



Policy progress with REDD+ and the promise of performance-based payments

A qualitative comparative analysis of 13 countries

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Haze from the forest fires, Riau, Indonesia.

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Abbreviations

CIFOR	Center for International Forestry Research
CSO	civil society organization
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
ER-PIN	Emission Reduction Program Idea Note
FCPF	Forest Carbon Partnership Facility
GCS	REDD+ Global Comparative Study on REDD+
INCL	inclusiveness of the policy process
LOI	Letter of Intent
MRV	measurement, reporting and verification
OWN	national ownership
PERFO	availability of payment-for-performance funds for REDD+ (PERFO)
PNG	Papua New Guinea
PRES	pressure from shortage of forest resources
QCA	qualitative comparative analysis
R-PP	Readiness Preparation Proposal
REDD+	reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation, and enhancing forest carbon stocks in developing countries
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

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Executive summary

Reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation, and enhancing forest carbon stocks in developing countries (REDD+) has emerged as a promising climate change mitigation mechanism in tropical forest countries. A number of countries are now at different phases in the process of realizing REDD+, from policy design and technical readiness activities to actual implementation of policies and measures, with an anticipated following phase in which results-based payments occur. Indicators and criteria to measure progress with REDD+ policy making are required to identify which factors enable or hinder countries' performance in delivering necessary policy change. This paper examines the national political context in a number of REDD+ countries in order to identify the enabling conditions for achieving progress with the implementation of countries' REDD+ policies and measures.

The analysis presented here is the result of a longitudinal study on REDD+ performance, and is part of the policy component of the Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR) Global Comparative Study on REDD+ (GCS REDD+), in collaboration with the Centre for Global Development (CGD) and their work on tropical forests and climate change. The objective of the analysis is to explain which factors contributed to the advanced establishment of comprehensive policies

targeting transformational change in the REDD+ policy domain in some countries. We consider such transformational change a necessary step toward the full implementation of phase 3 of REDD+, the achievement of results-based payments for delivered emission reductions and co-benefits. The paper builds on a previously published qualitative comparative analysis of various countries' progress with REDD+, conducted in 12 REDD+ countries in 2012 (Sehring et al. 2013; Korhonen-Kurki et al. 2014). A follow-up survey in 2014 was considered timely because the REDD+ policy arena, at international and country levels, is highly dynamic and undergoes constant evolution, which affects progress with REDD+ policy making and implementation. In this paper, we examine whether the 'promise' of performance-based funds has played a role in enabling the establishment of REDD+.

The results show a set of enabling conditions and characteristics of the policy process under which REDD+ policies can be established. Two key findings of our analysis, the importance of already initiated policy change and the relevance of available performance-based funding in combination with strong national ownership of the REDD+ process, may help guide other countries seeking to formulate REDD+ policies that are likely to deliver efficient, effective and equitable outcomes.

1 Introduction

Reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation, and enhancing forest carbon stocks in developing countries (REDD+) has emerged as a promising climate change mitigation mechanism in tropical forest countries, supported by global initiatives such as the UN-REDD Programme and the World Bank-led Forest Carbon Partnership Facility (FCPF) or through bilateral agreements. A number of countries are now at different phases in the process of realizing REDD+, from policy design and technical readiness activities to actual implementation of policies and measures, with an anticipated following phase in which results-based payments occur (Meridian Institute 2009). Overall progress has been much slower than expected (Angelsen 2013). National policy outcomes in terms of actual emission reductions or achieved co-benefits are, for the most part, not yet observable nor measured at a large scale. Consequently, to date, REDD+ achievements are limited (Sills et al. 2014) to progress in improved technical capacity (Romijn et al. 2012) and the development of policies and measures (Wertz-Kanounnikoff and McNeill 2012). In search of explanations for this overall slow but differing progress, the timing for when REDD+ countries joined multilateral and bilateral agreements obviously matters. In addition, one argument often put forward by national and international REDD+ actors is the lack of a global climate change agreement with binding targets, leading to uncertainty over REDD+ financing (Streck and Parker 2012). However, slow progress is also linked to specific, policy-relevant conditions within REDD+ countries, which can either enable or hinder policy progress with REDD+ (Korhonen-Kurki et al. 2014).

This paper will examine the national political context in a number of REDD+ countries in order to identify the enabling conditions for the establishment of REDD+. The analysis here builds on a previous qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) of various countries' progress with REDD+, conducted in 12 countries in 2012 (Sehring et al. 2013; Korhonen-Kurki et al. 2014). A follow-up survey in 2014 was considered timely because the REDD+ policy arena, at international and country levels, is highly dynamic and undergoes constant evolution (Angelsen and McNeill 2012), which affects progress with REDD+

policy making and implementation. In addition, due to current debates around finance uncertainty and the emphasis given to results-based finance and the performance element in REDD+, a new factor was introduced to the analysis: the promise of and commitment to performance-based funding for REDD+. Early on, terms such as measured results and the concept of 'payments for performance' featured prominently in the REDD+ terminology. They are also referred to as 'output-based aid' and 'result-based aid' in the world of development assistance (Angelsen 2013). The key element of this concept is "a contract between both partners that defines incentives to produce measurable results" (Klingebiel 2012). In this paper, we also examine whether the 'promise' of such funds has played a role in enabling the establishment of REDD+.

The REDD+ mechanism has not progressed toward implementation as quickly as anticipated. However, major national-level policy formulation is underway and policy outputs can be seen in the establishment of new institutions, procedures and capacity building; while in other areas, policy formulation, operationalization of policies and implementation have been limited (Brockhaus and Di Gregorio 2014). Thus, an analysis such as the QCA presented here does not yet focus on measured carbon and non-carbon policy outcomes that have resulted from a full-fledged REDD+ implementation. Nevertheless, several states have already established comprehensive policies targeting transformational change¹ in the REDD+ policy domain that are likely to lead to an effective, efficient and equitable REDD+ implementation in the long term. The current analysis seeks to explain and identify enabling conditions for the establishment of such policies.

Decision-making processes do not emerge in a vacuum, but are shaped by both existing institutions and the agency (or lack of such) of actors relevant

1 'Transformational change' is understood here as a shift "in discourse, attitudes, power relations, and deliberate policy and protest action that leads policy formulation and implementation away from business as usual policy approaches that directly or indirectly support deforestation and forest degradation" (Brockhaus and Angelsen 2012).

to the particular policy arena (see also Corbera and Schroeder 2011; Brockhaus et al. 2014). Hence, the analysis presented here considers as possible enabling factors those related to the institutional setting (such as existing forest legislation and features of forest governance, patterns of forest exploitation, etc.), as well as actor-related processes in the REDD+ policy arena (coalition building, participation and inclusion). As defined in Korhonen-Kurki et al. (2014), ‘institutional setting’ refers to “the formal and informal regulations, rules and norms that are established over time and that are not easily changed or transformed” (see also North 1990; Ostrom 1990; Scharpf 2000; Baumgartner et al. 2011). The other key concept, ‘the policy arena’, is viewed as being framed by institutions but shaped by the actions of the actors, whether individuals, communities, organizations or networks, and characterized by more or less hierarchical or inclusive processes, involving a range of powerful actors, which can foster or prevent

certain policies and influence policy formulation (Scharpf 1997; Corbera and Schroeder 2011; Arts 2012).

Section 2 provides a short rationale for the selection of the 13 REDD+ countries that are part of the QCA, and section 3 presents the methodology applied for data gathering and analysis. Section 4 presents the assessment of the enabling conditions identified. It is organized in six subsections: first, the outcome and the joint country context is introduced, followed by an explanation of the remote (institutional setting) and proximate (policy arena) conditions. The remaining two subsections show the current assessments of these conditions by the country experts, and highlight changes in the specific countries between these and the 2012 assessments. Section 5 shows the results of the 2014 QCA and discusses the findings in section 6. The paper ends with a brief conclusion.

2 Countries selected for the analysis

The analysis forms part of the Global Comparative Study on REDD+ (GCS REDD+), led by the Centre for International Forestry Research (CIFOR), that is currently underway in 14 countries in South America, sub-Saharan Africa and the Asia-Pacific region (see Table 1), and builds on a QCA conducted in 2011–2012. Compared with the previous analysis, two countries were added: Ethiopia and Guyana. Ethiopia became part of the GCS REDD+ in 2013 and strengthens the valuable experience on REDD+ from the African continent. Guyana is not one of CIFOR’s core countries in the REDD+ study, but provides an interesting case, as it is among the countries receiving performance-based funding for REDD+. Another change to the previous analysis is that we have removed the case study of Bolivia from the comparison. Bolivia has engaged in the establishment of policies for reducing emissions from forests, but has created its own approach outside the

formal United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) REDD+ process (see more on Bolivia in the box below). As a result, our analysis focuses on the remaining 13 countries, of which seven are in sub-Saharan Africa, three in South America and four in the Asia-Pacific region (Table 1).

Table 1. Countries in the qualitative comparative analysis, 2014.

Africa	South America	Asia-Pacific
Burkina Faso	Brazil	Indonesia
Cameroon	Guyana	Nepal
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Peru	Papua New Guinea
Ethiopia		Vietnam
Mozambique		
Tanzania		

Box 1. Bolivia’s alternative approach to reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation.

In the mid-2000s, major political changes in Bolivia led to a questioning of existing public policies. This criticism included a strong emphasis on upholding alternative views such as the idea of ‘living in harmony and balance with Mother Earth’. However, despite changes in the discourse on the vision of forest management, no substantial changes in land and forest policy and legislation were made.

The Bolivian government was a staunch supporter of the proposal for reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation, and enhancing forest carbon stocks in developing countries (REDD+) – even before political changes had been considered. However, this position changed when Evo Morales took office in 2006. His government assumed a position against the marketization of nature and for climate justice in 2010. Bolivia eventually adopted a more proactive position that emphasized the importance of mechanisms that are not market based. In this context, the Bolivian government has developed the so-called Joint Mitigation and Adaptation Mechanism for the Integrated and Sustainable Management of Forests and Mother Earth. The proposal was formally adopted as public policy in the Law of Mother Earth, approved in 2012, and its regulatory decree of 2013.

Source: Mueller et al. (2014).

3 Method: A brief introduction to a two-step qualitative comparative analysis

This study applies a QCA, a method that enables systematic comparison of an intermediate number of case studies – usually applied to compare 5–100 cases. QCA can be a useful method to produce parsimonious and stringent research results from a multitude of in-depth case studies developed by numerous researchers. QCA can be used as a structuring tool that allows researchers to share understanding and produce coherent data, as well as a tool for understanding and explaining the presence or absence of a particular policy phenomenon (in our case, REDD+ policy progress) and the factors explaining this. Inferences from such an analysis are useful for generating policy recommendations in particular. For the purpose of this paper, we discuss only the main aspects that characterize QCA (see Sehring et al. (2013) for a detailed presentation of the method and its rationale).

In QCA, each case is understood as a specific combination (called a ‘configuration’) of factors, known as ‘conditions’. QCA is based on the concept of multiple conjunctural causation, meaning that (i) most often not one condition alone but a combination of conditions will lead to the outcome; (ii) different combinations of conditions can produce the same outcome (equifinality); and (iii) one condition can have different impacts on the outcome, depending on its combination with other factors and the context (Rihoux 2007).

The values of the causal conditions and outcomes are summarized in a data matrix, called a ‘truth table’. In crisp-set QCA (csQCA), used here, all conditions are assessed as either absent (0) or present (1) for the specific case. In presenting the results, the truth table shows all theoretically possible combinations and their occurrence in the cases. In a configuration, the use of capital letters denotes the presence of a condition, and small letters indicate its absence. The threshold between absence and presence has to be defined theoretically and assessed based on case knowledge (see the appendix for the definitions, indicators and thresholds of the factors used in this study). The configuration formula is obtained through the application of Boolean algebra, in which ‘+’ means ‘or’ and ‘*’ means ‘and’. For example, ABc ($A*B*c$) denotes the presence of both A and B and

the absence of C. Note that absence is not assessed as irrelevant but is measured and included in the analysis. For example, for our defined outcome – progress with REDD+, such an analysis allows us to identify whether and which particular set of conditions show a similar pattern in terms of presence and absence of specific conditions, for each successful case country.

However, by introducing a two-step analysis, it is possible to further divide the conditions, for example, to differentiate between institutional context and policy-specific conditions. The current analysis builds on the two-step fuzzy-set QCA (fsQCA) developed by Schneider and Wagemann (2006), but applies it as csQCA, that is, with only binary coding (0 = absence, 1 = presence). Schneider and Wagemann (2006) differentiate between remote and proximate conditions, which are analyzed in two separate steps. In this analysis, remote conditions are those of the institutional setting and proximate conditions are those of the REDD+ policy arena. In the first step of a two-step QCA, only the remote conditions are analyzed in order to identify ‘outcome-enabling conditions’. One or several configurations can emerge. In the second step, each of these configurations is analyzed in conjunction with the proximate factors. Thus, several analyses take place in parallel, but only with those cases that exhibit the relevant context, i.e. outcome enabling. The approach thus allows for inferences about which factors, or sets of factors, play a role if certain contextual conditions are given.

In line with the theoretical considerations presented in our previous study (Korhonen-Kurki et al. 2014), we defined six conditions for the two-step QCA, three for the institutional setting (remote conditions) and three for the policy arena (proximate conditions). The process of identifying and defining the relevant conditions for the analysis together with the country experts allowed us to capture the core comparable factors used in case-specific research studies carried out by more than 60 country experts since 2010 in the context of the overall GCS REDD+ project.

To identify the conditions, a preliminary list of potentially important factors was compiled during a workshop with research country teams in 2011.

This list formed the basis for an online survey completed by project researchers in 2012. Following reviews of the REDD+ country studies, the number of factors was reduced (overlapping factors were merged, related factors were combined into meta-factors and some factors were excluded based on theoretical expectations and case deduction). At the end of this process, a final list of conditions was defined, and indicators developed for the evaluation of the presence or absence of each particular condition, as well as for the defined outcome (see the appendix). To allow cross-checking of results, a final assessment of the indicators and factors took place in a joint workshop in November 2012 attended by experts from the GCS REDD+ country teams. The results of this first round, as well as a methodological background paper, were published consecutively, by Korhonen-Kurki (2014) and Sehring et al. (2013). In 2014, these conditions, as part of a second research phase, were revised and a new condition added. The data presented here are the result of a comparison not only across countries but also over time. As mentioned above, a first assessment of conditions took place in 2012, and a second assessment in 2014.

The application of indicators was crucial for managing two major challenges of this study: (i) the assessment being based on expert opinions may include possible biases of the experts, and (ii) allowing only for a binary assessment doesn't necessarily capture the differences in the expression of a particular factor within and across countries. The definition of indicators and the establishment of a minimum number of present indicators for achieving 'presence' (1) of a particular factor, allowed for a more nuanced assessment through the country experts. The assessment had to be grounded in tangible evidence for the expression of absence (0) or presence (1) of a particular factor and its indicators. In addition, working with country teams of experts

rather than only individuals enabled us to achieve a certain degree of intersubjectivity and to better balance potential biases in the assessments.

The evaluations presented here are a result of the second round of QCA carried out in February–September 2014 by the same CIFOR country case leaders who provided their assessments in 2012. The experts were asked to compare the current situation in their country with the results of their assessments in 2012, and to provide an evaluation of the new condition, the availability of performance-based funding. Country experts were also encouraged to justify their choices and explain whenever changes occurred in the indicators by providing additional information for each of these (see Table 2). Furthermore, country experts participated in explaining the results of the analysis. For the two new cases, Ethiopia and Guyana, only the situation in 2014 was assessed. In Guyana, the preliminary evaluation was conducted by external experts. This was followed by a national workshop in May 2014, consisting of key national REDD+ actors. All evaluations gathered initially in March 2014 were cross-checked and further revised by a working group consisting of country experts in a joint workshop in late April 2014. The QCA was conducted using the software Tosmana (Cronqvist 2011).

The analysis presented here will allow us to generate lessons from those country cases with a successful outcome, namely where progress with REDD+ policies is observed, by identifying shared patterns in particular factor combinations. Recommendations can also be generated from not yet successful cases (outcome absent), and the factor combinations observed among these cases, as well as from factor combinations that have led to so-called contradictory results, where we have cases with absent as well as with present outcomes for a particular factor combination.

4 Enabling conditions for establishing REDD+

This section introduces the specific factors selected, including the outcome definition, and provides the reader with the results of the assessments, the country context in which these assessments are embedded and the findings of the QCA.

4.1 Outcome: Establishment of comprehensive policies targeting transformational change in the REDD+ policy domain

The objective of the analysis was to explain which factors contributed to the advanced establishment of comprehensive policies targeting transformational change in the REDD+ policy domain in some countries. We consider such transformational change a necessary step to the full implementation of phase 3 of REDD+, the achievement of results-based payments for delivered emission reductions and co-benefits. Thus, we define the outcome as ‘establishment of comprehensive policies targeting transformational change in the REDD+ policy domain’ (denoted by the abbreviation REDD). As indicators for the presence of this outcome, we asked country teams to assess the state of the measurement, reporting and verification (MRV) system; the availability of REDD+ financing, coordination mechanisms and grievance procedures to safeguard the implementation; and the overall presence of a national strategy (see the appendix). We determined that at least two indicators must be present in order for the outcome to qualify as positive (see appendix).

4.2 Joint context

The comparison of the cases and the identification of causal factors explaining the outcome build on a *ceteris paribus* assumption (all other factors being equal) about the joint context of all case studies. The 13 countries analyzed here differ in many respects, but they do have in common several factors that are important for the success or failure of REDD+:²

² These conditions were also evaluated during the first round of analysis and they showed the same values in most of the countries. As no real differences were observed, they can be excluded from explaining the differences in the outcome. Rather, these conditions form a joint context of all REDD+ countries analyzed. See also Pedroni et al. (2009) and Phelps et al. (2010).

- All countries have shortcomings in effective horizontal, cross-sectoral coordination mechanisms, which are necessary for ensuring the coordination of REDD+-related activities and processes among all relevant ministries.
- Most countries have rather weak multilevel governance systems, which leads to both the inadequate functioning of local agencies and poor vertical coordination between central, provincial and local levels.
- Most countries lack adequate professional and financial capacity in forest administration and for MRV activities.
- Almost all countries (the exceptions are Burkina Faso and Nepal) have powerful drivers of deforestation (i.e. forest-related and land-use expanding sectors have a high economic significance and are well integrated in global markets), which translates into resistance to change from powerful interests.
- Nevertheless, the political leadership in most of the countries demonstrates a commitment to REDD+, as expressed by regular pro-REDD+ statements or engagement with the REDD+ policy arena at the national level.
- All the countries have political coalitions that advocate policy change and can lead debates and formulation of new policy directions away from approaches trying to preserve the status quo and business as usual in forest policy.³

In sum, the countries taking part in this study are tropical developing or emerging economy countries with a certain political commitment to REDD+, but typically with powerful drivers of deforestation, weak multilevel governance, low cross-sectoral horizontal coordination and inadequate capacity – all characteristics that hinder the quick implementation of an effective, efficient and equitable REDD+ (Korhonen-Kurki et al. 2014).

³ In the 2012 QCA, this was one of the proximate factors. In all countries since then, however, while at least a minimum of coalition building can be observed, it cannot explain differences in REDD+ progress. Therefore, it was re-defined as a joint context factor.

4.3 Institutional setting (remote conditions)

REDD+ policy processes take place in an environment framed by existing institutions. The resulting path dependency can often explain difficulties in achieving institutional change, even in the presence of political will for reform. Historical experiences, as well as policy and institutional legacies limit present actions. Policies or individual and collective behaviors and beliefs that proved successful in the past, that are dominant, entrenched or that are in the interest of powerful actors are adhered to, and any change of these is perceived as a threat to vested interests and business-as-usual practices (Thelen 1999; Pierson 2000). This is a common phenomenon that may impede the national implementation of any international program (Victor et al. 1998; Barr et al. 2010).

To explore the institutional settings in the REDD+ policy arena, we define three remote conditions for REDD+ and related hypothetical assumptions:

- **Pressure from shortage of forest resources (PRES):** A high degree of forest are under pressure from economic activity due to the institutionalized patterns of forest use and might soon become unable to meet needs or fulfil usage interests. We expect that if a country's forests are under high levels of pressure, it will face a stronger need to engage in active forest protection and overcome path dependency and resistance.
- **Key features of effective forest legislation, policy and governance (EFF):** Key features comprise the existence of a legal framework that defines tenure, use and management rights and include both formal and customary regulations, the enforcement of laws and policies related to sustainable forest management, participation by national and local authorities and the degree of compliance of forest users. We expect that achieving REDD+ outcomes requires that certain key elements of a sound legal forestry framework, featuring clearly defined rights and management regulations, are in place and are enforced to some extent.
- **Already initiated policy change (CHA):** Policy change is already underway, addressing forests and climate change and aimed at departing from business-as-usual practices that are broader than and/or developed prior to the UNFCCC REDD+ policy process, e.g. nationally appropriate mitigation actions (NAMAs), anti-deforestation programs, low-carbon development strategies, forest-based adaptation and mitigation efforts, and forest-based payment for environmental services

(PES) schemes. We expect that effective REDD+ strategies can emerge more easily if governments are already successfully implementing policies aimed at departing from business-as-usual practices in the forest economy and thus provide scope for an institutional path change.

4.4 Policy arena (proximate conditions)

Whereas the institutional setting provides key conditions for an enabling context, actions by political actors shape the policy arena and the processes that lead to transformational change. We identified three proximate conditions with hypothetical assumptions on their impact on the policy arena (for more details see Korhonen-Kurki et al. (2014)) and investigated which of them are necessary to accomplish the outcome-enabling configurations and which combinations provide for a sufficient configuration:

- **National ownership (OWN):** National actors are dominant in shaping and supporting the policy discourse on REDD+ and are involved in the development of policy documents. The country is financially committed to REDD+. We expect that REDD+ policy documents are more likely to be translated into effective and sustainable activities if REDD+ policy processes are led by committed national actors and not driven only by international actors.
- **Inclusiveness of the policy process (INCL):** There is a high degree of participation and consultation of key stakeholders (including those from the private sector), civil society and indigenous people. Legal provisions supporting the right of indigenous people and communities to participate are in place. We expect that stakeholder participation in REDD+ policy processes ensures that multiple interests are taken into account and reduces resistance to the implementation of REDD+. Inclusion of stakeholders in the policy process is therefore crucial for legitimacy and sustainability.

The above five conditions were all included in the analysis conducted in 2012 (Korhonen-Kurki 2014). However, in the current analysis, we also aim to scrutinize whether the availability of performance-based funding is playing a role in the establishment of REDD+ (see more on performance-based funding in Angelsen (2013)); thus, a new factor was included:

- **Availability of payment-for-performance funds for REDD+ (PERFO):** REDD+ funding on a payment-for-performance basis is available through a transfer of funds from an international

donor. In a letter of intent (LOI) (or equivalent), the donor has committed to provide the funds, and the prospective recipient government has expressed interest in achieving eligibility to access those funds. We expect that those countries where payment-for-performance funds are available, and an LOI (or equivalent) has been signed to confirm the commitment of both parties, will have established REDD+ policies and achieved REDD+ outcomes faster than those countries where such performance-based funds are not available.

This new condition replaces the former condition 'existence of transformational coalitions' (COAL) in the current analysis. In the 2014 evaluation, all countries, except Cameroon, showed a positive result on the existence of transformational coalitions. As there is hardly any variation, this can be considered a joint context. In all countries, new coalitions of policy actors have emerged that promote a change from business-as-usual policies.

4.5 Evaluation of the factors

The new evaluation by country experts showed some remarkable policy developments, although not all of them are reflected in the table. Note that a limitation of the csQCA we use here is that only those changes that lead to a new presence/absence assessment of the

respective factors are captured, while gradual changes below this level are not visible. Evaluation of the factors was done using indicators developed for each factor (see appendix).

As seen in Table 2, only a few changes in the overall value of conditions can be observed, and it seems that REDD+ at the national level is progressing slowly. While much is happening in the policy arena and changes are emerging at the indicator level, they are not yet seen in factor values. Thus, in the following section, we elaborate on current trends and trajectories in terms of developments and anticipated changes in indicators, as well as on the current situation of the national REDD+ policy arena in the countries studied. It is important to note that in the first round of our analysis in 2012, only Brazil, Indonesia and Vietnam had at least two of the five indicators present to qualify for the outcome being 1. In the second round, Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) joined this group mainly due to their progress with a national REDD+ strategy, as did Guyana. While in all these countries, experts also noted challenges and backlashes in REDD+ policy development, as the following section will show, these five countries fulfilled sufficient criteria to confirm the presence of the outcome 'establishment of comprehensive policies targeting transformational change in the REDD+ policy domain'.

Table 2. Truth table for all the factors for 2012 and 2014.

Country	PRES		EFF		CHA		OWN		INCL		COAL		PERFO		REDD	
	2012	2014	2012	2014	2012	2014	2012	2014	2012	2014	2012	2014	2012	2014	2012	2014
Brazil	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Burkina Faso	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Cameroon	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
DRC	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
Ethiopia		1		0		1		0		1		1	0			0
Guyana		0		1		1		1		1		1	1			1
Indonesia	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mozambique	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
Nepal	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
Peru	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
PNG	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Tanzania	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
Vietnam	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1

CHA = already initiated policy change; COAL = existence of transformational coalitions; DRC = Democratic Republic of the Congo; EFF = key features of effective forest legislation, policy and governance; INCL = inclusiveness of the policy process; OWN = national ownership; PERFO = availability of payment-for-performance funds for REDD+ (PERFO); PNG = Papua New Guinea; PRES = pressure from shortage of forest resources; REDD = establishment of comprehensive policies targeting transformational change in the REDD+ policy domain.

Notes:

1. The final column is the outcome variable 'REDD'.

2. Changed values in the assessments between 2012 and 2014 are shown in **bold**.

4.6 Current developments in enabling conditions for REDD+ in the countries studied

Brazil. No major changes in institutional settings in Brazil have been observed since 2012. The ‘pressure from shortage of forest resources’ factor, however, deserves some attention as the country managed to reduce deforestation rates sharply in the last decade and has already initiated policy change addressing climate mitigation, land use and forests. Nevertheless, forests are still considered to be under high levels of pressure, as also noted in the debates around the forestry code revisions. In 2013, increased levels of deforestation were observed, which then dropped again in 2014 and increased again in 2015 (Fonseca et al. 2015). These fluctuations indicate that Brazil has still not completely overcome path dependencies in deforestation and forest degradation, despite the country’s investments in command and control measures (see, for example, Maia et al. (2011) and Assunção et al. (2012)). While Brazil generally has sound and consistent forestry policies, in most cases they seem not to be fully enforced. The Amazon Fund represents one of the main financing mechanisms for REDD+ initiatives at the federal level in Brazil. The fund, however, still needs to improve monitoring of its initiatives in order to effectively measure emission reductions and performance that results from funding provided by the mechanism. Brazil also has active policy actors and coalitions that lead policy discussions and formulations away from business as usual (Gebara et al. 2014). Their influence, however, was arguably reduced during President Dilma’s government, as exemplified by the changes adopted under the new Forest Code, which have undermined the requirements for forest conservation and restoration (May et al. 2011). Brazil has for some time now been constructing its national REDD+ strategy, but with difficulties related to the national accountability of emission reductions, benefit-sharing and positive incentives, performance measurements, and inclusion of disadvantaged actors (Gebara et al. 2014). Remaining challenges in this process arguably include: increasing participation by civil society and local actors; enhancing transparency in the design of the REDD+ strategy; monitoring the implementation of current policies; improving coordination and harmonization of forest policies; mainstreaming low-carbon and climate-resilient development into major Brazilian development policies and measures; and strengthening involvement of private actors both in financing and in participating in REDD+ initiatives (see, for example, Gebara and Thuault (2013)).

Burkina Faso. In 2012, the Nationally Appropriate Mitigation Action Plan was the only forest- and mitigation-related policy, but Burkina Faso has now started to formulate its REDD+ policy, with assistance through the Forest Investment Program (FIP). This builds on the country’s earlier efforts of forest-based adaptation measures stipulated in the country’s National Adaptation Programme of Action, which was introduced prior to REDD+ efforts through FIP (Kambire et al. 2015). Thus, the enabling remote condition ‘already initiated policy change’ has changed from 0 to 1, as has the condition ‘inclusiveness of the policy process’. In addition, there have been recent efforts in coalition building among the actors supporting an effective, efficient and equitable REDD+, and pro-REDD+ actors have increasingly improved access to the decision-making process. Because of this, the ‘existence of transformational coalitions’ factor has changed from 0 to 1 for Burkina Faso.

Cameroon. From 2012 onwards, progress was made in REDD+ policy design, with the validation of the Readiness Preparation Proposal (R-PP); the design of the free, prior and informed consent (FPIC) guide; and the launch of the process to design a REDD+ national strategy. More generally, the country recently engaged in the drafting of its Emission Reduction Program Idea Note (ER-PIN) and its Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDC). Positive dynamics have been observed in the governance context, mainly with regard to the now improved inclusiveness (changed from 0 to 1) of the process for drafting the R-PP. This can be considered a major achievement for improved forest governance in Cameroon since the lack of inclusiveness was seen as a major reason for the failure of earlier forest reform processes, such as the 1994 forestry law reform and the weak start of the REDD+ process at the drafting stage of the REDD+ Readiness Project Idea Note (R-PIN) (Ekoko 1997; Bruner and Ekoko 2000; Topa et al. 2009; Dkamela 2011; Dkamela et al. 2014). The views expressed by the stakeholders during the R-PP consultation process are now inserted in the final document. However, this participation only represents a vertical interaction between the Ministry of Environment and civil society organizations (CSOs), rather than a horizontal one, which would include consultation with sectors outside forestry such as agriculture and mining, at all levels. The growing openness of the REDD+ policy process can be mainly linked to the growing capacity of CSOs to connect to donors, obtain information and raise funds (Dkamela et al. 2014).

The Democratic Republic of the Congo. The major change in REDD+ in the DRC is that the country now has a national REDD+ strategy in place (Mpoyi et al. 2013). This, together with the presence of a REDD+ coordination body, means that our defined outcome on progress with REDD+ is assessed as being present. In 2014, the ER-PIN for Mai-Ndombe District was validated and submitted to the FCPF. However, even though the strategy has been approved by the government, and efforts are being made toward implementation, several stakeholders have cautioned that an effective implementation may not be achieved due to uncertain funding and questions related to the sustainability of political will for REDD+ across multiple governance levels. In addition, the lack of policy outputs from the REDD+ interministerial committee raises questions about its effective functioning. Finally, the national REDD+ Task Force which is supposed to coordinate the process does not have a strong voice beyond the Ministry of Environment. Apparently, this situation is partially due to the limited (accounted for) contribution of the forest and environment sector to the national economy compared with those of the mining and agriculture sectors. In sum, despite having now achieved a positive outcome assessment, there remain many uncertainties with regard to progress with REDD+ development in the DRC.

Ethiopia. As a new country in the study, Ethiopia is considered a second-generation REDD+ country, with activities having begun mainly after 2011 (Bekele et al. 2015). Much effort is underway on developing REDD+ activities (such as the MRV system, etc.) and the country aims to have its national strategy in place in 2015. At the moment, the most relevant processes for REDD+ in the country include: a revision of the existing national forest law to take into account REDD+ issues, the preparation of forest regulations to ease the implementation of various forestry activities in general and of REDD+ in particular, and the development of a comprehensive forest inventory for the whole country by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO). These processes were planned to be completed by the end of 2014, but will continue over the course of 2015.

Guyana. The other new country in the study, Guyana, is considered one of the most advanced REDD+ countries. Guyana started preparing REDD+ activities such as the MRV system in 2009 and its government is strongly committed to

REDD+. A recent assessment of Guyana's REDD+ status describes notable strengthening of institutions of forest governance and considerable progress in developing an MRV system (Birdsall and Busch 2014). Furthermore, Guyana is also an early recipient of performance-based funding. Since 2009, Norway has committed to providing financial support of up to USD 250 million by 2015 for results achieved by Guyana in efforts to reduce emissions from deforestation and forest degradation.

Indonesia. REDD+ in Indonesia has been a highly contested and dynamic policy arena from its beginnings (Indrarto et al. 2012). No changes occurred when comparing the two assessments of the conditions in 2012 and 2014. However, numerous recent changes indicate that a future assessment of progress with REDD+ policy development might look different. Two recent changes in the legal context in Indonesia might significantly affect how REDD+ will be shaped in the future. After the elections in 2014, which took place after the assessments were made, a merger between the ministries of environment and forestry took place. The integration of the former, separate ministerial-level REDD+ agency within this new ministry has created uncertainty about the effective implementation of the REDD+ agenda. Yet the establishment of a directorate general on climate change is thought to facilitate the processes. In addition, other policy reforms as well as zero-deforestation commitments may affect deforestation and forest degradation. The first legal change is the enactment of Constitutional Decree No. 45 of 2011, which although acknowledging the extent and status of existing forest areas, requires a full process of gazette to demarcate the boundaries. The second is Constitutional Court Decree No. 35 of 2013, which relates to classification of forests and declares customary forest to be outside the borders of state forest. A third is the most recent law on local governance (Law 23 of 2014), which has placed the authority over forestry matters with the provincial and national governments. Finally, there are hopes that zero-deforestation commitments made as part of the New York Declaration on Forests in September 2014 by private sector actors that have historically driven deforestation in tropical countries will have an impact on deforestation and forest degradation, particularly in the oil palm sector. Since these events occurred after our assessment in 2014, a new assessment of the conditions in coming years will investigate and reflect these developments as well.

Mozambique. The pressure on forests continues to increase in Mozambique (Siteo et al. 2012). Although the growth of small-farmer agriculture is believed to have leveled out as a result of low technology and migration to urban areas (Cunguara et al. 2013), new investments in sugarcane, maize, sesame and soy production have particularly increased the areas being farmed (BMI 2013), and may cause further encroachment on the forest frontier. Although Mozambique has put in place a legal framework to promote the sustainable use of forests (Forest and Wildlife Law and its regulation), there are no instruments in place to secure the implementation of this legislation. Mozambique has adopted a Green Economy Action Plan as one of the key instruments for development planning. The policy, approved by the Council of Ministers in 2013, promotes low-carbon development, including anti-deforestation measures and PES. This plan builds on reform stimuli much broader than REDD+, namely the Sustainable Development Goals process and efforts toward a 'green economy' supported by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). As a consequence, condition 'already initiated policy change' is now assessed as being present. In terms of further direct progress with REDD+ and the development of demonstration activities, the Government of Mozambique approved a decree that provides the basic guidance for REDD+ pilot projects (Decree 70/2013, Boletim da República 20 December 2013). This is part of the REDD+ readiness (R-PP) process funded by the World Bank. In relation to foreign donor participation, the World Bank has increased its presence through the R-PP process since 2013. One of the objectives of the R-PP is to develop a REDD+ strategy and also to support pilot projects. In addition to the R-PP Process, Mozambique submitted the proposal for the Forest Investment Program (FIP) and the Carbon Fund Emission Reduction Project Idea Note (ER-PIN) for a subnational integrated landscape program. Mozambique has improved its consultation mechanisms but these developments are not yet sufficient to change the condition 'inclusiveness of the policy process' from being absent to being present. There is evidence that the central government is taking the debate to the provincial level and including stakeholders from different segments of society. In addition, it is now becoming common for CSOs to organize debates on REDD+ by bringing together actors for and against REDD+. Noteworthy progress is also being made to establish the MRV system, and the national REDD+ strategy and other processes seem to move forward now in 2015.

Nepal. In the recent past, Nepal has made significant progress in developing an institutional setting conducive to REDD+ readiness (Paudel et al. 2013). By mid-2015, a national REDD+ strategy had been drafted and several important studies were conducted that include, among other topics, analysis of the drivers of deforestation and forest degradation, reference emission levels, social and environmental impacts, and MRV procedures. The government in partnership with the World Bank conducted a rather positive assessment of REDD+ readiness in Nepal (called R-package assessment). The assessment however has also pointed out gaps in some specific areas where further work is required, such as the REDD+ benefit sharing and payment mechanism, and consultation and outreach. In the meantime, Nepal has also initiated groundwork for a subnational REDD+ performance-based payment scheme. The ER-PIN for the Terai Arc Landscape of Nepal has been approved, by which the FCPF has committed funds to develop an Emission Reduction Program Document. Nepal should thus be implementing performance-based emission reduction programs in the next few years in the forest- and biodiversity-rich landscape of the Terai region. The government has recently declared Chure a conservation area; covering about 13% of the country's land area, this region is experiencing high deforestation and forest degradation rates. However, declaration of this conservation area received strong criticism from CSOs, especially the Federation of Community Forest Users Nepal (FECOFUN). While the declaration is aimed at reducing deforestation and forest degradation in the region, growing disagreement among key stakeholders about forest policy processes may undermine the prospects of REDD+ implementation in the long term.

Peru. The Government of Peru continues to advance, albeit slowly, toward the consolidation of national strategies and laws regarding REDD+ and forests more broadly (Che Piu and Menton 2013). The New Forestry Law was passed in 2011, but as of August 2015 was still not being enforced due to delays in consultations and approval of its regulations. During the Lima Climate Change Conference in December 2014 (COP 20), the government presented a draft of its National Strategy for Forests and Climate Change. In September 2015, a new revised version was released through a ministerial resolution that officially launched the participatory public consultation process, which is a precursor to finalization of the strategy. The new draft strategy provides an overview of the government's approach to forests in the face

of climate change, emphasizing both mitigation and adaptation and including REDD+ as one component of a broader strategy. Although it does not include details regarding all aspects of REDD+, it highlights key approaches, advances, objectives and institutional arrangements for further progress. A draft of the MRV strategy was also presented in April 2014. In June 2014, the Congress approved the Law for Payment for Ecosystem Services, which clarifies entities' rights to carbon and other ecosystem services. Peru also took the lead in the development of the New York Declaration on Forests, together with Germany and Norway. While Peru's role as host of COP 20 has shone the spotlight on climate change, it has also contributed to delays in advances in the development of REDD+ strategies, given the limited number of government employees working on climate change and REDD+. Nevertheless, at COP 20, Peru signed an agreement with Germany and Norway committing USD 300 million toward results-based payments for REDD+. It should be noted that our research was conducted before these developments in 2014, hence the factor 'availability of payment-for-performance funds for REDD+' was assessed as 0.

Papua New Guinea. There were no changes in the overall conditions in Papua New Guinea (PNG) between 2012 and 2014. However, there are several new or amended policies that warrant mention. In mid-2012, after several months of political turmoil, a new government was elected under Prime Minister Peter O'Neil. This saw the departure of a key REDD+ 'policy entrepreneur' – former Prime Minister Michael Somare, who was a leading proponent of REDD+ at both national and international levels (Babon et al. 2013). In June 2014, the government announced it would revoke a number of Special Agriculture and Business Leases, which had become a major driver of deforestation in the country and had been found by a Commission of Inquiry to have been obtained without due process. However, at the time of writing (August 2015) the leases had still not been revoked and logging continued in these areas (Garrett 2014). In August 2014, the government approved a Climate Compatible Development Policy after several years of delay. Overall, while there have been some steps in the right direction, they fail to constitute changes in the enabling conditions for REDD+ as put forward in this paper.

Tanzania. The Division of Environment under the Vice President's Office is mandated to oversee all climate change initiatives in Tanzania, including

REDD+. However, the country has not set aside funds to operationalize the REDD+ policies and framework, and national ownership of REDD+ can be considered lacking in this regard. Thus, most REDD+ piloting activities are directly donor funded and implemented by CSOs (Kweka et al. 2015). Tanzania had bilateral agreements with Norway and Finland that provided most of its financial backing and technical assistance up to 2014, with contributions of USD 58 million from Norway and USD 5.9 million from Finland (NORAD 2014). Tanzania's national REDD+ strategy favors the formation of a government-led National Carbon Trust Fund. However, some have questioned the efficacy of a strictly national fund approach, since previous government-led benefit-sharing initiatives have mostly failed to deliver benefits to local communities (e.g. in the areas of joint forest management (JFM), hunting blocks and tourism). The REDD+ strategy was created with strong stakeholder engagement in its development and a presence on the international climate change platform, the UNFCCC. However, clarity is lacking as to how to operationalize the strategy, and some of the key elements are still being contested by CSOs (i.e. equitable benefit sharing, the funding mechanism and carbon rights).

Vietnam. Among the most advanced countries in REDD+ design and implementation, Vietnam has also faced some setbacks concerning the enabling conditions for REDD+. Vietnam used to have relatively consistent and effective forest legislation. The Forest Protection and Development Law clearly defined the roles and rights of different stakeholder groups and indeed recognized the community as being the legal entity that receives any benefits derived from forests (Pham et al. 2012). In 2014, despite those comprehensive forest strategies, the country was still struggling to harmonize and enforce those policies on the ground. For example, the major challenge for national PES policy implementation is the low willingness to pay and low compliance of the private sector. The views of both state and non-state actors on rights and responsibilities over forest resources are still conflicting and their understanding limited, particularly at the local level. Furthermore, under the Land Law of 2013, local communities are not recognized as legal entities and therefore cannot enter into any form of contract. Thus, the condition 'key features of effective forest legislation, policy and governance' was changed from present to absent. In addition, because of decreased commitment and uncertainty about REDD+ global policies, national ownership of the REDD+ process in Vietnam is not

as strong as it was in 2012 (e.g. the REDD+ office has been scaled down, leadership changes have been made over time); as a result, the condition ‘national ownership’ is not considered to be present anymore. Since 2013, a few negative articles on REDD+ have appeared in the media, which is controlled by the state, and pro-REDD+ media statements are no longer dominant. Furthermore, although there is a government agency that is mandated to lead REDD+ formulation, UN-REDD and other donors have taken more leadership and advisory roles in national REDD+ strategy development, compared to 2012, and now dominate REDD+ discourse in the country. However, despite these setbacks, Vietnam has developed its MRV system, and it is the first country to have grievance procedures and

other mechanisms that enhance accountability in REDD+ systems under development. In addition, there are some recent developments with regard to national ownership re-emerging, for example with the placing of the REDD+ office as an independent unit reporting to the vice-minister in 2015.

To sum up, several countries have been drafting their national REDD+ strategy and preparing an MRV system, but they are not all in place yet. There has been sufficient improvement in the DRC and in Tanzania for them to reach our defined outcome, as have Brazil, Guyana, Indonesia and Vietnam. Tanzania and the DRC are now among a few countries that have their national strategies approved and in place.

5 Results of the qualitative comparative analysis

5.1 Analysis of the institutional context (remote conditions)

In the first step, we analyze the institutional context of the 13 countries, using the following factors:

- pressure from shortage of forest resources (PRES)
- key features of effective forest legislation, policy and governance (EFF)
- already initiated policy change (CHA).

The purpose of this part of the analysis is to identify those combinations of presence or absence of the above conditions that provide an outcome-enabling context, namely where the outcome 'establishment of comprehensive policies targeting transformational change in the REDD+ policy domain' (REDD) was achieved and assessed as present (1).

Table 3 shows that each of the eight mathematically possible combinations of the three conditions (PRES, EFF, CHA) and two possible expressions for presence or absence of these (0, 1) were observed among our 13 countries. For example, a combination of all conditions being absent was observed for PNG, where the outcome REDD was also absent and assessed as 0. In the case of Brazil, all conditions were

Table 3. Truth table for the institutional context in 2014 (remote conditions).

PRES	EFF	CHA	REDD	Cases
1	1	1	1	Brazil
1	0	1	C	Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Mozambique
1	1	0	0	Cameroon
0	0	1	C	DRC, Peru, Vietnam
0	1	1	1	Guyana
0	1	0	0	Nepal
0	0	0	0	PNG
1	0	0	1	Tanzania

0 = absent; 1 = present; C = contradictory result; CHA = already initiated policy change; DRC = Democratic Republic of the Congo; EFF = key features of effective forest legislation, policy and governance; PNG = Papua New Guinea; PRES = pressure from shortage of forest resources; REDD = establishment of comprehensive policies targeting transformational change in the REDD+ policy domain.

present; thus, it was one of six countries for which the outcome REDD was assessed as present (1). In an ideal analysis, those countries that share the same configuration would have the same outcome in common. In our analysis, however, we observe two contradictory results, where countries that share the same combination of conditions have different assessments of the outcome. This is the case for the combination of presence of the conditions PRES and CHA, combined with the absence of EFF. Here, we find Burkina Faso, Ethiopia and Mozambique without the outcome REDD, while Indonesia (which had the same combination of presence/presence/absence of these conditions) was among those where the outcome was assessed as present (see Table 2). Also, the combination of the absence of both PRES and EFF, and the presence of CHA, shows a similarly contradictory result, whereby the DRC and Vietnam have the outcome REDD present, while Peru has not achieved the outcome. The findings are summarized in Table 3.

In the next step, we consider all configurations of the remote conditions (institutional context) that show positive or contradictory results as outcome-enabling remote configurations. This will allow us to further investigate these contradictory cases, once we have analyzed the proximate, policy-arena-specific conditions.

As shown in Figure 1, the configuration of conditions that led to the positive outcome REDD, and those with contradictions are:

$$PRES*EFF*CHA + PRES*eff*CHA + pres*eff*CHA + pres*EFF*CHA + PRES*eff*cha$$

Using Boolean logic, these can be reduced to:

$$CHA + PRES*eff$$

Comprehensive REDD+ policies targeting transformational change were successful in those countries that showed one of the following remote configurations:

- 1) At the institutional level, policy change in a related field had already been initiated (CHA).**

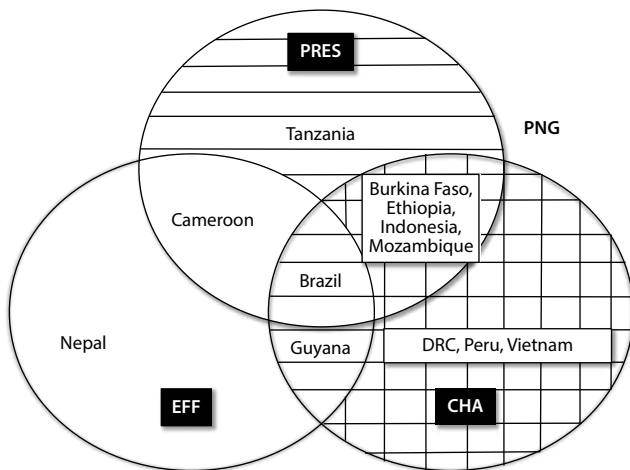


Figure 1. Observed configuration of the three remote conditions.

CHA = already initiated policy change; DRC = Democratic Republic of the Congo; EFF = key features of effective forest legislation, policy and governance; PNG = Papua New Guinea; PRES = pressure from shortage of forest resources.

Note: The lined parts show the configurations with outcome 1, and the grid areas those that demonstrate contradictory results (outcome 0 and 1).

The presence of this condition is observed in Brazil, Guyana, Indonesia and Vietnam; that is, it occurs in all countries with a positive outcome apart from Tanzania. If CHA is present, it is irrelevant whether there is also PRES or EFF, as both countries with and without these conditions show a positive outcome.

or

2) There is a high level of pressure from a shortage of forest resources, but there are no key features of effective forest legislation, policy and governance in place (PRES*eff).

The presence of this condition is observed in Tanzania and Indonesia.

In this configuration, it is not relevant whether policy change has been initiated or not (as it is true for Indonesia, but not for Tanzania). The latter configuration might be surprising, but it shows that if pressure is strong enough, policies can be successful even when there is a lack of legislative framework and enforcement, and regardless of whether there was an already initiated policy change in related fields. However, proximate conditions are needed to explain why REDD is enabled in the context of this configuration.

With regard to already initiated policy change, it turns out to be a decisive factor. In contrast to the result of the 2012 QCA, it is not a necessary condition, but it is

a sufficient one as a sole remote condition. Thus, on the one hand, CHA seems to be stronger than in the previous analysis, where CHA always had to be combined with another remote factor (EFF*CHA or PRES*eff*CHA); but, on the other hand, it is also weaker, as the result can also be achieved without already initiated policy change. However, there is only one case that achieved progress without CHA, namely Tanzania. It is important to note that Tanzania, while not able to rely on earlier engagement in climate change policies, has a long history of implementation of participatory forest management programs.⁴ It might be a matter of discussion whether these policies initiated a similar path change and thus eased REDD+ policy formulation.

An important part of the second step is to examine the proximate factors in order to fully explain the outcome, and also to explain why some countries that have already initiated policy change (such as Burkina Faso and Ethiopia) do not show a positive result.

5.2 Analysis of the policy arena (proximate conditions)

In the second step, we analyze the policy arena of those 10 countries that show the two outcome-enabling remote configurations. Cameroon, Nepal and PNG are not part of this step in the analysis, as they have a different configuration of remote conditions.

As explained earlier, since all countries have meanwhile developed some coalition building among pro-REDD+ actors, this factor was defined as a joint context. Instead, in the analysis presented here, we introduced a condition to assess the role of performance-based payments. The three proximate conditions added are therefore:

- national ownership (OWN)
- inclusiveness of the policy process (INCL)
- availability of payment-for-performance funds for REDD+ (PERFO).

In sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2, we analyze first the enabling configuration of the presence of already initiated policy change combined with the proximate conditions. This is followed by an analysis of the

⁴ Participatory forest management was introduced into law in Tanzania with the passing of the Forest Act of 2002, which provides a clear legal basis for communities, groups or individuals across mainland Tanzania to own, manage or co-manage forests under a wide range of conditions. However, these programs have been implemented in the country for decades.

enabling configuration PRES*eff, where there is a high level of pressure from a shortage of forest resources and where there are no key features of effective forest legislation, policy and governance in place.

5.2.1 Proximate conditions and already initiated policy change

When running an analysis of the three identified policy arena (proximate) conditions and the remote condition of already initiated policy change, the truth table (Table 4) (again with eight possible combinations) shows five observed cases for the remaining nine countries where already initiated policy change is observed (1).

If we take the configurations that lead to a positive outcome (REDD) (including the contradictory one) among the observed cases, we get the following enabling configurations (see also Figure 2):

1) Already initiated policy change, together with national ownership and availability of payment-for-performance funds for REDD+ are all present (CHA*OWN*PERFO).

In Brazil, Guyana and Indonesia, already initiated policy change is complemented by a strong ownership of the REDD+ process and the availability of performance-based funding. This combination of conditions has led to the REDD+ process being moved forward, irrespective of whether the process is inclusive or not. However, as noted also for the earlier analysis, inclusiveness may be crucial for the sustainability of REDD+ and effective implementation (Korhonen-Kurki et al. 2014).

2) Already initiated policy change remains present, but national ownership and availability of payment-for-performance funds for REDD+ are both absent (CHA*own*perfo).

This configuration was observed for the DRC and Vietnam with positive outcomes and for Burkina Faso and Ethiopia with negative outcomes. This finding requires further investigation, as the DRC and Vietnam both lack national ownership (Vietnam was assessed as having stronger national ownership in the past), have no performance-based funding instruments in place and still show positive REDD+ outcomes, irrespective of whether there are inclusive policy processes or not. The explanation for this result is not straightforward. We must examine which proximate factors influenced the policy process

Table 4. Truth table for already initiated policy change and the proximate conditions.

CHA	OWN	INCL	PERFO	REDD	Cases
1	1	1	1	1	Brazil, Guyana
1	0	1	0	C	Burkina Faso, DRC, Ethiopia
1	1	0	1	1	Indonesia
1	1	1	0	0	Mozambique, Peru
1	0	0	0	1	Vietnam
1	0	1	1		Not observed
1	0	0	1		Not observed
1	1	0	0		Not observed

0 = absent, 1 = present, C = contradictory result; CHA = already initiated policy change; DRC = Democratic Republic of the Congo; INCL = inclusiveness of the policy process; OWN = national ownership; PERFO = availability of payment-for-performance funds for REDD+; REDD = establishment of comprehensive policies targeting transformational change in the REDD+ policy domain.

Note: One configuration, where OWN as well as PERFO are absent but where INCL is present (CHA*own*INCL*perfo), shows a contradictory result: the DRC was assessed as being successful in the outcome REDD, while Burkina Faso and Ethiopia were not.

either by their presence or by their absence. For Vietnam, it is important to note that ownership of the REDD+ process has reduced only recently and that the REDD+ progress we see might be an effect of strong national ownership in the past (Korhonen-Kurki et al. 2014). On the other hand, the absence of national ownership means that the REDD+ process is dominated by foreign donors. Indeed, 'own' could be read as 'DONOR'. This would mean that countries can be successful, independent of the funding source, when donors politically and financially dominate the REDD+ process. It should also not be forgotten that there is political commitment to REDD+ by the government as well as by coalitions of drivers of change (which we measured as part of the joint context).

In contrast, Burkina Faso and Ethiopia have had previous policy change but no ownership and no performance-based instruments present, and the outcome (REDD) is negative. This is probably explained by the fact that both countries started their REDD+ process just recently. While the enabling remote condition (already initiated policy change) is present, the government is not yet committed to REDD+, the donors lead the process and no performance-based funding is available yet.

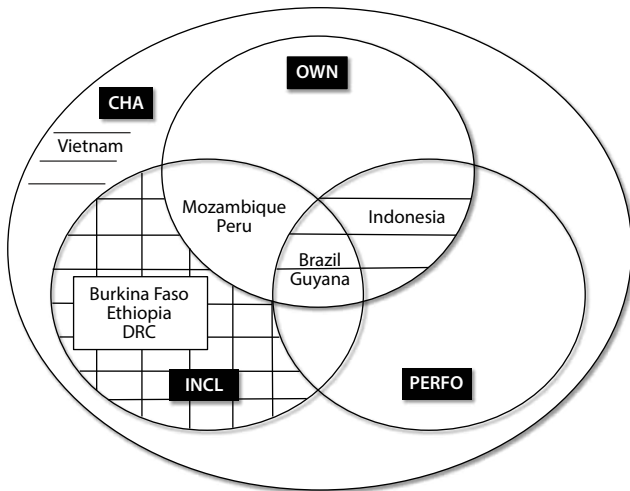


Figure 2. Observed configuration for already initiated policy change and the three proximate conditions.

CHA = already initiated policy change; DRC = Democratic Republic of the Congo; INCL = inclusiveness of the policy process; OWN = national ownership; PERFO = availability of payment-for-performance funds for REDD+.

Note: The lined parts show the configurations with outcome 1, and the grid areas are those that demonstrate contradictory results (outcome 0 and 1).

It seems surprising that in Mozambique and Peru, where we find the combination of already initiated policy change with strong ownership and the inclusiveness of the process, the outcome is negative (REDD is assessed as 0). The question may then be posed as to whether this gives higher explanatory value to the fact that performance-based funding is absent from this combination (CHA*OWN*INCL*perfo). For Peru, this might be more the result of the delays in finalization of policy documents and consensus regarding the details of implementation rather than a reflection of the failure to advance toward REDD+. The national ownership and promotion of civil society participation in the process have led to the inclusion of a wide variety of actors and positions in the negotiation process. Early decisions to follow a nested approach led to significant advances in REDD+ at the project and subnational levels. However, as the government seeks to scale up to national-level implementation and coordination, these advances pose a challenge in terms of reconciling disparate methodologies and overlapping spatial remits. Overlapping institutional remits have also created barriers to finalization of the national strategy.

In Mozambique, although the REDD+ process has been inclusive and led by national institutions since 2009, it is still in the early stages of development.

Mozambique produced its first draft national REDD+ strategy in 2011. However, after realizing that the negotiations at the global level were not proceeding, the technical team recommended that the approval of the strategy be withheld to ensure Mozambique does not embark on something that would not reflect future developments at the global level (Quan et al. 2014). In addition, a very high level of pressure from international investors to acquire land for REDD+ projects was seen as a threat to grab land (Nhantumbo 2011).⁵ The REDD+ process was then suspended until December 2013 when Decree 70/2013 was approved, mostly with a view to preventing any undesirable effects of REDD+ implementation. This pause in proceedings also allowed time to mobilize funds (e.g. the FCPF's Carbon Fund) to improve the readiness process.

5.2.2 Proximate conditions and high levels of pressure from shortage of forest resources with no key features of effective forest legislation, policy and governance in place (PRES*eff)

This part of the analysis of the policy arena looks at those countries in which the enabling remote configuration PRES*eff was observed. Table 5 shows the results of this analysis.

For the policy arena in connection with PRES*eff, the results are less obvious than for the combination with already initiated policy change discussed above. First, from the eight possible configurations, only three are observed. One of them leads to a contradictory result, which indicates that the chosen factors cannot fully explain why or why not REDD+ can be achieved under conditions of PRES*eff.

If we once again take the configurations that led to a positive outcome (REDD) (including the contradictory ones) among the observed cases, we get the following enabling configurations (see also Figure 3):

1) High levels of pressure from shortage of forest resources are present without effective forest legislation in place (PRES*eff), combined with high national ownership of the REDD+ policy process and availability of payment-for-performance funds for REDD+, without an explicitly inclusive policy process (PRES*eff*OWN*incl*PERFO).

⁵ In 2011, a request for 15 million hectares of land for REDD+ projects was submitted to the Government of Mozambique.

Table 5. Truth table for PRES*eff and proximate conditions.

PRES* eff	OWN	INCL	PERFO	REDD	Cases
1	0	1	0	C	Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Tanzania
1	1	0	1	1	Indonesia
1	1	1	0	0	Mozambique
1	1	1	1		Not observed
1	1	0	0		Not observed
1	0	0	0		Not observed
1	0	1	1		Not observed
1	0	0	1		Not observed

INCL = inclusiveness of the policy process; OWN = national ownership; PERFO = availability of payment-for-performance funds for REDD+; PRES*eff = pressure from shortage of forest resources and key features of effective forest legislation, policy and governance; REDD = establishment of comprehensive policies targeting transformational change in the REDD+ policy domain.

These factors were observed for Indonesia. Here, the institutional context configuration of having high levels of pressure on forests even without having effective forest legislation in place is combined with two policy-arena-specific conditions being present: high national ownership of the REDD+ policy process and performance-based funding available, even without an explicitly inclusive process. This result from the assessment in 2014 is similar to the earlier finding in 2012, where already initiated policy change, together with presence of national ownership and performance-based funding were also found to be outcome-enabling factors. Again, as for the cases of Brazil, Guyana and Indonesia, the combination of strong national ownership and performance-based funding plays a crucial role in achieving REDD+.

2) High levels of pressure from shortage of forest resources are present without effective forest legislation being in place (PRES*eff), combined with absence of national ownership, absence of availability of payment-for-performance funds for REDD+, but with inclusiveness of the policy process being present (PRES*eff*own*INCL*perfo).

This configuration was observed for Tanzania, Burkina Faso and Ethiopia. The configuration is contradictory, as it led to a positive outcome in Tanzania, but not in Burkina Faso or Ethiopia.

In all three countries, while donors dominate the REDD+ process, it is designed to be an inclusive participatory process. None of them receives any performance-based funding. To explain why this process has been successful in Tanzania, we can again refer to the above-mentioned experience in joint forest management, which might have triggered a path change that is now helping the REDD+ process. Although Burkina Faso and Ethiopia have embarked on new climate-related policies, these changes only occurred recently, and may not yet have had an impact on REDD+. It can be assumed that a positive impact would be observed if the analysis were to be repeated in another 2–3 years. In addition, the role of donors in Tanzania – with regard to financial investments – is much greater than in Burkina Faso and Ethiopia, and may be seen as a large incentive for stepping up REDD+ policies. Tanzania has a long-term relationship with Norway, which may provide performance-based funding in the future. However, there is criticism about the quality of the national strategy in Tanzania. It has been argued that rather than being a strategy, the document is still a draft plan, providing rather vague outlines and not giving any real guidelines for implementation. The reasons for approving such a vague document could be related to the influence and requirements of the donors.

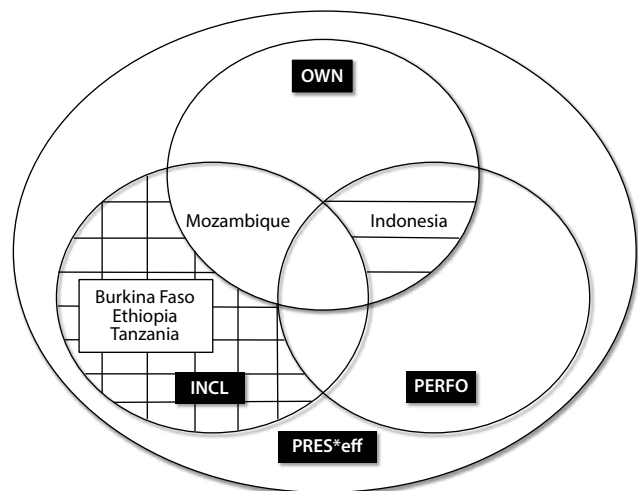


Figure 3. Observed configuration for PRESS*eff and the three proximate conditions.

INCL = inclusiveness of the policy process; OWN = national ownership; PERFO = availability of payment-for-performance funds for REDD+; PRES*eff = pressure from shortage of forest resources and key features of effective forest legislation, policy and governance.

Note: The lined parts show the configurations with outcome 1, and the grid areas are those that demonstrate contradictory results (outcome 0 and 1).

6 Toward transformational change in national REDD+ policy domains? A brief discussion of methods and findings

The results of the longitudinal QCA indicate the relevance of multiple factor combinations stemming from a wide range of economic, social and political conditions when trying to understand what enables larger transformational change. We identified four different factor combinations that led to a positive outcome, and factors such as already initiated policy change and national ownership play an important role in some of these observed cases. However, the results of this study do come with a number of limitations. Some of these identified factor combinations still show contradictory results and not all possible combinations could be observed in order to make reliable inferences beyond the cases of this analysis. Despite these limitations, the findings presented above do provide some guidance in terms of countries' needs to create enabling conditions.

Progress with REDD+ – even in first-generation REDD+ countries – is still limited, and in the absence of a fully implemented REDD+, we focused our analysis on a key achievement in phase 2 of a typical REDD+ development: establishment of comprehensive policies targeting transformational change in the REDD+ policy domain. In our analysis, 6 out of 13 countries have now been successful in achieving this outcome: Brazil, the DRC, Guyana, Indonesia, Tanzania and Vietnam. Compared with findings of a similar analysis in 2012, Tanzania and the DRC are the only new countries that have shown sufficient policy changes and designed a national REDD+ strategy to achieve the outcome – although policy progress has been made, particularly in the readiness areas, in most of the other countries as well. The critical issues that hinder most of the countries analyzed here in achieving a positive outcome are related to policy implementation, including the lack of grievance procedures and operationalized financial systems for REDD+.

When analyzing institutional context and configurations of conditions that could have enabled such a positive outcome, path changes already initiated through earlier policy reforms stood out as

a key condition. The comparison with the 2012 analysis shows that more countries are now showing progress, and indicates that already initiated policy change, even on its own, is sufficient as an enabling condition when analyzing the factors that form part of the institutional setting (see section 5.1). This is the case even without having certain conditions in place, such as the presence of high levels of pressure on forest resources or effective forest legislation, policy and governance. We observed only one successful case without the presence of already initiated policy change – Tanzania.

We consider Tanzania to be a deviant case that can be explained only when taking into account larger policy change and reform processes beyond the climate change policy domain. Although Tanzania has not yet formulated NAMAs or similar climate policy strategies, it has long implemented participatory forest management programs. This could be interpreted as a path change in forest policy and might have created an enabling context for REDD+ policy formulation.

One of the objectives of this analysis was to assess the importance of performance-based funding for REDD+. Of the six successful cases of the 13 countries analyzed, three have access to performance-based finance for REDD+ (Brazil, Guyana and Indonesia) while the other three have not (the DRC, Tanzania and Vietnam). Our analysis shows that the availability of performance-based funds has a positive impact when it is combined with strong national ownership of the REDD+ process. However, in those cases where national ownership is low, meaning that donors or other external agencies dominate the REDD+ policy processes, countries were also able to achieve the outcome without an explicit availability of performance-based funding, as was true of the DRC, Tanzania and Vietnam. This would indicate that in cases where REDD+ commitment is externally driven, non-performance-based funding has an effect equal to that of performance-based funding.

Thus, the role of donors in establishing REDD+ is important: in the cases of the DRC and Vietnam, for example, the REDD+ process is assessed as being donor led and the countries have received considerable sums other than performance-based REDD+ funding. This combination has also enabled

the desired path change. Further analysis may be needed to assess how crucial performance-based funding is over time, and how sustainable other types of funding are if national ownership of the REDD+ process is lacking, in the pursuit of achieving long-term progress with REDD+.

7 Conclusions

Moving from a readiness phase through policy design and implementation toward performance-based payments for carbon and non-carbon benefits is challenging for most REDD+ countries, and numerous and often political-economic factors hinder such progress. Understanding which conditions and configurations enable REDD+ policy progress is therefore crucial, and can help countries to learn from the success of others and identify key areas for improvement. The analysis presented here aims to contribute toward this understanding.

With REDD+ remaining high on the international agenda, it will be interesting to build on longitudinal studies such as the one presented here that allow for deeper insights into which enabling factor configurations have most effect on actual REDD+ policy outcomes. Once REDD+-related carbon and non-carbon measurements are available for more countries, the current set of conditions and indicators, as well as the outcome itself must be

revised to ensure the relevance of such an analysis. This could also be useful to avoid another limitation of the analysis presented here – the relatively high number of contradictory cases – meaning that successful as well as less successful countries (in terms of having achieved the outcome) show the same combination of conditions. This could be explained only by taking into account additional information on countries' contexts.

Despite the limitations of this study, the two key findings of our analysis, the importance of already initiated policy change, and the relevance of performance-based funding in combination with strong national ownership of the REDD+ process, are in strong agreement with other bodies of literature, such as the analysis of effective development aid. These findings may provide some guidance for REDD+ countries as to which areas of their policy arenas need to be strengthened to allow for an effective, efficient and equitable REDD+.

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Appendix: Definitions of all the factors

Table A1. Operationalization of the outcome.

Definition of the outcome (REDD): Establishment of comprehensive policies targeting transformational change in the REDD+ policy domain			
Presence	Absence	Indicators of presence	Evaluation
New institutions, procedures and capacity-building measures are established by committed actors. These institutions and procedures support concrete policy formulation and outputs. Such policies and outputs are built on a broad societal consensus for change.	New institutions and procedures are not established or are met with resistance, thus undermining their capacity to function REDD+ policy formulation remains fragmented or is undertaken mainly by external actors Business-as-usual approaches dominate media and politics	MRV system developed Coordination body established REDD financing used effectively National strategy in place Grievance procedures or other mechanisms to enhance accountability in REDD+ systems established	Two or more indicators of presence = 1 Zero or one indicator of presence = 0

MRV = measurement, reporting and verification

Table A2. Operationalization of conditions for the institutional setting.

Pressure from shortage of forest resources (PRES)			
Presence	Absence	Indicators	Evaluation
Forests are under pressure from high deforestation rate	Abundant or recovering forest resources with a low to medium or negative (reforestation) deforestation rate	Forest transition stagea Deforestation rate	Forest transition stage 2 or 3 and deforestation rate above 0.5% annually = 1 Forest transition stage 1, 4 or 5 and deforestation rate below 0.5% annually = 0
Key features of effective forest legislation, policy and governance (EFF)			
Presence	Absence	Indicators of presence	Evaluation
A sound and clear legal framework with clearly assigned rights and management regulations is in place Laws and policies are at least partly effectively implemented by national and local administrations, which have at their disposal a minimum of enforcement mechanisms and implementation capacity	Tenure and rights are in many respects unclear and contested There are unresolved contradictions between formal and customary law There are no adequate laws and policies, or they exist but are ineffective because of lack of implementation mechanisms and enforcement capacity and/or elite capture and corruption	Sound and consistent legal forestry framework and policies Effective implementation and enforcement mechanisms Capacity-building efforts for implementing agencies High compliance with the law by citizens and businesses Awareness and effective use of rights Low level of corruption and clientelistic patterns undermining policy implementation	Two or more indicators present = 1 Zero or one indicator present = 0
Already initiated policy change (CHA)			
Presence	Absence	Indicators of presence	Evaluation
The government has already formulated and is implementing policy strategies addressing forests and climate change and aimed at departing from business-as-usual practices that are broader than and/or developed prior to the UNFCC REDD+ policy process (e.g. NAMA); or low-carbon development strategies and/or PES schemes have already been established independently of REDD+ policies	The government has not yet formulated advanced policy strategies on climate change (e.g. NAMA) and deforestation or a low-carbon development strategy; or existing policies are highly insufficient or have not been implemented at all. No PES schemes have been established	Evidence of implementation of policy strategies in related fields (e.g. one or more of the following: NAMA, PES, deforestation, low-carbon development)	Present = 1 Absent = 0

NAMA = Nationally Appropriate Mitigation Actions, PES = payment for environmental services, UNFCCC = United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

a The forest transition theory defines five stages in forest cover change: (1) high forest cover, low deforestation rate; (2) high forest cover, high deforestation rate; (3) low forest cover, high deforestation rate; (4) low forest cover, low deforestation rate; (5) low forest cover, negative deforestation rate (Angelsen et al. 2009).

Table A3. Operationalization of conditions for the policy arena.

National ownership (OWN)			
Presence	Absence	Indicators of presence	Evaluation
Pro-REDD+ media statements by government (national and subnational)	Anti-REDD+ media statements by national state actors and/or pro-REDD+ statements by international actors dominate policy discourse	Regular pro-REDD+ statements by government appear in the media	All three indicators present = 1
National research and NGO actors dominate policy discourse (media analysis)	Policy formulation is mainly by foreign actors	REDD+ policy formulation is led by national political institutions	Fewer than three indicators present = 0
Engagement of national political institutions in REDD+ policy formulation	Financial incentives from donors are the main reason for REDD+ implementation	Foreign donors/actors have only a minor/advisory role and agenda in REDD+ policy formulation	
Donor agendas do not dominate the process	No budget allocation to REDD+		
Budget allocation to REDD+			
Inclusiveness of the policy process (INCL)			
Presence	Absence	Indicators of presence	Evaluation
Key stakeholders, including civil society, the private sector and indigenous people (if applicable) participate or are at least consulted during the REDD+ process	There are no formal mechanisms for the participation of or consultation with key stakeholders, civil society, indigenous people and the private sector applied	Key stakeholders (civil society, the private sector, indigenous people) participate or are at least consulted during the REDD+ process	Two or more indicators are present, including one of the last two indicators = 1
There are formal participation or consultation mechanisms and the views expressed by stakeholders are considered in REDD+ policy documents	Stakeholders' views are not represented in REDD+ policy documents	Formal and effective participation mechanisms are developed and present	Zero or one indicator present, or neither of the last two indicators = 0
		The results of and views expressed during the consultation process are included in REDD+ policy documents	
		There is knowledge about REDD+ at the local level	
Transformational coalitions (COAL)			
Presence	Absence	Indicators of presence	Evaluation
Existence of coalitions of drivers of change with room to maneuver in the political structures and impact on the discourse	No observable coalitions of drivers of change, or any that are present are too marginal to influence policy making and are not visible in the political discourse on REDD+	Notions or existence of coalition building among actors supporting REDD+ policies (e.g. umbrella organization, regular meetings, joint statements, personal relations)	Two or more indicators present, including the first indicator = 1
Policy actors and coalitions calling for transformational change are more prominent in the media than those supporting the status quo	Media and policy circles are dominated by coalitions supporting the status quo and business as usual	There are drivers of change (policy actors that lead discourse in a pro-REDD+ direction) both inside and outside government institutions	Zero or one indicator present or first indicator absent = 0
		Policy actor coalitions calling for substantial political change in forest policies are more prominent in the media than are those supporting the status quo	
		Pro-REDD+ policy actors have good access to political decision makers (e.g. invited to expert hearings, members in advisory councils)	

continued on next page

Table A3. Continued

Availability of payment-for-performance funds for REDD+ (PERFO)			
Presence	Absence	Indicators of presence	Evaluation
REDD+ funding on a payment-for-performance basis is available through a transfer of funds by an international donor; a Letter of Intent with a respective donor confirms the commitment of the government to receiving payment for performance and the channeling of these payments to the REDD+ budget system	There is no government commitment to use payment-for-performance funds for REDD+ and/or such funds are not available	Foreign REDD+ funding on a payment-for-performance basis is available A Letter of Intent (or equivalent) confirms the commitment of both parties to a payment-for-performance process for REDD+	Both indicators present = 1 Fewer than two indicators present = 0

NGO = nongovernment organization.

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Reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation, and enhancing forest carbon stocks in developing countries (REDD+) has emerged as a promising climate change mitigation mechanism in tropical forest countries. This paper examines the national political context in 13 REDD+ countries in order to identify the enabling conditions for achieving progress in the implementation of countries' REDD+ policies and measures. The analysis builds on a previous qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) of various countries' progress with REDD+, conducted in 12 REDD+ countries in 2012. A follow-up survey in 2014 was considered timely because the REDD+ policy arena, at international and country levels, is highly dynamic and undergoes constant evolution, which affects progress with REDD+ policy making and implementation. In this paper, we examine whether the 'promise' of performance-based funds has played a role in enabling the establishment of REDD+. The results show a set of enabling conditions and characteristics of the policy process under which REDD+ policies can be established. Two key findings of our analysis, the importance of already initiated policy change and the relevance of available performance-based funding in combination with strong national ownership of the REDD+ process, may help guide other countries seeking to formulate REDD+ policies that are likely to deliver efficient, effective and equitable outcomes.

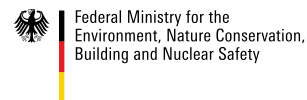


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