

DISCOURSE AND MEDIA ANALYSIS: EXAMPLE FROM REDD+ RESEARCH



'THE ARGUMENTATIVE TURN' IN POLICY ANALYSIS

Investigates the role of discourse in policy processes (Hajer 1993, Hajer and Versteeg 2005)

Hajer and Versteeg (2005 p.176), define discourse as: "an ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categories through which meaning is given to social and physical phenomena, and which is produced and reproduced through an identifiable set of practices."



EXAMPLE FOR DISCOURSE ANALYSIS IN ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS

Planting Trees to Mitigate Climate Change: Contested Discourses of Ecological Modernization, Green Governmentality and Civic Environmentalism (Baeckstrand and Loevbrand 2006)

Identified 3 main discourses in analysis of afforestation/reforestation policy arena:

- Ecological Modernization: compatibility of economic growth and environmental protection; win win with markets; weak WM focuses on cost effectiveness → a 'better' BAU with more markets
- Green Governmentality: science legitimizes technocratic policy solutions; depoliticized environmental problems; global governance; reflexive GG acknowledges local knowledge → better science and global conscious GOV changes BAU
- **Civic Environmentalism**: skeptical to win win rhetoric, highlights trade-offs, participation; "democratic efficiency" storyline; a) reformist CE supports cooperation between state, markets and civil society including public-private partnerships → **lets participate in talk about change** b) radical CE warns of green rhetoric due to

HELSING POYLED PIEST OF MINISTER STATES TO BE MORE eco-centric -> fundamental change for better environment

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FOREST AND ADAPTATION IN MALI

Home / All Titles / International Forestry Review / Jun 2011 / pg(s) 123-135

International Forestry Review

Published by: Commonwealth Forestry Association

« previous article : next article »

International Forestry Review 13(2):123-135. 2011 https://doi.org/10.1505/146554811797406606

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Is Adaptation to Climate Change Gender Neutral? Lessons from Communities Dependent on Livestock and Forests in Northern Mali

L'adaptation au changement climatique est -elle asexuée? Leçons en provenance de communautés dépendant du bétail et des forêts dans le Mali du Nord

¿Es la adaptación al cambio climático neutral en cuanto al género? Lecciones aprendidas de comunidades dependientes del ganado y el bosque en el norte de Mali.

H. Djoudi and M. Brockhaus



June 2013, Volume 13, <u>Issue 3</u>, pp 493–508 | <u>Cite as</u>

Once there was a lake: vulnerability to environmer changes in northern Mali

Authors

Authors and affiliations

Houria Djoudi 🔄 , Maria Brockhaus, Bruno Locatelli

Open Access Original Article First Online: 06 November 2011





Forest replaced a lake and related livelihoods

Men, women and youth/ of different cultural backgrounds have different strategies (and) obstacles) to adapt...

Institutional stickiness, who has access ... but new opportunities for different groups



Environmental Science & Policy Volume 25, January 2013, Pages 94-106



Envisioning the future and learning from the past: Adapting to a changing environment in northern Mali

Maria Brockhaus ^a $\stackrel{\boxtimes}{\sim}$ M. Houria Djoudi ^a $\stackrel{\boxtimes}{\sim}$ Bruno Locatelli ^{a, b} $\stackrel{\boxtimes}{\simeq}$

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POWER IS MISSED IN RESEARCH ON GENDER

AND CLIMATE CHANGE

Who's voice matters? Who's ideas count?



December 2016, Volume 45, Supplement 3, pp 248–262 | Cite as

Beyond dichotomies: Gender and intersecting inequalities in climate change studies

Authors Authors and affiliations

Houria Djoudi 🗹 , Bruno Locatelli, Chloe Vaast, Kiran Asher, Maria Brockhaus, Bimbika Basnett Sijapati

Open Access | Article First Online: 22 November 2016







- Literature review of climate change and gender
- men-versus-women dichotomy
- little attention paid to power and social and political relations
- as in other domains of development and gender research depicts a 'feminization of vulnerability' and reinforces a 'victimization' discourse
- a critical intersectional assessment would contribute to unveil agency and emancipatory pathways in the adaptation process would consider complex power dynamics of existing social and political relations.



EXAMPLE REDD+

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... policy approaches and positive incentives for activities relating to reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation; and the role of conservation, sustainable management of forests and enhancement of forest carbon stocks in developing countries

UNFCCC Decision 2/CP.13-11



Country case studies

Country profile

→ Why: To reveal contextual conditions (drivers of deforestation, institutions, political economy, REDD architecture as discussed)
→ How: literature review, expert interviews

Discourse Media Analysis

→ Why: To determine what kinds of actors are shaping public debate and influencing the policy process. emerging or co

→ **How:** media-based analysis

Policy Network Analysis

→ Why: To analyse actors, their relations and the structural conditions in the policy arena

(Actors, Perception, Power, Position)

→ How: survey and in-depth interviews

REDD+ Policy Content Analysis

→ Why: To identify and analyse policies and measures to secure 3E outcomes and co-benefits

→ **How:** Policy content analysis of existing REDD national strategy documents

National REDD+ Strategy Assessment (Full Country Case Analysis)

→ Why: To assess proposed policies and measures, to identify obstacles and opportunities to realise REDD+ and secure 3E outcomes + co-benefits, to provide policy recommendations for improved domestic policy design and implementation → How: Policy context and content analysis of existing REDD national strategies (Actors, Mechanisms, Structures)

Comparative Analysis (Combined Country Cases)

→ Why: to identify structural and governance barriers as well as opportunities to realise REDD+ and secure 3E outcomes + cobenefits, to provide policy recommendations for improved international and national policy design and implementation, and provide recommendations on requirements for global and national institutional architecture

→ **How:** comparative analysis of individual research elements (country profiles, media analyses, etc), and full country cases (qualitative comparative analysis (QCA))

Cross-country comparative analysis

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MEDIA ANALYSIS

Investigate how REDD policy debates have evolved over time

Discuss the topics of the frames (e.g. Boykoff 2008)

Identify main concerns and claims - policy stances -of major policy actors expressed in the media

Analyse the main narratives/dominant discourses around REDD (and counter discourses)

Identify 'discourse coalitions' (policy coalition formed around common discourse) (Maarten Hajer)

Boykoff2008.pdf



OBJECTIVE OF C1 MEDIA ANALYSIS:

Identify how REDD debates are framed by different actors
Investigate how REDD policy debates have evolved over
time

Identify main concerns and claims - policy stances -of major policy actors expressed in the media

Identify the main narratives/dominant discourses around REDD (and counter discourses)

Identify 'discourse coalitions' (policy coalition formed around common discourse)

= ALL BASED ON ARGUMENTATION



METHODS:

Media coding

Identify media frames, policy events and policy actors and their stances

Media interviews

Short semi-structured interviews to a few print journalists and radio journalists on REDD representations in the media complement and support media analysis



MEDIA CODING PROCEDURE

Identify 3 major national newspapers. Selections criteria: highest circulation and variation on political positions (1 or 2 local newspaper if REDD policy debates are mainly regional)

Retrieve articles on REDD since December 2005

Keywords search in title/abstract/1paragraph: 'REDD', 'Reduced emissions for deforestation and degradation' (translate and indigenize)

Translation of media code book



MEDIA CODING

5 Sections:

- Descriptive variables: (LEVEL 1) mainly identify the articles
- Variables on primary and secondary frames: (LEVEL 2, 3) analyse the frames for each articles

LEVEL 3 coding done for all or subset

- 3. Protest events
- 4. Policy events
- 5. Policy actors

Media semi-structured interviews (LEVEL4)



LEVEL 1 CODING

the descriptive variables of the articles, including

- date published,
- author,
- section of the newspaper in which the article appeared,
- length of the article,
- day of the week it ran,
- page number where the article appeared,
- headline and
- whether it debated REDD+ or made only a passing remark to it.

This level is used mainly for identification purposes, but also can indicate a shift in priority placed on REDD+ coverage in the media.



LEVEL 2 CODING

Analyses the primary and secondary frames for each article. This included type, level, meta-topic and topic:

- the aspect of the issues the frame refers to (e.g. diagnostic, prognostic, symptomatic or motivational),
- scale of the political system to which the frame refers in relation to the REDD+ framework (e.g. international, national, subnational and local levels);
- specific meta-topics around which it framed the debate (e.g. ecology, economics and markets, politics and policy making, civil society, governance, science or culture)
- Specific topics under the meta topics

Level 2 coding identifies characteristics of the primary and secondary frames:. Level 2 coding is sufficient if the interest is in a quick identification of the main topics reported in news articles.



LEVEL 3 CODING

analyzes the primary and secondary frames in much more detail. It includes the

- identification of advocates (frame supporters) and adversaries (frame opponents) for each frame,
- their ideological stance,
- assessment of the advocates'/adversaries' position, concerns and claims in relation to REDD+, for example: optimistic, pessimistic, neutral, no outlook, or in terms of REDD+ policy outcomes effectiveness, efficiency, equity and other co-benefits
- name of the advocate and/or adversary, organization and position, organizational type

Besides the detailed actor and frame analysis, Level 3 also gives an inventory of REDD+ policy events, protest events and core actors

REDD+ AND POLICY DISCOURSES

*MEDIA-BASED ANALYSIS WITH PREDEFINED CODEBOOK IN 10 COUNTRIES *"REDD+ POLITICS IN THE MEDIA" – WORKING PAPER SERIES

- Babon, A., Mcintyre, D., Sofe, R. 2012. REDD+ politics in the media: a case study from Papua New Guinea. Working Paper 97.
 CIFOR, Bogor, Indonesia.
- Khatri, D. H., Bhushal, R. P., Paudel, N. S., Gurung, N. 2012. REDD+ politics in the media: A case study from Nepal. Working Paper 96. CIFOR, Bogor, Indonesia.
- Alvarez, J. P., Montero, D. F., Barrantes, E. B., Takahashi, T. P., Menton, M. 2012. Políticas redd+ y los medios de comunicación: Caso de estudio en el perú. Working Paper 101. CIFOR, Bogor, Indonesia.
- Kengoum, D.F. 2011. REDD+ politics in the media: a case study from Cameroon. Working Paper 51. CIFOR, Bogor, Indonesia.
- May, P.H., Calixto, B., Gebara, M.F. 2011. REDD+ politics in the media: a case study from Brazil. Working Paper 55. CIFOR, Bogor, Indonesia.
- Pham, T.T. 2011. REDD+ politics in the media: a case study from Vietnam. Working Paper 53. CIFOR, Bogor, Indonesia.
- Cronin, T. and Santoso, L. 2010. REDD+ politics in the media: A case study from Indonesia. Working Paper 49. CIFOR, Bogor, Indonesia.



ACTORS SHAPING THE DISCOURSE IN THREE MAJOR DAILY PRINT MEDIA

| Actor group | Indonesia | Brazil | Cameroon | Vietnam | Bolivia | Peru | Nepal |
|---------------------------------|-----------|--------|----------|---------|---------|------|-------|
| State (national) | 45 | 26 | 8 | 67 | 50 | 12 | 17 |
| State (sub-national) | 7 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 6 |
| Corporate | 3 | 4 | 0 | 6 | 10 | 0 | 6 |
| Intergovernmental | 8 | 7 | 17 | 27 | 9 | 25 | 6 |
| Research (international) | 5 | 11 | 42 | 0 | 0 | 25 | 6 |
| NGO+ENGO(international) | 16 | 17 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 25 | 0 |
| Research (national) | 6 | 13 | 25 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 12 |
| civil society actors (national) | 10 | 20 | 8 | 0 | 15 | 13 | 47 |
| TOTAL % of actors | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| TOTAL no. actors | 219 | 113 | 12 | 32 | 60 | 8 | 17 |



STANCES OF MOST MENTIONED ACTORS IN INDONESIA AND

BRAZIL (DI GREGORIO, M., ET AL. 2013. EQUITY AND REDD+ IN THE MEDIA: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF POLICY DISCOURSES. ECOLOGY & SOCIETY)

| | Indonesia (stance number. stance) | | frequency Brazil | | | frequency | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|------------------|---|--|-----------|----------|
| | | | disagre | | (stance number. stance) | | |
| | | | agree | е | | agree | disagree |
| | 2. 1. | REDD should be financed by developed countries REDD (or at least forests) should be part of the global solution to climate change | 21 20 | 1 | 3. REDD should be financed by a carbon offsetting market mechanism 2. REDD should be financed by developed countries | 6 17 | 12 0 |
| National level state actors | 9. | REDD will require major technical capacity building | 19 | 1 | REDD (or at least forests) should be part of the global solution to climate change REDD should compensate for the | 12 | 0 |
| | 11. | REDD will require institutional reform | 10 | 0 | opportunity cost of forest conversion | 9 | |
| | 6. | REDD should incorporate avoided degradation, conservation and reforestation, not just avoided deforestation | 7 | 1 | REDD will enable us to value the environmental services of forests | 5 | 0 |
| | 4. | REDD programs should be formulated and managed at the national level | 5 | 0 | | | |
| Domestic Civil society | 7. | REDD risks to dispossess/reduce access to forest resources and harm traditional forest users | 10 | 0 | 7. REDD should include indigenous and forest dwelling communities in discussions and decision making.3. REDD should be financed by a carbon | 8 | 0 |
| | 2. 6. | REDD should be financed by developed countries | 4 | 0 | offsetting market mechanism | 6 | 1 0 |
| | 0. | REDD should incorporate avoided degradation, conservation and reforestation, not just avoided deforestation | 0 | 3 | 10. REDD will enable us to value the environmental services of forests | 6 | |
| | 8. | REDD will require major governance and institutional reform | 3 | 0 | 9. The technical and financial obstacles to implementing REDD can be overcome. The most important thing for implementing REDD is political will. | 5 | 0 |

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TC AND BAU DISCOURSES

| Country | Discourse |
|-----------|---|
| Indonesia | Global financial support (BAU) |
| | Risk of losing rights (TC) |
| Vietnam | Win-win (BAU) |
| | User pays (TC) |
| Brazil | Global solution (BAU) |
| | Participation of indigenous people (TC) |
| Cameroon | Global solution (BAU) |
| | None |
| Nepal | Global solution (BAU) |
| | Rewarding communities (TC) |
| PNG | Global financial support (BAU) |
| | Empowerment (TC) |

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Research, part of a special feature on Beyond Carbon: Enabling Justice and Equity in REDD+ Across Levels of Governance

Equity and REDD+ in the Media: a Comparative Analysis of Policy Discourses



Monica Di Gregorio ¹, Maria Brockhaus ², Tim Cronin ³, Efrian Muharrom ², Levania Santoso ², Sofi Mardiah ² and Mirjam Büdenbender ⁴

(based on a review of REDD+ frames in the media in 9 countries, Di Gregorio et al. 2012, 2013, 2015)

How is equity framed in media representations of national REDD+ policy debates in Indonesia, Brazil, Vietnam and Peru?

• In all 4 countries the **most discussed equity issue is benefit-sharing** (state); followed by non-state actors concerns about livelihood impacts, tenure/indigenous rights and participation.

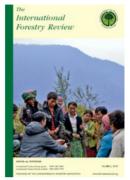
Almost no discussion on gender equity.

 National state actors engage mainly with global equity issues (except Vietnam); civil society with domestic equity issues; No discourse, but increasing awareness...

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REDD+ DECISIONMAKING IN VIETNAM



Women's participation in REDD+ national decision-making in Vietnam

Authors: Pham, T.T.; Mai, Y.H.; Moeliono, M.; Brockhaus, M.

Source: International Forestry Review, Volume 18, Number 3, September 2016, pp. 334-344(11)

Publisher: Commonwealth Forestry Association **DOI:** https://doi.org/10.1505/146554816819501691

While institutional environment seem favourable, issues prevail: while women participate in REDD+ meetings, and women at the national level are less affected by discriminatory cultural and social norms the recruitment protocol of Vietnam's forestry sector is not favourable to women, they are rarely appointed to leadership positions and their participation in REDD+ working groups is often nominal.

Little agency, voices can speak but seem to be less heard..



THE POWER OF AGENCY IN THE DESIGN OF

REDD+

Whose voice matters?

Bringing together discourse analysis and policy network analysis to understand power in the discursive practices around deforestation

Findings show that those supporting business-as-usual, often state and private sector driving deforestation are much stronger than those calling for transformational change (state, CSO)



Forest Policy and Economics

Volume 49, December 2014, Pages 23-33



Governing the design of national REDD +: An analysis of the power of agency ★ ★★

Maria Brockhaus a ♣ 🖾 , Monica Di Gregorio a, b , Sofi Mardiah a

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https://doi.org/10.1016/j.forpol.2013.07.003

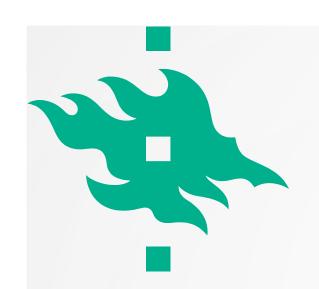
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Highlights

- The paper presents a quantitative method to assess power of discourse coalitions.
- Discourses avoid direct drivers of deforestation but rather focus on equity issues.
- Most dominant coalitions support business as usual deforestation trajectories.
- Coalitions for change lack power of state actors to turn discourse into action.



KIITOS...