Alternative models for carbon payment to communities under REDD+: a comparison using the Polis model of actor inducements

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Based on a paper by Margaret Skutsch, Ben Vickers, Yola Georgiadou and Mike McCall in the Journal of Environmental Science and Policy (ESP), Vol 14, Issue 2, pp 140-151 March 2011



On what basis should communities be paid for carbon?

- Under REDD+ there should be provision for rewards both for
 - Decreases in rates of deforestation and degradation
 - Increases in forest stock (forest enhancement) due to sustainable management practices
 - Internationally, REDD+ payments are strongly output based (i.e. payments on basis of tonnes CO2 equivalent achieved)
 - But within national REDD+ programmes payments do not necessarily have to be on this basis.

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Payment model options include

- Output based i.e. performance rewards, tons C02 eq/ha
- Input or surrogate input based: i.e. for the work involved in management, or assumed work input
- Opportunity cost based: i.e. reflecting and (partially) compensating the sacrifices made by foregoing alternative uses of the forest
- Most existing PES systems are surrogate input based (involving flat rate payment per ha)
 - In return for implementation or observation of certain management codes
 - There may or may not be monitoring ex post to check compliance

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Contrary to performance based ideology

Is PES really a market system?

More like a public policy inducement

- Stone's (2002) Polis model of public policy inducements
- Analyse payment options as inducements, with the following considerations
 - The producers and the buyers may not behave as they would in a 'true' market
 - There are many opportunities for collusion (e.g. to overstate the production level)
 - Intermediaries are often the driving force, also in the collusion
 - The character of the commodity may have different meanings for the producers and the buyers
 - Does not necessarily have to be voluntary



Output based payment for community forest management

- Links directly to country's REDD+ accounting system
- Transparent basis for payments
- Should stimulate production (of carbon credits), based on market theory
- Payments made ex post on actual achievements
- Freedom for community to make its own management decisions



Input based payment

- Management for a variety of benefits not just carbon, which may reflect community values, needs and concepts better
- Management rules/conditions are usually imposed from outside (perhaps in consultation)
- Assumptions about carbon impacts of the management regime may be unfounded (slippage)
- Payments would have to be conservative in carbon terms



Opportunity cost payment

- Usually associated with deforestation rather than degradation
- Would require an economic analysis of each management unit individually
- Should provide greatest efficiency, as 'low-hanging fruit' can be targeted
- Thus could reach the most marginalised communities first



Four sets of actors

- International buyers (´givers´)
- National decision makers (who plan the programme, but also act as intermediate buyers)
- Intermediary organisations (technical; NGOs, academics, local goverment agencies
- Producers (´targets´) i.e. the communities



Results of analysis

- If buyers are interested only in efficient carbon production, they would opt for the opp. cost model but in many cases they have wider interests which are not well represented in this model (biodiversity, etc)
- The output based system will be a political quagmire for national governments as they will not be able to reward communities who have conserved forests well in the past;
- A flat rate system based on management inputs would enable the state to pay a *lower* reward to more communities, including the ´non-additional´ ones
- The opp.cost model will involve very high political transaction costs for national governments (individually negotiated prices for each community; vulnerable to corrupt practice and lack of transparency)

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- Flat rate surrogate input systems have lowest transaction costs and most transparency as far as national governments are concerned
- Flat rate input systems also likely to suit local communities best; payoff may be lower than output based, but is secure and known quantity.
- Flat rate systems and opp.cost systems are less liable to collusion between buyers and producers than output based systems
- But do not provide the ´stimulus´ given by output based systems



Equity implications:

- Opportunity cost models should bring in the low cost possibilities first, which may be communities with fewest alternatives (thus the most marginal, poorer)
- But in reality such communities may not have the negotiating skills/capacity to capture this; richer communities already engaged in market economy may jump in more quickly
- Output based payment systems imply an ability to take risks (and involve ex post payment), hence likely not to benefit poorer communities who may be risk averse.
- Input based flat rate systems make entry more easy for communities with less business acumen.

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Payment for carbon accounting – a form of input-based payment







Necessary conditions

- Success of all payment systems depend on level of control that communities have over forests
- Output-based systems possible only where autonomy of decision-making is strong
- Input-based payments (for carbon accounting) are possible even where tenure and use rights are not secure
- Overall benefits to communities must be greater than in without-REDD scenario
 - opp. cost calculation is essential, even if not as a basis for payment
- In many cases where autonomy is strong, this may be difficult to achieve (c.f. Nepal CF). Continuing controlled off-take is essential
- Carbon rights clarity
 - Absolutely crucial in an output-based system
 - For input-based and Opp cost-based systems carbon credits are not necessarily traded

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Conclusion

- Mix of payment systems is necessary
- The more secure communities feel in their existing rights, the higher proportion of payments can be input-based
- Input-based payments reduce transaction costs of REDD+ programs



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Thank You