



# REDD+ politics in the media

A case study from Tanzania

Demetrius Kweka



Working Paper 119

# **REDD+ politics in the media**

A case study from Tanzania

Demetrius Kweka

Working Paper 119

© 2013 Center for International Forestry Research

Content in this publication is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs 3.0 Unported License <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>

Kweka D. 2013. *REDD+ Politics in the Media: A Case Study from Tanzania*. Working Paper 119. Bogor, Indonesia: CIFOR.

Cover photo by Demetrius Kweka/CIFOR  
People crossing Malagarasi river in a ferry in Kigoma region in Tanzania

CIFOR  
Jl. CIFOR, Situ Gede  
Bogor Barat 16115  
Indonesia

T +62 (251) 8622-622  
F +62 (251) 8622-100  
E [cifor@cgiar.org](mailto:cifor@cgiar.org)

**[cifor.org](http://cifor.org)**

We thank all the donors who have supported this research with their contributions to the CGIAR Fund. For a list of donors to the Fund, please see: <https://www.cgiarfund.org/FundDonors>.

Any views expressed in this working paper are those of the author. They do not necessarily represent the views of CIFOR, the editors, the author's institution, the financial sponsors or the reviewers.

# Table of contents

Acknowledgments	v
Executive summary	vi
1 Introduction	1
2 Background	2
2.1 REDD+ in Tanzania	2
2.2 Media and climate change in Tanzania	3
3 Methodology: Newspaper selection and coding	5
3.1 The coding process	6
4 Results	7
4.1 What is shaping REDD+ discourse in Tanzania?	7
4.2 Media topics: Ecology, economics and markets received more attention	10
4.3 REDD+ media frame: More emphasis on prognosis	10
4.4 Shift in focus of governance level of REDD+ reporting: International to national	12
4.5 REDD+ policy and politics: Government agencies and NGOs control the discourse	13
4.6 Prospects for REDD+ in Tanzania: Optimistic experts, pessimistic journalists	14
4.7 Actors' views about the 3 Es: Effectiveness beats efficiency and equity	15
5 Conclusion	17
6 References	18

# List of figures and tables

## Figures

1	Timeline of REDD+ development process and protest events in Tanzania	4
2	Frequency of articles on REDD+ published in three newspapers	9
3	Media topics on REDD+ in Tanzania	10
4	Issues referred to in the articles frame	11
5	Percentage of governance, level of REDD+ reporting	12
6	Numbers and origin of advocates and adversaries in media frames in Tanzania	14
7	Assessment of future of REDD+ by advocates and adversaries, by type for all frames	15
8	Actors' primary concerns regarding effectiveness, efficiency and equity in REDD+	16

## Tables

1	The frequency of appearance of the terms “climate change”, “REDD+” and “climate change and forest” in selected newspapers.	7
2	Number of articles per year.	8
3	Topic and number of times mentioned.	11

## Acknowledgments

Great effort has gone into this work — from gathering the articles to coding and analysis. We would like to acknowledge the contribution of research assistant Grace Nchimbi for his valuable work in collecting the articles. Special thanks go to Maria Brockhaus, Sofi Mardiah and Elena Petkova for their comments, reviews and support.

This research is part of the policy component of CIFOR's global comparative study (GCS; [http://www.forestsclimatechange.org/global-comparative-](http://www.forestsclimatechange.org/global-comparative-study-on-redd.html)

[study-on-redd.html](http://www.forestsclimatechange.org/global-comparative-study-on-redd.html)), led by Maria Brockhaus. The methods applied in this study build on research undertaken by the Comparing Climate Change Policy Network (COMPON; <http://compon.org/>) program funded by the National Science Foundation (NSF) and led by Jeffrey Broadbent at the University of Minnesota. Funding for CIFOR's research was provided by the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation, the Australian Agency for International Development, the UK Department for International Development and the European Commission.

## Executive summary

Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation (REDD+) is an agreed mechanism by the international community to mitigate climate change while securing other environmental services. The REDD+ mechanism intends to achieve this by providing financial incentives for maintaining and enhancing carbon stocks in forests and trees. Tanzania is actively involved in REDD+ both by developing supportive policies and by implementing projects on the ground, primarily with support from Norway. The media reflects the general agreement, support for and optimism about REDD+ by various stakeholders. REDD+ is seen as a source of additional income for local communities and a mechanism to curb deforestation. The main concerns expressed are whether its implementation will be effective and cost efficient, and whether benefits will be shared equitably.

This REDD+ media analysis working paper is part of the research module in the global comparative study (GCS) that focuses on REDD+ policies and policy processes (Brockhaus and Di Gregorio 2012; Brockhaus et al. 2012; Di Gregorio et al. 2012). This study aims to analyze how media is shaping the REDD+ discourse in Tanzania, and to answer key questions: (i) How is REDD+ represented in Tanzanian media?; (ii) What policies and positions related to REDD+ were discussed in the Tanzanian media from 2005 to 2012?; and (iii) Who is influencing these discussions? The media analysis investigates how discourse around REDD+ policy is framed in the mainstream Tanzanian press, identifying media frames, the main actors and their positions on REDD+, while looking at a range of variables at different levels.

The analysis of print media articles in Tanzania followed the methodology outlined in Di Gregorio et al. (2012), and is based on a predefined code book to investigate content and actors and their position statements (stances) in the media. The study selected three newspapers in Tanzania: *The Daily News*, *The Guardian* and *Nipashe*. The selections were based on the circulation rate, the possibility of coverage of climate change and REDD+-related issues, ownership and availability both in print and online.

A total of 403 articles were collected from the three newspapers and entered into an MS Access

database. A total of 54% (166 articles) of the articles collected were from the government-owned *The Daily News*, while 29% (118) and 17% (69) were from *The Guardian* and *Nipashe*, respectively, which are privately owned.

Looking into the total number of articles in relation to the subject (REDD+ versus climate change in general), the majority of articles featured general information on the environment and environmental conservation. When examining REDD+ coverage alone in relation to the number of articles collected, the study found relatively less information either partly related to REDD+ or to REDD+ as a whole. The study showed less coverage of REDD+ in the *Nipashe* (Swahili-language) newspaper than in the two English newspapers.

The report concluded there was low climate change coverage in Tanzania from 2005 to 2008, but that coverage increased just after 2009; this was mainly due to international negotiations and agreements around the world that played a major role in shaping the REDD+ discourse, including in Tanzania. Most articles published from 2009 touched on how REDD+ will fit into the country in relation to the existing tenure system, benefit sharing and opportunity cost in relation to other land uses and resource ownership rights. There were debates on how REDD+ and conservation will improve economic growth and boost livelihood conditions. As the country was getting more and more of a grip on what REDD+ is all about, the discourse started to shift between scales; media started to get curious about issues such as benefit sharing, the carbon accounting system, and monitoring and verification. This has raised stakes and interest both for and against REDD+. The pro-REDD+ side — mainly civil society organizations (CSOs) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) — see REDD+ as a game changer, while doubting it could fit with existing policies and the institutional framework of natural resources governance and management in Tanzania.

REDD+ discourse focused more on national-level issues. It narrated progress of REDD+ in various subnational-level pilot projects with respect to related government plans and strategies. In this respect, two major actors were shaping the REDD+ discourse in



Tanzania at the national level: government agencies and NGOs. For government, the Department of Forestry and Beekeeping Division (FBD) under the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, and the Department of Environment under the Vice-President's office (the national designated authority for climate change issues) were the lead entities. These two departments favor the REDD+ discourse, but their land-use objectives compete with other ministries such as agriculture. At the national level, REDD+ is mainly implemented by national and international NGOs. Most believe that a well-implemented REDD+ will bring economic and ecological benefits. Therefore, REDD+ is relatively uncontroversial within the Tanzanian NGO community.

The study found that REDD+ discourse in Tanzania revolved around three main meta-topics:

ecology, economics and marketing, with a strong correlation between REDD+ and economic growth. Deforestation, forest conservation and sustainable forest management received more publicity than any other topic, followed by funding for REDD+ and carbon trading. Most REDD+ articles focused on proposed solutions to the problems of deforestation and forest degradation.

Most REDD+ actors were mainly optimistic about the future of REDD+, viewing it as a source of income and a means to curb deforestation. The optimism encourages actors to advocate for policies that will support REDD+. At the same time, actors expressed skepticism about REDD+ because there are still many unanswered questions about how REDD+ will unfold, especially around benefit sharing, land tenure and carbon rights.



# 1 Introduction

Climate change poses a myriad of threats to human beings and socioeconomic development. Up to one-quarter of anthropogenic greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions that contribute to climate change are from deforestation and degradation of forests (IPCC 2007). Therefore, sustainable forest management and conservation and restoration of woodlands are key responses to climate change. Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation (REDD+) is an agreed mechanism by the international community to mitigate climate change, while securing other environmental services. The REDD+ mechanism intends to achieve this by providing financial incentives for maintaining and enhancing carbon stocks in forests and trees. REDD+ has received much international support and interest (Angelsen et al. 2009).

In *Realizing REDD+* — a book produced by The Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR) — the plus sign indicates enhancement of forest carbon stock, also referred to as forest regeneration and rehabilitation, negative degradation, negative emissions, carbon uptake, carbon removal or just removals. (Removals refer to sequestration of carbon from the atmosphere and storage in forest carbon pools.) REDD+ is shorthand for both a set of policies or actions that aim to reduce emissions and increase removals, and for the final outcomes of those policies or actions (i.e. reduced emissions and increased removals) (Angelsen et al. 2009).

Stern (2006) urges that the risk of not doing anything to avoid deforestation is much greater than the risk and uncertainty associated with implementing REDD+. This is due to the fact that climate change might be happening faster than the time taken to perfect the REDD+ policy design and implementation. Therefore, CIFOR set up the global comparative study (GCS) to review the REDD+ implementation process and learn from early developments. This was done to generate information and tools to ensure REDD+ is effective and efficient with equitable outcomes and cobenefits.

Tanzania is actively involved in REDD+ both by developing supportive policies and by implementing projects on the ground, primarily with support from Norway.<sup>1</sup> The media reflect the general agreement, support for and optimism about REDD+ by various stakeholders. REDD+ is seen as a source of additional income for local communities and as a mechanism to curb deforestation. The main concerns expressed are whether its implementation will be effective and cost efficient, and whether benefits will be shared equitably.

This REDD+ media analysis is part of the research module in GCS that focuses on REDD+ policies and policy processes (Brockhaus et al. 2012; Brockhaus and Di Gregorio 2012; Di Gregorio et al. 2012). This study aims to analyze how media are shaping the REDD+ discourse in Tanzania, and to answer key questions: (i) How is REDD+ represented in the Tanzanian media?; (ii) What policies and positions related to REDD+ were discussed in the Tanzanian media from 2005 to 2012?; and (iii) Who is influencing these discussions? The media analysis investigates how discourse around REDD+ policy is framed in the mainstream Tanzanian press, identifying media frames, the main actors and their positions on REDD+, and looking at a range of variables at different levels.

This working paper reviewed the content of national media articles that have been published about REDD+ since the concept was first proposed, and then added perspective and discussion to the coded and analyzed data. The report is organized into four main sections. Section 1 covers the concept of REDD+ and the objectives of the report. Section 2 gives the background of REDD+ and media in a Tanzanian context. Section 3 covers the methodology used to collect data and the analysis. Section 4 presents the findings from the analysis and discussion at the same time. Section 5 concludes the report.

---

<sup>1</sup> Tanzania's more than 10 REDD+ projects have been supported primarily by the Government of Norway; Tanzania has received about USD 30 million and has another pledge for about USD 70 million for the initial setting up of REDD+.

## 2 Background

### 2.1 REDD+ in Tanzania

Several events have shaped the development of REDD+ in Tanzanian media coverage. The REDD+ policy process in Tanzania started after the Conference of Parties (COP<sup>2</sup> 13) in Bali in 2007 (Bali Action Plan) when Norway launched its international climate and forest initiative; the Royal Norwegian Embassy (RNE) in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania proposed Tanzania as pilot country. Tanzania and Norway signed the letter of intent in 2008, which is considered a key starting point of the REDD+ policy process and as a formal commitment by the Government of Norway to support REDD+ in Tanzania.

The signing of the letter of intent between the two parties culminated in defining quick-start activities to set the stage for REDD+, including subnational pilot projects to showcase activities, in-depth baseline studies on various subjects to inform REDD+ implementers ([www.reddtz.org](http://www.reddtz.org)) and the proposal to develop a National REDD+ Strategy. Rantala (2012) confirmed the letter of intent to be the formal commitment by the Norwegian government to support REDD+ readiness activities, including policy development in Tanzania.

COP 15 in Copenhagen in 2009 coincided with the start of many subnational pilot REDD+ projects in Tanzania, which received significant media coverage. Eight articles were published on REDD+ in Tanzania in 2009 (*The Guardian* 5 May, 21 August, 29 August, 1 September, 12 November; *The Daily News* 2 December, 8 December; and *Nipashe* 25 August).

At the national level in 2009, a number of government and NGO REDD+ stakeholders jointly developed two key policy documents: the outline for the National Framework for REDD and the establishment of the National REDD+ Task Force in what was coined the Kibaha Conference (URT 2009). In addition, the country also submitted the REDD+ Proposal Idea Note (R-PIN) to the World Bank's Forest

Carbon Partnership Facility (FCPF).<sup>3</sup> The National Framework for REDD was officially published in August 2009 to pave the way for the development of the REDD+ Strategy (Figure 1).

The international event of 2010 was COP 16 in Cancun, which saw CSOs prepare and sign a statement for the Government of Tanzania negotiators regarding what they believed the international global agreement on REDD+ should look like. From a national perspective, the year was characterized by the start of most REDD+ pilot projects implemented mainly by NGOs. In February 2010, the Norwegian government gave funds to the University of Dar es Salaam and Sokoine University for capacity building activities through the Climate Change Impacts, Adaptation and Mitigation (CCIAM) program. In March 2010, the Royal Norwegian Embassy (RNE) contracted the Institute of Resources Assessment (IRA) to facilitate the development of a National REDD+ Strategy, while in May 2010, the National Forest Resources Monitoring and Assessment (NAFORMA) was established through the support of the Government of Finland. The establishment of NAFORMA was not regarded as a policy event *per se* but was treated as highly relevant because it will generate much-needed baseline data for the national monitoring, reporting and verification (MRV) processes and national REDD+.

In the same year, CSOs submitted comments on the Readiness Preparation Proposal (R-PP) to the FCPF and recommendations on the draft National REDD+ Strategy to the Task Force. Input to the R-PP might not have been so important since the national policy development was largely underway with Norwegian support (Rantala 2012). Nevertheless, the country wished to join the R-PP process for knowledge and experience, and to exchange opportunities with other participating countries (Rantala 2012).

The draft National REDD+ Strategy, made public in 2011, was considered one of the most important REDD+ policy documents. Together with the National REDD+ Framework, it went on to become a source of discussion in various forums and media

2 The Conference of the Parties is the governing body of the Convention of Biological Diversity, and advances implementation of the convention through the decisions it takes at its periodic meetings.

3 The Forest Carbon Partnership Facility (FCPF), a World Bank program, consists of a Readiness Fund and a Carbon Fund. The FCPF was created to assist developing countries to reduce emissions from deforestation and forest degradation, enhance and conserve forest carbon stocks, and sustainably manage forests (REDD+).

and gained a significant number of both supporters and opponents of REDD+ in Tanzania (Tanzania Forest Conservation Group and MJUMITA 2012).

CSOs and other stakeholders were allowed to comment on the 2011 draft National REDD+ Strategy. Comments were gathered through the National REDD+ Task Force's website, as well as through stakeholder meetings organized through zonal consultations across the country (REDD+ Initiative in Tanzania 2013). The country has made further progress by developing a second draft of its National REDD+ Strategy in June 2012 (URT 2012) and a draft Action Plan in July 2012 which was endorsed in March 2013 (The Republic of Tanzania 2013).

In 2012, the government endorsed the National REDD+ Strategy and its associated Action Plan after CSOs commented on the second draft (Tanzania Forest Conservation Group/MJUMITA 2013). The strategy plans to guide the implementation and coordination of mechanisms required for Tanzania to benefit from a post-2012 internationally approved system for forest carbon trading, based on demonstrated emission reductions in deforestation and forest degradation and other aspects of REDD (REDD+ Initiative in Tanzania 2013).

In 2012, the country moved onto COP 18 in Doha where CSOs and the Designated National Authority (DNA) for climate change jointly demanded international commitment on REDD in the area of technology, finance and capacity building. In 2013, the draft of the National REDD+ Social and Environmental Safeguards was developed; stakeholders were asked to comment on it as a response to the unfolding REDD+ activities on the ground.

## 2.2 Media and climate change in Tanzania

Tanzania is actively involved in REDD both by developing supportive policies and by implementing projects on the ground, primarily with support from Norway.<sup>4</sup> The media reflect the general agreement,

support for and optimism about REDD+ by various stakeholders. REDD+ is seen as a source of additional income for local communities and as a mechanism to curb deforestation. The main concerns expressed are whether its implementation will be effective and cost efficient, and whether benefits will be shared equitably.

According to the Media Sustainability Index (2008), the media sector in Tanzania has been growing at a fast pace, witnessed by the growing number of newspapers, various radio stations and number of journalists, mostly fresh graduates from mushrooming media-training institutions. The country has more than 10 daily newspapers, about 15 weekly papers, more than 10 television stations and more than 20 other periodicals. There were nearly 4000 journalists in 2008 working in print and electronic media. The increasing number of journalists also has been reflected in the emergence of new journalists' associations. Tanzania boasts more than 20 media associations, some of which have national, regional and niche interests. Some associations are small and form specialized media outlets targeting specific sectors such as the environment, education, health, sports and others.

To manage and regulate the emerging media sector, Tanzania has in place both statutory and constitutional provisions regulating several aspects of the media industry. Article 18 of the Constitution guarantees every Tanzanian the right to freedom of opinion and expression. However, the Newspaper Act of 1976 (URT 1976) gave authorities within the government — including the president — the power to prohibit publications that are deemed to not be in the nation's best interest. Additionally, the 1993 Broadcasting Services Act (URT 1993) provides that each private broadcaster is only allowed to send its signals to 25% of the country (Tanzania Press 2009). Despite the guarantee of freedom of speech, censorship still exists. In fact, Freedom House (2010) has declared that media in Tanzania are only partly free; the government is allowed to ban newspapers without judicial recourse. However, this happens around more sensitive topics and not much around environmental issues like REDD+.

Tanzania's mass media are heavily urban based. Although about 70% of the population live in rural areas, both electronic and print media focus on the country's economic and political center, Dar es Salaam. Even though the majority of the population

<sup>4</sup> Tanzania's more than 10 REDD+ projects have been supported primarily by the Government of Norway; Tanzania has received about USD 30 million and has another pledge for about USD 70 million for initial set-up of REDD+

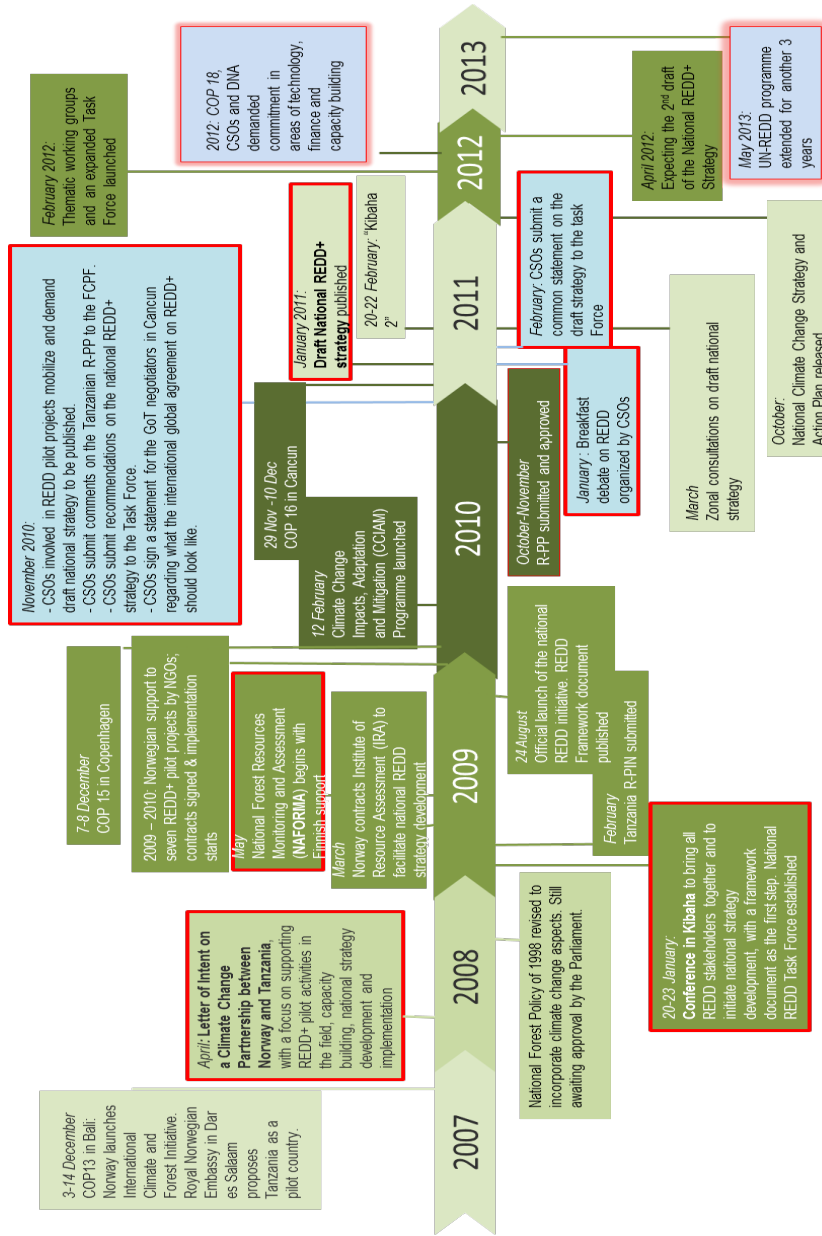


Figure 1. Timeline of REDD+ development process and protest events in Tanzania (adapted from Rantala 2012).

can read and write, radio listening remains by far the most popular home-based activity among the people in Tanzania because newspapers are not delivered without delays to some parts of the country.

There is only one government-owned newspaper, *The Daily News*, which is run by Tanzania Standard Newspapers (TSN). The majority of other newspapers are privately owned. Tanzania's newspapers were nationalized until the resignation of President Julius Nyerere in 1985. Many newspapers have sprung up since the establishment of multi-party politics in 1992. By 2006, there were more than 537 registered newspapers, including 12 active dailies and more than 50 weeklies. But less than 15% of registered newspapers are actually published. The income of most newspapers and periodicals derives mainly from sales to readers and advertising. Most major newspapers in Tanzania are published in Kiswahili, so readership is not affected by those who don't read in English. The major problem with newspaper readership is circulation, which is mostly limited to urban areas in the key regions of Arusha, Moshi, Mbeya, Zanzibar and Mwanza.

The growth of the broadcast media has been hindered by a lack of capital investment, both public and private. However, a number of independent television and private FM radio stations have gone on the air in recent years. The number of journalists has increased from just 230 in 1991 to more than 4000, but journalists work under very difficult conditions with little compensation (Media Sustainability Index 2008). Internet access, while limited to urban areas, is growing (Freedom in the World 2010).

### 3 Methodology: Newspaper selection and coding

The analysis of print media articles in Tanzania followed the methodology outlined in Di Gregorio et al. (2012), and is based on a predefined code book to investigate content and actors and their position statements (stances) in the media. The study selected three newspapers in Tanzania: *The Daily News*, *The Guardian* and *Nipashe*. The selections were based on circulation rate, the political spectrum they cover, language, and availability both in print and online. This ensured good representation in terms of the information reaching the general public and policy makers. All selected newspapers are based in the

economic heart of the country — Dar es Salaam — and printed every weekday. Radio and television news were not included in this study because of the comparative design of the study and the focus on print media (for further details see Di Gregorio et al. 2012)

*The Daily News* is an English-language newspaper in Tanzania owned by the Tanzanian government that covers politics, economy, education, training, people, society, religion, international events, sports, jobs, weather and the classifieds. *The Guardian* and *Nipashe* are owned by IPP media, leading media conglomerates in Tanzania. *The Guardian* is an English language paper offering local news, sports, business, and entertainment news and opinion, while *Nipashe* is published in the Swahili language. The choice of two English newspapers over one Swahili newspaper is due to the fact that there were more chances of finding REDD+ articles in English than in Swahili. In addition, only about three (*Uhuru*, *Nipashe* and *Majira*) Swahili newspapers are identified as being high caliber enough to write analytically about REDD+.

Regarding their distribution, the papers are sold only by street vendors in Dar es Salaam and by street vendors and agents in the interior part of the country. There are zonal circulation offices in some areas such as Dodoma, Mbeya, Morogoro, Mwanza, Tabora and Tanga that were created to ensure smooth circulation. In other areas, circulation agents are responsible for delivery of the papers.

The daily circulation of *The Daily News* is about 50,000 copies (PRT 2013); it is distributed nationwide. *The Guardian* circulation is slightly lower, while the Media Sustainability Index (2008) reported *Nipashe* to have a national circulation of 25,000. The number of active media: print: 10+ (defined by panelists as “serious papers”); radio stations: 40+; television stations: 10+. Top three private newspapers by circulation: *Mwananchi* (private, circulation 32,000); *Tanzania Daima* (private, circulation 28,000); *Nipashe* (private, circulation 25,000). Additionally, there are two government newspapers with significantly less circulation: *Uhuru* (circulation 12,000) and *Habari Leo* (circulation 6500). Broadcasters comprise Radio One (private), Radio Free Africa (private) and Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation Radio (state-run). News agencies comprise Tanzania News Agency (state-owned) and Press Services of Tanzania (private) (Media Sustainability Index 2008).

The population of the newspaper articles for the discourse analysis was compiled through a Google electronic search and Boolean query using keywords “REDD+” OR “avoided deforestation” OR “climate change” OR “global warming” OR “climate change and forest” OR “Kyoto protocol” OR “reduced emissions from degradation and deforestation”. The keywords for *Nipashie* newspaper had to be translated and indigenized since the newspaper is in Kiswahili. The search included all newspaper reports, features, editorials, news and editor’s letters from 2005 (when the concept of REDD+ was first proposed) to 2012.

### 3.1 The coding process

Once the articles were collected from the newspapers, coding was done at three levels (Di Gregorio et al. 2012). Level 1<sup>5</sup> captured only the descriptive variables of the articles, including date published, author, section of the newspaper in which the article appeared, length of the article, day of the week it ran, page number where the article appeared, headline and whether it debated REDD+ or made only a passing remark to it. This level is used mainly for identification purposes, but also can indicate a shift in priority placed on REDD+ coverage in the media. No further coding was necessary if Level 1 showed the article only made a passing remark to REDD+.

Level 2<sup>6</sup> is only performed for the articles that do more than make a passing remark to REDD+. This level analyzed the primary and secondary frames for each article. This included: the aspect of the issues the frame refers to (e.g. diagnostic, prognostic, symptomatic or motivational), scale of the political system to which the frame refers in relation to the REDD+ framework (e.g. international, national, subnational and local levels); specific meta-topic around which it framed the debate (e.g. ecology, economics and markets, politics and policy making, civil society, governance, science or culture) and the meta-topic for each frame.

5 Different levels are used for media frame analysis. Descriptive variables (Level 1) simply identify the article. Data about the page number, section in the newspaper and the type of article will also give different indications of the importance of the article, and can provide interesting insights on the changes in coverage of REDD+ issues over time and across countries. Level 1 coding is applied to all articles in the database.

6 Levels 2 and 3 are variables that analyze the primary and secondary frames. Level 2 coding identifies four characteristics of the primary and secondary frames: type, level, meta-topic and topic. Level 2 coding is sufficient if the interest is in a quick identification of the main topics reported in news articles.

Level 3 coding analyzed the primary and secondary frames<sup>7</sup> in much more detail. It included the identification of advocates (pro-REDD+ supporters) and adversaries (REDD+ opponents) for each frame, their ideological stance, name of the advocate and/or adversary organization and position, assessment of the advocates’ future outcomes in relation to REDD+ (e.g. optimistic, pessimistic, neutral, no outlook)<sup>8</sup> and REDD+ policy outcomes in terms of effectiveness, efficiency, equity and other co-benefits.<sup>9</sup>

Level 3 also gives an inventory of REDD+ policy events, protest events and core actors.<sup>10</sup> In this study, protest events were defined based on Fillieule and Jimenez (2006) as “a collective, public action regarding issues in which explicit concerns about the environment (in our case REDD+) are expressed as a

7 News articles can be broken down into a number of sections. The first few paragraphs are likely to add to, and reinforce, the message offered in the headline, while later paragraphs often take up the story from a slightly different angle, returning to the original theme later on. This means that longer news stories will not just have one frame (F1), but possibly several. Although Boykoff (2008) makes little distinction between them, identifying primary (F1) and secondary frames (F2, F3, etc.) enables assessment of the comparative importance given to different understandings of a topic by journalists and editors.

8 1. Optimistic. REDD+ schemes and policies are likely to have mainly positive outcomes, and are thus desirable. Reflects the position of supporters of REDD+ schemes and policies.  
2. Pessimistic. REDD+ schemes and policies are likely to have mainly negative outcomes, and are thus undesirable. Reflects the position of skeptics of REDD+ schemes and policies.  
3. Neutral. REDD+ schemes and policies are likely to result in a mix of positive and negative outcomes.  
4. No outlook. No view is expressed about the prospects for future outcomes of REDD+ schemes and policies (Di Gregorio et al. 2012).

9 See CIFOR book *Moving Ahead with REDD* chapter 2 by Angelsen and Wertz-Kanounnikoff (2008): “What are the key design issues for REDD and criteria for assessing options”, page 19–21.

10 Main concern of the frame advocates in terms of REDD+ policy outcomes?  
1. Effectiveness. The advocate of the frame is mainly concerned with issues related to effective reduction of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions from deforestation and forest degradation.  
2. Efficiency. The advocate of the frame is mainly concerned with issues related to cost-efficiency of REDD+ strategies and policies. Efficiency refers to whether the given emission reduction is achieved at the lowest possible cost.  
3. Equity. The advocate of the frame is mainly concerned with fair distribution of benefits and costs, livelihoods and poverty reduction, and protection of rights (e.g. indigenous communities).  
4. Other co-benefits. The advocate of the frame is mainly concerned with other co-benefits (not included under equity). These co-benefits mainly include benefits related to economic development and biodiversity.  
5. Other. No major concern is stated in relation to effectiveness, cost-efficiency or equity.



central dimension, organized by non-state instigators with the explicit purpose of critique or dissent together with societal and/or political demands.” Policy events were defined based on Laumann and Knoke (1987), 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) also defined a core actor as “an organization and/or individual that defines it/him/herself and that is perceived by others as being part of the national REDD+ policy domain.”

Coding of a subsample of the articles was sent to CIFOR to determine consistency and ensure understanding of potential ambiguous variables before coding all the articles.

## 4 Results

### 4.1 What is shaping REDD+ discourse in Tanzania?

The study analyzed how media are shaping the REDD+ discourse in Tanzania. However, the search keywords used during data collection were more general, encompassing climate change in general, including deforestation, degradation, REDD+, global warming or Kyoto Protocol. During analysis, the study first looked at numbers of articles by comparing those reported about general climate change issues and those reported specifically about REDD+. A total of 403 articles were collected from the three newspapers and entered into an MS Access database. All told, 54%, or 166 articles, were collected from *The Daily News* while 29% (118) and 17% (69) were from *The Guardian* and *Nipashe*, respectively. Thus, *The Daily News* accounted for more than half of all climate change and REDD+ articles in Tanzania.

Looking into the total number of collected articles in relation to the subject (REDD+ versus climate change in general), data showed the majority had general information on the environment and environmental conservation, while more than half (403) referred to environmental destruction and degradation in general. Some referred to environmental destruction and disaster as a consequence of climate change. About 36% mentioned climate change, global warming or the Kyoto Protocol (Table 1).

When examining REDD+ coverage alone in relation to the number of articles collected, the study found relatively less information either partly related to REDD+ or REDD+ as a whole. Only about 20% specifically mentioned REDD+ or “avoided deforestation” (Table 1). The articles with REDD+ information published mostly about the effect of forest conservation, carbon trading and REDD+ initiatives and establishment of REDD+ projects.

Looking at the difference between subjects reported (REDD+ versus climate change in general) in relation to difference in time (years) of reporting, the study found relatively little coverage of climate change in general from 2005 to 2008. All collected articles from 2005 to 2008 only made a passing remark to climate change (meaning they were not specifically referring to REDD+). Most referred to climate change meetings held at the international level and thus most articles appeared in the international features section of the three newspapers selected. There were fewer than five cases of climate change reported in 2006/2007. In early 2009, the coverage was mainly about environmental destruction and illegal logging (Table 2).

When the study analyzed articles about REDD+ coverage alone in relation to the timing of reporting (years), only one article reported on REDD+ from 2005 to 2008. Most REDD+ articles began appearing from 2009 to 2012 (Table 2). In 2009, the year of the Conference of the Parties (COP) 15 in Copenhagen, media attention to climate change in Tanzania increased with eight climate change articles published.

**Table 1. The frequency of appearance of the terms “climate change”, “REDD+” and “climate change and forest” in selected newspapers.**

Keywords	Total number of articles
Climate change OR global warming OR Kyoto Protocol	145
REDD+ OR reduced emissions from deforestation and degradation OR avoided deforestation	75
Other climate change and related subject OR climate change and forest	183
Grand Total	403

**Table 2. Number of articles per year.**

Newspapers	Years																	
	2005		2006		2007		2008		2009		2010		2011		2012		ALL YEARS	
	Passing (N/Y)	REDD+	CC	REDD+	CC	REDD+	CC	REDD+	CC	REDD+	CC	REDD+	Yes	REDD+	CC	REDD+	CC	No
The Daily News	0	0	0	5	0	9	0	5	2	44	10	25	21	27	17	51	50	166
Nipashe	0	4	0	10	1	17	0	2	1	12	0	10	0	8	0	4	2	67
The Guardian	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	5	5	14	2	9	8	40	8	23	23	95
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>328</b>
<b>Grand Total (N+Y)</b>	<b>7</b>		<b>16</b>		<b>27</b>		<b>12</b>		<b>78</b>		<b>56</b>		<b>104</b>		<b>103</b>		<b>403</b>	

Notes:

"REDD+" Stands for all articles related to REDD+.

"CC" Stands for all articles related to climate change, deforestation and forest degradation.

Generally, there was an increasing trend in the number of articles on REDD+ from 2009 to 2012. Most of the 2009 articles reported on the projected effect of climate change and on ongoing negotiations at the international level, putting forward REDD+ as a mitigation measure and explaining REDD+ planning and its mechanism. In the same year alone, three articles reported on the REDD+ funding mechanisms with the Norwegian government's effort the most cited (Ajwang 2009; Lamtey 2009; Lusekelo 2009). However, this trend gradually disappeared from 2010 onwards.

Articles from 2010 to 2012 reported not only about international agendas and the REDD+ mechanism, but also about REDD+ implementation on the ground. This period coincided with the startup of about 10 subnational REDD+ projects, development of REDD+ policies and increased REDD+ recognition in the country as a national initiative (Table 2, Figure 2). Tanzania gradually began to understand the REDD+ mechanism, which brought a shift between scales; media started to get curious about issues such as benefit sharing, a carbon accounting system, monitoring and verification. This raised stakes and interest both for and against REDD+. The pro-REDD+ side (mainly CSOs and NGOs) saw it as a game changer, while at the same time doubting how REDD+ would fit with existing policies and the institutional framework of natural resources governance and management in Tanzania.

Taken together, most articles collected in the three newspapers fell under the news section. News articles took 71% followed by features (29%). The term "climate change" first appeared in the selected Tanzanian newspapers on 3 November 2006 with

the title "Climate threats laid bare". It described an address by then President Mkapa to a regional conference of the International Year of Planet Earth. He pointed out that climate change will adversely affect sustainable development in Africa and further impoverish the continent.

Content analysis and discussion with proponents revealed that REDD+ received relatively low coverage within the overall climate change news and compared to other stories. There are multiple reasons for this: most journalists tend to cover issues that touch livelihoods and bring improvement in life and economies or else focus on tragedies and disasters, which both attract readers. In general, this is somewhat true because most of the headlines were spelling fears and misery about climate change and its effect, predicting that countries will pay heavily if climate change is not addressed. On the other hand, less coverage might be explained by the novelty of the REDD+ concept; no one quite understands all of its multifaceted components. A semistructured interview with a REDD+ proponent revealed that "REDD+ is seen as a complex subject and editors tend to turn down publishing something that even they don't understand well."

The study showed less coverage of REDD+ in the *Nipashe*–Swahili newspaper than in the two English newspapers (*The Guardian* and *The Daily News*). In fact, there is no single article about REDD+ in the *Nipashe* from 2007 to 2012. REDD+ was seen as an international subject and hence only reported in the English media but, again, *Nipashe* is targeting different demographic classes; it is seen as a newspaper for working classes who might not be much interested in climate change (Figure 2). On

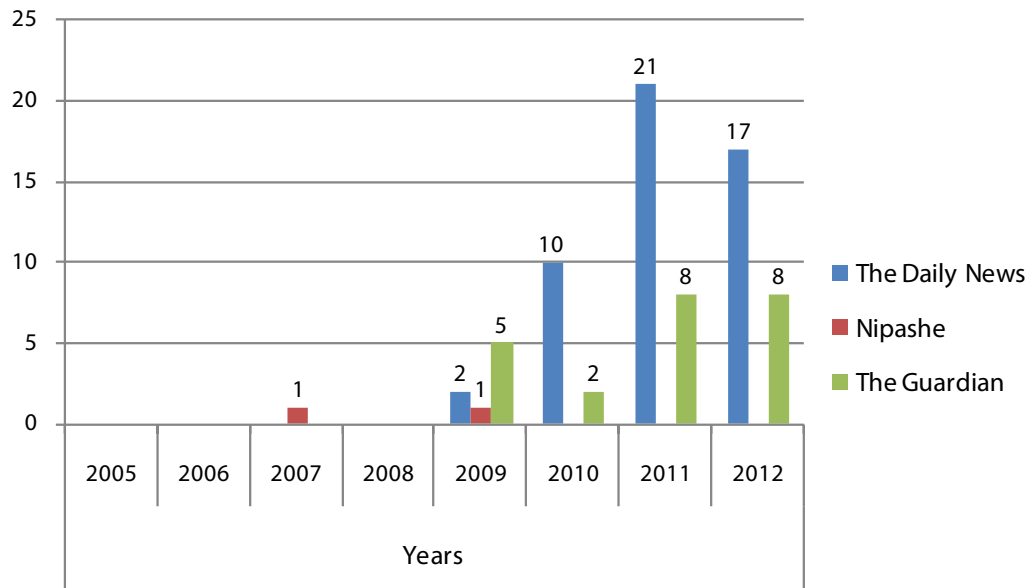


Figure 2. Number of articles on REDD+ published in three newspapers (January 2005 – December 2012).

the other hand, most REDD+ coverage occurred during a high profile meeting about REDD+ and climate change; it is rare to find coverage about progress in national or subnational projects unless the proponents have covered the publishing cost.<sup>11</sup> In some cases, REDD+ is treated as a private issue because it is mostly sponsored by donors and implemented by NGOs or international NGOs (INGOs). However, if the REDD+ or climate change event is organized or owned by the government, coverage is always assured through the government-owned newspaper<sup>12</sup> (see Figure 1).

Most pro-REDD+ advocates would like REDD+ news to be published in newspapers because they see it as the next thing that will serve Tanzania's forests. Most of these pro-REDD+ supporters are proponents and people in ministries and academic institutions that understand the technical aspects of REDD+ and how communities will benefit. Poor REDD+ coverage in newspapers is perhaps because most journalists are not specialized in the field and depend on interviewing people in meetings or getting information from other specialists; thus,

the journalists themselves do not understand the complexity of the subject and hence tend to ignore it. The nature of most freelance journalists might affect this too, since most will expect their costs to be covered before they push for the news to be published. However, if the REDD+ proponent is not willing to pay for costs, then the news will not be published. For example, in one of the proponents' meetings, a journalist revealed that proponents are covering the cost of publishing the articles (personal communication from anonymous 2012).

Although there has been significant coverage on environmental conservation, particularly forests, climate change and REDD+ in Tanzania, it still falls short of expectations in terms of positioning, quality and quantity. The expectation of CSOs and environmentalists is to see a lot of REDD+ issues clarified (benefit sharing, policies, tenure clarification, carbon rights and payment systems) and published, but most of it ended up in the meeting discussions and gray literature. For example, there were various discussions and comments on the National REDD+ Strategy, but very few published in the newspapers.<sup>13</sup>

11 Based on REDD+ projects' progress report that documented commissioning the publication of articles about the project.

12 Based on interviews with REDD+'s proponents in Tanzania during module 2 GCS-REDD+ data collection 2011–2012.

13 Comments of the CSOs to the National REDD Strategy Task Force: see, for example, Tanzania Natural Resource Forum 2012: Recommendations from Civil Society Organisations for Tanzania's 2nd Draft National REDD+ Strategy and Draft Action Plan; and UN-REDD+ Tanzania comments on National REDD+ Strategy to the REDD+ Task Force

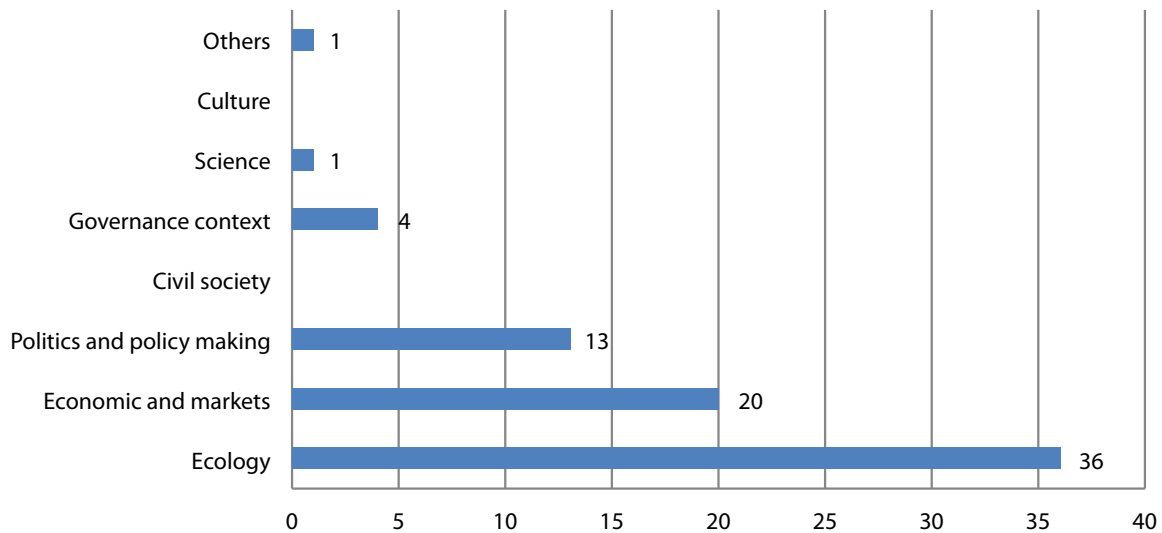


Figure 3. Media topics on REDD+ in Tanzania.

## 4.2 Media topics: Ecology, economics and markets received more attention

Level 2 coding also examined meta-topics and topics covered in the REDD+ media coverage. Figure 3 shows that a little bit more than half (36 articles) of all REDD+ articles were on ecology followed by economics and markets (20 articles) and then politics and policy making (13 articles). Less than 10% (four articles) reported on governance, while only one article covered the science of REDD+. No article covered civil society or culture.

The prevalence of topics of ecology, economics and markets reflect the fact that most articles were related to the conservation of forests as a means of income. There was a close link between policy making and economics articles. For example, an article in *The Daily News* stressed the need to compensate local communities for their effort in conservation (Simbeye 2009). The journalist pointed out that “REDD+ will not benefit local farmers unless restructuring is done to the current payment regime.” The article went on to say that “the current participatory forestry management project failed to benefit farmers at the grass root directly.” The author saw government as a key ally in formulating policies for REDD+ to work, while compensating both forest owners and managers proportionally based on performance.

Most authors left out details of the REDD+ mechanism. Deforestation and forest conservation and sustainable forest management are the three

topics that received more publicity than any other, followed by funding for REDD+ and carbon trading. The rest of the topics were mentioned one or two times (Table 3).

## 4.3 REDD+ media frame: More emphasis on prognosis

As explained in Section 2.1, the articles’ analysis identified frames in each article. The analysis showed that the authors of the articles applied different frames when writing about REDD+. This subsection presents the results of the analysis on what aspects of the issue are covered in the articles’ frame.

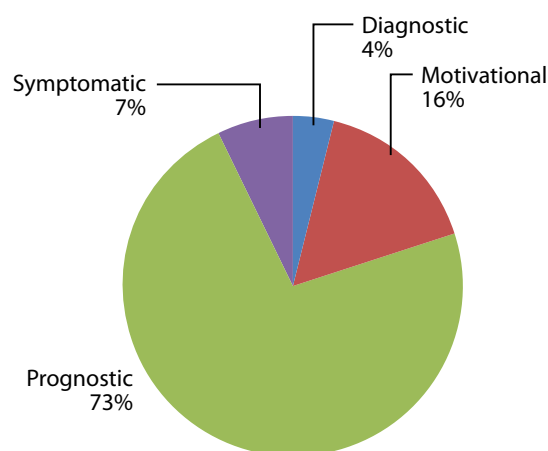
The analysis of each frame includes the way in which the articles frame the REDD+ debate, that is, diagnostic, motivational, prognostic or symptomatic. The “diagnostic” frame identifies who or what is to blame for a problem (related to REDD+), including who dismisses the reality of the problem altogether; the “prognostic” frame involves the articulation of a proposed solution to the problem, or at least a plan of attack, and strategies to carry out the plan; the “symptomatic” frame identifies why an issue is a problem, often by discussing its potential consequences. An article is said to be “motivational” if the frame goes beyond the basic existence of the issue and its causes and consequences, and puts forward moral and motivational reasons why the speaker and/or others should be concerned about the problem and take action on it or ignore it. It tries to rally the reader behind a cause in relation to REDD+.

**Table 3. Topic and number of times mentioned.**

Topic	Number of times mentioned
Deforestation	10
Forest conservation	16
Enhancement of forest carbon stocks	2
Sustainable forest management	5
Afforestation and reforestation	2
Large-scale agriculture and livestock management system	1
Funding	4
Carbon trading	14
Economics and business	2
International organization and political debates	4
Business interest	1
REDD+ readiness activities	3
Carbon tenure policies, REDD+ readiness activities, MRV policies, land tenure policies, carbon tenure policies and illegal logging	1
Governance of international fund for REDD+	3
Scientific funding and processes	1

Figure 4 shows a significant percentage (73%) of REDD+ articles' frames adopted a prognostic approach. That is, proposing a solution to the problem (which is mostly deforestation and degradation) or at least a plan of attack and strategies for carrying out the plan. Most articles published at the early stages of REDD+ (2009) were in this category. This is because newspapers were looking at REDD+ as a mechanism to reduce global emissions by reducing deforestation and forest degradation. Awareness of deforestation and emissions generated by land use were low at the beginning of the study period.

For example, Charles Meshack, Executive Director of the Tanzania Forest Conservation Group (TFCG), said collaboration between the government and civil societies is a key factor to success in any development related to any Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation (REDD+) program in the country. The director went on to say "No initiative on reducing deforestation can work if confidence by the local people and civil society organizations is not given proper voice. In fact, if we are to see the positive side of REDD+ in the country, the National REDD+ Task Force, or any future REDD+ governing body, should include representation from civil society organizations." Meshack explained there were certain things about the program that remain

**Figure 4. Issues referred to in the articles' frame.**

unclear to the public that should be discussed. They included benefit sharing, land and resource tenure, and the fact that the program should promote pro-poor, equitable and environmental policy options. This is an example of a prognostic approach whereby the author tries to persuade the REDD+ governing body in Tanzania to use a participatory approach of including stakeholders in implementing REDD+ and make clear to the public the things that need to be resolved for REDD+ to succeed (The Correspondent 2010a).

Twelve articles (16%) adopted a motivational approach when reporting about REDD+, meaning the article’s frame wrote motivational statements that explain more about the cause and consequence of deforestation and degradation, while motivating readers to be concerned and take action; this went beyond writing about basic deforestation and degradation and its cause and consequences. Another reporter wrote that persuading the public that Tanzania is on a good course to implement REDD+: “Norway injects USD 80m into project to curb deforestation. Norway provided USD 80 million for the project, which made Tanzania a frontrunner in the fight against deforestation in Africa. This has led Tanzania to progress very well for a future global REDD+ mechanism. A draft national REDD+ strategy has been prepared and national dialogue is ongoing on how to effectively engage in REDD+. A number of NGOs and research institutions are actively participating in REDD+ and climate change programs. Preparations are being made for capacity building, monitoring and reporting on carbon and deforestation. “The REDD+ secretariat is assisting the national task force to prepare and coordinate REDD+ programme” (The Guardian Reporter 2010).

Five (7%) articles adopted a symptomatic approach, identifying why an issue is a problem and discussing the consequence of a problem, while only three (4%) adopted a diagnostic approach, identifying a problem or issues and who is to blame for the problem (related to REDD+), including diminishing the reality of the problem all together.

Likewise, Dr. Julius Ningu, Director of Environment in the Vice-President’s Office, was quoted in a meeting saying: “REDD+, which initially goes beyond deforestation and forest degradation, includes the role of conservation, sustainable management of forests and enhancement of forest carbon stocks, has received many pledges from the developing nations during the Copenhagen Conference held in Denmark in 2009, but nothing tangible has been achieved to date.” The director went on to say that deforestation is still a threat in Tanzania with more than 400,000 ha of forests being cut each year for various humanitarian and economic activities, and added it is sad that campaigns like “*Kata Mti Panda Mti* (Cut a tree, plant a tree) also failed to produce desirable results” (Kazoka 2010).

The director continued by saying, “unlike the predictions, the *Kata Mti* campaign and many others

that might follow won’t bear any fruits if people don’t bother to educate themselves on the advantages of keeping trees or are not compensated for being denied rights to cut trees for their economic or domestic uses.” He admits the government or even other partners have not instituted any study on the importance of such campaigns and how best they can be sustained. “We have a problem here that things are just left unattended from one office to another and to make it worse, the office responsible for environmental conservation and management is not informed when it comes to investments in projects likely to affect the natural resources.” The article used a diagnostic approach to caution about dangers likely to hamper the implementation of natural resources programs in the country if the culture for accountability and shared responsibilities was not built and maintained.

Overall, the analysis of the type of approach for framing REDD+ issues shows that prognostic, motivational and symptomatic approaches prevail, whereas the diagnostic approach appeared only in a few articles. This suggests that REDD+ issues are typically not framed as problems to be blamed on specific actors.

#### 4.4 Shift in focus of governance level of REDD+ reporting: International to national

This subsection presents the results of the analysis of media coverage of REDD+ at different scales of governance. About 61% of articles collected covered subjects and issues at the national level followed by 20% at the international level and 18% at the subnational level; only one article was at the

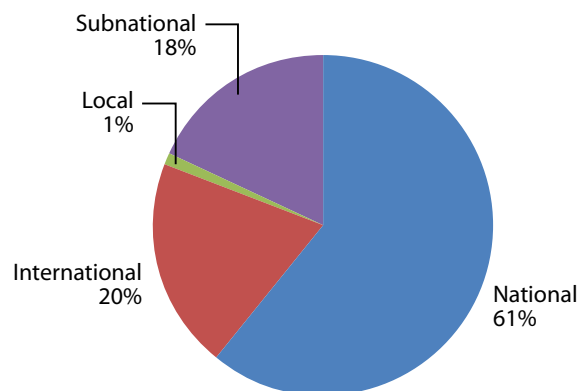


Figure 5. Percentage of governance, level of REDD+ reporting.

local level (Figure 5). An analysis of coverage of different governance levels in REDD+ reporting show that, although the media focus is spreading across all levels, the focus on the national level has increased in recent years. This trend coincides with the broader development in REDD+ — from international debates and conceptualization to crafting suitable governance mechanisms. Tanzania is one of the few countries that have engaged more deeply in the REDD+ readiness process by setting up subnational pilot projects that implement REDD+. There are more than 10 subnational pilot projects in Tanzania that combine implementation on the ground with raising awareness and building capacity. For example, the Tanzania Natural Resources Forum is working with the Tanzania Forest Conservation Group in an awareness-raising campaign, as well as on environmental and socioeconomic safeguards in REDD+.

Articles on the national level focused on the national progress in implementation of REDD+ and that most of the REDD+ projects that have mushroomed in Tanzania are funded by the Norwegian government. These articles were more likely to report about significant REDD+ funding or on an embarrassing act, such as corruption and embezzlement of public and donor funds targeting REDD+ activities, rather than other climate change issues. Articles on the international level mostly described the funding source and mechanism and how carbon trading will be arranged.

The three selected newspapers covered the most recent popular events or political issues and ignored climate change issues. This is due to the fact that editors and journalists want to sell more newspapers. They keep the front headlines for the “hottest” issues and are more concerned with advertisements and how to increase circulation. When it comes to climate change, newspapers tend to rely on news stories related to current events around the environment and climate change such as workshops, seminars and climate change meetings.<sup>14</sup> Articles on the local news reported how REDD+ funds were embezzled and misused by some NGOs implementing REDD+ at the local level with Norwegian funds (Wa Sembeye 2012).

#### 4.5 REDD+ policy and politics: Government agencies and NGOs control the discourse

Level 3 coding considers the actors associated with REDD+ and their perspectives on this policy mechanism. This subsection presents the analysis of the policy and politics surrounding REDD+ by examining the actors and their perceptions of associated issues, as portrayed in the media.

Our analysis revealed that diverse actors are associated with REDD+ in Tanzania, including domestic and international environmental NGOs, individuals, national-level state and bureaucratic actors, and research, international and national institutions. Most of these individuals and organizations are based in Dar es Salaam. Figure 6 shows that government agencies (national-level state and bureaucratic actors) and international environmental NGOs are the most prevalent voices in the newspapers. They are followed by domestic environmental NGOs or environmental NGO coalitions and intergovernmental organizations and bodies.

In Tanzania, there were no legal actors,<sup>15</sup> trade unions, indigenous organizations or farmers’ federations/groups as in Nepal. Nor were there multinational cooperation and business association actors as in the case of Indonesia and Brazil. All told, 45% (32 articles) of advocates identified were from national-level state and bureaucratic actors, comprising the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, the Department of Environment under the Vice-President’s Office, the National Task Force, the Ministry of Finance and the Norwegian government (Figure 6). INGOs had the second highest number of citations (20%), including Worldwide Fund for Nature (WWF), Jane Goodall Institute (JGI), African Wildlife Foundation and World Vision. The third in line were both domestic environmental NGOs (Tanzania Forest Conservation Group, Mpingo Conservation and Development Initiative, Tanzania Natural Resources Forum, LARRI, HAKIARDHI, Wildlife Conservation Society, MJUMITA, Journalists Environment Association of Tanzania) and intergovernmental organizations and bodies (Natural Resources Management Unit of the Southern African Development Community [SADC], Norwegian Ministry for Environment, UK Prime Minister’s Office, the United Nations

<sup>14</sup> Witness a number of journalists in the high-profile climate change meetings in Tanzania and various events organized by REDD+ proponents.

<sup>15</sup> Spokespeople from, or views attributed to, legal organizations (e.g. police, prosecutors).

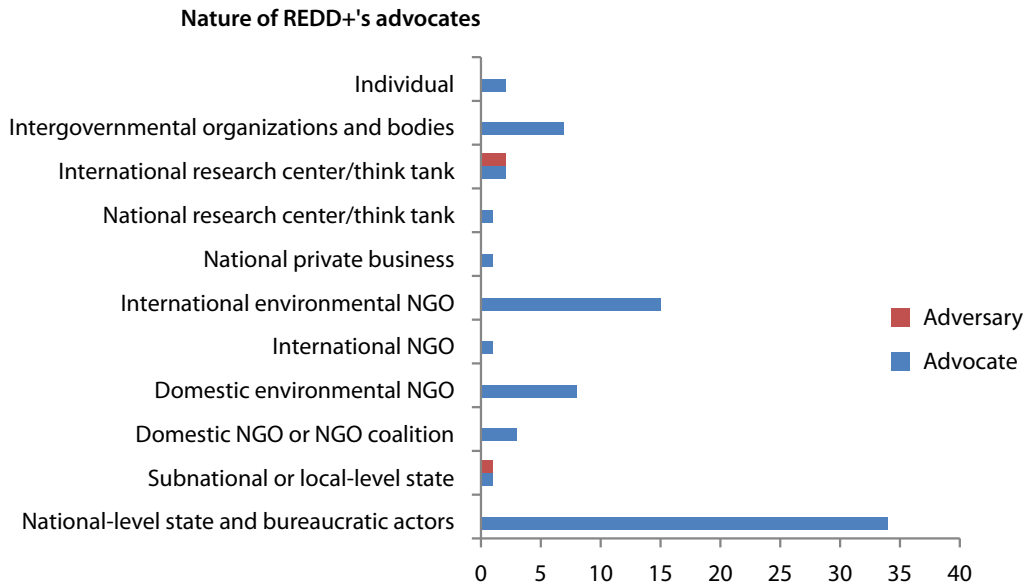


Figure 6. Numbers and origin of advocates and adversaries in media frames in Tanzania.

Development Programme, East African Community [EAC, UN-REDD+]), which both scored the same number (10%) of citations.

Only 10% (7 articles) of the 75 REDD+ articles had 2 frames, meaning 90% of articles about REDD+ did not examine the subject from more than one angle. Out of the seven articles that had two frames, only four had an advocate (Frame 2 articles had only four advocates). There were only three adversaries (REDD+ supporters) identified in the articles that had Frame 1 (90% of the articles) and no adversary in Frame 2, while four articles in Frame 1 did not have an advocate.

The fact that very few adversaries were identified in the media reporting frames suggests that REDD+ is not a controversial issue in Tanzania. Opposition to the REDD+ policy process is very weak because the major actors, including government agencies and leaders from international and domestic environmental NGOs, are engaged in REDD+ pilot projects.

#### 4.6 Prospects for REDD+ in Tanzania: Optimistic experts, pessimistic journalists

Regarding the prospects for REDD+ in Tanzania, most advocates identified in the media articles were found to be optimistic about REDD+ (Figure 7). Most government agencies and domestic and international NGOs were optimistic about the

benefits that REDD+ can bring to Tanzania. Their optimism is defined by their courage to continue pushing for conducive policies to support REDD+ and their action on the ground implementing REDD+ interventions.<sup>16</sup>

About 38% (27 out of 71) of advocates, particularly government officials, said they view REDD+ both as a solution to end deforestation and as a mechanism to improve communities' livelihoods and income:

“Tanzania has started to implement the National Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation (REDD+) readiness pilot projects from which the lessons learnt will be used to inform policy makers in developing a comprehensive national REDD+ strategy. Human activities have, for many years, been central to forests depletion in many parts of the country. Activities such as tree felling for energy, agriculture, human settlement, wild fire, pastoralists, hunting and mining activities have, for example, contributed to losing more than 6,184,000 hectares of forest resource from 1990 until 2005. The lost part of the forest is equivalent to more than 14.9 per cent of all the forests in the country. Other factors that contribute to deforestation include rampant corruption, lack of good governance and poor implementation of policies and laws in the forest sector.

16 Interview with REDD+ proponents, TFCG-MJUMITA Tanzania.



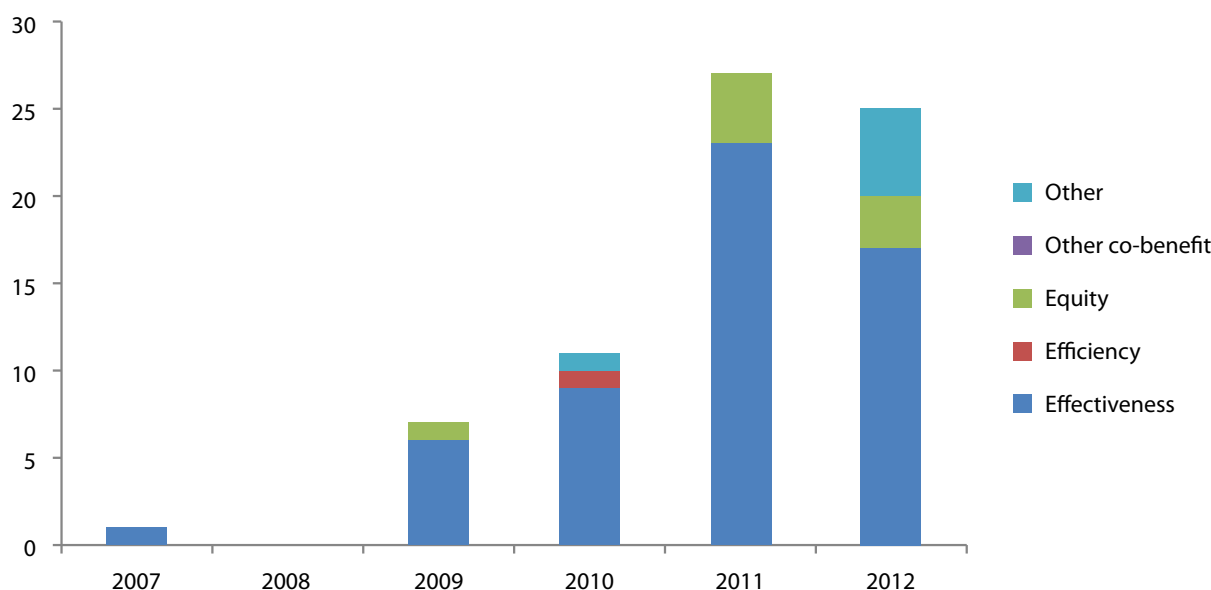


Figure 7. Assessment of future of REDD+ by advocates and adversaries, by type for all frames.

“However, there are some communities that are committed and determined to forest resource conservation, but they have never been recognized, let alone received financial support to motivate them to carry on with their good work and for others to emulate their idea. It is from this background that the National Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation (REDD+) in Tanzania is currently being piloted, the best practices are being documented whereas rules and regulations governing REDD+ are also being enacted for implementation” (Kitabu 2011).

However, CSOs and environmental NGOs in the country expressed skepticism about REDD+ because there are still a lot of unanswered questions about how REDD+ will unfold, especially on the issues of benefit sharing, land tenure and carbon rights. For example, the Executive Director of the Tanzania Forest Conservation Group (TFCG) Charles Meshack was quoted as saying, “...certain things that remain unclear to members of the public with regard to the programme that should be discussed. They included benefit sharing, land and resource tenure, and the fact that the programme should promote pro-poor, equitable and environmental policy options” (The Correspondent 2010b).

#### 4.7 Actors’ views about the 3 Es: Effectiveness beats efficiency and equity

With respect to effectiveness, efficiency and equity (3Es) in REDD+, the major actors were most concerned about effective implementation. In total, 59 advocates (79%) expressed opinions about the effectiveness of REDD+ compared with 9 (13%) on equity, 5 (7%) on other issues and less than 2 (1.5%) on efficiency (see Figure 8).

Although it is hard to gauge the stance and identify clear patterns regarding advocates’ and actors’ views on 3Es, Figure 8 reveals that national-level state and bureaucratic actors, international environmental NGOs and organizations are most concerned about the effectiveness of REDD+ mechanisms. In particular, this group of actors is concerned about whether REDD+ can really curb deforestation, illegal logging, and charcoal making without failing as so many other participatory initiatives and community-based forest management in Tanzania have done in the past.

National Forest Policy estimated the current deforestation rate at 130,000–500,000 ha per year; FAO (2010) estimated that Tanzania lost an average of 403,000 ha of forests per annum from 1990 to 2010. Forest cover change from 1990 to 1995 was estimated

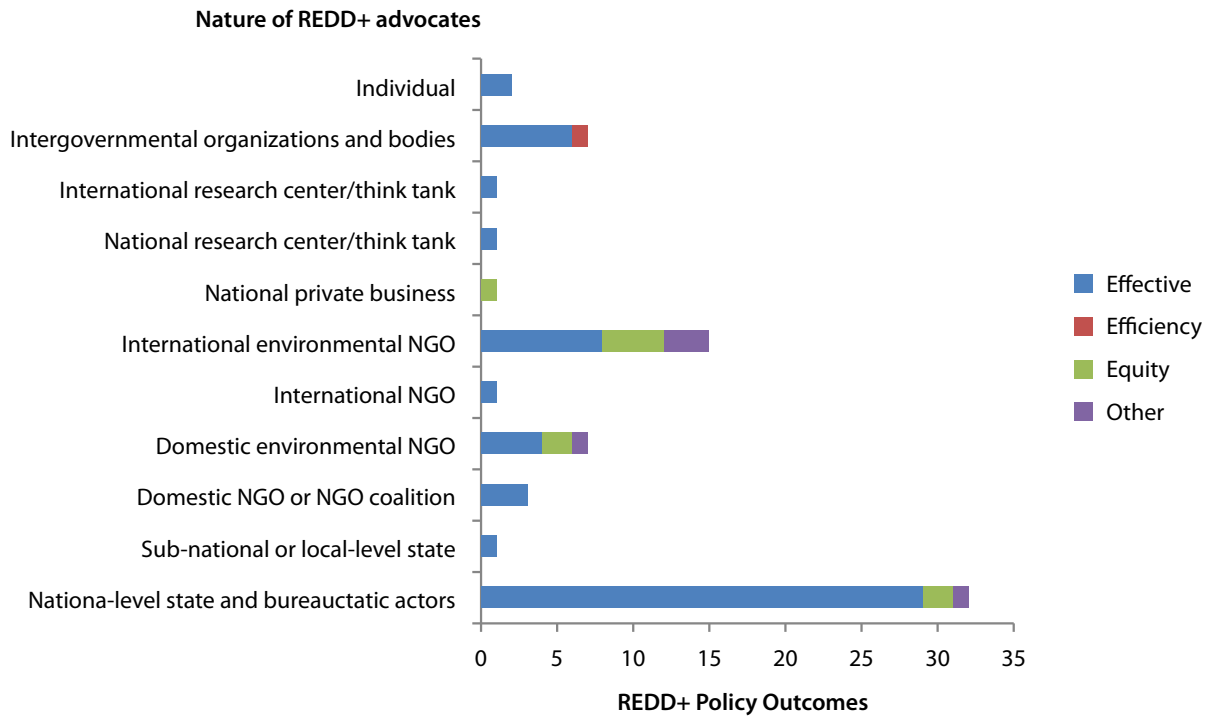


Figure 8. Nature of REDD+ advocates regarding REDD+ policy outcomes (3E's)

at -1.0% per year. The most recent national estimates suggest an annual deforestation rate of -1.16. Salla Rantala, a researcher, wrote in *The Daily News* about “Tanzania’s burning question: Can REDD+ succeed amid a charcoal addiction?” (Rantala 2011). This was because on 23 May 2011, in an event celebrating three years of climate change partnership between the governments of Tanzania and Norway, the Environment Minister of Tanzania, Terezya Huvisa, posed a question to the audience: “How many of you do not use charcoal when cooking at home?” Only 3 out of 50+ participants, consisting largely of urbanite government officials and donor and NGO representatives in the forestry sector, raised their hands. The myth of woodfuel as primarily the energy source of the poor and the rural was definitely debunked. Even those battling deforestation in the policy arenas are using it.

Despite actors’ general optimism about the role of REDD+ in saving Tanzanian forests and in bringing benefits to communities, there is skepticism too. In particular, actors have expressed there are still issues to be sorted out before REDD+ can work. These include the fact that REDD+ credit payment should not be channeled through governments (benefit sharing), carbon rights and overhauling some other system that will hinder REDD+ to work. The famous environmental journalist Finnigan Wa Simbeye wrote

that REDD+ activists and experts want carbon credit payments emanating from community forests to be channeled directly to villagers and not through the Treasury as suggested by some people in government (Simbeye 2011).

In addition, Mr. Meshack pointed out that since communities will be directly affected by the REDD+ initiative (which requires they stop deforestation to qualify for compensation), the villagers should be entitled to payment. He said initiatives such as the Participatory Forest Management Project have shown that paying communities for conserving forests through government does not work perfectly. Hence, he believes REDD+ payment should be done differently.

In the same issue, the Sokoine University of Agriculture’s expert, Professor George Kajembe, echoed the skepticism about REDD+ by arguing that government structure needs overhauling if REDD+ payments are to go through smoothly and reach villagers. Professor Kajembe challenged activists to be power brokers and identify weaknesses in the draft National REDD+ Strategy, arguing that it is often taken for granted that villagers need someone to speak on their behalf.

In the same article, it was also observed that the draft National REDD+ Strategy has a number of weaknesses, including depriving NGOs, private companies and communities of a decision-making role. Activists debating the draft strategy under the Tanzania Natural Resource Forum also pointed out that a vague land tenure system will cause conflicts among villagers, private companies and NGOs as the REDD+ comes into effect after the Kyoto Protocol expires in 2012. What this means is that CSOs and domestic environmental NGOs are primarily not only being skeptical, but are also concerned about the equity aspects of REDD+. Their view is that any benefits generated by REDD+ in Tanzania should be given to people who own and manage the forest. These are mainly local communities because most REDD+ pilot projects in Tanzania are under community forest management regimes whereby communities are *de jure* owners of forest according to the national forest policy and legislation. For instance, in an article published in *The Daily News* (Simbeye 2012), an official from Africa Wildlife Foundation, Godlisten Matilya, told a Climate Change Impacts, Adaptation and Mitigation Programme meeting in Dar es Salaam that after a lot of lobbying by environmental activists, the government had agreed that communities have the responsibility to protect forests and hence should pocket the bulk of payments to be made under REDD+. Thus, the government has agreed that 80% of payments under REDD+ will go to communities that protect forests.

He went on to say, "It's communities that guard these forests because the government has inadequate forest officers to patrol these forests hence it's logical that REDD+ payments should benefit them." According to the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, Tanzania has over 33.5 million ha of forests of which 13.5 million are state owned, 18 million belong to communities and the rest are owned by private companies, institutions and individuals.

In discussions with REDD+ proponents and pro-REDD+ experts in Tanzania while collecting GCS-REDD+ data, informants mentioned they pay a lot of attention to the efficiency of REDD+, in particular the transaction cost that will be incurred to reduce deforestation and improve forest cover in less-rich carbon forests such as miombo and coral rag. Only one article (The Correspondent 2010b) pointed out efficiency in a REDD+ scheme: Officer Nyambe H from SADC's Natural Resources Management Unit mentioned "the purpose of SADC's REDD+

programme is to improve the capacity of SADC member states to manage and benefit from their national REDD+ programmes and also pool resources together to collaborate on REDD+ issues in which regional approaches make sense and are more cost-efficient than those that can be attained purely by individual national actions."

The attention given to effectiveness and equity is attributable to the lack of opposition to REDD+ in Tanzania. Most of the actors identified as voicing concerns about equity and effectiveness and other critical issues of REDD+, particularly CSOs and NGOs such as TFCG, CARE, MCDI and JGI, are themselves engaged in REDD+ projects.

## 5 Conclusion

By analyzing the content of national media articles since the concept of REDD+ was introduced and by adding perspective into the coded REDD+ articles' data, this study concludes that Tanzania is actively involved in REDD+ both by developing supportive policies and by implementing projects on the ground primarily with support from Norway. The media reflect the general agreement, support for and optimism about REDD+ by various stakeholders. REDD+ is seen as a source of additional income for local communities and as a mechanism to curb deforestation. The main concerns expressed are whether its implementation will be effective and cost efficient, and whether benefits will be shared equitably.

The government-owned newspaper, *The Daily News*, accounted for more than half of all climate change and REDD+ articles, although overall coverage of REDD+ *per se* was smaller in all the articles compared with other climate change subjects. Fewer REDD+ articles were observed from 2005 to 2008, but the amount increased from 2009 onwards, coinciding with the start-up of about 10 subnational REDD+ projects, development of REDD+ policies and increased recognition of REDD+ as a national initiative.

The report concluded there was less climate change coverage in Tanzania between 2005 and 2008 but that coverage increased just after 2009. This was mainly due to international negotiations and agreements around the world, which played a major role in shaping REDD+ discourse in Tanzania as

well. Most articles published from 2009 touched on how REDD+ will integrate into the country in relation to the existing tenure system, benefit sharing, opportunity costs in relation to other land uses and resource ownership rights. There were debates on how REDD+ and conservation will improve economic growth and boost livelihood conditions. Then as the country was getting more and more of a grip on what REDD+ was all about, the discourse started to shift between scales and media took interest in issues such as benefit sharing, the carbon accounting system, and monitoring and verification. This has raised stakes and interest both for and against REDD+. The pro-REDD+ side (mainly CSOs and NGOs) see REDD+ as a game changer, while at the same time doubting how it will fit with existing policies and the institutional framework of natural resources governance and management in Tanzania.

REDD+ discourse focused more on national-level issues. It narrated progress of REDD+ in various subnational level pilot projects with respect to related government plans and strategies. In this respect, two major actors were shaping the REDD+ discourse in Tanzania at the national level: government agencies and NGOs. For government, the Department of Forestry and Beekeeping Division (FBD) under the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism and the Department of Environment under the Vice-President's Office (the national designated authority for climate change issues) were the lead entities. These two departments favor the REDD+ discourse, but their land use objectives compete with other ministries such as agriculture. At the national level, REDD+ is mainly implemented by national and international NGOs. Most believe that a well-implemented REDD+ will bring economic and ecological benefits. Therefore, REDD+ is relatively uncontroversial within the Tanzanian NGO community.

The study found that REDD+ discourse in Tanzania revolved around three main meta-topics: ecology, economics and marketing, with a strong correlation between REDD+ and economic growth. Deforestation, forest conservation and sustainable forest management received more publicity than any other topic, followed by funding for REDD+ and carbon trading. Most REDD+ articles focused on proposed solutions to the problems of deforestation and forest degradation.

Most REDD+ actors were mainly optimistic about the future of REDD+, viewing it as a solution to both deforestation and lack of better community income. Their optimism is defined by their courage to continue pushing for conducive policies to support REDD+ and their action on the ground implementing REDD+ interventions. However, CSOs and environmental NGOs expressed skepticism about REDD+ because there are still many unanswered questions about how REDD+ will unfold, especially on the issues of benefit sharing, land tenure and carbon rights.

The study revealed that national-level state and bureaucratic actors, as well as international environmental NGOs and organizations, are most concerned about the effectiveness of REDD+ mechanisms. In particular, this group of actors is concerned about whether REDD+ can really curb deforestation, illegal logging and charcoal-making as so many other participatory initiatives and community-based forest management schemes in Tanzania have failed in the past.

## 6 References

- Ajwang J. 21 August 2009. Norway gives 7bn/- for conservation of forests. *The Guardian*. News: The Guardian online version.
- Angelsen A. 2009. REDD+ meets reality. In Angelsen A, ed. *Realizing REDD+: National Strategy and Policy Options*. Bogor, Indonesia: Center for International Forestry Research. 2.
- Angelsen A and Wertz-Kanounnikoff S. 2008. What are the key design issues for REDD+ and the criteria for assessing options? In *Moving Ahead with REDD+*. Bogor, Indonesia: Center for International Forestry Research. 19–21.
- Boykoff M. 2008. The cultural politics of climate change discourse in the UK tabloids. *Political Geography* 27:549–569.
- Brockhaus M and Di Gregorio M. 2012. A brief overview: Component 1 on national REDD+ policies and processes. CIFOR Info brief 13. Center for International Forestry Research, Bogor, Indonesia.
- Brockhaus M, Di Gregorio M and Wertz-Kanounnikoff S. 2012. Guide for country profiles: Global comparative study on REDD+ (GCS-REDD+) Component 1 on

- National REDD+ policies and processes. Bogor, Indonesia: Center for International Forestry Research.
- Cronin T and Santoso L. 2010. *REDD+ politics in the media: A case study from Indonesia*. Working Paper 49. Bogor, Indonesia: Center for International Forestry Research.
- Di Gregorio M, Price S, Saunders C and Brockhaus M. 2012. *Code book for the analysis of media frames in articles on REDD+*. Bogor, Indonesia: Center for International Forestry Research.
- FAO. 2010. *Forest Resource Assessment (FRA)*. Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, Rome.
- Fillieule O and Jimenez M. 2006. The methodology of protest event analysis. In Rootes C, ed. *Environmental Protest in Western Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 258 – 279.
- Freedom House. 2010. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: Freedom in the World. Accessed 15 June 2013. <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2010/tanzania>
- Government of Tanzania. 2012. Mass Media. Accessed 10 December 2012. [http://www.tanzania.go.tz/mass\\_media.html](http://www.tanzania.go.tz/mass_media.html)
- [IPCC] Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. 2007. Fourth Assessment: Climate change 2007 – Synthesis report. Accessed 11 April 2011. [http://www.ipcc.ch/pdf/assessment-report/ar4/syr/ar4\\_syr\\_spm.pdf](http://www.ipcc.ch/pdf/assessment-report/ar4/syr/ar4_syr_spm.pdf)
- Kitabu G. September 2011. Conservation of forests: Incentives should trickle down to local people. *The Guardian*. Home-Features:Guardian online version.
- Lamtey G. 1 September 2009. Norway pledges USD 17m/- for research on climate change. *The Guardian*. News: Guardian online version.
- Laumann EO and Knoke D. 1987. *The Organizational State: Social Choice in National Policy Domains*. Madison, WI and London: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Lusekelo P. November 2009. Special fund mooted for REDD programme's implementation. *The Guardian*. News: Guardian online version.
- Press Reference Tanzania. Accessed 15 June 2013. <http://www.pressreference.com/Sw-Ur/Tanzania.html>
- Rantala S. 15 June 2011. Tanzania's burning question: Can REDD+ succeed amid a charcoal addiction? *The Daily News*. News:online version.
- Rantala S. 2012. *Knowledge and brokerage in REDD+ policy making: A policy networks analysis of the case of Tanzania*. Working Paper. Cambridge: Harvard Kennedy School and Bogor, Indonesia: Center for International Forestry Research.
- REDD+ Initiative in Tanzania. 2013. *Tanzania REDD+ Initiative*. Accessed 20 April 2013. <http://www.reddtz.org/>
- Stern N. 2006. *The Stern Review: The Economics of Climate Change*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Tanzania Forest Conservation Group and MJUMITA. 2012. *Recommendations from Tanzanian Civil Society with regard to Tanzania's National REDD+ Strategy*. Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Forest Conservation Group and MJUMITA.
- Tanzania Forest Conservation Group/MJUMITA. 2013. *TZ-REDD Newsletter*. Dar es Salaam: TFCG and MJUMITA, Accessed: 03 May 2013 <http://www.tfcg.org/pdf/REDDNewsletter9.pdf>
- Tanzania Media Sustainability Index. 2008. Accessed 10 April 2013. [http://www.irex.org/system/files/2-Africa\\_08\\_tanzania.pdf](http://www.irex.org/system/files/2-Africa_08_tanzania.pdf)
- Tanzania Press. 2009. *Press Reference*. Retrieved 08 02, 2012, from Press Reference: <http://www.pressreference.com/Sw-Ur/Tanzania.html>
- The Correspondent. 19 November 2010a. Reducing carbon emissions needs firm collaboration. Home-Business. Dar es Salaam Tanzania. An online version. [http://www.ippmedia.com/frontend/functions/print\\_article.php?l=23239](http://www.ippmedia.com/frontend/functions/print_article.php?l=23239)
- The Correspondent. 21 December 2010b. Southern African collectively gearing up for REDD+. *The Daily News*. African features. Dar es Salaam Tanzania. Online version. <http://www.ipsnews.net/2010/12/southern-africa-collectively-gearing-up-for-redd/>
- The Guardian Reporter. 21 October 2010. Norway injects USD 80 m into project to curb deforestation. *The Guardian*. Home-news: Guardian online version.
- The Republic of Tanzania. 2013. Action plan for the implementation of the national strategy for reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD+). Dar es Salaam: Vice-President's Office Department of Environment.
- UN-REDD. 2009. REDD Readiness in Tanzania United Republic of Tanzania. 1976. Newspaper Act. Dar es Salaam: Government Publisher.
- United Republic of Tanzania. 1993. Broadcasting Services Act. Dar es Salaam: Government Publisher.
- United Republic of Tanzania. 2009. National Framework for Reduced Emissions from

- Deforestation and forest Degradation (REDD). Dar es Salaam: Government Publisher.
- United Republic of Tanzania. 2012. National Strategy for Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation (REDD+). Division of Environment, Office of the Vice-President. Dar es Salaam: Government Publisher.
- Wa Simbeye F. 22 February 2012. Norway suspends funding to WWF. *The Daily News*. Local news: <http://dailynews.co.tz/index.php/local-news/2155-norway-suspends-funding-to-wwf>
- Wa Simbeye F. 16 February 2011. Activists want change on carbon credit payments Local News. *The Daily News: Guardian* online version.
- Wa Simbeye F. 2 December 2009. Forestry owners need compensation. *The Daily News*. Business & Finance:18.
- Wa Simbeye F. 6 February 2012. Tanzania paid for keeping the forest alive. *The Daily News*. Home-features-popular features:10.



**CIFOR Working Papers contain preliminary or advance research results on tropical forest issues that need to be published in a timely manner to inform and promote discussion. This content has been internally reviewed but has not undergone external peer review.**

This research is part of the policy component of CIFOR's global comparative study on Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation (GCS-REDD+), which is conducting research in 12 countries across Africa, Asia and Latin America. The media analysis investigates how discourse around REDD+ policy is framed in the mainstream Tanzanian press, identifying media frames and the main actors and their positions on REDD+, while looking at a range of variables at different levels.

The study found that Tanzania is actively involved in REDD+, both by developing supportive policies and by implementing projects on the ground primarily with support from Norway. The media reflects the general agreement, support for and optimism about REDD+ by various stakeholders. REDD+ is seen as a source of additional income for local communities and as a mechanism to curb deforestation. The main concerns expressed are whether its implementation will be effective and cost efficient, and whether benefits will be shared equitably.

Two major actors were found to be shaping the REDD+ discourse in Tanzania: government agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The study found that REDD+ discourse in Tanzania revolved around three main meta-topics: ecology, economics and marketing with a strong correlation between REDD+ and economic growth. Deforestation, forest conservation and sustainable forest management received more publicity than any other topic, followed by funding for REDD+ and carbon trading. Most REDD+ articles focused on prognosis (i.e. proposing solutions to the problems of deforestation). Actors were optimistic and skeptical at the same time, viewing REDD+ as a source of income and a means to curb deforestation, but expressing concern about certain issues (i.e. benefit sharing, land tenure and carbon rights) that leave a lot of unanswered questions about how it will unfold.



RESEARCH  
PROGRAM ON  
Forests, Trees and  
Agroforestry

This research was carried out by CIFOR as part of the CGIAR Research Program on Forests, Trees and Agroforestry (CRP-FTA). This collaborative program aims to enhance the management and use of forests, agroforestry and tree genetic resources across the landscape from forests to farms. CIFOR leads CRP-FTA in partnership with Bioversity International, CATIE, CIRAD, the International Center for Tropical Agriculture and the World Agroforestry Centre.

[cifor.org](http://cifor.org)

[blog.cifor.org](http://blog.cifor.org)



**Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR)**

CIFOR advances human well-being, environmental conservation and equity by conducting research to help shape policies and practices that affect forests in developing countries. CIFOR is a member of the CGIAR Consortium. Our headquarters are in Bogor, Indonesia, with offices in Asia, Africa and America Latin.

