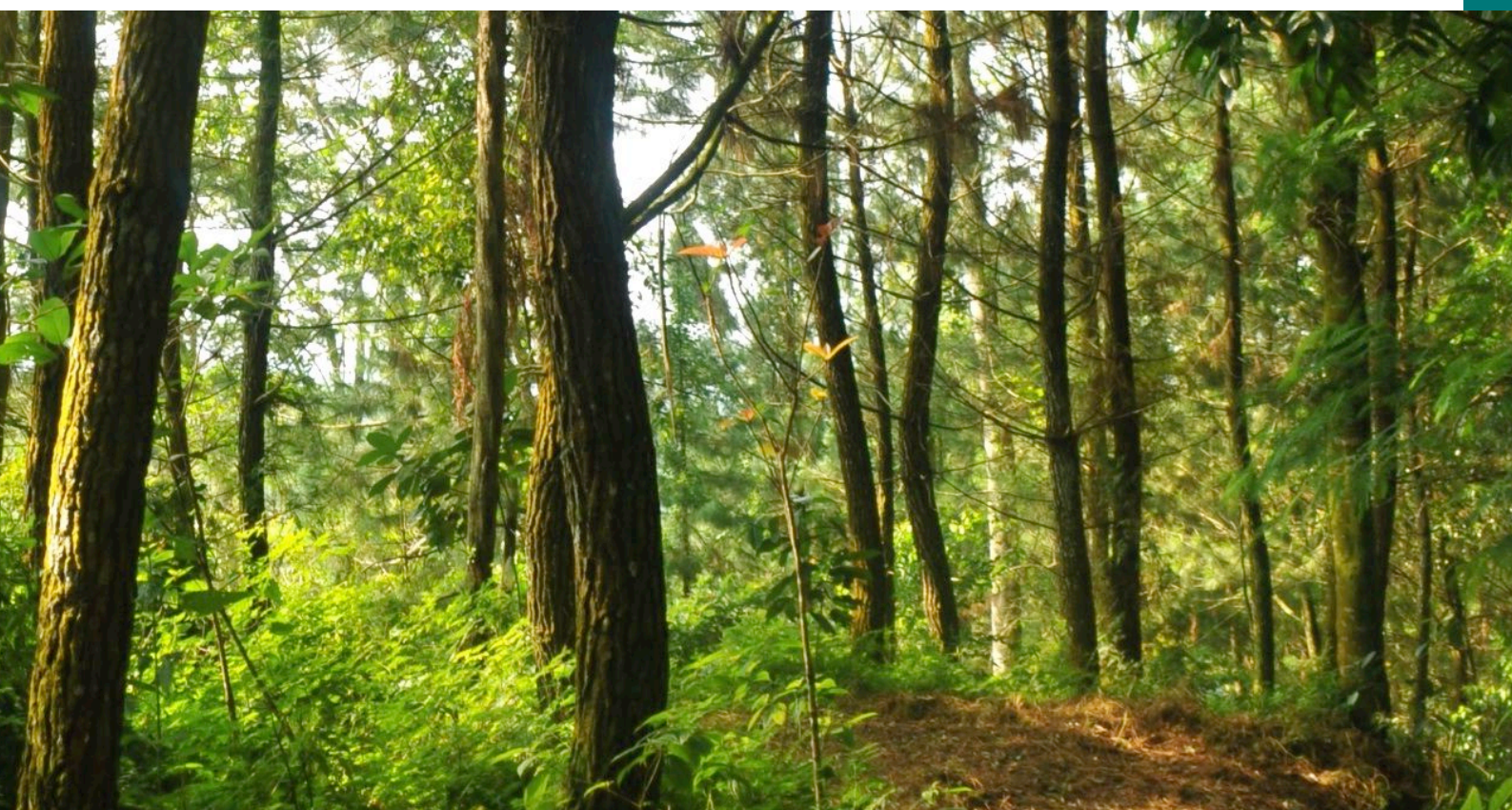# Missing the Poorest for the Trees?

REDD+ and the Links between Forestry,
Resilience and Peacebuilding

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About this Report

This report is the outcome of the Humanitarian Consultancy Project, part of the MSc International Development and Humanitarian Emergencies programme at the London School of Economics and Political Science. The Project provides students with the opportunity to gain experience of current policy and best-practice through working with a organisation in the development or humanitarian sector. International Alert was the client for this report.

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Acronyms

CCB	Community, Carbon and Biodiversity Standard
CCBA	Climate, Community and Biodiversity Alliance
CIFOR	Center for International Forestry Research
COP	Conference of the Parties (to the UNFCCC)
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FCPF	Forest Carbon Partnership Facility, a World Bank multilateral REDD+ initiative
FSC	Forest Stewardship Council
JSDR	Juma Sustainable Development Reserve, Brazil
MWE	Ugandan Ministry of Water and Environment
NFA	Ugandan National Forests Authority
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
REDD	Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation
REDD+	Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation, plus sustainable forest management, conservation of forest carbon stocks and enhancement of carbon stocks
REDD+ SES	REDD+ Social and Environmental Standards
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UN-REDD	United Nations REDD+, a UN multilateral initiative
VCS	Verified Carbon Standard

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Executive Summary

Tropical deforestation contributes to approximately 20% of global greenhouse gas emissions, an issue that a recent international strategy aims to counter by Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation, plus sustainable forest management (REDD+). In order to do this, funds will be used to compensate developing countries for reducing deforestation as well as conserving and enhancing the capacity of their forests to store carbon – a key component of greenhouse gases. These funds could provide the opportunity to diversify livelihoods, encourage sustainable development, and enhance the adaptive capacity of local populations in the face of a changing climate. However, they could also exacerbate pre-existing conflicts over lands and resources.

In order to be both effective and equitable, REDD+ will require large areas of land with clear tenure arrangements. Yet many developing countries suffer from conflicts over land ownership and continue to exclude local communities from land use decisions. How will REDD+ impact peace and security in these countries? By looking at Brazil, Indonesia and Uganda – each with unique issues related to forests and conflict – we examine how these impacts relate to pre-existing structures of power, economy, fairness, safety and well-being.

Case Study Findings

Indonesia, one of the earliest supporters of REDD+, is experiencing a surge in conflicts related to land rights across the country. Confusion over land tenure will be a critical challenge, and legal recognition of customary land rights differs among state agencies. This is exacerbated by financially attractive alternatives to REDD+, such as mines or oil palm plantations. These land use decisions often lack local participation and continue to be at the centre of land disputes.

With a long history of indigenous and local struggles over land rights, **Brazil** has recently seen an increasing amount of violence associated with land and forest conflicts. Legal loopholes relating to the 'productive use' of land have played a major role in deforestation by encouraging both landowners and squatters to clear forests. Though a land reform programme is underway, questions remain over whether it will be adequate to ensure the peaceful widespread implementation of REDD+ projects.

Finally, **Uganda** is one of the most enthusiastic proponents of REDD+ in Africa. It also has one of the continent's highest rates of deforestation and, due to unclear tenure arrangements, has been the site of recent forced displacements related to carbon-offset tree plantations. Considering that wood fuel makes up 90% of the country's energy consumption – even more among rural communities – the potential for negative impacts on

livelihoods from displacements or increased restrictions resulting from REDD+ will need to be addressed.

General Findings

- There is a debate over the future direction of REDD+. While on the one hand REDD+ can be viewed solely as a climate change mitigation strategy, others view it as a tool for 'pro-poor' development and argue that REDD+ will not succeed if it does not bring benefits to forest-dependent people.
- Pre-existing land tenure conflicts will be a major challenge in implementing an effective and equitable REDD+ policy. Local communities will need to be incorporated to clarify land tenure and ensure that REDD+ is not used by private donors to further inequitable extraction of natural resources.
- A formal REDD+ agreement remains missing following the 2012 Doha UNFCCC conference. However, this absence of an agreement could provide an opportunity to promote the development of a conflict-sensitive REDD+ framework that will contribute to peace and security.

Recommendations

1. National and international NGOs and research organisations that are already advocating for REDD+ safeguards to be observed should be supported.
2. National REDD+ programmes should be aligned with national development strategies in host countries.
3. Information and training for local or indigenous communities on legal, technical or institutional aspects of REDD+ should be provided.
4. Policymakers, local communities and REDD+ proponents should be informed about positive REDD+ project experiences already underway.
5. Existing conflict-resolution institutions dealing with issues of land ownership and usage should be identified and supported.
6. Businesses involved with REDD+ reforestation or afforestation projects should follow conflict-sensitive business practices.
7. REDD+ certification standards with greater emphasis on human rights, poverty alleviation and biodiversity conservation should be supported.
8. Involvement of local communities and indigenous groups throughout the REDD+ consultation and implementation process should be strengthened.
9. Land rights, tenure reform and the demarcation of both statutory and customary land should be supported.
10. REDD+ programmes should have mechanisms for conflict resolution built into their design.

Introduction

There is a growing international consensus that the issue of deforestation is critical to address the challenges of climate change, particularly in developing countries where much of the world's rainforests and biodiversity remain.[2] To confront this challenge, and to encourage developing economies to shift away from deforestation, the international community has developed a strategy geared towards Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation, plus sustainable forest management (REDD+). REDD is a performance-based mechanism that will compensate developing countries for the reduction of forest carbon emissions compared to a national baseline; the 'plus' refers to the inclusion of carbon stock enhancement through reforestation or afforestation measures (see Appendix I).[3]

One of the most pressing challenges that REDD+ faces is the issue of land ownership. To be effective, REDD+ will involve large areas of land and forest. Clear land tenure arrangements will also be needed for REDD+ financing to be properly targeted. Yet many of the countries implementing REDD+ pilot projects have histories of conflict over land ownership and usage rights that have yet to be resolved. Some countries, such as Brazil and Indonesia, have been proactive in their attempts to resolve and clarify land claims by adopting national or regional land reform programmes. In some cases REDD+ implementation has even encouraged actors to resolve land disputes.[4] However, conflicts over land ownership continue and in the case of Brazil, have involved an increasing level of violence over the past ten years.[5] Perhaps the case that best illustrates the potential consequences of unclear land ownership is Uganda, where recently over 22,000 people were evicted to make way for a large reforestation project.[6] Although not itself a REDD+ project, such a case

> *Forest governance is a tangible entry point for engagement on decentralisation and democracy, conflict and injustice, poverty and vulnerability.*
>
> World Bank on Indonesia, 2006[1]

Box 1: What is REDD+?

- REDD+ is the overarching name of a climate change mitigation strategy. A formal international agreement on how exactly REDD+ will work has yet to be decided.
- Many multilateral initiatives are developing and supporting REDD+ pilot projects in anticipation of a formal agreement. These include the UN-REDD Programme and the World Bank's Forest Carbon Partnership Facility (FCPF).
- Under 'REDD+ readiness', a developing country undertakes pilot projects to build its capacity for an eventual REDD+ mechanism, with assistance from UN-REDD, the FCPF, or an equivalent national initiative such as Brazil's REDD+ programme.
- REDD+ carbon credits are certified and sold on the voluntary market. Certification standards vary, but the current standards that place the most emphasis on poverty alleviation and human rights are the REDD+ Social and Environmental Standards, or REDD+ SES (see Appendix I).

underscores how land-based projects like REDD+ can have negative impacts on rural populations who depend on the forest for their livelihoods.

REDD+ holds the potential to address a significant source of global greenhouse gas emissions as well as provide important benefits to local communities. Yet if this strategy is to succeed it will need to be sensitive to the critical issues of land ownership and local participation. This report seeks to contribute to policy debates regarding REDD+ by analysing its relationship with fragile and conflict environments as well as its potential effects on peace and security. It will focus on three case studies: Indonesia, Brazil and Uganda. Each country is implementing REDD+ projects and is marked by varying levels of internal land-use conflicts and different issues related to forestry governance. This report will address the following question:

Based on the selected case studies, what are the potential impacts that REDD+ will have on peace and security in forest-dependent communities?

Framework and Methodology

This report is guided by the concept of positive peace as understood by International Alert.[7] Rather than viewing peace as simply the absence of war, positive peace is demonstrated by a society's resilience and adaptive capacity;

where conflicts are not neglected or suppressed but managed peacefully without resorting to violence. This report will use a framework of five key peace factors to assess the impacts that REDD+ programmes have had or will likely have in the three case studies (see Appendix II). These factors are:

- Power – how leadership is provided and how people interrelate;
- Economy – how the economy is structured and who benefits;
- Fairness – how justice is applied and received;
- Safety – how people are able to keep safe from harm;
- Well-being – the quality of people's lives.

This report was based on the following methodology: a broad review of secondary literature and interviews with relevant professionals and REDD+ proponents. However, some limitations were encountered. These included difficulties in securing interviews with stakeholders, particularly from private industry sources and certain government officials in our case studies.

Forests, Conflict and Climate Change

Conflict and Peacebuilding

For this report we understand conflict to include disputes over land and resource ownership and usage. Such disputes do not necessarily involve violence or armed action. Conflict happens when two or more parties believe their interests are incompatible, express hostile attitudes, or take actions that damage the other's ability to pursue its interests. 'Violence' is often used interchangeably with 'conflict', but violence is only one means among many that parties choose to address a given conflict.[8] The vast majority of conflicts related to

forests tend to occur at the local or village level and involve three related issues: overlapping statutory and customary tenure; the exclusion of local communities in land use decisions and economic development policies; and poor coordination between state agencies.[9]

Peacebuilding refers to a long-term process that seeks to address different dimensions of conflict.[10] This involves a variety of activities that work to avoid or end conflict, and "to encourage the development of the structural conditions, attitudes and modes of political behaviour that may permit peaceful, stable and ultimately prosperous social and economic development".[11] In this report we use the term resilience as it pertains to a society's ability to cope with conflict without resorting to violence.[12]

Climate Change and Conflict

A growing cause of concern is what effect climate change will have on these pre-existing land use conflicts. For example, the German Advisory Council on Climate Change predicts that climate change will likely exacerbate current land use conflicts, as well as trigger new national and international distributional conflicts.[13]

Since forests have competing and overlapping values for commercial, subsistence and cultural uses, they are likely to be at the centre of these conflicts, posing a significant challenge to peace and security.

Approximately 1.6 billion people at least partially sustain their livelihood needs from forests.[14] The enormous value of these functional ecosystems is increasingly becoming apparent to key political and economic actors.[15] This is illustrated by the prominent position given to forests during high level conferences on climate change, such as the UNFCCC Conference of the Parties. As the world continues to lose 13 million hectares of forest each year, initiatives like REDD+ that offer a way to

address climate change as well as an opportunity for income, institution building and cooperation are increasingly being welcomed.[16]

Forests and Conflict: how does business play a role?

Companies involved in logging, agroforestry, or other forest-related activities can be exposed to conflict, even exacerbating it in certain circumstances. For example, conflicts involving industrial tree plantations can result in a number of direct costs for companies. These could include material costs from the destruction of property, opportunity costs from a disruption in production, reputation costs from consumer campaigns against environmentally harmful practices and litigation costs from expensive lawsuits or damages.[17] It is important to note that companies may become caught up in pre-existing conflicts, but can similarly cause a number of social or environmental impacts that might contribute to conflict. Industrial tree plantations are perhaps overrepresented in this respect; their intensive use of land can lead to the displacement of local populations, competition among previous land users for access and the potential destruction of sacred sites used by indigenous groups.[18]

This has implications for REDD+ as well. To be successful, REDD+ will ultimately depend on large injections of private investment. Yet, according to the Munden Project, most investors are unaware of the financial risks posed by insecure land tenure and by conflicts over land and natural resources. According to the authors, "property rights in many emerging markets are dysfunctional to the point that ownership of land can be granted to an investor without the tens of thousands of people living on, or dependent on, the land knowing about it".[19] Delays and other effects caused by these issues can significantly raise costs for companies.

Carbon Offsetting and Conflict: how does REDD+ play a role?

The main role of REDD+ is to reward forest owners who, by maintaining their forests or adding to them by planting trees, are removing and storing atmospheric greenhouse gases that would otherwise contribute to climate change, and to compensate them for lost economic opportunities they might have had by clearing their land. To do this, both clear land rights as well as the ability to prevent third parties from changing land cover will be needed. When tenure is unclear or not formalised, forest-dependent communities may be excluded from the forest and

from REDD+ benefits, as well as becoming subject to new rules and restrictions that lead to hardship. For example, enforcing the conservation measures inherent in REDD+ may require a larger presence of police or military personnel. This may act to intimidate or aggravate local populations.[20]

In cases where tenure is clear and secure, the risk remains that ill-informed or corrupt local leaders could sign away land rights without understanding the consequences for, or obtaining the consent of, those who live on the land.[21] Because REDD+ will potentially increase the value of standing forests, the tensions outlined above could be aggravated in the ensuing 'carbon rush'.[22]

REDD+ programmes may provide a measure of stabilisation in project countries by providing financing for development and livelihood diversification, both of which are important for supporting a robust level of peace and resilience within societies. One project in the Indonesian province of Kalimantan, for example, has involved technical assistance to local farmers to improve their rubber harvests. By employing more intensive methods and improved seed varieties, these farmers can earn more from their crop while using less land, thereby reducing the pressure to clear more forest.[23] In some cases

Box 2: Forest violence

Although conflicts over forest and land tenure are rarely subject to widespread violence or escalation to armed conflict, violence does occur. The assassination of Amazonian environmentalist and human rights advocate Chico Mendes in 1988, one of 19 similar killings of rural activists that year, underscores how forest conflicts can turn deadly. Protests over mining concessions in Peru and industrial tree plantations in Indonesia, among others, have resulted in a number of deaths in recent years, highlighting a trend in conflicts over land and resources. According to Global Witness, the annual toll of violent deaths has doubled between 2002 and 2011 for people advocating land and forest rights – exceeding an average of two deaths a week in 2011. The majority of these killings have taken place in Brazil.[24]

REDD+ may even provide a strong incentive to address and secure land tenure issues, as the Juma Reserve REDD+ Project in Brazil attests. Yet there are also aspects of REDD+ programmes that may be less conducive to peacebuilding and which should be addressed (see Table 1). Without a proper understanding of the potential dangers inherent in REDD+ programmes, conflicts over land ownership and usage rights may be exacerbated (see Box 2).

Case Studies of REDD+

There are currently 36 developing countries participating in REDD+. Three of these countries were chosen as case studies for this report: Indonesia, Brazil and Uganda. Each illustrates a particular experience with REDD+ implementation and has a unique type of conflict. Indonesia is experiencing a surge in conflicts related to land rights, and a number of latent secessionist conflicts continue across the country. It is also one of the earliest supporters of REDD+, and a number of pilot projects have already been established in post-conflict regions such as Aceh and West Papua, as well as in areas of significant ethnic tensions such as Kalimantan. Brazil, home of the world's largest remaining area of tropical rainforest, is similarly well-established in REDD+. Yet all of its projects are firmly under control of the state rather than any multilateral bodies such as UN-REDD. A country with a long history of indigenous and local struggles over land rights, Brazil has in recent years seen an increasing amount of violence associated with land and forest conflicts. Finally, Uganda is one of the most enthusiastic proponents of REDD+ implementation in Africa. It also has the highest rates of deforestation in East Africa and has been the site of recent evictions related to carbon-offset tree plantations. Furthermore, a history of armed conflict continues to affect parts of the country. Understanding how REDD+ will affect peace and security in these countries, all of which have legacies of conflict, will be an important aspect in measuring its success.

Table 1: REDD+ context and conflict status in case studies

Case Study	REDD+ Context	Conflict status
Indonesia	Longest experience with REDD+ implementation	REDD+ projects often located in conflict-prone areas; high level of pre-existing conflicts related to land claims
Brazil	Vast forested area already under national REDD+ programmes	High levels of conflict related to indigenous and local land rights; a number of rural activists have been killed
Uganda	High levels of deforestation. Strong proponent of REDD+; currently in early stage of 'REDD+ Readiness'	A legacy of armed conflict continues to affect northern Uganda; evictions for carbon forestry projects have already taken place

Indonesia

Figure 1: Challenges to peace and security in Indonesia related to REDD+

Overlapping legislation

Corruption

Disputes within government

Insecure tenure

Expansion of concessions

Disputes over access to and ownership of forests

Power

Economy

Illegal logging

Well-being

Conflicting values of forests

Displacement/ dislocation

Safety

Fairness

Violence over land disputes

Inadequate environmental and employment standards

Increase of police/security

Limited participation of vulnerable stakeholders

Forests and Conflict in Indonesia

Home to over 17,000 islands and over 250 ethnic groups, Indonesia has experienced several violent regional rebellions, secessionist movements and oppressive authoritarian rule.[25] Historically, forests have played a critical role in conflicts in Indonesia. In periods of large-scale conflict, timber has been used to finance war.[26] At the local level, forests have been at the centre of many small-scale disputes between government, industry and communities.[27] Under the authoritarian Suharto regime in the 1970s, many of the benefits from logging and forest industries largely flowed to government elites. Systems of customary rights over forests and traditional resource management systems were ignored as the state developed national laws declaring government owned forest lands. Much of the forest during this economic expansion was cleared, displacing thousands of forest-dependent communities and leaving them without recourse under authoritarian rule. When the Suharto government fell, there was a sharp increase in the number of conflicts stemming from this inequitable distribution of forest benefits.[28]

Box 3: Indonesia in brief

- The fall of the authoritarian Suharto regime has reopened long-simmering land ownership disputes which continue to this day.
- Violence has already occurred on one REDD+ project, when police tried to enforce an eviction notice against new settlers.
- Logging and palm oil plantations represent significant income for the government. Making REDD+ a credible alternative will be challenging.

Today, violent clashes over forests are often small scale and sporadic, as these same tensions exist between and within different levels of government, communities and industries. For instance, in December 2012, government forces in the Jambi Province of Sumatra tried to enforce an eviction notice on settler communities living in and around a contested forest area of a REDD+ project. When these communities refused to move, the government armed forces and police responded by destroying houses with chainsaws. Over 300 settlers retaliated with knives and wooden clubs.[29] Recent reports on violence indicate that conflict occurs primarily over boundary disputes, timber theft, forest encroachment, land clearing and environmental degradation.[30] The roots of conflict, however, stem from the restriction of communities from forest benefits, where concessions or protected areas overlap with community agricultural land.[31]

REDD+ in Indonesia

As Indonesia entered a period of relative peace, dramatic democratic changes resulted in growing public concern and political support for issues concerning social and environmental sustainability.[32] Today, the government has become a critical player in the international community's efforts to combat climate change.

This is evident in the country's enthusiastic adoption of REDD+ over the last decade, with 44 projects currently established across the country.[33] Indonesia hosted COP 13 in Bali, and was considered instrumental in establishing REDD+ within the international climate change agenda. In 2008, it was the first country to enact regulations to administer a national REDD+ programme.[34] To date, the government's efforts have been focused on building a national REDD+ architecture in Indonesia, including the establishment of UN-REDD pilot projects in Central Sulawesi, and Indonesia's REDD+ Task Force pilot project in Central Kalimantan. In support of these efforts, Norway has committed $1 billion (US) based on Indonesia's performance over the next seven to eight years. As part of this partnership with Norway, Indonesia committed to a two-year suspension of new concessions granted to convert natural forests into plantations.[35] The focus at the international donor level has been to develop trust and local ownership of REDD+ activities. At the national level, the focus has been to build a multi-stakeholder approach, to create the technical guidelines and capacity and to strengthen legal frameworks to develop a REDD+ strategy.

Potential Impacts of REDD+ on Conflict and Peace

Despite the government's enthusiasm for REDD+, complex relationships between the state, private companies and local communities make REDD+ particularly challenging to implement. Insecure and unclear land tenure is a frequent driver of

conflict in Indonesia and a major challenge that needs to be addressed in REDD+ implementation.[36] Further complicated during the Suharto regime, land tenure has developed into a system marked by inadequate regulations, power struggles within the government, conflicting claims of ownership, expanding resource concessions and corruption.[37] The chair of Indonesia's REDD+ task force has stated that, "finding the appropriate land tenure arrangement is a prerequisite for sustainable development and livelihoods" and strongly recommended recognising customary rights in forests.[38,39] Currently, the Basic Agrarian Law recognises customary land rights, but the Forestry Law only recognises customary forest as a subset of state forest.[40] These overlapping and conflicting legal systems mean that local communities have inadequate protections over their land, especially when companies gain access through permits from government agencies. There remains significant opposition from the Ministry of Forestry and the private sector over land tenure reforms. Research so far suggests that it is doubtful that REDD+ strategies are affecting significant changes in the status quo concerning forest and land tenure rights.[41]

Large concessions to private industries, such as palm oil and mining, remain a critical concern in the implementation of REDD+ in Indonesia. Although the higher echelons of government have stated that they are committed to a sustainable trajectory for the country, there remains little consensus across the levels of government that the benefits of REDD+ outweigh further development of industry.[42] During the conception of national REDD+ policies, many officials pushed for palm oil trees to be considered within the definition of 'forests', giving protection to industries to legally expand concessions under the framework of REDD+.[43] In Aceh, the newly elected governor ended the ban on commercial logging, and currently plans aim to reduce forest cover by up to 60%.[44] The established REDD+ project in the region has come to a standstill, and the government has currently placed it under review. This illustrates the power of commercial industries of which the

country depends on for a large proportion of its income. These issues are further compounded by reported problems over safety, as employment and environmental standards on plantations have been documented as poor and often dangerous, disproportionately affecting women (see Box 4).[45]

If REDD+ is to contribute to resiliency, local communities need to be properly consulted and informed of their rights and responsibilities. There are over 80 million people who live in or around forests in Indonesia, and many of their livelihoods depend on varying uses of the forest.[46] Conflicts often arise when local people perceive there is a violation of their rights by the government or companies regarding land use and ownership. Indeed, conflict can persist even when land rights have been recognised, as is the case in Papua New Guinea (see Box 9, p. 25). However, as it stands, direct participation of forest-dependent communities in Indonesia has been rather limited.[47]

REDD+ has great potential to create much-needed opportunities to improve forest and land use governance systems, creating a more equitable distribution of benefits to local communities in Indonesia. Indonesia's democratic progress and new development trajectory, one that is more focused on sustainability, could create an increased awareness and political will to fully integrate and solidify REDD+ policies.[48] However, it is unclear how governance, land tenure and forest communities rights will be adequately addressed in the current REDD+ framework.

Box 4: Women and REDD+ in Indonesia

REDD+ has the potential to reduce gender disparity by providing women with more opportunities to secure tenure to forestlands. However, REDD+ could negatively impact on women's ability to maintain their livelihoods by further restricting their access to forest benefits. The latter remains a particular concern in Indonesia. Despite women playing important roles in forest management, gender often determines access to and control over forest resources. One major problem is that women rarely participate in decision-making processes related to forests. Although the Indonesia REDD+ National Strategy has included many references to gender, and women have been integrated into safeguards, women's involvement remains limited. For instance, women have had inadequate representation at management structure level at the REDD+ Task Force and provincial level. For REDD+ to contribute to women's resilience in Indonesia, there needs to be more meaningful and effective engagement of women in REDD+ decision-making policies.[49]

Brazil

Figure 2: Challenges to peace and security in Brazil related to REDD+

Forests and Conflict in Brazil

With almost half a billion hectares, Brazil contains 35% of the world's remaining tropical forests. Brazil has managed to significantly reduce deforestation in recent years compared with its peak in 2004, when an area equivalent to the size of Haiti had been cleared.[50] However, persistent illegal logging remains problematic. Timber exploitation was key for Brazil's industrialisation until the 1980s, and often neglected any existing forest codes or indigenous land uses.[51] Now, in a change of policy direction and due to favourable market conditions reducing the incentives for logging, the government wants to curb deforestation in the Amazon by 80% by 2020.[52,53]

Disputes over access to lands and forests in Brazil have a long history. Although no large-scale armed conflicts over natural resources have taken place, smaller-scale disputes involving local communities or the country's 238 officially recognised indigenous groups over land rights are common.[54,55] Decades of serious conflict over highly imbalanced land distribution have often turned violent, exemplified by high profile murders of rural activists such as Chico Mendes. According to Global Witness, in the last decade over half of the globally recorded 711 killings of activists, journalists and community members over land rights issues occurred in Brazil.[56] Factors fuelling this situation include increased agribusiness, logging, mining and hydropower initiatives on contested lands and forests; concentrated land ownership patterns; and large populations of poor or vulnerable communities who depend on forests and land for their livelihoods.[57]

Box 5: Brazil in brief

- Brazil has the highest number of recorded killings of land-rights activists in the world.
- Through its national Terra Legal programme, Brazil is the most proactive case when it comes to clarifying land tenure.
- REDD+ activities in the country are considered a matter of national sovereignty.

REDD+ in Brazil

There are currently 39 REDD+ projects underway across Brazil.[58] In 2004, the government launched the Action Plan for the Prevention and Control of Deforestation in the Legal Amazon and the Sustainable Amazon Plan, which both seek to enable sustainable forest-based development through various initiatives such as clarifying tenure, improving deforestation monitoring, preparing laws and

the inauguration of the Amazon Fund in 2008.[59] This national performance-based programme will finance sustainable forest management initiatives, such as REDD+.[60] The Fund has already received significant pledges from donor countries, with Norway committing $1 billion (US).[61,62] Legal incorporation of the REDD+ scheme is most advanced at the state level, particularly in Acre and Mato Grosso. Both have passed laws enhancing sustainable forest management as well as laying the groundwork for REDD+ implementation. However, a corresponding federal policy regulating REDD+ programmes remains absent. Despite efforts by the Ministry of Environment to draft a national REDD+ framework,[63] difficulties such as the lack of an effective carbon stock evaluation method, the misallocation of REDD+ funds, and a consultative process that has tended to ignore vulnerable stakeholders means that success remains elusive.[64,65] The implementation of a national REDD+ framework is further hindered by the Brazilian government's insistence that the Amazon Fund remains firmly under its jurisdiction as a 'non-negotiable' matter of sovereignty.

Potential Impacts of REDD+ on Conflict and Peace

As clear and respected tenure arrangements are crucial for its success, the "land-tenure chaos [...] represents the single largest impediment to REDD+ in Brazil".[66] Land registrations, assigned on paper but rarely respected, are often inaccurate and outdated.[67] Moreover, obtaining ownership rights is costly, and there has been little recognition of ancestral or culturally significant community forests.[68,69] Much of this dates back to the national effort of integrating the Amazon region into the Brazilian economy in the 1960s and 1970s, during which time land was freely allocated to new settlers. Currently, legal loopholes relating to the 'productive use' of land, which can award title to squatters who clear forests from untouched (hence unproductive) land belonging to another owner, have resulted in high rates of deforestation and

land disputes.[70,71] According to the Cato Institute, the invasion and occupation of privately owned land due to unresolved land tenure claims or to win rights to previously 'unproductive' land was the main cause of conflict in Brazil between 2000 and 2008.[72]

Compared with Indonesia, Brazil has been much more proactive on the issue of land and forest tenure. In 2009, the government initiated the Terra Legal[73] land reform programme. It aims to grant titles to approximately 300,000 smallholders claiming rights to non-designated public lands, conditional on compliance with the Brazilian Forestry Code.[74] Brazil is also recognising and delineating customary lands as well as creating new protected areas, although this is happening slowly and is beset with problems.[75] For instance, only 2% of the fines issued under the Action Plan were collected.[76] REDD+ initiatives that do not fully account for these pre-existing land and forest conflicts may only serve to aggravate the potential for disputes.

Examples of relatively well-implemented projects such as the Juma initiative (see Box 6), which involved consultations with the local community for the project-design phase and continue to stress the need to protect livelihoods, are a welcome sign.[77] However, Brazil has a historical legacy of failing to consult or respect vulnerable indigenous groups. For example, one extreme case is that of the Awá people, where two thirds of the population were reported to have died as a result of confrontations with government and privately hired gunmen preparing to log the area.[78] Civil society organisations are advocating for stronger safeguards that would better protect the rights of vulnerable stakeholders to be attached to REDD+, particularly because Brazil's Ministry of Environment is currently in the process of drafting a national REDD+ framework and many organisations seek to have an influence on its outcome.

Box 6: The Juma Sustainable Development Reserve

Financed by the hotel chain Marriott International, the Juma Sustainable Development Reserve (JSDR) REDD+ Project is the first in Brazil to receive validation from the Climate, Community and Biodiversity Alliance (CCBA). This alliance of environmentally conscious NGOs certifies schemes that address climate change, support local communities and conserve biodiversity. Juma was the first project in the world to receive the CCBA's Gold Level, the top score representing exceptional social and environmental benefits which go beyond reducing greenhouse gases. This includes contributions to community development, the promotion of sustainable business to increase community income and the strengthening of environmental monitoring and control. The project exhibited a number of notable qualities. Extensive consultations with local inhabitants were carried out and over 90% of the community agreed to participate. Moreover, land tenure was clarified before any funding was provided and the project has put an emphasis on indigenous knowledge of land management.[79,80]

However, guidelines with stricter safeguards have so far met with little enthusiasm, and it is likely that with low corporate compliance and government enforcement the neglect of local interests will continue.[81,82]

Under the current legal umbrella, REDD+ projects could have a destabilising impact on Brazil's fragile environmental governance structure. To promote REDD+ as a tool for 'pro-poor' livelihood development, the existing codes must be complied with and credibly enforced so that the resilience of local people is strengthened. NGOs can take a leading role in monitoring illegal logging and urging the government to take steps against violators – as they successfully have in the past.[83] As such, allowing for increased international cooperation could provide real benefits for national institutions such as the Amazon Fund. Brazil has shown significant progress in determining land rights through the Terra Legal programme. It has also demonstrated how REDD+ projects can be based on robust community benefits and involvement through its Juma Reserve. However, incidents of violence related to land rights remain high and present legislation continues to encourage deforestation. If REDD+ will continue to build on early successes such as the Juma Reserve, as well as contribute to peace and security in forest-dependent communities, it will need to address these issues.

Uganda

Figure 3: Challenges to peace and security in Uganda related to REDD+

Forests and Conflict in Uganda

Uganda bears the burden of decades of armed conflict. In the 1970s and 1980s, approximately half a million people were killed as a result of Ugandan State sponsored violence.[84] The late 1980s' formation of the Lord's Resistance Army is one of many elements that accompanied authoritarian rule, cumulating in a civil war. One of the effects of Uganda's history of conflict has been the widespread displacement of people and communities from their lands.[85] The resulting high levels of insecurity over land use, as well as broader issues over the nature of Uganda's democracy and reportedly high levels of corruption, mean that carbon mitigation strategies which affect land use patterns, such as REDD+, will need to be examined carefully.

Box 7: Uganda in brief

- Woody biomass constitutes 90% of Uganda's energy consumption and is a fundamental part of rural livelihoods.
- Private or communal forest ownership is double that of state ownership, highlighting that REDD+ schemes which affect local land users need transparency.
- Evictions of local people to make way for carbon forestry have taken place: over 22,000 people were evicted in 2011 from a carbon forestry project.

REDD+ in Uganda

REDD+ is rapidly expanding in Africa. Compared with Indonesia and Brazil, many African states pose particular challenges to REDD+ implementation, such as inadequate state capacity, the persistence of armed conflict, extreme poverty and legacies of irresponsible natural resource extraction. The case of Uganda, a country which has the highest rates of deforestation in East Africa and has enthusiastically undertaken REDD+ implementation, is particularly illustrative of some of these challenges.

In June 2012, Uganda announced that it would receive support as a UN-REDD Programme partner country.[86] The Ministry of Water and Environment has explicitly declared that forest degradation is leading to a reduction in natural forest cover.[87] It is hoped that Uganda's previous preparation with the World Bank's FCPF will make REDD+ implementation a relatively straightforward process. There are currently six REDD+ projects across Uganda.

Potential Impacts of REDD+ on Conflict and Peace

Defining and clarifying legal and tenure issues in Uganda's forestry sector is central to any future REDD+ strategy. The government has thus far only acknowledged the requirement to "gazette stakeholder participation through legally binding benefit sharing".[88] However, without transparency on the details of benefit sharing there remains potential for conflict. This is especially important as the livelihoods of Uganda's rural population are highly dependent on forest ecosystems. Indeed, 90% of the country's energy consumption is based on woody biomass.[89]

Boundary disputes around forest reserves and conflicts over forest resource ownership highlight the inadequacies of an undefined land tenure system.[90] Given the prospect of financial benefits promised by REDD+, this lack of clarity could lead to further land disputes. For example, western Uganda's Kibaale district has had a particularly problematic history of local conflict related to land use, with boundary disputes accompanying ethnic violence.[91]

Box 8: Forced evictions in Uganda

According to a 2011 Oxfam report, 22,000 people were evicted to make way for a carbon-offset tree plantation:

> *Today, these people evicted from the land are desperate, having been driven into poverty and landlessness. In some instances they say they were subjected to violence and their property, crops and livestock destroyed. They say they were not properly consulted, have been offered no adequate compensation, and have received no alternative land.*[92]

The New Forests Company (NFC), the British company responsible for the plantation, described the evicted people as "encroachers [...] illegally occupying land leased to an independent third party, NFC".[93,94]

Although not under the REDD+ framework, this case illustrates the complexity of land use changes in Uganda, as well as the vulnerability of people with insecure land tenure.

The central forest reserves in Uganda are managed by the National Forest Authority (NFA). Ensuring community involvement to reduce conflict in forest reserves has been a major challenge for the NFA. One method to address this is the use of Collaborative Forest Management agreements, used to define community rights, roles and responsibilities.[95] However, such attempts at participatory forest management models have been argued to be inequitable, with many communities resisting what is perceived as increasing restrictions on their use of forest resources, particularly those whose livelihoods depend on the forest.[96] After concerns expressed by the World Bank's FCPF over the government's lack of a sufficient consultation and participation plan, and with REDD+ pilot initiatives underway, improving community involvement is critical for the fair implementation of REDD+ in Uganda.[97]

Inadequate state capacity to manage forest resources is a critical challenge to REDD+ implementation. Moreover, inadequate management planning has been highlighted by the government as a key driver of deforestation, an issue that is equally applicable to REDD+. Currently, only a very small fraction of Uganda's forest reserves have approved forest management plans.[98] Legislation and regulations on privately owned forest land are similarly unclear.[99] Given that there are multiple levels

of governance involved with natural resource management, corruption remains one of the central concerns for REDD+. For example, a 2002 report noted accusations of corruption linked to the World Bank's forest conservation initiative.[100]

Estimates by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations show that forest ownership in Uganda is approximately 32% public and 68% private or communal.[101] This underlines the need for non-state actors and foreign companies to carry out thorough due diligence and consultations with local forest owners. Yet early assessments suggest that land rights have been generally well respected on private lands. The situation on public lands, however, is much different. Already there have been two cases of large-scale evictions from public lands for carbon forestry projects, with one involving the displacement of over 22,000 people (see Box 8). Although these cases do not fall under the REDD+ framework, they do illustrate the potential consequences of inadequate consultations and safeguards.

Discussion

Nothing definitive was decided at the 2012 COP 18 in Doha, Qatar, regarding the future shape of REDD+. Indeed, the focus on forests itself has taken a knock. Forests Day – the time when REDD+ and other forest-related issues took centre stage at COP gatherings – has been cancelled and an expanded 'Landscapes Day' will take its place. Yet perhaps this is not as problematic as it seems. As this report has illustrated, REDD+ in its current form is facing a number of critical challenges. Contested ownership and usage rights over forests are a hallmark in each of the case studies examined here. If, at a minimum, REDD+ is to avoid exacerbating these pre-existing conflicts, it will need to adequately address these issues. This means a stronger focus on consultations with the multiple stakeholders that would be affected, including indigenous groups and local communities for whom the forest provides critical livelihood support. However, if REDD+ is going to actively contribute to peace and security in the countries where it is implemented rather than simply avoid conflict, it will need to make a positive impact for people on the ground. Assistance in clarifying land tenure, support for institutional capacity-

Table 2: Potential impacts of REDD+ on peacebuilding

	Positive effect on peacebuilding	Negative effect on peacebuilding
Power	Prospect for international cooperation, dialogue and capacity building	Incentivises further state control over forests while discouraging settlement of tenure claims
Economy	Local economic diversification and employment opportunities on plantations	REDD+ financing not used for pro-poor development; exclusionary conservation disrupts local livelihoods
Fairness	Increased levels of transparency through international and local level monitoring	REDD+ financing fuels corruption; implementation occurs without involvement of local level actors
Safety	REDD+ benefits reduce protests and conflicts over land use	Poor labour standards on plantations; military and police used in evicting people from forest lands
Well-being	REDD+ recognises the multiple economic, social and cultural values of forests	REDD+ only values forests as a carbon 'sink'; traditional livelihoods are not recognised

building and meaningful financial incentives for local communities are all good places to start. Perhaps Doha has given the many actors involved with REDD+ the time and flexibility to begin addressing these challenges.

Box 9: Land ownership in Papua New Guinea

In many countries, forests are largely controlled by the state, often at the expense of customary ownership. A strong exception to this trend is Papua New Guinea, where 97% of land is owned and regulated by customary landowners and customary ownership is enshrined in the constitution. Although they can't sell their land, owners have the right of access, use, management and the right to exclude other users. Any development on this land must first gain the consent of the owner.

On the surface, this appears to be an ideal situation for REDD+ project development, as clear tenure arrangements play a big part in reducing the likelihood of conflict. Yet many landowners are not aware of their rights, leaving them vulnerable to exploitation by unscrupulous 'carbon cowboys'. Following media reports of landowners signing over rights without being properly informed about the consequences, the government has tried to regulate the 'carbon rush' more actively. This example underscores how seemingly strong customary rights can in reality be highly insecure – and the importance of international attention, which helped to push the government to improve its policy.[102]

Recommendations

National and international NGOs and research organisations that are already advocating for REDD+ safeguards to be observed should be supported.
REDD+ proponents should seek the assistance of research organisations in target countries to get a better idea of how conservation measures have affected local livelihoods.

National REDD+ programmes should be aligned with national development strategies in host countries.
National governments, REDD+ proponents and international and national NGOs should push for the integration of REDD+ into inclusive and broad-based national development strategies. They should advocate for REDD+ funding to support local government reform processes and social capital development, to help channel financial flows to local communities and to improve broader forest governance.

Information and training for local or indigenous communities on legal, technical or institutional aspects of REDD+ should be provided.
REDD+ proponents should support the appointment of trained forestry officials, as well as the implementation of training programmes on more intensive agriculture, sustainable forest management, REDD+ monitoring and verification procedures and good governance.

Policymakers, local communities and REDD+ proponents should be informed about positive REDD+ project experiences already underway.
International and national NGOs and REDD+ proponents should share information on best practices or innovative examples of REDD+ pilot project implementation.

Existing conflict-resolution institutions dealing with issues of land ownership and usage should be identified and supported.
International NGOs and REDD+ proponents should identify and support alternative conflict-resolution mechanisms such as local religious organisations and NGOs. These organisations can add to the formal justice system and provide solutions that complement customary and statutory law. Coordination among these should be improved.

Businesses involved with REDD+ reforestation or afforestation projects should follow conflict-sensitive business practices.

Companies engaging in forestry projects related to REDD+ should be encouraged to follow the stakeholder engagement processes outlined by conflict-sensitive business practices wherever possible.[103] High levels of transparency regarding company plans, schedules and prospects, and the creation of effective channels through which stakeholders can raise and address problems, are important aspects of managing potential conflict issues.

REDD+ certification standards with greater emphasis on human rights, poverty alleviation and biodiversity conservation should be supported.

REDD+ proponents should encourage and adopt the use of REDD+ Social and Environmental Standards (REDD+ SES) when certifying REDD+ pilot projects. This certification standard outlines guiding definitions of benefit-sharing and what constitutes acceptable standards of free, prior and informed consent.

Involvement of local communities and indigenous groups throughout the REDD+ consultation and implementation process should be strengthened.

Both national and international NGOs should provide assistance with networking and capacity building support to disadvantaged parties to reduce information asymmetries and power imbalances. Independent media and civil society organisations should also be supported. They can monitor government, provide technical information to communities and demand greater transparency and accountability.

Land rights, tenure reform and the demarcation of both statutory and customary land should be supported.

REDD+ proponents should support the establishment of clear laws and cost-effective mechanisms to recognise tenure, harvesting and production rights of local communities. Local rights and governance should be strengthened through supporting the implementation of forest tenure reforms, mapping of lands and recognition of rights.

REDD+ programmes should have mechanisms for conflict resolution built into their design.

National governments and REDD+ proponents should anticipate that conflicts regarding established REDD+ projects will arise in the future. Conflict-resolution mechanisms could increase the durability of these projects.

Appendix I: REDD+ Factsheet

An Introduction to REDD+

The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) has increasingly recognised deforestation as a source of greenhouse gases. Building on a proposal from a coalition of tropical countries that developing countries should be compensated for measures that reduce deforestation and degradation, parties to the UNFCCC have worked since 2007 to develop the REDD+ programme. Although a framework was formally launched at the convention's 2010 meeting in Cancun, it has yet to become fully operational.

The aim of REDD+ is to incentivise the reduction of emissions from deforestation and forest degradation in developing countries, and to conserve, enhance and sustainably manage forests as places to remove and store atmospheric carbon dioxide.

Funding and Certification of REDD+

There are two mechanisms for funding REDD+: from government funds, such as the Norwegian International Forests and Climate Initiative, or from private sources linked to carbon credits and offsets. Carbon credits (tradable permits for the right to emit one tonne of carbon dioxide) are already available on the voluntary market for carbon offsets (reductions of carbon dioxide that compensate for emissions elsewhere), where they are sold to companies and other entities that are not bound to reducing their emissions due to international commitments such as the Kyoto Protocol. Because there is currently no official system for issuing carbon credits from REDD+ projects, the voluntary market depends on a number of independent certification systems instead. There are two main standards currently being used: the Verified Carbon Standards (VCS), primarily for carbon accounting services, and the Community, Carbon and Biodiversity (CCB) Standard, used to assess environmental and social aspects of forest offset projects against a set of principles and criteria.[104] Because the CCB does not carry out its own audits on project sites, the Forestry Stewardship Council (FSC) must perform its verifications. It is important to note that in recent years the FSC has been criticised for certifying particular forestry operations, leading to many former NGO backers cancelling their support.[105]

Yet the CCB Standard is at risk of being overtaken by another standard being advocated by a network of environmental NGOs called the Climate, Community and Biodiversity Alliance (CCBA). With more emphasis on human rights, poverty alleviation and biodiversity conservation, the REDD+ Social and Environmental Standards (REDD+ SES) is aimed primarily at government-led programmes and is considerably more advanced than the CCB Standard.[106] While CCB does address issues of land rights and benefit sharing, they are not part of the standard against which projects are assessed. REDD+ SES is much more specific on what are considered acceptable principles for free, prior and informed consent, and offers guiding definitions for issues such as 'equitable' benefit sharing or the difference between 'rights holders' and 'stakeholders'.[107] REDD+ SES standards are currently being used in projects in Acre, Brazil and Central Kalimantan, Indonesia.

Three Possible Outcomes from REDD+

1. It has no effect on forest-dependent communities that are left out of the process.
2. It benefits communities by securing land rights, empowering communities and providing a source of income.
3. It harms communities by undermining tenure rights, disempowering local decision making, limiting local livelihoods in the name of conservation and promoting elite capture of lands and carbon payments.[108]

Continuing Problems with REDD+

Emissions reductions from REDD+ are not accepted within the Kyoto Protocol's Clean Development Mechanism, nor can they be traded within the European Union carbon-trading scheme. This is because of four main issues:

1. The issue of leakage, or the problem of deforestation simply being relocated from one area (or country) to another;
2. Principles for establishing baselines, or the reference levels against which reduced emissions are to be measured and assessed;
3. Permanence, or how to ensure that deforestation is not simply postponed;
4. Principles and mechanisms for financing, not least to ensure that reduced emissions that follow from REDD are not cancelled out through the transfer of allowances that lead to increased emissions from fossil fuels in industrialised countries.

Appendix II: Research Guide

The Five Peace Factors – REDD Specific

Have the following issues already been taken into consideration? Does it look like they will be?

Power – how leadership is provided and how people inter-relate:
- Is there conflict over forest resources in this case study, or are forest resources being used to fuel a conflict? What are the drivers of this conflict? What type of conflict is it?
- Have legal and tenure issues been clarified, and/or traditional tenure arrangements been protected or taken into account?
- Is state ownership of forests assumed to be unproblematic?
- Has the national development of REDD policies occurred with consultations with local or indigenous people?
- Are there reports of corruption within the forestry industry?
- Are there reliable, efficient and transparent governance structures that undertake proper measurement and verification, address the drivers of deforestation and ensure the confidence of investors?

Economy – how people make their living and manage their assets:
- Can REDD be considered pro-poor; will the revenues be used for development?
- Who are the private-industry players involved? What are their labour standards?
- Is the country increasing its baseline levels of deforestation in the short term to claim more REDD financing for a greater perceived reduction in deforestation?
- Will REDD involve local level employment?

Fairness, equality and effectiveness of the law – how justice is applied and received:
- Will REDD funds be spent on forest-dependent communities?
- If local communities are receiving REDD funds, is it in an equitable manner?
- Is the government establishing 'forest reserves' by evicting residents?
- Are local communities and indigenous people denied access to traditional forest resources due to REDD?

Safety – how people are able to keep safe from harm:
- Are plantations being used, and do they require the use of harmful pesticides?
- If there are protests over aspects related to REDD, is violence involved? Are the military or police involved?

Well-being – how people's mental and physical well-being is maintained and their aspirations are considered:
- Are there safeguards in place which ensure that indigenous or local level livelihoods are considered?
- Does REDD recognise the multiple ecological and social functions of forests in the case study?

The Five Peace Factors – General

Power:
- How leadership is provided, how people inter-relate and how they belong
- Voice and participation; inclusion; values and incentives (i.e. are rights valued)
- Power differentials (i.e. relations between class, groups, age, gender, etc.)
- Social capital (i.e. trust); leadership and legitimacy

Income and Assets:
- Availability of economic opportunity
- Equality of economic opportunity

Fairness, equality and effectiveness of the law and legal process:
- Effective laws
- Effective mechanisms for justice (protection, prevention and punishment)

Safety:
- Personal security
- Agents of security (police or security forces that are trusted)

Well-being:
- Equality of access (i.e. the basic necessities are available to all)
- Quality of services (e.g. education)
- Psycho-social well-being (i.e. the quality of life – status, location, environment)

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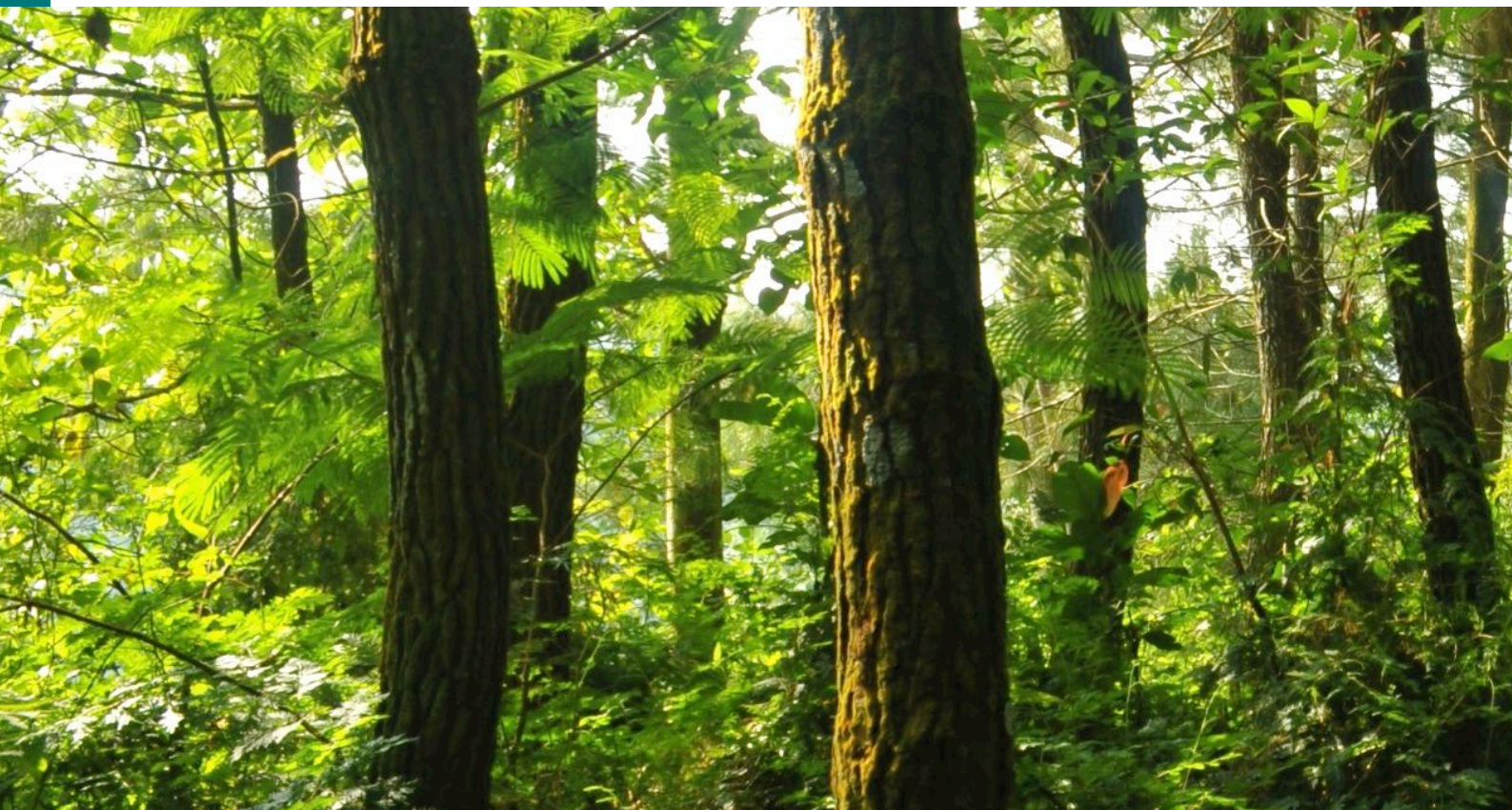
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