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Shifting discourse, shifting power: how is climate change mitigation and justice negotiated in Indonesia?

Gamma Galudra and Aenunaim

World Agroforestry Centre

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Tel: +62 251 8625415
Fax: +62 251 8625416
Email: icraf-sea@cgiar.org; icraf-indonesia@cgiar.org
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About the authors

Gamma Galudra main working interest is on forest governance, common property rights and community-based forest management. He has been actively involved in forest governance, livelihoods and community based forest management research for 17 years. During his period working with ICRAF, he was also leading several projects related to biodiversity, community based forest management and low emission development policies since 2010, funded by ClimateWorks Foundation, Climate Land Use Alliance (CLUA) and Margareth A. Cargill Foundation. Currently, Gamma Galudra works for RECOFTC- The Center for People and Forests as the Director of Indonesia Country Program. Contact: gamma.galudra@recoftc.org

Aenunaim joined World Agroforestry Centre – Southeast Asia (ICRAF -SEA) on mid 2014 as land governance research assistant, and in 2015 as a Land Governance and Community Management Researcher until 2017. if it also works under the project of Lama-I, ParCimon and G-lamai. Now He had transformation as Environmental and Stakeholder Policy Specialist for Peatland, Restoration +, Strategic Environmental Assessment and One Map Initiative Project. Aenunaim Graduated from Bogor Agricultural University majoring Forest Resources Conservation. Contact: aenunaim@cgiar.org

Abstract

Most of the global climate change mitigation discourses are dominated by two contradicting discourses: ecological modernization and the civic environmental discourse. They shape and determine how climate change mitigation practices and justice are governed in Indonesia. Based on discourse analysis, this study aims to explore the relationship between these two prominent discourses, and the way they govern climate change mitigation practices in Indonesia. We hypothesize that climate change mitigation outcomes in Indonesia are not only the result of these co-existing dominant discourses, but also of the collective decision-making and authority of different interest groups across multiple scales of governance. The various interest groups develop new discourses that reshape and redirect national policies. Our analysis suggests that Indonesia's concerns about the carbon market and financial system, along with the newer concerns about forest governance reform and equity and the emergence of new coalitions and their resistance, has led to the plurality of discourses and justice, with potential implications for Indonesia's climate change policies.

Keywords: discourse, REDD+, forest policy, justice, polycentric governance

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1 Introduction

1.1 Objective

Efforts to reduce emissions from deforestation and forest degradation have affected forest governance in developing countries. Knowledge of the science of climate change may steer the conduct of actors who have an interest in forests. However, many scholars fear that the implementation of emission reduction through this science will cause recentralised forest governance, a lack of engagement with local communities in decision-making and forest benefits, a loss of both customary tenure and use rights for local populations, and exhibit a lack of respect for local culture and knowledge (Lyster 2011). In the end, it would cause further social conflict and community impoverishment. As a response, many scholars emphasize the importance of justice and equity in climate change mitigation efforts and discourses (McDermott et al. 2013; Schlosberg 2013). Consequently, not only is science steering actors' conduct in relation to forests, but also the issues of equity and justice are determining how governments govern their forests (Preston et al. 2014).

Backstrand and Lovbrand (2006) describe the competing discourses that shape and influence the climate change policy and practice. These discourses are green governmentality, ecological modernization and civic environmentalism. There is a need to examine how the issues of equity and justice are being addressed by these three competing discourses. Schlosberg (2004, 2007) classifies justice as including equity in the distribution of environmental risks and benefits, recognition of the diversity of participants and the experiences of affected communities, and participation in the political processes which create and manage environmental policy. However, the classification of justice is a contested concept, with multiple definitions (Schlosberg 2004, 2007, 2013, Schroeder and McDermott 2014). Schlosberg (2014) describes environmental justice as a social movement that influences the way that climate change mitigation action is conceptualized.

This study addresses the question: how is justice addressed by current national and sub-national discourses, policies and legislation in Indonesia, and how should it be addressed in a transformative agenda? This question has the following sub-questions:

1. What are the effects of the dominant global climate change mitigation discourses on national discourse?
2. How are justice discourses conceptualized and manifested in the national climate change mitigation discourse? How they are contested and negotiated by different actors?

1.2 Transformation to inclusive development: discourse, governmentality and justice

Through the perspective of discourse analysis, transformation could be achieved when the actors' coalitions are formed, and the tensions and struggle between them have emerged, creating a new subject of discourse (Feindt and Oels 2005). The process of transformation requires an understanding of how the different discourses compete, and how they are integrated into the forest institution. It also requires an understanding of how they are being transformed into policy instruments and consolidated into practice (Backstrand and Lovbrand 2006).

Not all coalitions of each discourse support transformation. Transformation requires different sets of discourses that reflect the ideas of policy reform, governance and institutional change, and challenge existing power relationships. The versions of discourses that lead to transformation are reflexive green governmentality, strong ecological modernization and radical civic environmentalism (de Gregorio et al 2015). In this case, transformation requires a shift in the established discourses, which depends on new knowledge, as well as an understanding of existing government structures and institutional rules and past experiences (both historic and recent) that govern forest values and norms.

Social movement on the issue of justice shapes and influences the way climate change mitigation is put into practice (Schlosberg 2014). Several scholars have identified three global climate justice discourses: North-South duality (entitlements and duties regarding development, national sovereignty, rights to development), vulnerability (the urgency and moral importance of actions to mitigate and adapt), and transition (common but differentiated responsibilities, sharing the cost of mitigating climate change through a process of global low-carbon growth). However, justice in climate change can also be framed according to the competing environmental discourses and historical norms of particular geographic locations. Therefore, there is a need to analyze how the climate change justice discourse is manifested within the environmental discourse (Backstrand and Lovbrand 2006) at the national and sub-national levels.

We analysed the climate justice discourses using a social environmental justice framework (Schlosberg 2007, 2015, Sikor et al 2014). This framework includes distribution (the way costs and benefits are allotted among people and groups with competing claims), participatory and procedural decision-making (recognition of competing ideas and interests, and inclusion of these in the process of decision-making, covering the ability to participate, the distribution of power, and the rules of decision-making) and recognition (acknowledgement of people's ideas, cultures and histories, and avoidance of bias toward statutory norms) (Schlosberg 2007, Sikor et al 2014). This environmental justice framework is used to analyze how the dynamics of climate change discourse and climate change mitigation policies influence the practice of justice.

Based on the framework above, we argue that combining the concepts of environmental and justice discourses is needed to understand the evolving climate change discourses at national and sub-national levels, as well as their contestations, and how they influence forest policy and governance. Table 1 illustrates how environmental discourses differentiate between policy instruments, shape and

influence climate change mitigation practices and justice, and whether they support business as usual or transformation.

Table 1. The influence of environmental discourses on climate change mitigation and justice mechanisms

Discourse	Version	Definition	Climate change mitigation mechanism	Justice mechanism	Business as usual or transformational change
Green governmentality		Science-driven, characterized by centralized, top-down decisions.	Standardized measurement techniques and verification schemes.	Development of community institutions to participate in carbon monitoring.	Business as usual
	Reflexive	Acknowledges local complexities and includes local actors in the creation of a just and credible institution.	Respect for local knowledge and rights.	Forest reform to ensure the just distribution of carbon rights.	Transformational change
Ecological modernization	Weak	Technocratic problem solving aimed at meeting economic and ecological goals.	Emissions market and trade to minimize the costs.	Minimization of the risk to people's livelihoods: resettlement, compensation, partial use rights.	Business as usual
	Strong	Democratic decision-making and institutional structures encouraging meaningful participation by societal actors.	Co-benefits such as poverty alleviation and local socio-economic improvement.	Prevent people's livelihoods from harm: avoiding deprivation, displacement and marginalization through mechanisms such as land tenure reform and customary land maps.	Transformational change
Civic environmentalism/ inclusive development	Reformist	The vital force of a transnational civil society between NGOs, businesses and governments can increase the public accountability and legitimacy of environmental problem-solving.	Public deliberation by all relevant stakeholders.	Full rights and responsibilities such as participation, transparency and accountability, and free, prior and informed consent (FPIC).	Business as usual
	Radical	Challenges unequal power structures, free trade and market liberalization, and advocates a more just world order.	Giving greater autonomy and power to local communities.	Recognition of the sovereignty of indigenous people's rights.	Transformational change

Sources: Aicher (2014); Arhin (2014); Backstrand and Lovbrand (2006); De Gregorio et al (2015);

The table shows that the transformational discourses such as strong ecological modernization and reflexive green governmentality are influenced by civic environmentalism. Nevertheless, they have different scales of influence in the transformation of forest governance and the implementation of

justice in the context of climate change mitigation action. Reflexive green governmentality and radical civic environmentalism challenge the existing forest governance on tenure, the difference being that the former discourse aims to reform forest tenure in relation to carbon rights (who should get how much, and at whose cost) (Greenleaf 2010), while the latter discourse challenges the existing forest governance by romanticizing the sovereignty of indigenous and local people based on their wisdom, knowledge and practices (Shankland and Hesenclever 2011). On the other hand, the strong ecological modernization discourse focuses on promoting and improving communities' livelihoods within the context of 'co-benefits'. Any interventions for climate change mitigation must consider how they will improve forest communities' livelihoods and biodiversity (Arhin 2014).

The reform version of the civic environmentalism discourse promotes procedural justice such as community participation in decision-making processes, transparency and accountability. Procedural justice in climate change mitigation is being put into practice as free prior and informed consent (FPIC) (Arhin 2014, Aicher 2014). However, this discourse only sustains and strengthens the existing forest governance, and institutional rules such as corporate-community partnerships (de Gregorio et al 2015). Other discourses, such as weak ecological modernization and green governmentality, also have some elements of justice, but with only limited community participation in decision-making. Green governmentality gives communities roles only in measuring and verifying the carbon sink, while weak ecological governmentality focuses on strong collaboration between global institutions and national government sovereignty. Here, the manifestation of this discourse is effective law enforcement (Hiraldo and Tanner 2011), and local communities only receive compensation, relocation or partial rights (Arhin 2014).

2 Methods and Study Area

Indonesia has the highest rate of forest cover loss in the world, estimated at 840,000 ha annually for primary forests. This loss is attributed domestically to poor forest and land governance. Indonesia's national commitment is to reduce its emissions by 29% through state budgets, and by a further 41% through bilateral agreements, by 2030. The INDC report details national emission reduction targets and programmes, as well as the national strategy for emission reduction actions. However, most of these actions are planned to achieve the emission reduction targets based on scientific and political economy rationalities and lack an understanding of how justice shapes and influences climate change mitigation in practice.

We interviewed around 18 participants who work with emission reduction policies and practices. These experts are mainly: ex-REDD Agency members, ex-Climate Change National Council (DNPI) members, national and international NGOs, and university academicians. We also selected five government officers from the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (MoEF) and National Planning and Development Agency (BAPPENAS).

The interviews were divided into two sessions. In the first session, we asked these experts and government officers to identify: (i) major activities that directly contribute deforestation, forest degradation and the destruction of peatlands in Indonesia, (ii) solutions to reduce the impact of these causes, (iii) policy interventions and practices that are most likely to halt or minimize deforestation, forest degradation and the destruction of peatlands. In the second session, we asked them about: (i) their understanding of justice and equity in climate change mitigation practices, and (ii) how their policy instruments and practices will determine social justice outcomes.

We also selected 11 participants from two working groups in Jambi: the Provincial Committee of REDD+ (KOMDA REDD+) and the Provincial Action Plan for Gashouse Emission Reduction Team (RAD-GRK). These groups consist of provincial government officers, NGOs and academicians. The difference between these working groups is that the former group works to implement the REDD+ scheme. They work under the Economic Affairs Unit at the Governor Office of Jambi. While the latter group works to implement the NAMA's scheme under the coordination of Provincial Planning and Development Agency (BAPPEDA). Despite this, both of them work to achieve the national emission reduction of 26% (now, under the National Determined Commitment (NDC), around 29% by 2030), however there are uncertainties as to how they will work together and consolidate their objectives in practice.

3 Results

This section is about how the existing discourses are conceptualized and manifested in climate change mitigation and justice in Indonesia. The existing discourses shape and determine Indonesia's national debate on two topics: i) drivers of deforestation, and ii) policy instruments. Here, we argue that these topics affect the way justice is put into practice.

3.1 Drivers of deforestation: understanding the scale and magnitude

Table 2 divides deforestation into planned and unplanned. The cause of the deforestation determines the way it can be solved and minimized. Based on interviews and discussions, the problem and its solutions can be divided into three aspects. First, global demand provides the motivation to exploit the forest. As this is regarded as planned deforestation, especially in terms of state legality, most of the civil society members tried to promote value chain certification to ensure business concession commitments to emission reduction. Others advocated 'good governance' indicators to measure and monitor the forest governance processes.

The second aspect deals with restoring and rehabilitating forest functions. This is combined with law enforcement. Unlike the first aspect, law enforcement deals with illegal logging and 'illegal' forest occupiers, and mostly relies on force and punishment.

The third aspect focuses on protecting the rights of marginalized groups. It promotes providing more opportunities for the local communities to manage the forest, which will help to minimize carbon emissions and halt deforestation. Based on this premise, several instruments were developed to ensure local and indigenous communities are involved in forest management, including in land tenure conflict resolution, indigenous people recognition and reform of forest bureaucracy and procedures for community-based forest management.

Table 2. The drivers of deforestation

Drivers of deforestation		Solutions
Planned deforestation (direct deforestation)	• Global demand for timber, including licensing for forest conversion.	• Promote HCVF/High Carbon Stock (HCS) in timber/oil palm certification; protect the remaining forests in business concessions. • Enhance the capacity to monitor business land use management through government regulations such Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), Sustainable Forest Production Management (PHPL) and Strategic Environment Assessment (SEA). • Transparency and accountability in forest and land use licensing processes. • Develop a carbon market and incentives for best forest management practices.
Unplanned deforestation (direct deforestation)	• Communities' slash and burn/forest fires • Illegal logging • Land occupation	• Restore degraded peatland • Law enforcement
Unplanned deforestation (indirect deforestation)	• Weak forest governance • Weak licensing monitoring process • Weak forest land tenure system including customary rights • Weak law enforcement	• FPIC • Recognition of indigenous/ communal rights • Forest and land tenure conflict resolution and mediation

Sources: interviews and discussions

3.2 Policy instruments: understanding the purpose and problems

Table 3 illustrates that, in general, there are three separate but complementary policy instruments that are being discussed in emission reduction debates. The first is about the forest moratorium and the process of one map policy. It is derived from the perspective that the target of emission reduction should not impede the progress of development. This policy instrument complements the second policy instrument of measurement, reporting and verification (MRV) through the National/Local Action Plan for GHG reduction (RAN/D-GRK). Spatial planning policy can be used as the means to integrate development planning with forest moratorium maps, with the purpose of developing emission reduction action plans in line with national and regional economic development plans.

However, there is the problem of how to monitor the progress of emission reduction currently committed to by different stakeholders (government agencies, business concessions and civil societies). The activities that dominate the RAN/D-GRK policy are reforestation and forest rehabilitation. These activities were planned simply because (i) it easy to measure carbon and accounting to support carbon enhancement, (ii) they are already being funded through the existing annual state budget, and (iii) it is easy to monitor and to ensure the communities' involvement as labour in planting and preservation. This means that emission reduction activities are limited only to forest replantation. It also gives corporations such as pulp and paper plantations an avenue to claim that their activities in converting degraded forest to pulp and paper plantation are in line with the carbon stock enhancements and emission reduction targets that have been set by the government.

The actions to support the policy instruments are related to both direct and indirect deforestation. In the governance reform movement by the civil societies, the target of reform is the due diligence of business corporate concessions. Some NGOs are working with the concessions to insert indicators of high carbon stock (HCS) and high conservation value (HCV) into the certification mechanism. Others advocate assessment of the government documents regarding concessions plans, as part of government transparency and accountability.

Table 3. Policy instruments and their challenges in emission reduction in Indonesia

Policy instruments	Purpose	Challenges in relation to emission reduction
Manifested forest moratorium to one map policy to visualize forest permits and forest cover	• Develop development planning and permits that ensure protected forest areas. • Reduce overlapping permits and forest tenure problems.	• The forest moratorium only protects forest that has already been protected within state regulations, such as for forest conservation. • Never goes beyond forest boundaries. • Does not control forest communities' area claims.
Measurement, reporting and verification (MRV) through the National/ Local Action Plan for GHG reduction (RAN/D-GRK)	• A guideline for multiple stakeholders to ensure development planning meets emission reduction targets.	• As it was mandated by the National Planning and Development Agency (BAPPENAS) through spatial planning, the debate focuses mainly on planning and the uncertainty of how to develop the monitoring system. • Uncertain whether private sectors are willing to support the emission reduction targets. • Uncertain on the agreed reference emission level (REL) and on how to monitor performance.

Policy instruments	Purpose	Challenges in relation to emission reduction
		• Jurisdictional approach is required to get all actors' support, but as it is embedded in the spatial planning which focuses on development, emission reduction activities may be sacrificed.
Embedded in the governance reform movement (REDD+ co-benefits/safeguards)	• Considers emissions reductions beyond carbon, including enhancement of biodiversity, alleviation of poverty, improvement of local livelihoods, improvement of forest governance and protection of rights. • Applies to the ongoing practice of governance such as timber certification and SEA.	• The co-benefits may require not only governance reform but also skill enhancement and knowledge improvement. • Reform change needs to be done at multiple levels of governance (national, provincial, district and village level).

Sources: interviews and discussions

4 Discussion and Conclusions

Climate change mitigation discourse is a newly dominant global discourse that shapes and determines the way policies and regulations are implemented in different countries. Deforestation and forest degradation have been determined as one of the causes of global warming. At the beginning of REDD+ introduction, the focus was mainly on the scientific basis of how to measure and monitor carbon accounting, and use of payment for any carbon reductions (like payments for environmental services). Local communities were better able to measure and monitor carbon emissions and storage. This has been institutionalized through existing community forestry schemes, and communities are receiving benefits for their efforts. These benefits can be divided into monetary and non-monetary benefits such as livelihood capacity development. In this case, justice covers how local communities can receive fair benefits, the benefits distribution mechanism and the issue of carbon rights. The issue of justice also covers procedures such as FPIC to ensure that local communities participate in the decision-making process as well as to avoid the possibility of elite capture. Clarity on forest tenure is necessary to ensure that benefits are justly distributed to the rights-holders.

When the issue of climate change mitigation efforts met with the forest tenure reform discourse, the issue of carbon rights shifted from the issue of the distribution mechanism to the issue of recognition. Indigenous and local people's rights over the forest are being marginalized within state laws. FPIC is designed to cover whether or not local people have claims over the forest. Forest tenure conflict resolution is being designed to ensure that the local and indigenous people's rights are not being marginalized. The rights issue is the main focus of climate change mitigation actions.

The plurality and shifting of discourse and justice in this context comes from several aspects. First, there are some doubts about how the REDD+ financial scheme will convince communities to participate in forest management. The REDD+ financial scheme can be easily implemented in protected forests but may have some difficulties when it is implemented in areas of other land use, such as production forests. Traditional knowledge held by the adat institution was proposed to show

that the adat institution has the ability to conserve the forest. Together with the REDD+ financial scheme, this marks the ‘green grab’ in the name of indigenous people’s rights. However, this may create frictions within the communities who have different interests and needs besides conserving the forest. Especially, in terms of legality, forest exploitation being allowed in production forests, which may endanger the forest conservation priorities of the REDD+ scheme.

Second, the forest land rights and licenses are mainly given to business concessions while only a small fraction of forests are given to the local communities. The inequality of forest allocation forces the government to give forest land to the local communities. In the recent national mid-term development planning (RPJMN), the government stated that their target is to allocate forest land of around 12.7 million ha to local communities by 2019. Several regulations are being introduced to accelerate the forest land allocation, such as the reduction of bureaucratic procedures for community forestry licensing and modules to resolve forest conflicts inside the forest.

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United Nations Avenue, Gigiri • PO Box 30677 • Nairobi, 00100 • Kenya
Telephone: +254 20 7224000 or via USA +1 650 833 6645
Fax: +254 20 7224001 or via USA +1 650 833 6646
Email: worldagroforestry@cgiar.org • www.worldagroforestry.org

Southeast Asia Regional Program • Sindang Barang • Bogor 16680
PO Box 161 • Bogor 16001 • Indonesia
Telephone: +62 251 8625415 • Fax: +62 251 8625416
• Email: icraf-indonesia@cgiar.org
www.worldagroforestry.org/region/southeast-asia
blog.worldagroforestry.org