



# Climate Governance in an Unequal World

Prakash Kashwan, Ph.D.  
University of Connecticut

The African Climate Talks II (ACT!-II)

UConn

# Outline of the Talk

- Governance
- Three key elements of REDD+ governance
- Explaining comparative differences in REDD+ outcomes
- The impact of political and income inequalities
- Implications for policy and scholarship

# Governance or 'Management'

- Governance: From Leviathan to Laissez faire
- Governance is not same as 'management'
- Determination of the goals/objectives of governance is a 'political' question
- Governance: Political; Management ('technical')
- Eight Elements of Good Governance (Governance Pro):  
Participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive, and follows the rule of law.

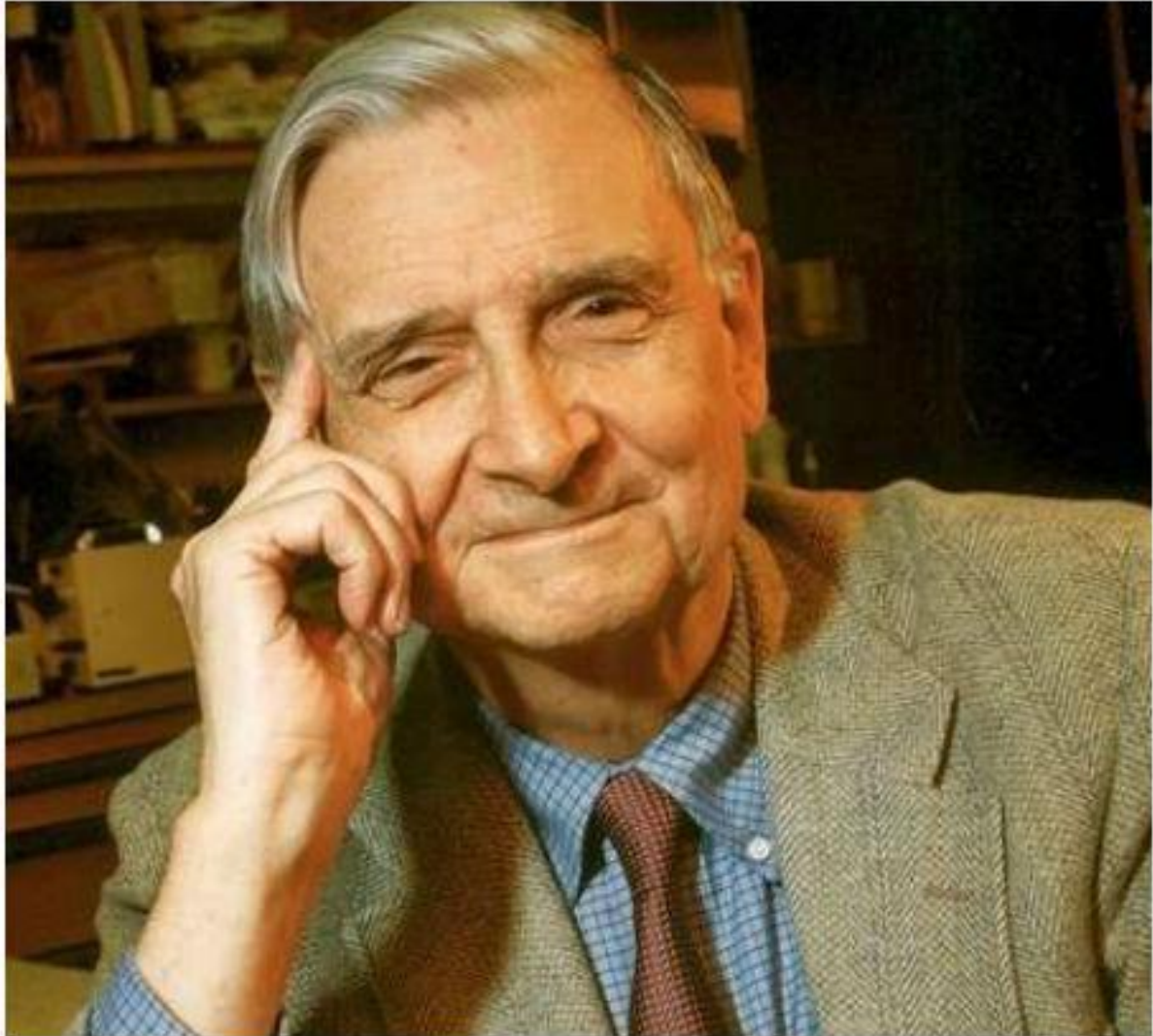
# HALF- EARTH



*Our Planet's  
Fight for Life*

EDWARD O.  
WILSON

WINNER OF THE PULITZER PRIZE





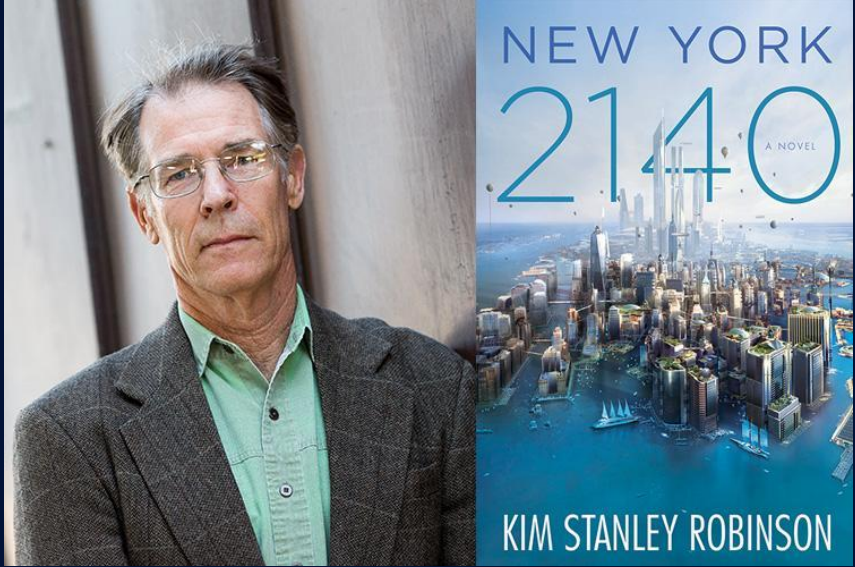


**The Guardian Opinions**

**Empty half the Earth of its humans. It's the only way to save the planet | Kim Stanley Robinson**

There are now twice as many people as 50 years ago. But, as EO Wilson has argued, they can all survive – in cities

THEGUARDIAN.COM



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## Protecting nature in an unequal world

By Prakash Kashwan\* Democracies can do better than to give into the mirage of “Wilsonian Enclosures”, which envision half of the planet or more in nature reserves. The excessive focus o...

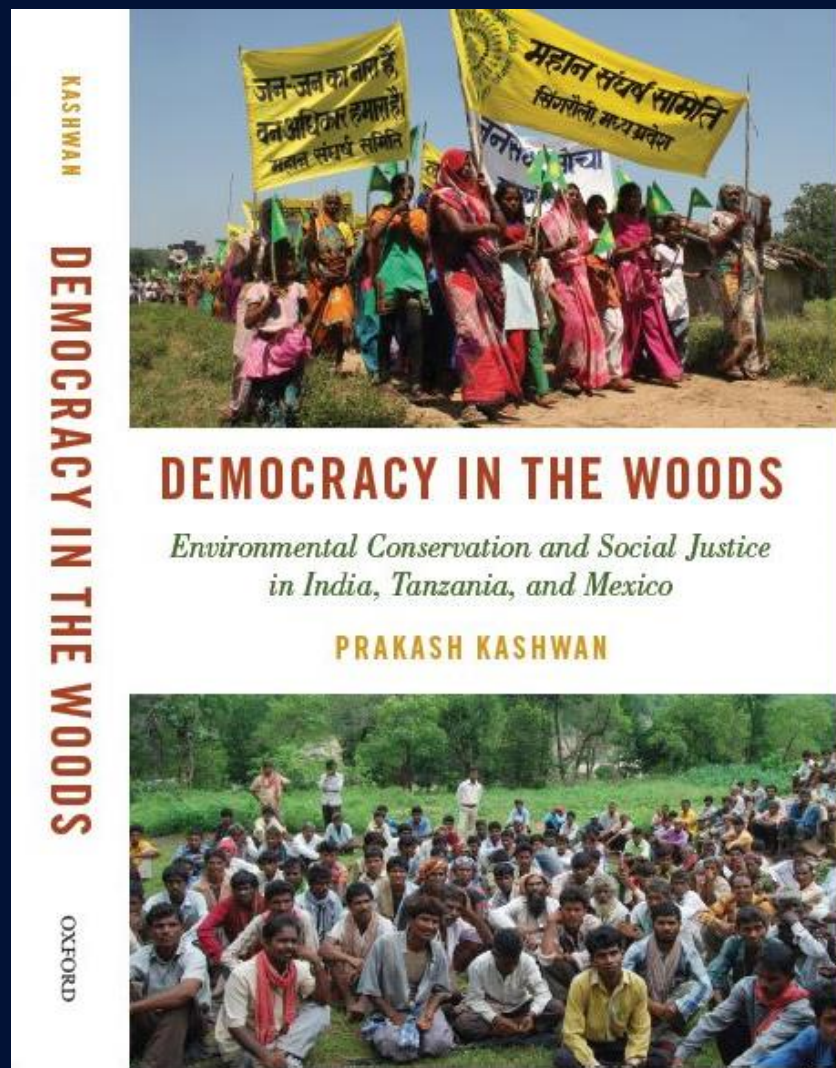
[ENTITLEBLOG.ORG](http://ENTITLEBLOG.ORG)

**ONN**



# Political Mediation of Competing Goals & Strategies

- How do societies negotiate difficult trade offs?
- What explains the differences across regions and countries?



# Background: Fund → Market → Fund

- Brazilian proposal: Maximum tolerable emission levels for Annex B + a 'compulsory contribution' to a 'clean development fund'; Vetoed by the US delegation
- 'Flexible financing instrument' and a 'trading system' → REDD
- REDD → REDD+
- R.I.P. The Chicago Climate Exchange (CCX) (2003 – 2010)
- Welcome: Carbon Cowboys & Land Grabs



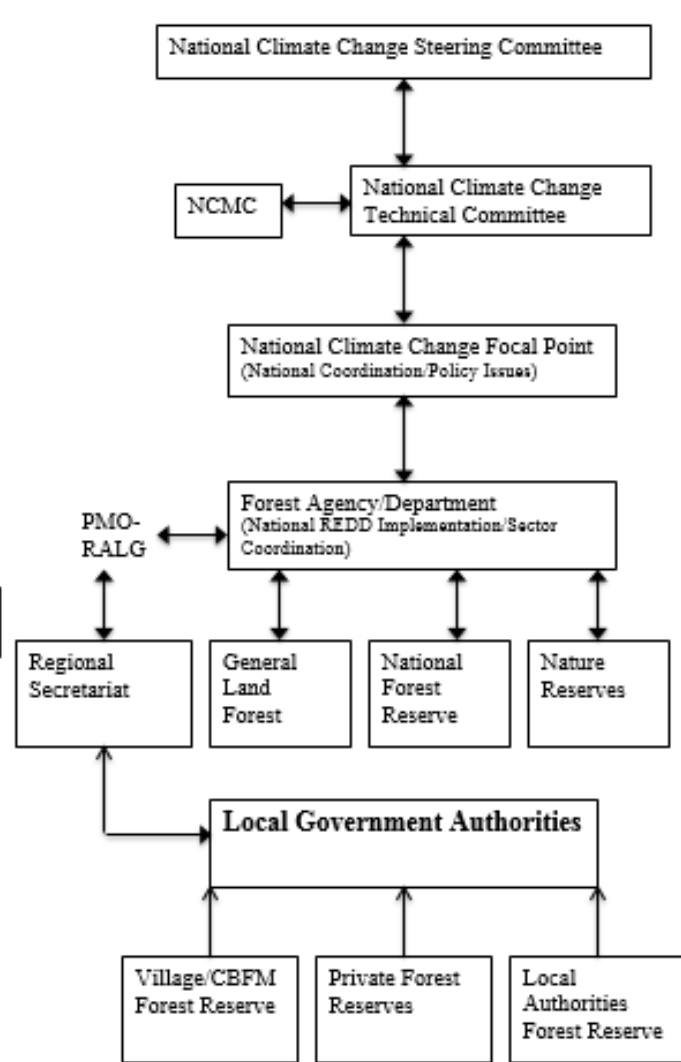
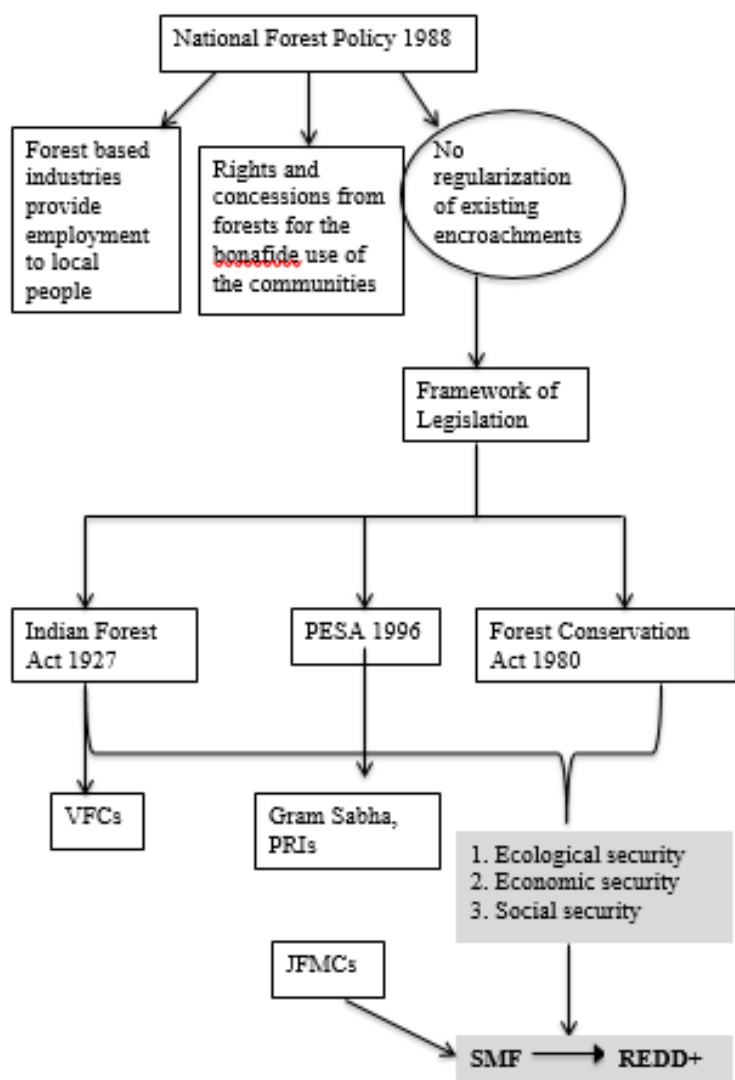


# REDD+ Governance I: Tenure Security

- What role does tenure play?
- Imagine an experiment:
- Three countries, each with two sets of tenures (secure, less-secure)
- Market-based REDD+ related funding on offer
- Which type of tenure would you link REDD+ to?

**Table 2****Key Forest Tenure Laws in Case Study Countries**

	<i>Legal Framework/ Statutes</i>	<i>Who Holds Land Rights?</i>	<i>What Types of Community Rights Are Recognized?</i>	<i>Strength of Community Rights</i>
<b>India</b>	Indian Forest Act 1927; Forest Conservation Act 1980; Joint Forest Management circular 1990	State forestry departments/ Ministry of Environment and Forests (MoEF)	Limited to harvesting of firewood and collection of fodder in limited quantities.	<b>Very weak</b>
	Forest Rights Act 2006	Village general assemblies (Over forests & land brought within the purview of the FRA).	Rights to manage community forests, and to harvest and market non-timber forest produce; timber rights unclear.	<b>Strong</b>
<b>Tanzania</b>	Land Act 1999; The Forest Act 2002; Wildlife Policy 2007	The state—"Unoccupied and unused village land" considered "general land," which is under the authority of the central government represented by FBD; the 2002 act provides for creation of village land forest reserves.	Very few rights unless village boundaries are registered and delineated, which is uncommon; no rights within the boundaries of national parks and reserves.	<b>Weak</b>
	Village Land Act 1999	Village councils—"Unoccupied and unused" village lands vested in village councils.	Significantly strong rights under community-based forest management (CBFM); Practically difficult because of the red tape.	<b>Strong</b>
<b>Mexico</b>	Agrarian Law of 1992	Members of agrarian communities	Rights of timber harvesting with appropriate management plans & safeguards.	<b>Strong</b>
	General Law on Sustainable Forest Development of 2012	Members of agrarian communities	All of the above plus forest rights of the tenants	<b>Strong</b>





# Village Land Use Plans in Tanzania

- Village land use plans: legacy of the villagization era
- WMAs, CBFM: Significant authority & powers to village councils
- “Privatization” of VLUPs: “REDD+ LUP; biofuel LUP; Conservation LUP → Creating fictitious “village forests.”
- “Communities in Tanzania have clear legal rights, what they lack, in the Tanzanian political context, is sufficient forms of power and leverage to enforce and capitalize upon those rights”

# REDD+ Governance II: Policies for Sharing REDD+ Benefits



**Table 3**

## National Benefit-Sharing Arrangements

<i>Country National Climate Change Program</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>REDD+ Benefit- Sharing Provisions</i>	<i>Additional Provisions Listed Under "Safeguards"</i>	<i>Land Tenure Regime that Informs Benefit-Sharing/ Safeguards</i>	<i>Strength of Tenure Regime (Strong/ Weak)<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>Level of Ambiguity (High/ Low)</i>
India National Action Plan on Climate Change (NAPCC)	Executive Order	"To encourage and incentivize local communities for their role in conservation by transferring the financial benefits accrued on account of REDD+ ... based on their performance" (MoEF 2014)	"Safeguarding existing traditional rights of local communities... Fair and transparent accounting and disbursement of benefits and REDD+ incentives" (MoEF 2014, 6)	Refers most frequently to JFM. Safeguards: The progressive Forest Rights of 2006.	Weak	High
Tanzania National REDD+ Strategy	Executive Order	"Provision of sufficient incentives/compensation to motivate stakeholders" (URT 2013a).	"..ensure environmental safeguards and possible impacts on the environment as well as livelihoods and rights of communities" (URT 2013, p.53).	The Land Act of 1999; Draft National REDD+ Strategy classifies village land as state forestland.	Weak	High



**Table 3**

## National Benefit-Sharing Arrangements

Country National Climate Change Program	Type	REDD+ Benefit- Sharing Provisions	Additional Provisions Listed Under "Safeguards"	Land Tenure Regime that Informs Benefit-Sharing/ Safeguards	Strength of Tenure Regime (Strong/ Weak) <sup>1</sup>	Level of Ambiguity (High/ Low)
Mexico Climate Change Law 2012	Law	<p>"...the property rights relating to...carbon lie with the legal owners of land (e.g. <i>ejidos</i>, communities, indigenous groups, individuals, firms)... activities that generate more social benefits and support rural sustainable development" (Balderas Torres and Skutsch 2014, p.7 citing the National REDD+ Strategy 2012)</p>	<p>Safeguards to respect "gender considerations and guaranteeing the <i>certainty over property rights and economic competitiveness</i>" (Balderas Torres and Skutsch 2014, p.7 citing the National REDD+ Strategy 2012)</p>	<p>Combines the progressive aspects of Agrarian Law of 1992 and the General Law on Sustainable Forest Development 2002 (amended in 2012).</p>	Strong	Low <sup>2</sup>

# REDD+ Governance III: Safeguards



The image is a screenshot of the Merriam-Webster website. At the top, there is a navigation bar with links for 'JOIN MWU', 'GAMES', 'BROWSE THESAURUS', 'WORD OF THE DAY', 'VIDEO', and 'WORDS AT PLAY'. The Merriam-Webster logo is on the left, with the text 'SINCE 1828' next to it. Below the navigation bar, there are two tabs: 'DICTIONARY' (which is selected) and 'THESAURUS'. The main content area displays the word 'safeguard' in a large font, with a red speaker icon to its right. Below the word, the part of speech 'noun' is listed, followed by hyphenated forms 'safe-guard' and the phonetic transcription '\ 'sāf- .gärd\''. Underneath, the section 'Definition of SAFEGUARD' is shown, with a date 'dated on: 19 Mar 2018'. Two numbered definitions are provided: Definition 1 includes 'PASS, SAFE-CONDUCT' and 'CONVOY, ESCORT'; Definition 2 includes 'a precautionary measure, stipulation, or device' and 'a technical contrivance to prevent accident'.

Merriam-Webster SINCE 1828

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DICTIONARY | THESAURUS

<sup>1</sup> safeguard 

*noun* | safe-guard | \ 'sāf- .gärd\'

**Definition of SAFEGUARD** dated on: 19 Mar 2018

1 a : PASS, SAFE-CONDUCT  
b : CONVOY, ESCORT

2 a : a precautionary measure, stipulation, or device  
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## National Benefit-Sharing Arrangements

<i>Country</i>	<i>Change Program</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>REDD+ Benefit-Sharing Provisions</i>	<i>Additional Provisions Listed Under "Safeguards"</i>	<i>Land Tenure Regime that Informs Benefit-Sharing/ Safeguards</i>	<i>Strength of Tenure Regime (Strong/ Weak)<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>Level of Ambiguity (High/ Low)<sup>2</sup></i>
Mexico	Climate Change Law 2012	Law	"...the property rights relating to...carbon lie with the legal owners of land (e.g. <i>ejidos</i> , communities, indigenous groups, individuals, firms)... activities that generate more social benefits and support rural sustainable development" (Balderas Torres and Skutsch 2014, p.7 citing the National REDD+ Strategy 2012)	Safeguards to respect "gender considerations and guaranteeing the <i>certainty over property rights and economic competitiveness</i> " (Balderas Torres and Skutsch 2014, p.7 citing the National REDD+ Strategy 2012)	Combines the progressive aspects of Agrarian Law of 1992 and the General Law on Sustainable Forest Development 2002 (amended in 2012).	Strong	Low <sup>2</sup>



## **Rights abuse allegations in the context of REDD+ readiness and implementation**

### **A preliminary review and proposal for moving forward**

Juan Pablo Sarmiento Barletti and Anne M. Larson

#### **Key messages**

- This review reveals multiple allegations of abuses of the rights of Indigenous Peoples in the context of Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation (REDD+) readiness and implementation.
- Findings from the review should be transformed into opportunities for REDD+ to promote and strengthen the rights of Indigenous Peoples.
- A rights-based approach to REDD+ requires engagement with indigenous men and women as rights-holders, rather than as project beneficiaries.
- Parties should be pressed to investigate abuse allegations, enable access to justice, and develop grievance mechanisms within REDD+ processes.
- REDD+ risks exacerbating issues of unsecured rights and pre-existing conflicts over land in the contexts in which it is being readied and implemented, unless it is re-oriented to enhance the rights of Indigenous Peoples. Evidence suggests Indigenous Peoples' undefined tenure rights will negatively impact REDD+ targets.



OPINIÓN

A house at the edge of the Embobut forest. Image: Dean Puckett

# Carbon Colonialism: How the Fight Against Climate Change Is Displacing Africans

NA

NAFEEZ AHMED

Dec 1 2014, 9:30am

IN

# Secret report: biofuel caused food crisis

Internal World Bank study delivers blow to plant energy drive



A handful of corn before it is processed. Photograph: Charlie Neibergall/AP

Biofuels have forced global food prices up by 75% - far more than previously estimated - according to a confidential [World Bank](#) report obtained by the Guardian.

Facebook, Twitter, Email, and other social media icons.

Aditya Chakraborty

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Page last updated at 11:35 GMT, Wednesday, 4 June 2008 12:35 UK

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## Bioenergy: Fuelling the food crisis?

By Stephanie Holmes  
BBC News, Rome

The biofuel debate is electrifying the UN food price crisis summit in Rome, pitting nations against each other and risking transforming bioenergy - once hailed as the ultimate green fuel - into the villain of the piece, the root cause behind global food price spikes.

Biofuel uses the energy contained in organic matter - crops like sugarcane and corn - to produce ethanol, an alternative to fossil-based fuels like petrol.

But campaigners claim the heavily subsidised biofuel industry is fundamentally immoral, diverting land which should be producing food to fill human stomachs to produce fuel for car engines.

Food price rises have caused political unrest in 30 countries

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# World Bank and UN carbon offset scheme 'complicit' in genocidal land grabs - NGOs

Plight of Kenya's indigenous Sengwer shows carbon offsets are empowering corporate recolonisation of the South



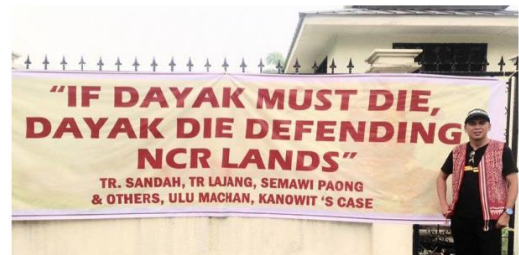
UN's REDD scheme promises carbon offsetting will empower local communities in the developing world while conserving forests - but critics say the scheme is fuelling genocidal evictions of indigenous people from their lands. Photograph: Tony Karumba/AFP

# 'Federal Court decision threatens to dispossess indigenous communities'

5 comments Sarawak Civil Societies Published 22 Dec 2016, 5:10 pm Updated 22 Dec 2016, 6:15 pm

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by Timothy A Wise Timothy A Wise is the Policy Research Director, Environment Institute, Tufts University, Medford.

OPINION 10 OCTOBER 2012

# US corn ethanol fuels food crisis in developing countries

The US ethanol programme pushed up corn prices by up to 21 per cent as it expanded to consume 40 per cent of the harvest

Read to me Share Tweet Comment Print

Record drought in the US farm belt this summer withered corn fields and parched hopes for a record US corn harvest, but US farmers may not be the ones most severely affected by the disaster. Most have insurance against crop failure. Not so the world's import-dependent developing countries, nor their poorest consumers. They are hurting.

This is the third food price spike in the last five years, and this time the finger is being pointed squarely at biofuels. More specifically, the loss of a quarter or more of the projected US corn harvest has prompted urgent calls for reform in that country's corn ethanol programme.



# Bigotry against indigenous people means we're missing a trick on climate change

Prakash Kashwan

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# What Explains these REDD+ Governance Outcomes?



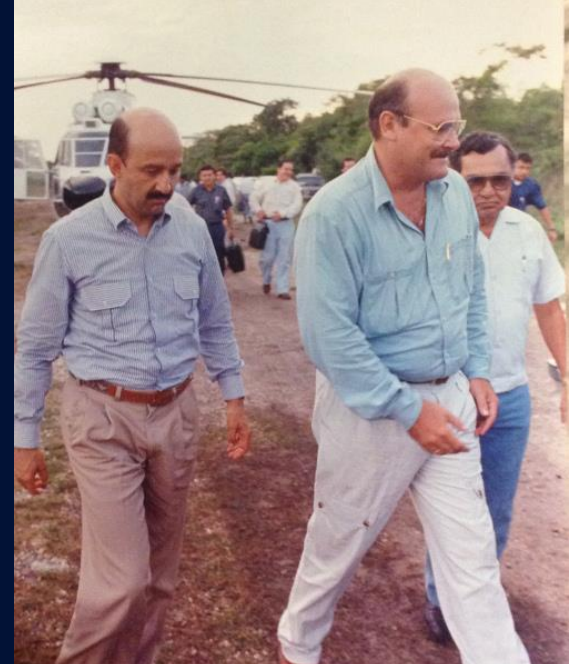
# Political Mediation of Environment—Development Relationship

DAILY NATION NEWS BUSINESS COUNTIES SPORTS BLOGS & OPINION LIFE AND STY

## Magufuli orders seizure and reallocation of undeveloped farms

WEDNESDAY JUNE 14 2017

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# Implications for Scholarship & Policy

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# Beyond Binaries and the Romance of Community



**ELINOR OSTROM**

2009 Nobel Laureate  
in Economic Sciences

Nobel medal © The Nobel Foundation

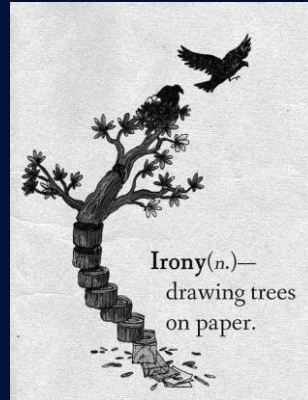


- Neither markets nor the state, but an intermeshing of state, markets, and societal initiatives
- Focus on political and economic power, processes, checks and balances

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# Conceptual Shifts: Forestland “Regimes”



**FORESTLAND REGIMES:** The configuration of actors, authorities, and institutions that regulate forest and land use, as well as “the formal and informal structure and nature of political power” in forested regions. (Kashwan 2017, 4. Citing Jayal 2001; Siaroff 2011)



# Climate governance Amidst Inequalities

- Climate governance is entangled with subnational political & economic inequalities.
- Subnational distributional concerns \* domestic institutional reforms  $\leftrightarrow$  climate governance
- Addressing domestic inequalities should be more *central* to scholarship & practice of climate governance
- Inequality drives unsustainability (via resource extraction, production, consumption)
- Inequalities undermine our ability to respond



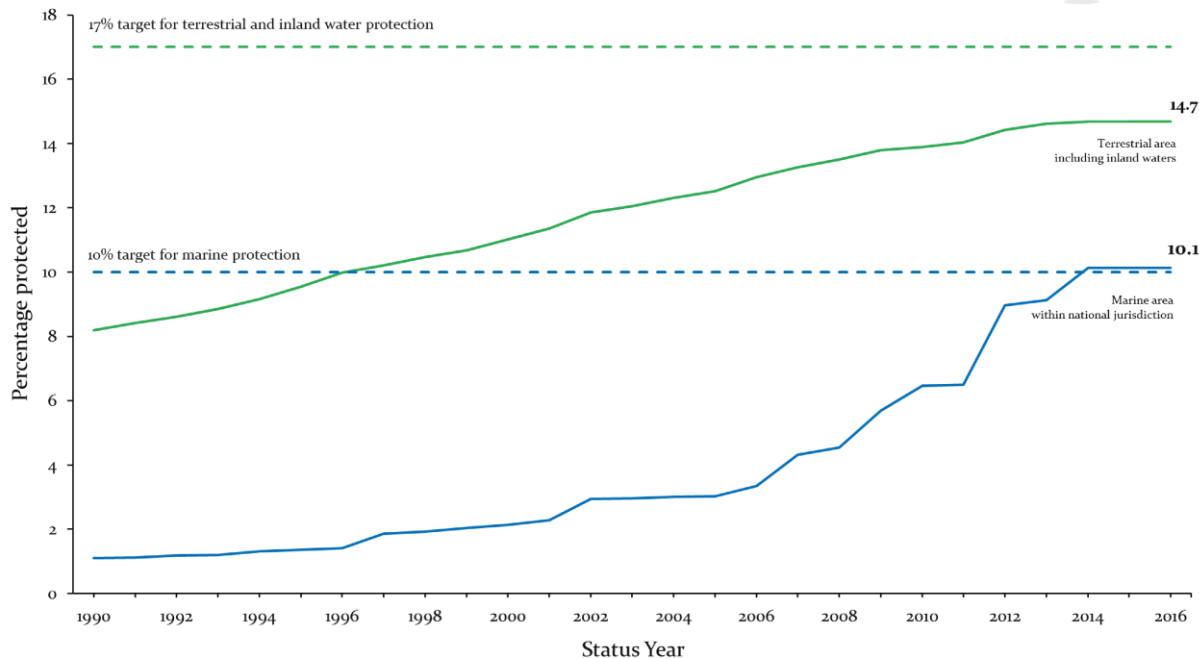
**Thank you for your attention**  
**[kashwan@gmail.com](mailto:kashwan@gmail.com)**





**A Puzzle: Why is Nature  
Conservation “Oversupplied”?**

# What do I Mean by “Oversupply” of Nature Conservation?





# Bonn Challenge crosses the 150 million hectare milestone

## Pakistan, Bangladesh, Mongolia and Sri Lanka

By Swati - May 10, 2017



Four countries have made restoration pledges to the Bonn Challenge – totaling 1.65 million hectares – at the first Asia Bonn Challenge High-level Roundtable in South Sumatra.

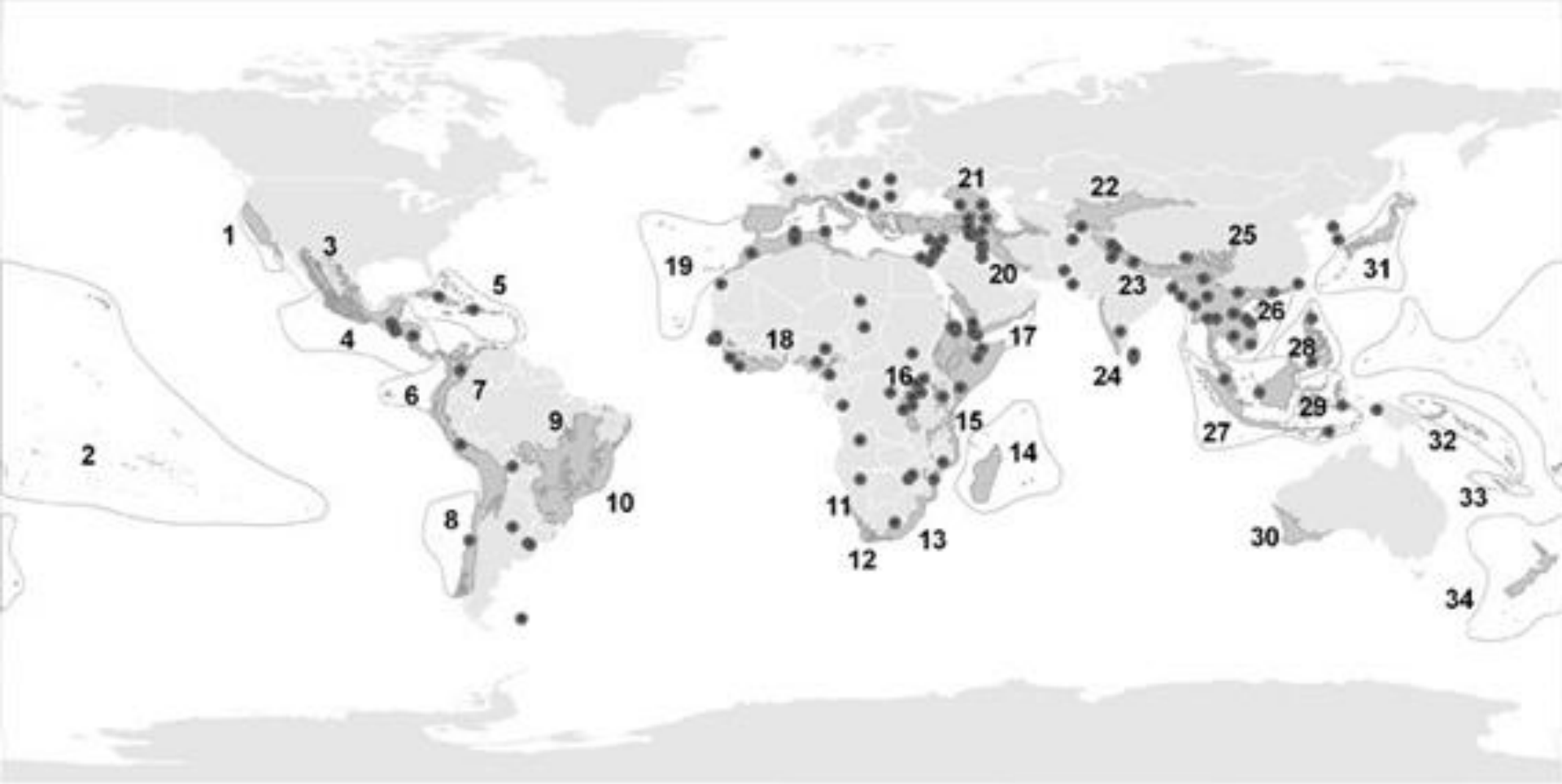
With today's announcements, Bonn Challenge commitments now total 150.03 million hectares, a major milestone for the global effort.

The new pledges include 0.75 million hectares by Bangladesh, 0.6 million hectares by Mongolia, 0.1 million hectares by Pakistan, and 0.2 million hectares by Sri Lanka.

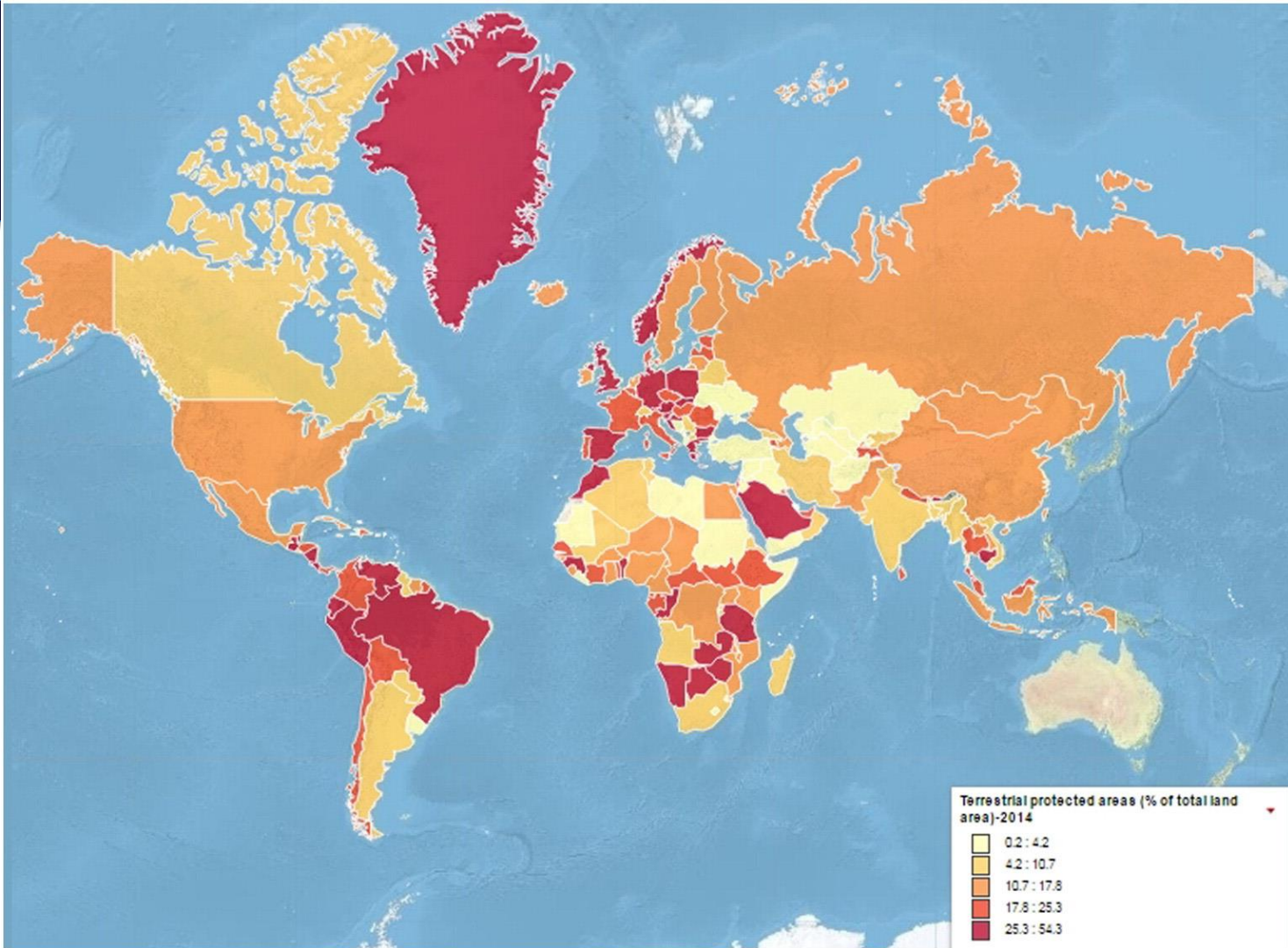


# Exceeding the targets

- 1992 World Commission on Protected Areas: Target 10 percent PAs
- 2010 Aichi target (Nagoya Japan): 17 percent
- 2011 Bonn Challenge (IUCN): Restore 150 mha by 2020
- 2014 New York Declaration on Forests: A new goal of restoring 350 million ha by 2030
- 2017 15% of the world's terrestrial areas are covered by protected areas.



Hanson et al. (2009). Warfare in Biodiversity Hotspots Guerra en Sitios de Importancia para la Biodiversidad. *Conservation Biology*, 23(3), 578-587. [Via. Mongabay.com](http://www.viamongabay.com)



**Table 4**

Percentage land protected 2012.

	(M1)	(M2)	(M3)	(M4)
Democracy		0.0609** (0.0262)	0.162*** (0.0385)	0.162*** (0.0384)
Income inequality		0.00937 (0.00967)	0.0532*** (0.0142)	0.0444*** (0.0152)
Democracy # income inequality			-0.00565*** (0.00200)	-0.00607** (0.00253)
GDP 2000	0.0000305* (0.0000168)	0.0000168 (0.0000294)	-0.00000211 (0.0000241)	0.0000123 (0.0000204)
GDP_sq. 2000	-2.90e-10 (2.10e-10)	-1.14e-10 (5.04e-10)	4.64e-11 (4.66e-10)	-1.62e-10 (4.58e-10)
Developed (Yes = 1; No = 0)	0.327 (0.219)	0.211 (0.324)	0.101 (0.273)	
Population density 2000	-0.000401 (0.000246)	-0.000214* (0.000115)	-0.000310* (0.000175)	-0.000261** (0.000129)
Urban population 2000	-0.00307 (0.00423)	-0.00417 (0.00540)		
Biodiversity index 2005	-0.00173 (0.00263)	-0.00379 (0.00272)		
Area under forests 2000	0.01000*** (0.00265)	0.0106*** (0.00343)		
EUROPE				0.0820 (0.186)
AFRICA				0.443** (0.215)
LATIN				0.483 (0.297)

**Table 5**

Percentage land protected 2012 - effects in the sub-samples of developed &amp; developing countries

	(M5)	(M6)	(M7)
Democracy	0.149*** (0.0449)	-0.198 (0.209)	0.131*** (0.0418)
Income inequality	0.0519*** (0.0153)	-0.0574 (0.171)	0.0498*** (0.0149)
Democracy # income inequality	-0.00488** (0.00245)	0.00132 (0.0162)	-0.00435* (0.00232)
GDP 2000	0.00000584 (0.0000225)	-0.0000633** (0.0000267)	-0.0000220 (0.0000443)
GDP_sq. 2000	1.51e-10 (3.45e-10)	1.04e-09*** (3.39e-10)	2.79e-09 (2.22e-09)
Population density 2000	-0.000434* (0.000237)	-0.000353 (0.000793)	-0.000861** (0.000371)
Developed (Yes = 1; No = 0)	7.363** (2.939)		
Dummy: developed countries = 1 # average FH Democracy Index 1995-2005	-0.626** (0.267)		
Dummy: developed countries = 1 # average Income Inequality 1995-2005	-0.196 (0.247)		
Dummy: developed countries = 1 # average FH Democracy Index 1995-2005 # average income inequality 1995-2005	0.0140 (0.0223)		
Constant	-3.026*** (0.304)	2.214 (2.111)	-2.876*** (0.333)
Observations	137	32 <sup>a</sup>	105 <sup>b</sup>
AIC	0.779179	1.119656	0.7099868
BIC	-614.9861	-88.74791	-452.6217

a - the developed countries' sub-sample; b - the developing countries' sub-sample.

Standard errors in parentheses.

\*  $p < 0.10$ \*\*  $p < 0.05$ \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .



Contents lists available at [ScienceDirect](#)

# Ecological Economics

journal homepage: [www.elsevier.com/locate/ecolecon](http://www.elsevier.com/locate/ecolecon)



## Analysis

### Inequality, democracy, and the environment: A cross-national analysis



Prakash Kashwan

*University of Connecticut, Storrs 365 Fairfield Way, Storrs, CT 06269, USA*

- Democracy has positive effects on the percentage of national territory under PAs.
- Democratic dividend undermined by increasing inequality within democracies.
- Countries with very poor democratic institutions and high inequality, especially the African countries, set aside large areas of land under PAs.



# Village Land Use Plans in Tanzania

- Village land use plans: legacy of the villagization era
- WMAs, CBFM: Significant authority & powers to village councils
- Peasants' forests and the King's game? Institutional divergence and convergence in Tanzania's forestry and wildlife sectors
- "Communities in Tanzania have clear legal rights, what they lack, in the Tanzanian political context, is sufficient forms of power and leverage to enforce and capitalize upon those rights"
- "Privatization" of VLUPs: "REDD+ LUP; biofuel LUP; Conservation LUP → Creating fictitious "village forests."

# Power asymmetries and institutions: landscape conservation in central India

Prakash Kashwan<sup>1</sup>

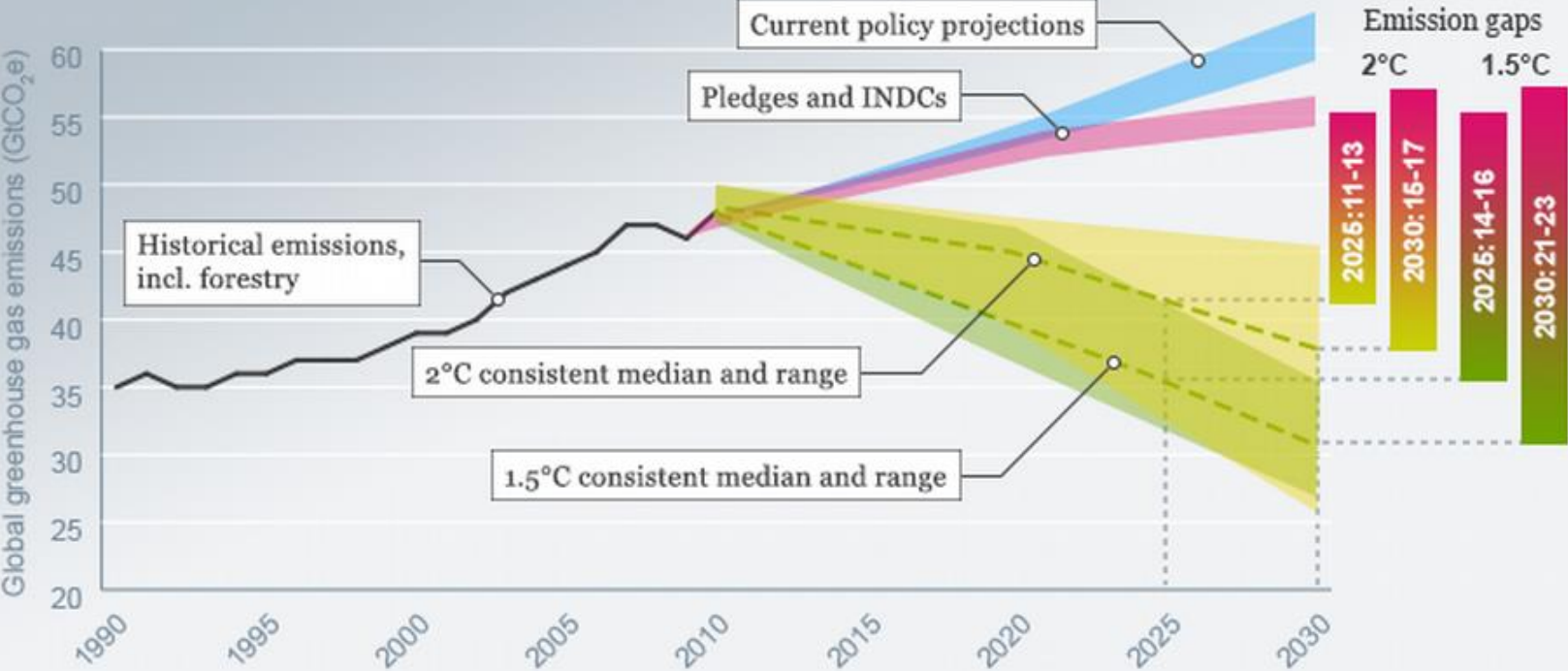


Tribal people from India's Kanha Tiger Reserve - home of the Jungle Book - have been illegally evicted in the name of "conservation." But tribal peoples are the best conservationists and guardians of the natural world. Help us stop further evictions.



Visit [www.survivalinternational.org/parks](http://www.survivalinternational.org/parks) for more information or to make a donation.

# Global greenhouse gas emissions



Source: climateactiontracker.org | 1 October 2015

© DW





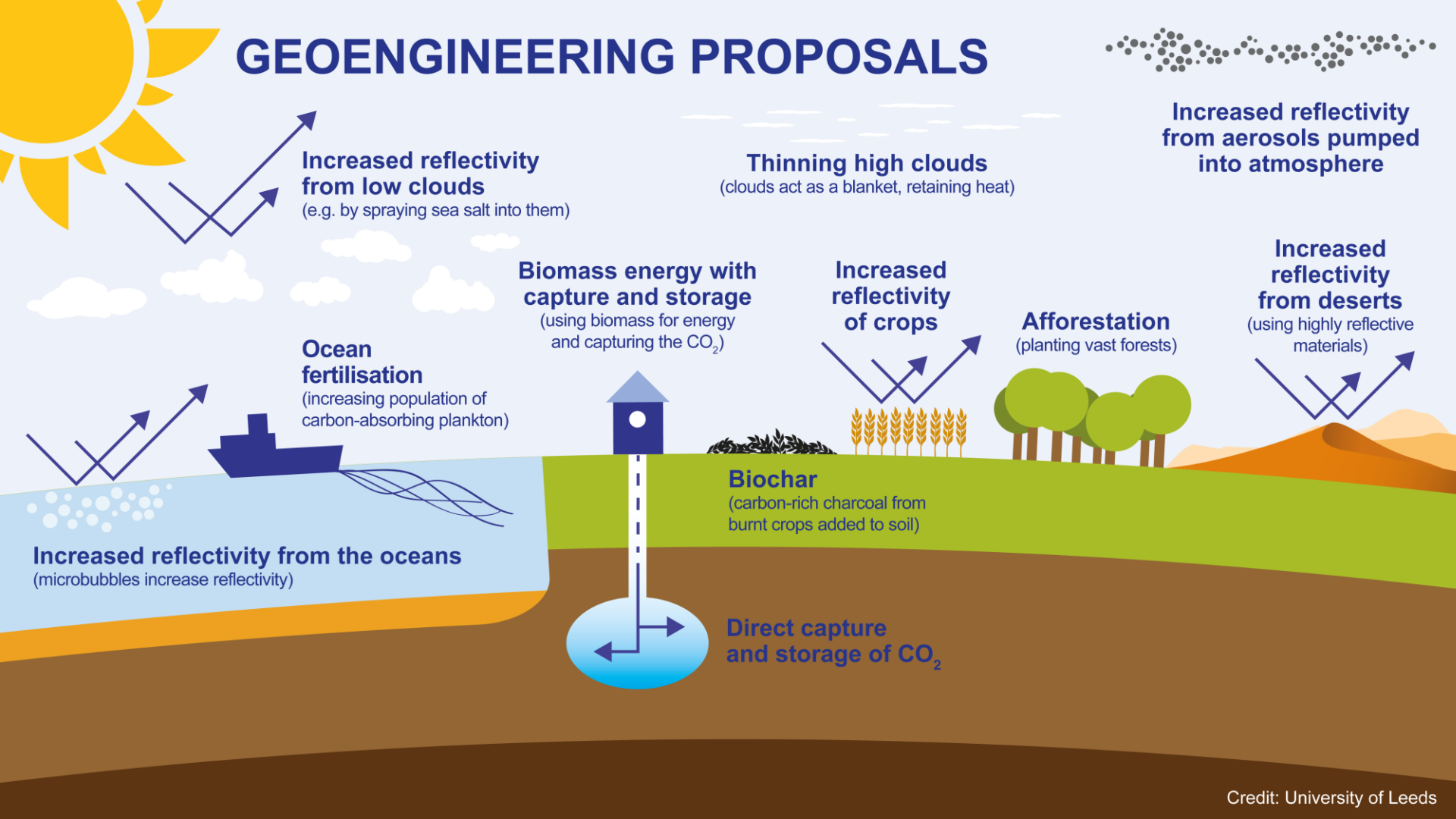


# Climate Engineering

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# GEOENGINEERING PROPOSALS



**Increased reflectivity from low clouds**  
(e.g. by spraying sea salt into them)

**Thinning high clouds**  
(clouds act as a blanket, retaining heat)

**Increased reflectivity from aerosols pumped into atmosphere**

**Ocean fertilisation**  
(increasing population of carbon-absorbing plankton)

**Biomass energy with capture and storage**  
(using biomass for energy and capturing the CO<sub>2</sub>)

**Increased reflectivity of crops**

**Afforestation**  
(planting vast forests)

**Increased reflectivity from deserts**  
(using highly reflective materials)

**Increased reflectivity from the oceans**  
(microbubbles increase reflectivity)

**Biochar**  
(carbon-rich charcoal from burnt crops added to soil)

**Direct capture and storage of CO<sub>2</sub>**



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sFmsl7KrZn8>

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# Snowmobiles versus Bison in Yellowstone

*635 Million Acres of Politics  
The Battle for Public Lands*



The New York Times

February 17, 2005



Laura Rauch/Associated Press

Gale A. Norton, the interior secretary, completed a three-day tour Wednesday through Yellowstone National Park on a snowmobile.



# Beavers Are Mysteriously Back in Britain—but Not Entirely Welcome



The government is concerned about the return of a destructive animal thought extinct.

By **Christopher Werth**, for [National Geographic](#)

PUBLISHED AUGUST 6, 2014

The minister for natural resources in Wales, [John Griffiths](#), who oversees such decisions, declined a request for an interview. That's perhaps because beavers can be a political minefield in Britain. While polls like the one in Scotland reveal general support for beaver reintroduction, farmers often abhor the idea, and they're an important voting block, particularly in Wales where agriculture remains a key component of the economy.

"Over 90 percent of the farmers and landowners have signed a petition against having any beavers on the river," said Gareth Daniels, a tall, 62-year-old sheep and cattle farmer who owns 190 acres along the Rheidol. His family goes back several generations in the river valley, which saw intense flooding in 2012, and he worries beaver dams would only exacerbate the problem.





## Cheetah will run again in India

© 29 July 2010 | [South Asia](#)



The cheetah, eradicated in India by hunting nearly a century ago, will run again in the country, as three sites are earmarked for its reintroduction.

The government has approved wildlife groups' recommendations of two sanctuaries in Madhya Pradesh and an area in Rajasthan as potential homes.



The vast majority of the 10,000 cheetahs left in the world are in Africa

## India approves plans to reintroduce cheetah

Eighteen cheetahs to be imported from Iran, Namibia and South Africa more than 60 years after the species was hunted to extinction



NEWS / AFRICA

## Eviction of Maasai from Serengeti sparks controversy

1 DAY AGO

Tanzania's government says it's relocating the Maasai tribe in order to protect its national parks. Locals say the eviction is to make way for a Dubai-based hunting company.






# Kaziranga: The park that shoots people to protect rhinos

By Justin Rowlatt  
South Asia correspondent

**BBC**

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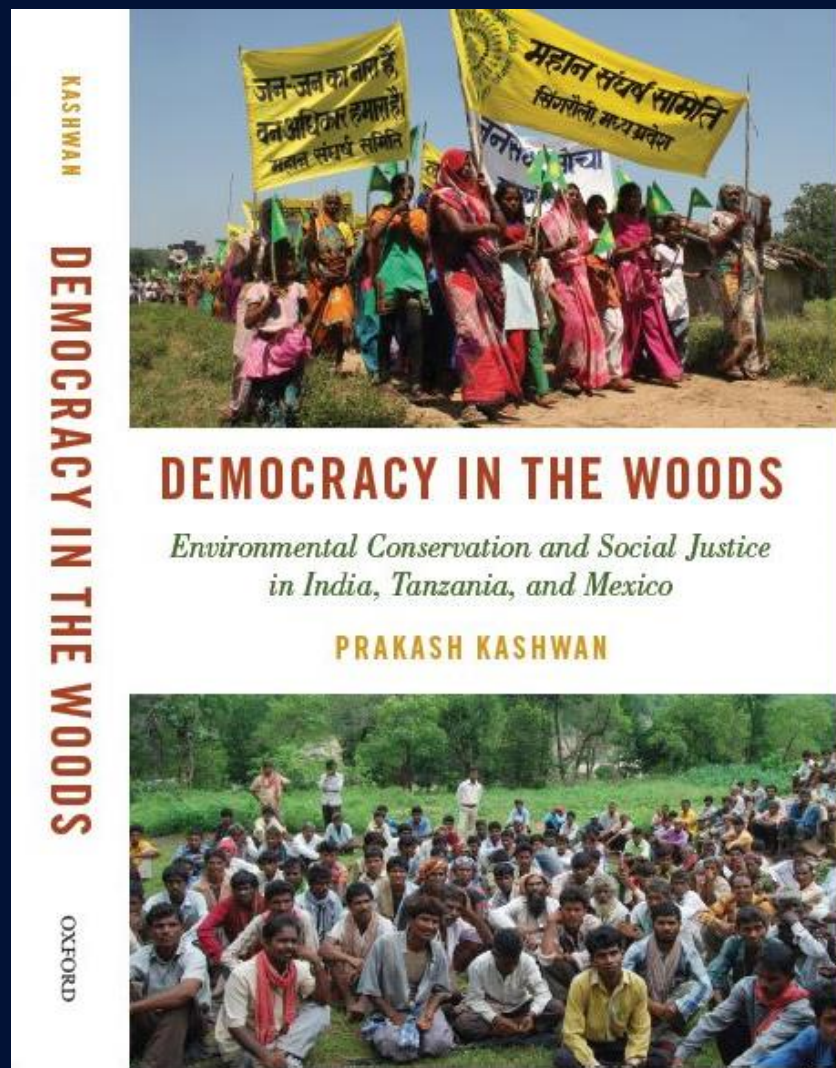


**UCONN**



# Political Mediation of PRs

- How do societies negotiate the apparently competing agendas of environmental protection and social justice?
- Why do some countries perform much better than others on this front?
- History\*Post-colonial development\*Contemporary politics of the environment
- **The mechanisms of political intermediation**



**Table 1.2** STRUCTURE OF THE ARGUMENTS

Divergences	Colonial Legacy		Postcolonial		Party-Constituent Links		Divergences in the Outcomes of Institution Reforms		Policy Divergences		
Key dimensions of forestland regimes	Forestry administration	Forestry agencies' territorial authority	Effects of national development on forestland regimes	Status of land reform in forested regions	Nature of corporatist arrangements	Bargaining power of peasant groups	Legal recognition of land rights	The nature of peasant engagement	Inter-bureau checks and balances	Participation of forest-dependent groups	Benefit -sharing arrangements in REDD+
India	Unified	Strong	Centralized	Not pursued	Fragmented and unorganized; Controlled by regional elites	Medium	Yes, but opposed by forestry agencies	Significant but defensive	Nonexistent	Very low	Tactically framed, but aggressive equivocation
Tanzania	Fragmented	Weak	Centralized	Weak	Unified with few grassroots organizations; strongly controlled by top party leaders.	Weak	Yes, but practically discouraged by the state	Weak; reforms expensive and undermined by red tape	Some	Medium	Equivocation
Mexico	Nonexistent	Nonexistent	Decentralized/ Devolved	Extensive	Extensive with numerous grassroots organizations; elite capture, but checked because of inter-elite competition	Strong	Yes, implemented effectively	Extensive and confident engagement	Significant	High	Unequivocal recognition of carbon rights