

THE GREEN ECONOMY IN THE SOUTH

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ACCEPTED PANEL AND PAPER PROPOSALS

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Panel Proposals

What grabbing? Natural resources and changing land relations in the Great Lakes Region

Panel Chair:

Panelists:

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Giuseppe Cioffo, *Center for Development Studies, Université Catholique de Louvain*

Languages: English, French

1. Panel Description

In the light of the current debate on 'land grabbing', this panel looks at changing land relations and land value in the Great Lakes region, namely in Rwanda, Burundi and eastern DRC. The panel aims at deepening our understanding of 'grabblings', looking not only at *what* is 'grabbed' (land, water, minerals or natural resources in general) but also at *how* it is done, and at the role such processes play in the broader political economies of the three countries and of the region. The dispossession and alienation of local populations from their land, in fact, is not only the result of large foreign investments. In the region, such phenomena often come as the by-products of the interactions between extractivist economies, the drive towards 'new green revolutions', on-going processes of state-formation and the new 'clienteles' that come along with them. In eastern **DRC**, the expanding large-scale mining sector poses constraints on local land use patterns, but also on the conditions of rural labour, as new regulations and investments displace artisanal miners, the process being often mediated by new and old local elites aiming to benefit from the changing situation. While the context in the DRC is characterized by 'state weakness', **Rwanda** presents itself as a 'eng state' as the Rwandan government embarks on an ambitious plan of agricultural modernization that through land use consolidation intends to dramatically transform rural livelihoods and land arrangements. **Burundi** is somehow embarking on the Rwandan path, introducing land title rights and creating a new land market in the context of a 'new state' in which elites compete for land, resources and power. Based on several case-studies from the region, this panel thus seeks to move beyond mere descriptions of the different forms of 'land

grabbing', and places land relations within historical changes and continuities, regional dynamics as well as local and national political economies.

2. Presentation Abstracts

From individual patchwork to large-scale collective marshland cultivation in rural Rwanda: the ambiguous role of cooperatives in commercial agriculture

Presenter: An Ansoms, Center of Development Studies, Université Catholique de Louvain

Co-author: Jude Murison, University of Edinburgh

We present the case study of a marshland, located in the Southern Province of Rwanda, to illustrate the way in which rural policies have impacted upon the allocation of land for agricultural production, and upon the well-being of the local rural population. We argue that the introduction of collective cultivation – coordinated by cooperatives – in combination with a policy of monocropping of commercially-oriented crop types, have not resulted in improved local living conditions. On the contrary, the technical and organisational aspects of the reorganisation of the marshland have introduced additional barriers upon smallholder farmers' access to land, and particularly upon the poorer categories among them. We particularly point to the way in which the cooperative structures function as mechanisms that exploit rather than facilitate smallholder farmers. We state that the reorganisation of the marshland has contributed to the replication and the reinforcement of polarisation between rich and poor, both within and outside of the marshland arena. These lessons are particularly important given that marshlands are considered as pilot areas for the Rwandan government's more widespread ambitions for a green revolution type of agricultural professionalization. In our conclusion, we plead in favor of reconsidering the potential of smallholder farmers in the organization of the agricultural production process, and explore the ways in which their agency may be reinforced.

Keywords: smallholders, collective cultivation, Rwanda

L'idéologie de la sécurisation foncière au Burundi : Domination, Pouvoir et 'agenceité'

Presenter : Aymar Nyenyezi, Center for Development Studies, Université Catholique de Louvain

Bien que déconstruit dès les années 1970 (Gontard, 2001), le paradigme de la modernité continue encore aujourd'hui de dicter ses logiques universalistes à l'essentiel des politiques de développement (Peemans, 2013) visant entre autres les petits paysans (Ansoms, 2012). Certes, la reconnaissance des paradigmes de la *complexité* et du *relativisme* portés par la pensée post-moderniste a tenté de mettre fin au savoir global et au sens univoque des phénomènes au profit de leur pluralité (Otis, 2012), valorisant

ainsi les pratiques locales (Baret, 2012). Cependant, les politiques de développement n'ont pas arrêté d'imposer leurs idéologies censées promouvoir un certain « développement »... ; un certain « développement durable » de ces paysans (Charlier 2013). Il s'agit ici, pour Scott, des paysans qui n'ignorent pas les idéologies hégémoniques promues par ses agents politiques et intellectuels, mais des paysans qui essayent juste de résister dans la limite de leurs ressources et opportunités (1956).

C'est à travers cette grille, que nous situons d'emblée dans la « political ecology », que le présent article va essayer d'appréhender la politique de la sécurisation foncière telle qu'appliquée actuellement au Burundi. Il tentera tout d'abord de capter et de comprendre la dimension idéologique dans le mode de sécurisation foncière y importé par les acteurs dominants – ici les bailleurs des fonds (1). Il essayera ensuite de comprendre la notion de “conscience de la domination” par les paysans à travers l'analyse de la manière dont l'action idéologique de sécurisation foncière passe par le renforcement d'acteurs locaux existants – ici les agents des cadastres fonciers. Il s'agit des acteurs étatiques plus ou moins proches des dominés et incarnant leur idéologie (2). Enfin, sur base de l'expérience paysanne de sécurisation foncière au Burundi, il proposera un passage de la lecture domination/résistance vers une lecture pouvoir/« agencéité ». A partir de là, il essayera de montrer comment la conscience de la domination n'est pas toujours nécessaire pour qu'il y ait résistance à l'idéologie portée par la même domination (3).

Mots clé : arène foncière, contextes post-conflits, Burundi

“Without plantations, I cannot survive”. Negotiated access to the agricultural plantations in the territory of Kalehe, South Kivu, DRC.

Klara Claessens

This article analyses the land access arrangements of small-scale farmers in and around the agricultural plantations at the border of the Kivu lake between Bukavu and Goma. The area is densely populated and suffers from an influx of refugees fleeing areas scourged by the presence of armed forces. This population pressure is leading to an adaptation and reinvention of existing access schemes and to more exclusive land access patterns. This article traces the historical roots of contemporary access mechanisms to the land on the agricultural plantations. The analysis is based on data collected during fieldwork in four different villages. A combination of in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and participatory mapping was used to collect the data. The article shows how, during different periods in history, formal and informal interventions established complex hierarchical power networks that influenced the access mechanisms and that contributed to the formation of new regulatory spaces and new processes of subject making.

L'accapement des terres en zone de conflits : rôles des forces armées à l'Est de la RDC.

Presenter: Emery Mudinga, Center for Development Studies, Université Catholique de Louvain

Les accaparements de terres à grande échelle ont tendance à préoccuper une bonne partie des analyses actuelles sur ce phénomène dit de 'land grabbing'. Très visiblement, ces analyses ignorent les pertes quotidiennes de terres dont sont victimes les petits paysans, à petite échelle, mais surtout ne prennent pas en compte la singularité des contextes dans lesquels se déroulent ces accaparements. Parmi ces contextes on note ceux des milieux déchirés par les conflits ethniques, où opèrent des groupes armés et ceux où l'Etat négocie lui-même sa propre légitimité. Pourtant, il me semble évident que l'accaparement des terres ne peut être analysé et compris sans que soit pris en compte la singularité des contextes dans lesquels il s'opère ; car ce sont ces contextes qui conditionnent et dictent les stratégies des acteurs. A travers deux cas d'étude tirés du Sud Kivu à l'Est de la République Démocratique du Congo, l'hypothèse qu'avance le présent article soutient que dans un contexte d'Etat failli, la jouissance des droits fonciers n'est pas (principalement) fonction de la détention des titres légaux mais plutôt de la capacité des acteurs à mobiliser des stratégies alternatives obéissant beaucoup plus au pragmatisme qu'aux normes formelles. Il soutient que le recours aux forces armées est non seulement une forme de résistance paysanne à l'accaparement de terres mais surtout la traduction de la méfiance de la population envers les instances officielles réglementant le foncier. Cette méfiance participe par conséquent à la fragilisation de l'Etat et des structures formelles de gestion des conflits et de protection des intérêts des populations.

Keywords: land grabbing, armed conflicts, DRC

Not a good year for us: imaginary vs. living ecologies in Rwanda

Presenter: Giuseppe D. Cioffo, Center for Development Studies, Université Catholique de Louvain

In 2007 the Rwandan government embarked the country on an ambitious project of agricultural modernization based on land use consolidation, regional specialization and the increased use of chemical fertilizers and hybrid seeds. In 2013, while 'striving for self-reliance' was being chosen as the motto to commemorate the 19th anniversary of the genocide, the country experienced a bad agricultural season characterized by heavy rainfalls followed by a long drought. Based on in-depth, micro-level field research in two settings in the Northern Rwandan highlands, this paper argues that the government's policies of agricultural modernization, aimed at ensuring food security and boosting productivity, have so far failed to deliver their goals to the country's poorest rural households. On the contrary, the combination of land use consolidation, regional specialization and climate-change-driven weather variability has increased food insecurity and the rate of self-exploitation of the rural poor. Such results are the by-

product of the attempted imposition on the rural population of *imaginary ecologies*, new forms of relations between rural dwellers and their natural environment based on the principles of high productivity and surplus creation. Imaginary ecologies are conceived in the space of development and modernization as part of the Rwandan government social engineering efforts (Ansoms, 2009). Meaning by ecology not only the ensemble of geo-physical phenomena but the 'messy bundle of interactions' between human and extra-human nature (Moore, 2010), we argue that the clash of imaginary ecologies with the reality of rural households' *living ecologies* weakens rural dwellers' ability to respond to environmental shocks and perpetuates patterns of low productivity, natural resource degradation, poverty and marginalization.

Keywords: ecology, land consolidation, Rwanda

Stakeholder Mediation and Legitimization of Land Access Discourses and Practices.

Panel proposal of Research Team

directed by Sandra J.T.M. Evers¹

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International actors increasingly work through global structures and deploy discourses to access, acquire and exploit vast tracts of arable land in Africa for various purposes (e.g. agricultural production for food and bio-fuel, multinational mining and conservation). At the site of such projects, tensions emerge between divergent international and local conceptualizations of development, history, heritage, livelihood security and sustainability. Despite the considerable commentary that has emerged on 'land grabs', studies have yet to devise an analytical toolkit which systematically investigates the dynamics of these land projects, and more particularly how cultural transmission processes impact on human-environmental interaction.

The papers in this panel present new empirical data on Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar and Uganda through the analytical and theoretical lens of 'zones of intermediality' to address the above problematic, focusing specifically on how diverse, culturally-informed stakeholder approaches (including intra-stakeholder variety of assessments and practices) to the environment and land use intersect. 'Zones of intermediality' are defined as physical and ontological grids where land claims are mediated, legitimized

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She is Programme Director of the NWO-Wotro funded Integrated Programme (September 2011-September 2015) "Development as a Trojan Horse? Foreign Large-scale Land Acquisitions in Ethiopia, Madagascar and Uganda" http://www.wotro.nl/nwohome.nsf/pages/NWOP_8CIG5H_Eng

Recently she co-edited two books on the topic:

- *Contest for Land in Madagascar: Environment, Ancestors and Development*, Sandra J.T.M. Evers, Gwyn Campbell, Michael Lambek (eds.). Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers. <http://www.brill.com/contest-land-madagascar>
- *Africa for Sale? Positioning the State, Land and Society in Foreign Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Africa*, Sandra J.T.M. Evers, Caroline Seagle, Froukje Krijtenburg (eds.). Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers. <http://www.brill.com/africa-sale>

and/or defended by various stakeholders - company, government official, local elder, NGO, etc. 'Zones of intermediality' may be triggered by any number of discursive and non-discursive factors. We approach 'zones of intermediality' in two principal ways:

1. *land access and legitimization*: by investigating media used by stakeholders to legitimize their land claims;
2. *embodied valuations*: by analysing how different land and livelihood valuations are mediated by cultural paradigms;

The first approach focuses on historical and contemporary processes of inclusion/exclusion (dispossession or access restrictions) from land as legitimized through media/processes of mediation. The second approach concentrates on the breakdown - where each actor in the 'zone of intermediality' might use a similar language, but mean something different. This is predicated on the hypothesis that different stakeholders approach notions of development, wealth, land use, labour, 'sustainability', and heritage differently. Where, why and how does a break point (conflict) emerge within the context of (inter-)national – local interaction?

Our objective is to adapt the 'zone of intermediality' model to applied development aims by showing how and why different stakeholder approaches to land are mediated by (non-)discursive cultural paradigms.

Paper proposals in this panel:

- Sandra J.T.M. Evers: Introduction of the panel: Stakeholder Mediation and Legitimization of Land Access Discourses and Practices.
- Mijasoia Miandravola Andriamarovololona: Exploiting interdisciplinarity to research REDD+ implementation in Madagascar.
- Theodros Woldegiorgis Atreso: Natural Resources, Livelihoods and Socio-Cultural Dynamics: A Case Study of a Transnational Agricultural Project in Bako Tibe (Ethiopia).
- Josh Maiyo: Ecological Consequences of Large Scale Land Acquisitions and Agricultural modernization in Central Uganda.
- Froukje Krijtenburg: Mediators of sustainable development: Nature Conservation (I)NGOs in Tana Delta (Kenya)

Exploiting interdisciplinarity to research REDD+ implementation in Madagascar

Keywords: Complex human-environment system, landscape biography, zones of intermediality

Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation or REDD+, a United Nations endorsed mitigation strategy to combat climate change, has been widely criticised in the literature as having potentially adverse social impacts.

The multiplicity of actors, interests and activities involved in processes such as REDD+ would appear to indicate that a relook at traditional stakeholder analysis is in order, as well as a fine-tuning of methodologies to complement social and/or bio-physical analysis. This animus underlies the aims of this paper, which presents 'zones of intermediality'², an innovative analytical and theoretical framework developed to deal with these challenges, and one which should prove very useful in the study of land issues in Madagascar.

'Zones of intermediality' is, in this paper, operationalised to analyse the dynamics in a complex human-environment system and the interactions of diverse and culturally-informed stakeholders involved in REDD+. It adopts a 'landscape biography' perspective which conceptually distinguishes three components of the landscape as a personal experience, a social reality and a physical reality.

Multi-disciplinarily and 'integrated frameworks' are bywords in dynamic fields of stakeholder interaction, and certainly anthropology, sociology and geography are complementary to research the various components of land and land as a nexus of a range of relationships. The author's background as a forester/agronomist, a natural resource manager necessarily impacts on the choice of analytical tools and a perspective in anthropology is highly relevant in placing these complex topics within their broader context of cultural transmission and interaction.

The author's aim is to bring her areas of research in Madagascar within the perimeter of this research in order to suggest grids for the detection and management of disputes and for the purpose of mitigating REDD+ adverse impacts within the Malagasy context.

Natural Resources, Livelihoods and Socio-Cultural Dynamics: A Case Study of a Transnational Agricultural Project in Bako Tibe (Ethiopia)

² Evers, Sandra J.T.M. 2012. Ideology and the Self-fulfilling Prophecy in Conservation and Social Science Research. *Madagascar Conservation and Development* 7 (3), 112-115.

Keywords: transnational agricultural investment, livelihood, environment and socio-cultural dynamics.

The 2007-2008 food and fuel crises have triggered an unprecedented surge of transnational agricultural investments in the global South. Endowed with natural resources, Ethiopia is one of the countries that has been targeted for large-scale agricultural projects with investors from particularly the Middle East, South East Asia and Europe.

Early desk studies conducted by the World Bank argue that the economic benefits of large-scale agricultural investments in countries with major agricultural development potential and little capital wealth are considerable. They highlight the development opportunities that these large agricultural investments entail, such as the many employment possibilities and major infrastructural improvements. However, this positive evaluation has been severely criticised from different quarters (NGOs, activist groups and academics). Their critique relates to the narrow economic approach taken by the World Bank, in which environmental, socio-cultural or political impacts of large-scale mono-cropping projects are ignored. A more pragmatic approach is taken by others, who argue that international regulatory frameworks can provide the necessary conditions for large land use changes to be beneficial to local people as well as the environment (cf. the principles of “Responsible Agricultural Investment” (FAO)).

To this debate on-the-ground research can make a valuable contribution. It can help us to create a much more nuanced picture of the impact that a (domestic or foreign) large-scale agricultural project makes on the livelihoods of local people, their access to natural resources, and on local socio-cultural dynamics. This paper explores the impact of foreign large-scale agricultural project on land use management, livelihoods, and the environmental and socio-cultural dynamics in the Oromia region of Ethiopia (Bako-Tibe). To explore the above themes the analytical model of ‘zones of intermediality’ is used. Facilitating a multi-level, multi-spatial and multi-cultural analysis, the model is particularly suited to draw into the analysis different levels of stakeholder communication and interaction. The researcher used qualitative data collection instruments, and will share preliminary findings of his field research.

Ecological Consequences of Large Scale Land Acquisitions and Agricultural modernization in Central Uganda

Josh Maiyo, j.k.maiyo@vu.nl

Keywords: large-scale land acquisitions, socio-ecological impacts, rural development

Although exact figures are difficult to come by, the scale and pace of foreign investment in Agricultural land in Uganda is on the increase. Studies by land rights groups and other civil society organisations have documented increasing cases of human rights and environmental standards violations associated with land grabs in various parts of the country. While these studies and others have emphasised the human rights implications and livelihood impacts of large-scale land deals, detailed research on the socio-ecological dimensions of these processes have received little attention. This paper presents preliminary findings from a detailed research on the social and ecological impacts of large-scale land deals in one district of central Uganda.

The Ugandan government is keen to invite foreign investors to modernise its agricultural sector, increase food production and reduce poverty, but the reality on the ground regarding the benefits of the land acquisitions differ significantly from official rhetoric and projections. The aim of this research was to study the socio-ecological dynamics of foreign large-scale land acquisitions in communities around four farms: A private Chinese farm, two Indian owned farms and a Swedish farm in Nakaseke district of central Uganda.

Results show that despite the existence of clear land use regulations as well as legal procedures and standards for environmental protection, some of the land was leased out or allocated in breach of guidelines on land use in fragile ecosystems. In some cases, proper environmental impact assessments were not carried out prior to commencement of operations, and where restrictions were issued, these are violated leading to potentially significant ecological consequences to fragile ecosystems and users in the communities concerned.

Weaknesses in enforcement, lack of political will and interference as well as inadequate resources for monitoring and weaknesses in enforcement are just but some of the gaps identified that need attention in order to ensure that socio-ecological balance is achieved.

Mediators of sustainable development: Nature Conservation (I)NGOs in Tana Delta (Kenya)

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Keywords: (I)NGOs, Tana Delta (Kenya), sustainable development, accountability

Tana Delta is characterised by a highly complex land situation in many different ways. One is the great diversity of types of land, among which are a semi-arid area, fertile river banks, oxbow lakes and an ecologically fragile core delta of about 300,000 hectares, hosting a wide variety of (migratory) birds and wildlife. In an effort to preserve the delta's great biodiversity, nature conservation (I)NGOs and the Kenyan parastatal Kenya Wildlife Service have over the years managed to put in place internationally recognised protective labels, such as Important Bird Area (IBA) and Ramsar site (2012).

At the same time Tana Delta experiences a sudden surge of domestic and foreign interest with respect to large-scale agricultural projects. Besides private investors, Kenya's government has marked the delta area as one of the country's resources to propel Kenya into a middle-income country. In 'Vision 2030' it has indicated that one of its flagship projects is the irrigation of arid and semi-arid lands in the Tana and Athi River basins. One of the envisioned agricultural projects mentioned is the large-scale Tana Integrated Sugar Project, projected in the heart of the Tana delta.³

Other factors that complicate the land situation are the historically strained relations between Orma pastoralists and Pokomo farmers over land, lack of socio-economic development as well as different and conflicting land tenure regimes.

Environmental (I)NGOs have over the last years gradually manifested themselves as not only concerned about 'nature' but also about the people living in the area, promoting 'sustainable development'. In view of the above factors this is no mean endeavour. The paper explores the results of (I)NGO efforts and local residents responses to them. Important themes of the discussion are how accountability is played out in local people's responses to (I)NGOs and how effective these responses are.

³ See: <http://www.vision2030.go.ke/index.php/projects/details/Economic/35>

Biofuels and the 'greening' of the global South

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Panel Abstract

The past decade has witnessed a rapid rise in the number of policies and strategies that encourage the production and use of liquid biofuels. This has been accompanied by an equally rapid expansion of biofuel production in the global South (but less than expected in Africa) and of biofuel consumption markets worldwide. As research has increasingly challenged the greenhouse gas reduction potential of biofuels and called attention to negative social and environmental impacts of biofuel production activities, especially in the global South, the governance of biofuels has evolved to place greater emphasis on their 'sustainability'. This evolution has included regulation that seeks to discourage forms of biofuel production that do not sufficiently reduce GHG emissions or that are likely to interfere with food security, as well as sustainability criteria and certification systems that address a range of social and environmental considerations. New actors and arrangements have emerged in the biofuel governance arena, such as multi-stakeholder initiatives, but also public policy measures that are implemented through private certification schemes (such as the RED directive in the EU). In other words, efforts to govern the 'greening' of the global South has taken much more complex features. But what, if any, actual effects are biofuel policies and investments having at sites of production and processing in the global South? Are efforts to pursue more 'sustainable' or 'green' biofuels making any difference? What feedstock crops are being used and where? What does the current emphasis on 'next-generation' biofuels (from feedstocks that do not compete with food) mean for economic, social and environmental outcomes in the global South?

Paper abstracts

The end of large scale land acquisitions in Africa?

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The new rush for land in Africa for large scale agro investments has received much attention worldwide, not least the production of biofuel crops, but also of food. Tanzania has been mentioned to be in the top ten countries in Africa to allocate land to foreign investors for this purpose. However, recent research shows that the extent to which land has been allocated to these kinds of land deals in Tanzania have been greatly overestimated. This problem seems to apply for reports on land deals Africa-wide, not only in Tanzania. A recent issue of the *Journal of Peasant Studies* (40:3, 2013) scrutinizes the methodology used when collecting land deal data as well as the links to transparency issues. My empirical research in Tanzania takes the picture one step further. Even when derivative rights *have* been granted by the government, the investors face problems with becoming, and staying, operational. Today, there is not one single operational biofuel

investment in Tanzania. The biofuel investments that have become operational have all gone bankrupt or have been sold to other investors. The two investors that have received derivative land titles are delayed and have switched to food production. This paper will show that food investments in the new land rush face similar difficulty in becoming operational and profitable, drawing from cases in Tanzania, but also elsewhere in Africa. There are general as well as context-specific mechanisms behind this trend of delays and failures. The widespread strategy among African governments to facilitate large-scale agro investments seems so far to have been a failure. I argue that these investments will most likely not play the role that was anticipated in the path forward for African agriculture.

Sustainability initiatives in the biofuel sector: What do they mean for the global South?

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The willingness of public authority to delegate social and environmental regulation has led to the establishment of a large number of 'voluntary' standards and certifications on sustainability. Many of these have taken the form of 'stewardship councils' and 'sustainability roundtables' and have been designed around a set of institutional features seeking to establish legitimacy, fend off possible criticism, and 'sell' certifications to potential users. As procedures and features of these councils and roundtables become increasingly complex, they are accompanied by higher expectations on accountability, transparency and inclusiveness. In this paper, I examine to what extent these expectations are being met through the comparative case study of two sustainability certifications in the biofuel industry – in the context of a wider set of experiences in the agro-food and forestry sectors. I show that the increased complexity these initiatives face in standard setting and management is opening space for competing schemes (that are less democratic, quicker, and more aligned with industry interests) to establish substantial presence in the market for sustainability certifications. The latter tend to more easily discriminate on the basis of size (against small players) and geography (against actors in the global South). The paper concludes with a reflection on what can be done, through appropriate regulation, to address this situation.

How and why chiefs formalise land use in recent times: The politics of land dispossession through biofuel investments in Ghana

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Current debates concerning land dispossession linked to the recent surge in land deals for agricultural investments often portray investors – dubbed 'land grabbers' – as exploitative. However, the role of equally active actors in the making of land deals such as chiefs, who customarily are custodians of land, is either downplayed or does not feature prominently in these debates. Comparing the cases of two biofuel investments in Ghana, I show that the recent surge in large-scale land deals in Ghana corresponds with chiefs' pre-existing motivation to re-establish authority over land for two reasons: firstly, to formalise the use of 'stool land' to create development opportunities for project villages; secondly, to formalise and secure the boundaries of 'stool land' to avert

potential future land litigations. To achieve this, chiefs extol their inalienable authority over land, undermine the land use rights of certain residents by labelling them 'noncompliant', 'encroachers' or 'migrants', and describe land areas that could be revitalised for rural development as 'grassland' or 'marginal'. Social groups lacking recognition from the chieftaincy institution therefore often lose land, whereas the land use rights of those persons recognised by chiefs are protected, sometimes even regardless of their citizenship status in project villages. I argue that, instead of a one-sided focus on investors' role in causing land dispossession, an understanding of how local chieftaincy institutions, notions of entitlement and politics mediate investments in land will enrich analyses of processes of land dispossession during land deals.

Brazilian Biofuels: A Model for Developing Countries?

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During the last decade Brazil's sugarcane ethanol sector was revitalized with the development of the flexible fuel vehicle and the perspective of a global market. At the same time, the Brazilian government created a biodiesel market which was designed to promote the large-scale inclusion of the family farming sector and be the basis for regional rural development. Internationally, Brazil's sugarcane ethanol was widely exempted from the criticisms directed at ethanol derived from cereal crops and Brazilian diplomacy has energetically promoted the adoption of sugarcane ethanol in developing countries. On the other hand, Brazil's biodiesel program has been presented as a model for integrating family farming into biofuels value chains, a central concern of the literature evaluating the threats and opportunities of biofuels in developing countries. The simultaneous promotion of two very different development models – sugarcane ethanol based on large-scale wage labor monoculture and biodiesel explicitly designed for a family farming supply base – can also be assimilated as a characteristic of Brazil's agricultural development model in which large-scale agribusiness and family farming policies co-exist within parallel institutional structures. In this article, we examine the ways in which each of these programs has been promoted internationally, resorting to government and private sector presentations and documents. At the same time, we review the literature evaluating these two programs from the perspective of their contribution to rural development and taking into account the types of public policies and institutional resources on which they have relied. Our conclusions point to the exceptionality of Brazilian conditions in the case of sugarcane ethanol and to the difficulties of integrating the family farming sector in the case of biodiesel, suggesting the need for caution when drawing on the Brazilian experiences for other countries in the global South.

The discursive and material flexibility of *Jatropha curcas*

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Most first-generation biofuel feedstocks can be considered 'flex crops' (Borras et al. 2012) – they have multiple end uses such as food, feed and fuel that can be interchanged.

This may help explain why sugarcane, corn, soy and oil palm are particularly attractive to investors and have expanded so rapidly over the past few decades. But the oilseed plant *Jatropha curcas* does not fit this pattern. Interest in jatropha as a source of biofuel was partly driven by the idea that it could *not* be used for food or livestock feed. In this paper I explore this apparent contradiction, using the concept of *discursive flexibility* to examine how multiple claims about jatropha have interacted with its low *material flexibility*. I ask how the fluidity and coexistence of discourses about jatropha across scales, themes and development paradigms has influenced its uptake – and sometimes rejection – as an energy crop in the global South. Findings include that jatropha’s reputation as a ‘sustainable’ source of biofuel, linked to its non-food character, is reflected in numerous policies and can be interpreted as a ‘greening’ discourse used to justify its continued expansion. Interviews with key actors in Kenya show that discourses of large-scale, market-led and small-scale, community-led objectives for jatropha were rolled together, reinforcing a positive image for the crop even as farmers who grew it faced relatively high risks since they had few other options if energy markets failed to emerge. Tracking how material flexibility operates is an important step in understanding the political ecology of flex crops. Adding discursive flexibility to the mix can further enhance our understanding of the processes that drive changes in land use, social relations, ecologies and livelihoods associated with biofuel production in the global South.

Extractive industries, communities and development: interdisciplinary perspectives on resource, livelihood and cultural change

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The extraction of mineral resources has increased significantly in many parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Such activity is only in part due to the presence of untapped mineral reserves in these regions; it is closely connected with global economic shifts that have raised world demand and prices of minerals and hydrocarbons or encouraged multinational mining companies to seek fresh opportunities in new markets, policies by countries of the global South to liberalise their economies to foreign investment or to maintain lax environmental policies and regulation, as well as powerful discourses around the potential prosperity that extractive industries can bring to national economies and impoverished regions.

The expansion of extractive industries has produced increasing attention within academic scholarship (and policy arenas) to the economic, environmental and social consequences of extractive industries. Key areas of work and debate include ideas around the resource curse, processes of economic change, the contradictions/trade-offs between economic benefits and socio-ecological effects, and the potential for 'sustainable' mining. Importantly, an increasing number of social scientists are examining the social, livelihood and cultural effects of extractive industries on low-income and marginalised groups, including indigenous peoples, which is the focus of this session.

This double session comprises contributions from development studies, anthropology and geography focusing on the effects of extractive industries on resource use and control, livelihoods and employment, and social structures and cultural identities at the local level in the global South. With two papers from each of Africa, Asia and Latin America, the primary aim is to examine both the changes and contradictions that arise between aspects of mineral extraction and local livelihoods, such as resource grabbing and corporate social responsibility programmes. The session also aims to develop a conversation between different disciplinary and theoretical approaches to questions of economic, social and cultural change in mining contexts, in order to broaden and enrich understandings of local change and resistance.

SESSION 1

Local understandings of mining livelihood changes in Melanesia: Reconciling the external and internal dimensions of change

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Large-scale mining in Melanesia, as in other parts of the Global South, brings massive transformations to surrounding communities. While there are typically substantial resources injected into the communities by way of negotiated compensation, royalties and employment benefits, there are also profoundly unsettling social and economic changes that affect the local population. In-migration is one, with populations at some mine sites doubling every decade, placing huge stress on already disturbed local environments, living conditions and social relationships. Inequality rises rapidly, with the arrival of the mine signalling a boom for those locals designated as the 'landowning community', while others typically have to struggle to gain far less from the mine. There are also concerns regarding excessive consumption (of alcohol and vehicles, for example) and the flagrant waste of resources by landowners who are frequently cajoled into 'thinking about the future' and discussions of their post-mining livelihoods. From the external perspective, then, communities appear to be subjected to dramatic change over which they have little control.

From the perspective of local communities though, these transformative changes are typically viewed far less unequivocally, and often less pejoratively. Migration, for example, is expected of kin from surrounding areas, and can bolster populations in claims against the company, provide additional income, and strengthen groups against others in the region. Problems with migrants are with those whose 'faces we do not know', and can lead to contentious internal debates about whose kin really represent the problem. Likewise, what may appear as 'waste' – in the form of highly inflated customary exchange payments, for example – can be seen as fulfilling local aspirations connected to understandings of regional cultural connection and myth, as well as actually securing the future for those currently at the centre of networks of distribution. Local cultural lens then, typically provide a very different vision of local agency and futures to those of external observers which can be extremely problematic when the shape of external interventions is determined by external parties.

Keywords: mining, communities, migration

Socio-economic security in Papua New Guinea's oil extraction sector

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Expansion of the extractive industries over the past few decades has coincided with the institutionalization of sustainable development discourse, operationalized within the sector under the banner of corporate social responsibility, the branch of sustainable development dealing directly with humans. Yet, despite the social nature and impact of interventions, indigenous actors remain largely unrecognized for the role they play in how social responsibility agendas are incorporated and activated. Consequently, interventions can exacerbate conflict, inequality, elitism and poverty contributing to growing socio-economic insecurity amongst host communities. This paper is concerned with how the indigenous groups hosting a multinational oil and gas project in Papua New Guinea cope with the capitalist principles (formal leadership, structured representation, capital generation, private property ownership, all-purpose cash) confronting them. I argue that concern for the dominant economic growth indicators that currently dictate social responsibility strategies has obscured 'development'

through a prioritization of economic growth at State level over human well-being at the village level. I show how an examination of more unquantifiable factors such as kinship, descent and exchange patterns provides a more appropriate and truthful indication of the impact of extractive industries on local livelihoods. This advances the argument that a comprehensive understanding of diverse cultural nuances should be implicit in the design of interventionist strategies and calls for more interdisciplinary research that engages with the divisive impacts of current sustainable development models in the extractive industries.

Keywords: mining, corporate social responsibility, indigenous groups

SESSION 2

Rethinking extraction: Approaches to materiality, ontologies, and knowledge in the anthropology of mining

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The past two decades have brought about a proliferation of conflicts over mining, as well as a growing literature on the dynamics of these conflicts. Using a political ecology framework, some scholars have elucidated the processes that shape new geographies of extraction. My own work seeks to contribute to this literature by drawing on the methods and theories of anthropology and science and technology studies. Specifically, I focus on the role of expertise and contested knowledges about nature, pollution, and water to understand community responses to mining in the Peruvian highlands. This paper focuses on two emblematic conflicts involving the Yanacocha mining company. In campaigns against the proposed Quilish project, protestors maintained that Mount Quilish was an aquifer and an Apu (usually translated from Quechua as “sacred mountain”). They argued that mining would not only affect water quality and quantity, but that it would raze a mountain that holds special significance for the local population. In protests over the Conga project, activists opposed the destruction of four mountain lakes at the mine site, while the company promised to mitigate these impacts by constructing four reservoirs for local communities. For the protestors, however, natural sources of water were not commensurable with reservoirs, or with gold. Water’s central role in recent controversies has generated new forms of political action in Peru, and has also influenced corporate practices and state responses to the conflicts. In studies of environmental controversies, some scholars have emphasized the social meanings of water in different cultural contexts. Others have suggested that an entity such as water is not a single phenomenon, but takes multiple forms. I consider these and other theoretical approaches to materiality, ontological conflict, and expert knowledge to examine how water became a life-sustaining element, an aquifer, a sentient being, and a resource to be chemically treated, monitored, and technically managed.

Keywords: mining, water, expertise

Mineral extraction and hydrosocial change: (re)producing waterscapes in the southern Peruvian Andes

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In Peru, mineral extraction has significantly and rapidly expanded over the last two decades, presenting significant social and environmental changes and challenges in the Andean highlands, which are mainly inhabited by indigenous-peasant groups. The challenge of acquiring water for mining under these conditions has led to various strategies employed by mining companies. However, their efforts have also been hampered by widespread social protests around the effects of mining on water (quality and quantity) as well as the mobilisation of spiritual meanings of water.

This paper employs the concept of the hydrosocial cycle to analyse the ways in which changing demand for and use of water as a result of the expansion of the copper mining sector in southern Peru shifts social relations around water, focusing on the community level. The hydrosocial cycle reconceptualises water from a material resource to a socio-nature that embeds and expresses social and power relations, both material and discursive. I use this framework to show how excavating the processes by which water is socially constructed and produced by different social actors in the context of mineral extraction reconfigures hydrosocial relations, whereby people shape water in ways that in turn influences social structures, relations and subjectivities.

Drawing on largely qualitative research from highland communities in southern Peru, I examine how water is differentially understood and represented by mining companies, the state, indigenous-peasant communities, and anti-mining activists. I suggest that it is not simply 'water' that is at stake, but instances of water that are produced through its engagements with these groups, and which, in turn, shift relations among and between these groups. I show how such instances become manifest through the construction of different meanings of water, singling-out of specific relations between indigenous people and water, diverging visions of development for the highlands, and contradictions between communities' defence of water and their acquiescence to mechanisms of dispossession. I argue that the reconfiguration of water through mining does not just affect indigenous-peasant livelihoods, but also their forms of organisation, internal and external social relations and identities, as water is framed as material, land and water are acquired by mining companies, and agrarian livelihoods cede to wage labour. I note, however, that these changes must be contextualised within wider processes of political-economic change that are transforming the Andes.

Keywords: mining, hydrosocial cycle, power

Can herding and mining coexist? Evidence from Tanzania

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Can mining and livestock herding co-exist? This is an important question for a number of mining regions including Tanzania. What kinds of mitigation measures are put into place as part of the formal mine planning and baseline environmental assessment in order to protect the livestock industry? Are mining operations always fenced? Are common grazing lands and water sources included in resettlement and compensation programs? Our research in Tanzania during 2005-2012 suggests that much can be done to plan for and mitigate livestock problems that result from the mine lifecycle. In this presentation, we will revisit some of the problems identified by interviewees living near large-scale mining sites in the Lake Victoria goldfields. We will provide an overview of the existing literature and policy on livestock-mining coexistence and offer some thoughts on how mining companies might enhance the livestock industry and live better with herding neighbors in mining regions. We will also explore how catering companies (like Sodexo) that serve mine operators source meat products.

Keywords: mining, herding, mitigation

Discussant: Emma Gilberthorpe

The political ecology of REDD+ in Indonesia

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Tropical forests are amongst the most iconic and contested symbols within global environment politics. REDD+ is changing the meanings of forests and in doing so changing the politics and economies that surround them. While the programme is taking longer than expected to design and initiate it has begun to fundamentally restructure human-forest relations. At the core of this is the shift from forests as sources of livelihoods, sinks of biodiversity, sources of timber and developmental wastelands, to forests as carbon sinks. This discursive change enables a whole new set of actors and actions oriented towards protecting forests through the provision of financial mechanisms. Our project seeks to analyse how this new form of global environmental governance is evolving in Indonesia.

We link the national and global processes to what is happening at the local scale. It is here that the success or failure of REDD+ will be felt most acutely. Here we are interested in how communities are engaging with the programme; how it is changing their relationships with forests; what new politics are arising within communities; and what is enabling / excluding people from accessing benefits.

We are interested in how Indonesia is responding to REDD+ and integrating it into national policy and institutions; what techniques and strategies the state and sub-state actors are adopting to make REDD+ happen; how domestic institutions are responding, resisting and engaging with the programme; how forest narratives and material management of forests are changing.

We explore the emerging international economies associated with REDD+. We are interested in how REDD+ is creating new tradable commodities; what new institutions and networks are forming to enable carbon finance; what actions, ethics and approaches these new networks enable and disable; how these institutions are engaging with older forest protection / exploitation networks.

Powers of intimate exclusion within Sungai Lamandau's REDD+ communities

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The Sungai Lamandau REDD+ demonstration activity is markedly unique in Indonesia as the first REDD+ project officially proposed by a community group, upon land they manage autonomously. Whereas REDD+ social movements are often conceived of as anti-REDD+ indigenous resistance, campaigning against the 'neo-liberalisation of nature', community groups in Sungai Lamandau are promoting and shaping REDD+ to fit local conservation priorities. These grassroots collectives are defending local livelihoods through resistance towards more destructive land-use practices.

Despite its 'bottom-up' architecture, the project comes with a distinct set of historical baggage from perceived social injustices. Just as multi-scalar policy legacies have excluded the region's forest communities, for many, access to Sungai Lamandau's REDD+ benefits remains exclusive. However, this exclusion from project engagement is not only something imposed by powerful external actors, but has emerged endogenously, through the everyday functioning of local markets, community-based socio-environmental and ethno-territorial movements.

This paper uses Hall, Hirsch and Li's⁴ conceptualisation of 'exclusion' to examine the inequitable allocation of benefits within Sungai Lamandau's REDD+ communities. Hall et al. define 'exclusion' as the "ways in which people are prevented from benefiting from things" (p7). The paper focuses primarily on 'intimate exclusions' – everyday processes of accumulation and dispossession among villagers in the context of agrarian capitalism. In doing so, the paper highlights the dangers of developing mechanisms structured with limited sympathy for the dispossessed. Although excellent ethical carbon credit ratings may be achieved, the project may still fail to address (or even exacerbate) this root cause of Sungai Lamandau's forest degradation.

Key words: REDD+; exclusion; communities

⁴ Hall, D., Hirsch, P., and Li, T.M. (2011) Powers of Exclusion: Land Dilemmas in Southeast Asia, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press

Counter mapping and the complexity of ‘intimate engagement’ between carbon conservation mechanisms and critical resistance toward ‘land grabbing’.

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On May 2013, the Constitutional Court of Indonesia accepted the Judicial Review of Forestry Law brought forward by, among others, the Indigenous People’s Alliance of the Archipelago (AMAN). The delivered verdict is effectively returning the jurisdiction and ownership of customary forest to masyarakat hukum adat (indigenous people). Many have seen this as the opportunity for a stronger inclusion of indigenous communities in a green economy agenda such as REDD+. Drawing on the counter mapping process, a term coined by Peluso (1995), millions of hectares are mapped by indigenous communities with the help of several NGOs such as AMAN and Participative Mapping Network (JKPP). The NGOs funded with REDD+ readiness grants are drawing upon the importance of secure tenure for successful REDD+ implementation, campaigning for the recognition of customary land. Whereas carbon forestry projects have been commonly seen as the new frontier of green grabbing (Fairhead et al, 2012; Corson et al, 2013), REDD+ has been widely perceived in Indonesia as a new chance to counterbalance the previous monopoly of authoritative resources by the state or capital. This paper seeks to unpack this paradoxical assemblage of countering existing land grabbing from corporate concession holders with possible ‘green grabbing’ mechanisms. This paper will provide analysis of how this assemblage works through various technologies of government (*techne*) to normalise the two contradictory approaches. In particular it draws attention to the counter mapping process as an example of the complexity of “intimate engagement” between neoliberal carbon conservation mechanisms and critical resistance toward land grabbing.

Keywords: REDD+, counter mapping, land grabbing

REDD+ global value chains and private finance in Indonesia

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In an effort to conserve forests whilst improving livelihoods in the south, REDD+ (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation) has been attracting and frightening finance the world over, especially in Indonesia. The contested frame that finance inhabits within Indonesia's REDD+ institution offers a novel opportunity to test Global Value Chain (GVC) frameworks from the perspective of finance actors. This approach enables contemporary REDD+ projects to be analysed as exercises of commodification and relations within broader institutional contexts. These commodification processes, and the motivations behind them, illuminate why the role of finance is so contested. REDD+ finance is deconstructed by GVC characteristics into government, donor, and private funding sources. Of interest in this paper are the complexities of private funding and the motivations that underpin them, as it is these actors that the future REDD+ scheme envisages as funding REDD+ initiatives.

Drawing on field data from Indonesia this paper finds that private REDD+ funding culminates into two separate but linked motivations of REDD+. These motivations have driven the character of privately funded REDD+ projects thus far and can be labeled Corporate Social Responsibility, and Profit Maximization. These motivations and the resultant commodification processes and value chains that they drive are investigated and compared within the context of the wider REDD+ institution and ambition globally and in Indonesia. Upon repositioning these privately funded REDD+ processes within the emerging national systems of REDD+ in Indonesia, questions are raised as to how private finance might constitute the projected character of REDD+ grand designs and what this might mean for agreed REDD+ outcomes. This reflects on the potential realisation of intentioned green economies in the South when they are components of wider global finance and commerce systems.

Political ecologies of carbon in Africa

Panelists and their research countries:

Ishmael Hashmiu and Albert Arhin – Ghana

Joanes Atela – Kenya

Martin Kijazi – Tanzania (Panel coordinator: kijazimartin@gmail.com)

Vupenyu Dzingira – Zimbabwe

Common Research Affiliation:

Political ecologies of carbon research project

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Panel Summary:

The threat of climate change has provoked action on a global scale. New deals and funding mechanisms have been set up, with the aim of reducing emissions. One consequence of this is the growth of carbon financing. To analyze this important issue, we propose a panel on “Political Ecologies of Carbon in Africa”. Panelists will present their research findings on this topic based on a project initiated by the Social, Technological and Environmental Pathways to Sustainability (STEPS) Centre, at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, UK. The presenters will examine the power, politics and perceptions of carbon in Africa as new schemes are planned and put into action. Ishmael Hashmiu and Albert Arhin’s research examines carbon offsets and agricultural livelihoods, from a carbon credit project in the transition zone of Ghana. Their work is aimed at understanding how the Vision 2050 Forestry Carbon Credit Project (CCP) interacts with property rights, resource access and livelihoods of smallholders. Joanes Atela’s research examines the political ecology of agricultural carbon finance using: (1) the case of Kenya Agricultural Carbon Project (KACP); (2) the case of the Kasigau project in Kenya. These cases reveal that while REDD+ institutions are globally standardised through negotiations interlocked with political and development interests, projects are faced with state and local resource histories and perceptions, and in responding to such settings, these projects become highly contextual. Martin Kijazi’s research examines how climate emergency and carbon capture interests have led to resurgence of fortress conservation on Mt. Kilimanjaro, Tanzania. The work highlights the often ignored issues of local representation and local resistance in environmental projects. Vupenyu Dzingira’s research examines rural disenfranchisement through carbon, using the

case of Kariba REDD, Zimbabwe. It looks at how carbon initiatives are performing in relationship to rural livelihoods and how communities at the local level are responding to this process.

Key Words: Carbon Forestry; Rural Livelihoods; and Political Ecology.

Carbon Offsets and Agricultural Livelihoods: Lessons Learned From a Carbon Credit Project in the Transition Zone of Ghana

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Ghana

As REDD becomes an integral part of the international response to climate change, it is important to learn from existing forest carbon offset projects to ensure that REDD+ does not undermine property rights, resource access and agricultural livelihoods. This paper therefore focuses on one project in Ghana, and is aimed at understanding how the Vision 2050 Forestry Carbon Credit Project (CCP) interacts with property rights, resource access and livelihoods of smallholders in the Forest-Savanna Transition zone of Ghana. This study exposes some dilemmas and challenges of REDD-type projects in agricultural areas, highlighting in particular the social, institutional and political dimensions. The paper explores the land use history of the study area and how past land-use interventions are shaping farmers' perception of the carbon offset intervention. It draws out the narratives of the key actors about carbon and climate change and how these narratives converge and conflict. Differential interests and power relations of various actors and how they influence resource access and control in the CCP are also discussed. The paper assesses how carbon rights get appropriated and examines the local understanding of carbon as a commodity. It finally analyses the implications of the CCP on land-use change and livelihoods in the study sites and the transition zone. The paper brings into the limelight alternative narratives from the grassroots that had been obscured by the dominant narratives of the more powerful actors. The conclusions underscore the need to make REDD+ interventions contribute to the wellbeing of smallholders. Such counter narratives from the grassroots potentially provide policy spaces for making carbon offset interventions more equitable, while enhancing the inclusion of marginalized local actors. The design of the CCP itself, the challenges faced by farmers and the project developer, as well as factors which ultimately contributed to the collapse of the project, all provide useful lessons for making REDD+ grassroots-centered and compatible with smallholder agriculture.

Key Words: Carbon Credits; Carbon Narratives; Rural Livelihoods.

The political ecology of agricultural carbon finance: the case of Kenya Agricultural Carbon Project

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Kenya

Carbon management in agricultural landscapes has attracted global and national policy and scientific concerns in the context of addressing implications of climate change on agriculture. This paper contributes to the ongoing policy and academic debates on how globally framed agricultural carbon finance initiative-interplays with national and local socio-political and ecological contexts. We draw evidence on the Kenya Agricultural Carbon Project which has worked with western Kenya farmers since 2008 implementing sustainable land management activities to generate carbon credits in the context of climate smart agriculture. Fieldwork and analysis of policy documents indicate that the project, has engaged individual farmers on the premise of triple wins-conservation agriculture which apparently does not resonate well with farmers' livelihood perceptions and historical beliefs around increasing maize yields and state desire to mechanize agriculture for economic growth. Diverging interests associated with the project, long histories of farmer experiences with related interventions and state institutional gaps have yielded mixed outcomes for the project, and complex policy situations from which some actors draw benefit, but with little impact on farmers' resilience to climate change. This study calls for re-thinking of the top-down donor and science-driven projectization of agricultural carbon finance. Approaches and associated capacity-building need to inform farmers more fully of links between sustainable farming practices and carbon; clarify their carbon rights, and attend to wider development issues such as water access and secure land tenure which bear heavily on such projects. This is vital if smallholder farmers are to become more empowered to expand their opportunities and wellbeing in the context of climate change.

Key Words: Agricultural Carbon Finance; Local Livelihoods; Land Tenure.

Governing REDD+: Global framings versus empirical evidence from the Kasigau Corridor REDD+ project, Kenya

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Kenya

This paper examines the unfolding of globally-linked REDD+ projects in local African settings, focusing on the Kasigau project in Kenya. The project is a commercial venture and during the last six years it has unfolded in a relatively vulnerable Kenyan setting. A policy process analysis, interactive fieldwork and document review has explored its interrelationship with

local livelihood assets and state institutional capabilities. The paper reveals that while REDD+ institutions are globally standardised through negotiations interlocked with political and development interests, projects are faced with state and local resource histories and perceptions, and in responding to such settings, these projects become highly contextual. Locally, the Kasigau project links carbon benefits to specific and significant local vulnerabilities such as low 'value' dryland, water scarcity and illiteracy. This has yielded an apparently uncontested acceptance and favourable perception of the project among the Kasigau people, appearing to reverse long histories of exclusion from their resources by centralised state-based resource management regimes. Yet the negative perception of state institutions that the Kasigau people have built up over time raises questions as to whether the state can ably oversee a successful REDD+ process, as is assumed by the international community. As such, international gains in safeguarding local communities in REDD+ could be seriously compromised. Kenya recently initiated land reforms as part of resource decentralisation, but the resulting regimes remain fuzzy, subordinate to powerful centralised interests, focused on individual title, and inadequately adapted to particular local contexts. Such reforms potentially re-shuffle the local engagement of the Kasigau project which draws its apparent success partly from a communalised land tenure system. This paper concludes that communal systems, if well-defined, may provide a better basis for the governance of REDD+ projects, enabling inclusivity, collective action and societal benefits.

Key Words: REDD+; Local Perceptions; Land Tenure.

Climate Emergency, Carbon Capture, and Coercing Conservation on Mt. Kilimanjaro

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Through analysis of policy, discourse and practice, this paper examines politics of climate and carbon forests on Mt. Kilimanjaro. Climate change and carbon-sequestration sensationalism have raised the forests profile in politics. The Regional Commissioner (RC) has declared a ban on tree-cutting on all public and private lands in Kilimanjaro. RC's office also houses a UNDP sustainable land management programme which is prospecting on 'scaling-up' carbon-financing. But often, without (or contrary) to sound evidence, alarmists sensationalize local forest 'degradation' as the major or sole contributor to climate change. They also put the blame on local forest users' practices, ignoring the role of many complex and dynamic political, economic and ecological drivers of change. Conversely, the said sensationalism unrealistically view local forests as a panacea through which all climate change, carbon emissions and environmental change woes would be erased. Thus central and regional government decision-makers have undertaken a series of interventions to

reclassify the forests of Mt. Kilimanjaro and the associated forest governance institutions. This reconfiguration has reversed earlier efforts to devolve forest management to local people. The changes have favoured centralization of forests and fortress conservation using states coercive apparatus. This is claimed to protect ecosystem integrity. Yet, through syndicates of corruption, the rich, powerful and well connected are continuing to extract forest resources particularly valuable timber species. But the local people are not simply sitting outside the fortress as spectators. Widespread forms of local resistance are also observed. Thus, the paper also highlights this often ignored or misinterpreted issue of local resistance. The paper does not simply add to calls for a more socially just conservation. Rather it suggests that carbon-forest enthusiasts and other conservationists ought to consider the often ignored issue of local representation in conservation – as a matter of justice, a matter of rural emancipation, and a practical basis for achieving their own goals.

Key Words: Climate Change; Carbon Capture; Fortress Conservation.

Rural disenfranchisement through carbon:

The case of Kariba REDD, Zimbabwe

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After initial years of indecision, Zimbabwe has now turned to carbon as a vehicle for forest conservation, local development and participations. In this, it has joined alliances with the private sector, both local and global. The two are now propagating carbon experiments in changing landscapes dominated by a differentiated peasantry. While it is fervently argued that carbon initiatives improve livelihoods and that they should be doing so, it remains unclear whether these indeed improve local people's lives and also expand their control of forestry resources on the ground. This paper looks at how carbon initiatives are performing in relationship to rural livelihoods. Also, the paper looks at how communities at the local level are responding to this process. It uses the example of Kariba REDD unfolding in Hurungwe, a district with a sequence of displacements arising from development.

Key Words: Carbon Forestry; REDD; Rural Livelihoods.

Presentation of a simulation game 'Land Rush' ** Includes playing the game **!

Contact information: An Ansoms (an.ansoms@uclouvain.be)

Key words: simulation game, website, land dynamics

About the game: LAND RUSH is a board game that simulates real-life dynamics taking place in the land arena. It allows participants to critically assess the ways in different social classes face both opportunities and constraints in securing their livelihoods through the negotiation over land rights in an extremely competitive environment.

Practically, the simulation pictures a situation in which 4 farmers (thus 4 players per game) of various socio-economic classes (rich, better-off, poor) have to acquire and cultivate land. On acquired land, they cultivate one of three crops (cassava, tomatoes, or palm) that generate an income after each full round. However, the exploitation of land also has a cost (also payable after each full round). Moreover, players are confronted with reshuffling land rights and events that profoundly alter their stakes in the land arena.

The game illustrates three characteristics of contemporary land dynamics in an altering world. (1) The logics of smallholder farmers are largely oriented towards risk diversification, and often contrast with those of current agrarian policies of most international and national policy makers, oriented towards maximal production and commercialization. (2) The rules of the game in the land arena are not uniformly defined, but are characterized by a reality of legal pluralism. (3) Access to or exclusion from land is the result of a negotiation process in which actors with unequal power relations interact and compete with each other. Better-off actors have a comparative advantage in negotiations over land rights. But poorer actors still exert agency, although in constrained ways.

Development of the game: The game was developed by An Ansoms, Klara Claessens, Sara Geenen and Okke Bogaert. It has received the prize 'International Fund Wernaers' for research and diffusion of knowledge (20.000 euro) in June 2013. With this money, three projects will be funded over the academic year 2013-2014: (1) a professionalization of the game in terms of its contents and aesthetic aspects ; (2) the elaboration of a website to make all materials publically accessible (free of cost); (3) the introduction of the game into academic and non-academic circles both in the North and the South.

Participation in the Green Economy in the South conference: By July 2014, we should be able to present (*) a professional version of the **game**; (*) an open-access **website** that presents all necessary materials to play the game (free of cost); (*) the **article** in attachment ('Land Rush: Simulating negotiations over land rights') that

presents the game in a broader perspective. However, we would also be grateful for the opportunity to **play the game** with the participants of the conference. For this, we would need a time slot of 2 – 2,5 hours. We can bring the necessary materials to play with 40 persons during one time slot.

Paper Proposals

From the concession of logging towards carbon storage REDD+ project Or social marginalization of local populations of Isangi?

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In this paper, we would like to demonstrate that the concept of green economy, in spite of being an economy at the service of improving social welfare, appears as a new form of conservationism that reinforces land grabbing and forest resources at the expense of poor local populations in developing countries.

We illustrate here the case of the African Society of wood SAFBOIS acronym operating in the territory of Isangi in Eastern Province which is a REDD pilot area.

The company already had serious problems with the people of Isangi territory for failing to comply with the implementation of the specifications that would have allowed the local people to have a number of social infrastructure in accordance the prescribed forest code in the DRC.

Registered in the dynamics of REDD, the company abandoned industrial logging by converting its concession to a carbon sink in collaboration with the American Society Jadora without the mechanisms of transparent and equitable distribution of benefits derived from environmental services have been clarified .

It should be noted here that social inclusion, creation of wealth and employment for poverty eradication as advocated by the United Nations Environment seems to remain a simple speech.

The concept of a green economy would be in line with the other concepts forged by the Brettonwood institutions that advocated the fight against poverty in developing countries without ever reaching it. The failure of the objectives of the Millennium for Development is compelling about it.

Keywords: green economy, poverty, social marginalization

CSR 2.0? The changing face of cocoa sustainability initiatives

Keywords: cocoa, conservation, Green CSR

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Green corporate social responsibility initiatives often involve negotiating competing priorities: as evident from their name, they are to satisfy environmental goals and meet social and socio-economic objectives, while still dovetailing with corporations' business performance. In the chocolate sector, this paper's focus, increasing concerns over rising demand outstripping supply by 2020 have meant that supply security priorities are growing ever more prominent: in some quarters, 'CSR 2.0' has taken hold, with 'corporate' concerns at risk of overshadowing social and environmental responsibility. At the same time, pressure from consumers and civil society in the global North to safeguard an unobjectionable production of their treats is stronger than ever. The paper presents the findings of the author's qualitative research into how differing priorities materialise in different segments of production networks: it details the results of semi-structured interviews with representatives across private sector, public sector, civil society and academia as well as focus groups with cocoa growers and responsive consumers.

The Greening of “Post-Neoliberal” CSR in Ecuador

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Keywords: CSR, Ecuador, extractive economy

In 2008, Ecuador became the first country in the world to formally extend legal rights to ‘nature’ – a bold constitutional move explicitly intended to signal a break with Western conceptions of nature as ‘property’ and to make room for indigenous visions of nature as ‘person.’ Ostensibly in defense of these rights, in the years since the Ecuadorian state has re-assumed control over most of the major extractive industries throughout the country, aggressively renegotiating oil and mining contracts in both the Amazon and the Andes. At the same time, it has also initiated a range of major corporate social responsibility projects that are both vaster and more ambiguous than those of the private sector. Although recent years have witnessed important contributions to theorizing the role of CSR in extractive industries (Li 2011; Rajak 2007; De Neve et. al 2012; Welker 2009), the private sector remains strongly over-represented in this literature, with little attention paid to the ways in which state-run companies are both borrowing from and expanding these private initiatives. Drawing on fieldwork conducted with environmental activists, women’s groups, and representatives of two major development projects currently underway in Ecuador – the largest open-pit copper mine in the country’s history and a 300,000 barrel-a-day petrochemical complex – this paper contributes to current debates about the power, possibilities, and contradictions of greener *state-led* CSR. What difference does state involvement make to the scale of the interventions made, the kinds of experts consulted, the degree of communication between stakeholders, the depth of the time frames considered, and the extent to which locals find such projects satisfactory or ‘sustainable’? Unraveling the lines between the state and private sector in ostensibly socialist Ecuador, this paper extends the existing literature on private CSR by exploring the ways in which the framework of nature’s ‘rights’ both informs and challenges state engagement with ‘green’ initiatives.

A critical examination of agricultural carbon interventions in Africa

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Keywords: standards, smallholders, agricultural carbon

Agricultural carbon projects designed to generate carbon credits for sale on the Voluntary Carbon Market are cropping up across sub-Saharan Africa. Most are embryonic, and the environmental, social and economic returns on investments are still difficult to discern.

While some projects may be contributing to mitigation, adaptation and sustainable development, unexpected negative outcomes are also showing through. Carbon credits have been bought and sold while the whereabouts of the carbon and its likely duration in the soil or the trees is still ambiguous; methodologies for estimating carbon baselines and measuring carbon storage have proved to be highly subjective or approximated in practice, and land owners and tree-planters have been asked to sign contracts without a clear understanding as to what they are committing themselves and future generations.

Are these limitations due to fundamental design flaws? Or are they just ‘teething problems’, corrigible over time, through bigger investments, larger-scale operations, and more rigorous certification systems? This question is timely, because new investment models and certification schemes are appearing on the agricultural carbon horizon.

Agribusinesses are currently entering into Public-Private-Partnerships to pool expertise, capacity and investments in schemes enabling them to source not only cash crops but also carbon credits from producers in their supply networks. In close cooperation, standards organisations are developing carbon certification tools and methodologies amenable to the specific circumstances of small producers scattered over large areas.

This paper explores to what extent the design and application of pro-smallholder agricultural carbon standards can ensure mechanisms for smallholders in Africa to negotiate their share of benefits, assert their rights, participate meaningfully in projects and contribute criteria for judging their success.

Environmental conservation in India: win-win or green grabbing?

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Proposal

Conservation policy in India has relied on science, markets, and civil society ideas of wilderness to justify enclosures, centralized control and profitability. Protected areas, and more centrally, tiger reserves have been at the centre of debates on conservation and its impact on local livelihoods and ecology. Despite this there is increasing international interest in tiger conservation. The World Bank established the Global Tiger Initiative that aims 'to attract investment into conservation using successful models such as wildlife tourism, co-benefits from carbon credits and Payment for Environmental Services schemes'. Other instances of international support include the Global Environment Facility's support for eco-development programmes around protected areas that have resulted in displacement of local communities. With increasing exposure to global markets, support for market based environmental projects in India is on the rise. One recent proposal is a for a Tiger Habitat Enhancement Model in which tourism companies enter into agreements with farmers at the periphery of forests to grow forests on their private land to attract wildlife into farmland. Proponents claim that the entry of tourism enterprises into forest margins could benefit farmers through the influx of tourism money into the rural landscape. Using long-term ethnographic and household socio-economic data from Biligiri Rangaswamy Temple Tiger Reserve, this paper demonstrates that the rhetoric of win-win approaches operates in an increasingly proletarianised rural context. Decadal data shows that while forest and agricultural based income has decreased, wage labour income, often from distress migration, has more than doubled. Investment in tourism initiatives in the tiger reserve has increased soon after the notification of the reserve. We argue that the impact of neoliberal conservation approaches in protected areas occurring in the backdrop of rural transformations and agrarian distress due to an increasingly liberalising state policy further exacerbates impacts on forest dwellers.

Key words: Neoliberal conservation; protected areas; rural transformation;

Greening the economy via biofuels: Brazilian ethanol diplomacy in Africa

Stavros Afionis, Nicola Favretto, Lindsay C. Stringer

Brazil has placed a strong emphasis on achieving international recognition in the global political and economic arena, and is nowadays regarded as a major player in international affairs. In order to augment this status, Brazil has been investing actively in the development of both South-South and wider multilateral coalitions. The political and economic actorness of Brazil is becoming especially visible in developing countries, which are increasingly competing for attracting Brazilian's Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). In particular, Brazil is keen to spread its transport biofuels technology by showcasing its green credentials. This represents an area in which Brazil has a long tradition, being currently the world's leading biofuels exporter, as well as the second largest producer (after the US). Africa represents a region of great interest for Brazilian policymakers, given the comparative advantage of several of its countries in land, labour and climatic conditions favourable for the growing of energy crops. Aiming to promote biofuels as a new green global commodity, Brazil has heavily invested in so-called "ethanol diplomacy". In practical terms, this translates into a twofold strategy: (i) coalition-building with Northern actors, like the EU or the US, in order to run feasibility studies and finance potential projects; and (ii) establishing direct bilateral partnerships with African countries with the aim of expanding ethanol production. This paper aims to examine Brazil's experiences with these policy routes and look into the opportunities and hurdles that have emerged along the way. In doing so, it also offers an insight into the extent to which Brazil's ambitions to establish an international market for biofuels will be pursued in an environmentally friendly and sustainable way.

Keywords: Africa, biofuels, Brazil.

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Disconnecting Discourses: Maintaining Legitimacy of Capitalist Accumulation Processes

Poorna Balaji

This paper attempts to understand the role of ground level conservation discourses in maintaining legitimacy of particular neoliberal processes such as mining although there is a disconnect with the larger policy level discourse.

Several scholars have tried to understand conservation initiatives as being part of the larger process of capitalism. Some have suggested that environmental contradictions arising due to capitalist processes represent themselves as an opportunity for capital to employ new technologies for more profit. Others have highlighted the frantic ongoing search for innovative ways of conservation to offset extraction and pollution which will help continue or even increase current opportunities for accumulation of capital and profits. This paper pegs itself within such theorisation to situate compensatory afforestation initiatives in India.

Compensatory Afforestation Fund Management and Planning Authority (CAMPA) promotes afforestation and regeneration activities as a way of compensating for forest land diverted to non-forest uses such as mining, erection of dams and construction of industries. Monies are collected from the concerned companies to account for compensatory afforestation, additional afforestation and the Net Present Value of the area diverted. The ground implementation is carried out by the concerned State Forest Department. Conceptually and at a larger discourse level this initiative can be viewed as being born out of environmental contradictions arising from capitalist processes but it is still unclear how this discourse is reproduced and operationalised on ground.

Drawing upon interviews with forest officers and CAMPA related documents the local discourse seems to follow the rhetoric of 'local communities destroy forests' with no mention of the larger capitalist processes, therefore, suggesting a disconnect in discourses at the policy and ground level. Using critical discourse analysis, I explore how neoliberal conservation initiatives such as CAMPA consciously retain and articulate this disconnect to sustain capitalist accumulation processes.

Key words: Neoliberal conservation initiative, legitimacy, capitalist accumulation

Nature, state and local people: Repertoires of resistance in Southern Africa.

By Dr. Frank Matose, University of Cape Town, South Africa⁵

Conceptual and empirical analyses of the effects of neo-liberal conservation/green imperialism are undertaken on the basis of observations of three contexts in Southern Africa. Rather than retain these analytics at the political economy level, the agency that results from the collusion of the state with capital is examined in this paper. One central problem tackled lies with the nature of State property – converting communal resources into state resources in a context in which the other actors/parties have different notions of property creates tensions that were repressed under colonial and/or apartheid rule. With the onset of post-colonial or democratic dispensations, these tensions then rose to the surface leading to challenges of previous impositions of property relations. The second problem lies with the notion of resistance – agency by local people – engaging the thesis that political economic analysis of the effects of neo-liberal conservation neglects to interrogate the issue of agency. Under what circumstances do certain forms of resistance manifest themselves? What forms and strategies of resistance are deployed? Three contexts that will be compared are around protected forests in Zimbabwe and South Africa. The first is in western Zimbabwe where local people resisted to be moved from their settlements to make way for a wildlife habitat in the late 1990s to 2000. The second context focuses on another Zimbabwe site in which local people chose to squat on forest land (from 2001) from which land they had been previously evicted in colonial and post-colonial times. The third focuses on the Wild Coast in Eastern Cape of South Africa in which local people continue to struggle against the state, twelve years after their rights to a state protected area were restored.

Key words: Nature, state, resistance

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Uneven (Conservation) Development

Abstract:

In the year 2000, the government of Costa Rica began a partnership with the World Bank that would transform the face of Costa Rica's national "payments for ecosystem services" (PES) program. The Bank's influence is particularly evident in the evolution of the program's financing mechanisms, which have shifted towards direct financialized transactions between "users" and "providers" of ecosystem services. This paper explores the social and ecological implications of these changes and concludes that they are contributing to the production of geographically uneven patterns of conservation-development. This assessment is situated in a theoretical framework that is informed by Neil Smith's "production of nature" thesis, but also draws upon a distinction between "immanent" and "intentional" development. Doing so enables the exploration of both the capitalist and more-than-capitalist production of uneven space. This is necessary because of the important role that government has played in the neoliberalization of Costa Rican nature. Rather than designing the PES program to break the patterns of uneven development associated with capitalist production, the government has chosen to emulate the market, thus reproducing familiar patterns of accumulation and inequity.

Keywords: uneven development; neoliberalism; PES

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Communication and negotiation of value in participatory forest management: An ethnographic approach to exchange in the nature reserves of Tanzania's Eastern Arc

Keywords: Participatory forest management; value; political economy

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In this paper, I call for a more holistic approach to the study of exchange in the green political economies of places experiencing community-based conservation. The pervasiveness of market-based logics in the design and assessment of community-based conservation render the green economy and the politics of protected areas inseparable. Contemporary debates in conservation governance, for instance, concern ecosystem services, compensation, income-generation, and cost-benefit sharing and are often cast in the neoliberal terms of economic exchange. Yet pushing social and ecological processes through the market prioritizes commodities at the expense of other, equally significant factors, thereby obscuring much of what shapes the political ecological reality of life inside and surrounding protected areas. With insights gained from preliminary fieldwork in and around the nature reserves of Tanzania's Usambara Mountains, I explore how an anthropological perspective on exchange and value can contribute greater nuance to the study of participatory forest management in the Eastern Arc and beyond. By drawing upon theoretical developments that bring the material and social dynamics of exchange into the same analytical frame, I outline how a qualitative yet systematic documentation of communication, negotiation, and inequality in participatory forest management can illustrate the multiple ways in which the value of forest resources are created and contested. This ethnographic approach, I argue, can illuminate the chain of communicative events through which global conservation priorities come to shape the political economic contexts of forest-adjacent communities, as well as how members of these communities impact global debates about forest conservation and value. Indeed, such an approach to participation can complement quantitative evaluations of participatory forest management to address some of the challenges faced by scholars and practitioners seeking to reduce inequalities in forest conservation and governance while also mitigating ecological degradation.

Critical Evaluation of South Africa's accord to Transition to a Green Economy

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The Green Economy is proposed as an enlightened response to the shortcomings of current neoliberal economic approaches in tackling poverty, while embracing sustainable development and reducing carbon emissions. It shifts away from the principle that merely stimulating economic growth will lead to human development, poverty alleviation and social upliftment. Current experience of growth centric neoclassical economic approaches, for example those that promote extraction of natural resources for the benefit of multi-national corporations, are failing Africa's people and environment.

This paper, focuses on Green Economy in a Southern African country, explores what a Green Economic approach offers for the sustainable use of South Africa's natural wealth for the benefit of people. It will look at *South Africa's Green Economy Accord* that was launched at the COP17 in 2011. The Green Accord is a social pact that focuses on creating green jobs and in economic activities as diverse as energy generation, manufacturing of products that reduce carbon emissions, farming activities to provide feedstock for biofuels, soil and environmental management and eco tourism. The transition to a green economy in South Africa is linked to many policies, strategies and plans including, amongst others the National Development Plan, the New Growth Path, the National Climate Change Response Policy and the Industrial Policy Action Plan.

This South African case study will examine how the focus on social, environmental alongside economic issues in green economics approaches, in contrast to neoclassical approaches focus on merely economics, may realise benefits for biodiversity and people in this Southern African country. Using information from the South African Green Economy Modelling Report, the paper will critically assess whether equal or higher growth could be attained with a more sustainable, equitable and resilient Green economy approaches.

Greening Africa in a changing climate: Do REDD+ strategies take livelihoods of forest-fringe communities seriously?

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Abstract

The mechanism for reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation plus conservation and sustainable management of forest (REDD+) has been conceived at the global level as an effective and cost-efficient option for mitigating climate change. Proponents have hailed the mechanism for its potential to transfer large amount of financial resources to support environmental protection and conservation efforts. Yet, there are some concerns that REDD+ can also have negative impacts on local livelihoods as well as causing harmful activities (e.g. evictions and displacement) that either cause poverty or deprivation. While there is strong advocacy on the need for REDD+ to address livelihood concerns and other social issues, research examining how national countries are responding to this call remains quite scarce. This paper presents findings on how three countries in Africa (Ghana, Uganda and Zambia) designing programs to reduce emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD+) are proposing to address livelihoods concerns.

key words: REDD+, forests and livelihoods

Green neoliberalism and private conservation in Southern Chile

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This paper explores the expansion of privately owned protected areas in Southern Chile over the last two decades. Chile is an interesting place to explore neoliberalism and the environment as it was perhaps the first country to experience the neoliberal project, and because it has a remarkably high proportion of private conservation projects. These range in size from a few hectares to more than 300,000, and show a varied engagement with the market – some have no commercial activity whereas others run as for-profit business. Private protected areas, alongside forestry and hydro-electricity, is a means by which the natural resources of southern Chile are drawn into global circulations of capital. Drawing on interviews with owners and managers of 47 private protected areas, it demonstrates how, firstly, conservationists have engaged with neoliberalism to expand the area under protection, and secondly, how neoliberalism has sought to green itself by engaging with conservation. It explores the contradictions and challenges that are produced by engagements between conservation and neoliberalism in southern Chile, particularly the way in which private protected areas both support and challenge neoliberalism. This case study has implications for how we understand why conservation may be engaging with neoliberalism, and the potential for conservation to act as a form of resistance to neoliberalism, even in places where it is deeply embedded.

Key words: Neoliberalism, private conservation, chile, resistance.

The Mabira Debacle and Environmental Activism in Uganda: A societal rejection of destructive Capitalism?⁶

Capitalism has facilitated the creation global wealth and an unprecedented global consumption. Nonetheless there are growing concerns about capitalism's destructiveness to global environment and nature, exacerbating the concerns and fears of the extreme impacts of climatic change. In Uganda, this scenario is well represented in almost a decade-long debate regarding the Executive's proposition to give away a substantial chunk of Mabira forest⁷, to the sugar producing company, the Sugar Corporation of Uganda (SCOUL), largely owned by the Metha Family of Indian descent. This proposed give away has consistently met stiff resistance from all sections of society including the Indian community, arguing that the interests of one capitalist ought not to affect the broader public interests. Thus the response to the proposed forest give- away in many shades represents state and society's varied interpretation of capitalism. For, the people's disappointment, grief, worry, and anger represent a critique and contestation to capitalism. In this regard, this article seeks to engage with the new forms of mobilization environmental activism amongst Uganda and locate it within the wider global debate on environmental justice. In so doing we shall engage with the view as to whether this is a response to the societal rejection of destructive capitalism.

Key Words: Destructive Capitalism, Environmental justice and Mabira Forest

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⁷ Located in central Uganda, the forest is one of the surviving Afro-tropical rain forests, contributing immensely to the climate of the region as well as social- cultural heritage of the Baganda people in cenral Uganda.

Certification in Ecotourism: Review of Experiences and Impacts of Using “Green Credentials” in ecotourism Practice in Kenya

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The adoption of ecotourism as a more socio-economically and environmentally responsible form of tourism, and as an alternative to conventional safari tourism in Kenya was embraced with a lot of vigour in the 1990s. Many tourism actors had many expectations and hopes in this form of tourism that had promised a lot. Ecotourism was considered as the “silver bullet” to the many ills and impacts such as economic exploitation of local communities by private tourism operators, destruction of local environments, and so on, in many of Kenya’s popular safari tourism destinations. Kenya was also among the first countries in Africa to initiate home-grown initiatives to enhance the realisation of ecotourism’s green credentials agenda. One of the initiatives was the introduction of an eco-certification scheme, the eco-rating scheme, a market-focused initiative conceptually geared towards establishing socio-economically, culturally and environmentally responsible tourism practices in the country. It is now a decade since the beginning of implementation of the eco-rating scheme in the country in 2002. What gains have been realised through eco-certification? How has actors fared under ecotourism certification environment? Has certification in ecotourism helped reverse the ills associated with conventional safari tourism practice in Kenya? Using specific case study examples, this paper highlights the state of affairs since the introduction of eco-certification in ecotourism in terms of development and implementation of the eco-rating scheme as well as the impacts associated with this certification effort in the tourism sector in general.

Keys words: Certification, ecotourism, green-credentials

Enclosure, Dispossession, and the 'Green Economy': New Contours of Internal Displacement in Liberia and Sierra Leone

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Abstract

Perhaps the most recognizable feature of the nascent green economy is the creation of new markets for so-called 'socio-natural commodities' and ecosystem services, including carbon and biodiversity offsets, payments for water catchment, biofuels, ecotourism retreats, and even so-called 'species banks'. Simply put, this paper appraises the potential for these markets to catalyse new forms of both conflict and internal displacement in West Africa, with specific emphasis on the post-war contexts of Liberia and Sierra Leone. Following the International Committee of the Red Cross' *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*, the primary drivers of forced migration are conventionally thought to include some combination of civil war, ethnic strife or cleansing, development-induced migration, or allegedly 'natural' disasters. Of course, both Liberia and Sierra Leone witnessed horrific levels of violence-induced displacement during their largely simultaneous civil wars, which ended in 2002 and 2003, respectively. However, displacements for large-scale conservation and commercial agriculture increasingly threaten to exacerbate the unresolved legacies of these previous instances of forced migration, mapping onto enduring conflicts over land and resources that emerged during the civil war era. Such trends should concern us given that – as demonstrated by a sizeable literature on conflict causation in the Mano River Basin – agrarian grievances have repeatedly served as a salient yet under-acknowledged driver of recruitment into militant organizations. Interrogating these apparent contradictions in Liberian and Sierra Leonean reconstruction efforts, I argue that the new drivers of internal displacement ultimately assist West African states in territorializing their authority over historically unruly populations, given that conservation and agrarian reforms limit both access to land and natural resources, as well as the relative autonomy that arises from such access.

Key words: Internal territorialization; Green grabbing; State formation

Claims made, unmade, and avoided: Environmental governance in and around a Tanzanian Wildlife Management Area

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Key words: environmental governance, wildlife management areas, decentralization

This paper considers governance through political claim-making practices as well as secrecy in and around the villages of Ikona Wildlife Management Area in north-western Tanzania, addressing competing notions of community and democratic governance in a context of increasing calls for decentralization. Yet the scope of this paper goes beyond a notion of localized environmental management. In Tanzania, natural resources and tourism generate tremendous revenues and international engagement. Viewing governance through practices of claim-making renders visible relationships of exchange that exist within a wider social field. Yet these relationships are seldom equal and point to power divides which such exchanges do not necessarily bridge or mitigate. This paper considers a continually shifting governance landscape that has come to exist within junctures and disjunctures between policy, law, and implementation in formal governance spheres as well as within public-private partnerships and engagements with and through donors, NGOs, CSOs and related organizations.

Based on over a year of multi-sited ethnographic research in villages in and around Ikona Wildlife Management Area, in relevant conservation and development organizations, among private investors, and in legal and governmental contexts, this work seeks to build on recent scholarship concerned with a pluralization of governance actors and what has been termed the “recentralization” of governance in purportedly decentralized governance contexts. Ultimately, this paper seeks to further develop a language of contemporary governance. Research of legal cases from the East African Court of Justice to the High Court of Tanzania to “customary” legal contexts reveals key terms, strategies and contradictions of claim-making practices, while the drafting of contracts and MOUs, the mediation work of conservation and development practitioners, formal and informal meetings, letter-writing and conversation also provide key spaces for political engagement. Finally, this paper contends with issues which are strategically avoided or elided in such forums.

Wildlife economies, environmental asset protection, and a new conservation frontier: Privatized wildlife conservation in the Mozambique-South Africa borderlands

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Privatized conservation spaces and ‘green grabs’ are proliferating in southern Africa as land set aside for wildlife conservation is expanding via private concessions. This has effectively privatized conservation governance across massive tracts of land. In Mozambique, for example, a contiguous space of over 150, 000 hectares has been allocated to the private sector in order to create the Greater Lebombo Conservancy – a collection of private reserves looking to develop trophy hunting and eco-tourism. This has happened in response to new imperatives for wildlife conservation, ‘environmental asset protection’, and the desire to develop a viable wildlife economy. Located in Mozambique, but along the border of South Africa, the conservancy is supported by both countries. Mozambique, a country with a weak history of conservation, sees the conservancy as a viable approach to developing its wildlife economy and conservation credentials. South Africa, currently battling an unprecedented level of rhino poaching, sees the conservancy as a buffer zone to its iconic Kruger National Park that can help stem the flow of poachers entering it from Mozambique to kill its rhinos. As a result, large amounts of land, along with security forces, wildlife management, market-led conservation initiatives, and even community relations are now under private control. The purpose of this paper is to conceptualize the Greater Lebombo Conservancy as a new frontier of land control and value with the objective of contributing to debates surrounding green grabbing and privatized conservation by asking: What conditions give rise to the privatization of conservation governance at different scales? How do the private and public sectors (in a cross-border context) come together to consolidate and secure territories for wildlife and market-led conservation? What are the implications for resource access, communities, and the territorial integrity of the state?

Keywords: Private Conservation Governance; Wildlife Conservation; Southern Africa

Irony and resistance in the Tanzanian green economy

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Abstract:

In Tanzania, Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) are facilitating an entrenchment and expansion of the green economy - purportedly, offering new opportunities for conservation, tourism and subsequently, prosperity. The debate concerning their effectiveness and impact has polarized the conservation community. Much of the academic literature on the topic has clearly and definitively elucidated their challenges, pitfalls, and the adverse impacts they've had on many communities. This paper doesn't dispute the discouraging status of WMAs in Tanzania or the potential threat they represent to communities. Nevertheless, it highlights a case in Enduimet WMA of Northern Tanzania that differs from the common narrative, and may provide some cause for optimism. The paper emphasizes complexity in our consideration of environmental governance, including the multiple, dynamic levels of authority, diverse actors, and their invariably complex, often-conflicting interests. Drawing on current field research in Enduimet, the paper outlines a conflict between WMA members, and a foreign tour operator. Prior to the WMA, the operator has allegedly taken advantage of communities for years. Now, however, he faces increasing challenges arising from the Authorized Association (AA) – the body of elected village members who are responsible for managing WMAs and foreign investments. Based on this experience in Enduimet, the paper considers the rather ironic role of AAs in contesting neoliberalism and constraining the state. It poses the question, 'could the collectivizing process, which underpins WMA creation, empower communities and provide a platform for contesting neoliberal trends in Tanzania?' While the paper remains cautious in its assessment of future prospects, it emphasizes complexity and the importance of not discounting the role of community actors to resist and influence neoliberal trajectories.

KEYWORDS: GOVERNANCE, RESISTANCE, TANZANIA

More green, less blue? Exploring the political economy of water value chains in the Waterberg, South Africa

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Keywords

Water, value chains, eco-tourism

Paper proposal

The Waterberg is an emerging destination for eco-tourism in South Africa, where traditional farms are progressively being converted into game farms and private nature reserves and where municipalities and 'green' entrepreneurs are developing together a distinctive brand aimed at identifying this area as a site of wilderness and conservation.

This paper aims to reveal that the socio-ecological reality of the Waterberg is much more complex than that depicted by conservation discourses and initiatives and it will do so by focusing especially on the political economy of its water resources.

Access to water resources in the Waterberg is strategic for a number of reasons, ranging from reaching substantial equality for historically disadvantaged groups to attracting tourists by offering them comfortable and even luxurious services. Yet, three major aspects seem to make it a highly contested issue: water needs are indeed multiple and competing, with a growing demand coming from (poor) domestic users and the mining and energy sectors (in relation to the current development of the Waterberg Coalfield); access to water is still largely private and dependent upon access to land; and water resources are commonly perceived and defined as 'scarce', albeit the social factors contributing to scarcity (also related to the booming eco-tourism sector) are overlooked, while water shortages are suffered the most by the poorest residents.

By drawing on the preliminary findings of a one-year period of fieldwork in the Waterberg plateau, this paper intends to analyze the local water value chains from a political economy perspective. How much water is made available for whom, for what, on what terms, and how is the value of water constructed and marketed? These are fundamental questions that will broaden our understanding of how 'green' economic initiatives have an impact on access to natural resources and also further their commodification.

Carbon forestry, trade-offs in ecosystem services, and local knowledge: insights from rural Kilombero, Tanzania.

Key words: carbon forestry, ecosystem services, trade-offs

Abstract:

Private investment in re/afforestation in rural communities is often presented as a 'triple-win' example of climate compatible development: working to mitigate climate change, enabling local communities to adapt to the impacts of climate change, and providing an additional source of income and thus helping to alleviate poverty. However, there has been a recent shift towards recognising that there can also be substantial trade-offs associated with these initiatives.

This paper looks at two study sites in the Kilombero district of Tanzania, that have recently seen the establishment of large tree plantations by private-sector companies for timber, paper, charcoal making, and carbon-credits. Drawing on household surveys, and participatory methods (including focus group discussions, cause-effect diagramming, historical calendars, participatory mapping, and semi-structured interviews with key-informants), this paper examines the perceived impact of this private sector investment in re/afforestation on natural resources and ecosystem services, including indirect impacts on ecosystem (dis)services and the observed consequent impact on the communities' livelihoods.

This paper argues that while the potentially positive impact of private investment in re/afforestation in these rural communities should not be underplayed, there is a need to consider the trade-offs in ecosystem services (and disservices) that may emerge from these activities. It is important to recognise that the impacts felt may vary between different groups within the communities and that there is not necessarily an equitable distribution of costs and benefits. Therefore care should be taken to ensure particular groups do not carry the weight of negative impact, and local understandings of carbon and related environmental processes should also be recognised.

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Biofuels and identity (re)construction: Implications for a green economy in Zimbabwe

This research evaluates the cultural dynamics of (trans)national commercial land transaction in co-opted Chisumbanje villages and their efforts to maintain and sustain conventional, traditional notions of indigenous identity and local citizenship in ways that do not hinder the ultimate goals of enhancing a green economy through biofuel use. Forty-thousand hectares of Chisumbanje and Middle Sabi Sugar Cane Estates in Manicaland Province of Zimbabwe, previously belonging to the State-run Agricultural and Rural Development Authority (ARDA), were sold to Billy Rautenbach, a multimillionaire Zimbabwean businessman, through his Ratings Investments for US\$600 million, making him a 60 per cent shareholder in the estates. Rather than face relocation to a different area, 3 000 families and households had to be co-opted into the 'new' estate, with most of the members becoming employees in the estate. Co-option, in this treatise, is conceptualized as the practice of integrating, as opposed to displacing, prior inhabitants of land/place into a new system of land use and management for commercial purposes, thereby representing a new dimension in the trajectory of land deals in Zimbabwe. Co-option renders redundant the policy framework guiding displacement, relocation and restitution of affected villagers that has often accompanied land deals in Zimbabwe and other developing countries. This leaves a policy gap vis-à-vis how to deal with co-opted villagers in ways that acknowledge ideals of citizenship, identity foundations, and notions of lifeworlds of villagers. Either intentionally or unintentionally, the said issues may be disrupted by new development interventions, to the potential detriment of greening the economy in Zimbabwe. The research, still ongoing, presents both primary and secondary evidence through the employment of key-informant in-depth interviews with relevant government officials (district administrator, EMA, local counselors, chiefs and village heads), focus group discussions, transect walks, reports, government gazettes, and farmer magazines. This research is conducted with the anticipation that findings from the study can be insightful vis-à-vis remedying the above-mentioned potential institutional clashes in the ARDA-Rautenbach land deal in a way that acknowledges notions of traditional identities. This is crucial to creating a green economy for sustainable environment.

Key Words: Co-option, Identity, Citizenship

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An “indigenous project” for neoliberal times? Amazonian Indigenous REDD+

proposal navigating the anthropocene

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Keywords: Amazon, indigenous REDD+, Neoliberal environmental governance

As globalized economies develop new forms of intervention in the Amazon, utilizing various levels of governance to further their encroachment, halting the abatement of “indigenous space” (Chirif, 2006) seems both ever more urgent and highly implausible. Payments for ecosystem services expand as a paradigm for territorial management in the biome. It is contributing to change not only the legal frameworks that regulate access to natural resources but the value of “natural” assets. This could lead to further changes in indigenous people’s recognition, their legal rights and economic opportunities, and could entail losses or gains for their organizations and the well-being of their communities.

In this context, indigenous peoples networks detain different praxis in order to protect themselves from dispossession process (Li, 2010). A proposal for “holistic management of forests”, that seeks to adapt REDD+ objectives to indigenous needs and worldviews, is presented by their international umbrella organization, the Coordinator of Indigenous Organizations of the Amazon River Basin (COICA). How will collective landholding and the contemporary construction of indigeness develop in a changing context? What can we expect for indigenous REDD+ to achieve and avoid? As “unruly engagements” (Okamoto, 2012) are a recurrent condition of the political interactions between external actors and indigenous communities, what can we learn from the practices of the indigenous movement facing green economy in the Amazon?

This study considers policies for promoting environmental and cultural resilience facing the current Amazonian environmental crisis. It seeks to contribute to a larger reflection on the role imagined for and attained by local communities with diverse approaches to the biophysical environment. It is based on fieldwork with indigenous leaders of the Amazon Basin both in the UNFCCC negotiations and at national level in Bolivia and Peru.

Living in Bwabwata National Park, Namibia: How Tourism and Conservation Strategies Turn Dwellers into Lodgers

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Keywords: Dwelling perspective, hunter-gatherers, Namibia, tourism

Abstract (317 words):

In this article we examine the plight of the Khwe Bushmen, a group of (former) hunter-gatherers in the Bwabwata National Park in Northern Namibia. The Khwe have lived for a long time in the area of Bwabwata, which consequentially entails their automatic engagement in the park's conservation activities that altered their environment seriously. Although they were historically hardly involved in the implementation of such activities, this was supposed to change with the rise of Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) in the 1990s. Still, in many ways these changes did not materialise and in 2011 the approval of the Kavango Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area (KAZA TFCA) is aimed at the increase of conservation in the area. An important element in these plans is to boost 'green economic' growth by increasing tourism, also involving the Khwe Bushmen.

As a theoretical starting point, we use Ingold's dwelling perspective, based on hunter-gatherer ontologies, in which the world comes into being because an organism/person is continuously interacting with his/her environment, through bodily activity. Dwelling is contrasted with building, in which (wo)man constructs the world cognitively before (s)he can live in it. We apply a third notion, namely lodging, to refer to a situation in which people live in an essentially foreign environment. We argue that today many changes in the environment of the Khwe are triggered beyond their control, instead of through their interaction with their environment. In this concept, the environment is dominant and the people have no option but to adapt to changes in their environment outside their control.

Using these three notions of dwelling, building and lodging we analyse various conservation and tourism developments in the environment of the Khwe, historically as well as more recently. In so doing, we show the transformation of the cultural understanding the people have of their environment, of their interaction with it (and with the various actors and stakeholders) and with each other

The Multiple Meanings of REDD on Zanzibar

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Keywords: meanings, REDD, bricoleurs

Since the idea of using forest conservation as a tool for mitigating climate change was formally launched during the UNFCCC negotiations in Bali in 2007, REDD has become a popular topic for research. Still, few studies offer *thick descriptions* of what happens in the societies where REDD is being implemented, and how various actors involved (and those not so much involved) experience the introduction of REDD. This article offers an in-depth analysis of how various actors interpret and give meaning to REDD in one specific location: Zanzibar.

The methodological basis for this article is 11 months of fieldwork among various actors on Zanzibar; among women and men in communities in and around forests; agencies responsible for implementing REDD at village - and policy levels; and institutions and individuals at various levels more peripheral to the REDD process on Zanzibar. Data has been collected through participant observation and qualitative interviews at various levels; from village level to the House of Representatives (Parliament) on Zanzibar.

The article explores how various actors develop their own interpretation of REDD in accordance with their life-worlds, knowledge and experiences; how they represent, defend and 'discover' their interests relative to REDD? It furthermore analyses what arguments are applied for taking part in REDD, or not? What applications of different REDD-related concepts, problems and solutions are proposed, and why? What views are accepted, processed and taken further and why?

In line with Francis Cleaver (2012) the article argues that *actors* are often better seen as *bricoleurs* juggling different roles; multiple norms and complex identities. The realities, life-worlds and structures in which these *bricoleurs* operate are fundamental for how REDD is framed in a specific context, and are thus of critical importance for shaping the interpretation, views and responses to REDD.

An Evaluation of Sustainability of Privatization and Community Participation in Decision Making Over Natural Resource Management

Topic: Neoliberal Environmental Management/Challenges of Neoliberal Hegemony

By

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Abstract submitted for the International Conference on Neoliberal Environment, Governance, Prosperity and Development to be held in Dodoma July 8-10 2014

Tanzania has embarked on privatization and governance as part of neoliberal processes of rolling back of the state and creating accountability and democracy. While initial studies on the impact of neoliberal policies in the global South have pointed out that neoliberal policies have more of negative impact on natural resources thus unsustainable, recent studies have praised the privatization process arguing that it can influence devolution by providing capital, expertise and market access (Kowero et al. 2003). This paper draws from a case study where there is private and community involved in management of forest and wildlife resources. The paper first examines the processes of privatization and decentralization in Tanzania. It then outlines the practices of private and community actors in management of natural resources. Finally, the paper evaluates the extent to which the practices are geared towards sustainable development. Other different actors involved in the process and their roles will also be identified.

Carbon forestry and Sacrifice Zones: a Critical Geography of neoliberal environmental governance in Uganda.

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Carbon forestry projects claim that they are a 'win-win' solution, contributing to climate mitigation and community development. Utilising insights from research into the assemblage of carbon forestry projects and neoliberal environmental governance in Uganda, this paper looks beyond carbon forestry as a set of isolated, differentiated projects 'addressing deforestation and climate change'. In doing so it explores carbon forestry's imbrication in an extension and deepening of a qualitative change in the way that forests are re-territorialised and managed trans-nationally. I argue that, building from within a complex set of political and social relationships through which the state has codified and 'managed' the 'forest estate' - with a history of violence and dispossession - carbon forestry both directly and indirectly extends both the control of non-state actors, and the privatization, deregulation and commodification of areas of 'forest nature' beyond project boundaries themselves. This is pursued for the conjoined ends of; finding new funds for conservation; the perceived need to facilitate public-private partnerships to address sawtimber 'scarcity' through the establishment of an effective timber industry; and mitigation of climate change. These aims however justify what might be termed 'sacrifice zones' or 'zones of green exclusion'; which transmute the costs of mitigation onto both 'surplus' communities in some areas - who are rendered invisible and subject to 'expulsions' (Sassen, 2013) - and portions of 'the forest estate' that are not readily amenable to public-private partnerships, or control by NGOs seeking to make 'nature pay for itself'. The implication is that setting carbon forestry as the *telos*, or end point of conservation to which actors must aspire and dedicate a perpetual flurry of activity, can lead to both 'false promises' and systematic violence against local communities, and a selective extension, evasion and accommodation of the complex-dynamic causes of deforestation in the country.

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Keywords: carbon forestry; Uganda; neoliberal governance; green exclusion

Payment for Ecosystem Services and Local Representation: Lessons from Hoima District, Uganda.

Abstract

About 70% of the forest estate in Uganda privately owned. Oversight of forests outside protected areas is decentralized to the District Local Governments, which also legally holds riverine forests in trust for the people. Due to insufficient human and logistical resources, Local Government institutions do not enforce forestry regulations effectively, and so deforestation is rampant, at about 2.6% annually. Consequently, the central agencies are slowly re-introducing their influence on the local arena, through financial-based conservation interventions targeting forests outside protected areas. This research analyzed the democracy effects of a UNEP-implemented Payment for Ecosystem Services pilot project in Hoima and Kibaale Districts of Uganda. The project aims to procure biodiversity conservation outside protected areas using experimental methodology.

Results show that through this project and other interventions implemented by NGOs, external actors are entrenching their influence over decision-making processes in the local arena, and simultaneously overriding the legal mandate of the Local Government. Rather than enhance Local Government capacity to enforce forestry regulations, the NGOs are promoting privatization of riverine forests legally held by Local Government. NGOs have empowered adjacent individual landowners to exclude subsistence forest use by other community members, in order to comply with PES contracts, and resource access conflict has increased. Privatization of the forests also gives individual forest owners the right to clear the forest in future if they opt for landuse that yields more returns than forestry. Consequently, the goal of forest connectivity that is essential for biodiversity conservation may become even more difficult to realize in future.

Instead of working through the existing Local Councils, NGOs created interest-based Private Forest Owners' Associations, to facilitate the representation of forest owners in forest governance. However, forest owners have not been empowered to influence decision-making processes around forest governance, since NGOs created them basically as tools to achieve efficiency and meet project outputs.

Key words: PES, Representation, Forest Governance

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On the Natures of Co-Creation: A History of Conservation and 'New' Media

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Abstract: New media, especially web 2.0 possibilities and social media such as Facebook and twitter, are fast changing how the nature conservation is produced, communicated and consumed. The key element in new media is co-creation: the ability for consumers or supporters to partially co-produce or influence - through sharing, liking, commenting and so forth - the information or product they consume. Starting from broader histories of conservation and media, this paper provides a critical discussion of the complex natures of co-creation and the co-creation of nature in order to tease out what is 'new' about new media in relation to conservation. It argues that one important new element is the fashioning of a growing antagonism between the social and public on the one hand and the individual and private on the other in that social media create utterly individualized and individuated public spheres that increasingly render the whole less than the sum of its parts.

Keywords: New media, conservation, political economy, web 2.0, co-creation

What is Carbon? Conceptualising carbon and carbon capabilities in the context of community-based sequestration projects in the global South.

Chasca Twyman (University of Sheffield), Tom A. Smith (University of Sheffield) and Alex Arnall (University of Reading)

Carbon has been described as a ‘surreal commodity’ (Liverman 2009). Whilst carbon trading, storage, sequestration and emissions have become a part of the contemporary climate lexicon, how ‘carbon’ is understood, valued and interpreted by actors at the sharp end of carbon sequestration projects is still unclear. In this review paper, we are concerned with how carbon has come to take on a range of meanings, and in particular, we appraise what is known about the situated meanings of those who are involved in delivering, and participating in, carbon sequestration projects in the global South. Whilst there has been considerable reflection on the new meanings conferred on carbon from the neoliberal processes of marketisation, as well as historical and contemporary narratives of environmental change, less is known about how these meanings are (re)produced and (re)interpreted locally. We review how carbon has been defined both as a chemical element and as a tradable, marketable commodity with associated values and meanings, and discuss the implications these ‘global’ meanings might have for situated understandings amongst communities in the global South. We discuss the implications of specific values attributed to carbon, and therefore to different ecologies, for wider conceptualisations of how nature is valued, and particularly how this may impact on community understandings. Furthermore, we consider how the concept of ‘carbon capabilities’, alongside theoretical notions of networks, assemblages and local knowledges of the environment and nature might be useful in beginning to understand how communities might engage with abstract notions of carbon.

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Keywords:

Carbon, local knowledge, community

Assessment Of The Status Of Human-Red Colobus Monkeys Conflict And Its Implication To Peoples' Livelihoods: The Case Of Jozani Chwaka Bay National Park ZANZIBAR

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ABSTRACT

Three villages around the Jozani Chwaka Bay National Park (JCBNP) which are Pete-Jozani, Unguja Ukuu Kaebona and Kitogani were surveyed so as to assess the status of human-red colobus monkeys conflict and its implication to livelihood. Data for this study were collected using questionnaire survey, key informants interviews, physical field observations and literature reviews. One hundred and twenty households, 10 JCBNP officials and three village leaders were involved in the study. Others were Jozani Environmental Conservation Organization (JECA), Organization of the people who own farms around JCBNP (UWEMAJO) and South district forest officials. Field findings indicate that human-colobus monkeys conflict particularly crop damage - coconuts, mango and yams is on the increase. To mitigate this problem farmers have been using different methods which among others include guarding, fencing, doll/model, poisoning and trapping. On the other hand, The JCBNP has been using different mitigation measures. These include provision of conservation education, working with communities' organization, establishment of villagers' projects in the park and tourism revenue sharing. In order to reduce conflicts communities and other stakeholders gave several suggestions such as compensation to affected farmers, provision of employment opportunities, initiation of non-farm income generating projects, translocation of the colobus monkeys to other areas, reducing the number of colobus by killing them and intensification of rangers around the park. Apart with other measures used to mitigate the conflict the following are recommended; the compensation of individual affected farmer, increasing of employment opportunities to the local communities around the park, development of communities productive projects as alternative means of income which will improve welfare of local communities and to provide knowledge and skills to the farmers on how to mitigate the problem using non-lethal measures.

Sisal, old and new. Agrarian change and an experimental biogas plant in Tanzania

Tanzania has stood out in the biofuel debate, both as a major geographical target for international biofuel ventures and as a site of political reactions to them. After recapitulating on the distinctiveness of Tanzanian political responses to international biofuel ventures, this contribution will present the little-known story of an high-tech experimental biogas plant in Hale, Korogwe District (Tanga region), whose pioneering of biogas seems not to have been altered by the national political shifts on biofuel production. Established in 2007, this demonstration project aims at establishing viable biogas and bio-generated electricity production through the use of sisal waste as biomass. The physical infrastructure and the biogas technology have been secured through funds from the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO) and the Common Fund for Commodities (CFC). Given its potential for carbon trade, it has been long seeking accreditation as a Clean Development Mechanism (CDM). Sisal, the main source of biomass, is presented as a traditional crop which has been historically grown in Tanga region. For this reason, contrary to other contested biofuel projects, the Hale biogas experiment has never been seen as competing with local food production or causing land dispossession. The biogas plant relies on sisal production from five sisal plantations held by Katani Ltd. – a private company which, having acquired sisal plantations through privatisation bids, is seen as the heir of the now dismantled Tanzania Sisal Authority. The company retains the land title to the plantations and the control over sisal marketing and processing, while sisal production is almost entirely carried out by small, private contract farmers living around the plantations. This contribution problematizes the revival of sisal production in Tanga region, by reflecting on the long history of land and labour struggles in and around sisal plantations and on the contested presence of sisal monoculture. The impact of sisal revival for biofuel production is better grasped through a historical analysis of agrarian change in the region, where “old sisal” – for cordage production – had declined since the mid- 1970s and “new sisal” – for alternative uses, such as biogas- has been spearheaded throughout the last two decades as an alternative to the dismantling of large sisal plantations for land redistribution to local claimants, as recommended by the Presidential Commission of Enquiry into Land Matters in the early 1990s.

Keywords: biofuels, Tanzania, sisal

(This paper will present the findings of future research which is expected to take place in the first half of 2014, therefore the theme and focus are to be considered conditional and, upon approval of the organising committee, may be subject to later changes.)

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Theme: biofuels and agriculture

Fact Or Fiction? Community Imagination Of The Mtwara Natural Gas And Its Eternal Benefits

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This paper presents the perceptions of the people of Mtwara over the discovered natural gas in Msimbati area of the Mtwara district. The objective of the paper is to present the facts and fictions surrounding the discovery, extraction and the benefits anticipated thereafter. Furthermore, the communities of Mtwara imagine the benefits of the natural gas to eternity with nobody mentioning of the adverse impacts of its extraction most of which associated with environment. The research methods employed included participatory observation and interviews. The interviews were informal to allow the informants to be free in utterances and responses. The results indicate that people of all walks of life and with no disparities in gender expect immense benefits which will result from the extraction of the natural gas. To them the power plant for the extraction of gas to be utilized for electrical purposes should base at Mtwara and nowhere else. The lack of education among majority of the local people does not seem to be a threat to them rather they even expect a symbiotic benefit. One of them include that of a bricklayer, who expects benefits from the workers in the energy sector who will probably require housing facilities thus a benefit to his side. *Mama ntilies* "food vendors" are also expecting to benefit from the same symbiotic nature. The benefits of gas as imagined by the communities of Mtwara seem to include the children up to their grand, grandchildren. While this may possibly be true, there are also a number of foes which needs to be seriously watched and eliminated for such eternal benefits. Much emphasis that is placed on benefits blinds the disadvantages and all the challenges of natural gas that has been observed elsewhere. There is a need therefore for awareness campaigns for the local people for a proper management, benefit and maintenance of the perceived eternal benefits.

KEY WORDS: GENDER, ENVIRONMENT, RESOURCE UTILIZATION

Extractive philanthropy: new strategies for securing labour for the conservation enterprise

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Keywords: philanthropy, conservation, labour

The conservation enterprise has emerged as a platform on which ecological, social, economic and political spheres interact, and are also in conflict with one another, with wide ranging implications for both society and the environment. The interactions among these spheres are neither organic nor static but are rather spatio-temporal, mainly as a consequence of human actions and interests that are evident in theoretical and empirical studies on society and nature, and the whole history of protected areas. Such interactions and the consequent relationships are a referent point for understanding the ways in which environmental governance structures are constituted for various purposes. Much scholarly insights have been gained from nature and the various contexts in which it is embedded, but there is still a considerable lack of attention to the ways in which changes in the conservation enterprise impact on labour. What is the nature of labour in conservation areas and associated activities? What happens to labour when conservation areas undergo considerable changes? And, how is labour organized and reorganized as a result of such changes? In this paper I grapple with these questions in order to tease out the fortunes of labour in conservation areas. My goal is to bring questions of labour within the broader social science research on conservation areas into sharp analytical focus. For a start, an inquiry into the fortunes of labour in conservation areas should appreciate the ways in which labour is sourced and reproduced. I argue that a combination of philanthropy and notions of development is deployed as a double-edged strategy by which labour is sourced and also organized to ensure its long-term service to conservation areas. This form of extractive philanthropy is more pronounced in private nature reserves such as Londolozi outside South Africa's Kruger National park, and is being replicated elsewhere.

Learning from the Other: Benefit Sharing Lessons for REDD+ Implementation Based on CBFM Experience in Northern Tanzania

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Abstract:

Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD+) has emerged as a means through which communities, projects and countries can be financially rewarded for reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation. Tanzania's efforts to include community based forest management (CBFM) as a climate mitigation option is also seen as the way to benefit forest dependent communities through carbon credit payments. However, if not well executed, REDD+ may accelerate poverty if benefit sharing arrangements are not well addressed. This paper investigates Benefit sharing issues using a CBFM site (Duru-Haitemba Villages Land Forest Reserve) which is getting ready to participate in the REDD+ strategy. Field work was conducted in two villages (Riroda and Ayasanda) adjacent to DHVLF in Babati District, northern Tanzania. A total of 101 households were randomly interviewed with a sampling intensity of 8%. Mixed research methods (both quantitative and qualitative) were used for collection and triangulation of information and included extensive literature review, household interviews using a structured questionnaire; key informant interviews, transect walks, observations, and focus group discussions. Regarding community perception on benefit sharing, the findings of the study revealed that majority (68%) of respondents felt benefits are not well shared. On the other hand, although there are no substantial cash related benefits at the moment, 43% of the respondents felt that the current benefits especially financial ones are mainly shared among the ruling class and those connected to them. Furthermore there are no specific criteria for sharing benefits although formal arrangements for sharing current limited benefits are in place. Weak governance mechanism and lack of transparency further affects benefit sharing. I argue that governance mechanism and institutions at the local level must be strengthened if proper benefit sharing is to be realized under REDD+.

Keywords: Climate Change, REDD+, Benefit Sharing, Community Based Forest Management

Producing Knowledge for the Green Economy: Examining Climate Knowledge Networks in East Africa

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Keywords: knowledge, climate, Tanzania

The Green Economy movement aims to facilitate economies that promote equity and improved human wellbeing, while reducing environmental risks and ecological impacts. Importantly, the Green Economy discourse emphasizes producing the necessary knowledge to support implementation of national and regional initiatives to enable transitions to economic systems that are socially equitable and ecologically sound. These knowledge production and dissemination efforts have included policy advice, technical assistance, and capacity building. A prime example of these knowledge production processes is the Global Framework for Climate Services (GFCS) launched in 2009, which seeks to reduce the vulnerability of society to climate-related hazards and to advance key global development goals through provision of climate information. In particular, goal is to build capacities in developing countries, where vulnerabilities to climate impacts are high, but climate service provision is currently weak. Yet, there are ongoing questions about how “equitable” such climate services are, including: Who is able to access and use such information and for what purposes? What are the consequences of promoting knowledge transfer across scales? Who gets to participate in processes of knowledge production? What other kinds of knowledge may be silenced in the process? This paper will examine the dynamics of climate knowledge production, access, and use across scales in East Africa, within the context of GFCS and Green Economy initiatives. This will include tracing knowledge flows and networks, and to specifically investigate: 1) who produces knowledge and how, 2) how is this knowledge accessed and used, 3) how knowledge gains validity among a range of actors, and 4) how relations of power among actors across scales and epistemologies influence knowledge flows. Findings will draw upon quantitative survey data and individual and group interview data collected at multiple scales (community, national, international), with local level data collection occurring in the semi-arid region of northern Tanzania.

Governing through Neoliberalism: REDD+ Pilot Projects and struggles over access to village land and forests in Lindi and Kilosa, Tanzania.

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Key Words: REDD+, Neoliberal Environmental Governance, Land conflicts

The market-driven logic of REDD+ (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation) has become one of the leading avenues of research on neoliberalization of nature. However, in Africa, the persistent presence of the “state” in the area of nature conservation and recent decentralization reforms that target forested village lands suggest that instead of a retrieval of the “state” in all domains, we may be witnessing a re-regulation of state institutions around environmental governance. This indicates that there is a need for further research on the governance dimensions of the new climate mitigation-based conservation interventions like REDD+. What is the role of REDD+ in strengthening the neoliberal *environmental governance* in specific country and institutional contexts? Focusing on a REDD+ pilot project implemented by a Tanzanian para-statal NGO, this paper looks at how neoliberal environmental governance unfolds within the institutional framework of decentralized forest management in Tanzania.

In 2002, Tanzania adopted a decentralized approach to forest management - “Participatory Forest Management” (PFM)- which claimed to give more powers to village councils by allowing them to pass agreements with national and district governments to establish forest reserves. With land use planning set as a pre-condition, elected village authorities were given the power to define the rules of access to forests under their jurisdiction through by-laws. Land use planning was also integrated into Tanzania’s REDD+ strategy (2013) as a “social safeguard.” Based on REDD+ projects implemented by MJUMITA/TFCG this paper analyzes how land use planning process has been carried out in Kilosa and Lindi districts. It will analyze village land conflicts that emerged or re-surfaced after the introduction of REDD+ and, discuss the role of REDD+ in fueling land conflicts through speculations over forests’ market value, and in maintaining the oversight of district officials over elected village councils despite its “participatory” claims.

New Directions in Commodity Chain Analysis & Access Mapping in ‘The Green Economy’

Authors - Benjamin Neimark (Lancaster University) and Sango Mahanty (Australian National University)

Analysis of commodity chains – the relationships, transformations and mediating institutions that enable a commodity’s production, distribution and end use – has provided important insights on how resource and market access and power mediate the distribution of benefits and risks (Ribot 1998). Alongside traditional commodities, Commodity Chain Analysis (CCA), and its close relative, access mapping (Ribot and Peluso 2003), are now being applied in new arenas of “The Green Economy,” such as bioprospecting and ecosystem services, to gain systematic insights to the circumstances, relationships and transformations that comprise a commodity’s “social life” (Appadurai 1986). This paper shares insights from scholars who are taking CCA and access mapping into new domains and grappling with associated challenges and critique. For example, intangible commodities like ecosystem services may involve significant technical inputs to verify and value the units of trade, setting them apart from tangible and established commodities such as timber and other forest products. International and state institutions may play a central role in market establishment, with pro-active design of institutions to facilitate transactions as well as the distribution of benefits. Finally, the formative nature of these nascent markets means that the networks of actors and their transactions are highly dynamic. However, questions remain in terms of how we as scholars begin to theorize commodity relations in the green economy especially within politically-charged divisions of access along gender, class, and ethnicity and which may promote rural differentiation and hierarchy. Are access maps and commodity chains adequate to document the power relations that exist amongst the variegated actors as the role of non-state actors and civil society institutions increase?

Genetic dispossessions: Metrological regimes, bioprospecting and the creation of new commodities for biodiversity conservation in Madagascar

Authors - Benjamin Neimark (Lancaster University) and Bradley Wilson (West Virginia University)

Abstract

Building upon a growing literature on green economies, this paper explores the role of scientific labor in the commodification of nature for market-based conservation projects. Scientists, particularly those who study the world's biodiversity, seek to discover, identify, classify, collect and (e)valuate new species of flora and fauna. While such scientific work has historically served as a launch-pad to transform nature into market exchange, over the past thirty years, the relationship between scientists and the commodification of nature has grown ever more complex and contradictory as biodiversity conservation itself. What for many scientists started out as a desire to study biodiversity for purposes of conservation has rather increasingly turned into providing labor for nature's commodification as the means to save it. Today neoliberal conservation institutions and their corporate partners increasingly enlist scientists who can translate nature into techno-scientific metrics and divisible qualities that make it more amenable to capital accumulation. Scientists therefore are often on the frontlines of a global project of biodiversity valuation in which the unique and irreplaceable qualities of nature are being framed, differentiated, and turned from use into exchange values. This article focuses on the political economy of scientists who do the work of flattening biodiversity's characteristics within the bioprospecting industry in Madagascar, by standardizing its variability, and moreover, de/re-contextualizing its value all in attempts to produce *conservation commodities*. In theory, the green economy holds that nature produces value, yet we argue it is not nature, but labor that brings value. In particular in our case, it is scientific labour of botanists and parataxonomists, who conduct inventories that make biodiversity legible for market-based conservation. In order for this to happen, scientific labour must be structured in a way that is amenable for capital penetration.

Keywords: Labor, value, scientific institutions

The Changing Faces of Adaptation: Addressing Pastoral Coping Mechanisms in the Green Economy

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Pastoralism has been recognized as a tightly couple system of landscape, social institutions, and adaptation strategies. However, the cohesion of this system is under constant stress as climatic and non-climatic factors threaten the applicability of customary mechanisms used to cope with social and environmental change. In East African rangelands, changing climatic conditions are being experienced through more frequent and prolonged extreme climatic events, such as floods and droughts and an increase in rainfall variability. While these dynamics are straining pastoral systems, changing institutional structures, increased fragmentation of the landscape, and continual loss of land – to farming, conservation areas, and now green biofuel projects – are leading to the system’s decoupling. Green grabs threaten to further the steady (and in some cases rapid) chipping away of land from pastoral access. In this paper we present data collected in Longido and Monduli districts that detail coping mechanisms used by Maasai pastoralists during the 2009 drought. This data reflects the changes that agro-pastoralists/pastoralists made to navigate across newly fragmented landscape and access lands now beyond Maasai control. We illustrate how some of these processes may be helping individual families ‘adapt’ to future climatic events, while simultaneously exacerbating processes of privatization that are leading to fragmentation in the first place. Finally, we discuss theoretical and practical approaches to adaptation planning in areas where green grabs are placing limitations on livelihood strategies.

Keywords: Pastoralism, Climate Change Adaptation, Mobility

“In Local Collaboration we Trust”: The Dynamics of Trust Network Relationships in Collaborative Natural Resource Management in Tanzania

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Abstract

The existence of relational trust among network actors is said to facilitate collective action and enhance successful collaborative practices of natural resource management. This paper uses a stochastic actor-oriented modelling approach to provide two simple models for dynamics of trust relationships in a network of Village Conservation and Development Committee (VCDC) in Amani Nature Reserve, Tanzania. By simultaneously modelling network (social selection) and behavior (social influence) this paper tests the hypothesis whether or not actors with similar attribute(s) tend to trust similar influential actors on the decisions about issues related to local collaborative practices of natural resource management. Results show that homophily effect for actor attribute and behavior (influence on decisions of natural resource management) average similarity have an important role to play on selection, maintenance or dissolution of trust ties among VCDC actors in the context of collaborative practices of natural resource management. This paper contributes theoretically and methodologically to a discussion of importance of trust in interaction of actors involved in collaborative practices of natural resource management, particularly in developing countries such as Tanzania. The literature within such framework is still underdeveloped.

Key words: trust, collaborative natural resource management, network

Resisting BINGO-Sponsored Conservation Tanzania: Community Response to AWF-Supported Conservation Projects in Babati and Longido Districts

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Abstract

In Tanzania, big international conservation NGOs (BINGOs) play a significant role in shaping and facilitating environmental interventions. They also have a major role in the promotion of “participatory” management of wildlife, forestry and other resources. In wildlife management organisations such as AWF and WWF have been active in shaping the wildlife management policy and legislation, as well as promoting Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) on village lands. These environmental interventions are normally accompanied by restrictions which result in resistance by the communities who bear the cost of conservation. There are cases where communities have vehemently resisted the restrictions related to the creation of WMAs on their village lands, in spite of some benefits that have been promised by the promoters of WMAs. In this paper I discuss two cases of AWF’s role in fast-tracking the creation of WMAs, and the resulting community resistance in Babati and Longido districts.

Key words: Environmental governance; African Wildlife Foundation; Conservation; Resistance; Tanzania

Unpacking benefit sharing in collaborative forestry: The political ecology of Joint Forest Management in Tanzania

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Abstract

One of the key drivers for evolution of people-centred approach to forest management has been the call for adjacent communities to benefit from the resource management. However, the benefits that communities do get under collaborative forestry have been very contentious, and highly influenced by political economy of forest-society interactions that have been narrowly studied and documented. This paper draws perspectives from political ecology and theory of access to determine how power relations and competing interests influence benefit sharing amongst the actors involved, drawing on a case study of Nou forest reserve, a forest under collaborative forestry. A qualitative methodological approach is used where narrative interviews, expert interviews, in-depth interviews, oral stories and focus group discussions build discourse on how benefits shared amongst the actors are shaped by existing power dimensions and competing pursuits over forest resources. Conversation, narrative and critical discourse analyses are employed to reveal the meaning of messages and expressions contained in the built discourse. Results reveal that state actors, village leaders, influential villagers and local politicians hold more powers over forest resources and benefits than the majority of villagers. Informant interviews, oral stories and focus group discussions further indicate that such powers have made it easier for those actors to fulfil their interests at the expense of the majority. The paper concludes that benefit sharing in Nou forest is very much shaped by political economy of forest-society relations. These relations led to the emergence of few powerful actors and winners at the expense of the majority of community members, which allowed these powerful actors to create losers at their own backyard.

Keywords: political ecology, joint forest management, resource access, power relations, Babati

WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT AND THE PLIGHT FOR PASTORALISTS IN TANZANIA: A Case Of Wildlife Management Areas

By Valentin Ngorisa Olyang'iri⁸ and Godfrey Massay⁹

Abstract

In the recent years Tanzania has experienced mushrooming of Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) along conservation and protected areas. This has caused loss of grazing lands and water points for pastoralist communities which live along such areas. The result is that pastoralists have been evicted from such areas in the name of conservation without proper compensation or alternative grazing land.

Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) are established with the view of creating an opportunity for the community surrounding the national parks, and game reserved areas to benefit from the resources found in such areas. Prior to this initiative local communities were not benefiting from wildlife resources while at the same time poaching of animals and conflicts between local communities and conservation authorities were the order of the day. At the moment there are 16 pilot WMAs in Tanzania which are mostly found around pastoralists inhabited areas hence causing competing livelihood and conservation interests.

This paper will analyze theoretical legal framework governing WMAs in Tanzania by showing both the strengths and weaknesses of the current legal regime. The paper will argue that pastoralists are at losing end due to several reasons including the gaps in the legal framework and the hostility between the law and the practice. Using the best cases of WMAs the paper will propose the policy options to rescue the situation and argue for the change in practices for the current legal framework to archive its intended objectives.

Keywords: Wildlife management areas, Pastoralists, and policy

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Land ownership as a human right: "We have seen the light and we cannot go back into the dark again."

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Key words: Maasai, women's empowerment, land privatization

This paper discusses the gendered dynamics of land privatization in Maasai communities in northern Tanzania. Large development organizations (and smaller NGOs that depend on them for funding) have been supporting the neoliberal ideal of privatization of land ownership as an essential part of development. This process is complex and sometimes contested, notably in areas where land has been traditionally managed communally. Some suggest women may be disproportionately bearing the brunt of recent rural land grabs, as women are highly dependent on land yet have a distinctive lack of rights to land. Thus, efforts are being made across Maasai communities to educate women about how land ownership may empower them. However, there has been less focus on the potentially pivotal and empowered role women may play in the collective action of communities to keep their land communally. We present data from a five-year longitudinal and comparative study of Maasai communities in Monduli and Longido districts that complicates the gender and land question. We show that women are increasingly active in seeking land and land titles, notably after receiving adult education through NGO sponsored women's groups and in many cases women are at the forefront of a struggle to secure land in their communities. Our research highlights that Maasai women are making clear links between land, empowerment and human rights. They are starting to view owning land, both individually and as groups, as a means to access their rights and to secure the economic future for themselves and their children. Women also see owning land as a means to rectify past incongruities in land ownership and land alienation, and to keep land within the community. This gendered aspect of land privatization puts a complex spin on current debates surrounding land in Maasai communities.

Green Hills of Africa: Findings from a Norwegian REDD+ Project in Tanzania

Hanne Svarstad^{1,2}, Jumanne M. Abdallah³, Tor A. Benjaminsen⁴, Faustin Maganga⁵

Under its International Climate and Forest Initiative, Norway has since 2008 financed nine REDD+

pilot projects in Tanzania. These projects are facilitated by NGOs over a period of 3-5 years. The

paper looks into one of the pilot projects, which aims at generating income from carbon credits. The

facilitating NGO and the Norwegian government present the project through a narrative in line with

a multi-win discourse involving climate change mitigation, nature conservation and benefits for local

communities. This paper is based on repeated field visits and discusses outcomes of the project for

the involved villages.

Key words: REDD, Tanzania, Norway.

Poverty and ecosystem Impacts of payment for wildlife conservation initiatives in Africa: Tanzania's wildlife Management Areas (PIMA)

Homewood KM, Msuha M, Olila J, Keane A, Burgess N and Lund, JF

Rural people across the global south are caught between competing land demands for large-scale cultivation, global conservation, and local needs. These can in theory be integrated locally through community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) and payments for ecosystem services (PES): where communities can decide on and benefit directly from natural resources, they may invest in and manage those resources in ways that are more socially and environmentally sustainable. CBNRM/PES initiatives are being rolled out across the global south, but there are conflicting views as to how well they work, for whom and under what circumstances. As well as being limited by generally weak research design, studies to date have often failed to account for the ways political sensitivities around changing access to and use of ecosystem services may compromise data quality and mask differentiated impacts.

PIMA seizes a unique policy moment, with Tanzania's nationwide implementation of CBNRM/PES-based Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs). The WMAs comprise different ecosystems (rangeland, miombo), socio-political structures (long-established/ethnically uniform vs recent, heterogeneous constituent villages), and a broad range of ecosystem services (water-regulating and -supplying, provision of forest products, grazing, livestock, crop and wildlife production, cultural services both local and global (from locally significant social and ritual spaces, to heritage and tourism)). PIMA combines analysis of remotely-sensed data, governance, and qualitatively and quantitatively rigorous, differentiated survey of livelihoods and resource use histories, structured within a before/after, control/impact (BACI) research design. PIMA brings together an international research team with Tanzanian state and civil society organizations.

Building on ongoing stakeholder engagement, PIMA findings will be of use locally, nationally and internationally. PIMA's framework and approach create channels for grassroots users to make changes in poverty and wellbeing more clearly heard by policymakers and practitioners. Establishing what works, why and for whom will be of use not only to the one million rural people directly affected by WMAs, but to the many millions more whose livelihoods and wellbeing are to be shaped by comparable CBNRM/PES initiatives, through creating better upward and downward accountability. PIMA findings will be of use locally to rural people making collective and individual

resource use decisions, through national levels, to international donors deciding how to invest scarce resources for ecosystem services and poverty alleviation.

The Ultimate Expansion: The commodification of nature and democratization as (neo) liberalization of forest governance in Africa.

Authors: Manali Baruah, Melis Ece, James Murombedzi

Paper Proposal:

This paper interrogates the theoretical and material underpinnings of the commodification of nature in Africa, expressed in the form of land and natural resource expropriation and privatization of tenure. The process is facilitated by the hegemonic imposition of political conditionality of 'good governance' *inter alia*. We argue that this neo-liberalization is achieved in part through notions of procedural democracy. We contend that commodification, coupled with the democratization project, contribute towards the imperative to create in Africa patterns of transformation similar to those that characterized the transition to modernity in Europe. The paper explores the governance impacts of the on-going commodification of African forests through the imposition of new governance regimes via global interventions such as Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD+) and situates the African state's collaboration in this expansionist project in the context of coloniality.

We use empirical evidence from the Responsive Forest Governance Initiative's (RFGI) Africa wide research. We show that REDD+, forest carbon or payment for ecosystem services (PES) initiatives tend to be implemented through NGOs or civil society organizations (CSOs) rather than democratically elected authorities on the basis of their 'technical' capacities, 'proximity' to the concerned communities and mobilization power. The capacity of NGOs and CSOs to represent community needs and interests is rarely a basis for selecting them as implementing partners for REDD+ or similar projects. This is part of the pluralizing and depoliticizing strategies of neo-liberalism. Through select case studies, we show the scope of natural resource decentralization in Africa, located in the democratization logic of neo-liberalism, and evaluate its implications for democratization.

Key words: *democracy, neo-liberalization, REDD+*

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Discussion of Nature Inc.

Bram Buscher
Rob Fletcher
Wolfram Dressler

Round table discussion of the edited collection.
Possibly with opportunities to purchase nature Inc commodities afterwards

Green economy discourses in Africa

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Keywords: Green economy discourses, Africa, policy

Abstract: Global interest in the concept of the 'green economy' has heightened since 2008, however most discussions fail to distinguish between very different versions of the discourse, and its different political implications. This article argues that there are four major discourses within the overall green economy framework, and these focus respectively on mitigation, growth, transformation and revolution. Moreover, most research on the green economy tends to focus on European and North American countries. In the context of a changing global economy and the 'rise of the South' (UNDP, 2013) the politics of the green economy in sub-Saharan Africa is of increasing importance. This paper takes the South African enthusiasm for green jobs, climate change targets and taxes, and renewable energy investments as a starting point to explore the politics of the green economy discourse: what do these rhetorical commitments and policy initiatives mean for regional political economies? It also uses the green economy framework as a means to explore South Africa's evolving relationship with the rest of the continent: as norm entrepreneur, investor, and regional hegemon. Green economy discourses in South Africa are contrasted with others in Ethiopia, Kenya, Mozambique, Botswana and Tanzania. This highlights the different ways in which the green economy discourses have been interpreted, shaped and translated in Africa, and contrasts some of the varied political effects of these discourses: including as carbon colonialism, 'land grabs', infrastructure investment, bioprospecting, natural resource governance, ecotourism and transboundary conservation areas.

Greening the Extractive Economy: CSR and mining from Canadian pressures to African impacts

Tomas Frederiksen, Institute of Development Policy and Management, University of Manchester

Recent years have seen an important shift in the international governance pressures on the extractive sector. Having a credible and comprehensive CSR programme that demonstrates that mining companies can manage the risk and complexity of their operations effectively is becoming a de facto requirement for access to finance. In turn, some companies have adopted elaborate CSR strategies which appear to move beyond former 'public relations' approaches. These changing norms and practices have potentially far-reaching consequences. With many sub-Saharan African countries resting their hopes for economic development on the extractive sector, and investment in the African extractive sector expanding, the changing practices of mining companies affect the lives of millions of Africans. The limited capacity of African governments to regulate the activities of international mining companies means that global norms and voluntary corporate social responsibility initiatives fill, however partially, an important regulatory gap. This paper presents early findings from research on the global governance and development impacts of changing corporate social responsibility (CSR) practice in the extractive sector; specifically, relationships between emerging international governance regimes, mining companies and multi-faceted community development CSR programmes in Africa.

Land Based Investments for Forests in Tanzania: Green Growth or Greenwashing?

Mette Fog Olwig, Christine Noe, Richard Kangalawe and Emmanuel Luoga

The growth in land acquisitions is partially being attributed to the need for mitigation measures in the face of climate change. As a result, many initiatives have been focused on land-based investments concentrated on biofuel production as a means to alleviate the global fuel crisis and reducing carbon dioxide emissions. In Tanzania, however, biofuel projects are being significantly downscaled, partly because few initiatives have been successful economically, and partly because of international criticism of using potential food resources for fuel. Investor focus is instead shifting to forestry plantations. These plantations are being established through reforestation as well as afforestation, and on lands that are perceived and presented as idle. Being framed as a means of furthering a global common good of a healthy environment, the land acquisitions are often supported globally, sometimes even financially through e.g. World Bank funding. Using an empirical approach, and emphasizing local perceptions, this study investigates the growing trend in Tanzania of investing in land in order to establish forest plantations. We will argue that these forest plantations, and the supposed economic and environmental benefits they accrue, may come at the expense of the future livelihood, land and food security of the local populations. This paper will thereby question the common wisdom of trees being “green”, “idle” land being waste and global investments being beneficial locally.

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Keywords: Carbon forestry, land acquisitions, idle land.

Green politics, food security and sovereignty in Tanzania

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Issues of the global food crises have brought a number of responses in development, access to food, poverty and power relations between the South and North, peasants and elites and with corporate regimes in agribusiness, forestry and eco/bio-energy production. Rather than averting insecurities, these relations have further fuelled the current speculative large-scale land investments and acquisitions as investors seek to exploit new market opportunities for food and cash crops, eco/bio-energy production along with forestland for carbon sequestration. This paper is based on a study to examine the socio-economic and environmental impacts of changes from smallholder to large-scale land holdings. We use the literature on food security and sovereignty and experiences from the southern highlands of Tanzania to argue that improving food security is seen as a global priority to be addressed urgently in developing countries. Yet foreign land acquisition and investments in Africa already seem to directly interfere with the right of the rural poor to feed themselves and it forecloses the lands taken for landless who can make alternative, and potentially better, use of the resources. In many parts of Tanzania trees are emerging as a dominant feature of village agricultural landscapes. This may have considerable future impacts on food security especially since much land is already being taken up for large-scale tree plantations. Using a case study of Mufindi district we demonstrate how the increasing trend of forest plantations that are mainly owned by private companies, central government and individuals, and where large-scale land acquisitions and/or transfers have taken, and are taking place, within the context of the global 'land grab', have potentially affected food production, food security and general livelihoods of the local populations and compromising their sovereignty to land.

Keywords: Land acquisitions, food security, forest plantations.

In the Shell of the Old: Creative Responses to the Neoliberal Crisis

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Notwithstanding growing enthusiastic promotion of the Green Economy around the world, the neoliberal capitalist system in which Green Economy initiatives are grounded has become increasingly unstable in recent years, as evidenced by the continued economic crisis and the growing failure of market mechanisms (i.e., carbon markets, bioprospecting) to demonstrate substantial environmental gains. This failure has forced actors in a wide range of contexts to begin developing creative environmental and social justice initiatives in the growing cracks in the neoliberal order. Building on the “diverse economies” perspective developed by J.K. Gibson-Graham, this paper seeks to conceptualize the “diverse” or “community ecologies” by means of which a variety of state and non-state actors are producing, in the shadows of the dominant economic order, alternative projects and ways of thinking that challenge the neoliberal logic at the heart of mainstream Green Economy development. This analysis is illustrated through discussion of my ongoing field research in Costa Rica, where diverse ecologies collide under the influence of the continued economic crisis, the growing urgency of anthropogenic climate change, and the emerging Green Economy framework.

Keywords: diverse economies, neoliberalism, Costa Rica

Green Economy: Securing a future for tourism?

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This paper explores the contradictions between the tourism industry's aspirations for future growth in the Green Economy and the concerns of NGOs and academics regarding the actual potentials of industry benefits and efficiency claims.

Tourism is considered an important strategy for development in the South. But tourism is also a major contributor to climate change. With emissions forecast to grow substantially in the coming decades and no technological solution to reduce emissions in sight, a low carbon future appears difficult to achieve for tourism. This paper argues that in this context, industry representatives employ a number of arguments that reflect Green Economy ideas in an attempt to protect the tourism industry from regulatory limitations.

Debates in global environmental governance literature provide the framework for a thematic analysis that reviewed stakeholder documents and 21 semi-structured interviews with representatives from tour operators, industry associations, NGOs and academia. From this analysis, different strategies of framing tourism and climate change emerged. The focus of this paper is on two framing strategies that are central to Green Economy ideas and practices: the role of industry for development and poverty alleviation and the potentials of technology in improving resource efficiency.

The analysis of these framings revealed two discursive clusters, one comprised of industry representatives and one comprised of representatives from NGOs and academia. Their contradictory framings of tourism's potential for development and poverty alleviation and the differently perceived possibilities for emissions reductions give an indication that Green Economy ideas are evaluated subjectively. The contradictions furthermore reveal that in the case of tourism ideas of Green Economy are employed as framing strategies to protect existing consumption patterns of the North.

Keywords: global environmental governance, climate change, tourism

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Non-outcomes in climate governance

This paper will explore the practice of mainstreaming development in climate finance following Foucauldian insights on the roles of knowledge and power in public policy processes, using the short history of the emerging Green Climate Fund as a case study. The paper will argue that the current influence achieved by international advocacy and civil society groups is found lacking in relation to the influence of international business and the private sector. But this is not merely derivative of an inequality in lobbying resources, it is more that key outcomes are successfully stalled by powerful states until a technical fix which favours business interests can be negotiated. When civil society claims an agenda decisions are stalled or postponed. If a balance of power is achieved, a new 'window' is opened in order to sidestep and relocate corporate influence in a new institutional entity. Overall the compliance and emasculation of climate justice groups is maintained by conditionality, where funding is only released in the event of corporate capture. This paper explores the technical language and devices which align 'rational' outcomes with effective non outcomes.

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Beyond State and Markets: Solidarity Economies and Ecologies for Environmental Care

Neera Singh

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Key words: Payments for Ecosystem Services; Gift; Solidarity Economy

Usually policy options for checking environmental degradation are presented as a choice between ‘punishing polluters’ or ‘paying providers’. There is now plenty of research that shows that people do not calculate the utility of ecosystem services only in economic terms, but their choices and behavior are driven by issues of identity, conception of the self and by pro-social beliefs and preferences. In view of this, some ecological economists now recognize the need to take into account reciprocity, relationality and ecological identity in the valuation of ecosystem services and design of institutions for environmental governance, and call for expanding the repertoire of policy options. This paper builds on the critique of utilitarian framing of human nature and the nature of environmental problems that underpins the ‘payments for ecosystem services’ paradigm and calls for attention beyond state and markets to other associations and forms of economic relations beyond contract-based equivalent exchanges. Beyond critique, the paper explores reconceptualization of environmental-care labor and human-environment relations using ideas of gift, reciprocity and solidarity. Using the case of forest conservation by rural communities in Odisha, India, I discuss how the ‘gift of environmental care’ is expressed in Odishan villages and examine how the notion of a gift can be used to rethink human ways of relating to nature and for sharing burden and joy of environmental care in more respectful and empowering ways. The idea of the gift is invoked in multiple ways: nature as a gift inviting a stance of gratitude, respect and empathy; environmental care labor of local people as a gift; and the affective capacities of human (and non-human) bodies as gifts that need to be nurtured. The paper draws from the growing literature and community practices under the labels of human economy, solidarity economy and diverse community economies to explore alternate transitions to healthy ecologies and economies.

Conservation for Carbon or Communities? Swedish Climate and Community Forestry Initiatives in Uganda and Tanzania.

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Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) allows rich countries to buy carbon dioxide emission rights through contributing to emission reductions in poorer countries. Sweden has around 40 CDM projects, some of which have the purpose of conserving/replanting forest in Africa. CDM projects aim to contribute to sustainable development in the target countries, but research on previous projects with reforestation/conservation aims in Africa has shown that degradation often has been assumed and connected to local practices without empirical proof, with negative outcomes for local people. The tendency to talk about degradation without demanding scientific proof of its existence fuels an “African degradation narrative” that is unhelpful in locating and dealing with real problems. There are also other well established ways to conserve forest jointly with local communities, such as Community Based Forest Management (CBFM), which usually have as a main aim to benefit local livelihoods. The underlying most basic motivation for the projects, to sequester carbon on the one hand and to benefit local communities on the other, thus seems to have an impact on project outcomes.

In this project, we study a CDM project in Uganda and a CBFM project in Tanzania, both financed by Sweden. The projects have similar stated aims of conserving forest and benefiting local livelihoods, but pilot studies suggest that the differing underlying basic motivations of the projects as well as differing assumptions about causes of degradation and the importance of local livelihoods lead to different outcomes. Project ideas and their local effects are studied through discourse- and livelihoods analysis.

Public and Not for Profit Organisation Partnership in Protected Area Management in Malawi: Moving Towards Self-Financing through Tourism Development?

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to critically examine the performance of Not for Profit Organisations in the management of protected areas under Government ownership and to assess the contribution of tourism to biodiversity conservation in such protected areas. Majete Wildlife Reserve, currently under a Public and Not for Profit Organisation Governance Model, is used as a case study. Majete Wildlife Reserve is the first protected area under public – private partnership in Malawi with management responsibility under, a Not for Profit Organisation.

Underfunding, understaffing, and vulnerability to human impacts have been some of the major factors affecting protected areas' ability to effectively contribute to biodiversity conservation in Malawi. Due to decreasing government funding, publicly managed protected areas have suffered the most environmental degradation, habitat loss and poaching. For example in Majete Wildlife Reserve, elephants were poached to extinction by the mid 1980's and by 2003; the reserve was almost devoid of wildlife. The declining government funding and inefficiencies associated with direct government provision of goods and services, has led to a shift away from government dominance in protected area management in most countries.

Malawi has not been left behind in this shift as it seeks to involve other players in the management, ownership and financing of protected areas. The Public and Not for Profit Organisation Governance Model, was adopted for Majete Wildlife Reserve in 2003 with the aim of achieving effective conservation of biodiversity. Under this model, Majete Wildlife Reserve has witnessed the re-introduction of over 2550 animals and construction of conservation and tourism infrastructure. From zero tourists in 2003, the reserve received 5, 934 paying tourists in 2012, generating US\$229, 000 which is almost 23% of its annual operational budget. There are 19 Community Based Organisations around the reserve through which management interfaces with the local communities. Community participation mainly focuses in the sharing of benefits and not in decision making.

Keywords: Protected area management, tourism development, Malawi

Local Communities, Conservation and Tourism Development in Protected Areas: Can Spontaneous and Meaningful Community Participation be achieved in Least Developed Countries?

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to provide a critical conceptual and empirical analysis on the concept of community participation in relation to tourism planning associated with protected areas in Least Developed Countries (LDCs). The participatory development approach involving bottom – up planning process has been developed and advocated primarily by scholars writing on western developed countries. As such the concept has been refined in a context that mainly suits the prevailing socio-political and economic conditions in the developed world. Though the implementation of public participation in tourism planning is faced with several shortcomings in LDCs, most development projects now claim to adopt a participatory approach regardless of the level of participation achieved.

The study was carried in two protected areas in Malawi under two different governance models; one under Public management and the other under the public and non-profit private combination model. The shortcomings of community participation in tourism planning include: elite domination; centralised planning; fragmented planning process; incomprehensible tourism data for local people, apathy; lack of qualified personnel and lack of appropriate legal and regulatory systems. The peripheral location of protected areas, rural poverty, high population density, wildlife – human conflicts and the history behind the establishment of most protected areas in Malawi exacerbates the challenges faced when involving local communities in tourism planning.

Local community participation in tourism can at least be in two ways: in the decision making process and in sharing of tourism benefits. Many tourism planning documents in LDCs include the need for local involvement in tourism and much of academic literature on public participation in tourism planning discusses the concept in its broadest sense without indicating the levels of community participation being achieved. The paper identifies the levels of participation being achieved and suggests possible steps that can be taken in LDCs to ensure spontaneous and meaningful community participation.

Keywords: Protected areas, tourism planning, community participation

Beyond State and Markets: Solidarity Economies and Ecologies for Environmental Care

Neera Singh

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Key words: Payments for Ecosystem Services; Gift; Solidarity Economy

Usually policy options for checking environmental degradation are presented as a choice between ‘punishing polluters’ or ‘paying providers’. There is now plenty of research that shows that people do not calculate the utility of ecosystem services only in economic terms, but their choices and behavior are driven by issues of identity, conception of the self and by pro-social beliefs and preferences. In view of this, some ecological economists now recognize the need to take into account reciprocity, relationality and ecological identity in the valuation of ecosystem services and design of institutions for environmental governance, and call for expanding the repertoire of policy options. This paper builds on the critique of utilitarian framing of human nature and the nature of environmental problems that underpins the ‘payments for ecosystem services’ paradigm and calls for attention beyond state and markets to other associations and forms of economic relations beyond contract-based equivalent exchanges. Beyond critique, the paper explores reconceptualization of environmental-care labor and human-environment relations using ideas of gift, reciprocity and solidarity. Using the case of forest conservation by rural communities in Odisha, India, I discuss how the ‘gift of environmental care’ is expressed in Odishan villages and examine how the notion of a gift can be used to rethink human ways of relating to nature and for sharing burden and joy of environmental care in more respectful and empowering ways. The idea of the gift is invoked in multiple ways: nature as a gift inviting a stance of gratitude, respect and empathy; environmental care labor of local people as a gift; and the affective capacities of human (and non-human) bodies as gifts that need to be nurtured. The paper draws from the growing literature and community practices under the labels of human economy, solidarity economy and diverse community economies to explore alternate transitions to healthy ecologies and economies.

Representation in REDD: NGOs and Chiefs over Elected Local Government

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Abstract

The Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation with the added goals of Conserving and Enhancing Forest Carbon Stocks, and Sustainably Managing Forests (REDD+) is being considered as part of the mix of solutions to the global climate change crises. The United Nations Collaborative Programme on Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation in Developing Countries (UN-REDD) is presently funding REDD+ readiness initiatives in developing countries. The UN-REDD states that it is committed to strengthen local democratic processes to help safeguard local people's interests in REDD+. This paper therefore examines the representation of local people's interests in the UN-REDD. It does this through a study of local representation within the UN-REDD policy board, and during the local consultative participatory process that vetted the design of the UN-REDD funded Nigeria-REDD programme. The study finds that representation of local interests in the UN-REDD policy board is through non-governmental organizations (NGOs). It also finds that representation of local interests during the design of Nigeria-REDD were through select community members, chiefs and NGOs. Elected local government representatives are excluded from both the UN-REDD policy board and the participatory design process of Nigeria-REDD. In essence, substantive elected representatives of local people are excluded in the UN-REDD in favor of the inclusion of symbolic and of descriptive representatives. By so doing, the UN-REDD missed an opportunity to stand up for its stated commitment to strengthen local democratic processes.

Keywords: Representation, UN-REDD, Nigeria

Protected Areas, Ecotourism And The Expansion Of Neoliberal Capitalism In 'Peripheral' Europe

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Abstract:

The study of European Protected Areas reveals a long-term relation between conservation policies and the expansion of neoliberal capitalism and shows the key role that ideas and practices linked to the Green Economy have played in this. The establishment of new Protected Areas in the last quarter of a century has paralleled the promotion of new economic practices, mainly ecotourism. This has introduced land-use changes not only informed by environmentalist concerns but also by EU macroeconomic interests, which aim to promote the growth of a service economy within marginal, 'peripheral' areas, replacing customary farming and fishing practices whose reliance on subsidies makes them clearly deficient within a globalised economy. This paper reflects on the technologies of governance used in this process with a focus on the comparative examination of different Protected Areas in Spain and Ireland; two countries that in this sense have followed parallel histories. My examination is driven by an interest in knowing more about the complex and multi-level agencies and instruments behind a system of incentives designed to alter people livings in economically marginal areas, now turned into Protected Areas, so that they become not only environmentally concerned but also materially and symbolically engaged with new activities that are fully integrated within a globalised, neoliberal economy. By emphasizing centre-periphery relations in the European context my aim is both to generate discussions on the economic drivers and political instruments and procedures behind the expansion of the Green Economy as well as to contribute to the study of this phenomenon in the Global South by rendering it further complexity through insights from 'peripheral' regions in the North.

Key words:

Protected Areas, Ecotourism, 'Peripheral' Europe.

Understanding social implications of land sale from rural women's perspective: The case of western Maharashtra (India)

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In rural India life continues to revolve around land. Land is important not only as an economic resource but also as a marker of social and cultural identity. It may also be a vehicle to attain political power.

Escalating real estate price has tempted the rural landholders in western Maharashtra to sell off either part or entire land and shift to non-agricultural livelihoods options whenever possible. One can observe varied consequences of the influx of money earned through the land sale in the social, cultural and political spheres of a rural society.

The present paper focuses on understanding how women in a rapidly changing rural society view their relationship with land in the context of increasing incidence of land sale and migration. It is based on the doctoral fieldwork undertaken in Maval tehsil in western Maharashtra, India. This tehsil is located in between the major cities of Pune & Mumbai and has a high incidence of land sale and migration.

The traditional notion of land being 'mother' and something that cannot be sold is rapidly eroding with the mounting land prices. Though the women in rural families rarely have any say in the decision making regarding migrating to cities or selling of the land, they often have to bear the brunt of these decisions. As rural society in the vicinity of major cities is undergoing rapid socio-economic and cultural changes, it is important to understand how the women view these changes and the impact on their lives as a result of them.

Indigenous ecology in Southern African crime novels

As crime novels, in general, use themes of public interest, more and more African crime novels now turn to environmentalism as one of their selected themes. It is noteworthy that this happens in a genre which often has the city, the urban environment as its main setting.

While issues of pre-colonial, post-colonial and indigenous environmentalism in general literature have become of interest to researchers, little attention has been given to the same theme in contemporary crime fiction. In this paper focus will be put on Anglophone Southern African crime fiction (Jassy Mackenzie, *Worst Case*, Deon Meyer, *Blood Safari* and *Trackers* in particular, Michael Stanley, *Death of the Mantis*, Lauren Beukes' 2010 SF *noir* entitled *Zoo City*, Mike Nicol¹⁰, *Out to score*, *Payback* and *Killer country*, etc.). Various literary tropes such as that of ecological disaster, the contentious nature of issues surrounding land-ownership, environmental policymaking, the distribution of natural resources, and the founding of a sense of self in relation to place are represented in the African crime novel.

Even though crime fiction is still largely considered as paraliterature, pulp' fiction and associated with low-brow escapism, the paper seeks to show that postcolonial ecocritics also focus on the literary reconstruction and representation of postcolonial environments. It will also try to answer the question as to what extent African literature is a form of resistance against current environmental degradation in Africa caused by global capitalism and multi-national corporations' exploitation of natural resources in Africa. This paper draws on the field of eco-criticism, most notably the work of post-colonial eco-critic, Anthony Vital, South African eco-critic, Julia Martin, and the eco-philosophy of Giles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, as put forward in *A Thousand Plateaus*.

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¹⁰ Mike Nicol has also written an essay (*A Good-Looking Corpse*, 1991) other texts on South African fauna and ecology.

Enhancing Knowledge On Climate Change And Green Agriculture At Local Level Using Storytelling

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ABSTRACT

Green economy is increasingly gaining momentum in the development discussions in view of its potential on economic growth and poverty reduction. At local level, green agriculture is one possible route that local communities can play a noticeable role in green economy. However, agriculture is facing challenges from climate change making local communities more vulnerable. Knowledge on how green agriculture can contribute in addressing climate change is therefore needed at local level. Information and Knowledge management in agriculture and climate change initiatives at local levels requires effective communication. The question of who facilitates local level information and knowledge management process and using which communication techniques is critical and the environment has to be made possible for the knowledge sharing to take place. Local level actors have the responsibilities of facilitating knowledge management to their communities. This paper examines how storytelling can enable local actors to access and disseminate climate change and green agriculture information at their levels. The paper is based on an ongoing study being undertaken to examine the role of storytelling in enabling access to climate change information by users in the Eastern Arc Mountain Forest Ecosystem of Tanzania where climate change, agriculture and water-related initiatives are taking place. Information about the basics of climate change and linkages with water, agriculture and health was presented in conventional and storytelling modes. Participants, comprising of councilors and technical officers, were allowed to read two sets of documents and then asked to give preference of presentation modes. The findings showed that 79% of women preferred storytelling against 21% who preferred conventional presentation. Corresponding proportions for men were 65% and 35% respectively. Overall, 68% of all participants preferred storytelling for community use, against 32% for convention presentations. It can thus be concluded that at the local level storytelling is the most preferred mode of presentation of climate change information. This has development implication particularly regarding packaging and presentation of climate change and green agriculture information to be used at local levels.

The Impact of Power Structures on Green Economy Investments. How Structural Power Relations Challenge Sustainable Development Efforts in the Global South

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According to the myth of vast idle land and resources worth protecting, (private) investors are increasingly invited either for green commercialization or nature conservation purposes. Simultaneously, incidents of green washing, land grabbing, displacement, and conflicts over new resource tenure systems occur. Hence the question arises, what undermines the inclusive equity approach of the green economy concept and instead contributes to market-driven unsustainable investments?

The paper scrutinizes the impact of power relations and develops a typology of stakeholder relations by applying Bas Arts' threefold approach of distinguishing discursive, decisional and regulatory power. Moreover, the neo-Gramscian theory plays a pivotal role to reveal historic power disparities. Key findings show the necessity to differentiate two types of actor relations affecting the sustainability and equity policy of green economy projects. At first, on the *state-society level* the degree of community participation and general access to power mechanisms are crucial. Additionally, post-colonial developments and ethnic or religious discrimination determine which communities benefit from green economy investments and who remains excluded from socio-economic prosperity. Secondly, on the *state-economy level* the power constellation between investors and governments need to be considered. Apart from historically rooted disparities between the Global North and the South the global constellation slightly diversifies. Southern investors from emerging countries increasingly enter the market of green economy. Thus, not only alternative commercial relationships but also new power relations evolve.

The paper findings demonstrate the policy relevance of reflecting structural power disparities within a society as well as in the context of government-investor relationships. Approaching them might be a first step towards genuine eco-friendly green economy investments contributing to poverty reduction and ensuring regional stability.

