

Position of gender organisations against REDD+ programme
in the Cancun 2010 conference

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ABSTRACT

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The aim of this work is to understand what gender organisations participating the Cancun conference in 2010 demanded concerning the planned carbon offset programme, REDD+, and what kind of alternative approaches they suggested should replace the programme. It was also investigated whom the advocates represented and what were their working methods.

The research material were a declaration that emerged during the conference and a webpage of a group behind it. Focusing on such a fragment of civil society activity makes it possible to reveal the political action embedded in it and learn to evaluate texts as rhetorical constructs. The material was analysed utilising the three theses of the rhetoric of reaction presented by Albert Hirschman and the framing practices George Lakoff discusses. Furthermore the content of the arguments was evaluated in the light of current research on climate change, gender and forest conservation practices.

It was found that the civil society organisations skilfully used the rhetorics of reaction and framed their argumentation with emotionally and morally appealing way. It can be concluded that the participation of the civil society organisations in the process of policy formation is vital for the representation of minorities. However the organisations are without formal power which leaves public pressure as their most effective way to make a statement. This is what the declaration also aimed to do.

Keywords: gender, indigenous people, climate change, civil society, carbon offset, REDD+, international politics

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1. INTRODUCTION

During the last two decades, climate change has become the most urgent environmental challenge exacerbating environmental problems such as energy, water, biodiversity and land use. Climate can be defined as the average weather whose properties are temperature, wind and precipitation¹ while climate change refers to a "change in the state of the climate that can be identified by changes in the mean and/or the variability of its properties"². This change is mainly a consequence of human activities³.

There is a strong scientific and political consensus that climate change requires immediate action which has made it a matter of high politics.⁴ However, political action towards preventing climate change has been slow because it poses no visible or immediate danger that would make people react and require action. Paradoxically when the threat finally becomes concrete actions are simply too late. Therefore, politicians are slowly starting to realise that preventive measures are necessary.⁵

Kyoto Protocol, which was adopted in 1997, and which entered into force in 2005, is an international political effort for climate change mitigation in which the undersigned countries are committed to reducing their greenhouse gas emissions. The Conference of the Parties (COP) serves as the meeting of the Parties to the Kyoto Protocol and is held annually.⁶ The 16th Conference of the Parties (COP16) of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) took place in Cancun, Mexico, from 29 November to 10 December in 2010⁷. During the conference, some of the environment and gender organisations following the negotiations wrote a joint declaration against a designed carbon offset mechanism that aims to reduce deforestation. In the declaration the organisations criticise the way the offset mechanism is planned to be implemented.

1 Dankelman 2010: 1, 6.

2 IPCC 2007: http://www.ipcc.ch/publications_and_data/ar4/syr/en/mains1.html (Accessed 21 February 2011)

3 Giddens 2009:1; Newell 2011: 225.

4 Newell 2011: 225.

5 Giddens 2009: 2.

6 UNFCCC: http://unfccc.int/kyoto_protocol/kyoto_protocol_bodies/items/2772.php (Accessed 28 February 2013)

7 UNFCCC: <http://unfccc.int/2860.php> (Accessed 21 February 2011)

The aim of this work is to comprehend what these nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) in question wanted to say and what they demanded in the declaration. Furthermore, it is investigated who the organisations represented or claimed to represent and whose interests and rights they stated they were trying to secure. Also, both the means the organisations used to get their voices heard and the alternatives they suggested for the designed offset mechanism are contemplated.

The declaration emerged as a result of cooperative action among many different environment and gender NGOs participating the conference. The coordinating organisation behind it was a global network of climate change and gender experts called ‘GenderCC – Women for Climate Justice’ that consists of activists and researchers who work for climate justice⁸. In other words, the network wants to secure the rights of women within climate change politics and make sure that the gendered aspects of climate change are noticed in the decision making. What makes the declaration so interesting is that this aim is in line with the current research on gender and climate change. This literature shares without exception the concern about gender equality and promotes gender mainstreaming into climate change policies. Gender mainstreaming simply means incorporating the gender aspect into policy processes to secure equal benefits and prevent the exacerbation of inequalities. This requires locating existing gaps in gender equality⁹ and designing all actions so that they acknowledge both men’s and women’s experiences and concerns¹⁰. When compared to promoting the rights of women gender mainstreaming presumes a clear and practical account on how gendered impacts have been taken into account when planning an action.

With regard to the UNFCCC COP16 conference in Cancun where the decision about the new offset mechanism was made some members of the ‘GenderCC – Women for Climate Justice’ network may have also used their researcher status there to express their views as climate change and gender specialists. However, this has taken place at informal settings, not at the actual meetings, where the political decisions are made. While the state

8 Gender CC: <http://www.gendercc.net/about-gendercc.html> (Accessed 21 February)

9 UNDP (United Nations Development Programme):
<http://www.undp.org/women/mainstream/whatis.shtml> (Accessed 21 February 2011)

10 <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/docs/52/plenary/a52-3.htm> (Accessed 3 December 2012)

representatives were able to attend all the official meetings and vote for or against any suggested policies, the NGOs opposing the mechanism were left with the right to observe and follow what was taking place. Unlike the state representatives with official agency, they lacked the formal political power, and without it they were forced to use more creative means to express their opinion. As a result, they made a statement through formulating a declaration that was released to the media in 9 December 2010.

The declaration criticises the problems related to the offset mechanism that is seen to threaten climate justice from the perspective of gender. The problems are land grab from local communities, creation of inequalities, failure to address climate change and incompatibility with traditional values. In addition to targetting these problems the declaration demands gender sensitive approaches that recognise the ecological limits of the planet. Furthermore, it introduces alternatives to the programme such as promoting land rights of women and addressing the underlying causes of deforestation such as fossil fuel extraction, mining and large-scale logging.

It has to be noted that not all environment and gender NGOs participating the Cancun conference chose an against the carbon offset stance but were actually for the offset programme. It seems reasonable to assume that these organisations were of the opinion that the benefits of the offset as a concrete way for climate change mitigation triumphed its disadvantages. On the other hand, the purpose of the GenderCC network and other NGOs opposing the programme seems to be concern about the situation of indigenous people and women. This is because the advocates see that the planned offset programme would most affect those groups who already have least capacities to defend themselves.

1.2 Method of analysis and the structure of the work

The declaration is a short, two pages long text that summarises many concerns shared by some relatively small and uninfluential NGOs. However, it does this in a rhetorically very interesting way. Therefore, instead of analysing large empirical data the focus in this work is in this small piece of paper that opposes a suggested political reform, an offset mechanism. Analysing such a fragment of all the material surrounding the discussion about

the climate change policies allows us to reveal the political action embedded in it and learn to evaluate texts as rhetorical constructs that have an agenda to support. Evaluating the weight of the arguments also forces us to explore the setting in which the declaration emerged. It thus adds the understanding of the wider picture of climate change politics. The fact that the declaration represents women and indigenous people and states its aim is to secure their rights makes this scrutinisation interesting also in terms of development cooperation: many issues that arise from the argumentation are directly linked to development work practices.

The content of the declaration is evaluated in the light of recent literature about gender, climate change and the environment. Even though, the concept 'gender mainstreaming' is not used consistently in research on gender and climate change the ideas related to it are continuously repeated and advocated. Therefore, gender mainstreaming is the perspective through which the issue of climate change is approached in this work. In addition to this, the ideas of ecofeminism are utilised to evaluate the relationship between people and their environment. For assessing the role of NGOs in international politics and especially within climate change regime, literature about both NGOs and climate change politics is applied. While many advocates behind the declaration are also researchers, no research related to them is used unless otherwise mentioned when commenting the content of the declaration and the accuracy of the arguments presented. However, there may be connections about which the writer of this work is not aware.

For evaluating the weight and structure of the arguments criticising the offset mechanism, rhetorical analysis is applied. Firstly the ideas of George Lakoff about reframing the debate by articulating the key values¹¹ gives us the opportunity to see how the NGOs behind the declaration use the language to tie emotions to their message in order to convince their listeners. Such attachment of emotions to the language is beneficial for NGOs whose missions often include helping the most disadvantaged to improve their lives. Thus, awaking feelings in the listeners minds is a powerful way to gain their support. Understanding the meaning of such a language for development cooperation work is therefore vital. Second, the methods of dramatism in rhetoric, originally introduced by

11 Lakoff 2004.

Kenneth Burke and discussed by Roderick P. Hart, are also utilised. To analyse texts Burke dissects the textual factors of an agent (who did what), an act (what was done), agency (how it was done), purpose (feelings, intentions and values that explain why it was done) and scene (in which context it was done).¹² Understanding these factors and how they are applied to create dramatism in texts helps us to evaluate their content.

In addition to these the three theses of the rhetoric of reaction that Albert Hirschman presents are utilized to analyse the arguments. The theses of perversity, futility and jeopardy encapsulate the reactionary way of argumentation: first two claim that suggested political reforms will fail one way or another, the third holds that reforms imperil something valuable. The theses are thus basically arguments aimed against any suggested policies.¹³ It is interesting that even though the declaration may seem to be only advocating for political reform in its demand for new approaches for climate change it simultaneously also resists a new political programme – the planned offset mechanisms. Therefore, the theses serve well for analysing presented arguments, however reformist the movement behind them may be.

Structure of the work is as follows. In the next chapter, the background of the REDD+ programme is investigated together with the actors behind the declaration. In chapter three the arguments of the declaration which target the problems related to the REDD+ -programme are analysed and evaluated. Subsequently, in chapter four, the attention is given to how the declaration represents the people whose interests and rights it claims to protect. In chapter five, the suggested alternatives for REDD+ are introduced and discussed. Thereafter, in chapter six the role of the civil society and more specifically the process that generated the declaration is investigated together with the means that were used to make the message heard. Finally, in the last chapter, some concluding remarks are made.

12 Hart 1997: 275-279.

13 Hirschman 1991: 7, 136.

2. EMERGENCE OF THE DECLARATION

The declaration against a suggested carbon offset mechanism emerged at the international UNFCCC COP16 conference in Cancun which from now on is referred to as the Cancun conference. The aim of this chapter is to investigate the situation in which the declaration was created and who were behind it. To understand its emergence, we first have to discuss the creation of the carbon offset mechanisms in international politics. Subsequently the focus turns towards the actors who created the declaration. There, the relationship between gender and climate change is shortly discussed in order to explain why gender organisations, one of which has been a coordinating force behind the declaration, are interested in climate change issues in the first place.

2.1 Carbon offsets and the REDD+ programme

Two main policy areas related to climate change are mitigation and adaptation¹⁴. Mitigation addresses the origins of climate change¹⁵ by aiming to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions while adaptation prepares for the impacts of climate change¹⁶. Mitigation measures include carbon taxes and carbon trading as well as standards for both the emissions and for the use of renewable technology. Adaptation includes early warning systems, tidal flood defenses and rainfall sewers among other things. This means that mitigation can affect the whole global economy whereas adaptation concerns specific nations and groups of people.¹⁷ International policy negotiations have initially focused on mitigation efforts, but as the effects of climate change are experienced more and more at the local level also adaptation measures have become needful¹⁸ and required international attention.

In the 1997 Kyoto Protocol agreement, industrialised countries committed themselves to reducing their greenhouse gases to the level of the 1990 baseline. To ease the task they created markets that instead of cutting their own emissions allowed them to trade emission

14 Labatt & White 2007: 15-16.

15 Mercer 2010: 249.

16 Terry 2009: 6; Hemmati & Röhr 2009: 20.

17 Labatt & White 2007: 15-20.

18 Mercer 2010: 249.

reductions or purchase them by implementing projects in the developing world under the name Clean Development Mechanism.¹⁹ At the same time, there emerged voluntary private markets for such tradeoff, which together with the official system became known as the carbon offsets²⁰, which are part of international mitigation efforts.

Carbon offsets are created in different projects that reduce greenhouse gas emissions, such as capturing waste gas at landfills, substituting fossil fuels with renewable energy and improving energy efficiency. The reductions are measured and converted into a commodity that can be merchandised. Legitimizing an offset involves processes of analysing and monitoring, which has created a new governance of the carbon economy. It involves many stakeholders at multiple levels from intergovernmental agencies, United Nations processes and international companies to nongovernmental agencies and local organisations and individuals. Clearly, there is a risk that unequal power relations affect the process if resource-strong parties get to define the terms and possibly marginalize others from the benefits associated with a certain project.²¹

One carbon offset possibility is to reduce deforestation with financial incentives²² because deforestation causes greenhouse gas emissions and forests absorb carbon dioxide.²³ However, it took until 2007 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) negotiations in Bali before formal propositions for including the United Nations Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD) to official offset mechanisms under Kyoto Protocol took place.²⁴

The basic idea of REDD is to put a financial value to the carbon stored in forests and give incentives to developing countries to maintain these forests as stores. Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation and Enhance Carbon Stocks -programme (REDD+) goes slightly further and recognises the meaning of sustainable forest management and preservation and enhancement of forest carbon stocks.²⁵ Theoretically

19 Liverman 2009: ???

20 Bumpus & Liverman 2011: 201.

21 Bumpus & Liverman 2011: 205-208, 212, 215.

22 IPCC 2007. http://www.ipcc.ch/publications_and_data/ar4/syr/en/mains4-3.html (Accessed 21 February 2011)

23 Bumpus & Liverman 2011: 201.

24 Neef & Ascui 2009: 306-307.

25 REDD: <http://www.un-redd.org/AboutREDD/tabid/582/Default.aspx> (Accessed 21 February 2011)

REDD offers means for industrialised countries to transfer funds to the developing countries to reward them for reduced deforestation or improved conservation. However, in practice there are many problems related to this idea. The most obvious one is disagreement about the definition of a forest. Currently United Nations includes plantations into the definition, a decision that many nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) perceive as a threat to the diversity of forests and also to the rights of indigenous peoples.²⁶ In fact, World Rainforest Movement expressed such concerns already in 2008 in a joint press release with other organisations²⁷.

Other debates related to the programme involve the limited understanding of carbon sequestration, accountability at different levels and the problem of property rights. The last raises questions about the ownership of a preserved forest; in case, it is owned by the carbon consumer who has paid for the preservation is she allowed to change her mind, deforest it and balance the carbon credit in a different project? Also, the stances of the developing countries towards REDD vary as others welcome financial support for their conservation efforts while others argue that REDD merely allows industrialised countries to continue polluting by paying with money that should be donated for deforestation efforts regardlessly.²⁸ As these concerns and questions about REDD+ indicate, the programme has received very different responses. The declaration this work focuses on is one of them and the attention turns next towards the actors behind it.

2.1 Discovering the actors behind the declaration

To understand why gender organisations are active in the field of climate change politics demands some scrutinisation of the concept of gender and assessing how it associates with climate change. The concept of gender can simply be defined as cultural difference of men and women which is based on the biological difference between male and female.²⁹ Gender encompasses the norms, rules and customs that the both sexes learn as members of a given society. In practice, this often means that the sexes have different opportunities in life that

26 Bumpus & Liverman 2011: 217-218.

27 World Rainforest Movement : http://wrm.org.uy/actors/CCC/cop14/Goups_REDD.html (Accessed 26 October 2012)

28 Bumpus & Liverman 2011: 218.

29 Dankelman 2010: 10.

are maintained in formal laws as well as in unwritten norms.³⁰ In this work, the attention lies in the gendered implications of climate change mitigation.

The relationship between environment and gender has been studied for more than twenty years.³¹ Concerning climate change the austere reality is that people already most vulnerable and marginalized tend to confront the greatest impacts³². For instance, they live at hazardous urban environments in poorly constructed houses and have least resources to recover from any unwanted events. As women are claimed to constitute the majority of the world's poor, they are seen to be disproportionately affected³³. Another point of view is that when compared to poor men poor women have access to relatively fewer resources, which makes it harder for them to fend themselves. This lack of resources is due to social and cultural norms that affect the division of labour, physical mobility and access to the decision making process among other things.³⁴ On the other hand, men can also feel powerless and oppressed and lack the capacities to cope with climate change, which means they are vulnerable in a different way.³⁵

Addressing gender related issues within climate change policies is argued to prevent further gender inequalities and to make the policies as effective as possible.³⁶ However, as two researchers connected with the GenderCC network, Minu Hemmati and Ulrike Röhr, state, despite that women have been underrepresented at the highest level of UNFCCC meetings. Furthermore, they note, only a fraction of participating NGOs has dealt with gender issues.³⁷ In addition to the widely recognised need for gender mainstreaming discussed in the introduction, the gap in representation seems to be one of the reasons why gender organisations have started to focus on climate change issues and why such organisations as GenderCC have emerged.

The declaration begins with a sentence that locates it to the Cancun 2011 conference and introduces its purpose and the actors behind it:

30 Kabeer 2003: 2.

31 Dankelman 2010:1.

32 Newell 2011: 225-226; Brody, Demetriades & Esplen 2008, 1.

33 Brody, Demetriades & Esplen 2008, 1; see also Denton 2002.

34 Terry 2009: 7.

35 See also Demetriades & Espelen 2008: 25.

36 Terry 2009: 6.

37 Hemmati & Röhr 2009: 26-27.

Women and organisations at the 16th Conference of the Parties of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, taking place in Cancun, Mexico from Nov 29 – Dec 10, 2010 [...]

As women from diverse parts of the world, living in diverse conditions and circumstances, we affirm that it is of utmost importance to safeguard the rights of women [...]³⁸

Even though, the declaration does not specify the actors behind it, it becomes clear that it is a product of civil society activity. The society we live in can be seen to be composed of four distinct but interrelated spaces. According to a rough division these are state, market, private life and civil society. These different spaces all have distinctive characteristics and special roles in the functioning of the society and daily lives. The role of the state is to execute decisions concerning the basic problems every society faces. Within the markets work is organised to produce wealth, goods and services for people. Private life contains the creation of meanings related to ethnicity, religion and language which can transpire in families and communities. Finally, the civil society is the space for building common causes and fellowships which can take place in different NGOs and social movements.³⁹

Civil society is not a coherent space but consists of different organisations having various orientations and interests. At least three types of NGOs can be distinguished depending on their area of operation. First type includes organisations working with issues of environment, peace, development and human rights as well as with health and welfare of old, deprived and handicapped. Second category involves political parties and labor unions, women's groups and local organisations concentrated on poverty and unemployment. Third type organisations comprise religious, educational and culture-related organisations as well as professional associations, youth work and sports organisations.⁴⁰ Based on this sorting it seems obvious that the advocates behind the declaration belong to the first group of civil society organisations as they are promoting women's rights in the context of climate change.

As the quote above shows, the declaration states rather generally that women and

38 Women and gender organisations at COP 16. Position on Women and REDD. 2010: 1. (Appendix 1.)

39 Van Til 2000: xi-xiii.

40 Inglehart 2003: 63.

organisations participating Cancun 2010 conference have generated it. Instead of naming the organisations it emphasises the diverse backgrounds of women who have contributed to its creation. However, after investigating the emergence of the declaration and organisations involved in the process some bits and pieces of information are available at different websites. It definitely takes some time and effort to organise this information into a coherent form and some things still remain vague, but after careful scrutinisation it is possible to form an overall picture of the process.

As mentioned already in the introduction, it seems clear that GenderCC – Women for Climate Justice network has been the driving force behind the declaration because it has taken care of the planning related to the declaration such as releasing it, updating the signatures and giving a related press-release⁴¹. Furthermore, as the declaration was open for signatures, under women's day on 8 March 2011 certain organisations invited others to sign it at various websites. This appeal was first published at the Carbon Trade Watch website and later at least at the redd-monitor website. It was now revealed which organisations were behind the declaration as the appeal stated that organisations asking for signatures are GenderCC, the World March of Women (WMW), World Rainforest Movement (WRM), the Latin American Network against Monoculture Tree Plantations (RECOMA), the Global Forest Coalition (GFC), Carbon Trade Watch (CTW), Grassroots Global Justice Alliance (GGJA), and the Indigenous Environmental Network (IEN).⁴² All of these organisations are NGOs concerned about the themes announced in the declaration, and it makes sense to assume that these organisations are also the key actors behind the declaration.

In the February 2011 newsletter of GenderCC and later on in the appeal for signatures, it was explained that the declaration emerged as a result of the discussions held at Women's Caucus at the Cancun conference. In the newsletter, the Women's Caucus is referred to as a daily meeting, "attended by 25 to 40 women and men representing grassroots movements, as well as networks, NGOs and UN-organisations" which "was a forum for sharing and

41 GenderCC web-pages: <http://www.gendercc.net/policy/conferences/cancun-2010.html> and <http://www.gendercc.net/metanavigation/press.html#c1099> (Accessed 27 April 2011)

42 Carbon Trade Watch web-page: <http://www.carbontradewatch.org/take-action/on-international-women-s-day-an-invitation-to-sign-the-position-on-women-and.html> (Accessed 22 April 2011)

discussing current developments and positions”⁴³. At the website of Women's Environment and Development Organisation (WEDO), an organisation that did not sign the declaration, the Women's Caucus is referred to as ”the daily Women and Gender Caucus”⁴⁴ which confirms that some type of daily meeting related to gender took place conference. Since there is no official information about Women's Caucus as related to the Cancun conference, it remains a somewhat ambiguous concept and makes it hard to situate in the context of the conference.

However, the United Nations Non-Governmental Liaison Service that aims to improve the opportunities of the civil society organisations to participate in the United Nations decision making process introduces caucuses as one of such means in its guidelines for NGOs. Caucuses are stated to be common to the UN meetings and are described as ”groups of organisations and individuals interested in similar issues” that gather together regularly to share information and formulate statements or meet politicians to affect the outcomes of the negotiations. Especially women's caucuses are common and their focus is naturally related to the theme of the meeting in question.⁴⁵ Furthermore, it seems that caucuses are not only characteristic of the UN meetings either but of other political meetings as well. At least one has been organised during WTO conference in 1996 where it produced a press statement and later on developed into a working group⁴⁶. Since NGO representatives participating in the UN meetings are naturally interested in the area of the meeting in a way or another and have opinions concerning the issues under negotiation, it makes sense that they gather together to have briefings and discuss how they could unite and thus gain weight to their message.

After considering the forum through which the declaration emerged it makes sense to focus on the organisations and individuals who have agreed with its message. Until 4 March 2011, there were 46 organisations and three individuals who have signed it. The organisations are focused on gender, environment and indigenous issues and are from different parts of the world, mainly from the United States (13) and Latin America (11) but

43 GenderCC web-page: <http://www.gendercc.net/html-newsletter/gendercc-newsletter-february-2011.html#c1464> (Accessed 22 April 2011)

44 WEDO web-page: <http://www.wedo.org/news/day-1-at-cop16-get-on-the-bus> (Accessed 23 April 2011)

45 UN-NGLS web-page: <http://www.unsystem.org/ngls/documents/publications.en/gender/pg.05.htm> (Accessed 23 April 2011)

46 McGill 2005: 706.

also from Europe, Asia and Africa. An interesting detail is that two of the three individuals who have signed the declaration are men, and two of the three are in a political position, both of them in Germany.⁴⁷

However, not all the participants of the Women's Caucus signed the declaration: among them are some influential NGOs that have taken a pro REDD+ stance such as Women's Environment and Development Organisation (WEDO), the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and Women Organizing for Change in Agriculture and Natural Resource Management (WOCAN)⁴⁸. At least WEDO and IUCN held press conferences that were listed at the Cancun conference programme⁴⁹ which means they were part of the official programme unlike many organisations that were against REDD+. This implies that the organisations involved in the emergence of the declaration are without formal power and can only try to be loud as bystanders. Even if certain United Nations organisations participated the Women's Caucus at Cancun, it was decided that the declaration is not an official statement of the Caucus but is left open for signatures. This means that its message is not approved by any political actor with formal power.

Indeed it often tends to be the case that power and resources available to NGOs determinate the amount of participation they can get within international events and conferences. Some voices may remain unheard when the NGO representation includes mostly middle class, educated people from Western Europe and the United States.⁵⁰ The declaration does not seem to continue this undesirable convention. Even though, most of the organisations who have signed it come from the United States there is a significant amount of NGOs located in the developing countries. It appears that the declaration truly represents the voices of the people who are not heard within the official programme of the conference. These people are without formal power and making their voices heard gives the network behind the declaration accountability that arises from including a wide range of perspectives⁵¹. Also, the choice of following words: "as women from diverse parts of the

47 List available at GenderCC web-page:

http://www.gendercc.net/fileadmin/inhalte/Dokumente/UNFCCC_conferences/COP16/Position_women_redd_signatories.pdf (Accessed 18 April 2011)

48 NO REDD! Web-page: <http://noredd.makenoise.org/women-and-redd.html> (Accessed 23 April 2011)

49 http://webcast.cc2010.mx/grid_en.html (Accessed 23 April 2011)

50 Brown Thompson 2000: 115.

51 Brown Thompson 2000: 119.

world, living in diverse conditions and circumstances” that is formulated in the declaration accentuates the legitimacy of the actors because they represent a wide range of people.

The methods of work of the organisations involved in the creation of the declaration as well as their possible intentions are discussed later in this work, in chapter 6. Now it is time to discuss what the actors wanted to say and what they expressed through the declaration. Therefore, in the next chapter, the focus turns on the content of the declaration.

3. CRITICISM TOWARDS REDD+

In this chapter, the focus is on the arguments presented in the declaration which are analysed rhetorically by applying both the three theses of the rhetoric of reaction that Albert Hirschman presents⁵² and the thoughts of George Lakoff about framing the debate⁵³. The theses of perversity, futility and jeopardy can be used for evaluating conservative argumentation against political reform: the first claims that reforms create perverse incentives, the second that the change is futile and the third that reforms will destroy something valuable.⁵⁴ Even though the declaration may first appear to be only advocating for change, it actually resists a planned political programme. Therefore, the rhetoric used in the declaration is essentially reactionary and the theses suit well for analysing the presented arguments. The ideas of Lakoff are utilised to evaluate the choice of words within the arguments. Lakoff focuses on the language and sees that the choice of labels unavoidably affects on how the topic is perceived. He also emphasises the importance of knowing how values are related to the words we use.⁵⁵

In addition to these two thinkers, the means of dramatism introduced by Kenneth Burke and discussed by Roderick P. Hart⁵⁶ are applied to analyse the dramatic structure of the arguments. To Burke all life is drama and the task of a rhetor is to discover this drama by attaching labels to action, that is, naming it and pointing out the agent, an act, agency, purpose and the scene. This description of events makes them comprehensible and people become to understand why certain things happen; what is the motivation behind them. In this way, drama explains and gives meaning to people's lives. This makes it a basic human need. Dramatic form has the ability to persuade and can also be perhaps for this reason, found in the formal discourse such as political constitution and also from the declaration processed in this work. It is important to remember, though that the description of events always requires choosing of labels. This makes the truth a negotiable thing and means all politics are about making choices.⁵⁷ The idea of choosing labels when describing events is

52 Hirschman 1991.

53 Lakoff 2004.

54 Hirschman 1991: 7, 136.

55 Lakoff 2004: 3-4.

56 Hart 1997.

57 Hart 1997: 260-265, 278-279.

very similar to the framing of the debate Lakoff discusses.

Furthermore, the arguments are analysed and discussed in the light of previous research. As noted in the previous chapters, some of the people behind the declaration are also researchers in the field of gender and climate change. However, as noted in the introduction, when commenting the content of the declaration, no voice is given to the researchers who themselves were involved. Instead, the opinions of other specialists are utilised to truly weigh the statements made in the declaration. It has to be noted, however, that the GenderCC network has many connections and has worked in cooperation with such organisations as BRIDGE, Institute of Development Studies (IDS) that produces information related to gender and climate change. Hence, total objectivity can not be guaranteed. Occasionally also observations of the involved actors are utilised, but their connection to the declaration is always pointed out.

In the declaration, the concerns of gender organisations are specified into four different problems that REDD+ is seen to pose with regard to gender and indigenous people. These are land grab from local communities, creation of perverse incentives and inequalities, failure to address climate change and incompatibility with traditional values. Next all these statements are analysed and evaluated.

3.1 REDD+ leading to land grab

The first argument of the declaration against REDD+ deals with the problems of selling forest areas located in the developing countries to international actors. It concludes that:

REDD+ as currently designed will contribute to a global land grab from communities and Indigenous Peoples, which will particularly affect women. Industrialized-country governments and corporations will only pay for the preservation of forests if they get rights over the carbon in those forests in return. This will have a particular impact on women as their property rights are less secure.⁵⁸

Two main statements are outlined here. First, that REDD+ leads to land grab from

⁵⁸ Women and gender organisations at COP 16. Position on Women and REDD. 2010: 1. (Appendix 1.)

communities and, second that this land grab will be more evident for women due to their weak property rights. These arguments are also connected to the widely recognised problems of ownership within REDD+ as discussed in chapter 2.1.

It seems that the first argument applies to the jeopardy thesis which holds that if the costs of a policy are relatively greater than its benefits, it must be questioned⁵⁹. In this case policy imperils the rights of local communities to their property, especially those of women. On the other hand, as Hirschman points out, following the logic of jeopardy thesis itself includes a risk. If new policies are rejected on the basis that they menace something valuable, there is a great chance of getting the society stuck instead of advancing it.⁶⁰ This might also be used as a counter argument to the declaration because resisting activities of climate change mitigation may lead in a situation where there simply are no efforts to mitigate.

In the first sight, it appears that because REDD+ is leading to land grab it is also creating some negative effects related to the perversity thesis. This is, however, not the case. Perversity thesis means that a proposed policy that tries to improve a certain situation inevitably turns against itself and worsens the conditions it aimed to improve in the first place⁶¹. The aim of REDD+ is not to protect the rights of indigenous people or other groups but to compensate greenhouse gas emissions by creating a fair and functioning trade system. Therefore, any negative effects of the program that are not related to its functioning as an emission trading system are not compatible with the perversity thesis.

The language used in the quotation is strong. Especially ‘global land grab’ is a powerful frame that becomes to describe the outcomes of the whole programme. Land grab has a deeply negative connotation that relates to quickly snatching something or taking by force and without permission. Using such concepts that are highly attached with values applies to the practices of framing that George Lakoff discusses. Legitimizing a global political programme using practices of ‘land grabbing’ is difficult. The choice of words in the declaration certainly raises concerns about such practices taking place within REDD+.

59 Hirschman 1991: 84.

60 Hirschman 1991: 130.

61 Hirschman 1991: 11.

According to Alexis de Tocqueville who conversed the democratic system of the 19th century America, associations outside formal power usually have a moral cause that is driving them to oppose the quantitative majority holding the political power. Therefore, they tend to use morally charged argumentation to defend their causes.⁶²

To comprehend how the declaration builds a tension that captures the reader the means of dramatism can be utilised. When we look at the dramatic form and elements – agent, act, agency, purpose and scene – introduced by Burke it appears that, in this argument, the agent is REDD+ because it “contribute[s] to a global land grab”. This act of land grab is materialised through other agents; namely governments, the programme guides to do so. This explanation of how the act is done is also the agency about which Burke talks. What makes the dramatic structure special here is that the agency involves more agents, who, again, act in a certain way: the governments want the right for carbon stored in forests. It could be stated that REDD+ is the main evil that is designed to make other agents act in a certain way that, in this case, imperils the property rights of communities. When it comes to the other methods of creating a dramatic structure no purpose or scene is described.⁶³

For the part of the factual content of the arguments presented in the quotation, it appears that the same issues are pondered in the literature concentrating on climate change and gender. Women's restricted land use rights have been widely recognised as a problem⁶⁴. Furthermore, it has been noted that women tend to be neglected when it comes to financial benefits of mitigation programmes. The money is distributed unequally, and women do not get to decide how it is used.⁶⁵ In channeling financial flows, it is vital to address the different vulnerabilities of all marginalized groups, such as indigenous people and women, to climate change. This is especially important because these groups tend to be most affected by the mitigation responses.⁶⁶ They may be excluded from official decision making processes and possess little other resources like education and properties to help themselves.

62 de Tocqueville 1969: 189, 192.

63 Hart 1997: 278-279.

64 Dankelman & Jansen 2010: 22; Aguilar 2010: 180.

65 Agarwal 2001: 1635.

66 Polack 2008: 17, 18.

It is important to assure that women are equally capable of getting their share from a multibillion dollar business that climate change mitigation has become⁶⁷. The enormous amount of financial flows related to REDD+, 30 billion United States dollars a year⁶⁸, have the potential to foster gender equity. Adversely the programme, if not planned and executed carefully may further deepen the existing inequalities. REDD+ must, therefore, recognise the gendered aspects related to its implementation and ensure an equal access to benefits. In many parts of the world laws are failing to recognise the importance of women's rights for land use. To redress this problem REDD+ should carefully obey any international agreements related to these rights.⁶⁹

Some more critical notions about the land rights of indigenous people in general arise from the article of Tania Murray Li who discusses community forest management. She notes that the issue is not an unambiguous one and continues that the local communities do not consist of indigenous people who are living in harmony with forests and preserving them, but of people who are very willing to sell their land or cut the trees in order to sell them or replace them with cash crops. Furthermore, clearing the land from forests and cultivating it is often seen as an establishment of land rights, which encourages people towards these activities instead of sustainable forest management. For these reasons, the indigenous people are themselves often responsible for deforestation. Therefore, simplifying or idealizing the complex processes between communities and forests is not desirable.⁷⁰

To sum up a little, the problems related to the land use rights of women have been acknowledged in the literature and research outside the declaration. Because REDD+ includes significant fund flows, it is argued to be extremely important to assure that women get an equal share of those funds and do not lose because of their poor land rights. On the other hand, the self-interest of indigenous people, both men and women, may not be the preservation of forests but making money out of it. We could think that this is most likely true: why would indigenous people be different from the rest of the people who want to improve their livelihoods and strive forward. Assuming that indigenous people lack the ability for economic thought seems almost discriminatory and at least impolite, even

67 Skutsch 2002: 35.

68 REDD+: <http://www.un-redd.org/AboutREDD/tabid/582/Default.aspx> (Accessed 21 February 2011)

69 Aguilar 2010: 181-184.

70 Murray Li 2007: 271, 274, 276.

though this surely is not intended.

3.2 REDD+ and perverse incentives

The second argument of the declaration opposes REDD+ from a somewhat different perspective. It criticizes the functioning of tariffs as unfair and announces that:

REDD+ initiatives, as they are currently designed, create perverse incentives and inequities. Women play a differentiated and key role in forest conservation and restoration. The current REDD+ design is that actors will receive carbon credits for reducing their deforestation. Women are, overall, less responsible for deforestation and forest degradation and therefore, according to this set-up, they would be less eligible for forest carbon credits.⁷¹

The argumentation here builds upon a claim which holds definite that women are not only less guilty for deforestation but also act as agents of forest conservation. Therefore, they benefit less from funds that are directed for activities reducing deforestation and forest degradation. The disputable nature of this argument will be discussed later but first the argument itself is rhetorically analysed. As concluded before the perversity thesis states that human actions, which here is the planned offset programme, turn the world into completely opposite direction than intended. This happens because the advocates of change have a lack of complete insight and they are thus unable to see the effects of their actions.⁷² This is exactly what is argued here. Instead of creating an equal trade system which is the aim of REDD+ the programme is stated to be unfair to women. This is because the advocates of the programme have failed to see that women are already behaving better than men in terms of deforestation and thus would gain less from reducing their demand for forests. Even though, the actuality of this claim remains uncertain its argumentation is clearly utilizing the perversity thesis.

However, it must be recognised that the accusations of perversity do not necessarily tell the whole truth. As Hirschman notes, human actions may have welcome side effects as well, and some of the intended positive outcomes may also remain. Furthermore, tendencies of policy changes towards perverse effects may be corrected with the help of previous

⁷¹ Women and gender organisations at COP 16. Position on Women and REDD. 2010: 1. (Appendix 1.)

⁷² Hirschman 1991: 11, 36.

experiences and by following and correcting the process.⁷³ These considerations weaken the power of the perversity thesis. Another point of view is to regard the argument in terms of futility: nothing turns better because women already conserve forests and are not credited for it. For them the programme is not changing anything. Instead, it maintains the existing inequality and fails to improve the position of women. Therefore, it inevitably remains futile.

When it comes to the choice of words, the name ‘perverse incentive’ in the context of a programme that is based on financial calculations is again a powerful frame that suits the ideas of Lakoff about framing the debate⁷⁴. Stating that the programme creates unwanted effects raises questions about its basic functionality. If the planning has failed and REDD+ causes some perverse incentives, its whole implementation becomes doubtful. This is clearly emphasised in the declaration. ‘Perverse incentive’ is also morally strong concept that associations without formal power tend to use according to de Tocqueville⁷⁵.

Within this argument, interestingly, the dramatic structure Burke discusses is different from that of the former chapter. The agent is the same, REDD+, that “create[s] perverse incentives“. However, this act is not realised by other agents but the programme itself. The agency, that is, how the act happens, is that the programme is poorly planned and does not recognise that women are already behaving better in terms of forest conservation. Again, no other elements of dramatism, purpose or scene, are outlined.⁷⁶

The content of the arguments presented here is clearly disputable as noted earlier. Claiming that women cause less deforestation seems doubtful because women in developing countries produce 60 to 80 percent of food⁷⁷ and usually a prerequisite for having areas under cultivation is that there is no forest. On the other hand, women tend to gather non-timber products such as medicine plants and fodder for livestock from forests⁷⁸ while men are traditionally responsible for cutting the trees. However, it is still women who cultivate the fields that replace the forest and who as household cooks could be accused of acquiring

73 Hirschman 1991: 39-42.

74 Lakoff 2004: 3-4.

75 de Tocqueville 1969: 189, 192.

76 Hart 1997: 278-279.

77 FAO: <http://www.fao.org/focus/e/women/Sustin-e.htm> (Accessed 17 February 2011)

78 Aguilar 2010: 177.

fuel wood. Furthermore, the income from cash crop production benefits both genders, even though the money may be managed by men.⁷⁹ Deriving from these considerations it seems that both genders may be equally responsible for deforestation, and the scientific background of the argument presented in the declaration remains questionable.

Another point of view is represented by Vandana Shiva who contemplates the role of women in nature conservation through the standpoint of ecofeminism. It is a line of thought that sees a connection between nature and the female body and perceives both subordinated by the masculine mentality. Shiva suggests that women have a key role in the conservation of nature and biodiversity in their daily practices. Because many communities in developing countries depend on biological resources for their daily sustenance, a sustainable use of those resources is a vital condition for life. Shiva also notes that the agricultural practices of women are often not in contradiction with forest conservation but rather that the trees, crops and livestock coexist and are interdependent. This enables the fertility of biomass flows and maintains sustainability.⁸⁰ These ideas of ecofeminism appear to be behind the view that sees women as key actors of forest conservation as presented in the declaration.

Simone Lovera, an activist of the Global Forest Coalition, an NGO that also undersigned the declaration, brings the discussion away from gender and presents an interesting argument in a pamphlet of the Service Centre for Development Cooperation, a Finnish NGO, that discusses emissions trading from a very critical and political point of view. She states that because the aim of REDD is to drastically reduce deforestation, the funds of the programme are likely to be channeled to projects where such results can be achieved most effectively. Indigenous people are not likely to benefit much from the programme because they are already preserving the forests and thus paying them would not be effective.⁸¹ From this perspective, it would not only be women who would be ignored financially but all communities living in a sustainable way already. This would naturally be a very perverse incentive.

79 Skutsch 2002: 33.

80 Mies & Shiva 1993: 14, 165-171.

81 Lovera 2010: 50-51.

3.3 REDD+ is not addressing climate change

The third argument of declaration accentuates the incapability of the programme to mitigate to climate change and proclaims that:

REDD+ as an offset mechanism will not address climate change as it takes away the responsibility for mitigation from the North and shifts it to the South. Contracts to provide pollution licenses for fossil fuel-dependent corporations will potentially harm communities elsewhere who are suffering from the fossil fuel extraction or pollution for which those corporations are responsible. Women and girls in these communities carry a disproportionately higher amount of this burden. For that reason, forest carbon offsets do not only impact indigenous communities in the South.⁸²

It is stated here that REDD+ fails in its attempt to mitigate climate change because it shifts the responsibility from 'North' to 'South'. At the same time, the programme is claimed to allow

corporations to continue their pollutive practices and thus also endanger people elsewhere. The quotation clearly shows the emotions attached to the issues of climate change mitigation. The last sentence is a peculiarly vague one, but it seems to propose that extracting fossil fuels harms communities living near the extraction sites which may be located outside the 'South'. Also, there women and girls are stated to be most affected by the pollutive practices. The use of 'women and girls' is interesting in a rhetorical sense, but this is discussed further in chapter four while, in this chapter, the focus is on the evaluation of the presented arguments.

In the quotation the responsibility for action is stated to lie in the North and thus any measures alleviating it are failing also in terms of mitigation. Logically this is naturally not the case: forests absorb carbon and help to halt climate change, no matter where the responsibility lies. Strong emotions attached to climate justice seem understandable but, at the same time they are indisputably harming the logic of the statement presented here. However, this line of thinking accentuates the perspective of climate justice that will be discussed later after analysing the arguments.

⁸² Women and gender organisations at COP 16. Position on Women and REDD. 2010: 1. (Appendix 1.)

The argumentation presented here is hitherto the most complex one, and it can thus be seen linked with two of the rhetorical theses, futility and jeopardy. It is contended that REDD+ is not addressing the real thing, climate change, and fails in its attempts to counterbalance. This applies to the logic of the futility thesis which holds that policies are doomed to fail because of the existing structures or rather because of a failure to recognise the impacts of these structures⁸³. Here, the incapability of targeting the source of greenhouse gas emissions leads to the bankruptcy of the whole programme. It is interesting to compare this logic of the futility thesis to that of perversity thesis contemplated in the previous chapter. While the latter considers the world as volatile place and thus prone to any unwanted side effects, the futility thesis takes an opposite view by suggesting that it is the static structures of the society that render any human attempts fruitless.⁸⁴

The jeopardy thesis⁸⁵ manifests itself in the worry for communities that suffer from fossil fuel extraction and pollution. It is now their safety, not the land rights of indigenous communities and women that the programme is putting in jeopardy. Hence, the focus of concerns moves towards the countries that themselves are the source of emissions. This emphasis differs from the common discourse of the declaration that only acknowledges the gendered aspects of climate change in relation to women living in the developing countries⁸⁶.

Here again, it is worthwhile to evaluate the weight of the rhetorical theses used. The weakness of the futility thesis is that it aggravates the failure because even if a policy may seem futile in the first place it does not mean that it cannot ultimately generate positive outcomes. Futility also assumes that policy makers are not able for self-evaluation and correction of errors. Furthermore, judging a policy in advance allows no space for social structures to adjust to the policy or leave any room for corrective policies. For the part of jeopardy, scrutinising it reveals its frailty again: fearing change can easily turn into hindering advancement.⁸⁷ Addressing these flaws gives a possibility for counter arguments towards the declaration.

83 Hirschman 1991: 70.

84 Hirschman 1991: 72.

85 Hirschman 1991: 81.

86 Terry 2009: 6.

87 Hirschman 1991: 69, 78, 130.

Another point of surprise is to have the two theses of futility "REDD+ as an offset mechanism will not address climate change" and jeopardy "[REDD+] will potentially harm communities elsewhere" together under the same argument because jeopardy is usually used alone. This combination of futility and jeopardy is not without weakness because whenever the argumentation of futility is used together with jeopardy the latter may lose its strength. Futility sabotages jeopardy thesis because a reform that is announced insignificant hardly raises any worries about jeopardy. However, this is not the case here as the claimed futility of the programme's aim, climate change mitigation, does not mean that it could not be argued to cause some serious harm elsewhere.⁸⁸ Thus, the unusual combination makes sense in this context.

As regards to the use of language within this argument, strong phrases and the ideas of Lakoff about framing are utilized again⁸⁹. Giving 'pollution licenses' is a contradictory frame as it combines the aspect of giving authorization or consent with a completely negative word, pollution. Pollution does not have any positive aspects but must always be perceived as harmful and dangerous. Giving a license necessitates that the actions to whom the license is given for are noticed and approved. Hence, a 'pollution license' equals to knowingly allowing bad practices to continue. Even if the word license is read in a different way, as giving up for the desires, the combination still remains disturbing.

When we look at the dramatic form introduced by Burke within this argument, the agent is the same as in the earlier ones: REDD+ which "will not address climate change". This act is materialised through a pattern build in the programme that, at the same time, is the agency. The ill design of the programme lets other agents following it to continue polluting practices of fossil fuel extraction. These actions of the agents harm people residing in those areas. In this way, the dramatic form is very similar to that of the first argument discussed in chapter 3.1. Again, no other dramatic elements of purpose and scene are described.⁹⁰

The matter of climate justice is very apparent in the argument. According to the recent

88 Hirschman 1991: 143-146.

89 Lakoff 2004: 3-4.

90 Hart 1997: 278-279.

research on the topic addressing climate change is a controversial issue because the balance is perceived highly unequal; those least responsible for the phenomenon are most affected by it. Sense of justice demands those responsible for climate change to cut their greenhouse gas emissions and bear a responsibility for adaptation and mitigation.⁹¹ The statistics of climate change support the notion that responsibility for the problem is not an equally shared one. 18 percent of the world's population of 6.5 billion account to almost 30 percent of greenhouse gas emissions while 30 percent of people live on less than two dollars a day with a very limited access to energy or oil related commodities.⁹² Many researchers thus agree that addressing climate change is also an issue of global justice and an ethical obligation⁹³.

Some researchers even go as far as suggesting that the powerful parties, such as energy, transport and agriculture corporations and industrialised nations that are causing most of the emissions have used contradictory studies to obscure the harsh reality of climate change. They are argued to use such studies to undermine political efforts for mitigation because they resist any legal actions that might threaten the benefits of current practices.⁹⁴ Such claims reveal that climate change is able to provoke harsh and provocative language even in publications that appear to be neutral at the first glance. On the other hand, controversial views that emphasise the complexity of the emission issue are also presented. It is noted that, even though Europe and North America are currently the biggest polluters per capita, the emissions of the developing countries are also rising, partly because of population growth⁹⁵. The situation is also changing as new economies arise. For instance, according to the United States Environmental Protection Agency China is currently the biggest polluter per se⁹⁶ but it has also become rather a developed than a developing country.

When it comes to the argument of women and girls being disproportionately affected by pollution it appears controversial in the light of the research literature. Many studies do find that due to their consuming behaviour, men in the industrialised countries cause more

91 Polack 2008: 16, 18; see also Bumpus & Liverman 2011: 218.

92 Chevalier 2009: 1.

93 See for instance Chevalier 2009: 1-3; Giddens 2009: 9.

94 Larson 2002: 93-94.

95 Terry 2009: 9.

96 <http://www.epa.gov/climatechange/ghgemissions/global.html#four> (Accessed 5 May 2013)

greenhouse gas emissions than women⁹⁷, but evaluating the effects of pollution is more challenging. However, women constitute the majority of the urban poor who are forced to live in hazardous industrial environments that suffer from high levels of pollution⁹⁸. Hence, it can be maintained that they are disproportionately affected by pollution. Due to their gendered tasks in household maintenance, women also face more direct risks from handling contaminated water and waste⁹⁹. It is true, however that men may experience different threats, such as dangerous working conditions at construction sites or joining military forces under duress.

3.4 REDD+ is not compatible with traditional values

When compared to the previous arguments of the declaration the fourth argument takes a quite different approach in opposing the programme. It concludes that:

The commercialization of life and carbon markets are incompatible with traditional and indigenous cosmologies and a violation of the sacred. Women, as holders of at least half of all traditional knowledge, are integral to the preservation and living practice of this knowledge. Many indigenous tribal traditions in their historic responsibility protect the sacredness of Mother Earth and are defenders of the Circle of Life which includes biodiversity, forests, flora, fauna and all living species.¹⁰⁰

Stating that the programme is incompatible with traditional values does not necessarily first seem to cohere with any of the theses of the rhetoric of reaction. However, closer scrutinisation reveals that behind this accusation is the fear of violation of values. Again, REDD+ is seen to threaten something – in this case the traditional way of indigenous people of coexisting with the nature. This element of imperilment indicates a connection with the jeopardy thesis which argues that the proposed policy is not worth the costs it demands¹⁰¹. Losing traditional beliefs that secure the nature is considered more harmful here than possible positive implications of the programme.

97 See Johnsson-Latham, Gerd. 2007. A study on gender equality as a prerequisite for sustainable development. Report to the Environment Advisory Council, Sweden; Inter Press Service News Agency. Source: <http://www.ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=54517> (Accessed 19 February 2011)

98 Dankelman & Jansen 2010: 39.

99 Dankelman & Jansen 2010: 40.

100 Women and gender organisations at COP 16. Position on Women and REDD. 2010: 2. (Appendix 1.)

101 Hirschman 1991: 81.

The names ‘Mother Earth’ and ‘Circle of Life’ are not traditional themselves, but they describe in a modern way something that is. As regards to framing a debate, both of them are good examples of this practice as Lakoff discusses it. They are highly charged with values, which is the key element of successful framing; knowing what your values are and expressing them clearly in the language you use.¹⁰² Using capital initials further highlights the special character of the names and separates them from the rest of the text.

‘Mother Earth’ connects values related to the word mother with the word earth. Mothers give birth, take care of their children, nurture and love them. Through framing the earth becomes something similar; provider and sustainer of life. ‘Circle of Life’ reminds about the continuity of life. The name does not need to be religiously read, even though the idea about the circulation of life suits many unchristian world views. Such a circular perception of life can also refer to the continuity of life in the form of future generations. This links the name to sustainability and the carrying capacity of the earth. In order to allow the natural continuity of life a sustainable approach is needed. As we can see, both these names are perfect examples of framing, connecting positive and precious values with concepts otherwise lacking such powerful connotations.

When it comes to the dramatic form and elements introduced by Burke within this argument a clear difference from the earlier arguments can be detected. Here, no agent, act nor agency is outlined. Instead, the argument describes two different scenes. One of them is the scene of “commercialization of life and carbon markets” including REDD+ which has been criticised and described as a harmful programme within previous arguments. The other is the scene of “traditional and indigenous cosmologies” that protects and preserves all living species. Similarly to the previous arguments no dramatic method of purpose is outlined here either.¹⁰³

It seems that there is some ecofeminist thought behind the formulation of the argument because ecofeminism connects the concept of ‘sacred’ used in the declaration directly with the ideas of biodiversity and conservation. Sacred encompasses the value of integrity and is

¹⁰²Lakoff 2004: 3-4.

¹⁰³Hart 1997: 278-279.

directly linked to diversity which is seen to safeguard the vitality of ecosystems and thus support harmony and balance. Such harmony is repeated in the sustainable systems of agriculture which embrace closed cycle of production and consumption. When economic values substitute the values of the sacred they break this cycle because self-provisioning production is no longer seen as proper production. Instead, only production where the producer and consumer are different becomes officially acknowledged. Ecofeminism goes as far as arguing that while the well-being of people is extensively measured in terms of Gross National Product the actual wealth is diminishing – that wealth of nature.¹⁰⁴ When compared to these ideas of ecofeminism it is interesting that with regard to climate change many people see that abandoning unsustainable ways of living is the only possible way to mitigate climate change¹⁰⁵. In this respect, they are strongly agreeing with and enforcing the ideas of ecofeminism.

The close relationship of indigenous people and nature and their dependence on natural resources has been well documented in research¹⁰⁶. Some further considerations about this idealistic view of indigenous people are presented in chapter 4.2. Ecofeminism takes a step aside and suggests that the special relationships with the environment is not based on indigenous life style but on sex. They suggest the relationship with nature is rooted in the distinctive material realities of men and women such as a division of labour and distribution of property and power. Traditionally women have had a close relationship with nature due to their domestic tasks and can be seen as keepers of environmental knowledge.¹⁰⁷ What ever one may think of this perspective, it is widely acknowledged that due to their involvement with agriculture and food production women possess important knowledge of environmental management and have a key role in effective natural resource management¹⁰⁸. Through food collection women know many wild plants, they have utilized selective breeding to turn wild seeds into arable ones, and constantly use many techniques, such as crop rotation for sustainable food production¹⁰⁹. However, as researcher Tania Murray Li points out in her article about community forest management, indigenous people do not necessarily possess knowledge on sustainable living because they have been

104Mies & Shiva 1993: 75, 169-170.

105Terry 2009: 9.

106Polack 2008: 18.

107Agarwal 2005: 73-74.

108Denton 2002: 11, 17.

109Dankelman & Jansen 2010: 23-25.

alienated from it a long time ago¹¹⁰. This alienation is likely to apply to women and men alike.

To sum up, the declaration outlines four different problems related to the implementation of the REDD+ programme: land grab from local communities, creation of perverse incentives and inequalities, failure to address climate change and incompatibility with traditional values. All these problems are formulated consciously. They utilise different rhetorical techniques such as challenging the programme on the basis of the three rhetorical theses of perversity, futility and jeopardy. The issues are also framed by using combinations of words that appeal to emotions. For the part of the dramatic structure, the arguments discussed in this chapter build on the elements of the agent, act and agency but do not describe the purpose or scene except the last one that portrays not only one but two distinctive scenes.

It seems that all the arguments get at least some support from the literature focusing on matters of gender, climate change, forest conservation and indigenous lifestyles. However, the picture is not quite as straightforward as presented in the declaration. For instance, indigenous people may also live in unsustainable way and women as well as men are responsible for overusing the forests.

In the next chapter, the focus turns towards the people whose rights the declaration aims to secure. Special attention is given to their representation, how they are pictured and why certain representations are chosen.

110Murray Li 2007: 271.

4. ON WHOSE BEHALF IS THE DECLARATION SPEAKING?

Now that we have become to understand the criticism towards REDD+ the attention is given to those whose rights and interests are actually at stake. In this chapter, the focus is on the people the declaration claims to represent. First the presentation of 'women and girls' is discussed in more detail. Subsequently the depiction of another group, 'indigenous people' as promoted in the declaration is dissected. Thereafter attention is given to how the declaration presents these both groups of people by contrasting them to other groups and hence creates binary relations between different parties.

4.1 Representation of women and girls

Looking at the very beginning of the declaration is a good start to investigate the first group of people on whose behalf the declaration is speaking. It is stated there that the purpose of the declaration in relation to REDD+ is:

[...] to promote and advocate for the recognition and protection of the rights of women and girls within climate change policies, and particularly those women and girls in vulnerable situations and impacted communities [...]¹¹¹

The words 'women and girls' may not provoke attention in the first place as they appear to belong quite nicely to the declaration concerning women's status within planned policies. Nonetheless, it can be argued that the choice of those specific words instead of women alone without the reference to girls is a conscious choice that resonates with some values and norms shared by the international society. The rhetoric use of women and girls has previously been researched within political science in the Master's Programme in Development and International Cooperation at the University of Jyväskylä. Both Annica Moore and Marcus Rand examined the issue within human trafficking while Gavaza Maluleke's focus was on women's empowerment in Zambia.

R. Charli Carpenter addresses the practices of framing which the NGOs often use to get

¹¹¹Women and gender organisations at COP 16. Position on Women and REDD. 2010: 1. (Appendix 1.)

attention to their cause. He points out how in the context of civilian protection civilians have been framed as women and children even though, there are also adult men among civilians who would need protection. Excluding men from the definition may harm them because they are not seen to need protection. The use of women and children as a frame is appealing, nonetheless, because it resonates with the traditional notion about women and children as vulnerable and innocent and thus reaches the sympathy of the target audiences such as media, international donors and political actors.¹¹² This kind of framing is directly linked to the ideas of Lakoff about the importance of connecting values with the words used in order to affect people's perception of the issue¹¹³.

It seems that NGOs have understood the value of thoughtful framing as they tend to formulate new ideas into frames that define the issues and call for specific strategies to address them. When successful such practices can be very influential.¹¹⁴ Framing an issue determines to some extent which actors will get interested and who are willing to advance the issue¹¹⁵. Furthermore, the choice of a frame may have an impact on how the whole issue is approached. Unfortunately from time to time this may even be inconsistent with the ultimate objective, in this Carpenter's case the protection of all civilians including adult men.¹¹⁶ If a group of people is, even in good intentions, excluded from the definition of affected people their situation may be left unrecognised and no strategy is applied to target their specific needs.

In the declaration the familiar combination of women and children is utilized, now in the form of women and girl children. This choice of words instead of women alone seems intentional as it resonates with the traditional discourse about vulnerable group of people whose rights have to be protected. Talking about vulnerable people appeals to the feelings of pity and is thus again a moral argument de Tocqueville discusses¹¹⁷. Using the frame of women and girls consciously excludes men and boy children from the agenda. Unfortunately not mentioning the problems related to REDD+ with regard to men can in the worst case scenario mean that they are left vulnerable to the impacts of the programme.

112Carpenter 2005: 296-297.

113Lakoff 2004: 3-4.

114Khagram, Riker & Sikkink 2000:12.

115Joachim 2003: 249.

116Carpenter 2005: 297.

117de Tocqueville 1969: 189, 192.

Even if men are perceived to be better off in terms of REDD+ this does not mean that the benefits gained are automatically divided equally between them. It is more likely that this is not the case and that some men will benefit more than others. Addressing the special vulnerabilities of different groups would serve better to secure the rights of all people which assumingly is the ideal scenario for the advocates of the declaration.

As discussed in chapter two the main point of the declaration is that REDD+ programme as agreed at the Cancun conference is unfair to women and does not secure their rights. Emphasizing the need to protect the rights of women is also related to the tendency to victimize women. Ratna Kapur discusses how violence against women has become the focus in the women's rights movement¹¹⁸ and how this has contributed to the dominance of a discourse that sees women as helpless and disempowered victims. Such victimisation calls for protection that as a downside can be a passivising force that denies the agency and capability of women to help themselves. Furthermore, it enforces gender essentialism which means making universal generalisations based on gender.¹¹⁹ In other words, essentialism attaches “mutually exclusive and oppositional attributes” to men and women¹²⁰. These practices mean that both the state and non-state actors together with donors may rely on universalising approaches instead of acquiring information about the diverse situations women all around world are facing.¹²¹

However, addressing these shortcomings of gender essentialism by demanding more attention to the cultural diversity that shapes the experiences of women has to some extent led to cultural essentialism. Cultural essentialism sees Third World women as victims of their own culture such as old traditions and habits that oppress women. It thus enforces the superiority of the Western culture over the others which are perceived uncivilised. Helping the underprivileged Third World women to improve their situation easily takes the form of imperial intervention that in the name of protecting women actually restricts their freedom, for instance when the mobility of women is restricted in fear of human trafficking.¹²² Being protected from the outside easily ignores the capacity of the protected to help themselves.

118See also Brown Thompson 2000: 108.

119Kapur 2002: 6, 8, 10.

120Carpenter 2005: 296.

121Kapur 2002: 11.

122Kapur 2002: 6-7, 11-12, 18

Instead of empowering people to defend their own rights it makes them passive receivers.

Even though, there are unarguably differences between both men and women and different cultures essentialism exaggerates and freezes these differences as the only descriptive characteristics. In this process it has a great power in shaping the reality. Challenging such presentations of reality demands a constructivist approach. Constructivism sees people as products of their social, cultural, political and economic environment. It also suggests that what people are can change and that no person has only one identity but many different social and individual identities.¹²³ Acknowledging the multiplicity and changeability of people's identities and circumstances is therefore important. This is not to say that there cannot be crucial problems in women's rights but to admit that these conditions can be experienced differently and could not be a problem for some women in the first place.

Since essentialism means making generalisations that fail to capture all the aspects of people's identity, their diverse experiences and abilities¹²⁴ it seems that the picture given in the declaration is essentialist with regard to women and the cultures they live in. It represents women as subjects whose rights have to be protected and thus enforces the picture of women as victims. In addition it points out the poor property rights of women and their higher vulnerability to pollutants both as embedded characteristics of the cultures they live in. Even if these aspects are true in some circumstances the declaration fails to notice that this may not be the case everywhere. On the other hand, sometimes making generalizations can be useful because occasionally local and national approaches are not enough but a global perspective is needed to make a problem visible¹²⁵. Furthermore, policies cannot be custom made to every individual which means that some generalizations must be made to tackle injustices. This is especially important in a declaration that is used to make a clear statement.

Another perspective on speaking on behalf of other people is noticed by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak who has reutilised Antonio Gramsci's term 'subaltern' to characterize the silenced woman of a developing country. She describes how Western intellectuals have

123Smith 2001: 34, 42, 44.

124Smith 2001: 38.

125Brown Thompson 2000: 115.

spoken for the subaltern in order to improve her condition but in this process have also denied subaltern the possibility to speak on her own behalf. Thus, the practices have silenced the one whose situation they were to ameliorate.¹²⁶ In the worst case people who lack the voice within their own culture are not even consulted about their own experiences and concerns but rather given an outside voice that becomes to represent them.

The idea of a subaltern is related to the victimisation which denies agency, in other words, capability of a person to act on her own behalf, and thus allows intervention¹²⁷. Frame of innocent children presents a similar problem because defining children as pure and innocent and reflecting a certain natural state of existence gives them a right to be protected but, at the same time, denies agency¹²⁸. Hence, combining the mental catalogues of victimised women and innocent girl child easily enhances seeing both without capability to act themselves. On the other hand, it can be argued that seeing women and children without agency however unfortunate is a sufficient cost if their situation is improved.

One more problem related to the representation of women emerges in the declaration. As discussed in the previous chapter the declaration emphasises the special role that women have in the protection of nature and sustainable living. Sadly, stressing the connection between women and nature may be problematic when it comes to women's participation with politics which the actors behind the declaration also wishes to enhance¹²⁹. Celebrating the significance of women in earthcare easily reasserts their role as unpaid household labour and nurturers that the privatization of public services is further intensifying especially in wealthier societies. Seeing women's involvement with the environment as a natural continuation of their role as caretakers and understanding their participation in environmental politics from this perspective may enforce viewing their political activity as non-threatening and even apolitical. Being viewed as mothers representing mother issues can put women in a place where they bypass politics.¹³⁰ Also perceiving all women living in developing countries as committed to sustainability can simply reproduce gender essentialism and dualistic ways of thinking.¹³¹ On the other hand, it makes sense to ask

126Spivak 1988: 283-308.

127Kapur 2002: 2.

128Giroux 2000: 2.

129GenderCC web-page: <http://www.gendercc.net/about-gendercc.html> (Accessed 17 April 2011)

130MacGregor 2006: 67-69, 71.

131Kao 2010: 628.

oneself who is to state that representing issues related to the traditional role of women as mothers or as care takers can be defined as something impeding their credibility in political participation. Is this not a mindset worth challenging in the first place?

4.2 Representation of indigenous people

In addition to women and girls the declaration also speaks for indigenous peoples and communities as it defends their rights and way of living. In addition to the accusation of “land grab from communities and Indigenous Peoples” the declaration mentions “indigenous cosmologies” and “indigenous tribal traditions” which protect the nature and defend all living species¹³².

As it appears from here, the local communities and indigenous people are represented not only as living in harmony with the nature but being pure in their endeavours to protect it. This kind of representation reiterates the idea of ‘Noble Savage’, which, according to the Britannica Online Encyclopedia, is “an idealized concept of uncivilized man, who symbolizes the innate goodness of one not exposed to the corrupting influences of civilization”¹³³ or, in other words: “a mythic personification of natural goodness by a romantic glorification of savage life”¹³⁴. The concept of Noble Savage is widely used at different fields of study. However, Tery Jay Ellington argues, it is not as clear as one would expect and it is quite different from the common understanding presented in the above citations¹³⁵. In order to comprehend the problems related to the rhetoric the concept encapsulates the issue of Noble Savage is next discussed in more detail from the perspective that challenges the assumed positivity of the term.

While investigating the concept of Noble Savage Ellington reveals its complexity and shows how it has been attached to Rousseau under false pretences and actually invokes racial connotations. He argues that the words were first used at 1609 by a French lawyer Lescabot who was in close interaction with the indigenous people while living in the

132 Women and gender organisations at COP 16. Position on Women and REDD. 2010: 1-2. (Appendix 1.)

133 <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/416988/noble-savage> (Accessed 25 October 2012)

134 Ellington 2001: 1.

135 Ellington 1-8, 342-343.

eastern Canada. Surprisingly still, what he meant with the concept is quite different from what we have learned to know. Lescabot namely attaches nobility to the act of hunting that he sees as a god given privilege for all men but which in Europe is restricted to the nobles only. Following this logic indigenous people, or savages, who hunt for their living follow the divine right and thus truly are noble. Ellington argues this is the origin of the concept and it does not actually appear in the Rousseau writings of romantic naturalism. According to Ellington Rousseau does use the concept of savage to criticise civilized life but does not attach the view of moral goodness or nobility to it. Instead he sees the savage a fortunate human precisely because he cannot be noble as he lacks the concepts of good and evil invented by the civilization. Furthermore, Rousseau's aim was never to suggest that the state of nature would be better than civilization but to remind that every civilization must be criticised in order to improve it.¹³⁶

After Lescabot, Ellington continues, the concept of Noble Savage was used by a play writer Dryden in 1672 but only once and not in those plays of his that actually had something to do with indigenous people. However, two hundred years later, in 1859 the concept came to use again in more disturbing circumstances as Crawford, a member of the Ethnological Society of London, used some carefully chosen descriptions of the savage life for demonstrating how little noble there was in that. In the meanwhile the meaning of the concept had broadened from American Indians to other indigenous people around the world. Furthermore, it already had a more negative connotation as the Enlightenment had brought with it a strong belief in progress and development, and savagery was therefore seen as the lowest state of human beings. It seems no wonder then, that Crawford succeeded in challenging the assumed positive meaning of the concept and utilising it as a justification for European dominance over other 'races' which as mentally inferior to the white men were incapable for advancement. This discourse remained at the core of anthropology for the next one and a half century.¹³⁷

What makes the concept of noble savage very interesting in terms of this work, is that it reappears in the 21st century in the form of "'Ecologically Noble Savage' introduced in an

136 Ellington 2001: 1-4, 13-25, 81-83, 376.

137 Ellington 2001: 36, 292-296, 299.

article of that title by the conservation biologist Kent H. Redford¹³⁸. He created this new version originally to describe the specific environmental knowledge of indigenous people. As a continuum to this reinvention anthropologists have either argued for the noble intentions behind the conservative habits of indigenous people or pointed out that no such nobility exists. The denial of nobility has been justified on the basis that the motives of indigenous people are not noble but forced due to limited technology and access to markets or because they also aim for short term profit on the cost of sustainability when possible.¹³⁹ The latter notion corresponds with the argument of Tania Murray Li discussed in chapter two that indigenous people may also be responsible for deforestation due various reasons.¹⁴⁰ It also has to be noted here that it seems absurd to state that advancing one's own situation and providing livelihood for the family with all possible measures would somehow be ignoble.

It seems clear that the use of 'Ecologically Noble Savage' itself has no racial connotations. However, the term still carries derogating and essentialising characteristics and raises emotions that may hinder critical thinking be it for or against the assumed connection between nobility and indigenous people. Furthermore, assuming that the nobility could somehow be proved or disapproved and taking savagery as a solid and given setting that can be studied from the outside seems problematic. The term has been used to refer to various groups of indigenous people around the globe. It does not recognise the many qualities outside the environmental impact such as indigenous identities, cultures and religions. These shortcomings together have further blurred the ecological debate.¹⁴¹

4.3 Creating binary relations

In its representation of indigenous people the declaration sets clear alignments between different groups. The content of the below quotations has already been discussed in chapter three but from a different point of view as the aim there was to evaluate their message. Here, the focus is in the juxtaposition the text builds and emphasis is added to demonstrate

138 Ellington 2001:345.

139 Ellington 2001: 345, 350-351.

140 Murray Li 2007: 271, 274, 276.

141 Ellington 2001: 344, 354-357.

this aspect. The declaration describes the situation as follows:

REDD+ as currently designed will contribute to a global land grab from *communities and Indigenous Peoples* [...] *Industrialized-country governments and corporations* will only pay for the preservation of forests if they get rights over the carbon in those forests [...]

REDD+ [...] takes away the responsibility for mitigation from *the North* and shifts it to *the South*. Contracts to provide pollution licenses for *fossil fuel-dependent corporations* will potentially harm *communities* elsewhere who are suffering from the fossil fuel extraction or pollution for which those corporations are responsible. [...]¹⁴²

From these quotes it becomes clear that the text creates very straightforward contradiction between two parties. Even though, “land grab” from and “harm[ing]” of communities also reflect the logic of victimisation discussed above the representation also includes a clear juxtaposition. Indigenous peoples and communities are represented as something good that is in contradiction with the bad parties also outlined in the declaration. In this way, the declaration builds up binary relations. There are in fact not only one but two different but still interrelated distinctions that can be detected: those of 'communities' and 'indigenous people' from 'industrialised countries' and 'fossil fuel-dependent corporations' and more generally that of 'South' from 'North'.

This binarity is constructed throughout the declaration. When focusing on the elements of a play discussed by Burke¹⁴³ there are no sifts in the ratios between different actors and their purposes to be detected but rather a constant agreement that presents the North as bad and South as good. Indigenous people wish to maintain their traditional ways of living which are sustainable and women want to protect the nature while corporations depend on oil and carry on polluting the atmosphere.

Such distinctions are common when defining any entity. John Agnew discusses binarity in geopolitics and notes how societies define themselves against external standards – in order to understand what they stand for the societies need an outside Other to make themselves distinctive.¹⁴⁴ Defining one's identity against something that is demarcated outside the self

142Women and gender organisations at COP 16. Position on Women and REDD. 2010: 1. Emphasis added. (Appendix 1.)

143Hart 1997: 279.

144Agnew 2003: 23.

rather than within the qualities of the self is common for all societies and people. Such negative definitions see 'us' only with regard to an external 'them'.¹⁴⁵ They are based on the emphasis of certain connective characteristics that the other party does not share, such as religion, culture, worldview and even race.¹⁴⁶

Agnew continues about the theme of setting binary distinction between spaces by showing three tendencies related to such practices¹⁴⁷. All these tendencies can be read from the declaration as well. First tendency is to essentialise certain territory into one specific character that alone becomes to describe it. In the declaration this is apparent since industrialised countries are related to pollution while indigenous communities represent sustainability. Second tendency is to exoticise which means recognizing only the differences between regions and actively ignoring the similarities. In the declaration there is no notion about the growing importance of the attention of global media or corporate social responsibility which are changing the operational environment of corporations and forcing them to behave better. On the other hand, the endeavours of indigenous people to improve their economic situation in a ways much similar to the practices of Western market economies, as discussed in chapter two, are absent in the declaration. It therefore exoticises at both fronts. Third tendency is to totalise which refers to making the observed relative differences into absolute ones. This is also true in the declaration. What becomes to describe the parties is their difference and they are made total opposites to each other.

Even though, the Other towards whom the separating line has been built has varied over time and the course of history negative definitions have always existed. In the 15th century the orient was located in the non-christian East. In the 19th century Africa became more familiar to the Europeans and the distinction was drawn against that continent, between North and South while North still corresponded to the former definition of West. The Cold War changed this tendency as the enemy was seen to be rising from the East which made the division between West and East a determinative factor again. At this point the Other was described as evil and satanic, a rotten fruit that will contaminate everything in its sphere of influence. After the collapse of the Soviet Union there was a vacuum in the

145Said 2003: 54.

146Agnew 2003: 23-26.

147Agnew 2003: 36.

Western identity since there was no Other against which to define the Self. Even though, there have been other geopolitically significant changes since the end of Cold War, such as the globalization of the economy and its effect on states and regions, with respect to the binary geopolitics it is the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 that once again proffered an Other to fill the vacuum in binarity, this time in the form of extreme Islam.¹⁴⁸

When dissecting these descriptions of the Other the term 'scapegoat' Kenneth Burke uses seems more suitable. He sees that one feature of rhetoric is the fuel it gets from the negation and calls the phenomenon bluntly as invention of a scapegoat rather than an Other. Scapegoating is building unity against a common enemy, a person, a group or even an idea, that comes the incarnation of all evil. It restricts people in their pursuits for more and better.¹⁴⁹

When compared to these examples the creation of binary relations in the declaration takes a somewhat different turn. What is common to all the above binary perspectives is that they consider something foreign to the Western world as strange and threatening. The Other is defined from the Western point of view, rising from outside as the threat is seen to shimmer in the far away horizon. In the case of declaration it is suddenly the Western form of life that is perceived as a threat while the outside of West, the former Other becomes the secure and good solution. In addition to this, the threat no longer comes from outside but from within as there are many Western organisations and people behind the declaration. Suddenly they are willing to say that it is the form of life that they represent that is questionable and dangerous.

According to Agnew the territories have also been labeled as primitive versus advanced or backward versus modern depending on how well they fit the Western experience of development. Setting West as a standard to other territories has been based both on the ancient cartography that set Europe as the center of the world and the capability of Europeans to concur other continents and people.¹⁵⁰ Such a juxtaposition of modern and backward, however, is turned upside down in the declaration. This is because climate

148Agnew 2003: 23-30, 119-122.

149 Hart 1997: 270.

150Agnew 2003: 35-37.

change challenges the view that sees the Western way of life as superior to other forms of life. Through ‘fossil fuel-dependent corporations’ and ‘commercialization of life’ declaration connects industrialisation and consumerism with harmful consequences while ‘traditional and indigenous cosmologies’ offer a sustainable solution for the problem. Suddenly advancement becomes a threat and primitive converts into safe.

This kind of change of dynamics is interesting and very common to the debate around climate change since more and more people are starting to challenge the way of thinking that sees development as a merely positive attribute. The rise and success of ecological products suggests that many people in developed countries are indeed turning towards more sustainable consumption and expressing values that in the declaration are exclusively related to indigenous people and communities. It is also interesting that some indigenous scholars have criticized the romanticized view that sees an inherent connection between indigenous way of life and environmental responsibility¹⁵¹. Together such notions challenge the binarity built in the declaration.

To sum up a little the declaration represents not only women and girls but also indigenous people. The essentialising choice of words is used in order to awake sympathy for both groups. However such practices are not without problems; among other things they victimise women, do not recognise differences and ignore the multiple and changing life styles of the indigenous people. The declaration also describes the groups it represents in contradiction to the ‘Other’ and thus creates binary relations between different groups, good and bad. In the next chapter, the focus turns back to the content of the declaration as the suggested alternatives for REDD+ programme are investigated.

151Kao 2010: 627.

5. WHAT IS NEEDED INSTEAD OF REDD+?

A declaration criticising a policy without offering any alternatives would be a somewhat empty declaration. In this chapter, the attention is given to what the declaration suggests should take place instead of the REDD+ -programme. First the overall statement about the need for change is analysed using the counterparts of the rhetoric of reaction. Subsequently the three alternatives that already exist and could replace programme are evaluated. As these alternatives are directly linked to the problems discussed in chapter three they are no more rhetorically analysed. Rather, previous literature is utilised to dissect the suggested solutions for fixing the problems of REDD+.

The overall claim of the declaration about the need for change is structured as follows:

[...] We recognise the need for industrialised countries to focus on new economies governed by climate justice, the absolute limits and boundaries of ecological sustainability and the carrying capacities of the earth. Such economies should strengthen and promote gender equality and the equitable sharing of global and local resources, and promote the encouragement and support of self sustaining communities.¹⁵²

This quotation from the declaration summarises its key point. Gender organisations do not only demand for the recognition of the rights of indigenous communities and women but suggest that changing the whole way of reacting to climate change would eventually bring about the changes they wish to see. These ideas seem to correspond to a broader line of thought within the worldwide civil society: the Earth Charter that was formulated in a dialogue between various NGOs and has been endorsed by more than 4500 of them represents very similar thoughts about sustainable future¹⁵³. Also books such as ‘The limits to Growth’¹⁵⁴ have for long raised discussions about the carrying capacity of the earth and suggested that these limits should not be overlooked in the name of economic growth. These considerations form the grounds for the aspiration for new economies. In their demand for a new approach, organisations highlight values of fairness and equality. In

152 Women and gender organisations at COP 16. Position on Women and REDD. 2010: 2. (Appendix 1.)

153 <http://www.earthcharterinaction.org/content/pages/What-is-the-Earth-Charter%3F.html> and <http://www.earthcharterinaction.org/content/pages/Read-the-Charter.html> (Accessed 5 May 2013)

154 Meadows, Donella H.; Randers, Jorgen ; Meadows, Dennis L. and Behrens, William W. 1972. The Limits to growth: A report for the Club of Rome's Project on the Predicament of Mankind.

Lakoff's words they reframe the debate to challenge the existing ways of thinking about economic issues.¹⁵⁵ This means that because the language of the economists usually focuses strictly on economic matters starting to talk about values such as equality shifts the debate from the field of financial matters to the space where values are realised to be linked to these matters. This opens a new space for a different approach to the matter and challenges the existing way of thinking. Naturally civil society has created and witnessed similar openings before. Speaking about fairness within REDD+ and climate change policies continues this course of action.

Because the declaration at this point turns from criticizing REDD+ to introducing alternative ways of action a new or at least a reversed approach to analyse the arguments is now applied. As Hirschman writes, the rhetoric of reaction can quite easily be turned into rhetoric of progressives as the thesis can be turned upside down into their counterparts¹⁵⁶. At this part of the declaration the counterpart of the perversity thesis does not appear but the two other theses of futility and jeopardy turn into their counterparts that are soon discussed in more detail. It is seen better fit here to analyse the arguments in terms of a rhetoric that advocates action than in terms of rhetoric opposing any changes. However, it is important to remember that, at the same time, the rhetoric of reaction is implicitly present. If the actions proposed at this part of the declaration are not executed the threats of perversity, futility and jeopardy which are related to the problems of REDD+ have to be faced according to the advocates of the declaration.

When it comes to the counterpart of the futility thesis it is vital to remember the reason for the futility of human actions: underlying social structures that prevent any actions from having nothing but superficial effects. Turning this upside down is to assume that instead of invariable structures there is a law of motion that works in the world. The history of the societies can be seen as continuous movement. Therefore, progressives and activism have the history on their side.¹⁵⁷ In the above quotation there is an explicit emphasis of motion: it is time for new approaches. This onward position is also a position of activism, a moving spirit that sees the world as something that is supposed to be improved.

155Lakoff 2004, xv.

156Hirschman 1991: 149

157Hirschman 1991: 155-159.

In order to discover the counterpart of the jeopardy thesis it can simply be turned into a reverse idea: that of mutual support. The fear of incompatibility of planned action with the current achievements can be replaced with an idea of mutual support. Instead of threatening the existing good state the action is seen to create positive synergy together with the previous accomplishments¹⁵⁸. It is stated in the quotation that new sustainable economies should entail benefits for both men and women. This assumption relays to the idea of mutual support: when new economies come to life they will support both genders.

Some of the problematic of the climate change policies is related to the divide between humane and highly scientific approaches. Responses to climate change tend to be technical and rely on market-based mechanisms instead of supporting sustainable development and human rights¹⁵⁹. However the effects of this scientific event are deeply human¹⁶⁰. Two researchers connected with the GenderCC network, Minu Hemmati and Ulrike Röhr, argue that most of the climate change community see that a perspective that is people-centered, just and caring should replace the technology and market centered model¹⁶¹. This dichotomy between market-orientation and human perspective relates rather clearly to the idea of Lakoff about strict father and nurturant parent models.

In a strict father model the children are perceived to always misbehave. The father sets the rules and teaches the children right from wrong. Making the children obey demands punishment whenever they are doing wrong. The father emphasises the importance of hard work and teaches that it alone allows the individuals to prosper. In a strict father model the pursuit of self-interest is seen as the key to good society. Nurturant parent model is quite different. Taking care of children is seen to require responsibility and empathy. The aim is to raise children that are happy and fulfilled and want others to be too. Thus, providing everyone equal opportunities and supporting the community become important issues. Lakoff thinks that these models lie underneath conservative and progressive policies.¹⁶² The most obvious example of this can be found from the United States. Conservative party

158Hirschman 1991: 150-153.

159Terry 2009: 14.

160Denton 2002: 17.

161Hemmati & Röhr 2009: 26.

162Lakoff 2004: 7-13.

acts according to the strict father model: they see that when everyone can fulfill their self interest the prosperity of those who succeed benefits everyone and the states does well. Democratic party follows the nurturant parent model: they emphasise that not everyone has equal opportunities to prosper. Therefore, the people better off are responsible for those less fortunate.

With regard to climate change policies it appears that the strict father model represents the current technocratic policies while human oriented approach is related to the nurturant parent model with values of caring and being responsible towards others. On the other hand, technocratic programmes may also involve nurturance - in the case of REDD+ forests are undeniably preserved and the aim is to protect the planet from the effects of climate change, even if this is executed in terms of industrial country interests as the declaration claims.

As for the demand for sustainable ways of living also the current research of climate change and gender sees that the dominating appreciation of short term profits driven by unequal production and consumption leads to environmental destabilisation. At the moment more is extracted from the ecological system than it can tolerate – it is no longer capable to recover. Such practices deepen the inequality between countries and marginalize the disadvantaged more by diminishing their access to natural resources. Therefore, promotion of sustainable production and consumption processes, redistribution of wealth and empowerment of marginalized groups among other things are needed. Also including the gender aspects to all these activities is vital.¹⁶³ It is quite surprising how well these suggestions cohere with the demands manifested in the declaration. On the other hand, members of GenderCC network that is behind the declaration are professionals in the field of climate change research and able to follow and even contribute to current research related to the topic.

When we look at this part of the declaration in the light of the dramatic elements introduced by Kenneth Burke¹⁶⁴ the creation of drama seems to concentrate solely on the element of the scene. This is actually a continuation from the last of the four arguments

¹⁶³Dankelman & Jansen 2010: 40, 49.

¹⁶⁴Hart 1997: 278-279.

which stated that “carbon markets are incompatible with traditional and indigenous cosmologies” and outlined those distinct scenes. Only here the scene described is the latter of those two: promoting gender and climate justice together with sustainability and respecting the carrying capacities of the earth. Only short reference is given to the other, violating scene in the form of the following phrase: “[...] not repeat the mistakes of the past by promoting monoculture tree plantations¹⁶⁵”. When investigating the dramatic structure of the declaration it is interesting that while the first part of the declaration has focused on outlining the violating scene of REDD+ the last of the four arguments creates the space for the description of an alternative, sustainable scene. The declaration continues by introducing the methods needed for actualising this recommended scene. These are discussed next.

5.1 Suggested alternatives for REDD+

The declaration continues by stating that there are real alternatives to the programme that should be promoted instead of it. These are guaranteeing women’s land rights, recognizing existing human rights instruments and addressing the underlying reasons for deforestation. It seems that these alternatives are not presented as independent solutions to address the problems of REDD+ but regarded all together as a substitute to the programme. They are not analysed rhetorically here because they are directly linked to the previous arguments of the declaration. Instead, attention is given to the implications they might have as solutions offered to fix the problems of REDD+.

First of the proposed alternatives emphasises the need to recognise the land rights of women and indigenous people:

To recognize and guarantee women's rights to land and territories, which includes collectively demarcating and titling Indigenous Peoples' territories, where most of the world's forests are found. This has proven to be one of the most effective measures for reducing deforestation and supporting the livelihood and rights of forest-dependent women, girls and communities.¹⁶⁶

This alternative is obviously connected to the first problem of land grabbing discussed in

¹⁶⁵Women and gender organisations at COP 16. Position on Women and REDD. 2010: 2. (Appendix 1.)

¹⁶⁶Women and gender organisations at COP 16. Position on Women and REDD. 2010: 2. (Appendix 1.)

chapter two. The solution gender organisations behind the declaration suggest here is to outline the territories inhabited by indigenous people and give them a secure ownership to their lands. This is stated to ensure sustainable forest management. However, as mentioned earlier in this work, community forest management is not as bright as it may seem. Indigenous people are like any other human beings tempted to make the most of their property¹⁶⁷. This problem has also been discussed in the famous article ‘The Tragedy of the Commons’ which stated that when no ownership over certain commodity exists it is usually overexploited even if this is shortsighted and does not benefit anyone in the long run¹⁶⁸.

Researcher Murray Li further discusses the problems of mapping the territories of local the communities. She holds that this suggested policy may itself have a perverse incentive when people use the maps in order to sell their land to timber companies or to secure it against their neighbours. She continues by introducing another side of the issue: land titling and registration for assuring land rights enable efficient land markets, investments and raising capital by mortgage. These practices of securing land rights no longer secure the livelihoods of people but their ability to facilitate commerce which is a significant change. It can be argued that this change simply fosters the opportunity of investors to buy cheap land from the poor which leaves them insecure.¹⁶⁹ In this respect, the demand for land demarcation gets new nuances.

The second alternative approaches emphasises the importance of respecting conventions on rights of women and indigenous people:

To ensure compliance with CEDAW and other human rights instruments, including UNDRIPs.¹⁷⁰

Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) can be described as “the most comprehensive global agreement advancing gender equality”. The bill addresses the rights of women on resources such as land ownership, education and security and can enhance the adaptation capabilities of women. It is thus relevant to

167Murray Li 2007: 271.

168See Hardin, Garret. 1968. The Tragedy of the Commons. Science. Vol. 162, No. 3859, 1243-1248.

Source: <http://dieoff.org/page95.htm> (Accessed 6 May 2013)

169Murray Li 2007: 278, 285.

170Women and gender organisations at COP 16. Position on Women and REDD. 2010: 2. (Appendix 1.)

climate change policies. The Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) does not have such a strong political influence but recognises the rights of indigenous people to self-determination, development and land while respecting their traditional customs. Furthermore, the instrument demands measures for improving the economic and social conditions of indigenous people and paying attention to the needs of women.¹⁷¹

The fact that these two international political instruments are mentioned in the declaration seems appropriate when revisiting the aim of declaration which is to make REDD+ more gender sensitive and equal to all. Even though, these instruments are lacking the capability to enforce any actions they are supported by the majority of the states which gives them normative power. By putting words on paper they prioritize issues and are able to shape political and economic settings.¹⁷² These ideas about the meaning of norms in international politics are discussed further in the next chapter.

The third alternative accentuates the importance of focusing on the underlying causes of deforestation. The declaration states that such an approach should be promoted:

To halt deforestation and forest degradation, which is key to secure women's livelihoods. Efforts to stop forest loss must address the underlying causes of deforestation and forest degradation and climate change, including:

- fossil fuel extraction, mining and large-scale hydro-electric dam construction
- demand-side drivers like the demand for beef, pulp, lumber, palm oil and industrial bioenergy; and
- the need to abandon all forms of support to large-scale monoculture tree plantations and logging concessions, which jeopardize the ecosystems women depend on.¹⁷³

This last part of the declaration is somewhat surprising because thus far the importance of halting deforestation has not been mentioned. On the contrary, the former parts of the declaration have focused on criticizing the flaws of REDD+ and have not shown any support to its ultimate aim to put end to deforestation. However, as Simone Lovera states it in the pamphlet of the Service Centre for Development Cooperation, the programme would be a brilliant opportunity to combine climate change mitigation, forest conservation and income transfer to indigenous people – only issue is that there are too many wild cards

171Raczek & al. 2010: 201-202, 206.

172Raczek & al. 2010: 208-209.

173Women and gender organisations at COP 16. Position on Women and REDD. 2010: 2. (Appendix 1.)

involved in its implementation.¹⁷⁴ Many of the problems she states seem to be the same ones outlined in the declaration, which is maybe not that surprising giving the political nature of the pamphlet and its NGO approach.

The demand to address the underlying causes of forest degradation and loss of forest areas presented in the quotation addresses the need to cut the demand for industrial materials and energy as well as fossil fuel extraction. Also the promotion of monoculture tree plantations is mentioned as a cause of forest degradation. This argument is not an unfamiliar one in the paradigm of ecofeminism or in the debate around REDD+. In the aforementioned pamphlet Simone Lovera argues that the concerns about monoculture tree plantations arise from the definition of forest as agreed in the context of Kyoto protocol in 2001 which includes monocultures and areas temporarily out of forest use. Accepting such a definition into the programme would mean replacement of natural forests with monocultures.¹⁷⁵ Ecofeminism represents a somewhat supporting view by arguing that advancing monoculture plantations is a short-sighted practice that focuses only one-dimensional outputs and does not care for the impoverishing impacts that favouring homogenous crops has on the livelihoods of indigenous people who depend on nature.¹⁷⁶

On the whole the declaration does not only criticise the REDD+ programme but also suggests alternatives that should replace it. These would be guaranteeing the land rights of women, adhering to the existing agreements about the rights of women and indigenous rights and, suprisingly, also stopping deforestation – only with different measures than suggested within REDD+. Now that we have an understading about what the actors behind the declaration were promoting it is time to discuss the wider role of the civil society in politics. This is the topic of the next chapter

174Lovera 2010: 46-47.

175Lovera 2010: 49-50.

176Mies & Shiva 1993: 165.

6. THE CIVIL SOCIETY AND POLITICS

In this chapter, the role of the civil society in politics and especially within climate change politics is contemplated. The ways in which civil society organisations can act and how they acquire their mandate is pondered. The NGOs advocating the declaration naturelle make a point of reference here. At the latter part of the chapter the focus is given to the aims of these actors.

As Alexis de Toqueville noted already in the 19th century, associations can act as a counterbalancing power in the decision making. They make it possible for the minorities – in the de Tocquevillean sense this is a numeric concept – to join together in order to convince the ruling majority about the importance of the issue they represent. Associations can therefore bring forth issues that would not otherwise be acknowledged by the majority. As noted earlier, the argumentation of the associations is often morally charged because they are opposing the opinions of the majority based on their moral causes.¹⁷⁷ It seems that the declaration as a joint concern functions exactly like this. Gender organisations try to convince the authorities on the significance of recognizing the special characteristics related to gender within the designed policy.

Also current research sees the potential of NGOs to act as mediators between the powerful groups and disadvantageous groups. They can enhance flexible and multilateral solutions to emerging problems by building relationships between different interests and groups.¹⁷⁸ In Finland one example of such a mediator role is the wolf issue – whether there are too many or too few wolves in Finland – which has required arbitration attempts from environmental NGOs. They have organised different panel discussions, public meetings and education camings in order to find a solution to the question. The aim of the discussion has been to diminish the fear and rage against the wolves with accurate information and, on the other hand, hear the experiences of the people who suffer from that fear. However, despite these efforts the issue still continues to divide people.

¹⁷⁷de Tocqueville 1969: 192, 194.

¹⁷⁸Larson 2002, 95, 97.

With regard to climate change policies the representation of women but also other disadvantaged groups at the highest level of the UNFCCC meetings has been poor because the mere presence of the developing countries may not be enough for securing the special needs of their respective minorities. Many NGOs have therefore used the possibility to attend UNFCCC meetings as observers which allows them to follow negotiations and take part in side events. They also bring representatives of disadvantaged groups to give them a possibility to express their views.¹⁷⁹ When we think of these representatives, they tend to be people who organisations have become familiar with through their work. To advance not only the situation of these groups but also the success of their own mission which usually is the same, the organisations pay for their participation and travel costs. For instance, for an organisation having a village development project in Peru such a representative could be a member of a native Matsés tribe who lack the presentation in local and national decision making. Bringing such individuals to international conference can give much attention to their cause and the goal of the organisations involved.

Other means of participation in policy-process include previous or simultaneous meetings and conferences that promote alternative approaches and also direct delivery of declarations to UNFCCC delegations. It has to be admitted that it remains uncertain how much influence these activities can have on policy formation.¹⁸⁰ However, they are needed because policy programmes such as REDD+ have the possibility of either securing the livelihoods of minorities or devastating them¹⁸¹.

To better understand activity that is organised by people and organisations without formal power it is important to analyse its expansion. The spread of information and communication technology has fostered the growth and effectiveness of the civil society. In addition to this, the shift of power from nation-states to transnational corporations and associations has widened the operational environment of social movements and NGOs.¹⁸² The line between domestic and global politics is blurring and new actors as well as arenas for action appear. This means the emergence of transnational collective action in which the domestic and international NGOs are the primary actors. Such transnational collective

179Polack 2008: 19.

180Polack 2008: 19; see also Newell 2011: 237-238.

181Terry 2009:11.

182Davis & Zald 2005: 339.

action is not homogenous but can be divided into various types by focusing on the nature of action.¹⁸³

Transnational advocacy networks are based on the exchange of information and do not share coordinated tactics or capability to mobilize many people. They are thus quite informal networks for action. *Transnational coalitions* go a step further as they agree upon common strategies to achieve a social change they wish to see. The sets of tactics coalitions use are often identified as campaigns. *Transnational social movements* have the ability to mobilize large numbers of people in their respective countries. They are formed of different actors sharing same values and goals. What is common to all these forms of action is that they function across country borders and involve actors working for the same cause whether in the form of information sharing and use, planning campaigns together or mobilizing people to support their causes. Often one type of action can form into another type, for instance actors working in a campaign as a coalition can later continue by exchanging information as a network or vice versa.¹⁸⁴

Even though, it is clear that organisations and individuals behind the declaration at least share information and thus form a transnational advocacy network it is much harder to see whether they have common strategies or ability to mobilize people. Analysing the character of the activity behind the declaration is difficult because the specific type of coalition around Women's Caucus and the emergence of the declaration remains unclear as discussed in chapter two. However, GenderCC network has obviously been the driving force behind the declaration. It therefore makes sense to further investigate the nature and working methods of this network. This is discussed next.

At the GenderCC website the following description can be found under the theme 'strategy':

Given the diversity and different contexts of work within GenderCC, we constantly check who can do what in her respective country and region, and her context of work in policy, research, or implementation, and how we can coordinate for optimum impact. Actions taken at the national and international level, respectively, should interconnect, bearing in mind that acting at the international level is based

¹⁸³Khagram, Riker & Sikkink 2000: 6-7.

¹⁸⁴Khagram et al 2000: 4, 6-9.

on the experience at the local and national level and reflects back.¹⁸⁵

The first impression from the quote is the question whether it is reasonable to limit the action to women only by using the pronoun ‘her’. Does not this exclude the other half of people – that is men – potentially interested in gender and climate change? On the other hand, the GenderCC network consists of feminist scholars or at least of people who promote gender equality. Among the feminist movement the use of ‘her’ is merely a way to point out the embedded gender aspect of the English language by replacing the more common ‘him’ with a pronoun referring to the ‘other gender’. In this respect, the strategy of the network does not exclude men. Similar practice is also used in Political Science at the University of Jyväskylä and throughout this work.

As the above quote shows at least the GenderCC network has coordination behind its activities which means they have a shared strategy and a common goal. This applies to a transnational coalition¹⁸⁶. Because both the strategy and the goal of the network are in line with the position of the declaration and since the network has been a coordinating force behind its emergence it can also be stated that the activities behind the declaration are compatible with the working methods of a transnational coalition.

What is common to all transnational advocacy is that one of its main goals “is to create, strengthen, implement and monitor international norms”¹⁸⁷. Daniel Philpott defines norms as “rules that are viewed as obligatory by the broad majority of people living under them, and that are usually, customarily, practiced”¹⁸⁸. As he points out, norms indisputably are legitimate and obligating, but they lack the ability to enforce. Unlike lawbreakers inside the boundaries of the nation states, violators of international norms do not need to expect to be punished. Still, states tend to respect the authority of international norms for various reasons reaching from altruistic to instrumental which means they are more than habitual behaviour and close to, if not alike, laws.¹⁸⁹ Norms still seem to have a special character that is captured well in the notion of Sarah Percy, that even though scholars may agree about the definition of a norm they often tend to disagree about what effect they have in

185GenderCC web-page: <http://www.gendercc.net/about-gendercc.html> (Accessed 22 April 2011)

186Khagram et al. 2000: 7.

187Khagram et al. 2000: 4.

188Philpott 2001: 21.

189Philpott 2001:22.

practice¹⁹⁰.

However, respecting norms can be expected from states, intergovernmental organisations and non-state actors alike. Although certain norms help states and private firms to coordinate themselves and know what to expect many international norms do not necessarily serve the interests of states or business. In the formation of international norms transnational networks, coalitions and social movements thus have a crucial role.¹⁹¹ On the other hand, this view has also been challenged: John Mearsheimer who defines international institutions themselves as sets of norms sees that institutions have no real effect on the behaviour of the states because they are ultimately born from the interests of states and hence merely follow their power structures¹⁹².

What ever the case, civil society organisations can try to turn their beliefs into norms or use the existing norms to support their cause which strengthens them. Accepted norms also empower transnational networks and movements and justify their existence.¹⁹³ NGOs indeed have a great persuasive power in promoting the adherence of states to international norms.¹⁹⁴ It appears that this is what the advocates behind the declaration are trying to do. Participating in a norm creation is possible also because norms are not static constructions but affected by different framings, such as ‘women and girls’ discussed earlier in chapter 4.1, that often challenge their composition. One point of view is that it is the obligation of those involved in the norm emergence to constantly negotiate the contradictions under which norms are created and remodelled.¹⁹⁵

In order to get the perceived problem on the agenda of actors who are capable of doing something for it advocates must first make it an issue in their eyes. In addition to Lakoff’s ideas about framing the debate, advocates use strategies of social construction: norm advocacy, issue advocacy and issue alignment. *Norm advocacy* aims at teaching the potential norm violators, or enforcers respectively, how they should behave in terms of the

190Percy 2007: 16.

191Khagram et al. 2000: 14-16.

192Mearsheimer 1994-5:7.

193Khagram et al. 2000: 14-16.

194Brown Thompson 2000: 119.

195Carpenter 2005:4.

issue. In other words, what norms they should consider and what rules to obey.¹⁹⁶ In the case of the declaration norm advocacy is not that obviously present even though the declaration can be seen to indirectly address the industrialised countries and their corporations to recognise the problems embedded in REDD+ programme.

Unlike norm advocacy which is addressed directly to actors whose behaviour needs to be affected *issue advocacy* is targeting third parties who can themselves persuade intended targets of influence in order to change their behaviour. It thus aims to convince any potential constituencies about the importance of the issue in order to get their support for the cause and mobilize them.¹⁹⁷ For the part of the issue advocacy, the declaration is much more straightforward. This is partly because it emerged during the Cancun 2010 climate conference as an appeal to people who make the decisions concerning REDD+. Furthermore, the declaration gives examples on how women may be neglected and offers concrete solutions to avoid such malpractice. It is clearly trying to convince constituencies to give their support and make decisions that guide the industrialised countries to the right direction, to respect their norms and recognise the problem.

Lastly, *issue alignment* is forming alliance with other advocates working at different but complimentary field. This is important because their causes can either consolidate or counteract with the cause at hand.¹⁹⁸ Issue alignment is also present in the choice of the topics of the declaration. For instance, the need to avoid monoculture tree plantations, respect the rights of indigenous people and value of other cosmologies are mentioned in addition to the importance of safeguarding the rights of women and girls. These statements surely get support from some environmental, gender or spiritual NGOs. Possible reading of this is that the declaration tries to encourage advocates working in complimentary fields to support its demands.

It seems that in development cooperation work there is often a lack of issue alignment because many organisations do not use their limited resources to search for partners but rather concentrate on their specific programmes that often are overlapping with other

196Carpenter 2005:4.

197Carpenter 2005:4.

198Carpenter 2005: 311, 315-320.

projects carried out by other actors¹⁹⁹. Hopefully this is slowly changing and organisations learn to combine their forces for a common cause. At least within climate change policies many specialists have started to demand for better combined efforts of mitigation and adaptation together with other development initiatives²⁰⁰. Hopefully this further inspires NGOs for such initiatives.

The importance of the nongovernmental sector in international society is growing but the transnational civil society actors are still relatively weak which leaves persuasion, use on information and moral pressure as their tools to influence political decision makers²⁰¹. They have been successful in demanding answerability from the actors of global governance of climate change but less so in enforceability.²⁰² In other words, they are without concrete power and can only try to convince those with power to listen their case. This is in coherence with the notion made above about the NGOs' lack of formal power. In practice, this means that advocates need to find chances to affect decision making. According to Jutta Joachim the United Nations provides such an opportunity. This is because of the decentralized structure of the organisation which offers many entrance points for NGOs. Especially the agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations which is “the main deliberative, policymaking and representative organ of the United Nations”²⁰³ is relevant to NGOs as it focuses on issues like development, environment and human rights. Furthermore, once adopted with consensus the agendas of General Assembly guide the actions of the states.²⁰⁴

NGOs agenda setting in the context of United Nations proceeds in three phases. First, defining the problem or unacceptable situation; second, finding possible solutions or suggesting policies to solve it and; third, politicising the issue by creating motivation for and justifying political action. All these phases are closely connected to the practices of framing discussed earlier in this work because problems, solutions and action do not emerge without conceptualizing them.²⁰⁵ In the declaration the first part, consisting of the

199 See for instance Thomalla et al. 2006; Schipper & Pelling 2006.

200 See for instance Thomalla et al. 2006; Schipper & Pelling 2006.

201 Khagram et al. 2000: 11.

202 Newell 2011: 225.

203 General Assembly of the United Nations web-page: <http://www.un.org/en/ga/> (Accessed 27 April 2011)

204 Joachim 2003: 250.

205 Joachim 2003: 248, 250.

arguments criticising REDD+, defines the problem while the second part focuses on the alternatives that would offer a solution to the problems. The declaration itself is an attempt to politicise the issue.

Political opportunity structures describe the access that advocates have to the institutions or states they wish to influence. They are “consistent dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for or constraints on people undertaking collective action”.²⁰⁶ There are both domestic and international political opportunity structures which do not exclude one another but are complimentary²⁰⁷. Intergovernmental organisations such as the United Nations are good examples of international political opportunity structure as they tend to be places where the different actors of the society – governments, business and civil society – interact. All these actors often have very disparate views on issues under negotiation and while others of them are accustomed to hierarchical forms of organisation others prefer horizontal ways. In practice, this means that interaction is not harmonious but contains many clashes of different views which is challenging for the common outcome hoped for.²⁰⁸

According to the Cancun conference web-pages state parties, observer states, press and the observer organisations including intergovernmental observers (IGO's), United Nations' specialized agencies and related organisations and nongovernmental observers can all participate the conference²⁰⁹. In the case of the declaration it is evident that the Cancun conference worked as a political opportunity structure for NGOs interested in women and climate change issues. This is perhaps not so surprising given that issues related to women and indigenous people have had a better success through international structures than domestic ones²¹⁰. International institutions are indeed an important forum for the development of transnational advocacy because they allow different actors to network, build personal contacts and share experiences²¹¹.

206Carpenter 2005: 311.

207Khagram et al. 2000: 17-18.

208Khagram et al. 2000: 11.

209UNFCCC COP16/CMP6 web-page: <http://cc2010.mx/en/about/who-can-participate/index.html>
(Accessed 23 April 2011)

210Khagram et al. 2000: 19.

211Brown Thompson 2000: 119.

In addition to political opportunity structures there are mobilizing structures, which are the “collective vehicles, informal as well as formal, through which people mobilize and engage in collective action”²¹². In other words, they are the networks of NGOs that provide source of ideas and resources for action. In the context of United Nations the most vital mobilizing structures are organisational entrepreneurs, heterogeneous international constituency and experts. Organisational entrepreneurs are individuals or organisations that have many contacts, are experienced in organizing and have visions and charisma. Heterogeneous constituency includes people from different cultural and political backgrounds which helps to legitimize the cause of an NGO since it cannot be denounced as only representing interests of a small group. Such a constituency also allows the issue to be advanced at various arenas and levels by using different tactics. Experts can be directly affected individuals or scientists and academics who can provide information that supports the case.²¹³

In the case of the declaration it is hard to distinct between the different types of NGO networks because the GenderCC network itself seems to be composed of organisational entrepreneurs, heterogeneous international constituency and experts. The network has various types of member organisations and a so called steering group of experienced individuals who all would qualify as experts and organisational entrepreneurs. And what comes to heterogeneous constituency the network itself is one²¹⁴. Only thing that seems to be missing are the directly affected women and girls whom the declaration represent.

6.1 What the advocates wish to achieve?

It seems clear that the actors behind the declaration want to make a statement for women and indigenous people and defend their rights by publishing the declaration as an official statemnet about the planned offset mechanism. They state that they wants to ”express the following joint concerns regarding proposed policies”²¹⁵.

212McAdam et al. 1996: 3

213Joachim 2003: 252.

214GenderCC web-pages: <http://www.gendercc.net/about-gendercc/network.html> and

<http://www.gendercc.net/about-gendercc/organisation/steering-group.html> (Accessed 27 April 2011)

215Women and gender organisations at COP 16. Position on Women and REDD. 2010: 1. (Appendix 1.)

When pursuing maximal political efficacy it is important to consider the views of the audience to whom the message is addressed. Some values and habits might work well for other audiences but annoy others.²¹⁶ The declaration may be made during an international conference but as it is directed to the actors of an intergovernmental organisation the themes it addresses concern states which are part of that organisation and negotiate the terms of climate change mitigation. What the actors behind the declaration hope is make the states listen their message by showing the wide support for their cause.

To understand the wider setting of international politics that affects on the background of the UNFCCC negotiations the role of the states within it is now discussed. The study of international politics has for long suggested that states have the ultimate power. Also Alexander Wendt supports the idea of state centered international politics. He argues that even though international relations involve other actors and certain norms and international law regulate these relations state centrism still is a reasonable approach. This is because states in the end dominate the control of violence which has a profound effect on any other social relations.²¹⁷

John Agnew presents a somewhat contrasting view and names three main assumptions he later criticises that have connected the power in international relations solely to nation states. First, that states have an exclusive power within the state boundaries which means that instead of a monarch or other ruler the sovereignty is based purely on territory. Second, that domestic and foreign affairs are in opposition and that any gain one state is able to get in the hostile world outside its territory is a loss of another. Therefore, political debate and negotiation are only possible within state boundaries. Third, that the society is tied into state territory. This excludes any other geographical scales of thinking and limits the analysis of political or social organisation within states.²¹⁸

In this picture the world is constructed from territorial actors that are all trying to achieve their goals. This is either through coercion of other states or in common agreement upon certain regulations whose benefits for states outrun their costs. In both cases it is still

216Kao 2010: 631.

217 Wendt 1999: 8-10, 247, 279-273.

218Agnew 2003: 51, 53.

nation states that remain as actors in world politics. As Agnew notes, this picture is not very accurate, nonetheless. There are many examples of non-state agency that is increasing within international relations. Also the heretofore strictly state centered concepts of citizenship and national currency are becoming vaguer²¹⁹. For instance, the European currency Euro has emerged and people not only travel more across borders but also live in other countries and find spouses there.

Agnew argues that even though states play a vital role in international politics, the right to exercise power must be earned from social groups. Understanding power as capability to coerce others to your will is power over others that emphasises a rule from above. This conception ignores the fact that all agency includes power and that power of states actually depends on the power from below that flows from social groups and institutions that can at any point challenge the rule of the state. Power in international relations is also complex because hegemony does not mean coercing others but rather in a Gramscian sense refers to the dominant social practices that bind the actors of the international society together. In such a setting hard coercive power is accompanied by soft power like co-opting others and defining one's own expectations. Even though, some states may gain more than others the costs and benefits are diffused among all actors. Also in economic terms the world is not constructed around territorial states but often multinational corporations. In addition to domestic policies many international norms regulate the functioning of markets.²²⁰ Furthermore, issues at the international agenda, for instance treaties concerning human rights, affect the state sovereignty as their practices are evaluated in terms of these treaties²²¹.

However true or false these notions about the role of states in international politics may be, it is problematic to fit the politics of climate change in the same category. As a fellow student Juho Sotamaa pointed out in his comments for this thesis, climate change politics give more weight to non-state actors than traditional international politics, perhaps because the issue of climate change is relatively new for states and has not a specific leader such as United States in politics of safety²²². A true contradiction arises from the fact that states still

219Agnew 2003: 54, 61-64.

220Agnew 2003: 51, 55-61.

221Joachim 2003: 248.

222 Email discussion with Juho Sotamaa 1 March 2011.

negotiate and agree about the execution of climate change politics.

Anthony Giddens notes that the UNFCCC negotiations have produced little if any concrete results thus far and have only had a minimal impact in world emissions. It is still the national policies of states that determine any progress in greenhouse gas reductions. However, Giddens continues, nation state may be here to stay but the world is more interdependent than ever before and humanitarian interventions of the United Nations show the strength of the institution. The meaning of sovereignty has thus changed. What could be more efficient, then, is cooperation among individual nations, regions and groups of nations. Instead of continuing rivalry for limited resources of oil and other nonrenewables China and United States should start working together to limit their dependency on coal. If the reductions are not implied and the world does not break its dependency on oil based energy there is a risk of competitive struggle for the diminishing resources that could lead to power tensions and increased military action.²²³ These concerns support the view of the declaration that insists breaking the vortex of oil dependency.

When it comes to policy formation it is always a complex process that involves multiple actors and their interests²²⁴. However, addressing climate change poses an especial political challenge because of three main reasons: scientific uncertainty, potential of surprise and the need to long-term planning horizon. Scientific uncertainty hinders the policy process because others see that contemporary actions must be based on certitude while others think that a mere chance of change legitimizes action. In an obscure situation different interest groups try to find arguments to justify their current and future interests. This seems to be what the gender organisations are trying to do by setting out the declaration. The potential oh surprises is one part of uncertainty. What makes surprises so difficult is that focusing on mitigation or adaptation at one area of climate change often inhibits activities related to other areas. Finally the need for long-term planning horizon of hundred years or more is challenging because most individuals and organisations are not used to such a time horizon.²²⁵ Giddens notes that the difficulty to put as much value on the future as to the

223Giddens 2009: 4, 189, 191-192, 197, 203-205, 211, 220, 225.

224For instance, see Wedel, J.R., Shore C., Feldman G. & Lathrop S. 2005. Toward an Anthropology of Public Policy. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Vol. 600, No. 1, 30-51.

225Eakin et al. 2009: 220-222.

present is one of the main reasons behind slowness of climate change politics²²⁶.

The use of essentialist rhetoric in the declaration discussed in chapter four is important also with regard to achieving political attention and results because essentialism functions as a mobilizing force. What makes this interesting in the context of the declaration is that the appeal of essentialism is based on people's need to belong in a certain group, share a group identity. Thus, essentialist rhetoric is a way to mobilize people not only on the grounds of who they are and what values and perceptions they are hence assumed to have but who they wish they would be or think they should be.²²⁷ Because the protection of women and children has succeeded so well in the context of violation against women it appears that gender and climate change activists are trying to make good use out of this choice of words.

On the other hand, the binary build between North and South and communities and corporations alike does not seem very promising for mobilizing if the states participating Cancun conference are the target audience of the declaration. These themes appear to be more convincing and attractive to other civil society actors. It raises the question whether even the writers of the declaration believed that it could make a concrete change to policies but rather used it to raise their voice and show that opposition to the planned policies exists. This seems to suit to the idea of expressive political action which, unlike instrumental action, does not contemplate about any specific steps for reaching the final outcome. What matters in expressive action is identification with a cause, belonging to a certain group and ideological commitment. It is, however, no less rational than instrumental action that is determined by the anticipated outcomes of a certain action.²²⁸

However, Neil Stammers challenges the above perception of instrumental and expressive action and argues that both coexist within social movements. Instrumental activism is concerned about achieving specific goals while expressive activism designates the normative and affective characteristics of a movement including values, identities, norms and ways of being. Instead of being a mere internal force such as psychological need that

226Giddens 2009: 2.

227Smith 2001: 39.

228 Hamlin & Jennings 2004: 416, 417, 419

engages individuals into collective action or an internal dynamic of movement that constructs collective identity within it expressive also calls for external action to make these issues recognised by others. Moreover, instrumental actions are often derived from the pool of the expressive. Hence, expressive action is not necessarily becoming more important but has always been present in the history of social change.²²⁹

To sum up only open discussion about the advantages and disadvantages of different approaches and priorities involved in them can address the myriad needs related to climate change. This discussion must involve those most vulnerable and those required to assist them and it has to be public to legitimize its policy outcome.²³⁰ As the contemplation of the declaration has revealed the arguments evolving around the nexus of climate change and gender are manifold. However, the limited time allowed for negotiations often means that the need to concentrate on universal issues may be more pressing than giving attention to such matters as gender²³¹. Under these circumstances actions that suit the Tocquevillean definition of associations as actors bringing specific issues to the agenda of policy processes²³² can be beneficial. Such pluralization of the debate is exactly what the declaration of gender organisations at the Cancun conference aims to do. In the next chapter, some finalising conclusions about the content of the declaration and the working methods of the organisations behind it are drawn.

229 Stammers 2009: 163-166.

230Eakin et al. 2009: 223.

231Skutsch 2002: 31.

232de Tocqueville1969: 192, 194.

7. CONCLUSIONS

As stated in the introduction, the aim of this work is to understand what was the message of the advocates behind the declaration: what they demanded and what kind of alternative approaches they suggested should replace the REDD+ as planned in the Cancun conference. Furthermore, it was investigated whose rights the organisations were trying to secure and who they represented. Also, the means that these civil society organisations were able to use within the climate change politics in order to make their statement heard were under scrutiny.

Throughout this work, the main method has been the rhetorical analysis of the declaration. Applying the three theses of the rhetoric of reaction presented by Albert Hirschman²³³ and the framing practices George Lakoff discusses²³⁴ has revealed that the advocates have skilfully used different rhetorical argumentation and utilised framing by attaching emotions to the issues they promote in order to justify their cause and get support for it. Statements of the declaration were also evaluated in the light of current research on their topics. What was interesting for the part of rhetoric used is that in the second part of the declaration, the rhetoric of reaction turns into rhetoric of progressives as new approaches to climate change mitigation are suggested. Offering such alternatives also adds the credibility of the advocates as they do not merely criticise but also offer solutions.

The four arguments against REDD+ suggested that the programme leads to land grab from local communities, creates of perverse incentives, fails to address climate change and is incompatible with traditional values. For the part of the first argument, the literature seemed to support it. Land rights are an issue in the developing countries especially for women even though titling territories may also lead to a situation in which it becomes easier for the land owners to sell them. The creation of perverse incentives was a more complex issue as the statement that women won't benefit from the programme as they already conserve the forests more than men was found disputable. The accusation that REDD+ does not address climate change seems both valid and false. Securing forests

²³³Hirschman 1991.

²³⁴Lakoff 2004.

definitely halts the greenhouse effect as forests absorb carbon. However, the need of the industrialised countries who have been the main emitters to reduce their dependency on fossil fuels can be seen as a matter of climate justice. Finally the argument that REDD+ is not compatible with traditional values did not find much support from the research as the lifestyles of indigenous people are changing and they may also be willing to sustain themselves by selling the forests.

Furthermore, using the ideas of Burke about the dramatic factors has revealed interesting matters. The declaration certainly has no clear dramatic form but it builds on the dramatic elements of the agent, an act, agency, purpose and the scene. When describing the problems related to REDD+ the declaration mainly concentrates on the act and agency while no explanation, that is purpose, is given to what happens. For the part of the alternatives to the programme, the declaration starts to address the purposes: creation of a better, more equitable societies and even world.²³⁵

The scene is created by community conditions, historical causes, natural events and social influences²³⁶. Declaration speaks little of the scene directly but it seems that rather than one scene the text implicitly constructs two distinctive scenes. The other is the threatening scene that follows if REDD+ is executed without improvements. This scene contains perverse incentives, is unequal and inadequate to solve the problems created by the climate change. The another is an imaginary scene that is pictured to come to existence if unsustainable practices are abandoned. This scene supports gender equality, is people centered and respects our planet and acknowledges its limits.

These two scenes create a strong picture of a bipolar world. Industrialized northern country governments and corporations are pictured as an opposite to sustainable southern communities. The rights of women and indigenous people as well as their presumably sustainable lifestyle is highly valued and associated with all that is good and reasonable. At the same time, the declaration disdains the selfish interests of the polluting corporations and accuses them of a destructive way of living. It makes them scapegoats and suggests that if all chose a sustainable way of living the world would overcome the problems of

²³⁵Hart 1997: 279.

²³⁶Hart 1997: 279.

climate change. No matter how oversimplified this view may be but when it comes to the identification with the drama, everyone concerned about gender issues and climate change can relate with the message told.

It is naturally wise to question whether all indigenous people live or even wish to live sustainably and whether all corporations have pollutive practices and overuse resources. However, it must be accentuated here that in the light of the research and political action achieved so far this also seems to reflect the reality to some extent. In the pressure of the current economic situation the political will for climate change mitigation efforts in the developed countries has not been very strong. For instance, commitment of the states and corporations to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions or strongly support the use of green energy has been tame.

With regard to the motivation of the advocates they openly blame the states participating in the Cancun conference about malpractices and avoidance of responsibility. This is not likely to gain support from them. It seems that raising public pressure has been the aim of the advocates behind the declaration because as civil society organisations they lack the power to coerce states or political actors to their will. As stated earlier there is a risk that unequal power relations affect the policy formation if the resource-strong parties get to define the terms and possibly marginalize others from the benefits²³⁷. This is why the civil society organisations argue that their participation at all levels is important; they can represent those without voice. Different NGOs have many means to make themselves heard such as politising an issue by defining it so that it awakes public attention. As discussed in chapter four such framing practices sometimes oversimplify and even oppress the groups they describe. However, this may be regarded worth the cost if the public becomes aware of an issue and supports it.

The national and international implementation of REDD+ has developed rapidly after the Cancun conference. According to the UN-REDD webpages, at the moment, in May 2013, United Nations support 16 partner countries in their national REDD+ programmes. In addition to this, the programme has 31 other partner countries that receive support for the

²³⁷ Bumpus & Liverman 2011: 205-208, 212, 215.

implementation of targeted REDD+ projects. There is no reference to gender impacts at the webpage but the compliance with local communities and Indigenous people is underlined.²³⁸ This shows that the declaration was not able to resist the programme. However, involving gender organisations and women in the climate change policy formation is argued to be important. With regard to REDD+ women should be part of the planning process at international and national levels and participate in project implementation and evaluation. This is because the special knowledge of women regarding deforestation should be acknowledged and utilized in the process.²³⁹ Whatever one may think about this argument it is clear that at least gender organisations claiming to represent women as well as experts of climate change and gender are eager to get their perspective heard within the process of climate change policies.

²³⁸REDD+ programme webpages: <http://www.un-redd.org/Home/tabid/565/Default.aspx> (Accessed 19 May 2013)

²³⁹Aguilar 2010: 186.

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Appendix 1

Women and gender organizations at COP 16

Position on Women and REDD Cancun, December 9, 2010

Women and organizations at the 16th Conference of the Parties of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, taking place in Cancun, Mexico from Nov 29 – Dec 10, 2010, in order to promote and advocate for the recognition and protection of the rights of women and girls within climate change policies, and particularly those women and girls in vulnerable situations and impacted communities, would like to express the following joint concerns regarding proposed policies and incentives to reduce emissions from deforestation and forest degradation and enhance carbon stocks (REDD+).

As women from diverse parts of the world, living in diverse conditions and circumstances, we affirm that it is of utmost importance to safeguard the rights of women, including those enshrined in the UN Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). We fully acknowledge the rights of indigenous peoples as referred to in the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIPs).

In solidarity with affected communities and peoples, we, women and gender organizations of COP 16 at this UNFCCC meeting in Cancún, Mexico find:

1. REDD+ as currently designed will contribute to a global land grab from communities

and Indigenous Peoples, which will particularly affect women. Industrialized-country governments and corporations will only pay for the preservation of forests if they get rights over the carbon in those forests in return. This will have a particular impact on women as their property rights are less secure.

2. REDD+ initiatives, as they are currently designed, create perverse incentives and inequities. Women play a differentiated and key role in forest conservation and restoration. The current REDD+ design is that actors will receive carbon credits for reducing their deforestation. Women are, overall, less responsible for deforestation and forest degradation and therefore, according to this set-up, they would be less eligible for forest carbon credits.

3. REDD+ as an offset mechanism will not address climate change as it takes away the responsibility for mitigation from the North and shifts it to the South. Contracts to

provide pollution licenses for fossil fuel-dependent corporations will potentially harm communities elsewhere who are suffering from the fossil fuel extraction or pollution for which those corporations are responsible. Women and girls in these communities carry a disproportionately higher amount of this burden. For that reason, forest carbon offsets do not only impact indigenous communities in the South.

4. The commercialization of life and carbon markets are incompatible with traditional

and indigenous cosmologies and a violation of the sacred.¹ Women, as holders of at least half of all traditional knowledge, are integral to the preservation and living practice of this knowledge. Many indigenous tribal traditions in their historic responsibility protect the sacredness of Mother Earth and are defenders of the Circle of Life which includes biodiversity, forests, flora, fauna and all living species.

What Is Needed

What is needed is the implementation of projects that are women's rights-based, strengthen gender justice, and are people centered. These projects should bring environmental and social benefits to all women and men. We want gender sensitive, equitable and just mechanisms that do not repeat the mistakes of the past by promoting monoculture tree plantations.

We recognise the need for industrialised countries to focus on new economies governed by climate justice, the absolute limits and boundaries of ecological sustainability and the carrying capacities of the earth. Such economies should strengthen and promote gender equality and the equitable sharing of global and local resources, and promote the encouragement and support of self sustaining communities.

Real alternatives to REDD+ already exist and should be promoted:

- To recognize and guarantee women's rights to land and territories, which includes collectively demarcating and titling Indigenous Peoples' territories, where most of the world's forests are found. This has proven to be one of the most effective measures for reducing deforestation and supporting the livelihood and rights of forest-dependent women, girls and communities;
- To ensure compliance with CEDAW and other human rights instruments, including UNDRIPs;
- To halt deforestation and forest degradation, which is key to secure women's livelihoods. Efforts to stop forest loss must address the underlying causes of deforestation and forest degradation and climate change, including:
 - fossil fuel extraction, mining and large-scale hydro-electric dam construction
 - demand-side drivers like the demand for beef, pulp, lumber, palm oil and

industrial bioenergy; and

- the need to abandon all forms of support to large-scale monoculture tree plantations and logging concessions, which jeopardize the ecosystems women depend on.

Funds should be invested in programmes that directly support alternative rights-based forms of forest conservation and restoration that are already known to work. These include Indigenous territories and community conserved areas that incorporate and ensure gender justice.²⁴⁰

²⁴⁰The declaration can be found from the following address:

http://www.gendercc.net/fileadmin/inhalte/Dokumente/UNFCCC_conferences/COP16/Women_and_RED_D_final_Position.pdf (Accessed 18 May 2013)