

Equity & inclusion in net-zero transitions of emerging economies

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Abstract

This paper examines whether issues of equity and inclusion are considered in the net-zero transitions of emerging economies Brazil, China, India and Indonesia, and what the underlying discourses are that can provide reasons as to why or why not they are considered. These insights are important because the net-zero transitions can only be successful if relevant stakeholders are included and societal aspects of the transition are considered. By conducting a discourse analysis on the documents in which the targets and plans for these transitions are presented, supported by a series of interviews with relevant Indonesian stakeholders, this research concludes that there is insufficient inclusion of stakeholders and little concrete consideration of equity issues in the documents. The underlying discourse that provides reasons for this includes a target-oriented top-down approach to development and climate change in which the government's sovereignty protection from international and national stakeholders is prioritized.

Key words: net-zero transitions, emerging economies, Paris Agreement, climate change, Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs), Long-Term Strategy (LTS), discourse analysis.

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List of abbreviations

NDC	Nationally Determined Contribution
iNDC	Intended Nationally Determined Contribution <i>A term used for NDCs submitted before the signing of the Paris Agreement</i>
LTS	Long-term strategy
CSO	Civil society organization
NGO	Non-governmental organization
UN	United Nations
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
MoEF	Ministry of Environment and Forestry
Gol	Government of Indonesia

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1. Introduction

1.1 Problem statement

Today we live in a world with many global treaties, conferences and collaborations that cover sustainability issues. A world-wide view has emerged in which is believed that global efforts are necessary to preserve the earth that we live on. The main priority in climate politics is to lower carbon emissions, as carbon emissions are a major contributor to climate change (Canadell & Raupach, 2008). In December 2015, the Paris Agreement came to existence. In it, 196 countries committed to limit global warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius. To make this happen, carbon emissions need to be net zero by the year 2050. These so-called net-zero transitions are to be made by the individual countries that have signed the agreement. These countries have agreed to provide mandatory National Determined Contributions (NDCs) every five years, that illustrates the actions that are meant to contribute to the net zero transition. Besides that, the Paris Agreement also invites and encourages countries to set more long-term goals by creating a Long-Term Strategy (LTS), but this is not mandatory (UN, n.d.).

Among the 196 countries that committed to the Paris Agreement, there are many countries that can be considered emerging economies. There is no precise definition of emerging economies, as scholars have focussed on different aspects of the phenomenon. Some use the term 'emerging' interchangeably with 'developing'. This thesis uses the term emerging economies. These are countries that have very high economic growth rates, but also have a "lower per capita income and businesses or industrial activity and limited infrastructure" (Sánchez-Flores, et al., 2020, p. 5). The goal of achieving greater sustainability, as is the case with the Paris Agreement, poses numerous challenges to emerging economies. With a high economic growth rate that aims to enhance standards of living, the environment and sustainability are often of lower priority, if they are at all. However, sustainability requires not only environmental sustainability but also social and economic sustainability (Jayanti & Gowda, 2014). This is one of the major challenges that emerging economies face. The pressure to tackle this challenge is also rather large, because emerging economies are no longer considered underdeveloped countries. As they generate a higher per capita GDP, they also need to cope with higher expectations, especially from developed countries.

These expectations and pressures are an inherent part of the Paris Agreement, as it concerns individual nations committing to a global effort. The individual commitments of countries to the agreement have been secured in record time (Delbeke, et al., 2019), which can raise questions whether those committing think they can actually meet the ambition of carbon neutrality in 2050. A possibility is that emerging countries feel the need to express their commitments through this agreement because of the expectations that developed countries have. The commitments are voluntary, though this pressure can be put on individual countries through a process of 'naming and shaming' (Falkner, 2016). Also, developed countries are providing aid to underdeveloped countries and emerging economies through different national, multilateral or even private initiatives. This provides opportunities, but also challenges and pressures.

1.1.1 Scholarly debate

Since the introduction of the net zero transitions on the global agenda, scholars such as Delbeke et al. (2019), Setyowati & Quist (2022) and Christoplos & McGinn (2016), have raised questions about the governance of these transitions. These transitions are directly translated into NDCs of individual countries in which they describe their commitments to the targets set in the Paris Agreement. However, the situation is much more complex and involves a more varied degree of actors who influence the transition or who are affected by the transition. These include governments, as well as

the public and private sector, but also actors who have not committed to any target or transition. All these actors have different agendas, priorities and degrees of dependence on this transition.

The context in which the Paris Agreement came into existence is highly complex. A combination of different mechanisms, agreements and policies already existed with similar goals regarding carbon emissions or related issues, such as deforestation or land use. Achieving carbon neutrality by 2050 cannot be and is not aimed to be an effort to be made by one single actor. Decision-making on carbon emissions is spread out over various levels, as well as over different policy areas (Setyowati & Quist, 2022). As for the Paris Agreement, not only national governments, but also regional governments as well as actors across the private sector have expressed their commitments to carbon neutrality targets (UNFCCC, n.d.). Whether or not NDCs include actors other than governmental bodies, is up to the governments developing these NDCs.

The Paris Agreement is a vividly discussed topic in academic and non-academic spheres (Hermwille, 2016; Kelman, 2017; Laurens et al., 2022; Christoplos & McGinn, 2016; Setyowati & Quist, 2022; McDermott et al., 2022). These discussions include arguments in favour of its existence, as well as critiques on how it is set up, what is and is not included, and general pessimism of whether it will have any positive effects at all. For this last element, critics have raised concern about the mismatch between collective goals in combination with individual commitments at the national level as well as about whether even the most optimistic scenario will obtain the target of limiting global warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius (Hermwille, 2016). Academic critics have pointed out that the Paris Agreement focuses too much on climate change, whilst there are other existing organisations and mechanisms that also cover topics within the realm of sustainable development, such as disaster risk reduction or pollution prevention (Kelman, 2017). Similarly, Laurens et al. (2022) point out that there is a need for a comprehensive approach where both the climate change side and the trade policy instruments side are included. This focus on climate change can be considered a 'silo' approach "that treat climate risk as a technical or sectoral concern rather than as an impetus for political and institutional change" (Christoplos & McGinn, 2016, p. 458). Yet, this focus on climate change specifically can also be seen as a positive aspect of the Paris Agreement, in the sense that it has set clear targets, rather than having vague commitments. However, in the Paris Agreement there is no need to mention what role participation plays in the process to get to this target, which raises critiques from the academic sector. The change that these critics call for should be cross-sectoral and participatory because participation and acceptance of local actors in the transition is what makes it successful or not (Setyowati & Quist, 2022). McDermott et al. (2022) argue that equity should not only be included in the process but should also be formulated as a goal of the transition. They describe the reverse effect that global target-setting can have on equity issues. Important to mention is that they highlight the word *can* in this observation, as they look out to the future with hope. The issue is often that there is a difference in focus and priority on either the means or the ends, and what this focus and prioritization entails. This means that means and ends can actually co-exist, but they should be balanced (McDermott et al., 2022).

The Paris Agreement and its NDCs are a means to get a transition in motion. As the implementation of such a transition can only be successful and effective if it is accepted by those affected by it (Setyowati & Quist, 2022), participation in this process is key. This calls for insights into how the process of creating an NDC has been. However, not only should the process be inclusive, the goal of the NDC should also entail the issue of equity (McDermott et al., 2022), in order for implementation to be successful. Part of the reason for this is that "failing to account for the equity implications of policy actions required for rapid decarbonization leaves climate policy efforts vulnerable to attack from such pro-status quo actors as fossil fuel companies, who exploit equity concerns to generate

political opposition to action” (Klinksy et al., 2017, p. 171). This raises questions about whether equity has been considered, and what the reasoning behind not setting such a goal as a part of the NDC is. It is important to understand the reasoning of a state behind whether or not a net-zero transition considers equity and inclusion issues, because “the state can be both a barrier and an enabler for societal transformations” (Patterson et al., 2018, p. 6).

1.2 Research questions

To gain such understanding, this thesis studied the NDCs of a set of four countries that are emerging economies (Brazil, China, India and Indonesia) with a focus on whether issues of equity and inclusion are considered in these texts and more specifically in the discourses that underly them. This was done by using the following research question.

Why or why not are issues of inclusion and equity considered in NDCs of emerging economies?

This question was subdivided into different steps of the analysis by asking the following sub questions:

1. *To what extent and how are issues of inclusion and equity included in the NDC?*
2. *If any, what role have issues of inclusion and equity played in the development of the NDC according to different stakeholders and why?*
3. *What is/are (hegemonic) discourse(s) that underlie(s) the NDC and to what extent do they favour or disfavour equity and inclusion?*
4. *How could inclusion and equity be addressed in the design and implementation of NDCs according to different stakeholders? Are the concepts of equity and inclusion used selectively?*

The figure below visualizes how the sub research questions relate to each other. The figure also reflects the aim of the research to look at what is *in* the NDCs and what this and stakeholders views on this imply for the *after*, what has happened *before* the NDCs came to existence, as well as what *underlies* this whole process.



Figure 1 – Visualization of sub research questions.

1.3 Research objectives

This research aims to gain insight into whether or not equity and inclusion are considered in the proposed net-zero transitions in emerging economies by assessing the documents that they have submitted under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). These documents – the NDCs and the LTS – are assessed in order to determine *if* and *how* issues of equity and inclusion are considered. To identify the underlying reasons *why* or *why not* they are considered, a discourse analysis was conducted. These identified discourses provide insight into potential underlying power structures and ideologies that explain why or why not equity and inclusion are considered. A possible part of these discourses is the selective use of the concepts equity and inclusion

in the underlying discourse, which was another aspect to be uncovered through this research. Because this research argues from the viewpoint that the consideration of equity and inclusion is highly important, a follow-up objective was to explore how inclusion and equity could be addressed in the net-zero transitions according to different stakeholders.

As for contribution to theory, this research aimed to reflect on existing discourse literature concerning environmental and developmental issues in order to determine whether these discourses are suitable for studying global climate transitions like the net-zero transitions.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

The thesis starts with providing the necessary information on the theory used for developing the analytical framework that was applied to the data gathered. At the end of the theory chapter, said analytical framework is described. After that, the methodology for conducting the research is discussed, followed by two chapters that provide the results of the research. The first results chapter covers the document analysis that was conducted on the NDCs and LTS of the four countries studied, and the second results chapter covers the results from the interviews that were done with several stakeholders from Indonesia. The thesis ends with a discussion chapter and a concluding chapter.

2. Theory and analytical framework

In this section, the different bodies of literature used for this thesis are discussed. This includes hegemony, depoliticization and discourse, both in the general sense, as well as specifically applied to environmental politics. The theory is the basis on which the analytical framework, as described at the end of this chapter was developed. This framework is the starting point for the analysis that was done on the results from the interviews and the document analysis. It is a means to tie the different results together from a theoretical perspective to formulate answers to the research questions.

The theory used in this thesis is very intertwined. For instance, hegemony theory was developed in the beginning of the 20th century by Gramsci. Since then, many other scholars, including Mouffe who then wrote her ground-breaking book *On the Political* (2011), have been inspired by his line of thinking. Similarly, discourse theory as used in this thesis, was largely developed by Hajer (e.g. 1995), who inspired Dryzek (1998) to create an overview of environmental discourses as how he saw them prevalent in environmental politics. These are only a few interlinkages of many, making this set of theory very suitable to combine into an analytical framework for this thesis.

2.1 Hegemony

2.1.1 Origin

The concept of hegemony was first developed by an Italian Marxist named Gramsci. He developed this theory in the setting of fascist Italy of the beginning of the 20th century. The main works that he wrote covering the concept of hegemony were his *Prison Notebooks*. He wrote these texts in the time that he was alone in his isolation cell, following up on the defeat of the working class and the victory of fascism.

In his work, Gramsci built upon the work of Karl Marx. However, it is important to say that his work and theory is not necessarily always in line with Marxism. During his prison time, his work was based on Marxist theory of ideology, but he went beyond that because as opposed to dominant Marxist thought which can be considered economist, he took on an anti-economist perspective. Drawing from Lenin's political applications of Marxist thought, he further developed this anti-economist perspective and created new lines of Marxist thought, specifically concerning ideology and hegemony (Mouffe, 2014).

2.1.2 Main aspects of Gramsci's hegemony

The first time Gramsci described his concept of hegemony was before his prison time, where he used hegemony specifically relating to the proletariat. The proletariat in Gramsci's time were the working-class as opposed to the bourgeoisie, which were the people who were "the part of society, including employers and people who run large companies, that has most of the money and power which it gets from the work of ordinary people" (Cambridge dictionary, n.d.). Gramsci used to the concept of *hegemony of the proletariat* in describing that the working class could become the leading and dominant class when "it succeeds in creating a system of alliances which allows it to mobilise the majority of the working population against capitalism and the bourgeois State" (Gramsci, 1926, in Mouffe, 2014, pp. 178). In this first mentioning of the concept, he only used it in relation to a possible strategy of the proletariat, but in his prison notebooks where most of his work on hegemony derives from he started using it as a broader perspective on the ruling practices of the bourgeoisie, and everything that he had perceived politically during his time (Mouffe, 2014).

Whilst analysing and reflecting on the French bourgeoisie, Gramsci came to the understanding that the bourgeoisie needed popular support in order to maintain their ruling position. He determined three

moments of political consciousness of the ruling class. The first stage is the *primitive economic* moment, which is the group's professional interests are expressed, but they cannot yet be considered interests of a social class. In the second moment, the group becomes a social class, and expresses its interests, however only at an economic level; hence this is called the *political economic* moment. The last moment Gramsci determines is what he then finally calls the moment of *hegemony*. For this I will directly quote Gramsci as that leaves no risk of wrong interpretation. Hegemony is the moment "in which one becomes aware that one's own corporate interests, in their present and future development, transcend the corporate limits of the purely economic groups too" (Gramsci, in Mouffe 2014, p. 180). This is where an "ideological struggle" (p. 180) – which has facets beyond the economic, including the political and the intellectual – originates. This ideological struggle is more universal and as such the hegemony of one group over the others is created, as it no longer solely covers economic interests (Mouffe, 2014). This broader dimension that includes the political and the intellectual is distinctive of what hegemony is. However, despite the fact that this last moment, hegemony does not only concern economic interest, Mouffe (2011) highlight that economic power plays a crucial role "in structuring of a hegemonic order" (p. 54).

The ruling and dominant group that is created in the third moment of political consciousness, is called the *hegemonic class*. The use of the word dominant when describing the social class that becomes the hegemon, might seem that this class does not consider the interests of the subordinated classes. However, Gramsci highlights that this is an unignorable fact, as the transformation into a hegemony is a constant process with unstable equilibria between the interests of the dominant and subordinated classes (Mouffe, 2014).

Gramsci also has elaborated on the mechanisms that exist in the creation of a hegemony. He distinguishes two main methods of a social class to become the hegemonic class. The first he calls transformism. Here, the transition into a hegemony is a passive way. The interests of the subordinate groups are gradually absorbed into the hegemonic interests or neutralised. Gramsci calls this a *passive consensus*. The other transition to hegemony is what Gramsci describes as a *successful hegemony*, which is a more active way as opposed to the passivity of the former. In this method, the dominant social class actively adopts interests of subordinate groups, in a more expansive way that includes the whole society. This is different from transformism, where some groups' interests are excluded from the hegemonic system (Mouffe, 2014).

Central in Gramsci's hegemony is the concept of ideology. Whether or not a social class is able to achieve a unified ideology determines the success of the hegemony. This is what Gramsci called the creation of a *higher synthesis* (Mouffe, 2014). This process of synthesis, or the process of intellectual and moral reform, is not a "clean sweep of the existing worldview" (Mouffe, 2014, p. 191-192), but rather a process of transformation. It does not introduce new ideologies, but it is a rearticulation of existing ideologies. In this process, the relative weight of the different pre-existing ideologies are shifting into a new world view. This new worldview includes many ideological elements, but is unified by means of one dominant principle, which Gramsci calls the *hegemonic principle*. This principle determines the different values that are given to different ideologies in order to create a unified ideology (Mouffe, 2014). This unified ideologies and institutions reflect a hegemony if "they will not appear as those of a particular class, and will give some satisfaction to the subordinate groups while not undermining the leadership or vital interests of the hegemonic class" (Cox, 1983, p. 168-169).

Important in Gramsci thinking is that it is non-reductionist, as opposed to pre-existing Marxist theory. In his view, ideology cannot exist within reductionism, because of the way he sees moral and intellectual reform as a larger transformation, rather than the 'old' ways of Marxism that only saw reform on a corporate level (Mouffe, 2014).

2.1.3 Hegemony and international relations

Since Gramsci expressed his thoughts in his *Prison Notebooks*, many have elaborated on his ideas. This includes the scholar who first introduced Gramsci's theories and concepts to the field of international organizations; Robert W. Cox. His first work on this, *Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method*, was and still is a leading work in the field, being cited by many. Cox (1983) points out that Gramsci was in fact aware of international relations. Without diminishing the importance of the state, Gramsci saw that also on an international level hegemonies of social classes can be built. Another insight that he had was that of the influence that events in other countries have on what happened within a country. This mainly relates to the events that he witnessed in his lifetime in fascist Italy, that was of course not a singular event (Cox, 1983).

In his ground-breaking essay, Cox (1983) mentions that the use of 'hegemony' was often used only in regard to the relationship between states, as was how Gramsci originally created his perception of the concept. He even argues that 'hegemony' is very often used as a euphemism to imperialism. Therefore, he attempts to reshape the use of hegemony in international relations. He argues that historically, a state would become hegemonic when they found and expressed a world order which other states "could find compatible with their interests" (p. 171). This means that the international hegemonic order is an expansion of that of the national level. However, not all states might find this compatibility, and as such, at the periphery of the order, countries may adopt some but certainly not all aspects of the hegemonic world order. In line with Gramsci, Cox argues that a hegemonic world order cannot be either a separate social, economic or politic structure, but it is all three (Cox, 1983).

World hegemony, according to Cox, is "expressed in universal norms, institutions and mechanisms which lay down general rules of behaviour for states and for those forces of civil society that act across national boundaries – rules which support the dominant mode of production" (p. 172). These rules can be expressed through different mechanisms, one of which are international organizations. "Among the features of international organizations which express its hegemonic role are the following: (1) the institutions embody the rules which facilitate the expansion of hegemonic world orders; (2) they are themselves the product of the hegemonic world order; (3) they ideologically legitimate the norms of the world order; (4) they co-opt the elites from peripheral countries; and (5) they absorb counterhegemonic ideas" (Cox, 1983, p. 172). The international institution is initiated by one or more dominant countries, and as such will never counter any of the national interests of these countries. Then, the terms and conditions are consulted with secondary countries. The consent of some peripheral countries is then sought. However, these peripheral countries, often with an agenda to make a change from within the system, are restricted by the system. This is what Gramsci calls passive revolution. Cox (1983) argues that only in the case that "representation in international institutions is firmly based upon an articulate social and political challenge to hegemony [...] could participation pose a real threat" (p. 173). Through *trasformismo*, counterhegemonic ideologies are absorbed into the dominant one, on the international level similarly to the national.

Debated importance of the state

Two scholars; Cox (1983) and Gill (1995), and all those who were inspired similarly by Gramsci, have a strong focus on the nation state when studying hegemony within international relations (Cox, 1983). For instance, in the closing part of his famous essay, Cox (1983) says: "[t]he national context remains the only place where an historic bloc can be founded, although world-economy and world-political conditions materially influence the prospects for such an enterprise" (p. 174). This is not odd, because international relations is about the relations between the states (Robinson, 2005) and the fact that Gramsci was also focussed on the state (Mouffe, 2014). However, Robinson (2005) believes that this point of view is too state-centred. Rather, when speaking about hegemony in the global system, he

believes that one should avoid immediately referring to the hegemonic force being a state. In current day international politics, he believes, it is better to look at transnational hegemonic forces, because they are much more determining than nation states (Robinson, 2005). Consequently, when studying hegemony from a predominantly state-centred perspective, one could miss those that are actually most influential.

2.2 Depoliticization

Inspired by the work of Gramsci and others, Chantal Mouffe (2011) wrote her ground-breaking book *On the political*. In this book, the author describes her take on what is politics, what is political and more importantly, how political the world is today in dealing with global issues.

2.2.1 Antagonism and hegemony

When arguing for her case of the political, Mouffe (2011) uses a set of concepts. One of them is antagonism. This concerns the we/they dynamic that comes with democratic politics. It results in the creation of identity and ideology that is linked to the 'we' and the 'they'. This we/they distinction can have different forms, including the friend/enemy relationship. However, Mouffe (2011) stresses the importance that the we/they relationship is not necessarily always a friend/enemy relationship, but that in order to keep the antagonistic form of friend/enemy at bay, it is important to provide different explanations or forms of the we/they distinction when it comes to political identity. This different – agonistic – we/they relationship would entail that “the conflicting parties, although acknowledging that there is not rational solution to their conflict, nevertheless recognize the legitimacy of their opponents” (Mouffe, 2011, p. 20). The antagonistic we/they division, on the other hand, is what creates political exclusion (Mouffe, 2011).

The second concept used is that of Gramsci's hegemony. This relates to the attempt of the 'we' to establish order for instance through the formation of institutions. These institutions is what we call the political aspect of the hegemony. However, Mouffe (2011) also distinguishes the social, which “is the realm of sedimented practices, that is, practices that conceal the originary acts of their contingent political institutions and which are taken for granted, as if they were self-grounded” (p. 17). As such, hegemony is not only related to institutions but also to the acts that are based on them, without the need to acknowledge or know this causation or dependency, and as such related to what we see as 'common sense'.

2.2.2 Denying the political

In her analysis of 'the moderns' and 'the traditionalists or fundamentalists', Mouffe (2011) finds that 'the moderns' create a political distinction between two parties, while at the same time “denying the political character of their move, presenting it supposedly neutral” (p. 55). This is called depoliticization. Mouffe (2011) describes this notion predominantly through the line of thought that political points of view that are able to mutually exist, are replaced by a moralistic discourse that dismisses opposing points of view from a place at the political table. Opposition, thus, no longer has a political character, but a moral one (Mouffe, 2011).

Besides her main point on the moralistic discourses that have arisen, Mouffe (2011) also repeatedly mentions that in many cases, the 'denying of the political' also comes as an excuse to create technocratic solutions to issues that are in fact political. Swyngedouw argues that this roots from the dominant agendas of economic growth and capitalism place boundaries within 'the political'. This hegemonic articulation of the need for economic growth and capitalism, he says, is what has depoliticized 'the political' (Swyngedouw, 2014). In line with that technocratic thought McDermott et al. (2022) have written a piece on single-issue targeting. Using single-issue targets provides the

opportunity for ‘outsiders’ to act regardless of the context and those affected by it. What is lacking in these targets that are framed as goals, is the means to get there, as well as the social and environmental values that legitimate them (McDermott et al., 2022). Setyowati and Quist (2022) argue that transitions cannot be effective if the process of creating plans for said transitions are not inclusive. Similarly, other authors argue that “scholars urgently need to consider how such societal transformations can be realized within national/subnational political contexts. Often this discussion is a purely technical or economic one” (Patterson et al., 2018).

Samper et al. (2021) have created the following causal mechanism to visualise the process of depoliticization, with the example of the reduction of transport emissions:

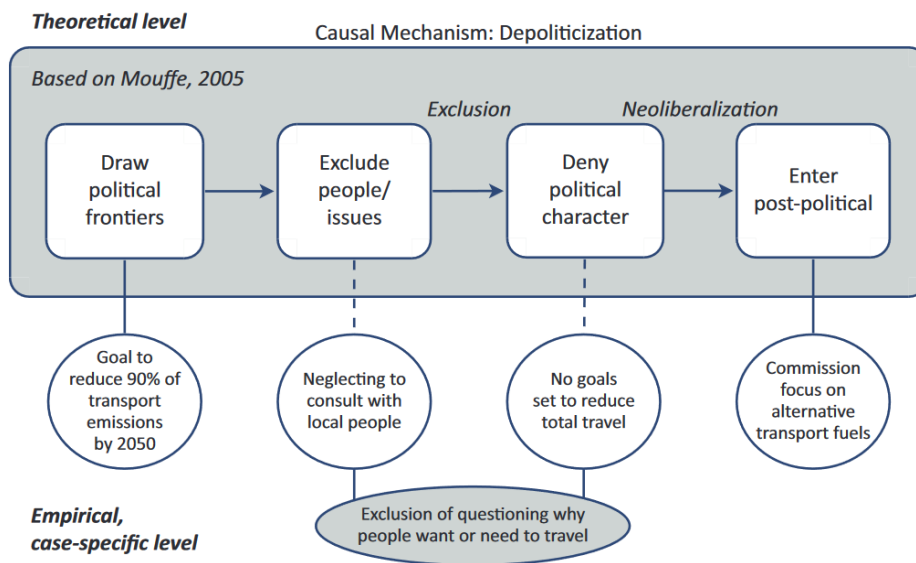


Figure 2 – Causal mechanism: Depoliticization (Samper et al., 2021).

This causal diagram can be used in order to gain insight in depoliticization. The issue of politicization is not something that is always immediately clear. It can seem obvious that a certain topic is dealt with on moral grounds or through from a technical perspective, whilst it actually once was a political issue. By means of this causal diagram, the political frontiers and especially the exclusion that has taken place before the post-political was entered can be uncovered. This is a means of process-tracing of depoliticization, to gain insight into how and why the post-political is how it is (Samper et al., 2021).

2.2.3 Perspective on contemporary global politics

Mouffe’s (2011) perspective on contemporary global politics is inspired by the work of Schmitt (1976). They both view the world as being dominated by a Western hegemony, in Schmitt’s time specifically that of the US. However, there is some dispute among scholars on which country or countries should now be considered the hegemon in international politics. Whilst Falkner (2005) saw the US as hegemony in the environmental politics setting, Roberts (2011) six years later argued that he saw a decline of the US hegemony, making place for the hegemony of China, as the US is wavering its dominance because of the fear for China’s rapid economic growth. Others, like Bradford (2020) in her book *The Brussels Effect*, argue that the hegemony of the European Union should not be underestimated by means of ability to shape the global market by setting certain standard on topics such as environmental protection and food safety.

Returning to Mouffe’s analysis of the world hegemony, the hegemony, the US according to Mouffe (2011), had equated their interests with universally acceptable moral norms. As such “to oppose American hegemony is to oppose the universally good and common interests of humanity” (Schmitt

in Mouffe, 2011, p. 79). Similarly, Mouffe (2011) highlights this issue by referring to terrorism. "Terrorism highlights the dangers implied in the delusions of the universalist globalist discourse which postulates that human progress requires the establishment of world unity based on the implantation of the western model" (p. 82).

The way to move forward according to Mouffe (2011) is a 'multipolar world order'. This is the only way to be able to tackle the pluralistic nature of global society, "instead of trying to impose one single model on the whole world, even if it is a well-meaning cosmopolitan one" (p. 115). Preparing for critiques about this not being a realistic future scenario, Mouffe (2011) argues that it is not less unlikely than aiming for a singular cosmopolitan world. She highlights the example of China's emergence as superpower over the past decades as proof that pluralism is possible. Similar arguments can be raised based on the coexistence of the powerful US with the EU.

The role of civil society should be more central according to many scholars. However, Mouffe (2011) argues that this central role of civil society has resulted in cosmopolitanism, which then again resulted in the origin of rights in the international arena such as human rights which are more morality-based rights than on democratic rights that can be operationalized. As such, according to Mouffe (2011) law and justice mechanisms should be re-evaluated and re-organised on the international level, but the way that this has happened until now has only been from a western perspective. The same can be said about the conception of democracy. As a solution, Mouffe believes that we should look for "functional equivalents of human rights" (p. 126). As such, we can prevent them from becoming a tool of western hegemony.

2.3 Discourse theory

This thesis studies the NDCs that are written in line with the Paris Agreement by means of a discourse analysis. However, the concept of discourse is not clear-cut. Therefore this section will be dedicated to bring more clarity in the scientific contributions of the concept, including on the workings of environmental discourse.

A discourse is defined by Hajer (2006) as "an ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categories through which meaning is given to social and physical phenomena, and which is produced and reproduced through an identifiable set of practices" (p. 67). It can be used to gain insights into the variations and regularities what is verbally, or sometimes non-verbally, expressed. This includes the social effects of different types of expression, as well as the social backgrounds in which this occurs. What is said and done, according to discourse theory, should always be studied in the context of the underlying beliefs of that actor. The study of discourse consists of two steps: first of all, looking at the context in which something is said, and to whom and secondly, looking at what is said, in terms of content (Hajer, 1995). When studying environmental problems, Hajer (1995) argues that it is best to combine the two elements.

Hajer (1995) argues that "environmental discourse should not be understood as a coherent whole" (p. 44), as it is not an essential feature of discourse. Rather, an environmental problem typically exists in a context with a wide array of different discourses. Not only are there many discourses, but there is also a large number of actors involved in environmental problems. These actors can have different modes of expression. However, Hajer (1995) notes that they somehow seem to be able to communicate. Foucault, the founding father of discourse theory, in his later work, focussed on this diversity, complexity and plurality. To him, it was very important to not only consider the dominant discourse, but also the smaller ones, because there is a play of dependencies among these discourses. Specifically, in terms of social change, there is not one single way to transformation, because of this

complexity and plurality and the existence of smaller discourses. Foucault (1976) uses the term 'tactical polyvalence of discourses' to describe the instance in which different discourses, or parts of discourses, that have been introduced for different and even unrelated reasons, together create a new discourse in which a problem can be discussed.

Within the studying of discourses, Foucault describes a 'discursive order', which should not be confused as a purely constraining factor on the individual, but rather should be seen as both constraining and enabling (Hajer, 1995). The individual can in fact have agency within this structure. As such, Hajer (1995) argues that this interaction between agency and structure should be studied, as well as how this then transforms the rules of domination.

On the constraining side of discourses, there are different aspects that cause this constraint. Firstly, discourses can make it impossible to raise certain topics or question certain cases. Similarly, discourses can be decisive on who is and is not included to participate. More abstractly, discourses "come with discursive forms of internal discipline through which a discursive order is maintained" (p. 49). And lastly, there are certain requirements as to when the discourse can be drawn upon (Hajer, 1995).

The issue of power when studying discourse is defined relationally. It concerns in what ways actors and institutions are situated within the discourse structure. For instance, in this line of thought, an institution holds power as long as it is a constant in the discourse through which (the role of) that institution is produced. According to post-positivist political science, a discourse cannot be seen as a means for an actor to exercise power. Rather, power is part of discourse through the fact that there are certain rules regarding the conditions under which discourses emerge, exist and reform (Hajer, 1995).

2.3.1 Hajer's argumentative turn

The studying of discourse is often done through a linguistic perspective. Hajer, however, takes an argumentative turn in his view on how to approach environmental discourse. He views environmental politics as "an argumentative struggle in which actors not only try to make others see the problems according to their views but also seek to position other actors in a specific way" (Hajer, 1995, p. 53). Contrary to Foucault, he views the argumentative action as an important moment in discourse formation. This argumentative side of the issues should be analysed because it can give explanations as to why certain discourses seem to exist or continue onwards. As such, agency plays a central role in how Hajer believes discourse should be analysed.

In order to position other actors a certain way, there is a need for the skill of argumentation. This can be described in relation to *logos*, *ethos* and *pathos*; how to argue a persuasive case, the reputation of the speaker and lastly strategically play on the emotions of listeners. This relates to the notion of framing. A discourse can describe a problem a certain way which includes what is and what is not part of it, who is concerned by it, who is responsible for it, and who should solve it and how. In this line of thought, Hajer (1995) argues that "consequently, the power structures of society can and should be studied directly through discourse" (p. 55). Specifically, it is important to study how a specific status quo is reproduced by powerful actors through discourse, including the forces and discourses that might oppose this. This includes the study of these powerful actors themselves, by asking questions like; what makes them powerful, which institutional arrangements have created their position and what creates their ability to maintain their power. Taking the study of status quo a step further, not only permanence, but also change, depend on discourses, and how they are reproduced or transformed.

The dynamics that underly how a certain discourse becomes 'successful', are credibility, acceptability and trust. With the first is meant the degree to which actors believe that the issue at hand is impactful for their lives and that they should follow this ideology. The second, acceptability, refers to the fact that the discourse is attractive or necessary. And the last, trust, refers to the acceptance of uncertainties that come with adhering to this discourse and the trust in the author (e.g. government).

2.3.2 Hegemonic discourse

In discourse theory, we can find a link with hegemony theory in the term hegemonic discourse. This is the part of discourse theory that concerns with the fact that "the political conflict is hidden in the question of what definition is given to the problem, which aspects of social reality are included, and which are left undiscussed" (Hajer, 1995, p. 43). If a discourse prevails, there will be a dominant discourse that decides on what the problem 'really is'. This often eliminates certain actors from the debate because different actors have different perspectives on and perception of the problem at hand. Thus the problem of unfair representation arises. By means of simplification, hegemonic discourse can convince people that there is a single problem for which there is a single solution. Often case, this is not in line with reality. Politics, thus, can be seen as "a struggle for discursive hegemony in which actors try to secure support for their definition of reality" (Hajer, 1995, p. 59).

A discourse can be considered a hegemonic discourse when two conditions are met. First of all, a domain should require actors to use certain words, ideas and concepts to speak about a phenomenon. When, secondly, this is also translated into institutions, we speak of a hegemonic discourse. The term hegemonic is not absolute. Therefore, Hajer (1995) also provides a term for when a discourse is not as strongly hegemonic. This is what he calls discursive domination (Hajer, 1995).

In the context of a hegemonic discourse, there are also discourses that oppose it. These opposing forces need human agency that can work cleverly and creatively in the context of the constraining and enabling forces that come with the hegemonic discourse. Of high importance is the level of knowledge that an actor has (Hajer, 1995).

2.3.3 Environmental discourses

John S. Dryzek (1998) wrote a book called *Politics of the Earth* in which he aimed to create an overview of the environmental discourses that exist in the world. In doing so, he is inspired by the work of Hajer on discourses, including his specific work on ecological modernization. This is one of the many discourses that he unfolds. An important consideration when reading or using the discourses as described by Dryzek (1998) is that they are not necessarily mutually exclusive, or even competing. However, there are tensions between the different discourses. Dryzek (1998) ends his book by viewing these tensions in a positive light, as he believes that the different discourses can provide different solutions to different smaller environmental problems. Also, an important aspect of Dryzek's (1998) work on discourses is that he views discourse as the process and not as the goal.

He distinguishes four different sets of discourses. An overview of all discourses defined by Dryzek (1998) can be found in Appendix 1. The second set of discourses surrounds the general ideology by which a discourse beliefs environmental problems should be solved. The three discourses idealize that environmental problems should be solved either through bureaucracy, democracy or markets. These then result in the following three discourses according to Dryzek (1998): *administrative rationalism*, *democratic pragmatism* and *economic rationalism*. The first emphasized the role of the expert in solving environmental problems. The solutions provided by scientific and technical experts need to be taken up into bureaucratic hierarchy in order to work effectively. The second, democratic pragmatism, revolves around the idea that solutions should be and only can be found through democracy. Democracy here does not mean a set of institutions or a democratic political structure, but rather the

interactive political relationships that through a means of competition and cooperation can find solutions to environmental problems. The last discourse is that of economic rationalism, that rather believes that the quest for solutions to environmental problems should be through approaching everything, including people and resources, as market competition. Solutions include market incentives and the like.

2.3.4 Discourses on development vs. environment

In order to ask questions about equity and inclusion issues, it is relevant to know what the prioritization of these issues is in the underlying discourse. However, there is no literature that identifies these discourses in a structured way as has been done by Dryzek for environmental discourses. Therefore, for this matter, this research itself identifies the following three discourses. What distinguishes the three discourses from each other is the way that they view the relationship between development and climate change response.

Prioritizing development

The first discourse that this research identifies is that of the prioritization of development. The relationship between development and climate change in this discourse is that climate change, as well as climate change response put a strain on the development agenda. This is a response to the internalization of environmental aspects into the development agenda as has been happening since the 1990s. The views of developing country stakeholders are that the tackling of these environmental issues is not as important as the development agenda as it was, which included mainly socio-economic aspects of development. Secondly, it was not only less important, but it also provided more difficulty to effectively deal with development (Gupta, 2009, in Salih (Ed.), 2009).

Prioritizing technocratic climate change response

This second discourse revolves around the idea that climate change should be tackled 'before it is too late'. This idea is apparent in the rigorous and large-scale national and international climate change policies that are the outcomes of this discourse. These mostly top-down policy responses are characterized by their lack of consideration of local socio-economic circumstances that are affected by and effect the implementation of the policy (Ohja et al., 2016). The large line of reasoning in this discourse are that climate change is more pressing than socio-economic issues and should therefore be prioritized in policy agendas. In this discourse, there is a belief that it is wrong to wait for the right socio-economic circumstances to tackle climate change, and as such it is better to approach it in a more technocratic way.

Integrative approach

The last discourse that revolves around the relationship between development and climate change response is an integrative discourse, where development and climate change are in a narrow relationship and should be tackled simultaneously. This aligns with the concept of sustainable adaptation as described by Eriksen et al. (2010). Sustainable adaptation is not only the adaptation with regards to the climate as a singular issue, as would be described as climate change adaptation, but rather it also includes the socio-economic aspects of sustainable development. It can be defined "as a set of actions that contribute to socially and environmentally sustainable development pathways, including social justice and environmental integrity" (Eriksen et al., 2010, p. 15-16). This can be achieved through multiple principles that include the consideration of the context of vulnerability as well as of the existence of a multiplicity of values and interests, the integration of local knowledge and the consideration of the relationship between local and global processes (Eriksen et al., 2010).

2.4 Analytical Framework

In this section, the theory discussed is transformed into an analytical framework which can be used for the purpose of this research, or in other words: how these theories can serve as lenses through which to study the NDCs and LTS.

According to Dryzek (1998), discourse concerns processes, and not only the goal. Therefore, it is highly relevant to look at discourses that underly the NDCs because they concern a transition or a process, whilst the goal of achieving net-zero emissions might seem the central issue at hand. As this thesis is written from the viewpoint that the process is at least as important as the goal, because the process is key to achieving the goal, the discourses that underly them are an important issue to study.

For the analysis of this thesis, a framework that is primarily based on the work of Dryzek (1998) is used. However, not all the discourses as he has described them in his book are relevant for this analysis. The NDCs are the operationalization of the Paris Agreement which concerns the transition to net-zero. This operationalization can be seen as a description of how environmental problems should be solved. As such the discourses by Dryzek (1998) used for this thesis are those in the second set; those concerning solving environmental problems, which are that of *administrative rationalism*, *democratic pragmatism* and *economic rationalism*. These three discourses provide the dimension of inclusion to the analysis, as they concern how environmental issues are dealt with. An important part of this 'how' question is if and how any attention is given to the inclusion of different views and stakeholders.

This thesis argues from the line of thought that the transition towards net-zero is not only an issue to be approached from an environmental perspective, but also from a social perspective. This social perspective specifically concerns the consideration of equity and inclusion issues in the NDCs. Because of this, another set of discourses will also be used to analyse the NDCs. In order to gain insight into whether or not the issues of equity and inclusion are considered, this thesis uses a distinction between discourses that view the relationship and the prioritization among development and climate change response differently. These discourses as used in this research were specifically described for this thesis, based on insights from scientific debate (Hagbert, Nyblom & Isaksson, 2021; Painter-Morland, Demuijnck & Ornati, 2017). These are the discourse of *prioritizing development*, *prioritizing technocratic climate change response* and *integrative approach*. This set of discourses provides the dimension of equity to the analysis, because it concerns the prioritization and inclusion of social issues of equity and inclusion in the discourse.

Environmental discourses (Dryzek, 1998) - Inclusion dimension				
	1. Basic Entities Recognized or Constructed	2. Assumptions about Natural Relationships	3. Agents and their Motives	4. Key Metaphors and other Rhetorical Devices
<i>Administrative Rationalism</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Liberal capitalism ▪ Administrative State ▪ Experts ▪ Managers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Nature subordinate to human problem solving ▪ People subordinate to state ▪ Experts and managers control state 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Experts and managers ▪ Motivated by public interest, defined in unitary terms 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Mixture of concern and reassurance ▪ The administrative mind
<i>Democratic Pragmatism</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Liberal capitalism ▪ Liberal democracy ▪ Citizens 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Equality among citizens ▪ Interactive political relationships, mixing competition and cooperation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Many different agents ▪ Motivation a mix of material self-interest and multiple conceptions of public interests 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Public policy as a resultant of forces ▪ Policy like scientific experimentation ▪ Thermostat
<i>Economic Rationalism</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Homo economicus ▪ Markets ▪ Prices ▪ Property ▪ Governments (not citizens) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Competition ▪ Hierarchy based on expertise ▪ Subordination of nature 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Homo economicus: self-interested ▪ Some government officials must be motivated by public interest 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Mechanistic ▪ Stigmatizing administrative regulation ▪ Connection with freedom ▪ Horror stories
Discourses of development vs. climate change response - Equity dimension				
	1. Relationship between Development and Climate Change Response	2. Agents and their Motives	3. Key Aspects	
<i>Prioritizing development</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Development agenda cannot be jeopardized by climate change response 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Many different agents with different socio-economic motives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Socio-economic aspects and issues ▪ Climate change policy as a threat 	
<i>Prioritizing technocratic climate change response</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Climate change is an overruling priority 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Experts and managers ▪ Tackling climate change is the one unitary motive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 'Solving' climate change ▪ Solution and goal oriented ▪ Technology, experts and knowledge are central 	
<i>Integrative approach</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Climate change is a risk to development ▪ Development and climate change response as a simultaneous process 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Global and local agents with different interests ▪ Social justice and environmental integrity as motives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Pathways and transitions in which socio-economic and environmental aspects are considered ▪ Vulnerability is central ▪ Social and climate justice 	

Table 1. Analytical framework of environmental discourses and discourses of development.

For the analysis of the NDCs and related texts, as well as the interviews, the discourses as presented above are the analytical framework in which this analysis is placed. In the following section, the presence and relevance of the other theory as presented in the theory chapter is elaborated on.

2.4.1 Depoliticization in the discourse framework

This thesis argues that processes of transition cannot be effective if they do not include affected stakeholders. This also applies to the transition towards net-zero in emerging economies. By means of depoliticizing the issue at hand, the transition no longer considers issues of equity and inclusion. As such, it is important to take on this depoliticization lens when analysing the underlying discourse(s) of an NDC.

Depoliticization as used in this thesis can take two forms. The first is that of target-orientation, as opposed to process-orientation. This would be reflected in the discourses by means of text that focus on the goal and what should be achieved, as opposed to elaborating more on how the process of achieving this goal or target. The second form is that of a siloed approach to the transition. The problem at hand is only approached in one single-way, disregarding any other factors. This often includes the disregard of social issues, such as equity and inclusion. This is called single-issue targeting as described by McDermott et al. (2022). This siloed approach is often a technocratic approach as the response to the single issue is a single technological solution.

In the discourses described above, in some there is more space for depoliticization than in others. Depoliticization can take place in a siloed manner when there is too much focus on for instance marketization. Similarly, when there is a strong emphasis on interpreting the net-zero transition as a single-issue with a single solution that should be pursued, this is also depoliticization. Only when the social dimensions of equity and inclusion are in some way incorporated into the discourse, the discourse is not de-politicized.

2.4.2 Hegemonic discourse

As a next step, the hegemony theory is relevant. Specifically, where the link between hegemony and discourse was made in the concept of hegemonic discourse. This is done by asking the question of whether or not the discourse(s) underlying the NDCs can be considered hegemonic. Hegemonic discourse is analysed by means of considering the following elements and in what way they apply to the NDCs. Specifically, how they apply to the NDCs with regard to whether or not social issues are included and if this exclusion can be considered hegemonic.

First of all, following Hajer's (1995) thought, the question of what definition is given to the problem is discussed, specifically including the question whether this excludes certain aspects of reality. The question of what exactly is the problem that the NDCs are dealing with. Following this question, also the question of whether the solution allows for other solutions or views to exist, as well as whether or not what is defined as the problem and the solution can be questioned. This aligns with Hajer (1995), who defined two conditions that should be met if a discourse is hegemonic. The first is that a discourse is hegemonic when the discourse requires actors to use certain concepts when discussing the problem or issue. This includes for instance how the problem is defined, the words used to describe the proposed solution or transition and who is and is not deemed a relevant actor to be included in this process (Hajer, 1995). This latter element relates to the formation of a we/they relationship as described by Mouffe (2014). The second feature of a hegemonic discourse (Hajer, 1995) is when this required use of certain concepts is translated into institutions. In this instance these institutions are the NDCs in which the net-zero transition for a specific country is discussed, and the question asked is whether these documents and their development suggest a problem and solution

definition that does not tolerate other points of view and the involvement of possibly opposing stakeholders.

2.4.3 Defining equity and inclusion for the analysis

Before discussing the data that was collected in order to find out the consideration of equity and inclusion in the net-zero transitions of the emerging economies that are included in this research, it is important to have a clear vision of what these topics are and what they mean specifically for this research. Both concepts are broad and can be interpreted in numerous ways. For the purpose of this research the following interpretations of the terms are used.

When using the word equity, this research aims at the consideration of the social side of a net-zero transition. This follows the idea that the actions put in motion by the NDCs and LTS will have different types of impacts on the country in which the transition is happening. These types of impact include environmental impacts, but also impacts on the economy, e.g. concerning shifts in markets, as well as social impacts. Social impacts can be summarized under the question of ‘who benefits and who loses?’. These impacts could include threats to indigenous livelihoods, increased gender inequality when markets are under pressure, as well as impositions on access to food, water and electricity for vulnerable groups, etc. Equity, as used in this research, is the consideration of these social impacts of the transition.

Inclusion, as used in this research, is a more process-oriented term. It concerns two things. First of all, it concerns whether or not the process of drafting and writing the NDCs and the LTS have included different stakeholders in the net-zero transition process. These stakeholders include more regional government actors, NGOs, business and communities. Inclusion means that they have been able to voice their needs and ideas in the process and that they were considered. Secondly, this term also refers to how this voicing of needs and ideas in initiatives has a place in the actions and initiatives that are proposed in the NDCs and LTS. This second point can have overlap with the consideration of equity in the NDCs, however, it is slightly different because it contains the specific question of whether there is or is not any consultation of stakeholders.

2.4.4 Definition of party and non-party stakeholders

The NDC documents use the terms party and non-party stakeholders. This is the distinction between governmental actors who are considered party stakeholders and non-party stakeholders who are other types of actors in society. Non-party stakeholders include businesses, NGOs, science-based organisations etc. The concept of ‘party’ is used in the Paris Agreement to refer to national governments.

3. Methodology

This chapter describes the methodology used to find answers to the research question of this research. The method used is a discourse analysis which is elaborated upon in this chapter. This chapter also includes information on what the data collection and data analysis entail which were used to generate the results to answer the research questions. The chapter ends with the foreseen limitations of this research.

3.1 Discourse analysis

The research’s aim is to find answers to why or why not equity and inclusion issues are considered in the NDCs. This ‘why’ question cannot be answered by looking at the textual surface of the NDCs but rather at the underlying discourse of these texts. Therefore this research uses the method of discourse analysis. As Dryzek (1998) does in his work *Politics of the Earth*, it is the task of political analyst to “try to illuminate how certain actors have successfully imposed their definitions of a problem on others” (p. 42). In the case of the NDCs, this is how the NDCs are a tool for state actors to (re)produce a certain discourse on how the transition should take place, as well as what is and is not the issue at hand and who is and is not involved and/or responsible for solving it.

A discourse analysis can take on different forms. In general terms there are two types of discourse analysis. The first type is the Argumentative Discourse Analysis (ADA). This type of discourse analysis specifically focuses on “the examination of what is being said to whom, and in what context” (Hajer, 2006, pp. 72). The other type of discourse analysis is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which studies “the way social-power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context” (Dijk, 2015, pp. 266). As this research uses discourse theory as it has been developed by Hajer (1995), it also draws mostly on how the method as he has developed as well. According to Hajer (1995), “discourse analysis primarily aims to understand why a particular understanding of the environmental problem at some point gains dominance and is seen as authoritative while other understandings are discredited” (p. 44). In context of the NDCs, this raises the questions of what the understanding of the net-zero transition is in the NDC, and how it has gained dominance over other understandings or views of the transition, including whether or not it is still considerate of them, in terms of equity and inclusion. As Hajer (1995) argues: “the task of the political analyst will be to explain how a given actor secures the reproduction of his discursive position in the context of a controversy” (p. 51).

3.2 Data collection

The data collected for the discourse analysis consists of two parts. The first part is the document analysis of the NDCs and related documents (overview in Appendix 2). The second is a set of semi-structured interviews with different stakeholders and experts from Indonesia who have expert knowledge on the NDCs and/or deeper insights in what underlies the (process of creating) the NDCs. These two parts create a T-shaped model in which the methodology can be visualized (Figure 3). The document analysis provides a broader perspective on net-zero transitions in emerging

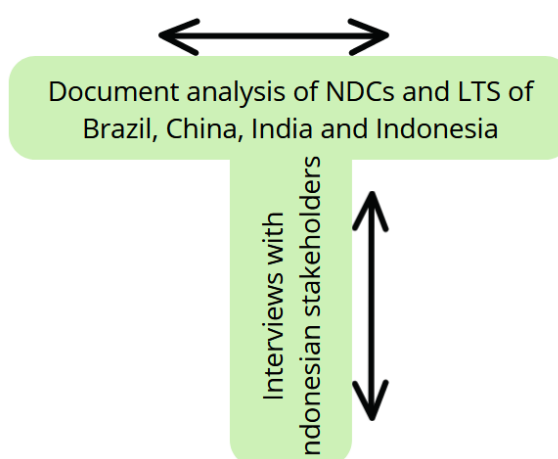


Figure 3 – Visualization of T-shaped methodology.

economies in general and the interviews in Indonesia provide more in-depth insights into the specific transition in that country and as such provide answers to the 'why'-element of this research.

The outline for the interviews can be found in Appendix 5. A specific topic that was brought up in the interviews was that of 'just transition'. This concept is a specific part of the Paris Agreement that relates to equity and inclusion issues in the workforce of the transitioning country. "Taking into account the imperatives of a just transition of the workforce and the creation of decent work and quality jobs in accordance with nationally defined development priorities" (Paris Agreement, 2015).

The interviewees for this research were selected through the network of my thesis supervisor, as well as through contacting different environmental organizations after finding them through publications on net-zero transition topics and through Google search. Each interview ended with asking for recommendations of people to contact, and as such more relevant interviewees were reached. In total seven interviews were conducted, of which six were conducted online and one in person. An overview of (anonymized) interviewees can be found in Appendix 5. The interviews were anonymized for the sake of safety of the interviewees so they could speak freely about their critiques on the government. All but one interviewee agreed to share the name of the organization that they work for.

3.3 Data analysis

The data that was gathered was analysed in two parts, separating the analysis and the results from the document analysis and from the interviews. However, the results of the document analysis were used as input for the interviews.

3.3.1 Document analysis

The documents were analysed by means of a global code that was developed based on the analytical framework, structuring the data in an equity part and an inclusion part. By means of inductive coding, after having studied the documents (NDCs and LTS) in a global sense based on a list of topics developed beforehand, a code was developed. The discourses as described in overview in Table 1 were the base of the development of this code. However, because the discourses are not mutually exclusive and perhaps not exhaustive, this thesis used them as inspiration for a code, and not as a code themselves. The primary code can be found in Appendix 3 and the final code can be found in Appendix 4.

Concretely, the document analysis was conducted by reading through all documents and placing relevant pieces of text per element of the code. As such a filled code was created for each country, analysing the documents in a deductive manner based on the elements that were already part of the code. However, in some sense the analysis was also inductive, for instance in the case of equity, when there were topics mentioned in the text that could be classified as a part of equity, without mentioning the word equity.

3.3.2 Analysis of interviews

All but one interview were conducted online through Microsoft Teams. The recording and transcription technology of Microsoft Teams was enabled during these interviews after consent of the interviewees. The other interview was conducted in real life, using a recording device. All interviews were transcribed.

The transcriptions of the interviews were analysed by categorizing different issues that the interviewees discussed concerning equity and inclusion. The results were categorized under 'equity' and 'inclusion' as viewed by the stakeholders. However, another function of the interviews was to find reasons why equity and inclusion were considered in the degree that they are and as such the third category that was used to analyse the results of the interviews was 'governmental limitations'. By

means of categorizing these results, the results were analysed by looking at similarities and differences between the responses.

3.4 Foreseen limitations

This research was part of a master's degree which means that there was limited time and effort available for the research. This section discusses the main foreseen limitations. First of all, the scope of the research could have been larger for a more extensive elaboration on what net-zero transitions in emerging economies are. Possible increase in magnitude of the research encompasses the number of countries studied, but mainly taking the opportunity to conduct interviews with stakeholders in all countries studied. In this case that would include interviews with non-party stakeholders from Brazil, China and India. Similarly it would be of added value if there are more interviews with party stakeholders, as opposed to mainly non-party stakeholders, meaning different people that have worked on the documents and that would have had more in-depth insights into why things were written as they were.

Another aspect of net-zero transitions that could be explored if there is more time available is the studying of the main policy documents that are mentioned in the NDCs and LTS as concretization of the ambitions and targets for national net-zero transitions. From these policy documents specifically those that have any relation to issues of equity and inclusion could be studied. This expansion would provide more insight into the 'how' that is lacking in the NDC and LTS documents. However, this extra document analysis of national initiatives would also provide some difficulties as to the language that they are written in.

4. Results I – Document analysis

This chapter discusses the results from the document analysis that was conducted. The chapter is organized per country, discussing the different documents provided by each country by first providing some introductory remarks, and then discussing equity and inclusion respectively.

4.1 Indonesia

4.1.1 Introduction

For studying Indonesia's net-zero transitions, this study has looked at a set of four texts. Three of them are nationally determined contributions (NDCs): the First NDC, the Enhanced NDC and the Updated NDC. The fourth document is the Long-Term Strategy (LTS). In these policy documents, the Indonesian government, but more specifically the Ministry of Forestry and Environment, which is responsible for the compliance with the Paris Agreement in Indonesia, writes about their plans and targets for the net-zero transition. The NDCs cover time-periods of five years, whilst the LTS elaborates on the plans and ambitions for the long-term.

The three NDC documents have a lot of overlap in terms of topics and strategy. However, there are some important differences in terms of the ambition in the targets. The unconditional target of decrease in emissions level of 29% in the First and the Enhanced NDC, was increased to a more ambitious target of 31.89% in the Updated NDC. Similarly the conditional target was enhanced from 41% to 43.20%.

According to the LTS, its role is the following. "The LTS-LCCR plays a central role in: (i) aligning the climate goals and targets with national, sub-national and international objectives including SDGs; (ii) engaging non-party stakeholders (NPS), (iii) enhancing opportunities for innovation, and (iv) enabling communities to earn benefits of early actions" (Indonesia LTS, 2021, p. 2). It is a large document that includes a lot of things similar to the NDCs, such as what is targeted in which sector. However, it also provides a more long-term view. An important addition that it gives, for instance is that it provides three scenarios of progression of emissions in different sectors, up until 2050.

Below, the results of the analysis of the concepts of equity and inclusion are presented.

4.1.2 Equity

First of all, the question is whether the concept of equity is mentioned in the documents. In the NDCs and LTS of Indonesia, equity as a concept is used in two regards: gender equity and intergenerational equity. However, equity is never defined as a concept. From a broader perspective, one can interpret in what ways the documents give meaning to the social and fairness aspects of the transition, without using the word equity or using other specific definitions.

Target vs. process orientation

The documents provide an insight into what is prioritized in the net-zero transition. There is an emphasis on the importance to work on climate change, but to simultaneously not forget the poverty issues that Indonesia has to deal with. This illustration is for instance made in the following introductory sentence: "As climate change becomes a reality, Indonesia continues to seek a balance between its current and future development and poverty reduction priorities" (Indonesia NDC, 2016, p. 1; Indonesia NDC, 2021, p. 1; Indonesia NDC, 2022, p. 1).

To illustrate this balance between tackling climate change through the net-zero transition and poverty reduction, numbers are provided on how many of Indonesia's citizens are living below the poverty line, as well as the target rates the government of Indonesia has put in order to reduce poverty. This

approach to poverty reduction is done in a similar fashion as how the net-zero transition is addressed, because also the approach to the net-zero transition is target-oriented; that is through providing numbers. This target-orientation is partly inherent to the Paris Agreement, because to set a target year for when a country reaches net-zero is what the agreement is all about. As such, both the environment and development are prioritized, but both in a target-oriented manner.

Concretization

The fact that the NDCs and the LTS are rather target-oriented is not surprising as the Paris Agreement asks for these target-oriented documents from countries that comply with the agreement. However, the Paris Agreements also asks for the five-yearly updates on the ambitions of these countries. These updates, the NDCs and the non-obligatory LTS, do not necessarily have to be concretized plans neither in a general sense nor specifically in regard to the social aspects of the transition that their ambitions call for.

In the documents provided by the Ministry of Environment and Forestry on behalf of the Government of Indonesia, there are numerous aspects that can be considered social aspects of the transition. For this thesis, these aspects are part of the consideration of equity issues. This section will elaborate on the main topics that were found in the analysis.

Alignment with other international initiatives

First of all, the three NDCs highlight the (high potential of) alignment with other documents, conventions, agreements, initiatives, targets and goals. These all concern different more general or more specific elements that are relevant to the transition. In some of them, social issues are more explicitly mentioned, such as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), Sendai Framework on Disaster Risk Reduction (SFDRR), the Indonesian Nine Priority Agendas framework and the four pillars of hundred years Indonesia (Visi Indonesia 2045), the medium-term development plan, as well as the long-term development plan. There are other initiatives where the issue of equity is considered in a more implicit way, such as the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), Convention to Combat Land Degradation and Desertification (UNCCD), Ramsar convention, Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation in Developing Countries (REDD+). What is prominent in most of these other policies, agreements, initiatives and goals, is that there are aspects of equity in them. However, the NDCs and the LTS do not elaborate on these aspects, as they only mention the core elements of some of these initiatives. Among these aspects there occasionally are social aspects, such as livelihoods, economic resilience and human rights, but there is no further elaboration on what this would imply for the social aspects of the transition.

National initiatives, created or already in existence

Secondly, there are numerous national initiatives, that have been created or that were already in place, and that are means to support the net-zero transition in Indonesia, according to the documents. In some of these initiatives, issues of equity are addressed. Some of these initiatives can be considered more bottom-up style initiatives. The first is the Climate Village Program (ProKlim). This is a means to include non-party stakeholders. “The program encourages and facilitate active participation of multi-stakeholders, collaboration and partnership among governments, local communities, local businesses, NGOs, private companies, academia and financial institutions to increase community resilience and reduce GHG emissions” (Indonesia NDC, 2022, p. 10). It is supposed to be both a mitigation and adaptation effort. The last NDC submitted in 2022, reports 3,270 location of ProKlim, aiming for 20,000 ProKlim locations in 2024. Secondly, as the Paris Agreement calls for in Article 5, the Indonesian government commits to working on REDD+, by submitting their Forest Reference Emission Level (FREL) to the UNFCCC Secretariat. According to the NDC, to provide guidance to national and international stakeholders that provide REDD+ supports, strategy pillars are used. Based on these

pillars, among which are stakeholder engagement and benefit sharing, the strategy of implementation is determined (Indonesia NDC, 2021, p. 6). As a part of these REDD+ efforts, Indonesia has put the FOLU Net Sink 2030 target of -140 MtCO₂ emission level, but in the briefly mentioned policy efforts there is no mentioning of local stakeholder engagement. Thirdly, the NDCs mention the Social Forestry Program. This initiative is part of the efforts to achieve sustainable forest management, by means of “active participation of the private sector, small and medium enterprises, civil society organizations, local communities and the most vulnerable groups, especially adat communities (Indonesia: Masyarakat Hukum Adat, internationally known as Indigenous People), and women – in both the planning and implementation stages” (Indonesia NDC, 2016, p. 2-3). In the later versions of the NDC, the term ‘sub-national governments’ was also added to this phrase. This program is a key program of the efforts to work on environmental resilience, as put in an overview in Annex 2 of the two last NDCs of 2021 and 2022.

Other initiatives can be considered more top-down data-oriented strategies. Firstly, the Indonesian government creates a data reporting system; the National Registry System (SRN) as mandated by the Paris Agreement to enhance transparency. “The National Registry System (SRN) was established in 2016 as a web-based system for managing data and information on mitigation, adaptation, carbon economic value and means of implementation (finance, capacity building, and technology transfer and development). Public access through website allows stakeholders to obtain data and information on mitigation, adaptation, and means of implementation registered in the system” (Indonesia NDC, 2022, p. 17). In the NDCs, the Indonesian government does recognize that there is still a lot of work to do on the SRN, as they recognize “the need for significant investment to strengthen human resources and institutional capacities and technology development, to enable the SRN fully functioning by 2030” (Indonesia NDC, 2021, p. 15). Besides SRN, the NDCs mention the SIDIK, the Vulnerability Index Data Information System. This system already existed prior to the NDCs, but the NDC of 2016 committed to strengthen it. It aims to provide access for the public to information and as such should be a tool for adaptation planning processes. “SIDIK helps integrate climate change adaptation into development planning so that it is oriented towards increasing adaptive capacity and resilience, and reducing vulnerability” (Indonesia NDC, 2022, p. 10).

Besides these data-focussed initiatives, the Enhanced NDC of 2021 also introduces a list of nine programs that Indonesia has set up for NDC implementation, in a more visionary fashion. The first main element of these programs that are relevant to the issue of equity is that of the engagement and commitment among different stakeholders, including private sectors and civil society organizations and other ministries and sub-national governments. Secondly, there is the program that is committed to capacity building in a global sense, including all levels and all aspects of climate change, and as such also including the social elements that come with the net-zero transition. However, this is not elaborated upon. Thirdly, there is the program that commits to creating an enabling environment to engage wider stakeholder in the transition. Lastly, there is the program that is aiming to develop a framework and network that will create synergy among sectors, regions and stakeholders.

The last element in which equity is potentially considered, and in a way operationalized in the NDCs and LTS, is that of the programs that are supposed to enhance social and livelihood resilience. These programs are included in the Annex that is devoted to key programs in the adaptation part of the transition. Different more specific elements that are part of social and livelihood resilience are mentioned, such as community capacity building, managing risks, strengthening community engagement in consideration of intergenerational equity, gender issues and vulnerable groups. However, there are no concrete actions identified and besides mentioning the potential of synergy

with other conventions or initiatives, there is no clear description of what agencies would be responsible for which tasks.

Just transition

Lastly, there is the concept of just transition that is mentioned in the NDCs and LTS. In the NDCs, the concept is only briefly mentioned, often in regard to just transition of the energy sector workforce. That is also the sector in which the Indonesian government aims to apply this concept, when the concept is elaborated upon in the LTS. However, every time that the concept is used, there is no clear explanation of what exactly is meant with just transition issues, as they are named in the document. In the LTS, the just transition of the workforce is referred to as something that is crucial in the implementation of the LTS. It is operationalized in some ways, by means of an overview of key interventions, policy and measures and lead and related ministries/institutions. However, the policy and measures are mere statements of 'strengthening', 'enhancing' or 'increasing effectiveness' of something, rather than concrete statements. Similarly, the entities that are responsible are not specific ministries, but ministries responsible for some larger concepts such as 'climate change', 'economic development' and 'social affairs'.

4.1.3 Inclusion

The initiatives that are described in the NDCs and LTS, as mentioned in the previous section, mention but do not elaborate upon the engagement of different stakeholders, such as indigenous communities, CSOs and private sector actors. This section on inclusion concerns the consultation of different stakeholders in the process of drafting the NDC and LTS documents and it will also list where the engagement with stakeholders in the implementation of the transition is explicitly elaborated upon in different parts of the NDCs and LTS.

In the LTS document, there is no mentioning of the process of preparing and drafting the document. In the other documents, however, each document includes the same paragraph: "In the preparation of the Enhanced NDC, the government of Indonesia (GoI) has conducted consultations with various stakeholders representing Ministries and other government institutions, academia, scientists, private sector, and civil society organisations; these consultations have included workshops and consultations organised at both the national and provincial levels, as well as bilateral meetings with key sectors" (Indonesia NDC, 2016, p. 6; Indonesia NDC, 2021, p. 11; Indonesia NDC, 2022, p. 13). Which stakeholders exactly have been involved is not written in the documents. Also there is no elaboration on how the process of selecting the stakeholders that have been consulted was organized and why.

On behalf of the Indonesian government, there are numerous government agencies involved, according to the document. These are the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, National Development Planning Agency (BAPPENAS), the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and since the last NDC also the Ministry of Home Affairs. All these ministries have their own expertise and topics within the net-zero transition. The Directorate General of Climate Change exists under the Ministry of Environment and Forestry and serves as "the National Focal Point for the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change to effectively facilitate ongoing relevant programs and processes being implemented by variety of government sectors and stakeholders" (Indonesia NDC, 2022, p. 13).

Involvement of different stakeholders is explicitly mentioned as one of the nine programs for NDC implementation in the Updated NDC of 2021. The program according to the document is meant to, "Creating enabling environment to engage wider stakeholders in mitigation and adaptation as well as in resource mobilization, through appropriate regulatory framework, policy and measures" (Indonesia NDC, 2021, p. 3). In the first NDC this was also already considered as something that should be

“continuously enhanced” (Indonesia NDC, 2016, p. 6). Similarly, stakeholders engagement is also explicitly mentioned as one of the pillars of the REDD+ initiative. Non-party stakeholder engagement is also operationalized through the ProKlim initiative as described in the Enhanced NDC. In the LTS, this importance is mentioned yet again, however, it has a new element to it, where the Gol described the importance of the balance between stakeholder engagement and government coordination. “The implementation of a low carbon and climate resilience strategy requires a balanced focus on the process of government coordination and stakeholders engagement as well as considering the issues on just transition, gender, inter-generation, the needs of vulnerable groups, adat communities (Masyarakat Hukum Adat) and local community” (Indonesia LTS, 2021, p. 1). Summarizing all this, engagement of different, especially non-party stakeholders is mentioned numerous times as something of high priority in the net-zero transition. However, there is no operationalization of this issue, for instance stating what this involvement looks like in terms of frequency, specific topics, as well as how it is determined who is and is not invited for this undefined engagement.

4.2 Brazil

4.2.1 Introduction

Brazil has submitted three documents to the UNFCCC under the Paris Agreement: an intended NDC which became its NDC in the year 2016, an updated version of this in 2020 and finally another in 2022. With 2005 as a base year, the contribution that Brazil commits to is a reduction of greenhouse gas emission by 37% below 2005 levels in 2025 and by 43% in 2030 in the documents of 2016 and 2020. In the 2022 document, Brazil increases its ambition for 2030 to 50% and commits to climate neutrality by 2050. Brazil has not submitted a long-term strategy.

The first document is different in its form than the other two. The first document starts with four pages of discussing Brazil’s commitments, followed by six pages of additional pages that are meant for clarification purposes. The other two documents only have one page of discussion the commitments, followed by an Annex of eight and ten pages respectively that are also meant for the purpose of better understanding Brazil’s NDC. These Annexes are built up around the specific requirements of the Paris Agreement.

In the documents, there is a lot of emphasis on ‘historical responsibilities and equity’, both in the introductions of the three documents, as well as in an extensive separate paragraph. This word of equity should not be confused with how it is used for the purpose of this thesis, as it concerns equity between the different parties that have committed to the Paris Agreement on an international level. This idea of ‘international equity’ these paragraphs portray is that Brazil is a country with a large commitment to the Paris Agreement, but does want the recognition that they are taking on more responsibility than is necessary based on their past contributions to climate change.

“Brazil’s mitigation efforts are of a type, scope and scale at least equivalent to the iNDCs of those developed countries most responsible for climate change. In view of the above, and based on available tools, it is evident that Brazil’s iNDC, while consistent with its national circumstances and capabilities, is far more ambitious than what would correspond to Brazil’s marginal relative responsibility for the global average temperature increase”. (Brazil NDC, 2016, p. 6).

4.2.2 Equity

In the three documents submitted by Brazil, there is a clear visibility of the recognition of the interplay of prioritizing development initiatives and the sustainability agenda. Brazil recognizes the need for achieving the commitments of the convention, “while recognizing that emissions will grow to meet

social and development needs” (Brazil NDC, 2016, p. 1). This is part of the rhetoric that Brazil recognizes that the net-zero transition requires a process-oriented approach. The structure of the annexes in the last two submitted NDCs of Brazil is identical. However, in the 2020 version, one section was left blank, but in 2022 it was filled. The section is called “How the Party considers that its nationally determined contribution is fair and ambitious in the light of its national circumstances” (Brazil NDC, 2022, p. 9). In this the recognition of how Brazil “struggles with challenges associated with poverty eradication, the need to improve its development indexes in areas that include education, public health, employment rates, housing and social inclusion” (Brazil NDC, 2022, p. 9) is mentioned. However, even though the section is rather long, there is no further elaboration on what these challenges entail exactly and how Brazil is going to tackle them. There is only elaboration on mitigation action regarding energy and land use. The NDC of 2020 also hints at integration of social policies where it mentions the existence of “a wide range of social and poverty eradication policies in place in the areas of healthcare, education, social security, and minimum income” (Brazil NDC, 2020, p. 4).

Concretization

The documents have a lot of elements that fall under the umbrella term of equity as used in this thesis. The following promising is said: “The social dimension is at the core of Brazil's adaptation strategy, bearing in mind the need to protect vulnerable populations from the negative effects of climate change and enhance resilience” (Brazil NDC, 2016, p. 3). What is also mentioned is the centrality of the recognition of human rights in the implementation of Brazil's NDC, in particular indigenous peoples, the poorest populations of the country as well as gender. Similarly, there is referencing to the Brazilian Constitution. The NDCs recognize the vulnerabilities of these groups and commits to the working on adaptation strategies to cope with these vulnerabilities. This increased resilience is to be achieved through social inclusion and protection programmes. However, there is no elaboration of what these programmes entail. Nevertheless, there is concretization through the National Adaptation plan (NAP). “Through the NAP, Brazil's vision for its adaptation undertakings is to integrate, where appropriate, vulnerabilities and climate risk management into public policies and strategies, as well as to enhance the coherence of national and local development strategies with adaptation measures” (Brazil NDC, 2016, p. 3). Other elements of equity in which the NDC is more concrete are in the forest sector where Brazil commits to “enhancing sustainable native forest management systems, through georeferencing and tracking systems applicable to native forest management, with a view to curbing illegal and unsustainable practices” (Brazil NDC, 2016, p. 4).

4.2.3 Inclusion

The NDCs of 2020 and 2021 devote sections to the planning process of the documents. What is said about this process is the following. “The institutional interaction between government and civil society takes place through the Brazilian Forum on Climate change, instituted by Decree 9.082/2017, the aim of which is to “raise awareness and mobilize society and to contribute to the discussion of actions needed to deal with global climate change, in accordance with the National Policy on Climate Change, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and its resulting international agreements, including the Paris Agreement and Brazil's Nationally Determined Contributions”” (Brazil NDC, 2020, p. 4). There is no further elaboration on the details of this interaction.

On engagement of stakeholders in processes set in motion by the NDCs, the NDCs say the following: “Brazil recognizes the importance of the engagement of local governments and of their efforts in combating climate change” (Brazil NDC, 2016, p. 4). Similarly, when discussing forests in particular, Brazil aims to work on “strengthening and enforcing the implementation of the Forest Code, at federal, state and municipal levels” (Brazil NDC, 2016, p. 3).

4.3 China

4.3.1 Introduction

China has submitted three NDCs into the UNFCCC register; one in 2016, one in 2021 and one in 2022. The first, although the registry indicates otherwise, is not available in English. The government also uses different titles for the documents than other countries, which also makes the purpose of each document a bit different. Chronologically the first document that was analysed for this thesis is named 'China's Achievements, New Goals and New Measures for Nationally Determined Contribution' (2021). The second is called 'Progress on the Implementation of China's Nationally Determined Contributions (2022)'. This document does not provide any new commitments but is a means to report on the progress that has been done for the targets set in 2021. As a long-term development strategy, China has submitted the document called 'China's Mid-Century Long-Term Low Greenhouse Gas Emission Development Strategy'. This document was submitted in 2021. All three documents studied include two Annexes concerning the strategies and contributions of Hong Kong and Macao.

In the NDCs China commits to peaking CO₂ emissions in 2030 and achieve carbon neutrality in 2060. CO₂ emissions are to be lowered by 65% in 2021's document rather than the 60% as it supposedly was in the 2016 version. Furthermore, China aims "to increase the share of non-fossil fuels in primary energy consumption to around 25%, to increase the forest stock volume by 6 billion cubic meters from the 2005 level, and to bring its total installed capacity of wind and solar power to over 1.2 billion kilowatts by 2030" (China NDC, 2021, p. 3).

Similar to Brazil's, China's documents dedicate a lot of attention to equity and fairness on international level. Even though China officially is a developing country, they still are very committed to tackling climate change. This idea underlies all opening paragraphs of the documents, both in the NDCs and in the LTS.

4.3.2 Equity

In the documents introduction, it is visible that the Chinese government is aware of the relationship between climate change and socio-economic development.

"Climate change has exerted persistent impacts on China's ecological environment and socio-economic development, and already brought serious threats to its food, water, ecology, energy, and urban operation security, as well as people's safety and property" (China NDC, 2021, p. 1).

In the LTS, the statement is even stronger, as the document opens by stating: "Climate change concerns human survival and development" (China LTS, 2021, p. 1). As such, China commits to a "people's centered approach" (China NDC, 2021, p. 2) which revolves around efficient energy availability and usage and revolves around encouraging "simple, moderate, green and low-carbon ways of life" (China NDC, 2021, p. 2). Similarly, in the LTS document, it is highlighted that the approach is people-centred through the statement that the government of China aims to "meet the people's growing needs for a beautiful ecological environment" (China LTS, 2021, p. 12-13). What these needs entail remains unclear.

In the introductory paragraphs of the documents, the government of China highlights its role in relation to other countries, based on their different contextual issues. For instance, one statement is the following. "As a developing country, China has made its utmost effort in response to climate change based on its development stage and national conditions (China NDC, 2022, p. 1). Similarly, the LTS states: "China is still a developing country and faces multiple challenges, such as developing the economy, improving people's livelihood and controlling pollution (China LTS, 2021, p. 6-7). Based on

these contextual issues that China describes, the documents also target at the importance of the balance between development and tackling climate change. Whether this balance between development and climate change concerns equity issues or whether the focus is more related to economic development, or even growth, remains questionable. For instance, when speaking about the plans regarding energy production, the document specifies the necessity of “ensuring the safe supply of energy and meeting the internal needs of the sustainable development of the national economy and the continuous improvement of people’s living standards” (China NDC, 2021, p. 13). This quote would hint towards the fact that development is mainly focussed on the economy and people’s economic circumstances, rather than concerning issues of equity.

Concretization

This highlighted balance between development and sustainability is concretized to some extent by continuously mentioning the integration of the climate change agenda into national development policies. “In the backdrop of tackling climate change and boosting the post-pandemic economic recovery, China has incorporated the goals of peaking carbon dioxide emissions and achieving carbon neutrality in its overall plan for ecological, economic and social development” (China NDC, 2022, p. 1-2). This plan contains of a mid-term and long-term planning. However, the documents do not elaborate on what is in these plans regarding specific issues that could be relevant to equity as it is understood in this thesis. For instance, the LTS mentions that China aims to “reduce the social costs of climate change mitigation” (China LTS, 2021, p. 22) but does not elaborate on what is understood under this term of ‘social costs’. Again, the issue of development that is touched upon is of economic nature rather than centralizing equity issues in the document.

In the documents, especially in the NDC document of 2021, there are a lot of examples of national initiatives and policies that specify what exactly was done in the first period of five years after the Paris Agreement was signed. In some cases they are very clear, and include sound examples. However, in relation to social issues, there is only one concrete example, which concerns an initiative that resulted in poverty alleviation through the placement of solar panels. Other issues that discussed that are relevant to issues of equity remain vaguer. It is visible that more target-oriented initiatives and sectors are more concretized in the document in comparison to less easy to define issues that concern social aspects of the transition.

Most of the issues concerning equity in China’s documents can be found under the topic of adaptation. There are a lot of adaptation plans, but most of them remain unclear of what they entail in practice. One important concrete element of what was discussed regarding adaptation, is that the government of China prioritizes regional organization of these adaptation practices.

4.3.3 Inclusion

The documents provided by the government of China do not specify any details about the process of drafting the documents, which includes a lack of transparency about who was and was not involved in this process and whose needs were voiced and whose were not.

The only mentioning of the people of China was in relation to the encouragement of a low-carbon lifestyle, which is highlighted as one of the key elements as to achieving the targets set in the NDC. There is some mentioning of participation, for instance where the government of China wants to “create a new pattern of nationwide participation” (China LTS, 2021, p. 25). The text that follows up on the mentioning of this term, however, is mostly about education and awareness of a low-carbon lifestyle, and not about any consultation of people’s needs. It is a top-down approach to participation. For example, when discussing adaptation of rural houses and villages to be better equipped against the consequences of climate change, the document mentions that this will be done in a way to “suits

the local characteristics and needs of rural areas” (China LTS, 2021, p. 19), however, there is no elaboration on how information about these needs will be obtained.

The NDC of 2021 mentions the advisory role of supporting agencies represented by the National Expert Committee on Climate Change. However, there are no further details provided as to who is on this committee and what their role entails exactly. There is also not much clarity regarding the operationalization of the regional organization of adaptation practices that was mentioned, regarding the division of tasks and responsibilities between different governmental bodies at different levels.

4.4 India

4.4.1 Introduction

The government of India has submitted two documents into the UNFCCC registry of NDCs. The first was submitted in 2016 and is a document of 38 pages. The second was submitted in 2022 and consists only of three pages that are an updated version of a list of commitments that was also part of the 2016 document.

Similar to the documents of China and Brazil, the NDC of India also is written from a vision of equity and fairness among countries and their commitments. By referring to the fact India is not part of the problem of the global emissions, India does not take any responsibility but is regardless of that still very much willing to set ambitious targets to help solve the problem. “India, even though not a part of the problem has been an active and constructive participant in the search for solutions” (India NDC, 2016, p. 2).

It is remarkable that the first NDC never mentions what the target year is that the India has put to achieve net-zero emissions. In the second document the target of achieving net-zero emissions in 2070 is included.

4.4.2 Equity

In the introduction of the NDC of 2016, there is an emphasis on a few things, including on inter- and intragenerational equity, according to the text they are part of the Indian identity. Another element that is inherent to this identity is the “long history and tradition of harmonious co-existence between man and nature” (India NDC, 2016, p. 1). However, in the rest of the text there is no elaboration on what these two elements of this identity mean for the net-zero transition in India.

The NDCs of India also highlight the importance of both sustainability and development. The fact that this should happen in a balance, which is hard to achieve but which is possible, is something that is central in the before-mentioned Indian identity. “It is possible for people to live in harmony with nature by harnessing its potential for the benefit of mankind without undue exploitation leading to irretrievable damage and consequences that block the progress of others” (India NDC, 2016, p. 2). Besides tackling climate change, it is also very important to work on poverty alleviation and related issues according to the NDC. The two are very much intertwined: “The adverse impacts of climate change on the developmental prospects of the country are amplified enormously by the existence of widespread poverty and dependence of a large proportion of the population on climate sensitive sectors for livelihood” (India NDC, 2016, p. 19). There are trade-offs between the sustainability, economic growth and social development, “where eradication of poverty is one of the foremost priorities” (India NDC, 2016, p. 4-5), according to the Indian government. However, “India realises that economic growth and development have to be guided by the key concerns of sustainability, because none of us have the luxury, any longer, of ignoring the economic as well as the environmental threat that a fast-deteriorating ecosystem poses to our fragile planet” (India NDC, 2016, p. 6). As such, the

narrative that India's NDC portray is that sustainability and development can and should go hand in hand.

Concretization

India's first NDC had quite a lot of examples of policies and other initiatives that embody or support the targets. However, because the second NDC is so short, there is no possibility to see any updates on the commitments described in the first NDC. Nevertheless, there are a lot of referrals to concretized initiatives, such as the National Energy Policy and REDD+. However, it is never more than just a brief mentioning of the initiative and there is no mentioning of any consideration of the social aspects of these policies and plans.

The NDC document of 2016 is also very explicit about the Indian government's awareness of the state of vulnerability that a lot of Indian people are in. When discussing this vulnerability, the document states the following: "Vulnerabilities in India differ among states, among regions and among different groups of people within the same region due to substantial variations in topography, climatic conditions, ecosystems as well as diversity in its social structures, economic conditions and needs of different communities" (India NDC, 2016, p. 19). However, the document does not specify why this statement is relevant or what the consequences are for this diversity in vulnerabilities. Nevertheless, there is a lot of emphasis on this issue, as five out of eight national initiatives as described in the NDC concern adaptation, including a large part that is specifically dedicated to strengthening adaptive capacities of the vulnerable communities in different sectors such as agriculture, health, disaster risk and rural livelihoods security. As for disaster risk, there is a brief statement that "the indigenous locally appropriate knowledge and technology may also be used for the purpose" (India NDC, 2016, p. 24), but what this means and how this is going to be done is not mentioned. Similarly, for rural livelihoods security the document mentions a program, the 'Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme in India' (MGNREGS) but the document does not elaborate on this any further.

4.4.3 Inclusion

The documents do not include any information about the process of writing the documents, which includes who was involved in drafting them and providing input. However, there is a whole section devoted to the "citizens and private sector contribution to combating climate change" (India NDC, 2016, p. 18), where the document states that "citizens of India are an integral part of country's strategies to combat climate change" (p. 18), after which the document refers to the Indian constitution that states that it is part of the duty of Indian citizens. However, the document does not further specify what this role entails in more concrete terms regarding the net-zero transition.

The NDC of 2016 does elaborate on the involvement of non-state actors in the climate change action. "In addition to being involved in Government initiatives related to climate change and resource efficiency, private sector has also embarked on a number of voluntary actions" (India NDC, 2016, p. 18). This is followed by a list of specific initiatives that are mostly voluntary top-down oriented programs.

One of the adaptation initiatives concerns capacity building needs. The main focus here lies on knowledge and awareness. Numerous initiatives are mentioned including the Indian Network on Climate Change Assessment (INCC) which goal is knowledge sharing and collaborating on issues related to climate change. Initiatives like these have the potential of bring the issue of inclusion to the net-zero transition agenda, but the documents fail to elaborate more on this topic and have a more target-oriented approach when discussing them.

5. Results II – Interviews with Indonesian stakeholders

This chapter discussed the results from the semi-structured interviews conducted with different people from different organization that could provide some background insight on the NDCs and the LTS of Indonesia. In the interviews different topics were discussed as presented in Appendix 5. This chapter discusses the insights that were gained through these interviews. The chapter is structured by first discussing the mandate of the Indonesian government concerning equity, both in a broader sustainable development perspective, as well as specifically concerning the NDCs and LTS. Secondly, inclusion is discussed relating to the involvement of non-party stakeholders. Lastly, issues that were raised concerning the government's capacity are discussed.

5.1 Government of Indonesia's mandate concerning equity

5.1.1 Indonesia's (economic) development vs. sustainability

Before discussing how the interviewees described how the government of Indonesia is approaching the NDCs and the LTS in regard to equity and inclusion, the broader perspective of sustainable development in which the documents exist is discussed. Respondent 1 and 4 both mentioned the existence of an imbalance between the sustainability agenda and the economic agenda. Respondent 5 even said that including social elements to this is rather new in Indonesia. According to respondent 4, there is no true commitment to the ambitions of sustainability. They said the following about this: "If we go back to sustainable development: it's environment, social and economy. It is never written anywhere, but my observation is that for emerging economies environment it's supposedly linked in a triangle, but economy is still put in first place and then social and environment" (Respondent 4). As such, in the broader perspective of sustainable development, equity is not prioritized, as development in the mandate of the Indonesian government is more focussed on economic features.

5.1.2 Specific government initiatives in documents related to social issues

During the interviews another topic of discussion was the actual initiatives related to equity as how it is defined for this research. However, not a lot could be said, because for instance according to respondent 1 it is "unclear about what the document wants with different social issues" (Respondent 1). These initiatives include the social forestry program and the just energy transition for labourers.

Some interviewees raised questions on whether or not the social issues of gender, intergenerational equity and labour justice were actually mentioned because of true intentions of the government of Indonesia. Rather, there was some speculation about whether these terms were also for a large part included because of international pressure to do so, both directly through the Paris Agreement, as well as indirectly through a hegemonic discourse established around for instance funding and the country's international reputation. Respondent 1 said that what was put in the document could be seen as business as usual, as it did not really radicalize things related to social issues. However others, such as respondent 2 said there was a shift, but not enough to achieve the commitment to the Paris Agreement.

5.2 Inclusion of non-party stakeholders

5.2.1 Involvement of interviewees

None of the interviewees had been actively involved in writing the NDCs, but there were some who had collaborated on or, like respondent 4, had been part of different documents and initiatives with the Ministry of Environment and Forestry on other occasions. These different documents and initiatives could be things that are 'under the umbrella' of the NDC target, but they are not a direct part of it. For instance respondent 2 mentioned that their organization was invited by the government

to support with the forest reference emission level, where they would be actively involved in calculating. However, they said that for NDC target calculations etc., the government prefers to do this themselves.

There is a large willingness of non-party stakeholders, however, to support the government with initiatives like the NDCs and LTS. Respondent 2 said: “We want to provide our knowledge, skills and what we learned from the field, because we have some ground projects in Kalimantan for example, we want to communicate what we've got from the science, from the ground to policy on the government side” (Respondent 2).

5.2.2 Involvement in the drafting process

Not all interviewees said they knew about the drafting process of the NDCs and LTS. According to respondent 7 it is a collaboration between the government and different scholars and scientists from the university. In the process there are also consultations with non-party stakeholders, as this is mandated by the Paris Agreement. Respondent 5 provided some critique on the consultation process. According to them, these consultations are too little and too late. The timing of these consultations makes it seem that the ministry does not have the intentions of including the input provided. The Ministry is only “just basically presenting the work” (Respondent 5). The consultations supposedly happen when the document that is going to be handed in to the UNFCCC is already in its final stages. Two weeks after the consultations the document in question can already be found uploaded to the website of the UNFCCC, without including any of the input or concerns as voiced in the consultations, thus hinting towards these consultations only being a mere formality in the document writing process.

Public awareness

There is a lack of awareness and understanding of net-zero transitions in Indonesian society. According to respondent 1, this lack of awareness makes it hard to keep in the Indonesian government accountable for their actions. Respondent 1 also links the lack of operationalization of the NDCs to this lack of understanding and awareness: “they don't put any operational guide for this document. This would make the document to be much more practical and to be much more understanding so that the people who work on it and the regular people can understand it fully. That's why it kind of stopped in the high level, as a high-level document, but it doesn't really come down and stream out to local communities, even students, and even the regular people” (Respondent 1). Respondent 6 believes that if the government wants that there is also bottom-up action to support the net-zero transition, they should not be talking about carbon, because this is not something that people are concerned about. Rather, they believe, the government should talk about sustainability and ask what the real problems are at the ‘bottom’.

5.2.3 Difficult relationships

The involvement of the interviewees on other occasions with the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (MoEF) of Indonesia and other ministries made them able to give some insights into the relationship between the ministry and external stakeholders. An issue that multiple of the interviewees raised was that the relationship between the government of Indonesia and non-party stakeholders is tricky. According to respondent 1 there are a lot of restrictions on the civil society organizations that do work together with the government. The relationship involves a lot of demands from the non-party stakeholder including a one-way stream of transparency. There is very little possibility for the CSO to have influence on what is decided. In the past there have been bans on certain non-governmental organizations, some of which have been raised and some of which have not. Respondent 3 said: “non-state actors need to be careful voicing their ideas”. Therefore there is a sense of fear among non-profit organizations, albeit knowledge institutes or more on-the-ground NGOs for a ban by the government, including those who were interviewed for this research.

Respondent 7 said: “The government of Indonesia is very selective. They only want to engage with organisations who already have been approved by the Ministry of Forestry people. There has been several conflict between the NGOs and government, so they will only select the NGO who support the government”. According to respondent 2, international NGOs are not welcome in these collaborations.

More specifically related to the net-zero transition, respondent 6 said the following: “Simply I would say, we are not supposed to talk about carbon because it will distract the ministry to contribute to the reduction percentage. It should be one single number coming from the ministry. So everyone should report, but the fact is, no one reports to the ministry. It's like taboo, you know. We are not supposed to talk about carbon, especially for us, the international NGOs. You can be banned by the Minister”. As such a gap between the intentions of including as much net-zero actions to the emissions reduction level and the reality occurs.

5.2.4 Target-orientation

A theoretical question that provides insights into the inclusion is whether the government’s approach is more target- or process-oriented. All interviewees agreed that it was more target oriented. There is a lack of the ‘how’ question that comes with such an ambitious target. According to respondent 5, there is no way that the target is going to be reached without answering this question. Respondent 6 said the following about this: “it is still a very high-level conversation. And sometimes it only ends up in a document, so we have a document and so what? What do you do for the real action?”.

Respondent 2 mentioned that there is a roadmap document in development where such process-oriented questions are supposedly going to be answered. This includes how the process should go in terms of allocation of tasks and responsibilities. About this aspect respondent 3 said the following: “The importance of the process will require the involvement across the line ministries, across actors, including the private and corporate actors to achieve this target” (Respondent 3).

With a strong sense of target orientation, the use of numbers is a given. However, respondent 4 pointed out that it is easier to focus on parts of the transition that can be transferred into numeral targets that can be added on to the reductions allocated under the NDC, such as the energy sector as the reporting is most advanced there. As such, it is possible that sectors where that is easier, are being prioritized over others.

All this target-orientation and trying to attach numeral targets to decarbonization efforts comes with different challenges, including disagreement between party and non-party stakeholders on which data should be used, which affects the willingness of the government of Indonesia to involve other parties in the process. According to respondent 7 revisiting the target with new data provided by innovated scientific practice is crucial, but this is not really happening right now. The reason the respondent gives for this is because the government is more confident with their own data, because that works with the current institutional and regulatory framework. However, respondent 1 believes this has more to do with the way that the government is protective of their own data and does not want other parties to interfere, even though they might have more and more advanced capacity.

5.2.5 Possibilities

Other respondents focussed more on the possibilities that the involvement of non-party stakeholders could provide. Respondent 2 said that non-party stakeholders could be beneficial as a collaborator because they could fill in the gap that is created by a lack of funding by using monetary capacities of international partners, such as philanthropic organizations. Another possibility is to help facilitate communication between different actors in a more informal way, as already done on a small-scale by

the organization of respondent 5. Respondent 7 highlighted the potential that the carbon offsetting initiative that has now been approved can have for possible contribution of non-party stakeholders. Their efforts can be more trackable than before in this new scheme.

5.2.6 Ties with private actors

Respondent 1 mentioned the influence that private actors may have on the NDCs and the LTS, as there supposedly are many government officials who have ties with the energy sector Indonesia. “So private sector also has a different unique positioning because if you know the politics of Indonesia, most of the fossil fuel big companies like coal and oil who supply to these two state owned enterprises are owned by the politician or the politician owns several big shares on it and they kind of mixing up as a businessman, regulators and also executive body who govern the country” (Respondent 1).

5.2.7 Size and complexity of the Indonesian context

The size of Indonesia and the complexity that comes with it has implications on inclusion equity according to the interview respondents. Inclusion is a challenge according to respondent 7, because there are so many levels of society and the country is so large, it is hard to reach everyone. According to respondent 1, there is polarization between big and small islands, as well as urban and rural areas, that need different solutions per context, which is hard to achieve in such a top-down initiative. Respondent 7 said the following about this: “Indonesia being such a big country, with so many different interests, also how is it that on the one hand there's lots of progress and innovation, but how to also manage a process which makes it socially acceptable, so that you don't upset too many people where you get too many opponents against your agenda, so you get a very strong reaction which basically makes it impossible at all to proceed. So how to manage a compromise which is still realistic” (Respondent 7).

5.3 Governmental limitations

5.3.1 Lack of understanding

There is a lack of understanding of different aspects of the net-zero transition across the Indonesian society, but also in different levels of government. According to respondent 1 people at senior level positions do not even always know what net-zero transitions is. They think it is a set of activities, rather than a target. According to respondent 4 there is an increased awareness and training within the government since 2016, but it is not as widespread. Especially in more regional levels of government this lack of understanding of what the net-zero transitions actually are, why they are important across the sectors and especially what it is exactly that they need to do in order to contribute to it, still exists. Respondent 7 highlighted the example of district levels governments not being aware of certain green labels that can provide them opportunities for increased funding or other capacities.

Just transition

A specific understanding that is lacking in governmental agencies and that is relevant to this research is that of just transition. This issue was specifically brought up in the interviews as it is an aspect of the current discussions about the Paris Agreement (2015) and it specifically relates to the topic of inclusion and equity. All respondents mentioned that the concept is still very new and therefore there is still very little understanding of what it entails. Respondent 4 said that there has never been any definition or parameters of what is ‘just’. Without knowing how to grasp the concept, a strategy to tackle it is still far along the line. Specifically looking at just transition in the energy sector, regarding the transition in the labour force, it is still being tackled with a short-term perspective. According to respondent 7, transitions like this are very much political issues, because of the economic interests that are tied to them. This could be a reason why there is still so little understanding. Different other respondents said it will take some time for the Indonesian government and society to get a grasp on

this concept. Respondent 1 made a comparison to the understanding of gender equality and how this has progressed over the past decades.

5.3.2 Lack of governmental capacity

The respondents have highlighted different types of lack of capacity in the Indonesian government that are important to know when studying why or why not the social aspects of the net-zero transition are considered. Firstly, there is a lack of capacity in terms of funding. According to respondent 2, this is where a good opportunity for non-party stakeholder involvement arises. Secondly, according to respondent 4, there is a lack of capacity in the other ministries than the MoEF because the reporting they need to do under the NDC are additional tasks that they are not equipped for. Thirdly, there is a lack of experts within the ministries, which is the reason for the, albeit limited, involvement of external parties such as thinktanks and science-based NGOs. Part of the lack of capacity that was highlighted by the respondents was of the National Registry System (SRN). According to respondent 7 it is of high importance to work on this system, before there can be effective involvement of non-party stakeholders. An important aspect that was highlighted by several respondents is the refusal of the MoEF to use external standards or data. For instance, respondent 2 said that there is a perfectly working international methodology called VERRA which can be used to quantify GHG emissions, but that the Indonesian government stays fixed on using their own standards.

Bottom-up complexity

According to some respondents, there is a gap between the top and the bottom of jurisdictional levels when it comes to working on the net-zero transition in Indonesia. On the one hand, there is the MoEF that “wants to coordinate every single program related to NDC. So that it becomes just one number coming from Indonesia, not different numbers” (Respondent 6). On the other hand, there are local branches of government that might want to contribute to the transition, if they are aware, but how they need to do it is dependent on the SRN: “many people want to play with their own interest and so on, but there's no one clear regulation or mechanism to make it work together” (Respondent 6). Respondent 7 said the following about this: “So there is sort of this bottom-up process which can feed into the national policy processes as well. But that's not always easy and it does take quite a bit of time” (Respondent 7).

5.3.3 'Sectorial ego'

Respondent 1 and respondent 3 mentioned the existence of what they called 'sectorial ego'. According to them, Indonesian ministries, including the MoFE, have this. “Each of the ministries has their own sectorial ego in which they want to control all some sort of activities” (Respondent 1). This makes for there to be unclarity which affairs belong to which ministries, as well as good partnerships between some ministries, but less in others. However, according to respondent 3, most ministries work in silo. “There was no direct communication between Minister of Planning and Minister of Forestry. However it is something that unfortunately in Indonesia is like this. The ministries are still working in silo, so it's challenging for us to connect these two ministries because they have their own sectoral ego” (Respondent 3). However, the process of the net-zero transition “will require the involvement across the line ministries, across actors, including the private and corporate actors to achieve this target” (Respondent 3). This 'sectorial ego' hinders inclusion of different actors, both party and non-party stakeholders on all facets of society. On the role of the MoEF in this, respondent 5 said the following: “there is need for leadership, instead of everyone pointing at each other” (Respondent 5).

5.3.4 Elections

An important contextual issue that two respondents are the effect of changes of government and elections have on the net-zero transitions. Firstly, how the net-zero transition including its social aspects is prioritized, changes: “SBY was committed but when the leadership changed it became

complex. The commitment was already handed in under the UNFCCC, but not by that government” (Respondent 1). Secondly, a combination of awareness of the (importance of) the transition and the priority that people give to it make for elections to be crucial in determining whether or not the carbon tax and carbon pricing are going to be implemented and how, according to respondent 3.

6. Discussion

This chapter discusses the main findings of this research, concerning equity and inclusion. This is followed by a discussion of this research's theoretical implications as well as its contextual and policy implications in both national and international context. The chapter finishes with recommendations for future research.

6.1 Main findings

This section discusses the main findings that were gathered by asking the following sub research questions listed below. First equity considerations are discussed, followed by what was found regarding inclusion.

1. *To what extent and how are issues of inclusion and equity included in the NDC?*
2. *If any, what role have issues of inclusion and equity played in the development of the NDC according to different stakeholders and why?*
3. *What is/are (hegemonic) discourse(s) that underlie(s) the NDC and to what extent do they favour or disfavour equity and inclusion?*
4. *How could inclusion and equity be addressed in the design and implementation of NDCs according to different stakeholders? Are the concepts of equity and inclusion used selectively?*

6.1.1 Equity

Development vs. sustainability

All four countries studied had versions of a discourse included in the documents that they submitted under the Paris Agreement. This discourse relates to the distinction made in the analytical framework concerning the prioritization of sustainability or development. All documents speak of climate change actions, as can be expected from documents that are submitted under the Paris Agreement, but they all also raise concerns about the national circumstances regarding development that these actions need to be in balance with. These circumstances include poverty alleviation and livelihood security, which are topics that fit within the equity concept used in this thesis. However, the results from the interviews about Indonesia raise some questions as to whether the discourse that seems to be underlying the NDCs actually is as much this integrative approach to sustainability and development as it seems. Specifically, there are two elements to this. First of all, because the documents are inherently about climate change action because they are submitted under the Paris Agreement, it is possible that they only seem to be prioritizing climate change action because of this. Besides this, the documents include a discourse in which the emerging economies (lack of) historical responsibility of the state of the current global climate is highlighted. These two factors signify that there is in fact a prioritization of the development agenda in these countries. Secondly, there are different distinctions within the development agenda because there are bottom-up and top-down approaches to development. One can raise questions about which type of development can be considered equitable, as can be seen from the interview results. The interviewees gave insights into their views that the Indonesian government is in fact more profit-oriented than they portray in the documents. In this instance, one can better view the development vs. sustainability discourses as a three-sided issue rather than a two-sided, by separating development into a societal and more bottom-up oriented aspect and an economy market-driven top-down aspect. Especially when there is more focus on the latter aspect besides the sustainability agenda, there is a large tendency for target-orientation to prevail, which depoliticizes the process that is needed to get there and the people that are affected by it. As such, the conclusion can be made that equity is not sufficiently considered.

Concretization of NDC and LTS plans

One of the pre-requisites determined as to whether equity was actually properly considered in the NDCs and LTS of the countries studied was whether or not it was concretized into day-to-day actions and policies. The documents from the four countries have all mentioned different initiatives and policies that concretized their targets. Some of them were elaborated upon more and others less. It was apparent that the initiatives that were more concerned with social aspects of the transition were mostly discussed in less specific and elaborate ways. This can be explained by the target-orientation that all interviewees also saw in the documents, as the social aspects of the transition are more process-oriented. Questions can be raised about the implications of the lack of elaboration and concretization of plans regarding equity and inclusion issues. Does a lack of elaboration on these issues mean that anything is allowed in these transitions? And what and who will be impacted by this?

6.1.2 Inclusion

The first element of inclusion as used in this thesis is that of external stakeholder engagement in NDC and LTS development. Only the NDC by Brazil included this topic, however it remained rather vague in what it entailed and who and was not included based on which terms. The documents of the other countries did not include any information on this, but the interviews about the Indonesian documents could give some extra insights on this.

The involvement of non-party stakeholders is there to some extent, but it is a process that is far from transparent about who, why and how stakeholders are involved. The description provided in the NDCs of Brazil was merely a mentioning of a forum, rather than a description of who was included, why and for what purpose. The interviews with the Indonesian stakeholders provided reasons why there was no transparency about this limited degree of non-party stakeholder engagement, as it is called under the Paris Agreement. The main reason is that the government is controlling of the transition and does not want any opposing views for instance concerning what data and methodology to use to be part of the writing process. This indicates a possible underlying hegemonic discourse on the targets and the transition that relates to the discourse of 'administrative rationalism', where the government is in charge and where society is explicitly not included in this top-down approach to climate change. As such there is a fear among the non-party stakeholders that want to contribute to the transition where they see that the government is lacking knowledge and capacity. This finding was confirmed through the wish of several interviewees to remain anonymous and the hesitance to express their critiques on the government.

The second element of inclusion is that of how the voicing of needs and ideas by stakeholders has a place in the actions and initiatives that are proposed in the NDCs and LTS. In the documents of the four emerging economies there are different ways of including this type of inclusion in the process. For China for instance, it is the mentioning of a people-oriented approach and doing things according to the needs of citizens. However, in none of the documents there are concrete mechanisms described that are in place in order to engage with these stakeholders to find out what their needs and ideas are for the transition. As such it seems like there is a disparity between the realization of the need of and wanting of a fruitful engagement between party and non-party stakeholders, and the practical outcome of such ideas. This raises questions about the actual commitment of the governments to the inclusion of non-party stakeholders.

6.2 Theoretical implications

This thesis started on a large theoretical base covering hegemony, depoliticization and discourse. This section will reflect on the theoretical and analytical framework used and elaborate on what this thesis

has brought to this theoretic debate and different remarks that are important when applying such theory on net-zero transitions.

6.2.1 Theory

The theory used for this thesis onto which an analytical framework was built concerned hegemony, depoliticization and discourse theory. The use of hegemony theory has proven useful to keep in mind the role that the notion of power has in large and influential documents like the NDCs and LTS. This research has found that there are in fact elements to the NDCs and LTS of the countries studied that signify a powerplay exercised by the governments over the net-zero transition internationally and nationally alike through the use of the concept of hegemonic discourse. This leads to the reflection on the use of discourse theory; a lens that has been proven useful to find the ideas that underly the targets and plans made in the documents. As for depoliticization, this theory has also been found useful to approach target-setting as it is done for the net-zero transitions. Target-setting creates depoliticized processes in which in which there is no to little space for proper consideration of equity and inclusion issues. This research has shown that it is important to acknowledge that target-orientation is not only something that is applicable to sustainability and the economy, but also on social issues. For instance, mentioning a target concerning a social issue such as poverty alleviation might be related to equity issues, but is still target-orientation and can still be considered depoliticization. Therefore depoliticization and addressing social issues are not necessarily opposites. The combination of these issues can be difficult to address as the discussion shifts from politics to morality. Moral targets and environmental targets could oppose each other and hinder the effectiveness of an inclusive net-zero transition.

6.2.2 Analytical framework

The analytical framework used in this thesis consists of two sets of discourses. The first set considered the inclusion dimension of this thesis, by distinguishing between who is 'in charge' of the transition; either the state (administrative rationalism), the people (democratic pragmatism), or the economy (economic rationalism). Reflecting on this distinction, it was useful mainly to distinguish between the way the government operates either with or without the people. The economic rationalism discourse was of less use because in the NDCs and LTS of the four countries the government is the central agent. Even though the documents often touched upon economic incentives and elements to the transition, there was no underlying discourse of solving climate change issues through a full market-driven discourse.

The second set of discourses concerned equity issues. The debate upon which these three discourses were based was that of development vs. climate change action. Reflecting on the use of these three discourses, it can be concluded that this part of the analytical framework is rather simplistic in defining development vs. climate change action. This is because it is either about favouring either development or climate change action over the other, or an integrative approach. However, it is important to consider that this integrative approach can imply and prioritize different things. This thesis recommends considering this integrative approach through a bottom-up and top-down lens. Inclusion can only be considered if there is some type of bottom-up approach in this integrative approach. And as argued in this thesis, the approach can only be effective if there is inclusion of affected stakeholders in a transition.

6.3 Contextual and policy implications

The results of this thesis signify different considerations to be made for the context in which the NDCs and LTS are written, both in a national sense and in an international sense. This section elaborates on the main elements to these contexts.

6.3.1 National context

Different national contexts were touched upon in the data collection phase regarding the national context of the net-zero transition. National contexts are determining what the documents are, what the net-zero transition looks like in the country in question, which includes if equity and inclusion are considered, as well as how much of a priority it is. Starting with this last issue, it is important to view net-zero transitions in emerging economies in a larger context of national struggles, as these countries are dealing with several other large-scale challenges such as poverty alleviation, food security and health that are all intertwined with the sustainability agenda. Therefore, governmental decisions made in these different sectors affect the progress on the other agendas. Related to these decisions on other agendas that affect the net-zero transition are the issues that arise in situations that lack of capacity and knowledge. There is only a certain amount of capacity to be divided amongst different issues, and this can and has caused lack of capacity put on the agenda of the net-zero transition. This especially relevant in emerging economies as their capacity has not grown enough in comparison to their fast-growing economy and population. Other issues of the national context that affect the net-zero transition including the consideration of equity and inclusion issues include the politics of a country, the political culture which includes Indonesia's 'sectorial ego' and the complexity that comes with a large country with urban and rural disparities. Also the results of this research aimed at the issues that come with a top-down initiative as the NDCs and the LTS are in national context. The bottom-up part of the transition often has different views on the transition, what is important and what should be done, and this is resulting in hurdles for the net-zero transition to be done in consideration of equity and inclusion issues.

6.3.2 International context

The documents and the interviews raised different issues concerning the relationship between the country in question and other countries that have signed the Paris Agreement. The documents dedicate a lot of attention to differences in historical responsibility to work on net-zero transitions. They see the need for these transitions but the continuous mentioning of this almost noble agreement to comply with the Paris Agreement does raise questions about how true the commitment really is. This other notion of equity, specifically that of international equity, is apparent in the NDCs and LTS of all four emerging economies and signifies the existence of a discourse in which this form of equity is very important. This raises questions about whether or not this discourse of international equity is hegemonic over the discourse of equity in the national context.

The interviews also raised issues about why a country would comply with the Paris Agreement, which then again also results in questions about the legitimacy of what is written in the documents. Are the documents only written as a result of the power dynamic on the international political level? Similarly, is the way the documents are drawn up and the inclusion of certain equity topics such as human rights only based on international expectations and influenced by bilateral relations that are determining funding for an emerging economy? This idea is part of the viewpoint that the Paris Agreement is in fact a hegemony, determining what net-zero transitions are in emerging economies based on a certain dominant idea of the international level or from countries that have power and funding available. However, another point of view would be that the writing of such documents like the NDCs and LTS is merely a formality, rather than actively conveying a hegemonic viewpoint on sustainability and net-zero transitions.

6.4 Recommendations for future research

The recommendations that stem from this research all fall under the idea that it would be valuable to extend this research in numerous aspects. First of all, there were some limitations because of the lack

of insight from *inside* the government of Indonesia. It would have been valuable to gain more detailed insight into the process of the development of the documents, as well as on why or why not equity and inclusion are considered in the documents according to those who have written it. In this way, the discourse that underlies the NDCs could be visualized in more detail. With extended research, this gap could be filled. Secondly, it would be valuable to also conduct interviews with different stakeholders from the countries of the other NDCs that have been studied.

Another research recommendation that flows from the conclusions of this research is to conduct research on the top-down bottom-up disparity that exists between the NDCs and its attempts to address issues of equity and inclusion and the individuals in society that are affected by it. For this it is crucial to conduct fieldwork on the ground. As this is topic is rather large, it is recommended to do this per sector, e.g. forestry, energy and agriculture.

As already mentioned it is crucial to gain more insight into the underlying discourses of the Paris Agreement and national applications of it in emerging economies, because it can explain why or why not societal aspects, e.g. equity and inclusion, are considered in how the net-zero transitions are proposed in the NDCs and LTS, but also how they are applied. This research was able to gain limited insights in the application process to make concrete conclusions about the target's applications, but it would be highly valuable to have more insight in this aspect because it is the 'make or break' point in net-zero transitions in the net-zero transitions of emerging economies. Only if emerging economies are also able to effectively apply targets that also include equity and inclusions global targets are going to be met for the sake of the future of our climate and global society.

7. Conclusion

The questions that this research has aimed to answer is *Why or why not are issues of inclusion and equity considered in NDCs of emerging economies?* The main conclusions that can be made from the results of this research are elaborated upon in this chapter. First the conclusions regarding equity will be discussed, followed by the conclusions regarding inclusion.

The NDC of the emerging economies studied in this research are not only focussed on the environmental goals that are necessary to reach net-zero emissions in a certain year, but also consider issues of equity and inclusion of stakeholders in the process to some extent. However, the extent and the way in which they are considered do raise questions about the feasibility of these transitions happening in a way that is considerate of the society in which they have to be applied. Social issues are mentioned in several aspects of the NDC, mostly in the adaptation parts of the proposed plans. However, the extent to which this is concretized and elaborated upon *within* the documents itself is minimal. This research used a distinction between development vs. climate change action in order to determine the prioritization of social issues. The NDCs are inherent to target-orientation as the Paris Agreement is about setting concrete targets. The social aspects included in the NDCs, which concern equity as defined in this research, are also approached in a target-oriented manner. As such, even though the documents seem to prioritize both climate change action and development, it is not actually considering equity in an inclusive way because the initiatives described can be considered top-down target-oriented ways of tackling the social elements of the transition. Furthermore, this top-down oriented approach to development is mostly concerned economic aspects, rather than societal aspects. This raises questions about the commitment that these governments have to the social aspects of the transitions in their countries, because they do not prioritize inclusion and societal support of the plans proposed. An explanation for this is that equity issues are only mentioned because of international pressure and expectations that come from the Paris Agreement as a hegemonic discourse that follows the viewpoint of human rights and alike. Another issue of equity that the documents of the four countries are considerate of is that of international equity. This signifies that the governments of these countries are very focussed on the international arena in which these transition take place, as they focus on international historical responsibility to solve climate change issues, rather than equity within their own national context.

As for the inclusion of stakeholders in the process of drafting the NDCs and LTS, there is not a lot included in the documents of the countries. Only one of four emerging economies studied in this thesis (Brazil) had included a paragraph about this in their NDC which did not provide a lot of details as to the frequency or form of these meetings. The interviews provided some insights into the fact that there are participatory events in Indonesia as well. There are some mandatory non-party stakeholder meetings in the preparation of the NDC, but according to the interviewees this is merely a formality. They experienced little transparency about the scarce stakeholder engagement that did happen. The lack of information about stakeholder engagement in India and China and the lack of details about the stakeholder engagement in Brazil raises expectations that the situation regarding non-party stakeholder engagement in these countries is similar to how it is experienced in Indonesia. The results from the interviews have led to the conclusion that there is an underlying hegemonic discourse that prioritizes governmental sovereignty over stakeholder participation. This aligns with the discourse *administrative rationalism* as used in these thesis, where the state is in charge of solving environmental problems. This causes issues for the actual implementation of net-zero transitions in these emerging economies where governmental capacity is limited. There is in fact a large willingness for non-party stakeholders, from the private sector, as well as from non-profit and scientific organizations, to contribute and reduce this lack of capacity. However, because the government is

keen on protecting its power over the transition, there is little possible in terms of non-party stakeholder engagement. There seems to be a lack of trust from both sides. There are stakeholders that do not believe that the government's agenda is always as committed as it seems to be in the documents. This distrust from non-party stakeholders has the consequence that there is a bottom-up approach to contributing to net-zero, albeit not under that term. Sustainability is something the stakeholders believe should be done from a bottom-up approach. If there is no space for that under the official umbrella of the Paris Agreement, then they will continue to pursue this elsewhere or under a different name. Similar issues of distrust arise between different governmental organizations, where there is a 'sectorial ego', because of which different ministry are protective over their own projects.

To conclude, there is no simple answer to the question whether the NDCs and LTS of the four countries studied consider equity and inclusion, as it depends on which stakeholder this question is asked. The context of the Paris Agreement and the NDCs that are a result of it is highly complex, as it includes a lot of countries, with different stakeholders, different sectors and different national and international circumstances that interact with how the documents turn out. Equity and inclusion *are* included in the NDCs and LTS, but not to a large extent and especially not very thoroughly. The underlying discourses of the NDCs of emerging economies do not give a central role to the society of which the environment should change in order to reach net-zero emissions, but rather are concerned with sovereignty issues both internationally and within the national context. This research argues for a more inclusive approach to the net-zero transitions in emerging economies, as that can be a solution to considering equity to enhance the effective implementation of a transition and creates opportunities where a government lacks capacity.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Overview of Dryzek’s (1998) Environmental Discourses

Survivalism	
<p>1. Basic Entities Recognized or Constructed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Finite stocks of resources ▪ Carrying capacity of ecosystems ▪ Population ▪ Élites <p>2. Assumptions about Natural Relationships</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Hierarchy and control 	<p>3. Agent and their Motives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Élites; motivation is up for grabs <p>4. Key Metaphors and other Rhetorical Devices</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Overshoot and collapse ▪ Commons ▪ Spaceship Earth ▪ Lily Pond ▪ Cancer ▪ Computers ▪ Images of doom and redemption
The Promethean Response	
<p>1. Basic Entities Recognized or Constructed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Nature as only brute matter ▪ Markets ▪ Prices ▪ Energy ▪ Technology ▪ People <p>2. Assumptions about Natural Relationships</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Hierarchy of humans over everything else ▪ Competition 	<p>3. Agent and their Motives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Everyone; motivated by material self-interest <p>4. Key Metaphors and other Rhetorical Devices</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Mechanistic ▪ Trends (can be extrapolated indefinitely into the future)
Administrative Rationalism	
<p>1. Basic Entities Recognized or Constructed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Liberal capitalism ▪ Administrative State ▪ Experts ▪ Managers <p>2. Assumptions about Natural Relationships</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Nature subordinate to human problem solving ▪ People subordinate to state ▪ Experts and managers control state 	<p>3. Agent and their Motives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Experts and managers ▪ Motivated by public interest, defined in unitary terms <p>4. Key Metaphors and other Rhetorical Devices</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Mixture of concern and reassurance ▪ The administrative mind
Democratic Pragmatism	
<p>1. Basic Entities Recognized or Constructed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Liberal capitalism ▪ Liberal democracy ▪ Citizens <p>2. Assumptions about Natural Relationships</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Equality among citizens 	<p>3. Agent and their Motives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Many different agents ▪ Motivation a mix of material self-interest and multiple conceptions of public interests <p>4. Key Metaphors and other Rhetorical Devices</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Public policy as a resultant of forces ▪ Policy like scientific experimentation ▪ Thermostat

- Interactive political relationships, mixing competition and cooperation

Economic Rationalism

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1. Basic Entities Recognized or Constructed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Homo economicus ▪ Markets ▪ Prices ▪ Property ▪ Governments (not citizens) <p>2. Assumptions about Natural Relationships</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Competition ▪ Hierarchy based on expertise ▪ Subordination of nature | <p>3. Agent and their Motives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Homo economicus: self-interested ▪ Some government officials must be motivated by public interest <p>4. Key Metaphors and other Rhetorical Devices</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Mechanistic ▪ Stigmatizing administrative regulation ▪ Connection with freedom ▪ Horror stories |
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Sustainable Development

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. Basic Entities Recognized or Constructed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Nested social and ecological systems ▪ Capitalist economy ▪ (No limits) <p>2. Assumptions about Natural Relationships</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Subordination of nature ▪ Economic growth, environmental protection, distributive justice, and long-term sustainability go together | <p>3. Agent and their Motives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Many agents at different levels, notably transnational and local rather than the state; motivated by the public good <p>4. Key Metaphors and other Rhetorical Devices</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Organic growth ▪ Connection to progress ▪ Reassurance |
|--|---|

Ecological Modernization

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. Basic Entities Recognized or Constructed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Complex systems ▪ Nature as waste treatment plant ▪ Capitalist economy ▪ The state <p>2. Assumptions about Natural Relationships</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Partnership encompassing government, business, environmentalists, scientists ▪ Subordination of nature ▪ Environmental protection and economic prosperity go together | <p>3. Agent and their Motives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Partners; motivated by public good <p>4. Key Metaphors and other Rhetorical Devices</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Tidy household ▪ Connection to progress ▪ Reassurance |
|---|---|

Green Romanticism

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1. Basic Entities Recognized or Constructed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Global limits ▪ Inner nature ▪ Nature ▪ Unnatural practices ▪ Ideas <p>2. Assumptions about Natural Relationships</p> | <p>3. Agent and their Motives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Human subjects, some more ecologically conscious than others ▪ Agency exists in nature too <p>4. Key Metaphors and other Rhetorical Devices</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Wide range of biological and organic metaphors ▪ Passion |
|---|--|

- | | |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Natural relationships between humans and nature which have been violated ▪ Equality across people and nature | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Appeals to emotions, intuitions |
|---|---|

Green Rationalism

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. Basic Entities Recognized or Constructed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Global limits ▪ Nature as complex ecosystems ▪ Rational humans ▪ Social, economic, and political structures | <p>3. Agent and their Motives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Many individual and collective actors, multi-dimensional motivation ▪ Agency in nature downplayed, though not necessarily denied |
| <p>2. Assumptions about Natural Relationships</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Equality among people ▪ Complex interconnections between humans and nature | <p>4. Key Metaphors and other Rhetorical Devices</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Organic metaphors ▪ Appeals to reason, and potential rationality of social structures ▪ Link to progress |

Appendix 2 – Overview of NDC and LTS documents

All NDCs were retrieved from the official UNFCCC NDC registry:

<https://unfccc.int/NDCREG>

All LTS documents were retrieved from the official UNFCCC LTS registry:

<https://unfccc.int/process/the-paris-agreement/long-term-strategies>

Brazil	
Intended first NDC 2016	Brazil NDC, 2016
First NDC (updated submission) 2020	Brazil NDC, 2020
First NDC (second update) 2022	Brazil NDC, 2022
China	
Intended first NDC 2016 (No English translation accessible)	China NDC, 2016
NDC update 2021 (unofficial translation to English)	China NDC, 2021
Progress of NDC 2022 (unofficial translation to English)	China NDC, 2022
LTS-LCCR 2021 (unofficial translation to English)	China LTS, 2021
India ¹	
Intended First NDC 2016	India NDC, 2016
Updated First NDC 2022	India NDC, 2022
Indonesia	
Intended first NDC 2016	Indonesia NDC, 2016
First NDC (updated submission) 2021	Indonesia NDC, 2021
Enhanced NDC 2022	Indonesia NDC, 2022
LTS-LCCR 2021	Indonesia LTS, 2021

¹ India now in fact has submitted a long-term strategy but has done this after the documents for analysis were gathered for the research.

Appendix 3 – Code for document analysis

Equity in the net-zero transition proposed by the NDCs & LTS

Is it mentioned?	Yes/no
What?	What is meant with it? What aspects are included? E.g.: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gender - Communities - Indigenous people - Wages - Resilience - Poverty reduction
How?	Plan to achieve it
Where?	Nation-wide, or regional, or local.
Who?	Who or what agency is responsible for this?

Inclusion in the NDC & LTS writing and implementation process

Is it mentioned?	Yes/no
What?	What meaning is given to it? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - None (process is not important, merely targets/technology) - Mentioning it, but without a concrete plan (the 'how') - Elaborate description of 'how' and as such a major element of the document
How?	How is/was it achieved?
Where?	In what parts of the process, specific elements, regions, topics etc.?
Who?	Who are and are not included? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Experts - Corporate actors ('the market') - Societal actors <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o 'the people' o NGOs

Appendix 4 – Interview guide for semi-structured interviews

Questions were used as guidelines when needed. Only the relevant questions per stakeholder were asked. Generally there was a lot of space for the interviewees to provide any insights that they felt were important and as such the interviews were more of a conversation than a series of questions.

Introduction

- Permission for recording and use of name and organization in thesis
- Small introduction on my thesis

Personal questions

- Can you introduce yourself a little bit?
- In what ways is the work you do related to the NDCs and LTS of Indonesia?

The drafting of the NDCs

- Have you been involved in the development of Indonesia's NDC or LTS or have you actively followed the process? If so, can you tell me something about that?
- What can you tell me about the process of the development of these documents? Who were involved? State-actors, market-actors, communities? What are the reasons for their involvement?

Contents of the NDCs and LTS

- What are the problems, the wrongs, that the NDCs and LTS want to solve? Do you think that the proposed plans to address the wrongs in the NDCs and LTS make sense and are fit to address the wrongs?
- According to you, what is central in the documents: the target or rather the process of how to reach the targets? Why is this? What is your view on this: should the one or the other be more prominent?

Institutions

- Would you say that Indonesia's commitment to the Paris Agreement is institutionalized by means of policy and laws?
- Specific questions related to the contents of the NDCs and LTS, if applicable with the interviewee:
 - E.g. ProKlim (Climate Village Program), SIDIK (vulnerability index), Electric Vehicle program
 - Do you know anything about them? Who are involved in these initiatives? In what ways has equity been a part of the agenda of developing and implementing these initiatives? For SIDIK, are there any social elements included in this index?

Alignment with other initiatives/plans

- In the documents, especially the LTS, there are many references to the importance of alignment with other plans or commitments. Among other things, the SDGs, the national long-term development plan, the medium-term development plan, the National Strategy for Acceleration of Gender Mainstreaming Implementation, as well as similar things concerning elderly and disabled people are mentioned. How is this working out in practice?
- Are these inclusion and equity elements of the transition prioritized?

Just transition & inclusion

- Specifically the LTS refers to just transition. The document admitting that this is still in its primary face, is still rather unclear about who are responsible for this element of the transition. How do you view the role of just transition in the current net-zero transition? Who is working on this?
- Similarly in the last part of the LTS the importance of the effective of non-party stakeholders is mentioned. It includes the statement that the mechanism for this will continuously be improved. Can you provide me with some insight on what this mechanism is and how this works in practice?

Commitment and synergy

- In the LTS, the importance of high commitment to the transition is mentioned. How do you view the commitment of the government of Indonesia to the implementation of the proposed transition?
- Similarly, the importance of synergy in this process is mentioned. Do you see this reflected in how the transition is currently in motion?

Discourse

- Do the NDCs and the LTS fit in the business as usual of the Indonesian government or is there a shift in thinking and speaking about climate change and net-zero transitions?
- How is net-zero transition portrayed by the government through e.g. the NDCs and the LTS? What role do social aspects of the transition have in this portrayal? Has this way of speaking become status quo when discussing the net-zero transition or climate change more generally?

End of interview

- Is there something you'd like to add?
 - Maybe something about your view of the future of the NDCs and the LTS of Indonesia?
- Do you have any recommendations of people that I should talk to about this subject matter?
- Ask for permission on use of name of person and organization

Appendix 5 – List of interview respondents

	Name organization	Type of organization
1	Dala Institute	Research institute
2	Yayasan Konservasi Alam Nusantara (YKAN)	Research NGO – works with Ministry of Environment and Forestry
3	World Resources Institute (WRI) Indonesia	Research institute – works with Ministry of Planning
4	PhD student ENP & Employee of Ministry of Environment & Forestry of Indonesia	Government
5	Indonesia Research Institute for Decarbonization (IRID)	Research institute
6	<i>Anonymous</i>	Science-based NGO
7	Daemeter	Consulting firm