

## INTISARI

REDD+ atau Pengurangan Emisi dari Deforestasi dan Degradasi Hutan di Negara-negara Berkembang merupakan salah satu program dalam tata kelola hutan global untuk mengatasi isu perubahan iklim yang berada di bawah mandat UNFCCC (*United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change*). Di dalam REDD+, hutan dan karbon dikelola dengan pendekatan berbasis pasar bebas yang telah menjadi hegemonik. Hal ini ditunjukkan oleh serangkaian gagasan dan praktik yang secara prevalen mengkomodifikasi isu lingkungan hidup, utamanya yaitu skema perdagangan karbon. Hegemoni tata kelola hutan berbasis pasar menghadapi tantangan berupa perlawanan dari pemerintahan Evo Morales di Bolivia yang ditandai oleh pembentukan sebuah mekanisme alternatif berbasis pendekatan non-pasar, yaitu JMA (*Joint Mitigation and Adaptation Mechanisms for the Integral and Sustainable Management of Forests and Mother Earth*).

Skripsi ini akan menggunakan perspektif Gramscian untuk menjelaskan fenomena perlawanan Bolivia terhadap hegemoni pasar di dalam REDD+ sebagai sebuah proses kontra-hegemoni yang melibatkan upaya-upaya untuk mengubah struktur ide, institusi, dan kapabilitas material yang melanggengkan tata kelola hutan dan perubahan iklim global. Skripsi ini berargumen bahwa cara Bolivia melawan dengan inisiatif JMA didasari oleh kepentingan politik pemerintahan Evo Morales untuk menengahi kontradiksi antara: (1) tuntutan mengelola hutan sesuai dengan prinsip hak-hak Ibu Bumi dan hak-hak masyarakat adat; dan (2) kebutuhan mencapai pertumbuhan ekonomi nasional melalui ekspansi sektor pertanian yang merupakan penyebab utama deforestasi. Akan tetapi, kontra-hegemoni Bolivia belum sepenuhnya mampu menggantikan struktur hegemoni pasar di dalam REDD+. Sebaliknya, kontra-hegemoni Bolivia muncul sebagai bentuk “revolusi pasif”, yakni kondisi ketika upaya perlawanannya justru terkooptasi ke dalam institusi hegemonik yang berusaha dilawan. Revolusi pasif ditandai oleh langkah-langkah UNFCCC untuk menyalurkan sumber daya material bagi Bolivia dan mengakomodasi JMA ke dalam kerangka institusionalnya, tanpa diikuti oleh perombakan terhadap tata kelola berbasis pendekatan pasar yang berlaku selama ini.

**Kata kunci:** REDD+, Bolivia, hegemoni dan kontra-hegemoni, tata kelola hutan, perubahan iklim

## ABSTRACT

REDD+ or Reducing Emission from Deforestation and Forest Degradation in Developing Countries program is a part of global forest governance aimed to resolve climate change issue under the mandate of UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change). Within REDD+, forests and carbon are governed by a free market approach which has been hegemonic. There are a set of ideas and practices that prevalently commodify environmental issues, especially the carbon trading scheme. The hegemony of market-based forest governance nonetheless encounters a challenge from the resistance of Evo Morales government in Bolivia, which is characterized by the establishment of a non-market-based approach as its alternative mechanism called JMA (Joint Mitigation and Adaptation Mechanisms for the Integral and Sustainable Management of Forests and Mother Earth).

This paper will use a Gramscian perspective to explain Bolivia's resistance towards market hegemony in REDD+ as a process of counter-hegemony that involves the struggle to transform the prevailing structure of ideas, institutions and material capabilities that has been sustaining global climate change and forest governance. This paper argues that JMA as one of Bolivia's means of resistance is underlain by Evo Morales' political interests to settle the contradictions between: (1) a demand to manage forests in Bolivia according to the principles of the rights of Mother Earth and indigenous people; and (2) national development goal to achieve economic growth through agricultural expansion which becomes one of the main causes of deforestation. However, Bolivia's counter-hegemony does not completely deconstruct and replace the structure of market hegemony in REDD+. On the contrary, Bolivia's counter-hegemony manifests in a form of "passive revolution", in which its counter-hegemonic struggle is being absorbed or co-opted by the hegemonic institution that it seeks to resist. Passive revolution is characterized by UNFCCC's attempts to mobilize resources for Bolivia and accommodate JMA into its institutional framework, without giving any opportunity to restructure the prevailing market-based approach governance.

**Keywords:** REDD+, Bolivia, hegemony and counter-hegemony, forest governance, climate change