

# Inclusive REDD+ in Indonesia?

*A Study of the Participation of Indigenous People and Local Communities in the Making of the National REDD+ Strategy in Indonesia*

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Master Thesis

Department of Political Science

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# Abstract

The mechanism of REDD+, reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation, has been negotiated at the international level under the UNFCCC. Despite a large focus on the importance of participation of indigenous peoples and local communities in the planning and implementation of REDD+, e.g. in the Cancun Agreement, it is not very clear how this participation will happen in practice. This thesis seeks to find out how indigenous peoples and local communities participated in the making of the national REDD+ strategy in Indonesia, and why the participation took the form it did. It is argued that indigenous peoples and local communities participated mainly through civil society organisations because there were only small opportunities for direct participation, there was a lack of political representation of this group, and because civil society organisations were ready to represent indigenous peoples and local communities.

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Kristine Veierland







# Table of Content

List of Acronyms.....	13
Map of Indonesia.....	16
1 Introduction.....	17
2 Theory.....	23
2.1 Democratic Participation and Representation.....	23
2.1.1 Notions of Representation.....	25
2.2 Representation in Indonesia.....	27
2.3 Participatory Design.....	28
2.3.1 Participant Selection.....	29
2.3.2 Communication and Decision-making.....	30
2.3.3 Authority and Power.....	31
2.4 Structure of Arguments.....	32
3 Method.....	34
3.1 Process-tracing.....	34
3.2 Elite Interviews.....	35
3.2.1 Sampling.....	36
3.2.2 Structure of Interviews.....	37
3.3 Conceptual Validity and Reliability.....	39
4 The making of the national REDD+ strategy in Indonesia.....	42
4.1 Letter of Intent between Indonesia and Norway.....	43
4.1 UN-REDD’s Proposal to BAPPENAS.....	44
4.2 The Making of the Initial Drafts.....	46
4.1 Public Comments.....	47
4.2 Regional Consultations.....	48
4.3 National and International Consultation.....	51
4.4 Participants or Possible Participants’ Perspective on the Consultation Process.....	52
4.4.1 Bereng Benekel Village.....	52
4.4.2 Walhi Central Kalimantan.....	54
4.4.3 AMAN.....	55

4.4.4	HuMa .....	57
4.4.5	Walhi.....	58
4.4.6	Sawit Watch .....	60
5	Analysis.....	63
5.1	Participation of Indigenous peoples and Local communities .....	63
5.1.1	Direct Participation of Indigenous peoples and Local communities .....	63
(1)	Participant Selection .....	63
(2)	Communication and Decision-making.....	65
(3)	Authority and Power .....	67
5.1.2	Political Representation of Indigenous peoples and Local communities .....	68
5.1.3	Civil society Representation of Indigenous peoples and Local communities .....	69
5.1.1	AMAN .....	70
5.1.1	Walhi.....	70
5.1.2	HuMa .....	71
6	Conclusion.....	72
	Literature .....	73
	Attachment 1:.....	83



# List of Acronyms

AMAN	Alliance of Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago [Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara]
BAPPENAS	The National Development and Planning Agency [Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional]
CI	Conservation International
CIFOR	Center for International Forestry Research
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
ICRAF	The World Agroforestry Centre
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
LoI	Letter of Intent between Norway and Indonesia on REDD+
MRV	Monitoring, Reporting and Verification of greenhouse gas emissions
Norad	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
REDD+	Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation, including the roles of conservation, sustainable management of forests and enhancement of forest carbon stocks
REL	Reference Emission Level of greenhouse gas emissions
TNC	The Nature Conservancy
UKP4	President's Delivery Unit for Development, Monitoring and Oversight [Unit Kerja bidang Pengawasan dan Pengendalian Pembangunan]
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Programme


UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
WAHLI	The Indonesian Forum for the Environment [Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia]
WWF	World Wildlife Fund



# Map of Indonesia



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 Locations of the seven regional consultations for the national REDD+ strategy.

Map source: Wikipedia (2011)



# 1 Introduction

REDD+ stands for reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation, and the role of conservation, sustainable management of forests and enhancement of forest carbon stocks (UNFCCC 15.03.2011:12). The forestry sector accounted for 17.4% of global greenhouse gas emissions in 2004, making it the third largest sector of emissions behind energy and industry (IPCC 2007:36). The 2007 IPCC report concluded that reducing deforestation would have a large and rapid effect on reducing global carbon emissions (Wollenberg and Springate-Baginski 2010:1). Furthermore, the Stern Review argued that curbing deforestation would be a highly cost-effective way of reducing emissions (Stern Review 2006:25). Negotiations on REDD+ are taking place under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The Bali Action Plan was adopted at the Conference of the Parties (COP) 13 in 2007 and calls for “policy approaches and positive incentives on issues relating to REDD+” (UNFCCC 2008:3). Since then hundreds of REDD+ projects in over 40 countries have been initiated (Sills et al 2009:265, Angelsen ed. 2009:xi). The Cancun Agreement from COP 16 in 2010 includes more details on REDD+ implementation and a set of safeguards. These safeguards include:

*“Respect for the knowledge and rights of indigenous peoples and members of local communities, by taking into account relevant international obligations, national circumstances and laws, and noting that the United Nations General Assembly has adopted the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples; The full and effective participation of relevant stakeholders, in particular indigenous peoples and local communities, in the actions referred to in paragraphs 70 and 72 of this decision”* (Cancun Agreement 2010:26).

The actions in paragraph 70 concern the REDD+ activities that are reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation, conservation of forest stocks, sustainable management of forests and enhancement of forest stocks (Cancun Agreement 2010:13). The actions in paragraph 72 concern the development and implementation of national strategies on REDD+ which should address “the drivers of deforestation and forest degradation, land tenure issues, forest governance issues, gender considerations and the safeguards” (Cancun Agreement 2010:13).

The idea behind REDD+, as explained by Angelsen, is to pay forest owners and users either directly or through governments, to fell fewer trees and manage their forests better. “Farmers, companies and forest owners can simply sell forest carbon credits and less cattle, coffee, cocoa or charcoal” (Angelsen 2009:1). UN-REDD, the United Nations collaborative programme between UNDP, FAO and UNEP, argues that REDD+ can lead to social benefits, such as jobs, land tenure clarification, carbon payments, enhanced participation in decision-making and improved governance, as well as environmental benefits including securing vital ecosystem services such as conserving biodiversity, water regulation and soil conservation (UN-REDD 2009). However, in seemingly harsh contrast to these possible positive effects Wollenberg and Springate-Baginski argue that the experiences with REDD schemes so far show that they tend to suffer from capture of benefits from intermediaries, weak institutions, poor equity outcomes and a consistently limited scope for local voice and influence (Wollenberg and Springate-Baginski 2010:7).

When rights are not clearly defined, the elite and the state are likely to capture most REDD contracts and benefits (Wollenberg and Springate-Baginski 2010:5). Wollenberg and Springate-Baginski argue that channelling REDD through political and commercial elites may lead to rapid reductions in emissions, but presents the risk of increasing inequality and ineffectiveness of emission reductions in the long-run. More state control could lead to evictions of communities in the forest and cause resentment, conflict and sabotage (Wollenberg and Springate-Baginski 2010:5). Wollenberg and Springate-Baginski point to Mayers and Bass study of forest policy processes from 2004 which concludes that good policy content comes from good policy processes. Wollenberg and Springate-Baginski argue that policy development for REDD must include forest communities for REDD to be effective (Wollenberg and Springate-Baginski 2010:11). They also argue that decades of community-based forest management have demonstrated the value of local participation in designing appropriate projects (Wollenberg and Springate-Baginski 2010:11). Capture of benefits from intermediaries, weak institutions, poor equity outcomes and a limited scope for local voice and influence, leading REDD+ to be at worst ineffective in the long run, create conflicts and infringe the rights of those living in and around the forest does sound like serious problems in the making for REDD+.

The goal of this thesis is to analyse the participation of indigenous peoples and local communities living in and around the forest and likely to be affected by REDD+ (hereby referred to as indigenous peoples and local communities) in the consultation process for the national REDD+ strategy in Indonesia. An estimated 80 million people live in or near forests in Indonesia (Poffenberger 2006:59). AMAN, Alliance of Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago an indigenous peoples organisation estimates that the population of indigenous peoples in Indonesia is between 50 and 80 million (AMAN n.d. b).

BAPPENAS states that the goal is to have an inclusive process “meaning that the process of formulating the national REDD+ strategy involves both the parties that will implement and the parties that directly or indirectly will be affected” (Process Book 2011:17-18). The Letter of Intent states “Give all relevant stakeholders, including indigenous peoples, local communities and civil society, subject to national legislation, and, where applicable, international instruments, the opportunity of full and effective participation in REDD+ planning and implementation” (Letter of Intent 2010:1).

The purpose of the Indonesian national REDD+ strategy is “to lay the ground for a 5-year roadmap for Indonesia to reduce CO<sub>2</sub> emissions, from deforestation and forest degradation, and preserve biodiversity while growing at an economically sustainable rate” (REDD+ Task Force 2010: 7). Indonesia is an important country with regards to REDD+. It is the third largest emitter of greenhouse gases globally and 80 per cent of its emissions derive from deforestation, forest degradation and land use change (Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2011:53). The drivers of deforestation include the pulp and paper, timber, oil palm and mining industries, protected areas, low institutional capacity on the ground, illegal logging at small and large scales, roads and forest fires (Norad 2011:37).

BAPPENAS, the Indonesian Planning and Development Agency, organised the making of the national REDD+ strategy in the time period from July to November 2010. The UN-REDD Indonesia Programme and Kemitraan, a national non-governmental organisation focusing on

governance reform, assisted BAPPENAS in organising a consultation process for the strategy. Regional consultations were held in seven locations across Indonesia with representatives from local government, civil society organisations, local community leaders, academics, the private sector and donor country agencies. In addition consultations were held at the national level with input from national and international participants.

The research question for this thesis is as follows:

*“How did indigenous peoples and local communities participate in the consultation process for the national REDD+ strategy in Indonesia, and why did the participation take this form?”*

I believe a focus on participation of indigenous peoples and local communities in the consultation process for the national REDD+ strategy is warranted for three reasons. Firstly, following Wollenberg and Springate-Baginski’s argument on the need for an inclusive policy development process for REDD+ to be effective, it is interesting to study local participation from an effectiveness point of view. If indigenous peoples and local communities are not given space in the process of developing the policies on REDD+ then it is less likely to work well when implemented.

Secondly, in a democracy it is vital for all citizens to be able to participate in public matters. Neera Chandhoke argues that “individuals have an equal right to participate in the making of all decisions that affect them as individuals and as members of a collective” (Chandhoke 2009:27). The right of political participation can be exercised through direct participation as well as through representatives (Törnquist 2009:10). For representation to be democratic Olle Törnquist argues that there needs to be “authorisation with mandate and accountability with transparency and responsiveness” (Törnquist 2009:10).

Indonesia is a relatively new democracy, with the first democratically elected president taking office in October 1999 (Bünthe and Ufen 2009:12). Törnquist et al argue that the transition to democracy in Indonesia, with the fall of General Suharto in 1998, was facilitated by “top-level agreements on basic freedoms, rule of law, privatisation, quick elections, and decentralisation” (Törnquist et al 2009:212-213). Two national democracy surveys from 2003 and 2007 confirm case studies showing that civil society groups and popular movements have been unable to establish firm social bases and advance politically. Instead, Törnquist et al argue that a limited number of powerful groups with roots in state, business and communal organisations are running organised politics and that political representation is deteriorating (Törnquist et al 2009:213). Studying the participation of indigenous peoples and local communities in the making of the national REDD+ strategy is therefore important from a democracy perspective.

Thirdly, Dunlop argues that “Where tenure security is weak, REDD is likely to be more risky for local communities who could face the prospect of being alienated from lands which are conserved only for their GHG emission mitigation potential without allowing for community ownership and use” (Dunlop 2009:iv). An estimated 80 million people live in or near forests in Indonesia and are dependent on it for a significant portion of their livelihood requirements (Poffenberger 2006:59). However, as little as 0.5 per cent of total forested land in Indonesia is under some kind of recognised community management (Atmadja and Wollenberg 2009:85). Dunlop recommends that tenure rights for forest dependent people are assigned and enforced to ensure that REDD is successful (Dunlop 2009: 54). She gives several reasons for this. These include: permanence, she shows that communities may disregard protected forest boundaries if they do not accord with customary boundaries or if they are viewed as unfairly imposed. Assigning and enforcing communities tenure rights is likely to be positive for the permanence of REDD projects. The second reason is to avoid further conflict between the communities and the government or companies. She finds that communities do not accept projects such as logging or oil palm if they are perceived to violate their rights. There is a risk of conflict if the government draw boundaries without community consultation. A third reason is investor certainty. Legal certainty on land tenure will encourage REDD investment. Finally, Dunlop argues that assigning and enforcing tenure rights is important for REDD in order to comply with international law which protects the rights of indigenous peoples to

traditional lands (Dunlop 2009: 54). It is interesting to study participation in the context of weak tenure security, as this is likely to affect how participants relate to one another.

The terms indigenous peoples and local communities is used to refer to people living in and around the forest and who are likely to be directly affected by REDD+. The reason for using both terms is to acknowledge that there are many communities defined as indigenous peoples in Indonesia. The Indonesian term for indigenous peoples is Masyarakat adat, which means “peoples who have ancestral origin in a specific geographical territory and a particular system of values, ideology, economy, politics, culture, society and land management” (Moniaga 2007:282). This is a definition from a civil society meeting in South Sulawesi in 1993 (Moniaga 2007:282). “Adat” means custom or tradition. Henley and Davidson argue that adat is “a complex of rights and obligations which ties together three things – history, land and law” (Henley and Davidson 2007:3). Moniaga argues that the indigenous peoples’ movement in Indonesia emerged in the late 1980’s and has blossomed with many indigenous peoples organisations and indigenous advocacy NGOs (Moniaga 2007:281-82). It is important to note that as argued by Henley and Davidson the use of “adat” and customary law as vehicles for empowerment and mobilization effectively excludes millions of Indonesians, including rural migrants (Henley and Davidson 2007:4).

The field research component for the thesis consists of elite interviews conducted in Jakarta, Bogor, Palangkaraya and Bereng Benekel Village in Indonesia in January 2011. Together with scholarly articles, newspaper articles, UN documents and NGO research and websites, this constitutes the data material for the thesis.

The structure of the thesis will be: chapter two theory, chapter three method, chapter four empirical data on the making of the national REDD+ strategy in Indonesia, chapter five analysis and chapter six conclusion.

# 2 Theory

Here follows the theoretical foundation for the thesis. First there is a discussion on democratic participation and representation in representative democracies. Second a framework on participatory design is presented.

## 2.1 Democratic Participation and Representation

Chandhoke argues that the basic value of democracy is that human beings possess equal moral status in a given polity (Chandhoke 2009:27). Thomas Nagel describes moral status as “a universal normative condition, consisting of what persons are permitted to do, what sorts of justifications are required to prevent them from doing what they want, and so forth” (Nagel 1995:85). Equal moral status is the basis for the right of political participation, defined by Chandhoke as: “the right to participate in institutions that make public decisions or in deliberations on and around these decisions” (Chandhoke 2009:27-28). And as noted in the introduction, Chandhoke states that “individuals have an equal right to participate in the making of all decisions that affect them as individuals and as members of a collective” (Chandhoke 2009:27). There are however practical limitations to everyone participating in deliberations and decision-making. Modern democracy has been identified with representative democracy ever since its inception (Chandhoke 2009:28). Chandhoke lists four reasons for this; (1) most societies are too large and too complex to make direct forms of democracy possible, (2) citizens do not have the time to participate in politics every day, (3) most demands, perspectives and interests are plural and conflicting which means that some agent needs to re-present them, and (4) the specialized nature of modern legislation proscribes participation of all citizens (Chandhoke 2009:28).

In a representative democracy universal adult suffrage and free and fair elections ensures that the public elects political representatives and that they are accountable to the constituencies they represent. Törnquist argues that democratic representation calls for authorisation with mandate and accountability with transparency and responsiveness (Törnquist 2009:10).

Chandhoke argues that in between elections the representative “exercises a great deal of power and autonomy when he or she sets out to represent a constituency” (Chandhoke 2009:32). This can present a problem of responsiveness to the constituency between elections.

Chandhoke suggests that citizens can exercise some degree of control over the representative through a “vibrant and aware civil society” that “connect institutionally with established modes of representation” (Chandhoke 2009:33). Citizens can get engaged in civil society groups, social movements, or through the free media to raise issues that are relevant to collective life or to sections of collective life (Chandhoke 2009:33). Chandhoke argues that public opinion must feed into policy and that policy must be accountable to through the use of consultative forums and strong participatory institutions in civil society (Chandhoke 2009:33-34). A similar point is made by Habermas. He argues that “developing an autonomous public sphere outside the domain of the state is a precondition for citizen engagement that does not simply serve to legitimate the existing political system” (Habermas 1984,1990 in Cornwall 2002:4).

Although Chandhoke and Habermas argue that civil society is a necessary control on political representation, the civil society organisations themselves do not necessarily have mechanisms in place to ensure *their* authorisation and accountability. This brings us to what Houtzager and Lavalley refer to as the paradox of civil society representation. They argue that while civil society organisations have increased in importance as representatives in policy processes, “civil-society-driven political representation [...], in general, have weaker claims to democratic legitimacy than elected representative institutions themselves” (Houtzager and Lavalley 2009:39). To investigate what claims of representation is made by civil society organisations, they interview leaders of community organisations, advocacy NGOs, coordinating groups, and non-profit service organisations in São Paulo, Brazil. Of the 229 organisations surveyed, 73 per cent claimed to represent their public (Houtzager and Lavalley 2009:45). It is important to note that not all civil society organisations say they are representatives for a public. This was also the case with the organisations involved in the consultation process for the national REDD+ strategy in Indonesia. Houtzager and Lavalley identify six notions of representation from how the organisations legitimised their representation of a public (Houtzager and



Lavalle 2009:47). These are electoral, membership, identity, proximity, mediation and service (Houtzager and Lavalle 2009:47-54). Houtzager and Lavalle's notions of representation will be used to analyse the representativeness of the civil society organisations that participated in the making of the national REDD+ strategy.

### **2.1.1 Notions of Representation**

Voting is the best-known mechanism for authorising representation and ensuring accountability (Houtzager and Lavalle 2009:49). Elections ensure authorisation with mandate by giving the people being represented a choice of platforms to vote for. To have a working democracy there needs to be an actual choice of candidates, as well as free and fair elections. Accountability is ensured through the possibility of voting for someone else in the next election.

Second, membership as a notion of representation is based on the argument that the creation of an organisation simultaneously establishes the interests to be represented which is the member's interests, the represented and the representative (Houtzager and Lavalle 2009:49). Accountability is ensured by the members' ability to participate in the selection of leaders, withdrawal of contributions or volunteer work, and the right to exit the organisation (Houtzager and Lavalle 2009:50).

Third, identity as a notion of representation is based on the argument that resemblance between the representative and the represented and that differences between them are eliminated (Houtzager and Lavalle 2009:50). The resemblance can be gender, race or ethnic origin. In principle, this argument makes accountability mechanisms obsolete, as the resemblances will encompass "all the representative should be in order to act in accordance with the wishes of the represented" (Houtzager and Lavalle 2009:50). Young argues that identity claims are plausible when they are connected to minority preferences, and promote these, while not advocating specific outcomes and opinions (Houtzager and Lavalle 2009:50-51).

Fourth, with the proximity argument the organisation argues that the intimacy of the relationship with their public is the basis for its role as a representative (Houtzager and Lavalley 2009:51). Proximity is typically constructed through different elements such as: commitment to enhancing the ability of individuals and groups to organise themselves, disposition to enhance direct participation in the planning and work of the organisation and a commitment to the problems and needs of the individuals and groups in question. In addition the organisation assumes the role of representative because the public recognises its work (Houtzager and Lavalley 2009:51). Houtzager and Lavalley argue that although proximity and participation are favourable conditions for accountability between the representative and those represented, this does not promote representation but rather direct participation (Houtzager and Lavalley 2009:52).

Fifth, the mediation argument states that civil society organisations act as representatives in order to provide access to public decision-making institutions to sections of the population that are poorly represented in political society. The representative is not authorised through elections or membership but is making claims in the interest of those represented, not for personal benefits (Houtzager and Lavalley 2009:52, 54). The problem is that there are no mechanisms for accountability as the representative's relationship towards the represented is left unclear (Houtzager and Lavalley 2009:53). It follows that there is also no mechanism of authorisation of the representative. Still, Houtzager and Lavalley argue that the mediation argument appears promising because it adds new forms of representation for voiceless groups (Houtzager and Lavalley 2009:57).

Sixth, service as a notion of representation rests on the argument that the organisation's ability to provide services such as medical treatment, skills training or scholarships is proof of a commitment to their public's interests (Houtzager and Lavalley 2009:53). Houtzager and Lavalley argue that the absence of mediation eliminates the notion of democratic representation entirely, as no mention of authorisation or accountability mechanisms are part of this argument (Houtzager and Lavalley 2009:53-54).

## 2.2 Representation in Indonesia

Marco Bünte and Andreas Ufen argue that in order to understand Indonesian politics today you have to begin with the New Order regime, which lasted from 1965 until 1998 (2009:9). Bünte and Ufen describe the New Order regime as “a neo-patrimonial, corporatist modernization regime dominated by the military” (2009:10). The military had strategic positions in the administration, in the regime party Golkar and in nationalized companies. Prosecutors, officers and bureaucrats came from the same group and worked hand in hand (Bünte and Ufen 2009:9, 10). Bünte and Ufen argue that those excluded from power were conceptualized as ‘floating mass’ that were not mobilized in political participation, but rather depoliticized (Bünte and Ufen 2009:10).

Törnquist et al argue that the transition to democracy in Indonesia with the fall of general Suharto in 1998 was facilitated by “top-level agreements on basic freedoms, rule of law, privatisation, quick elections, and decentralisation” (Törnquist et al 2009:212-213). Pro-democrats were unprepared ideologically and organisationally to participate in elections (Törnquist et al 2009:213). This allowed for “a rapid reconsolidation of the ruling coalition which had underpinned the New Order” (Aspinall 2005:5).

Two national democracy surveys in Indonesia from the years 2003 and 2007 show that civil society groups and popular movements have been unable to establish firm social bases and advance politically. Pro-democracy groups have isolated themselves in civil society and lobbying activities without trying to enter organised politics. Elitist parties and groups captured the political momentum by incorporating ordinary people from top-down. Organised politics are today run by a limited number of powerful groups with roots in state, business and communal organisations (Törnquist et al 2009:213). Van Klinken argues that elites in provincial Indonesia act as patrons. They control rents, which arise mainly from the state, and hand out patronage. In return they expect support for projects such as development of political parties and inflow of public and private investment. They do not share interest in the same issues as the class below them, such as human rights, land, labour and anti-corruption measures, and the parties are not about representing these interests (Van Klinken 2009:155).

Elites pointed out in the surveys are local and central public executives, police officers, soldiers, militia henchmen, parliamentarians, businesspeople and NGO figures (Van Klinken 2009:143).

Törnquist et al argue that the political opportunity structure in Indonesia remains unfavourable to democratic participation and representation. Apart from in Aceh, participation in local elections requires a national presence, with branch offices in 60 per cent of the provinces, 50 per cent of the regencies and municipalities and 25 per cent of the sub-districts. Törnquist et al argue that this makes it almost impossible to build parties from below without access to huge funds (Törnquist et al 2009:213). Only big parties or extensive coalitions can nominate candidates for president, governor, mayor and regent elections (Törnquist et al 2009:213). They further argue that the labour classes and women are excluded from political participation as “participation even in village elections call for male-dominated networks and huge resources” (Törnquist et al 2009:213-214). Finally Törnquist et al argue that “there are almost no democratic arrangements for interest-based and direct popular representation in public governance” (Törnquist et al 2009:214).

## **2.3 Participatory Design**

Archon Fung presents a framework of participatory design. He argues that mechanisms of direct participation in public decision-making can complement political representation increasing the legitimacy, justice and effectiveness of public action (Fung 2006:66, 74). For example a participatory design that is inclusive with regards to participant selection and intensive with regards to communication and decision-making can increase legitimacy of a policy or action by improving the representativeness of participants and making discussions among participants more informed and reflective (Fung 2006:70). Fung argues that the participatory design determines “who participates, how participants communicate with one another and make decisions together, and how discussions are linked with policy or public action” (Fung 2006:66).

The consultation process for the making of the national REDD+ strategy was a mechanism for public deliberation and decision-making. Fung's framework of participatory design will be used to analyse how indigenous peoples and local communities participated in the consultation process, and why the participation took this form. In the consultation process for the national REDD+ strategy there was both direct participation by individuals, and representation by civil society organisations that participated on behalf of a public.

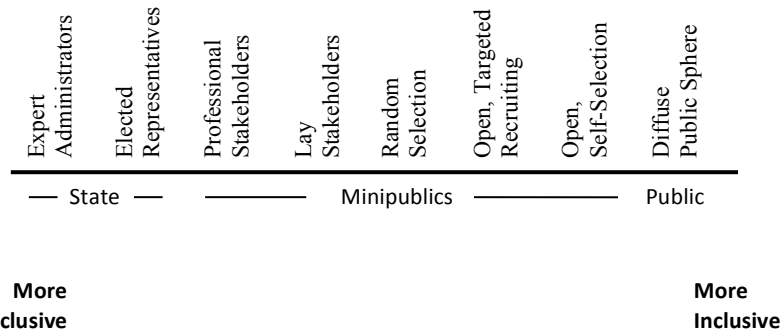
### **2.3.1 Participant Selection**

Participant selection refers to the mechanism used for "identifying or selecting the actors who participate directly in discussions or decisions about public matters" (2006:68). The most inclusive mechanism is the 'diffuse public sphere' where discussions are held in the media, secondary associations or informal venues (Fung 2006:68). The least inclusive mechanism is participation of expert administrators only, followed by participation of elected representatives (Fung 2006:68).

*Open self-selection* is the most common form of participant selection (Fung 2006:67). The participants are a self-selected subset of the general population. Fung argues that despite the appeal of openness, those who choose to participate are often quite unrepresentative of the larger public: "Individuals who are wealthier and better educated tend to participate more than those who lack these advantages, as do those who have special interests or stronger views" (Fung 2006:67). With *open targeted recruiting* the process is open to all, but groups that are less likely to participate are targeted and actively recruited (Fung 2006:67). This is a way of ensuring better representation of people that are likely to be affected by a policy or activity. *Random selection* of participants is according to Fung the best way to guarantee descriptive representativeness (Fung 2006:67-68). In order to use random selection one needs data on the population in question, and a means of contacting those selected.

Engaging *lay stakeholders* is the next selection method. Lay stakeholders are unpaid citizens who have a deep interest in a public concern and are willing to spend time and energy

representing those with similar interests or perspectives (Fung 2006:68). Engaging *professional stakeholders* is the final selection method. Professional stakeholders are paid representatives for organized interests and public officials (Fung 2006:68).



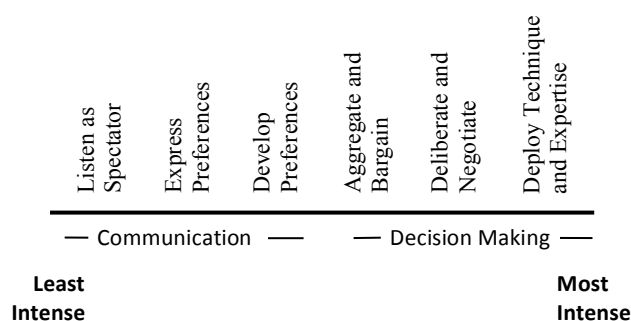
**Figure: Participant Selection Methods (Fung 2006:68)**

### 2.3.2 Communication and Decision-making

Communication and decision making covers how participants interact within a venue of public discussion or decision-making (Fung 2006:68). Fung distinguishes between modes of communication and decision-making, and ranges these according to intensity, which “indicates roughly the level of investment, knowledge, and commitment required of participants” (Fung 2006:69).

The least intensive mode of communication is to *listen as a spectator*. The reason might be attending a public hearing to receive information about a policy or project and instead of participating in the discussion you listen to struggles among politicians, activists and interest groups (Fung 2006:68). The next mode is to *express preferences*. Almost all public meetings offer the opportunity of expressing preferences, through for example a pointed question (Fung 2006:68). Some meetings are organised to encourage participants to *develop preferences* by providing educational materials or briefings and asking participants to consider merits and trade-offs. Discussions are often organised in smaller groups (Fung 2006:68).

The fourth mode, and the first related to decision-making, is *aggregation and bargaining*. In this case participants know what they want, and preferences are aggregated into a social choice often on the basis of the influence and power of the different participants (Fung 2006:68). The fifth mode is *deliberation and negotiation*. Participants deliberate to figure out what they want individually and as a group. Educational background materials are typically provided and participants exchange perspectives, experiences, and reasons with one another. The participants then aim at consensus based upon reasons, arguments and principles (Fung 2006:69). The final mode is decisions made by officials on the basis of *technical expertise*, which does not normally involve citizens (Fung 2006:10).



**Figure: Modes of Communication and Decision Making (Fung 2006:69)**

### 2.3.3 Authority and Power

The third dimension of Fung’s framework concerns the link between the discussions and the policy or public action. What *influence* does participation have on what authorities do? Fung distinguishes between five categories of authority and power. The first category is when the participant has little or no expectations of influencing policy or action. Participation is in order to gain *personal benefits* or to fulfil a sense of civic obligation (Fung 2006:69). The second category is indirectly influencing the state by alerting or mobilizing public opinion. Discussions and decisions can exert a *communicative influence* on members of the public or officials (Fung 2006:69).

The third category is providing *advice and consultation*. Here, “officials preserve their authority and power but commit themselves to receiving input from participants”. The stated purpose of public meetings is to provide such advice (Fung 2006:69). In some venues, citizens who participate join in a *co-governing partnership*, where participants join officials in making plans and policies or to develop strategies (Fung 2006:69). The final category is when participatory bodies exercise *direct authority* over public decisions or resources (Fung 2006:69).

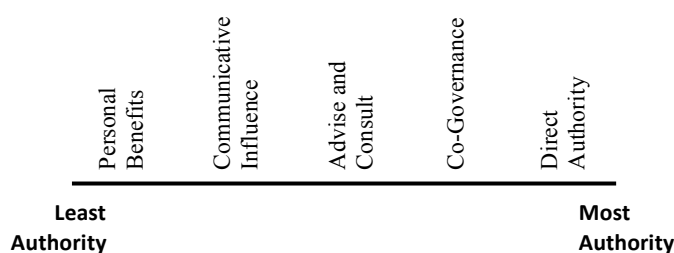


Figure: Extent of Authority and Power (Fung 2006:70)

## 2.4 Structure of Arguments

Returning to the research question of “How did indigenous peoples and local communities participate in the consultation process for the national REDD+ strategy in Indonesia, and why did the participation take this form?” Based on the theoretical foundation in this chapter it will be argued that:

- Indigenous peoples and local communities participated mainly through civil society organisations because of lacking opportunity for direct participation for indigenous peoples and local communities, lacking political representation for indigenous peoples and local communities and civil society organisations that were ready to represent indigenous peoples and local communities.



- The representativeness of the civil society organisations towards indigenous peoples and local communities varied.

## 3 Method

King, Keohane and Verba argue that “social science seeks to arrive at valid inferences by the systematic use of well-established procedures of inquiry” (King, Keohane and Verba 1994:6). The procedure of inquiry or method is the way in which phenomena are observed, questions asked, and inferences made (King, Keohane and Verba 1994:8). Different methods have different advantages and limitations. By explicitly stating the method for the thesis and the rationale behind it in this chapter, the advantages and limitations can be discussed and the research project can be replicated, which improves reliability (King, Keohane and Verba 1994:8). The method and tools used for this thesis is discussed throughout this chapter.

### 3.1 Process-tracing

Process-tracing is the method used in this thesis. George and Bennett describe the goal of process-tracing as: “identify the intervening causal process – the causal chain and the causal mechanism – between an independent variable (or variables) and the outcome of the dependent variable” (George and Bennett 2005:206). George and Bennett argue that the strength of process-tracing lies in the lack of independence of the observations. If variables are part of a causal process they should be connected in a particular way (George and Bennett 2005:207). With process-tracing one documents as much as possible about one single process, and tries to find the causal mechanism(s) that lead up to the outcome of the dependent variable. Because the variables are inter-linked in a causal mechanism there is a lack of independence between the variables.

Process-tracing focuses on causal mechanisms whereas most quantitative methods are built around discovering causal effects, which can be defined as “the expected value of the change in outcome if we could run a perfect experiment in which only one independent variable changes” (George and Bennett 2005:138). The causal effect is then explained by one or more variables. George and Bennett point out that “Many theories [...] are probabilistic statements that do not specify the causal process that leads from the independent variables associated

with the theory to variance in the outcomes” (2005:209). They argue that causal mechanisms are as important as causal effects for causal explanations (George and Bennett 2005:12).

The dependent variable in this thesis is the participation of indigenous peoples and local communities in the making of the national REDD+ strategy. By outlining the consultation process, I will attempt to answer the research question of “How did indigenous peoples and local communities participate in the consultation process for the national REDD+ strategy in Indonesia, and why did the participation take this form?”

## **3.2 Elite Interviews**

The term elite refers to individuals that are assumed to have a good overview of and insight to questions the researcher wishes to focus on (Andersen 2006:279, translated from Norwegian). Oisín Tansey argues that elite interviewing has considerable relevance for process-tracing as “process tracing requires collecting large amounts of data” and interviews with key actors is a central tool together with documentary research for gathering data (2007:765).

There are three uses of elite interviewing that are of particular relevance for this thesis. The first is help to “reconstruct political episodes on the basis of the respondents’ testimonies, stitching together various accounts to form a broader picture of a complex phenomenon” (Tansey 2007:767). This gives the researcher the opportunity of “moving beyond written accounts that may often only represent an official version of events” (Tansey 2007:767). Official versions tend not to include the informal processes that precede decision-making and may for example imply consensus with a decision where there were disagreements (Tansey 2007:767). First-hand participants in a process can distinguish the most significant or accurate documents which can help the researcher in cases where there is an abundance of information (Tansey 2007:767).

The second use of elite interviewing is to corroborate what has been established from other sources (Tansey 2007:766). After documents and secondary sources provide an initial overview, interviews can be used to collaborate on earlier findings (Tansey 2007:766). This also contributes to triangulation, “where collected data are cross-checked through multiple sources to increase the findings’ robustness” (Tansey 2007:766). The third use is to establish what a set of people think (Tansey 2007:766). Open-ended questions allow respondents to speak freely, and can lead to rich details of elites’ thoughts and attitudes on central issues (Tansey 2007:766). Even though my thesis is not centred on decision-making at the individual level, attitudes, values and beliefs expressed by one or two people can be useful for understanding decisions made in that organisation.

### **3.2.1 Sampling**

Tansey argues that non-probability sampling is well-suited to use with the process tracing method (2007:270). While probability sampling “ensures that each unit of the population has a known probability of being selected”, avoids selection bias and allows for generalizations from the sample to the wider population (Tansey 2007:768-769). The goal of process tracing is not to generalize to a wider population but rather “to reduce randomness as much as possible” and “establish the identities of the most important actors and approach them directly for interviews” (Tansey 2007:769). Non-probability sampling gives control over the selection process, and ensures the inclusion of key political actors (Tansey 2007:769).

For this thesis project I used the snowball or chain-referral sampling method, which is a form of non-probability sampling (Tansey 2007:770). This entails identifying an initial set of respondents and then asking the respondents to identify other individuals that are close to the process of interest. Then the next set of respondents are interviewed and asked for proposals of relevant individuals. This continues until “the sample is large enough for the purposes of the study, or until respondents begin repeating names to the extent that further rounds of nominations are unlikely to yield significant new information” (Tansey 2007:770). Tansey points out that the researcher is in control of the selection process by being heavily involved in the initial selection and the progress of the sample by seeking to ensure that the referrals

are relevant for the scope of the study (2007:770). A danger of this method is that respondents often suggest others that have the same perspective and outlook on the process, it is therefore important to ensure that the first selection is wide enough to avoid that the sample is skewed in one direction (Tansey 2007:770).

For the selection process for the field work of this thesis I started out by making a list of the different institutions and organisations that I learned had been engaged in the process of making the national REDD+ strategy. They included the organisers; BAPPENAS, UN-REDD Indonesia Programme and Kemitraan, organisations that had submitted written comments to the strategy that were publicised on the UN-REDD Indonesia website including HuMa and AMAN. I was also invited to attend a workshop organised by the Forestry Council and UN-REDD Indonesia on the topic of FPIC. As this topic is linked to REDD+, I expected that some of the participants at this workshop would also have been engaged on the process of the making of the national REDD+ strategy which was confirmed at the workshop. From the people I spoke with I was referred on to others that had been involved in the process. Constraint of time meant that I was not able to follow up on all referrals. It also meant that I often only spoke with one or two at each organisation. This can have led to information skewed by personal views.

### **3.2.2 Structure of Interviews**

Beth L. Leech presents three different types of interviews; structured, unstructured and semi-structured. Unstructured interviews are useful when the researcher “has limited knowledge about a topic or wants an insiders perspective” (Leech 2002:665). The interview is likely to wonder off topic and is not likely to give consistent data that can be compared across interviews (Leech 2002:665). Structured interviews are useful when the researcher knows a lot about a topic and is familiar with all possible responses. Questions are often closed-ended and the goal is to count how many people fall into each category (Leech 2002:665). Leech argues that this approach can be risky if one asks the wrong questions, leading to “reliable data that lacks any content validity” (Leech 2002:665). Semi-structured interviews are a middle-ground. They “can provide detail, depth, and an insider’s perspective” and allow for

comparison across interviews (Leech 2002:665). The semi-structured interview approach was used when gathering data for this thesis.

Leech recommends that “The interviewer should seem professional and generally knowledgeable, but less knowledgeable than the respondent on the particular topic of the interview” (Leech 2002:665). It is good to start with a one-minute presentation on the project, without stating any hypotheses (Leech 2002:666). Leech suggests that during the interview it is good to briefly restate what the respondent said for the interviewer to show that he or she is listening. This should be done without reinterpreting what was said, and Leech therefore recommends to use the respondent’s own language (2002:666).

Leech suggests that the interview should begin with easy questions, and move on to more sensitive ones. Sensitive questions should be asked in the middle or towards the end of an interview (Leech 2002:666). By asking things like background, title and personal details at the end it is easier to make the interview about the issue and not about the respondent personally (Leech 2002:666). Presuming questions that imply the researcher already knows the answer or parts of it should be limited to situations where the respondent is likely to try to avoid answering the question. The reason for this is that the respondent might make up an answer (Leech 2002:666). The example Leech gives is asking a lobbyist ‘How much did your organisation give in soft money donations?’ instead of ‘Did you give soft money donations?’ The prior question makes it easier to answer the question as it presumes soft money donations are normal (Leech 2002:666). Leech argues that prompts are as important as questions. A prompt can be used to ensure the respondent that the interviewer is listening and is interested, e.g. ‘yes’ and ‘how interesting’ (Leech 2002:668). Prompts can be used to ask to clarify or expand on something, e.g. ‘how’, ‘why’ and ‘and then..’. Another way to ask for clarification is to repeat the key term of the respondent’s last response as a question (Leech 2002:668). Leech advises that sometimes the best thing the interviewer can do is to be quiet and give the respondent room to finish (2002:668). When it comes to giving the respondents space to finish, I believe I at times was not conscious enough of this point and would ask a follow-up question before the respondent had time to formulate an answer to the first question.

Open-ended questions allows the respondent to tell the interviewer what is relevant and important rather than being limited by the researcher's preconceived notions of what is important (Berry 2002:681). For this thesis both open-ended and closed-ended questions were used. The two main interview questions were open-ended; 'What groups and interests have been represented in the consultations process for the national REDD+ strategy?' and 'Why has there been a consultation process for the national REDD+ strategy?' The follow-up questions and prompts were meant to provide clarifications and expansions of the responses.

With regards to language and culture there were some cases of confusion. I often attempted to repeat the answer of the respondent, or ask a follow-up question in order to make sure I had understood what had been said. There were however some cases where I did not understand. Depending on how much time there was for the interview I would try to clarify or move on. All interviews were done in English, except for the ones in Bereng Benekel village, which were done with the help of a translator. The interviews with translation went well because of the translator's strong English.

### **3.3 Conceptual Validity and Reliability**

According to George and Bennett conceptual validity depends on the researcher's ability to identify and measure the indicators that best represent the theoretical concepts in the study (George and Bennett 2005:19).

The elite interviews provide the basis for outlining the process of making the national REDD+ strategy. The indicators of 'full and effective participation' will be discussed from the material on the process. With regards to the data collected, or the measurement of indicators, the following is taken into account. Berry notes that "Interviewers must always keep in mind that it is not the obligation of a subject to be objective and to tell us the truth" (2002:680). He also points out that it is easy for the interviewer to believe more in one account if it fits with his or her own take on the situation or because that individual was

likable (Berry 2002:680). His advice is to keep in mind that there is a purpose behind what respondents say in an interview. For example, all people when talking about their work will justify what they are doing (Berry 2002:680). Using multiple sources, preparing beforehand and asking the respondent to talk about other participants and organisations (may be more accurate than when talking about their own) are ways to minimize these problems (Berry 2002:680-681).

Andersen points out that respondents can have very different versions of the same situation even though they are presumed to know it well (2006:292, translated from Norwegian<sup>1</sup>). He refers to studies which show that people remember things better when it is every-day events they understand well. Elite interviews are often used to gather information on events that are rare and often complex, thus making respondents less dependable for information (Andersen 2006:292-293). People also tend to exaggerate the possibility that something will happen after it has happened. And rationalise events that happened by even changing the sequence of events to make them more logical (Andersen 2006:293-295). To minimize these problems it helps to establish details such as the sequence of events and who were present (Andersen 2006:295).

In the interviews for this thesis, the time span from the process of interest, the making of the national REDD+ strategy took place between approximately June 2010 to November 2010, to the interviews were conducted in January 2011 was relatively short. One can assume that this makes the information from the respondents more reliable. I focused on noting down the sequence of events, and on who attended in the different parts of the process. I asked about the respondents own organisation as well as for them to tell about others<sup>2</sup>. The snowball selection method together with a wide starting point multiple sources are secured in the study. The preparations before the interviews consisted in reading about the making of the national REDD+ strategy in the press, on the UN-REDD Indonesia website, different NGO websites and speaking with a Norwegian NGO that have Indonesian partners.

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<sup>1</sup> All of the material from Andersen 2006 is translated from Norwegian.

<sup>3</sup> The interview with Ms Silje Haugland was held in Norwegian, and has been translated to English.



According to KKV “Reliability means that applying the same procedure in the same way will always produce the same measure” (1994:25). In order to improve the reliability of this thesis, the method is presented in this chapter and the question sheet is in attachment one. Andersen argues that documentation of interviews is important. The level of documentation needed varies with what the data will be used for (Andersen 2006:291). For the majority of the interviews conducted a sound recorder was used in addition to taking notes. This was of great help for going back to check details in the writing process. Yin argues that coding of data is important for the reliability of a study and suggests that protocols are developed for how the data is systemized and interpreted (Yin 1989 in Andersen 2006:292). The interview data in this study was organised based on the chronological order of events. No further coding of the data was done, because of time constraints.

## **4 The making of the national REDD+ strategy in Indonesia**

The purpose of the Indonesian national REDD+ strategy as described in a brochure by the REDD+ Task Force is “to lay the ground for a 5-year roadmap for Indonesia to reduce CO<sub>2</sub> emissions, from deforestation and forest degradation, and preserve biodiversity while growing at an economically sustainable rate” (REDD+ Task Force 2010: 7). The national REDD+ strategy is thus a part of the strategic intent for Indonesia going forwards presented as “to achieve sustainable economic growth of 7 percent per annum or more, and reduce overall emission levels by 41% against the Business as Usual Levels by 2020, while at the same time, protect the country’s rich biodiversity and respect the plurality of its population profile and needs” (REDD+ Task Force 2010: 2).

What follows is an account of the making of the Indonesian national REDD+ strategy. The process will be outlined starting from the Letter of Intent (LoI), a partnership between Indonesia and Norway, in May 2010. The responsibility for the making of the strategy was given to BAPPENAS, the Indonesian National Development Planning Agency, in June 2010. In the middle of July 2010 the UN-REDD Indonesia Programme became involved to assist BAPPENAS. Kemitraan, the Indonesian Partnership for Governance Reform shortly after became involved to assist BAPPENAS together with the UN-REDD Indonesia Programme. Seven regional consultations were held in addition to a number of expert meetings with different stakeholders. The strategy was opened to the public for comments from all. A national and international consultation was held before the strategy was handed over from BAPPENAS to the REDD+ Task Force in November 2010.

Because the focus of this thesis is to answer how indigenous peoples and local communities participated in the making of the national REDD+ strategy, and why the participation took the form it did, the emphasis of this chapter is to present the information from the interviews and

other written sources which say something about this topic. As discussed in the methods chapter, the information used is not complete because of the inherent constraints of time and resources of a master thesis project.

## **4.1 Letter of Intent between Indonesia and Norway**

On the 26<sup>th</sup> of May 2010 Indonesia and Norway signed a Letter of Intent (LoI) outlining cooperation on REDD+. Norway pledged to support REDD+ planning and implementation in Indonesia by USD 1 billion (Letter of Intent 2010). In September 2009 president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono stated that Indonesia would voluntarily reduce its greenhouse gas emissions by 26% from business as usual levels by year 2020 and by up to 41% with international support (National Council on Climate Change n.d:1). This made Indonesia one of the first developing countries to announce a domestic emission reduction level (National Council on Climate Change n.d:1). Ms Aichida UI-Aflaha is staff to Mr Kuntoro Mangkusubroto who is the head of the President's Delivery Unit for Development, Monitoring and Oversight (UKP4) and head of the REDD+ Task Force which was established in September 2010 to oversee all REDD+ activities in Indonesia. She stated that "Seeing the commitment of the president, Norway decided to step in and provide support through this LoI" (UI-Aflaha, UKP4 19.01.11).

The LoI distinguishes between three phases: a preparation phase, a transformation phase, and a final stage (Letter of Intent 2010:2-4). All funding is based on deliverables, first in terms of policies and institutions needed for REDD+ and then from verified emission reductions (Letter of Intent 2010). Ms UI-Aflaha argued that as important as the monetary amount in the LoI is the way it is structured with payment based on deliverables. "When the LoI was created both the Indonesian and the Norwegian government looked for ways to increase the likelihood of its success" (UI-Aflaha, UKP4 19.01.11). The LoI outlines five deliverables. The responsibility for the completion of each of these was given to different ministries (UI-Aflaha, UKP4 19.01.11). The goal was for these deliverables to be done by January 2011

(Letter of Intent: 2-3). The responsibility for making the national REDD+ strategy was given to BAPPENAS, the establishment of a REDD+ agency and an institution for monitoring, reporting and verification of forest related greenhouse gas emissions was given to UKP4, the design and establishment of a funding instrument was given to the Finance Ministry and the selection of the pilot province was given to the Ministry of Forestry (UI-Aflaha, UKP4 19.01.11).

Under general approach and principles in the LoI, the following two points are included: “Give all relevant stakeholders, including indigenous peoples, local communities and civil society, subject to national legislation, and, where applicable, international instruments, the opportunity of full and effective participation in REDD+ planning and implementation [...] Seek to ensure the economic, social and environmental sustainability and integrity of our REDD+ efforts.” (Letter of Intent 2010:1-2). Ms Nur Hygiawati Rahayu, head of Conservation and Environmental Services at BAPPENAS, stated that “We needed to make sure that all the provinces were involved and that as many stakeholders as possible were involved. Our constraints were time and funding and human resources from us” (Rahayu, BAPPENAS 12.01.11).

## **4.1 UN-REDD’s Proposal to BAPPENAS**

The UN-REDD Indonesia Programme (hereby referred to as UN-REDD) is a collaboration between UNDP, FAO, UNEP and the Indonesian Ministry of Forestry (Standard Joint Programme Document n.d.: 1). Its aim is to: “assist the Government of Indonesia in establishing and organizing a fair, equitable and transparent REDD+ architecture as well as in attaining ‘REDD-Readiness’” (UN-REDD Indonesia n.d.). Mr Abdul Situmorang, at the time working for UNDP and now for UN-REDD, explained that when UNDP and UN-REDD heard that BAPPENAS would coordinate the making of the national REDD+ strategy, they agreed that it was a good time to support BAPPENAS in developing the strategy inclusively and transparently (Situmorang, UN-REDD 14.01.11). Ms Silje Haugland, who works for UNDP and UN-REDD, stated that “When we received the LoI at the end of May, there was a huge pressure that things had to happen quickly. The strategy had a deadline of three months

[..] We thought given that the national strategy needs to be in place quickly, we wish that it should be made in a good way, how can we contribute?” (Silje Haugland, UNDP 19.01.2011, translated from Norwegian<sup>3</sup>).

UNDP and UN-REDD thus developed a proposal outlining a consultation process for the making of the national REDD+ strategy that was given to BAPPENAS in the middle of July 2010 (Situmorang, UN-REDD 14.01.11). This proposal was based on experiences from a project called “Legal Empowerment and Assistance for the Disadvantaged Project” (LEAD) which concluded in “The National Strategy on Access to Justice” in 2009 (Situmorang, UN-REDD 14.01.11, Haugland, UNDP 19.01.2011). This work included consultations with over 600 stakeholders in six provinces were done in order to assess protection of the law for poor and marginalised people, as well as expert meetings (BAPPENAS and UNDP Indonesia n.d.: 1-2). This project was coordinated by BAPPENAS and supported by UNDP (Situmorang, UN-REDD 14.01.11). Mr Situmorang stated that “We convinced BAPPENAS that it is a need, it is a must, to involve stakeholders in the process from the beginning - not in the middle or even when the strategy is developed, but in the beginning” (Situmorang, UN-REDD 14.01.11). Ms Rahayu at BAPPENAS stated that “BAPPENAS and UN-REDD have the same goals for their output”, and that is to have a process for the making of the national REDD+ strategy that is “inclusive, credible, transparent and institutionalised” (Rahayu, BAPPENAS 12.01.11). These principles are presented in a Process Book on the making of the strategy:

“Inclusive, meaning that the process of formulating the national REDD+ strategy involves both the parties that will implement and the parties that directly or indirectly will be affected [...] transparency, interpreted as a principle of openness, where there is public access to observe and monitor the development of the policy. [...] The credibility principle entails that the development of the national strategy is a process managed by people and institutions that are credible and that the process or approach can be trusted. [...] The institutionalisation principle refers to the understanding that the process of the development of the national REDD+ strategy leads to the institutionalisation of ideas, knowledge, values, legal basis” (Process Book 2011:17-18, translated from Indonesian).

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<sup>3</sup> The interview with Ms Silje Haugland was held in Norwegian, and has been translated to English.

A UN-REDD Newsletter from September 2010 states that UN-REDD and BAPPENAS is collaborating “to conduct an intensive multi-stakeholder consultation process that will produce the world’s first fully participatory National REDD+ Strategy” (UN-REDD 2010a). A UN-REDD press release from the 30th of August 2010 states “This activity (developing Indonesia’s national REDD+ strategy) [...] is important in order to create consensus on the REDD+ policy among multi-stakeholders” and that

“Multi-stakeholder participation in developing the National REDD+ Strategy is crucial in order to receive inputs and support from the public, and in order to ensure that the policy that is being developed is benefiting the public, and especially the local communities” (UN-REDD 30.08.2010b).

## **4.2 The Making of the Initial Drafts**

BAPPENAS and UN-REDD jointly established the institutions for the making of the national REDD+ strategy, with support by the Ministry of Forestry and the Ministry of Agriculture (Press release UN-REDD 30.08.2010, Process Book 2011:32). These consisted of a Steering Committee, an Implementation Team, a Technical Team, a Writing Team and a Secretariat (Press release UN-REDD 30.08.2010). The Steering Committee was headed by the Deputy Minister of BAPPENAS, and included high-ranking government officials from BAPPENAS, Ministry of Forestry, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Mining and Energy and the National Council on Climate Change (Process Book 2011:32-35). The committee would monitor the process and provide strategic guidance to the making of the national REDD+ strategy (Process Book 2011:32, Situmorang, UN-REDD 14.01.11).

The Implementation Team included officials from the Ministry of Forestry, Ministry of Agriculture and BAPPENAS, and representatives from Bogor Agricultural University, the indigenous people organisation AMAN, the Indonesian Center for Environmental Law, The Partnership for Governance Reform (Kemitraan), research institutions CIFOR and ICRAF,

UNDP, and international NGO's TNC, WWF and CI (Process Book 2011:35-36). Mr Situmorang argued that having multi-stakeholders in the Implementation Team was helpful because "they can provide input based on their experience and work [...] For example one of the underlying causes of deforestation is land conflicts and AMAN knows a lot about that" (Situmorang, UN-REDD 14.01.11). The task of the Implementation Team was to be in charge of the creation of the first drafts of the national REDD+ strategy and the consultations with stakeholders (Process Book 2011:35).

The first draft of the strategy was made by the Writing Team and Technical Team after extensive meetings (Press release UN-REDD 30.08.2010). According to Mr Situmorang the criteria for the members of the Writing Team consisted of: knowledge on the social, technical, policy and law aspects of REDD+, a balance of backgrounds from government and non-government and gender balance (Situmorang, UN-REDD 14.01.11). This draft was presented to the Implementation Team on the 19<sup>th</sup> of August 2010, and was called "Draft 0" (Situmorang, UN-REDD 14.01.11). The strategy was revised and presented to the Steering Committee on the 26<sup>th</sup> of August 2010 as "Draft 1" (Situmorang, UN-REDD 14.01.11). "Draft 1" was presented to the Civil Society Forum for Climate Justice<sup>4</sup> on the 27<sup>th</sup> of August. Mr Situmorang stated that "we asked their input to get another perspective" (Situmorang, UN-REDD 14.01.11, Process Book 2011:47).

## 4.1 Public Comments

Ms Haugland explained that as a component of the support by UN-REDD all drafts were made available to the public on the UN-REDD Indonesia website. "We encouraged transparency and published all the information possible" (Haugland, UNDP 19.01.2011).

The information made available includes public comments to the drafts made by different organisations, presentation of the process by BAPPENAS and press releases (UN-REDD Indonesia n.d.). Ms Haugland commented that "ideally the information should have been distributed more widely. However, it is a challenge to have it distributed because not all

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<sup>4</sup> Indonesian NGOs established the Civil Society Network for Climate Justice before COP13 in Bali in 2007.

people have access to the internet” (Haugland, UNDP 19.01.2011). On the question of her impression of whether NGOs distributed the information from the UN-REDD Indonesia website to local communities, Ms Haugland answered that “My impression is that the NGOs that have been distributing information have made much of the material themselves. They haven’t necessarily presented the strategy because I believe they feel it is at too high a level” (Haugland, UNDP 19.01.2011).

“Draft 1 revised” was opened up to comments from the public from 24<sup>th</sup> of September until 25<sup>th</sup> of October 2010 (Redd-Monitor 2010). There was a public announcement in the newspapers and on the UN-REDD Indonesia website inviting people to make comments on the draft (Muhararon, CIFOR 18.01.11). Mr Situmorang was a junior writer in the Writing Team. He explained that all comments were read by the Writing Team and incorporated into the strategy. “We identified one by one, this one is relevant, this one is not, and why [...] Once it was good enough, all parties had been accommodated and there was no bias, we did the regional consultations.” (Situmorang, UN-REDD 14.01.11).

## **4.2 Regional Consultations**

In the period from the 30<sup>th</sup> of September until the 22<sup>nd</sup> of October 2010 seven regional consultations on the national REDD+ strategy were held across Indonesia (Process Book 2011: 59-71). Ms Rahayu at BAPPENAS explained that the decision to have consultations in seven regions came as a compromise of having to include the whole country, “we had to include all because the information needed to go to all”, while keeping each consultation from being too big in terms of the number of participants (Rahayu, BAPPENAS 12.01.11). The seven consultations were divided based on Indonesia’s five big islands: Java, Sumatera, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Papua. Two consultations were held in Sumatera because of its large size (Rahayu, BAPPENAS 12.01.11). And one consultation was held in Mataram. The location of the regional consultations and the provinces covered in each consultation can be found in figure 1.



The consultations in the regions of Java, Bali and the Outer Islands, Sumatra I, Sulawesi and Papua were facilitated and funded by UN-REDD, while the consultations in Kalimantan and Sumatera II were facilitated and funded by Kemitraan (Process Book 2011: 52-53, Rahayu, BAPPENAS 12.01.11). To help with the organisation of the regional consultations BAPPENAS, the Technical Team and the Writer Team selected a chief facilitator from each region (Process Book 2011: 53, Rahayu, BAPPENAS 12.01.11). In addition a facilitator was chosen from each province (Mr Situmorang UN-REDD, 14.01.2010). All facilitators were invited to a meeting in Bogor on the 24<sup>th</sup> of September 2010 (Process Book 2011: 53). At the meeting the national REDD+ strategy and the fish bone method that would be used in the consultations was presented and the materials that would be prepared for the consultations discussed (Process Book 2011: 53). Mr Situmorang stated that all the facilitators were encouraged to organise a preliminary meeting in their province, to invite the participants and explain what was going to be discussed at the regional consultation (Situmorang UN-REDD, 14.01.2010). There was no money in UN-REDD's budget to do this so the facilitators were encouraged to use their own network for funding (Situmorang UN-REDD, 14.01.2010). Ms Rahayu stated that the chief facilitators in Jambi and Palangkaraya organised a pre-consultation process for their respective regions. They prepared the participants by holding meetings "To refresh what is climate change, what is REDD+. It was good for them to be prepared before the consultations" (Rahayu, BAPPENAS 12.01.11).

Mr Situmorang attended the meeting for the facilitators in Bogor. On the question of whether he had the impression that some of the facilitators were unsure about the issues around REDD+ he stated, "Yes of course you know. Particularly on MRV [...] It's very technical [...] they asked on this issue if you have more information send it to us. And we did" (Situmorang UN-REDD, 14.01.2010).

In the regions where UN-REDD was responsible, pre-consultation meetings were held with representatives from UN-REDD (Situmorang UN-REDD, 14.01.2010). Mr Situmorang argued that "every pre-consultation meeting was attended by most of the stakeholders, not only government but also NGO" (Situmorang UN-REDD, 14.01.2010). For the other provinces in the regions where UN-REDD was responsible they relied on the provincial

facilitators to organise pre-consultation meetings to spread information on the issues (Situmorang UN-REDD, 14.01.2010).

Ms Rahayu explained that they had needed to set up criteria for whom to invite to the regional consultations. These criteria were: (1) local government, including BAPPEDA, the provincial departments of Forestry, Agriculture, Energy and Mining and Investment Agency, (2) academics, (3) representatives of the private sector, (4) NGOs, (5) donors, in particular those who had demonstration activities in the region and (6) community leaders “We decided which region had the strong community leaders, like in Papua” (Rahayu, BAPPENAS 12.01.11).

Location / Region	Provinces	Date	Participants		
			Number	Sector (nearest per cent)	Sex (nearest per cent)
Yogyakarta /Java	Yogyakarta, Jakarta Banten, Jawa Barat, East Java and Central Java	30 Sept – 1 Oct 2010	60	Government: 58 % CSO: 20 % Academic: 17 % Private sector: 5 %	Male: 92 % Female: 8 %
Mataram /Bali and Outer Islands	Mataram, West Nusa Tenggara, East Nusa Tenggara, Bali, the Mollucas	7-8 Oct 2010	40	Government: 58 % CSO: 43 % Academic: 0 % Private sector: 0 %	Male: 85 % Female: 15 %
Banda Aceh / Sumatera I	Aceh, Lampung, West Sumatera, North Sumatera	11-12 Oct 2010	69	Government: 57 % CSO: 36 % Academic: 7 % Private sector: 0 %	Male: 93 % Female: 7 %
Palangkaraya/ Kalimantan	West Kalimantan, South Kalimantan, East Kalimantan and Central Kalimantan	14-15 Oct 2010	75	Government: 53 % CSO: 40 % Academic: 5 % Private sector: 1 %	Male: 95 % Female: 5 %
Palu/ Sulawesi	South Sulawesi, South East Sulawesi, West Sulawesi, North Sulawesi including Gorontalo	14-15 Oct 2010	42	Government: 33 % CSO: 45 % Academic: 21 % Private sector: 0 %	Male: 81 % Female: 19 %
Sentani/ Papua	Papua and West Papua	18-19 Oct 2010	62	Government: 24 % CSO: 58 % Academic: 10 % Private sector: 8 %	No data
Jambi/ Sumatera II	Riau Archipelago, Riau, Jambi, South Sumatera and Bangka Belitung	21-22 Oct 2010	39	Government: 31 % CSO: 62 % Academic: 5 % Private sector: 3 %	No data

Figure 1: Data on regional consultations for the national REDD+ strategy (Process Book 2011: 59-71, BAPPENAS n.d.: 10)

A breakdown of the civil society organisations that participated is included for two of the regional consultations. In Mataram 12 % of the CSOs were indigenous peoples representatives, 6 % were women's organisations representatives, and the remaining 82 % were other NGOs (Process Book 2011: 62). In Papua 31 % of the CSOs were indigenous peoples representatives (Process Book 2011: 70).

The regional consultation meetings lasted one and a half day each. On the first day there were presentations, and on the second day discussions (Situmorang UN-REDD, 14.01.2010). The discussion groups were divided up based on province. Four topics were on the agenda: (1) MRV and REL, (2) the underlying causes for deforestation, (3) participants input on the strategy and main activities, and (4) protocol and communication (Situmorang UN-REDD, 14.01.2010). Mr Situmorang explained that if participants had other topics to discuss there was an opening for this as well (Situmorang UN-REDD, 14.01.2010).

After the regional consultations were finished, all the facilitators from the different civil society organisations came to Jakarta for a meeting with BAPPENAS, UN-REDD and the Ministry of Forestry where the facilitators presented the results from the discussions (Situmorang UN-REDD, 14.01.2010).

### **4.3 National and International Consultation**

After revisions by the Writing Team to include the comments from the regional consultations a national and international consultation with invited experts was held in Bali from the 31<sup>st</sup> of October to 3<sup>rd</sup> of November 2010 (Situmorang UN-REDD, 14.01.2010). The document was then revised and handed over to The REDD+ Task Force, as a living document.

## **4.4 Participants or Possible Participants’ Perspective on the Consultation Process**

The following data is from different actors who participated in the consultation process, is within the target group of indigenous peoples and local communities who will likely be affected by REDD+, or work closely with this target group. The main interview questions asked were: “What groups and issues have been represented in the consultation process?”, and “Why has there been a consultation process?” (Interview Guide, Appendix 1).

### **4.4.1 Bereng Benekel Village**

Bereng Benekel Village is located by Kapuas River, a two hours drive outside of Palangkaraya, the provincial capital of Central Kalimantan. The inhabitants of the village can be seen as part of the target population for the consultation process for the national REDD+ strategy. The village is located in an area with carbon rich peat lands. There is an on-going REDD+ Demonstration Activity in the area, the Kalimantan Forests and Climate Project (KFCP). And in December 2010 Central Kalimantan was chosen as the REDD+ pilot province for Indonesia. It was therefore very interesting to hear what Mr Sias and Mr Alfian from the village had to say on REDD+ and participation in processes relating to REDD+.

Mr Sias and Mr Alfian are both born and raised in Bereng Benekel Village and active members of a locally organised Green Movement. They belong to the Dajak Naju people. The village is located in the ex-Mega Rice project area, in block E. The Mega Rice project consisted of the making of canals to drain the wet peat land for rice production and the extraction of forest on a total of 1.4 million hectares of land, containing 82.000 people. It lasted from 1997 until 1999. The production of rice failed and there was no rehabilitation of the land (Rompas, Walhi 22.01.2011, Mr Sias, Bereng Benekel 22.01.2011<sup>5</sup>). Mr Sias explained that the impact of the Mega Rice project is still felt in the form of frequent forest fires and big floods (Mr Sias, Bereng Benekel 22.01.2011). The village has since 2009 been

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<sup>5</sup> The interviews with Mr Sias and Mr Alfian were undertaken with the help of a translator, who translated between Bahasa Indonesia and English.

working to rehabilitate the area with the planting of local trees as part of the Green Movement (Mr Sias, Bereng Benekel 22.01.2011). Prior to the Mega Rice project the village used the peat forest for non-timber forest products including ratan, rubber and fishing. Today their livelihoods consist mostly of fishing (Mr Sias, Bereng Benekel 22.01.2011).

Mr Alfian stated that there has been no information on REDD+ given to the village by the government. The knowledge he has on REDD+ comes from training sessions with one of Walhi's member organisations (Mr Alfian, Bereng Benekel 22.01.2011). "They said that REDD will be implemented in Central Kalimantan whether it is accepted or not [...] At the community level on the other hand, it's up to the community to accept it or reject it. For me myself I think "No rights – No REDD" (Mr Alfian, Bereng Benekel 22.01.2011). Mr Alfian stated that Walhi had given some posters on REDD+ to the village. He argued these were more informative than long leaflets (Mr Alfian, Bereng Benekel 22.01.2011).

With regards to the regional public consultation on the national REDD+ strategy held in Palangkaraya, Mr Sias and Mr Alfian had not received any information about this before or after. Mr Rompas from Walhi Central Kalimantan stated that they give information on climate change and climate justice, and how the communities can act on these issues. With regards to the national REDD+ strategy Mr Rompas explained that they did not see this as very important. Firstly because the moratorium does not cover all land use change in forest areas, only new licences. And secondly, because local communities rights are not clear with regards to REDD+ (Rompas, Walhi 22.01.2011).

Mr Alfian stated that "I personally worry that REDD will go like the national park project where they claim our forest [...] REDD *has to* socialize what they are going to do in this area. They have to pay attention to the previous effort done by the community. We planted trees before the project. Please appreciate that" (Mr Alfian, Bereng Benekel 22.01.2011). On the question of whether he believed the community would be involved in future planning and implementation of REDD+ in the area, Mr Alfian argued that "Planning and implementation are two different parts. [...] Community might be involved in the planning, but when it goes to

a higher level it becomes politics. The implementation will talk about money. It is impossible that the community will be taken into account. We might be involved but only as labour” (Mr Alfian, Bereng Benekel 22.01.2011).

With regards to the KFCP project Mr Alfian stated that there were no consultations or information given out on the project in the village before it started. There was only one meeting where the topic was on economic potential; “People were asked to write economic development plans” (Mr Alfian, Bereng Benekel 22.01.2011). Mr Alfian explained that canal blocking was not mentioned in this meeting. However, later while he was in Palangkaraya for a meeting at the LP3 LH office he saw a sketch on the wall outlining plans for canal blocking in the area of Bereng Benekel village (Mr Alfian, Bereng Benekel 22.01.2011).

These activities include the planting of trees and canal blocking, apparently in order to rehabilitate the area. Mr Alfian was invited to a meeting at the office of LP3 in Palangkaraya around August 2010. Here he saw the plans for canal blocking for the first time, not presented to him but as a sketch hanging on the wall. He argued that “When a programme comes into the area it is supposed to hear what we want instead of doing what they want”, and further “we are definitely going to reject the canal blocking. I work on the canals” (Mr Alfian, Bereng Benekel 22.01.2011).

However, they did not receive information in Bereng Benekel Village about the regional public consultation which was held in Palangkaraya, according to Mr Alfian (Mr Alfian, Bereng Benekel 22.01.2011). Mr Alfian argued that people are bored with the elite language used for REDD+ (Mr Alfian, Bereng Benekel 22.01.2011).

#### **4.4.2 Walhi Central Kalimantan**

Walhi Central Kalimantan or Walhi Kalimantan Tengah is a provincial chapter of Walhi. I met with Mr Arie Rompas, the executive director of Walhi Central Kalimantan.

Mr Rompas explained that Walhi believes the basic problem is climate justice, and that climate justice is not compatible with REDD+ if it is to be financed through carbon offsets (Rompas, Walhi Central Kalimantan 21.01.2011). “In the UNFCCC the developed countries never show a strong commitment to reduce their emissions, whereas most of the emissions are from the industry in developed countries. With REDD+ developing countries [...] should cut (emissions) and do extra effort to protect their forest. I think that is just not fair” (Rompas, Walhi 21.01.2011).

Mr Rompas did not attend the regional public consultation for the national REDD+ strategy in Palangka Raya. He argued that the national REDD+ strategy does not touch upon what is substantive, namely the causes of deforestation (Rompas, Walhi 21.01.2011). Walhi calls for a moratorium that includes all land conversions. “If the moratorium only stops the (new) permits given by the government, while there are already 100,000’s of hectares permits already issued. The land conversion will still be ongoing during the moratorium” (Rompas, Walhi 21.01.2011).

With regards to the consultation process for the national REDD+ strategy Mr Rompas commented that: “Civil society groups are involved. But I want balanced participation where the people are being let known what will happen in their area so that they can be heard if they have any objections [...] What the people want to know so far is: The land where REDD is implemented, who does it belong to?” (Rompas, Walhi 21.01.2011).

#### **4.4.3 AMAN**

Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara (AMAN) translates to the Indigenous Peoples’ Alliance of the Archipelago. It was established in 1999 at the first AMAN Congress in Jakarta. A famous statement from this congress is: “we will not recognise the state if it does not recognise us” (AMAN n.d. a). AMAN organises indigenous peoples to take part in collective

action at the local, national and international level. They work towards: sovereignty for indigenous peoples over ancestral territories, the right for indigenous peoples to decide on developments in their areas, the right for indigenous peoples to live in dignity according to their own cultures, religions and traditions, and prosperity for indigenous peoples through access to natural resources (AMAN n.d. a). AMAN has 1163 communities as members from across Indonesia (AMAN n.d. b).

I met with Ms Mina Susan Setra, Mr Annas Raddin Syarif and Ms Rukka Sombolingi at the AMAN headquarter in Jakarta. Ms Setra argued that even though representatives from local AMAN chapters participated in the different regional consultations and gave input, the consultations were not very strong. The reason for this is that the national legislation does not recognise the rights of indigenous people (Setra, AMAN 13.01.2011). Because national legislation does not recognise the rights of indigenous peoples it is very difficult for the government to take input from AMAN on how REDD+ should work. Setra argues that indigenous peoples are rightholders. However, the government states that indigenous peoples are stakeholders (Setra, AMAN 13.01.2011). Examples of rights from the AMAN programme is the right for indigenous peoples for sovereignty over ancestral territories, to make decisions concerning these territories, live by their culture and have access to natural resources. Ms Sombolingi argued that indigenous peoples demand to say that they consent or not (Sombolingi, AMAN 13.01.2011).

Secondly, Ms Setra argued that at the consultations the number of government representatives was higher than indigenous peoples representatives. “Only a very small number indigenous peoples were invited, and their opinions and perspectives were not taken into account” (Setra, AMAN 13.01.2011). Thirdly, Mr Annas argued that language and the understanding of the issues was another reason for limited consultation. He argued that some indigenous peoples have problems understanding Bahasa, and that it is difficult for representatives that are not already familiar with the issues on REDD+ to obtain an understanding in only one consultation (Annas, AMAN 13.01.2011).



Finally, Ms Sombolingi argues that the result of the consultations for the national REDD+ strategy is important. She points out that as of January 2011 the current draft contains some of the concerns of AMAN. However, they do not know what will be included in the final strategy (Sombolingi, AMAN 13.01.2011).

#### **4.4.4 HuMa**

HuMa was founded in 2001 by LSAM, a human rights NGO. It focuses on natural resources law reform and indigenous peoples rights (Steni, HuMa 11.01.2011). Mr Bernadinus Steni at HuMa argued that the consultation process for the national REDD+ strategy was the first time the Indonesian government organised a wide consultation with indigenous people, local governments and NGOs (Steni, HuMa 11.01.2011). He pointed to drafts for national laws on water and forestry, which also affect indigenous peoples that have never had similar consultations. Mr Steni said local communities had been asking: “Why do they come only for REDD things, why not for other things?” He speculated that the reason for having a consultation process might be to be accountable to an international standard. International stakeholders were invited and they came to see and make comments during the process. The government also presented the making of the national REDD+ strategy with the consultation process at the UNFCCC in Cancun (Steni, HuMa 11.01.2011).

HuMa initiated and coordinated a proposal to the national REDD+ strategy as part of the Civil Society Forum on Climate Justice (Steni, HuMa 11.01.2011). Mr Steni stated that the 12 points suggested in this proposal were reflected in the strategy. However, he argued that since the strategy makes up the principles for REDD+, it is therefore still unclear whether the suggestions will be reflected in the actual policies on REDD+. “The national REDD+ strategy says that indigenous peoples should be considered and respected, but it doesn’t say how they should be considered and respected” (Steni, HuMa 11.01.2011). Mr Steni said HuMa sees no strong initiative to recognise indigenous peoples and local communities rights with regards to REDD+. He argued that the details of the REDD+ policies will depend on the different sectors (forestry, mining, palm oil) (Steni, HuMa 11.01.2011).

Still, he argued that this was an improvement compared with other consultations on REDD+. One was a consultation held by the Ministry of Forestry in Bogor in 2009 for a REDD+ decree. HuMa attended, but the proposals made in the consultation were not reflected in the decree according to Mr Steni (Steni, HuMa 11.01.2011). HuMa demands that the process for the making of new laws be transparent and that there should be operational procedures on consultations for new laws (Steni, HuMa 11.01.2011).

Mr Steni argued that the making of the national REDD+ strategy went too fast for there to be participation of primary stakeholders. He argued that there was a difficulty of information for stakeholders. “HuMa translated material on REDD to Indonesian. In Kalimantan they speak Bahasa, but in Java they speak Javanese. How do you do translation if the time is very short?” he asked (Steni, HuMa 11.01.2011). Mr Steni argued that input needs to be based on an understanding of the issues (Steni, HuMa 11.01.2011). At the moment, “NGOs oppose REDD+ in the name of communities. The question is which communities the NGOs have been to and work with” Mr Steni stated (Steni, HuMa 11.01.2011). Mr Steni stated that HuMa never speak in the name of communities. They do not oppose or accept REDD+, but work to support tenure issues and indigenous peoples rights (Steni, HuMa 11.01.2011).

#### **4.4.5 Walhi**

Walhi was established 30 years ago and is the largest environmental organization in Indonesia. It has offices in 27 out of 33 provinces and has 471 grass root member organisations (Walhi 2010). Its main activities are campaigns, advocacy and education around the issues: water, food and sustainability, forest and plantation, energy and mining, coastal and marine, and climate justice (Walhi 2010). Campaigns are organised at the local, national and international level through Friends of the Earth International. The highest decision-making body of Walhi is a meeting of all members held every three years. The National Executive

Committee and Regional Executive Committees coordinate activities and its members are elected through direct elections every three years. (Walhi 2010, translated from Indonesian<sup>6</sup>).

Walhi began focusing on REDD in 2007 prior to COP13 in Bali (Walhi 2010). In 2008 working groups on climate justice were set up consisting of experts, members of the national and regional executive committees and Walhi members (Walhi 2010). I met with Mr Teguh Surya, head of Walhi's Campaign Department and in the National Executive Committee. He explained that at the national level Walhi had been involved in the consultation process for the national REDD+ strategy "behind the scenes" (Surya, Walhi 13.01.2011). For the first draft Walhi communicated with UNDP and gave them input. Later Walhi cooperated with HuMa, AMAN and the other organisations in the Civil Society Forum on Climate Justice to make a proposal. The latter was published on the UN-REDD website. However, Walhi did not have its signature on it. Mr Surya stated that this was because Walhi was not officially invited to participate in the process at the national level (Surya, Walhi 13.01.2011). He stated that "We have communicated yes, we met with Kuntoro (head of UKP4 and the REDD+ Task Force), but that is just an informal meeting. [...] in the formal meeting we were not invited (Surya, Walhi 13.01.2011).

Mr Surya argued that local communities likely to be affected by REDD+ had not been able to participate in the consultation process for the national REDD+ strategy. He stated that "The government has done some consultations [...] But the problem is that there are still selected NGOs, selected communities invited" (Surya, Walhi 13.01.2011). Mr Surya argued that Walhi advocates for community involvement in conservation from the very beginning. "The community is dependent on the forest, they live there. If you do not involve them in conservation from the beginning it is like you are neglecting their rights" (Surya, Walhi 13.01.2011). The government responds that "we want to invite the community to get involved, but they lack knowledge, they don't understand the debate" (Surya, Walhi 13.01.2011). Then Walhi argues that "this is ridiculous because it is your responsibility to transfer the knowledge, to translate the language into local language. Because we pay you tax. And the government is just quiet" (Surya, Walhi 13.01.2011). Mr Surya also argued that he

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<sup>6</sup> Walhi 2010 is translated from Indonesian to English using Google Translate.

believes the government is afraid local communities will be resistant to REDD+ because of bad experiences with protected areas in the past. Therefore the government only involves the communities when the process is done and the community does not get a say. Mr Surya stated that this is how REDD+ projects in Aceh, Jambi and Central Kalimantan have happened (Surya, Walhi 13.01.2011). Still, Mr Surya argued that the consultation process for the national REDD+ strategy has been better than previous consultation processes. He stated that it is good consultations were organised in more provinces (Surya, Walhi 13.01.2011).

A second problem Mr Surya saw with the national REDD+ strategy was that after the consultation process it was not clear what would happen with the strategy. There is a document but the REDD+ Task Force say the document is a draft and not final (Surya, Walhi 13.01.2011). He pointed to different actors putting pressure on what happens with REDD+. “The business association of the forestry sector say that the president has to cancel the moratorium. [...] That is why the compromise is moratorium with only primary forest” (Surya, Walhi 13.01.2011). In the national REDD+ strategy the definition of forest does not make a clear distinction between mono-culture plantations and forest Mr Surya stated (Surya, Walhi 13.01.2011). Letting mono-culture plantations be a part of REDD+ will have massive implications for biodiversity and livelihoods but this debate is not the focus of this thesis. Mr Surya argued that another important factor for what happens with REDD+ is that McKinsey&Company is a policy think-tank for the government. “They recommend continuing deforestation because they say you cannot stop the conversion of forest” since that is good for Indonesia’s economy (Surya, Walhi 13.01.2011). They are not even an Indonesian company Mr Surya stated.

#### **4.4.6 Sawit Watch**

Sawit is the Indonesian word for oil palm. Sawit Watch was established in 1998 as a reaction to the massive forest fires in Indonesia in 1997 and 1998. The organisation concluded that most of the fires were intentionally started in order to clear land for oil palm (Saepullah,

Sawit Watch 06.01.2011, Sawit Watch n.d.<sup>7</sup>). Sawit Watch works to prevent possible negative effects of oil palm including violations of human rights, social inequality, deforestation, environmental degradation and social conflict. Their activities comprise facilitating dialogue between communities, government and management of oil palm plantations in order to resolve conflicts, strengthening member capacity e.g. through the building of community libraries, and encouraging policy change in favour of smallholder farmers, indigenous peoples and workers in oil palm and logging (Saragih 06.01.2011, Sawit Watch n.d.). 21 people work for Sawit Watch, of which 17 are lawyers (Saragih, Sawit Watch 06.01.2011). They spend much time travelling around Indonesia visiting local communities. They can give advice and represent communities in court cases (Saragih 06.01.2011). Sawit Watch also cooperates with local community organisations, currently around 50, who are in contact with approximately 40,000 households affected by palm oil plantations (Sawit Watch 2011, Saepullah, Sawit Watch 06.01.2011). The organisation has 135 members including plantation workers, indigenous people, NGO activists, legislators, teachers and professors (Sawit Watch n.d.). Mr Jefri Saragih, head of campaigns and public education, argued that the organization is free to set its own agenda without financial pressure from its sponsors (Saragih, Sawit Watch 06.01.2011).

I met with Mr Saepullah and Mr Saragih at the Sawit Watch office in Bogor, a one-hour drive from Jakarta. Sawit Watch has not been involved in the consultation process for the national REDD+ strategy. However, because of the contact the organisation has with local communities and indigenous peoples around the country, their view of what is happening with REDD+ is valuable. Mr Saragih argued that REDD is an exclusive issue and that most indigenous peoples do not have knowledge about it (Saragih, Sawit Watch 06.01.2011). “Only government, NGO activists, companies and university people are involved. If you go to the village or community they don’t know about it. Only when there are NGOs that work there they might talk about it. Government and Forestry Department has never sent anyone to the villages and to the forest to make socialization” (Saragih, Sawit Watch 06.01.2011). Mr Saragih visited 16 areas in 2010 across Indonesia. He gives the example of the Lorelindu people in Sulawesi, around 200 families, who he visited in September 2010. They had not heard about REDD (Saragih, Sawit Watch 06.01.2011).

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<sup>7</sup> Sawit Watch n.d. is translated from Indonesian to English using Google Translate.

Mr Saragih argued that Sawit Watch prefers to speak about global warming instead of REDD. He explains that Indigenous Peoples are very affected by climate change. “In East and West Kalimantan the level of water in the rivers decrease every year. Rain leads to floods and in every dry season there are big forest fires. This is all new. Sawit Watch send films to local communities and Indigenous Peoples addressing how to protect their environment” (Saragih, Sawit Watch 06.01.2011). Mr Saragih argued that if indigenous peoples and local communities receive compensation for protecting the environment through REDD then that is a bonus. “But their main occupation is being a farmer or fisher” (Saragih, Sawit Watch 06.01.2011). Mr Saragih also pointed out that Sawit Watch are very careful when they speak about REDD. If money is promised then this promise has to be kept Mr Saragih emphasises (Saragih, Sawit Watch 06.01.2011).

# 5 Analysis

In this chapter the empirical data on the making of the national REDD+ strategy gathered in the previous chapter will be analysed in order to answer the research question “How did indigenous peoples and local communities participate in the consultation process for the national REDD+ strategy in Indonesia, and why did the participation take this form?” It will be argued that indigenous peoples and local communities participated mainly through civil society organisations, and that the representativeness of these organisations varied. It will further be argued that the reason the participation took this form can be explained through three factors. Firstly, indigenous peoples and local communities did not have direct access for participation. Secondly, there was a lack of political representation of the views and interests of indigenous peoples and local communities. And thirdly, the civil society organisations were ready to act on the behalf of indigenous peoples and local communities.

## 5.1 Participation of Indigenous peoples and Local communities

It will be argued that indigenous peoples and local communities were mainly represented by civil society organisations in the consultation process for the national REDD+ strategy.

### 5.1.1 Direct Participation of Indigenous peoples and Local communities

#### (1) Participant Selection

Fung argues that the best way of achieving direct participation of individuals that are likely to be affected by a policy is to use open targeted recruiting. Open targeted recruiting entails that participants from subgroups that are less likely to participate are encouraged through facilitating for their participation, e.g. by actively providing information (Fung 2006:67).

Open targeted recruiting was only used to a small extent in the consultation process for the national REDD+ strategy.

In the first phase of the consultation process, for the making of the first drafts, input was given by the different appointed teams including the Steering Committee, the Implementation Team, Technical Team and Writing Team which consisted of elected politicians, bureaucrats, academics, and people from Kemitraan, research institutions, UNDP, national NGO AMAN and international NGOs (Process Book 2011:32-36). Following Fung's framework, the selection mechanisms used for this phase include expert administrators or bureaucrats, elected representatives and professional stakeholders. These are the three least inclusive mechanisms according to Fung's framework. Bureaucrats and elected representatives are part of the state, and so it is natural that these are exclusive of direct participation. Fung describes professional stakeholders as "paid representatives for organized interests" (Fung 2006:68). It is not clear where academic experts or NGO experts fit into Fung's framework. I believe they would be in the same category as professional stakeholders. This is because experts are there in the capacity of their job not representing their personal views as citizens.

Phase two of the consultation process, when the strategy was opened up for comments from the public, corresponds to the mechanism open self-selection. Anyone could participate by sending in his or her suggestions. Fung argues that open self-selection typically does not lead to a good representation of the larger public. The reason for this being that wealthier and better educated individuals tend to participate more, as well as those with special interests or stronger views (Fung 2006:67). Making comments on the national REDD+ strategy required information on the process and knowledge and understanding of the issues discussed in the strategy. Mr Saragih at Sawit Watch argued very strongly that there is a lack of information on REDD+ in local communities across Indonesia. That REDD+ is seen as an exclusive issue with only the government, NGOs, companies and academics involved (Saragih, Sawit Watch 06.01.2011). Mr Situmorang at UN-REDD argued that the challenge is that it is not enough to hand out information in leaflets or books, there needs to be people going to the different communities and explaining the content (Situmorang UN-REDD, 14.01.2011). Of the comments published on the UN-REDD website, none came directly from indigenous peoples



or local communities. One came from the Civil Society Forum on Climate Justice, consisting of Indonesian NGOs. Two came from international NGOs and two came from UN organisations (UN-REDD Indonesia n.d.).

The third phase of the consultation process included the regional, national and international consultations. BAPPENAS sent out the invitations for the different consultations, assisted by the regional and provincial facilitators from different civil society organisations, UN-REDD and Kemitraan. The criteria for who were invited to the regional consultations consisted of six different sectors/groups according to Ms Rahayu at BAPPENAS. These included local government, academics, private sector, NGOs, donors for on-going REDD+ projects and community leaders (Rahayu, BAPPENAS 12.01.11). Also, the number of participants from each province was limited to 20 to make the focus-group discussions effective (Rahayu, BAPPENAS 12.01.11). According to Fung's framework the selection mechanisms used were expert administrators, elected representatives and professional stakeholders including NGOs, donors and academics. These selection mechanisms do not include direct participation from the public. There was also targeted recruiting. Some community leaders participated, for example in Papua where 31% of the civil society organisations were indigenous peoples representatives.

On the question of whether she believed indigenous peoples and local communities had been able to participate directly in the consultation process for the national REDD+ strategy, Ms Rahayu argued that “no, not yet” (Rahayu, BAPPENAS 12.01.11). She argued that having consultation processes for each province is more feasible, but that there still needs to be priorities of which areas and which groups, otherwise it will be too broad (Rahayu, BAPPENAS 12.01.11).

## **(2) Communication and Decision-making**

Fung distinguishes between communication and decision-making, and ranges these according to intensity from listen as a spectator (least intensive) to deploy technique and expertise (most

intensive) (Fung 2006:68-69). I believe that if a participant in one of the regional consultations for the national REDD+ strategy had very little knowledge of the issues on the agenda, which included technical parts with MRV and REL, underlying causes of deforestation and input on the strategy which was at 91 pages at the time (BAPPENAS 23.09.2010), it would be difficult for this participant to participate at a high level of intensity according to Fung's framework. The lower modes of intensity include listen as a spectator, express preferences and develop preferences (Fung 2006:68). The first level of decision-making according to Fung's framework is aggregation and bargaining, where the participant knows what they want and preferences are aggregated into a choice based on bargaining (Fung 2006:68). In order to do this, one needs as expressed by Fung investment, knowledge and commitment (Fung 2006:69).

However, the agenda for the regional consultations was set up to follow the sections of the draft national REDD+ strategy, which was made by government officials, international and national NGO representatives and academics. The strategy was not written from the perspective of indigenous peoples and local communities. Mr Saragih at Sawit Watch argued that the knowledge of indigenous peoples should be recognised. He argued that they know how to protect the forest, "They have the wisdom to take care of it. How can the government know this? They think about modernity" (Saragih, Sawit Watch 06.01.2011). Mr Saragih told the story about a man he knows. This man has not gone to school but is the captain of a boat and navigates it through difficult streams (Saragih, Sawit Watch 06.01.2011). The translator I met in Palangkaraya grew up in a traditional indigenous peoples village and went to university to study English, so the knowledge of indigenous peoples and local communities is very diverse. Still, if there was a lack of ability to participate at a high level in the regional consultations it is important to remember whose knowledge the process is appreciating. I agree with Mr Saragih that it is a question of 'traditional' versus 'modern' perceptions. Ms Sombolingi from AMAN argued that indigenous peoples "have been protecting the environment when others were destroying it. And now people are trying to heal the world by using indigenous peoples' land, and they put them in the corner again [...] It is really far from justice to indigenous peoples" (Sombolingi, AMAN 13.01.2011). I believe this is why it is vital to have a consultation process that respects the rights and knowledge of indigenous

peoples and local communities when REDD+ is implemented, as it currently is in the pilot province of Central Kalimantan.

### **(3) Authority and Power**

The third dimension of Fung's framework concerns the link between the discussions in the participatory mechanism and the influence this has on policy or public action (Fung 2006:69). According to the REDD+ Task Force, the goal for the national REDD+ strategy is "to lay the ground for a 5-year roadmap for Indonesia to reduce CO<sub>2</sub> emissions" (REDD+ Task Force 2010:7), and according to BAPPENAS the goal for the consultation process for the making of the strategy is to have a process that is inclusive of the parties that directly or indirectly will be affected by REDD+ (Process Book 2011:17). From this, the consultation process can be seen as a co-governing partnership where the participants join officials in developing the strategy. According to Fung's framework this means that the participants have much authority and power in the process. However, when the national REDD+ strategy was handed over to the REDD+ Task Force in November 2010, the strategy was a 'living document' (Ms Rahayu BAPPENAS, 12.01.2011). Ms Rahayu explained that the strategy does not include details, and that moving from the strategy to an action plan is quite difficult (Ms Rahayu BAPPENAS, 12.01.2011). Ms Sombolingi at AMAN stated that the result of the consultation process is very important for them. The current draft included some of the input from AMAN, but because the document was not finished as of January 2011, they did not know what would be included (Ms Sombolingi AMAN, 13.01.2011). Ms Sombolingi also stated that there were several drafts of the national REDD+ strategy made by different government agencies. She argued that "I think the problem here is that even among the government agencies they don't really coordinate well" (Ms Sombolingi AMAN, 13.01.2011). Mr Surya at Walhi also argued that they did not have information on the final document and that this was confusing (Mr Surya Walhi, 13.01.2011).

Because of this uncertainty on what would happen with the national REDD+ strategy after the consultation process finished, and even if this was just one of several drafts, the power and influence of the participants in the consultation process was likely lower. Maybe at the middle level of advice and consult where officials preserve their authority and power to make decisions themselves, but commit to receiving input from participants (Fung 2006:69). The

lack of clarity of what the result of the consultation process, what influence this would have on the final national REDD+ strategy, may have discouraged participants from investing time and energy in preparing and discussing the issues at the local level.

### **5.1.2 Political Representation of Indigenous peoples and Local communities**

From Törnquist et al who argue that a limited number of powerful groups with roots in state, business and communal organisations are running organised politics and that political representation is deteriorating (Törnquist et al 2009:213), I was curious of the political representation of indigenous peoples and local communities with regards to REDD+. Atmadja and Wollenberg's statement that only 0.5 per cent of total forested land in Indonesia is under some kind of recognised community management (Atmadja and Wollenberg 2009:85), suggests that these groups do not have very strong political representation.

A representative from AMAN in South Sumatra argued that one big concern for indigenous peoples there is oppression by companies. The representative argued that the number of conflicts are increasing. There are currently 220 conflicts between local communities and large companies in South Sumatra, and 33 cases where the conflicts have resulted in deaths. The representative argued that "the government and companies disseminate information only to the sub-district level, not to the people in the villages. The companies pay police and tugs to intimidate local people, even to chase them away" (AMAN 11.01.2011). The representative stated that AMAN finds it difficult to gather evidence because local communities usually do not have documents for their land. Therefore companies easily take it over (AMAN 11.01.2011). This example illustrates problems with land tenure, rule of law, but also with political representation. My argument is simply, if political representatives are not representing the interest of indigenous peoples with regards to big companies, it is unlikely that there will there be political representation supporting the interests of indigenous peoples and local communities with regards to REDD+.

Mr Surya at Walhi told about land conflict between the government and a farmer community in Jambi in the autumn of 2010 that happened as a result of REDD+. According to Mr Surya the Jambi provincial government allocated an area to REDD+ and wanted to remove the communities there in order to avoid leakage. The community protested. The community's coffee plants were removed, the mobile police came and a man was killed (Surya Walhi 13.01.2011).

Mr Alfian from Bereng Benekel Village in Central Kalimantan argued the involvement of local communities in activities that concern them directly was only slightly different now compared with the New Order Regime. He stated that there are "too many politics. Even more complicated than (under/with) Suharto. They are not using guns anymore, they are using politics. By politics I mean tricks done" (Mr Alfian, Bereng Benekel 22.01.2011).

### **5.1.3 Civil society Representation of Indigenous peoples and Local communities**

From figure 1 we have numbers on participants by sector in the regional consultations for the national REDD+ strategy. A breakdown show that on average the participation by the government sector was 45%, civil society organisations 43%, academic 9% and private sector 2%. It is argued above that the opportunity for direct participation in the consultation process was quite small. Targeted recruiting was used to invite some community leaders to the regional consultations. It was also argued that political representation of indigenous peoples and local communities interests cannot be very strong because of the large extent of insecure land tenure and the conflicts this entails. This leaves representation through civil society organisations. As seen in the cases below, member and election mechanisms in AMAN and Walhi provide democratic legitimacy for representation.

### **5.1.1 AMAN**

AMAN has acted as a representative for its members in the consultation process for the national REDD+ strategy. It is a membership-based organisation. When AMAN was established at a conference in 1999, it was established by indigenous peoples and for indigenous peoples. As argued by Houtzager and Lavalley, the creation of an organisation simultaneously establishes the interests to be represented, the represented and the representative (Houtzager and Lavalley 2009: 49). This ensured accountability for the agenda of AMAN at the time, as well as legitimacy for the representation. There is a meeting of all AMAN member communities, the regional chapters and the AMAN council every two years. Here the national strategy is decided upon. This gives a mandate for the work that is done from the AMAN Jakarta office and the regional chapters (AMAN 13.01.2011). There is also a working group on climate change and REDD+ consisting of AMAN members from different regions. This group works on specific concerns and develop recommendations for AMAN to work from (AMAN 13.01.2011).

AMAN's legitimacy as representatives derives from membership, where members ability to exit and participate within the organisation provide accountability. Elections hold the leaders accountable.

### **5.1.1 Walhi**

Walhi is a membership based organisation and it has elections of its National and Regional Executive Committees. Among Walhi's activities are service activities, e.g. distributing information on issues. The service notion of representation does not support democratic representation. However, membership and elections provides authorisation and accountability for representation, and because of Walhi's large base of member organisations most of the input to the discussions on REDD+ is likely to come from inside the Walhi organisation.

### **5.1.2 HuMa**

HuMa has not acted as a representative in the consultation process for the national REDD+ strategy according to Mr Steni (Steni, HuMa 11.01.2011). They are working to support tenure issues and indigenous peoples rights, and so it can be said that they are advocating on behalf of a group.

## 6 Conclusion

The Letter of Intent between Indonesia and Norway, BAPPENAS and UN-REDD Indonesia Programme have statements that support ‘full and effective participation of indigenous peoples and local communities’ and an ‘inclusive process’ for the making of the national REDD+ strategy. From the theoretical foundation it is clear that participation can be direct, when citizens participate directly in deliberation and decision-making on public issues, or through representatives in political or civil society. Using Fung’s selection mechanisms it was shown that in addition to expert administrators and elected representatives, professional stakeholders from NGOs were invited to participate in the consultation process. The space for direct participation was small, amounting to only some community leaders. It was also argued that the political representation of indigenous peoples and local communities was not strong. Therefore the participation of indigenous peoples and local communities happened mainly through civil society organisations. There is support for the organisations AMAN and Walhi, of which the second have been acting somewhat behind the scene, have legitimacy to represent on behalf of the indigenous peoples and local communities. However, the civil society organisations active in the consultation process far from cover the approximately 80 million forest dependent people in Indonesia.

Going forward with REDD+ a focus on participation of indigenous peoples and local communities is important. This thesis found that most communities were not able to take part in the consultation process, because of a lack of information and representation. For REDD+ to generate the social and environmental benefits presented by UN-REDD such as land tenure clarification, enhanced participation in decision-making and improved governance and conservation of biodiversity (UN-REDD 2009), the people who live in the areas where REDD+ is being implemented have to be included in deliberations and decision-making and their rights to land have to be respected.



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# Attachment 1:

## Interview Guide

Research questions:

1. What groups and issues have been represented in the consultation process?
2. Why has there been a consultation process?

## Questions for Civil Society Organisations

Establish how the organisation has been active in the consultation process:

- Have you attended the consultation session? Did you participate in workshops in the consultation? What was the theme of the workshop and conclusions of that session? Did you expect the conclusion to be reflected in the strategy? Was it reflected in the strategy?
- Have you made any written suggestions to the draft REDD+ strategy before or after the consultation?
- Did anyone provide information on the topics discussed in the consultation, before or at the consultation? Do you feel that you know enough about practical implementation of REDD+ such as MVR institutions, financial institutions and corruption prevention?

Establish information about the organisation:

- Around what issue was the organisation originally established? When was it established?
- Where geographically does it exist? Does it have smaller branches? Does it have connections with international organisations?
- Where does it receive funding? Who works for the organisation?
- What type of organisation is it:
  - o (1) Community associations, working directly for the community
  - o (2) Advocacy NGO seeking to transform social problems into public issues and campaign around those issues to influence public policy or private behaviour

- (3) Coordinators who work to link other civil society organisations together, facilitate debate and collective action, and be a mediator between the organisations and the state
- (4) Service non-profits who have as their primary mission service delivery to individuals such as professional training and medical care and shelters (Törnquist et al 2009:42-43)
- (5) Other

Establish what groups and/or issues the organisation represented in the consultation process:

- Does the organisation represent groups of people and/or issues?
  - An indigenous peoples organisation might represent indigenous peoples groups and the issues that concern them.
  - An advocacy NGO might focus on issues such as gender, human rights or biodiversity.
  - Use Peter Houtzager and Adrian Lavalley method of asking how often the public participates in the planning and execution of their activities to see what type of organisation (representing issues first or groups first).
- What were your main comments to the REDD+ strategy? Did you discuss this prior to the consultation with members of the organisation?
- Who sets the agenda for the work of the organisation? How are new issues and information communicated within the organisation? Is there a centrally located office? Do representatives from the central office travel to branches of the organisation, or does the organisation gather representatives in other ways?
- Is there any form of formal membership of the organisation? Is there a possibility of exit?

Establish why the organisation is interested in the REDD+ strategy:

- Are the members of the organisation stakeholders that will be affected by REDD+ activities?
- Are the issues the organisation works with tied directly with REDD+? How long have they been working on these issues? (Have they changed their agenda because of possible funding through REDD+?)
- Does the organisation develop REDD+ projects or wish to do so in the future, either by itself or with partners?

Establish whether the organisation is happy about their influence on the REDD+ strategy:

- Do you feel the organisation has been able to influence the content of the strategy through the consultation process?
- Have you received/had access to the updated drafts and been asked for comments?
- Are you in touch with the facilitators and BAPPENAS to stay updated on the development of the strategy?

### **Questions for facilitators: UN-REDD and the Partnership for Governance Reform**

Establish their goal for the consultation process:

- What did you expect to achieve through the consultation process? What was your goal for the consultations?

Establish how the consultations were organised:

- How were the locations for the regional consultations picked? How were the participating organisations invited? How was information about the consultation spread? Was background information on REDD spread beforehand?
- Were the participating organisations given accommodation during the consultation, was travel costs and other costs covered for organisations that otherwise would not have been able to go?
- How was the consultations organised? In workshops? How was the agenda for the workshops set? How was the outcome from the workshops summarised?

Establish how well the facilitator felt the consultations went:

- Do you feel that all participants were able to voice their opinions at the consultations?
- Are you satisfied that the strategy reflects insights from the consultations?

### **Questions for outsiders: journalists, academics and other researchers**

Establish what they think about the consultation process:

- Why do you think it was done? What do you believe was achieved through the process?
- Do you think it was organised in a good way?
- Do you know of any groups or issues that were not represented in the process?