

The Motivation of Indonesia in Doing Carbon Trading with Norway (2010-2016)

Muhammad Fachrie

International Relations Department Universitas Jakarta

Email: muhammadfachrie91@gmail.com

Abstract

This research explains about the motivation of Indonesia in doing carbon trading with Norway. As a country which has tropical rainforest, Indonesia has become important for the developed countries in the carbon trade cooperation, especially Norway. Indonesia has the potential natural resources, such as tropic rainforest and large of land, that can be used to reduce carbon emissions in the world. By signing the letter of intent (LoI) on May 26th in 2010 in Oslo, Indonesia and Norway have agreed to conduct carbon trading both of these two countries. On the one hand, this cooperation can be advantageous for Indonesia, because Indonesia gets one billion US dollars from Norway for Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD) program, but on the other hand Indonesia can not maximize the exploitation of forestry sector and land because of the limitation caused by REDD. It eventually causes the carbon trading between Indonesia and Norway becomes important to be inquired.

Keywords: Environment, Carbon Trading, Prisoner's Dilemma, Rational Choice, Indonesia's Foreign Policy

Abstrak

Penelitian ini menjelaskan tentang motivasi Indonesia dalam melakukan perdagangan karbon dengan Norwegia. Sebagai negara yang memiliki hutan hujan tropis, Indonesia menjadi penting bagi negara-negara maju dalam kerja sama perdagangan karbon, terutama Norwegia. Indonesia memiliki potensi sumber daya alam, seperti hutan hujan tropis dan lahan yang luas, yang dapat digunakan untuk mengurangi emisi karbon di dunia. Dengan menandatangani letter of intent (LoI) pada 26 Mei 2010 di Oslo, Indonesia dan Norwegia telah sepakat untuk melakukan perdagangan karbon kedua negara ini. Di satu sisi, kerjasama ini dapat menguntungkan bagi Indonesia, karena Indonesia mendapat satu miliar dolar AS dari Norwegia untuk program Pengurangan Emisi dari Deforestasi dan Degradasi Hutan (REDD), tetapi di sisi lain Indonesia tidak dapat memaksimalkan eksploitasi sektor kehutanan dan lahan karena keterbatasan yang disebabkan oleh REDD. Hal tersebut menyebabkan perdagangan karbon antara Indonesia dan Norwegia menjadi penting untuk dipertanyakan.

Kata Kunci: Lingkungan, Perdagangan Karbon, Prisoner's Dilemma, Pilihan Rasional, Kebijakan Luar Negeri Indonesia

Background

Carbon trading is an approach used to control carbon dioxide (CO₂) pollution by providing economic assistance to achieve emissions reductions (Source Watch Organization, 2015). Carbon dioxide (CO₂)

is a greenhouse gas that is important in influencing global warming (Lazarowicz, 2009:3). Carbon trading is usually done in relations between developed and developing countries. With the development of its industries, developed countries contribute to

global warming in the world, so that developed countries need developing countries that have natural resources, such as forests and land to cooperate in reducing carbon emissions caused by industrialized nations.

There is international framework coordinated by United Nations (UN) in reducing carbon emissions in the world. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) develops Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD) which aims to prevent deforestation and make forests more valueable by creating financial value for the carbon stored in trees, and then also develops REDD+ as follow up of deforestation and forest degradation prevention including the role the role of conservation, sustainable management of forests and enhancement of forest carbon stocks in reducing emissions (UN REDD Programme, 2010).

To support UN mission in environment, Indonesia and Norway contribute to carbon trading cooperation in framework of REDD+. It compensates developing countries to protect their forests (Ministry of Environment and Forests of Indonesia, 2015). As one of the countries that agreed on United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) or Rio Summit or Rio Conference or Earth Summit in 1992 in Rio De Janeiro Brazil, Norway is required to reduce carbon

emissions produced by industries in Norway, looking for other countries that can cooperate in carbon trading. Norway's participation in the industries of Western Europe in Europe makes it one of the world's richest countries and a carbon-emitting country. Using an open economy model, the Norwegian industry develops and makes Norway as the second largest exporter of natural gas (Norway Exports 2015). It opens the opportunities for carbon trading between Indonesia and Norway. As non-EU member in European Union Emission Allowance Trading Scheme (ETS), Norway has to follow three phases to reduce carbon emissions in its country (Lazarowicz, 2009: 17). Furthermore, Norway has obligation to reduce and limit its carbon emission because of its commitment on Kyoto Protocol (Marion, et.al, 2015:2). Based on its support, Norway is one of important countries as shown on Table 1.

Through the signing of a letter of Intent (LoI) on 26 May 2010, Indonesia and Norway established a carbon trading agreement to support Indonesia's commitment to reduce gas emissions by 26 percent by 2020 (Gerda Renata, 2013: 452). Based on LoI, both countries has limited the cooperation since signature in 2010 to the end of 2016 (LoI, 2010). As a country of gas and petroleum industry, Norway contributes to increasing carbon emissions in the world and seeks carbon markets to reduce these

emissions through cooperation with commitment target in reducing carbon Indonesia in carbon trading. This carbon emissions must be supported with economic trading cooperation is important to maintain assistance. the balance of ecosystems in Norway that has a natural wealth with the flora that becomes a tourist destination. This prompted Norway to build carbon trading cooperation with Indonesia. The two countries agreed to build carbon trading cooperation through the LoI as a source of international law. Norway considers that Indonesia's absolute

Table 1 List of Foreign Environmental Funding in Indonesia

(Muchtar, et.al.,2012: 21)

Donors	Total (USD)	Range	Type	Sifat	
				Bilateral	Multilateral
AFD CCPL	800 Millions	2008-2010	Soft Loan	√	
World Bank 1	400 Millions	2010-2012	Development Fund Load		√
World Bank 2	400 Millions	-	Soft Loan		√
AusAID	2 Millions	2008-2012	Grant	√	
AusAID/IFCI	75,9 Millions	2007-2012	Grant	√	
JICA (1)	1 Billions	2008-2010	Soft Loan	√	
JICA (2)	16,5 Millions	2009-2014	Loan+ Grant	√	
USAID	136 Millions	2010-2012	Grant	√	
Norway	1 Billions	2010-2016	Grant	√	
DFID (1)	2,4 Millions	-	Grant	√	
DFID (2)	17,9 Millions	2010-2011	Grant	√	
UN-REDD	5,6 Millions	2010	Grant		√
FCPF	3,6 Millions	2010-2012	Grant	√	

FIP	80 Millions	2010- 2012	Grant	✓	
Germany (KFW)	68 Millions	2011- 2015	Grant	✓	
Germany (GTZ)	10 Millions	2010- 2015	Technical Support	✓	
Germany (KFW)	332 Millions	2011- 2017	Soft Loan	✓	
Germany (KFW)	2	-	Technical Support	✓	
Germany (ICI)	15,35 Millions	2008- 2014	Grant	✓	
GEF	4	-	Grant	✓	
European Union	23,7	207	Grant		

Indonesia has developed regulatory framework and REDD+ law through National REDD+ Task Force since Indonesia become the first country which introduces the National REDD+ legal framework in 2009.¹ At the lower legislative level, especially through a Presidential Decree or a Ministerial Regulation for Forestry, Indonesia's REDD+ legal framework has been implemented. Beside of that, the possible length of age existing legislation and overlap raises to be concerned because of lack of high legislature such as in form of law. The issue of clarification land, institutional coordination and institutional safeguards are the main challenge faced by Indonesia in implementing REDD+ legal framework. To solve that problems, REDD+ Agency is useful to coordinate the programs.

¹ The REDD Desk,
www.theredddesk.org/countries/INDONESIA/LEGAL_FRAMEWORK

Before Copenhagen Climate Change Conference (COP-15) and LoI with Norway, Indonesia has established regulations to support National REDD+ legal framework. There are three regulations issued by Ministry of Forestry to introduce the National REDD+ legal framework (www.theredddesk.org/countries/INDONESIA/LEGAL_FRAMEWORK):

1. Permenhut (Ministerial Regulation) Number P.68/Menhut-II/2008 about Organizing Demonstration Activities in Reducing Carbon Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation
2. Permenhut (Ministerial Regulation) Number P.30 / Menhut-II / 2009 about How to Reduce Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD)
3. Permenhut No. P.36 / Menhut-II / 2009 on Tata Ways of Business Licensing Utilization of Absorption

and / or Carbon Storage in Forest Protection and Protection.

Even though Indonesia has three regulations which are suitable to REDD+ programs, there is lack of technical mechanism of implementation. These regulations face many issue such as mechanism of carbon emission reduction (from forest degradation and deforestation, permits in utilizing forest production and protection, REDD+ coordination mechanisms, and implementation of procedures and REDD+ pilot projects.

This trade in carbon trade is detrimental to the Indonesian forestry and cultivation industry, as REDD requires Indonesia to limit forest and land management to reduce carbon emissions. This cooperation agreement requires Indonesia to undertake a forestry moratorium on forest and land management, namely the conversion of primary forests and peatlands for two years to reduce carbon emissions by 26% in 10 years. This obligation certainly has a positive impact on improving the quality of the environment, but this does not benefit the forestry and land management industries. This cooperation causes Indonesia to decrease non-tax state revenue. Indonesia suffers economic losses with the implementation of a moratorium on forest utilization, as Indonesia loses investments in the forestry sector which has been

contributing to the increase of people and state revenues and contributes to employment. This cooperation is in contradiction with Indonesia's need for forestry and land industries, as Indonesia needs investment of industrial timber plantations, oil palm plantations, biomass and mining area of 14 million hectares over the next few years with a value of Rp.29 trillion and employment of 700,000 people. The REDD cooperation undertaken by Indonesia with Norway through a forestry moratorium will hamper economic growth and this is certainly contrary to the development of forestry industry and land development in Indonesia.

Although this cooperation is detrimental to Indonesia in developing forestry and land-based industries, Indonesia benefited from this cooperation with the assistance of Norway's Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD) funds. Based on LoI Carbon LoI between the two countries, Norway contributed to REDD funding of Indonesia with a US \$ 1 billion fund. Indonesia can use this aid if Indonesia cooperates with Norway in carbon trading. Indonesia can certainly use Norway as an industrialized country that contributes to increasing emissions in the world. This partnership directly benefits Indonesia in obtaining considerable environmental funding from Norway.

Indonesia does not need to develop the forestry industry and manage land to increase foreign exchange, if this cooperation is implemented.

Based on the above description, Indonesia faces a dilemma in deciding whether to cooperate with Norway in carbon trading or not cooperating with Norway in carbon trading, as these two options have a logical consequence that affects Indonesia. As one of the developing countries with great natural riches, Indonesia should be able to develop the forestry industry and cultivate land. Indonesia can manage and develop the wealth of the owned forest, without engaging in carbon trading cooperation that requires Indonesia to restrict the processing of natural wealth. In fact, Indonesia cooperates with Norway to reduce carbon emissions in the world through a signed LoI in 2010. Indonesia is committed to helping the world in reducing global warming impacting global climate change. With its natural resources potential of the forests, Indonesia helps Norway to support the carbon emissions reduction project in the world due to the developed countries' industry. As a country of oil and gas producer, Norway produces carbon emissions in the world, so this country needs Indonesia as a country that can help in reducing carbon emissions through forest conservation and development in Indonesia. Although Indonesia obtains funding through a carbon trade agreement

with Norway for a billion US dollars, Indonesia on the other hand has suffered losses in the development of plantations in Indonesia. This cooperation has led Indonesia to not independently manage the forestry industry and utilize existing land. In short, this issue raises questions about Indonesia's motivation to engage in carbon trade cooperation with Norway.

Theoretical Analysis: Indonesia's Motivation of Carbon Trade Cooperation with Norway

The method used in this research is qualitative approach that is explanative analysis. The purpose of the explanatory analysis is to identify the cause of an event to answer the "why" question in a study. This study looks at the nature of variables and examines the causality relationship between variables. Case study or case study is a strategy used in building this research. In this study, the case studies were raised.

The level of nation-state analysis is used to focus the motivation of Indonesia as state which acts as rational actor in determining its foreign policy whether it cooperate with Norway or not. Table 2. shows us that state level analysis focus on behaviors of state. It means that the motivation of Indonesia in cooperation is explained in this focus.

Tabel 2. Level of Analysis and the Study of Foreign Policy

<i>Level of Analysis</i>	<i>Foreign Policy Focus</i>
Individual State System	Options/Decisions Behaviors Outcomes

Although there are several perspectives can be used for analysis, this research uses liberalism as international relations perspective to analyze Indonesian political motivation of cooperation with Norway. *Liberalism relies on interdependence impact, benefit of free trade, collective security and the existence of a real harmony of interests between states* (Stutch, Peter, and, Elias Juanita, 2007:65). It means that cooperation is beneficial way to solve problems in the world. In the perspective of liberalism, Indonesia becomes a rational actor in achieving its national interest in relations to Norway. Based on the descriptions of the above background, Indonesia faces a dilemmatic situation regarding carbon trading with Norway. As a rational actor, Indonesia certainly takes any policy into account, since every policy has consequences. This basis refers to the assumption of liberalism that assesses every state action should be based on national interests. Consideration in making rational choice and appropriate becomes an important point in the view of liberalism. In addition, the game's prisoner's dilemma theory can be used to explain the choices facing Indonesia in considering carbon trading with Norway. This theory is technically able to explain the

reason why Indonesia chose to trade carbon with Norway. To resolve common global problem and to get positive benefits from transnational cooperation, liberalism becomes an important argument in early Post-Second World War Period (Basu, 2012: 161). Climate change is global problem which needs participations from all countries in the world by doing collective cooperative programs.

The level of analysis used in this paper is the nation state level of analysis. In the country's foreign policy making, the nation-state's analysis level focuses on how governments act as decision-makers (Mansbach and Rafferty, 2008: 11). In essence, the emphasis on foreign policy-making lies with the state as the decisive main actor. In Indonesia's foreign policy making, the analysis focuses on how consideration of external policy choices faced as the main actor. The nation's level of state analysis is used, since this theory has relevance to the rational actor model that focuses on the state as a rational actor. As a rational actor, Indonesia must rationally decide what policies are appropriate in relation to Norway. This level of analysis helps in focusing this paper to be more specific in discussing Indonesian foreign policy in carbon trading relations with Norway.

Realism can be used as a perspective in this issue, based on an assumption about how the state can become the main actor who plays a role in deciding foreign policy. In the book *Fifty Key Thinkers in International Relations*, Stephen Krasner considers that realism seeks to fully exploit the behavior of states within the international system of anarchy in the absence of the highest authority above the state (Griffiths, 2008: 43). Each country can certainly determine the behavior, attitudes, policies that relate directly to its domestic affairs, as well as those related to what happens outside of domestic affairs. In view of realism, Indonesia as a nation must struggle itself in determining rational choice to achieve its national interest by trading carbon trade with Norway.

The concept of rational actors became supporters to explain Indonesian behavior in relation to Norway. In analyzing the foreign policy of a country, Graham T. Allison offers three approach models. The rational actor model is one of three models offered by Graham T. Allison to describe how the decision-making process in a country's foreign policy (Mintz and DeRouen, 2010: 57). The rational actor model can be used to describe the process of foreign decision-making as well as the phenomenon of a country's foreign policy change. Decision-making within a country is a process whereby decision makers analyze internal

and external environments, consider situations with policy choices and choose policies that are deemed most appropriate for the purpose of pursuing national interests. In addition, decision-making also requires consideration of domestic political circumstances such as elections, public opinion, bureaucratic conditions and international factors that can influence the decision-making process. Based on Graham T. Allison's explanation, this paper discusses how the policy maker (decision maker) is Indonesia in paying attention and analyzing the influence of internal and external environment in decision making process to do carbon trading with Norway. In the policy-making process, policymakers need to prepare several alternative options with possible consequences (Mintz and DeRouen, 2010: 57). This is an obligation that Indonesia must engage in carbon trading relations with Norway.

Furthermore, the concept of rational actors is associated with the prisoner's dilemma model to explain in detail the options facing Indonesia as a rational actor in relation to Norway discussing carbon trading issues. Prisoner's dilemma is a game intended to make the best policy choices even in the worst of circumstances. The prisoner's dilemma model has several options that may be a consideration for the players involved in policy making. In conjunction with this paper, the prisoner's dilemma

model can analyze in detail the policy options facing Indonesia by displaying the advantages and disadvantages of any policy choices related to carbon trading issues with Norway.

In a book written by Alex Mintz and Karl DeRouen, prisoner's dilemma is described in the scenario of two arrested prisoners for alleged committing crimes (Mintz and DeRouen, 2010: 64). Then each prisoner is offered on options that require them to choose one of the various alternatives provided. The prisoners may choose to accept the deal offered by the police with little reward. This agreement means that the prisoner agreed to testify against the crime of another prisoner. On the other hand, the prisoner may also refuse an

agreement and choose to remain silent for the crime committed. It will maximally benefit ((Mintz and DeRouen, 2010: 64) .The following Table.3 is a prisoner's dilemma analysis in the relationship between Indonesia and Norway on carbon trading issues.

There are three rules in Prisoner's Dilemma Game:

1. If A and B betray each other, each one of them gets 2 years in prison.
2. If A betrays B and then B remains silent, A will be free and B will get 3 years in prison (and vice versa)
3. If both prisoners keep silent, both of them will only serve 1 year in prison (with little lose)

Table .3 Prisoner's Dilemma Analysis

		NORWEGIA	
		Coorporate/Silent	Defect/Betray
INDONESIA	Coorporate/Silent	-1	0
	Defect/Betray	0	-2

Source : Mintz and DeRouen, 2010: 65

To answer why Indonesia is trading carbon with Norway, the analysis of game prisoner's dilemma theory can answer the question, because one of the selected options explains the advantages of the choice. Under

Table.3, Indonesia has four possible options in deciding carbon trading issues with Norway. Here are the options scenarios facing Indonesia:

1. First, Indonesia scores -1 and Norway scores -1 if these two countries cooperate in carbon trading. Indonesia and Norway benefit from each other, though their benefits are not optimal. For Indonesia, this option causes Indonesia to obtain grants from Norway in the program of reducing carbon emissions in the world. Based on the Carbon Trade LoI between the two countries, Norway contributes to Indonesia's REDD+ funding with the assistance of one billion US dollars. This cooperation also benefits Indonesia in building good relations with Norway and this has an effect on increasing cooperation in other fields between the two countries. Indonesia has also benefited from this partnership, as the country is getting a positive image in relation to other countries as a country concerned with reducing carbon emissions in the world. For Norway, carbon trading cooperation is beneficial because Norway succeeded in getting Indonesia as a country with large tropical forests in reducing carbon emissions in the world. Although carbon trading cooperation between Indonesia and Norway is beneficial on the one hand, on the other hand Indonesia and Norway are experiencing losses. For Indonesia, this cooperation agreement requires Indonesia to undertake a forestry and forestry moratorium on forest and land conversion, ie the conversion of primary forests and peat lands for two years to reduce carbon emissions by 26% in 10 years, thus disadvantaging Indonesia in the development of the forestry and processing industries industrial land to increase foreign exchange. For Norway, this cooperation will drain as much as one billion US dollars, so Indonesia's unpreparedness in implementing the REDD+ program will hurt Norway.
2. Second, Indonesia gets a score -3 and Norway scores 0 if Indonesia refuses to cooperate in carbon trading, while Norway decides to cooperate in carbon trading. This choice becomes difficult for Indonesia to choose, because Indonesia certainly gets a big loss by refusing aid from Norway. Indonesia is not necessarily able to get other countries to cooperate in carbon trading. Meanwhile, Norway will be released, because Norway can look for other markets to trade carbon.
3. Third, Indonesia gets a score of 0 and Norway scores -3, if Indonesia cooperates in carbon trading, while Norway refuses to cooperate in carbon trading. For Indonesia, this carbon trading cooperation can certainly

benefit Indonesia, as Indonesia gets funding for carbon emissions reduction program in the world. As a country with tropical forests in the world, Indonesia has the opportunity to gain profits in this way. Meanwhile, Norway suffered losses if the country refused to cooperate in carbon trading. Norway has committed itself to the Rio Conference in 1992 in Rio De Janeiro mandating the country to reduce carbon emissions produced by Norwegian domestic industries. Norway will be sanctioned, if the country is not complied with the rules of international law that have been mutually agreed upon.

4. Fourth, Indonesia and Norway will get -2, if these two countries do not agree to cooperate on carbon trading. Indonesia will suffer losses if the country refuses funding from Norway for environmental programs, although on the other hand Indonesia can develop the forest industry. This funding is very beneficial for Indonesia, because Indonesia does not have to damage the environment with the development of the forest industry to increase foreign exchange. Norway suffers losses if the country refuses to cooperate with Indonesia, as the country is not successful in obtaining a

large carbon market to support its attachment within the Rio Conference, although Norway may seek other countries to cooperate in carbon trading with it.

Based on the above four options, the option one is chosen by Indonesia, because empirically Indonesia and Norway chose to cooperate in carbon trading through LoI on May 26th 2010. This option was chosen by Indonesia, because it will get a grant from Norway in a worldwide carbon emissions reduction program of up to one billion US dollars. This cooperation also benefits Indonesia in building good relations with Norway, as success in this carbon trading cooperation has the potential to enhance cooperation in other fields between the two countries. Indonesia also gets a good image in the eyes of countries in the world as a country that cares about reducing carbon emissions. This all motivated Indonesia to choose to cooperate with Norway in carbon trading.

Conclusions

Based on analysis above, the motivation of Indonesia in cooperation with Norway is financial support in environmental programs. As a rational actor, Indonesia focuses on the option that benefits the national interest of Indonesia approving that good cooperation. Norwegian financial benefits Indonesia in

development. Although this cooperation influences to Indonesia in developing the forest industry sector and managing the land, this cooperation still benefits Indonesia, because it can build cooperative relationships in other sectors with Norway. On the other hand, Norway can implement its

commitment in Kyoto Protocol and also in framework of REDD+. It also get good image in Europe and in the world. In addition, Indonesia also get a good image in the world as country which commits to reduce carbon emission and protect environment.

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