The Transnational Legal Process for REDD+

1.1 THE ORIGINS OF THE TRANSNATIONAL LEGAL PROCESS FOR REDD+

In the first half of the 2000s, numerous developing countries, NGOs, and scientists pressed for the elaboration of mechanisms within the UNFCCC to tackle carbon emissions from forestry-related sources in developing countries. While atmospheric and climate scientists had long recognized the importance of reducing these sources of carbon emissions in developing countries, they had only been addressed in a limited manner due to political concerns that climate mitigation action should focus on industrialized sources of carbon emissions. In particular, the rules adopted for the clean development mechanism (CDM) under the Kyoto Protocol specifically excluded from its purview projects aiming to reduce carbon emissions through the avoidance of deforestation. Nonetheless, the first generation of forest carbon projects pursued through the CDM and private carbon markets laid the technical groundwork and built momentum for future efforts aimed at addressing carbon emissions in developing country forests in global climate governance.

---


164 Ibid. at 869–870.


In December 2005, the governments of Costa Rica and Papua New Guinea, on behalf of the Coalition of Rainforest Nations, proposed that the UNFCCC COP consider developing new mechanisms to reduce emissions from deforestation (RED) in developing countries. As part of the Bali Action Plan adopted in December 2007, the UNFCCC COP launched international negotiations for the development of “policy approaches and positive incentives on issues related to reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation in developing countries; and the role of conservation, sustainable management of forests and enhancement of forest carbon stocks in developing countries.” In a separate decision focusing specifically on “approaches to stimulate action” on REDD+, the UNFCCC COP affirmed the “urgent need to take meaningful action” to reduce GHG emissions from forest-based sources in developing countries and recognized that doing so could “promote co-benefits” and “complement the aims and objectives of other relevant international conventions and agreements.”

The concept of REDD+ elicited strong support among a wide coalition of public and private actors from both the North and the South who were variously concerned with climate change, forest governance, and sustainable development. At the time, REDD+ was supported as a win-win-win solution that could not only reduce an estimated 17 percent of global carbon emissions worldwide, but could also protect forests and their critical ecosystems and help alleviate poverty among forest-dependent and rural communities.

---


171 Ibid., preamble.

172 McDermott, Levin & Cashore, supra note 5.


Within the UNFCCC, negotiations on REDD+ progressed at a remarkable pace, especially when compared with the broader set of international negotiations on climate change.\textsuperscript{175} In December 2010, the UNFCCC COP adopted the Cancun Agreements, in which it defined the scope of jurisdictional REDD+ activities and established the stages and requirements for their implementation in developing countries.\textsuperscript{176} The UNFCCC COP has since adopted a series of decisions further clarifying the rules for the pursuit of jurisdictional REDD+ in developing countries,\textsuperscript{177} culminating in the integration of jurisdictional REDD+ in the Paris Agreement adopted in December 2015.\textsuperscript{178} These rules are summarized in Table 1.1.

In the Bali Action Plan as well as the Cancun Agreements, the UNFCCC COP encouraged developing countries to take voluntary measures to prepare for domestic operationalization of jurisdictional REDD+ and called on developed countries, international organizations, and NGOs to provide finance, capacity-building, and technical assistance to support them in their efforts.\textsuperscript{179} In response, an array of developing and developed country governments, international organizations, multilateral development banks, conservation and development NGOs, and corporations have supported the development and implementation of REDD+ activities around the world. They have most notably established knowledge-sharing, capacity-building, and technical assistance programs, mobilized finance, carried out research and analysis, developed rules and guidance, created certification programs, standards, and methodologies, and organized countless policy meetings, networks, and dialogues.

\textsuperscript{175} Angelsen & McNeill, supra note 4 at 35.


\textsuperscript{178} Decision 1/CP.21, Adoption of the Paris Agreement, in Report of the Conference of the Parties on its twenty-first session, held in Paris from 30 November to 13 December 2015, UN Doc. FCCC/CP/2015/10/Add.1 (29 January 2016) at article 5(2).

\textsuperscript{179} Decision 1/CP.16, paras 68–79.
Although these initiatives differ in many respects, they each adhere to the three basic ideas that have come to define the wide range of REDD+ programs, policies, and projects around the world. First, REDD+ initiatives aim to increase carbon sequestration in developing country forests by funding activities that either reduce “negative changes” or enhance “positive changes” in forest carbon stocks.

Second, they are intended to finance

---

**Table 1.1. The elements of jurisdictional REDD+ under the UNFCCC**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scope of eligible activities</th>
<th>Jurisdictional REDD+ activities should be funded on the basis of results achieved in actually reducing or avoiding carbon emissions through the following activities:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
|                             | 1. Reducing emissions from deforestation  
|                             | 2. Reducing emissions from forest degradation  
|                             | 3. Conservation of forest carbon stocks  
|                             | 4. Sustainable management of forests  
|                             | 5. Enhancement of forest carbon stocks |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phases for the implementation of REDD+</th>
<th>The operationalization of jurisdictional REDD+ in a developing country should proceed in three phases:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Development of national strategies or action plans, policies and measures, and capacity-building (known as the readiness phase)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Implementation of the first stage, possibly involving further support and demonstration activities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Results-based actions subject to measurement, reporting and verification (MRV) (known as the compliance phase)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements of REDD+ readiness</th>
<th>Developing countries must develop the following elements as part of their “readiness” efforts:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. A national strategy or action plan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. A baseline of forest-related carbon emissions (known as a forest reference emissions or forest reference level)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. A forest monitoring system for MRV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. An information system to report on the implementation of social and environmental safeguards</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Notes:**

180 UNFCCC COP, Decision 2/CP.13 at paras. 1–3, 5, and 9; UNFCCC COP, Decision 1/CP.16 at paras. 71, 74, and 76.

activities on the basis of results achieved in reducing or avoiding carbon emissions or increasing carbon stocks that are measured, reported, and verified (MRV) on the basis of a pre-existing baseline or reference level.\textsuperscript{182} Third, they are meant to take into account other important social or environmental objectives and considerations beyond carbon sequestration by requiring that activities comply with a set of social and environmental safeguards or that they deliver co-benefits such as the reduction of poverty or the preservation of biodiversity.\textsuperscript{183}

Beyond these three core ideas, there is significant diversity in the ways in which legal norms for REDD+ have been developed and applied by public and private actors around the world.\textsuperscript{184} The most important area of divergence in the transnational legal process for REDD+ relates to the difference between jurisdictional and project-based activities. Jurisdictional REDD+ refers to programs implemented by developing countries that seek to reduce carbon emissions from forest-based sources at a national scale in line with the requirements set by the UNFCCC COP. In contrast, project-based REDD+ generally consists of activities implemented by corporations, NGOs, and communities to reduce forest carbon emissions at the local level. These activities must follow the methodologies and meet the standards established by nongovernmental certification programs in order to generate credits that can be sold and traded on carbon markets.\textsuperscript{185} Some REDD+ projects have been implemented by governments or their partners to experiment with new tools and methodologies as part of their jurisdictional readiness efforts at the national or subnational level. Most REDD+ projects have been carried out by NGOs, corporations, or communities, with the aim of sequestering carbon as well as possibly delivering other social and environmental benefits, in order to generate carbon credits that can be sold or traded on voluntary carbon markets.\textsuperscript{186} While the pursuit of project-based REDD+ activities can be affected by as well as feed into jurisdictional REDD+ programs implemented

\textsuperscript{182} Martin Herold & Margaret M. Skutsch, “Measurement, Reporting and Verification for REDD+: Objectives, Capacities and Institutions” in ibid., 85.

\textsuperscript{183} Anthony Hall, Forests and Climate Change: The Social Dimensions of REDD in Latin America (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2012) at 122–143.

\textsuperscript{184} McDermott \textit{et al.}, “Operationalizing Social Safeguards,” supra note 54 at 65.


\textsuperscript{186} Erin Sills, Erin Myers Madeira, William D. Sunderlin, & Sheila Wertz-Kanounnikoff, “The Evolving Landscape of REDD+ Projects” in Angelsen, supra note 4, 265.
At the national level, these two forms of REDD+ are fundamentally different and are ultimately governed by different sites of law.

1.2 Levels, Sites, and Forms of Law in the Transnational Legal Process for REDD+

While the UNFCCC has played an important role in the construction of an initial set of legal norms for REDD+, the proliferation of multilateral, bilateral, and nongovernmental initiatives has meant that the transnational legal process for REDD+ has become increasingly plural over time. As is summarized in Table 1.2, a heterogeneous array of public and private actors has engaged in the construction and conveyance of legal norms for REDD+ within and across multiple sites and forms of law that encompass as well as transcend the decision-making of the UNFCCC. The transnational legal process for REDD+ has become all the more multi-layered because it has evolved at the intersections of two broader domains that also exhibit significant poly-centricity, one being climate change, the other forestry.

At the international level, two of the most influential multilateral initiatives established for REDD+ have been the World Bank Forest Carbon Partnership Facility (FCPF) and the UN-REDD Programme. Launched at the 13th session of the UNCCC in December 2007 and operational since June 2008, the FCPF is comprised of two funds for which the World Bank serves as trustee and provides a secretariat: a Readiness Fund that supports developing country capacity-building and preparedness for REDD+ activities and a Carbon Fund that tests eventual performance-based payments for emissions reductions generated through REDD+ activities. In addition, the FCPF aims to disseminate the tools and knowledge developed as a result of its support for REDD+ readiness and emissions reductions. The UN-REDD Programme

187 Frances Seymour & Arild Angelsen, “Summary and Conclusions REDD+ without Regrets” in Angelsen et al., supra note 4, 317 at 319.
189 See, e.g., Abbott, supra note 158. See, e.g., Rayner, Buck & Katila, supra note 159.
190 The FCPF has 47 partner countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean as well as 17 developed-country, private-sector, and NGO donors, and approximately 1.057 billion US dollars have been pledged to the trust funds under its management. FCPF, “About FCPF” available at: www.forestcarbonpartnership.org/about-fcpf-0 (accessed 5 May 2016).
is a collaborative initiative jointly established in June 2008 by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). It provides direct support and technical assistance to developing countries carrying out national REDD+ readiness efforts and seeks to generate and disseminate knowledge, methodologies, tools, and approaches for the development of REDD+ at a global level. These initiatives have generated legal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels of law</th>
<th>Sites of law</th>
<th>Forms of law</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>International sites</td>
<td>Multilateral environmental agreements and negotiations (UNFCCC).</td>
<td>Decisions of the UNFCCC COP.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Multilateral programs (World Bank Forest Carbon Partnership Facility and the</td>
<td>Instruments and agreements adopted within international organizations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UN-REDD Program).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bilateral programs (NICFI).</td>
<td>Conditions and rules for accessing funding.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transnational sites</td>
<td>Nongovernmental certification programs (VCS; CCBA).</td>
<td>Operational safeguards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National sites</td>
<td>Developing countries participating in the operationalization of REDD+.</td>
<td>Guidance materials and methodologies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Laws and policies governing bilateral programs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bilateral agreements.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subnational sites</td>
<td>REDD+ readiness activities in subnational jurisdictions.</td>
<td>Certification standards and rules.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>REDD+ market-based projects.</td>
<td>Guidance materials and methodologies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>REDD+ + laws, regulations, and policies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>REDD+ strategies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Project design documents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Contracts and protocols with local communities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Licenses from local authorities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Carbon sale agreements.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


194 As of June 2016, more than 281 million US dollars have been committed to the UN-REDD Programme, which currently supports national REDD+ readiness programs in 64 partner countries.
norms for REDD+ that have taken on various forms, most notably including the agreements that led to their creation, the rules and conditions they set for accessing funding for REDD+ activities, the operational safeguards that exist for the delivery of activities they finance, and the guidance documents they have developed for the implementation of REDD+ activities.

A number of developed country governments have also established bilateral programs to support the implementation of REDD+ around the world. The most important among these is the Norwegian International Climate and Forest Initiative (NICFI) launched in 2007. As part of the NICFI, Norway has pledged 1.6 billion US dollars in funding to support the global advance of REDD+ through contributions to established multilateral programs and funds as well as direct partnerships with seven developing countries: Brazil, Guyana, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Mexico, Tanzania, and Vietnam. Through a combination of diplomacy, development aid, research, and technical assistance, the NICFI "seeks to influence the policy process by adding momentum to finalising an international REDD+ agreement, contributing to the detail of the emerging mechanisms and establishing real examples through national-level agreements with key countries. See Multi-Partner Trust Fund Office, “UN REDD Programme Fund,” available at: http://mptf.undp.org/factsheet/fund/CCF100 (accessed 5 May 2016); UN-REDD Programme, “Regions and Countries Overview” www.un-redd.org/Partner_Countries/tabid/102667/Default.aspx (accessed 5 May 2016).


Other important bilateral initiatives supporting the global implementation of REDD+ have also been established by Australia, France, Germany, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States. See Liane Schalatek, Alice Caravani, Smita Nakhooda & Charlene Watson, “Climate Finance Thematic Briefing: REDD+ Finance,” available at: www.odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/7912.pdf (accessed 18 July 2014).

REDD-relevant countries. The legal norms for REDD+ have taken on two main forms in bilateral initiatives: the law, policy, or regulation that governs a bilateral REDD+ program and the bilateral agreements between the government or agency of a developed country and its developing country partner that provide the terms and conditions for the delivery of REDD+ finance and assistance.

At the transnational level, the most significant sites of law for REDD+ are the nongovernmental programs and initiatives that NGOs and corporations have established to guide and support the jurisdictional REDD+ efforts of developing countries and those that aim to sustain and govern the voluntary market for project-based REDD+ activities. To begin with, several large international conservation NGOs, major management and consulting firms working on the low-carbon economy, and specialized firms active in carbon finance and trading have created their own programs of research, capacity-building, training, technical assistance, and finance for REDD+
activities at multiple levels. These NGOs and corporations have most notably established voluntary initiatives to guide the REDD+ readiness activities carried out by developing country governments. One of the most influential initiatives of this type is the Jurisdictional and Nested REDD+ (JNR) Framework established by the Verified Carbon Standard (VCS) in December 2010 to provide accounting methodologies and rules for the certification of national and subnational REDD+ activities undertaken by governments.207 Another important transnational initiative is the REDD+ Social and Environmental Safeguards (REDD+ SES), a multi-stakeholder process launched in May 2009 to develop a set of voluntary social and environmental safeguards for government-led jurisdictional REDD+ programs and activities.208

In addition, NGOs and corporations have also supported the formation of a voluntary market for carbon credits generated through REDD+ projects aiming to reduce emissions from forestry-related sources at the subnational level. NGOs and corporations have carried out, brokered, and audited REDD+ activities in line with established methodologies and accounting standards for their development, validation, and certification. The two sets of standards with the greatest share of REDD+ projects worldwide are:209 the Agriculture, Forestry & Land Use (AFOLU) Requirements of the Verified Carbon Standard (VCS)210 and the Climate, Community & Biodiversity (CCB) Standards.211 Both the VCS and the CCB Standards serve as sites of law for the pursuit of project-based REDD+ activities: they set the rules for carrying out, monitoring, and evaluating projects, provide guidance and methodologies for the application of these rules, create a process for the accreditation of third-party auditors for the validation and verification of such projects,
and establish procedures for addressing disputes and improprieties in the application of the standards.\footnote{212}

At the national level, legal norms for REDD+ have been constructed in and conveyed through the pursuit of jurisdictional REDD+ readiness activities. Over 60 governments throughout the developing world have initiated national multi-year readiness programs to lay the groundwork for the domestic operationalization of jurisdictional REDD+ in accordance with the UNFCCC COP’s guidance and with the support and technical assistance provided by bilateral, multilateral, and nongovernmental partners.\footnote{213} These REDD+ readiness programs involve some combination of strategic planning, policy analysis and development, legal and institutional reform, public consultation and stakeholder engagement, capacity-building and training, and demonstration projects that aim to ensure that a developing country has achieved the conditions required for REDD+ to be implemented on a jurisdictional scale.\footnote{214}

There are two main ways in which the pursuit of jurisdictional REDD+ readiness programs may entail the construction and conveyance of legal norms. First, the adoption of a national strategy for jurisdictional REDD+ provides an opportunity for a developing country government to design a tailored framework for the governance of REDD+.\footnote{215} In order to prepare developing countries for the operationalization of REDD+, a national strategy should deal with matters such as the modalities through which international payments for REDD+ will be managed and channeled in a country;\footnote{216} the arrangements for sharing benefits from these payments with stakeholders at multiple levels;\footnote{217} the clarification of land and forest rights and tenure in areas that are targeted for REDD+ policies and measures;\footnote{218} and the participation and engagement of multiple stakeholders.\footnote{219} In turn, the development and

\footnote{212}{See Anja Kollmuss, Helge Zink & Clifford Polycarp, \textit{Making Sense of the Voluntary Carbon Market: A Comparison of Carbon Offset Standards} (Berlin, Germany: WWF Germany, 2008).}
\footnote{213}{Annex I. Overview of REDD+ Activities in the Developing World.}
\footnote{214}{Sheila Wertz-Kanounnikoff & Arild Angelsen, “Global and National REDD+ Architecture Linking Institutions and Actions” in Angelsen, \textit{Realising REDD+}, supra note 180, 13 at 13–24.}
\footnote{216}{Hall, supra note 183 at 58–61.}
\footnote{218}{Anne M. Larson \textit{et al.}, “Land Tenure and REDD+: The Good, the Bad and the Ugly” (2013) 23:3 \textit{Global Environmental Change} 678.}
\footnote{219}{Tim Forsyth, “Multilevel, Multiactor Governance in REDD+ Participation, Integration and Coordination” in Angelsen, \textit{Realising REDD+}, supra note 181, 113.}
implementation of national REDD+ strategies entails the interpretation and application of existing laws and regulations in relevant areas (especially forestry, climate change, land-use, property, and human rights).

Second, jurisdictional REDD+ readiness efforts may also lead to the development and adoption of new laws and regulations. Some of these new laws and regulations have specifically focused on the regulation of REDD+ activities, including project-based ones. Other legal, policy, and regulatory reforms have been developed with the aim of achieving actual reductions in carbon emissions from the forestry and land-use sectors. For instance, developing countries have imposed a moratorium on the exploitation of forests or adopted reforms aimed at strengthening forest governance through improved land-use planning, land titling, and enforcement measures.

At the subnational level, legal norms for REDD+ have been constructed in and conveyed through two types of activities. First, the governments of a number of sub-national jurisdictions, most notably including provincial governments in Brazil, Indonesia, and Mexico, have initiated their own jurisdictional readiness programs. The design and aims of these subnational jurisdictional readiness programs are very similar to the national ones discussed above and are meant to form part of a nested approach to REDD+, in which

---

223 Arild Angelsen, “Policy Options to Reduce Deforestation” in Angelsen, Realising REDD+, supra note 181, 125.
readiness and early demonstration activities may be initiated at the subnational level in lead-up to the establishment of a national REDD+ framework and the pursuit of a related set of jurisdictional interventions at the national level. Legal norms for REDD+ have thus been formally enacted through the adoption of laws, policies, and regulations in these subnational jurisdictions.

Second, a multiplicity of public and private actors (including international organizations, national, subnational, and local governments, international and local NGOs and corporations, and local communities) has initiated REDD+ projects that aim to reduce carbon emissions at the subnational level. Close to 350 such projects have been developed in more than 50 developing countries across Africa, Asia, and Latin America and the Caribbean. In 2014, these projects accounted for the largest share of carbon market activity and had a total market value of 94 million US dollars. These market-based projects and transactions generate multiple forms of law, including the project design document that must be submitted to the certification program and validated and verified by third-party auditors; the contracts, protocols, or agreements that must be signed with local communities or other affected stakeholders, the licenses and regulatory approvals that must be obtained from local authorities; and the agreement enabling the sale or trading of carbon credits generated by the project.

1.3 THE COMPLEXITY OF THE TRANSNATIONAL LEGAL PROCESS FOR REDD+

From its origins as a promising and relatively straightforward UNFCCC mechanism with “triple-win” potential for forests, climate change, and...
sustainable development, the transnational legal process for REDD+ has evolved to become increasingly complex over time.\textsuperscript{232} As various actors have moved forward with the operationalization of REDD+, the challenges, risks, and trade-offs that had been obscured or ignored at an earlier stage in the emergence of REDD+ have begun to resurface.\textsuperscript{233} In particular, the transnational legal process for REDD+ has become intertwined with the conflicting coalitions and agendas that shape the domain of forest governance within developing countries\textsuperscript{234} and “entangled in fundamental debates about justice and equity from local to global levels.”\textsuperscript{235} To be sure, the involvement of a diverse array of private and civil society actors has also accentuated disagreements about the fundamental purposes and principles of REDD+ within the UNFCCC.\textsuperscript{236} This has most notably included civil society actors who are skeptical about its potential benefits for climate mitigation and concerned about its implications for other important social and environmental considerations.\textsuperscript{237} Indeed, the research, advocacy, and conservation NGOs that have pressed for the recognition of the rights of Indigenous Peoples and local communities in international law and policy over the last 40 years have brought their energies and efforts to the transnational legal process for REDD+, which has provided a new and significant venue for advancing their agenda.\textsuperscript{238} As this book reveals, debates over whether and how to protect the rights of Indigenous Peoples and local communities in the context of REDD+ activities are a cause as well as a reflection of the growing complexity of the transnational legal process for REDD+.

In addition, as REDD+ has spread across multiple sites of law, the transnational legal process for REDD+ has also been characterized by

\textsuperscript{232} McDermott \textit{et al.}, “Operationalizing Social Safeguards” \textit{supra} note 54 at 65; Streck \& Costenbader, \textit{supra} note 54 at 2; Esteve Corbera \& Heike Schroeder, “Governing and Implementing REDD+” (2011) 14:2 \textit{Environmental Science \& Policy} 89 at 90–93.

\textsuperscript{233} Okereke \& Dooley, \textit{supra} note 9 at 83; Till Pistorius, “From RED to REDD+: The Evolution of a Forest-Based Mitigation Approach for Developing Countries” (2012) 4:6 \textit{Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability} 638 at 642; McDermott \textit{et al.}, “Operationalizing Social Safeguards” \textit{supra} note 54 at 65.


\textsuperscript{235} Okereke \& Dooley, \textit{supra} note 9 at 93. See also Schroeder \& McDermott \textit{supra} note 11.

\textsuperscript{236} den Besten, Arts \& Verkooijen, \textit{supra} note 169 at 43–44; Corbera \& Schroeder, \textit{supra} note 232 at 92.

\textsuperscript{237} See generally Interview 7; Interview 81; Interview 82.

\textsuperscript{238} See Sikor \& Stahl, \textit{supra} note 11.
multidirectionality. From 2007 onward, the construction of legal norms for REDD+ within the UNFCCC contended with, and was influenced by, the legal norms for REDD+ constructed in multiple sites of law. As is often the case with a transnational legal process, the conveyance of legal norms for REDD+ from one site of law to another has given rise to the construction of hybrid legal norms and has created opportunities for their further conveyance across other sites of law. In what follows, I identify four potential pathways and related causal mechanisms through which actors may trigger the conveyance of legal norms to, from, and across sites of law at the international, transnational, national, and local levels (Table 1.3).

A first pathway relates to the conditions that international and transnational sites of law have set for accessing sources of finance for jurisdictional and project-based REDD+ activities and the ways in which these conditions may create incentives for implementing a particular set of legal norms at the national and subnational levels. In order to trigger the conveyance of legal norms, the conditions set by these sites of law would need to provide material or reputational incentives for compliance by actors in another site of law (cost-benefit adoption) as well as opportunities for exogenous actors to detect and sanction instances of noncompliance (coercion). By way of example, the FCPF, the UN-REDD Programme, and NICFI have made the delivery of the funding they provide to developing countries for their jurisdictional REDD+ readiness efforts contingent on respect for social and environmental safeguards and

---

**Table 1.3. Potential pathways and related causal mechanisms for the conveyance of legal norms in the transnational legal process for REDD+**

| Conditions set by international and transnational sites of law for funding jurisdictional and project-based REDD+ activities at the national level and subnational levels | Cost-benefit Adoption
| Opportunities for socialization between actors provided by international, transnational, national, and subnational sites of law | Élite internalization
| Generation and dissemination of knowledge about experiences with the design and implementation of jurisdictional and project-based REDD+ activities | Acculturation
| Opportunities for advocacy provided by international, transnational, national, and subnational sites of law | Instrumental Learning
| Opportunities for socialization between actors provided by international, transnational, national, and subnational sites of law | Mobilization

---

other standards.\textsuperscript{240} The domestic influence of these conditions in the context of REDD+ readiness activities could thus be expected to depend on the credibility and independence of their processes for the monitoring and evaluation of REDD+ readiness finance and their willingness to suspend funding arrangements in case of noncompliance.\textsuperscript{241} Another example relates to the market incentives provided by the CCBA for the design and implementation of REDD+ projects that comply with its social and environmental standards. REDD+ projects certified with the CCB label have indeed attracted a premium on the voluntary carbon market.\textsuperscript{242} More broadly, given that most of the start-up funding that currently exists for REDD+ projects originates in development aid and that corporate social responsibility is the primary motivation for buyers of REDD+ credits, the CCB label has increasingly become a basic requirement for entry into the voluntary carbon market.\textsuperscript{243}

A second pathway pertains to the manner in which the transnational legal process for REDD+ has provided opportunities for actors to socialize with one another and convey legal norms across multiple sites of law. As a result of socialization, actors may internalize legal norms because they have been actively convinced of their appropriateness (\textsuperscript{3}elite internalization) or because of their desire to adopt norms that have been widely accepted in their broader transnational reference group (\textsuperscript{4}acculturation). I will briefly mention two opportunities for socialization that have emerged from the transnational legal process for REDD+. To begin with, actors have socialized with one another as a result of their participation in the construction of legal norms in sites such as the UNFCCC, the FCPF, the UN-REDD Programme, the REDD+ SES, and the CCBA. Each of these sites has emphasized, to varying degrees, the sort of deliberation and inclusion that is generally seen by scholars as facilitating the generation of norms in a site of law.

\textsuperscript{240} FCPF Charter, supra note 192 at Section 3.1(d); UN-REDD Programme Framework Document, supra note 193 at 12; Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana and the Government of the Kingdom of Norway regarding Cooperation on Issues related to the Fight against Climate Change, supra note 203.

\textsuperscript{241} There is at least one case involving noncompliance in relation to a complaint made by Indigenous Peoples with respect to the UN-REDD National Programme in Panama. See Fréchette \emph{et al.}, supra note 347 at 59 and 62–64; NORAD, supra note 423 at 476–477.


\textsuperscript{243} Interview 34 at 1–2; Interview 47 at 7; Interview 73 at 6; Interview 77 at 3; Interview 80 at 1. See also Rachel Godfrey Wood, “Carbon Finance and Pro-Poor Co-Benefits: The Gold Standard and Climate, Community and Biodiversity Standards” (London, UK: IIED, 2011) at 29; Peters-Stanley \emph{et al.}, supra note 209 at 16.
In addition, these sites of law may also facilitate interactions between actors situated in or across other levels of law. One important example relates to the process for the review and approval of multilateral REDD+ readiness grants under the FCPF and the UN-REDD Programme. This process begins with the preparation and submission by a developing country government of a Readiness Preparation Proposal (R-PP), which must be drafted in accordance with an established template that outlines six necessary components of jurisdictional readiness for REDD+. This R-PP requires developing countries to address legal, policy, and governance issues relating to their jurisdictional REDD+ readiness processes and to ensure the full and effective participation of Indigenous Peoples and local communities in the design and implementation of activities. The process by which an R-PP is approved for funding has generally followed a lengthy and transparent review process that has enabled multilateral agencies and their governing bodies, bilateral partners, and civil society actors to suggest changes in the first drafts of R-PPs submitted by developing country governments.

A third pathway is connected to the generation and sharing of knowledge about the enactment and implementation of legal norms within the transnational legal process for REDD+. This knowledge may lead actors in a given site of law to enact or implement an exogenous legal norm based on the evidence that they have acquired about the utility of doing so from the experience of other sites of law (instrumental learning). The transnational legal process for REDD+ has supported instrumental learning through the

---


245 Namely: (1) management arrangements and stakeholder engagement processes; (2) the preparation of a national REDD+ strategy; (3) the development of a national forest reference emission level or forest reference level; (4) the design of systems for MRV and reporting on safeguards and multiple benefits; (5) a schedule and budget; and (6) the design of a program monitoring and evaluation framework.


247 When the R-PP template document is submitted to the FCPF, it is first reviewed by an independent Technical Advisory Panel (TAP) and submitted for final approval to the FCPF Participants Committee (PC). Likewise, R-PPs submitted to the UN-REDD Programme are first reviewed by experts in the UN-REDD Programme Secretariat, and then submitted for a final decision to the UN-REDD Programme Policy Board, which includes REDD+ country partners and donors, one Indigenous representative, and one a civil society representative. As a result, many R-PPs have undergone at least one round of revisions before they have been approved for funding by the FCPF or the UN-REDD Programme and have frequently incorporated significant changes suggested by other interlocutors, including NGO representatives. See also Independent Evaluation Group, supra note 317 at 31.
production and dissemination of knowledge products as well as the provision of training, capacity-building, and technical assistance for the implementation of REDD+. For instance, the FCPF and the UN-REDD Programme have released guidelines, tools, and other knowledge products that have provided developing countries with concrete guidance on how to respect and operationalize the rights of Indigenous Peoples and local communities in the context of their jurisdictional REDD+ readiness activities. The REDD+ SES Initiative has also played a key role in developing and disseminating a methodology for the development of a set of social and environmental safeguards. Likewise, the CCB Standards and related guidelines that the CCBA has released provide a methodology for the design, planning, and implementation of a REDD+ project.

Lastly, early experiences with the implementation of jurisdictional REDD+ activities as well as project-based REDD+ activities may also have exerted influence on other sites and levels of law for REDD+. For instance, negotiators within the UNFCCC have drawn on the knowledge generated by the pursuit of REDD+ readiness activities in developing countries and the rules provided by the multilateral, bilateral, and nongovernmental initiatives for REDD+. Additionally, the implementation of REDD+ pilot projects in developing countries may, to some extent, have fed into their jurisdictional readiness efforts as well as influenced other sites and levels of law.

A fourth and final pathway relates to the way in which the transnational legal process for REDD+ has provided enhanced opportunities for Indigenous communities, as well as for other stakeholders, to participate in and benefit from REDD+ activities.

With respect to the FCPF, see NORAD, supra note 423 at 437. With respect to the UN-REDD programme, see Fréchet et al., supra note 347 at 62–64.


251 Frances Seymour & Arild Angelsen, “Summary and Conclusions: REDD Wine in Old Wineskins?” in Angelsen, Realising REDD+, supra note 181, 293 at 297.

Peoples and local communities to advocate for the recognition and protection of their rights vis-à-vis international, transnational, national, and local authorities (mobilization). By way of example, the FCPF, the UN-REDD Programme, and the REDD+ SES require that the proponents of jurisdictional REDD+ activities carry out extensive stakeholder engagement and consultation processes at the national level. These consultations have provided unique platforms for Indigenous Peoples and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) to advocate for the recognition and protection of their participatory and substantive rights in the context of jurisdictional REDD+ readiness efforts. In addition to providing Indigenous Peoples and local communities with an opportunity for advocacy, international and transnational sites of law have also developed mechanisms to provide them with funding and otherwise support their participation in domestic REDD+ activities, including in the pursuit of project-based REDD+ activities. As a result, the pursuit of jurisdictional REDD+ activities may have provided


255 Interview 40 at 9; Interview 57 at 6; Interview 58 at 4–5. Observations gathered during participation in GIZ/UN-REDD/FCPF workshop on the full and effective participation of Indigenous Peoples in REDD+ (Weilburg, Germany, September 2013) and GEM/CLUA workshop on the promotion of community forestry (Washington DC, January 2014). In relation to the UN-REDD Programme, see also Fréchette et al., supra note 347 at 41 (arguing that the UN-REDD Programme has “effectively provided an unprecedented platform for Indigenous Peoples’ and civil society organizations to voice not only their concerns, needs, and interests, but in fact their rights – whether to free, prior and informed consent, customary or statutory land rights, resource rights, or equity in benefit sharing processes.”); NORAD, supra note 423 at 475. In relation to the FCPF, see also Independent Evaluation Group, supra note 317 at xix; NORAD, supra note 423 at 434.

256 For instance, the FCPF has a program dedicated to funding activities proposed by forest-dependent Indigenous Peoples (IPs) and other forest dwellers, and seeks to enhance their knowledge and capacity with respect to REDD+ and support their engagement in REDD+ activities (Forest Carbon Partnership Facility (FCPF), “Capacity Building Program for Forest-Dependent People on REDD plus” (22 February, 2010), available at: www.forestarbonpartnership.org/sites/fcpf/files/Documents/tagged/FCPF_FMT_Note_2010-8_IP_Capacity_Building_02-22-10-93b5D.pdf (accessed 30 December 2013)). The UN-REDD Programme, along with the GEF, has also created a support scheme for community-based REDD+ to enable “communities themselves to initiate activities, build capacities, exchange information, pilot methodologies, develop models of representation and participation, and implement their visions for REDD+ in alignment with national REDD+ goals and objectives.” See UN-REDD Programme, “Concept Note for Support to Community-Based REDD+,” available at: www.unredd.net/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_download&gid=10599&Itemid=53 (accessed 6 January 2014) at 2. See UN-REDD Programme, Report of the Tenth Policy Board Meeting, Lombok, Indonesia, 26–27 June 2013 available at: www.unredd.net/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_download&gid=10820&Itemid=53 (accessed 6 January 2014) at 5.
Indigenous Peoples Organizations (IPOs) and CSOs with additional resources and new opportunities for mobilizing on issues relating to the recognition and protection of the rights of Indigenous Peoples and local communities. Similarly, the CCB Standards require that the proponents of REDD+ projects conduct consultations with affected communities and other appropriate stakeholders,257 thus providing another opportunity for mobilization and advocacy on the part of Indigenous Peoples and local communities.

To some extent, the plural, heterogeneous, and multidirectional nature of the transnational legal process for REDD+ aligns with the aspirations of many actors to experiment with, and learn from, the implementation of REDD+ across multiple sites of law.258 On the other hand, there have been increasing concerns that the transnational legal process for REDD+ has become fragmented in ways that have created disconnects between different sites of law and related activities. As Corbera and Schroeder argue, REDD+ has evolved into “a slew of unorchestrated, multi-level, multi-purpose and multi-actor projects and initiatives” that “permeates multiple spheres of decision-making and organization, creates contested interests and claims, and translates into multiple implementation actions running ahead of policy processes and state-driven decisions.”259 This sort of fragmentation has complicated efforts to operationalize REDD+ in developing countries and has prompted efforts aimed at enhancing coordination and collaboration across a range of multilateral, bilateral, and nongovernmental initiatives.260

258 Reinecke et al., supra note 251 at 36.
259 Corbera & Schroeder, supra note 232 at 93.
260 For instance, the UNFCCC has addressed issues relating to the coordination of REDD+ finance as part of a work program to improve its effectiveness (UNFCCC COP, Decision 2/CP.17 at paras 65). See also the discussion of the REDD+ partnership in Reinecke et al., supra note 251.