Framing Global Public Policy on Forests

Sustainable Development and the Forest Issue on the UN Agenda 1972 to 2007

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Abstract

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The context in which public policy-making on forests take place has changed considerably in the last decades. The number of interests directed towards forests has gradually increased, particularly since the 1990s and the quest for sustainable development.

The thesis is concerned with what has happened with global public policy on forests in a sustainable development policy-making context. It investigates the content of United Nations (UN) policy on forests from the first UN conference on environment and development held in Stockholm in 1972 to the year 2007, when a non-legally binding instrument on forests was adopted.

In the case of forests, sustainable development has translated into the concept of Sustainable Forest Management (SFM). Achieving SFM is often described as being about balancing interests of economic, ecological and socio-cultural character. The thesis's central argument is that UN policy-making on forests since the 1990s, has not resulted in differing perspectives on the use of forests being 'balanced' in the policy subjected to analysis. Instead, some perspectives have been 'institutionalised' and others down-played.

Theoretically, the thesis draws on literature on public policy studies. Based on documentary material, interviews, and observation, the thesis explores: the context in which global public policy-making on forests takes place; different framings of the policy problem to be addressed, and; substantive policy content. A central concept is that of a policy frame, understood as a social construction of a policy issue that comprises a problem definition, a solution, and a justification for action. Four different policy frames are constructed and used to interrogate the development of the content of UN forest policy. Factors that account for the way in which UN policy on forests has been framed are discussed.

The results are used to critically examine the concept of SFM as global policy framework.

Key words: framing, global public policy, international forest policy, public policy studies, policy frames, sustainable development, Sustainable Forest Management, qualitative case-study, UN forest negotiations

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Summary

The context in which public policy-making on forests takes place has changed considerably in the last decades. This is especially so since the 1990s and the quest for *sustainable development*. Interests directed towards forests in policy-making contexts concern now not only *what* benefits forests are expected to provide (such as fuel-wood, industrial fibre and wood, recreation, local livelihoods, water regulation, erosion protection, biological diversity, carbon storage, and poverty reduction) but also *who should decide* what benefits they should provide, and *in what way* this should be decided. The thesis is concerned with what has happened with *substantive content* in public policy on forests in this new sustainable development policy-making context. Specifically, it is concerned with the content of *global public policy on forests.*

The thesis regards global public policy-making on forests in the context of the broader global political process that aims for sustainable development. It formally defines this process in terms of the three major United Nations (UN) conferences on environment and development: the UN conference on the Human Environment held in Stockholm in 1972, the UN Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, and the World Summit on Sustainable Development held in Johannesburg in 2002. Whereas the Stockholm conference established 'the environment' as an issue on the global development agenda, the Rio conference established the concept of 'sustainable development' as a framework for policy-making on 'environment' and 'development'. As a policy framework, it implies recognition that policy-making needs to integrate economic, ecological and socio-cultural concerns. Further, a central idea in this framework is that broad public participation in decision-making is a prerequisite for achievement of sustainable development.

In the case of forests, the concept of sustainable development has translated into the concept of *Sustainable Forest Management.* Achieving Sustainable Forest Management is stated to be the overarching objective of global public policy-making on forests. Sustainable Forest Management is generally described as management of forests with broad social and environmental goals, which seeks to balance the different interests of economic, ecological and socio-cultural character that are directed towards forests.

However, different actors who would like to have a saying in public policy-making on forests are not only likely to have differing interests as to what kind of benefits forests are expected to provide, and in what way this should be decided. They are also likely to hold differing views and value-orientations as to what actually constitutes a 'sustainable' development.

A central argument of the thesis is that, since the 1990s, global public policy-making on forests with the concept of Sustainable Forest Management as a mobilizing ideal, has not resulted in a 'balancing' of differing perspectives on the use of forests. Rather, some perspectives have been 'institutionalised' and others down-played.

The thesis develops this argument by assessing the development of content of UN forest policy. The case subjected to analysis is organised around the 1972 Stockholm conference, the 1992 Rio conference, and the 2002 Johannesburg conference. The object of study is recommendations on forests adopted at the Stockholm conference; the Forest Principles and chapter 11 of Agenda 21 adopted at the Rio conference; the 270 so called 'proposals for action' adopted as a result of five years of negotiations within the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests (IPF) and the Intergovernmental Forum on Forests (IFF); recommendations adopted at the UN Forum on Forests (UNFF); recommendations on forests adopted at the Johannesburg conference, as well as the non-legally binding instrument on forests adopted by the UNFF in 2007.

From 1972 to 2007, UN forest policy content has generally developed from being concerned with environmental aspects in the practice of forestry to the broader objective of Sustainable Forest Management, and the role of Sustainable Forest Management in achieving sustainable development. This development has broadened the scope and range of issues addressed. It has also been broadened in terms of policy means, and in terms of targeted actors. The concern of the thesis is what this has implied for what global public policy on forests has come to say about what should be sustained, for whom, and to what end.

A starting point in the thesis is that the genesis of a policy involves the recognition of a problem of some kind. The *research problem* this thesis engages with is that UN policy from 1992 and onwards gives a muddled picture of what 'the Problem' to be addressed is. This raises some questions in relation to the starting point. How should we understand the adopted policy in terms of what kind of 'problems' it is intended to address? What kind of 'problems' does the international community foresee have to be 'solved' in order to arrive at Sustainable Forest Management? If 'deforestation', which was 'the problem' that put forests onto the agenda of the Rio conference, is not the only problem that this policy is intended to address, what kind of 'problem' has it then become responsive to? Or, if we are not to consider UN policy on forests as a strategic response to a specific 'problem', how should we then understand it?

There are a number of studies on the global *politics* on forests. This study focuses on *policy content*, and what that has come to look like. The *research questions* set out in the thesis are: in what way has UN policy on forests been framed from 1972 to 2007 and, what factors account for the way in which UN policy on forests has been framed? Theoretically, the thesis draws on literature on *public policy studies.* Particularly on literature concerned with how issues and problems are framed on the public policy agenda. The thesis recognises argumentation in written and oral form as key processes in which political actors arrive at policy choices. The analytic focus is consequently placed on public policy as 'argumentative construct'.

To organize the analysis, the study develops a scheme for analyzing the framing of policy, which analytically separates the context in which UN policy-making on

forests takes place, the policy problem, and the policy content. The analysis and presentation of the thesis is organised along these aspects.

Chapter 3 explores the *policy context,* taken to be the multi-lateral process for sustainable development as a whole, along three themes. The 'story' of the sustainable development concept at the global political level is reviewed, and the political tensions inbuilt in the concept at the global level are highlighted. Further, it examines what were 'priority issues' on the sustainable development agenda at the time of the Stockholm, Rio, and Johannesburg conferences. It describes how political focus has shifted from industrial pollution, to global environmental change, to focus on the socio-economic dimensions of the environment-development nexus. Lastly, political attention devoted specifically to the forest issue, as seen in the context of the multi-lateral process for sustainable development, is explored.

Chapter 4 explores *the policy problem*. A starting point here is that ideas on what constitutes a 'sustainable' development varies depending on from what perspective it is regarded. Four general perspectives on the sustainable use of natural resources are presented and taken as a point of departure. These perspectives are said to generate *differing questions* with regard to 'sustainable development'. It is first a perspective which departs in a system of economic sectors, and in which a central question is *how* production processes in various economic sectors could be modified so as to become 'sustainable', or in order to contribute to 'sustainable development'. It is then a perspective departing in an eco-system (including human society), where a central question is *how much* we may produce and consume in the first place in order to arrive at a 'sustainable' development. Further, it is a perspective departing in a system of sovereign nation-states with unequal economic relations. A central question in such a perspective is how production and consumption should be *distributed around the globe* in order for us to talk about a 'sustainable' development at a global scale. And lastly, it is a perspective departing in a system of indigenous and non-indigenous cultures, and in which a central question is *who* should have the right to decide in the first place what 'development' is supposed to mean.

These idealised perspectives are related to the global forest policy debate. It is shown that, and how, they are reflected in arguments made around Sustainable Forest Management. The thesis seeks an understanding of such arguments by contextualising them. The notion of a *policy frame* is introduced in order to discuss 'the Problem' to be addressed by global public policy on forests. A policy frame is understood as a social construction of a policy issue that comprises a problem definition, a proposed solution, and a justification for action. Four ideal type policy frames are presented, and referred to as a 'modify management policy frame', a 'modify human-nature relations policy frame', a 'modify economic relations policy frame', and a 'modify cultural dominance policy frame' respectively. The *problem definitions* in these ideal type policy frames are said to have to do with: forests not being properly recognised for the positive role they can play in development; negative global environmental change, including deforestation and forest degradation; an unequal world economic system, and; rights of indigenous peoples being overruled by 'development'. All four policy

frames are taken to include recognition that forests are unsustainably managed and overexploited in many places, and that this needs to be dealt with in some way. However, when it comes to what is really 'the Problem' to address, they are qualitatively different in nature. They imply differing values regarding what is needed in order to achieve 'sustainable development'. Hence, we cannot say that we are comparing differing perspectives on the same 'Problem' regarding forests, because when we change policy frame, the problem itself changes.

Chapter 5 explores *policy content*. It interrogates the framing of UN policy on forests with the four ideal type policy frames as a tool of interpretation. It explores in what way the *UN forest agenda* has been framed over time, and how *policy recommendations* on certain issues on the agenda have been framed over time. Finally, it asks what can be said about framing of *the forest issue* as a whole over time. Drawing these aspects together, the thesis argues that policy on forests from the 1992 Rio conference reflects discursive elements of all four policy frames to varying extents. From 1992 and onwards, however, UN policy on forests has come to be dominated by a 'modify management' and a 'modify economic relations' policy frame. The framing of UN forest policy is described as a struggle between policy frames.

Chapter 6 reconnects to previous chapters and discusses some factors that are argued to account for the way in which UN policy on forests has been framed. The first is lack of consensus on problem definition. It is discussed how policy action often does not spring from 'problems' at all, but rather from 'new opportunities' as seen from the viewpoint of various actors. Another factor is the role of ideas in established policy communities. It is argued that the case of global forest negotiations differs from some other cases of 'global environmental negotiations' in that there already existed a well established institutional structure at international level for policy-making on forests long before forest became a controversial issue at the global level, and that this has affected the framing of UN policy on forests. On the whole, it is concluded that the content of UN policy on forests makes more sense if seen as the result of a continuing discursive 'struggle' over boundaries of the issue, problem definition, importance of the issue etc., than if seen as the result of a strategic intervention to solve a pre-given global problem.

The thesis concludes that different perspectives on the use of forests have not been balanced in the policies it analyses. This is taken to warrant the question of what the concept of *Sustainable Forest Management* means as a global policy framework. It is asked what it means in terms of the 'balancing' of differing concerns in global public policy-making on forests. The concept is discussed in relation to three idealised approaches to 'sustainability practice' proposed by Ratner in 2004. These approaches, referred to as sustainability as 'technical consensus', 'ethical consensus', and as a 'dialogue of values', all seek to integrate multiple goals. However, they do so differently and with different assumptions about the role of values in collective action. This in turn has been argued to yield radically different models of practice and institutional setup. The usage of the notion of Sustainable Forest Management in policy language gives the impression of a consensual end. By contrast, the analytic exercise carried out in this thesis suggests that different actors with a stake in forests at the global level foresee

discrete ends regarding what global public policy on forests should accomplish. If that is so, then implementation of Sustainable Forest Management can rely on no unified framework for action in practice. In that case, achievement of Sustainable Forest Management is better understood as having to imply a 'dialogue between sometimes incommensurable values and ends' than as implying the 'balancing of different interests towards a commonly agreed end'.

"The greatest certainty is that the future will involve changes for forests and the forestry sector, and that some of these changes will be profound. The key challenge for forest stakeholders and policy makers is to understand and manage these changes. It appears that the future will not be one of stark, unpleasant choices between preserving forests and meeting ever-increasing demands for basic commodities. The future will, however, require many other choices because sustainable forest management at its core is about choice: sustaining what and for whom."
Background report to the third session of the Intergovernmental Forum on Forests (ECOSOC, 1999b, para. 5)

1. Introduction: a global public policy aimed at Sustainable Forest Management

It is widely recognised in forest management literature and international forestry debates that the context in which public policy-making on forests takes place has changed considerably in the last decades (see *e.g.* Reynolds *et al*, 2007; Sayer & Maginnis, 2005; Mayers & Bass, 2004; Palo, Uusivuori & Mery, 2001). For a long time, the public policy domain on forests was predominantly concerned with supply of timber. Since the 1960s, a wider range of interests have entered this policy domain due to increased public awareness about environmental deterioration as a result of industrialization. However, it is since the 1990s and the quest for *sustainable development* that the policy-making picture regarding forests has really started to get complex. Interests directed towards forests in policy-making contexts concern now not only *what* benefits forests are expected to provide (such as fuel-wood, industrial fibre and wood, recreation, local livelihoods, water regulation, erosion protection, biological diversity, carbon storage, and poverty reduction) but also *who should decide* what benefits they should provide, and *in what way* it should be decided. As Sayer and Maginnis argue, "throughout the world there has been a re-examination of who makes decisions about forests and how these decisions are made" (Sayer & Maginnis, 2005, p. 1). This thesis is concerned with what has happened with *substantive content* in public policy on forests in this changed context. Specifically, it is concerned with the content of *global public policy on forests*.

1.1 Global public policy-making on forests in a sustainable development context

One of the features in the changed context for public policy-making on forests is an increasing amount of public policy on forests being adopted at the *global* level. *Global public policy* is in this thesis understood as policy adopted by agencies that are universal in the sense of being open for membership of all, or nearly all, states. Forests have been a matter for intergovernmental policy-making for quite long. However, it was not until the 1980s that forests became a *controversial* policy issue at the global level, and that had to do with growing public concern about deforestation in the tropics. At the United Nations (UN) Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 (the Rio conference), there were attempts to negotiate a legally binding instrument on forests, in line with the global conventions on climate change and biodiversity.

This failed, and what states were able to agree on regarding forests were instead the Forest Principles, and a chapter specifically devoted to forests in the 'action programme for sustainable development', the *Agenda 21*, adopted at the conference. The Rio conference set in motion a number of political initiatives at intergovernmental and the global level with the purpose of creating policy on different aspects of the sustainable use of forests. Among these a series of policy-rounds at the United Nations (UN), that were intended to follow up on forest-related agreements adopted at the Rio conference. Five years of policy deliberations within the so called Intergovernmental Panel on Forests followed by the Intergovernmental Forum on Forests resulted in a vast body of policy recommendations intended to contribute to the sustainable management of forests. In the year 2000, the so called United Nations Forum on Forests was established and has continued to develop policy to that end. And, in the year 2007, this policy forum agreed to a so called non-legally binding instrument on all types of forests. Thus, although there is no legally-binding instrument on forests at the global level, there is to date a vast body of non-legally binding policy on forests adopted at the global level.

Global public policy-making on forests can be seen in the context of the broader political process at the global level aimed at sustainable development. This multi-lateral process is often described in terms of the three major UN conferences on environment and development: the UN conference on the Human Environment that took place in Stockholm in 1972, the UN Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, and the World Summit on Sustainable Development held in Johannesburg in 2002 (see *e.g.* Churie Kallhauge *et al*, 2005). Whereas the 1972 Stockholm conference established 'the environment' as an issue on the global development agenda, the 1992 Rio conference established the concept of 'sustainable development' as a framework for policy-making on 'environment' and 'development'. As a policy framework, and as presented in the 1987 report of the World Commission on Environment and Development (more known as the Brundtland report), it implies recognition that environmental policies have to be integrated with development strategies in order to further a 'sustainable' development (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, p. 40). Policy-making needs to integrate economic, ecological and social concerns, often described as the three pillars of sustainable development. Further, a central idea in the sustainable development policy framework as presented in Agenda 21, is that its achievement requires the involvement of "all social groups", and that "broad public participation in decision-making" is "one of the fundamental prerequisites for the achievement of sustainable development" (United Nations, 1993, p. 219).

In the case of forests, the concept of sustainable development has translated into the now widely used concept of *Sustainable Forest Management*. Since the beginning of the 1990s, the concept of Sustainable Forest Management has become 'institutionalised' in international forest policy documents and debates, and its achievement is stated to be the overarching objective of global public policy-making on forests. From a forestry sector perspective, the concept of Sustainable Forest Management can be seen as the latest in a row of previous forest management concepts such as 'sustained yield forestry' and 'multiple use

forestry'. The Forest Principles adopted at the Rio conference states that "forest resources and forest lands should be sustainably managed to meet the social, economic, ecological, cultural and spiritual needs of future generations. These needs are for forest products and services, such as wood and wood products, water, food, fodder, medicine, fuel, shelter, employment, recreation, habitats for wildlife, landscape diversity, carbon sinks and reservoirs, and for other forest products" (United Nations, 1993, Forest Principles, para. 2b). Sustainable Forest Management is then generally understood as management of forests that seeks to *balance the different interests* of economic, ecological, and socio-cultural character that are directed towards forests, in line with the principles of sustainable development.

However, different actors who would like to have a saying in public policy-making on forests are not only likely to have differing interests as to what kinds of benefits forests should provide, and in what way it should be decided what benefits they should provide. They are also likely to hold differing views and value-orientations as to what actually constitutes a 'sustainable' development. Or, paraphrasing the excerpt that introduces this chapter: different actors with an interest in forests are likely to hold differing views on what should be sustained, for whom, and to what end.

It has been argued that the 1992 Rio conference marked a "turning point" in the international forest policy dialogue and that it "started a new process of issue definition when forests were examined in the context of sustainable development" (Chasek *et al*, 2006, p. 183). The concern of this thesis is what has happened to the substantive content of global public policy on forests in a sustainable development policy context, characterised by multiple interests and values, where broad public participation in decision-making is sought for, and where different interests should be balanced. A central argument of the thesis is that UN forest policy-making since the Rio conference, with the concept of Sustainable Forest Management as a mobilizing ideal, has not resulted in differing perspectives on the use of forests being 'balanced' in the policy subjected to analysis. Rather, some perspectives have been 'institutionalised' while others have been down-played.

1.2 Research problem, research questions, and delimitations

"The genesis of a policy involves the recognition of a problem", says Parsons (1995, p. 87). This is also a point of departure in this thesis. We expect, as a starting point, that global public policy on forests has come into being because there is recognition of some kind of problem, or problems, that need to be addressed at the global level. The *research problem* that this thesis engages with is that UN policy on forests from 1992 and onwards gives a muddled picture of what 'the Problem' to be addressed is.

In the beginning of the 1990s, forests became an issue on the preparatory agenda to the Rio conference because there was widespread concern about deforestation in tropical countries, and major political actors argued that this was a problem that had to be tackled by global cooperation. Southern countries did not agree with this

conception of the problem but saw deforestation as a national problem, to be tackled at the national level. Thus, there was no consensus about what was the problem to address at the global level at the time of the 1992 Rio conference. Despite there being no consensus on that, to date, a vast body of policy on forests has been agreed at the global level through the series of policy-rounds at the UN mentioned above.

It is clear that forests are an *issue* on the global political agenda. However, as indicated above, it is less clear what exactly is the *problem*, or problems, that UN policy on forests is intended to address. The UN forest agenda covers a range of issues and scholars have questioned what its main concern is. As for example Smouts (2003, p. 68) puts it, "all possible subjects on all types of forests are simultaneously put on the agenda. Everything is discussed at once without rank or priority." Persson (2005, p. 348) has asked what it is that should be discussed at the international level; "[i]s it deforestation, loss of biodiversity, governance, production or other matters? […] Should forests be used more or less? Is it really an advantage to discuss trade, assistance to forestry, protection, management, deforestation in the same context?" Also, there seems to be divergent views among actors involved in the current UN negotiations on forests on what is their purpose. When delegates at the UN Forum on Forests were asked about what they see as the purpose of the Forum, the answers were diverse: from "a place to exchange views and discuss", "reach consensus on what are the issues and options", "keep the forest issue in the air", "arrest the loss of forest area and forest quality" to "arrive at a legally binding instrument".[1] These diverse answers indicate to me that there are differing views on what is the purpose of this policy-making activity among delegates.

This raises some questions in relation to our starting point that the genesis of policy involves the recognition of a problem. If there are differing views among actors involved on what the UN forest process is for, how should we then understand the substantive content in adopted policy in terms of what kind of 'problems' it is intended to address? What kind of 'problems' does the international community foresee have to be 'solved' in order to arrive at Sustainable Forest Management? If there is no consensus that 'deforestation', which was 'the problem' that put forests on the Rio agenda, is the global problem that this policy seeks address, what kind of 'problem' is it then responsive to? Or, if we are not to consider global public policy on forests as a strategic response to a specific 'problem', how should we then understand it?

There are a number of studies on different aspects of the *politics* around forests at the inter-governmental level (see *e.g.* Smouts, 2003; Jokela, 2001; Gale, 1998; Humphreys, 1996, 1996a; Kolk, 1996; Rosendal, 1995; Hurrell, 1992), and negotiations on forests at the UN in particular (see *e.g.* Davenport, 2005; Dimitrov, 2005; Humphreys, 2001). Less work has focused explicitly on the substantive content of *policy* that such politics result in, although some has. Humphreys (2004) has assessed the degree to which non-governmental

[1] Examples from interviews, carried out by the author, with delegates at the third, fourth, and fifth sessions of the UN Forum on Forests.

organisations (NGOs) have influenced textual outputs on international forest policy since the mid 1980s. In a recent volume, Humphreys (2006) investigates the content of the main international political processes addressing forests and forest-related issues from 1995 to 2006. It is argued that policy responses on the forest issue have been framed in line with the core assumptions of a neo-liberal economic discourse, which emphasises market-solutions and foresees an enhanced role for the private sector in tropical forests and reduced role for state regulation as a *means* to conserve forests. This despite resistance from environmental and human rights groups and efforts to promote a counter discourse to the neo-liberal one that emphasises respect for traditional knowledge and customary land of local and indigenous people, and their right to participate in decentralized decision-making processes as a means to conserve forests (Humphreys, 2006).

In theoretical analysis that focuses on multilateral negotiations *per se* and that are *process-oriented*, the issues on the agenda are often taken to be 'given' and not part of the analysis. For example, the UN forest policy process is often described in relation to 'deforestation' or 'forest decline' as the global ecological problem to be addressed (see *e.g.* Dimitrov 2003; Jokela 2006, 2001; Porter *et al* 2000; Rosendal 2001, 1995). In this thesis, we will not assume that deforestation is 'the Problem' that this policy-making process is dealing with, but instead ask 'what is the problem' that this policy has come to be responsive to. If we talk in terms of *means* and *ends* of public policy-making, this study is concerned with the *ends* of global public policy-making on forests. I regard this study as adding to above mentioned studies on this particular case of multi-lateral environmental negotiations by bringing an explicit *policy* focus, and by asking questions about *'the Problem'* that this policy-making activity is intended to address.

The thesis focuses on *policy content*. It seeks an *understanding* of content of UN policy on forests as it has come to look in a sustainable development policy-making context. When seeking to understand policy content, studies over a couple of decades or so should be preferable, since naturally there is a 'history' to what policy content looks at present. This thesis approaches the research problem as articulated above by investigating the substantive content of global public policy on forests at some points in time between the first UN conference on environment and development held in Stockholm in 1972 up till the adoption of a non-legally binding instrument on all types of forests within the UN framework in 2007. It delimits itself to policy on forests adopted at the Stockholm, Rio and Johannesburg conferences as well as to policy adopted in the policy-rounds mentioned above that were *explicitly* initiated to follow up on forest-related agreements adopted at the Rio conference.

These global conferences and policy rounds are certainly not the only source of global public policy on forests. Forest issues are presently part of the agenda, to varying degrees, of a number of inter-governmental arenas such as, apart from the UN Forum on Forests, the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), the International Tropical Timber Organisation (ITTO), the Convention on Biological Diversity, the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), the UN Convention on Combating Desertification (CBD), the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Flora and Fauna (CITES), and the World

Bank. Although not all of these public policy arenas are 'universal' in their membership we may still say that there are a number of arenas for (more or less) 'global' public policy-making on forests. The particular case of policy subjected to analysis in this study has been chosen while it makes sense, it is argued, to take the three global conferences on 'environment' and 'development' as a 'guide' when concerned about policy-making in a sustainable development context.

Two main *research questions* are set out in this study: First, in what way has UN policy on forests been framed from 1972 to 2007? Second, what factors account for the way in which UN policy on forests has been framed?

In order to address these questions, this thesis draws on literature on *public policy studies*. There is a vast literature which in different ways focuses on public policy, and that cut across many disciplines. When I say that this study draws on this body of literature it is to say that its focus is on *policy* rather than on the politics that produces policy. While a *political analysis* of policy-making can be said to be concerned with the distribution, exercise and consequences of power (see *e.g.* Hay, 2002), *policy analysis* can be said to be concerned with examination of the rules, laws, goals, and standards that are adopted through the policy-making process. The focus of this thesis is not on global public policy-making as *political process*, but on the *result* of global public policy-making in terms of *adopted policy*. (This is to be distinguished from the results of *implementation* of a certain policy, which is often referred to as *policy outcome* (see *e.g.* Birkland, 2005; Vedung, 1997). The study is not concerned with implementation of policy.) This is not to say that substantive policy content can be seen as separated from its political context. Only that the analytical focus is not placed on the political process.

Further, the analytic focus of public policy studies emerged in a national context for the purpose of studying the policy-making process at the national level. In this study, we draw on some of this literature in order to elaborate a framework for the purpose of studying *global* public policy. This is justified, it is argued, for the analytic focus of this study, which is, investigating *content* of policy. It is not to say, however, that literature on public policy studies is *generally* applicable for the study of policy-making in the international system, which is different from the national ones in important respects. Nagel (1991) for example, regards the field of global policy studies as related to the fields of International Relations, comparative government, and public policy studies, but concludes that none of these fields can adequately cover global policy studies alone.

Lasswell (1970) made a general distinction between policy analysis concerned with knowledge production *in* and *for* the policy process (that is, analysis explicitly intended to feed into the policy-making process in order to improve policy-making), and analysis of the policy process concerned with knowledge *about* for example policy formation, policy implementation or policy content. This study is concerned with gaining knowledge *about* the content of global public policy on forests, and what that content has come to look like in a sustainable development policy-making context. It does not set out to provide specific policy recommendations.

The study of public policy may be approached from different perspectives, which imply different assumptions about what kind of thing is policy. This thesis adopts an 'argumentative' perspective on public policy. That is to say, it recognises argumentation in written and oral form as a key process in which political actors arrive at policy choices, and the analytic focus in the thesis is placed on public policy as 'argumentative construct'. This means to recognise that policy is always framed in one way or another, and that it can thus be analysed for what kind of arguments it reflects, and what kind of arguments it does not reflect.

The thesis researches into what kind of 'Problem' UN policy on forests has come to be responsive to. A central sub-question in the thesis is what are different framings of the forest issue, what different framings do imply for what is argued for as 'the Problem' to be addressed, and how different framings have played out in substantive policy content over time. A central concept in the thesis is that of *policy frames*. A policy frame is here understood as a social construction of a policy issue that embraces a problem definition, a solution, and a justification for action. This thesis constructs four ideal type policy frames, argued to be relevant in the case of global public policy-making on forests, and uses these frames as an analytical device to interrogate content of UN policy on forests at various points in time.

Understanding framing of global public policy on forests is important on several planes. First, for a very general reason of subjecting public policy to analysis. As articulated by Lindblom and Woodhouse (1993, p. 3), "[i]f humans are not forever doomed to live with relatively undemocratic and relatively unintelligent policy making, it makes sense to inquire systematically into what stands in the way." Second, global public policy is nowadays an important source of policy ideas, also in the case of forests. The public policy agenda is no longer set within purely national boundaries (Parsons, 1995), but is likely to be interconnected to what is happening at the global political level. It has been argued that the various layers of dialogue that have emerged to address different aspects of the forest issue promote a gradual convergence of expectations and interests and thus further normative development (Brunée & Nollkaemper, 1996). Thus, if interested in what is happening in global public policy on forests in general, there are reasons to look at the global level. Third, 'sustainable development' has been the guiding objective of global public policy-making in a wide array of policy areas since the beginning of the 1990s. Yet, it should be clear that there are many different understandings of what constitutes a 'sustainable' development. Thus, there should be reasons to ask what the vision of sustainable development has implied in terms of substantive policy content in specific policy areas. Fourth, global public policy on forests is intended to be implemented. Since, as argued here, this policy gives a muddled picture of what kind of 'problems' it is intended to address, there should, from a practical perspective, be reasons to ask what exactly it is that should be implemented.

To organize the analysis, this thesis constructs a scheme for analyzing framing of policy which analytically separates: the context in which policy-making takes place; the policy problem; and the policy content itself. I have chosen to present

the thesis partly along this scheme so that chapter 3 is concerned with the policy context, chapter 4 with the policy problem, and chapter 5 with policy content.

Before introducing the research approach of this thesis, we introduce the case. The introduction below will show in more detail what it is that makes me say that UN policy on forests gives a muddled picture of what kind of 'problem' or 'problems' it is intended to address.

1.3 The case: UN forest policy from 1972 to 2007

The case subjected to analysis in this thesis is organised around what were said above to be the major defining events in global governance for sustainable development over the last thirty years. That is, the UN Conference on the Human Environment (UNCHE) in Stockholm in 1972, the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, and the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg in 2002. (Hereafter, these conferences are referred to as the Stockholm conference, the Rio conference and the Johannesburg conference respectively). The figure below provides an overview of the policy subjected to analysis in this study, and at which conferences and policy-rounds it has been adopted.

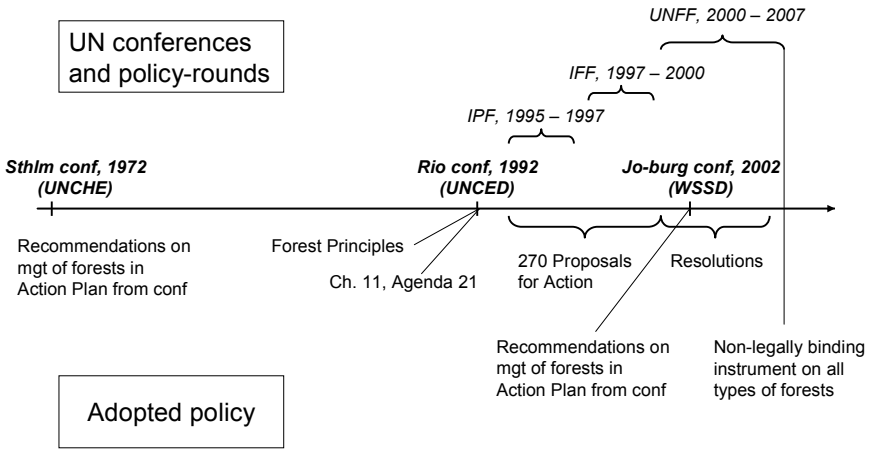

Figure 1. Time-line of UN conferences and policy-rounds and adopted policy on forests.

The object of study in this thesis is: policy on forests adopted at the Stockholm conference in 1972; the Forest Principles and chapter 11 of Agenda 21 adopted at the Rio conference in 1992; the 270 policy recommendations developed as a result

of five years of work within the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests (IPF) and the Intergovernmental Forum on Forests (IFF); policy adopted within the United Nations Forum on Forests (UNFF) including the non-legally binding instrument on all types of forests adopted in 2007; and policy on forests adopted at the 2002 Johannesburg conference.

Below is provided a brief overview of what the contents of this policy has looked like over time. However, I believe that the presentation of policy content will make more sense to the reader with some knowledge about the political and institutional development around the forest issue at the global level. Therefore, we will first very briefly have a look at that. Although management of forests was an *issue* on the agenda of the Stockholm conference in 1972 (and we can thus talk about a global public policy on forests at that time), it is not until the 1980s that forests became a highly *politicised* issue at the global level, and that had to do with concern about deforestation in tropical countries. We will therefore start this brief introduction at that time.

1.3.1 UN politics on forest policy: a brief overview

Concern about deforestation and proposals for a global forest convention

A number of factors in the 1970s and 1980s contributed to making diminishing forest cover in the tropics into a matter of political concern at the global level. One international political initiative to tackle deforestation and forest degradation was the development of the so called Tropical Forestry Action Programme in the mid 1980s. Founders of this initiative were the Washington-based NGO the World Resources Institute, the UN Development Programme, the World Bank, and the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO). Eventually, the FAO was appointed chief executive agency of the programme (Humphreys, 1996). Its aim was to raise money for forest conservation, to set up national forestry action plans, and to provide an international umbrella organization for donor agencies, producer nations and NGOs (Dudley *et al*, 1995). From the beginning, the work under the Tropical Forestry Action Programme was a broad-based coalition between governments, UN agencies and NGOs (Humphreys, 1996). However, as the work with implementation of the programme proceeded, support from NGOs and other actors turned to severe criticism. Figures showed that deforestation rates had increased and the programme received critique for not providing adequate solutions to the problems identified (Myers, 1992), and that the work in some cases had worsened the situation of forest loss (Dudley *et al*, 1995). Different reviews of the Programme were conducted and a restructuring process was initiated in 1991 (Humphreys, 1996).

The critique directed at the FAO at this time, had significance for how things unfolded in the run-up to, and after, the Rio conference. When preparations for the Rio conference started, there was still widespread concern about deforestation rates in the tropics *and* dissatisfaction with the UN agency responsible forest issues, the FAO, for its way of handling of the Tropical Forestry Action Programme. Another political avenue to address concerns about deforestation had

to be found. Following the UN 1989 resolution announcing that the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) would be convened in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, there were a number of proposals from major political actors that a *global convention* on forests should be negotiated at the conference, in line with the conventions on climate change and biological diversity that were under preparation (Humphreys, 1996).[2]

The controversy around a forest convention at the time of the Rio conference

The forest issue has been described as being one of the most contentious issues before and at the Rio conference, marked by wide disagreement (Humphreys, 1996; Chasek, 1994). The negotiations on forests in the preparatory committees preceding the Rio conference quickly became polarized between Northern (notably the US and Canada) arguments for forests being a 'global responsibility' and Southern states (notably Malaysia and Brazil) claiming 'sovereign discretion' over forests (Porter *et al*, 2000; Humphreys, 1996). While negotiations on biodiversity, climate change and desertification resulted in the signing of multilateral agreements at the Rio conference, attempts to negotiate a convention on forests failed already in the preparatory stage. What were agreed specifically regarding forests during the conference were the so called Forest Principles and a chapter in Agenda 21, entitled 'Combating deforestation'.

Three policy-rounds on forests at the UN after the Rio conference

It has been said that, after the Rio conference, there was a widely shared view that the FAO was not the right place to continue the global policy dialogue on forests (interview 39). Three years after the Rio conference, and the failed attempts to negotiate a convention on forests, the UN Economic and Social Council took a decision on the establishment of an open-ended so called Ad-Hoc Intergovernmental Panel on Forests, on the recommendation of the Commission on Sustainable Development. The mandate given to the Panel was "to pursue consensus and formulate options for further actions in order to combat deforestation, and forest degradation and to promote the management, conservation and sustainable development of all types of forests" (ECOSOC, 1997). The Intergovernmental Panel on Forests held four sessions during two years, from 1995 to 1997, during which countries did not succeed to come forward on the agenda item concerning the need for a legally-binding instrument on forests. After its mandated two years it was decided to continue the political dialogue on forests in what was now labelled the Intergovernmental Forum on Forests (IFF). The Forum was mandated to promote the implementation of agreements made in the preceding policy-round, review progress towards sustainable forest management (SFM), and considering matters left pending from the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests. The result, in terms of policy, of the five years of work in these two ad hoc forums was some 270 policy recommendations, or so called Proposals for Action, with the stated objective to achieve sustainable forest management.

[2] Humphreys (1996) lists nine different proposals for a global forest instrument of some kind, put forth during 1990, and coming from, for example, the European Council, the Group of Seven Industrialized Countries (G7), and non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

At the fourth and last meeting of the Intergovernmental Forum on Forests, it was decided to recommend to the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly to establish a so called international arrangement on forests, including an intergovernmental body, called the UN Forum on Forests (UNFF). By the resolution 2000/35, the Economic and Social Council decided to establish UN Forum on Forests as a subsidiary body to the Council. This meant that 'the forest issue' got another institutional status within the UN system than the previous rounds of negotiations in the Intergovernmental Panel and Forum on forests. The UNFF now occupies a unique position in the UN system, with universal membership and reporting directly to the Economic and Social Council (Humphreys, 2003). The main objective of the current so called international arrangement on forests[3] is stated to be to "promote the management, conservation and sustainable development of all types of forests and to strengthen long-term political commitment to this end" (ECOSOC, 2001), and it was given a mandate for five years.

During what would have been the fifth and last session of the UN Forum on Forests, countries could not agree on what should be the future direction of the international policy dialogue on forests. It was decided to post-pone decisions to a resumed sixth session in February 2006. At the sixth session of the UN Forum on Forests it was decided to renew the mandate of the Forum to the year 2015, and it was recognised "that the option of the legally binding instrument on all types on forests could be considered among other possibilities in the future review of the international arrangement on forests in 2015" (ECOSOC, 2006). Further, this Forum requested the Forum at the coming seventh session to adopt a non-legally binding instrument on forests.

The adoption of a non-legally binding instrument on all types of forests

At the seventh session of the UN Forum on Forests held in April, 2007, which also was to adopt a multi-year programme of work for the coming eight years of the Forum's work, a so called 'Non-legally binding agreement on all types of forests' was adopted. Thus, despite there being no agreement since the Rio conference as to the need for a legally-binding multilateral agreement on forests, these policy rounds, which I refer to as the UN forest process, has produced a large body of non-legally binding policy on forests over the years, including a so called non-legally binding instrument on forests. It is the policy adopted by this policy process that is in focus this thesis. Below we will turn to a brief overview of the content of this policy.

1.3.2 UN policy on forests: from environmental considerations in forestry to Sustainable Forest Management

From 1972 to 2007, the content of UN policy on forests has generally developed from being concerned with environmental aspects in the practice of forestry, to the broader objective of Sustainable Forest Management, and the role of Sustainable

[3] Comprising the UNFF, and the so called Collaborative Partnership on Forests (CPF) – an interagency partnership consisting of 14 member organizations, and established in 2001 to support the work of the UNFF and its member countries.

Forest Management in achieving sustainable development. Below we look at what that implies in terms of substantive policy content and what it means for who are pointed out as implementers of the adopted policy.

Policy on forests in the Action Plan for the Human Environment, 1972

In the Action Plan for the Human Environment, adopted at the Stockholm conference, management of forests is addressed under a section dealing with 'Environmental aspects in natural resource management'. Four paragraphs (out of 109 in total in the action plan) concern forest management specifically. In terms of content they address the need for new knowledge on the environmental aspects of forests and forest management; collection of data on the world's forest cover and condition; need for research and exchange of information on forest fires, pests and diseases; and, transfer of information to developing countries on forests and forest management. Apart from these forest management related recommendations, forests and forestry species are addressed in a number of recommendations concerning protection of genetic resources. The 'recommendations for action at international level' concerning forests, are targeted at UN bodies concerned, and primarily at the FAO as the responsible UN agency for forests and the forestry sector (United Nations, 1973).

The Forest Principles and Chapter 11 of Agenda 21, 1992

While not agreeing as to the need for a legally binding instrument on forests at the 1992 Rio conference, countries did agree on a chapter in the Agenda 21, entitled 'Combating deforestation', as well as the Forest Principles, as mentioned above. These policy documents reflect a broadening in scope of the forest issue.

Starting with the Forest Principles, these are, as the name indicates, a set of general principles concerning management of the worlds' forests. In terms of their scope, it is in their preamble stated that "the subject of forests is related to the entire range of environmental and development issues" and that the guiding objective of the principles is to "contribute to the management, conservation, and sustainable development of forests and to provide for their multiple and complementary functions and uses" (United Nations, 1993, Forest Principles, para. a and b). Further that they should apply to all types of forests. In terms of principles they, for example, reaffirm the sovereign rights of states over their natural resources, call on governments to provide for participation of interested parties in forest policy-making, stress the role of forests in development as well as in maintaining ecological processes, call on national policies to recognize the rights of indigenous peoples, and address the need for financial resources and technology transfer to developing countries.

Chapter 11 in Agenda 21, entitled Combating deforestation, can be seen as the action plan that was to put the Forest Principles into practice. The chapter is organised into four programme areas. The objectives of the policy recommendations are presented as: strengthen forest-related national institutions and improve human, technical and professional skills; maintaining existing forests and restoring their ecological balance; improve recognition of social, economic, and ecological values of trees and forests; and strengthen or establish systems for

assessment and systematic observation of forests in order to provide economists, planners, decision makers with updated information. Under each programme area (as is the case with all chapters of Agenda 21) we find a heading under which are specified means of implementation such as financial and cost evaluation; scientific and technological means; human resource development; and capacity-building.

A quick comparison of the UN policy on forests from the Stockholm conference with that from the Rio conference shows that the scope of policy on forests has been considerably widened. Whereas recommendations from the Stockholm conference addressed environmental aspects in *forestry* as a practice, the policy on forests from the Rio conference talks about *forests* as a subject. There are areas that are recognisable from the recommendations made at the Stockholm conference, such as the need for forest assessments, the need for improved forest research and dissemination of knowledge, protection of forests against fires, pests, and diseases. However, new dimensions have clearly been added to the forest issue such as issues of national sovereignty over natural resources, concern about deforestation in the tropics, sharing of costs for conservation and the need for financial and technology transfer to developing countries to that end, public participation and other interested parties in development of national forest policy-making, and rights of indigenous people and other forest communities.

The range of targeted actors has also been broadened. Whereas the Stockholm recommendations were directed to intergovernmental organizations within the UN-system, and specifically to the FAO, many of the recommendations in Chapter 11 of Agenda 21 are directed directly to government at different levels, but also to the private sector, local organizations and communities, indigenous peoples, labour unions and non-governmental organisations.

The IPF/IFF Proposals for Action

As was mentioned above, the five years of negotiations within the Intergovernmental Panel- and Forum on Forests resulted in some 270 policy recommendations with the stated objective to achieve Sustainable Forest Management in all types of forests. The final reports from the work of the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests contains policy recommendations, or Proposals for Action, grouped under the following headings: progress through national forest and land-use programmes; underlying causes of deforestation and forest degradation; traditional forest-related knowledge; fragile ecosystems affected by desertification and drought; impact of airborne pollution on forests; needs and requirements of developing and other countries with low forest cover; financial assistance; technology transfer and capacity building and information; assessment of the multiple benefits of all types of forests; forest research; methodologies for the proper valuation of the multiple benefits of all types of forests; criteria and indicators for sustainable forest management; trade and environment in relation to forest products and services; international organizations and multilateral institutions and instruments, including appropriate legal mechanisms (ECOSOC, 1997a).

The Intergovernmental on Forests was followed by the Intergovernmental Forum on Forests (IFF). The latter more or less inherited the agenda of the former, with

slight restructuring of the agenda, and some amendments. The Intergovernmental Forum on Forests was charged with, inter alia, "(a) promoting and facilitating the implementation of the proposals for action of the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests; (b) reviewing, monitoring and reporting on progress in the management, conservation and sustainable development of all types of forests; and (c) considering matters left pending as regards the programme elements of the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests, in particular trade and environment in relation to forest products and services, transfer of technology and the need for financial resources" (ECOSOC, 1997b). The Forum adopted additional proposals for action.

Resolutions from the UN Forum on Forests

The five years of work within the UN Forum on Forests, established in the year 2000, has resulted in the adoption of a number of resolutions and decisions. Decisions concern organizational and administrative matters. We are concerned with substantive policy content what to do with forests, so for our purposes it is the resolutions that are of interest. These cover, in terms of content, in large the same range of issues that had been addressed in the Intergovernmental Panel – and Forum on Forests.

We may note that from the establishment of the UN Forum on Forests and onwards, the language of 'Sustainable Forest Management' appears as the key guiding concept for activities undertaken and text agreed upon. One of the six principal functions of the international arrangement on forests[4] is for example to "foster a common understanding of SFM" (ECOSOC, 2000, para. 2b). The role of Sustainable Forest Management in achieving broader goals of the development agenda is also explicitly pointed out. For example in what is referred to as four global objectives on forests, that were proposed in a draft resolution for adoption by the Economic and Social Council. The purpose of these objectives are stated to be to achieve the main objectives of the international arrangement on forests and "to enhancing the contribution of forests to the achievement of the internationally agreed development goals, including the Millenium Development Goals, in particular with respect to poverty eradication and environmental sustainability" (ECOSOC, 2006, I.A., para. 3). The meeting agreed to work globally and nationally toward their achievement by 2015. The objectives are:

Global Objective 1
Reverse the loss of forest cover worldwide through sustainable forest management, including protection, restoration, afforestation and resforestation, and increase efforts to prevent forest degradation;

Global Objective 2
Enhance forest-based economic, social and environmental benefits including by improving the livelihoods of forest dependent people;

[4] The six principal functions of the international arrangement on forests are, in summary, to: promote implementation of the IPF/IFF Proposals for Action; provide a forum for continued policy dialogue; enhance cooperation on forest-related issues among international organizations; foster international cooperation; monitor and assess progress, and; strengthen political commitment to sustainable forest management (ECOSOC, 2000).

Global Objective 3
Increase significantly the area of protected forests worldwide and other areas of sustainably managed forests, and increase the proportion of forest products from sustainably managed forests;

Global Objective 4
Reverse the decline in official development assistance for sustainable forest management and mobilize significantly increased new and additional financial resources for the implementation of sustainable forest management (ECOSOC, 2006, Ch. I., A., para 3)

Recommendations on forests in the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation, 2002

Forests are addressed in one paragraph in the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation, included under the broader heading 'Protecting and managing the natural resource base of economic and social development'. Its preamble describes the scope of the issue:

[…] "Sustainable forest management of both natural and planted forests and for timber and non-timber products is essential to achieving sustainable development as well as a critical means to eradicate poverty, significantly reduce deforestation, halt the loss of forest biodiversity and land resource degradation and improve food security and access to safe drinking water and affordable energy; in addition, it highlights the multiple benefits of both natural and planted forests and trees and contributes to the well-being of the planet and humanity. The achievement of sustainable forest management, nationally and globally, including through partnerships among interested Governments and stakeholders, including the private sector, indigenous and local communities and non-governmental organizations, is an essential goal of sustainable development." […] (United Nations, 2002, para. 45).

Unlike the Agenda 21, implementers of proposed actions are not explicitly pointed out. This is not specific to the paragraph on forests, but symptomatic for the entire action plan. It is stated that achieving sustainable forest management would include actions "at all levels" to, among other things, in summary: enhance political commitment to achieve Sustainable Forest Management by "endorsing it as a priority at the international political agenda"; support the UN Forum on Forests and the Collaborative Partnership on Forests; action on domestic law enforcement and illegal international trade; action to achieve sustainable timber harvesting and facilitation of provision of financial resources to this end; initiatives to address the needs of those parts of the world currently suffering from poverty and the highest rates of deforestation; partnerships to facilitate provision of financial resources; recognise and support indigenous and community-based forest management systems "to ensure their full and effective participation in sustainable forest management"; and to implement the work programme of the Convention on Biological Diversity on all types of forest biological diversity (United Nations, 2002, para. 45).

Non-legally binding instrument on all types of forests

After 15 years of not coming forward in negotiations regarding a legally binding agreement on forests, the UN Forum on Forests adopted in 2007 a so called 'Non-legally binding instrument on all types of forests'. The very first paragraph in its preamble recognises that "forests provide multiple economic, social and environmental benefits" and explicitly points at the role of sustainable forest management in contributing "significantly to sustainable development and poverty eradication". Further it recognises that "sustainable forest management, as a

dynamic and evolving concept, aims to maintain and enhance the economic, social and environmental values of all types of forests, for the benefit of present and future generations" (ECOSOC, 2007). The purpose of the instrument is stated to be to strengthen commitment and action at all levels to implement sustainable management of all types of forests, to enhance the contribution of forests to the internationally agreed development goals, particularly poverty eradication, and to provide a framework for national action and international cooperation.

In summary

From this brief overview it should be clear that content in UN policy on forests has been broadened considerably from 1972 to 2007 in terms of the number of issues addressed, as well as the kind of issues addressed. Whereas recommendations from the 1972 Stockholm conference addressed environmental aspects in the practice of forestry, the 1992 Forest Principles declares that the subject of forests is related to the whole environment and development nexus. At the time of the establishment of the UN Forum on Forests (in 2000), it is explicitly stated that Sustainable Forest Management is also a means in achieving broader goals on the development agenda, such as reducing poverty.

Policy means proposed have developed from focusing on research, data collection and exchange of information to financial and technology transfer to developing countries, involvement of 'all interested parties' in forest policy planning and implementation, as well as public-private partnerships as a means to achieve more sustainable forest management. Moreover, over time it seems that some things that were previously stated to be means of implementation, such as financial and technology transfer, have tended to become ends in themselves. Concerning the actors that this policy is directed to, this has developed from focusing on UN-related bodies, to governments and a range of actors, to focusing on public-private partnerships and actions 'at all levels'.

Since the Rio conference, the overarching objective of this policy-making activity is stated to be the achievement of sustainable forest management. However, with the broadening of content as described above, it has become increasingly difficult to get a grip of what kind of problem, or problems, that the international community foresees have to be addressed in order to achieve it. This is the problem that this thesis researches into.

1.4 Research approach and sources of information

My research approach has in large followed the one described for *qualitative case studies* as scientific method (see *e.g*. Merriam, 1988). According to Yin (1989), a case-study in general is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident, and in which multiple sources of evidence are used. It may include both quantitative and qualitative methods for data analysis. A *qualitative* case-study approach is to prefer when research is aimed at insight, discovery, and interpretation in bounded contexts rather than testing of hypothesis (Merriam, 1988). This study seeks an *understanding* of

policy content as it has developed in a sustainable development context. The kind of explanation that this study aims at has to do with, in the words of Fischer (2003, p. 50), "rendering facts understandable by interpreting their meanings in the light of relevant social goals and values". For this aim, a qualitative case-study approach is appropriate. The thesis does not set out to provide causal explanations to why this content looks the way it looks. This means that the study is not explicitly concerned with the actors involved in global public policy-making on forests. It is concerned with understanding 'patterns of ideas' and in what way such patterns are reflected in substantive policy content, rather than 'patterns of actors' holding these ideas.

This focus on 'insight' and 'discovery' means to me that a qualitative case-study can hardly be fixed in its research design from the outset of the study, but has to allow for discoveries along the way to affect the framework for interpretation. In my case, I started the research with a rather vague idea about wanting to understand what the UN negotiations on forests were 'really' about, and what could possibly be achieved by a legally-binding instrument on forests. As data collection proceeded, so did the research question and theoretical and analytical framework. (And so did the UN forest process. The sixth session of the UN Forum on Forests postponed the decision of a legally-binding instrument to at least 2015, meaning that this particular question did not seem as the most relevant to me any longer.) It means that my data collection has been continuous throughout the research process, and that it has been guided by 'insights' along the way regarding what might be important information for the interpretation. It also means that my analysis has been moving back and forth between empirical data and theory, refining the research questions and analytical framework along the way.

As stated above, case-studies typically use multiple sources of information (Yin, 1989). This study combines data from *documents* of various kinds, *interviews* and *observation*. As for documents, sources of information are official policy documents (UN-documentation, and official working material), conference reports (such as the Earth Negotiations Bulletin), NGO-reports and policy statements by different actors. In order to obtain such material, I have made extensive use of the internet. When documents are used as a source of information, there are always reasons to ask questions about their accuracy, and especially so when the internet is used as a tool for obtaining them. I have sought to obtain documents from official web-pages of the organisations from which they are said to origin.

I have conducted interviews and talked more informally with delegates during three official sessions of the United Nations Forum on Forests. Data from interviews have primarily been used to help to formulate the research problem, specify the research questions, and in building my interpretive framework. In some cases, I have also included citations from interviews in the text to make points clearer. In doing these interviews, I was interested in hearing delegates' opinions about different aspects of the on-going negotiations. My questions were thus of the type "what is your opinion on" rather than "what has happened". However, from some key-informants, I have also been requesting information on specific events. In designing the interview questions I drew on ideas from Kvale (1997) and Merriam (1988). The interviews can be characterised as semi-

structured and open, and I have been slightly reformulating the interview questions between the interview occasions. The interviews were conducted at the third session of the UNFF in May 2003, the fourth session in May 2004, and the fifth session in May 2005. I have also conducted interviews with key-informants at two occasions outside formal sessions. In total, I have taken notes from 41 interviews and informal talks. The respondents were promised anonymity. To nevertheless indicate what kind of delegates that have been interviewed, I have categorised them into country representatives, representatives of inter-governmental organisations, representatives of non-governmental organisations, and representatives of research organisations. The interviews are listed by category, date and UNFF session in the Appendix.

A third primary source of information is observation, or rather 'hearing' in this case since my research interest has been what delegates say and what that means, rather than what they do. As I said above, I have attended three sessions of the UN Forum on Forests during the course of my research project. In addition, I have attended two UNFF sessions before entering the research project. This, I believe, has provided me with a 'context' for interpreting content in policy that I would not have, had I not attended any negotiating sessions at all. I therefore recognise observation as a primary source of information. However, considering that this study covers policy from the period 1972 to 2007, and both my interviews and observation have been made during a limited time of this period, there are of course limitations to these sources of information. Documents of different kinds thus remain the main source of information for this study.

Finally, the kind of interpretive policy analysis that this study undertake requires that documents, statements, and arguments be interpreted in the context from which they arise (see *e.g.* Yanow, 2000). I have used secondary sources as a means to understand and describe different relevant contexts.

1.5 Outline of the thesis

After this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical and analytical framework applied in this thesis. It develops on UN forest policy as a case of *global public policy*. Further, it elaborates on an *'argumentative' perspective* on public policy and introduces the concept of *policy frames* and how it is applied in this study. Lastly, it introduces a *scheme for analysing framing of policy* which analytically separates the policy context, the policy problem, and policy content.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 are organised with departure in the above mentioned scheme. Chapter 3 is concerned with the *policy context* in which global public policy-making on forests is regarded to take place. Specifically, it explores three themes of the multi-lateral process for sustainable development that are deemed relevant for understanding the way UN policy on forests has been framed. Chapter 4 is concerned with *the policy problem*. It constructs four ideal type *policy frames* that are argued to be relevant to the forest issue on the UN agenda, and discusses different framings of 'the Problem' with departure in these. Chapter 5 is concerned with *policy content.* It returns specifically to the object of study in this thesis, UN

policy on forests, and uses the four ideal type policy frames as a tool to portray in what way UN policy on forests has been framed from 1972 to 2007.

Chapter 6 seeks to tie the results of chapters 3, 4, and 5 together and to relate it more directly to the concern of this study. It first identifies and discusses some factors that are argued to account for the way UN forest policy has been framed. It then discusses framing of UN policy on forests more specifically in relation to some aspects of 'the sustainable development framework'. Finally, these results are used to critically examine the concept of Sustainable Forest Management as a global policy framework.

Chapter 7, finally, synthesise the conclusions from the study and re-connect them to the research questions, as well as to the concern of thesis.

2. Framing global public policy

This chapter elaborates a theoretical and analytical framework with which to approach the research questions as articulated in chapter 1. For this purpose, it draws on literature on *public policy studies*, and particularly on literature concerned with how issues and problems are framed on the public policy agenda, why they are framed the way they are, and how that is reflected in substantive content in adopted policy. That is, literature which focus on *problem-definition*, *agenda-setting* and *policy formation.*

Chong and Druckman (2007, p. 104) understand framing as "the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue." In relation to analysis of policy, Rein and Schön (1991) regard framing as transpiring at three levels – personal life, scientific or scholarly inquiry, and policy-making. In this chapter, I elaborate on my scholarly frame that I use to inquire into framing at the level of global public policy. Hence, the title of the chapter.

The chapter is divided into three main parts. The first part serves to picture what kind of policy UN forest policy is. It describes what is meant with *global public policy* in this study, and 'locates' UN policy on forests in relation to this. The second part elaborates on the *theoretical perspective* chosen to approach UN policy on forests, and situates it in the field of study recognised as *public policy studies*. It describes an 'argumentative' approach to the study of public policy, which, in short, places its analytical focus on the role of argument in the framing of public policy. Further, it introduces the concept of *policy frames* as an analytical device that we will use in this study to say something about in what was UN policy on forests has been framed. The third part of the chapter gets more specific about how this study goes about to answer the research questions. It introduces a *scheme for analyzing framing of policy*, which is used to organise the analysis and presentation of this thesis. Lastly, the main points in this theoretical and analytical framework are summarised.

2.1 Placing UN forest policy in a global public policy framework

The existence of *global public policy* is a phenomenon of the twentieth century. The processes generally referred to as 'globalization' have also implied globalization of public policy-making. During the last decades, forms of international governance have evolved through which public policies are formulated to address what are perceived as global problems (Sooros, 1991). There is now public policy adopted at the global level in a number of policy areas, of which the policy area on forests is one. Here we will become more specific about how global public policy is conceived of, and how UN policy on forests fits into this conception.

2.1.1 What is global public policy and what is it for?

The notion of *policy,* to begin with, has different meanings. It is here generally understood as a stated course of action or inaction (see *e.g.* Parsons, 1995). *Public policy* is in this thesis understood as policy issued by what is generally conceived of as *public agencies*. That is, parliament, or government on delegation from parliament, or by appointed agencies, or by governmental bodies at regional or municipal level. *Global public policy* is understood in the same way; only that such policy is then issued by agencies that are universal in the sense of being open for membership of all (or nearly all) states. However, we also said in the previous chapter that a starting point in this thesis is that public policy is a response to a 'problem' of some kind. So, global public policy is thus conceived of as an agreement between governments, at the global level, on a course of action (or inaction) designed to resolve or mitigate a *problem*, or problems, of some kind. *UN forest policy* (as delimited in section 1.3) is understood in line with this.

What then is a *policy problem*? Soroos (1991, p. 4) conceives of a policy problem in general as "a set of circumstances that can potentially be improved upon by purposeful action". As for *global* policy problems, Soroos (1991) argues that these can be distinguished from national or international policy problems on the basis of two criteria: first that the problem has aroused *concern throughout much of the world*, and second that it has been, or can be expected to be, taken up by *international institutions* that are universal in the sense of being open for membership of most states. Further that most global policy problems fall into one of three categories. They may be *trans-boundary* problems that originate in one state but have ramifications for others; it may be problems involving conflicting uses of what is perceived as *international commons*, such as the oceans and the atmosphere, and third, it may be problems that are essentially *internal* to states, but which appear on the international agenda because they are common to many states, or because what occurs in one state is of concern to other states.

However, Kingdon (2003) for example, points at the difference between a 'condition' and a 'problem', and then asks how conditions, or circumstances, come to be defined as problems? "Conditions become defined as problems when we come to be believe that we should do something about them" (Kingdon, 2003, p. 110). Arguments have to be made and accepted that a given condition is a 'problem' that can be solved by government action before the condition becomes a public policy problem (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993). As Majone (1989, p. 23-4) argues, "actually, the most important function both of public deliberation and of policy-making is defining the norms that determine when certain conditions are to be regarded as policy problems. Objective conditions are seldom so compelling and so unambiguous that they set the policy agenda or dictate the appropriate conceptualization."

This study is not concerned with determining what the global policy problems in relation to forests *are*. It is concerned with the way in which some conditions are *framed* as problems that global public policy on forests should address. We come back to this perceptual, interpretive element of defining policy problems later on in this chapter.

Sources of global public policy

Since its establishment in 1945, the United Nations (UN) system has been a central institution in the conduct of inter-national relations, and it is at present the only permanent forum for public policy-making that is 'global' in the sense of being open for membership by all states. Sources of global public policy-making thus include: the principal organs of the UN system, such as the General Assembly, the Security Council, and the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC); the specialized agencies of the UN, such as the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO); and a variety of other organs, programs and special bodies that report to the General Assembly or to the ECOSOC. We may also regard special sessions of the General Assembly or ad hoc *global conferences* convened to deal with specific problems not being properly addressed by regular sessions as arenas for global public policy-making (Soroos, 1991).

Global conferences are a long-standing characteristic of multi-lateral diplomacy within the UN system, which may be traced back to conferences on economic issues organized by the League of Nations in the 1930s. With the establishment of the United Nations in 1945, the practice of convening global conferences broadened, and the last two decades have seen a number of major UN conferences taking place on 'development' issues such as gender, population, natural disaster prevention, HIV/AIDS, human settlements, human rights, and the environment (Fomerand, 2005). As stated in chapter 1, for this study, the major ad hoc global conferences on 'environment' and 'development' held in Stockholm 1972, in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 and in Johannesburg 2002 are of special importance.

Fomerand (2005) summarises the now a well-established procedure of such conferences. It begins with the establishment of a preparatory body by the UN General Assembly, the issuance by this body of draft documents for consideration by the conference, high-level government officials making high-level statements at the conference, side events to the conference including 'interactive dialogue' among 'stakeholders' with an interest in the issue in question, parallel 'forums' that bring together various NGOs, and the issuance of an Action Plan or a Programme of Action from the conference that has been finalized in various negotiating committees. The conferences and policy-rounds of interest in this study have roughly followed this procedural pattern.

The work of *ad hoc commissions* of internationally eminent persons, initiated by the UN, can also be considered a source of global public policy. Although not public in the sense of representing governments (as the members of such commissions are appointed to act in their capacity as individuals) reports from such commissions have often impacted on global public policy output. For example, the work of the Brundtland commission impacted to a large extent on policy output from the 1992 Rio conference.

Different kinds of global public policy in the 'environmental' policy domain

Global public policy of course comes in different forms and has (obviously) different status. First, a general distinction can be made between legally-binding agreements, so called *hard-law*, and non-legally binding agreements of different

kinds, so called *soft-law*. Although 'hard-law' is common in a few issue areas, most international law is 'soft' in different ways (Abbot & Snidal, 2000). It is beyond the scope and needs of this study to go into the juridical status of global public policy on forests. However, for an understanding what type of policy we are talking about in this case, and what this might imply for our analysis, a few words on different types of agreements in the global 'environmental' policy area (which is where 'the forest issue' is generally considered to figure) are in place.

In the 'environmental policy area' at the global level, *treaties* have been a frequent method used in creating binding international rule. Recent examples are the 'Rio-conventions' on biodiversity, climate change, and desertification. Treaties have the juridical status of being legally binding for undersigning states, after having been ratified by national parliaments. However, given the problems associated with crafting treaties, increasing use has been made of 'half-way stages' in the law-making process, especially on environmental and economic matters. Such half-way stages may be codes of practice, recommendations, guidelines, resolutions, declaration of principles, and standards (Birnie & Boyle, 2002). This kind of policy is not considered legally binding (although there seem, according to Birnie and Boyle (2002), to be some controversy around whether such sources could be considered legally binding on states), but may nevertheless have an 'impact' as large, or larger, than agreements that are legally binding (Birnie & Boyle, 2002; Ebbesson, 2000). Also, in the 'environmental policy area', there may be no difference in practice between legally binding and non-legally binding agreements since there are no mechanisms in place for imposing sanctions against non-abiding states.

Characteristic of such policy is that they are carefully drafted and negotiated statements, which in many cases are intended to have some *normative significance* despite its non-legally binding form (Birnie & Boyle, 2002). As describes Birnie and Boyle its nature:

"'soft-law' is by its nature the articulation of a 'norm' in written form, which can include both legal and non-legal instruments; the norms which have been agreed by states or in international organizations are thus recorded, and this is its essential characteristic; another is that a considerable degree of discretion in interpretation and on how and when to conform to the requirements is left to the participants" (Birnie & Boyle, 2002, p. 26).

The policy documents subjected to analysis in this study are all non-legally binding, that is, 'soft-law' of different sorts. (As described in chapter 1, attempts to craft a legally binding treaty on forests at the time of the Rio-conference failed, and have been elusive since.) The policy recommendations on forests from the 1972 Stockholm conference, the 1992 Rio conference, and the 2002 Johannesburg conference are all part of the 'action programmes' from these conferences. From the Rio conference there are also the Forest Principles, which are, as the name implies, more of principles than 'action oriented'. The 270 so called Proposals for Action from the work of the Intergovernmental Panel – and Forum on Forests, as well as resolutions from the UN Forum on Forests may also be regarded as 'action oriented', as can the 'Non-legally binding instrument on all types of forests'

adopted in 2007. The juridical status of these documents can be discussed. However, as indicated above, this is not deemed important for the purposes of this study. We regard all these documents as an 'expression of intent', as intended to be implemented.

We now move on to specify how this body of policy is approached analytically in this study. The following part outlines the general theoretical perspective chosen in this study, whereas the third part of the chapter will become more specific about how this perspective is applied in this particular case.

2.2 Framing public policy: an 'argumentative' perspective

A variety of theoretical perspectives can of course be applied in the study of public policy.[5] The approach of this thesis is inspired by what Fischer and Forester (1993) refer to as an 'argumentative' perspective on public policy. Below we develop on what this implies. However, in order to set such a perspective in some kind of context, it might be in place with a very brief introduction to the field of public policy studies to begin with.

2.2.1 The study of public policy and 'the argumentative turn'

While the scholarly study of politics has an ancient history, the systematic study of public policy emerged in the twentieth century (Birkland, 2005). The origin of the analytic focus on public policy is often attributed to the work of Harold Lasswell of the 1950s (see *e.g.* Fischer, 2003; Parsons, 1995; Schön & Rein, 1994). Regarding the purpose of this analytic focus at the time, Lasswell's ambition was to lay the grounds for a social science discipline with the task of adjusting modern democratic practices to the workings of a modern techno-industrial society. The task of this kind of policy science should be to bring the necessary knowledge to the table of decision-makers, thus providing objective solutions to problems that would minimize the need for unproductive political debate of pressing policy issues of the day. What Lasswell foresaw, was a policy science that could "assist in facilitating the development and evolution of democratic government in a corporate liberal society" (Fischer, 2003).

The reason for this early scholarly focus on public policy was thus a practical one: it should contribute to the making of 'better' policy, where analysis was intended to feed directly into the policy-making process. Since then the field of public policy studies has developed into a variety of perspectives, and there may of course be a number of different reasons for subjecting public policy to analysis.

Schön and Rein (1994) distinguish three main traditions of policy research that have evolved from the 1950s to the present and that have dominated post-war study of policy-problems and disputes. They are distinguished by differing views on how policy is made, how it ought to be made, how policy disputes arise and best can be settled. As Schön and Rein (1994) see it, each tradition is centred in a

[5] See e.g. Parsons (1995) for a comprehensive overview of the theory and practice of public policy analysis.

dominant conception of *rationality* in policy practice. They refer to the workings of Lasswell and his followers as the 'policy-analytic movement', identified by its taking of *policy choice* as its central question and analytical treatment of the policymaker as *rational actor*. It builds on a normative model for the behaviour of individuals that can be referred to as *instrumental rationality* (see *e.g.* Dryzek, 1993). 'Rationality' in this sense has its roots in the analytical construct of 'economic man', derived from economic theory. It implies a theoretical assumption of human individuals standing free from subjective values and being capable of 'rational' decisions, meaning decisions based on acquiring all information necessary, objective comparison of all possible options, and selection of the 'best' possible option (Parsons, 1995). In this view, while the *ends* of policy-making were necessarily subject to political decision and thus to choice among values, what would be the best *means* to achieve those ends could be subjected to empirical research and 'rational' decision-making. It thus implies an assumption that there is an *objective* basis for making policy choices and that *value-neutral criteria* can be used in its evaluation.

A second tradition arose in the in the late 1960s and early to mid 1970s as a reaction to the rational approach of the 'policy-analytic movement'. This tradition paid more attention to the '*political aspect*' of policy formation. It recognized the multitude of actors, holding differing values and having different interests, involved in policy-making. Against the 'rational actor approach', a 'pluralist approach' was proposed. This approach regards policy as the result of a balance between conflicting values and interests. However, this perspective is still resting on the 'rational actor model' of individual behaviour.

The broader tradition of 'social constructionism' in the social sciences, and perceived limitations of rational models of policy-making, in the sense outlined above, prompted the search for alternative models to make sense of a complex policy-making process. A number of approaches have emerged to that end (see *e.g.* Fischer & Forester, 1993). In a recent volume, Fischer (2003) brings together approaches such as 'discursive', 'narrative', 'interpretive', and 'argumentative' approaches. A point of departure in such perspectives is recognition that the human and the physical realms are inherently different, and that this difference has to do with social meaning. Human actors actively construct their worlds "by assigning meaning to events and actions, both physical and social" (Fischer, 2003, p. 48). In short, such approaches might be said to adopt a different model of rationality, in which rationality is regarded as highly dependent on *social context.* Taking this to bear on the policy-making process it means, in the words of Fischer:

"From the social constructionist perspective […] the social and political life under investigation is embedded in a web of social meanings produced and reproduced through discursive practices. Politics and public policy are understood to take shape through socially interpreted understandings, and their meanings and the discourses that circulate them are not of the actors' own choosing or making" (Fischer, 2003, p. 13). As Fischer continues (2003, p. 46): "the policy process, in this conception, is still about gaining and exercising power. But the process is mediated through competing discourses (including hegemonic and challenging discourses) that reflect – often subtly – the distribution of power. Without ignoring

concrete actions per se, it places analytical emphasis on the struggle over the meaning of the ensuing political events and actions. Interests are still very much present, but they are constructed by – or infused by – systems of ideas".

Thus, instead of treating ideas, values, and interests as *independent* variables in explaining policy output (as 'rational' models in our first sense are argued to do), values and ideas are seen as *constitutive* of 'the reality that has to be explained', also of interests. The struggle for power in such a conception of policy-making is a struggle for setting the discourse in which a problem is framed. This also implies an assumption that there are no value neutral grounds for making policy choices. An argumentative approach to agenda-setting, problem definition, and policy formation is therefore to focus on what is going on when an issue becomes set in a particular language or discourse. A number of scholars have been concerned with examining how societies choose to frame environmental problems, and have applied discourse-theoretical approaches in the study of International Environmental Politics (see *e.g.* Bäckstrand & Lövbrand, 2006; Adger *et al*, 2001; Dryzek, 1997; Hajer, 1997; Litfin, 1994). As note Bäckstrand and Lövbrand (2006), a central focus of this disparate work is the identification of power relationships associated with the dominant narratives surrounding 'environment' and 'sustainable development'.

The approach of this thesis is inspired by the theoretical perspective in works such as the ones mentioned above. However, it should be noted that central to discourse-theoretical approaches is thus the notion of *power* and the investigation of power-relationships associated with dominant discourses. In this study, we are concerned with policy content for what it reflects in terms of *ideas in themselves*. The intention here is not to discuss policy content as a reflection of power-relationships. Therefore, this study does not operate with any conception of power. For our purposes, what is taken from an 'argumentative' perspective on public policy-making is recognition that, in the words of Majone (1989, p. 2) "argumentation is the key process through which citizens and policymakers arrive at moral judgements and policy choices". It implies recognising that policy content is always *framed* in one way or another. Further that framing takes place in bounded contexts. Thus, policy content can be seen as an 'argumentative' construct and analysed for what kind of framings it reflects, and what kind of framings it does not reflect.

Entman (1993) conceives of the process of framing as essentially being about *selection* and *salience*: "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). A central sub-question of this thesis then becomes how various actors in the policy debate in question frame the policy issue at hand, and how do these different framings play out in policy content. We make use of the concept of *policy frames* to explore that.

2.2.2 The concept of policy frames

For a given policy area, we may thus presume that there are multiple ways to frame what is the issue at hand, and what exactly is the problem to be addressed by policy. Rein and Schön (1991, p. 263) understand a frame in general as "a perspective from which an amorphous, ill-defined problematic situation can be made sense of and acted upon." In the view of Entman (1993) frames define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgements, and suggest remedies. In Entman's (1993, p. 54) words: "Most frames are defined by what they omit as well as include, and the omissions of potential problem definitions, explanations, evaluations, and recommendations may be as critical as the inclusions in guiding the audience." Fischer (2003) describes frames as serving to highlight some parts of reality at the expense of others. Thus, "frames as such, determine what the actors will consider the 'facts' to be and how these lead to normative prescriptions for action" (Fischer, 2003, p. 144).

Here we understand a *policy frame* in general as a certain perspective on a policy issue. More specifically, we take a policy frame to refer to, along the lines of for example Rhinard (2002), a social construction of a policy issue that comprises a problem definition, a solution to that problem, and a justification for policy action.

Several scholars have seized upon the notion of policy frames in analysing different aspects of *policy change,* that is, how a policy is *framed over time*. For example, policy change has been conceived in terms of *frame competition* (see *e.g.* Rhinard, 2002). In such a conception, "changes in policy directions over time may be viewed as the product of competition between actors mobilizing different frames, leading to an eventual 'reframing' which results in the total or partial displacement of the previously dominant policy frame" (Rhinard, 2002, p. 3). Policy change has also been conceived in terms of *learning across frames* (see *e.g.* Nilsson & Eckerberg, 2007; Söderberg, forthcoming).

It should be noted that the notion of a policy frame may refer to different things. It may refer to frames in the heads of political actors, that is, mental frames. In that case, we talk about *tacit* policy frames, and they can be uncovered through the analysis of the *stories* that various participants are disposed to tell about policy-situations (Fischer, 2003). It can also refer to policy frames as they appear in *adopted policy*. In that case, they are articulated in some way and can be uncovered through the analysis of policy texts. This study is not concerned with tacit policy frames, but with policy frames as we can interpret them from articulated statements and policy documents. We come back to this in section 2.3.2.

The rest of the chapter becomes more specific about how we investigate framing of UN forest policy. For this, we need some conception of what are the components to analyse to say something about how a certain policy has been framed over time. That is, we need some sort of *scheme* for our analysis.

2.3 A scheme for analyzing framing of policy

To construct such a scheme, we turn to models of the policy-making process. There are a number of models in the literature for conceptualising the policy-making process.[6] For example, a common way to approach it is to divide it into different idealized stages. Such an approach basically implies the idea of policy formation going through a number of stages. These may be characterised in different ways, but generally include the stages of: identification of a problem; identification of causes to that problem; identification of solutions to that problem; selection of policy options; implementation of policy; and evaluation of policy and feed-back into the policy process. Although a useful ideal type model for ordering a complex policy-making process (in our case, we can for example say that, although not concerned with process, we focus on the aspects of problem definition, agenda-setting, and policy-formation, and we are not dealing with implementation of policy nor its evaluation or feed-back), as a model for analysing how the policy-making process is actually happening in 'reality', it has been criticized for being too idealized to say much about 'reality'. We concluded already in the introductory chapter that UN policy on forests does not exhibit such a 'sequential' course of action: there did not seem to be a clear-cut connection between 'the problem' and 'policy content'. We would need a model that account for that.

2.3.1 The policy-making process as three separate 'streams'

Kingdon (2003), in a volume first published in 1984, has developed a model to explain agenda-setting, policy formation, and policy change in federal government in the United States. We draw on this model to construct a scheme for analysis of framing of policy. Below, this model is briefly presented. Then we move on to describe in what sense we will use if for our purposes.

Kingdon's model goes beyond the 'stages metaphor' as described above and conceives of the policy-making process as a set of relatively *independent processes*. When a 'window' is opened, these processes are converging to move issues onto the political agenda. At a general level, Kingdon first distinguishes between *participants* and *processes* as general factors of explanation to agenda-setting and policy formation. Agenda items and policy recommendations can come from different sources but ultimately, they are proposed by agents of different kinds. Thus, what kind of agents, or participants, involved in a particular case of policy-making should obviously be a factor to examine in explaining agenda-setting and policy formation. Regarding processes, Kingdon conceives of three 'streams' of processes flowing through the policy-making system, which he refers to as streams of 'problems', 'policies', and 'politics'.

The *political stream* is conceived as composed of 'things' such as public mood, pressure group campaigns, election results, changes in administration and the like. And, as explains Kingdon, public policy analysis could treat such things as being outside the policy-making process, which could be regarded as the province of

[6] See *e.g.* Birkland (2005) for an overview of different models of public policy-making.

specialists. This would, in Kingdon's conception, be fundamentally wrong. Developments in the 'political stream' are argued to have a powerful effect on governmental agendas.

As for *the problem stream*, it has to do with 'the mass of problems' pressing on the governmental system at any given time, and how some 'problems' capture the attention of people in and around government, while others are ignored. These people could, at any given point in time, attend to a long list of 'problems'. The processes whereby some conditions come to be defined as 'policy problems' in the first place, how some of these 'problems' get picked up for political consideration, that is, are put on the political agenda, while others are ignored, are the 'stuff' of the problem stream, in Kingdon's conception.

Flowing along independently of the 'political stream' and 'the problem stream' is a *policy stream*, argues Kingdon. The policy stream refers to the processes by which actual policy proposals and recommendations "are generated, debated, redrafted, and accepted for serious consideration" (Kingdon, 2003, p. 143). These activities are, according to Kingdon, to a large extent taking place within communities of specialists, which are composed in different ways depending on the policy area in question. Kingdon portrays the processes whereby some ideas are picked up and made into policy proposals and others are dropped as a *selection process*, much like the process of natural biological selection. He refers to this 'stream' as 'the policy primeval soup'. In this 'soup', policy ideas float around, become combined in new ways, and some ideas get picked up. Kingdon presents certain criteria for 'idea survival' and argues that an idea meeting several of these criteria has larger possibilities of surviving this 'policy selection process'.

These three streams of processes are argued to function relatively independent of each other and to operate according to their own 'internal logic'. Also, these three processes can serve either as an impetus or a constraint for agenda-setting and generation of policy proposals. As summarises Kingdon:

"The separate streams of problems, policies, and politics each have lives of their own. Problems are recognized and defined according to processes that are different from the ways policies are developed or political events unfold. Policy proposals are developed according to their own incentives and selection criteria, whether or not they are solutions to problems or responsive to political considerations. Political events flow along on their own schedule and according to their own rules, whether or not they are related to problems or proposals. But there come times when the three streams are joined. A pressing problem demands attention, for instance, and a policy proposal is coupled to the problem as its solution. Or an event in the political stream, such as a change in administration, calls for different directions. At that point, proposals that fit with a new administration's philosophy, come to the fore and are coupled with the ripe political climate. Similarly, problems that fit are highlighted, and others are neglected" (Kingdon, 2003, p. 201).

This implies, according to this model, and in opposition to a 'stages model', that the identification of a political problem does not necessarily precede the seeking of

a solution to that problem. On the contrary, advocacy of solutions often precedes the identification of problems to which they become attached. Likewise, agendas are not always first set and then policy alternatives generated. Instead, many things happen separately and become coupled at critical points (Kingdon, 2003). *How* they happen is what Kingdon's model intends to capture.

This model refers to the policy-making process at the national level, which is different from the policy-making process of the international system in important respects. However, we will not use it as a process-model. This study does not set out to provide a causal explanation to why forests became an issue of the global political agenda. What we want to know is, given that forests are an issue on the sustainable development agenda, in what way substantive policy content around this issue has been framed, and what factors may account for the way in which it has been framed. Kingdon's way of conceptualizing the policy-making process as consisting of separate and relatively independently working 'streams' is deemed useful for thinking about framing of policy content. This is while it gives us the opportunity to analytically separate 'the Problem' to be addressed by global public policy on forests, and the formulation of policy. Further, it allows for considering the context in which policymaking takes place separately. Below is described how we use this model to think about framing of policy.

2.3.2 From the 'three-stream-approach' to a 'three-aspects-approach'

We assume that the way in which a policy is framed has something to do with what is happening in the three 'streams' as outlined above. However, we will not think in terms of 'streams', which leads the thoughts to processes, but in terms of 'aspects'. Our analytical scheme suggests that to assess framing of policy we consider three aspects of policy-making. We consider *the context* in which the specific policy-making activity takes place, we consider *the problem* to be addressed by the policy in question, and finally we consider what *policy content* looks like. The figure below provides a graphic representation of this analytical scheme.

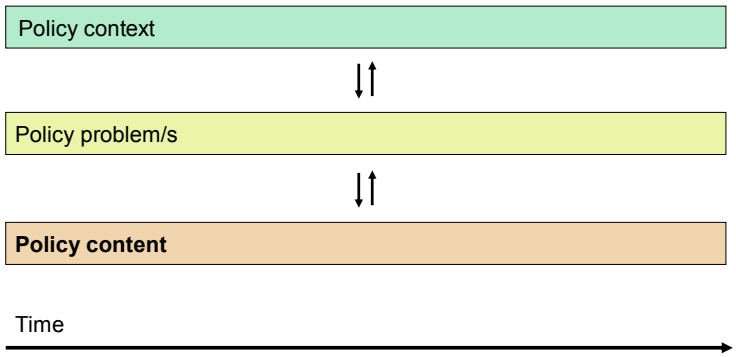

Figure 2. Analytical scheme for analyzing framing of policy
Note: Adapted from figure of Kingdon's stream metaphor in Birkland (2005).

The policy context: the multi-lateral process for sustainable development

The framing of a certain policy always takes place within some kind of context (Rein & Schön, 1991). In our case, this 'policy context' is taken to be the multi-lateral process for sustainable development as a whole.[7] This process is often described as being defined by the three 'milestone' United Nations conferences on environment and development held in Stockholm in 1972, in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, and in Johannesburg in 2002. Although these conferences were organised as independent events, there are clear links between them that pertain to their overarching themes, events that happened as direct or indirect results of these conferences and that have had effects on actor participation and the shaping of issues that later emerged on the agenda, and also in terms of procedures, practices, principles, and institutions. This process can be seen as the backdrop for individual negotiations on issues such as 'biodiversity', 'climate change', and 'desertification' (Churie Kallhauge *et al*, 2005), as well as for 'forests' (Chasek, 2006).

As a policy context, the multi-lateral process for sustainable development consists of great many things that may be important for understanding the way UN policy on forests has been framed. We will be concerned with three themes in particular. The first theme has to do with the emergence of the discursive frame of sustainable development at the global political level, and what purposes this frame was intended to serve. The second theme has to do with the direction in which the overall sustainable development agenda has moved from the 1972 Stockholm conference to the 2002 Johannesburg conference, and the last theme has to do with 'political attention' specifically devoted to the forest issue over time within this policy context. Chapter 3 explores the policy context along these three themes.

The policy problem: different framings of 'the Problem'

A starting point in this thesis is that public policy is a response to a problem of some kind (see section 1.2). Further that there may be agreement on what constitutes an *issue* on the political agenda, but disagreement on as to what exactly is the *problem* regarding this issue and therefore what policy should be pursued. A central sub-question of the thesis is: what different framings of 'the Problem' to be addressed by global public policy on forests are there in the global forest policy debate.

As stated by Rochefort and Cobb (1994, p. vii), "problem definition has to do with what we choose to identify as public issues and how we think and talk about these concerns". 'Policy problems' do not come in boxes with ready labels on them such as 'timber shortage', 'deforestation', or 'poverty', but are always 'constructed' by someone. Or in other words, 'facts' are things that do not speak for themselves; they require an interpreter (Parsons, 1995). Analysis of problem definition implies recognising that there are always multiple ways to frame what exactly is a problem that should be addressed by a proposed policy. It implies, in the words of Edelman (1988, p. 15), recognition of "the diversity of meanings inherent in every social

[7] For detailed accounts of the development of the multi-lateral process for sustainable development, see *e.g.* Spector, Sjöstedt and Zartman (eds) (1994) and Churie Kallhauge, Sjöstedt and Corell (eds) (2005).

problem, stemming from the range of concerns of different groups, each eager to pursue courses of action and call them solutions".

How language and argument is used is crucial to analysis of problem definition (Rochefort & Cobb, 1994). Defining a problem generally involves an effort to portray a social situation in a way that favours one's own argument and course of action as being in the public interest (Fischer, 2003). Stone (1989) for example, regards problem definition as a process of image-making where ideas about causal relationships have a central role in the transformation of difficulties into political problems. In her words: "problem definition is a process of image making, where the images have to do fundamentally with attributing cause, blame, and responsibility" (Stone, 1989, p. 282). Political actors "compose stories that describe harms and difficulties, attribute them to actions of other individuals or organizations, and thereby claim the right to invoke government power to stop the harm" (ibid., p. 282).

In exploring the aspect of *the policy problem*, this thesis departs in four idealised general perspectives on sustainable development that are argued to be reflected in the global public policy debates on sustainable development. These will be elaborated on in chapter 4. Suffice at the moment to say that they have to do with the use of natural resources as seen from the perspective of one or several economic sectors with an interest in the resource in question, as seen in a context of North-South relations, as seen in a perspective of planetary ecological stability as a whole, and as seen from the perspective of indigenous or other local communities dependent on the resource in question. These perspectives are taken to be concerned with qualitatively different questions as regards the quest for sustainable development. Based on secondary sources (for background description), policy documents relevant to the case, statements by various political actors, as well as interviews, chapter 4 shows how these general perspectives on the 'sustainable' use of natural resources in a global political context can be said to be consistent with arguments made in case of global public policy-making on forests.

In order to obtain a tool for analysing policy, we conceive of these general perspectives as four different *policy frames*. We may recall that a policy frame in this thesis refers to a social construction of a policy issue that comprises a problem definition, a solution to that problem, and a justification for policy action. Chapter 4 constructs *ideal-type* policy frames argued to be relevant to 'the forest issue' on the UN agenda. The notion of an *ideal-type* refers to an analytical device functioning to refine certain traits of reality (in this case text) for analytical purposes. It is not a model describing reality. An ideal type is an exploration of an 'idea' and not a statement of an 'ideal' in the everyday sense of the word (Hogwood & Gunn, 1984). Ideal-types can be used as a raster to put on texts in order to analyse them for their ideational content (Bergström & Boréus, 2000). In this case, we use these ideal-type constructions policy frames first to discuss 'the Problem' to be addressed by global public policy on forests, and second as a tool to portray in what way UN policy content has been framed over time.

Policy content: analysing in what ways UN policy on forests has been framed

In considering *policy content*, we are interested in what ideas have been selected and put into policy. We make use of the ideal type policy frames as a way to organise the presentation of the interpretation of policy content over time, and to say something about in what way UN policy on forests has been framed over time.

As was stated above, framing transpires at many levels, which are related to each other. Likewise, we may think of framing of *policy content* as transpiring at different levels. We will consider three levels: framing of policy content at the level of agenda-setting; at the level of policy recommendations; and at the level of the policy issue as a whole, as outlined below.

I. Framing of the policy agenda

II. Framing of policy recommendations

III. Framing of the policy issue as a whole

As we shall see in chapter 5, there are reasons to do this analytical separation since depending on at what level we look, the picture looks a bit different.

Framing of the policy agenda

One aspect of how policy content on a certain issue area is framed is which issues are included on the policy agenda in question, and which are not (which potentially could have been there). Obviously, we would not expect policy recommendations to be articulated on issues that are not on the agenda. Thus, in what way the *agenda* is framed over time seem to be an important aspect to consider if we want to understand policy content and analyse what kind of problem, or problems, a certain policy is responsive to at any point in time.

However, there are certainly limitations to what we can say about framing of policy content by just looking at what kind of issues that have been included on the policy agenda in question. Consider for example the inclusion of the issue on 'traditional forest-related knowledge' on the agenda of the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests in 1995 (see section 1.3.2). This might be taken as an indication that global public policy-making on forests has been responsive to concerns of indigenous peoples from 1995 and onwards. Likewise, the inclusion of an agenda item labelled 'underlying causes of deforestation' on the same agenda might indicate that content of global public policy on forests from 1995 and onwards is concerned with addressing such underlying causes. If we want to know whether this is the case, a closer reading of policy recommendations on these particular issues would be required.

Framing of policy recommendations

Second, we may thus think of framing of a certain policy at the level of *policy recommendations* around the issues that are included on the agenda. That is, we are interested in the language in which these issues are talked about. What is said about these issues? In what kind of language are they set, and from the view-point of whom? Which aspects are included and which aspects seem to be excluded in the language used to frame recommendations of specific issues. Consider again the example of the issue of 'traditional-forest related knowledge': if we want to explore whether the inclusion of this issue reflect concerns of indigenous people, we would ask if policy recommendations are framed from the view-point of indigenous peoples, or from any other view-point.

Framing of the issue as a whole

Finally, we may think about framing of policy content at the level of the *policy issue as a whole*. Meyer (2001) notes that the mainstream view of 'the environment' in contemporary Western liberal-democratic societies is that it is an issue area. This issue area is then understood to include a number of particular concerns such as pollution, forest destruction, biodiversity loss, and global warming. In such a view, 'the forest issue' at the global level is then an issue about forest destruction. We will look into policy content and ask the question how the forest issue is framed. What does policy text say about the 'boundaries' of the policy issue in question, that is, what kind of aspects are included as well as excluded from the issue. In what way is the issue 'positioned' against other issues on the global political agenda? Asking these kinds of questions may give an additional understanding of framing of policy content.

This focus on framing of policy content at different levels means that we will pose three differing questions to the same material: How has the *agenda* been framed?; how have *policy recommendations* been framed?; and how has *the issue* been framed?

2.4 A summary so far

Texts like the UN policy documents can be read in many different ways, depending on the 'glasses' you wear, and your concerns. In this and the previous chapter, the concern of this thesis, and the 'glasses' adopted in approaching the policy documents subjected to analysis, have been described. Before moving on to the actual analysis, it might be in place with a brief summary of this.

Chapter 1 stated the overarching *concern* of this study to be what has happened with substantive policy content of global public policy on forests in a sustainable development policy framework. The *research problem* that the thesis engages with is that it seems unclear which is the problem, or problems, that global public policy is intended to address in order to achieve Sustainable Forest Management and sustainable development. The thesis approaches this research problem by investigating UN policy on forests from the 1972 Stockholm conference to the

adoption of a non-legally binding instrument on forests in 2007. Its focus is on *understanding* policy content as it has developed in a sustainable development policy context. The *research questions* set out are: In what way has UN policy on forests been framed from 1972 to 2007, and; what factors account for the way in which UN policy on forests has been framed.

Theoretically, the study draws on literature on *public policy studies*, and particularly on an '*argumentative' perspective* on public policy. That is to say, the analytical focus is placed on public policy as 'argumentative construct', and a central sub-question is what are the different framings of the issue at hand, and in what way have these different framings played out in substantive policy content.

To organize the analysis, the thesis constructs a scheme for analysing framing of policy which analytically separates the *policy context*, the *policy problem*, and the *policy content*. The presentation of the thesis is organised along these aspects so that chapters 3, 4, and 5 explore each in turn. The concept of *policy frames* is used as an analytical device to explore the connection between different framings of the problem that global public policy on forests should address, and the substantive content of policy.

3. Policy context: the multi-lateral process for sustainable development and the forest issue

The previous chapter introduced a scheme for analyzing framing of policy which analytically separates the aspects of the policy context, the policy problem, and policy content. This chapter is concerned with *the policy context*.

The thesis regards UN policy-making on forests as taking place in the context of the multi-lateral process for sustainable development. We assume that what this policy context has looked like over time has some connection to the way UN forest policy has been framed. This policy context, as conceived of here, is composed of great many things. We focus on three themes in particular, which are argued to be of importance for understanding framing of UN forest policy. In chapter 6 then, we come back to these themes in discussing factors that may render framing of UN policy on forests understandable.

The first theme deemed relevant for understanding framing of UN policy on forests is the emergence of the *discursive frame of sustainable development* at the global level. Focusing as we are in this thesis on 'policy as argument', it is of relevance to understand what kind of arguments the frame of sustainable development entails at the global level, what purposes it serves, and to understand why this frame seems to have gained the status of a 'hegemonic' framework for public policy-making. We want to understand the 'meta-frame' in which framing of UN policy on forests takes place, we can say. As clarifies for example Fischer (2003) in generalized terms; when 'the environment' emerged as a political issue in the 1960s and 70s, the main argument was the 'limits to growth' argument. Though the 'limits to growth' argument was dominant in the environmental movement during the 1970s, it was a frame that left little room for business to manoeuvre. With the publication of the Brundtland report in 1987, the concept of 'sustainable development', intended to provide a framework for reconciling differing views on 'environment' and 'development', offered a new frame. By drawing on arguments from both business and the environmental movement, the new discursive frame of sustainable development opened for both groups to sit at the same table (Fischer, 2003). Based on secondary sources, the first part of this chapter will review the 'story' of the sustainable development concept as one about differing priorities concerning environmental conservation and development needs and the emergence of the 'sustainable development policy framework' as an ensuing political compromise, which seemingly resolved the conflict.

The second theme deemed relevant for understanding framing of UN policy on forests, is the direction in which the overall agenda of sustainable development has moved over time. Policy-making in specific policy areas (such as the forest policy area) does not take place in a vacuum. We may assume that what kind of issues that are 'politically hot' at any given moment on the overall political agenda affect policy-making in specific policy areas in some way. The sustainable development agenda is generally understood as having developed from focusing on environmental protection at the time of the 1972 Stockholm conference to the

broader focus on 'sustainable development' from 1992 and onwards. Again based primarily on secondary sources, the second part of this chapter takes a closer look at what this development has implied in terms of what were 'priority issues', that is, issues in 'political focus', at the time of the Stockholm, Rio, and Johannesburg conferences.

The third theme has to do with 'political attention' specifically to 'the forest issue' and how this has varied over time. In line with the assumption above, we assume that there might be a difference in how policy is crafted in specific policy areas depending on whether the policy issue in question receives attention from major political actors of the policy context in question, or whether the issue finds itself in the outskirts of such attention. The third part of this chapter is concerned with how political attention to 'the forest issue' has varied from the 1972 Stockholm conference to the 2002 Johannesburg conference.

3.1 The concept of sustainable development as political compromise

Since the Rio conference, the concept of sustainable development has become 'institutionalised' in the language of public policy in many different policy areas, and at different levels of public policy-making. This part describes the emergence of the concept of sustainable development as a framework for public policy-making, based on secondary sources. Primarily, it builds on Bernstein (2001), Clapp and Dauvergne (2006), and McCormick (1995). It aims to illuminate the political tensions that are embedded in the concept at the global level, since this is deemed relevant for our purpose of analysing how global policy on forests has been framed in a sustainable development policy framework. Besides this, this part is also intended to serve as a description of the multi-lateral process for sustainable development and the major policy documents it has resulted in. This is as background to the coming chapters, which focus more specifically on the UN forest process.

3.1.1 Linking 'environment' and 'development' on the global political agenda

The 1972 Stockholm conference made 'the human environment' an explicit concern of the UN agenda. Further, the Stockholm conference was the first global conference that, in the end, explicitly linked concern about environmental degradation to concerns about needs for development on its agenda (Linnér & Selin, 2005).[8] The conference can be seen as a response to increased public concern in the North about growing environmental deterioration. These concerns had been 'fuelled' by a growing environmental movement in Western industrialised countries, and 'high-impact' publications such as Rachel Carson's

[8] Although conferences that addressed the conservation of natural resources had been held within the UN framework since the late 1940s, for example the UN Scientific Conference on the Conservation and Utilization of Resources held in 1949, and the UNESCO Conference of Experts on the Scientific Basis for Rational Use and Conservation of the Resources of the Biosphere, held in Paris in 1968 (see *e.g.* McCormick, 1995).

Silent Spring published in 1962, and the Club of Rome's *Limits to Growth* in 1972 (Bernstein, 2001). The former focused international attention on the harmful effects of the use of DDT and other pesticides, and the latter focused attention on the consequences for the environment if economic growth was not slowed down. And while environmental protection became an expanding public policy sector in many countries in the 1960s and 70s (Jamison, 2001), the Stockholm conference can be seen as a first step towards wide recognition of 'the environment' as a *global* public policy sector.

The proposal that a global conference on the environment should be convened came from the UN in 1968. Concern about industrial pollution and the perceived need to conserve natural resources dominated its initial agenda (Bernstein, 2001). The ideas behind the conference were to increase the awareness among the world's governments about the seriousness of ecological deterioration, to coordinate activities already undertaken by various UN-bodies and private organisations towards addressing environmental problems, to initiate cooperation and exchange of information between scientists and politicians, and to identify those problems that could be best solved by international cooperation and agreements (Åström, 2003).

However, 'developed' countries' perceptions of 'the environment' as a policy issue were not shared by 'developing' countries. The latter were worried that environmental restrictions imposed by industrialised nations would retard development, that trade restrictions might follow, and that developing countries might not benefit from the management of shared natural resources (McCormick, 1995). Such concerns were also raised in preparatory meetings to the conference. For example, the year before the Stockholm conference the so called Founex meeting, which gathered experts on environment and development, drew attention to the developmental part of the environmental problematic. In the end, the agenda of the Stockholm conference came to be responsive to some developing country concerns (Bernstein, 2001).

The conference, held in Stockholm on 5-16 June in 1972, was attended by representatives from 113 states (out of 132 UN member states at the time), 19 intergovernmental agencies, and 400 other inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) (McCormick, 1995). In terms of policy, the conference resulted in the adoption of the Stockholm Declaration of Principles as well as the Action Plan for the Human Environment. The Action Plan, containing 109 recommendations directed at governments and inter-governmental organisations, dealt with issues under the headings of: planning and management of human settlements; environmental aspects of natural resources management (including technical recommendations relating to soils, agro-chemicals, recycling of agricultural wastes, forests, wildlife, national parks, conservation of genetic resources, fisheries, water, mining and energy); pollutants of international significance; educational, informational, social and cultural aspects of environmental issues; development and environment (United Nations, 1973). It also resulted in the establishment of the UN Environment Programme (UNEP), as a cross-cutting policy coordination body for follow-up of agreements made at the conference, and an Environment Fund.

Which then, were the major ideas and principles in the policy adopted by the Stockholm conference? What ideas did it contain? It has been argued that a major result of the conference as a whole might have been that it brought the debate between poor and rich countries with their different perceptions of environmental priorities into the open (McCormick, 1995). In the words of Tolba (1998, p. 3) "it became evident that an already complex issue had become even more so, that environmental and development objectives are complementary, and that the environmental agenda must be expanded". Also Linnér and Selin (2005) describe the conference as contributing to conceptual linkage of environment and development issues, and that it assigned governments as responsible for more actively addressing such issues. McCormick (1995) lists four major results. First, the conference confirmed the trend towards considering the human environment, seeing humans and their environment as interrelated. Second, it forced a compromise between different perceptions of the environment held by 'developed' and 'developing' countries. Third, the presence of many NGOs marked the beginning of a new role for these in relation governmental and inter-governmental organisations. And fourth, the UN Environmental Programme, despite limitations and deficiencies, promoted an interest in global responses to global problems.

We could say that a major result of the Stockholm conference was that it contributed to placing differing perceptions of 'the environmental problematic' in relation to 'the development problematic' into a common field of argument at the global political level. As noted by an expert reporting from the subject area on 'development and environment' from the conference: "It appeared from the very beginning of the Conference that the issues raised by the emergence of environmental concerns in a world already seized by the idea of economic and social development could in no way be confined to the consideration of one particular subject area only. In fact, "development and environment" became an all pervasive theme of the Stockholm Conference" (Anon, 1973, p. 256). However, in terms of policy content, the policy adopted at the conference provided little guidance on in what way these differing concerns would be accommodated.

3.1.2 Attempts to clarify the linkages between 'environment' and 'development'

The period after the Stockholm conference has been described as a time of clarifying the linkages between 'environment' and 'development'. According to Linnér and Selin (2005), the UN Environmental Programme (UNEP) played a leadership role in environmental co-operation after the Stockholm conference. To that end, it collaborated with several other UN-agencies like the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), the UN Development Programme (UNDP), the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), and the World Health Organisation (WHO). The UN Environmental Programme contributed to developing language on environment and development and by the mid 1970's, the language of sustainability could be found in its documents and speeches (Bernstein, 2001).

In 1983, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution that called for the creation of a new independent commission that was charged with addressing the linkages between 'environment' and 'development'. The World Commission on Environment and Development, more known as the Brundtland Commission (after its chair Gro Harlem Brundtland), started its work in the same year. After four years of work, it presented its report, entitled *Our Common Future,* in 1987. Bernstein (2001) points at some influences on the report. It should for example be seen in relation to the *World Conservation Strategy*, published by the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) in 1980, and assigned by UNEP. This strategy (often cited as the original source for the concept of sustainable development), was intended to provide policy guidance on the management of living resources, but paid little attention to political and economic factors underlying deterioration of such resources. It should also, argues Bernstein, be seen in relation to UN commissioned studies on development of the 1980s. The Brundtland Commission, according to Bernstein, meant to put 'sustainable development' as it appeared in the World Conservation Strategy into a development-oriented context at the same time as it wished to "further the multilateral and cooperative goals of the United Nations system" (Bernstein, 2001, p. 61). And, as notes Dryzek (1997), its main accomplishment was to combine in a systematic way a number of issues that previously to a large extent had been addressed in isolation from, or as 'competitors' to, each other, such as development, global environmental issues, population, peace and security, and social justice. In the report, 'sustainable development' was presented as a concept that should provide a "framework for the integration of environment policies and development strategies" (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, p. 40).

3.1.3 Reconciling 'environment' and 'development' through 'sustainable development'

The Brundtland report broadly defined 'sustainable development' as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Sustainable Development, 1987, p. 43). Although the notion of 'sustainable development' was not 'invented' by the Commission, it was the Brundtland report that popularized it. And its spreading as a concept lay probably in its unifying promise. In the words of Bernstein (2001, p. 50): "[i]n one concept, environmentalists, economists, planners, industrialists and governments of all political persuasions could find a unity of purpose, if not agree on how that might be accomplished".

The Brundtland report as such was significant in three ways according to Bernstein (2001). First, given its high profile mandate as a General Assembly project, it contributed to mobilizing enough public and political interest to elevate concern for the environment on the international agenda. Second, with the report, the linkage between environment and development were 'cemented', and it was ensured that this linkage was framed in the language of 'sustainable development'. And third, it outlined a set of principles that should underlie international efforts to achieve sustainable development (Bernstein, 2001).

The work of the Brundtland Commission paved the way for the next UN mega-conference to address environment and development issues. The UN Resolution from 1989 announcing that the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) would be convened in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, noted several issues "of major concern in maintaining the quality of the Earth's environment and especially in achieving environmentally sound and sustainable development in all countries" (United Nations, 1989, para. 12). Addressing negative global environmental change was thus stated to be a necessary component in achieving environmentally sound and sustainable development. While the Stockholm conference established 'the environment' on the global political agenda and linked it to 'development', the Rio conference contributed to making 'the environment' a 'global problem'.

After two years of preparatory work, the conference was convened in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992. It was the largest global diplomatic meeting ever held so far in terms of number of participants. Delegates from over 175 countries were present, as well as numerous intergovernmental organizations, and more than 1400 non-governmental organisations (Chasek, 1994). Not only was the size of the conference large, but so was its agenda. As noted by Chasek (1994, p. 61), the UN resolution that called for the conference had "opened a Pandora's box of environment and development issues to be dealt with" in preparation for and at the conference. The debates were organized around 'sustainable development', which, as a concept, had the political advantage of being acceptable to everyone (Bruyninckx, 2006).

What then were the major results from this conference? In terms of adopted policy, it resulted in the Rio declaration, the action plan Agenda 21, as well as the Forest Principles. Apart from that, the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) and the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) were opened for signature at the Rio conference. Also, the conference requested the UN General Assembly to establish an intergovernmental negotiating committee to start elaborating a convention with the aim of combating desertification, negotiations which in 1994 resulted in the UN Convention to Combat Desertification (CCD) (Corell, 1999). Further, the Rio conference resulted in the establishment of the Commission on Sustainable Development within the UN system, mandated to overlook the implementation of Agenda 21.

Agenda 21 was intended to set out the goals of 'sustainable development' and the means of achieving them, and it was also recognised that the study of so called 'cross-sectoral issues', including financial means, transfer of technology, scientific and technological requirements, poverty, health and education, would be vital (Birnie & Boyle, 2002). It consists of 40 chapters covering a range of concerns including combating poverty, changing production and consumption patterns, protection of human health, conservation and management of natural resources, strengthening the role of Major Groups, and means of implementation (United Nations, 1993). An aim of the plan is presented as integration of environment and development concerns, as is reflected for example in the first paragraph of the preamble:

"Humanity stands at a defining moment in history. We are confronted with a perpetuation of disparities between and within nations, a worsening of poverty, hunger, ill health and illiteracy, and the continuing deterioration of the ecosystems on which we depend for our well-being. However, integration of environment and development concerns and greater attention to them will lead to the fulfilment of basic needs, improved living standards for all, better protected and managed ecosystems and a safer, more prosperous future. No nation can achieve this on its own; but together we can – in a global partnership for sustainable development" (Agenda 21, Ch. 1, para. 1.1).

It has been argued that the timing of the conference – the end of the Cold War which had opened a 'window of opportunity' in world politics – contributed to it being considered as a political success (Churie Kallhauge *et al*, 2005), and that many refer to 'the Rio spirit' in a positive sense. However, the conference was in many ways not an end in itself, but rather the start for a political activity to address the priorities set out in Agenda 21, and the global conventions it furthered. As is for example declared in the Agenda 21, one vital aspect of the "universal, multi-lateral and bilateral treaty-making process" is the "further development of international law on sustainable development" (United Nations, 1993, ch. 39, para. 39.1).

3.1.4 The concept of sustainable development being 'institutionalized'

When the World Summit on Sustainable Development was held in Johannesburg, South Africa in 2002, ten years after the Rio conference, the 'unifying' language of sustainable development has become 'institutionalised' as a policy framework in global public policy. However, that is not to say that 'environmental' concerns have been integrated with 'development' concerns. On the contrary, political tensions at the Johannesburg conference have been described as stronger than at the Rio conference, ten years earlier. Southern countries did not want a second summit with what was perceived as an explicit environmental agenda, but wanted development issues of concern to them (such as poverty eradication, health, access to safe drinking water) to play a much more central role (Bruyninckx, 2006). In the words of Bruyninckx (2006, p. 270), "after ten years, it was clear that sustainable development was still central in the debate, but the debate was becoming more political and difficult or even conflictual."

The aim of the conference was to review progress made in implementing the agreements adopted at the Rio conference ten years earlier and to 'reinvigorate' global commitment to sustainable development (Strachan *et al*, 2005). And, despite the perhaps tenser political climate, the ideal of 'sustainable development' is reinforced. As states the Johannesburg Declaration on Sustainable Development:

[…] "we assume a collective responsibility to advance and strengthen the interdependent and mutually reinforcing pillars of sustainable development – economic development, social development and environmental protection – at the local, national, regional and global levels" (United Nations, 2002, ch. 1, Annex, para. 5).

3.2 Priority issues on the sustainable development agenda

Crafting of policy in specific policy areas does not take place in a political vacuum. We would expect the framing of UN policy on forests to have some

connection to what the overall sustainable development agenda has looked like over time. The agenda of the multi-lateral process for sustainable development can generally be described as having developed from the 'narrower' focus on *environmental protection* at the time of the Stockholm conference to the 'broader' objective of *sustainable development* from 1992 and onwards. In this part, we focus explicitly on what have been 'priority issues' on the 'environment and development agenda' at the Stockholm, Rio, and Johannesburg conferences. That is, we seek to describe what kind of issues that have been in 'political focus'.

3.2.1 At Stockholm: focus on industrial pollution

Industrial pollution, and particularly its negative effects on the environment in the form of acid rain (especially experienced in Scandinavia), has been described as the emblematic issue for the Stockholm conference. Several industrialised countries, such as Canada, the Netherlands, Sweden and the United States, pushed the issue of trans-boundary air and water pollution in the preparatory work to the Stockholm conference (Linnér & Selin, 2005). And as notes McCormick, this was no coincidence since that was what preoccupied American and European environmentalist advocacy groups at the time (McCormick, 1995). Although the reservations of 'developing' countries during the preparatory work, which was described above, resulted in a broadening of the discussions at the conference (and perhaps of the conception of 'the environment' as a public policy area) to also include issues of greater concern to them (such as, in terms of natural resources management, soil loss, desertification, tropical ecosystem management, water supply and human settlements (McCormick, 1995)), it is probably fair to say such concerns were not in political focus at the conference.

3.2.2 At Rio: focus on 'global environmental change'

If focus at the time of the Stockholm conference had been on trans-boundary industrial pollution, at the time of the Rio conference, focus had turned towards 'global problems' (Kolk, 1996). In the period between the Stockholm conference and the Rio conference, a range of 'new' environmental problems with global reach, such as ozone depletion, climate change, and loss of biodiversity had 'emerged' and reached the global political agenda. A widespread perception of 'global environmental change' might be said to have marked the conference. Apart from this general change in political focus regarding *what kind* of problems that had to be addressed in order to achieve 'sustainable development', political focus had also changed regarding *by what means* such problems would best be addressed.

In parallel with economic globalisation, the 1970s and 80s saw the gradual advance of neo-liberal ideas and structures in western countries, implying the moving away from the ideas of government and state intervention and moving towards ideas of free-markets, privatization, and reduced state control over economic development (Heywood, 2003). Jamison (2001, p. 93) argues that the advancement of neo-liberal ideology led to a "fundamental reconstitution of the frameworks of environmental politics and policy-making" by shifting responsibility over decision-making into the hands of corporations. A key element in the emerging framework was 'cooperation' instead of 'confrontation' as a

means to address environmental problems. Business and government would work together to achieve a socio-economic development that took environmental costs into account. In the words of Jamison (2001, p. 94), this "greener, cleaner, mode of industrial production would be a central ingredient in the new doctrine of sustainable development". As for forests, Humphreys (2006) has examined the impact of neo-liberal ideas on international forest policy from 1995 to 2006 and argued that such ideas have become 'institutionalised' in policy text: privatization, reduced state regulation, voluntary governance, and market solutions, have become the means through which 'problems' related to forests should be addressed.

3.2.3 At Johannesburg: focus on socio-economic dimensions of development

At the time of the Johannesburg conference, focus had shifted towards the 'socio-economic' dimension of sustainable development (Seyfang, 2003), and particularly towards the objective of eradicating poverty. A number of political initiatives at the global level can be said to reflect this shift. For example, two years before the Johannesburg conference, in September 2000, world leaders gathered at the UN for the Millennium Summit to discuss the Millennium Report, *We the Peoples: The Role of the United Nations in the Twenty-first Century* (United Nations, 2000). The summit adopted the Millennium Declaration, including a number of time-bound goals for development, foremost among them the goal to halve poverty by the year 2015. These eight so called Millennium Development Goals[9] are described as "providing a framework for the entire UN system to work coherently together towards a common end" (United Nations, 2002a). They have, according to Brinkman (2005), transformed the global development agenda. Another event, with influence on the global development agenda, was a conference on financing for development held within the UN framework. In March 2002, after two years of negotiations to agree on its agenda, the International Conference on Financing for Development was held. The conference agreed the so called Monterrey Consensus on financing for development which, among other things, implied concrete financial commitments by several countries, particularly by the European Union and the United States (Fomerand, 2005).

The final report from the Johannesburg conference states that "poverty eradication, changing consumption and production patterns and protecting and managing the natural resource base for economic and social development are overarching objectives of and essential requirements for sustainable development" (United Nations, 2002, ch. 1, Annex, para. 11). Governments reaffirm their pledge to place particular focus on "worldwide conditions that pose severe threats to the sustainable development of our people, which include: chronic hunger; malnutrition; foreign occupation; armed conflict; illicit drug problems; organized

[9] The eight Millennium Development Goals, to be achieved by 2015, are: eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; achieve universal primary education; promote gender equality and empower women; reduce child mortality; improve maternal health; combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, ensure environmental sustainability, and; develop a global partnership for development. Source: http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/ (accessed 15-Jan-2008).

crime; corruption; natural disasters; illicit arms trafficking; […]; HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis" (United Nations, 2002, para. 19).

The Johannesburg conference also saw the formal presentation of a number of 'partnerships for sustainable development'. These are initiatives comprising governments, corporations and major groups in society intended to promote implementation of sustainable development policies (Seyfang, 2003). This feature on the 'sustainable development agenda' can be seen as a formal recognition that governments alone are not responsible for 'delivering' sustainable development but that a wide range of actors needs to be brought into the process, including business. It was agreed that such Partnerships for Sustainable Development would be international in scope and aimed at contributing to implementation of intergovernmental agreements related to sustainable development, including the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation, the Millennium Development Goals and the Agenda 21 (Strachan *et al*, 2005).

3.3 Political attention to the forest issue

We have now explored the discursive framework of sustainable development at the global political level, as well as changes in the overall environment and development agenda from 1972 to 2002. Here we focus specifically on political attention to 'the forest issue', as seen in this broader context, and how this has changed between the Stockholm and the Johannesburg conferences.

As notes Parsons, "[p]olitics arises because we do not share perceptions of what the problems are, or if we do, what follows from the definition in terms of what can or should be done" (Parsons, 1995, p. 88). It was stated in chapter 1 that although forests were an *issue* on the agenda of the 1972 Stockholm conference, it was not until the 1980s that it became a *controversial* issue at the global level. What could and should be done with forests became a matter of contention at the global level.

There are no signs in adopted policy from the Stockholm conference that forests should have been a politically controversial issue. Management of forests was an item on the agenda of the conference committee dealing with 'environmental aspects of natural resources management'. On the whole, as reported by an expert covering this subject area, this committee mostly dealt with "a number of *technical recommendations* relating to soils, agro-chemicals, recycling of agricultural wastes, forests, wildlife, national parks, conservation of genetic resources, fisheries, water, mining and energy" (emphasis added) (Anon, 1973, p. 240). As such, management of forests was addressed as an aspect of management of natural resources in general. Further, many of the recommendations under this area are reported to have been adopted as they stood or with only small amendments (ibid). If the Stockholm conference as a whole was marked by the political tensions between North and South with their differing priorities regarding the needs for environmental protection and the need for development, these tensions do not seem to have 'burdened' the handling of the agenda item on forest management.

'Forests' could perhaps be described as a political 'non-issue' at the global level at the time.

3.3.1 'Forests' become a controversial issue at the global level

In the 1980s, 'forests' became a controversial issue at global level and that had to do with growing public concern about deforestation in the tropics. Here we are not concerned with *why* deforestation emerged as an issue on the global political agenda. Others have proposed explanations for that (see *e.g*. Humphreys, 1996; Smouts, 2003; Williams, 2003). Humphreys (1996) for example, have pointed at factors such as the role of media in spreading of images of 'rainforest destruction', the 'mushrooming' of grass-roots groups in the Amazon, mass-action campaigns, and figures from global forest assessments showing negative trends in global forest cover. However, for our purposes of reflecting on the political attention to 'forests' as an issue, it is of interest to briefly reflect on what kind of issue 'tropical deforestation' was before it became recognised as an issue on the global political agenda.

Historically, deforestation has been much greater in temperate regions than in the tropics. In the twentieth century, by and large, temperate forest area stabilized or expanded after 1910 or 1945 at the latest, while tropical and boreal forest area shrank, most rapidly after 1960 (McNeill, 2000). And, although deforestation did not become a matter on the global political agenda until the 1980s, it has for long been recognised as a problem for different reasons. In regional and local perspectives, negative effects of diminishing forest cover have been reported for centuries. According to Grove, tropical deforestation was already in 1850 being conceived of as a problem that existed at a global state and as a phenomenon that demanded "urgent and concerted state action" (Grove, 1995, p. 1). However, although voices of concern about declining forest cover have certainly been heard over the centuries, it is probably fair to say that up until modern time deforestation has been largely perceived as a process contributing to, in the words of Williams (2003, p. 429), 'improvement', 'civilization', and 'progress'.

When, in 1945, the Forestry Division of the FAO was established, it was mandated to overlook wood resources. To that end, a first world-wide forest assessment was carried out in 1947/48, which was followed by inventories about every fifth year. The objective was to be able to predict world supply of timber. Loss of forest to other land-uses was seen against that objective, as a factor affecting the wood-producing potential of the forests.[10] In connection to development assistance in the 1960s, and assistance to forestry, forest cover loss also began to be recognised as a problem in relation to destruction of the lands' productivity, and thus food security (see *e.g.* Eckholm, 1976). Smouts (2003) argues that in the context of the major North-South dialogue of the 1970s, forest degradation was acknowledged as an aggravating factor of underdevelopment due to soil erosion and the resulting loss of agricultural productivity. This is for example exemplified by the Founex-report issued in 1971 that was mentioned

[10] See e.g. a special number of the FAO review *Unasylva*, vol 20, no. 80-81. Wood: World trends and prospects.

above, which talks about deforestation as a problem in relation to agriculture (Anon, 1971). In the 1970s, attempts were made at the FAO to estimate the rate of forest cover change in developing countries (see Persson, 1974, 1975, 1977; Sommer, 1976), work that has continued in later global forest resource assessments.

We could say that in the 1970s-80s, the phenomenon of diminishing forest cover in tropical countries goes from being recognised in smaller circles as a 'development problem' in different respects, to becoming perceived in wider circles as an 'environmental problem', and an aspect of 'global environmental change'. At the time around 1980, reports that made a causal link between diminishing ecological habitats, such as forests, and the consequent loss of species began to emerge. In the words of Williams, deforestation in the tropics became widely perceived in relation to extinction of species and became a 'problem' "that moved from a fairly restricted debate in scientific and conservation journals to coverage in the large-circulation media" (Williams, 2003, p. 430). As for the Amazon, this was partly because it, in the words of Hurrell (1992, p. 402), "lent itself to dramatic and extremely effective media presentation." On the one hand there was drama and visibility in the process itself with burning forests and bulldozers at work, and on the other hand there were seemingly clear villains (in the form of military governments, multinational companies, and international banks) as well as seemingly clear victims (Indians and the rural poor) (Hurrell, 1991). Environmental NGOs started to engage more widely with tropical forests. European environmental NGOs made investigations into the environmental impact of trade in tropical timber (see *e.g.* Nectoux & Kuroda, 1989), and there were calls for consumer boycotts of tropical timber (WWF, 2006). And as notes Zhouri (2004), in the 1990s, images of lorries loaded with lumber came to replace images of burning forests as symbols of the destruction of the Amazon.

The Brundtland report and forests

The Brundtland report, which was to have a large impact on the agenda of the Rio conference, addressed the role of forests in relation to species conservation, soil conservation, water, and food security. The largest space is however given to deforestation in relation to extinction of species. Its chapter 6, entitled *Species and ecosystems: resources for development,* starts with noting that "[c]onservation of living natural resources – plants, animals, and micro-organisms, and the non-living elements of the environment on which they depend – is crucial for development" (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, p. 147). The justification given for conserving species is first the economic value that species diversity imply in the form of possibility for improved foods, new drugs, new materials for the industry. An equally important justification is species diversity necessity for vital life processes. As causes of deforestation are mentioned extensive farming (remedies mentioned being training, marketing support, fertilizers, pesticides to farmers in countries concerned), population growth, excessive timber concessions, and government encouragement of large-scale conversion of tropical forest to livestock ranches. It may be noted though, that while the Brundtland report proposed that governments should investigate the prospect of agreeing to a "Species Convention", and referred to proposals for a

Climate Convention in relation to a chapter on energy, it does not propose any separate "Forest Convention".

The UN Resolution from 1989 announcing that the UN Conference on Environment and Development would be convened in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, noted several issues "of major concern in maintaining the quality of the Earth's environment and especially in achieving environmentally sound and sustainable development in all countries" (United Nations, 1989, para. 12). These were among others protection of the atmosphere, protection of the quality and supply of freshwater resources, protection of the oceans, and "protection and management of land resources *by, inter alia, combating deforestation*, desertification and drought" (emphasis added) (United Nations, 1989, para. 12d). It may be noted that in this wording, protection and management of land resources is the *issue*. Combating deforestation is pointed out as a *means* in protecting and managing land resources. Land resources should be protected in order to safeguard the quality of the Earth's environment and ensure a sound development, and deforestation is thus implicitly presented as a phenomenon with global ramifications.

Following this UN resolution, there appeared a number of proposals for negotiating a forest convention at the global level. Humphreys (1996) lists nine different proposals that came from various sources. It is of interest to look at the wording used in some of these proposals to see how the issue was presented. For example, a G7 proposal, which formed part of an economic declaration from a G7 summit in Houston in 1990, notes that deforestation, together with issues such as climate change, ozone depletion, deforestation, marine pollution, and loss of biological diversity, is among the "environmental challenges" that "require closer and more effective international cooperation and concrete action" (G7, 1990, para. 62). It states that the "destruction of tropical forests has reached alarming proportions" (ibid. para. 66), and further that "We are ready to begin negotiations […] on a global forest convention or agreement, which is needed to curb deforestation, protect biodiversity, stimulate positive forestry actions, and address threats to the world's forests" (ibid. para. 67). Another proposal for an international agreement on forests came out of a European Council meeting in Dublin, 25-26 June 1990. Under the heading of 'global issues', it is stated that "We are gravely concerned at the continuing and rapid destruction of the tropical forests" (European Council, 1990, Annex II). Further that "Destruction of the tropical forests, soil erosion, desertification and other environmental problems of the developing countries can be fully addressed only in the context of North-South relationships generally" (ibid). Also here is the focus on tropical forest destruction as a global issue. Major political actors of 'the North' thus argued in their statements that a forest convention in some way should address the destruction of tropical forests, and the wording used mimic that of environmentalist groups.

3.3.2 Political attention to forests at the Rio conference and after

Forests have been described as being a 'high-profile issue' at the Rio conference with 'five times as many meetings as other issues' (interview 37). It has also been described as one of the most contentious issues before and at the Rio conference, marked by wide disagreement (Humphreys, 1996; Chasek, 1994). If 'acid rain'

was the emblematic issue for the 1972 Stockholm conference, perhaps we can say that 'deforestation' was the same for the Rio conference. It seems fair to say that at the time of the Rio conference, there was 'high' political attention to forests, and it was deforestation in the tropics connected to arguments about 'global environmental change' that captured this attention.

However, while negotiations on 'biodiversity', 'climate change' and 'desertification' have resulted in multilateral agreements, attempts to negotiate a convention on forests failed already in the preparatory stages to the Rio conference. The negotiations on forests in the preparatory committees preceding the Rio conference quickly became polarized between Northern (notably the United States and Canada) arguments for forests being a 'global responsibility' and Southern states (notably Malaysia and Brazil) claiming 'sovereign discretion' over forests (Porter *et al*, 2000; Humphreys, 1996). The idea of a forest convention thus proved to be impossible. At the second preparatory committee to the Rio conference, it was decided that a set of non-binding principles should be negotiated instead of a legally binding forest convention (Humphreys, 1996; Chasek, 1994). As for negotiations of the chapter devoted to forests in Agenda 21, a text was agreed upon during the fourth and last preparatory committee (Chasek, 1994). What was agreed during the conference specifically regarding forests were thus the Forest Principles and a chapter 11 in Agenda 21, entitled 'Combating deforestation'.

After the Rio conference and the failed negotiations on a forest convention, 'political attention' to forests has gradually faded, as seen in the context of the multi-lateral process for sustainable development. This is not to say that political *activity* on forests has faded. On the contrary, and as mentioned in chapter 1, the Rio conference set in motion a number of political initiatives at the intergovernmental level with the purpose of creating policy on different aspects of the sustainable use of forests. However, after the Rio conference, forests do not seem to be a 'priority issue' on the overall sustainable development agenda. The status of 'forests' as a 'hot issue' on this agenda has declined.

At a special session of the General Assembly in 1997 (more known as Rio +5) that was to follow up on the implementation of the Agenda 21, 'forests' were however still addressed as one of many "specific areas that are of widespread concern since failure to reverse current trends in these areas, notably in resource degradation, will have potentially disastrous effects on social and economic development, on human health and on environmental protection for all countries, particularly development countries" (United Nations, 1997, para. 33). Bernstein (2002) says that perhaps apart from desertification (for which a convention was signed in 1994), the forest issue had received the greatest attention of substantial concerns left unresolved at the Rio conference, and that many had expected an agreement on forests to be the "showcase achievement" of this special session of the General Assembly (Bernstein, 2002, p. 111-12). Since the deliberations of the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests had not turned out in favour of such an agreement, these expectations were not met. Perhaps we can say that this 'second failure' to reach a legally binding agreement on forests was also 'the nail in the

coffin' for political attention to 'the forest issue', since it seemed impossible to get anywhere with the convention idea.

If forests were a 'high-profile issue' at the Rio conference, it seems appropriate to describe it as having a 'low profile' at the 2002 Johannesburg conference. Or, as more pointedly expressed by a delegate, representing an intergovernmental organisation, at the fourth session of the UN Forum on Forests: "At the Rio conference, forests were *the* environmental issue. Now everybody talks about water. Forests are regarded as boring now" (interview, 27). At the Johannesburg conference, political attention had turned towards the 'social' aspects of the environment and development nexus, and particularly towards 'poverty eradication'. As preparation for the conference, the UN Secretary General proposed action to be focused on five key thematic areas that were: water, energy, health, agriculture, and biodiversity and ecosystem management (the so called WEHAB initiatives). Forests were not addressed as an issue 'in its own right'. It had fallen out of 'political focus'.

3.4 Some concluding remarks

This chapter has explored the policy context in which UN policy-making on forests is regarded to take place along three themes. First, we have explored the emergence of the discursive frame of sustainable development at the global level, what kind of arguments it entails, and what are the tensions in this frame. The point that I wanted to convey (and which we will come back to in chapter 6 when we will examine the concept of Sustainable Forest Management as policy objective), is that the concept (as presented in the Brundtland report) was intended to serve as a policy framework for reconciling differing priorities between environmental concern and development needs. However, that does not necessarily mean that adopted policy have gone long way to actually having reconciled such concerns, despite more than a decade of policy-making for 'sustainable development'. Indeed, as we saw, political tensions have been described as being stronger at the time of the Johannesburg conference, than at the Rio conference, although they might have become less visible in the unifying 'sustainable development discourse'. As argued by Dryzek (1997, p. 123), "it is at the discursive level that dilemmas are dissolved by sustainable development", not necessarily at the level of policies and accomplishments.

The second theme explored has been what have been 'priority issues' on the environment and development agenda from the 1972 Stockholm conference to the 2002 Johannesburg conference. We have said that focus at the Stockholm conference was discrete environmental problems and particularly industrial pollution, whereas focus at the Rio conference was global environmental change and global environmental problems. At the time of the Johannesburg conference, focus has shifted towards the social side of the environment-development nexus, and particularly towards poverty reduction.

The third theme has been how 'political attention' to 'the forest issue' has varied over time. We said that this has shifted from being low at the Stockholm

conference, to being high at the Rio conference, and low again at the Johannesburg conference. And this 'attention' and 'non-attention' has implications for how the content of UN policy on forests has been framed over time, which we also will come back to in chapter 6.

This last attention thing might be seen as something of a paradox, when contrasted to the 'institutional development' of the issue within the UN system that was described in chapter 1. The forest issue (when seen in the framework I have chosen for this study) has made a 'career' on the global political scene from being one of many items on the agenda of the Stockholm conference in 1972, to being the subject of a possible global convention (although failed) at the Rio conference, to being the subject of two ad hoc intergovernmental policy-rounds at the UN, to, in the year 2000, having been afforded a Forum of its own as a subsidiary body directly under the UN Economic and Social Council. If location in the 'UN institutional hierarchy' was some indicator, or measure, of how politically important an issue is considered to be, you might think that the 'political attention' to 'the forest issue' at the global level has gradually increased over the years. Yet, as I have argued in this chapter, I believe it is fair to say that this is not the case. 'Forests' are not a priority on the 'global sustainable development agenda' (although, at the time of writing, there seem actually to be renewed political attention to forests, and how to tackle deforestation and promote reforestation, in the context of negotiations on climate change). This indicates to me that if we were to seek for explanations to the 'career' of 'the forest issue' in the UN system (which is not the primary aim of this study, but which we will nevertheless touch upon in chapter 6) we should rather seek such explanations either in the developments of what we are here referring to as 'the policy problem aspect' or the 'policy content'.

Now we leave this policy context for the moment and shift the attention to the policy problem. In the following chapter we explore what is the problem to be addressed by global public policy on forests, as seen from differing perspectives.

4. Policy problem: four policy frames and framing of 'the Problem'

In the previous chapter we were concerned with the policy context. In this chapter, we turn the attention to *the policy problem*. We are here concerned with what is 'the Problem' to be addressed by global public policy on forests, which is assumed to be of importance for understanding the way UN policy on forests has been framed.

As established in chapter 2, there may be wide agreement on what constitutes an *issue* on the global political agenda, but disagreement as to what exactly is the *problem* regarding that issue, and therefore what policy should be pursued (Parsons, 1995). We said in chapter 3 that *the forest issue* reached the preparatory agenda of the 1992 Rio conference in a framing where deforestation in the tropics was widely perceived, and argued for by major political actors, as 'the Problem' to be addressed by global public policy on forests. We also saw that other actors, notably the concerned states with tropical forest resources, rejected this particular framing of 'the Problem' already before the Rio conference. Thus, we concluded that there was no consensus on *problem definition* as for what a global public policy on forests should address at the time of the Rio conference. Further, we have seen that the agenda of the UN forest process to date includes a number of agenda items that might be understood to answer to a number of varying problems. Also, we have seen that different actors express differing views as to what they see as the purpose of the current UN Forum on Forests. Thus, we may presume that there are still different views among different actors as to what exactly is 'the Problem' that global public policy on forests should address.

This chapter explores differing framings of 'the Problem' in relation to global public policy-making on forests. It does so by departing in some general perspectives on sustainable development. The first part of the chapter outlines four general perspectives on sustainable development that are argued to be relevant in global debates on sustainable development and management of natural resources, and that we find reflected in global sustainable development policy. These perspectives are taken to be concerned with qualitatively different questions as regards sustainable development, and thus with qualitatively different 'Problems'. The second part of the chapter then relates these general perspectives to global policy-making on forests, and argues that we find these general perspectives reflected in arguments around Sustainable Forest Management made over time from different conceptual contexts. The third part of the chapter focuses specifically on 'the Problem' to be addressed by global public policy on forests. Based on the previous parts, it presents four ideal type *policy frames* that are argued to the relevant to the forest issue at the UN agenda. We may recall that a policy frame refers in this thesis to a social construction of a policy issue that comprises a problem definition, a solution to that problem, and a justification for policy action. The four policy frames are taken to imply qualitatively different 'Problems' with regard to global public policy-making on forests, and these are discussed in this part.

4.1 'Sustainable development' in differing perspectives

It should be clear that ideas on what actually constitutes a 'sustainable' development, and whose needs should be served by it, may vary depending on from what perspective it is regarded. As questioned by for example Sachs: "Is sustainable development supposed to meet the needs for water, land and economic security, or the needs for air travel and bank deposits? Is it concerned with survival needs or with luxury needs? Are the needs in question those of the global consumer class or those of the enormous numbers of have-nots?" (Sachs, 1999, p. 77). The concept of sustainable development has also been criticized as an objective for public policy from the outset, for example for being too vague to provide any meaningful policy guidance. An extensive scholarly literature has developed over the years which address different aspects of sustainable development, from literature dealing with translating the concept into workable principles for implementation to literature criticizing the ontological and philosophical foundations of this concept from differing perspectives (see *e.g.* Baker, 2006; Sachs, 1999; Redclift, 1987).

In recent years, some scholars have mapped differing perspectives, or 'worldviews', or discourses, explicitly or implicitly present in the debates on sustainable development and global environmental change. We look at two examples. Clapp and Dauvergne (2005) distinguish four main ideal type worldviews on global environmental change and its relationship to the global political economy which differ with respect to how *global environmental change is explained* and thus in proposals on *what should be done*. In their typology, it is the 'market liberals' who believe that economic growth and high per capita income are essential for human welfare and sustainable development. There are the 'institutionalists' who worry more about scarcity, population growth, and growing inequalities between states than the market liberals, and stress the need for strong institutions and norms to protect the common good. There are the 'bioenvironmentalists' who stress the biological limits of the earth to supply life, and propose curbing economic and population growth. And there are the 'social greens' who see social and environmental problems as inseparable. Inequality and domination, exacerbated by economic globalization, is in this perspective regarded as leading to unequal access to resources as well as unequal exposure to environmental harms. In contrast to a 'bioenvironmentalist' perspective which place part of the problem in population growth, the 'social green' perspective maintain that over-consumption is a far greater problem (Clapp & Dauvergne, 2005).

Sachs (1999), in exploring 'the shaky ground of sustainability', sketch three different perspectives on sustainable development which differ in the way they implicitly understand *finiteness of development in space and time*. It is a 'contest perspective', which works from the assumption that development has to be spatially restricted but can be made durable for the richer parts of the world. How to bring environmental concern in line with concern for economic efficiency and accumulation is the primary question on the agenda in this perspective. This

perspective neglects that the harmful effects produced by the North now covers the whole globe. An 'astronaut's perspective', on the other hand, recognizes that development is precarious in time and seeks global adjustment to deal with the environmental crises as well as the crises of justice. It favours extension of the range of responsibility until it covers the whole globe, as a response to the global reach of harmful effects. Finally, there is a 'home perspective' which accepts the finiteness of development in time and suggests that the question of justice be de-linked from the pursuit of development. It advocates reduction of harmful effects produced by the North until they remain within a Northern radius of responsibility (Sachs, 1999).

Four perspectives on 'sustainable' use of natural resources

In this chapter, we are interested in differing perspectives on what is 'the Problem' to be addressed by global public policy on forests in order to achieve Sustainable Forest Management. For this purpose, we sketch below four idealised perspectives that differ regarding what kind of *socio-economic system* that is taken as a point of departure when arguing for 'sustainability', and which in turn are taken to generate *differing questions* with regard to 'sustainable development'. A socio-economic system here refers to what we can call 'communities' of different sorts, for example, an economic sector, a nation-state, a system of nation-states, or an eco-system. Such socio-economic systems are here regarded as being defined by different kinds of *primary relationships*, which will be clarified below. This 'systems-thinking' does not refer to the *scale dependency* of 'sustainable development'. That is, the question of at what spatial scale 'sustainability' is sought, and the recognition that what might be a 'sustainable' development at the local level is not necessarily sustainable at the national level, and what is sustainable within the borders of a specific nation-state is not necessarily sustainable considering a regional or the global level, and so on.

It is first what it is here called a *'modify management perspective'*. This is taken to depart in a system of economic sectors. We say that a central question in such a perspective regarding the quest for sustainable development is *how* production processes in various economic sectors could be modified so as to become 'sustainable', or in order to contribute to sustainable development. A *'modify human-nature relations perspective'* takes the eco-system (including human society) as a point of departure in arguing for 'sustainability'. A central question in such a perspective is *how much* we may produce and consume in the first place in order to arrive at a 'sustainable' development. A *'modify economic relations perspective'* departs in a system of sovereign nation-states with unequal economic relations, and a central question in such a perspective is how production and consumption should be *distributed around the globe* in order for us to talk about a 'sustainable' development at a global scale. A *'modify cultural dominance perspective'*, finally, departs in a system of indigenous and non-indigenous cultures, and a central question in this perspective is *who* should have the right to decide in the first place what ' development' in relation to natural resources should mean.

These kinds of socio-economic systems might seem like quite an unsophisticated point of comparison between differing perspectives on 'sustainable development'

since, first, within any such system, we would expect to find a whole range of ideological and philosophical differences with respect to views on what constitutes a 'sustainable' development. And second, they are very general so it might be questioned what it will add to our understanding of 'Problems' in global public policy-making. It seems to me, however, that this 'systems-thinking' is sophisticated enough for our purposes of approaching the question with which we introduced this thesis: what has global public policy on forests come to say about what should be sustained, for whom, and to what end? It is also of specific relevance, I argue, in relation to forests as a 'global' issue, and that has to do with a long tradition of public policy-making on forests at *the national* level (in nation-state systems we could say). This I argue (and we come back to that in chapter 6), makes it differ from policy-making on other 'global issues' such as 'ozone depletion', 'climate change' or 'biodiversity'. For these issues, there have not been such clearly demarcated policy domains at the national level before they became 'global issues', as there has for forests in many countries. Traditionally, public policy on forests has predominantly had to do with *forestry* as a practice. Sustaining the forest resource base *at the national level* has for long been a pre-occupation of public policy-making on forests in many countries, as has in more recent time the development of policy aimed at more *sustainable forestry practices* at stand- or landscape level. However, when forests became a 'global' political issue in the sustainable development context, 'new' perspectives on 'sustainability' can be said to have entered the 'traditional' policy domain on forests. The concept of Sustainable Forest Management, which content or meaning we are interested in here, can of course, to begin with, be applied at different spatial scales: at stand level, landscape level, national level, eco-regional level or on the world's forests as a whole. It may also, however, be conceived in differing socio-economic systems. The point is that, depending on what system we take as a point of departure in our reasoning about Sustainable Forest Management, we would expect different questions to be asked in relation to what is required to achieve it. Thus, we would expect framings of 'the Problems' to be addressed by public policy to differ. And, in this thesis we are interested in what kind of problem, or problems, global public policy on forests has come to be responsive to.

A modify management perspective and sustainable development

Since 'the environment' became a public policy area in the 1960s, 'environmental regulation' of production processes in various economic sectors (such as the agricultural-, transport-, and energy sectors) has been a concern in many countries. First, mainly in the form of industrial pollution control ('end-of-pipe-solutions'), and with a widening conception of 'environmental problems' and 'environmental policy', it has come to be about a more fundamental *integration* of environmental and social concerns into the management of industrial sectors (Nilsson & Eckerberg, 2007). We take a basic assumption in what is here called a modify management perspective to be that it is *in principle* possible to *modify production processes* so that necessary environmental and social concern is taken. 'Sustainable development' in such a perspective can be conceived of as a matter of finding the balance between increasing, or at least sustaining, economic competitiveness of various economic sectors while seeing to it that these sectors sustain the social and natural environment of which they are dependent. We take

this perspective to be governed by a *system of economic sectors*, and a central question in relation to sustainable development to be; *how* could production processes in various economic sectors be modified so as to arrive at a sustainable development.

The idea of integration of 'environment' and 'development' concerns in sectoral policy-making is a recurrent theme in Agenda 21. Chapter 8, entitled 'Integrating environment and development in decision-making' is specifically devoted to this.

A modify human-nature relations perspective and sustainable development

With this perspective I refer to a perspective which takes the way human society interact with our bio-physical environment as a point of departure in arguments about sustainable development. In this perspective, the structural causes of 'global environmental change' are in focus, such as current patterns of production and consumption around the globe. An assumption in this perspective is that environmental degradation (and social for that matter) is inbuilt in the modes of production and consumption, that is, the socio-economic structures of 'the modern world'. Thus, in such a perspective, sustainable development is not achieved by 'adjusting the buttons' of the current system, such as in a modify management perspective outlined above, but requires a restructuring of the way humans interact with their natural environment (and with each other for that matter). It is a perspective in which the *total amount* of consumption and production, and not only the *modes* of production, is questioned. In short, sustainable development in such a perspective requires that 'new buttons' be installed.

We take this perspective to be governed by the *eco-system* (including human society). If the previous perspective focuses on the question of *how* production processes should be designed, a central question occupying this perspective is; *how much* can human beings produce and consume within the limits of this eco-system in order to arrive at a 'sustainable development'. Chapter 4 in Agenda 21, entitled 'Changing consumption patterns', partly reflects such a perspective.

A modify economic relations perspective and sustainable development

The conceptualisation of the world as consisting of states in an affluent 'North' and a less affluent 'South' could be said to be a product of the post-second world war world and the 'development' concept that took hold, characterised by its focus on economic development in the form of increased production as key to human prosperity. Since then, 'North-South relations' have been a preoccupation of the international political agenda, and since the 1960s, the UN system has been the principal arena where 'the South' has advocated for long-term change in international economic relations (Jones, 1983). We take a basic assumption in what we here call a modify economic relations perspective to be that a principal source of 'unsustainable development' lies in the structure of the current world economic system, in western-dominated economic institutions, and rules of trade. Sustainable development in such a perspective becomes a matter of how to even out resources between North and South in the quest for 'development'. That is, finding the balance between sustaining 'development' in 'the North', while seeing to it that 'the South' develops out of 'underdevelopment'.

We can say that this perspective is governed by a *system of sovereign nation-states.* If central questions in the two perspectives above are *how* production in various economic sectors could be modified in order to become sustainable, and *how much* we can produce and consume in the first place, a central question in this perspective has to do with *distribution;* how should production and consumption be *distributed among sovereign nation-states around the globe* in order to arrive at a 'sustainable' development.

In Agenda 21, relations between 'South' and 'North' are a recurrent theme. Its' Chapter 2, entitled 'International cooperation to accelerate sustainable development in developing countries and related domestic policies', is devoted specifically to this (United Nations, 1993).

A modify cultural dominance perspective and sustainable development

This perspective has to do with relations between indigenous and non-indigenous cultures. The term 'indigenous' refers to a wide range of peoples with highly differing life-styles, living conditions and relations to their respective nation-state, having themselves a variety of constitutions, governing systems, law and administration. Despite these differences, indigenous peoples share common problems in dealing with the prevailing society, and have succeeded in organising themselves politically at the international level to advocate for common concerns (Brantenberg & Minde, 1995). We take a basic assumption in what I call a modify cultural dominance perspective to be, in the words of Brantenberg and Minde (1995, p. 4), "the notion that all peoples have an inherent and natural right to self-determination; that any people regardless occupation and colonisation by another people are imbued with certain general collective rights and freedoms". This perspective is taken to be governed by a *system of indigenous cultures and non-indigenous cultures* and we say that its central question is; *who* should have the right to decide what is needed in order to achieve sustainable development. Sustainable development in this perspective would be a development that does not overrule the rights of such communities to decide themselves what 'development' is supposed to mean.

'Strengthening the role of Major Groups', of which indigenous people are recognised as one, is an objective of the sustainable development policy framework. Chapter 26 in Agenda 21, entitled 'Recognizing and strengthening the role of indigenous people and their communities', is specifically devoted to this.

We have now briefly sketched four perspectives which are taken to be concerned with differing questions with regard to sustainable development. The rest of this chapter proceeds as follows. The following section intends to show how these general perspectives are reflected in arguments made around Sustainable Forest Management in global forest policy debates. That is, it intends to show that these general perspectives are justified as a tool of interpretation in our case of global public policy. Based on secondary sources, and primary sources, in the form of conference documents, articles, NGO statements, and other documentary material,

this section ‘paints a picture’ of four contexts from which arguments around forests derives.

4.2 Differing perspectives and arguments around Sustainable Forest Management

In order to sketch these four different contexts, we refer below to, for example, ‘the forestry sector’, ‘the environmental movement’, and ‘indigenous peoples’. However, the ‘pictures’ sketched below should not be taken as *representative* of perspectives held by specific actors in such ‘communities’. That is, they should not be seen as ‘glued to’ any specific actors. The ‘pictures’ presented here should be seen as idealised *patterns of ideas*. These ideas can be interpreted as being, to varying extents, *reflected* in arguments made by specific actors. As such, they are of interest for our purposes of exploring ‘the Problem’ to be addressed by global public policy on forests.

4.2.1 A modify management perspective and Sustainable Forest Management

Forestry as a practice has a long history, as has the view of practitioners of forestry being concerned with sustainable development of the resource base (Wiersum, 1995). Here we sketch a perspective on forests in relation to ‘development’ as seen in a ‘forestry sector context’. The *forestry sector*, as conceived of here, should not be conflated with what is commonly referred to as ‘the forest sector’, and then taken to also include the whole wood-based pulp and paper and wood-processing industry. If we could talk about a ‘forest sector perspective’, this would be taken to flow along the logics of a neo-liberal market perspective in general, and this is not what we are after here. The ‘forestry sector’, as conceived of here, is of course closely connected to ‘the forest sector’, but it is also something else having to do with the profession of managing forests. In a few words we can say that it has to do with a strong belief that forests, properly managed, can play a positive role in ‘development’.

Without any claims to present a ‘historical account’ of the forestry sector and its relation to the international development agenda, I will nevertheless sketch some developments in international forest policy-making that I regard as relevant for understanding arguments made in relation to global public policy on forests and Sustainable Forest Management.

Institutional framework around international cooperation on forest policy

Formalised international cooperation on issues of concern to the practice of forestry can be said to date back to at least the 19th century. In order to share experiences in forestry research among countries, an International Union of Forest Research Organizations (IUFRO) was established in 1892, and held its first meeting in Eberswalde in Germany. After the first world war, the so called Empire Forestry Conferences provided a “pan-colonial venue” for British empire foresters to “compare notes, take stock, and collectively plan strategies for scientifically managing the forests of the empire” (Rajan, 2006, p. 113). And, in

order to share experiences on more policy-oriented issues related to forests, a first World Forestry Congress was held in Rome in 1926, which have been succeeded by conferences about every sixth year in different places in the world. These were cooperative efforts that clearly exceeded the boundaries of individual countries. However, I believe it is right to say that it was more of cooperation between professionals in their capacity as individuals than inter-governmental cooperation.

With the establishment of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) in 1945, forestry issues got a place within the reformed UN system, and can thus be said to have become an inter-governmental matter. A Forestry Division was established within the FAO that was mandated to overlook wood resources. The FAO Conference was the principal global forum for the discussion of international forestry issues from the mid-1940s until 1971, when the so called Committee on Forestry was established. The stated aim of the FAO Committee on Forestry was to "periodically review forestry problems of an international character and advise the Director General on the medium- and long-term programme of work of the Organization in the field of forestry and on its implementation" (FAO, 2005a, para. 2). Thus, an institutional structure for inter-governmental policy-making on issues of relevance to the forestry sector has existed at least since 1945. This structure has later been added to with other intergovernmental forums dealing with forestry-related issues. For example the International Tropical Timber Organisation (see *e.g.* Poore, 2003).

'Problems' to address in inter-governmental forest policy-making

What then can be said about 'the Problems' that inter-governmental policy-making on forests was to address in its early stages? A major problem to address when the FAO Forestry Division was established after the war was shortage of timber. Timber resources were much needed to rebuild the war-thorn Europe. As for example expressed by the Director-General of the FAO, in the very first issue of the FAO forestry magazine *Unasylva* from 1947:

"[…] I became convinced that next to the great crisis in food, the housing problem is the most widespread and pressing emergency for cities and towns on the Continent and in the British Isles. The crying need is for lumber" (Boyd Orr, 1947).

The Director-General of the FAO at that time foresaw two sets of problems confronting forestry in the years to come. One set of problems emerging from the devastation of the war, and a second set of problems having to do with keeping pace with growing demand for forest products at the same time as seeing to it that forests "are in a condition to continue to produce" (Boyd Orr, 1947).

The concerns of intergovernmental forest policy-making, within the FAO and elsewhere, have gradually shifted from primarily focusing on timber-supply, to incorporation of broader development and conservation concerns as they relate to forests (FAO, 2005). The objective of inter-governmental policy-making on forets can now be said to be to contribute to management of forests that seeks to balance demands of economic, ecological, and socio-cultural character that are placed on forests.

However, although the range of concerns taken into account in intergovernmental policy-making on forests has certainly widened, we can say that the 'Basic Policy Problem' looked the same around the time of the 1992 Rio conference as it did in 1947. As for example expressed in an article in *Unasylva* from 1992, preceding the Rio conference, which describes two major challenges facing the world forestry community at that time:

> […]: first, given the expanding world population and the anticipated increase in demand for wood and non-wood products, how to meet this future demand without degrading the forest resource base and forest environment; second, what technical, financial, institutional and political means to tap in order to promote sustainable development of all forest types worldwide. The international forestry community should be actively engaged in defining national and international forestry agenda" (Maini, 1992).

The central question is still *how* to keep pace with a growing demand of timber and a range of non-timber services demanded from forests, while still conserving the resource base. We will take a closer look at this idea of long-term conservation of the resource base because it will help us to point at the differences between the perspective outlined here and what I call a modify human-nature relations perspective in relation to forests, that will be outlined in the subsequent section.

The idea of long-term conservation of the resource base

As was said in the beginning of this chapter, practitioners of forestry have from the inception of the practice of forestry seen themselves as being concerned with sustainable development of the resource base. As for example expressed in an opening speech to the eleventh World Forestry Congress held in Turkey in 1997:

> "Although very much in vogue today, 'sustainability' has been alive and well in the forestry profession for nearly 200 years. Indeed, it is the core principle on which our profession is based" (World Forestry Congress, 1997).

This idea can be said to date back to the 'birth' of scientific forestry as a practice in the latter half of the 18th century and the attempts at the time to establish a resource use regime, based on scientific principles, and the development of methods that would allow for systematic planning, with the aim of ensuring the long-term conservation of the resource base (see *e.g.* Scott, 1998). Concepts for forest management have developed over time within the forestry profession from 'sustained yield forestry' to, with the increased environmental awareness of the 1960s, 'multiple-use forestry' and in recent time to Sustainable Forest Management. Thus, over time, ideas on what it is that should be sustained by the practice of forestry have broadened from timber to non-timber forest resources to forest eco-systems (including humans).

This broadening of ideas on what it is that should be sustained can also be seen in relation to forestry and how forestry could assist in 'development'. Persson (2003) sketch the different phases, or 'paradigms', that international forestry assistance have passed through during the last 30-40 years. It started with the 'industrial forestry' paradigm of the 1960s that emphasized forestry as the engine of economic development in developing countries, and which was 'inspired' by the role of forestry in the economic development of the Nordic countries. Discouraging experiences with the 'industrial strategy', coupled with 'external

shocks' such as the oil crises and droughts in the Sahel region, shifted the focus to environmental threats which affected the livelihoods of the rural poor. The idea was basically to address these threats by assisting local population in growing trees for fuel-wood and other household needs, an approach that came to be known under names such as 'social forestry', 'community forestry', and 'farm forestry'. With increasing public concern about deforestation in the tropics in the 1980s, the 'environmental' side of 'social forestry' was reinforced, and halting deforestation was now by many considered as the most important task of forestry assistance. The tendency towards nature conservation grew stronger towards the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s, when protection of 'biodiversity' and 'climate change' emerged as issues on the global political scene. In parallel with the last two paradigms, a new approach took hold in which forests are no longer the starting point, but instead the rural people themselves and their priorities are the primary focus. This in turn might signal a 'fifth phase' in which poverty alleviation and improved livelihoods are given more prominence, argues Persson (2003).

A modify management perspective and 'the environment' on the global political agenda

We said that 'sustainability' is seen as a central principle in the practice of forestry. Thus, in a 'forestry context', the concerns that the Stockholm conference in 1972 was to address would not have been seen as anything 'new'. As for example expressed in an article in the FAO magazine *Unasylva* from 1972, the same year as the Stockholm conference was held:

"The concern about the long-term aspects of forestry – those that are inferred by currently fashionable words like ecology and environmental concern – has always been central in the minds of those responsible for the forest ecosystem. Foresters, already decades ago, pointed out the dangers of soil runoff and soil erosion, water quality, changes of climate, and other long-term hazards of overexploitation of the forests" (Steenberg, 1972).

From a modify management perspective, the way to conserve forests is to put a value on them by using them. This is a central idea in the 'conservation movement', which could be seen in contrast to 'preservationist' ideas at the time. In the words of Des Jardins (2001, p. 41-2): "The conservationists sought to protect the natural environment from exploitation so that humans would receive long-term benefits from it. The preservationists sought to protect the environment from any human activity that would disrupt or degrade it". 'Preservationist' and 'conservationist' ideas can be seen as representing differing approaches to 'sustainability' at the time, which is also reflected in the FAO background report on forests to the 1972 Stockholm conference:

"It is not the intention of this paper to advocate that the world's forests be preserved and left untouched. If forests are to contribute to the growth of national economies, and, at the same time, preserve and enhance the quality of the human environment, they should be managed scientifically. Scientific management implies interference – but a rational, informed and knowledgeable interference; not the uncontrolled exploitation of large areas of the forest ecosystem" (FAO, 1971).

This idea, that the way to preserve forests is to put an economic value on them by enhancing their contribution to socio-economic development, can also bee seen reflected in the theme for the seventh World Forestry Congress which was held in

Buenos Aires, Argentina, in October the same year as the Stockholm conference. The theme for that Congress was 'Forests and socio-economic development'. In the Declaration from the Congress, the Plan of Action adopted at the Stockholm conference is recognised, and it is believed that this will influence forestry development throughout the world in the years to come.

"The congress recognizes that if the forests are to increase their contribution to socioeconomic development, the share of the developing countries in international trade in forest products must expand, and this win require improved conditions of trade." […] This congress declares that the forester, being a citizen as well as a professional, has the clear duty and responsibility to ensure that his informed judgement is heard and understood at all levels of society. […] Finally, this congress does not share the views of the prophets of doom. It recognizes that the world will need an ever increasing flow of goods and services from the forest. It is fully confident that these needs can be met through the rational management and valorization of existing forests and through the creation of new, manmade forests" (Anon, 1972).

Related to the above idea is what seems to be a long-standing concern in a forestry sector context, namely that forests and forestry are not given the political attention it deserves relative to other economic sectors. In recent time for example expressed in an article in the FAO magazine Unasylva in 1992, the same year as the Rio conference:

"Forestry, involving long-term commitments, usually receives limited political attention in comparison with most other, often shorter term, socio-economic policies" (Maini, 1992).

We have now pointed at some themes of international policy-making on forests from a forestry sector view-point that I regard as relevant for understanding arguments made in relation to global public policy on forests and Sustainable Forest Management. I have labelled this a modify management perspective in relation to sustainable development. Further, we have pointed to the fact that there has existed an institutional structure for inter-governmental policy-making on forests for quite long, which could be said to 'harbour' such a perspective. If we are to put together a coherent idealised argumentation from this perspective, it might be articulated as follows:

The enhancing-the-contribution-of-forestry-argumentation

Forests are a source of multiple values of an economic, ecological, and socio-cultural character that should be managed for the benefit of people. With proper scientific forest management planning it is in principle possible to satisfy the different interests directed towards forests. However, an increasing world demand in wood and non-wood products has meant that large tracts of forests have been 'unscientifically' exploited. Greater care thus has to be taken to proper forest management which balances economic, ecologic, and social concerns. A problem with regard to the international development agenda is that the potential contribution of forestry, and the forestry sector, to sustainable development is marginalised vis a vis other sectors. Thus, to arrive at Sustainable Forest Management, there is a need for increased attention to the potential contribution of the forestry sector to sustainable development.

4.2.2 A modify human-nature relations perspective and Sustainable Forest Management

The prologue to a book on 'global environmental change' from 1992, the same year as the Rio conference was held, can be taken to as a point of departure to this perspective:

"The earth has entered a period of hydrological, climatological, and biological change that differs from previous episodes of global change in the extent to which it is human in origin. Human beings, both individually and collectively, have always sought to transform their surroundings. But for the first time, they have begun to play a central role in altering global biogeochemical systems and the earth as a whole. The global changes looming largest on the horizon are cases in point. The depletion of the ozone layer attributed to the accumulation of chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) in the stratosphere is an unintended side effect of human industrial activities. The increase of atmospheric carbon dioxide, a trend that has been accelerating since the onset of the Industrial Revolution, is driven by the increasing use of fossil fuels and the elimination of forests. And the loss of biological diversity is a by-product of varied human activities, including the clearing of tropical moist forests for agricultural purposes" (Stern *et al*, 1992, p. 17).

According to Sachs (1999), thinking in the perspective of the bio-geochemical system of the earth as a whole, and the invention of 'the biosphere' as a concept is a product of research starting in the 1970s that had as its object of research the large-scale bio-geochemical cycles that shape interactions between the living and the non-living world, and particularly directed towards changes in this system. As argues Sachs (1999, p. 117), "only with that preoccupation – the large scale cycles that link atmosphere, rock, water and organisms in the earth's vital sheath – and with an interest in describing, analytically and quantitatively, endangerment of the stability of those cycles through human activities, does the concept of the biosphere take shape."

The clearing of tropical moist forests has been a powerful image for a general perception of global environmental change caused by human exploitative activities, and has been a priority issue for many NGOs. As Adger *et al* (2001, p. 686) puts it: "the issue of deforestation became a touchstone for environmental activism and the development of thinking on global environmental change as it emerged as a global environmental issue during the 1980s." Although 'environmentalist ideas' should not be equated with the perspective presented here (since 'environmentalist ideas' may vary from 'mainstream' to 'radical' so that it does not make sense to talk about any one 'environmentalist view'), it is nevertheless of interest to briefly point at how early 'environmentalist ideas' have been argued to converge into what has been labelled the 'New Environmentalism' of the 1960s (McCormick, 1995). We do this in order to point at the differences between what I call a 'modify human-nature relations perspective' and the 'modify management perspective' dealt with in the previous section.

'New Environmentalism' and deforestation and forest degradation

McCormick (1995) describes the changing focus for environmental activism from preservationists and conservationists (among them, forestry professionals) to what he labels New Environmentalism. In the 1960s, the focus of environmental concern changed from 'discrete environmental problems' to a concern over a deteriorating environment as a whole. The New Environmentalism implied a

broader conception of the place of humanity in the biosphere and a note of crisis that was greater than it had been in the conservation movement. In the words of McCormick (1995, p. 56); "if nature protection had been a moral crusade centred of the non-human environment, and conservation a utilitarian movement centred on the rational management of natural resources, New Environmentalism addressed the entire human environment". Jamison (2001) argues that there was not only concern about nature that inspired the 'new' movement. It was also a number of social problems stemming from industrialization, such as industrial waste and pollution, automobile and energy use and occupational health and safety. Such issues "came to form an important part of the agenda for the new environmentalism that emerged in the 1960s" (Jamison, 2001, p. 78).

A non-governmental organisation (NGO) like Friends of the Earth is according to McCormick symptomatic of the change in priorities of the New Environmentalism, namely a view that the solution to environmental problems should not be sought in temporary remedies, but that it required fundamental social change. We can also interpret this 'entire human environment' and 'social change' focus to be reflected in the wording of two central nature conservation documents of the 1980s and the 1990s. As stated in the first paragraph of the 1980 World Conservation Strategy prepared by the IUCN, UNEP and the WWF:

"[…] human activities are progressively reducing the planet's life-supporting capacity at a time when rising human numbers and consumption are making increasingly heavy demands on it. The combined destructive impacts of a poor majority struggling to stay alive and an affluent minority consuming most of the world's resources are undermining the very means by which all people can survive and flourish. "Humanity's relationship with the biosphere (the thin covering of the planet that contains and sustain life) will continue to deteriorate until a new international economic order is achieved, a new environmental ethic adopted, human populations stabilize, and sustainable modes of development become the rule rather than the exception […]" (IUCN/UNEP/WWF, 1980, Ch. 1, paras. 1-2).

What is at issue as set out here is humanity and her relationship with the biosphere, and this relationship has to be changed in fundamental ways if this biosphere is going to be able to sustain human society in the long-term. What is foreseen, as argued here, is not some modifications within the current system, but rather a new economic and ethical system in order to arrive at 'sustainable development'. Ten years later, the same three organizations formulated a new strategy for the 1990s, *Caring for the Earth.* The language of the need for an altered behaviour and different kinds of socio-economic systems is reiterated in the introduction to this report:

"This strategy is founded on the conviction that people can alter their behaviour when they see that it will make things better, and can work together when they need to. It is aimed at change because values, economies and societies different from most that prevail today are needed if we are to care for the Earth and build a better quality of life for all" (IUCN/UNEP/WWF, 1991, p. 1).

'Problem' to address from a modify human-nature relations perspective

The primary concern in a modify human-nature relations perspective is taken to be that human exploitative activities threaten planetary ecological stability, and that remedies to this deterioration are to be sought in current socio-economic practices. We could for example interpret the language used in a declaration from the World Rainforest Movement in 1989 to reflect such a view:

"The immediate and long-term consequences of global deforestation threaten the very survival of life as we know it on earth. Indeed, the scale of deforestation and its impacts now represents one of the gravest emergencies ever to face the human race. […] The current social and economic policies and practices that lead to deforestation throughout the world in the name of development are directly responsible for the annihilation of the earth's forests, bringing poverty and misery to millions and threatening global ecosystems with collapse" (World Rainforest Movement, 1989, para. 3 and 4).

The primary 'Problem' to address then, in relation to forests, is thus that forests disappear and are degraded due to prevailing socio-economic practices. As for example reflected in a publication from WWF/IUCN *Forests for Life* from 1996, under the heading 'The problem':

"The world's forests currently face two critical problems: deforestation [and] loss of forest quality" (WWF/IUCN, 1996, p. 2).

Forests became an increasingly important issue for the large international environmental NGOs throughout the 1980s and the 1990s in response to deforestation in the tropics (Dudley *et al*, 1995). According to Keck and Sikkink (1998), the term "tropical deforestation" became part of the environmentalist's daily vocabulary in the early 1970s. The 'tropical forest issue' was taken up for the first time in 1972 by the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) in response to a decision by the Brazilian government's to accelerate colonization and development projects in the Amazon (Keck & Sikkink, 1998, p. 134). The Worldwide Fund for Nature (WWF) embarked in 1975 on its first Tropical Rainforest Campaign, raising money for tropical rainforest areas in Central and West Africa, Southeast Asia, and Latin America, to be managed as national parks or reserves (WWF, 2006).

In the 1980s, deforestation in the tropics became linked to the international timber trade. The NGO Friends of the Earth published reports that investigated into the international timber trade and linked timber companies in Europe to deforestation in the tropics (Dudley *et al*, 1995). This resulted in the launching of campaigns addressed to consumers in Europe to boycott tropical timber. The WWF had been involved for 20 years in conservation projects in the field by the early 1980s, but took a more active lobbying role in international policy on forests, particularly with respect to the ITTO and the FAO Tropical Forestry Action Programme.

If we are to put together a modify human-relations perspective as it relates to forests into a coherent idealised argumentation, it could be articulated as follows:

'The securing-planetary-environmental-stability-argumentation'

The current level of human exploitative activities threatens planetary environmental stability. Forests constitute a large part of the biosphere, perform crucial environmental functions, and are consequently key to environmental stability. The problem is that exploitative activities during the last decades has lead to diminishing forest cover and degradation of forest ecosystems, to the extent that we can now talk about a 'global forest crises'. What is needed to curb the 'global forest crises' (as well as the 'environmental crisis' in general) and arrive at Sustainable Forest Management is change in current patterns of production and

consumption (change in values, ethics, behaviour, economic system, modes of production) in order to make these patterns consistent with the carrying capacity of the planet.

4.2.3 A modify economic relations perspective and Sustainable Forest Management

As notes Najam (2005), it is generally accepted that North-South differences are a crucial element of global politics in the 'environmental' arena, and that these differences are a major impediment to global co-operation on 'the environment'. Further that any international effort to address environmental problems will not only be influenced by North-South rifts but will also have to 'manage' them in some way (Najam, 2005, p. 128). Global politics on forests is a case in point.

When 'the forest issue' reached the preparatory agenda of the Rio conference, framed as an issue about deforestation in the tropics requiring global cooperation to be curbed, it can also be said to have become 'a North-South issue'. 'The forest issue' became a matter of foreign policy, involving claims about national sovereignty over natural resources and calls for transformed economic relations between North and South, in a way that it had not been before, despite the long history of international cooperation in issues of importance to forestry. Here we sketch 'the forest issue' in a context of North-South relations and what that implies for arguments about 'the Problem' to be addressed by global public policy on forests.

Najam (2005) argues that a key to understanding the South behaviour in global environmental negotiations in general is a desire for what might be described as a 'new environmental order'. This in turn is a reflection of earlier arguments for a 'new economic order'. When decolonised states started to join the UN, they also started to demand a transformation of international economic relations, and united during the 1960-70s in the endeavour to long-term systemic change in international economic relations. Since the Bretton-Woods institutions[11] were under the control of the industrialized West, the attention of 'developing countries' turned to the UN as the platform to drive for reform (Jones, 1983). And, in 1962 the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution on Permanent Sovereignty over Natural Resources, as an economic aspect of self-determination, declaring that the "rights of peoples and nations to permanent sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources must be exercised in the interest of their national development" (United Nations, 1962, para. 1). In 1964, the first UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) convened in Geneva, and has since been the central institution of the so called 'North-South dialogue' (Jones, 1983). In 1974, a Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO) was adopted, as well as a Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, which both emphasized the need for economic development and that states

[11] The International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (initially the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development), and the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) (signed in 1947), initiated at Bretton Woods, US, in 1944 in order to ensure a stable global monetary system and an open world trading system (see e.g. Woods, 2001).

have the right to choose the means of realising this end (Birnie & Boyle, 2001). As for calls for 'additional funds' for development, the UN had the year before adopted a goal that donors should contribute 0.7 percent of their gross national product to developing countries. This goal was reiterated in the call for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) in 1974, at the Rio conference in 1992 and again in recent years as part of the UN's Millenium Development Goals, and was further reinforced in 2002 at both the Monterrey Financing for Development Conference (see section 3.2.3) and the 2002 Johannesburg conference (Clapp & Dauvergne, 2005).

A modify economic relations perspective and 'the environment' on the UN agenda

Najam (2005, p. 127) underscores that 'the South' "is a creature of the UN system". The UN is the place where 'it' has tried to exert its influence. When 'the environment' became an issue on the UN agenda with the 1972 Stockholm conference, on proposal from 'the North', concerns of 'the South' in a North-South context went with it. They were for example expressed in the *Founex report*, touched upon in chapter 3, which was produced by a group of intellectuals from 'the South' as part of the preparatory process to the 1972 Stockholm conference. The report discusses, among other things, concerns about adverse effects of a 'Northern' focus on 'environmental issues' on international economic relations:

"There are growing fears in the developing world that the current environmental concern in the developed countries will affect them adversely in the fields of trade, aid and transfer of technology. Some of these fears may be no more than the inherent fears of the weak in any confrontation with the stronger members of the international community. But it is important that they be articulated clearly, analysed objectively and provided for in any international arrangements which are made" (Anon, 1971, para. 4.3).

In terms of implications for policy action, the report stated, among other things, that "additional aid funds will be required to subsidize research on environmental problems for the developing countries, to compensate for major dislocation in the exports of the developing countries, to cover major increases in the cost of development projects owing to higher environmental standards, and to finance restructuring of investment, production or export patterns necessitated by the environmental concern of the developed countries", and that a suitable mechanism for such funds should be devised (Anon, 1971, p. 41).

As for forests, there are no signs that 'the forest issue' was controversial in a North-South context at the Stockholm conference in 1972 or that it caused much dispute on the whole (see section 3.3). At the time of the Rio conference, the picture was another. As for the Rio conference in general, Moltke describes the conference concerning issues of finance as involving an implicit bargain; "developing countries would participate actively in international environmental management and developed countries would provide development assistance to promote sustainable development" (Moltke, 2005, p. 241). The negotiating climate in the preparatory committees to the Rio conference has been described as hostile since there were major differences in views regarding the 'basics': how much weight to give to 'development', as opposed to 'environment'; whether the two can be separated; and the content of sustainable development. 'Developing'

countries viewed the 'environmental crisis' as a long-term developmental one, and 'developed' countries as a more immediate technical problem. Developing countries thus wanted to direct focus on the underlying causes to the 'crisis' rather than the symptoms, and advocated reform of the international economic system as prerequisite for effective environmental action, just as in the 1974 debates on the need for a 'New International Economic Order' (Birnie, 1993). Arguments for 'new and additional funding' have been a recurrent theme in the multi-lateral process for sustainable development, also in the case of forests since the Rio conference. If we are again to put together a coherent idealised argumentation from this perspective as it relates to forests, it might be articulated as follows:

The SFM-needs-redistribution-of-resources- from-North-to-South-argumentation
The current global economic system is unequal and needs re-ordering in order to further development in the least developed countries. The current experienced 'global environmental problems' are to a large extent the outcome of a high level of economic development in industrially advanced countries. Forests are a resource that falls under the territorial sovereignty of nation states and that each state has the right to use according to its own needs. If the international community demands that tropical forests should be conserved, instead of used in development, countries concerned have to be compensated. Consequently, to achieve Sustainable Forest Management there is a need for increased financial and technology transfer from North to South, more equitable trading rules, and debt relief.

4.2.4 A modify cultural dominance perspective and Sustainable Forest Management

In the late 1980s and beginning of the 1990s, deforestation in tropical countries was explicitly linked to issues of concern for people living in the forests. Indigenous Peoples Organisations 'joined forces' with environmental NGOs to advocate their causes. Concerning the Amazon, a "First meeting Between Indigenous Peoples and Environmentalists" was held in May 1990 in Iquitos, Peru. The so called Coordinating Body for Indigenous Peoples' Organizations of the Amazon Basin had invited 15 representatives from 12 environmental groups to discuss each other's concern and establish a joint strategy for conserving the Amazon forests. This should be done "by supporting indigenous claims for control of their territory and resources" (Anon, 1990). As stated the so called Iquitos Declaration:

> "We consider that the recognition of territories for indigenous peoples, to develop programs of management and conservation, is an essential alternative for the future of the Amazon" (Anon, 1990).

This declaration further recognizes that adequate mechanisms to reach this objective has to be looked at, including international technical and financial resources, the importance of indigenous people's own proposals for the management and conservation of the Amazon, and the need for activities to advance the territorial rights and societal rights of indigenous people and the recognition of the values of their culture. It is concluded that it is necessary to work as an "Indigenous and Environmentalist Alliance for an Amazon for

Humanity" (Anon, 1990). Before we go on to look at what this means in terms of arguments around Sustainable Forest Management, we very briefly sketch how 'indigenous issues' has become visible in the international arena, in order to get some context for the following account.

Indigenous issues on the global political agenda

Political organising by indigenous peoples is not a new phenomenon. According to Minde (1995), it was around 1900 that the first ethno-political initiatives were taken by Indians of North America and the Sami of Northern Europe. As for South America, Bjureby (2006) finds some evidence of organising in the 1960s. In the course of the 1970s, the First Nations' peoples of North America and the Sami of Northern Europe were both active in building up an international network of indigenous peoples and in bringing concerns of indigenous peoples into the international arena (Minde, 1995). In the 1970s, the 'indigenous issue' was taken up for discussion by the UN in the Commission on Human Rights and the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (now the Sub-Commission on Promotion and Protection of Human Rights). In 1982, the UN Economic and Social Council endorsed the setting up of a Working Group on Indigenous Populations, under the Sub-Commission. The mandate of the Working Group consisted of two major issues: the evolution of standards concerning the rights of indigenous peoples, and second, the review of developments pertaining to promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous peoples (Daes, 1995).

The year of 1993 was appointed 'the UN International Year for Indigenous People', with the motto "Indigenous Peoples – A New Partnership". This motto, according to Brantenberg and Minde (1995), shows the direction of what it was about. In their words:

"It involves a claim for a fundamental restructuring of indigenous peoples relations to the non-indigenous world – a challenge to international bodies, and particularly to national governments. Indigenous peoples are claiming both basic human rights, but also special rights and self-determination to their respective homelands within separate nation states. This is a claim for cultural uniqueness and self-expression, but also for equal worth, negotiation and partnership to governments and majority peoples" (Brantenberg & Minde, 1995, p. 4).

In the year 2000, a Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues was established within the UN system by the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC, 2000b). The Forum shall serve as an advisory body to the Council with a "mandate to discuss indigenous issues within the mandate of the Council relating to economic and social development, culture, the environment, education, health and human rights" (ECOSOC, 2000b, para. 2).

A modify cultural dominance perspective and forests

An international NGO like the World Rainforest Movement has lobbied for the rights of indigenous people (Dudley *et al*, 1995). The World Rainforest Movement was established in 1986 as an international network of citizen's groups involved in 'defending the world's rainforests', initially to focus on what was considered the

flaws of the FAOs, the World Bank's, and the UNDPs Tropical Forestry Action Programme (http://www.wrm.org/uy/, 6-Dec-2007). The World Rainforest Movement was one of the founding members of the so called Global Forest Coalition founded in 2000, which main aim is to "facilitate the informed participation of NGOs and IPOs in international forest policy meetings, and also to produce monitoring reports on the implementation of international commitments on forests such as the Proposals for Action from the Intergovernmental Panel – and Forum on Forests, the Convention on Biological Diversity and the Convention on Climate Change. According to its web-page, its mission is to "reduce poverty amongst, and avoid impoverishment of, indigenous peoples and other forest-dependent peoples by advocating the rights of these peoples as a basis for forest policy and addressing the direct and underlying causes of deforestation and forest degradation" (http://www.wrm.org.uy/GFC/about.html, 6-Dec-2007).

Since the 1992 Rio conference, NGOs have argued for indigenous peoples' rights to be protected in order to achieve Sustainable Forest Management. As is for example stated in what was labelled *The NGO Alternative Forest Treaty* that was agreed by NGOs in parallel to the Rio conference in 1992:

"The rights of indigenous and traditional peoples who make a living from the non-destructive extraction of forest products (such as rubber-tapping and nut picking) should be legally guaranteed in areas they have traditionally occupied. These extractive processes *should be recognized, protected and promoted as sustainable forest management* to alleviate pressure on the forests, to benefit local economies, and to help the global environment" (emphasis added) (Anon, 1992).

Arguments that Sustainable Forest Management requires the protection of indigenous peoples rights have been forwarded throughout the UN forest process, as for example expressed in a position paper to the fifth session of the UN Forum on Forests: "Asserting that sustainable forest management cannot be achieved without the protection of indigenous peoples' rights" (ECOSOC, 2005). This statement takes the position that:

"indigenous peoples are unique in their relationship to the forests on which they depend and towards which they hold a relationship of care and management. They have lived in harmony and nurtured their forest and biodiversity through their skill, practices, knowledge and a holistic understanding of the environment, which has been evolved and integrated into their culture and way of life. Nowadays, their forests and lives are under threat from so called mega-development projects, mining, logging concessions and biopiracy activities. […] indigenous peoples are not merely stakeholders in a discussion about future forms of forest agreements and management principles, but rather are rights holders by virtue of the unique position described" (ECOSOC, 2005).

Rights to intellectual property are one aspect of rights of indigenous people, which has become of relevance in relation to global public policy on forests, as we shall see in chapter 5. Since the adoption in 1948 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, rights to intellectual property (United Nations, 1948, para. 27) has been considered one of the fundamental human rights of all people. In more recent time, intellectual property rights has become an issue in relation to conservation of biological diversity and 'traditional knowledge'[12] of indigenous and local communities about it. While the rationale behind Western intellectual property law

[12] Hansen & VanFleet (2003, p. 3) defines 'traditional knowledge' (TK) as "the information that people in a given community, based on experience and adaptation to a local culture and environment, have

in relation to biological material has been to promote research and commercialization of its results through the granting of patents, this rationale fits badly with many indigenous world-views on rights to knowledge. Hence, their rights have often been overruled by such law and the term 'biopiracy' is often used to describe the misappropriation of knowledge or biological materials from traditional communities (Hansen & VanFleet, 2003).

If we are to put together an idealised coherent argumentation from this perspective as it applies to forests, it might be articulated as follows:

The securing-indigenous-territorial-rights –argumentation
The rights of indigenous peoples have for long been overruled by national economic interests to the extent that the cultures of indigenous peoples are threatened. Forests are home to many indigenous peoples and forest-dependent communities and an integral part of their culture. In such communities, extractive activities have been going on for centuries without the forest resource being degraded or destroyed, due to the intimate relationship between indigenous people and their surroundings. Thus, respecting territorial and other rights and decentralizing decision-making over the forest resource in question is a prerequisite for Sustainable Forest Management.

We have now sketched four differing perspectives taken to be related to global public policy-making on forests, with the aim of trying to understand the context from which different arguments around Sustainable Forest Management derives. Although different actors' arguments in global public policy-making on forests are, since the Rio conference, revolving around the concept of Sustainable Forest Management, it seems that 'the Problems' foreseen as having to be addressed in order to achieve Sustainable Forest Management are qualitatively very different in nature. In the following, we make use of the concept of policy frames to discuss this further.

4.3 Four policy frames and 'the Problem'

We may recall from chapter 2 that a *policy frame* refers in this thesis to a social construction of a policy issue that comprises a problem definition, a proposed solution, and a justification for action. In order to discuss 'the Problem' to be addressed by global public policy on forests, we here construct *four ideal type policy frames* out of the perspectives outlined above. These are referred to as a *modify management policy frame*, a *modify human-nature relations policy frame*, a *modify economic relations policy frame*, and a *modify cultural dominance policy frame* respectively. Each policy frame is then taken to imply a *different framing of 'the Problem'* to be addressed by global public policy on forests. In this section we elaborate on these different framings of 'the Problem', and what they might imply for what is regarded as the purpose of global public policy-making on forests. First, the table below presents our four ideal type policy frames with regard to:

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developed over time, and continue to develop." It should be noted that the term 'traditional' refers to this kind of knowledge being 'tradition-based', not to it being 'old' or 'untechnical' in nature.

what kind of *system* that is taken to govern the frame; what kind of *relationship* that primarily occupies the policy frame; how *'the Problem'* is framed; the proposed *solution*; and the *justification for action*.

Table 1. Four ideal type policy frames of relevance to the forest issue on the UN agenda

Policy frame	*System governing the policy frame*	*Primary relationship*	*Problem definition*	*Proposed solution*	*Justification for proposed action*
Modify management	A system of economic sectors	Forestry sector-other sectors' relationship	Forests not properly recognised for the positive role they can play in development	Enhance political commitment to forests and increase investment in forestry-related projects	Sustaining the role of the forestry sector in development
Modify human-nature relations	An eco-system	Human-nature relationship	Negative global environmental change, including deforestation and forest degradation	Sub-ordinate socio-economic activities to ecological limits	Sustaining the life-supporting system of the planet
Modify economic relations	A system of sovereign states	North-South relationship	An unequal world economic system	Redistribution of financial and technological resources from North to South	Sustaining the right to socio-economic development
Modify cultural dominance	A system of cultures	Western culture-'traditional' culture relationship	Rights of indigenous peoples' overruled by 'development projects'	Securing territorial property rights and decentralizing decision-making	Sustaining cultures

The four ideal type policy frames are conceived of as governed by *different systemic perspectives*, which imply that *different kinds of relationships* are in focus regarding forests as a policy issue at the global level. For example, the systemic perspective governing a modify management policy frame is taken to be a *system of economic sectors*, and the primary relationship in focus in this policy frame is the one between different economic sectors. Likewise, the systemic perspective governing a modify economic relations policy frame is taken to be a *system of sovereign states*, and its primary focus is relations between 'the North' and 'the South'. Depending on governing systemic perspective, and primary relationship in focus, 'the Problems' to be addressed by global public policy are framed differently. For example, in a policy frame governed by a system of economic sectors, *problems* are framed with the concerns of an economic sector as a point of departure. *Solutions* to these problems are sought within the sector in question, or in the activities of other economic sectors. The *justification* for 'policy action' is to sustain the economic activities of the sector in question, as well as the resource base that the sector is dependent on (natural and human). In a modify economic relations policy frame, the point of departure in framing problems and its solutions are relations between these states and unequal power-relations

between states. The *justification* for policy action has to do with sustaining or adjusting power-relations between sovereign states. In a modify human-nature relations policy frame, the relationship in focus are that between humans and the life-supporting system of the planet, and problems and solutions are framed from that perspective.

In line with our general perspectives, we can conceive of these policy frames as answering to different kinds of basic questions in relation to the broader question of what is 'sustainable development' and how it is to be achieved, that are: *How* should production processes be modified so as to make development 'sustainable'? *How much* may we produce and consume in the first place in order for development to be 'sustainable'? How should production and consumption be *distributed around the globe* in order to achieve a sustainable' development? *Who* should have the right to decide what 'development' is supposed to mean?

As stated in chapter 2, a policy frame may be thought of as serving the function of selecting some parts of reality and downplaying or excluding others. As for our policy frames, we can say that depending on which socio-economic system that is taken as a point of departure when defining 'the Problem', some factors will be internal to the problem-analysis, and other factors will be external. Consider for example a factor like 'future demand in forest goods and services', which has been a central concern in a forestry sector context for long. From a modify management policy frame, this factor would be external to the problem analysis. It is a factor that this policy frame has to react to. It is an exogenous factor when 'solutions' are framed in a modify management policy frame. In a modify human-nature relations policy frame on the other hand, current patterns of production and consumption are a key concern. We can say that it is a factor included in the policy frame when framing problems and solutions. Current production and consumption patterns are perceived as a factor that needs to be changed to reverse current trends in global environmental change. Further, which systemic perspective governs the frame should also have implications for what actors are considered potential targets for public policy, to which kind of actors or measures you look for the solutions.

Finally, when we look at the forest issue through the lenses of these differing policy frames, 'the Problems' that should be addressed by global public policy on forests looks qualitatively very different in nature. In the words of Rein and Schön (1993, p. 153-154), "we are no longer able to say that we are comparing different perspectives on "the same problem"", because when we change policy frame, the problem itself changes. Or in other words, we cannot say that we are comparing different perspectives on the 'problem' of deforestation and forest degradation. We are rather comparing four qualitatively different 'problems'. In the following, we will discuss how the purpose of global public policy-making on forests might be perceived from the perspective of these differing policy frames.

4.3.1 Four qualitatively different policy problems and the purpose of a global public policy on forests

In our ideal type 'modify management policy frame', the primary 'Problem' is that forests and the forestry sector is not recognised for the contribution it can make to

sustainable development. From the perspective of this policy frame, it would be of interest that forests should not only be looked upon in relation to an 'environmental problem' – as a sink for, or source of, greenhouse gases or provider of biological diversity – but also recognised for their potential as a source of development.

We look at some arguments made around a forest convention at the time around the 1992 Rio conference in the light of this ideal type policy frame. The political attention that was being paid to 'forests' in the beginning of the 1990s was seen by some representatives of 'the international forest community' as an opportunity to increase attention to the role of the forest sector. As for example expressed in an article in the FAO magazine Unasylva in 1992:

"The current attention being paid to forest related issues by international political communities should be viewed as a rare window of opportunity to advance the interests for forestry of political support and sustainable forest development, and to promote the multiple benefits provided by forests" (Maini, 1992).

From a modify management policy frame, the UN forest process may be seen as an instrument serving to countervail the perceived one-sided focus on forests as a 'global environmental problem' that it got in a deforestation framing. We find this reasoning reflected in views of delegates at the UN Forum on Forests. One delegate argues, for example, that the impetus behind the G7 Houston proposal in 1990 on a forest convention (see section 3.3.1) was a fear from the forest community that forests would be looked upon in a 'piecemeal fashion', spread as elements in the Convention on Biological Diversity and the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (interview 27). Another delegate noted that there was a political window of opportunity that foresters recognised in the 1980s (interview 10). Another yet that it was unfortunate that the forest process started out from the concept of deforestation: even though combating deforestation is still an important objective, it is not the only reason to look at forests. As this delegate put it, deforestation was used as an excuse to focus on forests (interview 19). Another noted that it was the focus on deforestation that killed the idea of a forest convention at the time of the Rio conference (interview 27).

To make the point clear, from the perspective of a modify management policy frame, the 'effectiveness' of global public policy on forests would be assessed against its ability to increase the political attention to the role of forests and the forestry sector and thus sustain the role of the forestry sector in development. We could for example interpret the following lines regarding the adoption of the Forest Principles at the Rio conference in 1992 as a reflection of such a perspective:

"The adoption of the principles should accentuate the importance of the forest sector in the eyes of decision-makers and public opinion and should also help consolidate support for a balanced approach to forest conservation and development" (Lanly, 1992).

From our modify human-nature relations policy frame, the effectiveness of global public policy on forests would be assessed in relation to its ability to address 'the Problem' of deforestation and forest degradation and thus sustain the life-

supporting system of the planet. A view reflected for example in an NGO opening statement to the fifth session of UN Forum on Forests:

"We do not support the continuation of the UNFF, as it has proven to be ineffective in curbing deforestation and forest degradation" (Anon, 2005).

Likewise, we can say that from a modify economic relations policy frame, effectiveness of global public policy on forests would be assessed against its ability to sustain the right of states to socio-economic development, and from a modify cultural dominance policy frame against its ability to sustain traditional cultures.

4.4 Some concluding remarks

This chapter has been concerned with 'the Problem' to be addressed by global public policy on forests. We have concluded that, seen in the framework of our four ideal type policy frames, 'the Problems' argued to be connected to 'the forest issue' are qualitatively different in nature. We can say that all of our four policy frames include recognition that forests in many places are unsustainably managed or overexploited, and that this needs to be dealt with in some way. However, when it comes to what is really 'the Problem' to address, this differs. We said that we cannot say that we are comparing differing perspectives on the same 'Problem', because when we change policy frame, the problem itself changes.

That differing perspectives generate differing views on what is 'the Problem' to address regarding forests might be seen as a trivial conclusion in itself. Less trivial is perhaps the conclusion that a decade and plus of global public policy-making on forests does not seem to have contributed to any consensus among actors on what is 'the Problem' to address with a global public policy on forests, which is also noted by other scholars (see *e.g.* Smouts, 2003). However, what is interesting in relation to the concern of this thesis is how these differing perspectives on what is 'the Problem' to address is related to the substantive content of UN policy on forests as it has developed over time. In line with Schön and Rein (1994, p. 29), we here regard 'frames' and 'interests' as logically independent concepts and not identical. Interests may be viewed as shaped by frames, and frames may be used to promote interests. Interests may change over time, although policy frames remains intact. There are clearly different interests here. Sustainable Forest Management is often presented as being about 'balancing' the different interests that are directed towards forests. The question we turn to now is to what extent the 'interests' of these policy frames have been 'balanced' in the content of UN forest policy aimed at Sustainable Forest Management?

5. Policy content: framing of UN policy on forests from Stockholm to Johannesburg and beyond

We have now come to the third aspect of our 'three-aspect-approach' to analysing framing of policy. Whereas chapter 3 explored the policy context, and chapter 4 the policy problem, this chapter is concerned with *policy content*. We here return specifically to the object of study in this thesis, UN policy on forests. That is, policy recommendations on forests adopted at the Stockholm conference in 1972, the Rio conference in 1992, in the Intergovernmental Panel – and Forum on Forests, the UN Forum on Forests, including the non-legally binding agreement on forests adopted at the seventh session on the UN Forum on Forests in 2007, as well as policy adopted at the Johannesburg conference in 2002. The focus in this chapter is *substantive policy content,* and the question we ask is what this content looks like at various points in time. That is, we ask in what way UN policy on forests has been framed from the first UN conference on environment and development in 1972 up till the seventh session of the UN Forum on Forests.

The previous chapter outlined four ideal type policy frames which have been argued to be of relevance to the forest issue at the UN agenda. These policy frames have been said to imply differing framings of 'the Problem' to be addressed by global public policy on forests, different solutions to these problems, and different justifications for action. They are referred to as a 'modify management policy frame', a 'modify human-nature relations policy frame', a 'modify economic relations policy frame', and a 'modify cultural dominance policy frame' respectively. Here we use these ideal type policy frames as a tool to portray in what way UN policy on forests has been framed over time.

Framing can be seen as essentially being about *selection* and *salience*. To frame something "is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). In this chapter, we analyse UN policy on forests as a form of communicating text, we are interested in what perceived realities that are selected and made salient in this text over time. The different 'realities' that we are concerned with here are the ones of our four ideal type policy frames. What this chapter seeks to illuminate is if and how aspects of these particular four 'realities' have been selected and made salient in UN policy on forests over time, and what this say about the kind of problem, or problems, that global public policy on forests has come to be responsive to.

It was stated in chapter 1 that a central principle in the sustainable development policy framework is that achievement of sustainable development requires involvement of all social groups. This is expressed in the principle of public participation in decision-making. Further, we have said that Sustainable Forest Management is generally understood as implying a 'balancing' of the different interests that are directed towards forests. Given this, we would perhaps expect

global public policy on forests from the Rio conference and onwards to have become more inclusive of different perspectives regarding what is the problem to address in relation to forests at the global level. Or, if talking in our 'policy frame language', that 'the problem to address' as perceived from different policy frames would to an increasing extent be reflected in UN forest policy over time. This chapter argues that this is not the case. By using the ideal type policy frames as an interpretive tool, it argues that UN forest policy after the Rio conference has come to be framed in line with two of the policy frames that we are dealing with here. It argues that while elements of all four policy frames, to varying degrees, are reflected in policy recommendations on forests from the Rio conference, since then, framing of UN policy on forests have gradually come to be dominated by a 'modify management policy frame' and a 'modify economic relations policy frame'. That is, we could say that global public policy on forests aimed at Sustainable Forest Management and sustainable development is biased in favour of specific framings on what is 'the Problem' to address in order to achieve it.

This chapter conveys that argument by focussing on three levels of framing of policy. This was discussed in chapter 2, so we here just briefly recall which the three levels are.

First, we may talk about framing at the level of agenda-setting. The question then is what issues are included on the policy agenda in question, and which are not, which potentially could have been there. Obviously, we would not expect policy recommendations to be adopted on issues that are not on the agenda, so how the *agenda* is framed seems to be an important aspect to consider if we want to understand in what way a certain policy has been framed.

Second, we may talk about framing at the level of *policy recommendations*. We said that just the fact that certain issues are included, or not included, on the agenda does not say so much about how a policy is framed. More can be said by examining how the issues that are included on the policy agenda in question have been addressed in policy text.

We may also talk about framing at the level of the *policy issue as a whole.* We said that one way to capture this is to ask how the issue in question is framed in relation to other issues on the global political agenda. In our case, we ask how *the forest issue* as a whole is framed in relation to issues such as 'biodiversity', 'climate change', 'trade', or 'human rights'.

The chapter is divided into four parts. The first three parts are organised with departure in the three levels of framing outlined above. The first part focuses on framing at the level of agenda-setting. Here we ask in what way we can find our policy frames in the choice of issues included on the UN forest *agenda* over time. We address this question by approaching the object of study chronologically so that we start with the policy recommendations from the Stockholm conference, and proceeds through the policy from the Rio conference, the Intergovernmental Panel – and Forum on Forests, policy from the UN Forum on Forests and the Johannesburg conference, asking the same question. The second part of the chapter focuses on framing at the level of *policy recommendations*. Here we ask in

what way we find our four policy frames reflected in the framing of policy recommendations on issues included on the agenda over time. For reasons of time and space, we cannot deal with all the policy recommendations that this policy process has produced. Therefore, in this part we pick some issues on the UN forest agenda that are taken to be illustrative for furthering the argument of this chapter. The third part of the chapter focuses on framing of the issue as a whole. Here we ask in what way we find our four policy frames reflected in the framing of the forest issue as a whole over time. In the fourth and last part of the chapter, we leave the focus on different levels of framing and seek instead to draw the pieces together. While still proceeding in chronological order, in this part we shift the attention to the policy frames themselves and describe framing of UN policy on forests as a function of an interplay between differing policy frames.

5.1 Framing of the UN forest policy agenda

What the specific *agenda* look like for a certain issue on the broader political agenda naturally say something about how policy around this issue is framed. In this section, we focus on how UN policy on forests has been framed in terms of what the *UN forest policy agenda* has looked like over time. Since we are talking about 'the agenda' in this part, it is in place to first clarify what is here meant with 'an agenda'. To begin with, in global politics we might talk about explicit agendas and 'hidden' agendas, the latter which might then for example reveal themselves in the kind of proposals delegates put forward during negotiations. Here we are concerned with explicit agendas, and not the possible hidden ones.

Kingdon, in analysing policy formation in the US federal system, conceives of 'the agenda' as "the list of subjects or problems to which governmental officials, and people outside of government closely associated with those officials, are paying some serious attention at any given time" (Kingdon, 2003, p. 3). This thesis understands 'an agenda' in line with this conception, only that that we are here talking about a UN agenda and thus government officials from a number of countries. The UN forest agenda refers here to the agenda on 'forests' of the conferences and policy-rounds as delimited in section 1.3 of this thesis.[13]

The UN forest agenda might however be conceived differently depending on from what 'level' it is considered. For example, 'forests' regarded as one of many issues on the broader global sustainable development agenda might be associated with a certain agenda, where 'deforestation' together with issues such as 'climate change', 'biodiversity', and 'desertification' are perceived as some of the 'global environmental issues' that have to be addressed in order to further a sustainable development. Then, within policy deliberations on the forest issue, there is a certain agenda, including issues such as 'trade and environment', 'valuation of forest goods and services', and 'financial assistance'. Further, a specific issue on the UN forest agenda, such as 'financial assistance', might also be associated with

[13] It should be noted that in other analytical frameworks than the one chosen in this thesis, we may of course regard the agendas of UN specialized agencies dealing with forest issues (notably the FAO), as well as 'the forest agendas' of for example negotiations on climate change and biodiversity as also constituting 'UN forest agendas'.

a certain agenda. In this part, we are concerned with the 'middle level' agenda, that is, the 'list of subjects' considered within UN policy deliberations on forests as a whole over time.

With the establishment of the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests in 1995, the agenda of UN policy-making on forests becomes easy to discern. When the Commission on Sustainable Development decided to establish this ad hoc arrangement for forest policy deliberations, it also decided upon its mandate and terms of reference, that is, its agenda. A decision was thus taken upon 'a list of subjects' that this Panel was to consider in its work. This 'list' has been more or less constant since 1995 and onwards (although there has been some renaming and reshuffling of agenda items as well as some amendments and withdrawals over time). For our purposes of investigating how UN policy on forests has been framed, it is thus of interest what made this explicit 'list of subjects or problems' to be discussed at the global level get the shape that it got, since this 'list' has shaped discussions and framing of policy proposals from 1995 and onwards.

However, we also want to say something about framing of the agenda on forests at the Stockholm, Rio, and Johannesburg conferences. Here we do not have the same kind of 'established list of subjects' to recur to. As for the Stockholm and Rio conferences, we look at the policy recommendations adopted on forests to say something about the agenda. What I mean with the forest agenda at the time of these conferences is thus simply the issues that we can say were explicitly addressed in the recommendations on forests from these conferences.

As for the Johannesburg conference, it does not make sense to me to talk about an explicit 'Johannesburg forest agenda'. The final report from this conference contains one paragraph explicitly concerned with 'forests', and this paragraph was more or less the negotiated text from a Ministerial Declaration adopted at the second session of the UN Forum on Forests in 2002 as a message to the upcoming Johannesburg conference. Thus, I regard the forest agenda at the Johannesburg conference as 'equivalent' to the agenda of the UN Forum on Forests. We will however come back to policy adopted from the Johannesburg conference in sections 5.2 and 5.3.

The table below first provides an indicative overview of issues addressed at the 1972 Stockholm conference, the 1992 Rio conference, and the agenda of the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests (IPF), and the multi-year programme of work of the UN Forum on Forests (UNFF). Then we proceed to look at framing of the UN forest agenda at the Stockholm conference.

Table 2. Indicative overview of issues addressed regarding forests at the Stockholm conference, the Rio conference, the IPF, and the UNFF

Issues on forest agenda at 1972 Stockholm conference	**Issues on forest agenda at 1992 Rio conference**	**Agenda of the IPF 1995-97**	**Issues UNFF MYPOW 2000-2005**
• Need for new knowledge on environmental aspects of forests and forest management • Collection of data on the world's forest cover and condition • Need for research and exchange of information on forest fires, pests, and diseases • Transfer of information to developing countries on forests and forest management •Conservation of forest genetic resources	***Forest Principles*** • National sovereignty over forests • Equitable sharing of costs for conservation • New and additional financial resources, technology transfer • Increased participation • Rights of indigenous peoples • (and many others) ***Ch 11, Agenda 21*** • Sustaining the multiple roles and functions of all types of forests • Enhancing the protection, sustainable management and conservation of all forests • Promoting efficient utilization and assessment to recover the full valutaion of forest goods and services • Establishing and strengthening capacities for the planning, assessment and systematic observations of forests	• Progress through national forest and land-use programmes • Underlying causes of deforestation and forest degradation • Traditional forest-related knowledge • Fragile ecosystems affected by desertification and drought • Impact of airborne pollution on forests • Needs and requirements of countries with low forest cover • Financial assistance • Technology transfer and capacity-building and information • Assessment of the multiple benefits of all types on forests •Forest research •Methodologies for the proper valuation of the multiple benefits of forests •Criteria and indicators for SFM •Trade and environment • International institutions and instruments	• Combating deforestation and forest degradation • Forest conservation and protection of unique types of forests and fragile ecosystems • Rehabilitation and conservation strategies for countries with low forest cover • Rehabilitation and restoration of degraded lands and promotion of natural and planted forests • Concepts, terminology and definitions • Economic aspects of forests • Forest health and productivity • Maintaining forest cover to meet present and future needs • Traditional forest-related knowledge • Forest-related scientific knowledge • Social and cultural aspects of forests • Monitoring, assessment and reporting • Criteria and indicators of SFM

Sources: United Nations (1973), para. 24-28, 42-3; United Nations (1993), chapter 11 and the Forest Principles; ECOSOC (1997a); ECOSOC (2001a).

5.1.1 Framing of the forest agenda at the Stockholm conference

Management of forests was an issue on the overall agenda of the 1972 Stockholm conference, and addressed under the agenda item 'Environmental aspects of natural resource management' (United Nations, 1973). As stated in chapter 3, at the time of this conference, forests were not as politicized an issue at the global political agenda as it was to become later on, and the UN agenda concerning 'the forest issue' is not yet as explicitly articulated as it was to become with the establishment of the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests in 1995. We may nevertheless look at the recommendations on forests that were included in the final report from the Stockholm conference (recommendations number 24 to 28) to see what kind of issues they address. In the recommendations specifically concerning forest management in this report, five main issues may be discerned, as shown in table 2.

It may be noted that, apart from the issue of conservation of forest genetic resources, these issues are in line with the background report on forests that was produced by the FAO as an input to the Stockholm conference. This report proposed action at international level in four areas: a world forest appraisal programme; institutional programme; international research on forest influences; and, international exchange of information on forest industries pollution control (FAO, 1971). It may further be noted that this was essentially what the FAO was

already working with in international forestry at the time. Thus, the theme of the Stockholm conference did not mean adding anything new to 'the forest issue' at the global level in terms of issues that were to be addressed.

There does not seem to have been much controversy as to what issues should be addressed regarding forests at the global level at the time. An observer reporting from this subject area noted that many of the recommendations under this subject area were adopted as they stood or with only small amendments (United Nations, 1973). The 'North-South tensions' that were characteristic for the conference as a whole (see chapter 3), does not seem to have affected the choice of issues to be addressed in relation to forests at the time of the Stockholm conference. We could say that a 'modify economic relations policy frame' was not yet invoked regarding forests. It may be noted though, that Brazil had an objection regarding the issue of collection of data on the world's forest cover. It objected to a recommendation regarding a monitoring system over the world's forest cover with the argument that it infringed upon national sovereignty. This might be taken as an indication that arguments that we refer to such a policy frame influenced the issues addressed. However, this objection was accommodated through replacement of the word 'monitoring system' in the final recommendation (Anon, 1973), which instead refers to surveillance of the world's forests "through the programmes of the Food and Agriculture Organization" (United Nations, 1973, para. 25). This indicates to me that there was no substantial worry that the inclusion of this particular issue was of concern as such, but more a question of 'making a statement'.

On the whole, the issues respond to concerns in the practice of forestry and for the forest sector at the time. We can say that the choice of issues to address at the global level regarding forests at the Stockholm conference are consistent with our 'modify management policy frame'. The global forest agenda at the time is responsive to questions about *how 'management processes'* could be modified so as to better integrate environmental concerns into the practice of forestry.

5.1.2 Framing of the forest agenda at the Rio conference

It was stated in chapter 1 that the range of issues of concern in relation to forests has been considerably broadened in the policy on forests from the 1992 Rio conference as compared to that from the Stockholm conference twenty years earlier. Here I will argue that the issues addressed in the Forest Principles and the chapter 11 of Agenda 21 that was adopted at the Rio conference, reflect *issues* of concern to all of our four policy frames, although to varying extents.

The overriding 'issue' in relation to forests at the time of the Rio conference was deforestation and degradation of tropical forests. This is reflected in the title of chapter 11 of Agenda 21, 'Combating deforestation'. It should first be noted that whereas the action plan from the Stockholm conference contained some paragraphs on things that had to be addressed in relation to 'forests' and environmental aspects, this chapter (as well as other chapters in agenda 21) is presented as a 'programme', which means that a range of 'issues' are addressed which pertains to the forest sector. We recognize from the recommendations from

the Stockholm conference for example issues pertaining to the need for appropriate assessment and systematic observation of forest land and resources as a basis for planning and decision-making. New are issues of strengthening forest-related national institutions, including mechanisms for the participation of the general public in forest management. New is also the focus on improvement of the recognition of the multiple values of forests. As for conservation of forests, a new objective is to "maintain existing forests" and "expand areas under forest and tree cover" (United Nations, 1993, para. 11.12a). We may note that "the greening of appropriate areas" is stated to be a "task of global importance and impact" (United Nations, 1993, para. 11.15).

As for the Forest Principles, it might seem odd to talk about 'an agenda' in relation to a set of principles. However, in the same way as above, we can reflect upon what are the kinds of issues addressed in these principles. To begin with, there are a number of paragraphs pertaining to concerns that we also find in chapter 11 of Agenda 21, such as strengthening of forest-related institutions and need for appropriate forest research, inventories, and assessments. There are also a number of paragraphs that we might infer to priority concerns in a 'modify economic relations policy frame', which were not part of the UN forest agenda at the Stockholm conference 20 years earlier, such as: the affirmation of national sovereignty over natural resources; equitable sharing of costs for conservation of forests by the international community; need for increased financial resources to developing countries; redressing external indebtedness, and; transfer of technology and equitable trading rules (United Nations, 1993, Forest Principles, paras. 1a-b, 2a, 7b, 9a, 10, 11, 13a-b, 14). Further, these principles could be said to address issues of concern in a 'modify cultural dominance policy frame' such as increased participation of interested parties in national forest policy-making and rights of indigenous peoples (ibid. paras. 2d, 5a).

On the whole, the UN forest agenda at the time of the Rio conference can be said to reflect concerns of all our four policy frames, although with overweight to concerns of a 'modify management' and a 'modify economic relations' policy frame.

5.1.3 Framing of the agenda of the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests

With the initiation of the work of the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests in 1995, we can talk about an explicit agenda of issues concerning forests at global level that was to be pursued in a more permanent (although *ad hoc* at the time) set up for deliberations on forest policy at the global level. When the Commission on Sustainable Development decided at its third session in 1995 to establish this open-ended ad hoc arrangement under its aegis, it also outlined its mandate and terms of reference, that is, its agenda. Since this agenda has been more or less intact until the sixth session of the UN Forum on Forests, it is of interest for our purposes to look closer at what contributed to give it the shape that it got. Particularly, we will look at two initiatives, which final reports were included as documentation to the third session of the Commission on Sustainable Development regarding forests (ECOSOC, 1995d). It is a 'review of progress' made since the Rio conference that was initiated by the UN Economic and Social

Council, and which included a review of progress made on the forest-related agreements of the Rio conference. And it is a report submitted to the Commission by the so called Intergovernmental Working Group on Forests. We start with the latter.

The Intergovernmental Working Group on Forests

After the Rio conference, a number of initiatives were initiated in order to further the international policy dialogue on forests, after the failed negotiations on a forest convention (see *e.g.* Humphreys, 1996). Among them were two meetings of what was called the Intergovernmental Working Group on Forests (initially the Intergovernmental Working Group on *Global* Forests), which was a joint initiative undertaken by Canada and Malaysia, and which included participation of representatives from a number of countries, some intergovernmental organisations and some NGOs (ECOSOC, 1994, Appendix I). The stated objective of this initiative was to facilitate dialogue and consolidate approaches to the management, conservation and sustainable development of the world's forests, leading to a review of forest-related issues which was to be undertaken by the UN Commission on Sustainable Development at its third session in 1995 (ECOSOC, 1994). The Working Group held two meetings. Humphreys (1996) has argued that the significance of this Intergovernmental Working Group on Forests was not just that it played a role in confidence-building, but that it also contributed to set the agenda for the work of the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests between 1995 and 1997. For our purposes, it is therefore of interest to look closer at what issues this group identified as priority issues for *inclusion* on a global political agenda regarding forests, and what issues that were *excluded,* that potentially could have been there.

First, we may recall from chapter 3 what the 'political climate' around the forest issue looked like at the time when this group started its work. The negotiations at the Rio conference on a forest convention failed because it proved too controversial to pursue the Northern agenda of a legally binding instrument to conserve resources in the South, and the political climate between North and South on this matter has been characterized as one of "suspicion" at the time (Humphreys, 1996, p. 135). This suspicious climate restricted the issues that possibly *could* be discussed, if the political dialogue on forests was to be furthered at the global level. In a working document in preparation for the first meeting of the Intergovernmental Working Group on Forests, some premises for further discussions are stated. First that national sovereignty over natural resources should be respected. Second, that forests are an important resource for economic development and in meeting human needs. Third, that the intention was not to develop legally binding proposals, and lastly, that the meeting was intended as a complement to other policy-processes on global forests, as well as the conventions on biodiversity, climate change, and desertification (Anon, 1994).

In the same document, the domestic and global agenda on forests are described as wide-ranging since forest-related issues are complex, involving a broad spectrum of socio-economic, trade, environmental and cultural considerations (Anon, 1994). The document proposes that the Working Group focus on 'core priority issues', which were the following: development of criteria and indicators for sustainable

forestry for all types of forests; facilitation of trade in forest products; proposals for new and additional financing, and; expansion of forest cover and conservation of forest resources. The report from the first meeting states that these five issues were recognised in the Forest Principles and chapter 11 of the Agenda 21 "and were viewed by the organizers [of the Working Group] as the core of forest-related concerns in most parts of the world" (ECOSOC, 1994, Annex).

It can be noted that during the first meeting, seven topics were identified that so far had been missed or inadequately addressed by the Working Group, which were argued to also having been recognised in the Forest Principles. Among them were 'protection of the customary rights of indigenous and other forest-dependent peoples', 'equitable resolution of land tenure conflicts', and 'use of environmental impact assessment' (ECOSOC, 1994, Appendix II). The table below shows the issues initially proposed to be addressed, issues proposed to be amended, and the issues included on the agenda for the second meeting on the Working Group.

Table 3. Issues on the agenda of the Intergovernmental Working Group on Forests at its first and second meeting

Key issues identified for discussion at the first meeting of the IWGF	**Issues proposed to be amended to discussions of the second meeting of the IWGF**	**Key issues deliberated on in report from the second meeting of the IWGF**
Criteria and indicators for sustainable forestry	Effective participation in forest management decision-making processes by all stakeholders	The criteria and indicators for the management, conservation and sustainable development of all types of forests
Trade and environment issues	Full public access to essential information	Trade and the management, conservation and sustainable development of all types of forests
New and innovative approaches for mobilizing additional resources and environmentally sound technology	Comprehensive, cross-sectoral integration, including land use planning and management and the influence of policies external to the traditional forest sector	Approaches to mobilising additional financial resources and environmentally sound technologies
Forest conservation as well as the enhancement of forest cover and the role of forests in meeting basic human needs	Protection of the customary rights of indigenous and other forest-dependent peoples	The management, conservation, sustainable development and enhancement of all typs of forests to meet human needs
Process issues – exploring the linkages between the various initiatives on forests undertaken since the Earth Summit at Rio in support of a successful and substantive review of forest-realted issues by the CSD at its Session in 1995	Equitable resolution of land tenure conflicts	Institutional linkages
	Use of environmental impact assessment	Participation and transparency in forest management
	Developement of methodologies for the comprehensive valuation of forest goods and services	Comprehensive cross-sectoral integartion including land use and planning and management and the influence of policies external to the traditioanl forest sector

Sources: Anon (1994); ECOSOC (1994). Appendix II: 'Non-paper on significant issues not yet given due attention by the IWGGF'; ECOSOC (1995a) Annex: Report of the second meeting of the Intergovernmental Working Group on Forests, held at Ottawa/Hull, Canada from 10 to 14 October 1994.

We may note that of the issues proposed to be amended for the second meeting of the Working Group (middle column), the issues concerning protection of

customary rights of indigenous peoples, resolution of land conflicts, use of environmental assessment, and valuation methodologies were not included. However, 'methodologies for the proper valuation of the multiple benefits of forests' were later included as an issue on the agenda of the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests (as we shall see further on), which the others were not.

The ECOSOC review

Three years after the Rio conference, the Economic and Social Council decided upon a review of progress made in implementation of agreements of the conference in general. The FAO was given responsibility for several chapters of Agenda 21 including chapter 11 concerning forests, as well as the Forest Principles (ECOSOC, 1995). The review report summarizes information on progress made as reported by a number of actors: 34 governments, 20 NGOs, and a number of other organisations. It is of interest to review its conclusions on 'expectations, common goals and instances of serious disagreement' regarding forests, since it gives a picture of 'framing of the problematic' as seen from differing viewpoints. The report concludes to start with that there is "a sense of urgency among all interest groups involved with forests", but that perceptions on what to expect from the upcoming third session of the Commission on Sustainable Development vary. It notes that many governments, particularly those of timber-exporting countries, hope for the Commission to facilitate commitment to open-trade arrangements, in recognition of efforts of timber-exporting countries to improve the environmental soundness of forest management practices. It notes that some interest groups, particularly non-governmental organisations, think that the primary goal of the Commission should be to prepare a strategy to halt and reverse deforestation and degradation of the world's forests. It concludes that "all interest groups, without exception, endorse the goal of achieving SFM [Sustainable Forest Management]" but they were, however, "taking different paths towards it" (ECOSOC, 1995, para. 96). Perceptions are reported to differ mainly regarding: the meaning of "unimpaired" forests; whether sustainable forest management is foreseen for all forests everywhere or whether this is seen as impossible, and; timetables for achieving Sustainable Forest Management (ECOSOC, 1995). The report also put forward a number of proposals for consideration of the Commission on Sustainable Development, which we to a large extent recognise in the decision that established the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests (ECOSOC, 1995b).

We can conclude two things from the brief review of these initiatives regarding the framing of the agenda. First, the issues that were excluded from the agenda of the Intergovernmental Working Group on Forests did not appear on the agenda of the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests either. We may note that the Commission decision included the issue of 'traditional forest-related knowledge', which was not part of the proposals from either of the initiatives. Further, the ECOSOC review contributed to its framing. We can also conclude that the Commission on Sustainable Development at its third session, when it was to decide on the establishment of the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests, had been provided with a report that clearly stated that there were differing perceptions as to the purpose of further policy-making on forests within the UN framework and the practical meaning of the concept of Sustainable Forest Management. The Commission on

Sustainable Development, in its decision establishing the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests, stressed "the need to further assess action already undertaken to combat deforestation and forest degradation and to promote management, conservation and sustainable development of all types of forests, including environmental and socio-economic impacts; and against that background to propose options for further actions" (ECOSOC, 1995b; Annex 1. I. Objective, para. 2).

5.1.4 Framing of the agenda of the UN Forum on Forests

The programme of work of the UN Forum on Forests, adopted at the first session of the Forum in 2001, mimic in large the programme elements of the Intergovernmental Panel and Forum on Forests, although in some cases slightly re-arranged (see Table 2). It may for example be noted that issues of 'financial assistance' and 'technology transfer' that were 'issues of their own' on the agenda of the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests, are not so in the programme of work of the Forum. They are explicitly presented as means of implementations and as such relevant to all sessions (ECOSOC, 2001). We may also note that some issues have been grouped under the headings of 'economic aspects' and 'social and cultural aspects' of forests. This latter framing seems to reflect the idea of sustainable development as implying the balancing of ecologic, economic, and social concerns. However, there are no corresponding grouping of 'environmental aspects' of forests, although a number of these issues seem to pertain to that.

All in all, we can say that the UN forest agenda seems to have become more inclusive of differing concerns from the 1992 Rio conference and onwards. However, when we talk about framing, what is *excluded* from the agenda is as interesting as what is included. We turn to this below by way of an example.

5.1.5 Issues not on the agenda

Depending on perspective, a number of issues can be argued to not being included on the agenda. Here we look closer at one example, which is the issue of 'rights of indigenous peoples'. Since the Rio conference, NGOs have argued for such rights having to be protected in order to achieve Sustainable Forest Management, as we saw in the previous chapter. We can note that this is not an issue 'in its own right' on the UN forest policy agenda over time. It is of interest to briefly look at the issue of 'indigenous peoples rights' in relation to 'management of natural resources' as addressed in the action plans from the Stockholm -, Rio, and Johannesburg conferences.

'Human rights' are not addressed in relation to 'Environmental aspects of natural resources management' in the Stockholm Action Plan. The declaration from the Stockholm conference, however, makes a statement on human rights in general, recognising that "[m]an has the fundamental right to freedom, equality and adequate conditions of life in an environment of a quality that permits a life of dignity and well-being" (United Nations, 1973, Declaration of the UNCHE, principle 1). In the action plan from the Rio conference twenty years later, indigenous peoples rights are acknowledged. Its chapter 26, entitled 'Recognizing

and strengthening the role of indigenous people and their communities begins with stating that "[i]ndigenous people and their communities shall enjoy the full measure of human rights and fundamental freedoms without hindrance or discrimination" (United Nations, 1993, para. 26.1). Further, concerning territorial rights, that governments "should aim at fulfilling", among other things, a "recognition that the lands of indigenous people and their communities should be protected from activities that are environmentally unsound or that the indigenous people concerned consider to be socially and culturally inappropriate" (United Nations, 1993, para. 26.3 ii). Ten years later, in the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation, the wording on rights in general in relation to 'the environment' is weaker. In three paragraphs that address 'Participation of major groups', it is stated that States should "acknowledge the consideration being given to the possible relationship between environment and human rights, including the right to development" (United Nations, 2002, para. 169).

As for forests, we said in chapter 4 that it was not until the 1990s that the issue of rights of indigenous people's came to be explicitly linked to the issue of deforestation, and thus to 'the forest issue' at the global political level. In order to illustrate the framing of 'the forest issue' at this time as including, as well as excluding, the 'indigenous peoples rights issue', table 4 below compares the wording of the Forest Principles concerning rights of indigenous peoples and the wording used in the Rio Declaration as well as the NGO Alternative Forest Treaty from 1992 that was agreed by NGOs in parallel to the Rio conference.

Table 4. Wording on 'rights of indigenous peoples' in the Rio Declaration, the Forest Principles, and the NGO Alternative Forest Treaty

Rio Declaration	**Forest Principles**	**NGO Alternative Forest Treaty**
"Indigenous people and their communities and other local communities have a vital role in environmental management and development because of their knowledge and traditional practices. States should recognize and duly support their identity, culture and interests and enable their effective participation in the achievement of sustainable development" *Source*: United Nations (1993). Rio Declaration, principle 22.	"National forest policies should *recognize* and *duly support* the identity, culture and the *rights* of indigenous people, their communities and other communities and forest dwellers. Appropriate conditions should be promoted for these groups to enable them to have an economic stake in forest use, perform economic activities, and achieve and maintain cultural identity and social organization, as well as adequate levels of livelihood and well-being, through, inter alia, those land tenure arrangements which serve as incentives for the sustainable management of forests" (emphasis added) *Source*: United Nations (1993) Forest Principles, para. 5 a.	"The *rights* of indigenous and traditional peoples who make a living from the non-destructive extraction of forest products (such as rubber-tapping and nut picking) should be *legally guaranteed* in areas they have traditionally occupied. (emphasis added) *Source*: Anon (1992)

The NGO Alternative Forest Treaty argues for rights of indigenous peoples to be *legally guaranteed*, whereas the wording of the Forest Principles calls for national forest policies to *recognise and duly support* indigenous peoples' rights, which is a weaker wording in terms of rights. Further, indigenous peoples and forest-dwelling communities are in this text framed as one of many stake-holders in forest use, rather than rights-holders. Looking at the Rio declaration, we can note that the Forest Principles goes one step further than Rio Declaration in its recognition of rights. The Rio Declaration does not at all refer to indigenous peoples in the wording of rights, but stresses their *vital role and calling for their participation*.

Indigenous peoples rights is thus an issue acknowledged in the Forest Principles. From that time and onwards, we do not find the issue of 'rights' on the UN forest agenda. In the non-legally binding instrument on forests adopted in 2007, it is not mentioned at all. An aspect of the 'indigenous rights issue' can be said to be that of rights to intellectual property. This is an issue that, as we shall see further on in this chapter, is pursued on the UN forest agenda from 1995 and onwards.

5.2 Framing of policy recommendations

In this section, we are concerned with the framing of *policy recommendations* on some of the issues that are to be found on the UN forest agenda. As above, we use the four ideal type policy frames as a tool of interpretation. Also here we will proceed in chronological order so that we start by looking at the recommendations from the Stockholm conference, and then move on to the policy recommendations from the Rio conference. Regarding framing of policy recommendations from the initiation of the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests and onwards, however, we proceed somewhat differently. As was described above, the issues that were included on the agenda of the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests have remained more or less the same until the agenda of the UN Forum on Forests. This gives us the opportunity to trace over time how policy recommendations have been framed. Thus, instead of just looking at the content of policy recommendations at fixed points in time, we trace the framing of recommendations on certain issues through the work of the Intergovernmental Panel - , and the Forum on Forests to the UN Forum on Forests. This gives us a more nuanced picture of how framing of specific policy recommendations has evolved over time. In this section, we also make a more frequent use of background documents to the different agenda items as well as different actor statements and reporting from the sessions in order to gain an understanding of what perspectives framing of policy recommendations reflect.

5.2.1 Framing of policy recommendations from the Stockholm conference

We may note the 'technical' and specific character of recommendations on forests from the Stockholm conference is. For example, regarding surveillance of the world's forest cover, it is specified how this should be done through remote-sensing techniques and advanced technology such as satellites which use different types of imagery. Concerning a recommendation of the transfer of information to developing countries on forests and forest management, areas where information

can be usefully transferred to developing countries on environmental aspects of areas such as: pine cultures; the principles of forest management systems and management science; soils and soils interpretations; forest industries pollution controls; methods for the evaluation of forest resources through sampling techniques, remote sensing, and data-processing. We can say that the policy language in these recommendations reflect our 'modify management policy frame', focussing on the question of *how* management should be improved or modified.

5.2.2 Framing of policy recommendations from the Rio conference

At the time of the Rio conference, 'new' dimensions have been added to the forest issue at the global level. It was argued above that this is reflected in the framing of the UN forest agenda at the time, which reflects the concerns of all four policy frames, to varying extents. However, when we look at framing of the specific policy recommendations, the picture is different.

The title of chapter 11 in Agenda 21, 'Combating deforestation', indicates that 'deforestation' would be the primary policy problem that its policy recommendations are intended to address. Then we would perhaps expect policy recommendations pertaining to identified causes of deforestation at the time, such as extensive farming and conversion of forests to livestock ranches, population growth, and excessive timber concessions. However, recommendations are mostly concerned with development of the forestry sector in different respects. There seems, in other words, to be some discrepancy between the title of the chapter and its policy content. It is of interest to note how this chapter was described in an article in the FAO magazine *Unasylva* entitled 'Forestry issues at the United Nations Conference on environment and development':

"Chapter 11 of Agenda 21 is specifically devoted to forestry matters. Although it is entitled Combating deforestation, the chapter is a balanced programme that covers all the priorities of the forestry sector" (Lanly, 1992).

From our policy frame perspective, we could say that this chapter is a 'balanced' programme from the perspective of one policy frame, a 'modify management policy frame', but not 'balanced' in terms of considering concerns of our other policy frames.

5.2.3 Framing of policy recommendations from 1995 and onwards

Here we consider some of these issues on the agenda of the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests. We are concerned with how language on these issues has developed over time from the work of the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests to the UN Forum on Forests. It is here argued that we can discern a pattern where issues of concern in a 'modify cultural dominance policy frame' and a 'modify human-nature relations policy frame' become re-framed over time in terms of substantive content in policy recommendations, so that this content fit into 'modify management' and 'modify economic relations' policy frames. The issues we look at are: 'underlying causes of deforestation'; 'traditional forest-related knowledge'; 'transfer of financial and technological resources'; 'assessing the

value of the multiple benefits of forests', and; 'supply and demand for wood and non-wood products'.

Framing of policy recommendations on 'underlying causes of deforestation'

One issue on the agenda of the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests was entitled 'underlying causes of deforestation'. The way this agenda item has been addressed is here argued to be illustrative of how a certain policy frame comes to dominate over others in framing of policy recommendations. I will argue that, although 'deforestation' is a concern in different respects in all our ideal type policy frames, policy recommendations on this issue have come to be framed in line with a 'modify management policy frame'.

The task given to the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests by the Commission on Sustainable Development regarding the issue of 'underlying causes of deforestation' was stated as:

"*identify* and *consider ways to address* the underlying causes of deforestation, forest degradation and the difficulties in implementing sustainable forest management, *with particular attention to cross-sectoral factors*, including the impact on and from forests, at the national and international levels, such as consumption and production patterns, poverty, population growth, pollution, terms of trade, discriminatory trade practices and unsustainable policies related to sectors such as agriculture, energy, and trade" (emphasis added) (ECOSOC, 1995c, para. I.2.).

Some things should be noted regarding this mandate to begin with. The Commission on Sustainable Development calls on the Panel 'to consider ways to address', and to pay particular attention to 'cross-sectoral factors' at both the national and the international level. That is, not only to factors to be found within the boundaries of the traditional forestry sector. The agenda item on 'underlying causes of deforestation' was first addressed during the second session of the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests. For that session, the UN Development Programme (UNDP), then the lead agency for this programme element, had prepared a background report. This report concludes that deforestation and forest degradation pose a serious problem in some parts of the world, but that not all changes in forest cover are necessarily harmful. It states that direct and underlying causes of deforestation are complex and vary greatly from country to country, and therefore proposes a diagnostic tool that could enable countries to trace the chains of causation. It concludes that some causes of deforestation and forest degradation lie outside the forest sector and beyond national boundaries, and that it is in "such areas particularly that the Ad Hoc Intergovernmental Panel on Forests may wish to identify options and opportunities for international cooperation and action" (ECOSOC, 1996a). Thus, it may be noted that the UNDP proposed that the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests should focus particularly on actions outside the forest sector, and at inter-national level. It may also be noted that the UNDP background report questions the terms 'deforestation' and 'forest degradation'. The report argues that there is a danger in overemphasizing such terms, because they are value-laden and divert attention from a more focused approach. It suggests instead the use of the terms 'replacement' and 'forest modification'. This proposal has, however, not had any impact on the subsequent policy language on this issue.

Turning to the *adopted policy* of the Panel regarding this issue, we first examine the Panel's conclusions from the perspective of our four policy frames. (It should be noted though that this kind of conclusions are not negotiated text, as are the actual policy recommendations, the 'proposals for action'.) The Panel noted the critical need to understand the underlying causes of deforestation and forest degradation, which are often country-specific. It reached the conclusion that "[t]he assessment of whether changes in forest cover are or are not beneficial should be made against a background represented by national policy frameworks for sustainable forest management and land-use plans, and should enable countries to identify the quantity and quality of forest required to provide the full range of benefits, goods and services needed now and in the future" (ECOSOC, 1997a, para. 18). The Panel concluded that most causes are social and economic in character. It further noted that although some courses of action, such as unsustainable timber extraction, are linked to the forest sector itself, inappropriate policy choices in other sectors can also influence deforestation and forest degradation. As international underlying causes it noted, for example, 'discriminatory international trade and poorly regulated investment, as well as long-range trans-boundary air pollution'. In terms of policy recommendations, the Panel proposed analysis of causes at national and international level, the formulation and implementation of national strategies to address deforestation, provision of information on underlying causes as a foundation for public understanding and decision-making. It also proposed the convening of a global workshop on international underlying causes and their relation to national causes (ECOSOC, 1997a).

Some things are worth highlighting here. As for policy recommendations in order to address deforestation and forest degradation, what the Panel proposed in the report from the fourth and final sessions was requesting analysis of the underlying causes of deforestation. Relating the outcome to the mandate, the Panel identified a number of underlying causes. In terms of considering ways to address the issue at hand, at this stage the way of addressing it was in essence to propose further analysis of the issue.

When the successor to the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests, the Intergovernmental Forum on Forests, took over the agenda of the Panel there were a number of matters left pending. One of which was 'underlying causes of deforestation'. The task of the Forum regarding this element was to 'consider, inter alia, analysis of underlying causes, in particular international causes, including trans-boundary economic forces of deforestation and forest degradation, taking into account the historical perspective and the pressures exerted on forests by other sectors, notably agriculture, in the quest for food security' (ECOSOC, 1997).

At the first session of the Intergovernmental Forum on Forests, NGOs expressed interest to contribute to the Forum on the element of 'underlying causes', with an offer to organize a global workshop on national and international underlying causes, referring back to the proposal for action from the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests on that matter. The global workshop took place in Costa Rica in January 1999, and was preceded by 7 regional and one Indigenous Peoples

Organisation workshop, and informed by 60 case studies and discussion papers. The workshop adopted around 130 proposals for action or recommendations for the Forum to consider (Biodiversity Action Network, 1999). The third session of the Intergovernmental Forum on Forests contained a substantive discussion on the programme element 'underlying causes'. In the background report to this substantive discussion, the workshop deliberations are summarised. The background report noted that the workshop had "identified several underlying causes that are not part of the deliberations in IFF" (ECOSOC, 1999, para. 31), and further that the workshop had noted that underlying causes often lie outside the forest sector. In its conclusions, the report stated that "underlying causes of deforestation and forest degradation are deeply ingrained in the totality of national and international policies, economic and development plans. Strategies to arrest the underlying causes must be sought in the broader policy framework of development" (ECOSOC, 1999, para. 33).

The Intergovernmental Forum on Forests also noted the recommendations of the Workshop in its final report. As for impact of the Workshop in terms of framing of policy recommendations, Humphreys (2006) has concluded that some of the recommendations from this workshop were adopted in amended form, but that many of them were not addressed at all. Recommendations related to this 'broader policy framework for development' referred to in the background documentation, for example workshop recommendations on changing unsustainable consumption and production patterns, imbalance of international trade and sustainable development regimes, and what is considered inappropriate development strategies. These are concerns of the nature we can refer to our 'modify human-nature relations', 'modify cultural dominance', and 'modify economic relations' policy frames.

In the work programme of the UN Forum on Forests, the issue now labelled 'combating deforestation and forest degradation' was scheduled for discussion at one occasion, for the second session in 2002, together with four other elements, or substantive issues. The background report to this session, now prepared by the UN Environment Programme as the new focal agency for this programme element, summarized the progress made in implementing the proposals for action of the Intergovernmental Panel – and Forum on Forests relating to combating deforestation and forest degradation. The report concluded that despite positive trends in development of national policies relating to forests, and development of criteria and indicators for measuring sustainable forest management, total forest area continues to decline in most areas of the world. Forest plantations have not relieved pressure from natural forests, and that the analysis of underlying causes did not seem to have contributed to policy developments that have taken place. The report identified three key emerging issues relevant to country implementation. These were forest law enforcement, forest fires and perverse subsidies. It proposed that future actions of the UN Forum on Forests focus on developing actions to address these causes of deforestation and forest degradation (ECOSOC, 2002a).

What then did the Forum say in terms of policy on this issue at its second session? The second session of the UN Forum on Forests included a ministerial segment,

meaning that the time for discussion on substantive issues was limited. Ministers responsible forests, in a message to be sent forward to the upcoming World Summit on Sustainable Development, declared that "[w]e are concerned about the continuing high rate of worldwide deforestation, as well as forest and land degradation, and commit ourselves to work to reverse these trends" (ECOSOC, 2002, Res. 2/1, para. 3). Policy recommendations in the adopted resolution from the Forum on the specific issue of 'combating deforestation and forest degradation' are in line with the ones of the background report on the issue. It invites the donor community to support developing countries in managing the impact of forest fires, urges governments to address illegal logging, and invites countries and members of the Collaborative Partnership on Forests to "review and report on the state of knowledge on subsidies that may result in deforestation and forest degradation" (ECOSOC, 2002, Res. 2/2, para. 6). We may note that an earlier background report on the issue concluded that strategies to arrest deforestation and forest degradation must be sought in the broader development policy framework. Further that background documentation to this session implicitly concludes that policy has 'failed', since total forest area continues to decline. Yet, policy recommendations from this session are 'narrowed down' to three areas that pertain to the forest sector.

What can be said about framing of policy recommendations on this issue from the perspective of our four policy frames then? To begin with, we can conclude that deforestation and its underlying causes has clearly been an issue on the *agenda* of UN policy on forests from the Rio conference and onwards. However, given that the agenda item on 'underlying causes of deforestation' is just one issue on a broad agenda, and that the time spent on dealing with this particular issue has been limited, we may also conclude that it is not the *primary* issue on the agenda of UN forest policy-making. Second, we can note that the framing of deforestation as a 'global' problem by major political actors, which we can say 'merited' forests to be included as an issue in its own right on the agenda of the Rio conference, has in policy recommendations been reframed as a national problem. Thirdly, we can note that many policy recommendations deal with the need for analysis of underlying causes, rather than what would have to be done in order to address them. And fourth, I argue that policy recommendations have come to be framed primarily from a forestry sector standpoint, reflecting concerns of our 'modify management policy frame', rather than as the cross-sectoral problem it is described to be. The language of policy recommendations excludes aspects that pertain to other sectors (such as the agricultural and energy sector) and to structural features of the international system (such as economic relations and global production and consumption patterns) that seems to be perceived as 'outside the mandate' of this policy process.

Framing of policy recommendations on 'Traditional Forest-Related Knowledge'

Another issue on the agenda of the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests was that of 'Traditional Forest-Related Knowledge'. This is a particularly interesting issue for exploring framing of policy recommendations, since this was a 'new' issue on the UN forest agenda that now had to be 'filled with content'. We said that the inclusion of this issue might be interpreted as a reflection of concerns of an 'modify cultural dominance policy frame'. I will here argue that framing of policy

recommendation on this issue have come to reflect the concerns of a 'modify management policy frame'. However, before investigating into policy recommendations, it is in place with some background as to the context in which the notion of 'traditional forest-related knowledge' first appeared.

In a global policy context, the notion of 'traditional-forest related knowledge' derives from the notion of 'traditional knowledge', which protection has become an issue in the context of tensions between trade-related agreements on intellectual property rights and agreements on conservation of genetic resources, notably the Convention on Biological Diversity (see section 4.2.4). The Convention on Biological Diversity sets out three general objectives: the conservation of biological diversity; the sustainable use of its components, and; the fair and equitable sharing of benefits arising out of utilization of genetic resources. Article 8j of the convention text states that parties to the convention should "respect, preserve and maintain knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous and local communities embodying traditional lifestyles relevant for the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity" (Convention on biological diversity, 1993).

In policy text, the notion 'traditional forest-related knowledge', or 'TFRK' in abbreviated form, seems first to appear in the report from the Commission on Sustainable Development that laid out the work programme for the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests. It specified what it wished the Panel to consider regarding this issue as follows:

"Consistent with the terms of the Convention on Biological Diversity, encourage countries to consider ways and means for the effective *protection* and *use* of traditional forest-related knowledge, innovations and practices of forest-dwellers and indigenous and local communities, *as well as fair and equitable sharing of benefits arising from such knowledge, innovations and practices*" (emphasis added) (ECOSOC, 1995b, section III, para. 3).

We can interpret the way the task was specified for the Panel as reflecting one aspect of the concerns of a 'modify cultural dominance policy frame', namely rights to intellectual property. A 'substantive discussion' on this agenda item was to take place at the third session of the Panel. However, as preparation for this substantive discussion, the issue was first raised for 'initital consideration' at the second session of the Panel. The background report on this issue to the second session was prepared by the secretariat to the Convention on Biological Diversity, which was the appointed lead agency for this element, in consultation with the secretariat of the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests. It was intended as a 'progress report' for the Panel to consider in order to provide guidance for the substantive discussion at the third session on a "few areas that require priority attention" (ECOSOC, 1996, para. 20). For an illustration of efforts to frame this 'new' issue, it is of interest to look at how some of the arguments went at this first 'initial consideration', as reported by the Earth Negotiation Bulletin. For example, some states expressed the view that "CBD [Convention on Biological Diversity] discussions should not dictate the work of IPF [Intergovernmental Panel on Forests], which should address the broader context of SFM [Sustainable Forest Management]". Another argument was that "text should describe TFRK [Traditional Forest-Related Knowledge] in relation to SFM, not only to biodiversity, and should note CBD's competence on *biodiversity* rather than

forests" (emphasis added). Further arguments were that that "IPF should focus on the *use* of indigenous knowledge, and leave its *protection* to other fora" (emphasis added) and that the "IPF should not extend beyond forest related issues" (IISD, 1996). Judging from this reporting, several delegations wanted to frame the issue as a sectoral one having to do with forest management, seeing Sustainable Forest Management as a broader focus than biodiversity protection, and seeing the protection of rights of indigenous people as not being a forest-related issue and as such beyond the mandate of the Panel.

The policy recommendations concerning this issue from the Panel can be said to be focused on the protection and use of 'TFRK' *in itself*, rather than protection of the rights of *holders* of this kind of knowledge. Countries and other organizations are for example encouraged to "advance international understanding on the role of TFRK" in sustainable forest management, "rehabilitate and protect TFRK", "recognize and support traditional resource use systems", "identify ways to inventory, store, catalogue and retrieve TFRK", "promote research on TFRK", and to "incorporate TFRK in forest management training". Two paragraphs, or policy recommendations, out of 18 on this issue make a mentioning on 'intellectual property rights'. The first "invites countries to explore further, at appropriate levels, different options for" legal and institutional frameworks to "support the application of intellectual property rights and/or other protection regimes for TFRK, the fair and equitable sharing of its benefits, and the possible development of formal agreements by which TFRK can be accessed". The other calls on the World Intellectual Property Organisation and the UN Conference on Trade and Development to undertake a study "aimed at advancing international understanding of the relationship between intellectual property and TFRK" (ECOSOC, 1997a, para. 40). Thus, on the whole, the 'property rights' dimension of the 'TFRK issue' can be said to have been more or less 'defined away' in the way these recommendations are framed.

Given the political controversies at the international level around issues of 'intellectual property rights', this output is not surprising in itself. As noted by Humphreys (2006), it would have been more surprising if the Panel had made progress on this issue where other political forums have not. However, from our 'framing perspective' it is of interest how an issue that is raised and put on the agenda for particular reasons transforms into another kind of issue. In this case how an issue about 'rights of indigenous people's to their intellectual property' becomes framed as an issue about 'how to integrate traditional forest-related knowledge into scientific forest management systems', which is a different kind of issue, motivated by different concerns, and which leads the thoughts to different kinds of policy prescriptions.

In the programme of work of the UN Forum on Forests, the programme element 'traditional forest-related knowledge' was scheduled for discussion at the fourth session in 2004. If it was because of it having not yet been substantively dealt with, or for other reasons, it is nevertheless of interest to note that the Ministerial Declaration that was agreed at the second session of the Forum, as a message to the upcoming Johannesburg conference, makes no explicit reference to protection of traditional-forest related knowledge (ECOSOC, 2002). The report from the

Johannesburg conference, on the other hand, calls on action to "recognize and support indigenous and community-based forest management systems to ensure their full and effective participation in sustainable forest management" (United Nations, 2002, para. 45 h). Anyhow, in 2004 it is stated that the "international community has recognized the contribution of traditional knowledge to sustainable forest management" (ECOSOC, 2004), but the Forum did not succeed very well on the issue. Humphreys (2006) describes how and why negotiations on a resolution on this programme element broke down and ended with no resolution at all, due to decisions taken in the CBD.

During the course of work on this issue, NGOs have argued for the issue to be framed in relation to indigenous peoples' rights in general. As for example stated in the Corobici Declaration, adopted at an expert meeting on Traditional Forest-Related Knowledge, held in Costa Rica in 2004: "The issue of traditional knowledge must be regarded in a holistic manner, inseparable from our rights as peoples" (Corobici Declaration, 2004, general principle 3). Or as stated in a discussion paper contributed by the indigenous peoples Major Group Fifth at the fifth session of the UNFF, which concludes that from the perspective of indigenous peoples, there are "some serious gaps in the proposals for action, which are of significant concern" while existing proposals for action "lack reference to or compliance with the key human rights instruments in the international system" (ECOSOC, 2005, para. 30). Whether such arguments have in any way been accommodated by the wording of the non-legally binding instrument on forests adopted in 2007 on the issue is, I believe, a question of interpretation. The instrument calls on Member States to:

> "Support the protection and use of traditional forest-related knowledge and practices in sustainable forest management with the approval and involvement of the holders of such knowledge, and promote fair and equitable sharing of benefits from their utilization, according to national legislation and relevant international agreements" (ECOSOC, 2007, Appendix: Non-legally binding instrument on forests, para. 6f).

Framing of policy recommendations on the issue financial assistance and technology transfer

The need for increased 'financial assistance' and 'technology transfer' to developing countries in order to further sustainable development was a major theme of the Rio conference. In this thesis, such arguments are taken to pertain to the 'modify economic relations policy frame', concerned with unequal economic relations between North and South. What is of interest here is how these 'cross-cutting issues' as they were presented, came to be framed specifically in relation to forests and Sustainable Forest Management, and in what way such arguments are reflected in adopted policy on forests from 1992 and onwards. I will argue that such arguments have been successful in terms of framing UN policy on forests. Whereas in policy from the Rio conference, financial resources and technology transfer was generally presented as a 'means of implementation', it has in subsequent policy come to be framed as critical to progress towards Sustainable Forest Management, and from 2006, it is explicitly framed as an 'objective', rather than as a means.

We may first note that although 'North-South concerns' were highly present at the 1972 Stockholm conference, they were not reflected in recommendations concerning management of forests. Adopted policy on forests from the conference makes no explicit mentioning of the need for financial aid and technology transfer in relation to 'environmental considerations in forestry'. With the Rio conference, calls for 'new and additional financial resources' has clearly become an issue in relation to forests, as reflected in the Forest Principles:

"New and additional financial resources should be provided to developing countries to enable them to sustainably manage, conserve and develop their forest resources, including through afforestation, reforestation and combating deforestation and forest and land degradation" (UN, 1993, Forest Principles, para. 10).

In fact, issues of financial aid and technology transfer dominated the negotiations on forests during the Rio conference and have since been raised continually in the UN forest process (see *e.g.* Humphreys, 2006). During the negotiations of the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests, developing countries' call for a global forest fund, as well as for transfer of 'environmentally sound technologies', were rejected by developed states, which sought to broaden the range of sources of funding under consideration to also include the private sector. They continued to be so during the negotiations of the Intergovernmental Forum on Forests, and were further downplayed in the negotiations at the UN Forum on Forests (Humphreys, 2006). Thus, the pattern of arguments for increased official development assistance, and counter-arguments referring to other sources of funding, has been fairly constant throughout the debates of the Intergovernmental Panel – and Forum on forests as well as in the UN Forum on Forests. Here we are interested in how these arguments are reflected in adopted policy, and what this say about framing of UN policy on forests.

In the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests, the issue of 'international cooperation in financial assistance and technology transfer' was first addressed at its second session. The background report to this agenda item was prepared by the UN Development Programme (UNDP) as lead agency for this element. We will have a look at this report to see how it argues around the connection between increased investment in forestry and Sustainable Forest Management. That is, how the 'generic' issue of finance and technology-transfer is framed specifically in relation to management of forests. The report states that: "Finance and technology are considered to be interrelated components of investment, which is essential for socio-economic development and growth. Investment in forestry cuts across all aspects of sustainable forest management and development" (ECOSOC, 1996b, p. 2). This is about as far as this report goes in the analysis of the connection between increased financial assistance and technology transfer and more sustainably managed forests.

The Panel, in its final report, emphasized that the "issues of financial assistance and transfer of technology are cross-cutting, interlinked and *essential* for the management, conservation and sustainable development of all types of forests" (emphasis added) (ECOSOC, 1997a, para. 59), and that "those cross-cutting issues are *critical to progress in all the other programme elements* within its terms of reference" (emphasis added) (ibid). We should note that this language gives quite

a large significance to these issues in terms of framing what the forest issue is about. What this language says is basically that Sustainable Forest Management is not obtainable without increased financial assistance and technology transfer.

The language of the adopted policy from the subsequent Intergovernmental Forum on Forests largely reiterates the one from its predecessor. At the sixth session of the UN Forum on Forests, increasing significantly "new and additional financial resources" has become one of four 'global objectives' of global public policy-making on forests:

> "Reverse the decline in official development assistance for sustainable forest management and mobilize significantly increased new and additional financial resources for the implementation of sustainable forest management" (ECOSOC, 2006, Ch. I, para. 3).

We may note then that reversing decline in development assistance is presented as an *objective* 'on equal footing with' reversing the loss of forest cover and increasing the area of protected forests (objectives 1 and 3, see section 1.3.2). These objectives are reiterated in the non-legally binding instrument on forests adopted in 2007 (ECOSOC, 2007). This may be compared with the wording of the Agenda 21 adopted 15 years earlier where 'financial resources' and 'technology transfer' are dealt with under a section on 'means of implementation' (United Nations, 1993). It may further be noted that the Forum, at its seventh session, decided to "develop and consider, with a view to adopting at its eighth session" a "voluntary global financial mechanism/portfolio approach/forest financing framework for all types of forests, aiming at mobilizing significantly increased, new and additional resources from all sources" to support the implementation of sustainable forest management (ECOSOC, 2007, Ch. I, A. para 4).

The issues of financial assistance and technology transfer have taken up a proportionally large space of forest policy deliberations from 1992 and onwards, since considered to be cross-cutting issues. Further, recommendations on financial assistance and technology transfer, although having been stated as critical to progress on all other issues on the UN forest agenda, make little connection to these other issues in the way they are worded. Recommendations on this issue give me the impression of being the result of a separate debate, disconnected from debates on other issues. In sum, although arguments have not been successful in terms of substantial outcome (that is, actually increasing the flows of development assistance from North to South), they can be said to having been successful in terms of framing what 'the forest issue' is about: increased financial resources and technology transfer is framed as essential to Sustainable Forest Management.

Framing of policy recommendations on the issue of methodologies for the proper valuation value of the multiple benefits of forests

The agenda of the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests included an agenda item entitled 'methodologies for the proper valuation of the multiple benefits of forests'. We recognise the issue of valuation from chapter 11 of Agenda 21, which had as one of its objectives to "improve recognition of the social, economic and ecological values of threes, forests and forest lands, including the consequences of the damage caused by the lack of forests" and to "promote methodologies with a

view to incorporating social, economic and ecological values of trees, forests and forest lands into the national accounting systems;" (United Nations, 1993, para. 11.21 a). One might think it is odd to find an issue like valuation methodologies part of the global political agenda. Why would states at the global political level want to negotiate on a 'technical' issue like methodologies for valuation? What is its political component? There surely is a political component since the question of who value forests, for what, and to what ends, can be said to be central to what politics on forests is about, which makes this an interesting issue on the agenda to have a look at.

Humphreys (2006) has reviewed the treatment of this programme element during the work of the Intergovernmental Panel – and Forum on Forests, and argued that the work of these forums on the issue reflects the premises and assumptions of neo-liberal thinking. That is, of privatization and an enhanced role for market-based solutions as a means to sustainable natural resource management, and how this thinking when it comes to monetary valuation methodologies is for example biased against the poor. Here I am interested in the treatment of the issue from the perspective of our four ideal type policy frames, and how what is basically a technical tool, as seen from a specific theoretical perspective of natural resource economics, becomes framed as an essential component of achieving Sustainable Forest Management, and how this framing excludes central questions of three of our policy frames. That is, it excludes the political dimensions of valuation.

The agenda item on methodologies for proper valuation of the multiple benefits of forests was addressed during the second session of the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests. The background report on this issue, prepared by the FAO in collaboration with the World Bank, reviews a number of methodologies for monetary valuation of forests goods and services. However, it notes that valuation is no panacea to making sound decisions concerning forests and that there is a *political* component to valuation of forests. It notes to start with that there are no absolute values, since they are based on perceptions by individuals and groups which are subject to changes in their situation and needs and aspirations, and that these perceptions in the case of forests have been evolving rapidly in recent years. Further, the report notes that values involve costs and benefits, and that the question of the distribution among interest groups of these costs of benefits is of political nature. It is noted that "valuation always takes place in a context of power relationships among policy makers, society and various types of interest groups and communities. The power relationships determine whose perspective ultimately prevails in valuation;" (ECOSOC, 1996c, para. 71. b). The report consequently suggests that the Panel might wish to decide whether its interest should focus on further work on valuation in itself, or if it wished to focus on the political issues raised once value is established, that is implications for decision-making and for reconciling concerns of various interest groups (ibid.).

Although not explicitly stated in its final report, it seems that the Panel chose to focus on valuation in itself, rather than its political dimensions. It reached among other conclusions the conclusion that "[u]ndervaluation of forest goods and services and of other forest attributes, including non-market benefits, impedes sustainable forest management" (ECOSOC, 1997a, para. 97). Proposals for action

concerning valuation from the Panel, although noting that "economic valuation cannot become a substitute for the process of political decision, which includes consideration of wide-ranging environmental, socio-economic, ethical, cultural and religious concerns;" (ibid., para. 104 a) focus on the availability, use and development of valuation methodologies in themselves.

The programme element of 'valuation of forest goods and services' was addressed at the second and the third sessions of the Intergovernmental Forum on Forests. The background report on the issue to the third session starts by stating that "[a]ny discussion of forest valuation must begin with the observation that there are different opinions on the importance of the valuation of benefits from non-market goods and services in forestry" (ECOSOC, 1999a, para. 6). It further notes that there is no consensus regarding the contribution of improved forest valuation to sustainable forest management. One position is that valuation is of paramount importance to sustainable forest management, and another that it provides useful information for decision-makers but that monetary valuation is not essential for promotion of sustainable forest management. In its preliminary conclusions and proposals for action, it sort of tunes down the importance of valuation in monetary terms and places it in the context of at least three additional requirements for sustainable forest management which are: stable and effective institutions for forest policy supervision; allocation of financial resources to compensate those who practice a non-preferred forest use, and; eliminated policy distortions (ECOSOC, 1999a). The Forum in its conclusions also accordingly noted that forest valuation can be one of the necessary tools for promoting sustainable forest management but that "forest valuation by itself does not provide a guarantee for appropriate policy decisions" (ECOSOC, 2000, para. 102).

In the Work Programme for the UN Forum on Forests, the issue of valuation of forest goods and services was grouped under the heading of 'Economic aspects of forests', which was due for discussion at the third session of the Forum. The background information on the element of valuation differs compared to previous reports in its attaching importance to the role of valuation in monetary terms in relation to sustainable forest management. The two paragraphs in the report on the specific element of 'valuation and full-cost internalization' do not make any mentioning of reasons to be cautious with the tool of valuation but states that "since significant externalities and public goods are associated with forests, accurate valuation of forest goods and services is *necessary* for efficient resources allocation, welfare optimization and environmental accounting" (emphasis added) (ECOSOC, 2003a, para. 10), and that "full cost internalization is *crucial* when externalities are involved" (emphasis added) (ibid., para. 11). In line with these 'truisms', the resolution adopted by the Forum at its third session on 'Economic aspects of forests' starts with highlighting some lessons learned "through the exchange of country experiences", among them that "the accurate valuation of goods and environmental services provided by forests is *essential* for sustainable resource management;" (emphasis added) (ECOSOC, 2003, Resolution 3/1, b). To note that here that 'accurate' valuation has become 'essential'.

The way policy recommendations on this issue have come to be framed reflects a basic assumption of our 'modify management policy frame', namely that it is *in*

principle possible to modify production processes so that necessary environmental and social concern is taken, and that 'accurate' (whatever that means) valuation methodologies is a tool for seeing to it that 'external costs' are 'internalized' in the cost of production. However, the way recommendations have been framed also neglects central questions in our three other policy frames, that are: *how much* may be consumed in the first place, how costs and benefits pertaining to valuation should be *distributed around the globe*, and *who* are entitled to have a saying in how forest goods and services should be valued.

Framing of policy recommendations on the issue 'future supply and demand for wood and non-wood forest products'

On the agenda of the Intergovernmental Forum on Forests, a 'new' programme element entitled 'future supply of and demand for wood and non-wood forest products and services' was included. This issue did not feature as a programme element in its own right on the agenda of the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests, but is something that is 'selected and made salient' on the agenda of the Intergovernmental Forum on Forests. We will have a look at this issue while it is illustrative of a concern of our 'modify human-nature relations policy frame' that is not reflected in UN policy on forests, namely how much we may produce and consume within the limits of the eco-system in order for development to be sustainable. The way recommendations on the issue of 'supply and demand of wood and non-wood products' are framed is taken to be illustrative of how such concerns are absent in policy texts from the UN forest process.

In the background report to this programme element at the second session of the Intergovernmental Forum on Forests, future demand on forests is presented as an 'external' factor and 'the Problem' is to see to it that this demand be met in a sustainable manner. It starts by noting that "there is broad agreement that demands on forests will continue to increase" (ECOSOC, 1999b). It is concluded that world demand in wood and non-wood forest products will rise, and that this is something that the forestry sector has to respond to. The solution is consequently to find more efficient ways of producing these demanded products in a manner that does not deplete the resource base. One solution is for example to promote the establishment of forest plantations, since this is said to take pressure off 'natural' forests. In line with this framing of the issue, the adopted recommendations from the Forum focus on the need for better data on forest resources and prices on wood and non-wood products. Countries are encouraged to "promote policies, as needed, to meet increasing demand for wood and non-wood forest products and services, through sustainable forest management" (ECOSOC, 2000, para. 122 a).

The argument that "the need for commodities, including but not limited to wood, will provide one of the powerful motivations for conservation and sustainable management of forests" (ECOSOC, 2000, para. 116) that we find in the conclusions from the Forum reflect our 'modify management policy frame'. This may then we contrasted to what is taken to be a central argument of a 'modify human-nature relations policy frame', namely that an ever increasing demand in commodities (not only of wood and non-wood products, or perhaps not even primarily of these, but of commodities that require the conversion of forest land

into other types of land use) should be *the* policy problem to deal with if forests and other eco-systems are to be sustained.

5.3 Framing of the forest issue

In this section, we turn the attention to the framing of *the forest issue* as a whole. As argued by Parsons (1995, p. 89), "[i]ll-structured as they are, public issues are not clearly demarcated: we do not know where one problem begins and another ends. They overlap, intersect and bump into one another." Here we ask what other issues the forest issue has 'bumped into' over time. We said in chapter 2 that asking the question how a certain issue is positioned against other issues on the global political agenda, that is, what are taken to be the 'boundaries' of the policy issue in question, might tell us something about framing of a certain policy. If we say that the forest issue was framed as a 'forestry issue' in policy from the Stockholm conference, what has become of it after that? Is it framed as a 'global environmental issue', a 'development issue', or a 'trade issue'? Is it about 'land degradation', 'loss of biodiversity', 'poverty eradication', 'global warming' or all of it?

The forest issue in policy from the Stockholm conference

In policy from the 1972 Stockholm conference, the forest issue is framed as an issue about natural resource management in a practical sense. The other issues addressed under this agenda item were: agriculture (soil conservation, pest control, recycling agricultural wastes), wildlife management, preservation of genetic resources (including in forestry), fishery, mining and minerals, and energy). The 'boundaries' between these issues seem quite clearly demarcated. Natural resource management at the Stockholm conference pertains to a set of practices (such as agriculture, fishery, forestry, and mining). The forest issue is framed as a forestry issue and 'the Problem' to address is how to incorporate environmental considerations into the practice of forestry. Although there seems to have been other ways of framing the issue in the international forestry debate at the time (see section 4.2.1), policy on forests from the Stockholm conference does not reflect any need to 'demarcate' the issue against other issues.

The forest issue in policy from the Rio conference

In policy on forests from the Rio conference, on the other hand, we see a different picture. What in my interpretation stands out from this policy is the tension between the forest issue as an 'environmental issue' and the forest issue as a 'development issue', and efforts to frame the forest issue as primarily a 'development issue'. The first paragraphs in the preamble of the Forest Principles are striking in this respect, as we shall see below. In the previous chapter, we discussed how the purpose of a global forest convention might have been perceived, considering the 'interests' of our four ideal type policy frames, and we discerned four differing purposes. However, in terms framing the forest issue, we might talk about a convergence of interests between policy frames. As pointed out by Rein and Schön (1991), the same course of action can be consistent with quite different frames.

As was stated in chapter 3, at the time of the Rio conference, political focus was on 'global environmental problems' such as loss of biodiversity and climate change. The forest issue landed on the preparatory agenda of the Rio conference, generally framed as a 'global environmental problem' in the form of deforestation. The first three paragraphs of the Forest Principles are spent on framing the forest issue as not only being an 'environmental problem' but stressing the forests as a 'development opportunity'. These paragraphs give me the impression of a 'setting down the foot' on what kind of issue the forest issue is in a way that there was apparently no need of at the time of the Stockholm conference 20 years earlier. This becomes clear if we put the first paragraphs of the preamble of the Forest Principles and the Alternative Forest Treaty, which was agreed by civil society organisations and social movements in the process parallel to the Rio conference, side by side. The first paragraphs of the Forest Principles can be seen as a statement against a view of forests as a 'global ecological issue' and stressing of its 'development' aspects. It stresses use of the forest (not conservation) and the economic and social stress when use is restricted (not environmental stress of use).

Table 5. Preamble paragraphs of the Forest Principles and the NGO Alternative Treaty on Forests

Forest Principles	NGO Alternative Treaty on Forests
PREAMBLE	PREAMBLE
The subject of forests is related to the entire range of environmental and development issues and opportunities, including the right to socio-economic development on a sustainable basis. The guiding objective of these principles is to contribute to the management, conservation and sustainable development of forests and to provide for their multiple and complementary functions and uses. Forestry issues and opportunities should be examined in a holistic and balanced manner within the overall context of environment and development, taking into consideration the multiple functions and uses of forests, including traditional uses, and the likely economic and social stress when these uses are constrained or restricted, as well as the potential for development that sustainable forest management can offer.	Recognizing the vital role of all types of forests in maintaining the ecological processes of the earth; in protecting ecosystems, watersheds, freshwater resources, coastal areas, estuaries and adjacent seas; as a rich store house of biodiversity; and in carbon fixation. Recognizing also that all types of forests embody complex and unique ecological processes which are the basis of their present and potential capacity to provide resources to satisfy the biological needs of all forest dependent species, as well as environmental, cultural, historical and spiritual values. Believing that forestry issues and opportunities should be examined in a holistic manner, taking into consideration the multiple functions and uses of forests, including living space and the cultural survival of indigenous forest peoples.
Source: United Nations (1993). Forest Principles, preamble paragraphs a, b and c	*Source*: Anon (1992), preamble paragraphs 1, 2 and 3

We could say that the battle stood between framing the forest issue as a 'development issue', which would be of interest from our 'modify management' and 'modify economic relations policy frame', and framing it as an 'environmental issue', which would be of interest in our 'modify human relations' and 'modify cultural dominance policy frame'. What is further striking is that there is not very

much reference in policy text on forests to other issues on the global political agenda at the time.

The forest issue in policy from the Johannesburg conference

When we come to the time of the Johannesburg conference, it seems that the forest issue has 'bumped into' a range of other issues on the global political agenda. As states the report from the summit:

[…]"Sustainable forest management of both natural and planted forests and for timber and non-timber products is essential to achieving sustainable development as well as a critical means to eradicate poverty, significantly reduce deforestation, halt the loss of forest biodiversity and land resource degradation and improve food security and access to safe drinking water and affordable energy; in addition, it highlights the multiple benefits of both natural and planted forests and trees and contributes to the well-being of the planet and humanity. The achievement of sustainable forest management, nationally and globally, including through partnerships among interested Governments and stakeholders, including the private sector, indigenous and local communities and non-governmental organizations, is an essential goal of sustainable development." (United Nations, 2002, para. 45).

It is now, apart from being connected to deforestation and loss of biodiversity and development in general, also explicitly connected to poverty eradication, food security, safe drinking water, and energy, and the well-being of the planet. We can say that the forest issue is no longer a clearly demarcated issue.

The forest issue and the Non-legally binding instrument on forests

What then does the non-legally binding instrument on forests adopted in 2007 say about the boundaries of the forest issue? We may note that in the very first paragraph in the preamble of the non-legally binding instrument on forests, the forest issue, or Sustainable Forest Management, is framed in relation to poverty eradication.

"Recognising that forests and trees outside forests provide multiple economic, social and environmental benefits and emphasising that sustainable forest management contributes significantly to sustainable development and poverty eradication" (ECOSOC, 2007, Ch. I, Appendix).

Further, we may note that the issue of 'climate change', which hitherto has been something of a non-issue in UN deliberations on forests, being as it is the competence of a global convention, is now recognised in this text. Its impact on forests is recognised, as well as the contribution of forests in addressing climate change. However, what is most striking from both the paragraph on forests from the Johannesburg conference and the non-legally binding instrument on forests, is the lack of 'boundaries' around the issue. It is framed so broadly so the notion of something being an 'issue' seems almost to have lost its meaning here. Actually, the paragraph on forests from the Johannesburg action plan gives me the impression of being more of an advertisement for sustainable forest management, rather than some kind of statement regarding what are the problems to address in relation to forests, which we would perhaps expect to find in a policy document like this.

5.4 Framing of UN forest policy as an interplay between policy frames

So far, we have investigated framing of UN policy on forests by focusing on three levels at which framing of policy takes place. Now we will leave this 'level thinking' and instead seek to pull the pieces together. Here we portray framing of UN forest policy from 1972 to 2007 as an inter-play between policy frames.

It has been stressed that the policy frames as used in this thesis are ideal type, analytical abstractions. And, analytical abstractions do not act. However, for the purpose of creating a 'story' here, we will for the moment treat them as 'acting devices' and describe framing of UN policy formation as an interplay between competing policy frames, each 'struggling' to define the issue and pursue their courses of action.

5.4.1 Framing of policy from the Stockholm conference: a single policy frame

At the time of the Stockholm conference a 'modify management policy frame' has monopoly on framing UN forest policy. The 'door' to the policy domain on forests has not yet been opened to competing policy frames at the global level. There is at the time no need to 'defend' the framing of the forest issue against competing policy frames. In this respect, it is of interest to note a statement in an issue of Unasylva in 1972, the same year as the conference:

"Both the significance of a policy and the difficulty in formulating and implementing it are dependent on the number of people on whom it has an influence. The number of people who feel they are affected by forestry matters has certainly increased due to greater awareness of environmental problems, but the forestry sector still has less constraints than many other sectors" (Steenberg, 1972).

Even though concerns of a 'modify economic relations policy frame' were highly present at the Stockholm conference as a whole, such concerns are not reflected in the framing of policy recommendations concerning the forest issue. Concerns of a 'modify human-nature relations policy frame', do not seem to have influenced the policy deliberations at the Stockholm conference on natural resource management on the whole. We may note the observation made by an expert reporting from the subject area 'development and environment' (subject area V, item 14 on the agenda of the Stockholm conference), who noted that "the more fundamental problems – as, for example, the question whether the concept of a limited carrying capacity of the Earth may require rethinking with regard to the prevailing economistic models of growth-based development – did not find a place in the formal discussions on this subject area" (Anon, 1973, p. 256). Incorporating 'environmental aspects' into natural resource management is not something that requires "re-thinking" the 'modify management policy frame'. 'Environmental aspects' of natural resource management could, and had already to a large extent, be incorporated into the sector policy frame. Finally, concerns of a 'modify cultural dominance policy frame' had not yet reached the global political agenda.

5.4.2 Framing of policy from the Rio conference: an encounter of four differing policy-frames

When the Rio conference is approaching, the picture looks different. We could talk about policy-making regarding forests at the Rio conference as an encounter between four different policy frames, each wanting to frame UN policy on forests according to their specific courses of action. The 'modify management' policy framing of the policy domain of forests has since some time been challenged by a 'modify human-nature relations policy frame' which frame the forest issue as one about loss of forest cover in the tropics (deforestation) which in turn is seen as a significant aspect of a 'global environmental crises', which has its roots in prevailing economic structures and human relations with the biosphere. Adding to this is a third policy frame concerned with relations between indigenous peoples and the non-indigenous world, and in relation to forests especially territorial rights of indigenous peoples. This policy frame had come to be linked to a 'modify human-nature relations policy frame'. Further, since the 'modify human-nature relations policy frame' way of framing the forest issue seems to threaten vital interests of a 'modify economic relations policy frame', this latter policy frame is now invoked in relation to the forest issue. And, as argued above, the policy adopted at the Rio conference reflects discursive elements of all four policy frames, to varying extents. The forest issue had become a *controversial* policy issue at the global level.

Here it is of interest to stop and reflect on what it means, from a framing perspective, to say that the forest issue became a controversial issue. For this, we recur to the distinction made by Rein and Schön (1991) between policy *disagreements* and policy *controversies*. In their words: "When people disagree about a policy issue, they may be able to examine the facts of the situation and determine who is right; policy *disagreements* arise within a common frame and can be settled in principle with appeal to established rules. But policy *controversies* cannot be settled by recourse to facts alone, or indeed by recourse to evidence of any kind; because they derive from conflicting frames, the same body of evidence can be used to support quite different policy positions" (Rein & Schön, 1991, p. 265).

At the time of the Rio conference, the forest issue can be seen as having become a *controversial* issue in the sense described above. This means that the question of how to tackle 'the forest issue' cannot any longer be 'resolved' from facts alone, because policy arguments derive from different, and partly conflicting, policy frames. Against this argument, it is of interest to reflect on the failure by states to agree on a legally binding instrument on forests and what exactly it was that they disagreed on. A general picture could be that at the Rio conference, states succeeded in agreeing on courses of action, in the form of global conventions, to address 'the Problems' of loss of biodiversity, and climate change, whereas they failed to agree on a course of action to tackle 'the Problem' of deforestation and forest degradation. From our policy frame perspective, this picture can be nuanced. It seems to me right to say that the failure to agree on the need for a global forest convention can be ascribed to disagreements *within a single policy frame.* It was disagreements around 'the Problem' of unequal economic relations

between North and South, and who should pay the costs of 'the South' refraining from using natural resources for 'Northern' conservation purposes. The point is that even *if* states had managed to overcome the disagreements regarding the need for a forest convention, it does not say that such a legally binding instrument would have become responsive to 'Problems' as framed in our other policy frames, since a 'modify economic relations policy frame' was totally dominant in the outcome of this policy disagreement and did not engage with the other three policy frames. By contrast, I argue that the framing of *policy* adopted at the Rio conference, reflects controversies *between* policy frames. And as continues Rein and Schön, in situations where multiple realities creates conflicting frames, participants may not only "disagree with one another but also disagree about the nature of their disagreements" (Rein & Schön, 1991, p 262).

5.4.3 Framing of policy from IPF/IFF: policy frames competing to define the issue

After the Rio conference, and the failed attempts to arrive a legally binding instrument on forests, positions were locked in a 'modify economic relations policy frame'. A number of country-led initiatives were initiated in order to 'unlock' the deadlock. 'The forest issue' as addressed by the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests and the Intergovernmental Forum on forests becomes framed around the concept of Sustainable Forest Management. This is a vision that all four policy frames can converge around. However, that does not mean that we see a convergence in the framing of what is 'the Problem' to address in order to arrive at sustainable management of forests.

In policy from the Intergovernmental Panel and Forum on Forests, we could talk about a 'struggle' between policy frames to frame the issue. A 'modify human-nature relations policy frame' and a 'modify cultural dominance policy frame' have been partly successful in terms of framing the agenda from 1995 and onwards, that is, placing 'issues' of concern in these policy frames on the UN forest agenda (see *e.g.* Humphreys, 2004). However, in terms of framing policy recommendations, and in terms of how the issue as a whole is framed, a 'modify management' and a 'modify economic relations' policy frames have dominated. We could say that issues of concerns in the 'modify cultural dominance' and the 'modify human-nature relations' policy frames are reframed to fit with the previous two policy frames. And perhaps 'struggle' and 'competition' are actually not the right words for describing this interplay, since in that case, it is a 'competition' with very different basic conditions, as we will come back to in the following chapter.

5.4.4 Framing of policy from UNFF and the Johannesburg conference: two policy frames have won the competition

When the UN Forum on Forests is established in the year 2000, the policy context in which the forest issue finds itself looks different from the one at the Rio conference almost ten years earlier. We said in chapter 3 that 'political attention' to the forest issue, as seen in this broader context, had declined, and that the overall sustainable development agenda had moved from focussing on 'global

environmental problems' towards the socio-economic aspects of the environment-development nexus, and especially towards a focus on poverty eradication. In terms of policy content, the 'modify management' and the 'modify economic relations' policy frames have come to dominate the framing of UN policy on forests.

5.5 Framing of UN policy on forests from 1972 to 2007: concluding remarks

In this chapter, we have investigated the way UN policy on forests has been framed from the initiation of the multilateral process for sustainable development in 1972, to the adoption of a non-legally binding instrument on all types of forests in 2007. To our help, we have had four different ideal type policy frames, taken to be concerned with four qualitatively different 'problems', that are: forests not properly recognised for the positive role they can play in development; negative global environmental change, including deforestation and forest degradation; an unequal world economic system, and; rights of indigenous peoples overruled by 'development' projects.

This chapter has argued that all four policy frames can be said to be reflected, to varying extents, in UN policy from the Rio conference. From 1995 and onwards, UN policy on forests has predominantly been framed in line with a 'modify management policy frame' and a 'modify economic relations policy frame'. It has shown how certain features of a 'modify human-nature relations policy frame' and a 'modify cultural dominance' policy frame have become reframed so as to fit into the dominant policy frames. Consequently, we could say that in terms of substantive content, UN forest policy has come to be responsive to 'Problems' as framed in a 'modify economic relations' and 'modify management' policy frames.

Although this thesis focuses on arguments in themselves, and not on the actors pursuing these arguments, it is nevertheless of interest to relate the results of this chapter to work on 'influence' of different actors. Humphreys (2004) has evaluated the degree to which NGOs have influenced textual outputs on international forest policy, since the mid-1980s, noting that forest NGOs have been active in lobbying for a reframing the forest issue in line with ecological and human rights framings. It is argued that the Rio conference 'forests -' as well as 'biodiversity' negotiations represent a trend that has continued into the post-Rio era, namely that NGOs have succeeded in placing issues on the agenda, and in getting some of their concerns inserted into negotiated texts, but that language often has been heavily amended and qualified by delegates so that the substance of the final text has been diluted, with substantive commitments avoided. Humphreys (2004) nevertheless concludes in this study that over the long term, "NGOs have played an important role in shifting patterns of values and interests, so that the forest agenda has been fundamentally reshaped" (Humphreys, 2004, p. 72).

On the basis of this chapter – which has not focussed on actors and thus cannot speak in terms of influence – we would agree that the *agenda* has been reframed in this particular case of policy, if comparing the agenda of 1972 with the agenda of

1992 and onwards. The agenda has been broadened in scope and includes a number of issues that were not part of the policy domain on forests at the global level before 1992. However, if looking at how *policy recommendations* have been framed, and *how the forest issue* as a whole has been framed, it is more questionable whether we could talk about a shift in interests and values. We come back in chapter 7 to what we can say about change in UN policy on forests in a sustainable development framework.

6. Global public policy on forests and the sustainable development policy framework

So far, we have explored three aspects of framing of policy. In this chapter, we seek to 'tie the pieces together' and discuss the way UN policy on forests has been framed with reference to these three aspects as well as with reference to the sustainable development policy framework. We seek an *understanding* of what the sustainable development policy framework has implied for the framing of global public policy on forests.

The first part of the chapter identifies and discusses some factors that are argued to account for the way in which UN forest policy has been framed. We reconnect to the aspects of framing of policy that have been explored in chapters 3, 4, and 5 and particularly point at lack of consensus on 'problem definition', the existence of established policy communities, and political attention to the forest issue, and discuss in what way these factors make the framing of UN policy on forests understandable. The second part of the chapter is concerned more directly with UN policy on forests in relation to the sustainable development policy framework. It first reviews some *principles* that have been argued to have become widely accepted for policy-making aimed at sustainable development since the Rio conference, and briefly compares the framing of UN policy on forests against these. Then we put this in relation to *substantive content* of sustainable development policy and discuss what is argued to be a discrepancy between principles for policy-making and substantive policy content.

The third part of the chapter, finally, discusses what this say about the concept of Sustainable Forest Management as a global policy framework. The achievement of Sustainable Forest Management is the overarching objective of global public policy-making, and it was stated in chapter 1 that Sustainable Forest Management is generally understood as implying the balancing of different interests of an economic, ecologic, and socio-cultural character that are directed towards forests. The analytic exercise carried out in this thesis suggests to me that there are reasons to question what Sustainable Forest Management means as a global policy objective, in terms of 'balancing' differing concerns in global policy-making on forests. This is discussed in the third part.

6.1 Some factors that render the framing of UN policy on forests understandable

6.1.1 No consensus on 'problem definition'

One factor that may account for the way UN policy on forests has been framed is the lack of consensus on *problem definition*. A starting point in this thesis has been that that the genesis of a policy involves the recognition of a problem of some kind (see section 1.2). However, a decade and plus of negotiations does not seem to have contributed to consensus on what is the problem to be solved with multi-

lateral negotiations on forests. In fact, ideas on what exactly is the problem to address seems to be as varied in 2007 as they were at the time of the Rio conference. If recurring to a 'stagist model' of the policy-making process, we could say that the 'problem definition stage' seems still to be on-going in the case of global public policy-making on forests.

Other scholars have pointed at this lack of problem definition when it comes to UN forest negotiations. As for example Smouts (2003, p. 67-8) puts it: "As to what should be protected, against what and how, the world concert is such cacophony that no major theme has emerged on which intergovernmental negotiation can focus". Smouts (2003) argues that one reason for this is probably that, unlike for some other 'global environmental issues' such as climate change, no 'epistemic community'[14] has durably imposed itself to analyse the problem of deforestation, define its causes, compile the information, produce policy guidance, and disseminate it to policy-makers. This may be true in relation to *deforestation* as a policy problem. However, when it comes to problems related to 'forests', we would say that there is a quite efficient 'epistemic community' in the form of forestry research institutions that feed research directly or indirectly into various inter-governmental policy processes. Only that this 'epistemic community' does not *only* engage with deforestation as a problem, but also with many other things considered to be problems to the practice of forestry and the forestry sector at the international and national levels.

This lack of 'problem definition', I argue, makes this case of global public policy-making differ from for example policy-making on mitigating climate change or the loss of biodiversity. Not that we would not expect there to be differing views and values as to what exactly is 'the Problem' to address in these two cases, if we were to investigate it. However, at least at the level of policy language, these two cases seem to express a kind of *direction* of where policy is heading. (*Reducing* loss of biodiversity and *reducing* the emission of green-house gases.) In the case of global public policy on forests, as has been noted by Persson (2003, p. 348), it is actually even difficult to read out whether the intention is that "forests should be used more or less".

However, from an 'argumentative' perspective on public policy, and from the perspective of our 'separate-aspects-scheme' for analysing framing of policy, which does not assume that problem definition necessarily precedes formulation of policy, the fact that policy-making is on-going without a consensual 'problem definition' should not be unexpected. As argued by for example Lindblom and Woodhouse:

"There may not even be a stage when problem definition occurs, since participants often vary widely in their ideas about "The Problem" a law or regulation is designed to serve. Policy sometimes is formed from a compromise among political

[14] Haas (1992, p. 3) defines an 'epistemic community' as a "network of professionals with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within that domain or issue area". Such communities have been argued to play a crucial role in inter-governmental policy-making by Haas (1992) and others, in terms of channeling knowledge and information and in framing of problems and their solutions.

participants, moreover, none of whom had in mind quite the problem to which the agreed policy responds. Action often springs from new opportunities, not from "problems" at all" (Lindblom & Woodhouse, 1993, p. 10-11).

Indeed, this observation seems to hold in our case. The broad agenda of the UN forest process, and the way policy recommendations are framed, makes more sense if regarded as springing from 'opportunities' as seen from differing policy frames, than if seen as a strategic intervention to solve a specific 'problem'. From a 'modify human-nature relations policy frame', the UN forest process might indeed be seen as a response to a 'problem' in the form of deforestation and forest degradation (although a failed response). However, from a 'modify management policy frame', the UN forest process could rather be seen as an 'opportunity' to advance the role and interests of the forestry sector on the broader development agenda. Although addressing deforestation and degradation of forests is one of the concerns in this policy frame, it would not the only reason to advance 'forests' on the global political agenda. We saw in chapter 4 examples of arguments expressing how the political attention paid to forests at the time of the Rio conference, were to be seen as a 'window of opportunity' for the forest community to advance its interests. One of these interests might have been to counteract the perceived one-sided 'environmental degradation focus' on forests that the forest issue got in a deforestation framing, and rather point at the *possibilities* of forests in a sustainable development context. In the view of a representative of an intergovernmental organisation, the purpose at the beginning was to draw attention to the forest sector and raise the profile of forests (interview 37). From a 'modify economic relations policy frame', the UN forest process might be regarded as another arena, or 'opportunity', to advocate for increased development assistance and technology-transfer, irrespective of whether this is specifically related to problems with 'forests' or not. From a 'modify cultural dominance policy frame', the political focus on deforestation at the time of the Rio conference might be seen as an 'opportunity' to link concerns of indigenous people for cultural autonomy and territorial property rights to a, at the time of the Rio conference, politically salient issue.

So, what happens with substantive policy content when there is no consensus on what exactly is 'the Problem' to address? As argued by for example Rein (1976, p. 22): "One way of coping with ambivalent purposes is through vagueness and ambiguity. If one examines the purposes of most social legislation one usually finds that the moral and ideological objectives, the goals of social policy, are open to many interpretations. Ambiguity seems to be essential for agreement." Judging from UN forest policy content, vagueness and ambiguity does indeed seem to have been essential for agreement in a context of differing views as to the purpose of global public policy-making on forests.

6.1.2 Established policy communities

Another factor of significance for understanding framing of UN policy is that there already existed a well established institutional structure at the international level dealing with policy issues of concern to the forestry sector long before 'forests' turned into a controversial and highly politicized issue at the global level

in the 1980s. This, I argue, makes it differ from other 'environmental' issues on the global agenda such as 'climate change' and 'biodiversity'. Although the two latter were in no way 'new issues' when they turned into global political issues during the 1980s, I believe that we cannot talk about such clearly demarcated policy domain at the inter-governmental level for these issues as there was for 'forests'. When deforestation in the tropics was recognised by many as a *problem* that had to be addressed in some way at the global political level, this was connected to *forestry*. With that we could say, following Kingdon's (2003) argument that the identification of a policy problem does not necessarily precede the seeking of a solution to that problem, that there was already a *policy solution* in place. Although this solution was not primarily designed to address deforestation, but to address problems of concern to the practice of forestry (for which deforestation is one concern, but not the only one) and how to make forestry contribute to development. This thesis has argued that such a 'policy solution', which I have abstracted into the ideal type 'modify management policy frame', has to a large extent come to be reflected in the way UN policy on forests has been framed.

We may reflect on this established institutional structure for policy-making on forests in relation to what Baumgartner and Jones (1993) call 'policy monopolies' (and that others have referred to as 'iron triangles', 'policy whirlpools', and 'subsystem politics'), and how such monopolies influence agenda-setting and policy formation processes. Baumgartner and Jones (1993) describe policy monopolies as having two important characteristics. First, a policy monopoly implies a definable institutional structure that is responsible for policy-making, and second, this institution is supported by a powerful idea, generally connected to core political values such as progress, economic growth, and fairness (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993). In their words:

"Every interest, every group, every policy entrepreneur has a primary interest in establishing a monopoly – a monopoly on political understandings concerning the policy of interest, and an institutional arrangement that reinforces that understanding. […] Experts in all areas spend much of their time convincing others that "outsiders" are not qualified to make decisions in a given area" (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993, p. 6).

We saw examples in chapter 5 of argumentation that can be interpreted as attempts to 'hinder' outsiders to define what should be included in 'the forest issue'. The influence of established policy structures on global sustainable development policy is by no means specific to the forest issue. Birnie (1993) clarifies how UN specialised agencies, such as the FAO, had even before the 1972 Stockholm conference, following aims such as improving world health or food or regulating shipping, begun to involve themselves on a sectoral basis in matters that are now regarded as 'environmental issues'. After the Stockholm conference, their involvement in such matters increased and they developed their own environmental programmes (Birnie, 1993). At the time of the Rio conference, these were well-established activities and Sjöstedt (1994) describes specialized agencies of the UN as having had a direct input into framing of the problems, and

that the secretariat of the Rio conference called on the expertise of those agencies for clarification of the issues.

If there was an established institutional structure at the international level for policy-making on forests, which was called upon for issue clarification at the Stockholm conference and the Rio conference, there was also a well-established structure for policy-making on 'North-South issues', for which the UN is the locus since the 1960s. For the concerns of our 'modify human-nature relations' and 'modify cultural dominance' policy frames, on the other hand, there are as yet no such established structures for policy-making at the intergovernmental level.

Bernstein (2001) argues that a key to understanding the evolution of international governance is to seek to gain an understanding of the interaction of new ideas with the social structures (institutionalised or nested sets of norms) they encounter. Bernstein (2001) has developed what he calls a socio-evolutionary approach to explain development of content in global environmental policy. He argues that the key to the selection process is "social fitness with already institutionalized norms, which constitute the "environment" new norms encounter" (Bernstein, 2001, p. 185). In relation to such an approach, it seems understandable why UN policy on forest can be said to be responsive to problems as framed in a 'modify management policy frame' and a 'modify economic relations policy frame', and not to problems as framed in a 'modify human-nature relationship policy frame' or a 'modify cultural dominance policy frame'. We would then expect policy-ideas generated in established institutional structures to be more powerful when it comes to framing policy content, and 'new' ideas to have a hard time breaking into these structures.

Berstein's (2001) explanation begins with systemic structure. There is another perspective we can apply on the 'selection of policy ideas', which departs from the structure of a 'good argument' rather than from systemic structure. So far, in the use and discussion of the four ideal type policy frames and the idealised argumentations that come with them, they have been treated as 'equally valid'. But perhaps they are not. Perhaps some arguments are 'better' than other arguments. With 'better', I do not mean more 'legitimate' or more 'true', but better in the sense of being "rationally persuasive" in terms of ordinary logic. And as such, it has been agued (Hambrick, 1974), more likely to be turned into policy action. A lot has been written on the analysis of policy arguments and policy narratives (see *e.g.* Des Gasper, 1996; Roe, 1994; Kaplan, 1993; Hambrick, 1974). We will not attempt an analysis of these argumentations since analysis of idealised argumentations might become a bit too abstracted from reality. However, we may at least raise the question if there is anything about the persuasiveness of arguments forwarded in UN policy-making on forests that motivate that some argumentations are 'selected' and put into policy, whereas others are neglected, or if there is not.

6.1.3 Political attention to the forest issue

Another factor which I argue partly render framing of UN policy on forests understandable is political attention devoted to 'the forest issue' over time, in the

overall sustainable development policy-making context, and in what way this has shifted the terms for how the issue is framed and re-framed. As argued by Rochefort and Cobb (1994), when an issue rises on the public agenda, a single component is usually salient. As different components of the issue come to the forefront, different actors are advantaged or disadvantaged, and the definition of the relevant topics in the public policy debate are therefore central to the policy process.

We said in chapter 3 that since the Rio conference, forests as an issue on the global development agenda has lost political attention (although at the time of writing, it seems that forests are regaining political attention at the global level in the context of negotiations on climate change). Thus, from a perspective which points at the contributions that forestry can make to sustainable development, it should be of interest to regain the political attention to forests. One way to do this is to explicitly link 'the forest issue' to issues currently of concern in the broader policy context.

For Riker (in Rochefort & Cobb, 1994), policy makers are at their best when they manage to link a given issue to a topic they know will gain wide acceptance. Chapter 3 has argued that political attention has shifted from 'global environmental problems' at the time of the Rio conference, towards the 'socio-economic' dimensions of sustainable development, and particularly to poverty eradication. We have seen that 'the forest issue', for example in policy from the 2002 Johannesburg conference and the Non-legally binding instrument on all types of forests, has come to be explicitly linked to goals such as poverty eradication, food security and access to safe drinking water, in a way that it was not in policy from the Intergovernmental Panel and Forum on Forests. The forest issue is linked to issues currently of concern on the broader sustainable development agenda. And this, I have argued, makes it difficult to read out from UN forest policy documents what is actually *at issue*.

This 'issue-linkage activity' is of course not confined to any particular group of actors. It is for example a well known strategy in the work of trans-national advocacy networks. As argued by for example Keck and Sikkink (1998, p. 17), "Network members actively seek ways to bring issues to the public agenda by framing them in innovative ways and by seeking hospitable venues. Sometimes they create issues by framing old problems in new ways; occasionally they help transform other actors' understandings of their interests". Keck and Sikkink (1998) note, for example, that land use rights in the Amazon took on a different character and gained different allies when viewed in a deforestation frame than it did in either social justice or regional development frames.

We have now discussed some factors that may account for UN policy on forests having been framed the way it has. Now we leave this 'aspect thinking' and instead discuss framing of UN policy on forests more directly in relation to the sustainable development policy framework.

6.2 Framing of UN policy on forests and the sustainable development policy framework

There are few concepts that have made "such a fast and pervasive career in policy discourses as sustainable development", argues Bruyninckx (2006, p. 265). Since the 1992 Rio conference, a number of both private and public policy initiatives have been taken under the heading of sustainable development. As for public policy-making, the concept of sustainable development has gradually become institutionalised in the language of public policy at both the international and the national levels. The concept has won acceptance as a framework for public policy agendas as different as macro-economic development and basic health care services, and is a central concept at all levels of policy-making in areas such as environmental policy, development and foreign aid policy, spatial planning, and economic policy (Bruyninckx, 2006).

Although there are trivial understandings of sustainable development such as 'sustained growth', the notion 'sustainable development' is generally understood and articulated in a multidimensional way in line with the Brundtland report: as including ecological, economic and social goals. These 'three pillars' of sustainable development are often presented as interdependent and mutually reinforcing. Thinking in terms of 'sustainable development' thus differs in scope from thinking in terms of 'environmental sustainability' while the latter refers to the environmental aspect.

However, as a *framework for policy-making*, the concept has been criticized from the outset, for example for being too vague to provide any meaningful policy guidance. Ratner (2004) summarises different lines of critique. One line of critique focuses on the consequences of diverse groups joining forces with the common goal of 'sustainability'. Another line of critique focuses on the underlying values that motivate different visions of sustainability. For the purposes of the following discussion, we distinguish between two aspects of the sustainable development policy framework and discuss UN policy on forests against these.

The first aspect has to do with *principles* for policy-making aimed at sustainable development, and the question of how policy-making should be 'designed' or carried out in order to further a sustainable development (however it is perceived). The second aspect has to do with *perspectives* on sustainable development, and the question of what perspectives on sustainable development which come to be reflected in the *substantive content* of sustainable development policies.

Bruyninckx (2006) reviews some principles, which since the Rio conference have become widely accepted as guidelines for international policy debates on sustainable development. These are: policy integration, equity, intergenerational solidarity, internalization of social and environmental costs, and participatory policy-making. *Policy-integration* refers to the need to integrate different policy domains both horizontally (linking of policy domains) and vertically (better coherence between different levels of policy-making). *Equity* refers to recognition of the need for a more equal distribution between North and South of costs and benefits associated with production and consumption. *Intergenerational solidarity*

refers to recognition of the need to take the needs of future generations into account in decision-making. An important principle is recognition of the need for letting price on products reflect its 'real' price of production – that is, *internalizing environmental and social costs* as well. *Participatory policy-making* is recognised in an instrumental sense, as an instrument to improve policy-making, and especially policy implementation while actors that have been involved might be expected to accept solutions and implement them. It may also be seen to have a stronger normative function in that recognition of different social groups in policy-making may enhance the legitimacy of policy-making (Bruyninckx, 2006).

If comparing UN policy on forests against these principles, we can conclude that the *wording* of UN policy on forests since the Rio conference and onwards reflects to a large extent the principles of policy-making aimed at sustainable development as outlined above. It emphasises the economic, ecologic, and social aspects of forests, and calls for the need of 'cross-sectoral cooperation'. It calls for the need of increased flows of financial assistance and technology transfer between North and South. It calls for efforts to internalize environmental and social costs in production. It recognises the need for public participation in policy-making, and since the establishment of the UN Forum on Forests, sessions include an element of so called Multi-Stakeholder Dialogue. What then has the sustainable development policy framework meant for the normative content of policy?

It seems that global policy-making on forests is not so much about 'balancing' different interests of an economic, ecologic, and socio-cultural character in order to achieve Sustainable Forest Management, as it is about 'balancing' differing views which contend for legitimacy for their conception of what constitutes Sustainable Forest Management and sustainable development in the first place. In terms of *perspectives* on sustainable development, the analytic exercises carried out in chapters 4 and 5 suggests to me that UN policy on forests since the Rio conference has come to reflects a limited range of views on what kind of 'problems' that need to be addressed in order to further a 'sustainable' development. Seen through the interpretive framework of our four ideal type policy frames, this thesis has argued that substantive content of UN policy on forests has come to be dominated by two of these policy frames.

This conclusion, I argue, warrants the question of how we should understand the concept of Sustainable Forest Management as an objective for global pubic policy-making. As a management concept, it implies the idea that economic, ecologic, and socio-cultural concerns should be 'balanced', but what does it imply as a framework for 'balancing' differing concerns in global public policy-making on forests? What does it mean that the overarching objective of global public policy-making is the achievement of Sustainable Forest Management?

6.3 Sustainable Forest Management as global policy framework

In the case of forests, the ideal of sustainable development has translated into the concept of Sustainable Forest Management. The concept of Sustainable Forest Management is seen by many as a logical extension of the principle of sustainable

development, as defined by the Brundtland Commission (Ferguson, 1996). Sustainable Forest Management is stated to be the overarching *objective* of UN policy-making on forests, and chapter 5 has showed that the concept has become 'institutionalised' in the language of global public policy on forests since the Rio conference. At the same time, one of the principal functions of the 'international arrangement on forests' is to "foster a common understanding of sustainable forest management" (ECOSOC, 2000a, para. 2b), which must be taken as a recognition that there exist as yet no such common understanding of its specifics. Since the 2002 Johannesburg conference, Sustainable Forest Management is also explicitly stated to be a *means* in achieving broader objectives of the development agenda, such as poverty eradication, improving food security, and access to safe drinking water. The concept seems to have at least three differing meanings, as expressed in the language of UN policy on forests: an *end* for global policy-making on forests; a dynamic and evolving concept, and; a *means* to achieve broader objectives on the global development agenda. Thus, Sustainable Forest Management involves both ends and means. Or in the words of Floyd (2002, p. 5), "sustainable forests are the desired end and sustainable forest management is the means by which this end is achieved."

It is however recognised that sustainable forest management can mean different things to different people, and that putting it into practice remains a challenge (FAO, 2005). When then one of the purposes of the non-legally binding instrument adopted in 2007 is stated to be to "strengthen political commitment and action at all levels to *implement effectively sustainable forest management*" (ECOSOC, 2007, Ch. I, Appendix, para. 1a), it seems relevant to ask; whose understanding of sustainable forest management is it that is going to be implemented?

Here we are concerned with what the concept of Sustainable Forest Management means as a framework for making policy on forests at the global level in a context where there seems to be different understandings of what should be the ends of such policy-making. In the following we first briefly look at the meaning of Sustainable Forest Management as a *management concept.* Then we proceed to discuss its meaning as a framework for global policy-making on forests.

6.3.1 Sustainable Forest Management as a management concept

As a forest management and planning concept to start with, and from a forestry perspective, Sustainable Forest Management has been described as the current culmination of a progression of previous broad concepts for forest management such as 'sustained yield forestry', and 'multiple use forestry'. Whereas the 'sustained yield' concept predominantly focussed on the maintenance of a regular production of wood products, the conception of what should be sustained regarding forests broadened in the mid 20th century to also focus on maintenance of a range of other values, expressed in the principle of multiple use (Wiersum, 1995).[15] With the introduction of the concept of sustainable development, this has

[15] It may be noted that the fifth World Forestry Congress, held in Seattle in 1960, had as its central theme "Multiple Use of Forests and Associated Land".

come to be expressed in the language of economic, ecologic, and socio-cultural values, the 'three pillars' of sustainable development. As states the Forest Principles:

"Forest resources and forest lands should be sustainably managed to meet social, economic, ecological, cultural and spiritual needs of present and future generations. These needs are for forest products and services, such as wood and wood products, water, food, fodder, medicine, fuel, shelter, employment, recreation, habitats for wildlife, landscape diversity, carbon sinks and reservoirs, and for other forest products" (United Nations, Forest Principles, 1993, para. 2b).

In 1993, the year after the Rio conference, the FAO described the need for the concept of Sustainable Forest Management in the following way:

"Over the past two decades management solely for wood production has been a cause of steadily growing concern to those affected by the loss of other benefits. It has led, in an increasing number of areas, to confrontation and even physical conflict between loggers and people living in and around the forest areas being harvested. The concept of sustainable forest management has therefore evolved to encompass these wider issues and values. It is now seen as the multipurpose management of the forest so that its overall capacity to provide goods and services is not diminished" (FAO, 1993, p. 10-11).

On the web-page of the FAO, the aim of Sustainable Forest Management is described as follows:

"Sustainable Forest Management aims to ensure that the goods and services derived from the forest meet present-day needs while at the same time securing their continued availability and contribution to long-term development. In its broadest sense, forest management encompasses the administrative, legal, technical, economic, social and environmental aspects of the conservation and use of forests. It implies various degrees of deliberate human intervention, ranging from actions aimed at safeguarding and maintaining the forest ecosystem and its functions, to favouring specific socially or economically valuable species or groups of species for the improved production of goods and services (http://www.fao.org/forestry/site/sfm/en/, 2007-11-17).

The International Tropical Timber Organisation defines Sustainable Forest Management as:

"the process of managing forest to achieve one or more clearly specified objectives of management with regard to the production of a continuous flow of desired forest products and services without undue reduction of its inherent values and future productivity and without undue undesirable effects on the physical and social environment" (http://www.itto.or.jp/live/PageDisplayHandler?pageId=13, 2007-11-17).

In the non-legally binding instrument on forests adopted by the UN Forum on Forests in 2007, sustainable forest management is recognised as:

"a dynamic and evolving concept, [that] aims to maintain and enhance the economic, social and environmental values of all types of forests, for the benefit of present and future generations" (ECOSOC, 2007, Ch. I, Appendix, preamble).

All of the above descriptions reflect the recognition that there are many kinds of interests directed towards forests, and that achievement of Sustainable Forest Management in some way means balancing different objectives of economic, ecological, and socio-cultural character. Implicit in the notion Sustainable Forest Management is forest management that sets broad social and environmental goals.

Further, they reflect a view of the notion as an *approach* to forest management, rather than as some fixed state of management system.

Like in many other policy areas, interest in sustainability has triggered the development of indicators to measure sustainability in the case of forests (McCool & Stankey, 2004). Intergovernmental policy processes at the regional level are on-going since the 1990s to develop criteria and indicators intended to be a tool in measuring the degree of sustainability in forest management. Over the years, collaboration between these regional policy processes has resulted in there being convergence between them (McDonald & Lane, 2004). There are now seven so called 'thematic areas' which all processes recognise as central to Sustainable Forest Management. These are: extent of forest resources; biological diversity; forest health and productivity; productive functions and forest resources; protective functions of forest resources; socio-economic functions; legal, policy and institutional framework (FAO, 2005). These seven thematic elements are also acknowledged in the non-legally binding instrument adopted in 2007, which states that Member States should consider them "as a reference framework for sustainable forest management" (ECOSOC, 2007, Ch. I, Appendix. para. 6 b).

There is thus a general consensus at the inter-governmental level as to the broader lines of what Sustainable Forest Management implies. However, we cannot say that there is consensus on how to put it into practice. With consensus on practice I refer for example to consensus on in what way different needs should be balanced, who should decide when needs are to be considered 'balanced', and what kind of needs that should have precedence in case different needs are in conflict. This should not surprise us however. As noted by Floyd (2002, p. 4), "trying to define sustainability and sustainable forestry is like trying to define "justice" or "democracy". There are many definitions and some consensus, but agreement over the specifics is elusive", and "we are still in the process of debating and defining the meanings of sustainability". We may thus regard the concept of Sustainable Forest Management as a consensual *vision* for the management of forests, based on satisfying ecological, economic, and socio-cultural values (see *e.g.* Angelstam *et al*, 2004), that has to be filled with specific content to be useful in practice.

In the words of Shannon *et al* (2007, p. 12): "In its essence, sustainable forest management is a conversation about the future." Clearly, arenas where policy on forests is made is one place where such a 'conversation about the future' of forests is carried out and where content to the concept is given, intentionally or unintentionally, through the policy choices that are made. Or as expressed in a background report to the third session of the Intergovernmental Forum on Forests: "Sustainable forest management will be the product of public choice, and will consequently reflect social values. […] Although there is a desire (perhaps even a hope) that someone will discover an unambiguous, technical answer to the question "what is sustainable forest management?" collective energies will be better spent by acknowledging that sustainable forest management will be what we choose to make it" (ECOSOC, 1999b, paras. 6 and 44). This thesis has argued that the four different idealised perspectives that we are dealing with in this thesis, cannot be said to have become 'balanced' in the substantive content global public policy on forests. That is, the international community has 'chosen' not to deal

with certain perspectives, we can say. There thus seems to be reasons to ask what the concept of Sustainable Forest Management means as a framework for global policy-making in terms of 'balancing' differing concerns.

6.3.2 Sustainable Forest Management as global policy framework

We may first recall from chapter 1 that the Agenda 21 states that 'sustainable development' requires the involvement of "all social groups ", and that "broad public participation in decision-making" is stated to be "one of the fundamental prerequisites for the achievement of sustainable development" (United Nations, 1993, para. 23.2). This is also reiterated in the non-legally binding instrument on all types of forests adopted in 2007, which states that one of six principles that Member States should respect is that:

> "Major groups as identified in Agenda 21, local communities, forest owners and other relevant stakeholders contribute to achieving sustainable forest management and should be *involved in a transparent and participatory way in forest decision-making processes that affect them*, as well as in implementing sustainable forest management, in accordance with national legislation;" (emphasis added) (ECOSOC, 2007, Ch. I, Appendix, para. 2 c).

We should note that this principle refers to decision-making processes in member states, and not to decision-making processes at the global level. We may also note that this principle states that relevant stakeholders should be *involved* in decision-making processes, which is not the same thing as saying that they are entitled to have a *saying* in such processes. However, we assume that this principle should also have a bearing on decision-making processes on forests at the global level. The following discussion departs in the recognition that there is a difference between involving 'all social groups' in *implementation* of a certain policy, and 'involving all social groups' in decision-making about *what* should be implemented in the first place.

This study has argued that not only are there different interests directed towards forests at the global political level, but it cannot rightly be said to be interests in the same 'thing'. The interests directed towards forests in global public policy-making, as seen through the interpretive framework of our four ideal type policy frames, can be said to imply *discrete ends*. Or in other words, it may be that the goals of equal economic relations between states, planetary ecological stability, cultural autonomy, and an increased role of the forestry sector in development compete as ends rather than as 'interests' towards the same end. This study has constructed a four-fold typology of different perspectives on sustainable development, which can be said to imply differing values as to what ends are foreseen for sustainable development policies, and it has argued that UN policy on forests has come to be responsive to certain ends more than others.

There is however, argues Ratner (2004), a more fundamental basis for distinguishing between different approaches to sustainability, or any complex ideal rooted in *value dimensions*, and that we will spend some space on discussing here in relation to the concept of Sustainable Forest Management as global policy framework. These differing approaches have to do with the relationship between social values and collective action, and how the economic, ecological, and social

"dimensions" of sustainable development are conceived of in terms of how the values they entail should be 'balanced' in collective action. If these 'dimensions' are conceived as comparable elements of an essentially unified goal, then they can be considered commensurable in practice and part of the same sphere of value. If they, on the other hand, are considered to indicate discrete substantive ends that impose different normative requirements on action, then it is appropriate to say that they constitute different value spheres and that values may be inherently divergent. In that case, these 'dimensions' are not so easily commensurable in practice, and the collective analysis of action alternatives can rely on no single choice framework.

Ratner (2004) distinguishes three different extreme approaches to sustainability as expressed in contemporary efforts at making the concept of sustainable development operational. These are referred to as 'sustainability' as 'technical consensus', 'ethical consensus', or as 'a dialogue of values'. And while these three idealized approaches all seek to integrate multiple goals, they do so differently and with different assumptions about *the role of values in collective action*. These different assumptions yield in turn, "radically different models of practice and institutional implications", according to Ratner (2004, p. 54). And in Ratners words: "Affirming that one or another is the "true" character of sustainable development misses the larger dynamic: a social construct in which a wide variety of approaches contend for legitimacy" (Ratner, 2004, p. 56-7).

Sustainable development as' technical consensus'

Sustainable development as 'technical consensus' implies an assumption that economic, social and ecological goals are *formally comparable* and *ultimately amenable*. The task to arrive at sustainable development is framed as a technical problem of finding the right balance between these goals, not as a substantive problem of inherently conflicting goals. Technical 'solutions' are for example the expansion of economic accounting methods in order to integrate environmental and social dimensions into a single accounting framework.

Sustainable development as 'ethical consensus'

Ratner (2004, p. 59) understands an ethic as "a decision-making framework grounded and guided by a coherent set of values". When sustainable development is conceived of as 'ethical consensus', the task is to arrive at a coherent and *unifying ethic* of sustainable development, that can guide through social conflict.

Sustainable development as 'a dialogue of values'

In Ratners third alternative, neither ethic nor technique is adequate to overcome the full range of value differences among social groups in their quest for development. In Ratners words:

"[w]hen construed not as a fixed end, but as a dialogue of values among competing actors, the sustainability concept acquires a complexity that is more fitting to the diversity of ways in which the idea is applied and contested in practice. When both technical and ethical approaches to unifying the goals of sustainability are viewed as limited in their application, the result is a view of

sustainability as socially defined by the groups interacting in local, regional, national, and global contexts. In this view, such goals as economic growth, cultural autonomy, physical welfare, spiritual meaning, and biological conservation *compete as ends*, depending on the ways actors choose to advocate them. The sustainability concept is meaningful, therefore, not because it provides an encompassing solution to different notions of what is good, but for the way it brings such differences into a common field of dispute, dialogue, and potential agreement as the basis of collective action" (Ratner, 2004, p. 62).

In Ratner's view, a 'dialogue of values perspective' provides a rationale for seeing participation of actors in deliberating the ends and means of development not only as *instrumental* in realizing specific development goals, but as *constitutive* of the very meaning of sustainable development practice (Ratner, 2004, p. 64). As for UN policy on forests, we can say that this policy since the Rio conference recognise a range of 'actor groups' (for example indigenous peoples) as *instrumental* in achieving Sustainable Forest Management. However, arguments that have been constitutive in defining what Sustainable Forest Management is supposed to mean in practice seems to derive from a very limited range of 'actor groups'.

We may think about the *function* that Sustainable Forest Management as a concept at the global level has served, and compare it with the function of the concept of sustainable development. Chapter 3 told the story of how the concept of sustainable development was launched as a framework for reconciling differing priorities concerning the need for environmental conservation and the need for development, and how it seemingly resolved the tensions between these needs. We could see the concept of Sustainable Forest Management as serving the same function at the global political level. Clearly there were differing priorities as to what kind of needs forests should serve at the time of the Rio conference. While not converging around 'the problem' of deforestation, Sustainable Forest Management became an objective that all actors could converge around. We may then ask if Sustainable Forest Management as a concept has been meaningful since it serves to bring the values and competing ends of different actors into a common field of dispute? Or if it has been harmful since it might give the *impression* of a common end that all actors agree on, while serving to mask the underlying value conflicts and conflicting ends in global public policy-making on forests. I do not intend to answer that question, and it has probably served both functions. However, this study suggests that in the case of global public policy-making on forests (as delimited in this study), with the concept of Sustainable Forest Management as 'mobilising ideal' since the beginning of the 1990s, differing perspectives on the use of forests have not been 'balanced' in the policy adopted.

6.4 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, we have discussed the way UN policy on forests has been framed in relation to the sustainable development policy framework. First, in terms of some factors that may render the framing of UN policy on forests understandable. Second, we have compared UN policy on forests against some principles for

policy-making aimed at sustainable development, and concluded that there seems to be a discrepancy between on the one hand the *ideals* of the sustainable development policy framework (participatory decision-making, involvement of all social groups, cross-sectoral cooperation), and on the other hand the *substantive content* of policy developed in this framework through the 'mundane' practices of policy-making with seeking of 'opportunities' and 'efforts to monopolise' the policy area in question.

Finally, we have asked what this say about the now 'institutionalised' concept of Sustainable Forest Management as a framework for balancing differing interests and values in global policy-making on forests. Relating to three different views on 'sustainability practice', we can say that the way the concept of Sustainable Forest Management is used in policy language reflects a view of 'sustainability practice' understood as 'technical consensus' or 'ethical consensus'. The dimensions of Sustainable Forest Management (economic, ecological, and socio-cultural) are framed as being elements of a unified goal, and as such commensurable in theory. By contrast, the analytic exercise carried out in this thesis suggests that different actors with a stake in forests at the global level foresee different substantive ends regarding what UN forest policy should accomplish, involving different values that might be incommensurable in practice. If that is so, then implementation of Sustainable Forest Management can rely on no unified framework for action in practice. In that case, achievement of Sustainable Forest Management is better understood as having to imply a 'dialogue between sometimes incommensurable values and ends' than as implying the 'balancing of different interests towards a commonly agreed end'.

"Underlying the Earth Summit agreements is the idea that humanity has reached a turning point. We can continue with present policies which are deepening economic divisions within and between countries – which increase poverty, hunger, sickness and illiteracy and cause the continuing deterioration of the ecosystem on which life on Earth depends. Or we can change course."
From the introduction to the Agenda 21 (United Nations, 1993, p. 3)

7. Concluding discussion

'Sustainable development' has become the dominant conceptual framework for international governance in a wide array of policy areas since the beginning of the 1990s, including governance on the use of natural resources. As a policy framework, it implies the idea that environmental concerns must be integrated with development concerns, and that policy-making should seek to balance economic, ecologic, and socio-cultural interests. As a governance framework, it also implies the idea that all social groups have to be involved in efforts to achieve sustainable development, and that public participation in decision-making is a prerequisite for its achievement. With the broader participation of actors other than states in inter-governmental policy-making has also come a range of 'new' policy problems, defined from other standpoints than the standpoints of states. It seems that we can understand such 'new problems' as stemming not only from differing *interests* in the pursuit of sustainable development, but also stemming from differing views on what should be the *ends* of sustainable development policies in the first place.

This thesis has investigated one case of global public policy aimed at sustainable development. Its concern has been what has happened with the substantive content of UN forest policy in a sustainable development policy framework, where multiple interests, as well as multiple values, compete for a saying. Specifically, its research concern has been what kind of 'Problem', or 'Problems' that UN forest policy has come to be responsive to in this 'multiple-interests-and-values-context'. The thesis has investigated global public policy on forests from the first UN conference on environment and development in 1972 to the adoption of a non-legally binding instrument on all types of forests in 2007, in order to seek an understanding of this. By bringing a theoretical perspective that focuses explicitly on public policy as 'argumentative construct', it has sought to illuminate what *kind* of arguments around sustainable development and Sustainable Forest Management that have come to be reflected in substantive content of UN forest policy, and what kind of arguments that have not.

This final chapter relates the main results from the study to the research questions as set out in chapter 1, as well as to the concern of the study. However, since the results are dependent on the theoretical approach chosen, we start by discussing this approach. We briefly discuss what motivated it, and what can be said with it.

7.1 Discussion of the approach of the study

From a theoretical point of view, the concern of the thesis can be seen as practical. Its approach has foremost been motivated from a 'natural resource management perspective'. From such a perspective (if we can talk of such), I have asked myself what is the purpose of the on-going UN forest negotiations on forests. Its ambition has not been to make a theoretical contribution. Its ambition has rather been to *apply* a theoretical perspective in order to research this 'practical' concern.

The study has drawn on literature on public policy studies in order to obtain some 'building blocks' for an analytical framework with which to approach the investigation of policy content. It was clarified in chapter 1 that this research field has emerged for the study of the policy-making process at the national level, which is different from policy-making in the international system in important respects. It has however been argued that for the aspect of policy that we are interested in here, understanding framing of policy content, this literature has a lot to say which should also be applicable on global public policy. When here discussing this approach, it is nevertheless of interest to very briefly motivate this 'departure' in relation to some literature that *is* dealing with policy-making in the international system.

Within the International Relations tradition, regime-theoretical approaches have so far been prominent in the study of international environmental cooperation (Kütting, 2000). Regime-theory is a body of theory which basically seeks to explain why sovereign states, in a global order without supranational authority, choose to cooperate, and under what conditions such cooperation takes place. 'Forests' have then been taken as a case of a non-regime (see *e.g.* Dimitrov, 2003), where states have not succeeded to put in place a legally binding instrument at the global level (although others argue that, with a wider understanding of a regime, we can indeed talk about a forest-regime at the international level (see *e.g.* Humphreys, 2006; Rosendal, 2001; Glück *et al*, 1997)). Regime-theoretical approaches could then have been one place to look for theoretical guidance, and it was in fact where this study started its 'theoretical explorations'. However, as stated in the introductory chapter, in analysis that focuses on multi-lateral cooperation *per se*, the issues on the agenda are often taken to be given. The forest negotiations have often been described in relation to 'deforestation' as the global problem to be addressed. The concern of this thesis has rather been: 'what do states actually cooperate around?' This is a question that is not so easily fitted into a regime-theoretical framework, and it therefore prompted the search for literature dealing explicitly with *policy*. The approach taken in this study is therefore partly a response to what was perceived, for its purposes, as a shortcoming of regime-theoretical approaches in addressing international environmental cooperation. Focusing on policy content, and also starting our analysis prior to the time when deforestation became a concern at the global political agenda, has allowed us to say something about 'the Problems' that states (and other political actors) are cooperating around in this case.

Further, the thesis has been delimited to global *public* policy on forests. This might seem like a limited focus for a thesis concerned with a case of global policy-

making for sustainable development. Indeed, the emergence of *non-state authority* is now widely recognised as an essential feature of global governance for sustainable development, and the policy domain on forests is often taken up as a prime example of a broader shift from public to private governance. Different kinds of market-based forest certification systems can be seen as an essential feature of international governance on forests aimed at Sustainable Forest Management since the 1990s (see *e.g.* Cashore *et al*, 2004; Gulbrandsen, 2004). Gulbrandsen (2004) for example discusses whether forest certification can fill the gaps in what is argued by some to be a state-based forest regime. However, this study has not focussed on the *means* to govern forests. Its questions have rather revolved around for what *ends* forests are governed in the first place. This should be a relevant question, regardless of governance being public, private, or public-private. Although it has been outside the scope of this study, it would however have been interesting to contrast what is argued by many to be a more open governance structure at the international level (and perhaps more open governance processes), with what wee see in terms of change in policy content in this particular case.

The thesis has focused on policy content, and it has regarded public policy as 'argumentative construct'. The intention with taking this perspective has been to illuminate an aspect of policy-making that is not very frequently addressed in policy-oriented forest management literature. The thesis has regarded policy-making as not just a matter of finding acceptable solutions for preconceived problems, but foremost as an activity in which the norms that determine what are to be *considered* 'policy problems' in the first place, are defined (*cf* Majone, 1989). For those with a social or political science background, this might be obvious. However, it might not be as obvious in a policy-oriented forest management context, where policy analytic efforts often have an instrumental focus, for the purpose of improving policy output. It has seemed to me an important perspective in a context where there seems to be increased competition not only around the forest resource base in itself, but also in terms of putting 'problems' onto the UN forest agenda.

It is a perspective motivated by the assumption that prior to the question of how policy can be improved comes logically the question of for what kind of *ends* it should be improved. The thesis has argued that UN policy on forests gives a muddled picture in this respect. It has argued that it does not tell us very much that the end of global policy-making on forests is stated to be the achievement of Sustainable Forest Management. The thesis has sought to illuminate what kind of ends that might be involved in the quest for Sustainable Forest Management at the global level, as argued by differing actors.

The analytical device used has been the concept of a *policy frame*. Since a policy frame as used in this thesis is an analytical abstraction, objections can of course be raised to the way in which they have been constructed. One objection could be that they are rather 'bluntly' constructed. They do for example not capture any ideological differences in argumentation, but depart in different 'socio-economic systems' for our purpose of discussing 'the Problems' involved in the global forest debate. Another analyst could have found a number of other perspectives of

relevance to forests and sustainable development in this debate. There could be fewer of them, or more. They could have been 'cut' in different ways. Further, it should be noted that they do only cover perspectives, or arguments, that have 'reached the bargaining table', and not arguments that do not have access to this 'table'. They are thus *one* way of representing what kind of 'Problems' that seem to be involved in global public policy-making on forests. Based on primary and secondary sources, the thesis has sought to show that they are justified as a tool of interpretation in our case. Having said this, we turn to relating the results to the research questions.

7.2 Results related to the research questions

Two main research questions were set out in chapter 1. First, in what way has UN policy on forests been framed from 1972 to 2007? Second, what factors account for the way in which UN policy on forests has been framed?

The first research question has been addressed by conceiving the framing of UN policy on forests as an inter-play between different policy frames. The thesis has constructed four ideal type policy frames, argued to be relevant to the forest issue on the UN agenda. They have been referred to as a 'modify management policy frame', a 'modify human-nature relations policy frame', a 'modify economic relations policy frame', and a 'modify cultural dominance policy frame' respectively. These policy frames have been said to imply different *problem definitions*, having to do with: forests not being properly recognised for the positive role they can play in development; negative global environmental change, including deforestation and forest degradation; an unequal world economic system, and; rights of indigenous peoples being overruled by 'development'. The four ideal type policy frames have been used as a tool to portray the way UN policy on forests has been framed from 1972 to 2007. It has been concluded that a 'modify management policy frame' first dominated the scene at the 1972 Stockholm conference, to encounter with three other policy frames at the time around the Rio conference. It has further been argued that while policy on forests from the Rio conference reflect discursive elements of all four policy frames to varying extents, UN forest policy from 1992 and onwards has gradually come to be dominated by a 'modify management' and a 'modify economic relations' policy frame.

The second research question has been addressed by re-connecting to the three aspects of framing of policy that have been explored in chapters 3, 4 and 5. Factors such as lack of consensus on problem definition, established policy communities, and political attention to the forest issue over time have been discussed and argued to render the way UN policy on forests is framed understandable. A starting point in this thesis has been that global public policy is the response to a problem of some kind. We have said that UN forest policy can be said to have become responsive to 'problems' as framed in our 'modify management' and 'modify economic relations' policy frames. However, regarding problem definition it has also been discussed how policy action often does not spring from 'problems' at all, but rather from 'new opportunities' as seen from the

viewpoint of various actors. We have then concluded that the content of UN policy on forests makes more sense if seen as the result of a continuing discursive 'struggle' over boundaries of the issue, problem definition, and importance of the issue, than if seen as the result of a strategic intervention to solve a specific global problem. Further, it has been argued that the case of global forest negotiations differs from some other cases of 'global environmental negotiations' in that there already existed a well established institutional structure at the international level for policy-making on forests long before forest became a politicized issue at the global level in the 1980s, and that this has affected the framing of UN policy on forests.

7.3 Results related to the concern of the thesis

The concern of the thesis has been what has happened to the substantive content of global public policy on forests in a sustainable development policy-making context. We have seen that there is clear change in UN forest policy content since the Rio conference, compared to that of the Stockholm conference, so what can be said about the nature of this change more generally? Does UN policy on forests since the Rio conference reflect, paraphrasing the excerpt from Agenda 21 that introduces this chapter, any 'change in course'? Or, talking in our frame language: has UN policy on forests been re-framed in a sustainable development context. And if so, what does this re-framing imply? Is it a broadly encompassing shift of frame of the sort Heclo has characterized as 'changes in self-consciousness' implying asking questions like 'Where are we? Why are we here? Whither do we tend?' (Rein & Schön, 1991, p. 268). In the view of Baker, "The Brundtland formulation of sustainable development represents a radical agenda for social change. Whether it has been treated as such by the system of environmental governance that it has spawned is a separate issue" (Baker, 2006, p. 218). What can be said about the kind of change that UN forest policy reflects?

We depart in what have been taken as central questions in our four ideal type policy frames. We could then say that there is a clear change in UN forest policy in terms of response to the question of *how* 'production processes' should be modified so as to further sustainable development. Whereas UN forest policy from 1972 dealt with integration of environmental concern into the practice of forestry, UN forest policy since the Rio conference and the adoption of the Forest Principles, clearly states that management of forests needs to take different concerns into consideration, and that a sustainable management of forests is management that seeks to balance different concerns of ecologic, economic, and socio-cultural character. Further, the notion of what kind of actors that should be involved in the management of forests has been clearly broadened, expressed in the principle of public participation in decision-making. We could also say that UN policy on forests has become responsive to the question of how production and consumption should be *distributed around the globe.* Issues of need for financial assistance and technology transfer from North to South make up a large part of UN forest policy from 1992 and onwards, which they did not in 1972.

Further, we could say that UN policy on forests since the 1990s has *not* become responsive to arguments pertaining to questions about *how much* we may produce and consume in the first place within the limits of the eco-system in order for development to be 'sustainable'. While the Forest Principles make some mentioning of the need for sustainable production and consumption patterns for example, this aspect of sustainable development seems to be neglected in subsequent policy. On the contrary, judging from background documents, it is for example taken as a given that world consumption in forest products (and logically then also consumption of products that require that forest lands be converted to other types of land-use) will increase. Neither does it seem to be responsive to the question of *who* are entitled to define what a 'sustainable' development in relation to forests should mean. The wording of UN policy on forests recognises different groups as *instrumental* in achieving Sustainable Forest Management. However, we have concluded that policy content is dominated by certain framings. We can say that the views of a limited range of groups have been *constitutive* in defining what Sustainable Forest Management implies.

This conclusion, we have said, warranted the question of what the concept of Sustainable Forest Management implies as a global policy framework: as a framework for balancing differing concerns in relation to forests. The concept as a *management concept,* we have said*,* holds the idea that it is *in principle* possible to balance concerns of ecological, economic, and socio-cultural character. However, paraphrasing Dryzek (1997), it seems that it is at the *discursive level* that political dilemmas of how to choose between different needs regarding forests are solved by the concept of Sustainable Forest Management, not necessarily at the level of practical policy or accomplishments on the ground. The analytic exercise carried out in this thesis suggests that different actors with a stake in forests foresee different substantive ends for what global public policy on forests should accomplish. It also seems that some of these ends involve values that might be incommensurable in practice. If that is so, then implementation of Sustainable Forest Management can rely on no unified framework for action in practice. In that case, and if the idea of involvement of all social groups and the principle of public participation in decision-making for sustainable development are to be taken on the words, then achievement of Sustainable Forest Management seems to be better understood as having to imply a 'dialogue between sometimes incommensurable values and ends' than as implying the 'balancing of different interests towards the same end'.

Lastly, does it matter in what way UN policy has been framed in a sustainable development policy framework? This study has not been concerned with *implementation* of global public policy on forests. It has rather sought a response to the question: *if* global public on forests would be implemented, what kind of 'problems' would be 'solved', and what kind of 'problems' would not be 'solved'? However, since it is, from a practical standpoint, in implementation of policy where it ultimately matters in what way a policy is framed, we will end with some words on that.

There seems to be wide agreement among actors involved in the current UN forest negotiations that what is needed now is not more talk, but implementation of what

has been agreed upon. However, as might be clear from this study, the policy adopted at the global level is not of the kind that you just take and 'implement'. It has to be operationalized in some way to be 'implementable'. And as argues Svedin (1998, p. 299), "[a]s the needs grow for operationalization of international general environmental agreements, like the Rio-conventions, the implicit tensions in the documents will come to light". We may assume that this is also the case in operationalization of the 'soft-law' on forests. Rein has argued that "[w]hen the purposes of policy are unclear and incompatible, each successive stage in the process of implementation provides a new context in which further clarification is sought. One of the consequences of passing ambiguous and inconsistent legislation is to shift the arena of decision to a lower level. The lack of consensus is resolved at the level of everyday practice, through the concrete actions taken by administrators and practitioners" (Rein, 1976, p. 22). We may assume that in implementation of global public policy on forests, the tensions between different needs, values and ends, which have so far not been addressed in global public policy on forests, will resurface at some 'lower' level of decision.

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Appendix

List of conducted interviews by category, UNFF session, and date

Country representative
Interview no. 3 UNFF3, 2003-05-27
Interview no. 7 UNFF3, 2003-05-28
Interview no. 8 UNFF3, 2003-05-28
Interview no. 9 UNFF3, 2003-05-30
Interview no. 11 UNFF3, 2003-06-02
Interview no. 12 UNFF3, 2003-06-02
Interview no. 14 UNFF3, 2003-06-03
Interview no. 17 UNFF3, 2003-06-05
Interview no. 18 UNFF3, 2003-06-05
Interview no. 23 UNFF4, 2004-05-06
Interview no. 24 UNFF4, 2004-05-06
Interview no. 25 UNFF4, 2004-05-07
Interview no. 26 UNFF4, 2004-05-07
Interview no. 28 UNFF4, 2004-05-07
Interview no. 31 UNFF5, 2005-05-19
Interview no. 34 UNFF5, 2005-05-20
Interview no. 36 2005-11-18

IGO representative
Interview no. 10 UNFF3, 2003-05-30
Interview no. 19 UNFF4, 2004-05-04
Interview no. 20 UNFF4, 2004-05-04
Interview no. 21 UNFF4, 2004-05-05
Interview no. 22 UNFF4, 2004-05-05
Interview no. 27 UNFF4, 2004-05-07
Interview no. 30 UNFF4, 2004-05-11
Interview no. 37 2005-11-28
Interview no. 38 2005-11-28
Interview no. 39 2005-11-28
Interview no. 40 2005-11-28
Interview no. 41 2005-11-29

NGO representative
Interview no. 2 UNFF3, 2003-05-27
Interview no. 4 UNFF3, 2003-05-27
Interview no. 5 UNFF3, 2003-05-28
Interview no. 16 UNFF3, 2003-06-04
Interview no. 29 UNFF4, 2004-05-10
Interview no. 32 UNFF5, 2005-05-19
Interview no. 33 UNFF5, 2005-05-20
Interview no. 35 UNFF5, 2005-05-24

Representative of research organisation
Interview no. 1 UNFF3, 2003-05-27
Interview no. 6 UNFF3, 2003-05-28
Interview no. 13 UNFF3, 2003-06-02
Interview no. 15 UNFF3, 2003-06-03

NOTES

- The total number of interviews are 41. They were carried out with delegates during the third, fourth and fifth session of the United Nations Forum on Forests (UNFF), as well as with key-informants at a couple of other occasions outside of UNFF sessions. They have been numbered in the order in which they were conducted.
- I promised anonymity for all of the interviewed. To nevertheless give the reader an idea about the kind of delegates interviewed, they are here categorised by: country representative; representative of Intergovernmental Organisation (IGO); representative of Non-Governmental Organistaion (NGO), and; representative of research organisation.