Master's thesis

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Discourses on REDD+, land and people in the Norwegian-Indonesian REDD+ partnership

Master's thesis in Natural Resource Management - Geography
Supervisor: Ståle Angen Rye
May 2021

Indonesian Rainforest

NTNU
Kunnskap for en bedre verden

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Abstract

In 2010, Norway and Indonesia signed a bilateral agreement on their partnership on Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD+). REDD+ is a mechanism that aims to reduce forest-based emissions in developing countries, compensating them with international funding. Norway committed to provide funding for Indonesia's efforts to implement REDD+ and, once implemented, provide result-based payments for reduced emissions. The concept of REDD+, which originated from a technocratic, market-based idea, changed to put more focus on social, ecological and economic co-benefits. On the local level in Indonesia, a strong discussion on customary land rights and people's benefits evolved within the early implementation phase. Access to and control over land has historically been a contested issue for Indonesia's people, with colonial control over land, transmigration programmes and legislations during New Order. Recent developments such as the global land rush and the introduction of REDD+ have produced new realities for Indonesia's land situation. This study aims to investigate REDD+ and Indonesia's land and people by applying discourse analysis. On the one hand, the study investigates how discourses in environmental governance, deforestation and REDD+ become apparent within the Indonesian-Norwegian REDD+ partnership. On the other hand, it aims to identify local discourses and representations of land and people in REDD+ in the Indonesian context. Indonesian land and people are approached through a political ecology, focusing on actors and scales. Land, as a natural, but social resource is theoretically explored through the concepts of access and exclusion and incorporated into meta-discourses in REDD+. The methodology of discourse analysis applied is based on Foucauldian Discourse Analysis combined with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) on the text-level after Norman Fairclough. The study identified a positive, managerial discourse, a moderate, reform-oriented discourse and a critical counter discourse based on their attitude towards REDD+ and found all of them apparent within texts on the Norwegian-Indonesian REDD+ partnership. Through the application of a CDA, linguistic features of the discourses could be detected. The study further showed that, while on an international basis REDD+ is framed as a solution to climate change, the concept is rather used opportunistically and with a strong focus on rights on the local scale. There are two main representations of land in REDD+, the one framing the right to land as a precondition for REDD+ and the second one highlighting its technicalities.

Preface

This master thesis on discourses on REDD+, land and people in the Indonesian-Norwegian REDD+ partnership is the product of an at times challenging, uncertain and intense process from Autumn 2019 to Spring 2021. It is part of my master's programme in Natural Resource Management (Geography) at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim.

The research, initially planned as an international project including intense fieldwork, fell prey to unexpected circumstances and travel restrictions due to the coronavirus pandemic, resulting in changes to the projects several times. The plan for a study on local complexities of the situation of land rights in REDD+ in Indonesia through an explorative fieldwork changed to a desktop study of discourses on land and people in REDD+ on the basis of empirical texts. The process, however taught me to be flexible and adapt to changing circumstances. Instead of exploring new surroundings and experiencing the challenges of field research, I spent days and weeks reading academic papers, books on methodology and contributions by various actors on discourses, REDD+ and Indonesia's history of land and people.

Finally, I am proud to submit my master thesis, which can make a contribution to the study of discourses in environmental governance and the study of land and people within REDD+ in Indonesia. It contributes by suggesting a methodological approach connecting prominent discourses in the field of discourse analysis in environmental governance to linguistic features and through incorporating and pointing out representations of land in discourses on REDD+.

I want to thank my supervisor, Ståle Angen Rye, for inspiring input, guidance and critical reflection on my process and for always being available for questions and feedback. I am also thankful for the support, that was offered through the Department of Geography and the research seminar that provided me with constructive feedback from my colleagues. Finally, I want to thank friends and family in Norway and in Vienna for being open to discuss my ideas, proofreading and commenting my work and being either a great support or distraction when needed!

Enjoy the reading,

Selina Köstenberger

Vienna, 3.2.2021

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List of Abbreviations

AMAN	Alliance of Indigenous peoples of the Archipelago
BIG	National Geospatial Agency Indonesia
BP REDD+	National REDD+ Agency
BRWA	Ancestral Domain Registration Agency
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CDM	Clean Development Mechanism
CfRN	Coalition on Rainforest Nations
CIFOR	Center for International Forestry Research
CLUA	Climate and Land Use Alliance
COP	Conference of the Parties
CR	Compensated Reductions
DNPI	National Council of Climate Change Indonesia
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FCPC	Forest Carbon Partnership Facility
FFI	Flora and Fauna International
FPIC	Free, Prior and Informed Consent
GEM	Global Environmental Management
GHG	Greenhouse Gas
HuMa	Association for Community and Ecology-Based Law Reform
IFCA	Indonesian Forest Climate Alliance
JKPP	Community Mapping Network Indonesia
LoI	Letter of Intent
LULUCF	Land Use, Land-use Change and Forestry
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MoFor	Ministry of Forestry Indonesia
MRV	Monitoring, Reporting and Verification
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NICFI	Norway's International Climate and Forest Initiative
NOK	Norwegian Crowns

OMI	One Map Policy
PE	Political Ecology
PES	Payment for Ecosystem Services
RED	Reducing Emissions from Deforestation
REDD+	Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation
RePPProt	Project for Transmigration
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SPI	Indonesian Farmers Union
TGHK	Consensus Forest Land Use Plan
UKP4	Delivery Unit for Development, Monitoring and Oversight
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Programme
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UN-REDD	United Nations Programme on Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation
WALHI	Friends of the Earth Indonesia

1 Introduction

Global temperatures have increased drastically over the last two centuries. The cause of the increase in temperature on Earth lies in the excessive use and dependency on fossil infrastructure and connected greenhouse gas emissions. The rising temperature results in the melt of glaciers, sea-level rise and the degradation of ecosystems (Shukla et al., 2019). Unintended consequences on the ecosphere of industrial development have led to the introduction of environmental policy-making starting in the 1970ies in the form of national policies. While early environmental movements focused on local pollution problems, with global environmental concerns coming up, such as the ozone hole, an awareness of the need for global approaches and solutions to environmental problems developed. The global approach to environmental problems finally resulted in the first conferences on climate change and the environment (Hajer, 1995).

Climate change and its effects on ecosystems started being approached internationally through the Kyoto Protocol and its Clean Development Mechanisms (CDM) in 2001. This was the advent of tradeable emission rights (Backstrand and Lovbrand, 2006). Within the following years, the importance of forests for climate change mitigation emerged. First ideas for compensated reductions (CR) through reducing emission from forests were brought up at the COP in 2005 and developed into the Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD+) framework. The idea of REDD+ is reducing forest-based greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions where it is cheapest and therefore connecting developed nations with developing countries for this cost-efficient mitigation strategy (Pistorius, 2012). Since the launching of REDD+, the framework moved from a carbon trading scheme to focus on socio-economic benefits and performance-based payments from developed to developing countries (Angelsen, 2017).

This work is looking on REDD+ as a global environmental policy, focusing on the bilateral partnership between Norway and Indonesia on implementing REDD+ in Indonesia. Both countries are important players in REDD+. Norway committed early to taking part in REDD+ and has become its biggest donor country (Norman and Nakhooda, 2014). Indonesia is a rainforest nation, hosting the third biggest tropical rainforest worldwide. The country also

decided early to get involved in REDD+, and together Norway and Indonesia signed a Letter of Intent (LoI) on the collaboration on establishing REDD+ in Indonesia in 2010. (LTS, 2018).

As indicated above, REDD+ has moved from a carbon-centric perspective towards socio-economic benefits internationally (Angelsen, 2017). This move has also been observed on a national scale in Indonesia (Sanders et al., 2017, Da Silva Hyldmo, 2015, Howell, 2015). With this turn to social benefits for forest-dependent communities, recent scholarship has focused on how land access is influenced through the REDD+ framework in Indonesia (Astuti and McGregor, 2017).

Land access and ownership in Indonesia has since colonial times been influenced by external powers. Political processes influencing land and people relationships in Indonesia, which are causing changes in the physical environment have evoked the investigation of land and people relation through the lens of political ecology. Different interests and ruling powers have led to changed dynamics for land-dependent people in Indonesia, causing conflicts and counter movements regarding land access by communities (Hein, 2019, Peluso, 1995). Land related scholarship on REDD+ covers the topics of land and green grabbing, which restrict communities' access to land (Astuti and McGregor, 2017, Margulis et al., 2013). On the other hand, successes for communities' access and ownership to land have also been stated through granted customary claims, connected to REDD+ (van der Muur, 2018).

While there is previous work done on land access and political ecology in REDD+, this study is novel, in the sense that I want to investigate the political ecology of land and REDD+ through connecting the topics to discourses in environmental governance. Contributions by scholars in the field of REDD+ and land have revealed how REDD+ has become an influencing factor in discussions on land access and claims by Indonesian communities (van der Muur, 2018, Astuti and McGregor, 2017). Taking this important factor into account, this study aims to perform a discourse analysis on REDD+ with a focus on the representation of land and people in Indonesia. The discourse analysis is framed within a political ecology approach. Political ecology aims to perform an analysis sensitive to actors and scales, recognising political processes as the causes for environmental changes (Robbins, 2012).

Research on discourses in environmental governance has emerged over the last 25 years (Leipold et al., 2019), with Hajer's work on the ecological modernisation discourse being pioneering in the field. According to Hajer, environmental policy making started with bans on a national basis. Examples for such policies are water protection or air pollution laws. With

global environmental concerns rising, policy making moved towards a business-oriented approach. This approach promised that environmental protection is compatible with economic growth, making up the discourse of ecological modernisation, which has become dominating in environmental governance (Hajer, 1995). Over the years, several other discourses on environmental governance came up, as a response to the prevailing discourses. Managerial discourses like global environmental management and green governmentality are confronted with counter discourses such as civic environmentalism or a discourse on climate justice (Adger et al., 2001, Backstrand and Lovbrand, 2006, Jodoin, 2019).

Earlier studies on discourses in REDD+ have identified a managerial discourse as the base for the framework, conflicting with equity and counter discourses on a local scale (Jodoin, 2019). The turn to co-benefits and socio-economic considerations, together with emission reduction through forests, which is a land-based approach, have shifted the focus of REDD+ from a technical, emission-based discussion to a discussion about access to land and land rights in Indonesia (Angelsen, 2017, Astuti and McGregor, 2017).

This introduction of REDD+ in general, the Norwegian-Indonesian bilateral partnership, the political ecology of land access and REDD+ and discourses in environmental policy making lead me to the main question this study asks. The main research question for this master thesis is: *How do discourses on REDD+ in the Norwegian-Indonesian partnership represent land and people in Indonesia?* In order to address to address this question, I first need to identify discourses present in REDD+. I intend to identify these discourses through a review of relevant academic literature, which makes up the first step of my thesis. This literature review provides the theoretical framing of my study. Through the review, I identify relevant discourses present in discussions around REDD+ and group them theoretically into three meta-discourses. These meta-discourses comprise a positive, managerial discourse, a moderate, reform-oriented discourse and a critical counter discourse. The theoretical interaction with these three discourses integrates concepts of land into the meta-discourses.

After theoretically reviewing and grouping meta-discourses, I aim to investigate the appearance of these discourses in empirical texts on the Norwegian-Indonesian REDD+ partnership. Investigating the appearance of discourses is done through applying discourse analysis. Discourse analysis in environmental governance has received a variety of contributions since Hajer's pioneering work on the ecological modernisation discourse and diversified over the past two decades (Leipold et al., 2019). In using discourse analysis for my study, I want to put an

emphasis on the appearance of power, knowledge and language within texts on REDD+. Power, knowledge and language are crucial concepts in discourse analysis, which are interconnected and subjective, forming different perceptions of truth. The acceptance of different truths puts discourse analysis within the epistemological position of social constructivism (Leipold et al., 2019).

My approach to discourse is strongly influenced by the work of Michel Foucault and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) after Norman Fairclough. While Foucault's approach to discourse is on a broad, societal scale where no clear indications on how to perform an analysis are given (Hay, 2016), Fairclough aims to connect a macro-level scale of social practice with an meso-level analysis focusing on the intertextual relations and a micro-level textual, linguistic analysis (Locke, 2004). I aim to connect these two approaches, because discourse analysis in political ecology should be informed on broad, societal aspects and contexts and actual specific discursive features, which make the analysis graspable (Scoville-Simonds, 2009). The aim to connect Foucauldian discourse analysis and CDA led me to establish a methodological approach, which combines broad, societal discourse analysis after Foucault with text-level analysis tools by Norman Fairclough. The application of this method led me to formulate analytical research questions, which are presented in the following.

In order to integrate and connect the methodological components of discourse analysis for my approach, I formulated sub-question which will finally answer my main research question. I formulated three analytical research questions. I developed two of the questions while establishing my theoretical and methodological approach, while the third sub-question developed out of the analytical process.

My first analytical research question is: *How are meta-discourses in environmental governance present within texts on the Norwegian-Indonesian REDD+ partnership?* Through approaching this question, I want to investigate the appearance of the theoretically established meta-discourses within texts on the Norwegian-Indonesian REDD+ partnership. Methodologically, this question will be approached through Foucauldian discourse analysis.

The second analytical question connects to the first question and asks: *What linguistic features of the meta-discourses can be identified within selected texts on the Norwegian-Indonesian REDD+ partnership?* After the answering of the first research questions should give insights on the appearance of meta-discourses within empirical texts, the second question requests for a deeper methodological investigation of the appearing meta-discourses. I am addressing the

question by integrating Critical discourse analysis after Norman Fairclough into Foucauldian discourse analysis and further connecting the results of the two questions.

As already indicated, the third research question evolved during the research process, more specifically, while conducting the analysis for answering my two initial sub-questions. While the first two analytical questions give insights on the appearance of meta-discourses, I figured through my analysis that they are not sufficiently displaying local land-people relationships. Through the application of my methodological approach, I established the idea that a different categorisation of discourses might give more insights into local particularities of land-people relations. Out of these considerations, a third analytical research question evolved: *Which local discourses are used within texts about REDD+ and how do they represent land and people?* I approach this question again through a Foucauldian discourse analysis. The approach however differs in the sense that, while I use a deductive approach to investigate the appearance of previously established meta-discourses in the first question, by answering this third question I make use of an inductive approach in order to establish local discourses on REDD+ in Indonesia and their representations on land and people. This rather unorthodox process of establishing my research question might be explained through shedding light on the research process of this master thesis, including some unexpected changes along the way.

The research process for this study can be divided into three main phases. The first phase was used mainly to prepare a project outline, gathering background information on the topic of land and REDD+ and to establish a theoretical framework, which mostly focused on political ecology and theories of land access, to situate the study in. This phase started in November 2019. I started drafting a research proposal and started to explore academic literature on REDD+ and land issues in Indonesia- Through reading a large body of literature, I could establish a broad background knowledge and a theoretical framework. The first phase of the research process also included the preparation of a research stay in Indonesia, through establishing connections research to a local university, establishing an approach to performing ethnographic research and drafting a visa application, which in the end could not take place. The preparations of this study phase lasted until late spring 2020.

When it became clear, that the research could not be conducted as planned due to the coronavirus pandemic, I started exploring other means to perform research within the field I had already gathered knowledge on during the first phase of research. In the second phase of the process, from July to October 2020, I expanded my work on the theory and the methodology

for the study, exploring the field of discourse analysis. During this phase of the study, I conducted an academic literature view on discourses in environmental governance and performed an explorative analysis of discourses, which was specified during the third phase of the research.

In the third phase of the research, I created the methodology for the study on the basis of the explorative analysis of the previous phase. This comprised a final selection of texts, the choice of the discourse-analytical approach, coding and analysis of texts. During this phase, I included a third analytical research question and drafted the first empirical results of this thesis. The third phase was conducted during the months of November and December 2020.

A final research phase was conducted in Spring 2021. In the first months of the year, I finalised my results and performed edits and necessary restructuring on all the parts of this work, which finally make up the end product of the research process: this present master thesis.

1.1 Reader's guide through the chapters of this thesis

After this first chapter, where I gave an introduction of the thesis topic, presented my research question and outlined my research process, there are 6 following chapters.

In Chapter 2, I give background information on REDD+, the frameworks characteristics and phases and its evolution. The chapter will further describe Norway and Indonesia's involvement and progress on REDD+ and elaborate on their cooperation on the framework. In the second part of Chapter 2, I will outline the history of contested land use in Indonesia. The review on the status of land access and control in Indonesia includes relevant political background, land-related laws and their consequences, as well as the history of counterclaims to land and a recent initiative to facilitate spatial planning in Indonesia: the One Map Policy.

Chapter 3 presents the conceptual framework of the study. The chapter presents the framing of REDD+, land and people, which is based on a political ecology (PE) approach. Further, theories and concepts on how to investigate land in the context of REDD+ are presented.

Chapter 4 comprises a literature review on previous work done on discourses in environmental governance, deforestation and REDD+. Through the review of academic literature on the topic, I identified three meta-discourses on REDD+, which are the theoretical base for my analysis. These identified meta-discourses are presented and theoretical work that has been done on

discourses in environmental governance is integrated into them. Finally, the chapter contains an incorporation of the concepts of land that were introduced in Chapter 3 into the identified meta-discourses.

Chapter 5 presents my theoretical approach, which is discourse analysis. In discourse analysis, theory cannot be separated from methodology. Starting with a theoretical discussion of discourse analysis, the chapter continues by outlining my actual approach to discourse analysis, based on the work of Michel Foucault and Norman Fairclough and finally connects the two strands.

While Chapter 5 focused on a rather theoretical framing of discourse analysis, Chapter 6 presents my actual methodological approach to performing discourse analysis. The analytical research questions are connected to the discourse-analytical methodology I am applying to investigate them. In the chapter, I further discuss my data selection and coding process, limitations to my study and the quality of discourse analysis.

Chapter 7 presents and discusses the results of my discourse analysis on empirical texts of the Norwegian-Indonesian REDD+ partnership. The first part presents the appearance of meta-discourses, that were established within Chapter 4 through a Foucauldian discourse analysis. In the second part, I connect the results of the Foucauldian discourse analysis to the results of a CDA after Norman Fairclough. The third part presents local discourses on REDD+, which give an improved understanding of the representation of land and people in Indonesia.

Chapter 8 is the final chapter of my thesis. It aims to give a concluding discussion on the results of my thesis. I am sharing considerations on my analysis and the quality of the data used and subsume with implications for further studies on discourses on land and people in REDD+ in Indonesia.

2 Background

This chapter will provide background information on the core topics of research for this thesis, which are REDD+ and socio-political background of contested land use in Indonesia. Section 2.1 will treat the REDD+ framework. A general overview of the evolution of the framework is followed by more specific sections on Norway as a REDD+ donor country, requirements for participating developing countries and Indonesia specifically, and the Norway-Indonesia partnership in REDD+. Section 2.2. will provide information about land use and people in Indonesia. First, relevant political background for land use in Indonesia is introduced. I go on by outlining Indonesia's history of contested land and introduce the practice of counterclaiming land, which has become prominent in the last three decades. Finally, I present the One Map initiative, which is the most recent attempt by the Indonesian government to provide transparent spatial planning.

2.1 REDD+

This part aims at providing the reader with an understanding of the framework REDD+. In 4 sub-sections, I will introduce REDD+ and it's positioning in international environmental governance. Secondly, Norway's position as a donor nation is discussed. In order to participate as a developing country, 3 phases must be carried out. Those are outlined before I go into detail about Indonesia as a participating country and the Indonesia-Norway partnership.

2.1.1 Evolvement of REDD+ and its evolution

REDD+ is a global policy framework aimed at battling climate change through reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (Pistorius, 2012). The REDD+ initiative had its origins in upcoming discussions about Payment for Ecosystems (Pistorius, 2012) and developed out of early efforts by UNFCCC and the carbon market to reduce forest-based emissions from developing countries (Jodoin and Mason-Case, 2016). Forests and their relevance for climate change mitigation made their first appearance in international negotiations around the Kyoto Protocol and at the Rio summit in 1992, but the complexity of the topic did not allow for decision-makers to come to terms at this early stage of climate change efforts. However, first implementations, such as Clean Development Mechanisms (CDMs) and various afforestation and reforestation programmes resulted from the increasing awareness about forests relevance in climate change mitigation (Pistorius, 2012).

At the COP9, for the first time a debate about national approaches to combat climate change by developing countries came up, which integrated the issues of land use and leakage. The debate resulted in the foundation of the Coalition on Rainforest Nations (CfRN) (Pistorius, 2012). In 2005, the Coalition on Rainforest Nations succeeded in bringing up a debate in the UNFCCC on a framework that was then called Reducing Emissions from Deforestation (RED) (Jodoin, 2019). RED was proposed following the concept of compensated reduction and promoted climate change efforts that are sound with economic development, cost-efficiency and "win-win-win" for climate, people and development (Pistorius, 2012).

Within the following years RED developed into REDD+ (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation) (Jodoin, 2019, Angelsen, 2017). This development included an extension of scope, discussions on technical aspects and wider integration of social, ecological and funding topics. During workshops following the COP11 in 2005, the scope of RED was extended. The concept of forest degradation was included, adding a second "D" (for degradation), transforming RED into REDD. Technical aspects gained complexity through a debate of a more advanced monitoring, reporting and verification (MRV) system (Pistorius, 2012). Discussions about technical aspects centred around the topics additionality, reference levels and leakage (Angelsen et al., 2012). From the first launching of RED, an increased complexity of issues and a broadening of discourses, including a discourse on social safeguards, biodiversity and technicalities of funding could be observed (Pistorius, 2012). The framework of REDD, with the scope of reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation was launched in 2007 at the COP13 in Bali (Angelsen, 2017). With the integration of the conservation of forest carbon stocks, a sustainable forest management and the enhancement of forest carbon stocks in the Cancun Agreement in 2009 the "+" was added (European Forest Institute, 2020a). There, however, seems to be some disagreement about what the components of the programme were, that added the "+" to REDD. Some scholars argue that it was the inclusion of safeguards, which were a much-debated topic at the COP16 in Cancun (see LTS, 2018).

The following visualisation by Da Silva Hyldmo (2015) shows well how the increasing complexity from the first mentioning of 'compensated reductions' in 2003 to the actual establishment of REDD+ distanced itself from the original interest and how other interests became involved into discussions on REDD+.

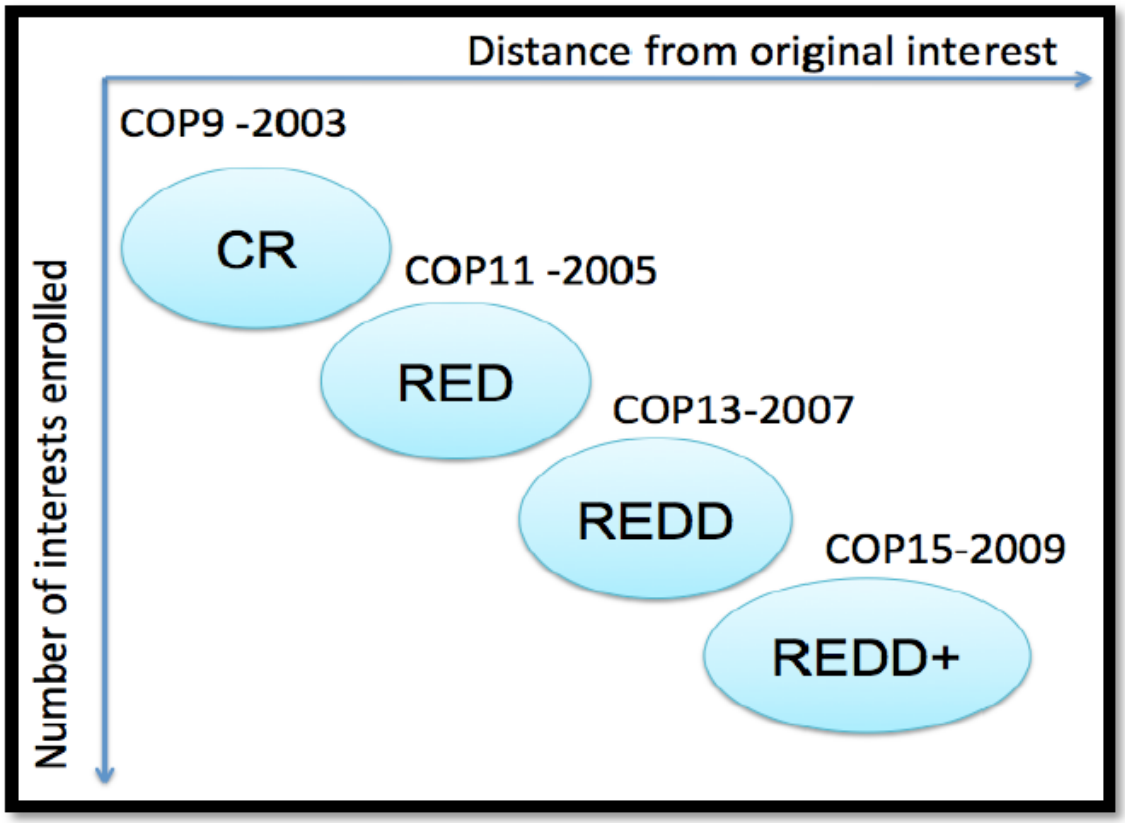

Figure 2-1: Drift of content in REDD+ mechanisms (Da Silva Hyldmo, 2015)

The focal message of REDD+ is, that forest carbon stocks are critical to achieving the 1.5-2°C climate goal. REDD+ is a voluntary approach that aims to incentivize developing nations for reducing emissions (West, 2016). In initial debates about compensated reductions, developing countries with large forest areas were supposed to receive payments from a carbon market for conserving their forests instead of cutting them down. The inclusion of social and ecological aspects into REDD+ made the basis for payments more complex (Angelsen, 2017).

On multiple levels, programmes were started to integrate the broad framework of REDD+. On a transnational level, multilateral programs, standards and methodologies were developed, e.g. carbon accounting mechanisms. Nationally, strategies and laws were adopted to integrate REDD+ into national climate policies. On the local level the first projects were charted (Jodoin, 2019). In a study on readiness and demonstration activities for REDD+, Cerbu et al. (2011) found, that by 2009, over 179 activities had been launched, most of them in Indonesia and Brasil. These demonstration activities or pilot projects were launched as an addition to international and national activities on a more conceptual level (Pistorius, 2012).

Significant changes have been made over the years that range from objectives on a fundamental level to technicalities, such as funding. In terms of objectives, there has been a shift from carbon to a more integrated approach, including amongst others livelihoods, poverty and biodiversity. In terms of funding, the focus shifted from international funding to bilateral and multilateral aid budgets (Angelsen, 2017). These changes in funding, called an "aidification" by Angelsen et al. (2012), included a shift from PES (Payments for Ecosystem Services) to broad policies and national and international aid budgets.

The changes in REDD+ have evoked reactions of the academic community focusing on the different topics that REDD+ includes. The academic discussion around early REDD+ projects is concerned with technical and normative discussions on the mechanisms, non-carbon benefits, equity and socioeconomic consequences as well as how to best conserve biodiversity (Da Silva Hyldmo, 2015). Several scholars agree that co-benefits have over time become the major concern of REDD+ and that discourse about forest related communities and their rights has become dominant (Howell, 2015, Angelsen et al., 2012).

With increasing complexity of REDD+, institutions were established to support the readiness and pilot project activities in developing countries. The main supporting institutions are the UN-REDD programme and the World Bank's Forest Carbon Partnership Facility (FCPC) (Pistorius, 2012). The UN-REDD programme is a multilateral body offering support to developing countries in meeting the requirements to get involved in REDD+. It was launched in 2008 by the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) (West, 2016). By now, 65 countries have received support from the UN-REDD programme to go through a readiness-phase and apply for result-base payments (UNEP, n.d.). The FCPC describes a REDD Country participant as a developing country that has signed the Participation Agreement. 36 countries have signed the document and 8 additional countries are currently in the process of signing the Agreement (FCPC, 2018).

A report by the Global Center of Development from 2014 on REDD+ financing showed that 88% of the financing comes from the public sector. Bilateral agreements play an important role and make up for 56% of the pledged funding. It is 5 countries that make up for 75% of the investments into REDD+: Norway, the United States of America, Germany, Japan and the United Kingdom. In contrary to what usually had been planned, little funding of the private

sector has been achieved. A small number of donors, like Norway, have provided the majority of REDD+ funding (Norman and Nakhooda, 2014).

Emission reduction is the primary goal of REDD+ and a phased approach was designed to meet that goal. FAO (2021) describes REDD+'s main aim as "encouraging" developing countries to contribute to climate change mitigation by halting and reserving the emission of GHG. To become a participating nation, a country must go through three phases (see Figure 2-2). The three phases are a readiness phase, a scaling up phase and a result-based payment phase.

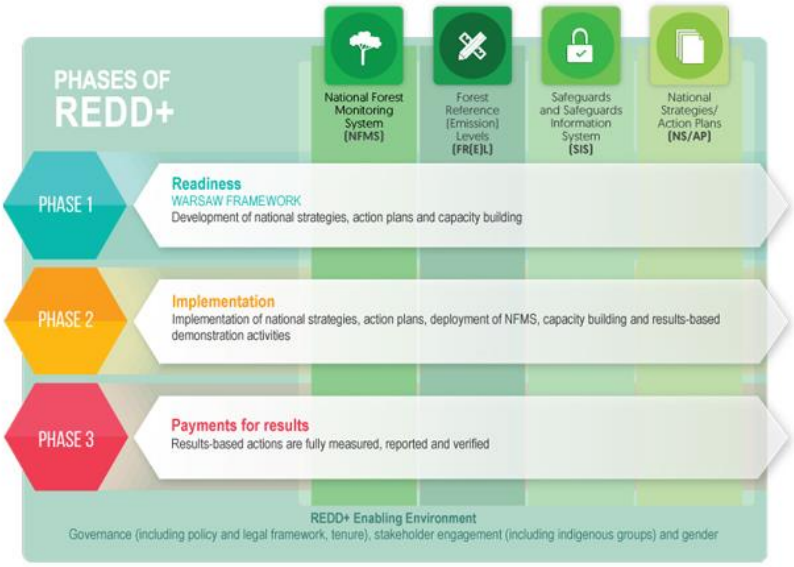

Figure 2-2: Phases of REDD+ (FAO, 2021)

First, there is a readiness phase, which includes the formulation of a national strategy and an action plan as well as capacity building (FAO, 2021). Fundamental steps of this phase are building institutional, human and policy capacities. Besides that, the establishment of safeguards and the clarification of rights to forest land and carbon happens within the phase. Additionally, technical reference levels must be set up. These are for example a forest monitoring system, based on remote sensing techniques and reference emission levels, to determine baseline emissions (European Forest Institute, 2020b).

When the steps of the readiness phase are completed, Phase 2 starts, where the national strategy and the action plan are implemented (FAO, 2021). This phase should take the established mechanisms from the readiness phase and scale them up to improve them. The national strategy and the action plan should be tested in pilot projects to determine potential for improvement.

During this phase, an improved land tenure system and governance and effective planning should be achieved to make the country ready for result based payments (European Forest Institute, 2020b).

In the third phase, payments for results can be disbursed and therefore actions must be well measured, reported and verified (FAO, 2021). Those result-based disbursements are planned for each year and incentives are supposed to go beyond the set baseline reference level for emissions (European Forest Institute, 2020b).

The FAO argues that activities are best implemented in the beforementioned national strategies and action plans. However, the phased approach requires that the following 5 following activities must be included: (1) reducing emissions from deforestation, (2) reducing emissions from forest degradation, (3) conservation of forest carbon stocks, (4) enhancement of forest carbon stocks and (5) sustainable management of forests (2021). I will go into more detail about the phased approach below on the example of the implementation of REDD+ in Indonesia.

2.1.2 REDD+ in Norway: A significant donor nation

Norway is one of the biggest funders in REDD+ (Norman and Nakhooda, 2014). In this section, I will outline their involvement into the framework and their funding activities and touch upon the countries position on climate change mitigation in general.

Norway is a significant donor nation in REDD+, with its pledges making up 41% of the international funding. The funding flows through multilateral funds and bilateral channels, which both make up approximately 50% (Norman and Nakhooda, 2014). The country got involved in REDD+ at the COP13 in Bali, and soon established Norway's International Climate and Forest Initiative (NICFI). NICFI has pledged 3 billion NOK per year to REDD+, whereof by 2014, 14 billion NOK have been disbursed (Ministry of Climate and Environment, 2015). Multilateral funds were allocated to the Amazon Fund and UN-REDD, amongst others. Bilateral agreements have been signed with Indonesia, Brazil, Tanzania and Guyana by 2010 and subsequently with Mexico, Vietnam, Myanmar and Liberia (Angelsen, 2017).

The funding of international climate change mitigation efforts is well aligned with the Norwegian climate politics strategy. The country's climate policy has been based on the principle of cost-effectiveness, more specifically on forest management in southern countries, since the 1980ies (Asdal, 2014)(Asdal, 2014)(Asdal, 2014). Tellmann (2012) observed a shift in Norwegian climate policy from a tax discourse, that focused on markets and regulations, to

a quota discourse. This approach to climate governance originated in the US and centres around international market mechanisms as flexible solutions to offset locally emitted GHGs on the international level. The discourse on quota is well aligned with the interest of the energy production sector in Norway (Tellmann, 2012). Critics argue that the focus of the Norwegian authorities on presenting themselves as leading in international environmental governance is contradictory with the country's on-going reliance on the petroleum industry. Norway's involvement in REDD+ is criticised for passing on the responsibility for reducing emissions to the Global South, while keeping the dependency upon an emission-intense industry (Brown and MacLellan, 2020).

2.1.3 REDD+ in Indonesia

Indonesia's involvement into the climate change agenda before REDD+ was limited and happened mostly through initiatives suggested by the United Nations. Maryani (2012) attributes this to the fact that developing countries play a subordinate role in climate initiatives. The first engagements of Indonesia into climate change initiatives happened through the ratification of climate and environmental initiatives by the UNFCCC in 1994 and 1996. In 2004, Indonesia ratified the Kyoto Protocol. The involvement was limited to implementing the Clean Development Mechanisms. The protocol focused on the emissions of developed countries. It was not until the introduction of CR in 2003 and the emerging role of forests that Indonesia could get involved into the discussions on climate change mitigation (Maryani et al., 2012).

Indonesia took the opportunity to engage in the climate change mitigation debate with the introduction of RED. With a growing discourse on the forests' role in mitigating climate change, the idea of RED introduced at the COP11 offered the opportunity for developing countries to participate more actively in frameworks on the reduction of GHG emissions. Indonesia, where 47% of the emissions result from land use changes in forest areas, contributed by hosting several communication workshops and events following the COP11 (Maryani et al., 2012).

The involvement of Indonesia in the discussions about the RED framework led to the establishment of national institutions connecting the issues of forests and climate change and the implementation of policies. In preparation for the COP13, which took place in Bali in 2007, the Indonesian Forest Climate Alliance (IFCA) was founded. Its work included to conduct a study and establish a framework for REDD+ in Indonesia and to act as a stakeholder communication forum (Maryani et al., 2012, Springate-Baginski and Wollenberg, 2010).

Within the first two years after Bali, a National Council of Climate Change (DNPI) was established in Indonesia. Its aim was to create a scientific base for REDD+ and to identify REDD supported policy (Maryani et al., 2012). The Procedures for Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD) (Permenhut 30, Menhut II/2009) is an example for such a regulation that was released by the Ministry of Forestry and which offers guidelines for the implementation of pilot projects (Springate-Baginski and Wollenberg, 2010). The building of institutions and the introduced policies built the ground for pilot projects and the collaboration with international partners. This period was followed by a testing period for REDD+, where the first pilot projects were implemented and regulations and agreements were made, including a draft for the National Strategy of REDD+ and the Letter of Intent with Norway (Maryani et al., 2012).

Pilot projects included REDD demonstration and readiness activities and Indonesia was the country hosting most of those worldwide by 2009. Cerbu et al. (2011) lead this back to the fact that the country was very open to the implementation of REDD+ after the COP 13 in Bali. The International Database on REDD+ projects and programmes reports 47 REDD+ projects in Indonesia, starting from 2003 to 2018. Of these 47 projects, 20 are ongoing, 15 have ended, 3 have been abandoned, 2 of them have been terminated before schedule and for 7 of the projects, the status cannot be confirmed (2020). Another study by Minang et al. remarks that Indonesia's high abundance of readiness and demonstration activities are also a consequence to their national commitment to emission reductions (2014).

This national commitment and the ambitious efforts to contribute to REDD+ were, at least rhetorically, supported from the highest governmental level. In 2009, the Indonesian President announced the ambitious goal to cut emissions by 26%, emphasising that this goal could even be raised to reducing emissions by 41% when there is international support (Wijaya et al., 2017). This statement was made at a G20 summit and can be regarded as the cornerstone for the bilateral agreement between Indonesia and Norway that followed in 2010 (Maryani et al., 2012). However at the same time President Yudhoyono published an economic master plan targeting 12.7% annual economic growth, which was suspected to be conflicting with the goal to cut emissions (Luttrell et al., 2014).

Apart from Norway, other developed countries took the opportunity to engage with Indonesia's ambitious plan to drastically reduce their GHG emissions. Australia was the first country to start a big climate initiative in Indonesia. In cooperation between Indonesia and Australia, the

Indonesia-Australia Forest Carbon Partnership was established in 2008. The partnership created the biggest REDD+ demonstration activity, which was the Kalimantan Forests and Climate Partnership. The project cost the Australian government 65 million $ and was shut down by the Labour government in 2013. The end of the project was not welcomed by the Indonesian government and left the bilateral agreement between Norway and Indonesia the most important climate partnership for the country (Davies, 2015).

2.1.4 The bilateral agreement between Norway and Indonesia

Norway and Indonesia have become important players in forest related climate change mitigation. Norway is the biggest donor country of REDD+ activities worldwide and in Indonesia (Norman and Nakhooda, 2014). Indonesia hosts the third largest area of rainforest worldwide and has shown ambitions to engage in REDD+ from its early stages (Maryani et al., 2012). With recent achievements in emission reduction and subsequent first disbursements from Norway to Indonesia (Royal Norwegian Embassy in Jakarta, 2020), the agreement could be path-breaking for the further development of the REDD+ scheme globally.

The bilateral agreement of Norway and Indonesia is based on a model contract using the phased approach (Angelsen, 2017), which has already been mentioned in Section 2.1.1. Norway is an important partner for Indonesia in REDD+ providing 70% of all the pledged funding for the country (Norman and Nakhooda, 2014). The cooperation started in 2010 after a Letter of Intent (LoI) was signed by both parties. Since the LoI included many actors and relations, the progress was intended to be long-term, but rather slow (LTS, 2018). Phase 1 was expected to be finished by 2011 and the transition from Phase 2 to Phase 3 was projected for 2014 (LoI). The progress went slower than expected. Reasons for the delays are administrative and due to structural changes (LTS, 2018). Elsewhere differences in sociocultural values between Indonesia and Norway are mentioned as hinderances for a fast progress, which induced a turn to multi-objectivity (Howell, 2015).

The turn to multi-objectivity manifests itself within Indonesia's REDD+ Strategy, using 'Putting forests at the heart of a green economy' as a slogan for COP20 (Astuti and McGregor, 2015), as well as labelling REDD+ 'Beyond Carbon, More than Forests'(Astuti and McGregor, 2017). Scholarly investigation found that REDD+ is perceived contrastingly at different scales. Whereas neoliberal notions dominate the international discourse, it is the particularities of places that influence discourses onthe local scale (Astuti and McGregor, 2015). In Indonesia,

the power of activists and NGOs have increased as a consequence to the REDD+ programme and the civil society is activated (Howell, 2015, Astuti and McGregor, 2015).

The Readiness phase included the formulation of a National Strategy by Indonesia, the establishment of pilot regions and projects, a MRV system and the establishment of a national REDD+ Agency (BP REDD+). The National Strategy was finally released in September 2012 (Indonesian REDD Task Force, 2012) and the readiness phase ended officially in 2013 (LTS, 2018).

The second phase includes a concession moratorium over 2 years, which was already established in 2011 and has been prolonged ever since (Angelsen, 2017). It is considered as a crucial mitigation policy, which could even increase its impact by widening its scope to secondary forests and forests under concessions. In 2018, the moratorium was extended to new palm-oil plantations, planned for a period of 3 years (LTS, 2018).

In 2015, the BP REDD+ was dissolved and the Ministry of Environment and Forestry was created, integrating previous Forestry and Environmental Departments. The Ministry took over the work of BP REDD+. Additionally, a Peatland Restoration Agency was created as a response to extensive peatland and forest fires in 2015 (LTS, 2018). Initiatives for land rights of indigenous people and the efforts to create a single map of Indonesia to improve land governance (OneMap) developed (LTS, 2018). Those will be discussed in detail in Part 2. Sub-national alliances were formed in the regions Kalimantan and Papua, promoting a low-carbon development (Caldecott, 2019, LTS, 2018).

After several years of work on the second phase, the review on the Indonesian-Norwegian Partnership from 2018 predicted the transition to phase 3 for 2019 (LTS, 2018). In order to start that phase, an emission reduction compared to the set baseline emissions must be achieved by the country. When an emission reduction is achieved, result based payments can be disbursed (European Forest Institute, 2020b). Optimism and first achievements in payments came up in 2019. Reporting on GHG emissions show variations with peaks in 2009, 2012, 2014-2016 (where there were extensive peatland fires). The emissions in Indonesia seem to decline from 2017 (LTS, 2018). By 2019, the Norwegian Government announced, that based on the emissions of 2017, the first result-based payment will be made for that period. The sum of 550 million NOK was published in June 2020 and the money will be distributed as soon as the financial channel is arranged and NICFI is optimistic about continued payments for 2018 and

2019. It is planned to extend the collaboration with an addendum of the LoI in 2020 (Ministry of Climate and Environment, 2015). But these payments are not undisputed.

Several researchers and organisation working on REDD+ and forests have questioned if the payments are actually justifyable. Critics remark that the numbers on which the disbursements are based on do not include emissions from peatlands. Authorities respond to that concern that the measurement of emissions of peatlands is very difficult and will be included in the future. The reduction in emissions might as well be caused by climatic variations and changes in palm oil price dynamics (REDD-monitor, 2017).

2.2 Land use, access and control for Indonesia's people

This section aims to give a background on Indonesia's recent history and politics with a focus on events that had implications for land use and people's access to land. First, I will outline historical land use and the changing politics of the Archipelago. This includes the rise of a discourse on indigenous right. I will continue by outlining the evolution of a spatial planning system in Indonesia within the last 50 years (Peluso, 1995, McCarthy, 2000). In the past two decades, a movement aiming at counterclaiming customary lands has evolved in Indonesia, which I will discuss in 2.2.3. Finally, I will introduce the OneMap initiative, which is directed at achieving greater transparency in order to receive REDD+ disbursements and could include the recognition of customary land use.

2.2.1 Political background for land and forest tenure in Indonesia

Hein (2019) argues that land tenure in Indonesia is and has historically been influenced by social and political dynamics in the country and cannot be separated from them. In his political ecology on REDD+ in Indonesia, he distinguishes 4 important phases for forest and land tenure depending on the political regime of the country. The first phase is a precolonial phase, the second one the colonial phase, which started with the Dutch colonial rule in the 18th century, followed by a transitional phase of early independence from the 1950s and the contemporary phase marked by decentralisation, democratisation and liberalisation. In outlining the history of land use within the following section, I will refer to those phases and explain them more detailed.

Precolonial land tenure was characterized by a lack of central authority, fluid regimes and no fixed borders. With the arrival of Dutch colonisers in Indonesia, there was a shift to fixed property regimes and protected forest lands, which led to a regulation of access. The colonial

power concentrated on Java and Bali. This resulted in different land tenure systems and livelihood practices between inner and outer islands of the Archipelago (Hein, 2019).

"Inner" Indonesia, containing Java and Bali, contrasts with the "outer islands", which Elmhirst (1999) terms "centre" and "margin". In Java and Bali, traditional agricultural practices were abandoned early due to population pressure and clearance of forest areas. More remote areas still practiced swidden agriculture. In this practice of shifting cultivation, food crops are grown on cleared secondary forest areas until the fertility of the soil decreases. The former agricultural field is then left fallow and trees, often fruit or rubber trees, are planted. The field is left to recover for around eight years, while the community moves on to clear a new area. This land use system is regulated by customary rule. Property rights are negotiated between communities and within kin relations (McCarthy, 2000). Swidden agriculture is a sustainable land use form, maintaining the ecological properties of the agricultural system, within areas that are not densely populated. Until today, customary communities are practicing shifting cultivation. The land use form has been taken up in discourses and laws around sustainable practices of forest management (Hayes, 1997, McCarthy, 2000).

Authorities, since colonial times, used a discourse on destructive "slash and burn" farming on the outer islands as a threat to the forests, which must be stopped (Hein, 2019). Transmigration, as a political tool, that started already during colonial power, has been used to exercise control over marginal areas and to promote the village concept that established in "inner" Indonesia. The Village Law of 1979, a transmigration programme, was used to change population dynamics in remote areas. The concept of villages, that prevailed on Java should be introduced on the outer islands (Hein, 2019). Apart from that, it gave an opportunity to landless farmers to initiate agricultural development at outer islands (Elmhirst, 1999).

Until 1998 Indonesia had an authoritarian government under President Suharto, were cultural oppression, resettlements and large development projects dominated the politics (Sanders et al., 2017). This period is known as New Order and lasted from 1966. The state was appropriating territory on outer islands, like Sumatra and Kalimantan and giving logging concessions to foreign and military-close investors (McCarthy, 2000). Transmigration policies where encouraged by several World Bank loans during the New Order regime (Whitten et al., 1987).

Shifting cultivations were prohibited under Suharto's Basic Forestry Law, which lead to a de jure exclusion of land for customary communities (Hein, 2019). Even though there was no consideration of customary land use within forest legislation during that time, due to the huge

extent of forested land, a lot the customary use of land remained in place by local communities. Concessions only affected some communities, while many stayed unmolested (Afiff and Lowe, 2007).

The Suharto regime fell into Hein's phase of transitional early independence. It was followed by the contemporary phase (Hein, 2019), marked by a policy of decentralisation and shifting responsibilities to provinces and regions. Trends move from traditional swidden agriculture and to the evolvement of estates, plantations and mining (Rye and Kurniawan, 2017). Public movements after the fall of Suharto called for an end of corruption, collusion and nepotism. Illegal logging facilitated by regional governments occurred and as a response, reforms and new land maps were strived for with the support of international institutions and donors (Mulyani and Jepson, 2017).

It was at late stages of the New Order regime that an environmental movement, that connected environmental sound practices to customary land use started. This was in accordance with an international discourse starting on indigenous people's rights. (Afiff and Lowe, 2007). The international discourse on Indigenous People's rights started in the 1970ies. By 2008, the International Declaration of Indigenous People's rights was adopted. Since then, at an official level, there is acceptance of international institutions and national states of the idea that indigenous people are entitled to claim some collective rights (van der Muur, 2018). The movement around customary rights in Indonesia gained even more importance after the fall of President Suharto (Afiff and Lowe, 2007). The indigeneity discourse changed from being associated with backwardness to a rights based discourse (Hein, 2019).

To protect indigenous people's rights to customary land, the Alliance of Indigenous peoples of the Archipelago (AMAN) was established in 1999. Its main objective is to end state territorialisation, recently by connecting local 'adat' communities to international indigenous movements (Arizona et al., 2019). It is estimated that there are 50-70 million indigenous people living in the Archipelago, accounting for 20-30% of the country's population (van der Muur, 2018). AMAN became a leading organisation in the indigenous rights discourse in Indonesia (Afiff and Lowe, 2007).

With the emergence of AMAN, the 'masyakarat adat' discourse became popular in the indigenous rights movement in Indonesia. AMAN defines indigenous people as people, with ancestral lands in certain geographical regions who have their own value systems, ideologies culture and society. The cultural heterogeneity of the Archipelago made it difficult to point

down a particular ethnicity or culture making up indigenous people (Li, 2001). A definition for 'masyakarat adat' worked with in early discussions about indigenous rights was "community groups who for generations have lived in specific areas and have their own values, ideology, economy, politics, culture, society, and territory", which was further specified pointing out that there are many indigenous societies in Indonesia, but the term only refers to those who are governed entirely by their custom and tradition (Afiff and Lowe, 2007). It shows that defining indigenous people in Indonesia is not an easy task which remains contested. There are concerns about the 'masyarakat adat' term, including its implication of cultural homogeneity and hierarchical structures within communities (Afiff and Lowe, 2007). Li (2001) remarks that it is likely to favour exclusion within communities due to changing demographic realities. Arizona et al. (2019) argue that term 'adat' was adapted to fit the international definition 'indigenous' in order to strengthen AMAN's position.

2.2.2 Laws and their consequences in Indonesia's contested land history

Until the 1970s land in Indonesia was centrally governed from Java (Peluso, 1995). During colonial and early independence phases, vacant land was transformed into state forest. Under colonial rule, forest protection that aimed at keeping a hydrological balance and colonial laws like 'Agrarische Wet' led to exclusion of communities from forest lands. The impact however was very limited on the outer islands and existed mainly on paper (Hein, 2019).

In the phase of early independence, there were two important laws influencing land access for communities. In an attempt to harmonize customary and formal law, the Basic Agrarian Law in 1970 granted customary communities access to land as long as it did not contradict state interest. The law was not well communicated and communities were not informed about their rights (Hein, 2019). With the beginning of Suharto's reign over Indonesia, a new law, the Basic Forestry Act from 1967 was introduced. The law identified all forest lands on the outer islands as wasteland and transformed them legally into 'state forest' (Peluso, 1995). The competence for forest management was shifted to provincial governments. Further, forest land was put into 4 categories and shifting cultivations were prohibited, which lead to a de jure loss of access to land for communities (Hein, 2019). Together with these changes in spatial planning, an Act on Foreign Investments favoured logging companies from abroad to get concessions and extract timber from islands like Papua and Kalimantan. First efforts of mapping forest areas were performed, motivated by economic development and they did not include local people living where the forest concessions were given. The concessions given on customary lands led to conflicts between locals and the logging companies (Peluso, 1995).

The first efforts of mapping and categorising land under the Basic Forestry Act also led to border conflicts, multiple permits and illegal entries (Peluso, 1995). To meet the shortcomings of the Basic Forestry Law, an initiative called "Consensus Forest Land Use Plan" (TGHK) was started in the 1980ies (McCarthy, 2000). Within these new plans, the forest land was put into categories like protection forest (high and low), production forests and convertible forests. Those categorical maps were making considerations based on topographic characteristics but without consultations of people's claims to land (Peluso, 1995).

Peluso (1995) describes the Basic Forestry Law and the TGHK as the first two attempts of creating state forest maps for a clear tenure system. With the Village Law of 1979 and transmigration programmes, a more recent map was initiated by the endeavour to provide maps for an appropriate allocation of trans-migrants from other islands. The RePPProt (Project for Transmigration) programme set a focus on actual land cover for the first time, but still local claims were not acknowledged. Even though settlements are included, local customs were not considered in the making and the maps were therefore even more refused by locals then the TGHK map.

Conflicts between local communities and economic interest in forest lands, which started through the increased economic expansion onto the outer islands during the early independence phase continued in the contemporary phase of decentralisation and liberalisation as power struggles rose between authorities and communities for access to resources and lands (Peluso, 1995, Hein, 2019). Refusals of locals against the official maps and the rise of organisations taking agency for customary communities led to a movement starting in the 1990s counterclaiming indigenous lands (Peluso, 1995, Afiff and Lowe, 2007).

2.2.3 Counterclaiming customary lands in Indonesia

Concerns of international institutions, international NGO's and local NGO's have resulted in a movement resisting the prevalent land use planning aiming to provide alternatives that include customary claims of indigenous people (Peluso, 1995). As a strategy to reclaim customary lands, NGO's started participatory mappings in 1992 connected to community based natural resource management and the evolution of an environmental movement in Indonesia, fighting against timber exploitation. The Community Mapping Network (JKPP) was founded and works closely with AMAN as an advocacy network (Radjawali et al., 2017). The efforts in participatory mapping by different actors, vary in purpose and the outcomes are not always acknowledged by the regional and national government (Peluso, 1995).

A breakthrough in the participatory counter mapping network in Indonesia was a Constitutional Court decision in 2013, where a Dayak[1] community first got granted ownership of their customary land and the land category was changed from state forest to 'adat' land. This unprecedented happening opened possibilities for claiming customary rights of communities after mapping their territory (van der Muur, 2018), which is an empowering practice as it gives communities legal tools to confront land grab (Astuti and McGregor, 2017, Radjawali et al., 2017). However, recent scholarship identified potentials for deforestation and green grabs through land claims (Astuti and McGregor, 2017). Critics fear that the new legal basis for claiming customary lands might even accelerate deforestation and land acquisition by plantation and mining companies and that the decision was only aimed at enhancing President Widodo's legitimacy. These fears are based on the assumption that customary forest might then be transformed into agricultural lands or sold off (Meijaard, 2015, Urano, 2019, van der Muur, 2018).

Land claims can be based on either a citizen-ship based or an adat-based notion, characterized through either individual or collective land tenure (Dhiaulhaq and McCarthy, 2019). Recent studies have found that there are various factors influencing a community's ability to be successful in claiming customary land. Good will of authorities is considered decisive by van der Muur (2018), as a lot of power lies in the hands of local and regional authorities. Heterogenous communities, where the ethnic composition does not fit the 'adat' term are often excluded from land claims (Dhiaulhaq and McCarthy, 2019). The production of indigenous territory connected to green economy interest is prone to become green grabbing and exclude community members. It also bears a romantic notion of indigenous people as 'stewards of nature', which is generalizing and does not fit all local contexts (Astuti and McGregor, 2017).

Organisations active in claiming customary lands took the opportunities of the new law to make more claims. AMAN aimed to claim 40-70 million hectares by 2020 (Astuti and McGregor, 2015). By 2016, the Ancestral Domain Registration Agency (BRWA) has registered more than 1039 territories of which 48 had been recognised three years after the Court Rule, constituting 13,000 hectares. This is a rather slow process (van der Muur, 2018), considering that the state shows ambitions to integrate customary claims into a project trying to create a transparent and innovative spatial planning system called 'OneMap'.

[1] Dayak is a generic term for indigenous people inhabiting Kalimantan, the Indonesian part of the island of Borneo. The term comprises 450 ethnolinguistic groups in the region, sharing similarities in language and customary laws (MRG, 2018).

2.2.4 The 'One Map Policy' (OMI)

One Map is the effort of the Indonesian government to produce a nationwide map to facilitate spatial planning (Samadhi, 2013). The initiative was started in 2010 by President Yudhoyono. The One Map Initiative is part of the REDD+ programme and developed out of the need for more transparency in spatial planning issues. It wants to provide transparent and clear spatial information and thereby aims to ensure sustainable management of forests but also to attract investors (Mulyani and Jepson, 2017). It further aims at consistency between land classes and reality and is a collaborative attempt by several ministries (Samadhi, 2013), because the current status of spatial information in Indonesia shows discrepancies and overlapping concessions. The Global Forest Watch stated seven million hectares of overlapping concessions. This poses challenges to the moratorium on forest concessions, as well as to land conflicts (Shahab, 2016).

The responsibility for establishing One Map is in the hands of a new governmental institution, the National Geospatial Agency (BIG) (Mulyani and Jepson, 2017). The BIG is the only institution that can legally produce maps and without their acceptance counter-maps are not legally recognized (Radjawali et al., 2017). In their study on the potential of One Map to enhance participation, coordination and transparency, Mulyani and Jepson argue that this is an important step in redistributing responsibilities, as the competence is moved from the historically corrupt Ministry of Forestry (MoFor) (2017).

A special governmental delivery unit, the UKP4 (Delivery Unit for Development, Monitoring and Oversight) was created to make Ministries share their spatial data. The initiative lost some momentum in 2014 but an acceleration plan was started from 2016-2019. The map is now available online free of charge, providing information on seven different layers. Those are: land cover, hydrography, hypsography, buildings, transportation and utilities, administrative borders, and toponyms. Thematic maps are being integrated and even though technical progress is slow, officials working on the map state an increased level of cooperation and trust throughout governmental sectors (Shahab, 2016).

Environmental and indigenous activist see OneMap as a tool to change the status quo and change forest governance. Even though, technical spatial solutions are important to solve land conflicts, scholars point out that the initiative must be aware of political hinderances that might be in the way of an implementation. Reluctancy of local authorities about a transparent spatial information system have been observed. These must be addressed in order to ensure a positive outcome (Astuti and McGregor, 2015).

Public participation was planned in the One Map Policy. The JKPP created the BRWA, a database for community maps, and provided the government with maps covering over 7 million hectares. Technical problems came up, with authorities remarking that the maps lacked accuracy and could therefore not be integrated. Other problems coming up were the lack of custodians for the maps. Those issues resulted in the maps of communities not being integrated as planned into One Map (Shahab, 2016).

3 Conceptual Framing

My research questions ask about the discourses on REDD+ related to Indonesia's land and people. I therefore consider it crucial to provide a conceptualisation of the two core study topics: REDD+ and people's relation to land in order to approach them theoretically. In the previous chapter, it has shown that people's relation to land in Indonesia have always been influenced by social and political factors (Hein, 2019). I therefore argue for a political ecology approach in order to understand REDD+ and its connection to land and people. I will start this chapter by introducing the concept of political ecology and how political ecology is used to understand REDD+. I will continue by presenting theoretical approaches that helped me to create an understanding of the concept of land. The different concepts and theoretical approaches that I address in 3.2. can theoretically be regarded as embedded into a political ecology on REDD+, land and people.

3.1 Conceptualising REDD+ as a political ecology

Political ecology (PE), according to Robbins, is the study of power relations in land and environmental management (2012). The term includes 'ecology' which refers to concerns about the environment and 'political', which is a reference to the concept of political economy (Walker, 2005). . In contrast to "apolitical" ecology, scholars applying PE acknowledge that nature is laden with power and landscapes are cultural (Robbins, 2012). Political and economic forces, such as neoliberal turns in nature management, are rather considered as causes for environmental change than national policies or local economics (Bryant and Bailey, 1997). Political ecology suggests that nature is less defined by its materiality, as by its relation to social aspects, discourses and to institutions (Hein, 2019).

In political ecology, environmental change happens as a result of political processes. Accepting that all changes in human's natural environment and land are inherently political allows to look for causes that have led to changes. (Robbins, 2012). REDD+ is decided upon by political actors, who make decisions about which areas become project sites and what actions will be performed within these sites. The political decision to create a conservation area within a specific geographic area affects the ecological composition of this area, as well as changes in surrounding areas. On the other hand, the allocation of mining concessions leads to deforestation, which could also be halted by political decisions. These political decisions

inducing environmental change does not affect all people within a political system in the same way.

There is an awareness within political ecology, that costs and benefits of nature conservation are not equally distributed (Robbins, 2012). The establishment of a REDD+ project site requires investments, for example by the government or by donor organisations. Benefits from the establishment could be model projects, enhancing the prestige of a country or donor organisations, helping those to get more funding for further projects. On a local level, the costs could result in limited usage rights for local communities. The establishment of a conservation area is an example, where environmental benefits on a global scale, through species protection and ecosystem restoration, can be at the cost of livelihood opportunities for communities from the area. Through this unequal distribution of cost and benefits, environmental changes can produce winners and losers.

A political ecology is interested in how different variables produce winners and losers in environmental processes (Robbins, 2012). Losers in REDD+ are produced, when usufruct rights by local communities are infringed through projects. Safeguards, which are created to maintain or even create social and environmental benefits within REDD+ implementation, are interesting to regard from a political ecology approach, as they could function as levers to turn around power relations, which create winners and losers.

Power relations between winners and losers creating unequal costs and benefits between them already indicates that political ecology is sensible of different actors involved in processes of environmental change (Robbins, 2012). REDD+ involves numerous actors, ranging from transnational organisations contributing through funding to indigenous people debating their access to customary lands. This complexity of actors in different scales and spaces highlights the importance of doing a flexible analysis, like political ecology suggests (Hein, 2019).

Power relations operate at different scales and since REDD+ operates on many scales, from the international to the local, a political ecology approach can create valuable outcomes. Whereas local village dynamics might not be very relevant in international discussions on technical issues on REDD+, they are important to consider when implementing REDD+ on a project level in Indonesia. Research in local contexts allow for results that include local particularities (Robbins, 2012).

3.2 Approaches in researching land

Research on REDD+ in a local context within a political ecology is inseparable from people's relation to land. My focus on local people's relation to land in the Indonesian-Norwegian collaboration on REDD+ therefore demands a theoretical discussion of the concept land, which will be provided in the following sections of this chapter.

Land struggles and contested land is often researched within the concept of land grabbing. Since the global land rush in 2008, where an unprecedented amount of farmland in developing countries was acquired by investors, in a response to augmenting food prices and the economic crises, which lead to breakdown of other investment opportunities, there has been an increased scholarly interest in land acquisitions (Li, 2014). Land is shifted from sovereign national territory to become a commodity for the global market. Those acquisitions are often performed in order to produce food, feed or biofuel for national and international markets and show little respect to local communities. However, it is much stated that it is not the investment in land per se, that is the underlying problem, but the fuzziness of laws and regulation, which cannot guarantee to preserve land as a public good and livelihood for the local people. In research on land grabbing, a large proportion of the land grabs are large-scale land acquisitions of farmland by investors to produce boom crops (Margulis et al., 2013).

Large-scale land acquisitions are competing over land with REDD+ (Carter et al., 2017). For investigating REDD+, the concept of green grabs is more relevant, where land is enclosed for green purposes, such as conservation, PES schemes and carbon storage. Green grabs can be described as an 'economy of the repair'. In favour of the global good, land is either completely grabbed or rights on the use of land are limited (Fairhead et al., 2012).

Case studies within pilot regions of REDD+ in Indonesia have found that land claims and green grabs can overlap and align (Astuti and McGregor, 2017). There is a lot of research on land claims, which focuses on communities' inclusion in land claims using case study designs (for example van der Muur, 2018; Radjawali et al., 2017; Dhiaulhaq and McCarthy, 2019; Astuti and McGregor, 2017). However, in my case of a remote study, I will not be able to display local particularities but rather focus the analysis on how discourses on land access is shaped by REDD+.

3.2.1 The 'neoliberal turn', commodification and appropriation of land

Fairhead et al. connect the advent of grabbing for green purposes to a neoliberal turn in environmental governance, which they associate with the privatisation and the commodification

of nature. This theoretical approach is inspired by green Marxism and writings by Polanyi and Gramsci (2012). In order to understand the neoliberal turn, the concepts of commodification and privatisation must be explained.

The commodification of land as a resource is connected to the general term 'commodification of nature' which refers to a transformation of values. The establishment of Payment for Ecosystem Services is an example for such a value transformation process (Fairhead et al., 2012). Castree (2003) points out that the status of being a commodity is not intrinsic to a thing, but that there are certain characteristics, which make it a commodity. The commodification of nature is not referred to as a single transaction where something is sold off, but as the conversion of a whole class of goods into commodities (Castree, 2003, Leys, 2003). According to Polanyi, land is not an ordinary commodity, but the basis of life. It has an important social function and the commodification of it is triggering counterclaims to restore this social function (Hall et al., 2011). In accordance with Polanyi, Li calls attention to the pushbacks of commodifying land, comparing it to the privatisation of water, which can have detrimental effects through reduced access (2014). Discourses can function as drivers to change something neutral into a commodity. The science-policy discourse on climate change mitigation has produced carbon as a commodity. REDD+ is putting value onto forests and onto emissions by the commodification of carbon (Fairhead et al., 2012).

Private ownership is determining the range of actions on a resource. Privatisation is the process of rendering a public asset into a privately owned one (Fairhead et al., 2012). The British intellectual Thomas Paine argued against land ownership early, suggesting that it should only be possible to extract additional value out of land use, if people are compensated for the exclusion of land, an idea that was taken up in the form of land taxes. Within constitutions, land is referred to as a public good, with 'social function'. In the case of land, due to customary injunctions and protected areas, amongst others, privatisation is not the norm (Li, 2014), even though there are tendencies to privatise more land.

In order to understand changes of access and ownership to land, the terms enclosure and primitive accumulation are helpful. Enclosure is the conversion of common property into private property. Primitive accumulation happens, when non-capitalist social formations are transformed into capitalist one. Primitive accumulation can be achieved through enclosure. In literature on land grabbing, the term 'accumulation by dispossession' is commonly used to refer to primitive accumulation (Hall et al., 2011).

New modes of appropriation of nature can be identified within processes of green grabbing. These modes of appropriation draw on Harvey's four key dimensions of neoliberalism: privatisation, financialization, accumulation by dispossession and the changing role of the state in the redistribution of wealth. Financialization happens when things that were out of monetary evaluation are becoming part of a market. The changing role of the state refers to the process of states choosing to give investments and marketable resources a higher importance than the well-being of their inhabitants (Fairhead et al., 2012).

3.2.2 Statistical picturing

To render land investible, it is useful to classify it. Li (2014) uses the process of 'statistical picturing, to show how the establishment of categories such as 'productive' and 'unproductive' land frames land as something worth investing in. The concept of statistical picturing was brought up in the context of the production of national forest and shows how enframing the forests into calculable quantities changes the modes of how it is governed. In the case of forest production, those quantities were, for example, maximum sustainable yield or the allowed annual cut (Demeritt, 2001). This concept of statistical picturing can be used to show how historical categorisations of land in Indonesia have affected the modes of land governance in the past and how changes connected to REDD+ will affect future land governance.

3.2.3 Exclusion and access

Exclusion from land use is often referred to as the contrary position to inclusion and connoted negatively. In my work, I am going to follow the approach of Hall et al. (2011), who define it as the opposite of access and 'the prevention from benefitting from things'. This is based on Ribot and Peluso's (2003) definition of access as the 'ability to benefit from things'. In order to achieve benefits from land use, a certain exclusivity must be assured. The particularities of land as a resource make exclusion a prerequisite for a meaningful use of land. Modes of exclusion can be market mechanisms, regulatory or physical forces (Li, 2014). Focus should therefore be on what powers are present in regulating access and exclusion from land and what actors are granted access and which are excluded (Hall et al., 2011).

In their book on land dilemmas in South East Asia, Hall et al. (2011) identified new forms of exclusion, that emerged within the last decades. They state a higher transnational influence on land relations and clearer boundaries of access. State-centred regulations are replacing rules that are based on kinship and customary traditions. In claiming access to land, there has been a shift in categories, with indigeneity and conservation increasing their popularity as

justifications for exclusion. Within new realities of commodified nature and land grabs, a change of scope in counter movements has been observed, which make use of the new modes of exclusion (Hall et al., 2011).

Four types of exclusion are distinguished. Those are regulation, market, force and legitimation. Regulations determine how land is used and what are its boundaries. Those are imposed not only by the state, but also by customary rule or transnational organisations. The market is an exclusionary power, where the price is determining who is excluded. Force is often used to exercise regulation. State force claims to be legitimate, however there are many other actors, who use force. For exclusion to be justifiable, it requires legitimation (Hall et al., 2011). An example for a legitimation process is the exclusion of communities from forest lands in order to keep a hydrological balance up (Hein, 2019). Legitimation can be contested. The four different powers of exclusion are not independent of each other (Hall et al., 2011).

3.2.4 Land as a natural but social resource

After looking at different conceptualisations of land by scholars, who work on land and REDD+ in Indonesia specifically and those who work on land more generally, which have influenced my understanding of land, I still owe an elaboration of my understanding of land for my study. In accordance with my studies on natural resource management, I treat land as a natural resource. Considering the previously cited work of Polanyi, Paine and Li, land is special as it differs in materiality and social characteristics from other natural resources.

A natural resource is defined by McManus as a part of the physical environment, that satisfies human needs and wants. It is dynamic and connected to societal factors. Value and scarcity of a resource are socially defined. A resource, for example a certain mineral, that is available in very limited amounts, might still not be considered scarce, if there is no demand after it (2000). Changes in technology and knowledge can change a neutral component of our physical environment into a valuable resource. A prominent example for that is rubber, that became a demanded resource after the invention of the vulcanisation process (Zimmermann, 1951). Li goes further to identify resources as ‘irreducibly social’, which have ‘no intrinsic quality’ but are made up (2014). Resources can be divided into excludable and non-excludable resources. An example for a non-excludable resource is air (Hall et al., 2011). In its materiality, land is a resource that is excludable, but it cannot be removed. It is an assemblage of elements and in order to assemble land as a resource it must be reflected on what elements are assembled, how they cohere and in what form (Li, 2014).

4 Discourses on REDD+ in the literature – a review of academic papers

In the last two chapters I have introduced REDD+ and land in Indonesia. First, I gave an introduction on background information and the previous chapter aimed at conceptualising the two topics. With this done, I want to introduce the framing I have chosen to study REDD+ and land in the Norwegian-Indonesian REDD+ partnership. As already explained in the introduction, I am investigating how land and people are represented in discourses on REDD+. Before I can go into analysing how land and people are represented, I needed to work out which discourses are present around REDD+. My inquiry to determine discourses on REDD+ led me to perform an academic literature review on discourses on REDD+. The first section of this chapter will introduce how I conducted the academic literature review. Further, I will present an introduction on discourses in environmental governance, deforestation and REDD+ where definitions and terms in the literature are explained. This part aims to facilitate the reading of the actual literature review, which I present in the third section of the chapter. Through the literature review, I was able to identify three meta-discourses on REDD+, which differ in their attitude towards REDD+. These meta-discourses can be understood as perspectives on REDD+ and comprise a positive, managerial discourse, a moderate, reform-oriented discourse and a critical counter discourse. They provide the theoretical base for my discourse analysis, which will investigate the appearance and the linguistic features of the above listed, identified meta-discourses. The last section aims to establish a connection between the conceptual framework of the last chapter and my performed literature review. Concepts of land will be incorporated into the meta-discourses on REDD+, in order to create an improved understanding of how those meta-discourses can help to understand the local representation of land and people.

4.1 Performing the academic literature review

My background research on my study topic focused on how REDD+ as a global climate policy affects the relations between land and people in Indonesia. It was only after I had gathered a lot of background knowledge on land relations affected by REDD+ that I chose to investigate the topics within the field of discourses and to perform a discourse analysis. Before engaging with the theory of discourses in general, I started reviewing academic work, interested in how other scholars had approached REDD+ in their work.

The review of academic work developed into an academic literature review on discourses in environmental governance, deforestation and REDD+. I started researching academic literature portals, mainly Web of Science for previous work done on 'discourse analysis' and 'REDD+', using those two search inputs. I found several papers which had researched discourses in REDD+ on a general, global basis (for example Nielsen 2014), as well as papers, which have focused on REDD+ pilot sites (see Milne 2016 or Jodoin 2019). By engaging with the references of the papers, I came across academic work on discourses on deforestation and environmental governance generally (for example Hajer 1995, Adger 2001 or Backstrand and Lovbrand 2006, 2007 and 2019).

The systematical reading of the papers, led me to group the discourses present within the studies according to their presumed attitude to REDD+. This approach was also chosen by Jodoin (2019), who used the terms 'REDD+ advocates', 'REDD+ reformists and 'REDD+ critics' (see Figure 4-1). I distinguish between a positive, managerial discourse (applied by REDD+ advocates), a moderate, reform-oriented discourse (applied by REDD+ reformists) and a critical counter discourse (applied by REDD+ critics). Before I present the characteristics of these meta-discourses, I will give a general introduction of discourses in environmental governance, deforestation and REDD+ and the used terms and definitions.

4.2 Terminology and terms of discourses in environmental governance, deforestation and REDD+

For my academic literature research, I reviewed papers on discourses in environmental governance, deforestation and REDD+. These discourses were established through the performance of discourse analysis. Discourse analysis in the field of environmental studies came up with the 'argumentative turn' in social science. The argumentative turn led to an increased interest in arguments and discourses as a way to better understand policy processes. This turn was also perceived in environmental policy making (Leipold et al., 2019). Discourse analysis in policy making is applied not only on environmental concerns, but throughout the disciplines. Depending on the field, definitions of discourses, as well as other terms used vary. This section aims to introduce common terms and definitions of discourses in the papers reviewed.

In the field of environmental governance, the definition of discourse by Hajer (1995), who describes discourses as "a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts and categorisations that are

(re)produced and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities", is very prominent. In the reviewed literature, discourse is otherwise broadly defined as a shared meaning of phenomena (Backstrand and Lovbrand, 2006, Adger et al., 2001) and knowledge regimes (Adger et al., 2001).

Other commonly used terms in the literature are storylines and narratives. Storylines are "generative sort(s) of narrative, drawing upon discursive categories to give meaning to specific physical or social phenomena", making the assumption that we do not use discourses consciously, but use storylines that are evoking a certain discourse (Hajer, 1995). Narratives, according to Roe, are stories with a chronological order, that are used to explain phenomena within a certain field, e.g. development. Narratives can be very powerful, constituting our structures of thinking. In order to change narratives, counternarratives have to be established to change our way of thinking (Roe, 1991).

There are many different theories and approaches in discourse analysis, which are used by scholars (Leipold et al., 2019). As a consequence of the theoretical diversity, no explicit terminology of discourses, storylines and narratives is used within my reviewed literature. In an attempt to create a consistency within my review, I choose to present dominant discourses as meta-discourses, which include various micro-discourses. Prominent meta-discourses in the literature are *ecological modernisation*, *green governmentality*, *civic environmentalism* and *climate justice*, *global environmental management* and a *populist discourse* (see Adger 2001; Jodoin, 2019; Backstrand and Lovbrand 2006). Micro-discourses describe smaller thematic entities, for example a community rights and benefits discourse as a part of the broader civic environmentalism meta-discourse (Milne et al., 2016). The micro-discourses do not have to be part of only one discourse but can apply to several of the meta-discourses or not fit into them at all. Nielsen (2014) uses the term 'storylines' for what I refer to as micro-discourses. In an attempt to visualise the categorisation and terms used in the literature, I created Figure 4-1, which shows different terms and where they were used in the literature.

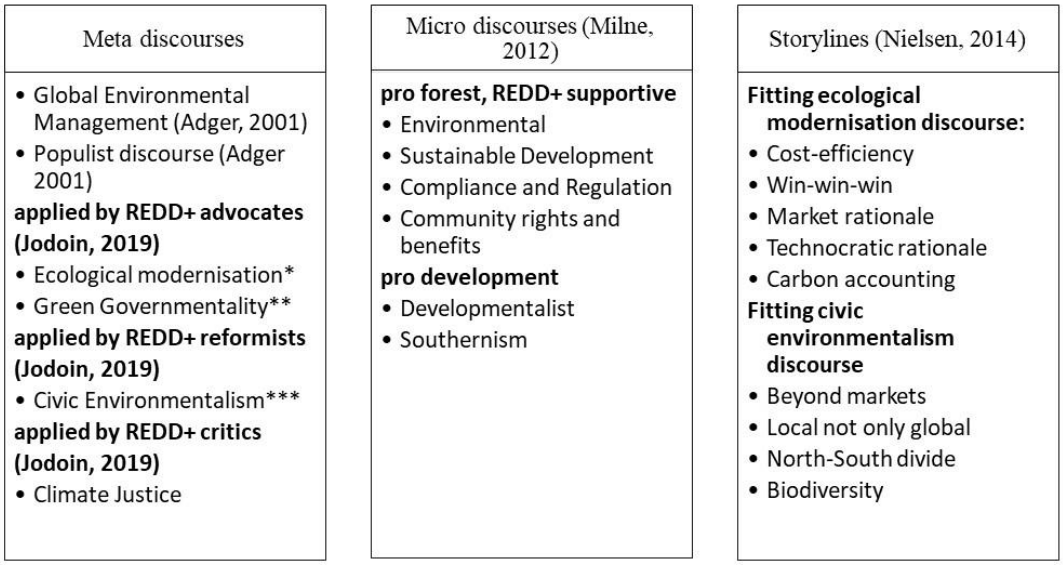

Figure 4-1: Discourses in the academic literature and their grouping by the authors

4.3 Identified meta-discourses on REDD+

Through the systematical reading of academic papers and the categorisation of the discourses present within the papers, I distinguished three meta-discourses on REDD+, which form the theoretical framing of my study. These meta-discourses, or perspectives on REDD+ comprise a positive, managerial, a moderate, reform-oriented and a critical counter discourse. I have grouped meta-discourses, micro-discourses and narratives that are used in the literature into my own categorisation of these three meta-discourses. I visualised the result of this categorisation in Figure 4-2. The following section will present the results of the literature review and describe the meta-discourses, micro-discourses and storylines which make up my three identified meta-discourses.

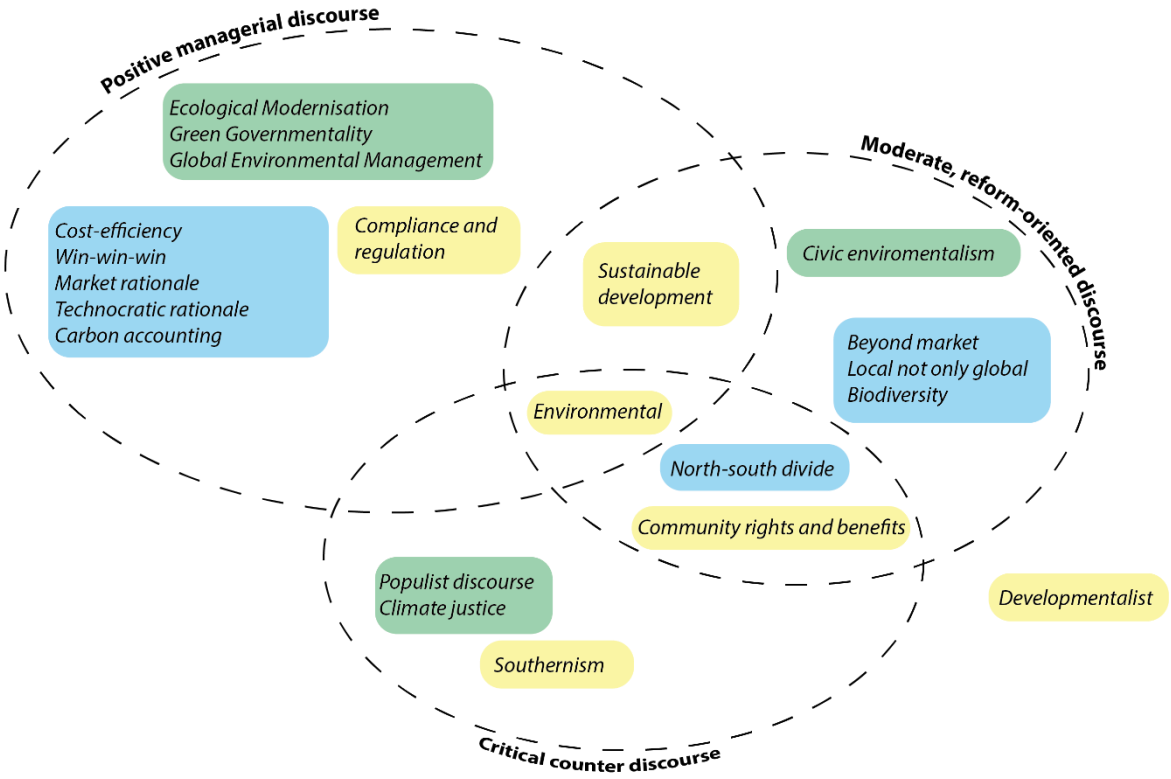

Figure 4-2: Identified discourses on REDD+ connected to meta-discourses (green), micro-discourses (yellow) and storylines (blue) from the literature review

My grouping of discourses is in line with recent work by Bäckstrand and Lövbrand (2019), where they researched dominant discourses within negotiations on the Conference of the Parties (COP). They observed a coalition between the discourses of ecological modernisation and green governmentality, which are part of my positive, managerial discourse, within global environmental governance. Criticism is framed within the climate justice perspective. Proponents of the climate justice discourse are granted some agency and legitimacy to make them support the system (Backstrand and Lovbrand, 2019). Their 'climate justice perspective' is in line with my moderate, reform-oriented discourse and, to some extent, the critical counter discourse. I argue for using a similar approach and the comparison with similar meta-discourses as it will provide comparable results that might facilitate future meta-studies. This possibility for comparison meets concerns by critics. These remark the lack of meta-analysis in environmental policy due to comparable results not being available (Leipold et al., 2019).

Before the results are presented, it is important to mention that discourses identified in environmental governance, deforestation and REDD+ are simplified and that local complexities are often showing deviations from general patterns (Adger et al., 2001). Discourses are no strict

categories but might rather be seen as a continuum where reflexive versions of one discourse can be very close to a moderate discourse, which is usually opposed (Backstrand and Lovbrand, 2006). They are heterogeneous and constantly changed and redefined (Backstrand and Lovbrand, 2007). Milne found that discourses are used strategically. Examinations of discourse coalitions, where she distinguishes a pro-REDD+ and a pro-development group (see Figure 4-1), in Indonesia on REDD+ have shown that the climate change mitigation initiative is used to serve the already existing interest of stakeholder groups. In this case, arguments for and against REDD+ are picked up to reach goals that have been of interest already before the introduction of REDD+ (Milne et al., 2016). Brown and MacLellan (2020) found that there is misalignment between discourses on international and local level in REDD+. With keeping in mind that a grouping and categorisation of discourses will always lead to some simplification and generalisation, I will now start by presenting managerial discourses on environmental governance, which show a positive attitude to global policy frameworks like REDD+.

Ecological modernisation is a managerial discourse that was first identified by Hajer (1995). He describes the discourse as being dominant in environmental governance. It evolved out of the failure of putting environmental issues (such as air pollution, noise, water) into boxes and regulating them with restrictive policies, like it was done in the 1970ies. The discourse acknowledges environmental problems as being structural but argues that the problems can be solved without systematic change (Hajer, 1995). Nielsen (2014) further describes *ecological modernisation* as being based on a utilitarian notion, pointing out management solutions, that are based on natural science and financing. It embraces business language, where environmental pollution is displayed as a matter of inefficiency that can be solved by a well-functioning market. Decoupling environmental degradation from economic growth is a valid concern in the discourse (Backstrand and Lovbrand, 2006). In accordance with the discourse, tradeable pollution rights, private-public-partnerships and the conception of nature as a ‘public good’ instead of a ‘free good’ became prominent (Hajer, 1995). By the 1980ies environmental management based on the premises of the ecological modernisation discourse was seen as a viable alternative to policy making. Solutions such as public-private partnerships were regarded as equivalent or even better in reducing environmental damage than restrictive policies (Hajer, 1995). On one hand, the ecological modernisation discourse has created an awareness that environmental problems exist and need to be addressed, on the other hand it has provoked a strong counter movement challenging its techno-based and imperialist notions (Arts et al., 2010).

Like *ecological modernisation*, the discourse of *green governmentality* puts a lot of emphasis on business and science. Backstrand and Lovbrand (2006) describe how the discourse puts the modern administrative state is in the centre, where strict guidelines and methodologies are created and controlled by experts. The aim is to provide "stewardship to nature" and the discourse addresses the individual to act in this interest. In favour of scientific expertise, it requires resource-intense infrastructure. The discourse is dominant in industrialized nations and seen as elitist, meaning that it does not necessarily include local complexities. *Green governmentality* embraces concepts such as carbon measuring and the image of forests as carbon sinks. LULUCF (Land Use, Land-use Change and Forestry), which is a programme that is part of the Kyoto Protocol and aims at sustainable land use and forest management, also draws on green governmentality through its provision of guidelines and expert control. A critique of the approach is that the strong focus on administration, frameworks and guidelines in the programme, renders local participants to the periphery, reduced to fulfilling schemes that were planned on a higher level (Backstrand and Lovbrand, 2006).

Green governmentality and *ecological modernization* have similarities in how they relate to science and international institutions. They both see environmental governance as a managerial problem that can be solved through market solutions or through administration. In their managerial approach they correspond with the global environmental management (GEM) discourse, identified by Adger et al. (2001). In their political ecology of environmental discourses, they mention a managerial, Neo-Malthusian discourse, that frames deforestation as a crisis and local practices such as slash and burn as the root for it. This global environmental management discourse acknowledges deforestation as a global environmental problem, posing a threat to the world. It suggests a top-down, interventionist, technocratic, global solution to deforestation and is further connected to development optimism and a concentration on market-based, neoliberal solutions by state actors (Adger et al., 2001).

Apart from the three meta-discourses *ecological modernisation*, *green governmentality* and *GEM*, there are certain storylines and micro-discourses found in site-specific studies on discourses in REDD+, which fit into the positive, managerial notion of REDD+. Compliance and regulation, a local discourse on REDD+ in Indonesia, which demands guidelines to follow and to comply with shows the same logic as green governmentality (Milne et al., 2016). Nielsen (2014) detected storylines connected to superordinate discourses in environmental governance. that align with the logic of ecological modernisation. These storylines are cost efficiency, win-

win-win, a market and a technocratic rationale and carbon accounting. The connected storylines and micro-discourses are shown in Figure 4-2. The similarities between *ecological modernisation, green governmentality* and *GEM* led me to group them as REDD+ positive discourses in Figure 4-2. Apart from the meta-discourses within the positive, managerial discourse (colour-backed in green), the above mentioned storylines (colour-backed in blue) and micro-discourses (colour-backed in yellow) can be grouped into the REDD+-positive, managerial discourse. The other two circles in Figure 4-2 treat a moderate, reform-oriented discourse on REDD+ and the critical counter discourse.

Civic environmentalism is a multifaceted discourse that ranges from radical to moderate stances. It is a counter discourse to ecological modernisation (Backstrand and Lovbrand, 2006). Jodoin (2019) argues that REDD+ initially was based on technocratic and market principles and that social and environmental issues only joined the debate later on. Criticism on the ecological modernisation discourse have led to changes that integrate more aspects of the civic environmentalism discourse. For my categorisation of the discourses, I divide a moderate stance, which is reform-oriented from a radical stance, that is very critical to REDD+ per se, like Backstrand and Lovbrand distinguish in their analysis of discourses around climate mitigation induced forest management (2006). There have been more efforts to categorise *civic environmentalism*. Humphrey divides between insider and outsider tactics within the discourse, where insiders are reform-oriented and outsiders argue for a system transformation (Arts et al., 2010).

Two discourses and storylines within the literature, which are North-south divide (Nielsen, 2014) and the community rights and benefit discourse (Milne et al., 2016) fit into both of these discourses, differing only in their radicality. This explains my positioning of them in Figure 4-2. I will continue by presenting the moderate, reform-oriented discourse, which is a light version of a counter discourse to the positive, managerial discourse.

The moderate, reform-oriented version of *civic environmentalism* vows for cross-sectoral cooperation, plurality and inclusion within established institutions and agendas (Backstrand and Lovbrand, 2006). The discourse is used by actors, that Jodoin (2019) calls “reformists”, who are critical to some parts of REDD+ but believe, that it can change for the better (Nielsen, 2014). Storylines fitting the civic environmentalism discourse are notions to go beyond market, ‘local and not global’ and the inclusion of biodiversity and storylines problematizing the North-South divide and carbon colonialism (Nielsen, 2014). Nielsen juxtaposes them to storylines of

ecological modernisation, which I visualised in Figure 4-1. The figure shows the discourses and storylines used in the literature, with the categorisations made by the authors. This categorisation differs slightly from my own categorisation visible in Figure 4-2. I argue that a sustainable development discourse (Milne et al., 2016) is applied by both the positive, managerial and the moderate, reform-oriented discourse, putting the micro-discourse in between the two circles in Figure 4-2.

The emergence of *civic environmentalism* can be traced back to the 1992 Conference in Rio. Determining terms for this discourse are stakeholders, participation and bottom-up, democratic efficiency and governance arrangements. Marginalized groups and local contexts are considered important factors in environmental governance and social, ecological and equity issues are brought up. (Backstrand and Lovbrand, 2006, Nielsen, 2014). It differs from more radical discourses in the feature, that it does believe that REDD+ as a framework should be sustained. I call this radical stance the critical counter discourse.

Finally, my third identified meta-discourse, in attitude opposed to REDD+ is the critical counter discourse. It includes radical stances of civic environmentalism. The discourse opposes REDD+ because of climate justice concerns. Issues of concern are power relations, consumption patterns and capitalism critique. This radical perspective of *civic environmentalism* is close to the climate justice discourse (Backstrand and Lovbrand, 2006). The climate justice discourse is opposed to neoliberal solutions to environmental problems. Carbon markets are market-privileging and destructive towards communities and nature (Jodoin, 2019). Radical civic environmentalism and the climate justice discourse are counter or critical discourses that question the hegemony of science, market and state and outline the importance of socio-ecological considerations. The southernism discourse identified by Milne (2016) can be linked to carbon colonialism and scrutinizes the approach that developing countries are used for 'greenwashing' developed countries emissions. I therefore group it into the critical counter discourse circle in Figure 4-2.

The critical counter discourse is used by critics of REDD+ to display the commodification of nature and the incapability of carbon markets to solve deforestation and forest degradation issues (Jodoin, 2019). The climate justice discourse overlaps with a populist discourse, where indigenous people are framed as heroes in stewardship of nature, but also as victims by logging companies and transnational interest (Adger et al., 2001), also displayed in Figure 4-2.

Now that I have presented my three identified meta-discourses and of which meta-discourses, micro-discourses and storylines they consist, this last paragraph will position the remaining discourses that have been outlined in Figure 4-1 as being present in the literature in Figure 4-2. Within her distinction of a pro-forest, REDD+ supportive coalition opposed to a pro-development coalition, critical of REDD+, Milne (2016) also discovered a developmentalist discourse, which has not yet been mentioned in the text. The developmentalist discourse sees REDD+ as a hinderance to increase economic growth in developing countries and views the exploitation of forests as necessary to increase a countries prosperity. Whereas southernism, which is also grouped into pro-development discourses overlaps with climate justice and radical stances of environmental governance, the developmentalist discourse, does not fit into my category of REDD-critique. Even though it is critical of REDD+, its reasoning does not include concerns about the environment. It is therefore placed outside of the circles in Figure 4-2. It can be perceived as a counter piece to the environmental discourse, that is used within all three of my identified discourses and puts environmental concerns to the forefront (Milne et al., 2016).

4.4 Incorporating land into meta-discourses on REDD+

Before I go on to introduce my methodology for my empirical study, which is discourse analysis, in the next chapter, this section aims to incorporate the concepts of land introduced in Chapter 3 into the identified meta-discourses. Through connecting the concepts of land with my theoretically developed meta-discourses, I aim to contribute to the field of discourse analysis in environmental governance. I will start by outlining the incorporation of land into the positive, managerial discourse.

Within a managerial discourse on environmental governance, land, just as the environment can be regarded as a public good (Hajer, 1995). This public good can fulfil functions varying from the provision of food, functioning as a carbon sink or as a habitat for humans or for species worth protecting. The functions land can fulfil depend on the characteristics that certain land types have. A tropical rainforest for example, with the characteristics of storing large amounts of carbon is more suitable to fulfil the ‘carbon sink’ function than an urban area. The allocation of functions for land within a managerial discourse are likely to be decided upon using scientific expertise, with the consideration of technical instruments (Backstrand and Lovbrand, 2007). The categorisation of land depending on its properties can be used to implement international frameworks and guidelines for a global land management that is based on the principles of a managerial discourse: cost-efficiency and win-win logics (Adger et al., 2001). To achieve cost-efficiency and win-win logics, land should be a commodity on the global market, in order to

get the price right and to conserve functions of land, where it is cheapest. Guidelines that are decided upon internationally and implemented in national contexts could guarantee that environmental aspects of land governance are met. The integration of environmental aspects leads the discussion to the moderate, reform-oriented discourse.

In a moderate, reform-oriented discourse on land, the frameworks and guidelines that I have elaborated on above, would be taken up and adapted in order to achieve a "democratic land management". A democratisation of land management can be achieved through using the concepts of a civic environmentalism discourse, those being stakeholder participation, inclusion, bottom-up approaches and cross-sectoral corporation (Backstrand and Lovbrand, 2006).A global management of land is within the possibilities of a reform-oriented discourse, but local particularities and people's demands must be incorporated into the guidelines. In contrast to a strict managerial discourse, a reform-oriented discourse would favour a bottom-up approach, where local knowledge is combined with expert knowledge.

This approach to the management of land contrasts with the critical counter discourse. This discourse strongly opposes the capitalist functions of land. A commodification of land and a global land market is against the principles of this discourse. This is in line with theorists such as Polanyi and Paine, who regard the right to land use as a basic function of life and oppose the capitalist use of land (Li, 2014). Within the critical counter discourse, land is a basic right to the people using it. The discourse is favouring an extensive land use, whereby the ecological functions are preserved. Ecological functions and properties of land within the discourse are not necessarily defined through scientific categories, but on tradition and local knowledge.

5 Discourse Analysis

This chapter presents my approach to discourse analysis. It is a traditionally used form of analysis in human geography, applied to investigate texts (Hay, 2000). Theory and methodology of discourse analysis are inseparable, which encouraged me to position the introduction to discourse analysis between my theory and my methodology chapter. In the first section of this chapter, I will introduce the field of discourse analysis in environmental governance and position my work within the field. I will do so by outlining important concepts and introducing main strands in the field of discourse analysis in environmental governance research. After this general introduction, I will describe more deeply, which concepts of Foucauldian and socio-linguistic discourse analysis (specifically CDA after Norman Fairclough) I have chosen to take into account for my analysis of discourse on REDD+ and Indonesia's land and people. For conducting my analysis, I am drawing on and combining methodologies by two important strands in discourse analysis. A broad Foucauldian analysis is combined with Critical Discourse Analysis, that puts emphasis on linguistic features of the text. Within the last section of the chapter, I will present the common grounds of these two approaches and link them together. Additionally, this section will contain further details that have influenced the establishment of my approach to discourse analysis.

5.1 Introducing discourse analysis in environmental governance

Discourse analysis is a broad field that is drawing on different theories and approaches and there are various ways to define discourse. Whereas in everyday language, discourse is often used to refer to discussions (Arts et al., 2010), theorists have provided plenty definitions on discourse. Broadly defined, discourse is about language in use. Discourse analysis aims to identify patterns and meanings within discussions. Depending on the field, where discourse analysis is applied, definitions of discourses vary (Hajer and Versteeg, 2005).

It is argued that discursive approaches are highly relevant to the analysis of development and environment (Peet and Watts, 1996, Adger et al., 2001). Through the consideration of political economy, ecological processes and power relations (Hein, 2019), political ecology is very relevant for being used within a discourse analysis, which also aims at investigating power

relations, while keeping a focus on social practices within the broader societal system. Political ecology acknowledges the influence of discourses and narratives on the biophysical materiality of nature (Hein, 2019). Because of political ecology's focus on power relationships, narratives can be traced back to scales and local and global discourses can be identified (Adger et al., 2001).

Discourse analysis has become a widely used theory and methodology in the social sciences and has also been incorporated into environmental policy research within the last two decades. (Leipold et al., 2019). The use of discourse analysis in environmental policy research came up with the 'argumentative turn', which resulted in an increased interest in arguments and discourses as a way to better understand policy processes (Leipold et al., 2019). There is not one single notion of 'nature' or 'the environment' and different actors make meanings of these terms in various ways (Hajer and Versteeg, 2005). A prominent definition of discourse in environmental policy research is the definition of Hajer (1995), which describes discourses as being "a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts and categorisations that are (re)produced and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities". Relating Hajer's definition of discourses to forests, Arts et al. specify the *idea* of forests as carbon stocks, the *concept* of sustainable management and *categorisations*, such as forest and non-forest areas as possible ensembles constituting a discourse (2010). The identification of these ideas, concepts and categories is important in understanding discourses, since the idea of forest as carbon sinks evokes different policies than the idea of it as a host of biodiversity or as a source for timber (Nielsen, 2014).

Even though there are many different theories and methodologies to choose from in analysing discourse, Feindt & Oehl have identified some common grounds (2005). Language, power and knowledge are crucial components of discourse and the three components are intertwined. Language and knowledge are aspects of power and knowledge is not objective but can be contested in the same way as there is not one objective reality, which makes up the truth (Feindt and Oels, 2005). Further, discourse analysis is based on social constructivism (Leipold et al., 2019). It has an emancipatory stance and aims to democratize (Feindt and Oels, 2005).

Before diving into the theoretical foundations deeper, it is necessary to position my work within the field of discourse analysis. In a recent review, Leipold et al. defined 3 strands of discourse analysis: a Foucauldian, a Habermasian and a socio-linguistic approach (2019). For my approach to discourse, only the Foucauldian strand and the socio-linguistic strand, which is

represented through Critical Discourse Analysis after Norman Fairclough are relevant. I will present their approaches to discourse in the following two sections.

5.2 Foucauldian discourse analysis

Michel Foucault shaped the term discourse with pioneering analyses of sexuality, punishment and government (Adger et al., 2001). Discourse, as Foucault understands it, can give us insights into how to understand the world. There are three explanations of discourse in Foucault's work. The first explanation describes discourses as meaningful statements or texts that have effects on the world. The second explanation points out common themes and a shared effect as constituting a discourse. His third explanation describes discourses as rules and structures that underly the production of statements (Hay, 2016).

Foucault's approach to discourse is constructionist (Hay, 2016). Within this epistemology, knowledges are socially constructed and influenced by effects of power. Effects of power lead to some discourses considered to being the 'truth', while other discourses are marginalized and silenced (Hajer and Versteeg, 2005, Leipold et al., 2019). Consequently, Foucault regards power and knowledge as the main constituents of discourses, which, at the same time, produce and reproduce power and knowledge. This means that both power and knowledge systems are influencing discourse and that discourse is also productive in creating new power and knowledge systems. Discourses constitute truth and determine which statements are thinkable or sayable and which are not (Wetherell et al., 2001).

Foucault's understanding of discourse was marked by emphasising that it is not subjects using a discourse to achieve their objectives. It is rather the discourse as a 'sovereign power', which speaks through subjects (Hajer, 1995). The conception of discourse as a 'souvereign power' entails that no strategic use of discourses by subjects are possible (Leipold et al., 2019). Even though Foucault rejects a strategical use of discourse, he mentions the concept of discursive strategies (Hay, 2016).

Discursive strategies are sets of statements or sets of ideas that constitute a common understanding about a certain topic. The relationship between knowledge and power is determined by discursive strategies. They limit possibilities of action by creating norms. To examine discursive strategies, it is helpful to look for effects of truths. Whereas Foucault regards discourses as unstable and shifting, discursive strategies are fixed sets of statements that determine which knowledge is regarded as viable. Ambiguities and contradictions are

components of discourses, that might be able to rupture discursive strategies (Hay, 2016). An example for a discursive strategy, that normalizes certain statements, while excluding others within REDD+ in Indonesia is the inclusion of communities. Communities that fit into a certain notion of indigeneity are included, while other, heterogenous communities are excluded through simply not mentioning them in the discourse about the right to land. This example shows that the deployment of discursive strategies can be accompanied by silences.

Hay (2016) points out that tracing silences within a discourse is an important feature of a Foucauldian discourse analysis. The analysis ought to stay aware about who gets to speak and who does not. This awareness of silences gives insights into which actors are marginalised by a discourse and shows power relations between social actors. A discourse usually has a certain understanding of the world that it is promoting. Silencing includes the obfuscation of other understandings of the world by a discourse. In order to trace silence, a thorough background study is needed. To stay within the example used above for discursive strategies, tracing the silence about heterogenous communities would not be possible if there would be no awareness about the existence of those communities. It is through certain groups, that are included into discourses, that such information is distributed.

According to Hay (2016), discourses are grounded in social networks and powerful groups are favoured by discourses. Marginalised voices are likely to be silenced. This leads to some groups being able to dominate the distribution of knowledge that is recognised about a topic more than others. In REDD+ in Indonesia, the knowledge of groups with power, such as governmental authorities, is more likely to be heard by international organisations than those of marginalised groups, who do not have the power to organise themselves and advocate for their knowledges.

5.3 CDA after Norman Fairclough

The Foucauldian concepts of power, knowledge and discursive strategies and its awareness of ruptures and silences are very relevant to the theory of discourse analysis applied within this study. However, for two reasons, I do not regard his approach alone suitable for my discourse analysis. First, the Foucauldian approach does not award subjects agency to act within the systems of power discourses put them into (Dremel, 2014). Secondly, a Foucault-inspired analysis does not give clear indications on how to proceed with the analysis, which led me to look out for methods that provide a clearer guidance on how to approach the analysis. These concerns led me to integrate the approach of Critical discourse analysis after Norman Fairclough, which connects the study of social structures with the study of language

(Fairclough, 2007). The first part of this section will outline the theoretical base of CDA after Norman Fairclough. The second part will introduce the CDA tools that I chose to apply for a text-level analysis in order to enrichen my Foucauldian discourse analysis.

5.3.1 Introducing the theory of CDA

With its focus on the study of language, CDA is grouped into the socio-linguistic approaches to discourse analysis. Socio-linguistic approaches are setting a strong focus on linguistics but are also interested in how social structures are affected by power effects and ideological agendas. Socio-linguistic approaches have a strong normative position and include various schools of critical discourse analysis, Norman Fairclough Ruth Wodak and Teun van Dijk being the most used theorists. (Leipold et al., 2019). CDA examines the links between language as discourse and broader social and political structures (Fairclough, 2013). Within his book on critical discourse analysis CDA, Terry Locke describes CDA as rather a scholarly orientation than only a research method (2004). Meyer (2001) goes further in positioning it in between theory, methodology and politics (Dremel, 2014). CDA is the practice of researching and conceptualising language or visual images (Fairclough, 2007). Language is a facet of social life, which is interconnected with other facets in social science research, such as social relations, power and institutions. Critical discourse analysis is described as the systematic exploration of relations between discursive practices, events and texts and the wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes (Locke, 2004). My use of the Critical Discourse Analysis is based on theory and methodology by Norman Fairclough.

Fairclough uses the term ‘discourse’ in general and abstract ways. An example for the general use of discourse, is the academic discourse. An example for an abstract use of the term is the ‘globalist’ discourse, which Fairclough describes as the hegemonic discourse in globalisation (Fairclough, 2007). The discourse of *ecological modernisation* can be seen as the equivalent in environmental governance.

Fairclough positions CDA epistemologically within what he calls a moderate constructivism. This moderate form of social constructivism perceives texts as constructing reality. However, it acknowledges limits to these constructions. Not all the things that are construed actually become parts of our reality. Moderate constructivism also acknowledges that there are physical things in the world independent from our constructions (Fairclough, 2003).

Following the definition and the epistemological position of CDA, I want to introduce some key components, which should be considered when performing critical discourse analysis.

Fairclough bases his analysis on a 3-level model of discourse analysis, which consists of (1) discourse as text, (2) discourse as discursive practice and (3) discourse as social practice (Locke, 2004). The first, I regard as important in order to include linguistic aspects into the analysis of power and language. Secondly, discursive practice refers to how discourse is produced and circulated in society, which corresponds well with the Foucauldian notion to trace power struggles. The third level situates the discourse within the broader system and connects it to the societal system, which in my case is the political ecology of Indonesia's land and people (Fairclough, 2003).

In order to make sense of an analysis, Fairclough further mentions the semiotic elements social structure, social practice and social events as crucial. The focus on social structure within CDA aims to combine structure and agency, because Fairclough is convinced that social action can either reproduce structures or change them and therefore distances himself from the Foucauldian notion of discourses being only structural (Dremel, 2014). The social structure is determined through language and CDA on the textual level gives insights about this structure. Social practice refers to the order of discourse. The order of discourse describes how a discourse is socially organised and can control the linguistic variations within the discourse (Fairclough, 2003). Social events refer to text and its context, considering the production of texts and intertextuality (Dremel, 2014). The concept of intertextuality is poststructuralist and draws attention to the fact that text production always draws on existing texts. No text is issued independently and relates to other texts (Hay, 2000). The text production and authorship, which concern the application of discourse analysis, will be treated comprehensively in the next chapter. After this theoretical introduction into the basic components of critical discourse analysis, I will move to the text-level analysis, which is the core use of CDA in this study.

5.3.2 CDA on the textual level

Through his work 'Analysing discourse: textual analysis for social research' Fairclough provides a comprehensive introduction for diving deeper into linguistic analysis of text. The work is inspired by Halliday's analytical methods of analysing text in 'Systemic Functional Linguistics' and forms the base for the text-level analysis performed in this study. Fairclough also draws on the work of other linguists, like van Leeuwen's model for the representation of actors (Fairclough, 2003). This section will present textual analysis tools to determine the representation of social actors and connected process types, evaluation and modality within texts.

5.3.2.1 Representation of social actors

The representation of social events within a text can give insights into how problems are defined, solved and framed. According to Fairclough, social events contain *processes, participants* and *circumstances*. Social actor representation and process type analysis are placed within the representation of social events by Norman Fairclough. The social actor representation concentrates on the participants of a text. It gives indications about the role of agency of actors (Fairclough, 2003).

In investigating social actors representation, Fairclough picks up the theory of Van Leeuwen. The socio-semantic perspective on social actors by Van Leeuwen (1996) suggests binary systems with dichotomous variables, in which actors within the text can be grouped. Van Leeuwen identifies various variables in his social actor representation. I will only present the parameters, which I found relevant for my study. The chosen parameters are: *inclusion/exclusion, suppression/backgrounding, nomination/classification, pronoun/noun, activation/passivation* and the *grammatical role*.

Inclusion means that there is an actor available within a sentence or a clause, whereas in *exclusion* an actor is left out. Of course, the exclusion can happen for reasons of redundancy and irrelevance, but leaving out actors can also have a political dimension (Fairclough, 2003). When there is a case of exclusion, it is interesting to distinguish between suppression and backgrounding. *Suppression* refers to a left-out actor, which is not present in the text at all. *Backgrounding* refers to an actor, that is referred to in other parts of the text, however not in that particular phrase (Fairclough, 2003). The following two examples of exclusion show one case of politically motivated exclusion and one case of exclusion, which is likely to have happened to avoid redundancy.

> Example 1: This call to action ^ is timely as the United Nations begins the transition from the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) established 15 years ago, *(Erna Solberg)*

The '^' indicates that this action is missing an actor. The form of exclusion within this sentence is backgrounding, since it refers to an actor that is mentioned in the sentence before. In this case, I argue, that the backgrounding is done to avoid redundancy within the text and not to obfuscate the social actor. I argue for a backgrounding with the aim of reducing redundancy, since the actor is included explicitly in other parts of the text.

> Example 2: Threats to their forest and livelihood include logging ^, and palm oil ^ and rubber plantation development ^. *(Erna Solberg)*

In Example 2 actors are missing to be connected to the action of logging, palm oil and rubber plantation development. Actors that can be connected to these activities are not present in the text at all. I, therefore, argue for suppression as the mode of exclusion in this case. The exclusion of the actor is not done to reduce redundancy, since the actor is not mentioned in other parts of the text either. The suppression is likely to be politically motivated to eschew action by the industry.

The parameter of *nomination/classification* refers to whether a social actor is represented through its name or in terms of a category. 'The United Nations' is an actor that is named of the category 'international institutions', which presents an example of a classified actor. Indonesia is an actor that is nominated. When it is referred to as a classified actor, it can, for example be put into the category 'developing country'.

The parameter *noun/pronoun* refers to whether a noun or a pronoun (he, she, they, them) is used to refer to a social actor. *Activation/Passivation* examines whether a social actor is the actor within a process or whether it is acted upon him. The *grammatical role* pays attention to whether a social actor is a participant of an action or described within a circumstance or as a possessive pronoun (Fairclough, 2003).

> Example 3: […] and ***their*** traditional land tenure rights are in conflict with rubber and palm oil companies' interest in the area. *(Erna Solberg)*

In Example 3, the social actor, which is an indigenous community is referred to by using a possessive pronoun, which is combined with an attribute. As an actor, the indigenous community is not a participant of the action, but described within the possessive pronoun, which attributes certain features to them.

5.3.2.2 Process types

Whereas social actors are mostly presented as participants in the grammatical form of subjects, or objects, processes are mostly realized as verbs. By distinguishing different forms of processes within a text, it is possible to elaborate elements that are included into the representations of events and other that are excluded. The abstraction of events, how they are

arranged, which additions are made and which elements are present are important factors to recontextualize them (Fairclough, 2003).

Upon the work of Halliday, Van Leeuwen and Fairclough it is possible to identify 6 main types of processes. These can be grouped into outer and inner experiences. Outer experiences describe actions themselves. Inner experiences reflect on action and events. The 6 process types are material, verbal, mental, existential and relational. Relational processes can further be divided into an attributive relation and an identifying relation. The following table shows the key process types with their associated key participants by Fairclough (2003) and an example out of the empirical texts analysed to make it more graspable.

Table 5-1: Process types (adapted from Fairclough 2003, 141)

Process Type	**Key Participants**	**Example**
Material	*Actor; Affected*	Yet *they* hold *the vital knowledge of generations* […] [2]
Verbal	*Actor*	*I* call on all stakeholders […] [3]
Mental	*Experiencer; Phenomenon*	Today *we* that with rapid climate change, one fourth of Earth's species […] could be headed for extinction. [2]
Relational	*Carrier; Attribute or Token; Value*	*Of these* an estimated 60 million are *indigenous peoples.* [2]
Existential	*Existent*	*The New York Declaration of Fores*t […] was an important milestone. [2]

An analysis of the processes that are connected to actors can give deeper insights into the agency that are granted to specific actors. An actor that is connected to a lot of material processes is granted more agency than an actor who is only connected to verbal processes. A performing actor might have more power than an actor, who gives opinions. The inclusion of process types into the analysis of social actors can show a more dynamic form of representation (Al Maghlouth, 2017).

Material processes include an actor and something that is acted upon, also called the affected. When looking at material processes, it is useful to include the concept of transitivity, because

[2] Empirical Source Nr. 14 (see Table 6-2)
[3] Emprirical Source Nr. 12

material processes can be divided into transitive and intransitive material processes. Transitive verbs demand for an object, whereas intransitive verbs usually function without a direct object. Further, transitive processes can be active or have a passive agent (Fairclough, 2003).

Verbal processes are actions of expression like saying, demanding and urging. They need one actor who expresses something verbally, for example through the verbs ‘to say’ or ‘to call on’. Mental processes include an experiencer and a phenomenon (Fairclough, 2003). They can take the form of sensing, perception, affection, volition and cognition (Al Maghlouth, 2017). Relational processes can occur in an attributive form, where an attribute is granted to a carrier, or in an identifying form, where a token is connected to a value. Finally, existential processes make statements about the mere existence of a participant (Al Maghlouth, 2017, Fairclough, 2003).

5.3.2.3 Modality and evaluation

Modality and evaluation are situated within the styles, or ways of being of a text, according to Fairclough. Identity is expressed through the expression of what is necessary and what is desirable. Fairclough argues that modality and evaluation show what the authors commit themselves to. Modality and evaluation reveal the attitude of a writer and therefore give insights into subjectivity (2003).

Modality is the relationship between a speaker and the representation of an event. Modality can be distinguished into epistemic modality, that refers to the truth and deontic modality that shows the commitment of an obligation or to act. The most obvious markers of modality are modal verbs. Those are: can, may, must, shall, will, should, would, could and might. Adverbials are also markers of modality. However, anything within a text, that refers to the commitment to act or to truth is indicating modality. It can be distinguished between high and low commitment statements of modality (Fairclough, 2003). Another kind of classification is the distinction between subject- and discourse-oriented modals, where can, will and should for example are subject-related and may, shall and must are discourse related modals. Subject-relatedness refers to the subject of a clause, whereas discourse-oriented modals refer to the action within a clause (Palmer, 2001, Shousha, 2010).

Evaluation refers to the desirability of events that are expressed within a text and gives insights into the subjectivity of the speaker. Evaluation can be expressed through evaluative statements, deontic modalities, statements that reveal affection and assumptions that are connected to values. By looking for evaluative statements within a text, they can be categorised into desirable

and undesirable events (Fairclough, 2003). Expressions of affection, judgement and appreciation can also be regarded as evaluative language and give indications about values that guided the text production (Al Maghlouth, 2017).

5.4 Connecting Fairclough and Foucault – establishing my theory of discourse

According to Fairclough, social analysis must take language into account. In order to comprehensively analyse discourse, the social aspects of discourse analysis must be connected with the analysis of language used in text. A text-level analysis in Critical Discourse Analysis is performed to create insights on linguistic features of texts that determine the use of discourses (Fairclough, 2003). This textual analysis must be embedded into a broader analysis in order to see how power relations work in networks and actor structures (Fairclough, 2013).

A Foucauldian discourse analysis can help to understand the broader context of a text and help discover natures of conflicts, alliances, resistances and negotiations. Actual textual methods can assist to make those dynamics of discourse more graspable and specific (Scoville-Simonds, 2009). I therefore argue for the combination of a broad, social analysis on the principles of Foucault and text-level analysis of CDA. The introduced framework for analysing discourse provides the embedding of CDA and Foucauldian discourse analysis into a political ecology, which connects actors to events.

Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis is strongly influenced by Foucault's approach to discourse (Dremel, 2014) and Fairclough mentions the dialectical relations between the elements of his conception of discourse and Foucauldian concepts (Fairclough, 2003). I will continue by outlining their similarities and dialectical relations. These connections are made more graspable by connecting them to the elements of CDA I have described above. Finally, in the end of this section, I will present my approach to discourse analysis used for the empirical study.

When Fairclough draws connection between CDA and Foucauldian Discourse Analysis, he refers to 4 different themes, each consisting of 3 components. Two of these 4 different themes are *components of social practice* and *major types of textual meaning*, themes that are treated through CDA. Three components of social practice are genres (ways of acting), discourses (ways of representing) and styles (ways of being). These refer to major types of textual meaning, which are action, representation and identification. These major concepts of Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis can be related to *Foucault's understanding of*

discourses and his *integral themes*, which are the other two themes, Fairclough mentions when drawing connections between their work. The understanding of discourses by Foucault is divided into the relation with oneself, the relation to act upon others and the relation of control over things. These relations connect to his integral themes of moral and ethics, knowledge and power. I have created Figure 5-1 to show the different themes and their components (Fairclough, 2003).

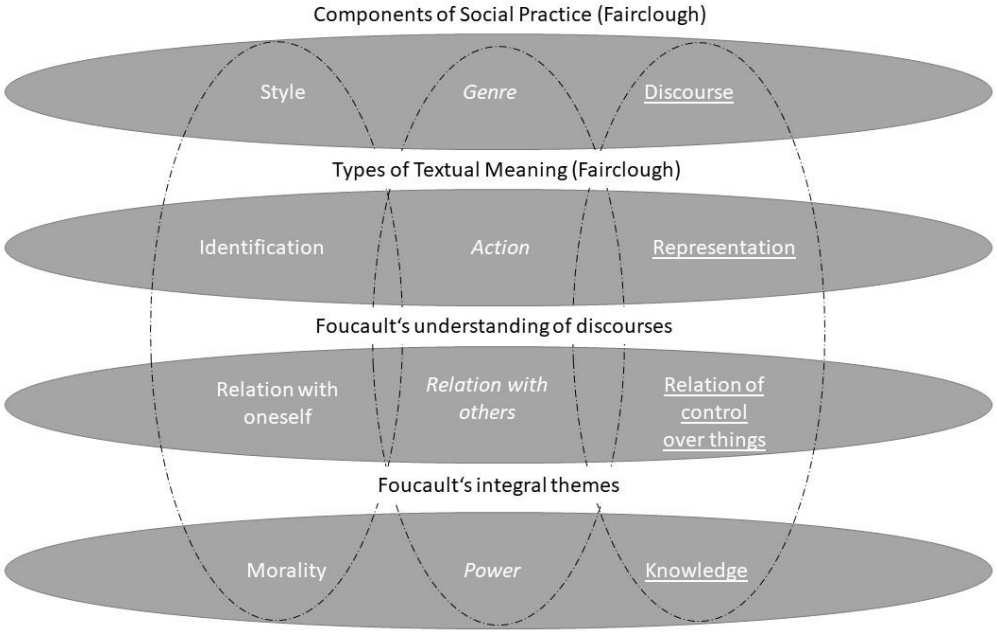

Figure 5-1: Dialectical relations between concepts of CDA and Foucault

Fairclough points out a dialectical relation between styles, which are enacted through identifications, genres that are enacted through action and discourses that are enacted through representations. These dialectical relations concern his approach to discourse. Even though Foucault does not use the term 'dialectics', Fairclough argues that such a dialectical relation also exists between the Foucauldian understanding of discourse and his integral themes. He argues that there is a dialectical relation between morality and the relation to oneself, power and the relation with others and knowledge as relations of control over things. (Fairclough, 2003). I have visualised the dialectical relations between the components of the Foucauldian and Faircloughian themes in Figure 5-1 through the dashed black circles. The components of social practice that are expressed within texts through types of meaning-making can be related to Foucault's themes and assist in creating an understanding of power-knowledge relations. It

is through these dialectical relations that integral themes of Foucauldian discourse analysis can be connected to textual meaning-making processes in CDA.

To make these relations more graspable, I will pick up the elements of CDA that have been presented in the last section. For my CDA I will analyse two modes of representation (social actors and process types) and two modes of identification (modality and evaluation). Representation and Identification are types of textual meaning after Fairclough (second grey circle in Figure 5-1). Picking up the example of the analysis of representation of social actors, this process gives insights into what degree of agency actors are granted within a discourse and gives indications on the discourse as a component of social practice. This relates to Foucault's understanding of discourse, as the agency of actors represents how they have control over things within the discourse and relates to his integral theme knowledge. The analysis of evaluation on the other hand, which Fairclough positions as a mode of identification, gives insights into the style component of social practice, because it reveals less about the discourse itself, than about the author's position within a discourse. This is reflected in Foucault's understanding of discourse as the relation of the author to their self and connected to his integral theme morality (Fairclough, 2003). The example shows that through analysing textual meaning, insights on dialectically related components of discourse can be gained. In the case of representation, the dialectically related components are for example knowledge and relations of control over things. In the case of Identification, dialectically related components are for example morality and the relation to oneself. When combining Foucauldian discourse analysis with CDA, the dialectical relations, which I visualised in Figure 5-1 are important to draw connections between the approaches.

Now that I have introduced Foucauldian discourse analysis and CDA after Norman Fairclough and connected their approaches, there are only few details on my approach, that need to be added before I will present my methodology, the applied discourse analysis in the next chapter. These details concern the establishment of my approach to discourse and the epistemological position, which diverge between Foucaldian discourse analysis.

I am going to follow a Foucauldian approach but include some aspects of other theoretical insights. A Foucauldian understanding of the interaction between power and knowledge will be applied in order to examine, which discourses make up the 'truth', what is 'thinkable' but also 'criticisable' (Backstrand and Lovbrand, 2019), and which transformations of discourses seem possible, whereas others are silenced and are not able to gain power. Since power is tied to

knowledge productions, I regard discourses as knowledge regimes (Backstrand and Lovbrand, 2007, Adger et al., 2001). In line with the work of Hajer (1995), I want to extend the Foucault-inspired analysis of discourse to include notions of agency. Agents involvement into strategic use of discourse are expressed within the terms of "discourse coalitions" or "knowledge brokers" (Hajer, 1995) or "discursive agents" (Backstrand and Lovbrand, 2007). In my analysis, I want to examine how actors draw on different discourses with the aim to make their ends meet.

On an epistemological level I want to place my research within realism, acknowledging there is a world outside, that exists independently of how we choose to understand the world. However, the social world is discursively constructed, where there are some transformations possible, whereas others seem impossible. This stance is described by Fairclough as a moderate form of social constructivism (Fairclough, 2013).

6 Methodological approach

This chapter presents the methodological approach applied within this study. It is based on the theory of discourse analysis, which has been outlined in the previous chapter. As I have indicated, a clear separation between theory and method is not possible in the field of discourse analysis. However, since the last chapter presented the theories of discourse analysts, that have helped me establish my approach to discourse analysis, this chapter focuses on the application of the established theory onto empirical texts. In this chapter, I will outline the analytical process that I have undergone to obtain the empirical results for my thesis, beginning with a section that is connecting the research questions of this study to the analytical method I am applying on them. This first section is followed by an explanation of the analytical methods, which are the Foucauldian Discourse analysis and CDA, including the coding process. Further, I will present my process on data selection and the final two sections are discussing limitations to the data, the study, on authorship, the quality of discourse analysis and ethical consideration.

6.1 Introducing the analytical approach

Critique on discourse analysis in political ecology remarks that a broad discourse analysis is necessary to understand the broader context of the field of study, however textual analysis is needed to make the analysis more specific (Scoville-Simonds, 2009). While a Foucauldian approach to discourse is providing insights on the broader context, the methods for textual analysis by Fairclough (2003) provide analytical tools to distinguish indicators of discourses within specific texts.

Consequently, I chose to perform a two-step analysis, which combines a broad Foucauldian discourse analysis with a CDA after Norman Fairclough. The following outline of my approach to answer the research questions of this study aims to facilitate the reader's understanding of how this combination of approaches have been integrated into my study.

In the following text I will use the term 'Foucauldian Discourse Analysis' to refer to the broad context-based analysis and 'CDA' to refer to the text-level analysis based on Critical Discourse Analysis. This distinction might cause some confusion for those familiar with CDA, because originally the approach does not only include text-level analysis, but also the analysis of social practice. However, in the case of my study, I limit the use of CDA to the analysis of the textual

analysis tools that have been presented in the previous chapter. The connection to social practice is made through linking the results of the analysis to the Foucauldian Discourse analysis.

As outlined in the Introduction to this thesis, the main objective of my study is to identify how discourses on REDD+ represent land and people. In order to answer this question, I first had to identify discourses on REDD+ and how they relate to land and people. This preliminary theoretical work is presented in Chapter 4. The theoretical work on discourses resulted in three meta-discourses, which can be perceived as perspectives on REDD+, categorised after their attitude towards REDD+. With this preparatory work done, I can now address my analytical questions.

The first analytical research question is: *How are meta-discourses in environmental governance present within texts on the Norwegian-Indonesian REDD+ partnership?* This research question asks about meta-discourses that I established in my theory. Through a deductive approach, the meta-discourses established within the theory section of this study are investigated within the empirical texts. The analysis is conducted by applying Foucauldian Discourse Analysis. In detail, I generated codes based on the characteristics of the meta-discourses. The codes were generated in order to attain results on the occurrence of the three predefined discourses. The results are presented within the first section of the next chapter.

The second question I ask is: *What linguistic features of the meta-discourses can be identified within selected texts on the Norwegian-Indonesian REDD+ partnership?* The question is connected to the first research question as it aims to enrichen the results of the Foucauldian Discourse analysis by applying CDA. I approach this question through the application of the textual analysis tools of CDA described in the previous chapter. The results of the CDA are presented in the second section of the next chapter and further connected to the results of the first research question.

While the first two analytical research questions are based on the preliminary theoretical work done within my thesis, the third research question evolved in the process of my analysis. After engaging with the empirical texts, I found that the meta-discourses on REDD+ are not satisfactory to explain the discourses that are present within REDD+ in the Indonesian-Norwegian REDD+ partnership. Especially the representation of land and people in Indonesia seemed only partially explained through the meta-discourses. These shortcomings in the representations of land and people through the meta-discourses led me to ask the question:

Which local discourses are used within texts about REDD+ and how do they represent land and people? Answering this question, I used a rather inductive approach and elaborated on analytical codes that came up after the familiarisation with the texts. I created specific codes for the themes, that seemed to be unsatisfyingly explained by the meta-discourses. While I had already incorporated the concept of land into the meta-discourses in the theoretical framework (see Section 4.3.1) for the first research question, I paid special attention to the representation of people and land within the discourse during the inductive analysis of discourses treating my third research question. I looked at the representation of land through the lens of access and exclusion and categorisation in terms of statistical picturing, the concepts that are outlined in Chapter 3. The answering of this third question led me to identify three discourses on REDD+ which are presented in the final section of the next chapter. The following table presents an overview of my analytical research questions, which approach I used for answering them and how I coded. The application of approach and coding are further explained in the following section.

Table 6-1: Research Questions of the study with the connected analysis, approach and coding methods

Research Question	**Discourse Analysis**	**Coding**	**Approach**
How are meta-discourses in environmental governance present within texts on the Norwegian-Indonesian REDD+ partnership?	Foucauldian Discourse Analysis	Initial descriptive coding by meta-discourses, followed by analytical coding for themes within the meta-discourses	Deductive approach
What linguistic features of the meta-discourses can be identified within selected texts on the Norwegian-Indonesian REDD+ partnership?	CDA after Norman Fairclough	Coding for each textual analysis tool in separate documents	Deductive approach
Which local discourses are used within texts about REDD+ and how do they represent land and people?	Foucauldian Discourse Analysis	Further development of analytical codes from Question 1	Inductive approach

From the identified meta-discourses, it might seem obvious at first hand, to assume that governmental authorities are likely to use a managerial discourse, whereas critical organisation use a counter discourse. Here, it is important to refer to the theory in a sense that discourse is not necessarily something strategic that actors use to reach their goals. It is rather speaking through actors and they are drawing on different discourses to achieve a certain goal (Hay, 2016). In this sense, I also want to make clear that my approach was not to look for discourses, by choosing a text and categorising the respective text to one discourse. My approach was rather to look for indicators of different discourses within one text. One text can draw on various discourses and is not representative for one single discourse.

6.2 Foucauldian discourse analysis and the coding process

As a first step of the analysis I am applying the Foucauldian analysis, where I analyse a broad body of texts, that treat the topic of REDD+ and local people and their land rights. The analysis is performed with keeping in mind the principles of Foucault's perception of discourses that I have introduced in the previous chapter. There is no universal procedure given for discourse analysis and scholars make use of various degrees of detail and rigour, structuring and explaining their approach to the method. Foucault even opposes a strict procedure, arguing that it would restrict the analysis (Hay, 2016). Authors have nevertheless created guidelines about how to perform discourse analysis, which can help performing the analysis (for example Rose 2001 in Hay 2016).

Foucault's principles are vague to follow, not providing specific guidelines to perform the analysis, with limited experience in discourse analysis from before. This led me to investigate how other Foucauldian discourse analysts had preceded. Without strict guidelines available for how to perform my analysis, I looked to other studies within the field to see which frameworks and indicators they used for their analysis in order to establish my method of analysis. A study on Norwegian climate policy by Tellmann (2012) used indicators for discourse: *Problem definition, the contextual framing of the problem, problem solution, legitimating arguments* and *knowledge base*. Backstrand and Lovbrand (2019) categorised their discursive framework into *problems, modes, subjects* and *ethos* of climate governance. The framework for discourse analysis in political ecology by Scoville-Simonds (2009) suggests looking into *modes of arguments/knowledge, terms of debate* and *problem definition*. The above-mentioned studies

however do not give clear indications on how to identify those indicators within actual text. The authors mention “thinkability and criticizability” but do not offer a detailed framework (Backstrand and Lovbrand, 2019). Based on those frameworks, I identified *problem and framing*, *legitimation*, *actors* and *knowledge base* as the most important indicators of discourse for my research. When reading through and analysing my empirical texts, it helped to keep these indicators in my head as a mental framework. The indicators also provided guidance for writing up my results in the following chapter.

Through the background study in the first phase, I had already gathered a lot of knowledge on the context and themes that could be relevant for the discourse analysis. An explorative analysis (Step 2 in Figure 6-1), where I read a lot of related texts, tried out some discourse analysis tool, finally led me to establish my method and to identify even more relevant texts and themes. The process of selecting the texts is further explained in the section on data selection below. After the selection of texts for the analysis, I conducted a thorough reading of the texts, where I applied descriptive coding to organize the data. During this thorough reading, I already included some analytical codes too, that have popped up in the previous explorative analysis.

Through this first organisational coding, I could identify prominent themes within the texts, which became my analytical codes (Step 3 in Figure 6-1). I re-read the texts and coded the passages with the established analytical codes. Through a repetition of this process, I could identify passages fitting my analytical codes, which I copy-pasted into separate word documents. The categorisation of the analysis helped to structure my results for the write-up that will follow in the next chapter. I applied this coding approach for the first analytical research question and the additional third analytical research question. While I worked with codes that corresponded to the meta-discourses for the first research question, the analysis to answer the third question was more inductive, using a broader variety of analytical codes that came up during the first step of analysis (Step 5 in Figure 6-1). The process is made comprehensible in the left column of Figure 6-1.

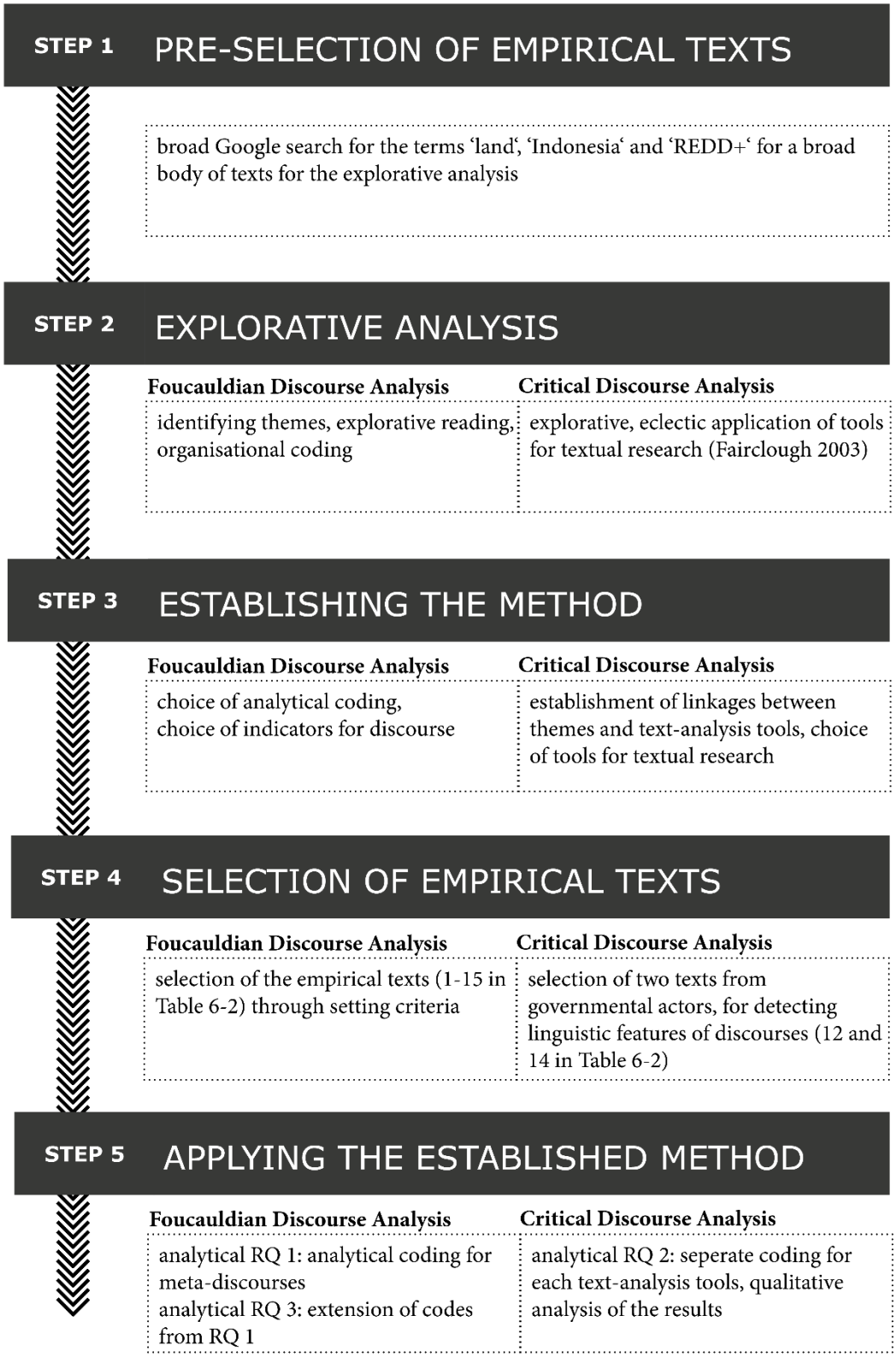

Figure 6-1: Process of selecting data and establishing the methodology

6.3 CDA and the coding process

Having explained the broad topics and themes for my Foucauldian discourse analysis for a large body of texts, I proceed to introduce the second step of my analysis, which is the CDA after Norman Fairclough. During an explorative phase of analysis, the text-level analysis through CDA helped me to determine the above-mentioned indicators for discourse (such as problem framing, legitimation, …) (Step 2 in Figure 6-1) and to establish my method (Step 3 in Figure 6-1). This process of beginning with a broad textual analysis, which is then followed by a detailed textual research is very structured now, that I put my methodological approach on paper, but has taken time to elaborate and is based on an eclectic approach. The right column in Figure 6-1 aims to visualise this process of establishing and applying my method for CDA.

Scholarly work on critical discourse analysis has the tradition to perform eclectic approaches. Discourse can be analysed from the macro scale to the micro scale and the other way around (Bayram, 2010). I started explorative by analysing text on the micro level using various tools for text-level analysis by CDA, orientating myself on the book 'Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research' by Norman Fairclough (2003). I did this to get familiar with my data and the practice of text analysis. At the same time, I was reading a larger body of text and discovered themes, that were interesting for a Foucauldian discourse analysis. Connecting those themes to CDA, helped me to choose on the parameters and text-level analysis tools of CDA, I wanted to include into my study. This approach is appropriate since critical discourse analysis does not suggest a strict methodology and often draws on various contributions from the field (Al Maghlouth, 2017). The text-level analysis tools have been theoretically introduced in the previous chapter on CDA and are the representation of social actors, process types, modality and evaluation.

In terms of coding for CDA (Step 5 in Figure 6-1), I started by a preparation of the texts for a thorough analysis. The texts were copied into word documents, where I separated each phrase inserting line breaks and left space for comments on the sides. On a print-out of the prepared document, I coded each of the 4 themes of CDA. I repeated this process of coding on separate documents for each element of textual analysis. Through this process, I could identify the occurrence of the analysed parameters, which are thoroughly presented in the next chapter. Figure 6-2 shows an example of the coded text. The example is the coded document of my empirical text 14 (see Table 6-2 in the next section) on modality. The same coding technique is

performed in separate documents for representation of social actors, process types and evaluation.

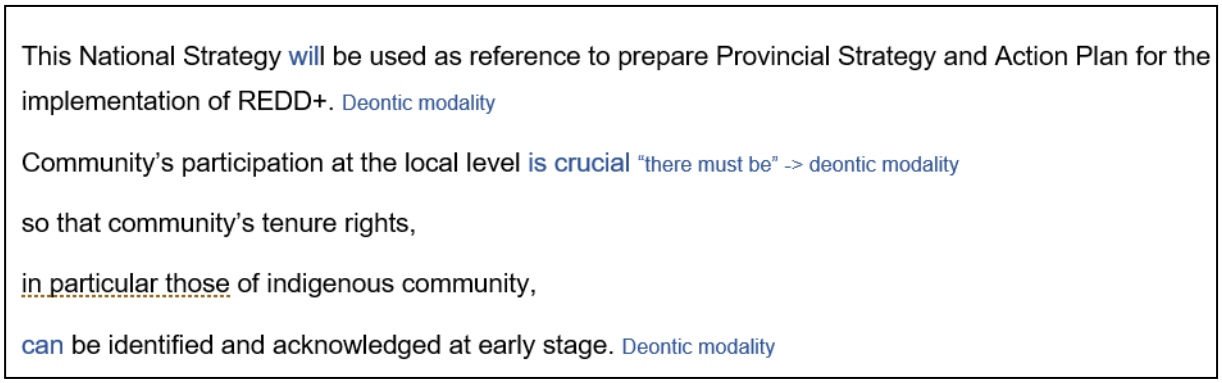

Figure 6-2: Example for the coding process of the textual analysis. To the right, comments are made about modality.

At this point, it is important to mention that the text-level analysis of the 4 presented themes was conducted qualitatively. This means that the aim of the analysis was not to count the abundance of e.g., to stay with Figure 6-2, statements of modality. The analysis focused rather on identifying patterns within the use of modality. The results of this qualitative analysis are thoroughly presented in the second section of the next chapter and finally connected to the results of the Foucauldian Discourse Analysis.

6.4 Data selection

The empirical texts used for the discourse analysis are texts available on the internet. I started with a broad search browsing the search engine Google for articles and contributions using the search terms 'redd+', 'land', 'Indonesia' and 'Norway'. I chose Google, because I was not interested in academic views on the topic, but rather looking for NGO statements, governmental publications and civil society debates. The broad search helped me to create an overview of sources publishing information about the REDD+ Partnership in Norway and Indonesia. These sources included government agencies, online newspapers and NGOs. NGOs range from national NGOs in Norway to international NGOs operating within the topics of conservation, human rights and development. During this initial phase, I read through many documents and articles (Step 1 in Figure 6-1).

After I had settled on my approach to analysing texts (Step 3 in Figure 6-1), I had to make a selection on suitable empirical texts on which to apply my method (Step 4 in Figure 6-1). With the goal to narrow down my empirical material to a manageable body of text, I had to establish

criteria for which texts I will take into my analysis. As my criteria, I set a diversity of publishing sources and the reference to land and actors involved. In terms of publishing sources, I wanted to include articles published by both Norwegian and Indonesian authorities, as well as by critical organisations. Through a variety of sources, I am ensuring that most relevant discourses are existent within the text. Since this study is interested in how land is discursively framed within REDD+, I made it a precondition that there is a reference to land within the texts. In some texts, this reference is explicit, when there is talk about a certain land-related policy. However, in a lot of cases the reference is rather implicit when land is mentioned as a right for people. An important objective of this study is to highlight the diversity of actors and their use of discourses in REDD+ and its implications for land and people. Therefore, I chose texts that include a variety of actors. This allows to shed a light on the discursive practices of different actors and how they refer to each other. I considered this variety of actors especially important for the discourse analysis after Foucault, where I analysed a broader body of texts than for the CDA.

For the Foucauldian discourse analysis, which is less focused on detail on the text-level than CDA, I gathered a large body of texts, that includes a broad variety of views on REDD+ by a large number of actors. Since my work focuses on the implications of REDD+ for local people and their access to land, I looked out for sources that would give local people a voice. The CDA, on the other hand, pays close attention to the linguistic features of a text. Fairclough argues that it is only possible to really understand the social effects of discourses, if it is looked at how people write (Fairclough, 2003). As it has already become apparent through the explanation of the coding process for the CDA, the analysis is more time-consuming and detailed than the Foucauldian discourse analysis. The scope of the thesis only allowed for analysing selected texts for the four linguistic features of CDA. The Foucauldian discourse analysis comprised a larger body of texts than the CDA and the selected texts for each of the analysis methods are described in the following.

I chose an interview series by the REDD+-critical internet platform REDD-monitor as the main body of text for the Foucauldian discourse analysis. The series includes 10 interviews with actors involved in REDD+ in Indonesia. Those actors range from national NGOs, the World Bank and UN-REDD to international donor organisations. The texts were issued in 2012, shortly before the National Strategy of REDD+ of Indonesia was published. The texts are characterized by a similar structure and the topics discussed include the forest moratorium, carbon trading, the actor's position on REDD+ in general, on the Norwegian-Indonesian

agreement and on their expectations for REDD+ in the future (Lang, 2012). Limitations to the selection of these texts are treated in the section authorship and text production below.

The chosen texts for the CDA (in italics in Table 6-2) comprise a speech by the Norwegian Prime Minister and the Foreword of the National Strategy for REDD+ in Indonesia, by the Head of the REDD+ Taskforce. I chose these two texts, because I considered it important for the analysis to pay attention to how decision-makers draw on discourses available. The results of the CDA will be presented in the next chapter along with the general analysis of discourse.

The body of empirical texts comprises 3 additional texts to the ones that have been mentioned already. These are the sources number 1, 13 and 15 in Table 6-2. The three texts have appeared early in my data acquiry process and represent the voices of relevant land-related actors (AMAN and JKPP, Texts 1 and 13 in Table 6-2) and explicitly treat the topic of land access in REDD+. Fitting especially well into the abovementioned criteria for text selection, I decided to include them additionally.

Table 6-2 lists the empirical sources, I used for my discourse analysis, sorted by publishing date. Most of them are interviews published by one NGO, however the list also includes articles and governmental press releases. The two texts on which I have performed the CDA are in italics.

Table 6-2: Selection of texts for the Discourse Analysis

Empirical source number	Genre	Producer	Who speaks?	Publishing date
1	Interview	REDD-monitor (International NGO)	Spokespersons of AMAN (National NGO)	July 2010
2	Interview	REDD-monitor	World Bank	February 2012
3	Interview	REDD-monitor	WALHI (Friends of the Earth Indonesia – national environmental NGO)	March 2012
4	Interview	REDD-monitor	Climate Land Use Alliance (international donor)	March 2012

5	Interview	REDD-monitor	La Via Campesina (farmers NGO), SPI (Indonesian Farmers Union)	March 2012
6	Interview	REDD-monitor	Kemitraan (national NGO)	April 2012
7	Interview	REDD-monitor	Greenpeace	April 2012
8	Interview	REDD-monitor	CIFOR (forest research institution)	April 2012
9	Interview	REDD-monitor	HuMa (national rights NGO)	April 2012
10	Interview	REDD-monitor	FFI (Fauna and Flora International – conservation NGO)	April 2012
11	Interview	REDD-monitor	UN-REDD	April 2012
12	*Foreword*	*Indonesian REDD+ Task Force*	*Chairman of the Task Force*	*September 2012*
13	Interview	DTE Indonesia (international NGO)	Spokesperson JKPP, BRWA (National NGO – Indonesia	December 2012
14	*Speech*	*Regjeringen (Norwegian Government)*	*Erna Solberg (Prime Minister)*	*May 2015*
15	Article	Mongabay (International NGO)	Indonesian environmental journalist	September 2020

Concerning the publishing date of the texts, it might be remarked that, since most of the text are from 2012, there is a lack of timeliness. Countering this concern, I argue that this period was crucial for the implementation of REDD+, where also the publishment of the REDD+ National Strategy happened. Fairclough (2003) claims that the social events around the publication of the text can give insights into circumstances of the time are important in order to understand networks and power. From the study of the broader societal context, I concluded

that it is very relevant to use a body of text from this period. Interestingly, additional texts that are more up to date (for example Text 15 in Table 6-2) and other articles that I have read during my explorative study of texts, do not seem to show a big change in discourses over the time. However, since they are not part of my analysis, this cannot be scientifically proven, but would be an interesting concern for further studies. Additionally, given the fact, that the study of representations of land and people in discourses in REDD+ is novel and has not been performed before, I do not see publishing date as a concern to the data quality.

6.5 Limitations and ethical considerations

Limitations to the study concern authorship and text production of my empirical texts, my limited familiarity of the context, and the availability of sources caused by a language barrier. Apart from discussing those concerns, I will give a brief consideration on ethical implications for textual research.

The first limitation to my study I want to discuss are concerns about authorship and text production that came up during the data selection process. Authorship and text production are theoretically treated in Foucauldian and Critical Discourse Analysis. Hay points out, that authorship is an important component of analysing texts. When performing a Foucauldian discourse analysis, one must be aware, who created a text, on what occasion it was written and what the author's position to the topic is (2016). A lot of the empirical texts used for my analysis are published by a REDD+-critical NGO, a fact that must be kept in mind when performing the analysis. Apart from the authorship, the intended audience of texts should be reflected on, when performing an analysis (Hay, 2016). As in Foucauldian discourse analysis, text production and authorship play an important role in Critical Discourse Analysis. An important part of the analysis of text is to reflect on assumptions and authorships in the text, which can give insights into how meaning is constructed (Fairclough, 2003). Regarding the body of empirical texts analysed, most of them are produced by the same publisher, REDD-monitor, who is explicitly very critical to REDD+. The position of the text producer has implications on the representation of actors. Therefore, I figured it to be necessary to stay aware about the position of the interviewer and his possible interpretation of what has been said. Overall, I found the variety of actors speaking through the interviews and the similarity of structure that the interview series provided outweighing the critical point of the text production. This lack of variety in text production was only consolidated by the limitation of availability of data, which I will discuss now.

As it is outlined in the introductory chapter of this thesis, this study was previously planned to include a field visit to Indonesia, where a qualitative fieldwork conducting interviews with local actors would have been combined with a research stay of several months in Indonesia. Due to travel restrictions caused by the coronavirus pandemic, the plan had to be changed to a desktop study from Europe. This previous plan would have provided me with insights on local particularities of the Indonesian context and the extended research stay would have familiarised me with the context of study. During my study, I keep emphasising how important those local complexities are for a sound REDD+ implementation and still I am constrained from experiencing them individually. I therefore see it as a limitation to my study that I did not have the possibility to personally engage with the context I am studying. However, through a thorough and intense review of literature on local complexities in REDD+, I did my best to gather knowledge on the local situation remotely.

Coming along with the changed research conditions, another limitation faced during my study was the availability of English language sources as empirical data. Many Indonesian national NGO's and national governmental institutions only distribute their information in Indonesian, a language which I do not speak. This restricted me from accessing primary information from these sources and forced me to depend on secondary sources, like interviews by international NGOs that were published in English language. This might have further created a bias towards international NGOs (like REDD-monitor) and information addressed at international actors. I acknowledge that my data could have been more diverse without this language barrier. Nevertheless, I consider the empirical texts that I have analysed rich in information by different stakeholders. I tried to meet this limitation by a rigorous empirical data acquiry, that was more difficult and limited through the barrier.

After discussing the key limitations of my study, I want to give some ethical considerations on textual research. Since I did not have any direct contact with my study subjects and based my method on textual analysis, ethical considerations are limited, compared to other qualitative approaches such as ethnography. I will briefly discuss the considerations of authorative reading and unobtrusive research, which are components of a textual analysis.

Authorative reading is mentioned by Hay as an ethical concern in textual analysis. As a researcher, I am privileged to criticize the writing of others through authorative reading. Texts cannot be neutral, but are influenced by different discourses, and not all meaning within a text is intended by an author (Hay, 2000). Looking for ambiguities and inconsistencies with my

empirical texts, I tried to stay aware of my subordinate position as a person analysing, which does not get into contact with the authors of the text.

The lack of contact to people producing text makes my analysis an unobtrusive method. Unobtrusive research is a form of data collection, where, as a researcher, I do not influence the production of data. There is no interaction between researcher and the subjects producing the texts for analysis. Evidence of discourses is generated through text production which is published independently from my research process, and I can use as a data source. An advantage of unobtrusive research is that the researcher does not have to consider ethical consequences of their interaction with research subjects. Also, it is a low-cost, accessible and independent method, which is very suitable for conducting research in times of pandemics and uncertainty (Blackstone, 2018).

6.6 Quality of discourse analysis

Quantitative research, with the concepts of validity and reliability, aims for quantifiable results by using measuring techniques. Babaee et al. (2013) argue that the two concepts do not have the same place in qualitative research, since it acknowledges the subjectivity of the researcher within the research process. However, they still are useful as concepts to examine the rigour of a study. I will reflect on the two concepts importance for qualitative research and discourse analysis and further introduce other means to ensure the quality of discourse analysis.

Within a common understanding of science, validity comprises the results actually displaying what is measured (Middleton, 2019). In qualitative research, validity can also be understood within the term of trustworthiness (Guba, 1981, Babaee et al., 2013). Other concepts, replacing the term of validity are purposefulness, awareness of assumptions and biases, rigour and coherence (Babaee et al., 2013). Internal validity of the study is pursued by a triangulation of methods, using two different approaches of discourse analysis (Foucauldian Discourse Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis after Norman Fairclough). However, the results cannot really be generalized, but make a contribution to studies on the specific case of the Norwegian-Indonesian REDD+ partnership. By developing theory and testing the theory with empirical data, a contribution to the case is made.

Some scholars argue that since there is no validity without reliability, a valid study already makes a reliable study (Babaee et al., 2013). Reliability refers to the consistency of results if a study is conducted another time (Middleton, 2019). Discourse analysis acknowledges the subjectivity of the researcher. Through its epistemological position being constructivism (in the case of Fairclough a moderate version) the assumption that there is no single truth renders the demand for only one valid result void (Babaee et al., 2013).

Even though, the concepts of validity and reliability can be questioned for qualitative analysis and discourse analysis especially, I aimed for quality within my research through a consistency in analysis and coding. Through going back and forth between my theory and the empirical data, I pursued rigour in performing my analysis. My positionality and my background, which are outlined in the Preface of this work and the limitations, which are discussed in the section above, are made transparent and are important to consider when evaluating the study.

7 Discourses on REDD+, land and people

The following chapter contains the results of a discourse analysis of REDD+ in the Indonesian-Norwegian context with a focus on land and people. First, framed within a political ecology, I performed a Foucauldian discourse analysis with the goal to investigate the appearance meta-discourses on environmental governance within empirical texts on REDD+ in Indonesia. Secondly, I performed a critical discourse analysis after Norman Fairclough in order to connect discursive characteristics to linguistic features. The results of the CDA are presented in the second section of the chapter and subsumed with a connection of linguistic features to the meta-discourses. The third part of this chapter moves away from the theoretically established meta-discourses and focuses on specific discourses on REDD+ in Indonesia and their representation of land and people. I extended my Foucauldian discourse analysis to identify local discourses on REDD+ which could create a clearer picture on the discourses present within the Norwegian-Indonesian REDD+ partnership. Through an approach that is sensitive to scales and actors, I put special emphasis on how people and land are referred to within the discourse. Throughout the chapter, I put the 'speaker' of the empirical source within italic brackets in order to explicitly connect my results to the empirical texts. More information on the respective empirical texts can be found in Table 6-2.

7.1 Appearance of identified meta-discourses within the texts

When I performed my background study on discourses in environmental governance and performed my academic literature review on discourses, I identified three meta-discourses, which are outlined and described in Chapter 4. After identifying those discourses, which differ in their attitude to REDD+, I decided to use discourse analysis to investigate, how those meta-discourses appear within empirical texts on REDD+, land and people in Indonesia. The first of the three discourses I looked for within the empirical texts is a positive, managerial discourse, which includes the discourses of ecological modernization and green governmentality as well as a global environmental management discourse. It is suggested that these discourses were dominant in the establishment of the REDDD+ framework (Jodoin, 2019, Adger et al., 2001). Secondly, I looked for a moderate, reform-oriented discourse that includes social and ecological requirements in order to have REDD+ being inclusive and fair (Backstrand and Lovbrand, 2006). Finally, I was looking for a critical counter discourse, that rejects REDD+ on the base

of climate justice and points out the framework's detrimental effects on local people, who are utilized for transnational interest (Jodoin, 2019, Adger et al., 2001). For a reminder of the three discourses, I recommend to go to back to Figure 4-2. The appearance of those three meta-discourses are presented in the following section.

7.1.1 The positive, managerial discourse

The identified positive, managerial discourse comprises features of the ecological modernisation, green governmentality and global environmental management discourses (Jodoin, 2019, Adger et al., 2001). It is based on the premise that economic growth and business as usual is compatible with the protection and conservation of the environment (Hajer, 1995). The discourse endorses a win-win outcome of REDD+ for all actors involved. Apart from this compatibility and the win-win logic, I will address the themes of the strong reliance on (global) frameworks (Backstrand and Lovbrand, 2006), the scientific knowledge base, the importance of the 'carbon' concept and financing. After discussing these themes, I will address who mostly uses the discourse and subsume with a short summary.

In Indonesia nationally, REDD+ is going to integrate economic development, reduced emissions, governance of forest and lands and a pro-sustainability shift on the side of businesses. The adaption of the win-win logic within the REDD+ Taskforce is obvious within their statement:

> "REDD+ is the synergy between economic growth and emission reduction. REDD+ is about people's prosperity. REDD+ is about change." (*REDD+ Taskforce*)

Economic growth is a paradigm, which is not scrutinized. Change, the reduction of emission and people's wellbeing can all happen within it.

If only the right frameworks are in place, climate change as well as local conflicts can be solved. On the international level, it is the sustainable development agenda, that must build strong frameworks that can support sustainable development *(Erna Solberg)*. Other indicators for enablers are the Letter of Intent and strategy documents *(REDD+ Taskforce; UN-REDD)*. To create these frameworks is a responsibility of international organizations, such as the United Nations, but also 'global leaders' more generally are addressed *(Erna Solberg)*.

The success of REDD+ is legitimized through documents, strategies and mechanisms that are put in place. The discourse suggests that the infrastructure that is built through strategies, documents and measuring mechanisms are the indicators for success. The right measurement

techniques in place are a precondition for success, because success is only achieved if we can measure it *(Erna Solberg, REDD+ Taskforce, UN-REDD, World Bank)*.

The knowledge base for the discourse is scientific knowledge. Science is needed to put in place mechanisms for measuring reduced emissions, for putting in place accurate maps for a moratorium and to detect potential and effectiveness of investments *(UN-REDD, World Bank)*. When critical actors draw on the managerial discourse, they refer to this claim for measurability. Within a national human rights organization, the following suggestion was put forward:

> "We propose a process that safeguards should be verified. So it is a way to establish accountability. And a way to avoid minimizing or undermining the standards that are proposed." *(HuMa)*

The statement shows that concepts, such as social safeguards, that are not as easily measurable within scientific categories, do not have the same power within the discourse. This dilemma has also been observed in previous research connected to the 'technocratic logic of green governmentality' (Backstrand and Lovbrand, 2006). Only by putting safeguards within the category of "measurable outcome", they can gain legitimation within the discourse.

Climate change is the core problem, that REDD+ addresses. Addressing climate change is done through drawing on the concept of carbon. The connection between climate change and carbon legitimizes the framing of forests as carbon sinks and development as sustainable when it is 'low carbon'. Land and forest use can be categorized in terms of 'high and low carbon landscapes' *(REDD+ Taskforce; HuMa; CLUA)*.

Financing of REDD+ activities is given an important role in the discourse. These finances are delivered through grant funding by international donors, international institutions, such as the UN or the World Bank, and most importantly for Indonesia, through the bilateral partnership with Norway *(World Bank; CLUA)*. Financing mechanisms are expected to relieve poverty and therefore contribute to a positive economic development from the local to the national scale in Indonesia. Funding, however, does not only lead to poverty reduction, as this statement by the World bank shows:

> "The World Bank was able to support conservation and environmental awareness efforts through grant funding from the Multi Donor Fund for Aceh and Nias, the Global Environment Facility and NGO partnerships" *(World Bank)*

This suggests that through funding, also environmental issues, such as awareness and conservation can be tackled. An implication of this is, that if only enough money from developed countries and institutions flow to Indonesia, all problems of development and environment can be solved at once, which once more points to the compatibility of economic growth and environmental protection that is emphasised in the discourse.

I found that the managerial discourse is often rhetorically used by international actors, such as the UN-REDD, the World Bank and donor organizations (e.g. CLUA). The Norwegian and the Indonesian government use it too *(REDD+ Taskforce; Erna Solberg)*. Civil society organizations and NGOs use it rarely. Within texts that draw on the discourse, however, elements of a more moderate and reform-oriented discourses are always existent too.

To sum up, the use of the positive, managerial discourse within texts that treat the Norwegian-Indonesian REDD+ partnership suggests that if only the right measures are taken, REDD+ can solve the issue of deforestation, of economic development, land-based conflicts and people's rights. The dominance of this win-win paradigm resolves in the discourse silencing possible problems, that could put the harmony and solvability into question. Mostly, problems are not even mentioned, but if they are, a possibility for a solution is at reach.

7.1.2 The moderate, reform-oriented discourse

A reform-oriented discourse on REDD+ is aiming at including socio-ecological considerations within established frameworks and agendas. Buzzwords for the discourse align with buzzwords of *civic environmentalism* and are stakeholders, participation, rights, FPIC and safeguards (Backstrand and Lovbrand, 2006). Themes that came up within my empirical texts, I am going to address, are adaptions to the scheme, inclusion of stakeholders and resulting changes in power distribution, the 'FPIC' concept and good will. Main critique points and funding are also themes that are taken up within the empirical texts. After presenting those, I will present, which actors use the discourse combined with a summary of the discourse.

International and national NGOs that are positive to the implementation of REDD+ in Indonesia but wish to change some aspects draw on the moderate, reform-oriented discourse to vow for adaptions. Greenpeace Indonesia stated:

> "Basically, we are supporting REDD, but there are also some conditions for this support. These conditions include that REDD should [include] indigenous people and local communities, benefit biodiversity, and leakage should be avoided, so that companies don't transfer deforestation and emissions from one place to another." *(Greenpeace)*

The strategy applied is to take what is there and improve it to meet conditions. Whereas it seems in this case that the actor's conditions for a desirable REDD+ are including social as well as ecological benefits, other actors use the discourse to vow for their special interests, which range from land rights to good governance. The most mentioned considerations within the analysis are human rights. Within the domain of human rights, indigenous rights and indigenous people's access to forest land is the main concern *(Kemitraan; AMAN)*.

Terms like multi-stakeholder approach and stakeholder involvement are popular within the discourse *(Kemitraan; HuMa; FFI)*. The degree and perceptions of what stakeholder involvement should include differ, as it has also been observed in previous studies on discourses in environmental governance, which talk about different degrees of radicality within discourses, from light to moderate (Backstrand and Lovbrand, 2006). Within what I would call a rather weak version of the discourse, that is drawn on, the terms 'consultation' and 'learning events' are used to refer to the involvement of stakeholders *(World Bank)*. "Voices that must be heard and included" is a phrase that is used several times referring to local people, referring to their knowledge and the importance of hearing them *(Erna Solberg; Kemitraan)*.

Stakeholder involvement, consultation and inclusion in decision-making is regarded as way to distribute power more evenly. The inviting of civil actors into the debate increases their knowledge and therefore also their power within the debate:

> "To put it simply, when people are in the same room, at least they have, to some degree, the same level of knowledge. So it avoids someone over-powering the other party who has simply no information." *(Kemitraan)*

The statement shows that the discourse states knowledge and the level of information as an enabler in participations. When knowledge is available to an actor, their power increases. It is not defined what degree of participation is pursued within the statements that refer to participation.

A stronger form of local inclusion is FPIC, which is a concept that should guarantee acceptance of local communities before projects are implemented (Springer and Retana, 2014). The concept is used as an argument for pointing out positive stakeholder involvement *(FFI; UN-REDD)*. However, the opinions on how it should exactly be performed and the level of inclusions differ *(WALHI; FFI; UN-REDD)*.

Common critique points, which are more pronounced within a critical counter discourse, but are still expressed within this moderate, reform-oriented discourse are the framing of forests as carbon sinks *(HuMa; Greenpeace)*. It is argued that this framing is limiting the ecosystems diverse functions, such as its importance for biodiversity and as a livelihood resource for local communities. Another concern about the carbon dependency includes leakage *(Greenpeace)*. An often-stated solution that includes socio-ecological considerations into the narrow framing of forests is community-based forest management *(Kemitraan; HuMa; FFI)*.

In terms of financing, the market-dependency of REDD+ is criticized. Public funding is promoted as a safer solution for financing than market solutions *(WALHI; Greenpeace)*. To support the argument, it is mentioned several times, that many REDD+ instruments and projects are already in place, without a carbon market *(CLUA; Greenpeace; Kemitraan)*.

Of the identified meta-discourses, I could find features of the moderate, reform-oriented discourse of REDD+ most abundantly in almost every text on REDD+. This discourse is most wholesomely adapted by international and national NGOs that are positive to the implementation of REDD+ in Indonesia but wish to induce some changes in their interest *(CLUA; Kemitraan)*. Actors that were most positive towards REDD+ and followed a strong managerial approach drew on the discourse to make their arguments more inclusive *(Erna Solberg; REDD+ Taskforce; World Bank)*. Local proponents of REDD+ use the discourse to harmonize the international REDD+ framework with local particularities *(Kemitraan; Greenpeace)*. The commitment on the international level and by Norway and Indonesia are often mentioned positively and actors praise commitment by governmental institutions and the President to a more sustainable agenda *(CIFOR; CLUA; AMAN; Kemitraan)*. Actors with a very critical approach to REDD+ draw on the discourse, to point out which social and ecological components the framework would need to be acceptable *(HuMa; Via campesina; AMAN; WALHI)*.

7.1.3 The critical counter discourse

Within the critical counter discourse, there is a strong resistance against REDD+ and its mechanisms (Jodoin, 2019). The discourse is strongly suspicious towards the international involvement within Indonesia, the promises of the national government and its relationship to the industry *(HuMa; WALHI; Via campesina)*. Apart from its resistance against REDD+, it shows features of a populist discourse on the deforestation topic, which frames forest-dependent communities as heroes, who are the only ones who can save the forest with their practices, but

also as victims by villains (corporations and international interest), who put them at risk of losing their livelihoods (Adger et al., 2001). The themes that came up within this counter discourse are criticism against international involvement, consumption patterns and corporations. Carbon rights and the carbon market, which have already been mentioned as a concern in a moderate, reform-oriented discourse are more pronounced within this discourse. After presenting the themes, I will discuss who uses the discourse in texts on the Norwegian-Indonesian REDD+ partnership.

Within the discourse, international involvement is distrusted (Jodoin, 2019). The developed world is criticized for its consumption patterns and modes of production. It is pointed out several times, that industrialized countries have an ecological debt to developing countries, because their development was made at the cost and through the exploitation of resources of developing countries. Their emission reduction through REDD+ is perceived and displayed as a way of offsetting their emissions. That each country should take care of their own emissions and reduce them domestically, is an argument to reject REDD+. Norway is criticized for its dependence on oil, which makes it impossible for the country to reduce emissions domestically and subsequently leads the country to involve themselves into the climate politics of Indonesia *(WALHI; Via campesina; HuMa).*

On a national base, the Indonesian government is criticized for the privileges that it gives to businesses and international actors. The discourse remarks that actors that have money are favoured by the government. Carbon rights and carbon markets are strongly opposed because of the dangers of leakage *(Greenpeace)*. The commodification of carbon leads to landgrabbing and expropriation and must therefore be opposed *(AMAN)*. The reason for deforestation and degradation are corporations, which are favoured by the government. Corporations and international actors are opposed to local and indigenous communities (Adger et al., 2001).

The discourse embraces a strong identification with indigenous and local people's rights, putting their wellbeing into paramount importance. Indigenous people are clearly framed as the "guardians of nature", who know best how to preserve a forest sustainably. *(AMAN; WALHI; Via campesina)*. With local people in the focus, their rights to land and sustainable livelihoods is a precondition for environmental protection. The campaign "No Rights, No REDD+" is an example of how local groups reject to serve international interest in climate and environmental topics before their rights are not secured. The centring of people is in contrast to the need of institutional environmental protection. A human rights organisation states:

> "It's strange that they protect the birds, they protect the animals, but they don't really care about the people that live in that area." *(AMAN)*

The way in which the governments or international frameworks want to protect the environment or mitigate climate change is framed as harmful to local people and must be opposed. The real cause for a degradation of the environment are corporations and developed countries. Local practices are consonant with sustainable ecosystems and therefore the solution to all the problems that REDD+ is planning to address.

The discourse is mostly drawn on by critical, national NGOs, who see REDD+ as a threat to the people they are advocating for *(HuMa; WALHI; Via campesina).* Actors who show more openness to REDD+ also draw on it, to emphasize the complexity of the framework and to point out the importance of the inclusion of rights and safeguards *(Kemitraan; Greenpeace; AMAN)*.

7.2 Investigating the meta-discourses through CDA

In addition to a broad, Foucauldian discourse analysis, it was my objective to perform a text-level Critical Discourse Analysis. Through this analysis I expected to detect discursive structures within linguistic features of text.

I analysed two texts published by Indonesian and Norwegian governmental institutions. First, I will present the texts, give a short summary and comment on the context of text production. The presentation of the texts is followed by the results of a qualitative analysis of text along the parameters that were presented in Chapter 5. Those are the representation of social actors and the process types that are connected to them and the analysis of modality and evaluation in the text. First, I will present my findings to a Speech by the Norwegian Prime Minister Erna Solberg in 2015, followed by my findings to the Foreword of the REDD+ National Strategy, by the Task Force Head Kuntoro Mangkusubroto (Empirical Source Nr. 12 and 14 in Table 6-2). The presentation of the results is followed by a summary, where the results of the CDA are connected to the results of the Foucauldian discourse analysis of the identified meta-discourses.

7.2.1 Presentation of the texts

This section will present the two texts analysed, providing a short summary and the context of the text production, starting with a speech by the Norwegian Prime Minister Erna Solberg. The speech by Erna Solberg was published in May 2015 on the occasion of a visit of the MDG (Millennium Development Goals) Advocacy group to Indonesia and Vietnam. The text starts by mentioning protests for climate action. Further, UN Goals and UN Forums are introduced,

specifically on forests and indigenous people. It goes on by describing and defining indigenous people. This description is followed by some claims for inclusion of indigenous people into planning. The speech continues with the account of the mission to Indonesia, specifically the encounter with an indigenous tribe is described and a meeting with business leaders. Climate change is brought up and its effects are described, followed by suggested solutions to fight it. The speech ends with claims about what we need to do for a sustainable planet and a quotation of a philosopher about connectivity.

The context of text production was the Prime Ministers visit to Indonesia and Vietnam within her role as the co-chair of the MDG Advocacy Group. This group was established in 2010 by UN General Secretary Ban Ki-moon. The members of the group comprise heads of states and prominent persons. The aim of the group was to help build political will and global action, to reach the Millennium Development Goals (Office of the Prime Minister, 2014). The MDG Agenda ended in 2015 and was superseded by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (WHO, 2018). The SDGs make up 17 goals for sustainable development and were approved in September 2015 (SDG Fund, n.d.).

Within the second analysed text, the Foreword of the National Strategy of Indonesia, REDD+ is explained and the implementation on the national and the subnational level in Indonesia is presented. The pillars on which the strategy is based are mentioned. Further implications for business and people are listed and the implementation of REDD+ discussed. It ends with definitions about what REDD+ is. This Foreword is in the introductory part of Indonesia's National Strategy for REDD+.

The REDD+ National Strategy of Indonesia was implemented in September 2012. It is a 50-page document, containing an Introduction and the Strategy of Indonesia to implement REDD+, which is based on 5 pillars. The pillars comprise a vision, the development of an institutional system, policies and regulation, strategies, changes to work paradigms and culture and stakeholder participation. The document further treats the implementation phases of the strategy and ends with a conclusion. The foreword, within the introductory part, is written by Kuntoro Mangkusubroto, the Chairman of the Task Force for the preparation of the strategy (Indonesian REDD Task Force, 2012). The development of a national strategy is foreseen in the Cancun Agreement. It is within the measures to be taken in the Phase 1 of the phased approach in REDD+. The national strategy is part of 'Capacity Building and Institutional Arrangements' (UN-REDD, 2011).

7.2.2 Representation of social actors

After the short presentation of the texts and their contexts, this section is presenting the findings of the above presented texts in terms of social actors. I identified social actors within the texts and analysed them on the parameters of *exclusion/inclusion, suppression/backgrounding, activation/passivation, nomination/classification* and their *grammatical role* in the text. First, the actors of the speech are presented, followed by the actors of the foreword.

From the analysis of social actors within the speech by Erna Solberg, I could distinguish three main actors: First, the United Nations, secondly, an actor, which I will call 'global citizen' and thirdly, indigenous people. For visualisation, the actors are listed in Table 7-1. I assigned the MDG Advocacy Group to the United Nations as the same social actor, because I associate them to the same objectives. The United Nations are mostly named and the MDG Advocacy Group is either named or referred to with the pronoun use of 'I' and 'we'.

I call the second actor 'global citizen', which is used once to indicate who is meant by the pronoun use 'we'. The use of the term 'global citizen' refers to the Global Citizen Earth Day, which the text refers to in the beginning.

> "We must each do our part as global citizens to ensure that we use the opportunity of the new sustainable development agenda [...]"

Apart from this one time that the actor is named, it is referred to as the collective pronoun 'we'. The grammatical role of the global citizen is the participant in a process, the one who acts. The 'we' is activated.

The third actor 'indigenous people' is constructed as being part of forest-dependent people and often referred to within categorisation, them being, for example 'the most vulnerable', 'the world's poorest people' or 'communities'. Once, in an example, a specific indigenous community is named. As a pronoun, the actor is often referred to as 'they'. The actor is often passivated and addressed with the possessive pronoun 'their'. The attributes that the possessive pronoun is connected to are for example 'their worldview', 'their biological adaptation' or 'their beliefs'.

From the opposing pronoun use of 'we' and 'them', a clear distinction is drawn between the global citizen, who is in an active, participant role and indigenous people, who are often passivated, referred to in pronouns, and having their attributes acting upon them. The following phrase shows the dichotomy between the two actors:

> "We must protect those who have lived in harmony with our planet, protecting it for our future."

It is in the responsibility of the 'we' to protect indigenous people, who have protected the planet for 'our' future. Within the dichotomy of 'we' and 'them', it seems natural to assume that 'our' future refers to the future of the global citizen.

The parts of the texts, which refer to threats to the planet and forests especially show a suppression and backgrounding of actors. Climate change as a threat to the planet is not connected to an actor. As threats to forests, plantation development, mining and logging are mentioned, which lead to degradation of the ecosystem. The processes are nominalised and lack of an actor, which is suppressed. I argue for suppression as the form of exclusion, even though there is one reference in the text to the actor 'palm oil business leaders'. Within this reference, the actor is granted a willingness to shift the production to more sustainability. Apart from these suppressions, exclusion is not a very common feature of the text. There are several cases of backgrounding, which can be attributed to the objective of reducing redundancy.

The findings of social actors within the Foreword of the National REDD+ Strategy, can also be grouped into three groups. First, Indonesia as a country and relevant sectors within its government related to REDD+ are mentioned. I group those actors within a governmental group, where I also situate the Task Force for issuing the National Strategy. The second group includes relevant parties and stakeholders, including the industry. Finally, a third group of actors is called 'the people' and 'communities' within the text and refers to the civil society.

Exclusion of actors through nominalisation is a dominant feature of the text. There is occasional mentioning of actors, which is predominantly done within the object position or within possessive pronouns. Suppression and backgrounding of actors are both present.

Indonesia is referred to named, as well as classified as a 'developing country' in the beginning of the text. In the succession of the text, it is backgrounded and nominalised through 'national interest'. The 'forest-related sector' and 'other sectors' that are classified actors in the text are grouped into the same group because they belong to the government. Another actor that is suppressed is the Task Force, who issued the National Strategy. It is once indirectly mentioned within the pronoun use of 'I' referring to the author, which is a part of the Task Force.

Within the second group, the actors 'stakeholders', and 'relevant parties' are named. The parties are not specified and with this classification, also governmental parties could be meant.

Stakeholders and parties can be found in nominalised clauses and are often backgrounded. When the actors are included, it happens in the context of collaboration and synergy. Within the nominalisation ‘business as usual approach’, the ‘industry’ actor is brought up, but the actor is suppressed and not mentioned within the text. None of these actors are named, but all classified and found within the object position.

The third group of actors, the civil society, is included into the text only through possessive pronouns and pronoun use. They are classified within the terms ‘people’, and ‘community’ which is in the context of land tenure rights once specified to ‘indigenous communities’. The actor ‘community’ is attributed to the process of participation. The actor ‘people’ is connected to ‘prosperity’ and ‘welfare’ through pronouns.

Because of the excessive use of nominalisation in the National Strategy, it was hard to make out, which actors are involved within the text through the analysis. The analysis of process types, where I tried to connect the processes present to actors, helped to get a clearer picture of which actors are implied. The results of this analysis are presented in the next section. However, through the obfuscation of actors that happened through the nominalisation, some processes might have been connected to different actors by a different analyst.

7.2.3 Process types

This section presents the process types that I could identify within the texts and connects them to the social actors, that are identified above. Again, the process type analysis of the speech is followed by the process type analysis of the foreword.

Within the speech, the global citizen actor and the United Nations are mostly connected to material processes, which make up the majority of processes within the text. The process verbs that are connected to the actors, imply actions. Examples are to ‘to act’, ‘to join’ or ‘to protect’. A wider variety of process types are connected to the actor indigenous people. The main process types were material, relational and existential. Material processes are ‘to make (a certain amount of money)’, ‘to use’ and ‘to generate’. Relational processes are mostly attributive, connecting the actor to an attribute. The attributes they are connected to are for example ‘vulnerable’, ‘outsiders’ but also ‘balance’ and ‘harmony with nature’.

The Foreword of the National Strategy also shows predominantly material processes. Apart from that, there is an existential, a mental and a verbal process. Through the excessive use of nominalisation, actors are often passivated, which results in them being connected to passive material processes.

Actors performing material processes in the texts include the 'governmental' actor group and the 'stakeholder and parties' group. The civil society actor group is only referred to in the possessive pronoun position and is not connected to any processes. Only the nominalisation 'communities participation' might imply that they are involved in the process of participation.

> "Community's participation at the local level is crucial so that community's tenure rights, in particular those of indigenous community, can be identified and acknowledged at early stage."

Within this statement, one can observe that the actor that is mentioned within the nominalisation is not connected to the process within the sentence: The material process of 'identification' and the mental process of 'acknowledgement' of the sentence are referring to an actor that is excluded within the sentence. The named actor, the 'community' is not granted to take the action.

I created Table 7-1 in order to summarize and compress the results on Representations within the two empirical texts. For the 6 identified actor groups, the table shows the characteristics of representation and the process types that are connected to them.

Table 7-1: Actors within the texts and their associated representation and verbal processes

Text	Main actors	Forms of representation	Process types
Speech	United Nations	Named, activated pronoun 'we'	Material
	Global citizens	Activated, pronoun 'we'	Material
	Indigenous people	(possessive) pronoun 'they'(/'their') passivated	Material, relational, existential
Foreword	Indonesia	Named, classified, nominalised, backgrounded	Material
	Stakeholders and 'parties'	Classified, object position	Material
	Civil society	(possessive) pronouns	No processes (through object position)

7.2.4 Modality

Modality gives insights into speaker's subjectivity. I identified epistemic and deontic modality statements within the texts, which I further divided according to their level of commitment. The following section reveals commitments to truth (epistemic modality) and to action (deontic modality) within first, the speech and secondly, the foreword.

The speech shows a high level of epistemic modality. The grammatical mood is declarative, which is marked by statements that show a high commitment to truth. There are no hypothetical or interrogative clauses. No markers of modality or adverbials that could reflect a questioning of the truth statements could be observed.

The text provided more varied results in terms of deontic modality, which refers to the commitment to act. There are several statements of deontic modality showing high commitment. Those are marked clearly with the modal verb 'must', but in certain cases they are less explicitly marked by referring to the word 'need', either in verbal or noun form. The deontic modality statements are connected to the global citizen actor and demand action. Some of them are connected to the United Nations.

Within the National Strategy Foreword, there are statements of epistemic and deontic modality. Both types of modality occur at different levels of commitment. Epistemic modality is dominated by factual statements with a high commitment to truth. The grammatical mood of the text is mainly declarative. Through the marker of the modal verb 'may' there are two statements of a lower level of truth commitment, indicating uncertainty. These statements refer to a possible shock for national interest caused by REDD+ implementation and the possibility of the need for policy adjustments.

Deontic modality statements occur in high, medium and low level of commitment. Low commitment statements are marked by the modal verb 'can'. These refer to the possibility of implementing REDD+ and to the possibility of identification and acknowledgement of tenure rights (see citation in the section above). Medium level commitment modality is marked though the phrase 'intend to'. High level commitments to action are marked through the use of the verbs 'to require', 'to call on' and the word 'crucial'. These statements give indications about what must be done.

7.2.5 Evaluation

When texts are analysed for evaluative language, more insights about the position of the speaker can be made. Desired and undesired consequences can be identified (Fairclough, 2003). The analysis for evaluative language of the speech, is again followed by the analysis of the foreword.

The evaluation of the speech comprises deontic statements on what should be done, evaluative statements and other statements that include markers of positivity or undesirability. Markers for positive statements were for example 'success', 'promising' and 'vital'. There is a higher abundance of desirable happenings than undesirable ones. Building on the statements of deontic modality, an emphasis is put on action for a more sustainable planet. This includes the shift towards sustainable production, strong frameworks and a refocusing in development planning. This can be achieved through listening to people's voices, improved tenure security and a wholesome approach that connects people and forests. In referring to the actor 'indigenous people', a live in balance and harmony with nature are desirable characteristics of the actor. Undesired is, that development planning includes unfinished business, which must be addressed. Threats to forests and livelihoods such as mining and deforestation are connotated negatively. There is an emphasis on the fact that everyone must be included, and that it is undesirable to leave someone behind.

To identify evaluative statements in the Foreword, I again considered all statements of deontic modality. Other markers for an evaluative language were for example 'opportunity', 'to promote' and 'to trigger'. The text uses deontic modality a lot to indicate which actions are desirable for a smooth implementation of the National Strategy of REDD+. There is only one mentioning of an undesired consequence that might occur, which is a shock for national interest and the society if the transition does not happen gradually. Desirable actions and effects of the strategy are numerous. The primary desire is to reform land tenure and forest governance, which is addressed again later and connected to the securing of tenure rights of indigenous communities and community participation in general. The collaboration between sectors and synergy of parties is mentioned several times as a desirable outcome. Inclusive and transparent implementation, the preparation of provincial strategies and action plans and policy adjustments to create an untroubled implementation are strived for. Paradigm shifts towards pro-sustainability and new work ethics by stakeholders, who are using the incentives of the strategy are wished for. In general, it is sustainable forest ecosystems, forest economy and people's welfare and prosperity that are considered desirable for the implementation of the National Strategy.

7.2.6 Connecting linguistic features to the meta-discourses

After the Foucauldian discourse analysis, I performed a critical discourse analysis on the text level. Through the broad Foucauldian analysis, I had already identified which discourses are mostly drawn on by different actors and figured out the themes, which the discourses pick up. The CDA allowed me to gain further insights into how actors are represented. The analysis of modality gave me deeper insights into knowledge claims. Analysing the texts for evaluation helped me to distinguish desirable and undesirable happenings within a discourse. In this following section, I will connect the detected linguistic features of discourses to the above identified meta-discourses. First, I will position the two analysed texts within the meta-discourses.

The two texts I analysed use dominantly a positive, managerial discourses but also draw on the moderate, reform-oriented discourse. Both texts follow a win-win logic by emphasising the compatibility of business interest with the protection of the environment and the wellbeing of the people. The most obvious use of a positive, managerial discourse in the foreword is the statement "REDD+ is the synergy between economic growth and emission reduction.". The managerial discourse becomes apparent in the speech by the Norwegian Prime Minister, where she emphasises global solutions and frameworks and positions global leaders as the people responsible for the protection of forests.

Apart from the positive, managerial discourses, both draw on a moderate, reform-oriented discourse too, using features of the civic environmentalism discourse. They do so by emphasising the need for inclusion and participation of people. The Foreword uses the terms 'stakeholder consultations' and 'community participation'. In the speech, there are claims for the inclusion of indigenous knowledge and the impetus to 'refocus development planning on the most vulnerable'. The claims made by the texts clearly distance their position from an exclusive managerial position and include the reform-oriented discourse.

Since both texts are issued by governmental authorities, which have an interest in the success of REDD+, it is not surprising that a critical counter discourse, which is opposed to REDD+ implementation, is not apparent in them. I can therefore only connect the linguistic features identified through my textual analysis to the positive, managerial and the moderate, reform-oriented discourse. This is done in the next paragraphs.

As a feature of the positive, managerial discourse I could identify the nominalisation of processes. Nominalisation happened within the speech when there was talk of the drivers of

deforestation and the drivers of climate change. The foreword used nominalisation even more. Through the process of nominalisation actions were separated from actors. This is in line with a globalist, managerial discourse that was identified by Norman Fairclough (2007), which also often uses nominalisation.

Another feature of the managerial discourse were claims of high commitment modality, giving implications on what must happen (deontic modality). High commitment epistemic modality was used abundantly, making strong knowledge claims. With scientific knowledge as the knowledge base of a positive, managerial discourse, the knowledge is uncontested.

Whereas, I could identify explicit linguistic features that mark the positive, managerial discourse, the moderate, reform-oriented discourse is rather characterized by phrases, such as ‘inclusion’, ‘consultation’ and ‘participation’. Even if I could not identify explicit linguistic features, that characterize the discourse, certain features of the text show how the moderate, reform-oriented discourse is integrated into the dominant managerial discourse. These features express agency and responsibility for an ‘other’, which is not a main actor in the text.

Actors, who are powerful and in a managerial position are connected to material processes and activated within the texts. These actors are named more often and in the subject position. This active actor is confronted with another actor, which is often mentioned within an object position or as a pronoun (they), classified and connected to less material processes than the other actor. Especially in the speech of Erna Solberg, a strong dichotomy between a ‘we’ and a ‘they’ is visible, where the ‘we’, refers either to the United Nations or a global citizen and the ‘they’ refers to (indigenous) people (see Table 7-1). This dichotomy is less clear within the Foreword, but a distinguishing feature between the actors is also the subject position and activation of government actors, opposed to the actor ‘people’, which appears only within object positions and therefore is not an actant in processes.

I would therefore describe both of the texts as mainly drawing on a managerial discourse, while integrating terms of a very light moderate, reform-oriented discourse. Inclusion, knowledge and participation of ‘people’ is mentioned and regarded as favourable, however it is the actors in a managerial position, who get to perform the actions, have the responsibility and take agency. The results of the analysis of meta-discourses and connected linguistic features are summarised in Table 7-2.

Table 7-2: Characteristics and linguistic features of the meta-discourses

Meta-discourses	Positive, managerial discourse	Moderate, reform-oriented discourse	Critical counter discourse
Characteristics	· Win-win logic · compatibility of economic development and environmental protection · based on strong frameworks and guidelines · scientific knowledge base · forests framed as carbon sinks · carbon trading	· Stakeholder involvement and participation · evened out power dynamics · FPIC · public funding · praised commitment of government	· Distrust in international involvement · Distrust in business and corporations · Critique on carbon rights and markets · People can protect the forest · Nature protection schemes are harmful to people
Linguistic features	· Nominalisation · High modality statements · material processes · actors in subject position	· Activated, subject-positioned actor · confronted with passivated actor in object position	*Discourse not apparent in the analysed texts*

7.3 Local discourses on REDD+

Analysing the identified meta-discourses, investigating how they appear within texts on the Indonesian-Norwegian REDD+ partnership helped me to identify certain discursive structures and strategies. Further, it helped me to position the actor's attitudes to REDD+. This understanding of actors and their position was further deepened through the critical discourse analysis, where sentence structure and modes of evaluation gave me more profound insights. However, I felt that not all the core topics discussed within the texts were adequately explained by the meta-discourses.

The discourses from the literature review were not satisfying to create an in-depth understanding of the discursive dynamics present in the debate on land and people in REDD+. During my analysis of empirical material several themes popped up, that seemed relevant to understand the discourses around REDD+ in the Indonesian-Norwegian partnership and their connection to land and people. My urge to cover these themes within my analysis led me to include a third step into it, which followed a more inductive approach. I collected relevant themes and identified discourses, which can create a deeper understanding of relevant discourses in the Indonesian-Norwegian REDD+ partnership.

Throughout the texts, it appears that REDD+ is perceived negatively or positively depending on if it is beneficial for the speakers interest or not. It is rather perceived as a threat or an opportunity to achieve goals. This opportunistic attitude towards REDD+ in the local context has already been observed by Milne et al. (2016) in their study on local discourses of forest management in Indonesia. While, 'REDD+ as an opportunity' as one of the local discourses is abundant throughout the texts, I could discover two other local discourses that determine the way how REDD+ is referred to in discussions, the first regarding REDD+ as a global solution to climate change and the second one focusing on rights. REDD+ as a global solution refers to REDD+ as a mechanism that can tackle the issue of climate change. The other discourse is rather rights based and concentrates on how REDD+ can only function when indigenous rights are taken care of. The discourses and their main characteristics are presented with a focus on actors and scales and can describe more deeply how land and people are discursively constructed within the texts.

7.3.1 REDD+ as an opportunity

Throughout the texts, REDD+ is often perceived as an opportunity to achieve goals. REDD+ opens windows of opportunity for forest protection, climate change mitigation, good

governance, human and land rights. For this reason, actors see a chance to use REDD+ for improvements within these fields *(AMAN; CLUA; Kemitraan)*.

This strategy is abundant within the rights-based discourse that is discussed below in more detail, but the opportunistic discourse is not limited to rights and includes other topics, such as good governance or community forest management. Previous governmental arrangements and unwillingness by governmental actors are listed as a hinderance to success. REDD+ with its institutional arrangements is seen as the opportunity to eliminate these hinderances *(CIFOR; UN-REDD; AMAN)*.

Governmental unwillingness is, through the promotion of REDD+ at the national level, replaced by good will of the President of Indonesia *(CIFOR; Kemitraan; AMAN).* Topics that have been discussed and advocated for by civil society actors are through REDD+ included into governmental strategies. This opens the opportunity to challenge existing laws and contribute to a change *(AMAN; JKPP)*. The discourse argues that through the REDD+ strategy, existing power structures that favour harmful developments for forests, people and land governance are shifting. Topics that have not been in the mainstream before finally get attention, which make it more likely that change can be achieved *(Kemitraan; CIFOR).*

Within this discourse, varying degrees of optimism can be found. Some actors drawing on the discourse, praise the good will of the government and the unprecedented opportunities without mentioning too much of criticism *(Kemitraan; CIFOR; CLUA)*. Other actors treat REDD+ more carefully, drawing on the binaries of threat and opportunity. They acknowledge the potential of REDD+ to lead to positive change and the new spaces it creates but stay concerned and critical. Actual change on the ground is mentioned as a requirement to evaluate if REDD+ really proves itself to be an opportunity *(AMAN; HuMa)*.

7.3.2 Indigenous rights as a precondition for REDD+

As it has already become apparent through the analysis of reform-oriented and critical discourses on REDD+, the integration of rights have become an important topic in discussions on local implementation (Jodoin, 2019). A rights-based discourse perceives the current legal situation for indigenous and customary rights as the main problem for Indonesia nationally and for sustainable forest governance worldwide. Unsecure tenure situations, conflicting permits and concessions on land endanger traditional forms of land tenure and make customary lands subject to landgrabbing *(AMAN; Mongabay)*. The discourse puts people and their right to forest lands to the core and brings up tensions between different interests and perceptions.

The main actors within the discourse are national Indonesian NGOs, that are in an advocacy position to fight for Indigenous rights. A strategy to achieve these rights are participatory mapping of indigenous territories and the inclusion of those into official decision-making *(AMAN; JKPP)*. By studying texts of different actors, I could identify different degrees of radicality within the discourse. Some actors take a more moderate stance to REDD+ and show willingness to cooperate to include rights issues into REDD+ *(AMAN; Kemitraan)*. Other actors on the contrary, oppose the whole framework. Reasons for this resistance are the dangers of carbon trading and landgrabbing *(WALHI; Via campesina; HuMa)*.

The differences between actors vowing for the same discourse creates tension on a national level. The following statement was made by an actor with a moderate stance:

> "That's why in Indonesia right now we are fighting each other. Indigenous activists and environmentalists are fighting. Actually most of their energy right now just to say different things." *(AMAN)*

Whereas indigenous activists, which the speaker is a part of, try to cooperate environmentalists are fighting the REDD+ scheme. Reform-oriented discourses conflict with critical discourses that are opposed to REDD+ (Backstrand and Lovbrand, 2006).

A basic claim of the discourse is that the traditional land and forest use by indigenous people is providing the ecological services that REDD+ aims for. Therefore, the goals of REDD+ are achievable, solely through the protection of the rights of local communities to use their land traditionally. The discourse rejects the idea of carbon markets and carbon trading *(HuMa; WALHI; Via campesina)*.

The government of Indonesia is urged to take action in order to provide legal recognition and protection of indigenous people and their land tenure systems *(AMAN; JKPP)*. The government is differentiated. A distinction is made between the President and the different Ministries, where some are regarded as more progressive and open for change than others. The following statement shows the tensions between indigenous rights organisations and the Ministry of Forestry:

> "Yes, we appreciate the Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Environment, National Commission on Human Rights, but not the Ministry of Forestry. We know that the Ministry of Forestry is the source of the problem. How can you solve the problem with the cause of the problem?" *(AMAN)*

The ministry is displayed as an enemy. It is emphasised, that certain parts of the government are favourable, whereas the MoFor is hindering progress on the recognition of customary rights within their field of competence.

The rights-based discourse advocates for the rights of indigenous people to use their lands and within the discourse tensions between corporations and indigenous people and problems of land ownership by indigenous people are brought up *(WALHI; HuMa; Via campesina)*. A passage by a member of an Indigenous rights association attributes the ability of indigenous people to protect the forest to their 'traditional way' *(AMAN).* The statement is made to emphasise that this is the way that indigenous people can contribute to the protection of forests. On the contrary, other ways of forest protection, like fighting against concessions are not available to them:

> "They don't have the power to reject threats like forest concessions or mining concessions, that's why they want the national law, the state law. That's all they don't have." *(AMAN)*

This statement shows once more, how legal protection and recognition is made a precondition for a sustainable management of forests.

Legal protection and recognition also come up in the context of land tenure security. Land tenure security of indigenous communities is regarded a precondition for sustainable forest management and consequently the success of REDD+. The discourse argues for a legal protection of indigenous rights. Land tenure security is the solution to problems of deforestation and forest degradation *(AMAN; JKPP; Mongabay)*.

Land tenure security, within the rights-based discourse, is used by NGOs to push the government to implement legal security for indigenous rights. The following passage is the statement of a researcher of an Indonesia environmental NGO about the Indigenous Rights Bill:

> "What's sad is that the bill is perceived as not having anything to do with climate change commitments and REDD+. That's a misunderstanding because our NDC" — Indonesia's emissions reduction target lodged with the U.N. — "clearly says that land tenure security is an enabler [in reducing emissions], especially in forest areas." *(Mongabay)*

The statement is made to create a connection between REDD+ and the climate change commitment, which is an explicit goal of the government and the right of indigenous people to

land. Indigeneity and customary land use are strategies to receive access by the rights-based discourse.

Putting land discursively into categories such as ‘customary land’ is compatible with the international Indigenous Rights Bill. This technical representation of land has had its advent into the rights-based discourse long before REDD+ was established. It started with the participatory mapping movement in Indonesia in the 1990s (Peluso, 1995). Through the new possibilities, that came up with REDD+ and the One Map Policy, successes were achieved, like the Constitutional Court decision and following successful land claims.

Access to land in this discourse is granted through participatory maps that are standardised and included into a policy *(AMAN; JKPP)*. Exclusion is granted through clearly defined maps and territory boundaries. Private ownership of land, which is often a precondition for exclusion, is decided upon by governmental and legal institutions.

7.3.3 REDD+ as a solution to climate change

Whereas the rights-based discourse perceives REDD+ as an opportunity, the discourse ‘REDD+ as a solution to climate change’ points to climate change and its effects on the planet and the people as a global problem, perceiving REDD+ as an opportunity to meet this challenge. Solutions must be found on the different scales. On the international scale, suggested solutions are cooperation and strong frameworks. International conferences and forums are platforms, where decisions about those frameworks must be taken. The actors that have the responsibility to take these actions are global leaders, which take part in these conferences and international actors doing funding and advocacy work.

Legitimating arguments for this discourse are, for example, the reference to civil protests that ask for action on climate change *(Erna Solberg)*. The knowledge base for the discourse is scientific knowledge about the effects of climate change. The scientific knowledge about forests capacity of storing carbon and therefore mitigating the effects of emissions legitimates why REDD+ is needed *(Erna Solberg; CLUA; UN-REDD)*. It is claimed that the knowledge for turning the current situation of the climate around is available *(Erna Solberg)*.

On the national and local scale, solutions to climate change are projects that promote sustainable development *(Erna Solberg; World Bank; UN-REDD)*. The discourse makes a distinction between problem solutions on the global and the local level. As above mentioned, on the global level, action by leaders and frameworks are the solution needed. On a local scale, projects that

contribute to sustainable development and green economy are promoted *(Erna Solberg; REDD+ Taskforce)*.

It is on the local level, that people and their relationship to land are mentioned. Local people are regarded as land and forest dependent. Their dependence on the forest ecosystem makes them prone to changes and therefore their relationship to the forest must be conserved. Inclusion of local people happens through listening to their voices and through their participation *(Erna Solberg; REDD+ Taskforce; CLUA)*.

Within the discourse that uses the global climate crisis as a legitimation for implementing REDD+, indigenous people are romanticized as guardians of the forest ecosystems. Their characteristics, such as their worldview and their biological adaption, make them use the forests sustainably. The following passage shows the marginality and vulnerability that indigenous people are attributed to:

> "Indigenous people are, by definition, outsiders, due to their geographic and political remoteness". *(Erna Solberg)*

It is assumed that indigenous people are outsiders in geographic and political terms. The assumption that they are not included into politics reduces them to a remote actor, that needs to be advocated for.

Indigenous people are attributed with inherent characteristics that lead to sustainable management. These characteristics are for example 'their worldview', 'their beliefs', 'their biological adaptation' and 'their culture'. The following passage of a speech by Erna Solberg provides an example for that:

> "[…]; yet their biological adaption, together with their spiritual beliefs, demands that they utilise the forest in a sustainable manner." *(Erna Solberg)*

This statement does not grant indigenous people another choice than to use the forest sustainably. It is not their decision if they want to use the forest sustainably or not, but they are led by characteristics that make them behave in a certain way. The global discourse on REDD+ as a measure to fight global climate change and carbon emissions claims that the constitutional court decision in 2013 was the consequence of REDD+ projects within the country. The court decision enabled customary communities to legally gain ownership of their land. This ownership provides the opportunity to exclude others from using the land and guarantees meaningful use (Li, 2014).

Governmental authorities frame land and ownership conflicts in a way, that is addressed through the one map policy and moratoriums *(Mongabay; JKPP)*. It is suggested that they are solvable through map-production, standardisation and categorisation. The 'OneMap' will make up for the 'true' categories, uses and ownership status of the whole land area of Indonesia. Once one universal map is established, no more conflicts should arise and there will be clear rules for industry, forest protection and indigenous people (Samadhi, 2013).

Another technicality is the categorisation of land. In the history of contested land in Indonesia, it becomes clear that the relationship between land and people is strongly influenced by how land is categorised (Peluso, 1995, Li, 2014). Categories of forest land that are included into the moratorium of concessions are debated.

Conflicts do not only arise between industry and indigenous people, but there are also other actors, such as animal conservation projects, who are involved into the conflicts, through access to conflicting permits. Land that is categorised 'secondary forest' provokes other forms of actions than land that is within the 'primary forest' category. This passage about the destruction of forest provides an example:

> "As a result, some parties have deliberately cleared areas of primary forest within moratorium zones for the express purpose of degrading them. Once that happens, these areas are recognized as secondary forest, and thus fall out of the scope of the moratorium." *(Mongabay)*

The distinction between primary and secondary forest that is made within the forest moratorium motivates "some parties" to change the physical composition of a certain area to make it fit into a category that allows other forms of use. It shows that the categorisation of land influences how land is treated.

The categorisation of land is based on scientific knowledge and is anchored within the baseline mapping that was performed to determine REDD+ pilot regions and to get the mechanisms for the different phases going (LTS, 2018). Another science-based approach is the categorisation of land within high and low carbon landscapes. Within this discourse land, similarly to forests, is a carbon sink. Certain types of land use can store more carbon than others and might therefore be favoured *(CLUA)*.

8 Concluding discussion

The following concluding chapter aims to discuss the results of my discourse analysis. I will structure my discussion by repeating my main research question and step by step outline my process of answering it. As a first step, I will discuss the generation of theory. Further, I will discuss the establishment of the methodology and limitations on data and data quality. Finally, I will discuss the results of my empirical analysis on meta-discourses in REDD+ and local representations of land and people. Integrated into these discussions, I will give implications for further studies and comment on the future for research on REDD+ and land use.

The main aim of this study was to identify how discourses on REDD represent local land and people relations. I investigated this topic on the example of the Norwegian-Indonesian REDD+ partnership. Answering the question of how land and people are represented in discourses on REDD+ was not straightforward, but required several steps, that are described and performed within this master thesis.

The first necessary step to answering my main research question: *How do discourses on REDD+ in the Norwegian-Indonesian partnership represent land and people in Indonesia? w*as to figure out, which discourses there actually are on REDD+. I approached this step through an academic literature review, forming the theoretical framework for my study. By identifying meta-discourses on environmental governance, deforestation and REDD+, I discovered three discourses on REDD+, which comprise a positive, managerial discourse, a moderate-reform oriented discourse and a critical counter discourse. These three meta-discourses comprise the findings on discourse-analytical studies by previous research. The findings are grouped according to their attitude towards REDD+. I extended my theoretical exploration on discourses in environmental governance, deforestation and REDD+ by integrating the concepts of land into the meta-discourses.

After having identified meta-discourses on REDD+ and their representations of land, I had to establish a methodological approach in order to investigate how they appear within texts on the Norwegian-Indonesian REDD+ partnership. My interest in discourses did not only concern REDD+ per se, but also how discourses on REDD+ represent land and people in Indonesia, specifically the people's right and access to land. The establishment of a methodology, which can, on the one hand, give insights into broad, societal factors influencing discourses and the

political ecology of a country and, on the other hand, into representations of land and people on the text level, required a deep engagement into the theories and methodologies in discourse analysis. The finally established methodology could link meta-discourses to linguistic features.

I regard a broad, conceptual analysis combined with a specific textual analysis as insightful for identifying discourses on REDD+, land and people. Whereas the broad analysis was necessary for gaining an understanding of the topic and the context (Scoville-Simonds, 2009) and comprised a large body of empirical texts, the CDA helped to link the impressions gained to actual grammatical and linguistic features. I argue that the method of combining a broad analysis with a text-level analysis is promising for connecting discourses to linguistic features and gaining insights in the field of political ecology. The two texts I used for a deeper analysis drew dominantly on a positive, managerial discourse and were therefore very insightful on discursive features of this discourse. Since they also included elements of a moderate, reform-oriented discourse, I hoped to detect more linguistic features of this discourse through the analysis. I attribute the fact, that I could not detect explicit linguistic features of the moderate, reform-oriented discourse, to the small number of analysed texts and the structure of the texts, using a positive, managerial discourses, only including features of the moderate, reform-oriented discourse. I accepted the absence of the critical counter discourse within the analysed texts on the grounds that I did not find a suitable text, which was not in the interview genre, representing the discourse.

More comprehensive analysis, with the inclusion of a larger body of texts for textual analysis, could increase our understanding of linguistic features of discourses and enrichen the field of discourse analysis in environmental research. This applies especially when investigating linguistic features of often researched discourses such as *ecological modernisation, green governmentality* or *civic environmentalism* (Jodoin, 2019). A clear framework of discourses and textual parameters could make the discourses easier to study and determine. By this, concerns and critique of discourse analysis in environmental governance could be met, that question the methodological consistency within the field of research (Leipold et al., 2019).

The discussion of my methodological approach already paved the way for discussing the next step I faced when conducting my thesis, which regards the process of data selection for applying the intended methodology. These limitations are discussed in detail within section 6.5. My limitation to English sources restricted the availability of empirical text. Especially critical, local voices, who only publish in Indonesian were therefore limited or maybe even excluded

from my work. The cancelled field trip, that was planned for this study limited the variety of empirical material influentially. The limited availability of choice for empirical material might have had implications on the results. With a different access to empirical texts, I would have been able to attain more accurate and detailed results, especially on the critical counter discourse and on local discourses on REDD+.

Through the limited data availability, it was also not possible for me as a researcher to acquire more recent empirical material. Interviews and publications by actors involved in REDD+, which are up to date could have given more insights into how opportunities were taken and developments of moratoriums and the map policy have evolved after the implementation of the Letter of Intent in 2010 and the implementation of the National Strategy in 2012. However, choosing a body of texts that concern a crucial period for REDD+ in Indonesia, namely the phase of implementation of the National Strategy, I regard as insightful for displaying discourses and therefore does not actually limit the relevance of the study due to a lack of timeliness.

Further research on discourses of land and people in the Norwegian-Indonesian REDD+ partnership would be interesting with the inclusion of local sources and interviews. Integrating the local context even more through a physical presence could give more accurate results and show non-identified details of discourses on REDD+ and representations of land and people. Changes in discourses about land after the Constitutional Court decision in 2013 might have occurred. A discourse analysis of recent texts or interviews could give insights on this. I suggest a combination of ethnographic fieldwork and the established methodological framework for further investigating the local context of discourses on REDD+ and land and people in Indonesia.

The mentioned limitations for data selection do influence my results, however I argue that my study provides a valid contribution to the field of discourse analysis and research on land access in REDD+ in Indonesia. The established methodology, the theoretical contribution through a categorisation of meta-discourses in REDD+ in Indonesia, the explicit focus on representations of land and people in REDD+ contribute to the field of discourse analysis and research on land access in REDD+ in Indonesia. After having thoroughly discussed and summarised theory, methodology and data limitations, I will continue by discussing my results following the three analytical research questions, I have addressed through my methodology.

The first analytical research question was: *How are meta-discourses in environmental governance present within texts on the Norwegian-Indonesian REDD+ partnership?* and answered through a Foucauldian discourse analysis. By analysing the appearance of the meta-discourses in empirical texts, I could gain insights on the different actor's attitudes towards REDD+ and the discursive strategies they draw on. All the identified meta-discourses used in environmental governance identified in the theory appear within empirical texts on the Norwegian-Indonesian REDD+ partnership. The presence of the discourses is in accordance with Foucault's structural approach to discourse. This structural approach asserts that discursive structures that we know and have determine how we talk about a topic (Hay, 2016). Actors talking about REDD+ use the discursive structures that are available to them, in order to express themselves about their concerns on REDD+.

After having gained insights on the appearance of meta-discourses, the second research question: *What linguistic features of the meta-discourses can be identified within selected texts on the Norwegian-Indonesian REDD+ partnership?* asked for the application of CDA on the text-level. The combination of the Foucauldian discourse analysis of meta-discourses with CDA helped me to create deeper insights into the meta-discourses. Through the analysis of social actors, a dominance of the managerial discourse and imbalances of power between international and local actors became visible. This dominance was marked through a clear distinction between social actors in the text. While actors in a strong, managerial position were activated subjects, connected to material processes, local actors ('the people') were rather passivated, put in object position and connected to their attributes. The analysis of evaluation and modality gave insights into the knowledge basis and knowledge claims of the discourses. The analysis revealed, which knowledge the positive, managerial discourse accepts and regards as desirable. It is accepted, that emission reduction and climate change mitigation is reachable through REDD+. Local participation is desirable and even needed, in order to increase the climate mitigation effect. As already indicated within the discussion on methodology, I confirm, in agreement with Scoville-Simonds (2009) that an approach that combines a broad analysis with a specific textual analysis is conclusive when using discourse analysis. However, by extending the analysis, the actual insights could be broadened and give conclusions on linguistic features of the other meta-discourses as well.

While the first two analytical research questions gave conclusions on appearance and linguistic features of meta-discourses, I felt that grouping discourses according to the meta-discourses did not properly show representations of land and people in the context of Indonesia. Performing

the Foucauldian discourse analysis, I figured that a different grouping of discourses might give a clearer picture on land-people relations. This led me to establishing the third analytical research question: *Which local discourses are used within texts about REDD+ and how do they represent land and people?* The discourses that I identified through answering this research question contain several similar components than the meta-discourses. A discourse on REDD+ as a global solution to climate change shows many features of a managerial discourse, while integrating components of a moderate, reform-oriented discourse. The discourse on 'rights as a precondition for REDD+' integrates a lot of features of a critical counter and a moderate, reform-oriented discourse. The discourse on REDD+ as an opportunity draws on all of the discourses, depending on who uses it for meeting their goals. While the discourses comprise the same components as the meta-discourses, they are differently processed and grouped and I argue, that this categorisation can provide a clearer picture on issues on land and people in discourses on REDD+.

The analysis of representations of land and people in discourses on REDD+ for answering my third research question, was performed sensitive to actors and scales and kept up a sensitivity to environmental changes being induced by political processes, following the political ecology approach introduced into this study (Robbins, 2012). Those political processes also caused changes in the perception of and the access to land and therefore influenced land-dependent people. I will start by discussing representations of people, followed by the representation of land.

Throughout the discourses identified in REDD+, indigenous people are mentioned as important actors within forest protection and land tenure. Their traditional ways of using the forests as a living space and livelihood source are consonant with REDD+'s aim for the reduction of emissions from forest ecosystems. Indigenous people are presented as living in harmony with the forest and their lands and the protection of their rights is compatible with climate change mitigation efforts. The need for protection of their rights, deprives them of their own agency and puts the responsibility into the hands of others, who must advocate for their rights. This deprivation of agency becomes visible through the analysis of linguistic features, which shows how a powerful actor that is awarded action is confronted with a passivated actor, representing 'the people'. This lack of power is brought up within critical and rights-based discourses but silenced within managerial discourses. Apart from the silencing of people as marginalised actors in a managerial discourse, there is a silence within the discourses about local people that do not fit into the category of 'indigenous'. The discourse on people's rights centres on

indigenous people and does not seem aware of demographic changes that have happened through 'transmigration' (Hein, 2019, Astuti and McGregor, 2017). People who do not fit into the category are excluded from the rights to forest and land use. This problem is silenced within the texts and only picked up once, by an actor drawing on a critical counter discourse, which remarks problems of local farmers, that were translocated earlier, in REDD+ projects *(Via campesina).*

Through the Foucauldian discourse analysis of empirical texts, I could distinguish two main representations of land within REDD+. The first of those representations defines land as a part of indigenous people's rights and is strongly embedded into the rights-based discourse. However the perception of land as a right, is picked up by the different discourses and this representation was made possible through the emergence of indigenous rights movements internationally, as well as the start of the participatory mapping movement in the 1990ies (Afiff and Lowe, 2007, Peluso, 1995). This movement led to an inclusion of technicalities into the rights-based representation. The second representation of land draws on technicalities. Within the technical representation of land, I distinguish between two different strands. The first one refers mostly to mapping and is connected to the rights-based discourse through participatory mapping processes. The second strand within the technical representation brings up the categorisation of land. While, in the first strand, technicalities and scientific knowledge are used to promote people's access to land, the second one is based on scientific knowledge per se. High and low carbon landscapes, primary and secondary forest zones are constructed on a scientific base and through this categorisation, their use is determined on a technocratic rationale, following a managerial discourse. This categorisation conflicts with the first strand that bases it's claims and categorisations on people's tradition and prior usage. Conflicts on the local scale can therefore be led back to different representations and categorisations of land in different discourses.

Even though, conflicts arise on how land is categorised, there is a common knowledge claim, that is shared by all discourses, which positions the roots of problems of insufficient forest protection and forest conflicts in unclear mapping. In terms of land access, the unclear mapping and overlapping concession of land areas can be understood as a hinderance to meaningful use, because exclusion of actors cannot be guaranteed (Hall et al., 2011). Because there are overlapping and inconsistent maps available to different ministries, conflicts arise. This problem definition explains how the 'One Map Policy' has become such a promising approach, promoted by diverse actors, since it could offer a solution to the problem. However, power

dynamics are likely to turn down hopes on the integration of rights-based maps of indigenous territory. The resulting map might rather be based on the more technical, scientifical categorisations that are prominent within the dominant and more powerful positive, managerial discourse on REDD+. This continuation of existing power dynamics as a hinderance of change has also been observed by Milne (2016) in her study of local discourses in climate policy in Indonesia.

In accordance with Milne (2016), the local discourses I identified were rather opportunistic. Local actors seemed to use the meta-discourses to follow their interests. These interests differ from human rights advocacy to environmental protection or low carbon development and the implementation of REDD+. This strategic use of discourses conflicts with Foucault's perception of discourses and confirms the concepts of "discourse coalitions" or "discursive agents", which grant actors the agency to use discourses in their interest (Hajer, 1995, Backstrand and Lovbrand, 2006). Local discourses rather follow counter discourses, which range from the critical counter discourse to a moderate, reform-oriented one. This is opposed to the positive, managerial discourses that often dominates on a supranational scale. This different use of discourses can be a reason for conflicts in the implementation of global REDD+ frameworks on the local scale. The differing use of discourses between a local and a global scale has also been observed by Jodoin (2019) in a case study on discourses on REDD+ in Tanzania, where the author distinguishes between a managerial discourse on a global scale confronting an equity-based discourse on the local scale.

Within this complicated field with numerous different interests and actors, debates around land and people stay relevant, with the novel situation of result-based payments being transferred from Norway to Indonesia (Norgesportalen, 2020). Can the disbursements be used to integrate the promotion of reduced emissions from forest lands while at the same time protecting people's rights to land in Indonesia?

9 References

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