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LEHR- UND FORSCHUNGSEINHEIT WIRTSCHAFTSGEOGRAPHIE



Conference

Performing Forests:

Reassessing, Reprioritizing, and Managing Forests and Wood for Low Environmental Impact



Gordon Winder, 2012

3rd Workshop of the
Geography & Sustainability Series,
Department of Geography, LMU Munich,
11-12 June 2014

What forest and wood futures are being produced by global climate change discourses, by whom, and with what effects?

Venue

Center for Advanced Studies, LMU Munich
Seestraße 13, 80802 München

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Performing Forests

Schedule

Wednesday, 11 June

- 13.30 **Welcome and opening remarks.** *Gordon Winder (LMU Munich), Helga Schubert Bavarian Research Group ForChange, Claudia Binder (LMU Munich)*
- 14.00 **Remapping and institutional thickening in forest peripheries: Reflections from the Great Bear Rainforest.** *Alex Clapp and Roger Hayter (Simon Fraser)*
- 15.00 *coffee and tea break*
- 15.15 **When foresters reterritorialize the periphery: Postsocialist forest politics in Bialowieza, Poland.** *Eunice Blavascunas (RCC, LMU Munich)*
- 16.15 *refreshments and a chance to 'perform' the Englischer Garten*
- 19.00 **Enacting land, coast and ocean resourcefulness in the twenty-first century: Insights on local and global challenges from New Zealand.** *Richard Le Heron (Auckland).*
- 20.15 *drinks*
- 21.00 *dinner (venue to be announced)*

Thursday, 12 June

- 9.00 **Problems with the German forest law: From a history orientation towards the recognition of discourses about nature protection and climate change.** *Klaus Pukall, Günter Dobler and Michael Suda (TU Munich)*
- 10.00 *coffee and tea break*
- 10.15 **Future images and transdisciplinary scenario development: The case of forest landscapes and regional stakeholder processes.** *Sabine Storch, Andy Selter, and Metodi Sotirov (ALU Freiburg)*
- 11.15 *coffee and tea break*
- 11.30 **Wood for all, all for wood: New roles for forests and wood in resource utilization and climate change discourses in Germany.** *Amra Bobar and Gordon M. Winder (LMU Munich)*
- 12.30 *lunch break*
- 14.00 **The politics of illegal logging: Cross-sectoral alliances and discursive agency in the United States and Europe.** *Georg Winkel, Sina Leipold, and Metodi Sotirov (ALU Freiburg)*
- 15.00 *coffee and tea break*
- 15.15 **Discussion**
- 16.30 **Farewell**

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List of Participants and Titles

Eunice Blavascunas (Rachel Carson Center for Environment and Society, LMU Munich): When foresters reterritorialize the periphery: Postsocialist forest politics in Bialowieza, Poland

Amra Bobar and **Gordon M. Winder** (LMU Munich): Wood for all, all for wood: New roles for forests and wood in resource utilization and climate change discourses in Germany

Alex Clapp and **Roger Hayter** (Simon Fraser University): Remapping and institutional thickening in forest peripheries: Reflections from the Great Bear Rainforest

Richard Le Heron (University of Auckland): Enacting land, coast and ocean resourcefulness in the twenty first century: Insights on local and global challenges from New Zealand

Klaus Pukall, **Günter Dobler**, and **Michael Suda** (Technische Universität München): Problems with the German forest law: From a history orientation towards the recognition of discourses about nature protection and climate change

Sabine Storch, **Andy Selter**, and **Metodi Sotirov** (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg): Future images and transdisciplinary scenario development: The case of forest landscapes and regional stakeholder processes

Georg Winkel, **Sina Leipold**, and **Metodi Sotirov** (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg): The politics of illegal logging: Cross-sectoral alliances and discursive agency in the United States and Europe

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Abstracts

When foresters reterritorialize the periphery: Postsocialist forest politics in Bialowieza, Poland

Eunice Blavascunas, Rachel Carson Center for Environment and Society, LMU Munich
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State Forestry is mainly regarded by political ecologists as a coercive tool deployed by state authorities to nationalize, control and order the forest as a resource for the nation. The consequence of this is civilizing locals and subjecting them to the grip of the state. However, in the iconic Bialowieza Forest in eastern Poland, touted as Europe's last primeval forest for its old oaks and woodland bison, state foresters altered the prominence of their nationalistic and nationalizing history in three surprising ways that need to be explored: 1) They downplayed their historical role in nationalizing the periphery in the 1920s when the area was split in designations between a national park and a forest belonging to the newly formed Polish state (Second Polish Republic). 2) They created new allegiances with the Belarusian identified local population. 3) They referenced neighboring Belarus' preferential management of forests within the adjacent Belovezhskaya National Park. This paper weaves together insights from political ecology, postsocialist studies and environmental history in an ethnographic account of Polish state foresters in interaction with biologists, conservationists and "local" people in the fight to expand the Polish Bialowieza National Park between 1990 and 2013. Foresters could deterritorialize the forest from the nation, at least rhetorically, because of the scaling up of conservationists, who viewed and promoted the forest as national, European and global heritage. Yet the globalized cosmopolitics of conservationists enabled, or perhaps even forced, foresters to frame their concerns in a language of local and ethnic minority rights and community participation. The transcendence of ethnic/cultural differences by foresters over nearly ninety years of existence marks an important and novel component of the postsocialist period.

Wood for all, all for wood: New roles for forests and wood in resource utilization and climate change discourses in Germany

Amra Bobar, LMU Munich (amra.bobar@geographie.uni-muenchen.de)

Gordon M. Winder, LMU Munich (gordon.winder@geographie.uni-muenchen.de)

Both "traditional" management and innovative use of forests and wood are gaining a new prominence in global climate change discourse, national discourses around climate change adaptation, energy supply and more general sustainability initiatives. Forests and wood serve diverse interests and uses, and both are now under pressure. Forests are emphasized as areas for biodiversity and conservation, recreation and employment and are ascribed new cultural value. Wood is not only being used for construction, furniture and paper, but also for material composites and, increasingly, for energetic uses. Conflicts are emerging between different actors and on different scales. When considered together, statements by various actors from political institutions,

forest products industries, relevant associations and unions as well as environmental organizations show diverse, sometimes ambiguous and often conflicting expectations of how forests and wood should perform. Interestingly, climate change is regularly invoked by these actors to legitimize their visions, practices and strategies. In contrast, state institutions have multiple interests and aims and have formulated strategies for, for example, biodiversity or resourcefulness. It is often unclear how such aims should be realized but the narratives created around climate change adaptation and resource utilization have impacts on the values and practices of all the actors involved around forests and wood.

The paper uses an actor-oriented analysis of narratives around the importance of forests and wood usage in facing climate change and resource scarcity. This will be done by qualitative text analysis of central publications of the Federal Ministry for Food and Agriculture such as the *Waldstrategie 2020* or the so-called *Charta für Holz*. In addition, findings from qualitative media analysis of representations of forest and wood usage in Germany will be compared with the Federal Ministry's visionary statements. These findings will be related to efforts to quantify the future demand for timber in terms of calculations and scenarios from forestry research. Thus the paper will focus on discrepancies between visions for future projects and possible restrictions in future forest and wood volumes. The main questions addressed in this paper are what narratives are created around climate change adaptation and by whom, what impacts these are having on values and practices and what resource utilization discourses are emerging related to wood? The aim is to understand the interactions between discourses within different communities and at different scales and the related practices unfolding certain networks and assemblages. Ultimately the paper addresses the connection between current reassessments and prioritizations of forest resources and concepts of resilience and sustainability. How much pressure is building up on forest and wood resources?

Remapping and institutional thickening in forest peripheries: Reflections from the Great Bear Rainforest.

Alex Clapp and Roger Hayter, Department of Geography, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia

In the context of forest peripheries, remapping was originally conceived and analyzed primarily in spatial terms, focusing on land-use zoning, the political conflicts and scientific interventions it generated, and ultimately the compromises it enabled. Although glossed over in those analyses a key dimension of remapping agreements is the creation of institutions that embody and implement the compromises among stakeholders. These institutions vary in their function and networking mandates, degrees of formality and permanence, and the scales at which they operate. This paper extends the framework of remapping by a focus on its implications for institutional thickening, with particular reference to the iconic case of the Great Bear Rainforest on the central coast of British Columbia, Canada.

Although not new, “wars in the woods” over forest use have become a pervasive feature of contemporary globalization, embedded in the intersection of deep-seated institutional clashes among vested and potential stakeholders who represent wide-ranging industrial, political, environmental and cultural interests and values. Remapping serves as both normative metaphor for the conflicts and prescription for new regional plans and forms of zoning that imply an institutional

thickening of governance to embrace different stakeholder interests in ways that replace conflict with cooperation. In practice, contested forest peripheries have become highly politicized over resource values, social legitimacy, the meaning of sustainability and resilience, and scientific argument, and innovative institutional arrangements have been required to move towards peace in the woods. Moreover, the local models of forest conflict vary considerably, driven by distinctive: mixes of institutional interests and their global-local dynamics; resource endowments; and situations within nations, regions and global connections.

In the case of the Great Bear Rainforest, a 2004 agreement followed years of debate and various institutional initiatives in planning mandates and the innovation of a science-based boundary organization. This paper reflects on how this agreement has worked in practice since then by an examination of the institutional thickening of governance that integrates the interests of key stakeholders, formally and informally. The discussion distinguishes six cross-interest negotiations:

1. Collaboration between industrial and environmental interests has erected a new framework of institutions to implement “socially responsible” ideas of self-regulation in civil society. These institutions take the forms of (at least) three types of firm: value-added processors, third-party verifiers, and multi-national retailers who market and demand certified wood products (e.g., IKEA, Home Depot, and others). The Joint Solutions Project emerged from bilateral negotiations between industry and environment that laid the foundations for the Great Bear Rainforest compromise.
2. Other aspects of institutional thickening are part of the state rather than civil society. Political and cultural interests have reserved assent to stakeholder-negotiated agreements to the province and First Nations in a subsequent and higher level of government-to-government negotiations. The Coastal First Nations Protocol represents both an advance and a complication of relations between First Nations and the province of British Columbia.
3. Environment and government have found productive, if still conflictive, engagement in elaborating the definition and implementation of ecosystem-based management (EBM) in BC’s central coast. EBM builds on an Ecological Spatial Analysis that was instrumental in reaching the Great Bear Rainforest agreement.
4. Industry and cultural stakeholders have developed collaborative interests through First Nations-owned companies, such as Tsimshian Forest Resources, a pioneer in the export of hemlock logs from the north and central coasts, and through eco-certification by the Forest Stewardship Council, which includes assurance of indigenous peoples’ consultation, accommodation and participation.
5. Cultural and environmental compromises are reflected in informal, and occasionally uneasy, alliances during the CCLRMP. Informal relations may not lead to permanent institutions, but may be no less influential in shaping negotiated outcomes at key junctures.
6. Reform of the long-standing political and industrial alliance can be seen in the retrenchment of forest tenure arrangements, including the expansion of log auctions and the claw back of TFL and TSA tenures. The forest firms operating in the region were also involved in the softwood

trade dispute with the United States that continues to impose restrictions on Canadian lumber exports.

Some of these institutions are temporary, called into being during stakeholder negotiations; others aim to be permanent, including value-added firms and certification bodies; still others are intermittent, active during predictably recurrent trade disputes. Similar variation characterizes the scales at which these institutions operate: some are local; others are regional or provincial; while others interact with global trading partners or organizations.

The outcome of remapping processes is never simple: neither a free market solution, nor public control, but an increasingly complex architecture of institutions, based in both civil society and the state, and designed to promote different principles, including sustainability, transparency, and scientific legitimacy.

Enacting land, coast and ocean resourcefulness in the twenty-first century: Insights on local and global challenges from New Zealand

Richard Le Heron, University of Auckland

Resourcefulness is a challenging idea and it is always potentially highly political. It is something that is made and contextually bounded. Although it is often treated as static resourcefulness comes from situated contestation over materialities and ecologies, relations, technologies and discourses. This address, argued from the realities and contingencies of New Zealand's experiences, suggests that conceptions that have been championed in the past have steadily narrowed how resourcefulness has been known and practiced. Recent research, however, has shown an emerging and burgeoning plurality of knowledge systems that are actively re-framing resource-fullness in the New Zealand setting, mindful of global challenges, obligations and responsibilities.

Public Lecture: Richard Le Heron will give this public lecture as a contribution to the Center for Advanced Studies' summer program for 2014.

Problems with the German forest law: From a history orientation towards the recognition of discourses about nature protection and climate change

Klaus Pukall, Günter Dobler, Michael Suda, Chair of Forest and Environmental Policy, Technische Universität München

The content of the German forest law is a collection of historic discourses about forestry. For example, the ban of every agricultural usage within the forests is an institutionalization of the discourse on wood shortages in the 18th and 19th century. The differentiation between protection, usage and recreation functions in the forests is a result of the influential function concept of the forestry professor Dieterich.

We want to answer the questions if these traditional regulations are able to solve actual problems like climate change or conflicts between usage and protection oriented actors. In our paper we analyze historic as well as actual discourses about forests and forestry with the help of Hajers' political discourse concept. We use Greimas' actantial model to unfold the subsurface structure of the identified story lines. Our analysis focuses on the German case but is transferable to other central European countries.

The actual discourse about forestry in Germany is shaped by the conflict between two clearly distinguishable discourse coalitions. The forestry coalition consists of actors from the so called forestry and wood cluster, accompanied by conservative and liberal politicians. This coalition wants to implement liberal, usage oriented policies with help of the central metaphors "sustainability" and "multifunctional forestry." Core members of the nature protection coalition are ENGOs and the green party. They argue mostly on the basis of national and international legislation (e.g. convention on biodiversity) and research for increased management standards (e.g., deadwood concepts) and the abandonment of wood usage in 5-10 percent of the forested area. The discourse about climate change is increasing the conflict between these discourse coalitions. Narratives for the cultivation of foreign tree species like Douglas fir traditionally used good wood quality and economic profitability as the sender (in the sense of Greimas' model) for the forestry sector which is endangered by its low revenue due to low wood prices and high labor costs. Climate change is now used as a new sender within a more ecology oriented argumentation: Douglas fir is especially important to reduce the risks of climate change which are only partly known. The nature protection coalition is increasingly opposing the usage of foreign tree species due to their invasive potential. The German Federal Agency for Nature Conservation has included the Douglas fir in its "black list" of invasive species because this tree species might endanger natural ecosystems. Interestingly, the expanding use of Douglas fir in forestry is the reason for the invasiveness and not its biological dispersal capacity (which is not very high). There is also a conflict over the role the forests should play within climate change mitigation. The forestry coalition is arguing for an intensive wood use (central metaphor "cascade use"). The nature protection coalition argues for increased carbon storage due to non-use or increased rotation periods.

Central regulations of the forest law which are influenced by historic discourses do not really help to govern the described conflicts. Due to the exclusion of agricultural usage within forest the newly evolving concepts for short-rotation coppices or agro-forestry in Germany are explicitly regulated outside the forest law. Nevertheless, the afforestation paragraph would have provided a good regulatory framework to balance the interests of land owners and public interests like nature protection. Another example is the regulation against the devastation of forests. The original idea was to inhibit overexploitation and the degradation of the soil. From a nature protection standpoint usage-practices which create open stands and/or nutrient-poor soils would be necessary to protect some species. This is hampered by the regulation mentioned above.

A possible development path for the forest law would be the implementation of regulations which help to solve conflicts between different interest groups on the stand as well as the landscape level. The forest function planning process which follows right now a technocratic concept could be revitalized by using a participatory approach.

Future images and trans-disciplinary scenario development: The case of forest landscapes and regional stakeholder processes

Sabine Storch, Andy Selter and Metodi Sotirov, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg

In the EU project INTEGRAL, twenty regional future scenarios of forests and forestry, their political, social and economic framework conditions are developed in ten European countries. The authors of this proposal work on the two German case studies that are situated in Bavaria (South of Munich and North-West of Upper Palatinate). The scenarios have been developed with support of stakeholder input gained in regional workshops held in September 2013. The stakeholders were asked to devise different future manifestations of previously determined influential factors like goals of private forest owners, forest policy instruments or calamities and climate change. Meanwhile, the social scientists worked the full scenarios out, following a structured, science- and partly software-supported approach to finally achieve full narratives of three different, plausible and possible future images for each of the case studies. On 5th/6th June, the second participatory workshops are planned, where the full scenarios are presented to the regional stakeholders and decision-makers concerned with forest policy. The aim of these workshops will be to devise strategies and measures that would help to avoid non-desirable and achieve desirable aspects of these future states.

The main research question we would like to address in the course of these processes for a contribution to the conference “Performing Forests” is how the differing principal beliefs of the forest-related stakeholders are reflected in their images of the future and if the method of scenario development instigates minor or major changes in the perceptions of the stakeholders and influences their disputes on the integration of wood utilization with other societal demands like recreation, biodiversity, ground water et al. The workshops and methods applied can build a forum for exchange on a more reflective basis. Thus we could contribute to the questions of what discourses on future forests and forestry at regional scales emerge, what structures and practices prevail among the diverse actors and what impact different narratives of the future have on their values and practices.

Keywords: qualitative futures studies, scenarios, forest landscapes, Bavaria

The politics of illegal logging: Cross-sectoral alliances and discursive agency in the United States and Europe

Georg Winkel, Sina Leipold, and Metodi Sotirov, Forest and Environmental Policy Group Institute of Social Environmental Sciences and Geography University of Freiburg, Germany

Illegal logging is an environmental issue that has received a lot of attention in the recent decade. It is often connected to weak governance structures, corruption and poverty on one hand, and forests rich in timber and biodiversity on the other hand. Thus, the issue conglomerates with important environmental and economic challenges such as tropical deforestation, sustainability, national sovereignty over natural resources, just distribution of land use rights, and free trade, making any political initiative related to illegal logging politically delicate.

Recently, however, a remarkable policy change occurred when the political attention (and initiatives) shifted from voluntary policies targeting production and exporter countries (primarily in the tropics) to legally binding policies targeting major wood consuming markets in developed countries. Within a short time, the United States, the EU and Australia adopted legislation that prohibits the placing of illegally harvested timber on the respective markets, and demands that involved companies develop due diligence systems to prevent such placing.

In this paper, we assess 1) the policy making processes (including cross-sectoral alliance building and political strategies) that led to the described policy change, 2) the emerging implementation patterns, 3) the global links between both policy developments, and 4) the policies' potential importance in the context of a fragmented global forest regime.

Theoretically, our paper draws on a constructionist approach using the recently developed framework of "Discursive Agency." Empirically, our paper builds on rich data including 72 semi-structured interviews with policy makers and stakeholders within the EU and the US, and the analysis of more than 70 policy documents.

Our main argument is that the new policies against illegal logging have emerged through a combination of factors including environmental strategy making, strategic coalitions and alliances that at least temporarily liaised environmental groups and bureaucracies with (parts of) the forest industry and trade companies, and complex global linkages and discursive dynamics that redefined and channeled environmental and industry demands. In result, policies that carefully conciliated and merged certain (protectionists) economic interests with selected environmental narratives developed at a particular point in time. Yet, soon after their adoption, they became again contested as the implementation patterns are gradually evolving.

Based on this interpretation, the contribution of the new policies against illegal logging for tackling major social, economic and ecological drivers related to deforestation and unsustainable forest management can only be assessed with caution. Our paper concludes by contextualizing these policies in a complex international forest regime that is characterized by political and legal fragmentation on one side, and increasing globalization and the prevalence of market forces on the other hand.

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