The Global Political Economy of REDD+: Engaging Social Dimensions in the Emerging Green Economy
Introduction

Recognised as a cost-effective climate change mitigation strategy, conservation of the forestry sector in developing countries has recently entered the field of the green economy with the emergence of REDD+

REDD+: a means through which governments, individuals and communities in developing countries can be financially rewarded for reducing emissions from deforestation, forest degradation and enhancement of carbon stock (UNFCCC, 2009).
Context

• REDD+ emerges as a climate change mitigation mechanism attracting actors previously involved in the green economy
• The participation of an unprecedented group of pro-poor social groups who bring the social dimension to the green economy
• National forest decision-making processes have generally involved conflicting interests
• With REDD+, actors competition around forestry decision-making re-emerges
Understanding REDD+ policy processes through political economy analysis

• Traditional governance analysis focused on negotiation and implementation
• The role of ideas and ideologies and power relations among them have been largely ignored
• Assumptions on linear policy processes from global negotiations to national implementation
A new political economy of climate change. Tanner and Allouche (2011)
Key research questions

- **Conceptualisation** - What are the narratives around REDD+ and by which actor-networks are they being supported?
- **Negotiation** - How is power shaping REDD+ design and hence favouring some ideologies over others? Which strategies/coalitions are being used by REDD+ actors to influence global REDD+ negotiations?
- **Implementation** - How are REDD+ governance structures being set up globally? What are the key decisions that have key implications on the social dimension of REDD+ policies globally?
Contentions around three main issues:

- The inclusion of social and environmental co-benefits in REDD+
- The use of carbon markets and private sector participation in REDD+
- Forest community participation in REDD+ decision-making and the inclusion of forest peoples’ rights in REDD+
History of REDD+ negotiations

The inclusion of environmental and social co-benefits

• UNFCCC meetings in Bonn (June 2009): the possibility of developing measures and safeguards to protect biodiversity was considered.

• September 2009: the European Union supported by the Democratic Republic of the Congo (speaking for Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, and the Republic of the Congo) blocked the inclusion of language to prevent the conversion of natural forests to plantations.

• COP15: Biodiversity recognised as the only co-benefit
• COP 16: REDD+ should be implemented in the context of sustainable development and reducing poverty, while responding to climate change
History of REDD+ negotiations

The use of carbon markets and private sector participation in REDD+

• COP 15: Parties encouraged the GEF to continue promoting private sector financing and investment to finance climate change mitigation activities. The use of carbon markets was considered as an option.

• COP 16: it was agreed to ‘consider the establishment of one or more voluntary market-based mechanisms to enhance the cost-effectiveness of mitigation actions’ ensuring good governance and robust market functioning and regulation.
History of REDD+ negotiations

Forest dwellers participation and the inclusion of their rights in REDD+

COP 14: US, Canada, New Zealand and Australia blocked the inclusion of the rights of indigenous peoples in REDD+.

COP 15:
• Full and effective engagement of indigenous peoples and local communities in REDD+ and their participation in MRV
• Forest community rights not recognised
History of REDD+ negotiations

Forest dwellers participation and the inclusion of their rights in REDD+

COP 16:
• All climate change related actions should fully respect human rights

• The establishment of safeguards for REDD+ by taking into account the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
Conceptualisation: ideological drivers in the development of REDD+

Four different environmental worldviews identified by Clapp and Dauvergne (2005):

- Market-liberals
- Institutionalists
- Bio-environmentalists
- Social greens
Forest and economic growth: the market-liberal approach

• From natural resource exploitation to the double dividend
• ‘Double dividend’: ‘helping the environment without hurting the economy’
• Underlying assumption: economic growth is compatible with significant reductions in carbon emissions.
A shift in the approach: ‘the double dividend’

- Emphasis on efficiency over equity
- Private sector participation will be essential in REDD+
- REDD+: a potential area for expansion of carbon markets
- REDD: a corporate social responsibility strategy
Forests and governance: institutionalists

• Strong institutions, good governance and effective laws are essential to protect the environment.

• Key barriers for good governance: flawed policy and legal framework, minimal enforcement capacity, insufficient data, corruption and market conditions for wood products
Forests and governance: institutionalists

- International aid is needed to provide capacity-building evidenced by the REDD+ phased approach
- ‘Corporate and local government eligibility to participate in REDD+ should be conditional on meeting standards and indicators of good governance’ (GOI, 2009)
The ecological value of forests: bio-environmentalists

- Forests play a key role in biodiversity conservation and in the provision of other environmental services.
- REDD+ should achieve drastic changes in deforestation rates and greenhouse gas emissions.
The ecological value of forests: bio-environmentalists

- Opposed to the business as usual approach but not necessarily against the double dividend
Social greens

• Environment and society are inseparable
• REDD+ should reduce poverty and ensure the respect of forest peoples’ rights in REDD+.
• Forest people play a key role in biodiversity and forest conservation.
• Community forest management would play a key role in REDD+. 
The convergence between narratives and actor coalitions?

Different views found among:
- indigenous groups and forest dwellers’ advocates
- bio-environmentalists
- institutionalists
- REDD+ country donors
Power dynamics in REDD+ policy processes

• Competition among the four environmental worldviews influenced by power dynamics.

• Demand for rational and objective knowledge has conferred natural sciences and economics greater credibility and productive power in REDD+ conceptualisation to date.
Productive power of the market-liberal approach

- REDD+ emergence as a cost-effective mechanism
- Context of increasing attempts to value and commodify carbon and forests.
- Outcome: 75% of REDD+ proposals in 2009 had advocated for the use of markets in REDD+ (Parker and Mitchell, 2009).
Social greens: collective power to achieve representation

- Previous accountability deficits in forestry decision-making processes and global climate change negotiations
- Collective mobilisation of civil society through invited and created spaces
- Opportunity to participate or mere symbolic gift of power?
Social greens: collective power to achieve representation

Outcomes: recognition of several social green demands in negotiating texts / creation of multi-stakeholder processes

• REDD+ not only a matter of exercising ‘power over’
• Collective agency can overcome constraints linked to hierarchical structures
• Dynamic nature of power and non-linearity of REDD+ policy processes
Dominance of the institutionalist approach in implementation

- A focus on national government-led REDD+ initiatives
- Economic capital and institutional power of the institutionalist approach
- Large investments on ‘REDD+ readiness’ programmes
The limits of compatibility

- Cancun agreements: a ‘well-governed social green climate capitalism’?

- Collective power gained at global negotiations largely reduced in national REDD+ implementation focused on government-led initiatives

- Social greens forced to renegotiate at the national level due to lack of institutional support
Concluding remarks: REDD+ post-2012

Future REDD+ policy processes are likely to be complex as they are part of a decentralised REDD+ decision-making processes. They are likely to be complex as they are part of a decentralised, power-embedded, and non-linear network where diverse interests, narratives, and actors converge.
Political economy analysis for a fair and equitable post-2012 REDD+ agreement

• To identify opportunities and challenges to the integration of the social dimension in REDD+

• To avoid apolitical solutions to the climate change challenge

• To unpack assumptions on equitable ‘something-for-all’ REDD+ agreements
Political economy analysis for a fair and equitable post-2012 REDD+ agreement

- To critically examine the compatibility among different environmental worldviews

- To recognise the heterogeneity of social justice approaches to REDD+
Bringing the social dimension in REDD+ post-2012

Establishing national regulations and institutional architecture that recognises and engages local communities at different levels and enables benefit streams to reach them.
Bringing the social dimension in REDD+ post-2012

Increased institutional support and policy space for currently less powerful forest voices is needed if equity, rights as social justice are to be considered as key aspects of the future global climate change regime.
Thank you

Any questions and/or comments?