and processes. CIFOR)

- **Institutional Context and Path-Dependencies** (country context studies) (Brockhaus, M., M. Di Gregorio and S. Wertz-Kanounnikoff. 2012. Guide for country profiles: Global Comparative Study on REDD (GCS-REDD). Component 1 on National REDD+ Policies and Processes. CIFOR)
- **Ideology, Policy Discourses and Coalitions for Change** (media and actor stance analysis) (Di Gregorio, M., Price, S., Saunders, C. and Brockhaus, M. 2012. Code book for the analysis of media frames in articles on REDD. CIFOR)
- **Policy Network Structures: Constraints and Opportunities for effective policy design** (policy network analysis)
- **Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA): Progress in national REDD+ policy design**

Key policy challenges and regime types (selected countries)

Source: Di Gregorio, M., Brockhaus, M., Cronin, T., Muharrom, E. June 2012. Politics and power in national REDD+ policy processes. *In Analysing REDD+: Challenges and choices*, 69-90. CIFOR, Bogor, Indonesia.

Country	Drivers of deforestation and forest degradation	Policies that clash with REDD+ aims	Policies that support REDD+	Lack of autonomy / possible capture by special interests	Democracy category score (index)*	Level of centralization
Indonesia	Agriculture (large scale incl. forest plantations as oil palm , small scale & subsistence), logging, mining	Pulp and paper; mining permits in protected areas; fiscal and non-fiscal concessions for food estate and energy estate development; biofuel development; land allocation for oil palm plantations	Moratorium on Granting of New Licenses and Improvement of Natural Primary Forest and Peatland Governance (although considered a 'weak' policy due to the influence of business on government)	Medium-High (pressure from large scale plantations and logging, pulp and paper, mining and electoral campaigns)	Flawed democracy (6.53)	Decentralised with tensions
Brazil	Agriculture (large- and small-scale ranching, commodity crops), infrastructure, selective logging, mining, fire	Rural credit for cattle ranching / infrastructure development (roads and dams); land tenure rules favouring land grabbing	Forest Code conservation requirement on private land, improved enforcement of land-use policies (incl. protected areas), economic & ecological zoning, efforts to certify producer legality commercial chains (beef, soy), land regularization process, real-time monitoring of deforestation.	Medium-high (land speculation, illegal logging, cattle ranching, tax evasion, drug trafficking, patron-client relationships and electoral campaigns)	Flawed democracy (7.12)	Federal system
Cameroon	Agriculture (medium- and small-scale, subsistence); logging; mining	Devaluations boosting logging exports; infrastructure (roads, rails and dams); mining and large-scale agriculture projects	Law No 2011/08 on Guidelines for Territorial Planning and Sustainable Development in Cameroon	High in the logging sector (corruption driving illegal logging includes national and local elite)	Authoritarian (3.41)	Decentralised but with limits

*: source: The Economist 2011. Democracy Index 2011: democracy under stress. A report from the Economist Intelligence Unit. High indexes refer to democracies and low indexes to authoritarian regimes.

Sources: May *et al.* 2011; Dkamela 2011; Indrarto *et al.* 2012; Pham *et al.* 2012; CEDLA and CIFOR 2013; Forest Action and CIFOR 2013; DAR and CIFOR 2013)

THINKING beyond the canopy



Actors shaping the discourse in three major daily print media

Actor group	Indonesia	Brazil	Cameroon	Vietnam	Bolivia	Peru	Nepal
State (national)	45	26	8	67	50	12	17
State (sub-national)	7	2	0	0	3	0	6
Corporate	3	4	0	6	10	0	6
Intergovernmental	8	7	17	27	9	25	6
Research (international)	5	11	42	0	0	25	6
NGO+ENGO(international)	16	17	0	0	10	25	0
Research (national)	6	13	25	0	3	0	12
civil society actors (national)	10	20	8	0	15	13	47
TOTAL % of actors	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
TOTAL no. actors	219	113	12	32	60	8	17

Power of Agency (Brockhaus et al 2012 The power of Agency)

Country	Master Frame	Actor groups in the main BAU and TC discourse coalition (no. actor stances expressed in the coalition = frequency)	No. coalition actors	Reputational power index $R_p = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n_p} id_i}{n_p(n-1)}$	No. of coalition group members * reputational power index	Reputational power index of discourse coalition $R_d = \text{sum of (No. of coalition group members x reputational power index)}$	Normalized reputational power index of discourse coalition $R_{BAU\ norm}$ $R_{TC\ norm}$
Indonesia (56%)	2. Financial support (BAU)	State (31)	66	0.16	4.82	8.71	0.67518
		Civil society (8)		0.10	0.81		
		International NGOs (7)		0.16	1.11		
		Foreign government agencies (6)		0.14	0.84		
		Intergovernmental org. and int. research institutes (5)		0.21	1.03		
		Nat research inst. (1)		0.10	0.10		
		Others (8)		0.00	0.00		
		7. Rights (TC)		State (3)	32		
	Nat research inst. (1)		0.10	0.10			
	Civil society (14)		0.10	1.45			
	International NGOs (10)		0.16	1.59			
	Intergovernmental org. and int. research institutes (3)		0.21	0.62			
	Others (1)		0.00	0.00			
	Vietnam (100%)	3. Win-win (BAU)	State (5)	9	0.27	1.37	
Intergovernmental org. and int. research institutes (3)			0.32		0.95		
Foreign government agencies (1)			0.26		0.26		

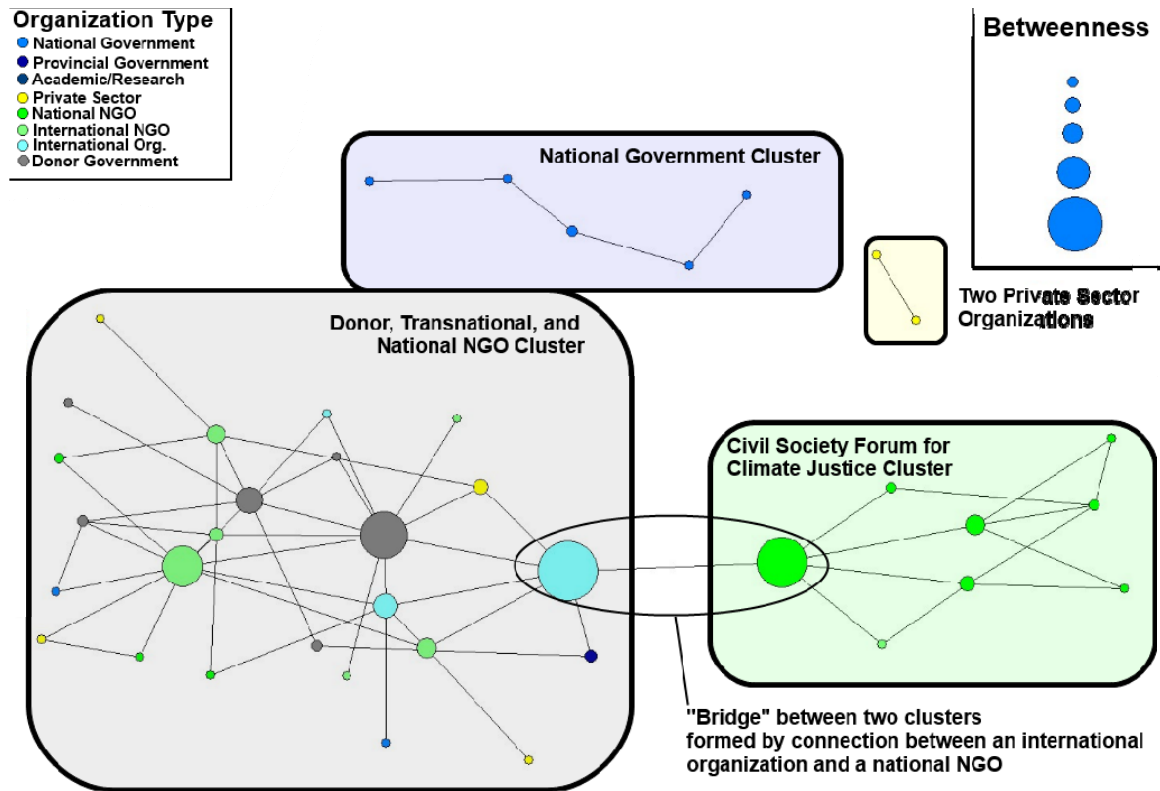
Indonesia

Fragmentation in Information exchange network

Exchange of information very limited, actors of same types mainly speak together, no 'real' exchange

WHY?

- Organizations are not aware of each other?
- Some are not seen as important?
- Respect???



4 distinct clusters

Homophily strong in national government cluster

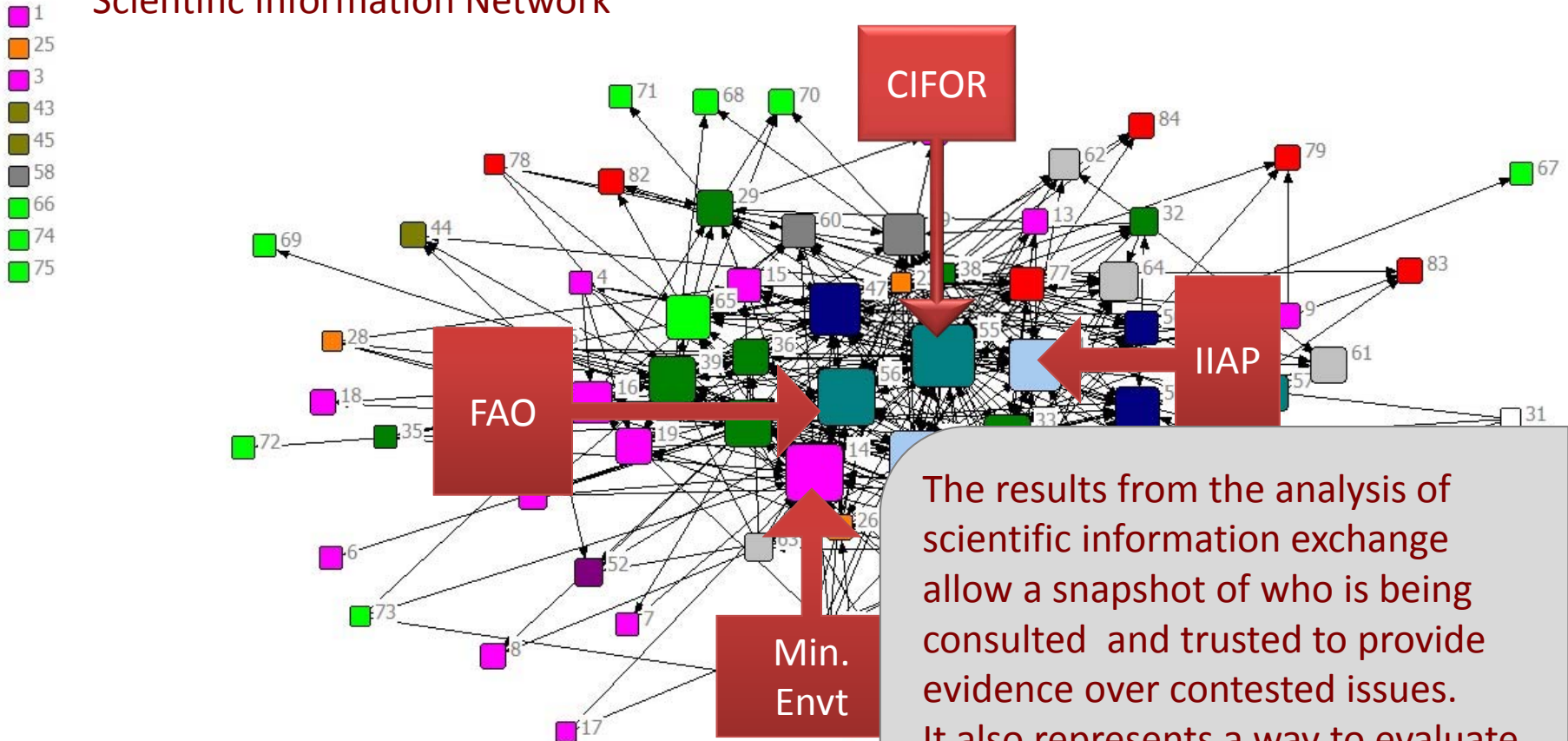
Only one bridge

Moeliono, M., C. Gallemore, L. Santoso, M. Brockhaus, and M. Di Gregorio. May 2014. Information networks and power: confronting the "wicked problem" of REDD+ in Indonesia. *Ecology and Society* 19(2): 9.



Peru

Scientific Information Network



The results from the analysis of scientific information exchange allow a snapshot of who is being consulted and trusted to provide evidence over contested issues. It also represents a way to evaluate the impact of organizations carrying out research relevant to REDD+.

A dense network with different actors (national research organisations, governments, national and international NGOs) exchange information. The most important players constitute one network of Environment, FAO (tied with MINAM) and CIFOR.



PNA Results

Honeymoon phase: Nepal, Tanzania and Cameroon:

- Countries in the early stages of national REDD+ policy debates, display **dominance of cooperation**

Bargaining for change: Indonesia, Brazil, PNG:

- Power struggles intensify: **bargaining** (conflictual cooperation) **becomes dominant** when the national REDD+ policy process starts to address specific policies and measures, particularly on controversial issues such as benefit sharing

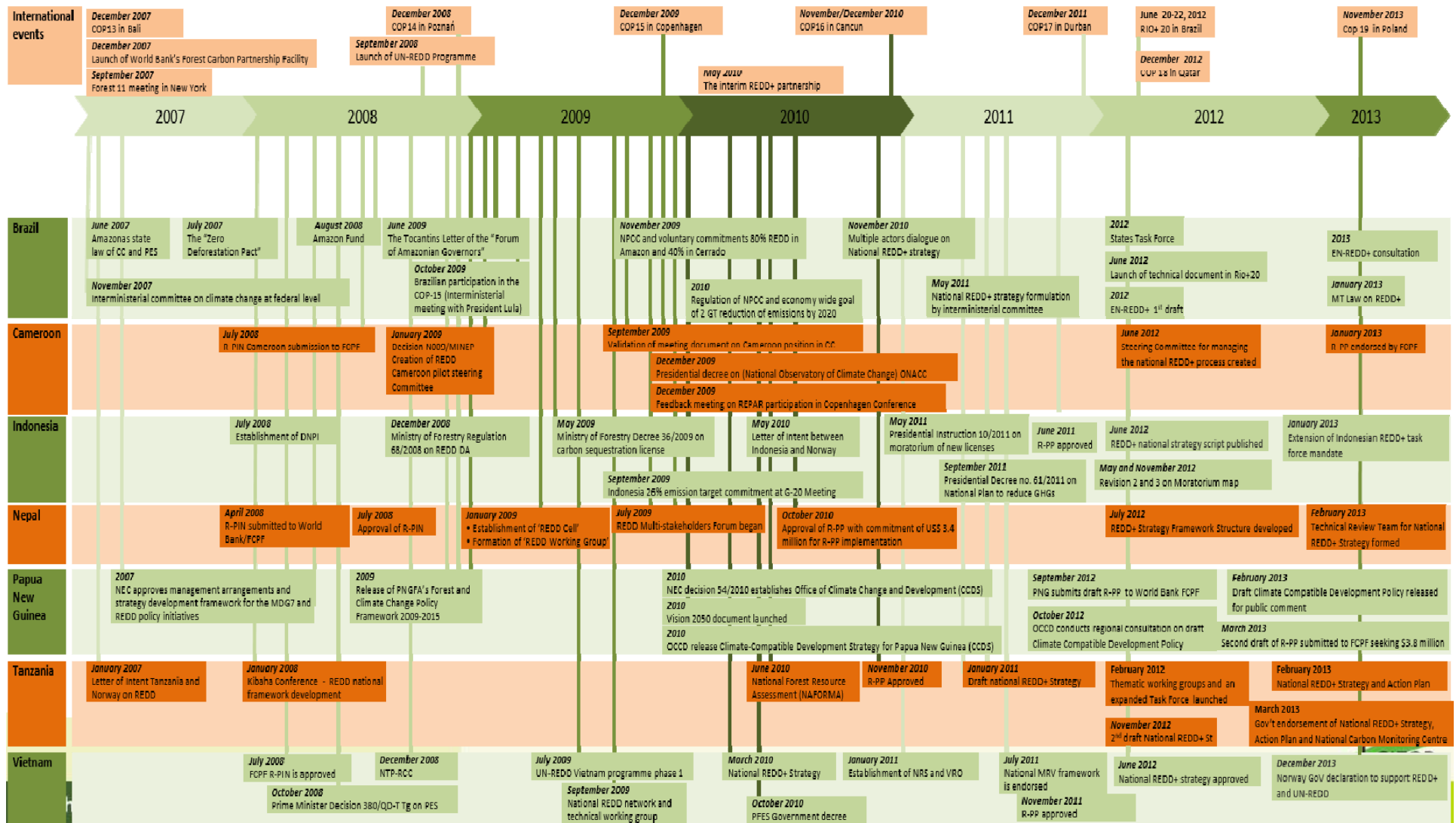
State driven: Vietnam: dominance of cooperation indicates lack of inclusion, underreporting of conflict (latent)



REDD+ progressing?

Major events in REDD+ policy arenas

Brockhaus, M., Di Gregorio, M., 2014. National REDD+ policy networks: From cooperation to conflict. Ecology & Society. Forthcoming.



Measuring progress with REDD+ towards transformational change

- **Key findings:**

- **Context matters:** Already initiated institutional change allows for faster REDD+ design , but either forest pressure needs to be high or effective forest legislation, policy and governance in place
- **Actor-related factors of national ownership and transformational coalitions crucial:** but could only be effective in an enabling institutional setting
- (Korhonen-Kurki et al. 2014. Enabling factors for establishing REDD+ in a context of weak governance. *Climate Policy*, 14(2), 167-186.)

Some selected key findings: from rhetorics to policy change for REDD+?

- Overall progress slow, countries stuck in REDD+ readiness, but progress visible → need for more certainty about finance to provide credibility for shifts in incentives
 - (Brockhaus et al. 2014. REDD+ policy networks: Exploring actors and power structures in an emerging policy domain. Ecology & Society..)
- The promise of performance-based funding plays a positive role in achieving REDD+, when it is applied in countries that have a strong national ownership and lead the process themselves, rather than led donors lead it
 - (A second round of qualitative comparative analysis – Korhonen-Kurki et al, unpublished project document)



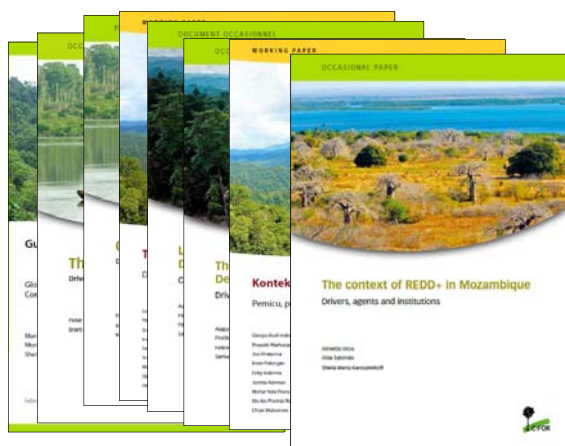
Conclusion

- BAU actor coalitions are powerful, main drivers of deforestation not yet tackled, but no REDD+ without → needs state with ‘societal welfare rationale’ to counterbalance deforestation-driving private sector’s ‘profit rationale’
- Obidzinski et al. 2014. Oil palm plantation investments in Indonesia’s forest frontiers: limited economic multipliers and uncertain benefits for local communities. *Environment, Development and Sustainability*, 1-20;
- Salvini, G., Herold, M., De Sy, V., Kissinger, G., Brockhaus, M., & Skutsch, M. (2014). How countries link REDD+ interventions to drivers in their readiness plans: implications for monitoring systems. *Environmental Research Letters*, 9(7), 074004.)



GCS analysis of policies and processes

Country Profiles



Media-based discourse analyses



Info Briefs



Working Papers



Journal Articles



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Article

Multi-Level Policy Dialogues, Processes, and Actions: Challenges and Opportunities for National REDD+ Safeguards Measurement, Reporting, and Verification (MRV)

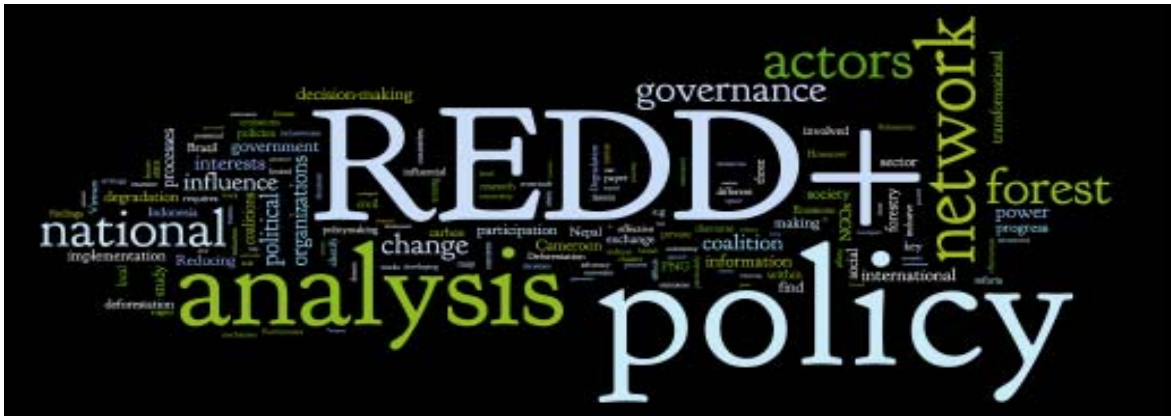
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Abstract: REDD+ social safeguards have gained increasing attention in numerous forums. This paper reviews the evolution of multi-level policy dialogues, processes, and actions related to REDD+ social safeguards (e.g., Cancun Safeguards 1–5) among policy makers, civil society organizations, and within the media in Brazil, Indonesia and Tanzania, three countries with well advanced REDD+ programs. We find that progress on core aspects of social safeguards is uneven across the three countries. Brazil is by far the most advanced having drafted a REDD+ social safeguards policy. Both Brazil and Indonesia have benefited from progress made by strong sub-national entities in the operationalization of REDD+ safeguards including free prior and informed consent (FPIC), participation, and benefit sharing. Tanzania has weakly articulated how social safeguards will be operationalized and has a more top-down approach. We conclude that in all three countries, measuring, reporting and verifying progress on social safeguards is likely to be a complex issue.



REDD+ national policy networks: information flows, influence and coalitions for change

Guest Editors
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