



REDD+ politics in the media

A case study from Brazil

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Working Paper 55

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CIFOR, the Center for International Forestry Research, analyses policy, practice and implementation in its Global Comparative Study on REDD+, and disseminates lessons learned to a national and global audience. Our goal is to generate knowledge and practical tools to support efforts to reduce forest emissions in ways that are effective, efficient and equitable and that generate co-benefits such as poverty alleviation and biodiversity conservation. This study on 'REDD+ politics in the media' is part of the methodological framework for the Global Comparative Study's work on national REDD+ policies and processes. The framework was prepared by Maria Brockhaus, Monica Di Gregorio and Sheila Wertz-Kanounnikoff.

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Executive summary

The core idea of REDD—reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation—is to reward individuals, communities, projects and countries that reduce greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions from forests. Adopted under the UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention for Climate Change), the mechanism aims to compensate tropical countries for the carbon benefits that their standing forests (‘avoided emissions’ + ‘carbon stocks’) contribute to mitigating climate change.

The objective of the analysis contained in this working paper is to characterise the nature of the discourse related to REDD+ in the Brazilian press from 2005 to 2009, identifying the principal actors who led this debate in the media as well as their positions—as either advocates or adversaries of a particular view on REDD+—as these positions evolved during this period. Such an analysis contributes to the broader goal of the CIFOR project on REDD+, to identify and characterise key decisions and actors in the policy network associated with the direction taken by REDD+ strategies at a national level.

To achieve this objective, a media analysis of news articles, notes and editorials published in 4 major Brazilian newspapers was carried out. The media analysis sought specifically to answer: (1) How is REDD+ represented in the Brazilian media? (2) What REDD+-related policies and positions were discussed in the Brazilian media during this formative period? and (3) Who is influencing these discussions? The analysis investigates how discourse around REDD+ policy debates is framed in the mainstream Brazilian press, identifying media frames, the main actors and their positions on REDD+, looking at a range of variables at different levels. In addition, key informant interviews were conducted with journalists who write about REDD+-related issues in major Brazilian newspapers.

As the results of the analysis indicate, despite the global importance of deforestation in the Amazon—the world’s largest remaining tropical forest—Brazil is taking only initial steps towards REDD+ design, and that these steps are concentrated amongst a few key actors.

This analysis suggests that the Brazilian print media has emphasised policymaking concerns and economic

issues involving finance and carbon markets at the expense of some of the more specific institutional issues (such as land tenure and carbon rights) related to REDD+ implementation. However, amongst the social actors directly engaged with the issues, the REDD+ debate in Brazil is quite rich and has been progressing for some time, especially in relation to the issues of deforestation, environmental crime and social injustice. However, these themes have not received due media attention in the mainstream press.

Although REDD+ implementation is occurring in Brazil in a decentralised manner, the analysis shows that deliberations and outcomes resulting from specialised or niche meetings and announcements do not receive much press coverage. The media are better able to cover issues related to policymaking initiatives and REDD+ funding and its additionality because of the wealth of related primary media sources, particularly on the Internet, where reporting is primarily oriented towards preparations for and outcomes from major global events such as the UNFCCC Conferences of the Parties (COPs).

The analysis also reveals that a number of central actors are involved in the REDD+ debate in Brazil, most of whom represent national non-governmental organisations, Amazonian states or the federal government. Most of these actors consider REDD+ to be positive for Brazil and for forest conservation, but they sometimes disagree over strategy, distribution or control over resources. The media analysis confirms that this disagreement amongst actors in relation to REDD+ implementation strategies dominates the national debate, and, indeed, appears to have led to delays in making concrete decisions on REDD+ at the national level.

An equally important finding is that the media have the capacity to influence political positions in the Brazilian REDD+ context; for this reason, the media focused on the issues in which the major policy actors sought to gain the upper hand, rather than addressing the minutiae of policy implementation. During the very early stages of REDD+ policy definition, journalists perceived these policy arenas as being of primary importance.

Resumo executivo

A principal idéia de REDD—redução de emissões de desmatamento e degradação florestal—é compensar/incentivar indivíduos, comunidades, projetos e países que reduzam gases de efeito estufa (GEE) oriundos de atividades florestais e de uso da terra. Adotado dentro da Convenção Quadro das Nações Unidas para Mudanças Climáticas (CQNUMC), REDD objetiva compensar países tropicais pelos benefícios que suas florestas em pé oferecem para a mitigação das mudanças climáticas (como a emissão evitada e o aumento dos estoques de carbono).

O objetivo da presente análise é a caracterização da natureza do discurso de REDD na mídia brasileira entre 2005 e 2009, identificando os principais atores que lideraram esse debate e suas respectivas posições—como defensores ou refutadores de alguma posição específica em relação a REDD—e como essas posições evoluíram ao longo desse tempo. Essa análise contribui para o objetivo global do projeto do CIFOR sobre REDD, a identificação e caracterização de decisões chave e atores da rede política associada com a estratégia de REDD+ a nível nacional.

Para esse objetivo, uma análise de reportagens, artigos, notas e editoriais publicados nos 4 maiores jornais do Brasil foi realizada. A análise de mídia procurou especificamente responder as seguintes questões: (1) Como REDD+ é representado na mídia brasileira? (2) Que posições e políticas foram debatidas durante esse período? e (3) Quem está influenciando esses debates? A análise investiga o discurso de REDD em políticas e debates, identificando quadros (*frames*) e os principais atores e suas posições em relação a REDD, analisando diferentes variáveis em diferentes níveis. Somado a isso, foram conduzidas entrevistas com jornalistas que escrevem sobre REDD+ e assuntos relacionados nos principais jornais do Brasil.

A análise indicou que, mesmo com a importância global do desmatamento na Amazônia—a maior floresta tropical do mundo—o Brasil está apenas começando a caminhar em relação ao *design* de REDD e esses passos estão concentrados entre poucos atores.

O trabalho sugere que a mídia brasileira tem enfatizado assuntos econômicos e de elaboração de políticas públicas, não considerando muito os assuntos institucionais relacionados com a implementação de REDD (como definição de posse e direito de carbono). Contudo, entre os atores sociais diretamente envolvidos na implementação de REDD, o debate no Brasil é bem profundo, tendo progredido por bastante tempo, especialmente em relação ao desmatamento, crimes ambientais e justiça social. No entanto, esses temas não tem recebido a atenção da mídia jornalística.

Mesmo com a implementação de REDD ocorrendo no Brasil de maneira descentralizada, a análise demonstra que deliberações e resultados de nichos e encontros específicos não foram tão cobertos pela mídia, principalmente na Internet, onde a principal cobertura era sobre preparativos e resultados de grandes reuniões internacionais (como as Conferências das Partes—COPs - da CQNUMC).

A análise também revela que um número central de atores envolvidos no debate de REDD no Brasil é representado por organizações nacionais não governamentais, estados da Amazônia e o governo federal. A maioria desses atores considera REDD como algo positivo para o país e para a conservação florestal, mas eles discordam em relação a estratégias, distribuição e controle sobre recursos. A análise da mídia confirma que essa discordância entre atores em relação a implementação de estratégias de REDD domina o debate nacional e, na verdade, talvez tenha levado ao adiamento de decisões concretas em relação ao mecanismo a nível nacional.

Outra revelação importante é que a mídia teve capacidade de influenciar decisões e posições políticas no contexto brasileiro de REDD; por essa razão, a mídia teve sua atenção focada em assuntos que a maior parte dos atores tentaram dominar, em vez de tocar na minúcia de implementação da política. Durante os estágios iniciais da definição política de REDD, jornalistas perceberam esse cenário de políticas públicas como aquele de primeira importância.

Introduction

It is generally assumed that the mass media influence policy and political processes (Crow 2010). Whilst the media can create awareness about policy issues (Crow 2010), they can also contribute to the creation of political identity (Dittmer 2005, in Boykoff 2008). Actors in the role of policy entrepreneurs often influence policies and processes in these same ways (Kingdon 1995, in Crow 2010).

This working paper uses a media analysis to examine how the Brazilian media has approached the topic of reducing emissions from deforestation and degradation (REDD+), with the aim of assessing how the media approach is influencing this policy arena in Brazil.

This study is part of CIFOR's Global Comparative Study (GCS) on REDD+, which analyses REDD+ policy, practice and implementation and disseminates lessons learned to a national and global audience.¹ CIFOR's goal is to generate knowledge and practical tools to support efforts to reduce forest emissions in ways that are effective, efficient and equitable (3Es) and that generate co-benefits such as poverty alleviation and biodiversity conservation (3Es+).

Through the conceptual lens of media framing, we reviewed 245 articles (out of 409 screened)

covering REDD+-related topics published in 4 major newspapers in Brazil. Most of the articles analysed were framed in relation to the design of REDD+ strategies and policies, at both international and national levels. We also identified a group of core actors who became influential in REDD+ implementation and research in Brazil. The main policy concerns we examine are related to REDD+ effectiveness and additionality; we also reflect on Brazil's position of favouring a mechanism not linked to carbon markets or to developed countries' emissions reduction targets.²

The media analysis specifically seeks to answer the following questions: (1) How is REDD+ represented in the Brazilian media? (2) What are the REDD+-related policies and positions being discussed in the Brazilian media? and (3) Who is influencing these discussions?

The paper is organised in 4 main sections: (1) the REDD+ context, in which the Brazilian REDD+ context for policy action to avert further forest loss is described; (2) methodology, which explains our methods and analytical procedures; (3) results, setting out the main statistical findings and analysis derived from the research; and (4) conclusions.

¹ For more information, see <http://forestsclimatechange.org/survey.html>.

² The Brazilian government has been outspoken in global climate negotiations on the need to keep REDD+ separate from compliance-related instruments such as the Clean Development Mechanism and emissions trading, which are linked to the carbon market.

1. The REDD+ context

Carbon emissions from land use change—primarily tropical deforestation and forest degradation—make up an estimated 15–20% of all global carbon emissions (IPCC 2007), which is more than that of the global transport sector. The ‘crucial role’ of forests in climate change mitigation and the need for the ‘immediate establishment’ of a REDD+ mechanism were officially endorsed in the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) Copenhagen Accord in December 2009 (FCCC/CP/2009/L.7).

The basic idea of REDD+ is for developed countries to compensate forest-rich developing countries in return for preserving their forests. A REDD+ mechanism would involve placing a value on forest carbon that will enable forest conservation to compete financially with the traditional drivers of deforestation, such as agricultural conversion, timber extraction and infrastructure development. In addition to carbon sequestration, REDD+ could also deliver significant co-benefits, such as biodiversity conservation, poverty alleviation and improved forest governance (Angelsen 2008).

However, whilst the overarching principle of REDD+ is relatively straightforward, determining how it will operate in practice is proving to be far more complex. For example, REDD+ will succeed only if it is properly designed and implemented; if it is broad enough to secure binding, multilateral support, yet specific enough to apply to diverse national circumstances; if transaction costs are sufficiently low to enable forest conservation to compete with other land use options, yet inclusive enough to secure the support of the local and indigenous communities that are best positioned to exercise stewardship over the forest.

Consequently, issues such as land tenure, indigenous rights, funding mechanisms, corruption and emission reference levels are the source of much debate amongst government, corporate and community stakeholders at a multitude of levels. In the case of Brazil, funding is the aspect that has raised the most concerns since REDD+ was first proposed. The underlying issue is that of the additional

character of the mechanism, from the standpoint of effectiveness (in achieving global greenhouse gas (GHG) reductions) and in relation to the modality of funding REDD+. The Brazilian government has been arguing that REDD+ implementation should be linked to voluntary or eventually compulsory national targets in the tropics and should not serve as a means for developed countries to achieve their emissions reduction targets by making low-cost fungible credits for reduced deforestation tradable in international carbon markets. Otherwise, the Brazilian government claims, the mechanism could end up being perceived as a tool associated with spurious off-set schemes that benefit Annex I countries by enabling them to continue emitting, rather than with reduced emissions from deforestation.

At the international level, concerns about REDD+ amongst developing countries include the possible negative impacts on economic growth and loss of national sovereignty, whilst developed-country concerns include leakage, permanence and the economic implications of including REDD+ within mechanisms such as international carbon markets.

At the national level, common challenges include ‘ensuring high level government commitment; achieving strong coordination within governments and between state and non-state actors; designing mechanisms to ensure participation and benefit sharing; and establishing monitoring, reporting and verification (MRV) systems’ (Brockhaus and Peskett 2009). Nevertheless, more than 40 countries are moving forward with a range of models for REDD+.

1.1 Policy advances for REDD+ in Brazil

Brazil appears within the overall discussion on REDD+ as a megadiverse country with significant threats to remaining forests; as such, it is a prime candidate to receive funding to protect its remaining forests. Nearly half the country (4 196 943 km² or 49.3% of the national territory) lies within the Amazon tropical forest biome (IBGE 2004). The Amazon is considered of national and international

significance as the world's largest contiguous remaining tropical forest—which is under severe threat from deforestation pressures, particularly agribusiness expansion (May and Millikan 2010). Brazil has recently established progressive targets for reducing deforestation. REDD+ could be a way to fund the country's long-term commitment to achieve zero net deforestation.

According to the National Institute of Space Research (INPE), which monitors deforestation using satellites, deforestation in the Amazon reached peaks in 1995, when 29 059 km² of forest was cleared, and in 2004, with 27 772 km² of deforestation. In 2009, the area cleared amounted to 7464 km². More than 17% of the original Amazon forest had been cleared by the time of the most recent assessment in 2010. Since 2005, deforestation rates have declined substantially, as a result of increased government control and lower global commodity prices.

Another Brazilian biome under threat is the Cerrado. Covering 23% of Brazilian territory, the Cerrado consists mainly of savannah and is hence ideal for agricultural expansion, primarily for sugarcane, pasture, cotton and soybean production. In 2009, deforestation of the Cerrado was almost double that of the Amazon: 20 000 km² (MMA 2009).

The Atlantic Forest, which originally occupied 13% of Brazilian territory, lost in the past 2 years only 208.7 km² of its dwindling remnant forests; total deforestation of the region during the past decade was 2384.7 km² (Fundação SOS Mata Atlântica/INPE 2010). Although deforestation occurs here at a much smaller scale than in the Amazon, Brazilian nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) consider any deforestation in the biome to represent a threat, because only 7.9% of its total forest area remains, most of which is on private land. Most Brazilian experience with voluntary reforestation based on carbon funding has taken place here (May and Millikan 2010). To date, however, the Amazon biome has received nearly all the attention related to reducing deforestation and the potential for REDD+.

We may take as the starting point for recent policies designed to combat deforestation in Brazil the launch of the 'Action Plan for the Prevention and Control of Deforestation in the Amazon Region (PPCDAM)' in

2004. In this plan, the Brazilian government outlined its key strategies for the Amazon.

In 2006, the Public Forests Management Law was approved, which created the Brazilian Forest Service. Launched that same year was a pioneering initiative to integrate a major road-paving project into a comprehensive regional sustainable development strategy, called the 'Sustainable BR-163 Plan'. BR-163 is a highway that connects Cuiabá, the state capital of Mato Grosso, to the port of Santarem, in the state of Pará, crossing previously untouched regions of the Amazon forest.

Brazil submitted a proposal for 'compensated reduction' of deforestation to COP 13 in Bali in 2007, and proposed the creation of an Amazon Fund as a mechanism to finance efforts to reduce pressures on remaining forests. Later the same year, a presidential decree established specific procedures to intensify efforts in combating deforestation in 36 municipalities in the so-called 'arc of deforestation' identified as 'hotspots' of forest clearing.

Also in 2007, the first state-level policy of REDD+ was established—the state of Amazonas created a Climate Change Law authorising REDD+ projects and payments for environmental services in the state—and civil society organisations launched the 'National Pact to Value the Standing Forest and Reduce Deforestation', demanding zero deforestation in the Amazon.

In 2008, the states of Acre, Mato Grosso, Tocantins and Pará began to formulate action plans for preventing deforestation, under the aegis of PPCDAM. All Brazilian Amazon governors presented their strategies for REDD+ at COP 15 in Copenhagen in 2009, indicating their strong interest in accessing funding via the carbon market.

After the Copenhagen deadlock, widespread disillusionment with the prospects of securing a post-Kyoto accord had the effect of setting back Brazilian priorities to a certain extent, although the commitment of national delegates in Copenhagen to REDD+ stimulated further policy debate during 2010, including the formulation of a national law permitting private landowners to engage in carbon markets.³

3 These developments will be discussed in a follow-up to this study.

2. Methodology⁴

2.1 Media framing approach

Following Boykoff (2008), this study explored media frames and complemented them with information from semi-structured interviews to investigate the link between media discourse and the policymaking arena in Brazil. A media frame is ‘a broad organizing theme for selecting, emphasizing, and linking the elements of a story such as the scenes, the characters, their actions, and supporting documentation’ (Bennett 1996, in Boykoff 2008:555). In practice, a frame is a conceptual lens that brings certain aspects of reality into sharper focus, emphasising a particular way of understanding an issue whilst relegating others to the background (Di Gregorio 2009).

For this study we began by identifying the most important (or primary) frame. The primary frame is almost always found in the most prominent elements of a text: headline, subheading and lead paragraph. The primary frame is also likely to quote sources in support of the frame; these are more likely to be named, and more likely to be prestigious, than in subsidiary frames. For the sake of ‘balance’, the frame is likely to include a rebuttal, or an alternative view to that initially proposed. However, ‘adversaries’ are often given less prominence, space or direct voice than ‘primary definers’ (the ‘advocate’ of the primary frame) (Di Gregorio 2009).

After eliminating the elements of the text that support the primary frame, we identified a secondary frame by grouping the remaining text according to themes and assessing their position in the text, as well as the nature and extent of the quoted sources.

⁴ The methodology for this analysis was adapted by Monica Di Gregorio of the Development Studies Institute, London School of Economics, from the ‘Code book for the analysis of media frames in REDD articles’ by Stephan Price (University of Kent) and Clare Saunders (University of Southampton), written in 2009 and applied in a policy research programme on climate change, COMPON, led by Jeffrey Broadbent (University of Minnesota). The long-term scientific goal of COMPON is to explain the variation in national responses to global climate change under the emerging international regime. Examining the causes of this variation from the perspective of networks of discourse and policymaking interaction amongst relevant organisations and knowledge brokers, the project collects empirical data for rigorous comparative analysis.

2.2 Media coding

The media coding included 5 main variables at 3 different levels. The main characteristics of the variables employed are summarised in Table 1.

2.3 An analysis of the 3Es

As discussed above, a key concern of CIFOR’s GCS is that efforts to reduce forest emissions are undertaken in ways that are effective, efficient and equitable (3Es) and that generate co-benefits such as poverty alleviation and biodiversity conservation (3Es+). This media analysis pays particular attention to the extent to which the 3Es+ are portrayed as objectives of Brazilian strategy in the national press, as well as to identifying to which actors these aims are most relevant.

The 3Es+ criteria of REDD+ are defined as follows:

- *Effectiveness* refers to the amount of emissions reduced or removals increased by REDD+ actions. Are the overall climate targets met?
- *Efficiency* refers to the costs of these emissions reductions or removal increases. Are the targets being achieved at minimum cost?
- *Equity* refers to the distribution of REDD+ costs and benefits. Are the benefits shared and the costs allocated fairly? (Angelsen *et al.* 2009:5)

Angelsen *et al.* (2009) further note that ‘co-benefits’ (defined as ‘benefits in addition to reduced forest related impact on climate change’) are important in the REDD+ context and highlight 4 types: (1) forest conservation, such as preserving biodiversity; (2) socio-economic benefits, such as reducing poverty, supporting livelihoods and stimulating economic development (closely allied with the third ‘E’ for equity); (3) better governance; and (4) adaptation.

This working paper forms part of Component 1 of the GCS. Component 1, whose aim is to analyse how national processes to formulate and implement REDD+ policies reflect diverse interests at all levels, is based on the premise that achieving 3E+ outcomes from REDD+ national strategies depends on each country’s governance structure, and its actors, mechanisms, policy processes, institutional

Table 1. Variables and levels of media analysis

Variable	Level	Characteristics
Descriptive	Article level: Level 1 included coding of descriptive variables of each single article; whilst largely used for identification purposes, level 1 coding can indicate shifts in the priority given to REDD+ media coverage.	Descriptive variables refer to variables that simply identify the article, including date and author, the length of the article, what day of the week it ran and the section of the newspaper in which it appeared.
Primary and secondary frames	Media frame: Level 2 coding refers to 3 characteristics of the primary and secondary frame: type of frame, topic of the frame and level of the frame. Level 2 coding is sufficient if the aim is a quick identification of main topics reported in news articles. Media frame: Level 3 coding corresponds to more detailed identification of frames. Level 3 coding is much more intensive and allows identification of the main discourses used to present ideological positions and beliefs. It identifies advocates and adversaries within the frames and better qualifies their positions. This level of analysis allows us to identify different interests and later analyse different coalitions advocating different approaches to REDD+ issues (Di Gregorio 2009).	Variables analysing the primary and secondary frames are those that characterise these frames, as well as their types, topic and level. Also included are the manner in which the article framed the REDD+ debate (e.g. diagnostic, prognostic, symptomatic, motivational); the political scale at which it framed the debate (e.g. international, national, subnational); and the specific topics around which it framed the debate (e.g. political, economic, ecological).
Protest events	Article level: Refers to all protest events mentioned in the article	This third group of variables is based on the content of each article as a whole (rather than on single frames). We use the broad definition of environmental protest events in Fillieule and Jimenez (2006:273), in which an environmental protest event is defined as 'a collective, public action regarding issues in which explicit concerns about the environment [in our case REDD+ protest events] are expressed as a central dimension, organized by non-state instigators with the explicit purpose of critique or dissent together with societal and/or political demands' (Di Gregorio 2009:4).
Policy events	Article level: Refers to all policy events mentioned in the articles	This variable includes the type of policy event, along with any responses to it. As for the protest event analysis, policy event analysis is based on the content of each article as a whole (rather than on the single frames). We define a policy event as 'a critical, temporally located decision point in a collective decision-making sequence that must occur in order for a policy option to be finally selected' (Laumann and Knoke 1987:251).
Policy actors	Article level: Refers to all policy actors mentioned in the article other than the advocate and adversary	The last group of variables collects all the relevant core policy actors mentioned in the media articles (apart from the advocates and adversaries of the 2 main frames). We define a core actor as 'an organisation or/and individual that defines it/he/herself and that is perceived by others a part of the national policy domain' (Di Gregorio 2009:5).

Source: Adapted from Di Gregorio (2009)

mechanisms, policy processes, institutional context and macro-economic conditions. It is thus hypothesised that the 3E+ outcomes of a country's national REDD+ strategy can be enhanced by understanding the relationships between actors, structures, processes and policies; and by designing appropriate options for REDD+ mechanisms which incorporate this understanding (Brockhaus and Peskett 2009).

2.4 Newspapers, articles and interviews

Selection of newspapers

Four newspapers were selected for this media analysis: the 3 largest in Brazil (*Folha de S. Paulo*, *O Estado de S. Paulo*, *O Globo*) and a business newspaper (*Valor Econômico*); all have a national circulation.

The criteria for selection were circulation, national importance and coverage of REDD+-related issues during 2005–2009.

Folha de S. Paulo is a daily newspaper based in São Paulo. The average circulation is 332 634 copies on Sundays and 285 958 copies on other days. The newspaper estimates a total readership of 1 442 000 people (data from March 2010).

Estado de S. Paulo is also based in São Paulo and is published daily. The average circulation is 279 190 on Sundays and 214 118 on other days, with an estimated total readership of 1 142 000 people (data from February 2010).

O Globo is a daily newspaper based in Rio de Janeiro and is owned by *Organizações Globo*, the largest media group in Brazil, which also owns the largest television network (*Rede Globo*). Average circulation is 337 301 on Sundays and 241 102 on other days, with an estimated readership of 1 465 000 (data from October 2009).

Valor Econômico is published jointly by *Organizações Globo* and *Folha de S. Paulo*, and is Brazil's main newspaper specialising in economic issues. Average daily circulation is 56 935 copies, with circulation on weekdays in 7 Brazilian states. The estimated readership is 192 000 (data from June 2009).

All 4 newspapers selected pride themselves in journalistic quality, fact checking and editorial selectivity. They are politically middle-of-the-road rather than adopting any particular stance. *Folha de S. Paulo*, for example, publishes a weekly ombudsman's page in which journalistic slant is analysed statistically, and often harshly criticised. All 4 newspapers have assumed a non-partisan position.

Regional newspapers: From the Brazilian Amazon region

We considered but ultimately rejected the idea of including regional newspapers in our sample. This decision was based on 2 factors. First, preliminary research revealed very few articles exclusively dedicated to REDD+ in regional newspapers. For example, a search of *O Liberal*, the newspaper with the highest circulation in Pará, the most populous state in the Amazon, revealed a total of only 5 articles during the entire 5-year period. Second, many regional newspapers, particularly those in Acre and Amazonas—states with environmentally progressive governments that would be expected to generate high interest in REDD+—do not maintain online databases of their articles. In the limited time and with the restricted resources available for this analysis, it would not have been viable to travel to these states to review archives locally. However, such a review would be of value in analysing regional policy networks at a later stage of the GCS.

It is also worth noting that many newspapers in the Brazilian Amazon region are highly dependent on local governments. This is the case for newspapers in Acre (which are maintained by state-supported advertising) and in Pará (*O Liberal* and the *Diário do Pará*), which belong to local political groups. This dependency generally influences the selection of issues covered, the editorial bias and the quality of reporting.

Semi-structured interviews

With the aim of validating coding results and complementing data for the media-framing exercise, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 4 journalists in Brazil. The interviewees were selected based on their relevance in the climate change and REDD+ debate in the media. The interviews were

able to provide more in-depth information and details with regard to the main debated issues, actors and positions in the REDD+ policy arena.

Questions were organised into 3 main sections. In the first set of questions, respondents were asked to describe the major actors, the main debated issues and the frames that different actors use to justify their positions on debated issues. In the second set of questions, respondents were asked to detail the chronology of the main REDD+ policy events, as reported by the media. Finally, they were asked to indicate the main sources of information for the media generally and for their organisation in particular.

The 4 journalists interviewed as part of this study were:

- Claudio Ângelo, science editor for *Folha de S. Paulo*
- Washington Novaes, journalist at TV Cultura and columnist for *O Estado de S. Paulo*

- Afra Balazina, reporter for *O Estado de S. Paulo*
- Daniela Chiaretti, journalist for *Valor Econômico*

2.5 Article selection

In searching for articles we used the following keywords and their Portuguese equivalents:

- REDD+/RED
- Reduction of emissions from deforestation and (forest) degradation (*Redução de emissões de desmatamento e degradação florestal*)
- Reduction of emissions originating from deforestation and (forest) degradation (*Redução de emissões originando de desmatamento e degradação florestal*)
- Avoided deforestation (*Desmatamento evitado*)
- Standing forest (*Floresta em pé*)
- Forest carbon (*Carbono florestal*)
- Forest emissions (*Emissões de florestas*)

3. Results

3.1 The media landscape: Evolution of coverage on climate change and forests in the Brazilian press

The following discussion describes how forest and climate change policies have evolved in Brazil and how this evolution engaged key actors and interest groups during the study period. Although the analysis refers to the articles reviewed for this study, it offers more a descriptive overview of the ‘news landscape’ within which forest-related issues have been covered than an overview of the data.

Coverage of themes such as the relationship between climate and forests began to appear frequently in the largest Brazilian newspapers in 2007, with the announcement by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) that climate change was a real phenomenon largely caused by human activity, and that mitigating it and adapting to it would require changes in human behaviour. The topic of REDD, however, never appeared at that stage as an isolated theme: it was always related to deforestation rates and climate change negotiations.

During 2007, petroleum prices reached very high levels and, for the first time, the automotive industry in Brazil began to sell more ‘flex’ cars (running on alcohol or gasoline at the operator’s discretion) than gasoline-powered vehicles (the Brazilian automotive fleet is currently 90% dominated by flexfuel vehicles; DCR 2010). Press coverage began to address climate change in more depth, and to include biofuel issues in its agenda, given Brazil’s comparative advantage in renewable energy.

Issues regarding deforestation occupied little space in the press, because rates of deforestation had been declining since 2005. At the end of 2007, however, the National Institute of Space Research (INPE) identified new increases in deforestation—with 12 000 km² of deforestation at a time of year when such an expansion in clearing activity was unexpected because of the onset of heavy rainfall in the Amazon; this presaged an even higher peak in the dry ‘burning season’ in August.

This increase in deforestation sparked press interest in the issue, resulting in considerable media attention during 2008 on the polemic between the federal government/INPE and the state government of Mato Grosso. The Mato Grosso governor at the time, Blairo Maggi, and the state secretary of environment contested the INPE data.⁵

This unanticipated high rate of deforestation was used as support for the operations of the Brazilian Institute for Environment and Renewable Natural Resources (IBAMA) in the Arc of Deforestation region (agricultural frontier in the states of Rondônia, Mato Grosso and Pará), which imposed exemplary fines on a number of rural producers in Pará and Mato Grosso. The Maggi government pressed for an end to the operation. Ultimately, the governor relented, but the INPE changed its methodology and began to distinguish in its reports between ‘clearcutting’ and forest ‘degradation’ (INPE 2010). After ‘making amends’ with the federal government, Blairo Maggi began to present himself as a defender of environmental policies for the Amazon; this new attitude also became a theme in articles published in Brazilian newspapers.⁶

In May 2008, environmental issues returned to the agenda, following the resignation of Minister of Environment Marina Silva. Silva resigned after the Lula government handed the coordination of the Sustainable Amazon Plan (PAS) to the Secretary of Strategic Issues, rather than to the Ministry of Environment. This move was the last straw in a series of policy reversals indicating a weakening of the ministry’s influence over cross-cutting concerns that, in addition to the Amazon, included introduction of genetically modified soybeans and the transposition of the San Francisco River.

5 MT vê ‘erro de 100%’ em dados do Inpe sobre desmate, *Folha de S. Paulo*, 28 February 2008; Soja nos Andes, a primeira polêmica, *O Globo*, 16 May 2008; Mato Grosso contesta dados do Inpe, *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 23 May 2008.

6 Minc elogia Maggi e anuncia Bolsa Verde de R\$ 100, *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 20 June 2009; A metamorfose de Blairo, *Revista Veja*, 16 September 2009.

Carlos Minc was appointed the new Minister of Environment. Minc frequently sought media attention, and during his term the actions of the Ministry of Environment were often the subject of press coverage.

Also in 2008, an article published in *The New York Times* titled ‘Whose rainforest is this anyway?’ (18 May 2008) reignited the media debate about the Amazon forest. The article suggested that the rainforest should not be Brazilian, but rather a global common patrimony, often citing on this point Al Gore, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize and an Academy Award (for *An Inconvenient Truth*). The article generated cover stories in some leading Brazilian magazines, including *Veja* and *Isto É*.

Several workshops were held during 2008–2009 to disseminate the REDD concept. Amongst these was the workshop organised by the Amazon Institute for Environmental Research (IPAM) in Manaus in April 2008 (Latin America Workshop for REDD & Forest People), which resulted in the Manaus Declaration. Another important event was held by the Katoomba Group in Cuiabá in April 2009, during which civil society participants decided to compile principles and criteria for REDD implementation.⁷

During the same period, the Brazilian government officially announced the National Plan for Climate Change, approved in November 2008 and presented at COP 14 in Poznań the following month, and the National Policy for Climate Change, which was approved by the National Congress and signed into law by President Lula in late December 2009. The National Policy sets out specific actions to implement the provisions of the National Plan, including the creation of a national Climate Change Commission and Fund; it also reiterates deforestation reduction commitments. Together with the creation of the Amazon Fund (in March 2008), these were amongst the most important actions taken in relation to forests and related climate policy.

By 2009, media coverage of deforestation and climate change had, to some extent, matured. With regular dissemination of data on deforestation—INPE now releases monthly data based on its new DETER

satellite technology—journalists began to follow the topic as a matter of course. The debates on and ultimate approval of Executive Order No. 422—nicknamed by NGOs the ‘Land Grabbing Law’—also made the agenda about deforestation issues. In addition, the newspapers dedicated substantial space to the role of indigenous peoples in forest conservation, especially during a court hearing into the legality of the demarcation of the Raposa Serra do Sol Indigenous Area in Roraima state.

The prospect of reaching a climate agreement during COP 15 generated a large number of articles throughout the whole year, including coverage of REDD+-related issues. Only in 2009 did REDD+ become an important theme for Brazilian newspapers, even though it had received some limited coverage since late 2006.

3.2 Description of reviewed articles

In total, we selected 409 articles from the 4 newspapers. The distribution of these articles by the main keywords is illustrated in Figure 1.

The remaining keywords proposed did not result in the selection of additional articles for the sample, and were considered redundant.

The numbers of REDD+-related articles published in each year of the study period (2005–2009) are given in Figure 2. As is clear from the figure, the largest number of articles on the subject appeared in 2009; indeed, many of these articles appeared only in the last few months of that year—immediately prior to, during and after COP 15. All newspapers except *Folha de S. Paulo* published more REDD+-related articles in 2009 than in the preceding 4 years combined.

Of the 409 articles, 164 were not coded beyond level 1 because they made only passing mention of REDD+. Therefore, 245 articles were coded in depth.

The term ‘REDD+’ generally appears in the Brazilian press in association with broader themes related to climate change and forests, as it is commonly perceived as an option for dealing with the country’s share of global GHG emissions. Typically, REDD+ is not the main theme of the article; rather, it frequently appears only as a minor theme. The main subjects of

⁷ For more information see: http://www.imaflora.org/upload/repositorio/PC_redd_imaflora_english.pdf.

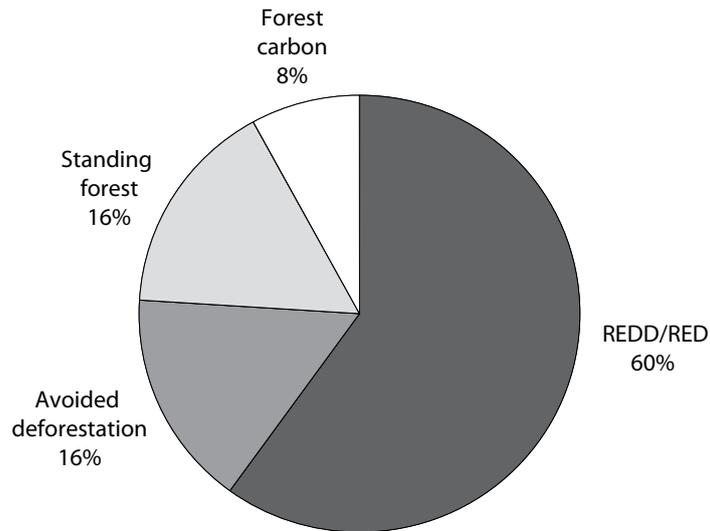


Figure 1. Proportion of articles for each primary keyword

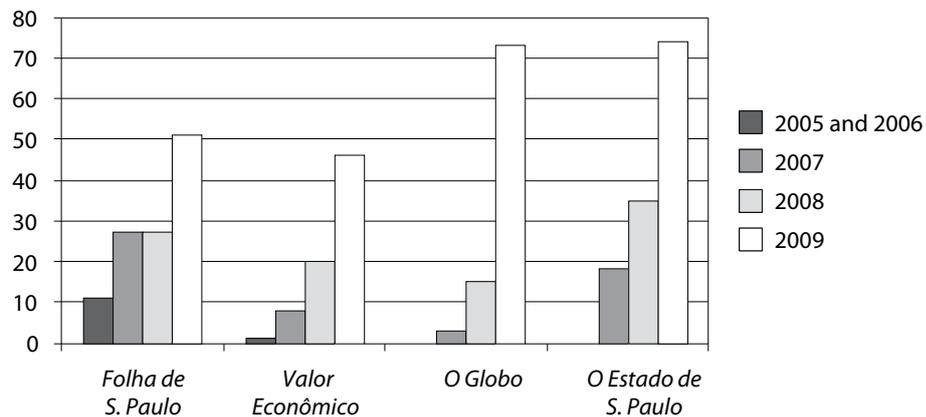


Figure 2. Number of reviewed REDD+-related articles published in each year of the study period, by publication

most articles that mention REDD+ tend to be, for example, climate change, Conference of the Parties or rates of deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon.

This observation was confirmed during interviews with the journalists.

REDD+ never appears as an isolated topic. It always appears linked to news on deforestation [in the Brazilian Amazon region], or to coverage of the climate change negotiations. These are the two themes that attract debates about REDD+.

– Claudio Ângelo

I believe that this theme is strongly linked to news about deforestation rates. There was also considerable emphasis on REDD+ during the UNFCCC debates in Copenhagen.

– Washington Novaes

In the *Estado [de S. Paulo]*, REDD+ winds up being mentioned mainly in news about the international climate negotiations, within the context of the UNFCCC, or else when we carry news about projects in the Amazon and we use REDD+ projects as a theme.

– Afra Balazina

3.3 REDD+ events covered by the press

The analysis also identified which domestic and international events influenced the debate on REDD+ in Brazil. Through the media analysis, we can identify which events received media attention and generated articles, thus driving press coverage of the subject. These events are not necessarily the same as those that specialists on the issue would identify as important, but they received considerable public attention.

Of national-level events, specific government policies—whether federal or state—received the most newspaper attention. In total, 12 articles were related to federal government announcements; these were concentrated in March 2009, when the Amazon Fund was established, and in October 2009, when the government announced its targets for reducing GHG emissions.

At the subnational level, 5 articles covered specific state policies, particularly the Bolsa Floresta (Amazonas state, 2007), and the announcement of Acre's REDD+ policy (November 2009). Given that these state policies represent the only formal subnational-level determinations on REDD+ implementation to be adopted during the study period, this coverage shows that there is some press interest in how such programmes might be designed in practice, despite the apparently overarching interest in national and global policy. Similarly, the Forum of Governors of the Legal Amazon was the subject of 11 articles, concentrated in July 2009 (meeting in Palmas-TO), October 2009 (Macapá-AP) and November 2009 (Manaus-AM). Events organised by civil society or by indigenous peoples received less attention. However, the Katoomba Group meeting in Cuiabá, which acted as an initial stimulus to germinate attention in REDD+ by the Forum of Governors, did receive some coverage (3 articles).

The main international events covered by the press were the UNFCCC Conferences of the Parties (COPs). COP 13 in Bali in 2007, where REDD+ was

included in climate negotiations for the first time, resulted in 20 articles. However, as noted above, COP 15 resulted in the largest number of articles: 28, plus 8 articles published after the COP 15 preparatory meetings in 2009 (mainly in Bonn and Barcelona). The fact that the Brazilian media intensively covered international meetings related to REDD+ and climate change is not surprising, considering it is at these events that major decisions are taken and national governments present their plans related REDD+. Furthermore, Brazil's significant tropical remnants and high historical rates of deforestation mean it has a highly influential position in REDD+ negotiations.

International decisions and events on REDD+ and climate change clearly influence important national events in the REDD+ sphere in Brazil. For example, influenced by COP 13 decisions on REDD+, the National Congress decided to meet in March 2008 with the aim of analysing REDD+ perspectives in Brazil. As part of the same wave, IPAM, one of the most renowned forestry research institutes in Brazil, decided to organise a meeting in Manaus with the aim of including 'forest people' in a REDD+ debate. At that workshop, representatives from Latin America, Indonesia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo aired their views about REDD+, leading to the Letter of Manaus, which was later presented at UNFCCC negotiations at the international level.

A year later (early April 2009), the Katoomba Group meeting in Cuiabá (mentioned above), which attracted all the regional governors and more than 1000 participants, comprised an initial step in the creation of the Forum of Governors of the Legal Amazon. This forum, in which all governors of the Legal Amazon meet to advance REDD+ implementation at the subnational level and its relationship with national and global climate mitigation policies, represents one of the main subnational approaches to policy positioning on REDD+.

4. Framing articles on REDD+

4.1 Analysis of media frames

As part of the methodology adopted for this study,⁸ we created 4 distinct categories to describe the types of frame:

1. The 'diagnostic' frame identifies who or what is to blame for a problem (related to REDD+), including who dismisses the reality of the problem altogether;
2. The 'prognostic' frame involves the articulation of a proposed solution to the problem, or at least a plan of attack, and the strategies that would be used to carry out the plan;
3. The 'symptomatic' frame identifies why an issue is a problem, often by discussing its potential consequences; and
4. The 'motivational' frame reveals moral and motivational reasons why the speaker and/or others should be concerned about the problem and take action on it or ignore it.

In this study, no articles were classified as motivational.

As shown in Figure 3, half (123/245) of the detailed articles on REDD+ published in Brazil during the study period could be categorised as having prognostic primary frames; that is, they discuss proposals and solutions to problems related to REDD+. All articles published in 2006 fit in this category, mainly because at that stage, the newspapers perceived the mechanism as a new means to avert GHG emissions. Towards the beginning of the study period, awareness of the importance of emissions due to land use and particularly deforestation to Brazil's overall role in global warming was low. The government did not publish the peak deforestation rate attained in 2005 until late 2006, and international reverberations were not felt until a couple of years later. Although Brazil had presented initial reference data acknowledging the importance of such emissions in its first national report to the Buenos Aires COP in 2004, it did not present proposals for reducing GHG emissions from deforestation as a part of the climate accords until Nairobi in 2007.

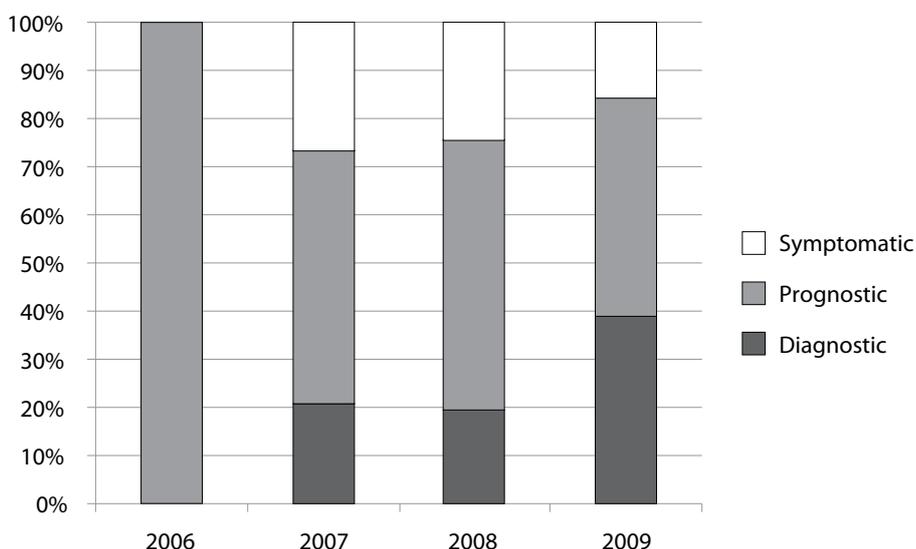


Figure 3. Evolution of primary frame types by year

⁸ For full definitions of 'diagnostic', 'prognostic', 'symptomatic' and 'motivational', see: Di Gregorio, M. 2009 Code book for the analysis of media frames in articles on REDD. CIFOR, Bogor, Indonesia (p. 7).

The focus did not become more varied until 2009. We identified a total of 80 articles (one-third of the total) that could be categorised as diagnostic (identifying the causes of a particular problem), with the proportion of articles in this category increasing in 2009 (recall, however, that a substantially higher number of articles was published that year because of COP 15). It was only at this stage that articles made diagnostic analyses of the chief drivers of land use change, in order to better inform readers of the reason for the increased international emphasis on deforestation and Brazil's important role in this.

In total, 45 articles (17%) were coded as symptomatic (those that explore why an issue is a problem); such articles included those that discuss the consequences of a problem, for example, whether paying for environmental services can help to solve the deforestation problem in the Amazon, or the pros and cons of carbon trading.

4.2 Level of coverage: International, national, subnational and local scales

Most of the articles on REDD+ published in Brazil during the study period focused on international issues (Figure 4). Of the total, 122 articles—almost 50%—describe concerns at an international level.

The predominance of international issues altered over time. The international focus of press coverage was greatest in 2007, with international issues driving

almost 70% of the articles. In 2009, 40% of the articles were coded as international. In both years, this coverage occurred in close correlation with the COPs (COP 13 in 2007 and COP 15 in 2009). In 2007, all articles coded as 'international' were published during COP 13. In contrast, in 2009, 30 of 67 articles coded as 'international' were published during COP 15 in December, with the remainder published during the lead-up to the event.

It is also easier for journalists to access information at the international level. International events receive greater media coverage because of the large volumes of information available on the Internet (e.g., via the UNFCCC website) and the numbers of NGOs that actively participate in the COPs and the international REDD+ debate. Journalists pointed to these as the main information sources for their articles.

Furthermore, the results indicate that international debates commanded considerable media attention because the general concept of REDD+ is being designed at this level. Brazil waited for more concrete explanations at the international level of how a REDD+ mechanism might operate and be financed before developing its own policy framework and releasing this to the press.

In 2008 and 2009, the national debate gained importance, mainly because of announcements by the federal government (related to the creation of the Amazon Fund and setting of GHG emissions

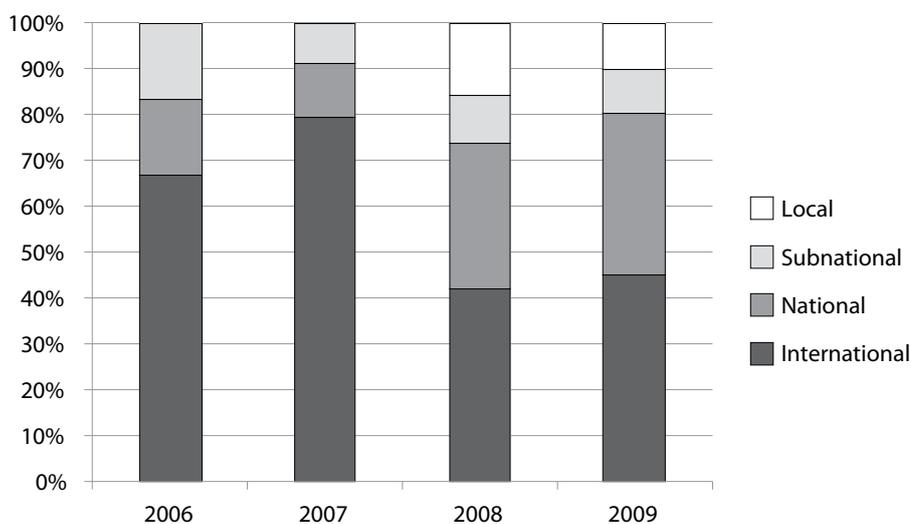


Figure 4. Number of articles for each primary frame level by year

reduction targets) and meetings of Amazon state governors. During these years, the REDD+ debate reached the national policy agenda and became important in policy arenas. At this stage, the focus shifted to the need to act quickly at the national level to address the international demand for Brazil to take forest-related actions and investments.

This call for a rapid government response was not matched by the necessary capacity building at the national level, largely because this period coincided with preparations for presidential elections. The media devoted considerable attention to the participation of all three principal candidates at COP 15 and their positions on the need for urgent action. Despite this, it cannot be said that Brazilian REDD+ policy matured much during the study period. Nevertheless, the commitments expressed at the highest level by Brazil in Copenhagen and the advances made during the event in defining permissible REDD+ strategies later stimulated the formulation of national policy, to be described in a follow-up study.

During the lead-up to COP 15, state governors inserted themselves into the national debate in an attempt to influence the negotiating strategy that Brazil would adopt. For this reason, we have coded as ‘national’ rather than ‘subnational’ articles dealing with this form of politics by the Amazon regional governors.

We considered ‘subnational’ articles to be those that made reference only to individual states (e.g. Acre, Mato Grosso) or regions (e.g. Brazilian Amazon region or Amazonia), rather than to actions designed to influence the national—and thereby international—policy arena.

Few articles were coded as ‘local’; such articles covered pilot REDD+ projects such as the Juma Sustainable Development Reserve and the implementation of the Bolsa Floresta Program in Amazonas state.

4.3 Media frame topics

In this section, we discuss the topics and metatopics of the primary media frames. In this part of the analysis, we first identify metatopics, and then break these down into more specific topics.

We identified 6 distinct metatopics (Figure 5). The metatopic ‘Politics and policymaking’, which refers to debates and policy processes for the design and implementation of REDD+, generated the most media coverage (49%). Articles covering economic issues, especially the debate over funding and the carbon market, represented 34% of the primary frames of the coded articles.

The numbers of articles that framed REDD+ for each topic are given in a detailed table in Annex 1.

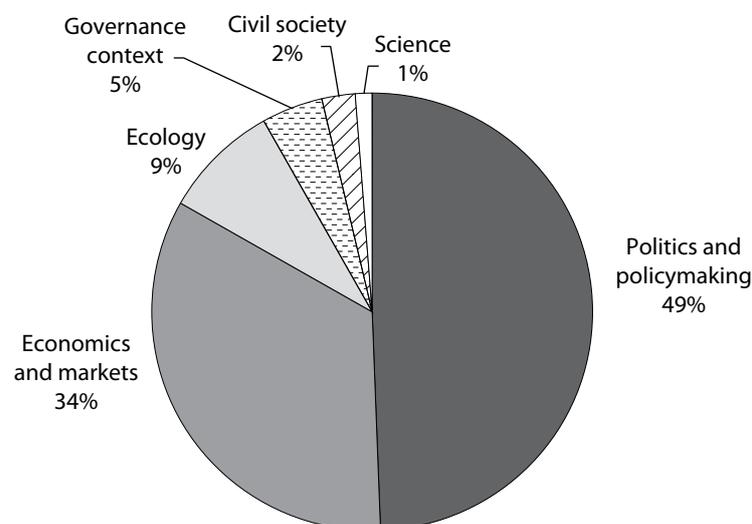


Figure 5. Metatopics identified in Brazilian newspaper articles on REDD+

The results confirm that primary frames in the media discourse refer mostly to policymaking, clearly influenced by international negotiations and debates. In this discourse, REDD+ is framed as a political decision at both federal and state levels, with states struggling for more power and acting strategically in order to improve their prestige and socio-political leverage (e.g. see the section on ‘policy events’, with heavy media coverage of political announcements and meetings of Amazon regional governors). The media framing exercise confirms that the state–federal conflict has dominated the REDD+ discourse in Brazil, with states wanting to act independently of the federal government, adopting opposing positions in relation to funding, advocating a mechanism linked to carbon markets or seeking independent access to voluntary sources of financing.

The themes that receive the most media attention are related to policymaking and debates at the UNFCCC meetings, specifically the COPs, followed by economic issues (generally related to conflicts over the best way to finance the mechanism, whether through funds such as the Amazon Fund or through carbon markets) and, at a smaller scale, issues related to deforestation or pioneering REDD+ projects. There is also some discussion, although to a much lesser degree, of REDD+ in relation to governance

(always within the context of the Brazilian Amazon) and civil society engagement.

In the interviews, the journalists confirmed that the most important issues for newspapers, when discussing REDD+, are related to policy and economics.

What is of most interest to the *Folha* [*Folha de S. Paulo*], as an agenda, is first whether REDD+ is going to work; and second, how is it going to be implemented. And how much this is going to result in resources to avoid deforestation and conserve forests. The main issue is Money.

– Claudio Ângelo

All the published articles and opinions reflect a level of contention amongst Brazilian actors regarding the relative desirability of permitting access to carbon markets as a means of financing REDD+, as opposed to the creation of a national fund controlled by the state, unrelated to compliance by developed countries. It is remarkable that these options have been widely perceived as mutually exclusive, given that they are potentially compatible, depending on the architecture adopted for recognising the contribution of emissions abatements to national targets. We discuss these positions and their advocates in depth in the next section.

5. Policy actors

5.1 Who shapes the REDD+ discourse in Brazil?

The last part of this analysis sought to identify which key players the newspapers choose to cite or interview for comment on issues related to REDD+, and who has a voice in the Brazilian press. We conducted a detailed identification of the main discourses used to represent ideological positions and beliefs. We then identified advocates, adversaries and their stances, qualifying their positions and interests in relation to the future of REDD+ implementation in Brazil, particularly with regard to the 3Es+.

Actors in a policy domain are here defined as ‘an organization or an individual that defines it/he/herself and that is perceived by others [including the media] as part of the national policy domain’ (Di Gregorio 2009). The principal actors who appear in the articles reviewed were described either as advocates or adversaries. An actor who supports (often proposes) the main argument of the primary frame of the article is defined as the ‘advocate’, whilst the actor who provides a counter-argument represents an ‘adversary’ role. As each frame could have only one advocate or adversary, other actors mentioned in the articles were recorded simply as ‘actors’.

In all, 185 actors were identified and mentioned a total of 420 times. Actors appeared 128 times as primary frame advocates, 21 times as secondary frame advocates, 45 times as primary frame adversaries and 6 times as secondary frame

adversaries. Several additional actors were mentioned in the articles a total of 220 times.

The actor most frequently cited was Virgílio Viana, who was Environment Secretary for Amazonas State until 2008, when he started working as Director of the Sustainable Amazonas Foundation (FAS). Dr. Viana manages the Bolsa Floresta Program, the Amazonas state project on payments for environmental services.

Paulo Moutinho, Science Director at Amazon Institute for Environmental Research (IPAM) was one of the most frequently cited researchers. Other actors appearing frequently include some relevant federal government representatives—Carlos Minc, Environment Minister (until March 2010); Tasso Azevedo from the Brazilian Forest Service; Luiz Alberto Figueiredo Machado from the Foreign Affairs Ministry and Brazilian negotiator at the COPs—and state governors, amongst them Mato Grosso Governor Blairo Maggi and Amazonas Governor Eduardo Braga.

The finding that only a small number of actors are cited frequently (Table 2) confirms that only these few key actors are driving REDD+ media coverage in Brazil. These actors have been engaged in the debate since the topic first appeared on the international agenda. Moutinho, for example, was one of the authors of the first Brazilian REDD+ proposal, submitted at the UNFCCC level in 2003, and

Table 2. Ten most frequently cited actors by number of mentions

Most cited actor	Affiliation	No. of mentions
Virgílio Viana	Sustainable Amazonas Foundation	21
Paulo Moutinho	Amazon Institute for Environmental Research	20
Eduardo Braga	Governor of Amazonas state	15
Carlos Minc	Ministry of Environment	15
Blairo Maggi	Governor of Mato Grosso state	12
Tasso Azevedo	Brazilian Forest Service	10
Luiz Alberto Figueiredo Machado	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	9
Thelma Krug	National Institute for Space Research	8
Gilberto Câmara	National Institute for Space Research	7
Paulo Adario	Greenpeace	7

Viana is implementing Brazil's first REDD+ project (specifically named as such), the Juma Sustainable Development Reserve Project. Naturally, these individuals are the 'go-to people' for journalists and have significant influence in the REDD+ debate both in the Brazilian media and in policy networks.

In interviews also, the journalists named Viana and the Sustainable Amazonas Foundation as an important source when writing about REDD+.

One of the principal sources is Virgílio Viana, who was secretary of environment for Amazonas state and now works at FAS, where he is very active in debates and actions related to REDD+.

– Washington Novaes

Newspaper sources are usually NGOs or institutes such as INPA, INPE and FAS [National Institute of Amazonian Research, National Institute for Space Research and Sustainable Amazonas Foundation, respectively].

– Afra Balazina

Claudio Ângelo of the *Folha de S. Paulo* also named government representatives who act as negotiators at COPs as influential in REDD+ policy.

The most frequently cited organisation was the Ministry of Environment, which is the government department in charge of forest policies (Brazil has no dedicated ministry for forests). Other organisations that appear frequently include the Sustainable Amazonas Foundation, National Institute for Space Research, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and NGOs such as Greenpeace and WWF (Table 3).

Table 3. Ten most frequently cited organisations by number of mentions

Most cited organisation	No. of mentions
Ministry of Environment	28
Sustainable Amazonas Foundation	26
National Institute for Space Research	22
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	22
Amazon Institute for Environmental Research	21
Greenpeace	16
Amazonas state	15
Mato Grosso state	12
Brazilian Forest Service	12
WWF	7

5.2 Advocates and adversaries in REDD+ media frames

In the media framing process, advocates and adversaries represented in a given article are characterised in terms of their views on the potential of REDD+ to achieve its objectives and the stances they represent. Adversaries are not necessarily opposed to REDD+ but rather to the frame and often to the position espoused by the advocate of the position given in the coded article.

Taking into account only the 199 actors that were identified as either advocates or adversaries in the classified frames, we identified many of them (38%) as 'national-level state and bureaucratic actors' (Figure 6).

These advocates are usually representatives of the Ministry of Environment (MMA), the federal government agency responsible for environmental policies, and the Brazilian Forest Service, a forestry agency operating under the auspices of the MMA, and also negotiators for Brazil at the COP.

Environmental NGOs (ENGOS) also have considerable relevance in the REDD+ debate. Advocates and adversaries from domestic ENGOS appear in 17% of articles that have advocates and international ENGOS appear in 13%. The most frequently cited domestic organisation is the Sustainable Amazonas Foundation (FAS), whilst the main international NGO is Greenpeace.

Research centres are also prominent in the media coverage: advocates and adversaries from national centres each appear in 7% of the articles. The most often cited research centre is the National Institute for Space Research (INPE), mainly because of its ongoing programmes for monitoring deforestation in the Amazon by satellite, and the Amazon Institute for Environmental Research (IPAM).

More than half of the advocates/adversaries are optimistic about REDD+, with 56% coded as 'optimistic', 27% 'neutral' and 17% 'pessimistic' (Figure 7).

We consider as 'optimistic' those advocates whose views indicate they consider REDD+ to have more positive than negative aspects, and generally support REDD+ policies and schemes. 'Pessimistic' advocates

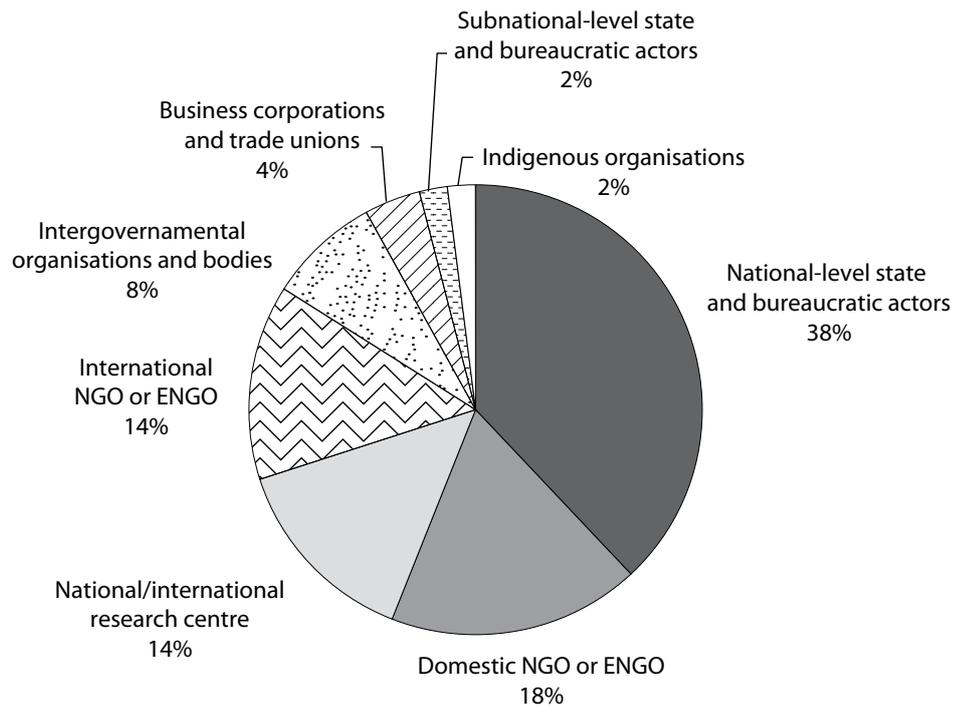


Figure 6. Organisational representation of policy actors

Note: This figure represents a simplified version of the data discussed in more disaggregated form in the text.

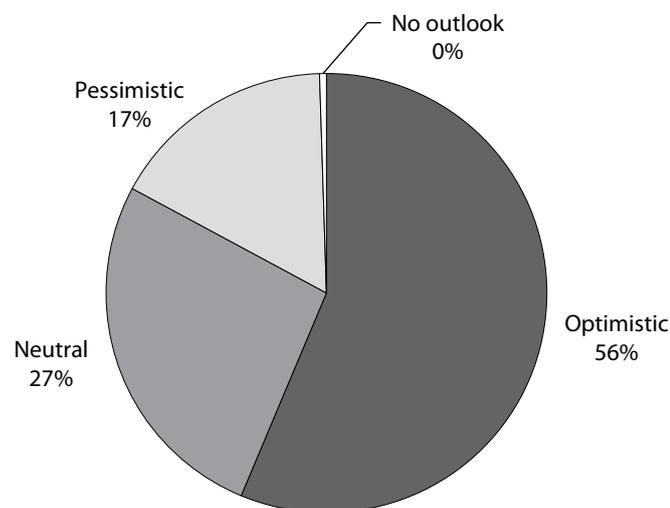


Figure 7. Actors' assessment of the future prospects of REDD+, as expressed to the media

are those who express the view that REDD+ schemes and policies are likely to have mainly negative outcomes.

These results show that, generally, actors perceive REDD+ as a positive mechanism for reducing emissions in Brazil. Of course, the main actors

driving the REDD+ discourse in the Brazilian media are also those that have greatest interest in REDD+ implementation, whether as national-level representatives (government-related actors) or leaders of national ENGOs engaged in developing subnational projects. Therefore, the predominance of optimistic views is not surprising.

However, if we consider that most articles were framed by broader and internationally relevant policymaking concerns such as REDD+ finance, rather than examining more specific and institutional issues (such as REDD+ implementation, impacts, land tenure, conservation and carbon rights), this optimistic view can be seen as relative and hence

contested. There appears to be a gap in the media addressing concerns associated with the possible negative impacts of REDD+ in Brazil; the minimal coverage of this angle could distort the actual discourse amongst policy and social actors in Brazil, which is deeply embedded in concerns related to the real risks and problems of implementing REDD+.

6. Relating metatopics to policy actors' positions

6.1 Policy actors' primary concerns about REDD+

One of the major concerns of the advocates and adversaries identified in the media framing exercise is the effectiveness of REDD+ in reducing emissions (33%; Figure 8). REDD+ advocate Jens Stoltenberg, Norwegian government representative, exemplifies this concern in saying that 'Reducing deforestation is the easiest, cheapest and most efficient way to reduce carbon emissions'.⁹

Some adversaries express concerns that REDD+ may not be effective in reducing overall global GHG emissions if exploited by developed countries to compensate for their negligence in reducing their emissions. In the words of Tasso Azevedo, Brazilian Forest Service: 'Brazil's official position is that REDD+ is valid only if rich countries do not have permission to use the mechanism to avoid reducing their own emissions'.¹⁰

Cost-benefit considerations are also a major concern (efficiency, 30%). Both advocates and adversaries question whether REDD+ can ensure standing forest receives a higher monetary valuation than deforested land. A statement by Virgílio Viana exemplifies this concern: 'Deforestation does not happen because people are irrational, but because it brings money. If we want to stop the destruction, the forest must be worth more standing than cut'.¹¹

Issues related to equity for affected populations and to biodiversity emerge less frequently (equity, 19%; other co-benefits, 9%), but they are the main concern of representatives of indigenous actors, as indicated by indigenous leader Chico Apurinã: 'Indigenous peoples are suffering the effects of global warming without cutting down the forest. Our understanding is to discuss REDD+ in order to recognise the work we do'.¹²

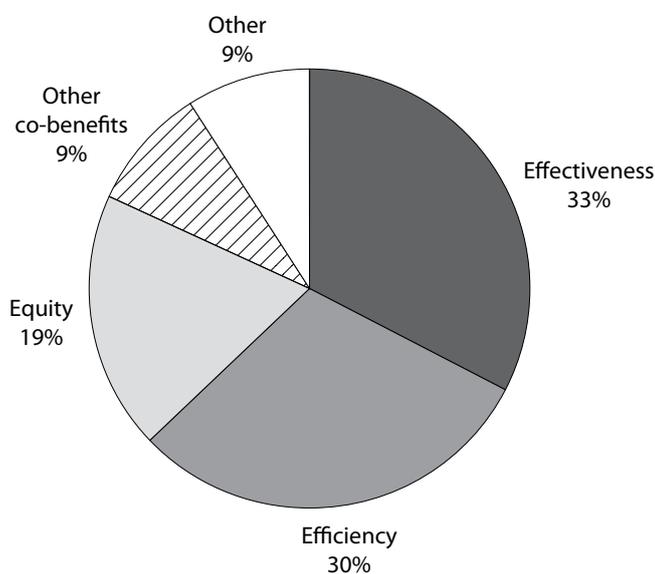


Figure 8. Actors' priorities for REDD+ outcomes

9 Noruega doa US\$ 1 bilhão para proteção da Floresta Amazônica, *Valor Econômico*, 17 September 2008.

10 REDD+ divide Estados e União, *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 17 August 2009.

11 Projeto incentiva desenvolvimento sustentável na Amazônia, *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 11 December 2009.

12 Terras indígenas e reservas possuem 30% do carbono estocado na Amazônia, *Valor Econômico*, 5 September 2009.

To understand the roles that advocates and adversaries play in proposing different frames, we analyse the metatopics as they are discussed by type of actor, outlook and main concern in terms of the 3Es+. For this purpose, we selected the metatopic variables 'Politics and policymaking', 'Economics and market' and 'Ecology', which combined represent 92% of all articles coded.

6.2 Metatopic: Politics and policymaking

In the total 121 articles coded as 'Politics and policymaking', 63 advocates and 19 adversaries were coded within the primary frame.

Most advocates (79%) are optimistic regarding REDD+ and negotiations. Amongst the pessimists, we find Brazil's negotiators at the COP, especially when the primary frame is the carbon market, and in articles published in 2007, before the government changed its position on REDD+ to be more amenable to market-based project finance.

Celso Amorin, Minister of Foreign Affairs, explained Brazil's position thus: 'If rich countries want to buy forest credits but continue to pollute, there is no cut in emissions.'¹³

The main argument of the advocates, when the metatopic of the primary frame was coded as 'Politics and policymaking', is that it is possible to sign an agreement at the COP that benefits the rainforests. In contrast, the adversaries fear that REDD+ could be used by the rich countries as a way to avoid reducing their emissions. In 2006 and 2007, we found scepticism towards the mechanism on the part of national state actors, but a shift occurred between 2007 and 2008, with advocates beginning to agree with REDD+ requirements, generally because of the potential to secure voluntary finance through the means of funds such as the Amazon Fund.

6.3 Metatopic: Economics and market

In the total 83 article frames coded as 'Economics and market', 46 advocates and adversaries were

identified. 'National-level state and bureaucratic actors' form the largest segment of advocates (43%). Within frames related to economic and market topics, we found an even greater proportion of optimistic advocates in relation to REDD+: 80%. Here, advocates' main concern is efficiency (59%), followed by effectiveness (15%) and equity (11%). Other co-benefits were of concern to only 6% of advocates with a voice in articles about the economy.

The main argument amongst advocates related to economics and market frames is that it is necessary to value the standing forest. However, one of the main questions is: 'How much will it cost Brazil to keep the forest standing?'—in other words: What are the opportunity costs? They also refer to the requirements for REDD+ mechanisms, access to the carbon market or a combined strategy.

In relation to adversaries, 56% were pessimistic, 38% neutral and 6% optimistic in terms of the future outlook on REDD+. Adversaries' main concerns are equity and effectiveness (44% and 37%, respectively), followed by efficiency (19%).

Adversaries generally express doubt as to where the resources for REDD+ could come from and who will benefit.

6.4 Metatopic: Ecology

In the total 21 articles coded as 'Ecology', 13 advocates were identified in the primary frame and 7 as adversaries.

In advocates' arguments in articles when the metatopic of the primary frame was coded as 'ecology', REDD+ is discussed as the best proposal for conserving forests and reducing GHG emissions. For adversaries, the concern expressed is related to leakage (i.e. deforestation could migrate from one area protected by REDD+ to another that does not have the same protection), the risks posed to biodiversity and indigenous rights and poor implementation of the mechanism.

¹³ Amorim muda tática do Brasil sobre desmatamento, *Folha de S. Paulo*, 9 December 2007.

7. Summary and conclusions

This paper has sought to paint a picture of how the political arena for reducing emissions from deforestation and degradation (REDD+) in Brazil has been represented in media-based discourse from 2005 to 2009. For this purpose, we selected 409 articles in 4 major national Brazilian newspapers, 245 of which were analysed at all levels (descriptive, detailed and in terms of position advocacy) because they discussed REDD+ as a principal issue.

We found that the Brazilian media has given greatest attention to policymaking concerns and economic issues involving finance and carbon markets, at the expense of specific institutional issues (such as REDD+ impacts, land tenure and carbon rights) concerning REDD+ implementation. If the media perspective reflects actual concerns amongst policy and implementation actors, it may explain the rather slow development of concrete policies and institutional structures needed to implement REDD+, particularly at the national level, where financing REDD+ has been given greater attention than implementing it. However, the results suggest—erroneously—that the REDD+ discourse is still at a rather incipient stage in Brazil. On the contrary, the REDD+ debate in Brazil is actually quite mature, given Brazil's leadership in the international arena on this topic, as well as the dynamic role of civil society and social movements in this debate and in implementing pilot projects and governance frameworks.

This discrepancy confirms that Brazil's main print media have not been addressing the complex issues of REDD+ implementation, hotly debated in the country's REDD+ policy arena (e.g. several workshops were held on the topic during 2009 to stimulate debate¹⁴), but not covered by the media. The fact that articles primarily refer to events during which the federal government announced actions oriented towards REDD+ implementation suggests that the more problematic and specific issues debated by civil society (such as participation,

rights and implementation) are receiving insufficient media coverage. However, as these issues relate to consultation processes or observation of the actual impact of pilot projects rather than to specific reportable events, this observation is not unexpected.

The media analysis confirms that the REDD+ debate has been dominated by a conflict between actors and interests, which has effectively delayed concrete decisions on REDD+ implementation at the national level, and indeed for many years in international forums.

This conflict has had the effect of creating considerable uncertainty regarding the domestic architecture for REDD+ pending definition of an international framework. This uncertainty has led to reduced investor interest and failure by the private sector to initiate pilot projects.

The analysis also identified which domestic and international events influenced the debate on REDD+ in Brazil. Specific announcements of government policies and positions received greatest attention in newspapers, especially the announcements of the creation of Amazon Fund, and the launch of the Forum of Governors of the Legal Amazon. The main international event is the UNFCCC Conference of the Parties (COP).

We found that the main actors on REDD+ identified in the Brazilian media are bureaucratic actors in the federal government—mainly from the Ministry of Environment and the Brazilian Forest Service—and in the Amazon state governments; some NGOs such as the Sustainable Amazonas Foundation; and research centres, such as the National Institute for Space Research. This range of actors confirms this debate has been dominated by people in positions at the state government level in the Amazon and at key national ENGOs (the primary REDD+ pilot project implementers to date).

Most actors consider REDD+ to be a positive mechanism for reducing deforestation. Any doubts are related to its implementation in Brazil. The major concerns of the frame advocates involve

14 For example, the South–South Initiative organised by the Sustainable Amazonas Foundation and a couple of capacity-building workshops held by the Institute for Conservation and Sustainable Development of Amazonas.

cost–benefit considerations and the effectiveness of REDD+ in reducing emissions, related to the question of funding REDD+ through carbon markets or donations.

The most prominent actors on Brazilian REDD+ context are Virgílio Viana, director of the Sustainable Amazonas Foundation, and Amazonas Governor Eduardo Braga. They achieved this prominence largely because they were responsible for implementing the only significant—and widely publicised—pilot REDD+ project in the Brazilian Amazon, which was initiated during the study period (the Juma Sustainable Development Reserve). In addition, they created the first state Climate Change Law, which established the Bolsa Floresta Program,

a system of payments for environmental services, in the state of Amazonas.

Another finding was the minimal coverage of the participation of indigenous peoples and local populations in debates on REDD+ in Brazil, and that protests involving REDD+ issues do not exist—at least based on their presence in newspaper reporting. It remains to be seen whether more specific institutional issues will receive greater treatment in the national press as REDD+ projects are implemented, or whether the focal point will remain Brazil's insertion into the international policymaking debate on REDD+. These hypotheses will be tested in a follow-up study.

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Annex 1. Frames, topics and number of articles

Frame	Topic	No. of articles
Politics and policymaking	Elite politics	78
	International organisations and political debates	58
	State and bureaucratic interests	18
	Business interests	2
	REDD+ design	23
	Forest policies/policy reform	11
	REDD+ readiness activities	4
	Indigenous rights policies/policy reform	3
	Demonstration activities	2
	Agricultural and agribusiness policies/policy reform	2
	Decentralisation/regional autonomy	1
	REDD+ implementation	19
	REDD+ readiness activities	6
	Demonstration activities	8
	Agricultural and agribusiness policies/policy reform	2
	MRV policies	1
	Forest policies/policy reform	1
	Decentralisation/regional autonomy policies	1
	Other	1
Economics and markets	Funding	44
	Carbon trading	27
	Cost-efficiency of REDD+	9
	Economics and business	3
Ecology	Forest conservation	10
	Deforestation	4
	Biodiversity conservation	5
	Enhancement of forest carbon stocks	2
Governance	Governance for effective monitoring, reporting and verification	7
	Other law enforcement	2
	Corruption	1
	Civil law	1
Civil society	Campaigns/protests	4
	Civil society interests	2
Science	New scientific methods, fundamentals, new studies	2
	Applied science, new technologies	1

The core idea of REDD—reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation—is to reward individuals, communities, projects and countries that reduce greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions from forests. Adopted under the UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention for Climate Change), the mechanism aims to compensate tropical countries for the carbon benefits that their standing forests ('avoided emissions' + 'carbon stocks') contribute to mitigating climate change.

The objective of the analysis contained in this working paper is to characterise the nature of the discourse related to REDD+ in the Brazilian press from 2005 to 2009, identifying the principal actors who led this debate in the media as well as their positions—as either advocates or adversaries of a particular view on REDD+—as these positions evolved during this period.

This study is part of CIFOR's Global Comparative Study (GCS) on REDD+, which analyses REDD+ policy, practice and implementation and disseminates lessons learned to a national and global audience. CIFOR's goal is to generate knowledge and practical tools to support efforts to reduce forest emissions in ways that are effective, efficient and equitable (3Es) and that generate co-benefits such as poverty alleviation and biodiversity conservation (3Es+).

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CIFOR advances human wellbeing, environmental conservation and equity by conducting research to inform policies and practices that affect forests in developing countries. CIFOR is one of 15 centres within the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR). CIFOR's headquarters are in Bogor, Indonesia. It also has offices in Asia, Africa and South America.

