

# Politics Matter! Or why, after more than 10 years and US\$45 million in donor funding, Papua New Guinea still hasn't reduced greenhouse gas emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD+)

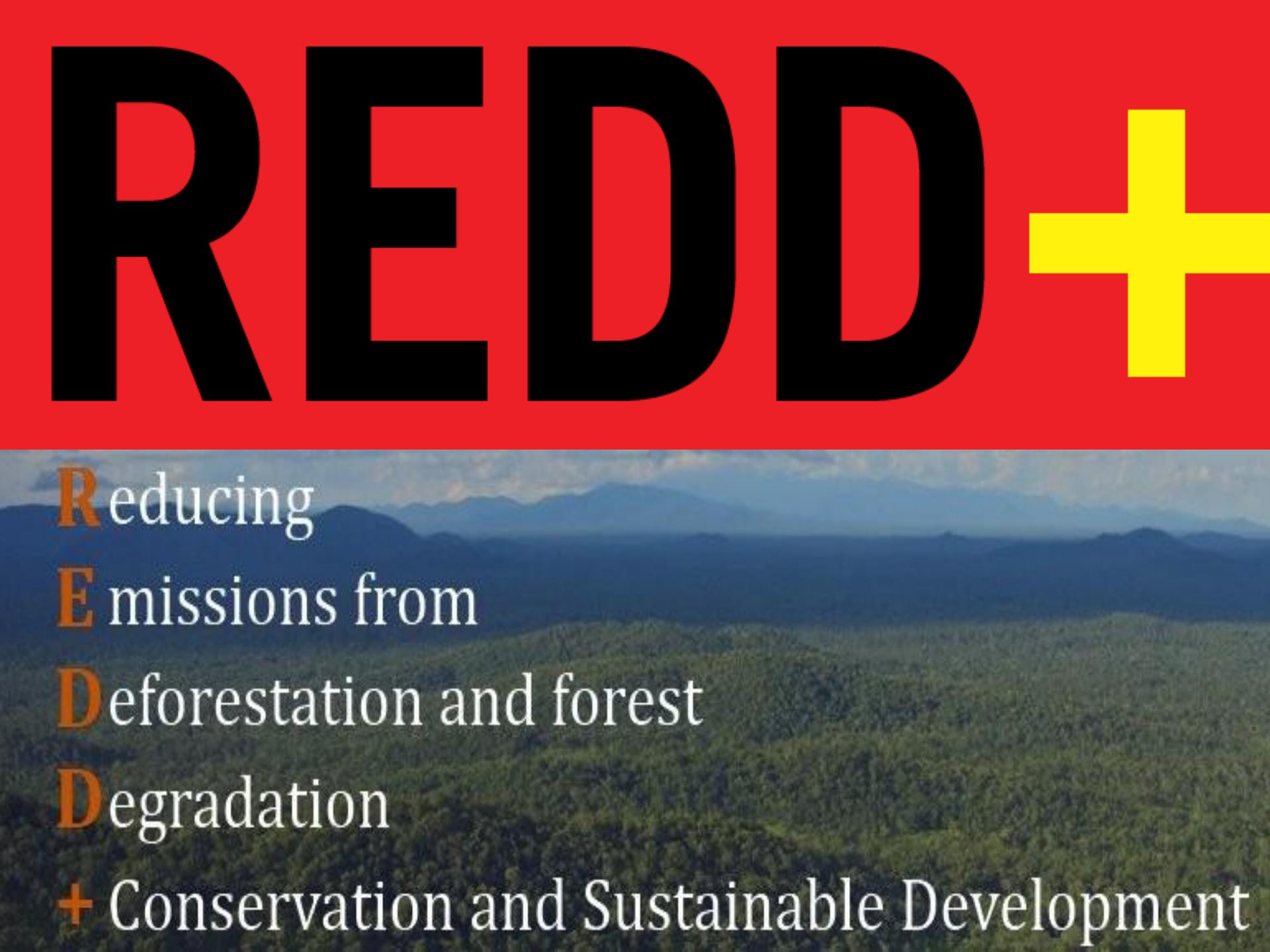
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# 1. Political Analysis

- Shift from ‘institutions matter’ to ‘politics matter’ (Dressel and Dinnen 2014; Hudson and Leftwich 2014).
- Political analysis ‘takes politics, power and agency much more seriously ... [and] enables one to dig down to the level of messy, everyday politics’ (Hudson and Leftwich 2014: 6).
- Enables development scholars and practitioners to better understand and assess the political feasibility of development interventions at the national level.

# REDD+



**R**educing  
**E**missions from  
**D**eforestation and forest  
**D**egradation  
+ Conservation and Sustainable Development

- REDD+ first proposed by Papua New Guinea and Costa Rica in 2005 at COP 11 in Montreal
- Early REDD+ policy formulation exhibited signs of a ‘policy monopoly’ (Baumgartner & Jones 1993)
- Media reports of ‘carbon cowboys’ conning landowners and engaging in shady deals with govt (2008/09).
- McKinsey & Co. engaged to help develop ‘Climate Compatible Development Strategy’
- Policy processes criticised for lack of inclusiveness and national ownership
- New governance structure for REDD+ developed in 2010
- Climate Change (Management) Act passed in 2015 – established Climate Change and Development Authority (CCDA)
- PM statement at Paris COP; REDD+ included in PNG’s INDCs

## Donor funding for REDD+

- US\$45.3 million invested in REDD+ in PNG in 2009-2014
  - 60% (US\$27.2M) from bi-lateral donors: Australia, Japan, Germany, US, Norway
  - 23% (US\$10M) from multi-lateral agencies (FCPF, UN-REDD)
  - 15% (US\$6.8M) from supranational institutions (i.e. EU)
  - Most donor funds (70%) committed to Govt; 26% to NGOs

(WCS, 2016, *Papua New Guinea: Mapping REDD+ finance flows 2009-2014.*  
Forest Trends REDDX Report)

# Political Analysis of REDD+ in PNG

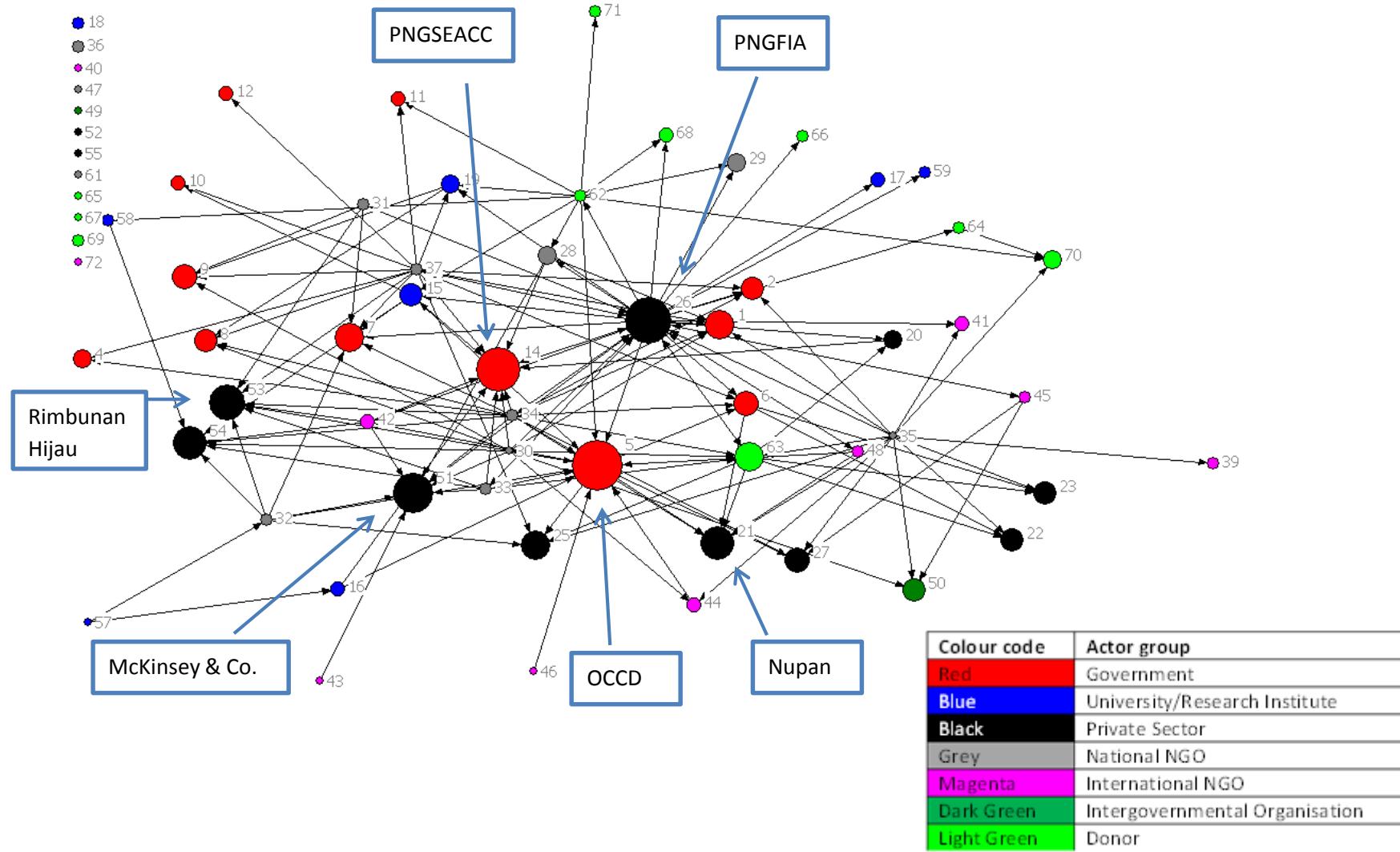
- REDD+ as a political challenge
- REDD+ will require ‘transformational change’: 

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

(Brockhaus and Angelsen (2012: 17)

- Powerful, “hidden” actors continue to support business-as-usual deforestation and forest degradation (Babon et al., 2014)

# Disagreement on REDD+ in PNG



### 3. Policy ‘ghosts’

*‘they run forestry in this country, they run the local biggest newspaper, they are one of the biggest employers in the country, they have enormous political power’*

*Interview with NGO representative on the influence of logging company,  
Rimbunan Hijau*

## Current status of REDD+ in PNG

- Lots of REDD+ ‘activities’ but little ‘progress’ in PNG
  - Established Institutional arrangements for REDD+
  - Official REDD+ pilot projects declared
  - Good progress with Monitoring, Reporting and Verification (MRV) capacity
  - Narrative to ‘value forests more alive than dead’

**BUT...**

- Still allowing large scale forest clearance under controversial Special Agriculture and Business Leases (SABLs)

# Having their REDD+ cake and logging too...

- Logging under Special Agriculture and Business Leases (SABLs) major driver of deforestation:
  - 2013 Commission of Inquiry found most illegal and were merely logging projects under the pretext of agricultural development
  - Despite public statements by govt that they will be cancelled no leases have yet been revoked clear fell logging continues in SABLs and contributed to doubling of log exports in PNG between 2009 -2013 – 30% of PNG log exports now come from SABLs (Global Witness 2015).
  - 3.8 million cubic meters of timber exported in 2014
    - PNG now largest exporter of tropical timber in the world (Mousseau and Lau 2016).

## 4. Conclusion/take home messages

- *Context is key*
- *Politics matter*
- *Existing power structures and vested interests protect the status quo*