

**THE REASON FOR NEW PARTNERSHIP ON REDUCING EMISSION
BETWEEN INDONESIA AND NORWAY IN 2022
UNDERGRADUATE THESIS**



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Proposed to the Department of International Relations
Faculty of Psychology and Socio-Cultural Sciences
Universitas Islam Indonesia
As partial fulfillment of requirement to earn a
Bachelor Degree in International Relations



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AUTHORIZATION PAGE

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Defended in front of Board of Examiners
in the Department of International Relations
Faculty of Psychology and Socio-Cultural Sciences
Universitas Islam Indonesia

As a partial fulfillment of requirement to earn
Bachelor Degree of International Relations

12 July 2024

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I hereby declare that this undergraduate thesis is the result of my own independent scientific work, and that all material from the work of others (in books, articles, essays, dissertations, and on the internet) has been stated, and quotations and paraphrases are clearly indicated.

No other materials are used other than those contained. I have read and understood the university's rules and procedures regarding plagiarism.

Making false statements is considered a violation of academic integrity.

12 July 2024,



Qanita Sukma Hartomo

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ABSTRACT

Norway's REDD+ program is aimed to reducing greenhouse gas emissions and promoting sustainable forest management in Indonesia. This collaboration's principal goal is to protect and manage forests with community engagement, especially among indigenous peoples, in addition to lowering emissions caused by deforestation and forest degradation. This paper will analyze the reasons why Indonesia do a new partnership with Norway in reducing emission. This research will be focused on analyzing the reason why Indonesia accepted cooperation with Norway again, even though it was very clear that Norway did not carry out its obligation to pay Indonesia when Indonesia had already carried out its obligations. This situation could be a case study in how countries can adapt their international cooperation in the face of global political and economic changes, as well as how countries like Indonesia can innovate in finding sustainable solutions.

Keywords: REDD+, Issues Linkage, Indonesia, Norway, Cooperations.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Environmental issues are one of the most interesting issues to be discussed in the study of international relations. Environmental issues are important in the international world considering that every economic, social, and political development certainly refers to existing environmental problems. Several environmental problems that are currently being highlighted are illegal logging, forest fires, and one of the focuses of this research is the issue of climate change (Ikhtiarin et al. 2023)

It is essential for the climate that the world's forests be preserved. Large-scale carbon dioxide absorption occurs in forests, and when they are lost or degraded, they can become a source of greenhouse gas emissions. Under the auspices of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change ("What Is REDD+? | UNFCCC," n.d.) international talks led to the creation of REDD+, and also, in accordance with the Paris Agreement, the United Nations created the "REDD+" framework to safeguard forests. REDD stands for "Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation in Developing Countries". The additional climate-protecting forest-related activities denoted by the "+" include sustainable forest management and the preservation and improvement of forest carbon reserves. When developing countries eliminate deforestation, they are eligible for compensation for emission reductions based on

outcomes under the framework of these REDD+ efforts. This is a significant motivator for developing countries (UNFCCC, n.d.).

The collaboration under REDD+ framework is also implemented in several countries that have significantly large forests, such as Brazil, Guyana and Tanzania. These countries have a common path with Indonesia. In order to assist these nations with their REDD+ initiatives, Norway has signed a number of bilateral agreements. These agreements offer monetary rewards for cutting greenhouse gas emissions caused by deforestation and other forest degradation. Regarding the relationship between developed and developing countries, this framework has a simple and intuitive structure. The developed country pays the developing country to cover the expenditure that is spent by the developing country in the Measurement, Reporting, and Verification (MRV) phases: a prerequisite approach that needs to be fulfilled for REDD+ implementation. Reporting is the process of providing information about the GHG emissions that have been reduced from a REDD+ program. Verification is the last step, where any report pertaining to emission reductions must meet transparent criteria and be verified by an independent party. Measurement is the process of gathering and processing data that measures the GHG emissions that have been reduced in a REDD+ activity.

According to the Ministry of Environment and Forestry of Indonesia in 2023, Indonesia had forest of 125.76 hectares, or 62.97% of the whole land area of Indonesia (satria.ardhi.n 2023). In Indonesia, during 2001- 2023, 85% of forest loss occurred in areas where the dominant reason was deforestation. Thus, Indonesia has to think about strategies for overcoming deforestation in Indonesia

or at least for reducing deforestation in Indonesia. The cooperation offered by Norway could be an alternative way for Indonesia to continue to improve its efforts in reducing deforestation.

Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the president of Indonesia at the time, told G20 leaders during a speech in 2009 that the country could reduce its carbon dioxide emissions by 26% under normal circumstances by the year 2020 and by as much as 41% with international assistance (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat RI 2009). As a follow-up to the UN Climate Change Convention in 2007, the UN developed a program called Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation, Plus Conservation, or REDD+. Since 2010, a partnership between the Governments of Norway and Indonesia has been underway in the REDD+ program by signing a letter of intent (LoI) for a bilateral REDD+ deal (Greenpeace Indonesia 2012).

For a number of reasons, including the idea that developing nations or those receiving help must have domestic development plans and policies in place to complement foreign aid, Indonesia reaffirmed its acceptance of Norway. As a developing nation with extremely complicated environmental conditions, Indonesia had aimed to enhance its forests and cut emissions by 26% by 2020. With international support, Indonesia pledged that this cut to emissions could reach 41% (Rizky and Cucucaniago 2023).

This action was taken after Norway committed to providing 500 million USD in aid in 2007, to be paid in installments, to support REDD projects in developing nations. By launching Norway's International Climate and Forest Initiative (NICFI) in 2008, Norway made good on its promise to monitor, assess,

report on, and verify deforestation and forest degradation in developing nations that receive funding from Norway's REDD program. (komitmeniklim 2021).

Norway announced on February 16th 2017 that it would provide the first results-based payment to Indonesia as part of a REDD+ agreement the two nations established in 2010 (Seymour 2019). According to the agreement, Norway's payment was to be determined using estimates of forest emissions based on verified deforestation data from the Indonesian government. The cost per metric ton of CO₂eq was \$5 US, which was the World Bank pricing for REDD+ at the time (PPID, n.d.)

Since 2010, a partnership between the governments of Norway and Indonesia has been underway in the REDD+ (Reducing greenhouse gas emissions from deforestation and forest degradation) program. After 10 years, the Indonesian government terminated the Norwegian LoI, which would pay US\$1 billion if the country had tropical rainforests that could slow down emissions from deforestation. (Mongabay 2021)

September 10, 2021 Indonesian government chose to end the Letter of Intent (LoI) between the governments of Indonesia and Norway on cooperation for reducing greenhouse gas emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD+)(Saturi 2021). The Indonesian government stated that the decision was taken because there had been no concrete progress in implementing the Norwegian Government's obligation to realize the result-based payment (RBP) scheme for Indonesia's efforts.

It was happened because in June 2020, Norway announced its first results-based payment to Indonesia of US\$56 million for reducing emissions by 11.2

million tonnes of carbon dioxide. This reduction is comparable to emissions reductions over the previous ten years. Despite this, Norway never followed through on its agreement. Norway insisted on evaluating Indonesia's Environment Fund, established in accordance with the Presidential Regulation, before Indonesia terminated the LOI (eastasiaforum 2021).

The decision to terminate was made by the Indonesian government after extensive consultation and in consideration of the lack of tangible progress by the Norwegian government to carry out its obligation to realize result-based payments (RBP). Indonesia realized its obligation by reducing emissions by 11.2 million metric tons of CO₂eq in 2016–2017, which has been confirmed by international agencies. The Indonesian government has stated that there will be no impact on Indonesia's commitment to achieving emission reduction targets as a result of the cessation of the REDD+ collaboration (Kementrian Luar Negeri 2021).

According to Ben Groom and his colleagues argue that Norway's performance assessment wasn't accurate or rigorous in determining whether the programme was effective because it used the average deforestation rates for the whole of Indonesia instead of just the moratorium area (Farand 2022). This should have been included in the agreement between Indonesia and Norway in their LOI in 2010 to avoid misunderstandings and misinformation between each other.

On September 12th, 2022, Norway and Indonesia agreed to re-establish a cooperative relationship between them. Norway and Indonesia have agreed to a new climate agreement under which the Nordic nation will pay the Southeast Asian nation to maintain its forests. The agreement was reached one year after Indonesia ended the virtually comparable plan between the two nations due to

nonpayment. This agreement gives the REDD+ deal an opportunity once again. This collaboration's principal goal is to protect and manage forests with community engagement, especially among indigenous peoples, as well as to lower emissions caused by deforestation and forest degradation. The cooperation carried out is not only in terms of payments but also in terms of sharing knowledge and information at the technical level, international consultation, communication, and sharing knowledge about land use, forestry, and climate policies and agendas. Additionally, capacity building is needed to improve social forestry, including mangroves, and sustainable forest management to better absorb carbon from the atmosphere (Satari 2022).

The following outlines the forms of partnership being carried out by Indonesia and Norway according to the MoU from the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

1. Policy dialogue aimed at accomplishing global collaboration and policy goals concerning climate change, forestry, and other land uses.
2. Technical dialogue to address technical challenges, improve national forest monitoring systems, and enable information and knowledge exchange.
3. Indonesia seeks to reduce emissions from forestry and other land uses to achieve its NDC by implementing the FOLU Net Sink 2030 Operational Plan, and among other things, prioritize the utilization of results-based contributions from cooperation through the Environmental Fund Management Agency in accordance with the objectives of cooperation.

4. Norway supports Indonesia's prioritized results and activities through a results-based contribution for the reduction of emissions from deforestation and forest degradation at a partial national level and from third-party verification results as specified in a contribution agreement based on a Measurement, Reporting and Verification (MRV) protocol, both of which will be mutually agreed to by the Parties.

5. The Parties are committed to transparency and high levels of social and environmental integrity and safeguards. Participation of relevant stakeholders will be ensured in the implementation of the FOLU Net Sink 2030 Operational Plan.

6. Operational Plan for FOLU Net Sink 2030 and the results-based contribution will be channeled through BPD LH under a separate contribution agreement.

Compare to the agreement in 2010, in the newest agreement, the document that used is MoU, and in the previous one is LoI, which has different level of document. MoU is a more serious and binding document, which shows a clearer and firmer commitment from both parties. MoUs usually include more specific and detailed agreements about the cooperation to be carried out. Therefore, it can provide assurance that both parties will abide by the agreement. This can increase trust between the parties involved, as they know that each party will be responsible for complying with the agreement and gaining trust with each other.

In Februari 2024, the Minister of Environment and Forestry (LHK) Siti Nurbaya held a meeting with the Norwegian Ambassador to Indonesia, Rut

Kruger Giverin. The purpose of the discussion was to talk more about the execution of the fourth financial tranche for the two nations' cooperative efforts. Specifically, the conference initiated the verification process for the fourth tranche of the emission reductions under the Result Based Contribution (RBC). All relevant data from the complete reduction of emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD+) will be included in the verification process. He underlined that the foundation of this relationship is equality and that it is supported by data based on facts. This collaboration will also enable both parties to together take decisive action toward achieving the climate goals of their respective nations. According to the minister, the first, second, and third RBCs have all been finished as of January. The total amount contributed up to the third stage was almost USD 156 million or 2.4 trillion rupiah (Agrofarm 2024). That amount of money is significant for improving Indonesia's effort.

In this thesis, the writer discusses the reasons why Indonesia accepted cooperation with Norway again, even though it was very clear that Norway did not fulfill its obligation to pay Indonesia after Indonesia had met its obligation. This situation could become a case study of how countries can adapt their international cooperation in the face of global political and economic changes, as well as how countries like Indonesia can be innovative in finding sustainable solutions. Discussing this topic is not only relevant for understanding the dynamics of current international relations, but is also important in the context of global climate change and efforts to achieve environmental sustainability.

1.2 Research Question

Why did Indonesia decide to do a new partnership with Norway in reducing emission after the termination of REDD+ framework in 2021?

1.3 Research Objectives

The objectives of this research are:

1. To explain the REDD+ Framework;
2. To explain Indonesia's economic and non-economic reasons for a new partnership regarding to reducing emission with Norway;
3. To comprehend Norway's interests in carrying out environmental cooperation through the REDD+ program in Indonesia;
4. To describe the implementation of the REDD+ program that has been established by the two countries; and
5. To explain why Indonesia is collaborating again with Norway in the REDD+ program.

1.4 Research Scope

The scope of this research is focused on analyzing the reasons why Indonesia re-cooperated with Norway in REDD+, which discusses environmental issues. This research about REDD+ discusses some aspects of the issue for the purpose of getting a detailed understanding of the cooperation that happened between Indonesia and Norway. It also analyzes new frameworks, guidelines, and regulations implemented to support the new cooperation. This thesis plans to concentrate on the relations between Norway and Indonesia, as well as the changes and adjustments to the agreement and policies updated and amended from

the previous agreement. The time range is from 2021, when Indonesia terminated its cooperation with Norway, until 2022, when Indonesia and Norway decided to give REDD+ another go.

1.5 Literature Review

The first journal used as part of the review is a journal by Pradipta Dirgantara, entitled “Reflecting on REDD+: Challenges Towards Indonesia’s Carbon Pricing.”. Numerous parties, conflicting interests, and institutional difficulties define Indonesia's forest governance structure. In order to effectively combat deforestation and forest degradation, the journal emphasizes the necessity of better coordination and collaboration among government agencies, local communities, and international players. The journal makes the argument that REDD+ programs are still unclear in terms of their ability to mitigate deforestation and lower carbon emissions, even in spite of large expenditures on them. Insecure land tenure, lax law enforcement, and low community involvement are just a few of the problems that have made REDD+ initiatives in Indonesia less successful. This paper makes a number of policy proposals to address the issues raised by the analysis. To assist REDD+ and carbon pricing initiatives in Indonesia, the researcher suggests developing institutional capacity, strengthening legislative frameworks, boosting community engagement, and investigating finance methods.

The second journal is one by Mesi Fransiska Berutu with the title of “Kepentingan Pemerintah Norwegia dalam Kerjasama Penanganan Deforestasi dan Degradasi Hutan di Indonesia Melalui Mekanisme REDD+” examined the

desire of the Norwegian government to collaborate with Indonesia on the REDD+ (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation) system in order to combat deforestation and forest degradation. In order to promote sustainable development and lower greenhouse gas emissions from the forest sector globally, Norway and Indonesia are collaborating on this project.

International initiatives to address climate change and forest protection include the collaboration of the governments of Norway and Indonesia through the REDD+ mechanism. Norway is assisting Indonesia in reducing deforestation and forest degradation while promoting sustainable development with its financial and technical support. Notwithstanding the difficulties in implementing REDD+, the two nations' dedication and cooperation have a lot of promise for meeting global carbon reduction objectives and promoting forest conservation. In addition to financial support, REDD+ in Indonesia has to be strengthened in terms of institutional capacity, active community engagement, and policies.

The third source is a journal by Ananda Dewin Ikhtiarin, Viola Marsela Agustin, Ariel Nethan, Maria Veri Diana Baun Yuel, Harits Dwi Wiratma, and Yeyen Subandi with the title of “Dinamika Kerja Sama Indonesia- Norwegia Di Bidang Lingkungan Hidup Melalui Program Reducing Emissions From Deforestation and forest Degradation (REDD+) Tahun 2017-2021” According to the research in this publication, it appears that throughout this collaboration, Indonesia and Norway encountered a number of very important dynamics, that eventually turned into difficulties for both countries. Indonesia's internal issues, such as issues with forest protection, delays in meeting cooperation requirements,

and disputes with indigenous peoples, which of course had an impact on the implementation of REDD+, were dynamics experienced during the implementation of the Indonesia-Norway REDD+. Then, due to an earlier settled difference, Indonesia decided to cease its REDD+ partnership with Norway. Nevertheless, Indonesia remains committed to lowering carbon emissions from greenhouse gases brought on by deforestation and forest degradation despite the conclusion of this cooperation (Ikhtiarin et al. 2023)

These journals mostly discussed the dynamics of cooperation between Indonesia and Norway and how the cooperation needs government involvement in order to run smoothly and to connect with other parties, such as local communities and international actors. These dynamics connect with the theory of this thesis about how cooperation is needed as achieving national self-reliance usually comes at a hefty price.

Therefore, this study has analyzed in detail the re-cooperation between Indonesia and Norway that took place in 2022, which is a more current issue than the sources above discussed. Most of the sources found covered the period of 2010-2021 and so are focused on the first cooperation in 2010. Meanwhile, this research discusses the second Indonesia-Norway agreement in 2022. It tackles a problem that has not been widely researched and examines it with theories that have never been combined before.

1.6 Research Framework

In this research, the writer used the issue linkage theory by Ernest B. Haas. Issue linkage is a negotiation attempt that connects different issues to reach an agreement between the two parties. According to Haas, knowledge and social

goals do not always go together and are constantly changing; every negotiation must be seen in terms of various issues in order to reach an agreement (Haas 1980a)

In this theory, Haas distinguishes three approaches:

1. Tactical Issue Linkage is an attempt of negotiating by bringing together economic partners or topics that fall under the purview of the agreement, both economically and non-economically, to allow for bargaining to continue until a quid pro quo is achieved.
2. Fragmented Issue Linkage is an attempt at negotiation to reconcile conflicting concerns in order to achieve main social objectives, particularly when the results are uncertain. However, this uncertainty can strengthen the relationship and keep the parties involved in negotiations with consideration regarding to resources, causes, and consequences.
3. Substantive Issue Linkage is an attempt at negotiation that connects different aspect using intellectual techniques to reach maximize gains.

This thesis using tactical issues linkage According to the justification given above, discussing the instance of collaboration between Indonesia and Norway should be done using a tactical issue linking strategy. Haas' contention that tactical issue linking is a popular and simple technique to employ in the context of international cooperation to get the interests of all parties engaged serves to further support this. Furthermore, since the issue is unrelated, making the sacrifices won't lead to major issues as long as the desired outcome is realized.

Moreover, situations that take place within international regimes or organizations are more frequently the focus of the fragmented and substantive issue connection approaches. Haas also pointed out that an intriguing method for explaining how a regime develops is substantive issue linkage. However, there are a number of factors that support the claim that the problem formulation can be explained by tactical issue connection. As evidenced by the cooperation that Indonesia and Norway have reestablished despite their negative history together, not only are environmental issues related to reducing emissions discussed, but economic issues are also used to broaden the discussion in order to maximize benefits for both parties.

Haas distinguishes two parties in this theory: the linker and the linkee. When it comes to making an offer, the linkee is in a weaker position in front of the linker and it is the linker who is the powered party (Haas 1980a).

In this case, the writer categorizes Norway as the linker because Norway has a material power in the sense that it can compensate Indonesia for reducing its emissions, and Indonesia as a linkee.

In some cases, trade and environmental issues may be separated in international negotiations and policies. Countries may discuss trade issues in trade forums such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), while environmental issues such as climate change are discussed in environmental forums such as the United Nations Conference of the Parties on Climate Change (COP). This can lead to tactical differences in approaches to issues that are actually interrelated, such as the relationship between international trade and greenhouse gas emissions. In this

thesis the author uses tactical issues linkage because this research will combine economic and non-economic aspects to find out why Indonesia has re-accepted cooperation with Norway in the REDD+ framework.

Issues that are actually closely related are referred to as tactical issue linkage in the Indonesian-Norwegian REDD+ partnership. The primary topic of discussion is how to lower greenhouse gas emissions by managing natural resources sustainably and preserving forests. Indonesia has one of the world's largest tropical forests, which, if preserved, may significantly lower greenhouse gas emissions worldwide. As a primary contributor to the REDD+ partnership, Norway is dedicated to providing funding to encourage Indonesia to preserve its forests and lessen deforestation.

Table 1 The roles of Indonesia and Norway in the cooperation of REDD+ framework

	Indonesia	Norway
Roles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Responsible for protecting forests and reducing emissions - Recipient of aid funds : Linkee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Provide financial support for Indonesia - Financial aid provider : Linker
Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To reduce deforestation and forest degradation to realizing the Paris 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To reduce global emissions through forest conservation.

	Agreement - To obtain financial benefits from Norway	- To improve the country's image in the eyes of the world through this program
Reason for giving/accepting the offer	Improving forestry sector governance: in this collaboration, Indonesia can reduce greenhouse gas emissions and receive compensation for this, so Indonesia can kill two birds with one stone.	Promoting REDD+ practices as part of a global solution, and to give Norway credit for helping a developing country.

Resources: analysis results, 2024

Approaches to connected problems, such environmental governance, agricultural policy, and economic development, are, various. For instance, Indonesia faces the difficulty of continuing rapid economic expansion while needing to protect the environment. Millions of people rely on the agriculture and forestry industries for their livelihood, which also contributes significantly to Indonesia's greenhouse gas emissions. As a result, there is pressure to develop these industries while also considering their environmental impact.

1.7 Provisional Argument

Using the issue linkage approach, this research analyzes the economic and non-economic reasons that encouraged Indonesia to re-cooperate with Norway in

the framework of the REDD++ cooperation. Norway primarily provides financial support and technical assistance to Indonesia under the REDD+ framework with the aim of assisting it in reducing greenhouse gas emissions from deforestation and forest degradation. The framework for Norway's assistance is a 2010 Letter of Intent (LoI) that outlines a collaboration targeted at lowering emissions from deforestation and forest degradation in Indonesia. Indonesia, as a linkee, recieved a lot of benefits from this cooperation, including getting compensation for its efforts in reducing gas emissions from forests in Indonesia, as well as the transfer of knowledge between Norway and Indonesia. Norway has more experience than Indonesia when it comes to mitigating climate change by preserving forests, which act as carbon sinks.

1.8 Research Method

1.8.1 Type of the Research

The writer of this study found research data by using a qualitative research methodology. The type of literature-based research known as qualitative research puts emphasis on description and analysis.

1.8.2 Subject and Object of the Research

In this study, the research subjects are the Governments of Indonesia and Norway as the countries involved in the international cooperation. The object of this research is Redd+ program between Indonesia and Norway.

1.8.3 Method of Data Collection

This research is based on a literature study that consists of primary and secondary methods. In the primary method, the writer examined the official website of the Ministry of Environment and Forestry of Indonesia to obtain data focused on literature and analysis. In the secondary method, the writer collected and selected articles, journals, or books that were in line with the Redd+ cooperation between Indonesia and Norway as these research topics could help complete this research. Also, the writer selected information published in the mass media, news, and internet, if the sources could be justified.

1.8.4 Process of the Research

Data chosen for the research process were that from credible sources, including journals, books, articles, and reports. The official report issued by the Indonesian Ministry of Environment and Forestry served as the primary source of data collection, while news articles, reports, and other research served as secondary sources.

1.9 Thesis Outline

The first chapter of this study discusses the background, research questions, research objectives, research scope, literature review, research framework, provisional arguments, and research methodology.

In the second chapter of this thesis, the writer analyzes Norway as the linker and its contribution to reduce emissions.

In the third chapter of this thesis, Indonesia, as the linkee, is analyzed including its contribution in the REDD+ Framework.

CHAPTER 2

NORWAY AS A LINKER IN THE REDUCING EMISSION

PARTNERSHIP

One of the crucial things that needs to be done in issue linkage theory is to group the roles that actors play. Actors are split into two groups by Haas, referred to as linkers and linkees (Haas 1980b). This chapter discusses Norway as a linker in this cooperation between Indonesia and Norway, the goals that the linker wants to achieve, the compensation issues that the linker wants to offer, and the win and loss aspects of the linker.

2.1. Norway as a Linker

Norway has a role as a linker in this cooperation, because Norway has offered cooperation and financial support to Indonesia to strengthen their efforts to reduce emissions from deforestation and forest degradation. As a country with experience and commitment in forest management and climate change mitigation, Norway has played an important role in helping Indonesia develop policies, build capacity, and implement REDD+ projects.

When determining the party who becomes the Linker, as stated by Haas, the Linker is the one with greater authority. Thus, how the Linker shapes the Linkee's viewpoint will affect how the agreement turns out (Haas 1980b).

In this case, Norway has more power than Indonesia and significant power in this cooperation. Norway has a major role in this agreement as the financial resource; the country provides substantial financial resources to support the REDD+ program in Indonesia. This financial support enables the implementation

of concrete projects aimed at reducing deforestation and forest degradation and improving sustainable forest management.

Norway has much experience and knowledge in forest management and climate change mitigation (“Agriculture and Water Policy Changes: Stocktaking and Alignment with OECD and G20 Recommendations” 2020).). It can contribute by providing technical assistance, knowledge transfer, and training to Indonesia in order to improve the capacity and effectiveness of the REDD+ program. Norway has also demonstrated a strong political commitment to international efforts to reduce carbon emissions and conserve forests. This created a strong foundation for REDD+ cooperation with Indonesia and provided confidence that Norway would continue to support these efforts in the long term.

In this thesis, the writer has used the Structural Power theory by Susan Strange as an approach. Susan Strange defines structural power as the ability to influence and establish the framework of the international political economy that other nations, their political institutions, their businesses, and scientists and other professionals must have a role within. Structural power gives the authority to determine how matters will be handled and to shape the framework that governs how states interact with one another, with individuals, or with businesses (Srijan 2022).

Table 2 Comparison of Structural Power in Indonesia and Norway

Indicator	Norway	Indonesia	Comparasion Result
Security	In 2020, Norway had a	In 2020, Indonesia	Indonesia has

	total of approximately 25,000 soldiers.	had a total of approximately 676,000 soldiers.	more soldiers than Norway.
Financial	In 2020, Norway reached US\$68,340.02 per capita (The World Bank 2024).	The 2020 Indonesian economy, as measured by Gross Domestic Product (GDP) at current prices per capita, reached IDR56.9 million or US\$3,911.7. (Badan Pusat Statistik 2021).	Indonesia's GDP is higher than Norway's.
Knowledge	The Norwegian collection includes over 225,000 patent documents (WIPO, n.d.).	Indonesia has 100.000 patents that is officially given by PDKI Indonesia (Pangkalan Data Kekayaan Intelektual 2024).	Norway has more patent.

Production	In 2022, goods with a value of around 249.81 billion U.S. dollars were exported from Norway.	Indonesia's exports in April 2022 were recorded at USD 27.32 billion.	Norway have more export than Indonesia.
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As can be seen from the table, Norway is more developed than Indonesia. However, despite significant differences in security, financial and scientific conditions between Indonesia and Norway, both countries have the potential to learn from and collaborate with each other to improve the progress and well-being of their societies. Bilateral and multilateral collaboration can help address the challenges faced by each country and capitalize on shared opportunities for sustainable economic growth and improved welfare.

2.1.1 *The goals Norway wants to achieve*

As outlined in previous sections, the cooperation between Indonesia and Norway, in this framework, is an issue of the environment. Norway aspires to be a global leader in environmental issues; however, it is the world's biggest producer and exporter of oil. Due to these two opposing facts, Norway's stance on climate change policy is radically at odds (Bang and Lahn 2020). Thus, Norway is keen to advance sustainable growth in Indonesia's forestry industry. It is anticipated that Indonesia will create sustainable forestry practices from this agreement, such as improved forest management and forest restoration initiatives, with financial and technical assistance from Norway.

Norway aspires to be a global leader in environmental issues. However, Norway is a commercial nation and the biggest oil exporter in the world. Due to these two factors, Norway has found itself with divergent viewpoints regarding its climate change policies. Norway's political elite agrees that the nation must continue to be at the forefront of environmental policies. Norway's proactive participation in the global climate regime, which includes the establishment of aggressive emission reduction targets and the provision of foreign aid to poorer nations for the implementation of environmental policies, serves as evidence of this (Lahn 2019).

The goals of Norway in this agreement are to use diplomatic and economic leverage to sway Indonesian policy and educate the populace about the value of forestry and environmental preservation. Norway, thus, believes that the REDD+ partnership may serve as a successful model for lowering GHG emissions and promoting environmental preservation in Indonesia.

2.1.2 The economic goals Norway wants to achieve

In the context of the REDD+ framework, Norway's economic objectives with Indonesia generally center on supporting green growth, mitigating climate change, and sustainable development. Norway sought to fund environmentally friendly forest management techniques in Indonesia. This entailed lending funding to programs that lessen emissions resulting from deforestation and forest degradation, conserve forests, prepare for sustainable land use, and encourage alternate means of subsistence for populations that depend on forests. Norway can promote the preservation of Indonesia's forests and support international efforts to

tackle climate change by offering financial incentives for lowering emissions from deforestation. Supporting REDD + programs in Indonesia could help the country's economy diversify away from sectors like logging and the manufacturing of palm oil, which are highly dependent on deforestation. Long-term economic resilience and stability can be fostered by this diversification, which may result in the emergence of new economic sectors and job possibilities.

Norway is now the eighth-largest oil and third-largest natural gas exporter in the world because of its offshore sector, which is centered in the city on the west coast. Norway has the largest government-owned special investment fund in the world, with oil revenues of US\$875 billion (Press 2016). Hydrocarbons make up 40% of Norway's exports, which have been highly subsidized to maintain a robust oil and gas industry. A decarbonization strategy is required to attain sustainable environmental circumstances. This involves restricting the extraction of energy resources in all forms and transitioning to eco-friendly energy systems. For the Norwegian economy, which depends mostly on the oil and gas sector for its income, this is regarded as dangerous. Given its reliance on the oil and gas industry for a large portion of its revenue, the Norwegian economy is thought to be vulnerable to changes in the demand and price of oil on a worldwide scale. This is due to the tight relationship between the performance of the oil and gas industry and the nation's economic growth and stability. Norway's economy may be badly affected, resulting in lower government revenue and even economic instability, if the world's demand for oil and gas declines or if prices fall sharply. The 'Norway paradox' is that Norway, in order to counteract the emissions from

its economic activity, has adopted a globally aggressive environmental policy. (Norwegian Offshore 2024).

From the explanation above, it is clear that despite Norway's massive emissions from its oil and gas production, the country is dedicated to making a global contribution to reducing greenhouse gas emissions without compromising the expansion of its industrial production. Climate change has an impact on Norway's natural environment. However, Norway's economy and wellbeing would suffer greatly from a reduction in fossil fuel output and exports. Given that cutting emissions at home is viewed as a drawback, Norway made the decision to cut emissions abroad by helping developing nations create and carry out environmental laws, such as Indonesia's REDD+ program.

By working together on REDD+ projects, Norway and Indonesia may improve their bilateral economic relations and advance global collaboration on climate change mitigation. In order to promote economic growth through trade and investment, this cooperation may go beyond REDD to other areas of shared interest, such as green technology, sustainable development, and renewable energy. Norway could endeavor to assist Indonesia in gaining access to technology, information, and skills so that Indonesia can carry out REDD projects more successfully. This could entail partnerships with Indonesian institutions, training programs, and technical support to develop local competence in carbon monitoring and sustainable forest management.

Overall, it is likely that Norway's economic objectives in the REDD+ framework with Indonesia are in line with more general goals of addressing climate change, promoting environmental sustainability, and fostering green

growth, as well as opening up economic opportunities and strengthening bilateral cooperation between the two nations.

2.1.3 The non-economic goals Norway wants to achieve

Norway has a lot of goals to achieve in regards to environmental issues. Norway wants to cooperate with Indonesia in the REDD+ (Greenhouse Gas Emissions Reduction and Decarbonization) program because it has interests related to global emissions reduction and environmental preservation. Norway has invested significantly in green technology and the use of environmentally friendly fuels, and has a comprehensive and long-term environmental policy. Norway aims to maintain pre-industrial levels of world average temperature below 2°C. In addition, they pledge to maintain the Earth's temperature at or below 1.5°C over pre-industrial levels, and Norway is attempting to lessen the effects of climate change, which are affecting extreme weather and sea levels. In recent years, they have made a commitment to deal with forestry and environmental challenges (Norwegian Ministry of Climate and Environment 2020)

In addition, Norway is using this opportunity as an effort to brand its country as a country that really cares about the environment. According to Lodgaard, Norway can only preserve and improve its good reputation abroad if it is a major contributor of help and peacemaking. Norway would seem more egoistical if these two aspects of its foreign policy were missing. When Norwegian engagement would otherwise only be seen negatively, development aid is frequently introduced. Whether we discuss the armaments trade, oil and gas, or climate challenges, this is debatable. The paradoxes are only made sharper and

more paradoxical by the growth agenda's frequent overemphasis. Furthermore, Norway has had great success with its good national branding (Nilsen 2010). This cooperation helps Norway to reach this goals.

In cooperation with Indonesia, Norway hopes to improve Indonesia's ability to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and conserve the environment, as well as increase the awareness and participation of the Indonesian people in environmental efforts (Lindsay 2019). Norway and Indonesia might strengthen their bilateral ties and promote international cooperation on climate change mitigation by collaborating on REDD+ initiatives.

2.1.4 Linker offers

In order to help Indonesia reduce greenhouse gas emissions from deforestation and forest degradation, Norway has primarily offered financial support and technical assistance to Indonesia under the REDD+ framework. A 2010 Letter of Intent (LoI) outlining a collaboration targeted at lowering emissions from deforestation and forest degradation in Indonesia serves as the framework for Norway's assistance (Kementrian Luar Negeri 2022a). This collaboration was a component of Norway's larger initiatives to assist developing nations in cutting back on greenhouse gas emissions and lessening the effects of climate change.

This collaboration's primary goals include safeguarding and managing forests with community involvement, especially indigenous peoples, as well as lowering emissions from deforestation and forest degradation. Building capacity also aims to improve the storage of carbon in natural forests through social

forestry, including mangroves, sustainable forest management, and forest rehabilitation (Kementrian Luar Negeri 2022b).

Conservation of biodiversity, lowering greenhouse gas emissions from fires and the loss of peatlands, and enhancing law enforcement and communication are among other areas of focus. Additionally, advice and information sharing on global agendas and policies related to forestry, land use, and climate change are provided by the Linker.

According to the MoU between Indonesia and Norway, money is not the only main aspect behind why this cooperation is still running. There are several other aspects of consideration in this agreement, such as communication, consultation, and knowledge exchange on an international scale on policies and agendas for climate, forestry, and land use and an exchange of information and knowledge at the technical level (Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Oslo 2022).

Indonesia has also undertaken a number of initiatives. Although there were significantly drier conditions in 2023, forest and land fires were effectively put out in a smaller number than in 2019 under nearly the same El Nino influence. This situation was handled by a number of efforts to prevent forest and land fires from the year's beginning. These efforts have been carried out consistently, ranging from hotspot monitoring and policy establishment, to action in the field (including extinguishing and preventive measures) and law enforcement. This is a sign that efforts to avoid land and forest fires are working. The parties involved in forest fire control work have worked together to achieve this result. (Texandi 2024)

2.1.5 *Win aspect of Norway*

In terms of cooperation, Norway has several benefits to gain from this agreement. First, Norway can help to realize a better world by protecting nature. According to Immanuel Kant (in Dunne et al, 2007: 91), the fact of international relations is that global cooperation and international institutions have expanded as a result of increasing economic interdependence. Thus, national interests shaped by social, economic, and political institutions are included in international cooperation. From a more logical perspective, there is no difference between foreign and domestic policies as both are driven by interests that, to a large extent, aim to maximize profits. This is where profit and loss reasoning comes into play.

According to green city times, Oslo, Norway has the goal of reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 90-95% by 2030. Norway is concentrating on a few crucial tactics in order to meet these objectives. One important strategy is the electrification of public transportation, with a goal of converting all cars to zero-emission vehicles and a sizeable percentage of buses in Oslo's fleets. The nation is encouraging the use of electric cars; in Norway, plug-in hybrids and electric cars account for over 90% of new car sales. Norway, which produces gas and oil, will need to either reduce its carbon output or buy carbon credits to offset its emissions in order to meet this target. Similar targets were set by Norway in 2008, when it planned to achieve so-called carbon neutrality by 2030. However, as international negotiations failed to produce a worldwide agreement to combat climate change, the objective was postponed until 2050 (Reuters 2016 In order to realize its goals, Norway is using Indonesia through supporting the reduction of emissions in Indonesia.

2.1.6 Loss aspect of Norway

Norway's involvement in this cooperation with Indonesia has several dimensions, including both gains and losses. Norway has pledged substantial financial support to Indonesia through the REDD+ cooperation. This support is aimed at incentivizing Indonesia to reduce its carbon emissions from deforestation and forest degradation. The loss aspect here could be the financial burden on Norway's budget, as supporting such initiatives requires significant funds. According to published data, Norway has already spent a total of USD 312 million on REDD+ (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation) in Indonesia. There are several terminate since the beginning of this agreement. The first one was in October 2022, when Norway spent USD \$56 million, then USD \$100 million in December 2023, and USD \$156 million in January 2024. These payments are part of Norway's commitment to supporting Indonesia's efforts in reducing deforestation and forest degradation, as well as its broader climate change mitigation goals (antaranews.com 2024).

By supporting Indonesia's efforts to reduce deforestation and forest degradation, Norway aims to mitigate climate change by preserving forests, which act as carbon sinks. The loss aspect could be if Indonesia fails to meet its targets. Norway may provide technical expertise and knowledge transfer to Indonesia to help implement effective forest conservation measures. A loss aspect might arise if this transfer of technology and knowledge doesn't result in the desired outcomes due to factors such as lack of capacity or political will in Indonesia.

The cooperation between Norway and Indonesia in REDD+ is also a testament to international collaboration in addressing climate change. However, if the

cooperation faces challenges or fails to produce significant results, it could undermine trust in international climate agreements and cooperation efforts. It could also have social and economic implications for local communities dependent on forests for their livelihoods. If not implemented carefully, there could be negative impacts on these communities, including loss of access to forest resources or displacement. Norway needs to ensure that its support for REDD+ in Indonesia considers and mitigates these potential negative impacts.

Overall, while Norway's involvement in REDD+ cooperation with Indonesia holds the promise of significant environmental and climate benefits, there are also potential risks and challenges that need to be addressed to ensure the success of the partnership.

CHAPTER 3
INDONESIA AS A LINKEE IN THE REDUCING EMISSION
PARTNERSHIP

After discussing Norway as the linker in chapter 2, Norway intentions toward this agreement are now clear. In this chapter, the writer describes Indonesia's point of view regarding this cooperation and explaining what Indonesia's goals are in this cooperation.

3.1. Indonesia as a Linkee

In the theory of issues linkage, Indonesia has the role of linkee. According to Haas, Linkees have a significant role in agreements as agreements depend on both parties. Linkees have the role of accepting the agreement and making it happen (Haas 1980b).

According to the earlier table describing structural power in chapter 2, it can be seen that Indonesia is still far behind in terms of security, finances and sciences; therefore, the writer has decided that Indonesia is the linkee and is in control of deciding whether to accept or reject the offer from Norway.

The goal of Indonesia's REDD+ collaboration with Norway is to assist the nation in reducing deforestation and forest degradation, which are major causes of greenhouse gas emissions. Together, Norway and Indonesia can accomplish common objectives in lowering emissions and advancing sustainable forest management by utilizing one another's advantages and skills.

According to the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (KLHK), Indonesia has 125.76 hectares of forest, or 62.97% of its total land area, making it one of the nations with the largest woods in the world (satria.ardhi.n 2023). This

figure has undoubtedly dropped over the past few decades as a result of extensive land clearing and exploitation, which has diminished the amount of forest areas—a very precious resource for Indonesia.

3.1.1 The goals Indonesia wants to achieve

In accordance with the Paris agreement, Indonesia has the goal of realizing Sustainable Development Goal 13 which is to tackle climate change and its effects as soon as possible. The United Nations General Assembly set 17 Sustainable Development Goals in 2015 and this is one of them (United Nations 2019).

According to the Paris agreement of 2015, Indonesia has committed to reducing its emissions by 29% below business-as-usual levels by 2030 or by 41% with international cooperation (Humas 2015). It has been stated that Indonesia can reduce its emissions faster and more effectively if there is cooperation among several countries to realize the goal. This includes Norway. The program has several benefits for Indonesia including the help of Norway to fund the process of reducing gas emissions. This program can also be a platform for Indonesia to strengthen the country's image and show that Indonesia is capable of improving and taking good care of the environment.

85% of Indonesia's forest loss between 2001 and 2023 was the result of deforestation. This forced Indonesia to consider methods for stopping deforestation, or at the very least, reducing it. Norway's support could provide Indonesia with an additional avenue to enhance its deforestation reduction efforts

3.1.2 The economic goals Indonesia wants to achieve

In 2019, President Joko Widodo introduced the term “Indonesia Emas 2045” which has the meaning of making Indonesia stronger in several aspects, including the economy. Through this cooperation, Indonesia can achieve “Indonesia Emas 2045” because the environment has an impact on the economy. This cooperation has an impact on Indonesia's efforts in managing the environment as Indonesia does not need to reduce the amount of spending on caring for the environment. So far, in this cooperation Indonesia has received USD \$312 million between 2022 and 2024, and this may increase from year to year in the future.

Economic progress and environmental conservation can go hand-in-hand in an effective and sustainable way. Through a variety of tactics and methods, the environment may propel the economy in a way that is both efficient and sustainable. Sustainable and environmentally friendly economic growth can be promoted by a variety of strategies, including the prudent use of natural resources, efficient pollution control, the emergence of a green economy, the application of SEEA (System of Environmental Economic Accounting), and environmentally sound economic development.

A good environment can lead to so many good things. One of these is the opportunity to develop the economy. For example, an open economy that permits the unrestricted movement of ideas, products, and services across national boundaries can promote economic growth. Increased commerce, investment, and innovation may result from this, which may boost economic growth and open up more job prospects. It may also result in the knowledge and skill transfer of

foreign investors to domestic businesses, enhancing the skill set of the local labor force and increasing their appeal to employers. Higher-skilled occupations may be created as a result, boosting the economy of the nation as a whole.

3.1.3 Non-economic goals Indonesia wants to achieve

In a cooperation between countries, there are, of course, several things that need to be considered when accepting a cooperation with a certain party.

One of the considerations of Indonesia when it accepted the cooperation with Norway was that the loss of forest cover in Indonesia significantly impacts the environment, biodiversity, and local communities. Deforestation leads to soil erosion, which reduces soil fertility, making it harder for crops to grow. Indonesia's deforestation problem also affects its biodiversity. The country is home to many endangered species, such as orangutans, tigers, and elephants. The loss of forests and habitat destruction threatens these species' survival, and many have become critically endangered. The destruction of forests also affects the livelihoods of local communities that rely on forests for food, medicine, and income (DGB Group, n.d.) Therefore, Indonesia has to find a way to solve deforestation as the amount of forest in Indonesia is huge. This cooperation with Norway constitutes a way to do this.

The possibility of strengthening bilateral relations between the two countries is another consideration. From the collaboration between Norway and Indonesia in the area of the environment, numerous initiatives have appeared to advance innovation cooperation between the two countries. One instance is Norway's interest in investing an additional \$250 million in Indonesia to further

promote renewable energy. The Republic of Indonesia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs supports this initiative in an effort to boost commercial collaboration between the two nations and accelerate Indonesia's development of renewable energy (Kemlu 2023)

If the cooperation runs smoothly, the other potential innovations between these two countries in the future will also run smoothly because both countries already know each other's characteristics during negotiations and agreements

3.1.4 Linkee offers

In this cooperation with Norway there are several things that Indonesia offers. Indonesia pledges to maintain forests responsibly, which includes monitoring activities that may degrade forests and improving land management. In the last 10 years there has been the deforestation of 12.5 (million) hectares of Indonesia's forests. This is a land space much larger than South Korea. Thus, Indonesia offers to protect the forest to help Norway realize its environmental goals.

Indonesia pledges to support more efficient land and forest management under the terms of the REDD+ agreement. Indonesia pledges to use the money it got from Norway for ecological projects like land monitoring, forest management, and the adoption of eco-friendly technology. Indonesia also pledges to use the money it received from Norway for more sustainable and effective environmental projects under the terms of the REDD+ agreement (eastasiaforum 2021).

Indonesia and Norway have similar goals, namely to realize the Paris Agreement by reducing gas emissions for their respective targets. Therefore,

Indonesia offers to improve its forests by accepting Norway's offer so there is a win-win solution between the two parties.

3.1.5 Win aspect of Indonesia

The agreement happened because both actors have goals to achieve, including Indonesia. In this agreement, Indonesia got the greatest advantage, especially with regards to financing and assistance for initiatives to conserve forests. Norway provided Indonesia with hundreds of millions of dollars in financial support, which was essential for its conservation efforts. For instance, Indonesia was scheduled to earn \$156 million for its accomplishments in reducing deforestation as one of the most recent significant milestones.

This partnership also raised the focus on the development of local community such as Rimba Raya, which has maintained the coveted Triple Gold ranking under the global Climate, Community, and Biodiversity (CCB) standards, offering substantial benefits for local communities and protecting biodiversity, the partnership has also been commended for its emphasis on community benefits (Sørensen 2022).

Transfer knowledge is also a part of Indonesia's win. Norway has considerable experience in handling things like this, especially environmental issues. With a society that is deeply concerned about protecting the environment and lowering greenhouse gas emissions, Norway has a very environmentally conscious culture. The public's understanding of and involvement in environmental initiatives has increased thanks to this culture (Lindsay 2019). Norway has comprehensive and long-term environmental policies that prioritize

reducing greenhouse gas emissions from residential buildings and protecting the environment. This legislation was enacted by strict and sensible economic laws that were intended to negatively impact business and society (Siaran 2022).

Indonesia has benefited greatly from this agreement because Indonesia can protect its forests more effectively with the assistance that has been provided Norway. The funds given to Norway can be put into maximizing efforts to reduce gas emissions in Indonesia.

3.1.6 Loss aspect of Indonesia

Regarding Indonesia's collaboration with Norway under the REDD+ (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation) framework, Indonesia's major implementation issues and setbacks are usually referred to as losses in the partnership. Numerous factors have impeded Indonesia's attempts to minimize deforestation and forest degradation, despite Norway's funding pledges and high targets.

Looking at the history of the relationship between these two countries in 2020, when Indonesia terminated the cooperation, it can be seen that Norway and Indonesia have different perspectives on REDD+ measures, standards, and instruments, which have led to disagreements and delays in the implementation of the partnership. This possibly happened because the agreement is all about national interests (eastasiaforum 2021). These challenges and setbacks have resulted in a significant loss of momentum and trust in the partnership, making it crucial for both countries to re-evaluate and strengthen their cooperation to achieve the shared goals of reducing deforestation and forest degradation.

Due to Semen Indonesia not attaining the trust of the public in the complete mining process plan and the construction of the factory in Rembang, 500 villagers living in the vicinity of the mining plan and the factory site occupied the planned factory site in 2014. Residents were never given the chance to speak on numerous breaches that had been made during the planning stages of PT Semen Indonesia's cement plant building project in Rembang, thus this was their final resort. The villagers were never fully informed about the cement factory's construction plan. Socialization was never provided to the villagers; it was always limited to local administrators and never involved the villagers as a whole. Furthermore, the local people never saw the Environmental Impact Assessment paper. The detrimental effects of mining and the construction of the cement mill were never explained (admin 2014).

In 2016, the plan to build the cement factory by PT Semen Indonesia in the area was officially canceled after the Supreme Court won the judicial review of the North Kendeng residents' lawsuit. The victory certainly did not come without a struggle, even though most of the residents of the North Kendeng Mountains rejected the construction of the cement factory since the plan was first mentioned (“Warga Pegunungan Kendeng Menang, PT. Semen Indonesia Harus Hengkang – Yayasan Tifa” 2016)

This illustrates that Indonesian society has begun to be aware of environmental issues, but it cannot be denied that by not building the cement company, the opportunity for employment for the surrounding community in the area was lost, and there was also no additional income for the local government.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

4.1 Conclusion

Indonesia is among the countries with the biggest forests in the world, with 125.76 hectares, or 62.97% of its total land area being forest. Thus, many countries want to work with Indonesia, including Norway.

A bilateral agreement to cut greenhouse gas emissions from deforestation and forest degradation was signed by Indonesia and Norway in May 2010. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change's (UNFCCC) Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation Plus (REDD+) framework served as the impetus for this collaboration.

In 2021, Indonesia terminated the cooperation between them because of some issues. According to the Indonesian government, the decision was made because the Norwegian government's duty to execute the result-based payment (RBP) program for Indonesia's efforts had not been carried out in a meaningful way. Or, in other words, Norway never fulfilled its end of the bargain. Before Indonesia canceled the LOI, Norway insisted on assessing the country's Environment Fund, which was formed in compliance with the Presidential Regulation.

In 2022, both countries decided to re-cooperate under the same framework. Despite the mistakes that Norway made in 2021, Indonesia decided to accept the offer considering that it also had economic and non-economic goals that could be achieved by this cooperation.

Chapter 1 of this study discussed the beginning of this thesis, explaining the problems, the background of how the problem started, the research question, and how the data was collected.

Chapter 2 discussed Norway as the linker as Norway has more power than Indonesia in this case. It explained the goals Norway wants to achieve, the economic and non-economic goals Norway wants to achieve, linker offers, and the win and loss aspects for Norway.

Chapter 3 discussed the goals Indonesia wants to achieve, the economic and non-economic goals Indonesia wants to achieve, linkee offers, and the win and loss aspects for Indonesia.

In this thesis, the writer used Issues Linkage as a theory because this theory refers to a negotiating strategy when two sides seek to reach an agreement by connecting disparate problems. In this case, Indonesia and Norway are connecting two aspects: economics and the environment.

Table 3 Summary of Analysis

No	Variable	Sub Variable	Explanation
1	Norway as a linker	The goals Norway wants to achieve	The goals of Norway in this agreement are to use diplomatic and economic leverage to sway Indonesian policy and educate the populace about the value of forestry and environmental preservation. Norway, thus, believes that the REDD+ partnership may serve as a

			successful model for lowering GHG emissions and promoting environmental preservation in Indonesia.
		Economic goals Norway wants to achieve	Climate change has an impact on Norway's natural environment. However, Norway's economy and wellbeing would suffer greatly from a reduction in fossil fuel output and exports. Given that cutting emissions at home is viewed as a drawback, Norway made the decision to cut emissions abroad by helping developing nations create and carry out environmental laws, such as Indonesia's REDD+ program.
		Non-economic goals Norway wants to achieve	Norway can only preserve and improve its good reputation abroad if it is a major contributor of help and peacemaking. This cooperation helps Norway to achieve this goal.
		Linker offers	In order to help Indonesia reduce greenhouse gas emissions from deforestation and forest degradation,

			Norway primarily offers financial support and technical assistance under the REDD+ framework. A 2010 Letter of Intent (LoI) outlining a collaboration targeted at lowering emissions from deforestation and forest degradation in Indonesia serves as the framework for Norway's assistance.
		Win aspect of Norway	Targets were set by Norway in 2008, when it planned to achieve so-called carbon neutrality by 2030. However, as international negotiations failed to produce a worldwide agreement to combat climate change, the objective was postponed until 2050. In order to realize the goals that Norway wants to achieve, Norway is using Indonesia to realize a reduction in emissions.
		Loss aspect of Norway	The loss aspect here could be the financial burden on Norway's budget, as supporting such initiatives requires significant funds. If Indonesia fails to meet expectations, or if the transfer of

			technology and knowledge doesn't result in the desired outcomes due to factors such as lack of capacity or political will in Indonesia, this will be a loss for Norway.
2.	Indonesia as a linkee	The goals Indonesia wants to achieve	Indonesia has the goal of realizing Sustainable Development Goal 13 which is to tackle climate change and its effects as soon as possible.
		Economic goals Indonesia wants to achieve	This cooperation has an impact on Indonesia's efforts in managing the environment. With this cooperation, Indonesia does not need to reduce the amount of spending on caring for the environment. So far, in this cooperation Indonesia has received USD \$312 million between 2022 and 2024, and may receive more in future years.
		Non-economic goals Indonesia wants to achieve	Indonesia accepted the cooperation with Norway because of the possibility of strengthening bilateral relations between the two countries. The loss of forest cover in Indonesia

			<p>significantly impacts the environment, biodiversity, and local communities. Deforestation leads to soil erosion, which reduces soil fertility, making it harder for crops to grow. Therefore, Indonesia has to find a way to solve deforestation. One such way is through cooperation with another country, such as Norway.</p>
		Linkee offers	<p>Indonesia pledges to maintain forests responsibly which includes monitoring activities that may degrade forests and improving land management.</p>
		Win aspect of Indonesia	<p>Indonesia has received international recognition for its efforts to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, Norway has much experience on handling things like this, especially environmental issues so there will be a transfer of knowledge to Indonesia in this cooperation.</p>
		Loss aspect of Indonesia	<p>The possibility of reoccurrence of negligence from Norway in regards to</p>

			<p>paying the result-based payment to Indonesia. Indonesian society has begun to be aware of environmental issues, but it cannot be denied that by not building the cement company, the opportunity for employment for the surrounding community in the area was lost as was additional income for the local government.</p>
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4.2 Recommendation

The writer is aware of the numerous limitations of this research, and it is anticipated that in the future, some of these shortcomings will be addressed to give more comprehensive literature on the subject of this cooperation.

The writer is aware that there is still a lot of data to be included in research on this topic. Because this collaboration is relatively new, namely formed in 2022, there will still be more to discuss on this agreement and the writer hopes that this thesis will help future researchers to deepen and expand the discussion presented here.

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