



Can an alternative cosmovision challenge the market hegemony?

An analysis of Article 6.8 in the Paris Agreement

Amanda Björksell

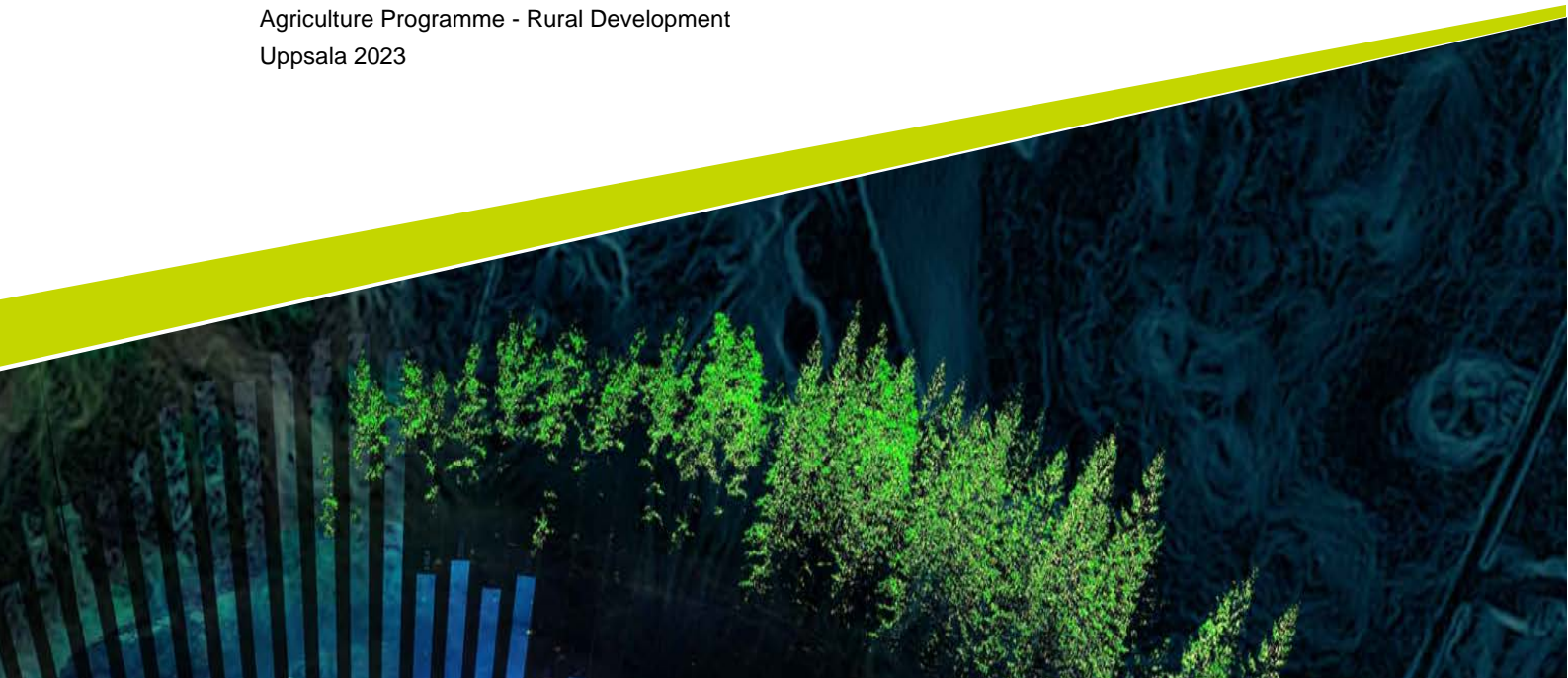
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Amanda Björksell

Supervisor: Cristián Alarcón Ferrari, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, SLU, Department of Urban and Rural Development
Examiner: Ida Wallin, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, SLU, Department of Urban and Rural Development
Assistant examiner: Malin Beckman, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, SLU, Department of Urban and Rural Development

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Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences
Faculty of Natural Resources and Agricultural Sciences
Department of Urban and Rural Development
Division of Rural Development

Abstract

Med en fortsatt ökande global temperatur och globala koldioxidutsläpp, i kombination med de årliga klimatförhandlingarnas långsamma framsteg börjar det bli tydligt att det är något som hindrar den radikala förändringen som behövs för att skydda vår planet och mänsklighet. Utgångspunkten för denna uppsats är att studera FN:s klimatförhandlingar och de alternativa diskurser som kan ifrågasätta den rådande hegemonin.

Uppsatsen undersöker därför hur och om det är möjligt att utmana den rådande hegemoniska diskursen genom att studera en alternativ diskurs som presenteras av Bolivia. Genom att basera både sina nationella lagtexter och argument under internationella förhandlingar på konceptet *Vivir Bien* utmanar Bolivia den rådande diskursen. Detta blir tydligt i hur Bolivia argumenterar för Artikel 6.8 i Parisavtalet, en icke marknadsbaserad mekanism som ska kunna bidra till utsläppsminskning och anpassning genom frivilliga samarbeten mellan olika aktörer. Uppsatsen undersöker hur denna artikel kan dels påverka natursynen inom UNFCCC, dels vilka effekter den skulle kunna få på skogssektorn som ett exempel på en sektor som skulle bli påverkad. Materialet kommer från intervjuer med civilsamhällesaktörer samt en analys av lagtexter och officiella dokument från Bolivia. Genom intervjuer, observationer och en kritisk diskursanalys av både intervjuer och officiella dokument identifierar jag hur de olika aktörerna förhåller sig till den alternativa diskursen kopplad till *Vivir Bien*.

Det teoretiska ramverket är baserat på ny imperialism och *The imperial mode of living*. Genom att analysera materialet med dessa teorier finner jag att de icke-marknadsbaserade metoderna som föreslås i Artikel 6.8 utmanar det *Imperial mode of living* som reproduceras genom bland annat marknadsbaserade mekanismer. Vidare visar mina resultat på hur de marknadsbaserade metoderna riskerar att reducera skog till enbart koldioxidinlagring, samtidigt som ursprungsbefolkning och andra grupper som lever nära skogen kan påverkas negativt. Diskursen länkad till *Vivir Bien* öppnar för att se flera värden i skogen samt en ny cosmovision. Både den Bolivianska staten och mina intervjuobjekt från civilsamhället använder sig av denna diskurs, men fyller det med olika innehåll. Dessutom lyfts en kritik hos mina intervjuobjekt som belyser hur Bolivia för en retorik och driver en diskurs internationellt som inte har omsatts i praktiken nationellt.

Slutligen belyser uppsatsen hur den rådande hegemonin kan ifrågasättas och om diskursen om *Vivir Bien* och Artikel 6.8 kan utgöra ett skifte. Mina resultat visar på stora förväntningar på Artikel 6.8, men att mekanismen i sig verkar inte bli det systemskifte som efterfrågats utan snarare en ihopmatchnings mekanism som väl passar i den rådande strukturen. Även om Artikel 6.8 i nuläget inte verkar kunna utmana den rådande hegemonin sker diskussioner under klimatförhandlingarna som tyder på att det behövs en strukturell förändring.

Keywords: Climate negotiations, Paris Agreement, *Buen Vivir*, *Vivir Bien*, Article 6.8, climate justice, imperialism, Bolivia, COP27, non-market approaches, commodification

Abstract

A rising global temperature and increased emissions, in combination with the slow progress of the yearly climate negotiations shows that there is something hindering the radical improvement needed to protect both the planet and humanity. The outset for this thesis is to study the UN climate negotiations and the alternative discourse that can question the hegemony.

This thesis is therefore investigating how and if it is possible to challenge the hegemonic discourse by studying an alternative discourse promoted by Bolivia. By basing both the national legislative texts and arguments in international negotiations on the concept of *Vivir Bien*, the Good Life, Bolivia is challenging the hegemony. That is particularly visible in how Bolivia is arguing for the Article 6.8 of the Paris Agreement, a non-market approach that should contribute to reduced emissions and increased adaptation through voluntary collaborations between different actors. The thesis studies how the article can firstly affect the perception of nature within UNFCCC and secondly which effects it could have for forestry as an example of the sectors that would be affected. The methods used are interviews with civil society actors as well as an analysis of legislative texts and official documents from the Plurinational state of Bolivia. Through interviews, observations and a critical discourse analysis of both interviews and documents I identify how the different actors positions themselves in relation to the alternative discourse.

The theoretical framework is based on approaches that has been identified as new imperialism and *the Imperial mode of living*. By analyzing the material with the theories mentioned I find that the non-market mechanisms presented in Article 6.8 challenges the *Imperial mode of living* that is reproduced by for example the market-based approaches. Furthermore, the results identify how the market-based mechanisms can reduce forests to carbon sequestrators, by that not recognizing the full value of forests and further might have negative consequences for the indigenous communities. The discourse which included *Vivir Bien* opens for the different values of forest as well as an alternative cosmovision. Both the state of Bolivia and the interviewees from civil society use the discourse but define it differently. Moreover, there is a critique expressed by the interviewees stating that Bolivia is presenting a discourse internationally which is not implemented nationally.

Finally, the thesis highlights how the current hegemonic discourse can be challenged and if the discourse of *Vivir Bien* and Article 6.8 can constitute a counter-hegemony. My results show great expectations for Article 6.8, however that the mechanism itself is not the shift of hegemony demanded but rather a match-making facility well suiting the current structure. Even if Article 6.8 currently does not challenge the hegemonic discourse there are discussions taking place during the climate negotiations implying that a structural change is needed.

Keywords: Climate negotiations, Paris Agreement, *Buen Vivir*, *Vivir Bien*, Article 6.8, climate justice, imperialism, Bolivia, COP27, non-market approaches, commodification

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Abbreviations

CBD	United Nations Convention on Biodiversity
CBDR	Common but differentiated responsibility
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
COP15	15 th Conference of the parties to CBD
COP27	27 th Conference of the parties to UNFCCC
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPLC	Indigenous people and local communities
LMDC	Likeminded developing countries, negotiation group under UNFCCC
LULUCF	Land Use, Land Use Change and Forestry. Referring to emissions from the sector.
NDC	Nationally Determined Contribution, report to the UNFCCC on how to reduce national emissions.
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NMA	Non-Market Approaches
REDD+	Reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation and the role of conservation, sustainable management of forests and enhancement of forest carbon stocks in developing countries
SB56	56 st session of the UNFCCC Subsidiary bodies. The SB sessions takes place in June, in between the COPs.
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

1. Introduction

The process of writing my thesis, and the chosen topic is about finding hope and seeing new possibilities in a situation by many described as hopeless. After spending some time with the UNFCCC¹ and the UN negotiations during 2021 I started searching for the existential perspectives of the climate crisis, the wordings that reflected the human-nature relationship framing our societies. While finding out that the negotiations are highly technical, I started to ask myself where nature had gone. Have we lost the sight of nature in the negotiations?

As I was searching for nature in the negotiations, the 27th conference of the parties to the UNFCCC took place. That equals 30 years of negotiations since the conference in Rio de Janeiro. 30 years of discussions while the temperature is rising, and the consequences of climate change are becoming increasingly evident. My experience is that something is changing, that there might be a need for a change of the hegemonic discourse that frames the negotiations. In this thesis I wish to explore if the alternative discourses and views of nature can constitute that change, by looking into a process that is already taking place under the Paris Agreement.

I got in touch with the concept of *Vivir Bien*, a way of understanding life in harmony with nature and others. The finding of those concepts opened for an alternative view on nature in the negotiations, one where nature was at the heart of the discussions. An alternative discourse, visible in the Article 6.8 in the Paris Agreement and promoted internationally by Bolivia. I saw the opportunity to create a deeper understanding of Article 6.8 analyzing the forest sector, which is strongly impacted by climate policy and is a topic that often arises when mentioning article 6 in the Paris Agreement.

¹ United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

2. Background

Before presenting the results, I will provide a short background to the context of the thesis.

2.1 The Paris Agreement

196 of the parties to the UN convention on climate change, UNFCCC, agreed during COP21 in Paris 2015 on the legally binding Paris Agreement (UNFCCC n.d.a). The aim is to limit global warming to maximum 2 degrees, but preferably 1,5 degrees. The agreement has since 2015 been negotiated during the yearly conferences of the parties, COPs. The Rulebook for the Agreement was agreed on during COP24 and finally decided on during COP26 in 2022 (United Nations n.d.).

As part of the Paris Agreement, each country must submit a national plan for reduction of emissions and increased climate ambition. The first plans called Nationally Determined Contributions, henceforth NDC, were submitted at the fifth COP after the Paris Agreement, COP26. (UNFCCC n.d.a).

2.1.1 Article 6.8

The Article 6 (see Annex 1) in the Paris Agreement presents tools that allow countries to voluntarily collaborate to reduce emission, by trade with emission reduction or carbon targets that are "*generated by the reduction or removal of GHGs from the atmosphere*" (quote World Bank 2022) (Persson 2022). The aim is to reach the goals set up in the NDCs and to promote capacity building and technology transfer between countries, private and public actors (ibid). The overall purpose of article 6 is to increase ambition and decrease emissions. The mechanisms under Article 6.2 and 6.4 are doing this with market-based

mechanisms while Article 6.8 is based on non-market mechanisms. For example, article 6.4 allows trade with emission reductions (Persson 2022). During COP26, the article 6 was finally approved after 5 years of negotiations. However, the negotiations have focused on article 6.2 and 6.4, resulting in critique from countries such as Bolivia stating that article 6.8 has not gotten enough attention (Plurinational State of Bolivia to the UNFCCC 2021).

What distinguishes article 6.8 is the fact that it is not trade based, but enables collaboration to decrease emissions and adapt to a changing climate (Swedish Energy Agency 2016). Non-market-approaches, henceforth NMA, were first discussed during the COP16 in Cancun in 2010 when it was promoted by Bolivia and Venezuela (Michaelowa et al. 2021). Critique towards the approach included duplication of instruments under the UNFCCC and increased pressure on the developed countries to deliver climate finance. During the COP21 more perspectives on the article 6.8 were presented in the negotiations, however not many specific examples of implementation. Different governance options have since them been negotiated. Progress was made during COP25 where the decision stated that there should be an NMA forum established, this was however a disappointment for many developing countries aiming for a more robust construction. In short, the Article 6.8 should enable collaboration to meet the goals of emission reduction in the NDC through nonmarket based mechanisms for finance of projects (see Annex 1).

2.1.2 *Vivir Bien, Pachamama* and Mother Earth

In their argumentation in the climate negotiations, Bolivia often refers to Mother Earth or *Vivir Bien*. These concepts have been frequently used in the international sphere, both by indigenous groups and other social movements criticizing the mainstreamed and western definition of development (Villalba 2013; Altmann 2014). Even if the concept might be relatively new on the political agenda, it has been used in social movements since the 1980s, and the traditional use and meaning go way earlier (Altmann 2014). My interest for the concept sparked when I got involved in the international climate negotiations. I realized that the words used by indigenous NGOs were now used by parties in defining the human-nature relationship. This chapter explores the meaning of *Vivir Bien*, as an example of how the rights of nature can be expressed in legislative documents. I will then move on to how that transformation into policy can be conducted.

2.1.3 The good life

Vivir Bien can be understood as a plurality of discourses of life in harmony with nature, which constitutes an alternative to the development discourse promoted by the western countries (Gudynas 2011; Villalba 2013). It focuses on “the good life” where well-being is linked to the collective society and a cohabitation of this planet with both other humans and nature (Gudynas 2011). Depending on the county, either *Vivir Bien* and *Buen Vivir* can be used to express this conceptualization (Huanacuni Mamami 2010). In this essay *Buen Vivir* and *Vivir Bien* are used interchangeably, but since *Vivir Bien* is more commonly used in Bolivia (ibid.) I will use that wording if my interviewees or sources does not specifically use *Buen Vivir*.

The *Vivir Bien* perspective put into words the negative impacts of both environment and society that originates from the mainstreamed western capitalism (Gudynas 2011). An example of this is the large-scale development projects that has been implemented in Latin America. *Vivir Bien* is instead presented as an alternative to the mainstream view of development (Gudynas 2011). The pricing of nature, lined to the western capitalism, has led to a shift in ontology from one based on ecology to one based on ecosystem services and the capital in nature (Fairhead et al. 2012). By commodifying nature, the cultural and historical values presented in the discourse of *Vivir Bien* as well as in my findings, are reduced.

Suma Qamaña is an example of an expression that has been defeated by the indigenous people, but now also used by political movements and NGOs in search for a new narrative and worldview (Artaraz et al. 2021). There is however an ontological difference between the indigenous concepts as Suma Qamaña, Sumak Kawsay and the Spanish translation into *Buen Vivir*. While Sumak Kawsay represent a relational connection between human and nature, the translation to “the Good Life” (*Buen Vivir*) is based on a division between society and nature (Villalba 2013). The western discourse is separating nature and society, whilst Suma Qamaña is not (Gudynas 2011).

Looking at the inclusion of *Vivir Bien* in the Bolivian laws, the *Vivir Bien* is understood as a pluralistic concept. In 2012, Bolivia passed law 300, which expresses how *Vivir Bien* is an alternative to capitalism and provides another cosmovision that originates from the indigenous communities but also the afrobolivians and other intercultural communities. *Vivir Bien* is defined as a life in harmony and balance with Moher Earth and society, where inequalities are eliminated as well as the power imbalances. The law 300 explains how *Vivir Bien* provides a new horizon for development linked to both culture and society. (Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia 2012)

2.1.4 One concept, different discourses

Vivir Bien can according to Villalba (2013) be understood as an alternative discourse, in contrast to capitalism and an extraction-based economy, since life according to *Vivir Bien* is not linear. However, the concept has been used for different discourses. I will use it as a concept included in an alternative discourse, rather than a discourse itself.

Beling et al. (2021) identifies three different perspectives of *Vivir Bien*. In this essay I will focus on how the indigenous social movements that have used the concept. Roger Merino (2021) refers to the politics of *Vivir Bien* as being used by indigenous people to strengthen their self-determination and governance of natural resources. Furthermore, the use of the concept globally has increased parallel with a strengthening of the indigenous movements (Altmann 2014). Beling et al. (2021) further identifies another perspective of *Vivir Bien*, in the movement of neo-marxists seeking a critique against capitalism. They are joined by the ecological post-developmental critique stating that the model for development is degrading the natural resources and the environment (Artaraz et al. 2021).

3. Aim and research question

The aim of the thesis is to create an understanding for article 6.8 of the Paris Agreement and additionally how expressions as *Vivir Bien* can be incorporated into the negotiations on climate change. Since Bolivia has promoted both *Vivir Bien* and Article 6.8 nationally and internationally, I will use Bolivia as a starting point.

The Paris Agreement has since it was launched in 2016 been criticized for not being ambitious enough. Furthermore, the countries that have voluntarily committed to the agreement have failed in lowering the emissions accordingly. Civil society is asking for a structural change that can place nature in the center of our otherwise human-centered world. Possible entry points for changing the discourse on the climate negotiations are proposed by Bolivia with Article 6.8, a country that is known for having quite radical opinions regarding climate justice, the rights of nature and historical responsibility for emissions. Although Article 6 has been negotiated since 2015, it is still unclear how Article 6.8 will work and if it can question the hierarchy that guides the international climate negotiations. To investigate Article 6.8 I will use the forest sector to illustrate impacts of policy and possible impacts of NMA on how forests are defined and governed. There is a lack of literature on Article 6.8, wherefore my thesis will contribute to the existing research. Thus, the research problem is that it is not clear how the article 6.8 will work, which impact it will have on the forestry sector and to which extent it can offer an alternative discourse or counter-hegemony. To address this research problem, it is important to understand the reasons for Bolivia to propose Article 6.8. My research questions are the following:

- To what extent does Article 6.8 challenge the hegemonic discourse?
 - What changes does the non-market-approach of *Vivir Bien* imply for the forestry sector in the Paris Agreement, as presented in Article 6?
 - Can Article 6.8 enable an inclusion of alternative views on nature, such as *Vivir Bien*, in the UN negotiations?

4. Thesis outline

The thesis is based on the analysis of Article 6.8 in the Paris Agreement and the concept of *Vivir Bien*. Since *Vivir Bien* is part of the Bolivian argumentation in international arenas, I have used the documents from Bolivia to see synergies. To exemplify the impacts of Article 6.8 I use the forestry sector to illustrate policy, including the relation between forest policy, climate change and international agreements. The forestry sector is therefore not used as a case looking at the implementation on ground but rather a way to study the impacts of NMA and how forests are politically defined.

Firstly, I present the methodology and theoretical framework followed by background to the areas and concepts in my literature study and empirical material. When that background is presented, I start focusing on my material in terms of a discourse analysis of official documents from the Bolivian state, as well as interviews and observations during COP27 and COP15. Throughout the thesis, the findings and the discussion are not separated but rather presented thematically.

5. Limitations

The study has been limited to the interlinkages between rights of nature and alternative perceptions of nature, and the climate negotiations. This demarcation is used to study possible ways to implement new discourses rather than to study the discourse itself.

Geographically, the case study has been limited to Bolivia due to the country's way of promoting an alternative discourse in the international climate negotiations and together with Venezuela been a driving force for the inclusion of a non-market mechanism in the Paris Agreement (Michaelowa et al. 2021).

Due to the limited research on Article 6.8 there is a need to further explore and investigate the topic. My thesis unveils questions still to be answered on both the implementation of Article 6.8, the discourses challenging the hegemonic discourse of UNFCCC and how forests can be addressed within the UN system (not limited to UNFCCC).

6. Theoretical framework

In line with a transformative worldview, I have chosen a theoretical framework based on approaches linked to political ecology, more specifically new imperialism and *the imperial mode of living* (Brand & Wissen 2013, 2021; Ghosh 2015; Ghosh et al. 2022)

Before presenting the theoretical framework, I will clarify the linkages between the theoretical and methodological framework. The theoretical framework will complement the methodology, where a critical discourse analysis, henceforth CDA, is used as a method to analyze the findings. Fairclough is studying the transformative perspectives of discourses and how discourses contributed to the building of social and cultural structures (Winther Jørgensen & Philips 2000). As Fairclough (2010) looks at how the CDA can unveil injustice and power relations linked to ideology and power there is a connection between new imperialism and CDA. The CDA can, according to Fairclough (2010) address the struggle between different ways to transform society and the hegemonic discourse. Moreover, as Fairclough implies, the CDA should be complemented by other theories in order to study the social and societal structure of the case (Winther Jørgensen & Philips 2000). The new imperialism and *imperial mode of living* enables a deeper analysis of the social structure that frames the UNFCCC and the impacts of Article 6.8 both in the climate negotiations and on forestry on a national level.

6.1 New imperialism

New imperialism includes perspectives on climate, emissions, and the international negotiations, therefore it will suit the purpose of my thesis. I will use the theories on imperialism to analyze the power relations in my material, the structure of UNFCCC and further how the discourses of the climate negotiations may change.

There are clear linkages between the UN climate negotiations, climate justice and theories of imperialism visible amongst parties, civil society and in research. For example, Ghosh et. al. (2022) presents linkages between climate justice and the use of concepts as imperialism. In Ghosh et al. (2022) imperialism is defined as “*the*

struggle of large, monopolistic capital over economic territory, actively aided and assisted by states” and is applying the concept on both state-to-state levels as well as global systems. He further elaborates on the definition of economic territory arguing that economic territory should not be limited to a geographical definition but include natural resources and new markets as labor or any market creating a surplus (Ghosh 2015). Ghosh et al. (2022) links these new forms of economic territory to how power has been exercised over the environment. The control has developed from colonial control over territory to control over fossil fuels as oil and natural resources as water.

Looking at new imperialism and climate change requires a perspective that does not only take into account the differences and injustices between but also within countries and regions (Ghosh et al. 2022). Power imbalances and differences when it comes to emissions are as visible within countries as between the developing and developed countries. The World inequality report from 2022 shows that carbon inequalities are growing within countries (Chancel et al. 2021). The poorer 50% in Europe contributes to less than half of the emissions as the richest 10% in South and Southeast Asia (Ghosh et al. 2022). Both power, capital and emissions are concentrated to the elite within countries. This system is reproduced since it is the elite that creates the frames for the extractive economy (ibid).

6.1.1 ‘The imperial mode of living’

To further analyze the power relations of the UN negotiations, and the effects of the non-market mechanism, I will use the concept of *imperial mode of living* defined by Ulrich Brand and Markus Wissen (2021) as a:

“compromise between the interest of those in power and the demands and desires of their subalterns, particular externalizing both many important prerequisites for producing their living conditions and the negative consequences of these conditions” (Brand & Wissen 2021:70).

By their research on the *imperial mode of living* and the inequalities that are reproduced in a capitalist society, they are complementing Ghosh’s studies on the climate negotiations.

Brand and Wissen (2021) underline that it is not only the ecological conditions that lead to displacement and poverty, but rather the social relations, power and unequal access to natural resources that is the main issue. The *imperial mode of living* is made possible by controlling and forming of the relations between nature and society, as well as social relations, in an *elsewhere*. This control by the global north is strictly hierarchic, based on a transfer of resources and products. By that, climate

change becomes an existential threat for the people who are affected and furthermore an imperial structure. The extraction of resources is enabled by wealth in the center, and additionally a concentration of emissions and natural resource extraction in the *elsewhere*. However, since the 1990's, when the Rio conventions were established, developing countries have grown richer and by that increased their emissions. Brand and Wissen argues that class, gender, race and creating patterns in who is the consumer and who is the producer. Who has to bear the externalized costs of the *imperial mode of living*. (Brand & Wissen 2021)

The *imperial mode of living* is visible in discourses, world view, everyday life, norms and political structure. It is linked to capitalism and accumulation and not only benefitting the global North, but further the elite in the global South. The life of individuals is further restricted by the *imperial mode of living*, since there is a pressure to enter the capitalistic society e.g., the work market. By that the *imperial mode of living* is leading to compromises between people's desires and opportunities, based on power relations. (Brand & Wissen 2021)

In my analysis, I will use the framework of new imperialism and the *imperial mode of living* to shed light on the need for Article 6.8, the discussion around the non-market approaches, NMA, and further how the UNFCCC and negotiations can be analyzed from an imperialistic perspective. I will specially focus on the concepts *elsewhere* and *imperial mode of living*.

7. Methodological framework

The study is based on qualitative research, where a discourse analysis of documents and interviews is the main method. Moreover, additional observations have been conducted in order to deepen the understanding of the processes within UN and increasing the reliability by using triangulation and not only secondary (Mikkelsen 2005). The diverse material and methods present different perspectives and actors, most importantly the Plurinational state of Bolivia and civil society actors. Using legal documents, policy papers and texts from the climate negotiations will provide the perspective of the legislative institutions while the interviews open for the perspectives from civil society and perceptions of the human-nature relations. The qualitative research design further enables a study of social processes and how actors describe and give meaning to a discourse (Creswell & Creswell 2018). In the following sections I will present the different methods used, including the analysis of the material.

7.1 Interviews

The interviews are semi-structured which allow the interviewee to present his/her narrative and open up for the inner worlds of the interviewees (Fägerborg 2014). Observations can instead provide information about the outer world. To fully understand the discursive attributes of my topic, I argue that some interviews are necessary. The interviews have further provided information from actors which I could not find in formal documents.

The interviews have been conducted in a discursive manner, described by Kvale and Brinkmann (2015) as interviews focusing on the opinions and discourses presented. In methodological terms, this means that the interviewee is perceived as active in more dimensions than the given answer, the body language, response and how discourses are presented is of interest (Ibid.). The researcher should be aware of the differences between his/her own discourses and the ones presented in the interview and might further excite conflicts between discourses (Ibid.).

As recommended by Kvale and Brinkman (2015), I have used an interview guide with prepared questions for each interview, adjusted each interviewee (see Annex II). All interviews have been conducted in Spanish, either during the COP27 or online. The interviews have then been transcribed broadly in order to enable an analysis of the results.

An interview is a sensitive activity, affected by multiple factors. Fägerborg (2014) highlights how the attributes of the researcher such as gender, age, knowledge, geographical or socio-economic background can affect the interview. Furthermore, body language is an important contributor to the conversation (Kvale & Brinkmann 2015). For my thesis, the interviews have been particularly sensitive since I interviewed actors during the climate negotiations. The diplomatic nature of the negotiations did further hinder me from conducting interviews with all actors, which I will further explain in chapter 8.

7.2 Selection

I have used a strategical selection limited to few cases. According to Brinkmann and Kvale (2015), the number of interviews needed are as many as you need in order to find the information required. However, a low number of interviews makes it difficult to generalize the results. I wish to present a variety of perspectives on the topic, where an analysis of the interviews is used to observe different perspectives, from civil society and indigenous communities. The selection of participants is based on relevant participants with a deep knowledge about the topic, in line with Teorell & Svensson (2013) suggestion to choose significant participants. The selection of documents is based on its ability to present the positions of Bolivia and has also been made strategically. The NDC is linked to the Paris Agreement and presenting Bolivia's ambitions to decrease emissions, and the different laws shows how *Vivir Bien* is incorporated into the legislative process of the country.

The principle of informed consent has been followed, and the interviewees are being anonymized (Pripp 2014; Kvale & Brinkmann 2015). The organizations they represent are not described in detail, and the possible consequences have been analyzed. Since the interviewees are spokespersons and key persons for their organizations either nationally or internationally and the interviews touch on topics they normally address, the consequences of participating in the study are not regarded as severe.

7.3 Observations

Observations enable a deeper understanding of the lived reality, and the possibility to study what is not being said (Pripp & Öhlander 2014). They do however not show feelings, intentions or interpretations of situations nor enable a high level of interaction wherefore I use both interviews and observations as methods (ibid.). My observations took place during COP27 in Sharm el Sheik in November and during COP15 in Montreal in December. The aim with the observation has been to create an understanding of the other types of material, and to understand the negotiations rather than provide specific data for the thesis.

During observations the researcher make similar experiences as the ones observed, which enables a greater understanding of the situation (Ibid.). This has helped me in connecting with my interviewees and understanding the complexity of the climate negotiations. Since I have focused on an event, limited in time, I have conducted a combination of an activity- and place-based observation (Ibid.). The observations are focused since my aim was to test arguments and develop ideas (Pripp & Öhlander 2014). Apart from observing the structure of the negotiations I focused during COP27 on the negotiations on Article 6.8 and during COP15 the negotiations where *Vivir Bien*, Mother Earth or Rights of Nature were addressed. An important part of observing it noting which rooms and which information is closed to the persons observed (Ibid.). This is a particularly important aspect of my observations.

7.4 Critical Discourse Analysis

I have used a critical discourse analysis as a method to analyze the material. The documents and transcription of the interviews are analyzed with the same method to provide a ground for comparison and search for common or conflicting discourses. By using the first two dimensions of the CDA I have in the chapter 12 (Content Analysis) studied the linguistic character of the material, and then further identified how discourses are expressed which is later analyzed within the theoretical framework.

The Critical Discourse Analysis argues that social and cultural processes containing linguistic aspects and that it is in the social practice, as a field, where discourses are produced and consumed. Thereby, an analysis of the language as grammar, is of essence. Discourses further both affects and is affected by social practice. By that, discourses are linked to ideology, where discourses have ideological effects since power relations are reproduced and produced within a discourse. It is the ideological discourse that reproduce power relations. Hegemony is further not only

seen as a power relation but a process of negotiations, where the discourse practice is of interest. In focusing on power relations and the aim to transform and increase justice, the CDA is not neutral but critical towards a social system where inequalities are reproduced. (Winther Jørgensen & Philips 2000).

The discourse itself can be constructed by a social structure. According to Fairclough, the discourse can both construct identity as well as reconstructing social relations. Fairclough (2010) perceives the CDA as relational, where both individual and social practice and systems can be analyzed. The discourse is a social practice, as language is used to express a discourse, and meaning wherefore the analysis of discourses focus on how for example text are situated in social practice (Bergström & Boréus 2016). I will further use Hajer's (1995) definition of discourses to narrow down the broader definition by Fairclough. Hajer defines a discourse as:

“a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorisations that are produced, reproduced and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities” (Hajer 1995:44)

Whilst for example Beling et al. (2021) define *Vivir Bien* as a discourse, I will use the definition by Hajer to argue that *Vivir Bien* is part of a discourse. I define *Vivir Bien* as a concept rather than a discourse since I wish to focus this thesis on the counter discourse to the current hegemony, where *Vivir Bien* is included. *Vivir Bien* is then part of a discourse presented as an alternative to the market-approaches.

My analysis is based on the CDA proposed by Fairclough, which consists of three dimensions. At the first dimension, the analysis is linguistic looking for example at the grammar used in the text but also transitivity and how actions are bound to objects or subjects. The modality is also addressed, investigating to which extent the speaker or writer agrees on what has been said or written (Winther Jørgensen & Philips 2000; Bergström & Boréus 2016). The second dimension is the discursive practice, where the text is being interpreted, used and consumed. At this dimension, I address the interdiscursivity and how the text is built on other texts and discourses. A high level of interdiscursivity implies change, while a low level of interdiscursivity is connected to a reproduction of the current status (Winther Jørgensen & Philips 2000). By analyzing my material on the first two dimensions, as seen in chapter 12, I can review the discourses presented. In the third dimension, Fairclough presents the social practice, where the discourse is placed in a social structure and context and the relation between discourse practice and order of discourses is addressed. This dimension of analysis can answer on questions on if there is any transformation if the discourse practice is transforming or reproducing the order of discourses and if social change is a result. Fairclough suggest the use of complementing theories to address the social practice (Winther Jørgensen &

Philips 2000; Bergström & Boréus 2016). I have chosen to use concept from new imperialism to complement the CDA.

7.5 Validity of the conclusions

The chosen methodology answers to the research questions, not general research on Article 6.8. Since I wish to investigate the counter hegemony, I have focused on the actors who criticizes the hegemonic discourse. That reflects my research question but should also be considered when reading my conclusions. I have furthermore gathered material through different methods from the different actors, which can affect the reliability of the results. I did reach out to Bolivian authorities for interviews, without response. A different comparison, with another reliability and validity, could have been conducted if I would have used the same methods for all actors. Moreover, a more robust and reliable study could have included more interviews with actors not from civil society or a more in-depth analysis of documents.

8. My presence in the text

I have participated in the climate negotiations (COP26, SB54, SB56 and COP27) as a youth representative to the Swedish national delegation. Relating to the reflexivity of the thesis, my past experiences might shape that way I interpret my material and the observations (Creswell & Creswell 2018). As a member of the Swedish delegation, I access confidential information which I cannot use in the thesis. Due to my role in the delegation, I have chosen not to focus on Sweden in my thesis. By studying a country, not a member of the EU, I can be more objective and clearer in which information I can use for the thesis. I should not neglect that fact that my role as a youth representative, and my presence during the negotiations have provided me with opportunities to conduct interviews and observations. This has however not affected the way I describe Sweden, but my background in civil society and the youth movement is not something I can hide.

My role can affect both my perception of the thesis, as well as the reliability of my material. Kaijser (2014) points out that the researcher is being given different roles whilst doing fieldwork, which I have been aware of during. Since I am shifting between being a representative of the Swedish delegation and a researcher, I have to be conscious about who I am representing and where. For example, I did not feel comfortable approaching the Bolivian negotiators for Article 6.8 when I was representing Sweden, and the negotiator for EU for article 6.8 was Swedish. This since I would be seen as Swedish representative, not a researcher. Further, during interviews I have had to clearly state in which capacity I did the interviews. Pripp (2014) mentions the close connection between feelings and field work, and how it is important to not act out feelings in the research but rather try to present as many perspectives as possible. I have tried to balance this by studying the perspectives of multiple actors.

9. The forestry sector

The forestry sector to exemplifies the impacts of Article 6.8 and additionally how the use of *Vivir Bien* in policy affects and defines forestry in Bolivia. The aim with this section is to create a better understanding of my material. Since my interviews, as presented in chapter 12, are addressing the interlinkages between the rights of indigenous communities, *Vivir Bien*, the Paris Agreement and the forestry sector I will present background for those topics in the following section.

9.1 Forest and the Paris Agreement

Since the Paris Agreement aims to limit global warming, and forests as carbon sinks has the potential to reduce global emissions there are ways to address forests in the Paris Agreement. However, the opinions about the success of these mechanisms vary and the need for finance is present. In this section I will present some of the advantages and disadvantages of the inclusion of forests in the agreement.

Krug (2018) perceives in his research the Paris Agreement as an opportunity for the forest sector and the former uncertainties in how the forest sector should be accounted for. According to Krug, The Kyoto Protocol² did not present a clear way of including the emissions and reduction in emissions from the forest sector, nor did the Paris Agreement clarify how activities within LULUCF³ should be accounted for. However, the land use sector is highlighted as important in the reduction of emission and reduced deforestation. REDD+⁴ is a mechanism that could be of help, but according to Krug (2018) the relation between NDC and

² An international agreement aiming to operationalize the UNFCCC by forcing developed countries to reduce emissions. Apart from binding targets for mitigation and emission reduction, the Kyoto Protocol offer a mechanism for trade with emission permits in a market-based approach (UNFCCC n.d.b).

³ Activities affecting land use, land use change and forestry.

⁴ REDD+ stands for 'Reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation and the role of conservation, sustainable management of forests and enhancement of forest carbon stocks in developing countries'. The mechanism, agreed by COP and found under the Warsaw Framework for REDD+, aim to decrease carbon loss and forest degradation (UNFCCC 2023).

REDD+ is not clear. van der Gaast et al. (2018) is identifying the possibility to include REDD+ in the NDCs, as a tool for mitigation action together with carbon markets and transfer of mitigation outcome as presented in article 6.2 and 6.3. If mitigation action involves the forestry sector, it has to also address adaptation to be successful, which is often not the case for projects implemented under the Paris Agreement (Verkerk et al. 2020). Fyson & Jeffery (2019) further identifies the many uncertainties hidden in the inclusion of LULUCF in NDCs. In 2019, there were not many countries that explained how emissions in LULUCF should be reduced, nor if the sector could reduce emissions in other sectors.

Another issue is the finance. Developing countries are to a large extent either expecting contributions from REDD+ or do not take into account the emission accounting, whilst economically strong countries are either accounting emissions from the land use sector separately or through the Kyoto Protocol (Fyson & Jeffery 2019). Thereby, the expectation is financial support. Hein et al. (2018) states that tropical countries are expecting support from the REDD+ program in the conservation of forests nationally. However, the way to finance and thereby the implementation is not clear. Observers have stated that the REDD+ has failed in reducing deforestation and thereby emissions. Other explanations to why the REDD+ program has not worked is the lack of international carbon markets, and additionally national implementation. REDD has been considered as a relatively easy project to implement when it comes to mitigation, but that could further protect valuable nature and bio diversity (Hein et al. 2018)

To conclude, Wang et. al. (2021) have investigated actions for mitigation and adaptation in the forestry sector, which are included under the Paris Agreement for example in article 5.2 and its linkages to REDD+. Their results show gaps in implementation, related to the information available for implementation, the need for improved measurements and additionally a market and payment system for REDD+. Although 70% of parties had included forestry in their NDC in 2016 (FAO 2016), there is still confusion regarding which financial system will enable result-based payments. The REDD+ program is further being critiqued for the lack of an adequate baseline and access to finance. Instead, Wang et. al. (2021) asks for concrete tools for implementing joint mitigation and adaptation action.

9.2 Forests and the market

Forests are in the context of climate action often mentioned in terms of carbon markets, or payment for ecosystem services. May et al. (2005) explains how this

description of forests, and carbon markets are leading to an increased valorization of forests. It is possible for the forest sector to benefit from the existing carbon markets (van der Gaast et al. 2018). van der Gaast (et al. 2018) explore how NDCs can be an important factor in increasing the markets for carbon credits originating in decrease in emissions in the forest sector. According to van der Gaast et al. (2018) the forest sector has gained little attention and investments for mitigation projects, since it is perceived as a risky sector. In parallel, forest investments have increased in voluntary carbon markets.

Carbon markets should lower emissions where it is cost-effective. At the same time as cheap solutions are favored, there is a need for climate finance and compensation for restoration of forests. Kissinger et al. (2019) investigated the needs and functions of climate finance, seen from a Global South perspective. They found that countries in the Global South have an interest in market-mechanisms and new sources for investments in climate mitigation and/or adaptation projects. However, Bolivia, Chad and Malaysia took a stand against this. To conclude, there is a need for additional and external financing to reach the ambitious NDCs of countries in the Global South. It is however not clear if the international climate finance is enough, if the market-based solutions can contribute or if currently unsustainable projects (by both public and private actors) should be addressed.

9.3 Forestry and indigenous people

The relation between indigenous communities and the forestry sector is complex. May et. al. (2005) describes how Latin American governments have opened for private investment, with the result that the private actors are not prioritizing the social aspects of projects and ensuring social protection to affected communities. They continue suggesting that emission reduction and poverty reduction can go hand in hand in forest projects when there is participation from local stakeholders and a proper governance structure (ibid.). The question then is how the forest projects affect the local communities and what the indigenous communities think about the projects. As van Dam argues, the indigenous movement itself is divided when it comes to projects under REDD+ (van Dam 2011).

9.3.1 The impacts of REDD+

Cronkleton et al. (2011) identifies the local communities as the core of forest projects aiming to reduce emissions, such as REDD+. REDD was introduced during COP13 as a way to include sustainable forest management projects that could otherwise have a too strict focus on deforestation (Cronkleton et al. 2011). REDD is however mainly focused on reducing deforestation. REDD+ is described as a complicated project to implement due to governance and linkages between the different actors. van Dam (2011) has investigated the opportunities that REDD might create for indigenous communities and territories in Latin America. He recognizes the large amount of forest in Latin America on indigenous territories, as well as the threats consisting of logging, mineral and oil exploitation and by that colonization. Van Dam (ibid.) connects REDD to these threats, as it according to indigenous organizations could open for new threats or intensify others. For example, by reducing the value of forests to carbon sinks. van Dam proposes an approach that focuses on the indigenous territories rather than indigenous communities. The indigenous territories have increased, for example, by 150% between 1985 and 2001 (van Dam 2011). There is a great importance of titling land and giving indigenous people rights to their lands, since the REDD+ constitutes a threat to people whose rights over land have not been recognized. When carbon is introduced as a new value, land becomes even more valuable and valuable for new actors (Ibid.). Another threat is the ability to continue managing the forest in a traditional way. Since most of the projects implemented by indigenous communities between 1990 and 2010 are initiated and designed by conservation or development NGOs (Ibid.).

The REDD program includes tools for safeguarding people and the environment, for example respect for indigenous communities. (Hein et al. 2018). However, van Dam (2011) argues that land must be physically occupied to face the present threats and that a valorization of the land is needed that takes into account the traditional ways of managing the forests and ensuring livelihoods. REDD could answer to these conditions, if it gives indigenous communities territorial rights and further ensures a financial autonomy enabling liberty from NGOs and other external actors (van Dam 2011). REDD could complement the indigenous management of the forests and the use of both timber and non-timber products since the emission reduction is not contrasting to the traditional management. Although there are advantages, indigenous movements have rejected the program. For example, during the *World's people conference of climate change and the rights of Mother Earth*, in 2010. REDD is perceived as another intervention that adds an external value to the forest and thereby repeats a history of resource extraction. Looking at existing projects within REDD in Bolivia, van Dam argues that the contracts are not

transparent and are not giving the indigenous communities a fair share of the benefits (van Dam 2011).

There have been changes in the governance structure over the Bolivian forest. Secure property rights have increased since 1996, thanks to social movements. Before that, smallholders only had tenure rights for 50 hectare for swidden agriculture, and the use of forest resources was limited to a small number of companies (Cronkleton et al. 2011). Even though there has been a success in ensuring the rights of land and forest. Cronkleton et al. (2011) identifies challenges in the local institutions and organizations that should manage the territories.

10. *Vivir Bien* in policy: clashes with the forestry sector

After having studied *Vivir Bien* and forestry separately, I will in this chapter tie the loose ends and look into how the implementation of *Vivir Bien* affects the forests.

“The plurinational state of Bolivia with the adjustment of its Nationally Determined Contribution (NDC) ratifies its commitment to Mother Earth and the Paris Agreement, reaffirming that the civilizational horizon of Living Well in harmony with Mother Earth is a fundamental State Policy to advance towards the country’s climate action” (Ministerio de Medio Ambiente y Agua - Autoridad Plurinacional de la Madre Tierra n.d.:XI)

The quote from the Bolivian NDC states that humans should live in harmony with Mother Earth, in *Vivir Bien*. As the forestry sector is an important part of the Bolivian economy, the sector is affected by the use of *Vivir Bien* as a policy concept. This politization of *Vivir Bien*, and inclusion in policy, is however not without complications. Gudynas (2011) describes how developing countries in their critique towards classical theories of development and economic growth have explored alternative views not originating from western culture, e.g. *Vivir Bien*. The integration of *Vivir Bien* in the constitutions of Bolivia and Ecuador can according to Gudynas (2011) be seen as a reaction to the neo-liberal market reforms in Latin America in the late 1990’s and early 2000’s, when countries got governments more open to influences from the indigenous populations. Fabricant (2013) describes how Bolivia, among other countries in Latin America, accepted privatization and other neo-liberal reforms as a condition for loans from the IMF and the World Bank in the 1990’s. This neoliberal policy direction came with extraction of natural resources and a complicated relationship with the environment. As a reaction, the discussion on extractivism and governance of natural resources was in Bolivia connected to the struggle of indigenous groups. A new constitution was the result, steaming from *A proceso de cambio* (Postero 2010, Fabricant 2013). When included in the constitution of Bolivia and Ecuador, *Vivir Bien* as a concept paved the path for a new discourse of development in the region (Altmann 2014)

10.1 *Vivir Bien* in national laws

There are differences in how *Vivir Bien* is integrated in respective constitutions. Looking at Bolivia, *Vivir Bien* is described as an ethical and moral principle that guides the government (Gudynas 2011). It is a pluralistic approach without set hierarchies amongst the different perspectives that are included. The ethical values of Bolivia are connected to the economic organization of the state, in order to improve the quality of life and well-being of the citizens (Gudynas 2011). There is a strong emphasis on the social aspects of *Vivir Bien*, and how the state can provide *a Good Life* for its citizens. On the contrary, in Ecuador *Buen Vivir* is more of a set of rights than values guiding the economic politics. Bolivia is not in the same way recognizing the intrinsic values of nature, but gives the environment third generation human rights (e.g. protection of the environment and quality of life) (Gudynas 2011). The indigenous concepts are now translated into policy. The two constitutions have increased the interest for *Vivir Bien* as a concept and are a reference globally, in academia as well as in the UN negotiations (Artaraz et al. 2021).

10.2 Morales as an international spokesperson for *Vivir Bien*

The use of *Vivir Bien* has spread to the international arena. For example, the former Bolivian president, Evo Morales, was described as a hero for the climate justice movement for his inclusion of *Vivir Bien* and his promotion of the historical responsibility for emissions in the UN climate negotiations (Fabricant 2013). Morales and the Bolivian negotiators were very active during the UN climate negotiations in Copenhagen 2009, Cancun 2010 and in Doha 2012 (Fabricant 2013). He promoted an agenda where the global north should take lead and responsibility for mitigation and technology transfer to the global south (Fabricant 2013) (see Postero 2010). A policy reform on climate dept was suggested, referring to the emissions originating from the developed countries. When the developed countries did not listen, Morales set up a *Worlds people conference on climate change and the rights of Mother Earth* in Tiquipaya in April of 2009 (Fabricant 2013). Both Morales, indigenous movements and climate justice movements have used discourses linked to *Vivir Bien* in their argumentation. Climate activists uses the Andean indigenous concepts to argue for their political claim, as the indigenous groups refers to their history and culture to make claims presently (Fabricant 2013).

10.3 Facing the critique

Although being internationally tributed by civil society for using the concept *Vivir Bien* (see Fabricant 2013), Bolivia has faced critique. A critique toward the politicization of *Vivir Bien* is formulated by Merino (2021) arguing that the state's perspective on *Vivir Bien* is in contrast to the indigenous perspective. The inclusion of *Vivir Bien* in the constitution does not equal one fixed definition of the concept (Altmann 2014). The policy perspective is not capable of grasping the community based concept, nor the indigenous territorial rationality (Artaraz et al. 2021). Fabricant (2013) further highlights the danger in using the concept of *Vivir Bien* on a global arena without concretization. When separated from real life projects and examples, the concept loses the territoriality and materiality and can easily be adapted by other actors. Altmann (2014) argues that the concept of *Vivir Bien* is referring to a life based on agriculture, where the land and territory is of high value. In order to change the discourse to one based on *Vivir Bien* one must understand that land and territory is not only having an economic value but rather a cultural and spiritual one. For *Vivir Bien* to be properly implemented, the connection between indigenous nationality and territory must be made as the agrarian and peasant economies are reinforced (Villalba 2013; Altmann 2014).

10.4 A cosmocentric perspective in the climate negotiations

Bolivia is by addressing the structural causes to climate change challenging the structure of UNFCCC. The structural causes and solutions to climate change are mentioned in the chapter "National Circumstances" in the Bolivian NDC. This chapter presents how the current anthropocentric system based on capitalism has interrupted the life cycles of Mother Earth and in that way caused climate change as well as loss of biodiversity and nature degradation (Ministerio de Medio Ambiente y Agua - Autoridad Plurinacional de la Madre Tierra n.d.). Therefore, any solution must be cosmobiocentric and provide a new narrative and way of living as a civilization. The NDC of Bolivia is based on this cosmobiocentric perspective that respects the rights of mother Earth in a sense that presents Mother Earth as a spiritual being, by this introducing an alternative cosmovision. A variety of structural solutions to the climate crisis are presented in the NDC, of which the "*International Tribunal of Climate Justice and Mother Earth*" is mentioned as a concrete example (Ministerio de Medio Ambiente y Agua - Autoridad Plurinacional de la Madre Tierra n.d., p.3). Here the discourse of *Vivir Bien* is visible and linked

to the respect for not only the rights of Mother Earth but further also the UNFCCC. It is described as a “*new civilizational horizon*”, which implies that the current society is not sustainable nor respecting the rights of Mother Earth (Ministerio de Medio Ambiente y Agua - Autoridad Plurinacional de la Madre Tierra n.d.:3).

11. How to analyze an alternative discourse?

After presenting the context, I will now continue to the presentation and analysis of my material. The following sections are grounded in the findings from my material and will focus on an analysis of the different definitions of *Vivir Bien*, how *Vivir Bien* can challenge the hegemonic discourse through Article 6.8 and further how a hegemonic discourse can be challenged. In the content analysis I will present how the material from the different actors show different ways of constructing the discourse linked to *Vivir Bien*. This clash between the perceptions of the alternative discourse will be analyzed before I continue to study how the hegemonic discourse can and is being challenged.

My thesis focusses on the actors providing an alternative discourse that could possibly challenge the hegemony. However, to analyze the alternative discourses one must be aware of the present hegemonic discourse. It is important to note that neoliberalism is no one single homogenous hegemony, and that the market-based solutions should not be seen with a black and white perspective (Fairhead et al. 2012). I will however start my analysis from the perspectives provided in my material where there is a clear division between what is perceived as the current hegemonic discourse of neoliberalism and market-based solutions, and the alternative discourse of non-market approaches originating in the cosmovision of *Vivir Bien*. The views of my interviewees are more black and white, but it is also important to remember that the role of civil society to a great extent is to criticize the hegemony.

12. Content analysis

“*Buen Vivir* is more than a concept, *Buen Vivir* is life in plentitude⁵” Ninan

In this section I present the result of my discourse analysis, with a focus on the first two dimensions: the linguistic and the discursive. The different ideas and perspectives that occurs in my material are here presented and will be further analyzed in the broader theoretical framework.

The material used are official Bolivian documents (law 300, 71 and 777 and the NDC) and interviews with civil society actors. Ana is presenting an international climate organization, Ninan the Amazonian indigenous organizations and Daniela is an indigenous youth representing Bolivian youth. Since they are anonymized more detailed information will not be provided.

Firstly, I present the findings from the first dimension of the CDA, focusing on the linguistic attributes including grammar. Figure 1 visualize words used by the different actors. In the left circle, wordings from the Bolivian NDC as well as the national laws are presented. The right circle shows wording from the interviews, and the inner circle identifies words used by both groups of material.

⁵ “El *Buen Vivir* es más allá de un concepto, el *Buen Vivir* es vida en plenitud”

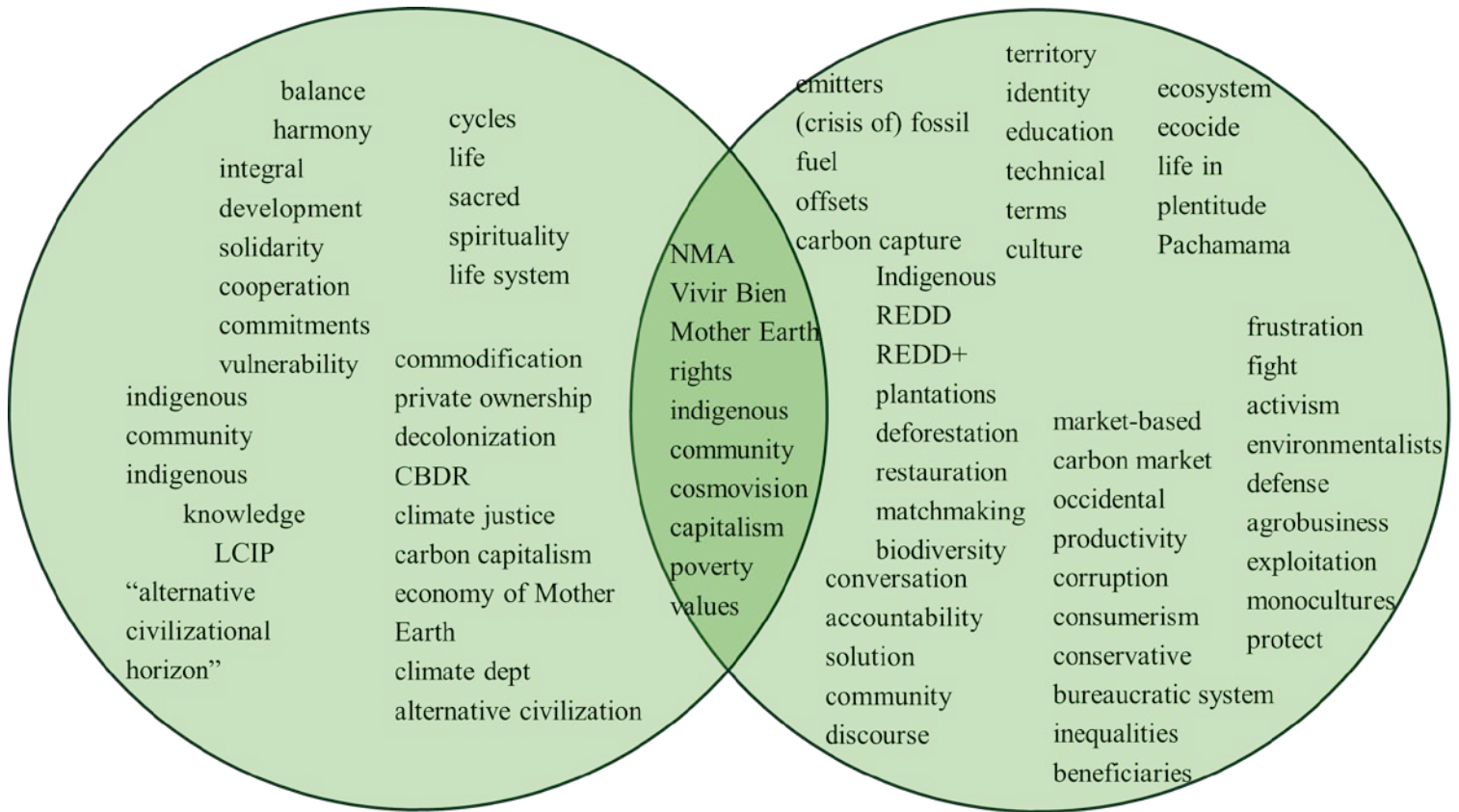


Figure 1. Word analysis

As seen in the intersecting inner circle, there are words which both groups of actors use. These words are describing a discourse linked to *Vivir Bien*. They do however differ in the other words used, showing different meanings and categorizations linked to the shared concepts. The interviews with the civil society actors present a sense of conflict. The critique and activism are directed towards the global systems, for example a critique of the occidental. But also, towards the national circumstances in Bolivia. The interviewees mention agrobusiness, exploitation and monocultures, when the material from the Bolivian state (left circle) focuses on private ownership. Another group of words can be linked to the indigenous community, the fight for territorial rights and identity. The sense of conflict is visible also in the Bolivian documents, but rather on a global level as for example in the use of “decolonization”. They Bolivian documents lift the issues on a more systemic level, rather than critiquing specific fights over natural resources. As seen in the upper left part of the left circle words describing harmony and cooperation are often used, creating a sense of peace and balance which is not aligning with the conflict highlighted by the civil society actors.

Continuing the CDA, I have looked at the grammatic attributes of the material, with a focus on subject and objects that occur. Table 1 shows the result from the Bolivian documents whilst Table 2 presents the results from the interviews with civil society.

	Law 071 - Ley de derechos de la Madre Tierra	Law 300 - Ley marco de la Madre Tierra y desarrollo integral para Vivir Bien	Law 777 - Ley de sistema de planificación integral del estado	Nationally Determined Contribution, NDC
Subjects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bolivian government • Society (responsability) • Mother Earth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bolivian State • Citizens 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bolivian state and its institutions • The business sector • Public Universities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mother Earth as having rights, • Bolivia taking action on climate change • Mother Earth as a spiritual being • International community • Developed countries • Bolivian population • Ministries of Bolivia,
Objects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The systems of Mother Earth • Systems of life • Values of nature 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Life systems of Mother Earth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mother Earth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mother Earth • Bolivia as country affected by climate change • Marginalized groups
Modality				Written with Bolivia as the subject, in contrast to the Bolivian opening statement for the negotiations on article 6.8 in 2021, where Bolivia and/or the Bolivian delegation is described as “we”, for in the example that “we cannot wait”.

Table 1. Findings from the documents from the plurinational state of Bolivia.

	Ana, international environmental NGO	Daniela, youth representation in UN and young civil society in Bolivia	Ninan, indigenous organisation
Subjects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bolivia as part of LMDC • The international emitters • We (civil society) as contributor to discussion on forestry 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Her family • Grandparents • Indigenous family that had to move due to climate change • Mother Earth • Evo Morales • Bolivia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indigenous community as solution • Decision makers as actors that slow down the process
Objects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The forestry sector • The COP27 • Forests • REDD+ • Nature 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mother Earth • Nature • The indigenous community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indigenous community as exposed to the bureaucratic system where they have to fight for their rights. • Pachamama/Mother Earth
Modality	<p>Talks about a "we". She is closely linked to her opinions and gives a personal impression but with a distance to the negotiations. She is rather an observer than a negotiator. Alienation from the occidental.</p>	<p>Daniela talks personally about her family and her experiences, with a close relation to her opinions.</p>	<p>Alienation from the occidental.</p> <p>A closeness to the statements, often described by "we" or "here we are". Ninan includes himself in the fight he is describing.</p>

Table 2. Findings from the interviews with civil society actors.

The tables shows that the modality vary between the actors. It is however important to consider that the interviewees are individuals expressing feelings, while the documents have other purposes. Although the Table 1 shows a more neutral modality, Bolivia is often expressing feelings and a reference to “we” when speaking in the international negotiations. Looking at the actors presented in the material, Mother Earth is often occurring both as a subject and an object. The texts in Table 1 identifies actors with responsibility to act, including both the state and the broader society. Bolivia is here presented as a progressive actor, but also as an object in terms of a country affected by climate change needing international finance. Table 2 also identifies Bolivia as a subject. Both in its role as a progressive actor in the international negotiations and with more critique when it comes to the national circumstances. Table 2 further puts a stronger emphasis on the indigenous communities, as subjects and problem solvers and as objects affected by decisions not taken by them. The indigenous community stands for culture and history, clashing with both the modern society and the changes in nature. Daniela is presenting the story of her indigenous family needing to move from the land where they had lived for generations, due to climate change.

Continuing the CDA, I have identified how the discourse linked to *Vivir Bien* is visible in my material. The broader definition of a discourse is based on Fairclough and including text as well as social practice and identity (Bergström & Boréus 2016). However, as previously mentioned, I will use the definition by Hajer (1995) to define a discourse, where a discourse is defined as a set of ideas, concepts and categorization affecting the practice of a group or individual. Linking this to Hajer’s (2003) description of how policy discourses shape political identities, I will in the following section present the ideas, concepts and categorization visible in my material shaping the identity or practice of my interviewees and the Bolivian state.

The following are the findings in the material presented by the state of Bolivia. The aspects highlighted all affect the identity of Bolivia, its role in the negotiations or how Bolivia position itself in relation to other parties or groups.

- *Vivir Bien* is presented as an alternative to capitalism, where the principles of *Vivir Bien* should be implemented and not only a written intention. The functions of the earth are not for markets but gifts from the holy Mother Earth and nature should not be commodified. The current way of living, and co-living in society, is not sustainable. Implementation of principles of *Vivir Bien* and life in harmony, both public and private financing with Mother Earth, the sustainable life in harmony with Mother Earth is linked to a system with a decrease in poverty and an increase in nature conservation.

- There is a strong connection between mitigation and adaptation, resilience, and loss & damage. The main aim with the NDC is to fulfill the objective of Living Well in harmony with Mother Earth and for that both mitigation and adaptation is needed. This can be linked to how forests are described as having multiple values.
- Traditional knowledge and *Vivir Bien* is an important basis for knowledge, and linked to science.
- The documents present structural and colonial roots to climate change, linking to the rights of Mother Earth and a cosmobiocentric worldview. CBDR and historical responsibility are mentioned, as well as Bolivia as a poor country in need for international support. The responsibility lies with the developed countries.

Moving to the interviews with civil society actors, the material shows how the discourse is affecting how my interviewees identify themselves or their organizations in relation to others, how they speak and the words they use and furthermore their relation with nature. I have identified the following elements:

- A tension between the countries during COP27, and further a critique towards the COP. The COP is described as a make-up conference, but still an important forum. Ninan is describing how the solutions come from the indigenous communities, rather than the negotiation rooms. The critique towards institutions is visible in how Bolivia is presented as a country not implementing *Vivir Bien*, creating a conflict between civil society and the government. My interviewees position themselves in opposition to the institutional actors and how they act, but still seem to have hope that both Bolivia and the international community can improve.
- Mitigation and adaptation action should be combined. It is not possible to separate those action when it comes to the forestry sector. The forests are more than trees and rather complex ecosystems that should not be reduced to one function.
- A worldview where science and indigenous knowledge can be combined. There is a need for another cosmovision, which include the important aspects of identify and representation.
- The indigenous communities are to a great extent in conflict with the system and are not enough included in decision making. The conflict is further visible also in how the civil society is presented as in conflict with the system, and the market-based approaches.

- Market-based solution and capitalism is negative and increases inequality. The mechanisms implemented must instead reach the most vulnerable.

As shown, all use the concept *Vivir Bien*, linking to Living well in harmony with Mother Earth which have an impact on how the actors identify or differentiate in relation to other countries or actors. However, the ideas and concepts differ between the two groups of actors, showing a plurality in the discourse and conflicts between the two perceptions.

There is further a high interdiscursivity presented in the material. The wordings and over all discourse linked to *Vivir Bien* is building on and referring to discourses from both indigenous communities, anticolonial movements, and science. As an example, CBDR and historical responsibility is linked to a discourse of decolonialization. These ideas are used in the discourse presented by Bolivia and the civil society actors but is not fully aligning since the discourse linked to decolonization and CBDR is not using concepts as *Vivir Bien* and ideas on anticapitalism.

13. Article 6.8

In this chapter I analyse my findings on Article 6.8 and what impacts it might have on the climate negotiations.

13.1 Article 6.8 – to which purpose?

It is still uncertain which activities will be included under Article 6.8 (see appendix I). The outcome from the negotiations during COP26 in Glasgow states that there should be a Glasgow Climate Pact,

“Noting the importance of ensuring the integrity of all ecosystems, including in forests, the ocean and the cryosphere, and the protection of biodiversity, recognized by some cultures as Mother Earth, and also noting the importance for some of the concept of ‘climate justice’, when taking action to address climate change,” (UNFCCC, Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting & of the Parties to the Paris Agreement 2021:2).

The activities within article 6.8 includes, but are not limited to adaptation, resilience, sustainability, mitigation, social inclusion and circular economy (UNFCCC, Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting & of the Parties to the Paris Agreement 2021). One aim with article 6.8 is to include projects that simultaneously address mitigation and adaptation, but also reduce poverty. This perceived need on the inclusion of both mitigation and adaptation is visible both in the argumentation of Bolivia in the negotiations, as well as in the interviews with Ninan and Ana (see chapter 12). The article 6.8 should then create new synergies, however not create duplication within other mechanisms in the Paris Agreement. Public, private as well as civil society actors are encouraged to participate in the implementation of NMA projects, with the aim to implement respective NDC in a holistic and integrated manner (ibid.). No transfer of mitigation outcome can be made, and the projects should minimize and hopefully avoid negative impact on the environment, economy and social inclusion. For that, respect for indigenous people is mentioned (idib.)

The terms balance is often mentioned in relation to article 6.8. Drawing from the opening statement from the negotiations in 2021 Bolivia is presenting a discourse of balance and harmony (Plurinational State of Bolivia to the UNFCCC 2021). This

time, they are not referring to harmony with Mother Earth but rather a balance between the different articles under article 6. Bolivia describes a misleading bias towards article 6.2 and 6.4. A conflict is presented between Bolivia and the ones who advocates for the market-based approaches, where Bolivia is arguing that they in the Paris Agreement did not accept any market-based approaches and that the fact that market-based approaches are visible on the UNFCCC website related to article 6 is a sign of the bias. Ana is aligning with this. She was in the beginning of the COP27 not sue if any progress would be made on article 6.8, since the article has never been prioritized over the market-mechanism.

13.2 The outcome of the negotiations during COP27

Negotiations on Article 6.8 did advance in 2022, starting with the SB56 and then continuing at COP27. During the SB56 sessions in Bonn, June 2022, the negotiation texts developed with the outcome that demands from the UNFCCC secretariat a technical paper on the topic. It is then up to each country to report on how they have identified and developed each NMA (UNFCCC, Subsidiary Body for Scientific and Technological Advice, Fifth-sixth session 2022). During the intense negotiations of COP27, Article 6.8 was surprisingly one of the topics that took longest time to solve. During my observations I heard people argue that this was in order to create a balance between article 6.2, 6.4 and 6.8. The negotiations during COP27 focused on the schedule for the NMA program, a web-based platform for matchmaking of projects and possible capacity building for article 6.8. There was a clear division between parties wanting a streamlined process with as little administration as possible, e.g. a brief schedule. Other actors, such as Bolivia and LMDC, requested an extensive schedule requiring both budget and support from the secretariat, as well as capacity building specific for article 6.8. The result after two weeks of intense negotiations reaching into the late nights was a framework for a web-based platform to be developed by the UNFCCC secretariat, a schedule based on two phases, capacity building that should be included under the general capacity building for article 6, and no specific working groups but rather spin off groups. The NMA should continuously constitute of integrated, holistic, and balanced approaches (UNFCCC 2022). I noted that Bolivia, speaking on behalf of the LMDC, habitually addressed the floor as the first speaker and was deeply engaged in the article 6.8. The article has by other actors, as the EU, not been a focus but during the COP27 it got more and more attention. The fact that the EU negotiator was part of the Swedish delegation gave me the possibilities to participate and create a deeper understanding of the negotiations but also the barriers for progress

on

the

article.

13.3 Article 6.8 as a game changer or just another paragraph?

The opinions about Article 6.8 vary, both between countries and my interviewees. From the Bolivian NDC and the argumentation of the country during the negotiations, Article 6.8 was presented as a game changer, something that can challenge the market-based solutions and thereby constitute a counter hegemony. My interviewees are also seeing Article 6.8 as important but have lesser hope in that this article could constitute the desired change. They rather present the dangers with the market-based approaches, than the benefits of the NMAs. Daniela argues that market mechanisms are unjust, leading to increased inequity since the ones who can access that market are the ones who already have resources. Ana further describes the market-based approaches as an easy solution for the big emitters. As Ana is presenting the article as a match-making facility for projects, it is not with overwhelming words. She describes it as a Tinder (dating app) for funders and projects in the sense that it allows the funder to choose between different projects. She is a skeptical to the mechanism and its possibility to change the system but sees it as positive in comparison to article 6.2 and 6.4. They will generate markets and credits, which could make them more attractive than the article 6.8. From her perspective, the forest sector should benefit more from a broader discussion of the role of forests within not only climate change and UNFCCC but including other aspects of sustainable development. However, other reactions from civil society after COP27 highlights article 6.8 as an important article benefitting the developing countries rather than the companies (Luhn 2022). According to Luhn (2022) Bolivia was arguing for the importance of article 6.8 by saying that the market-based approaches under article 6 will lead to a commodification of nature as well as enable a double counting.

14. The impacts on forestry

The following chapter will focus on the first of my subquestions looking at the impacts Article 6.8 might have on forestry.

14.1 A forest is more than a plantation of trees

“The Amazon is an emergency room that has to be attended all the time⁶.” Ninan

Looking at possible activities that can be included under article 6.8, forestry is one that stands out. I will now analyze how the forest sector is presented in the Paris Agreement and how the discourses linked to *Vivir Bien* and Article 6.8 might have an impact on the sector.

The forestry sector can be included under diverse articles in the Paris Agreement but is specially mentioned under Article 5. Another example, discussed during COP27, is to include it under article 6.2 or 6.4. None of my interviewees favored this proposal. Article 6.2 addresses reduction of emissions in terms of a transfer-based payment (Streck et al. 2017). In this way, countries with forests can access a market for projects that leads to emission reduction, but are not allowed to count for the reduction of emissions in their own NDCs (Streck et al. 2017). The reduction of emissions is counted for in the NDC of the country paying for the project. The inclusion of mitigation and reduction of emissions are also possible in article 6.4 which as well as article 6.2 encourages both the public and private sector to collaborate (Streck et al. 2017). Another alternative is to use the Warsaw Framework for REDD+, WFR, within the article 5. This mechanism is result based and includes activities that may reduce emissions due to deforestation or forest degradation. But can also be used for forest conservation. As well as for 6.2 and 6.4 this mechanism targets mitigation action and climate finance (although the article 5 mentions joint mitigation and adaptation approaches for a sustainable forest

⁶ “La Amazonia es una sala de emergencias que hay que atender todo el tiempo”

management, as a proposal from Bolivia) (Streck et al. 2017). Ana described how forests are included well in the Article 5 of the Paris Agreement. The focus was, according to Ana, in the beginning most on REDD+ until Bolivia argued for an inclusion of joint mitigation and adaptation approaches. However, the article was never fully realized. Ana says that there is a missing link in the implementation, and further a lack of conversation about forests under UNFCCC. Forests are addressed for specific needs, such as carbon sequestration, but not in a discussion of the different values of forests.

The question then is – why do we need the Article 6.8? Article 6.8 promotes projects that include both mitigation and adaptation, without transfer of emission reduction. This means that the country paying for a project cannot count for the emission reduction. The reduction of emissions is counted for in the country where the reduction takes place. From my observations and interviews I have identified a wish for the inclusion of forest projects under a mechanism that is not market based, mainly as a critique towards the capitalistic hegemonic system. But also as a wish to address forest more holistically, which a mechanism addressing both mitigation and adaptation could enable. It should however be noted that this is not the perspective of all actors. For example, the ABU group of negotiators (Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay) have advocated for the inclusion of REDD+ under the Article 6.8 (Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay, ABU 2022).

14.2 Forests – not only a tool for mitigation

As seen, forests are often referred to as mitigation projects, which is being critiqued in my findings. The Article 6.8 as presented by Bolivia could create incentives for forest projects that are simultaneously addressing mitigation and adaptation. This combined approach is visible in both the Bolivian NDC and laws, as well as in my interviews with representatives from civil society and indigenous communities. In their NDC, Bolivia identifies synergies between adaptation and mitigation in the forestry sector and the area with forest cover. This is for example visible in the use of “the joint mechanism of Mitigation and Adaptation for the Integral and Sustainable Management of Forest” (Ministerio de Medio Ambiente y Agua - Autoridad Plurinacional de la Madre Tierra n.d.:18). There are clear intentions to work with integrated forest management and conservation of not only the forest, but the ecosystems affected. This has helped lowering the poverty levels, however not the deforestation (Ministerio de Medio Ambiente y Agua - Autoridad Plurinacional de la Madre Tierra n.d.). Both Ana and Ninan are presenting a holistic and integrated view on forests, ecosystems and nature, to a great extent confirmed

by Bolivia. Nature should not be reduced to carbon but rather be addressed as complex ecosystems with a rich biodiversity and cultural as well as spiritual value. A forest is not a set of trees, nor only a carbon sink but something more, wherefore a new definition of forests is requested. In the case of Ninan, the reduction of forests to carbon sinks and trees is also visible in how we perceive the decision being taken at the COPs as framed by ecology and environment rather than a holistic view including ecosystems and human rights. The restoration of forests must, according to Ninan, be with endemic species rather than planted monocultures. Plantations of palm trees is not reforestation; it is an extractive model. Restoration of forests goes further than just the trees; it includes a spiritual and cultural restoration. Ninan says that:

“For us, the forests are part of us.... What we need to give to *Pachamama*/Mother Earth is the return of life⁷.”

Another aspect is that a mechanism not based on the market will benefit the NDC of the country hosting the projects and terrestrial mitigation. The market mechanisms can by using the forest sector as a tool for reducing emission in another country, export emissions to an *elsewhere* and the *imperial mode of living* is reproduced (see Brand & Wissen 2021). A wealthy country can then report a reduction in emission in their NDC, without reducing their territorial emissions. This use of the *elsewhere* is based on the idea that emission can be compensated, and that one ton of carbon dioxide in one place equals reduction in another. The consumption-based lifestyle is then not being questioned and developing countries can benefit economically from “absorbing” the emissions from other countries.

To summarize, by using the concept of *imperial mode of living* it can be argued that the use of forests as carbon sinks, especially within a market-based approach, is a way to continue externalizing the social and economic costs of the *imperial mode of living*. Article 6.8 would be an alternative to the market-based approach not enabling any compensation for emissions. Reduction of emissions and carbon sinks within the article 6.8 can only be counted in the national NDC and not be exported to another country. The benefits, in terms of emission reduction, of the carbon sinks are kept within the country.

⁷ “Para nosotros, los bosques somos nosotros mismos... Lo que necesitamos dar a la *Pachamama* es devolver la vida”

14.3 The commodification of forests

The *imperial mode of living* can explore how ecosystems are described in a way that enables an imperialistic use and dispossession of said resources (Brand & Wissen 2021). Describing ecosystems in terms of their ability to capture and store CO₂ reduces the whole ecosystem to a carbon sink, neglecting ecosystem services and other benefits. This reduction of forests is visible in the argumentation of my interviewees who argue that a forest is not merely a collection of trees but a complex ecosystem bearing cultural and spiritual values that cannot be transferred into a market-based value (see Fairhead et al. 2012). Brand and Wissen (2021) connect this to a market-based exchange where ecosystems are being reduced to a value that benefits mainly the global North. The payment for eco-system services⁸, green grabbing⁹ and carbon offsetting¹⁰ are examples of how nature is valued according to capitalistic values (Brand & Wissen 2021). Building on (Fatheuer 2014) by internalizing the externalities and the pricing of ecosystems, the market-based system is exploiting the people living close to the ecosystems. Fatheuer (ibid.) refers to the exploitation of indigenous communities by the reduction of said communities to “ecosystem service providers”. Green grabbing is further building on ecological argumentation for appropriation of land, and an neo-colonial resource alienation (Fairhead et al. 2012). According to Fairhead et. al. (2012) this increased value for nature, ecosystems, carbon sinks and biodiversity are driven by science and policy since the notion of the current planetary crisis has created incentives to protect nature resulting in a commodification of said nature. Fairhead et. al. (2012) even, quite ironically, argues that forests must be commodified to not disappear.

14.4 Who benefits from forest inclusion under Article 6.8?

It is not only the ecosystems of the forests that are being affected by the international policies. My interviewees put a strong emphasis on how indigenous communities are being affected. But is it really black and white? The reality is more complex.

⁸ Defined by IPBES as “a type of market-based instrument that is increasingly used to finance nature conservation”(IPBES n.d.).

⁹ Defined by Fairhead et. al (2012:237) as “the appropriation of land and resources for environmental ends”.

¹⁰ Reduction or removal of emissions made in order to compensate for emissions in another geographical location.

The carbon sinks and carbon markets provide a quick solution to compensation for emissions that is paid for with capital gained by accumulation. According to Brand and Wissen (2021) this is reproducing the hegemony rather than providing an alternative, since the *imperial mode of living* is now presented in an ecologically modernized version. As for payment for ecosystem services it can compensate for ongoing production or consumption by replacing the emissions in an *elsewhere*. Looking at the forest sector, the REDD+ program can be a continuation of this reproduction of the *imperial mode of living*, where market-solutions are presented to ecological problems, for example in the Amazonia. When the local communities and indigenous groups participate in a REDD+ program, they must adopt to a new economic reality and thereby they have to adjust. Kathleen MsAfee is describing this process as a” *inclusionary neoliberalism*” (Brand & Wissen 2021).

Although it does not necessarily have to be black and white. Fairhead et al. (2012) agrees that the local communities are not the real benefiter from REDD+, but it is not easy to judge who is the winner and loser of those systems. The market-based approaches, and reduced control of the state might lead to an increase in the involvement of NGOs and indigenous organizations. Not all processes of green grabbing leads to the loss of land and rights, but they do change the tenure systems and society-nature relations. In our interview Ana agrees that REDD+ is not only bad or good, it is rather not well implemented. REDD+ was, according to Ana, supposed to be the savior but the discussion about REDD+ is now closely linked to the market and focusing on mitigation action. Ninan tells me how some indigenous communities have engaged in the REDD+ system, which he calls a “REDD indígena”, but there is no system for this that would work in any indigenous context. There are further strong economic incentives for countries in the global south to open up for private investors, processes often guided by international financial institutions and banks (Fairhead et al. 2012).

Even though the market-based approaches are not the preferred ones, Ninan highlights the need for finance to reach the ones who are protecting the forests, the indigenous communities. The NMA might be an opportunity for the finance to reach them, but since the mechanism for NMA is not fully developed it is not yet sure. He says that there is finance to meet the goals of the Paris Agreement, it just must reach the ones who are already doing the work and not get stuck in the bureaucratic system. The governments says that the indigenous communities are already strengthening the NDCs of the countries, but Ninan presents another perception of the government as the ones who are allowing extractive companies as petrol companies to operate in their territories and the many killings of indigenous activists protecting their territories. In the interview with Ninan he presents two different views on finance. On one hand, finance must reach the indigenous communities. On the other, the market and the governmental systems

constitutes a threat to the forests and indigenous communities when they must adapt and sometimes leave their land. And land that is not administrated by indigenous communities is according to Ninan exposed to interventions and extraction. By this, it is not the finance that is the issue but rather the market.

Ana is further asking for better accountability systems for forests. According to Ana the article 6 does not address forests enough apart from the article 6.8 that includes joint mitigation and adaptation approaches. She argues that the market solutions will only bring more harm, and therefore forests should not be included under the market mechanisms under article 6.2 or 6.4.

“I do not wish to see incorporation of the land use sector in the carbon market, that is very dangerous. But I think it would be good under 6.8. Article 6.8 opens up for mobilization of voluntary finance for some initiatives, in particular ones of restoration and protection of ecosystems¹¹.” Ana

She perceives the Article 6.8 as an article with potential, but with no clear aim. An article under with more philanthropic discussions on forest could take place. The question is how the NMA would benefit the global south, in comparison to the financial opportunities with market solutions. As presented in the Paris Agreement and by Ana, and aligning with the decisions at COP27, the article 6.8 will provide a matchmaking facility for projects that are not market based. One might interpret this as development aid, where the responsibility for the financing of projects is put on the developed countries. The following question is then if this matchmaking facility can represent the shift in discourse described in my findings.

¹¹ “no quiero ver incorporacion del sector de uso de tierra en mercado de carbono, es muy peligros. Pero bajo de 6.8 me parece que esta bueno. El articulo 6.8 da una porta de entrada de sobre todo movilizar finanimiento voluntario para algunas iniciativas, en particular de esto de restauracion o proteccion de algunos esosistemas” Ana

15. *Vivir Bien* – the counter hegemony

Vivir Bien is a complex concept when it comes to the implementation. In this chapter, I will continue to analyse the impacts of *Vivir Bien* when translated to national policy or an international discourse.

15.1 Living well – or living better? The priorities by Bolivia

I will in this section develop the findings from the content analysis, in the light of the theory of *imperial mode of living*. Introducing concepts such as *Vivir Bien* is a way of introducing an alternative societal-nature relation, and an alternative cosmovision. Daniela describes *Vivir Bien* as a concept with multiple meanings. It speaks about how you treat yourself and how you feel for your life, as well as how you treat other persons around you. In the climate negotiations, it is most often used in relation to a life in harmony with Mother Earth, which is also the most important aspect according to Daniela. She describes how nature, and the environment is surrounding us, and giving the things we need for life. How *Vivir Bien* is closely linked to Mother Earth, and further how her tradition is to give thanks to Mother Earth for what she gives every harvest. If the government is able to by its institutions manage natural resources though this cosmovision, it can become hegemonic (Brand & Wissen 2013). By including *Vivir Bien* and its values in the national laws, Bolivia position stands in contrast to the capitalistic and neoliberal mode of production where nature is reduced to its material values. The later hegemony presents a discourse where nature is dominated by society, by norms, institutions, and a capitalistic valorization of nature. To change this conceptualization, regulation is required (Brand & Wissen 2013). This kind of regulation is visible in the Bolivian laws analyzed (see chapter 12).

In all interviews, the actors are highlighting the need for concepts such as *Vivir Bien* and a new cosmovision. All actors are describing their close linkage to the concept, or as Ana describes it as “*our cosmovision*”. She perceives the perspective as good, since it clashes with the current hegemonic discourse. In other words, it constitutes a counter discourse.

"It clashes because, everything here is like a robot. Without thinking of it we are attracted to the occidental narrative."¹² Ana

Ana sees a need of these perspectives on nature in the negotiations, something that is lacking now. The current discourse on nature is rather one where nature is a place from which we extract resources to be used for the benefits of humankind. However, the use of *Vivir Bien* by the Bolivian president has not been without complications. Postero (2013) describes how there is a difference in what is being said and done, referring to how Morales gladly talked about *Vivir Bien* whilst his government was continuing an extractivistic path. The Bolivian economy is depending on extractivism, which can be seen in the many conflicts around large scale infrastructure of resource projects also mentioned by my interviewees (Fabricant 2013). For example, Morales government joined Brazil in constructing a highway through indigenous territory (*El parque nacional y territorio indígena Isiboro-secure, TIPNIS*). The decision to build the highway is according to Fabricant & Postero (2019) a symbol of how the indigenous community was being sacrificed for the sake of development. Morales, who gained his legitimacy as a president by defending the indigenous communities was then questioned. He further silenced the opposition and claimed that the indigenous lowland organizations were connected to "US imperialist endeavors" (Fabricant 2013:162). By that he acted against parts of the movement that enabled his position as president of the country. Gustafson (2013) argues that the alternative pathway to extractivism is not possible in Bolivia since the country is depending on natural gas for its economy. Fabricant (2013) adds that Morales did not identify sustainable energy sources and engines, nor a self-sustaining model for agriculture needed for the implementation of *Vivir Bien*.

Both Ninan and Daniela talks about the former Bolivian president, Evo Morales. According to Ninan, his government created a division amongst the indigenous community where the indigenous people that where defending their territories were not in favor of the president. Daniela describes how *Vivir Bien* became a political concept when Evo Morales and his government brought it to the table.

"We probably already had an idea of what is *Vivir Bien*, from our own language and our own experience."¹³ Daniela

¹² "Chocka porque eso, todo acá es como un robot, sin pensando en estamos atraesados por el narrativa occidental."

¹³ "Probablemente nosotros ya teníamos un idea de que es vivir bien. Desde nuestra propia palabra, desde nuestra propia experiencia"

The quote indicates a difference between the concept promoted by Morales, and how *Vivir Bien* was well known and defined by her people. It gives a sense of ownership of the concept. She continues to describe that their worlds never before had become a law or something on a national level. At first it was beautiful, she says. Her family could identify with the new president who came from a family without resources. People said that “*Ay hay un indigena, hay un indio*” (translation: there is an indigenous person). He was a person like them. By saying that, one might understand that there had previously been a distance between the indigenous communities and the government, the ones in power. Daniela explains that the sympathy lasted for some years, but that she is now critical. The discourse of treating Mother Earth well and to protect the natural resources has not been transferred into action. The living well in harmony with nature is stuck on a conceptual level, she says. This dualism in how the Bolivian government and Morales are perceived are confirmed by Postero (2010).

15.2 *Vivir Bien* as a tool for the state

Daniela is not alone in expressing a critique towards the government of Bolivia and the implementation of *Bien Vivir*. The following section identifies critique on how *Vivir Bien* is used as a tool for the state both nationally and to create a reputation internationally. Restrepo Echavarría & Orosz (2021) argue that the state can co-construct *Vivir Bien*. They are followed by van Teijlinge and Fernandes-Salvador who, as described by Artaraz et. al. (2021), argue that the state described *Vivir Bien* in a way that supported top-down governance and extraction of the natural resources with a neo-extractivist view on development. The taxes gained by the extraction of natural resources was then used for redistribution for the well-being of the Bolivian population (Artaraz et al. 2021).

Villalba (2013) understands three path to take for the post-liberal governments in Latin America. They can either focus on strengthening the state, adapt the new politics to local conditions or create new mechanisms for social welfare. What is common for the alternatives and new models is the reproduction of the dependency on market-based methods and export of primary natural resources. There is thereby a difference in the *Vivir Bien* proposed by the indigenous communities, and the one implemented by the governments (Ibid.). This conflict is further visible in the anti-imperialistic and anti-capitalistic discourse promoted by Bolivia in their laws and NDC (see chapter 12). Bolivia is clearly taking a stand against commodification of nature and against the market-based approaches. At the same time, they address their need for external financial support to implement their NDC. The goals in the

NDC from 2016 since the domestic finance was not enough (Ministerio de Medio Ambiente y Agua - Autoridad Plurinacional de la Madre Tierra n.d.). By expressing the lack of financial resources nationally to meet the needs of the NDC, Bolivia is presenting themselves as a developing country. International support is required but should be based on non-market-approaches.

Both carbon-markets and nature-based solutions are described as systems giving examples of “carbon colonialism” where the relation between countries of the global south and global north are reproduced. Instead, Bolivia proposes actions that consider each country's capabilities and needs, as well as the common but differentiated responsibilities (CBDR). Both CBDR and the mentioning of historical debts are referring to the responsibility of the developed countries to take into consideration not only their present emissions but the consequences of the emissions of their past. This pressures the developed countries to contribute with development aid finance. However, during the COP27, the developed countries such as EU, argued for a transformation of the whole financial system and include a broader base of donors rather than having all climate finance depending on development aid finance (see article 2.1c in the Paris Agreement). A counterargument is then that the developed countries are avoiding their responsibility by including the private sector which creates a conflict with the developed countries arguing that the amounts of money needed to address climate change is not to be found in development aid nor amongst governments but require the business sector and international banks to take responsibility. This discussion is clearly highlighting the imperialistic world system presented by Ghosh et. al. (2022). The new form of economic territory is not only linked to land and natural resources but further to control over the global institutions.

The strong promotion of the concept of *Vivir Bien* and inclusion of Mother Earth has affected how Bolivia is perceived in the international sphere. Ana explains how the group of Likeminded Developing Countries, LMDC, not being known for being progressive. Bolivia is part of the LMDC, and often speaking on behalf of the group during the negotiations on Article 6.8. The *Vivir Bien* that she is describing is something that should break with the current hegemonic discourse, which it does not when used by lesser ambitious actors. Ninan is further describing how the *Vivir Bien* as presented by Bolivia is not the same cosmovision as he refers to, how the concept of *Vivir Bien* is not the work of the government but the indigenous communities. From his point of view, the government has sequestered their concept and use it to get attention internationally and to positioning themselves as progressive actors. A small country from the Global South, a concept Ninan is not fond of using, is presenting a solution. The argument that Bolivia is using *Vivir Bien* for self-determination, being a symbol lacking implementation is confirmed by Merino (2021).

15.3 Addressing the uneven development and its environmental consequences

“Imperialism is a form of domination that enables one country’s elite to prosper at the expense of the other countries and peoples” (Goodman 2020:1).

James Goodman (2020) defines imperialism as a relational concept, where one wins and one loses. Connecting this to the environment, Goodman describes how climate imperialism often talks about uneven responsibility for emissions. The historical responsibility, and climate debt, has been recognized in the UNFCCC model “Common but differentiated responsibility”, CBDR, often used by Bolivia. The climate crisis is increasing the global injustice and a polarization between the ones who are the most affected by climate change and the large emitters. Goodman (2020) is arguing that this changes the hegemony. Imperialism is, according to Goodman, understood as a Eurocentric hegemony building on industrialization and exploitation of people in the global South. In my findings, Bolivia presents a discourse linked to CBDR and the uneven responsibility for emission. What is then addressed by the civil society actors are the power relations within the country and how marginalized groups, as the indigenous communities have to sacrifice their land for the sake of development (e.g. the TIPNIS). Arguing for the capitalistic roots of the uneven development and simultaneously building the economy of the country on fossil fuel creates an argumentation of injustice within the country and one at the global scale. My interviewees are all presenting *Vivir Bien* as an opposite to extractivism. Daniela states that the ones who are supporting the government are also financially dependent on deforestation. She thinks that there are bureaucrats who want to implement the *Vivir Bien*, but that they might be hindered by the powerful sectors on which the government is relying. As pointed out by Brand & Wissen (2021), it is not only the Global North but also the elite in the Global South that benefits from the *imperial mode of living*. Villalba (2013) refers to this combination of the desired new discourse including bold and radical new perspectives on politics and the continued dependency on extraction of natural resources as the “Latin American Paradox”. There are possibilities to use *Vivir Bien* and the discourse to challenge the hegemony, but then it cannot be implemented within a capitalistic system, nor be implemented without a decolonization of the knowledge. If the discourse including *Vivir Bien* becomes dominant without a plurality of perspectives and a decolonization of knowledge, it risks to be reductionistic and, as I argue, not challenging the power relations between the

actors (Villalba 2013). The question is then, if *Vivir Bien* can be implemented in one country, when the global economic system is based on capitalism, or if Bolivia is too small country so challenge the hegemony and the discourse of *Vivir Bien* will continue being reductionistic and without proper implementation?

15.4 Power imbalance on multiple levels

When studying *Vivir Bien* and Article 6.8 from an imperialistic entry point, I discovered a need to address the imperialistic nature of the discourses presented in the UNFCCC. In the climate negotiations, there is an ongoing discussion on which countries need to reduce their emissions most. All countries are obliged to represent their reductions in emissions in their NDCs. But the countries do not have the same conditions for the reduction of emissions, partly due to level of development and financial resources, partly because there are ways to compensate for emissions, such as article 6.2, 6.4 and REDD+.

The new imperialism is noted in the power imbalances visible in both negotiations as well as the global consumption patterns. Ghosh et al. (2022) argues that consumption, and thereby capitalistic system, is based on an *imperial mode of living* which in itself increases global emissions. They further state that the international negotiations on climate change reproduce the imbalance between developing countries and developed countries since the negotiations focus on the current and future emissions, but not the past emissions nor the historical responsibility (ibid.). The model used by the UNFCCC to calculate emissions is based on territorial emissions rather than consumption-based emissions which does not reflect the responsibility for lifestyle-based emissions (ibid). This is highlighted by countries as Bolivia. In the Bolivian NDC a critique toward the capitalistic system is expressed, where countries that have historically contributed to emissions are not taking enough responsibility. In the closing plenary of the COP27, the representative for Bolivia requested the inclusion of CBDR and questioned the fact that parties wish to erase writings on CBDR only 30 years after the establishment of UNFCCC.

The power imbalances are visible also on other levels in the negotiations. Daniela, and most strongly Ninan, are presenting a discourse where the indigenous communities are in conflict with the governments, and the structure of the negotiations. He is describing how they must fight in the system, and fight for their territories. At the same time, indigenous people are protecting more than 80% of the world's biodiversity. But they are not included in the decision making. Rather,

they are affected by the decisions that do not considering the indigenous communities. This leads to the dichotomy and need for fighting against the system. I asked Ninan about an event during the negotiations on Article 6.8 where the Bolivian negotiator brought representatives from indigenous communities to the table, but without giving them the chance to speak. For Ninan, it is positive that indigenous people are visible and involved. But he is also describing how their presence can be a folkloric and romanticized legitimation of decisions. How you are not being heard, but rather being a living museum.

16. How to challenge a hegemonic discourse?

Even though the *imperial mode of living* is a dominant discourse it is contested and challenged. However, yet not resulting in a shift of the hegemonic discourse. The question I will develop in this section is therefore what is needed to produce a counter-hegemony, and how alternative ontologies can be expressed in the negotiations. Brand and Wissen (2021) are explaining this by advocating that a system that can externalize the negative impacts is difficult to question. Furthermore, the power relations are reproduced and benefitting the elite. First when the *imperial mode of living* is not within reach for a majority of persons in a society, the system can be questioned and a conflict can be created Brand & Wissen (2021).

A transformation that does not question the hegemony is according to Brand & Wissen (2021) a danger. For example, the “Green Economy”, based on the idea that the market can provide the adequate tools and incentives to be ecological sustainable, would put a value on nature by internalizing the external costs. Ecosystems are then, according to Brand & Wissen (2021) reduced to natural capital and the hegemonic discourse is not being challenged. Brand & Wissen (2021) argues that the transformation from an *imperial mode of living* requires structural changes in the social system. A transformative action requires a conflict which can be seen in how the actors in power are being critiqued by civil society, as seen in my interviews. Moreover, the conflict between hegemony and counter-hegemony constitutes a ground for social movements (Carroll (2007)). As seen in the content analysis language can be used to strengthen a discourse of conflict, however language can also be used to avoid conflict and confrontation (Fairclough 1996). By that not challenging the social relations that exists, for example within the UNFCCC. By using concepts such as historical responsibility and CBDR, the social and institutional relations and power structures are being challenged, and a conflict is created.

16.1 A revolutionary concept or Tinder for forest projects?

The thesis has so far identified how *Vivir Bien* and the cosmovision influencing Article 6.8 can constitute an alternative discourse in the climate negotiations. The question is to which extent it can challenge the hegemonic discourse.

If the article 6.8 and introduction of concepts such as *Vivir Bien* can not constitute an alternative discourse, how can then the hegemony be challenged? Brand and Wissen (2013) argue that we are in an ongoing repolitication of the climate crisis and human-nature relationships, due to a crisis of the hegemony. The counter-hegemony is present in both my interviews and the discourse analysis of the Bolivian NDC and laws. Daniela is in her interview presenting another worldview, where the capitalist and imperialist relation to the natural resources and ecosystem is not hegemonic. Looking at Bolivia, the country is criticizing the capitalistic and *imperial mode of living*, not only in texts. An interesting angle on this is the fact that international fast-food companies have not succeeded in entering the Bolivian market, it is rather the traditional and local food that is thriving (Halloran n.d.). For example, McDonalds had to leave the country (Geeter 2019). Is then the *imperial mode of living* being questioned in Bolivia? Is that why they can promote *Vivir Bien*?

By promoting *Vivir Bien* as a sustainability discourse, the Bolivian government is referring to traditional knowledge and wisdom, presented by the indigenous communities. It is something that the population is familiar with and building on a present discourse, as we can see in the narrative presented by Daniela. However, Ninan is clear in his argumentation that the government has kidnapped the concept of *Vivir Bien* and transformed it into something that the government could benefit from. The question is then if the hegemony really is being challenged, and on which level that might happen. There are multiple levels of power and imperialism at stake in this discussion. Both the power relations in the climate negotiations and by that also the global capitalistic system, and further the national context and power relations within Bolivia. Bolivia can, according to my findings, both argue for a system change on an international level by presenting an alternative discourses and counter-hegemony, and simultaneously be dependent on the hegemony for the country's own development and economic welfare. The counter-hegemony as presented in Article 6.8, might not be a game changer driving a new counter hegemony that could challenge *the imperial mode of living* as the article has not been given as much attention as the market-based approaches. What started out as a revolutionary concept in terms of the NMA, has now ended up in a “Tinder for forest projects”, as described by Ana, where the basis for finance is not a

revolutionary transformation of the economic systems but rather development aid money.

17. Conclusion

In my thesis, I have studied the interlinkages between *Vivir Bien*, the Article 6.8 of the Paris Agreement and the forestry sector with the aim of creating an understanding from Article 6.8 and how alternative views on the human-nature relations can be incorporated into the climate negotiations. In my findings I have faced a complicated web of discourses and the presence of *imperial mode of living* on different levels. I have seen conflicting discourses, providing different approaches to how climate change should be handled. In this section, I will recall my research questions and summarize the thesis by linking the different sections.

17.1 Can Article 6.8 enable an inclusion of alternative views on nature, such as *Vivir Bien*, in the UN negotiations?

My material shows a complex web of imperialistic power relations and dynamics. Bolivia is in the UN negotiations framing themselves as progressive by introducing concepts such as *Vivir Bien* and Mother Earth, often approved by civil society. At the same time, their negotiation group LMDC, is not known internationally for being a progressive partner in the negotiations (see interview with Ana). There is a clear imperialistic discourse in how Bolivia is arguing, and how they prefer the non-market approaches. By using the NMA, the developed countries and extractivistic industries cannot continue compensating for emissions in an *elsewhere*, nor benefitting from the introduction of new markets. In short, under Article 6.8 the nature resources should benefit the countries where they are located, and the developing countries can access financial support from the developed countries. On the other hand, the *imperial mode of living* is reproduced at the national level in Bolivia. From the perspective of civil society and indigenous communities, Bolivia is not acting on a national level in coherence with their discourse internationally nor in the national documents. The *elsewhere* is then to be found also on a national level, where the economic development and extractivistic business are prioritized over the territorial rights of indigenous communities. This in a complex situation,

where Bolivia needs the financial resources to secure a *Vivir Bien* for the population.

Linking to the research question, Article 6.8 do enable an inclusion of alternative views in terms of the non-market approaches. However not the direct inclusion of the wordings of *Vivir Bien*. Bolivia's eager argumentation for the inclusion of alternative cosmovisions and references to Mother Earth are well known in the UN negotiations, wherefore Bolivia has succeeded in making that statement.

17.2 What changes does the non-market-approach of *Vivir Bien* imply for the forestry sector in the Paris Agreement, as presented in Article 6?

Another finding is the changes in how forests and ecosystems are described and valued. The inclusion of the forest sector in market-based approaches, such as carbon markets or trade with emission reductions, can reduce forests to carbon sinks. By that the values highlighted in the cosmovision of *Vivir Bien*, and by my interviewees, are lost or reduced. This mechanism of carbon markets is the result of a combination of climate policy and the science on emission and how reduction in emissions in one place can compensate for emissions in another (Fairhead et al. 2012). Even though the aim might be to protect forests, the result is that nature in the light of a green economy must bear its own costs in terms of generating economic values and the intrinsic values are less prioritized. What is clear is that carbon offsetting does not necessarily lead to a reduction of the territorial emissions nor structural changes to a more climate friendly lifestyle, but rather export them to an *elsewhere* as if emissions in one country could be compensated somewhere else. By this externalization, the *imperial mode of living* can be reproduced. Moreover, by combining mitigation and adaptation and without offering emission transfers, the non-market approaches as presented in Article 6.8 could provide the opportunity to reduce emissions as well as increase resilience and adaptation. However, my results indicates that the mechanism of Article 6.8 does not live up to the expectations from Bolivia nor civil society. There is a need for a discussion on forestry that is not only linked to mitigation, or adaptation. The discourse linked to *Vivir Bien* could enable that discussion, but Article 6.8 is according to my interviewees not the space for it. Specially Ana is requiring another forum under the UN to discuss forests.

17.3 To what extent does Article 6.8 challenge the hegemonic discourse?

In the search for an alternative discourse, which includes *Vivir Bien*, I was confronted with a process of counter-hegemony and changes in the power relations in the climate negotiations. The emerging economies that were not regarded as developed countries in 1992 are growing stronger and by that challenging the power dynamics and discourses of the convention. However, this new power dynamic and counter-hegemony is not representing the discourse in my findings. Article 6.8 was initiated as a new discourse, but after being processed during the negotiations the result was a mechanism suited for the structures of UNFCCC. The NMAs could possibly present a shift away from the imperialistic way of living, but it still must work within the systems of UNFCCC which according to Brand & Wissen (2013) is based on a market structure. The discourse of NMAs and Article 6.8 is therefore not, as for today, a realistic challenger of the hegemonic discourse.

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Acknowledgements

Writing this thesis has been a rollercoaster of emotions. I have had to challenge my views on the climate negotiations, on how systems can be transformed and how nature is present in the UNFCCC. While conducting interviews and attending the COP27 and COP15 I have further had to face my own privileges and the fact that I am part of the system I challenge in this essay. The essay has therefore been a difficult and challenging process, that has opened my eyes.

I wish to thank my family and friends for enduring the long conversations, drafts, anxiety, and frustration over the process. My supervisor and teachers for support and direction, even though it made me challenge my views on the essay. I further wish to thank the Swedish delegation to the COP27 and COP15 for welcoming me and answering my questions. And finally, I wish to thank every dedicated person from civil society to country delegations who are driving the process on the UN negotiations. It is not the perfect system, it might not provide the system change we seek, but it is the system we have, and it is slowly transforming.

Appendix I – Article 6 of the Paris Agreement

Article 6 as presented in the Paris Agreement (United Nations 2015):

1. Parties recognize that some Parties choose to pursue voluntary cooperation in the implementation of their nationally determined contributions to allow for higher ambition in their mitigation and adaptation actions and to promote sustainable development and environmental integrity.

2. Parties shall, where engaging on a voluntary basis in cooperative approaches that involve the use of internationally transferred mitigation outcomes towards nationally determined contributions, promote sustainable development and ensure environmental integrity and transparency, including in governance, and shall apply robust accounting to ensure, inter alia, the avoidance of double counting, consistent with guidance adopted by the Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting of the Parties to this Agreement.

3. The use of internationally transferred mitigation outcomes to achieve nationally determined contributions under this Agreement shall be voluntary and authorized by participating Parties.

4. A mechanism to contribute to the mitigation of greenhouse gas emissions and support sustainable development is hereby established under the authority and guidance of the Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting of the Parties to this Agreement for use by Parties on a voluntary basis. It shall be supervised by a body designated by the Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting of the Parties to this Agreement, and shall aim:

(a) To promote the mitigation of greenhouse gas emissions while fostering sustainable development;

(b) To incentivize and facilitate participation in the mitigation of greenhouse gas emissions by public and private entities authorized by a Party;

(c) To contribute to the reduction of emission levels in the host Party, which will benefit from mitigation activities resulting in emission reductions that can also be used by another Party to fulfil its nationally determined contribution; and

(d) To deliver an overall mitigation in global emissions.

5. Emission reductions resulting from the mechanism referred to in paragraph 4 of this Article shall not be used to demonstrate achievement of the host Party's nationally determined contribution if used by another Party to demonstrate achievement of its nationally determined contribution.

6. The Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting of the Parties to this Agreement shall ensure that a share of the proceeds from activities under the mechanism referred to in paragraph 4 of this Article is used to cover administrative expenses as well as to assist developing country Parties that are particularly vulnerable to the adverse effects of climate change to meet the costs of adaptation.

7. The Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting of the Parties to this Agreement shall adopt rules, modalities and procedures for the mechanism referred to in paragraph 4 of this Article at its first session.

8. Parties recognize the importance of integrated, holistic and balanced non-market approaches being available to Parties to assist in the implementation of their nationally determined contributions, in the context of sustainable development and poverty eradication, in a coordinated and effective manner, including through, inter alia, mitigation, adaptation, finance, technology transfer and capacitybuilding, as appropriate. These approaches shall aim to:

- (a) Promote mitigation and adaptation ambition;
- (b) Enhance public and private sector participation in the implementation of nationally determined contributions; and
- (c) Enable opportunities for coordination across instruments and relevant institutional arrangements.

9. A framework for non-market approaches to sustainable development is hereby defined to promote the non-market approaches referred to in paragraph 8 of this Article.

Appedix II – Interview guide

- What is your relation to the UNFCCC?
- In which capacity are you attending the COP27?
- What are your general hopes for COP27?
- What do you think of the inclusion of forestry in the Paris Agreement?
- Is article 6.8 of importance to you?
- How do you think that Article 6.8 should be implemented?
- Which project could be included in article 6.8 that are not included in other parts of UNFCCC and the Paris Agreement?
- What is your definition of *Vivir Bien/Buen Vivir*?
- What do you think about how Bolivia uses concepts as *Vivir Bien* in the global sphere?
- Can Article 6.8 be a way to include alternative cosmovisions in the climate negotiations?

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