Justice and power in forest governance

Exploring spaces of indigenous participation in the REDD Early Movers Program in Mato Grosso, Brazil



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Abstract

Improving conservation and restoration efforts in order to effectively and sustainably manage the world's forests is an important step in mitigating climate change and realizing the Sustainable Development Goals by 2030. Indigenous peoples play a major role in the conservation of forests around the world. The understanding and legitimization of their culture, knowledge and worldviews is crucial not only for climate change mitigation efforts, but also for the strengthening of their rights, culture and agency. Although indigenous peoples are increasingly being asked to participate in environmental governance, their effective participation is not necessarily guaranteed, and their rights, interests, and cultural identities are often not recognized. Drawing on theories of participatory governance, power and environmental justice, this research attempts to contribute to the understanding of how participatory processes within forest governance can impact environmental justice outcomes for indigenous peoples and the strengthening of their participatory capacities. This study analyzes the participatory construction and first implementation phase of the REDD Early Movers Indigenous Territories subprogram in Mato Grosso, Brazil. The environmental justice outcomes are linked to power indicators to better understand how forms of power and justice are interconnected within the participatory spaces of the subprogram and to identify what participatory capacities of the indigenous peoples have been strengthened.

The results demonstrate that the consultation process and participatory construction of the Indigenous Territories subprogram, a process that guaranteed the right to free, prior and informed consent (FPIC) was a crucial contributor to procedural and recognition-based justice for indigenous beneficiaries and furthermore contributed to the strengthening of participatory capacities of the Federation of Indigenous Peoples and Organizations of Mato Grosso (FEPOIMT). With the change from the participatory construction of the program to the first implementation phase, changes in justice outcomes became evident. By linking environmental justice outcomes to power indicators, it became clear that the challenges to justice are primarily related to the shift in execution power from the consultation process to implementation, the influence of formal structures, particularly bureaucracy and regulations, and social and institutional discourses and biases. This demonstrates the importance of continuing to create processes that involve, inform, and legitimize indigenous peoples and their knowledge not only in prior consultation, but also in the actual implementation of environmental governance mechanisms. This is especially relevant within forest governance, as indigenous peoples are crucial actors in the conservation of forests in Brazil and beyond.

Keywords: participatory governance; power; environmental justice; indigenous peoples; environmental governance; forest governance; international cooperation; Brazil; REM; REDD+

List of Abbreviations

ATIX	Associação Terra Indígena de Xingu
BMZ	Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung
COP	Conference of the Parties
FAO	Food and Agriculture Association of the United Nations
FILAC	Fund for the Development of the Indigenous Peoples of Latin America and Caribbean
FEPOIMT	Federação dos Povos e Organizações Indígenas de Mato Grosso
FPIC	Free, Prior, and Informed Consent
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit GmbH
GCF	Green Climate Fund
ICV	Instituto de Vida
ILO	International Labor Organization
IT	Indigenous Territories
MMA	Ministério do Meio Ambiente
MT	Mato Grosso
PCI	Produzir, Conservar, Incluir
PNGATI	Política Nacional de Gestão Territorial e Ambiental de Terras Indígenas
REM	REDD Early Movers
REDD	Reduction of Emission from Deforestation and Forest Degradation
SEMA/MT	Secretaria Estadual de Meio Ambiente de Mato Grosso
UNDRIP	UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

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1. Introduction

The conservation and sustainable management of (tropical) forests is crucial for the mitigation of climate change and for realizing the Sustainable Development Goals by 2030. Forests play an essential role as a carbon sink and as a home to about 50 - 90 % of the world's terrestrial species (Visseren-Hamakers & Glasbergen, 2007; Evans et al., 2014). Deforestation thus contributes to the rise in greenhouse gas emissions, the loss of biodiversity and additionally poses a major threat to important ecosystem services (Koch et al., 2019; Kaisa et al., 2017). Despite many governance efforts on local, regional and global level, deforestation persists (Visseren-Hamakers & Glasbergen, 2007).

Brazil is one of the 5 countries that collectively own more than 50% of the world's forests (FAO & UNEP, 2020). 92 % of forest areas in Brazil are located in the Amazon rainforest (Moraes et al., 2021). Also, other forest biomes in Brazil such as the Cerrado, the Pantanal wetland and the Atlantic Forest are important ecosystems that contribute to a steady climate and hold a vast biodiversity. The Cerrado – a tropical savanna that covers 25 % of Brazil - holds a total of 5 % of the planet's biodiversity (WWF, 2018). Environmental policy and further measures have attempted to reduce deforestation in the Amazon and other Brazilian forest biomes from 2005 on, however, changes in the legal framework within the last years have increased the deforestation threats to Brazil's forest areas once again (Moraes et al., 2021). In the year 2021, deforestation in Brazil's legal Amazon region has increased 22 % compared to 2020 and has more than doubled compared to 2015 (INPE, 2022).

Indigenous peoples play a major role in the conservation of forest. Areas and territories belonging to indigenous peoples have historically experienced less deforestation compared to other forest areas in the world and hold areas with high levels of conserved biodiversity (FAO & FILAC, 2021; Garnett et al., 2018). FAO & FILAC (2021) emphasizes that "the forests of Latin America and the Caribbean's indigenous and tribal territories are key for global, regional and local climate mitigation and resilience" (FAO & FILAC, 2021, p. 2). However, there has been a trend of increased threats to protected areas and to forest-dependent communities that inhabit such areas (FAO & FILAC, 2021). Especially in Brazil, indigenous peoples are increasingly threatened to lose their land. A recently drafted Bill (191/2020) proposes to legalize various activities in indigenous territories for outsiders, including mining and the extraction of oil and gas, without any rights of indigenous peoples to veto against such use of their land (Moraes et al., 2021). Multiple factors, such as the influences of elites in Brazilian agribusiness, political support of private companies and general changes in the political agenda have limited Brazil's achievements to protect the environment and to address social inequalities (Moraes et al., 2021).

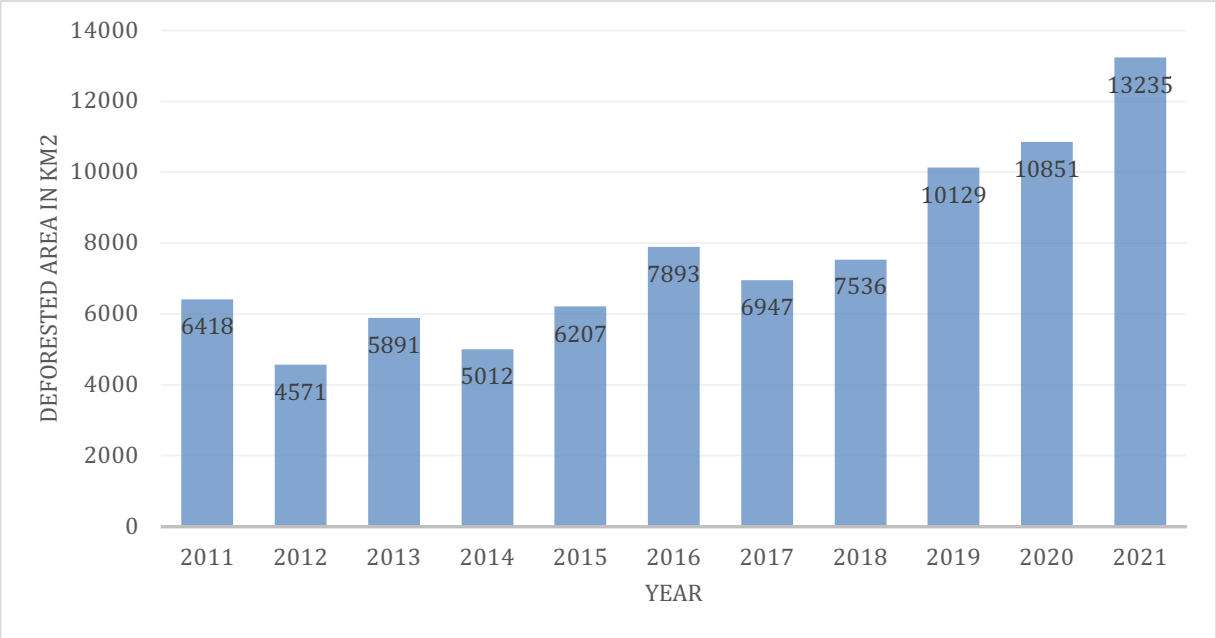

Figure 1: Deforestation (of primary forest) in km2 in the Brazilian Amazon region from 2011 - 2021. Source: PRODES (2022) accessed through INPE (2022).

In their report, FAO & FILAC (2021) suggest multiple measures to counteract the trends of increased deforestation and violation of indigenous peoples' rights. Such measures may be to strengthen the rights of indigenous and traditional peoples and communities to their land and territories, facilitating the management of forests by communities and strengthening the knowledge and culture of indigenous and traditional peoples and communities (FAO & FILAC, 2021). They stress the importance of understanding and legitimizing indigenous people's natural and cultural knowledge in order to mitigate and adapt to climate change, while at the same time respecting and strengthening their rights, culture and knowledge (FAO & FILAC, 2021).

In the context of climate change impacts on local indigenous communities and the understanding of their importance in conservation efforts, indigenous peoples have been increasingly called upon in recent years to participate in the design and implementation of environmental governance instruments at all levels (Gustafsson & Schilling-Vacaflor, 2021). Nevertheless, many climate mitigation efforts and forest governance mechanisms, such as the Reduction of Emission from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD+) framework, have been criticized for not effectively including indigenous voices and often even causing severe injustices towards indigenous peoples (Gustafsson & Schilling-Vacaflor, 2021; Schroeder & McDermott, 2014; Wallbott & Florian-Rivero, 2018). Gustafsson & Schilling-Vacaflor (2021) report that "Indigenous peoples' identities, rights, and interests have often not been sufficiently taken into account in climate adaptation projects" (p. 2). Such threats to indigenous peoples' rights in relation to forest governance have led affected (indigenous) forest-dependent communities to repeatedly demand justice (APIB, 2022). In relation to REDD+ mechanisms, the Cancun socio-environmental safeguards are intended to prevent harm towards beneficiaries of the financial resources, including the recognition of their worlds, culture and knowledge. However, studies on REDD+ socio-environmental safeguards have demonstrated that a 'no-harm' approach may not be sufficient in ensuring the justice claims of indigenous peoples affected by these mechanisms (Barlett & Larson, 2020). Scholars argue that such neglect of indigenous peoples'

rights, cultures and knowledge systems is most often linked to power asymmetries within participatory spaces and beyond (San Martín & Wood, 2022; Merino, 2018). Therefore, a better understanding of the spaces for indigenous participation and their current limitations in effectively including indigenous voices is required. While the literature on participatory governance emphasizes the links between participation and power and their implications for equity (Gaventa, 2006; Fischer, 2012), current research fails to adequately link the environmental justice outcomes of participatory processes within environmental governance with the power dynamics present within such spaces.

2. Research aims and research question

The goal of this research is to contribute to the understanding of how participatory processes related to forest governance impact environmental justice outcomes for indigenous peoples and the strengthening of their participatory capacities. Through an in-depth case study of the REDD Early Movers (REM) Indigenous Territories subprogram in Mato Grosso (MT) Brazil, this research aims to understand the program's participatory spaces and their contribution to environmental justice. In furthermore linking justice outcomes with indicators for power relations in the participatory spaces, this research seeks to better understand the interlinkages between participation, power, and justice within the sustainable management of forest areas. This will be done through answering the following research question and sub-questions:

To what extent have the indigenous peoples of Mato Grosso been able to meaningfully participate in the design and implementation of the Indigenous Territories Subprogram REM MT, while strengthening their participatory capacities for future participation within forest governance?

- How have the design and implementation of the Territories Subprogram REM MT influenced environmental justice outcomes for indigenous peoples?
- How can the environmental justice outcomes be explained by power relations and distributions within the design and implementation of the subprogram?
- How have participatory capacities been strengthened?

2.1. Societal and scientific relevance of the research

Bäckstrand et al. (2010) claim that there has been an increase in deliberative processes in environmental policy, which - according to Gustafsson & Schilling-Vacaflor (2022) - creates an opportunity for the democratization of processes within the implementation of environmental governance instruments and important steps towards guaranteeing environmental justice for those most affected by such instruments and environmental changes more general. The importance of the participation of indigenous peoples in the design and implementation of environmental governance mechanisms is increasingly being recognized, especially in relation to the conservation of important forest biomes, such as the Amazon and beyond. Nevertheless, many studies report about a big implementation gap between global discourses on indigenous participation, rights and safeguards within environmental governance and the implementation of those standards and norms on a local level (Gustafsson & Schilling-Vacaflor, 2021; Chase, 2019; Merino, 2018). This demonstrates the necessity to analyze participatory spaces and the effectiveness of including indigenous voices more closely within forest governance spaces. Through its focus on processes of

participatory governance, power and justice, this research contributes to improving participatory processes related to the construction and implementation of forest governance instruments. This is highly relevant for strengthening indigenous agency and the legitimization of their traditional knowledge within climate adaptation related decision-making in praxis. Insights of this research can inform future environmental projects and their implementation and are therefore relevant for a more effective and sustainable management of forest areas, while strengthening indigenous visibility and rights. Those are prerequisites for building a more just and sustainable future around the world (FAO & FILAC, 2021).

Within literature on participatory environmental governance, scholars have identified links between harmful implementation of environmental governance instruments and a lack of addressing power asymmetries within participatory governance spaces (Boillat et al., 2018; Fischer, 2012; Merino, 2018; San Martín & Wood, 2022; Sultana, 2022). Others have discussed the prominence of eurocentric[1] notions of distribution, participation and knowledge as a reason for the persistence of environmental injustices towards indigenous peoples (Kauffman & Martin, 2014; San Martín & Wood, 2022; Schlosberg & Carruthers, 2010). This demonstrates the necessity to look at the links between environmental justice and power asymmetries, in understanding limitations to indigenous participation within forest governance. However, there seems to be a gap in linkages between environmental justice and power within environmental justice literature. Fischer (2012) and Gaventa (2006, 2019) link power and participation, by pointing out that spaces of participation are influenced by power dynamics. Fischer (2012) furthermore mentions the implications of power on equity outcomes of participatory processes. Nevertheless, he does not link power and justice and does not indicate how more equity in participation can be achieved. With a focus on environmental governance, linking power in the context of participation and notions of environmental justice is critical to avoiding the continuation of harmful environmental impacts for local beneficiaries and finding modalities for analyzing participatory processes that ensure effective and equitable implementation of governance instruments. This study will contribute to critical literature on environmental justice and power through investigating linkages of participation, justice and power and applying it to a practical case within forest governance. By drawing on Gaventa's (2006) power cube concept and by linking it to critical environmental justice notions, this research can contribute to a further shaping of power analysis within participatory governance, while enriching critical environmental justice literature with the consideration of power.

3. Literature review

3.1. Forest governance in Brazil and beyond

Without the effective conservation and restoration of forests around the world, climate stability is threatened and the probability of going beyond a two degree rise of average global temperature is significantly increased (FAO & FILAC, 2021). Brazil contains 12 % of the world's forests, covering 36 % of the country's area (FAO & UNEP, 2020; Moraes et al., 2021). However, much of Brazil's forest areas has been deforested throughout the last five centuries, with less than 50 % of the Cerrado savanna and around 80 % of the Amazon rainforest still intact (Viola & Franchini, 2017). The deforestation can be linked

[1] For simplification, the labels 'eurocentric' and 'western' will be used interchangeably throughout this study to indicate the dominance of certain worldviews originating from Europe and North America.

predominantly to the expansion of agriculture, mainly for livestock, soy production and timber extraction. As agriculture expanded and became more profitable due to increased exports, the agribusiness sector also grew in political power (Viola & Franchini, 2017). However, in the period from 1985 to 2012 multiple instruments were created to attempt protecting Brazil's public forests, such as the Forest Code and the Law of Environmental Crimes (Moraes et al., 2021). Viola & Franchini (2017) point out that from 2005 on, "major advances in deforestation control were made, driving significant changes in both foreign and domestic climate policy and, consequently, deeply transforming Brazil's level of climate commitment" (p. 100). Nevertheless, May et al., (2016) emphasize the continuous struggle in effectively reducing deforestation rates in the Amazon and further Brazilian forest biomes. According to PRODES, deforestation rates in the Amazon have almost doubled from 2018 to 2021 (see Figure 1; INPE, 2022).

On a global level, in 2005 at the 11th Conference of Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in Montreal, negotiations around an international framework to reduce emissions from deforestation and forest degradation in developing countries (REDD) started. Later negotiations expanded the concept to include the conservation and enhancement of forest carbon stocks and the sustainable management of forests, creating the framework of REDD+ (FAO & UNEP, 2020). Through REDD+, developing countries receive payments from international sources like the Green Climate Fund (GCF) when effectively reducing their forest-related greenhouse gas emissions (MoEFCC, 2018). Forests were identified as key importance in lowering emissions and mitigating climate change, which is why the REDD+ framework is an integral part of the Paris Agreement (UNFCCC, n.d.).

De Castro et al. (2016) claim that the REDD+ framework is a global initiative of high importance for forest governance and the overall management of forest areas in Latin America. Brazil developed their national REDD+ strategy (ENREDD+) through a participatory process, including different stakeholders between 2010 and 2015. Brazil's REDD+ strategy is based in the National Policy on Climate Change and the Forest Code and predominantly funded through the Amazon fund and National Climate Change Fund (MMA, 2016). However, De Castro et al. (2016) emphasize that "in the current race for implementation of REDD+ in Brazil, state governments have built state-level coalitions in order to bypass national governments and reach out to different international funding schemes" (p. 17). One such example is the REDD+ for Early Movers (REM) program, a REDD payment for results mechanisms that rewards regions that have been pioneers in the protection of forests and related reduction of greenhouse gas emissions. In Brazil the program targets the states Acre and Mato Grosso (KfW, n.d.).

3.2. Forests and agribusiness in Mato Grosso

The state of Mato Grosso contains three important forest biomes, the Amazon rainforest, the Pantanal wetland and the Cerrado savanna (Kuschnig et al., 2021). All these biomes are biodiverse and contribute to climate regulation and the Brazilian fresh water supply. Furthermore, they are the home to different indigenous peoples and traditional peoples and communities (Alencar et al., 2019). The conservation of these forest biomes is critical for reducing greenhouse gas emissions and for climate change mitigation. From 2004 on, deforestation rates in Mato Grosso significantly dropped. In the Amazon, a deforestation reduction of more than 90 % was visible between 2004 and 2012 (INPE, 2022). At the COP in Paris in 2015, the Mato Grosso government launched the Produce, Conserve, Include (PCI) strategy, a strategy for

the sustainable development of the state. Within this strategy lies the objective to restore important forest areas and the conservation of standing forests (PCI, n.d.).

Deforestation rates started to increase again from 2015 on (Alencar et al., 2019). From 2020 to 2021, deforestation in the Amazon in Mato Grosso increased by 24 % (INPE, 2022). The state of Mato Grosso plays an essential role in Brazil's agricultural industry, producing more than a quarter of Brazil's soybeans destined for export (Vasconcelos et al., 2020). In addition to producing and exporting soybeans, the state of Mato Grosso is a major exporter of corn and beef, making it a leader in Brazil's agricultural industry (Sampaio et al., 2022). A study on the export of soy by Mato Grosso and its links to deforestation showed that from 2012 and 2017, around 27 % of deforestation were related to soy farms and more than 90 % of this deforestation was illegal (Vasconcelos et al., 2020).

3.3. Indigenous rights and participation in forest governance

In Brazil, 305 distinct indigenous peoples live across 585 indigenous territories, representing approximately 13.3% of Brazil's total land area (FAO & FILAC, 2021; May et al., 2016). The majority of these areas are located within Brazil's forest biomes, with about 72 % in the Brazilian Amazon region (May et al., 2016). Consequently, many of the forest areas REDD+ mechanisms aim to conserve forest areas located within indigenous territories, requiring the consultation and participation of indigenous communities affected by the implementation of such instruments. REDD mechanisms have in the past shown to bring difficulties and injustices for local beneficiaries (Gustafsson & Schilling-Vacaflor, 2022). To ensure the participation of traditional and indigenous communities and the respect of their traditions and culture, while simultaneously ensuring the conservation of forests and the alignment of the mechanism with local environmental and developmental politics, the Cancun socio-environmental safeguards were developed. For the implementation of REDD+ instruments, the Cancun safeguards have to be complied with. Countries implementing REDD+ must monitor and report on this compliance (Duchelle & Jagger, 2014).

In their study on REDD+ mechanisms and environmental justice, Barlett & Larson (2020) raise doubts on the effectiveness of socio-environmental safeguards in preventing the reproduction of injustices in relation to the implementation of REDD+ forest governance mechanisms. They emphasize the challenge of interpretational freedom of UNFCCC parties in defining what is considered just or unjust within the framework and compliance with socio-environmental safeguard. This freedom in interpretation becomes problematic if implementing parties are linked to political systems that have historically harmed the rights of indigenous peoples. The compliance with socio-environmental safeguards lies in the responsibility of national governments, meaning their control is linked to the national legal structures that may themselves be harmful towards indigenous peoples (Barlett & Larson, 2020).

A further attempt to strengthen indigenous peoples' rights has been the Convention 169 on the rights of indigenous peoples and its principle of 'Free, Prior, and Informed Consent' (FPIC). FPIC calls on the right for self-determination, and acknowledges indigenous peoples' rights to self-govern their territories, knowledge and culture. International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention 169 was approved in 1989 and requires the prior consultation of indigenous peoples in regard to projects and measures affecting their rights with the goal to receive their consent. In 2007 the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

(UNDRIP) was adopted, a non-binding international instrument, aimed at further strengthening the recognition of indigenous peoples' rights on a global scale (FAO, 2016; Mebratu-Tsegaye & Kazemi, 2020; Merino, 2018). In their work on FPIC and its challenges for indigenous peoples, Colchester & Ferrari (2007) emphasize that recognizing the indigenous right to FPIC also includes recognizing their way of decision making, this especially means that besides ensuring the process to be accessible, 'free' also means allowing indigenous peoples "to make decisions in their own time, in their own ways, in languages of their own choosing and subject to their own norms and customary laws" (p. 5). Brazil ratified both agreements, the Convention 169 on the rights of indigenous peoples to FPIC and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which means that in cases of the implementation of environmental governance mechanisms Brazil that directly impact indigenous peoples, the compliance with the Convention 169 and the UNDRIP have to be guaranteed (May et al., 2016). Furthermore, May et al. (2016) point out that Brazil included principles for the realization of FPIC in the National REDD+ strategy. Nevertheless, different studies report about the gap between the FPIC design and the actual implementation (Wright & Tomaselli, 2019). In their study on FPIC and environmental justice, Gustafsson & Schilling-Vacaflor (2021) identified major implications related to FPIC regarding participation, recognition and distribution for indigenous peoples. Furthermore, Pimbert (2012) emphasizes the "need to go beyond FPIC in research involving indigenous and local communities" (p. 43) for a more effective self-determination of indigenous peoples and traditional peoples and communities and the defense of their rights.

4. Theoretical framework

4.1. Participatory governance

Different scholars have looked at participatory governance, and how processes of participation are shaped (Gaventa, 2004, Fischer, 2012). Fischer (2012) understands participatory governance as theory and practice embedded in the idea of "public engagement through deliberative processes" (p. 457). Based on theories on deliberative democracy and political theory more broadly, participatory governance follows the idea of active engagement through the empowerment of citizens. Based both on Gaventa (2002) and Fischer (2012), participatory governance goes beyond the enabling of citizen participation, but intends to critically examine citizen engagement for an understanding of the practices that have limited effective participation within deliberative democracy. Within these critical examinations certain practices, such as a more equal distribution of resources and political power, decentralizing decision-making and ensuring the exchange of knowledge, have been seen as essential in ensuring effective participation of civil society in deliberative processes (Fischer, 2012, p. 458). For participatory governance to be meaningful and effective, citizens must be empowered and given the necessary capacities (Fischer, 2012). That said, an important part of successful participatory governance is the capacity-building of participating communities. Fischer (2012) defines capacity-building as the "community's ability to deal collectively with the problems that it confronts" (p. 460) and sees it as a vital tool in strengthening a group's cohesion and movement. Such capacity-building requires a decentralization of power and resources from a political center of control to "local democratic institutions" (Fischer, 2012, p. 460).

Participatory governance can lead to equity, efficiency, and effectiveness of decisions on discussed issues and services. Warren (2007) claims that "decisions resulting from deliberation are likely to be more

legitimate, more reasonable, more informed, more effective and more politically viable" (p. 272). Fischer (2012), however, argues that both inequitable social contexts and asymmetrical power relations within modern societies threaten participatory processes if these contexts are not addressed adequately. He refers to this as the 'power gap' and emphasizes that participatory governance can be a response to inequitable social contexts, giving marginalized groups a voice, if asymmetrical power relations are considered.

4.2. Environmental Justice

The notion of environmental justice has been informed by many different types of justice theory. More traditionally, environmental justice was focused on ensuring **distributive justice**, described by Schlosberg (2007) as "equity in the distribution of social goods" (p. 12). Distributive justice thus responds to the unequal distribution of environmental impacts on different societal actors. These impacts may relate to matters of responsibilities, benefits and risks (Boillat et al., 2018; Walker, 2009). Most often these inequalities in the distribution of environmental impacts refer to the negative impacts of climate change on local population (in this case also referred to as climate injustice) or the disproportionate exposure of low-income and BIPOC (black, indigenous and people of color) communities to environmental hazards (environmental racism) (Barletti & Larson, 2020). The response to such inequalities through a more equitable distribution of impacts, however, has been seen as not sufficient in preventing harm and injustices to affected communities. Thus, scholars within environmental justice literature have criticized the liberal conceptions of justice, focused on distribution (Vermeylen, 2019; Vermeylen and Walker, 2011). On the basis of such criticism, Schlosberg (2007) emphasizes the necessity of seeing recognition as its own distinct element within justice theory.

Recognition-based justice refers to the equal recognition of actors, their cultures and values and the respect of different identities in participatory environmental governance spaces (Walker, 2009). Iris Young (1990) and Nancy Fraser (2000, 2001) claim that "lack of recognition in the social and political realms … inflicts damage to oppressed individuals and communities" (Schlosberg, 2007, p. 14). In relation to recognition-based justice and indigenous peoples' participation, scholars have emphasized the importance of considering epistemic justice to challenge Western biased conceptions of justice (Álvarez & Coolsaet, 2020; Fricker, 2007; Inoue, 2018; San Martín & Wood, 2021; Vermeylen, 2019). Theory on **epistemic justice** is based on different notions of decolonial thinkers. Decolonial thinking follows the perspective that power and knowledge theorized within Western perspectives are still very dominant in today's world structure, even after the formal end of settler colonialism (Wanderly & Barros, 2018). De Sousa Santos (2007) uses the notion of "abyssal thinking" in order to demonstrate that "Western thinking organizes the production and validation of knowledge along the lines of a precipice … that separates theories produced in the North from those elaborated in the South" (Barreto, 2014, p. 401). More specifically, De Sousa Santos (2007) claims that anything on one side of this line of precipice is considered non-existent and is thus radically excluded. Within such abyssal thinking, the two sides of the line cannot co-exist. De Sousa Santos (2007) emphasizes that within modern knowledge, abyssal thinking manifests itself, radically excluding those types of knowledge falling on the 'non-existing' side of the precipice. In order to avoid such radical exclusion of certain types of knowledge, De Sousa Santos (2007) argues for the necessity of going beyond abyssal thinking. Thus, in order to guarantee global justice, pursuing epistemic justice is essential (Barreto, 2014).

In relation to recognition as part of environmental justice, Álvarez & Coolsaet (2020) point out that it is often unclear how recognition can be achieved. Fraser (2001) includes recognition in her theory on environmental justice but does not critically reflect on the role of the state reproducing injustices, and furthermore pays little attention to self-recognition within the struggle of overcoming injustices. Álvarez & Coolsaet (2020) argue that when excluding self-recognition as part of environmental justice, Western subjectivities are much more likely to be the only ones considered, therefore increasing the threat of reproducing injustices.

Besides distributional and recognition-based justice, Schlosberg (2007) argues that **procedural justice** must be added as a third dimension when conceptualizing environmental justice. He defines procedural justice as "fair and equitable institutional processes of a state" (p. 25). Achieving procedural justice therefore requires fair and accurate representation and participation in decision-making processes by actors affected by the processes and their associated outcomes (Boillat et al., 2018; Fraser, 2009). Schlosberg (2007) underlines the "direct link between a lack of respect and recognition and a decline in a person's membership and participation in the greater community, including the political and institutional order" (Schlosberg, 2007, p. 26). This is furthermore highlighted by Boillet et al. (2018), who emphasizes the importance of recognizing the interlinkages between the three dimensions of environmental justice and the necessity to analyze interconnectedness in a dynamic way.

4.3. Power in participatory spaces

For understanding the influences of power dynamics in participatory spaces, this study utilizes an adapted version of Gaventa's (2006) 'power cube'. Gaventa's (2006) work is focused on the link between power and participation, for which he developed an analytical framework, based on theories on the notions of power, space and scale. His understandings of power and space inform this study. Gaventa's understanding of power is based on Lukes' (2004) theory of power, which he describes as three-dimensional. Gaventa (2006) conceptualizes these three dimensions of power as 'visible', 'hidden' and 'invisible power' and relates them to spaces and levels of participation.

After Gaventa (2006), visible power can be understood as "the visible and definable aspects of political power - the formal rules, structures, authorities, institutions and procedures of decision-making" (Gaventa, 2006, p. 29). This refers to the type of influence on actors and outcomes of processes that can be visibly presumed within spaces of participation. On the other hand, hidden power, refers to those power dynamics that manipulate agenda setting and that exclude less powerful actors from decision-making spaces. Thus, through hidden power dynamics, participation of certain actors might be privileged over others (Gaventa, 2006). As a last dimension of power, invisible power can be understood as a rather 'discursive power' or 'power of norms and values'. This means certain actors and their views are not seen as legitimate contributions due to internalized ideas, norms and discourses (Gaventa, 2006).

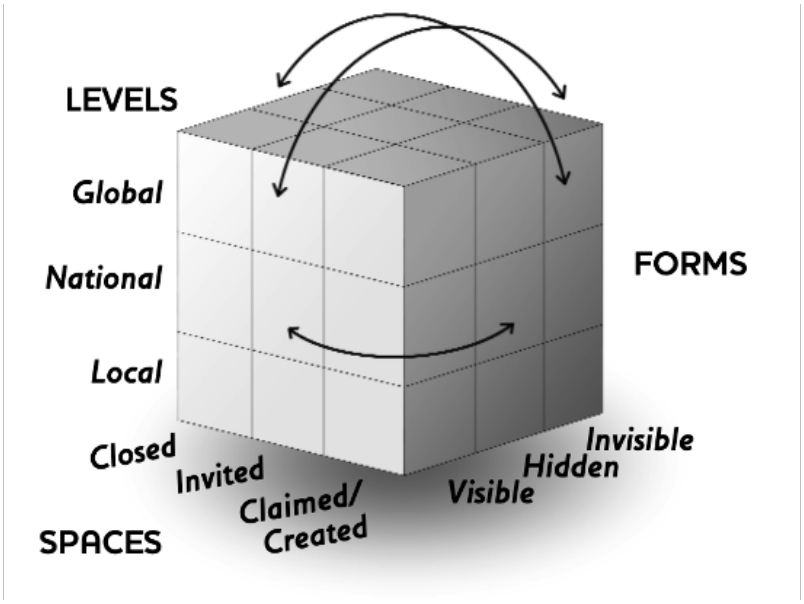

Figure 2: Power cube framework according to Gaventa (2006) with the conceptualizations of forms of power, levels and spaces. Source: Gaventa (2006)

Gaventa's (2006) conceptualization of power is predominantly based in the understanding of '*power over'*, as in a power 'over' participants and their capabilities to participate. However, when looking at environmental governance spaces and the participation of indigenous peoples in such spaces, it is important to acknowledge that power over may not be a sufficient understanding of the working of power within participation. In alignment with Morriss (2006), this research follows the understanding of power not solely as the ability to affect actors, but "as the ability to affect outcomes*"* (p. 126). When looking at the outcomes as in understanding the outcomes of participation, or more specifically applied to this case the justice outcomes of participatory processes, hidden, visible and invisible power can be an influence as a more restrictive form (power over), but also give power to participants, as a way of empowerment ('*power to*'). A further consideration in the workings of power is the idea of '*power within'*. This idea relates to a resistance of actors to repressive types of power and is thus tightly linked to the idea of empowerment. Without seeing actors solely as victims of power, the idea of power within recognizes actors' agency and capabilities to act, react and resist (Gaventa, 2019; Rowlands, 1997). The idea of power within is tightly linked to Gaventa's (2006) understanding of 'invisible power' in which the focus lies on internalized ways of oppression, and actors' capacities to overcome such oppression (Gaventa, 2019). This study understands the workings of power not only as 'power over' but also through means of empowerment and resistance (power over and power within). Gaventa (2019) emphasizes that including power within and power to is important to "challenge 'power over' in a transformative way" (p. 134).

For Gaventa (2006), forms of power that influence participation processes are interrelated with levels and spaces of participation. He understands spaces as "opportunities, moments and channels where citizens can act to potentially affect policies, discourses, decisions and relationships that affect their lives and interests" (Gaventa, 2006, p. 26). Gaventa (2006) distinguishes between 'closed spaces', where decisions are made without the opportunity of participation, 'invited spaces' - where groups of people (e.g. indigenous peoples)

are invited by state or non-state actors to participate in discourses and decision-making, and 'created spaces' - where "less powerful people or groups create their own spaces where they can shape their own agenda" (p. 119). As a last dimension of the power cube, Gaventa (2006) conceptualizes scales or levels of participation. He argues that participatory spaces are influenced by and influence different levels, from a local to global scale.

5. Conceptual Framework

This research is based on a modified version of Gaventa's (2006) power cube, making use of his conceptualizations of power and space. Depending on the type of participation, Gaventa conceptualizes the participatory spaces as 'closed', 'invited' or 'claimed. Within the chosen case – the REM IT in Mato Grosso Brazil – up to this point, the consultation process for the participatory construction of the program and the first implementation phase were identified as spaces with indigenous participation evident. Through a pre-analysis of literature related to the chosen case and based on Gaventa's (2006) definition of these spaces, the consultation process was identified as a claimed space, and the first implementation phase as an invited space. The consultation process was realized prior to the implementation of the program, in order to create a subprogram that would align with the demands, realities and cultures of the different indigenous peoples of Mato Grosso (*Programa REM Mato Grosso | Subprograma Territórios Indígenas,* 2019). This process was led by the FEPOIMT and supported by partner organizations, such as the civil society organization Instituto de Vida (ICV) and the technical cooperation partner Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH (Alencar et al., 2018; Alencar et al., 2019). As the FEPOIMT was able to shape their own agenda in the consultation process, this space was identified as a claimed space.

The implementation of the program was identified as an invited space as indigenous representatives are invited to participate in decision-making. The implementation follows a participatory governance structure, which means that decisions are taken within a governance-committee where different state and non-state actors, including the indigenous beneficiaries, partake. Although the indigenous peoples hold the decision-making power within the committee, the actual execution of the subprogram lies in the responsibility of Mato Grosso's State Secretariat of Environment (SEMA/MT) (*Programa REM Mato Grosso | Subprograma Territórios Indígenas,* 2019). The pre-definition of the cases was confirmed through a more detailed analysis, which will be elaborated on in more detail in the result section.

During the following analysis, the environmental justice outcomes of the two identified participatory spaces were analyzed, guided by Schlosberg's (2009) understanding of environmental justice, based on the three dimensions of procedural, recognition and distributional justice as described in the previous theory section. The environmental justice outcomes of participatory governance processes can therefore be evaluated through effective **participation** (referring to procedural justice) of indigenous peoples in the decision-making spaces, the **recognition** of indigenous peoples' culture and knowledge during the participatory processes and within the environmental governance mechanism and the just **distribution** of benefits and burdens related to the environmental governance mechanism and its implementation. To include considerations of 'epistemic justice', the environmental justice criteria 'recognition' is complemented with indicators on epistemic justice, as suggested by San Martín & Wood (2021) and Álvarez & Coolsaet (2020), among others.

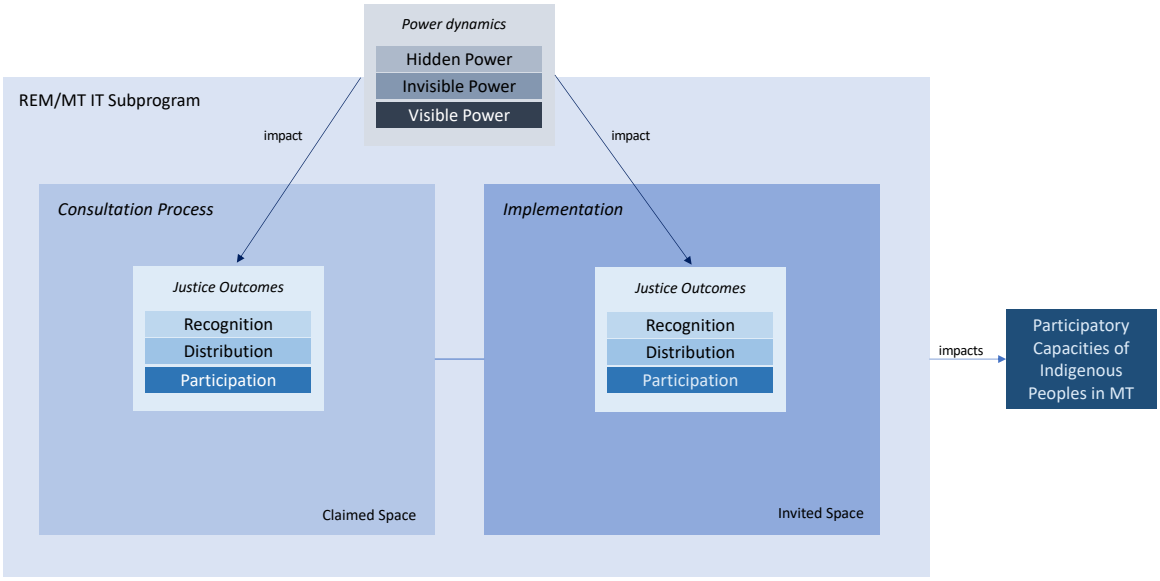

Figure 3: Conceptual framework. Author's elaboration based on Gaventa (2006), Schlosberg (2009), Fischer (2012) and Gustaffson & Schilling-Vacaflor (2021).

The identified justice outcomes were linked to indicators of the different forms of power, as defined by Gaventa (2006), to determine how the environmental justice outcomes can be explained by power dynamics within the REM/MT IT subprogram spaces and beyond. Based on Gaventa's conceptualization of power, indicators for power dynamics present in the identified spaces were defined and guided the evaluation of the influence of power dynamics on environmental justice outcomes of the participatory spaces. As a final step the strengthening of participatory capacities were discussed as a result from the learnings on power and justice links in the identified participatory spaces. Indicators for environmental justice and power are specified in table 1 and 2 and will be described shortly in the operationalization.

6. Operationalization

According to Van Thiel (2014), the operationalization of a research can be understood as the "transition from theory to empirical research" (p. 43). After defining the theoretical concepts of environmental justice and power in the theory section and defining their assessment criteria, indicators were defined in order to make the defined assessment criteria 'measurable' (Van Thiel, 2014). Van Thiel (2014) emphasizes that "the same theoretical concept can be interpreted and delineated in several different ways" (Van Thiel, 2014, p.43). To demonstrate the choice of indicators for assessing environmental justice outcomes and power dynamics, the following paragraphs will give a short overview of the chosen indicators and an explanation of their choice.

6.1. Indicators for environmental justice

In order to evaluate the environmental justice outcomes of the consultation process and implementation phase, certain indicators were defined, based on the literature describing the different environmental justice criteria and its complementation through critical decolonial theory**.** After a first review of the collected data, a few inductively defined indicators were included in the analysis. Bolliet et al. (2018) emphasize the importance of "incorporate the actors' own perspectives of justice beyond a top-down, narrow definition" (p. 2). This is especially relevant in cases related to indigenous participation. Vermeylen (2019) argues that a generic understanding of environmental justice potentially reinforces the misrecognition of communities, as it fails to acknowledge the diversity of community's worldviews and their ways of interacting with nature.

For the environmental justice criteria '*participation'*, two important indicators that were identified from the literature on procedural justice, were the 'representivity in participatory space' and the 'participation in decision-making' (Boillat et al., 2018; Fraser, 2009; Gustafsson & Schilling-Vacaflor, 2021). Gustafsson & Schilling – Vacaflor (2021) describe such participation in space and decision-making as "indigenous peoples … have a voice and prevail within decision-making processes and are satisfied with how decisions are taken" (Appendix). Applied to the chosen case, this means that a contribution to procedural justice is achieved if indigenous representatives consider themselves as accurately represented in participatory spaces during both the construction of the IT subprogram, as well as its implementation, and participate in the decision-making around the design and management of the subprogram. Closely linked to the participation in decision-making, is the indicator 'transparency' which Gustafsson & Schilling – Vacaflor (2021) and Boillat et al. (2018) see as important indicators to procedural justice. Transparency refers to transparent decision-making procedures and the access to information necessary to meaningfully participate in the decision-making procedures (Gustafsson & Schilling-Vacaflor, 2021). An indicator that was included inductively was 'comprehension'. The first review of data indicated that transparency may not be sufficient in ensuring effective participation in decision-making if the procedures and processes itself, or the topics decided on are not understood by the indigenous representatives. 'Accountability mechanisms' is another indicator suggested by Boillat et al. (2018) and Gustafsson & Schilling-Vacaflor (2021) as a contributor to procedural justice, which means that accountability mechanisms need to be accessible, so indigenous peoples can raise their concerns. The last indicator 'protagonism' that was identified for guaranteeing participation (or procedural justice) was identified inductively, based on first observations and a review of the first interviews. This refers to a 'self-determination' and means that within spaces of participation, indigenous peoples are the protagonists of the processes, deciding on procedures, and the ways decisions are taken.

In relation to the second environmental justice criteria 'recognition', Gustafsson & Schilling-Vacaflor (2021) consider the 'recognition of indigenous (customary) rights' as a crucial contributor to recognition-based justice. In this study, the indicator on the recognition of rights was complemented with a stronger focus on guaranteeing the right to FPIC, as this is a legal pre-requisite for the implementation of governance instruments affecting local indigenous communities (see literature review). The indicators 'visibility & legitimacy**'** refer to Young (1990) and Fraser's (2000, 2001) emphasis on the importance of considering beneficiaries as legitimate actors in social and political realms. This thus goes beyond attempts to enable participation, but to see the indigenous representatives as legitimate actors in the design and implementation of the subprogram. The indicator 'consideration of indigenous knowledge, culture and worlds**'** refers to the

recognition of indigenous culture and diverse realities, while giving enough space for the inclusion of their traditional knowledge and culture in the design and implementation of the subprogram. This aligns with Gustafssons & Schilling-Vacaflor's (2022) suggested indicator 'knowledge diversity' which refers to the inclusion of traditional knowledge systems in the governance instrument (Appendix). This is tightly linked to recognizing the diversity of different indigenous peoples. The first review of data and observations indicated the presence of discourses around the importance of considering the diversity of the many different indigenous peoples in the state of Mato Grosso, to avoid the risks of generalizing indigenous peoples' interests in the implementation of the program. Therefore 'consideration of indigenous peoples' diversity' was included as an indicator to contribute to recognition-based justice.

The indicators on indigenous knowledge and diversity are related to epistemic justice, as they challenge the prevalence of one dominant knowledge system and related implications for indigenous beneficiaries. Based on Álvarez & Coolsaet (2020), this study chose 'self-recognition' as a further indicator for recognition justice which means that indigenous peoples recognize themselves as important actors in the design and implementation of the IT subprogram. Further inductively defined indicators are 'intercultural dialogue' and 'sensibility towards indigenous realities'. Intercultural dialogue follows the idea that only through a dialogue between non-indigenous and indigenous actors, an understanding of each other's worlds can be possible. A better understanding of different realities helps in seeing different ways of 'being' and 'doing' as legitimate. The other inductively defined indicator was included after a first review of the data that indicated the necessity for an extra sensibility towards indigenous realities by actors in the construction and implementation of the subprogram to ensure the choice of procedures and processes aligned with those realities.

For the environmental justice criteria '*distribution*' three indicators were defined. Two of these indicators, 'fair benefit-sharing' and 'risks and burden', are adapted from Boillat et al. (2018) and Gustafsson & Schilling – Vacaflor (2021). These scholars see it as crucial to integrate benefits and burdens as indicators for distributional justice. This means that through the implementation of the governance mechanisms, affected indigenous beneficiaries must receive concrete benefits. Furthermore, it must be ensured that through the implementation of the governance instruments, no other risks arise, and burdens are generally prevented. Within REDD+ programs, such as the REM, the benefit-sharing scheme is pre-defined, so that when the implementation starts, the distribution of benefits can be guaranteed. Therefore, the indicator was slightly adapted to fair benefit sharing, meaning the benefit-sharing scheme would need to be considered fair by indigenous representatives in order to contribute to distributional justice. Through a first review of the data, it became evident that the benefit-sharing scheme may not be sufficient in ensuring the fair distribution of resources, as certain indigenous groups (e.g. women) at the grassroots may have a more difficult access to these resources in comparison to others. Therefore 'access to benefits' was included as a further indicator.

Table 1. Potential indicators for environmental justice. Adapted from Biollat et al. (2018), Schlosberg (2009), Gustafsson & Schilling-Vacaflor (2021), Álvarez & Coolsaet (2020).

Theoretical Concept	**Criteria**	**Indicators**
Environmental Justice	Participation	Representivity in participatory space
		Participation in decision-making
		Transparency of procedures
		Comprehension of procedures
		Accountability mechanisms
		Protagonism of indigenous peoples
	Recognition	Legal and customary rights (FPIC and beyond)
		Consideration of indigenous peoples' diversity
		Consideration of indigenous knowledge, culture and worlds
		Self-recognition
		Legitimacy & visibility of actors (including women)
		Intercultural Dialogue
		Sensibility towards indigenous realities
	Distribution	Fair benefit-sharing
		Access to benefit
		Risks and burdens

6.2. Indicators for Power

The majority of the chosen power indicators directly relate to Gaventa's (2006) conceptualization of power. Different to environmental justice indicators where different indicators may contribute to the achievement of different justice criteria, the indicators for power are rather different types of power that can be classified into visible, invisible and hidden power. Aligned with Gaventa's understanding of visible power as previously defined, 'formal structures, rules and laws', 'procedures' and 'institutions and actors' were identified as indicators for visible power. Applied to the case this means that spaces of participation in the creation and implementation of the subprogram are influenced by the formal 'rules of the game' that must be followed by all actors, and which might make participation of some actors more difficult than others.

This is further influenced by the choice of procedures for decision-making, where certain procedures might favor certain outcomes or actors. Furthermore, certain actors and institutions may hold more power in influencing the choice of procedures and outcomes of processes due to the intrinsic power they hold. In close connection to this lay the actual 'decision-making' and 'executional power'. These indicators were added inductively, as they called attention quite early in the review of the first data. Outcomes of participatory processes and their influence on the participants depend on who one – takes the decisions – and second, executes them. Who holds the power to make decisions will be able to influence outcomes to their favor. However, who has the power to execute decisions will influence decision-making in a way it benefits their understanding of political execution.

Hidden power influencing participatory spaces in the creation and implementation of the IT subprogram can be seen as those dynamics influencing who gets invited to spaces and who sets the agenda (see Gaventa, 2006). In order to understand the influence of hidden power, the indicator 'ability to set agenda' was included to understand what actors are able to define the agenda and subsequently influence who will be invited and what issues will be discussed in the participatory spaces. What furthermore was identified as an indicator for hidden power were 'informal structures', informed by Kamanzi (2012). Informal structures can be understood as the unofficial structures and channels that influence the outcomes of participatory processes, such as the connection of participants to influential actors. Considering informal structures is especially important in this case when looking at environmental justice outcomes for indigenous peoples, as formal structures may be inherently exclusive towards indigenous peoples, thus impacting their participation and the outcomes of participatory processes.

As previously mentioned, invisible forms of power can be understood as rather discursive, internalized types of power – which can influence the outcomes of certain participatory spaces and the power of actors within them (Gaventa, 2006, 2019). Indicators for such a type of power are 'discourses' themselves and 'norms and values'. This means that dominant discourses exert power on spaces of participation in the creation and implementation of the subprogram, as well as the norms and values prevalent in such spaces. Depending on the space, the underlying influence of internalized norms and values may see certain actors (such as non-indigenous participants) as more important or more legitimate in participating, thus excluding others from such spaces. In some cases, dominant discourses may turn into 'stereotypes and prejudice' that can cause unquestioned assumptions about participants in the participatory spaces that undermine their capacities to participate or influence biased outcomes.

A further indicator identified inductively within invisible power is the 'skills and knowledge' actors hold, which influences their capacities to participate and influence outcomes of procedures and processes in the design and implementation of the subprogram. Related to that is also the last indicator 'identity and self-esteem', based on the concept of 'power within' and its important contributions to overcoming oppressive forms of power (Gaventa, 2019). Thus, the way actors identify themselves and the self-esteem they hold influences their agency and capacities to resist and act.

Table 2: Potential indicators for power. Adapted from Gaventa (2006, 2019), Kamanzi (2012).

Theoretical Concept	Sub-concept	Indicators
Power	Visible Power	Formal structures, rules and laws
		Procedures
		Institutions and actors
		Decision-making
		(Political) Execution
	Hidden Power	Ability to set agenda
		Informal structures
	Invisible Power	Internalized norms and values
		Discourses
		Stereotypes and Prejudice
		Skills and Knowledge
		Identity and Self-Esteem

7. Research Methodology

7.1. Research philosophy

The conducted research is based on a critical-emancipatory approach. It is thus based in critical theory, which, according to Moon & Blackman (2014) "aims to challenge, reveal conflict and oppression, and bring about change" (p. 7). Within critical theory, this research takes on an emancipatory, participatory perspective, which is based in a (bounded) relativist ontology and a constructionist epistemology. Such perspective is especially important within conservation and sustainability research, as it can "bring about positive change for minority or oppressed groups" (Moon&Blackman, 2014, p. 9).

7.2. Research strategy

For a better understanding of how participatory processes within forest governance can contribute to environmental justice for indigenous peoples and the strengthening of their participatory capacities an in-depth case study was conducted. The chosen case is the REDD Early Movers Subprogram Indigenous Territories (IT) in Mato Grosso, Brazil – a mechanism for the sustainable management of forest areas

developed through an international agreement and implemented on the basis of a participatory management model.

7.2.1. The case selection

Brazil contains a large part of the world's forests - of which the majority is composed of the Amazon Rainforest (FAO & UNEP, 2020; Moraes et al., 2021). The protection and conservation of the Brazilian forest biomes is therefore crucial in the overall mitigation of climate change and sustainable development. Brazil is home to 305 indigenous ethnic groups that hold about 12,5 % of Brazilian territory (FAO & FILAC, 2021). Including indigenous peoples in the design and implementation of forest governance measures across scales is not only important for more effective climate mitigation, but also essential for their empowerment, the legitimization of their knowledge systems and the protection of their rights.

In order to better understand the contribution of participatory processes within forest governance to environmental justice for indigenous peoples and their participatory capacities, the research analyzes the design and first implementation phase of REM IT Subprogram in Mato Grosso, Brazil. At the COP21 in Paris in 2015, the Brazilian state government of Mato Grosso committed itself to end illegal deforestation and has therefore agreed to the adoption of the REDD+ for Early Movers (REM) program. The REM program is a REDD payments for result mechanism, to prevent deforestation and thus reduce CO_2 emissions. The global program, launched at the Rio+20 conference in 2012, serves as the overall framework for the different REM programs implemented in the target locations (KfW, n.d.).

This research will be focused on the Indigenous Territories Subprogram which puts the focus on participating indigenous peoples in the REM program, while ensuring the strengthening of their rights, territories and knowledge. The Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), the host organization of this research, supported the Federation of Organizations and Indigenous Peoples of Mato Grosso (FEPOIMT), the Center of Life Institute (ICV) and the State Secretariat for the Environment of Mato Grosso (SEMA/MT) in the participatory construction and implementation of the program (Alencar et al., 2018). The focus of this study is the participatory construction of the Indigenous Territories Subprogram in accordance with the ILO Convention 169 and the first implementation phase of the subprogram, based on a participatory governance model.

7.3. Research methods and data collection

Due to the chosen research strategy and the exploratory nature of the research question, qualitative research methods were chosen for the answering of the research question and subquestions. Qualitative primary data was collected through **semi-structured interviews**, **documents** and **participant observations** and used for a qualitative content analysis to systematically describe the collected material. A total of 9 semi-structured interviews were conducted between June 2022 and August 2022 with representatives of the Mato Grosso state government, partner organizations and beneficiaries (civil society representatives) involved in the consultation process and/or implementation of the subprogram. The interviews were predominantly conducted through online video calls or voice calls, and – in some cases in person. The interviews were

recorded and afterwards transcribed for further analysis. More information on the interviewees can be found in the Appendix A.

Besides the interviews, a set of documents were chosen to be analyzed. Document analysis is a qualitative research method, in which a certain choice of documents will be reviewed and evaluated. These can both be digital and non-digital documents (Bowen, 2009). These chosen documents reveal information on the workshops of the consultation process, and the dynamics of participatory spaces within the implementation of the subprogram. The chosen documents serve both as a base in understanding the processes and as a complementation and verification of information retrieved through the conducted interviews and participant observations. The choice of documents and a short description on their content can be found in Appendix B.

As a last primary data source, observations during the participation in meetings and gatherings were collected. This method is useful to "reveal the reality of daily life in a specific context" (Laitinen et al., 2014, p. 10). This method helps to see whether the information given in the semi-structured interviews and documents aligns with the reality of actual participatory processes.

Secondary data was gathered through desk research. Beside a literature review to get a better understanding of the overall theoretical context, the collection of secondary data aided in better understanding the program and its relational setting and served in making decisions about the choice of interviewees, and documents to analyze. Furthermore, secondary data is an important complementary data to better contextualize findings in theory and the broader academic context.

7.4. Data analysis

The collected data was analyzed through a Qualitative Content Analysis using the ATLAS.ti software. For this, transcripts of the interviews and chosen documents were uploaded to ATLAS.ti and coded according to a pre-defined coding scheme. The conducted research followed a hybrid approach (deductive and inductive). The outlined theory in the theoretical framework served as a base in defining the indicators for the analysis of environmental justice outcomes and related power dynamics (deductive approach). On the basis of the indicators, a coding scheme was developed and applied. In the first round of coding, the codes related to the environmental justice indicators were applied. In a second round the codes related to power indicators were applied, and thematic links were created. In both coding rounds, the data sets served as a source for further indicators, meaning the coding scheme was adapted inductively based on the analyzed data. As a last step an inductive round of coding was carried out, identifying strengthened participatory capacities, related to the previously made links between justice and power (inductive approach). Observations from the participation in meetings served as complementation and verification of the analyzed themes and trends.

As interview transcripts, documents and observation notes are in Portuguese, the included interview quotes in the analysis are the author's translation of the original quote in Portuguese.

7.5. Reliability and validity

Within a case study, the number of units of study are generally quite low, which can potentially impact reliability and validity of the research (Van Thiel, 2014). This is why the reliability and validity of this research was guaranteed by triangulation. Triangulation can be defined as "a way of collecting or processing information by using different operationalizations, data sources, researchers, or methods" (Van Thiel, 2014, p. 92). As mentioned above, different types of methods and analyses were chosen in order to collect primary data within the case study research.

8. Results

The results of the analysis described above will be presented in four main sections. The first section will give a more detailed introduction to the case. The second section will outline in more detail the two participatory spaces and their categorization as claimed and invited spaces. The third section will outline the environmental justice outcomes of the consultation process and first implementation phase, divided in participation (relating to procedural justice), recognition (relating to recognition justice with the consideration of epistemic justice indicators) and distribution (relating to distributional justice). The fourth section will reveal the impacts of power relations on the environmental justice outcomes. The fourth section will not strategically follow the structure of the power indicators, but instead the different dynamics of power were identified and grouped into major trends.

8.1. The case introduction

8.1.1. The REDD Early Movers (REM) Program

The REM program is a global cooperative program to reward REDD+ pioneers. This means payments are provided to forest conservation pioneers (or so-called 'Early Movers') that effectively prevent deforestation and thus reduce CO_2 emissions. The program was launched at the Rio+20 conference in 2012, commissioned by the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development of Germany (BMZ) (KfW, n.d.). The global program serves as the overall framework for the different REM programs implemented in the target locations. The German KfW Development Bank and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) are responsible for the implementation. While the KfW coordinates the program through the provision of 'payment-by-results' contracts, the GIZ provides technical support for the targeted countries and regions to successfully receive the provided benefits, while respecting safeguards and guaranteeing inclusive participation and benefit sharing (Alencar et al., 2018; KfW, n.d.).

The program is being implemented in Colombia, Ecuador and the two Brazilian states, Acre and Mato Grosso. In Colombia the program is based on a cooperation between the Colombian, German, Norwegian and the UK government. In Ecuador the program is being implemented through a trilateral agreement between Ecuador, Germany and Norway (KfW, n.d.). In Brazil, the states of Acre and Mato Grosso implement the REM program on a state level. In Mato Grosso, the program is co-financed by the UK

government through the Department for Business, Energy & Industrial Strategy (BEIS) and implemented by the State Secretariats of Environment (SEMA) in alignment with the federal government through the Ministry of Environment (MMA). The objective is to implement the program in a participatory manner, complying with international standards, such as the International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention 169 and the REDD+ safeguards (Alencar et al., 2018).

8.1.2. REM Indigenous Territories Subprogram Mato Grosso

The Indigenous Territories Subprogram is one of four subprograms of the REM program implemented in the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso. It has the overall objective to ensure that "the resources of the Mato Grosso REM Program integrate, articulate, and strengthen the Indigenous peoples' contributions to mitigate and adapt to climate change, based on their traditional knowledge systems and self-sustainable management of natural resources" (*Programa REM Mato Grosso |Subprograma Territórios Indígenas,* 2019, p. 7). It intends to do so by allocating benefits, according to a defined benefit-sharing scheme, which aims at either directly or indirectly benefiting the 43 indigenous peoples of Mato Grosso. These 43 indigenous peoples are distributed across the state of Mato Grosso in the three biomes, the Cerrado, the Pantanal and the Amazon rainforest. The FEPOIMT subdivided the indigenous territories into the 7 regions, Xingu, Kayapó, Noroeste, Vale do Araguaia, Xavante, Vale do Guaporé and Cerrado/Pantanal (*Programa REM Mato Grosso |Subprograma Territórios Indígenas,* 2019) (see figure 4).

In order to be a beneficiary of the subprogram, indigenous beneficiaries have to contribute to the goal of reducing greenhouse gas emissions from deforestation, by conserving their forest areas in their territories and using their natural resources in a sustainable manner. Direct beneficiaries will receive benefits either by the direct proposal of projects (such as indigenous associations or the FEPOIMT), or as the target group of projects and investment plans (*Programa REM Mato Grosso |Subprograma Territórios Indígenas,* 2019).

The Indigenous Territories subprogram was constructed through a participatory consulting process coordinated through the FEPOIMT and the State Secretariat of Environment of Mato Grosso (SEMA/MT), supported by the ICV, and the GIZ. The GIZ has supported this process especially through building the bridge between the Mato Grosso state government and the FEPOIMT (Alencar et al., 2018; FUNBIO, n.d.).

The consultation process had been initially laid out to be done through a series of multiplier workshops. The idea of these workshops was to bring indigenous leaders and representatives from the 7 regions of the FEPOIMT to the workshop space to inform them about the topic of REDD and the REM program so that they could then return to their regions to multiply that information. The final stage of the consultation was planned to happen at the 3rd assembly of the FEPOIMT in 2018 (*Programa REM Mato Grosso |Subprograma Territórios Indígenas,* 2019*1a Oficina para multiplicadores indígenas programa REM/MT*, n.d.). After the completion of the multiplier workshop, an evaluation seminar was held which revealed that the multiplier workshops had not sufficiently informed the indigenous multipliers. Therefore, a set of regional workshops was planned to bring the topic of REDD and REM to the local indigenous regions. The final consent was given at the 3rd Assembly of the FEPOIMT in 2018. The implementation started in 2019. The consultation process will be laid out in more detail below.

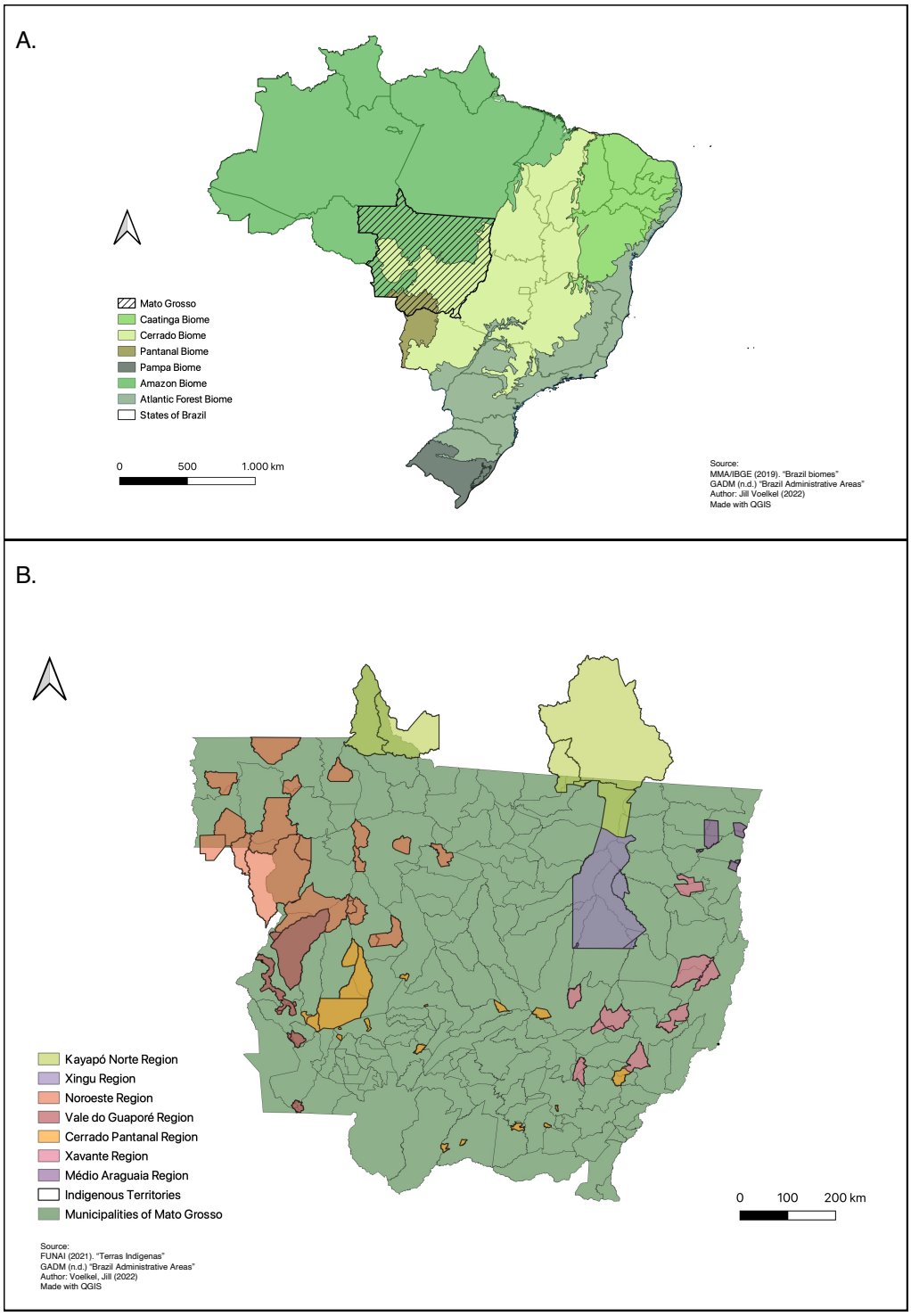

Figure 4: A. Brazilian Biomes. Map of Brazil, showing the country's six biomes, the Pantanal, Caatinga, Cerrado, Pampa, Amazon and Atlantic Forest. The state of Mato Grosso is highlighted to indicate the focus region of the researched case. Source: MMA/IBGE (2015). "Brazil biomes." Accessed through Global Forest Watch on 20/10/2022. www.globalforestwatch.org. Data updated 2019; GADM (n.d.). "Brazil Administrative Areas". Data accessed through diva-gis.org. Map created using the Free and Open Source QGIS [GIS software]. Author: Voelkel, Jill (2022) *B. Indigenous Territories of Mato Grosso.* The Indigenous Territories are classified by the FEPOIMT into seven geopolitical regions. These geopolitical regions indicate the target regions of the Indigenous Territories

Subprogram REM MT. Certain Indigenous Territories cross state borders and are partly located in the neighboring states Acre and Pará. Source: FUNAI (2020). "Terras Indígenas". Data updated 2021 and accessed through https://www.gov.br/funai/pt-br/atuacao/terras-indigenas/geoprocessamento-e-mapas; GADM (n.d.) "Brazil Administrative Areas", accessed through diva-gis.org. Map created using the Free and Open Source QGIS [GIS software]. Author: Voelkel, Jill (2022).

The implementation of the Indigenous Territories subprogram started with its first phase in 2019. This phase is currently still going on and is expected to be finished at the end of 2023. In 2020, a public call for local projects had been planned, however, due to the pandemic this could not be realized (Interview 1, 2022). Instead, an emergency plan was constructed to ensure the allocation of emergency equipment to all 43 indigenous peoples of Mato Grosso, while strengthening the food security in the indigenous territories. For the execution of the emergency plan, the local regions were consulted by the FEPOIMT, and decisions were made on intermediary organizations that would transfer the benefits to local indigenous associations or directly execute subprojects (Interview 3, July 2022; Interview 9, July, 2022). The emergency plan is currently still being executed. In the beginning of 2022, however, a public call for project was realized, and local indigenous associations were able to design and submit their application for local projects in alignment with their priorities and needs (*Relatório da 7ª Reunião de Governança Indígena,* n.d.).

The implementation of the subprogram follows a participatory governance structure. This means decisions on proposals and actions within the framework of the implementation and management of the subprogram are deliberated on and taken in a so-called governance committee. This committee is made up of indigenous and non-indigenous representatives of different public and private institutions, although only indigenous representatives have the right to vote on decisions. The non-indigenous representatives have the right to support and advise the decisions taken. The implementation space is elaborated on in more detail in the following analysis.

8.1.3. Principal actors

The following table gives an overview over the principle involved actors and stakeholders in the design and execution of the REM/MT Indigenous Territories Subprogram. For more clarity on their roles, the different actors are divided into different stakeholder groups.

Table 3: Overview of principal actors involved in the participatory construction and implementation of the REM/MT IT subprogram. Source: Programa REM Mato Grosso | Subprograma Territórios Indígenas, 2019; *conducted interviews and observations*

Stakeholder groups	**Representative actor**	**Role in the construction and implementation of REM/MT (IT subprogram)**
Donor	German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ)	Funder of the global REM program
	UK Department for Business, Energy & Industrial Strategy (BEIS)	Co-financer of the REM/MT program

Implementing Agencies	KfW Development Bank	Partner for financial cooperation and manager of the global REM program, ensuring the proper execution of the REM/MT program
	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH	Partner for technical cooperation, providing support for the engagement of stakeholders in dialogue, both during the participatory design of the program and during its implementation. Technical advice on participatory governance, socio-environmental safeguards, and inclusive benefit sharing.
Brazilian federal government	Ministry of Environment (MMA)	Responsible for the implementation of the Brazilian National REDD+ strategy. Monitors the deforestation in the state of MT and its reduction as a base for the payment for results.
	Fundação Nacional do Índio (FUNAI)	FUNAI is responsible for aligning the program with the government's indigenous policies and ensuring the protection of indigenous rights.
Mato Grosso state government	State Secretariat of Environment of Mato Grosso (SEMA/MT)	SEMA/MT is the executing secretariat of the REM/MT program through the REM/MT Program Coordination (Coordenação do Programa REM – GCPREM). The Program Coordination also includes a coordinator for each subprogram. The REM/MT Program Coordination is supported by the International Consultancy GOPA. The Climate Change and REDD+ Coordination (Coordenadoria de Mudanças Climáticas e REDD+) within SEMA is responsible for ensuring the compliance of the REM/MT program with the State REDD+ System (SisREDD+/MT).
	Produzir, Conservar, Incluir (PCI) Strategy Dictory	Responsible for co-managing the implementation of the REM/MT program together with the SEMA REM coordination and aligning the program with the PCI strategy
Financial Executor	Fundo Brasileiro para a Biodiversidade (FUNBIO)	Financial management of the REM/MT program in accordance with the benefit sharing strategy
Beneficiaries	Federação e Povos Indígenas de Mato Grosso (FEPOIMT)	Representing the indigenous peoples of Mato Grosso in the construction and implementation of the REM/MT IT subprogram. FEPOIMT led the consultation process and participatory construction of the subprogram and continues to be principal representative body in the implementation of the subprogram for the social

		control and participation of indigenous peoples in decision-making.
	TAKINA	Representing the indigenous women of Mato Grosso in the creation and implementation of the IT subprogram.
	Local indigenous associations	Proposing local projects in accordance with their communities. During the implementation of the emergency project, local indigenous associations served as key local actors for the implementation of subprojects.
	Other local indigenous beneficiaries	Other indigenous beneficiaries, that do not represent any of the above-mentioned indigenous associations, but nevertheless are target groups for projects and investment plans in the scope of the REM/MT IT
Partner organizations	Instituto Centro de Vida (ICV)	During the consultation process, the ICV was the chosen partner by the FEPOIMT for the support and facilitation of the information and participatory construction of the subprogram. In the scope of the REM/MT implementation, ICV serves as an intermediary organization in the distribution of resources of the emergency project. Furthermore, the ICV was chosen by the FEPOIMT to be the anchor organization of their project on institutional strengthening.
	The Nature Conservancy (TNC)	Non-Indigenous intermediary organization in the distribution of resources of the emergency project in the scope of the REM/MT IT subprogram implementation
	Instituto Raoni	Indigenous intermediary organization in the distribution of resources of the emergency project in the scope of the REM/MT IT subprogram implementation
	Associação Terra Indígena Xingu (ATIX)	Indigenous intermediary organization in the distribution of resources of the emergency project in the scope of the REM/MT implementation

8.2. The participatory spaces

8.2.1. The consultation process and participatory construction of the program: A claimed space

During the beginning of the negotiations on the creation of the REM/MT program, the KfW Development Bank and the REDD Managing Council (Pt. Conselho Gestor REDD+), the advisory and deliberative body of the State REDD+ System of Mato Grosso (SisREDD+/MT), held discussions on how much of the financial resources would go to local beneficiaries. The REM program, coming from the global REM design, has the guideline to have at least 50 % of the resources channeled to local actors conserving the forests, though it was decided that in the case of the REM/MT 60 % of the overall resources would go to local beneficiaries. Through a methodology, called carbon stock-flow, it was determined how much of the different areas in the state, such as state areas, conservation areas, private properties and indigenous lands, would serve as carbon sinks and would therefore have to be further protected. With this came the realization that much of the forest carbon stocks were found in indigenous land and that the indigenous peoples of Mato Grosso would need to be beneficiaries of the REM financing mechanism (Interview 1, 2022).

However, what needs to be acknowledged is that the political decision to include indigenous peoples as beneficiaries of the REM instrument did not immediately entail the participation of indigenous beneficiaries in the construction of such a subprogram. In fact, this participation was claimed by indigenous representatives during the presentation of the program to the beneficiaries. One interview explained:

> "The indigenous peoples told the KfW, look guys, we want to do it together with you, we won't accept a program coming from above, right?" (Interview 1, 2022)

When the REDD Managing Council of Mato Grosso invited indigenous representatives for a meeting, so that SEMA could present their initial proposal for the REM Program with the indigenous peoples receiving 17 % of the benefits for local actors, they faced some resistance:

> "[An indigenous woman] raised her hand and said "No, what do you mean? We are going to have 17% of the resource. Who is going to build this program? … So, it was an indigenous woman that … stood up and said, my friend, you are not going to build this without our participation.*"* (Interview 1, 2022*)*

This claim was considered and the KfW suggested creating a consultation process with resources provided by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), which SEMA also agreed to. At this point, the GIZ entered the process to support the indigenous peoples in creating a participatory consultation process. With the agreement on the consultation process and participatory construction of the program also came the decision to create a process that would be led by the indigenous peoples themselves (Interview 9, 2022). As the active participation of indigenous peoples in the construction of the subprogram was demanded by the indigenous peoples themselves, followed by a process led by the FEPOIMT and the local indigenous communities, this space was identified as claimed space.

8.2.2. The implementation - an invited space

The implementation of the REM/MT IT subprogram up to this point can be divided in different spaces of participation on different levels. The implementation of the program is led by the Coordination of the REM/MT Program of the SEMA/MT (*Programa REM Mato Grosso |Subprograma Territórios Indígenas,* 2019). The decisions on what is being implemented on a local level are taken in the governance committee. The governance committee is made up of different indigenous and non-indigenous representatives of different public and private institutions (see Figure 5). Depending on the institution they belong to, the representatives either have the decision-making power – meaning they can deliberate on discussed matters - or have the right to give advice and support. Within the governance committee, only indigenous representatives hold decision-making power. Besides the governance committee, the governance structure of the subprogram also includes a technical committee that evaluates certain projects, such as the project for the institutional strengthening of the FEPOIMT or the local indigenous projects submitted in response to the public call for projects. No indigenous representatives participate in the technical committee, however, the evaluation done by the technical committee is validated by the governance committee. The space of the governance committee differs from the participation on a local level, where the projects are being implemented.

The emergency plan which was constructed in response to the pandemic was executed through FUNBIO together with intermediary organizations (pt. organizações aglutinadoras). The chosen intermediary organizations are contracted by FUNBIO and have the major function to pass on resources to grassroot indigenous associations. These local associations must invoice their actions to the intermediary organization, which in turn reports to FUNBIO. In the implementation of the emergency plan, the FEPOIMT made the choice to have four intermediary organizations to attend to the demands of the seven regions of the FEPOIMT (Interview 4, 2022). Among these intermediary organizations are two indigenous organizations, the Instituto Raoni and the Associação Terra Indígena do Xingu (ATIX). The other non-indigenous intermediary organizations chosen are the ICV and The Nature Conservancy (TNC) – a non-governmental conservation organization. The intermediary organizations invited key local actors, such as indigenous associations to partake in a participatory construction of the local subprojects (of the emergency project) (Interview 9, 2022).

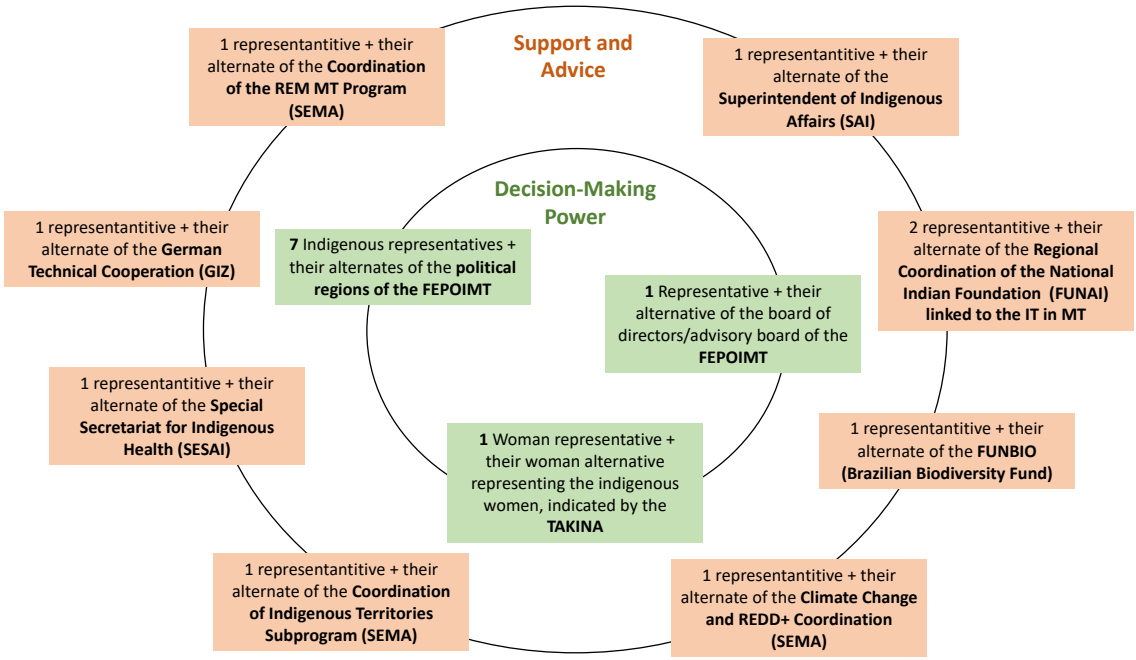

Figure 5: Constellation of the governance committee of the Indigenous Territories Subprogram. Source: Adapted from Programa REM Mato Grosso | Subprograma Territórios Indígenas (2019).

In 2022, the call for projects was eventually launched, with the results released in July 2022. Parallelly to the emergency plan, the first phase of a project for the institutional strengthening of the FEPOIMT was executed. This first project phase was approved by the governance committee before its execution and the ICV was contracted by FUNBIO as the anchor organization, managing the resources for the actions within the project. The ICV was chosen as anchor organization by the FEPOIMT (*Relatório da 6a Reunião de Governança Indígena*, n.d.). For the second phase, the FEPOIMT and ICV will co-manage the resource of the project 'Institutional Strengthening of the FEPOIMT'. The proposal of the second phase is currently under review for approval (*Relatório da 7ª Reunião de Governança Indígena,* n.d.).

Although the indigenous peoples within the implementation of the program hold their right to make decisions, and deliberate – the ones who eventually execute these decisions are SEMA/MT and FUNBIO. They do this with the participation of the indigenous peoples, as well as intermediary and indigenous grassroot associations. Since this space, however, shows certain boundaries that are defined by the SEMA/MT and FUNBIO, the space was identified as an invited space. Although it can be visible that in certain moments, such as the consultation of the local regions in the construction of the emergency plan, the indigenous beneficiaries participate, in most of the spaces, the indigenous peoples do not define the rules of the game. Instead, the rules of the game are predominantly defined by the executing institutions– which reflects an invited, rather than a claimed space.

8.3. Environmental justice outcomes of the participatory processes and spaces

8.3.1. Participation

Participation in decision-making in the consultation process

From the decision onwards to consult the indigenous peoples in Mato Grosso for the creation of the REM program, efforts were put in ensuring that the FEPOIMT and the indigenous beneficiaries would be the protagonists of the consultation process. This included ensuring that the FEPOIMT would take the decisions on how the process would look like. For the design of the process and the methodology, the FEPOIMT decided to involve the non-indigenist[2] organization in the consulting process, the ICV. Interviews with different actors, including the program beneficiaries showed that there were multiple reasons for why a non-indigenist organization was chosen over an indigenist organization. It was mentioned that indigenist organizations in Brazil have a rather colonial character (Interview 3, 2022). Furthermore, it was necessary to have an organization involved in the process that would not have any preference for a certain region, since the FEPOIMT was going to work with the 43 indigenous peoples of Mato Grosso during the consultation process (Interview 7, 2022). It was also mentioned that many indigenist organizations in Mato Grosso had a rather close-minded attitude towards the nature of the REM program, as in being a REDD mechanism (Interview 8, 2022).

The ICV was chosen – one - because they had not previously had any experience working with certain indigenous regions, but most importantly because of their experience and involvement with the topic of the REDD+ in the state of Mato Grosso (Interview 7, 2022; Interview 3, 2022). For the multiplier workshops, indigenous leaders from the different regions were invited to participate in a workshop that informed them about the REDD mechanisms and related topics such as socio-environmental safeguards and the REM program, as previously described in more detail (*1a Oficina para multiplicadores indígenas programa REM/MT*, n.d.). These indigenous multipliers were chosen by the FEPOIMT themselves (Interview 1, 2022). However, during the multiplier workshops, difficulties arose regarding the constellation of the indigenous peoples in the workshop, impacting their capacities to participate (Interview 1, 2022).

After the set of multiplier workshops, an evaluation seminar was organized to evaluate the process and define new steps for the consultation of the local communities (Interview 1, 2022; Interview 9, ´2022). This was another moment where the protagonism of the indigenous peoples in the process became visible. It became clear that the idea of indigenous multipliers bringing the information to the grassroots and consulting them would not work out, due to a lack of resources and a lack of comprehension on the topic. Therefore, the indigenous leaders and representatives in the seminar asked the non-indigenous participants to leave the seminar room to discuss how this problem could be solved. They subsequently decided on the next steps necessary, demanding workshops in the local communities to inform the grassroots and guarantee an informed, prior and free consent – in accordance with the ILO 169 Convention. This was presented to the partners. One interviewee explained:

[2] Indigenist refers to people or organizations advocating for indigenous peoples, their rights and beliefs. In this context an indigenist organization can be understood as an organization with experience in working with indigenous peoples.

> „So, there were two moments [during the evaluation seminar] that the indigenous people put all the non-indigenous people out of the room, so that they could talk amongst themselves … And so, I think this was fantastic, because, regardless of whether it was going to work out or not, they agreed among themselves that they were going to take this forward, right?" (Interview 9, 2022)

While some of these decisions were still adapted along the way, the conditions stayed and informed the structure and guidelines of the local workshops. The FEPOIMT had chosen to have the ICV as the organization to think of the methodology and strategy of the workshops. Although the methodology was proposed by the ICV, it was adjusted each day through evaluation sessions in the evening in which the contracted consultant got together with present representatives of the FEPOIMT, local indigenous facilitators and leaders. The actual dynamic of the workshops was led by indigenous facilitators. Other stakeholders or partner organizations were present, including the ICV or GIZ helped facilitate the session and were available in the case of questions or complications (Interview 7, 2022). The interviews indicated that care was taken to ensure that the space was not occupied by non-indigenous participants and that indigenous participants were able to participate as protagonists in the execution of the workshops (Interview 7, July 2022; Interview 9, 2022). Partners only got involved whenever help was needed, a question was raised that needed clarification or a conflict had to be solved.

Participation in decision-making within the spaces of execution

The participatory governance structure within the implementation of the subprogram ensures that the indigenous peoples take the final decision on actions and measures regarding the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the IT subprogram (see Figure 5). Nevertheless, challenges in effectively ensuring the participation of indigenous representatives in the implementation space can be observed. The data indicated a lack of participation of the FEPOIMT in strategic planning during implementation, such as during the preparations of the governance meetings or the preparation of the second phase of the subprogram, including discussions on the benefit-sharing (Interview 3, July 2022; Interview 8, August 2022; Interview 9, August 2022). The responsibility of the preparation of the governance meetings lies in the hands of the Coordination of the Subprogram Indigenous Territories of SEMA. Although the FEPOIMT is consulted during the preparation of the governance meeting, they are not an active co-designer of the process. A representative of an involved partner organization explained:

> "When there is a governance meeting, FEPOIMT always ends up claiming that they don't know how it is going to be. They don't know what is being discussed at which moment, what it is going to be like, it is not a process built together. This only makes it more difficult for participation to be full, free and effective. (Interview 9, 2022)

One such process which - during the implementation - allowed for the participation and autonomous decision-making of the local indigenous peoples to a certain degree was the public call for projects. During the call for projects, the indigenous peoples could submit their own projects that would align with their local realities and needs (Interview 4, 2022). However, it must be pointed out that the participation of local indigenous communities depended very much on the capacities of different regions. The interviews and the reports of the monitoring mission (*Missão de Monitoramento | Ajuda Memória,* 2022) and governance

meetings (*Relatório da 7ª Reunião de Governança Indígena,* n.d) demonstrated that the regions with no local associations or with less support in the design of their own projects were left behind during the public call for proposals. A beneficiary explained:

> "We sought help, right, help from some people who have this understanding of writing projects, right? And some helped. But others, like I said, my people have an association, but the fact that we had never worked with the project made us unable to participate. And I was well, I was a little sad, you know? … it is a guarantee that we are also learning, right? The community is learning. I think that, how are we going to learn if they don't have, if they are not going to put it into practice, right?" (Interview 2, 2022)

However, the construction of the emergency plan seemed to be a process led by the FEPOIMT. In fact, state representatives described the process as being marked by the FEPOIMT's self-determination (Interview 4, July 2022). Within that process, the FEPOIMT also decided on which organizations would serve as intermediary organizations in the allocation of resources (Interview 4, 2022).

Space for women protagonists

The participation of women in the workshops on the local community level during the consultation process seemed to be a challenge. Although from the beginning on, a quota for indigenous women participants was set, this quota was not met, due to cultural reasons, among others (Interview 8, 2022). Beneficiaries participating in the workshops explained:

> "Effectively there was no participation of women […]. And with this, worried about not having the women's perspective on the subprogram, we started to talk with the partners and with the GIZ itself, we need to make a REM for women because they will be better off among us, we know what the territory needs." (Interview 8, 2022)

However, what must be pointed out is that not sufficient resources were available for the execution of such a workshop (Interview 1, 2022). Nevertheless, the indigenous women organized their own resources to ensure the realization of the women's workshop (Interview 1, 2022). Additionally, the women faced resistance, predominantly from indigenous men, who did not see this workshop as necessary (Interview 8, 2022; Interview 9, 2022):

> "And they [the indigenous women] faced resistance, a lot of resistance. So, within FEPOIMT's own board of directors, they left this workshop up to the women to run … FEPOIMT supports, so support means authorize, but the board of directors is formed by men. It will not engage itself and so on to do this, it will participate there, but making everything possible, this is up to the women themselves." (Interview 9, 2022)

During the implementation, the representation of women and their perspective was intended to be guaranteed by including a female representative of the TAKINA, the organization of indigenous women in Mato Grosso (see figure 5). Recently, with the intention of increasing the representation of women, new members of the governance committee were inaugurated, including more women representatives of certain indigenous geopolitical regions in MT (*Relatório da 7ª Reunião de Governança Indígena,* n.d.)

Furthermore, during the 2nd meeting of indigenous women in Mato Grosso (June, 2022), a women's department within the FEPOIMT, called FEPOIMT MULHER, was created. The women's department is an important step in guaranteeing more participation in the REM governance space and the implementation of local projects (*Relatório da 7ª Reunião de Governança Indígena,* n.d.).

In addition, certain regions have subprojects within the emergency project that are specifically designed for women. During the 7th governance meeting, representatives of the ATIX (Articulação Terra Indígena Xingu) – an intermediary organization in the implementation of the emergency plan – emphasized that 20 % of the resources were intended for women's activities. In the end almost all projects within the emergency plan in the Xingu included activities for women (*Relatório da 7ª Reunião de Governança Indígena,* n.d.). This, however, seemed to be much dependent on the different indigenous regions.



Figure 6: Election of the coordinators of the women's department in the FEPOIMT – FEPOIMT Mulher during Indigenous Women's Meeting in Mato Grosso, Brazil, [Photograph] by J. Voelkel, 2022.

Comprehension, Transparency and Accountability

One major objective of the consultation process was to guarantee the comprehension of the topic of REDD and REM by the indigenous peoples of Mato Grosso to eventually give their informed consent (*1a Oficina para multiplicadores indígenas programa REM/MT*, n.d.) Talking to participants of the process however showed that comprehension of the topic of REDD and REM was impaired (Interview 9, 2022; Interview 3,

2022). The multiplier workshops had not sufficed in making the indigenous multipliers understand the topic enough to bring it to the grassroots. Therefore, the indigenous peoples and representatives involved in the process took the decision to have local workshops in the indigenous territories, as described above. To ensure the comprehension of the indigenous participants on the local level, every workshop had translators that aided in translating the content of the workshop into the language of the respective indigenous peoples (Interview 9, August 2022; Interview 7, July 2022). Furthermore, booklets were distributed with information on REDD and related topics, such as socio-environmental safeguards etc., also referred to as a *'living booklet'* (translation from Portuguese for 'cartilha viva', Interview 9, 2022). This helped to have both an explanation at hand for the indigenous participants about the topics, but also give transparency about the process. Furthermore, although the process was led by the FEPOIMT with the support of the GIZ and ICV, other (partner) institutions were present, such as the representatives of state institutions of the Mato Grosso State Secretariat of the Environment (SEMA/MT), the Superintendence of Indigenous Affairs (SAI) and National Indigenous Foundation (FUNAI), NGOs such as the Instituto Socioambiental (ISA) and the financial executor FUNBIO (*Relatório de Resultados |Regional Xingu*, 2018, Interview 9, 2022). Besides overlooking the process, in the case of state representatives, the participating institutions held speeches to clarify their role in the process and being present in the case of clarification (Interview 9, 2022).

A mechanism within the implementation that contributes to guaranteeing accountability is the public character of the program, meaning the program is being implemented through SEMA and the resources spent are closely watched and followed. A public representative involved in implementation of the subprogram explained:

> "So basically, the program coordinators are public servants even for a question of accountability for misuse by interference so, although it has this very clear definition of what is to be executed, all this use is done with care, with all the care that is given to public money, right, the public resource?" (Interview 5, 2022)

While this accountability mechanism intends to prevent the misuse of the resource, it does not guarantee the non-violation of indigenous rights and cultures. This non-violation should be guaranteed through the compliance with the socio-environmental safeguards. Through participation in different meetings, and supported by the reports, it became clear that the operationalization of the safeguards and their monitoring are delayed. However, the Coordination of Climate Change and REDD+ of the State Environment Secretariat emphasized that the safeguards are being addressed in the ART/TREES standard and that at the current stage, the indicators for the safeguards have been finalized and capacity building workshops are being executed (*Missão de Monitoramento | Ajuda Memória,* 2022). In the case of the REM program, the reasons for the delay have been the complexity of the topic, also in regard to doubts about the topic by beneficiaries and challenges in including the system into the routine (*Missão de Monitoramento | Ajuda Memória,* 2022). Nevertheless, a state representative pointed out that the IT subprogram was built on the basis of socio-environmental safeguards, including the consultation process in the construction phase of the subprogram (Interview 5, 2022). This was also confirmed by a representative of a partner organization involved in the consultation process:

> "I have always brought up the question of safeguards, that safeguarding the rights of traditional peoples and communities is already in the very doing. […] So, we needed to promote that these indigenous people actually lead the process together with the non-indigenous people and that they also have the conditions, for example, to have translators in their language, because this is part of the non-violation, right, that they are sure that what they are saying is true." (Interview 8, 2022)

Furthermore, regarding the question of accountability, it was emphasized by interviewees and during the meeting of the Monitoring Mission that the SEMA has a functioning ombudsman that also attends the demands related to the REM program (Interview 4, 2022; *Missão de Monitoramento |Ajuda Memória,* 2022). Furthermore, a risk management system has been implemented.

However, the interviews showed that the transparency of certain processes is not necessarily guaranteed, which consequently also impacts matters of accountability. The difficulties of the FEPOIMT participating in the preparation of the governance meetings, leave less room for a good preparation of the meetings by indigenous representatives, which consequently challenges informed decision-making in the governance space. Furthermore, there is a lack of transparency evident in regard to the rules and guidelines coming from different stakeholders in the process on how the next implementation phase of the subprogram is going to look. A beneficiary explains:

> "And we don't agree with how this second phase is being conducted. We don't want to know about consulting, we want to know what the rules of the game are, right? And so far, [nobody] has not talked to us … I also think that there needs to be transparency with us, as indigenous people and beneficiaries, and at the same time with the people who are there in the subprogram about what is the funder's rule, what we can be flexible about, and what we cannot." (Interview 8, 2022)

Regarding accountability and transparency, the FEPOIMT itself plays an important role in bringing concerns raised on a local level to the governance space, so they can be responded to on a state level. A beneficiary mentioned the importance of increasing the number of representatives from the indigenous regions within the governance committee. This can help matters of transparency - creating processes and making decisions that will be understood better on the grassroot level – and can furthermore help in bringing preoccupations and complaints to a space where many other actors within the subprogram are present (Interview 8, 2022).

8.3.2. Recognition

<u>Guaranteeing free, prior, informed consent</u>

The whole consultation process and participatory construction of the program was built on the basis of free, prior, and informed consent (Interview 1, 2022). With the FEPOIMT and the indigenous peoples as the protagonists of the process, it was clear that the process would be built on ensuring a 'free' process. During the workshops, translators were present to ensure that the information would be accessible in their own language. Regional workshops were held in the indigenous territories and the logistics were paid for by the BMZ (Interview 1, 2022; Interview 7, 2022). However, a big challenge seemed to be respecting the indigenous time. The time frame for both the multiplier workshop and for the regional workshops and local

level was short. It left limited space to understand the complex topic of REDD and for making a decision based on cultural truths. However, a longer process would have not been possible because of a lack of resources. Also, for the indigenous peoples, a longer process would most likely not work out, as pointed out by a representative of a partner organization participating in the consultation process (Interview 9, 2022).

Recognizing 'Prior' consent means that the indigenous peoples would have to give their consent prior to the actual creation and implementation of the mechanism, and that a 'no' would mean the implementation of an indigenous subprogram would not move forward. During the annual FEPOIMT assembly in 2018, the proposal for the subprogram was presented, including the priorities and suggestions gathered during the eight local workshops. Last doubts were clarified, and the consent was given by all the regions, except for the region of Xingu. Representatives of the Xingu region made clear that in order to give their consent, they would need to have more information on the topic. In response to that, another workshop was organized to further inform the Xingu region. After this workshop, they found a consensus and decided to partake in the implementation of the program, as mentioned above (Interview 1, 2022; Interview 7, 2022). This demonstrates the rather big challenge of ensuring 'informed' consent.

The governance structure of the IT subprogram was created to ensure that actions will be deliberated and decided on by the indigenous representatives within the framework of the implementation, management and evaluation of the subprogram (*Programa REM Mato Grosso |Subprograma Territórios Indígenas,* 2019). This ensures a prior consent by the indigenous representatives. The indigenous governance structure also follows the idea to have representatives on a state level that bring discussions and requests for deliberation to the local indigenous territories. Ideally this means that every decision made in the state-level governance space would be based on an access to transparent information and informed through the consultation of local regions. Challenges to informed consent seem to be the difficulties of representativity and communication (Interview 5, 2022). There are difficulties in bringing information to the local indigenous communities, which creates a lack of understanding of the governance space at the grassroot. The interviews and the KfW Monitoring Mission also demonstrated that the indigenous peoples in the local regions do not feel sufficiently represented by the indigenous peoples partaking in the governance meetings, which links to the challenge of bringing the information to the grassroot. (Interview 4, 2022; Interview 5, 2022). These difficulties can be linked to the lack of involvement of the FEPOIMT in the preparation of the governance meetings, which creates a space of uncertainty, thus impairing informed consent.

Visibility, Legitimacy and Self-recognition

When the indigenous peoples themselves claimed their participation, they started gaining visibility in the sense of being seen as a legitimate actor in creating the subprogram and being the protagonists of that process. When the decision was taken to have a consultation process led by the indigenous peoples, the KfW development bank positioned themselves strongly in favor of the indigenous participation. An involved beneficiary explained:

> "And then, at the time [the KfW] said, 'Guys, we see the indigenous peoples as actors. They are one of the ones that keep the forest standing. So, we want the participation of the indigenous peoples in the way that they want.' This was very clear, and I felt very secure at the time, right?" (Interview 3, 2022)

This positioning brought a certain clarity, also among other involved actors, such as government representatives from the SEMA/MT, that the indigenous peoples would have to be consulted and that the FEPOIMT would be a legitimate actor in leading this process (Interview 1, 2022; Interview 3, 2022).

The interviews revealed important moments that indicated self-recognition by the indigenous peoples involved in the consultation process. These hold importance for their legitimation in the process. One such moment was, during the evaluation seminar:

> "I think that in this seminar it became very clear that they [the indigenous peoples] are very sure of their role and how important they are for the subprogram and for REM itself … So, like, they didn't have to bow down, right? They could put conditions." (Interview 9, 2022)

Another important moment of self-recognition was when the indigenous women involved in the organization and planning of the workshops acknowledged their importance in the construction of the program and despite resistance created the space for their contributions to the subprogram (Interview 8, 2022; *Relatório de Resultados |Edição Mulher,* 2018; *Programa REM Mato Grosso |Subprograma Territórios Indígenas,* 2019).

Aforementioned challenges to indigenous participation in the implementation spaces on a state level links to difficulties in recognizing the FEPOIMT as a legitimate actor. Interviewed beneficiaries raised their concerns that since the subprogram has been officially created and systematized, the importance of the FEPOIMT within the implementation process has not been sufficiently recognized. A beneficiary explains:

> „Sometimes I see that the coordination today does not see the role of FEPOIMT as important as it was in the beginning [referring to the consultation process], you know? I feel that they see it as if we have already done our role and now, we have to stay in our line, you understand?" (Interview 3, 2022)

Although the FEPOIMT is consulted, there is a lack of spaces regarding the implementation in which procedures and processes are co-created and co-managed. According to a beneficiary, this seems to also link to a lack of recognizing the capacities that the indigenous representatives hold in being able to dialogue and come to a consensus with the state government representatives (Interview 8, 2022).

The recognition of the FEPOIMT is an important component of an effective implementation of the subprogram, as they are in fact the most legitimate institution in representing the indigenous peoples of the state of Mato Grosso. Interviewees mentioned the necessity of democratization within the FEPOIMT and the improvement of communication between the grassroot and their representation on state-level (Interview 4, 2022; Interview 5, 2022; Interview 9, 2022). Nevertheless, not recognizing the FEPOIMT legitimacy in representing the indigenous peoples of Mato Grosso is a big risk in negatively impacting the effective participation of the indigenous beneficiaries and the overall successful implementation of the subprogram (Interview 9, 2022).

Indigenous knowledge, culture and worlds

When looking at the recognition and inclusion of indigenous knowledge, culture and worlds in the process and design of the Indigenous Territories Subprogram of REM MT, it must be emphasized that the program itself is a pre-defined mechanism. It is decided on in the scope of a global climate conference, a space in which indigenous participants have only recently been included. The mechanism is therefore informed by a non-indigenous knowledge system and brings along a pre-set framework, with certain rules and directives. Additionally, the state of Mato Grosso, as the counterpart of this negotiation, brings in its own rules and standards. This set framework limits the inclusion of indigenous knowledge to a certain degree. Visible features of that set framework were: available time and inaccessible jargon. A representative of a partner organization elaborated on this:

> "The funding organization has a deadline. It's like, the process must be ready by this and this day, a program has to be ready by this and this month, but the time of indigenous peoples and traditional communities is different, the language is inaccessible. [Their] thinking about territory, thinking about money, thinking about relationships is very different." (Interview 9, 2022)

This demonstrates a discrepancy between the indigenous ways of life, their understanding of time and money, and the knowledge system the process was built upon. However, especially in regard to the time, it seemed that a longer process may have not worked out, also not for the indigenous peoples, as mentioned above (Interview 6, 2022; Interview 9, 2022).

This underlines the challenge of aligning a consultation process with both the realities of the indigenous life, and the time framework set out by external institutions. However, within the indigenous-led space created for the consultation, some important measures were taken to recognize the indigenous peoples' diversities and cultures – as previously mentioned (Interview 7, 2022; Interview 9, 2022). Before the realization of the workshop, the organization team made pre-visits in the workshop locations. This was meant to ensure that the logistics would be prepared beforehand, and the communities' rules could be respected (Interview 9, 2022). Besides the local indigenous facilitators, a graphic facilitation was organized to aid in the comprehension through visual forms (Interview 7, 2022, Interview 9, 2022). This also helped the comprehension of the topic (Interview 9, 2022).

Furthermore, a beneficiary pointed out that they did not have to consent to an already pre-defined subprogram. In fact, a list of priority topics was proposed by the FEPOIMT and complemented along the execution of the workshops with new themes (see *Relatório de Resultados |Regional Kayapó*, 2018). Each region and each indigenous peoples were then able to identify their priorities and include their suggestions for the program. In response to the question whether the process allowed the inclusion of their culture and values, a beneficiary explained:

> "Yes, like I mentioned, it [the subprogram] wasn't being set up for us, right? Even though it already had lines [of action], right, but it depended on each region, each region, right, to decide which line of that project financing, which line would be accepted." (Interview 2, 2022)

Such inclusion of indigenous knowledge in the projects is crucial, not only for respecting their traditions, but also in regard to the protection of forests as those traditional activities have in most cases contributed to the continuous conservation of such forest areas.

Although government representatives were present during the workshops, there seemed to be rather a lack of exchange between those representatives and the indigenous participants. In fact, it seemed like the government representatives participated rather as the watchdog of the process, and for accountability reasons – being available to clarify their role in the execution of the program. However, there seemed to be little space for an exchange of perspectives which is crucial in the eye of overcoming epistemic injustices. It is something that would be useful for the understanding of different knowledge systems along the implementation of the program, as it was inevitable to have dialogues between the state and indigenous peoples in the future. A state representative elaborated on this:

> "If from the very beginning we could have been there together to dialogue, even if it was to listen to complaints … I think then it would have been a little simpler for us throughout the beginning of the program, you know, the execution of the program." (Interview 4, 2022)

Indigenous knowledge, culture and worlds in the implementation

Regarding the implementation of the subprogram, the interviews and reports demonstrate a lack of sensibility towards the realities of indigenous lives and cultures. A beneficiary explained:

> "For example, the [coordination of the program] does not have sensitivity when we bring the issues, for example, of logistics that it is very far away, you know? Or a father who sometimes has to take his daughter to a meeting because there is no one to leave her with." (Interview 3, 2022)

Regarding this lack of sensibility, certain concerns were raised about rules and bureaucracy the subprogram entails. This bureaucracy has not only impacted the participation and access of indigenous beneficiaries to certain spaces, but also poses a threat to the recognition of their realities. Although this has been discussed various times within the governance meetings, effectively responding to this demand has been shown to be difficult (*Relatório da 6a Reunião de Governança Indígena*, n.d.; *Relatório da 7ª Reunião de Governança Indígena,* n.d.). A beneficiary emphasized:

> "I think they are very strict, right, some rules and it doesn't match our reality. We have a very extensive state. Small towns that sometimes don't have many establishments, right? It is difficult to have a dialogue when we are the beneficiaries, and many rigid rules complicate the process and make it take much longer." (Interview 8, 2022)

Although the dialogue between the SEMA and the Indigenous representatives in the program had been difficult during the initial phases of the implementation, improvement could be observed. A beneficiary emphasized:

> "SEMA, it has had a dialogue with us, the coordination, it has learned a lot, even about our world and us about theirs." (Interview 8, 2022)

This indicates that there has been an exchange of views and perspectives and a process of learning about the different cultures and worlds of one another. This was also confirmed by state representatives that mentioned that the dialogue generally works well, there are disputes at times, but in most cases, there is also the space to explain and discuss (Interview 4, 2022; Interview 5, 2022). However, a lack of intercultural dialogue is evident in certain spaces, caused by different actors, including the indigenous representatives themselves (*Relatório da 6a Reunião de Governança Indígena*, n.d.). A state representative shared:

> "For example, their phase two project now, right, FEPOIMT's little project of part two. […] They stayed with the GIZ consulting them, excluding us. And then, when they sent the document, it really couldn't be accepted as a project. And then we had to go back to the dialogue, but now they understood that it really could have been simpler, right?" (Interview 4, 2022)

This indicates a still existing distance, mistrust and lack of recognizing the different actor's roles, which limits the dialogue between the indigenous peoples and state representatives in the spaces of implementation of the IT REM MT subprogram. A further dialogue that continues to be difficult is between the indigenous peoples of Mato Grosso and the (state level) government beyond SEMA. A beneficiary pointed out:

> "So, in relation to SEMA, we have had a dialogue, but in relation to the government, government, government, no." (Interview 8, 2022)

This concern was also brought up during the Monitoring Mission of the KfW in which the indigenous representatives during a round of conversation specifically asked for help from the funder and partner organizations in improving the dialogue between the indigenous peoples and the state government. It was mentioned by the indigenous representatives that the state government of Mato Grosso defends the Temporal Landmark ("Marco Temporal"), a thesis currently processed in the Federal Supreme Court defending the position that indigenous land can only be claimed by the indigenous if it belonged to them on October 5th of 1988 – the date of the enactment of the Brazilian constitution (*Missão de Monitoramento |Ajuda Memória,* 2022, p. 22).

8.3.3. Distribution

Benefit-Sharing

The interviews and workshop reports demonstrated that discussions about the distribution of the resources were present from the beginning. Initially, 17 % of the resources for local beneficiaries were intended to be allocated to the indigenous peoples of Mato Grosso through the IT subprogram. After discussions between the indigenous representatives of the FEPOIMT, the KfW and SEMA about the distribution, a consensus was reached, agreeing to 22 % of the benefits intended for local communities distributed to indigenous beneficiaries (Interview 3, July 2022). However, it was agreed that another discussion on adapting the benefit-sharing scheme would be realized after the first implementation phase of the REM program (Interview 3, July 2022). Some interviewed beneficiaries made clear that they did not consider the chosen

distribution as just, due to different reasons. One beneficiary explained that they found it unfair how much of the funds would go to the government, for an institutional strengthening. A beneficiary explained:

> "We are the ones who keep the forest standing. The government has its own resources, it collects taxes from the populations here." (Interview 3, 2022)

Another beneficiary considered the division of resources between the different subprograms as unjust. They mentioned that what should be considered, which currently is not considered within the benefit-sharing scheme, is how much effort the beneficiaries have invested in a participatory construction and implementation of the subprogram (Interview 8, 2022).

During the KfW Monitoring Mission first discussions on the benefit-sharing for the second implementation phase of the program arose (*Missão de Monitoramento | Ajuda Memória,* 2022). However, up until now, the indigenous people have not been invited or consulted by the SEMA about a new agreement on the benefit-sharing of the new implementation phase (Interview 8, 2022).

Interviews and reports of the consultation process demonstrated that much doubt existed about whether the resources would be enough to really make a difference on a local level for the indigenous populations, or instead bring more conflicts (cause risks). Already during the multiplier workshops an indigenous representative shared their concern:

> "This resource that we are discussing, in what way is it going to be enough to meet the demands of each [indigenous] peoples? If you distribute it, it will become an insignificant value to attend all the people. Sometimes, because the resource is so small, instead of helping, it brings disharmony." (Question raised during the 1st Multiplier workshop, *1a Oficina para multiplicadores indígenas programa REM/MT*, n.d.)

Access to resources of the IT subprogram

Through the emergency plan, all 43 indigenous peoples of MT were able to have access to resources aiding in food security and medical equipment (Interview 3, 2022). The fact that these resources reached all indigenous peoples no matter the presence of local grassroot associations or their capacities to manage projects is an important contribution to distributional justice. However, there was a delay in the arrival of the resources bringing along some risks and mistrust (Interview 2, 2022). Since the beginning of 2022, the resources have been arriving, bringing positive effects in the indigenous regions (Interview 2, June 2022; *Missão de Monitoramento | Ajuda Memória,* 2022).

The interviews and governance meeting reports demonstrated a difficulty to the access of resources by certain indigenous regions and their grassroot associations. While the emergency plan succeeded in ensuring a benefit for all 43 indigenous peoples in Mato Grosso, the call for projects was not able to ensure the access of all indigenous peoples and regions. It seemed that there was a big discrepancy between the different regions in regard to the number of projects submitted for approval and the capacities of each region. A beneficiary pointed this out by sharing the experience from their region:

> "[Referring to the project call] There already were some specifications more technical and we had, I remember that we had several meetings online and there were still people with difficulties. There were communities that were not able to submit projects, you know? … We don't have experience, right, in regard to creating projects. … I still think that there's part of the project calls where FUNBIO demands a lot, you know?" (Interview 2, 2022)

The data demonstrated that different regions did in fact have different knowledge and skills in regard to the design of local projects. Also, the rules and requirements set by FUNBIO for local grassroot organizations to submit projects were quite strict and made it impossible for some regions to participate (Interview 2, July 2022). Additionally, the bureaucracy and related technicalities seemed to be another challenge that complicated the resource access of certain regions (Interview 3, 2022; *Missão de Monitoramento | Ajuda Memória,* 2022).

Risks and burdens of distribution

The emergency plan was intended to supply the indigenous peoples with emergency equipment and aid with food security during the most difficult periods of the pandemic. However, the resources arrived late, which consequently meant that multiple losses could not be prevented (Interview 4, 2022). A few reasons could be identified for such delay. Besides the time that was needed by the FEPOIMT for a consultation process with the local regions (Interview 4, 2022; Interview 9, 2022), bureaucratic issues in the acquisition of certain products arose. A state representative involved in the process explained:

> "We already had a demand process that was for the acquisition of medicines … we had a lot of difficulty, together with SESAI and FUNBIO, to have all the necessary documentation to acquire the medicines, because when you buy antibiotics, these things, you must have a range of documentation that FUNBIO was not used to. And with SESAI it was also very complicated." (Interview 4, 2022)

Although the resource did eventually arrive and made a difference on a local level - the delay of the resource did not succeed in preventing many of the risks it was intended to. It furthermore had ramifications for the credibility of FEPOIMT representatives (Interview 9, 2022).

A further issue in regard to the risks of the distribution is that the pre-defined benefits ended up not aligning with the current inflation occurring in the country. This meant that a lot of the planned actions could not be executed the same way and the resources ended up not having the effect they intended to have (*Missão de Monitoramento |Ajuda Memória,* 2022).



Figure 7: Inauguration of new members of indigenous governance during the 7th governance meeting of the Indigenous Territories Subprogram REM MT in July 2022, [Photograph] by J. Voelkel, 2022.

8.4. Linking Environmental Justice with Power Relations in the participatory spaces

In order to better understand justice outcomes of the design and implementation of the REM/MT IT subprogram, the justice outcomes were linked to indicators for visible, hidden and invisible power. The analysis looked at the relationships of different forms of power and grouped them in themes that evidently showed to have impacted justice outcomes in the spaces of participation in the IT subprogram.

8.4.1. Executional power impacts indigenous participation and decision-making

When looking at the different indicators for justice it became evident that the environmental justice outcomes in the different spaces during the consultation process and implementation have been influenced by the power of who executes these processes. The whole consultation process was decentralized from the beginning, being led by the indigenous peoples themselves, more specifically the FEPOIMT (Interview 4, 2022). This decentralization was also strengthened by the other non-indigenous participants that were involved in the organization and ensured in keeping the executional power of the process with the FEPOIMT. (Interview 7, 2022). A representative of a partner organization involved in the organization of the process, emphasized this:

> "I think that this is the consultation process that we did, and of course I may be giving the wrong idea here about the process, but I think that it is one reading … We managed to create a mechanism where the government emptied the power from its center and, you know, passed it to other places." (Interview 7, 2022)

This passing on of power to the FEPOIMT and indigenous representatives, ensured them to be the protagonists of the process and within the space. It helped the indigenous peoples to gain recognition as legitimate actors in the process and created the space to include their perspectives and cultures. However, due to such decentralization, there was little space for the inclusion of proposals and ideas from the government itself. A state representative raised their concerns about this:

> "It [the subprogram] is a little different from the rest of the other subprograms, right? It has a very different language, and we weren't consulted either to put our observations, suggestions, you know? The way it was, the way it ended up being voted on and the way it was approved, we were practically forced to put it into the document of benefit sharing without even adjusting the language itself, right?" (Interview 4, 2022)

Whereas this clearly kept the power with the FEPOIMT and the further indigenous participants, it seemed to not help the approximation of state and indigenous peoples in the space and in the following the implementation. During the actual spaces of implementation – a space where the power was retaken by the government - more conflicts and difficulties seemed to occur. These conflicts and difficulties can be explained by an uncertainty of what was agreed on in the proposal of the subprogram due to the lack of integrating the government's suggestions (Interview 1, 2022). Furthermore, the lack of this approximation during the consultation process contributed to the difficulties in dialogue between SEMA and FEPOIMT. A state representative shared:

> "During the whole process of the consultations, the recommendation of the GIZ was that it was not the time for us to get closer. It was still only the indigenous people's time to discuss this, so we were very distant from them, you know? And then we needed a third actor, which was GIZ, for a long time, right, in communication, because an obstacle had really been built there." (Interview 4, 2022)

Difficulties in approximation can also be connected to the fact that many of the representatives of SEMA/MT involved in the coordination today were not yet in these coordinating positions back at the time of the consultation process (Interview 9, 2022). This change in actors created a distance between the consultation process and the implementation process. Furthermore, it must be pointed out that the subprogram was initially intended to be coordinated by the Superintendent of Indigenous Affairs (SAI). Instead, the subprogram ended up being coordinated by the Program Coordination of SEMA (Interview 9, August 2022). This takes away executional power from the indigenous beneficiaries, as there is no indigenous representative part of the coordination of the subprogram.

The structure of the governance committee guarantees that the indigenous peoples hold a certain decision-making power in the space of implementation. Nevertheless, the state government, particularly SEMA, sets the agenda of certain spaces (e.g. the governance meeting), decides who will be invited in different spaces (e.g. preparational or strategic planning meetings) and chooses certain procedures (e.g. consultation in the preparation of the second phase). Although the final decisions on the implementation must be deliberated by the indigenous representatives, the executive power that SEMA holds impacts how well informed these decisions are taken and brought to the indigenous grassroots. It also impacts the role of FEPOIMT as a legitimate actor in the political realm of the execution of the subprogram.

8.4.2. Formal structures impact justice outcomes of program implementation

The data indicated that formal structures, in particular rules and bureaucracy impacted different justice outcomes in participatory spaces. The many different institutions involved in the subprogram all bring their own rules and guidelines. Although these rules are meant to ensure the proper use of the resources and that the program is being executed on time with the desired results – these rules have also been a threat in the effective participation of the indigenous peoples in the program and the overall execution of the subprogram.

As these rules do not necessarily align with the realities of indigenous lives, their participation, recognition and access to the paid benefits is threatened. In the implementation of the emergency plan, the bureaucracy seemed to be one crucial reason for the delayed arrival of the resources. This was also evident in the public call for projects initiated this year, where beneficiaries reported difficulty effectively participating in the design and submission of projects, due to the inaccessible language and bureaucratic procedures. (*Missão de Monitoramento |Ajuda Memória,* 2022; Interview 2, June 2022; Interview 3, July 2022). It appears that although the challenges of bureaucracy have been brought up multiple times by the beneficiaries, effective responses to these concerns have yet to be found (Interview 3, 2022).

What further must be acknowledged is that the framework of the program, implies certain power dynamics originating from a system that in the past has left little space for the recognition of worlds and non-Western knowledge systems. The rules and bureaucracy linked to the program demonstrate a 'way of doing things', a certain perspective and approach as legitime and do not sufficiently recognize indigenous ways of knowing.

8.4.3. Limited Capacities in the participatory implementation of environmental governance mechanisms

Linking the justice outcomes with power indicators has also shown limitations to an effective participation of the indigenous peoples. This is especially in regard to effective dialogues, the recognition of indigenous realities and the access to the benefits, A beneficiary explained:

> "It is the first time that we have an indigenous governance [referring to the governance committee of the IT subprogram as part of the] that takes decisions and deliberates, right? … So, this is very new for the state, this way of managing…*"* (Interview 8, 2022)

While there are a lot of learnings connected to this new type of management, there are also challenges for justice outcomes related to a lack of knowledge and skills by both government and indigenous beneficiaries. The work with indigenous peoples is something very new for the government. Disputes are still evident between the indigenous peoples and the state government, (Interview 6, 2022). Also, for the indigenous peoples at the grassroots and for the indigenous representative partaking in the governance structure of the subprogram, the whole process is new. Added to this comes the challenge of understanding the complex topic of REDD+ as the inherent mechanism of the REM program, and the extensiveness of the state of Mato Grosso. A lack in capacity of managing these challenges has led to difficulties in achieving well informed

processes of decision making and has caused difficulties in the communication between state-level indigenous representatives and their local grassroots. Furthermore, a lack of knowledge and skills by indigenous grassroot associations is visible in handling great amounts of financial resources. This has led to the contracting of only two indigenous intermediary organizations in the implementation of the emergency plan, subsequently limiting the benefits ending up in the indigenous regions and further complicating matters of bureaucracy.

8.4.4. Discourses and institutional prejudice

In addition, certain discourses and prejudices are visible in social structures and institutions that influence environmental justice outcomes of the REM/MT IT subprogram. Harmful discourses can be observed within Brazilian society that create biased attitudes by actors within different spheres. During the 7th governance meeting, discussions on administrative topics revealed that the indigenous beneficiaries at times experience differentiated, prejudiced treatment in situations such as buying fuel at gas stations. This demonstrates the invisible power these discourses hold over the indigenous peoples and the difficulties this brings, not only for their daily lives, but also regarding an effective participation in the spaces of the IT subprogram.

Harmful discourses, combined with the history of colonization in Brazil, contributes to a continuation of bias and prejudice within both public and private institutions. This type of prejudice poses a threat to the effective participation of indigenous peoples in political spaces and regarding matters that directly affect them. One beneficiary shared that due to the distance between indigenous peoples and the state, they had to endure prejudiced looks and remarks, most likely due to the lack of experience with indigenous peoples and their reality (Interview 8, 2022). The history of prejudice and misunderstanding towards indigenous lives demands extra sensitivity by involved actors in the spaces of the subprogram to prevent a further replication of such discourses. However, beneficiaries have reported not to have experienced this sufficiently in relation to different types of actors:

> *"*I felt this a lot, right, and a great lack of sensitivity not only from the coordination itself, not only from the Mato Grosso government itself, not only from the Brazilian government, but also from the funders. Because we can't just throw responsibility onto the coordination if the funders don't question these things as well*."* (Interview 3, 2022)

This lack of sensitivity \contributes to their positioning in a context of incapability and illegitimacy. This has been evident also in the spaces of the subprogram. A beneficiary emphasized:

> "Every new administration that came in, every new partner that came in, we had to explain the whole process again, how it was built, because even people who have worked with indigenous people at some point, they come with a very closed mindset, very governmental, you know … this ends up putting us in a situation of being incapable, right, because of this whole historical process of colonization of Brazil … And it is replicated until today, the institutional prejudice, you know?*"* (Interview 3, 2022)

Within the Brazilian political system, norms and values are prevalent that do not necessarily align with indigenous cultures and values (HRW, 2022). The 'Temporal Landmark' thesis which is currently

discussed on federal level poses a major threat to the indigenous peoples' rights to their land and territories (Dantas, 2022). In the state of Mato Grosso, the Temporal Landmark thesis receives much support. The political and economic context of the state of Mato Grosso further complicates harmful anti-indigenous discourses. The presence of a strong agribusiness lobby is evident, significantly impacting the political and economic interests of the state. This context is also contributing to a division among the indigenous peoples in the state of Mato Grosso, with one part supporting the large-scale production of goods, such as soy (Interview 2, 2022). This division creates conflicts among the different indigenous peoples, challenging the cohesion and strength of the indigenous movement in the state, while creating pressure from those parts of the government in favor of indigenous large-scale production.

9. Discussion

9.1. The strengthening of participatory capacities of indigenous peoples in Mato Grosso

What became visible through the analysis is that certain capacities of indigenous participants have been strengthened in different spaces, different levels and depending on the different actors. Within theories on participatory governance, the building of participatory capacities is an essential part of effective and efficient participatory governance processes (Fischer, 2012). What has been especially evident through this research has been the strengthening of participatory capacities of the FEPOIMT and the indigenous women in the state of Mato Grosso. The analysis revealed that especially the consultation process helped the FEPOIMT gain more visibility and credibility within the indigenous movement, as a reference for having conducted a successful process based on the right to FPIC, and regarding other partners, especially in the sphere of civil society. This has helped the FEPOIMT create new partnerships and find other projects aligned with their missions. Due to the nature of being a REDD mechanism, the indigenous peoples have had to gain more knowledge on the topic of REDD mechanisms, socio-environmental safeguards and further climate financing mechanisms. What furthermore can be visible is the strengthening of capacities of the indigenous peoples in the state of Mato Grosso to mobilize and to articulate themselves (Interview 8, 2022).

Additionally, the participatory capacities of indigenous women have been strengthened throughout the construction and implementation of the REM/MT IT subprogram. This strengthening is not only related to the program. The women's workshop held during the consultation process was an important event in triggering further mobilizations of the indigenous women in the state of Mato Grosso. A beneficiary explained:

> „I see that the workshop [for Indigenous Women in the consultation process] was the beginning of many things here in the state. The beginning of organizing the women's movement, the beginning of strengthening the women's organization that is TAKINA. And for us to think about a women's department [within the FEPOIMT], which has now materialized. And it was also a way for us to get to know each other, because we didn't know each other, you know? (Interview 8, 2022)

What has to be acknowledged, however, is that the program still lacks connection to public policies. There have been multiple attempts in integrating the indigenous peoples more effectively in the Production,

Conservation, Inclusion Strategy (PCI), – Mato Grosso's strategy on sustainable development launched at the COP21 in Paris 2015 (PCI, n.d.). Only recently have there been more productive discussions between the PCI directory and the indigenous peoples on finding solutions on how to integrate the indigenous peoples more effectively in the strategy. The participant observation and report on the governance meetings demonstrated that there had been many attempts in including the indigenous peoples more effectively in the strategy, however, it was mentioned during the 7th governance meeting that actions regarding such discussions are still lacking. In August 2022, a meeting between indigenous representatives, the PCI directory, the GIZ, ICV and SEMA was held to discuss more precisely about strategies. Moving forward with these strategies will be essential in further strengthening indigenous spaces within public policies. This is especially crucial in relation to public policies on forest conservation, as big parts of conserved forest areas in Mato Grosso lay within indigenous territories (*Programa REM Mato Grosso | Subprograma Territórios Indígenas,* 2019).

Furthermore, the capacities of indigenous grassroot associations must be further strengthened. Although, as shown by the analysis, two indigenous intermediary organizations were contracted for the implementation of the emergency plan, many indigenous geopolitical regions had to still be attended through non-indigenous intermediary organizations. In addition, the limited access of indigenous grassroots to local projects during the public call for projects, highlights the need to strengthen the capacity of local associations in terms of designing and managing local projects.

9.2. The role of international cooperation and the GIZ

The research demonstrated the crucial role the GIZ played from the beginning - the construction of the subprogram - to the current status quo of implementation. Interviews with beneficiaries revealed the trust that was built between the beneficiaries and the GIZ, and the importance of the GIZ as a neutral mediator between different stakeholders, especially between the FEPOIMT and SEMA (Interview 8, August 2022). However, a beneficiary shared that the GIZ, despite their sensibility towards indigenous and non-indigenous realities – was often taken out of spaces and not allowed the role of a mediator (Interview 3, July 2022).

While the state government, especially SEMA, also saw the GIZ as a crucial partner in bringing the indigenous peoples and the government closer and facilitating spaces of dialogue (*Missão de Monitoramento |Ajuda Memória,* 2022; Interview 4, July 2022), certain moments of unclarity about the role of the GIZ could be observed (Interview 4, July 2022). An interview with a state representative showed some concerns about the occupation of spaces where the government representatives would have preferred to have the space to themselves or have a more direct dialogue with the FEPOIMT (Interview 4, 2022). This demonstrates that while the GIZ played an essential role as a mediator between stakeholders in the process, there is still space in ensuring a clearer neutrality and the possibility of validating in which spaces the GIZ's presence is necessary for the mediation of the process, and in which spaces the GIZ can also take itself out of the processes to get a step closer to enabling a direct dialogue without a third actor present. Simultaneously, the importance of evaluating the participation of actors in certain 'private spaces' outside of the official governance meetings and decision-making spaces became evident. The research demonstrated that certain actors felt excluded in different private spaces, while others had the privilege to participate which contributed to tension between different actors in more official decision-making spaces

(*Relatório da 6a Reunião de Governança Indígena*, n.d.). While the creation of private spaces is important in the actors' alignment and preparation for the participation in more official governance meetings and for the execution of certain actions, an assessment of the constellation of necessary actors involved in such private spaces can help avoid actors feeling excluded if they themselves consider their participation important.

The research furthermore showed that there is still space in improving the dialogue between the indigenous people and the state government, beyond SEMA. The dialogue continues limited and was not sufficiently strengthened over the period of the program. However, the analysis revealed a strong interest from the indigenous peoples in having such an approximation (*Missão de Monitoramento | Ajuda Memória,* 2022). Here, the GIZ can play a crucial role in examining in which political spaces more direct dialogues between indigenous representatives and the state government can be ensured. Identifying such spaces can also help the legitimization of the FEPOIMT in the process of implementation and help the communication issues due to more transparency of processes within implementation. Furthermore, to learn more about each other's cultures and worlds, can help avoid the reproduction of harmful discourses within institutional structures and beyond. Such cooperation and successful dialogue between indigenous peoples and governmental institutions is crucial for designing public policy in a more inclusive way for indigenous peoples. The GIZ can help in further strengthening the indigenous participation in the PCI strategy, while exploring spaces in which the REM/MT IT subprogram can contribute more directly to the implementation of the National Policy for Territorial and Environmental Management of Indigenous Lands (Política Nacional de Gestão Territorial e Ambiental de Terras Indígenas - PNGATI).

The research demonstrated the limitations of visible power structures, such as rules and bureaucracy had on environmental justice outcomes. The GIZ can aid in finding solutions together with other stakeholders on how to ensure transparency about rules and guidelines and to explore spaces in which a flexibility could be achieved. This can potentially be done through a mapping of actors, their interests and requirements in different processes related to the implementation. Such a mapping can also help in giving more transparency about processes in the participatory governance space and contribute to informed consent. An attempt to help with this issue was the request of an Indigenous Manual of Operations (MOP). Although the 6th governance meeting report (*Relatório da 6a Reunião de Governança Indígena*, n.d.) showed this was being elaborated, during the most recent governance meeting this topic was not further discussed. The GIZ can help in driving this issue forward.

When looking at international cooperation more generally, the more direct financing of indigenous peoples through indigenous funds will have to be further explored. During the interviews and participation in different spaces, it became evident that there is a demand coming from the indigenous peoples in having resources more directly allocated to them (*Relatório da 6a Reunião de Governança Indígena*, n.d.). A beneficiary explained:

> "Today we have an indigenous fund called Podaali, which is managed by indigenous people and has proven to work well, you know? And it doesn't have all these bureaucracies that are required, right? So, a lot of things need to change, they need to really listen to the indigenous peoples." (Interview 3, July 2022)

Channeling resources more directly do indigenous beneficiaries through indigenous funds may reduce formal structures and bureaucracies that may not align with indigenous realities and can guarantee the design of local projects according to their needs, cultures and knowledge. This is especially crucial within projects on the protection of forest areas, as activities based in indigenous knowledge and traditions are generally less harmful towards forests and related ecosystems, thus positively impacting the conservation of forest areas (FAO & FILAC, 2021).

10. Conclusion

Within this research, several sub-questions aided in answering the main research question. Looking at the environmental justice outcomes, power dynamics and participatory capacities of indigenous beneficiaries, it became evident that the consultation process was crucial in guaranteeing the protagonism, representation and recognition of the indigenous peoples and their cultures within the space. The consultation process guaranteed the indigenous right to FPIC and strengthened various participatory capacities of indigenous beneficiaries, especially those of the FEPOIMT and indigenous women in the state of Mato Grosso. This links to the executional power claimed by the indigenous peoples in the consultation space. Nevertheless, certain environmental justice challenges already became apparent during the consultation process, such as the defined system for benefit sharing, which affects issues of distributive justice, or the complexity of the funding mechanism, affecting matters of procedural and recognition justice. These matters were further impacted with the change of space from a claimed space during consultation, to an invited implementation space. During the first implementation phase, the participation of indigenous representatives has been further supported through the participatory governance structure, where the participation and decision-making of indigenous representatives is provided. Furthermore, the call for local projects was an important contributor to indigenous autonomy and self-determination, positively impacting outcomes of environmental justice. Nevertheless, certain unaddressed power dynamics limited procedural, recognition and distribution justice for the indigenous beneficiaries. Besides the change of executional power and thus changes in participatory space, the implementation process showed to be influenced by formal power structures, in particular the ‘rules of the game’ and bureaucracy of processes. The research showed that this limited effective participation on different levels, such as the informed and meaningful participation of indigenous representatives in the governance meeting and the successful submission of local projects by indigenous grassroot organizations. Furthermore, these formal structures, combined with the presence of certain discourses and institutional prejudice limit recognition of indigenous peoples as legitimate actors and the recognition of their knowledge and cultures in the implementation process.

The research highlighted the complications for the recognition of indigenous knowledge and cultures that can accompany environmental governance mechanisms intended to benefit indigenous local communities but constructed by non-indigenous actors in spaces lacking indigenous participation. A framework of a program based on the values of the Global North, but implemented in the Global South, poses risks of imposing a “dominant, universal way of thinking and doing” (Escobar, 2020, p. 107). This underlines the importance of creating more spaces of co-construction of forest governance mechanisms, with indigenous peoples as the co-designer and co-manager of such instruments. As part of such an approach there needs to be a critical reflection on the intentions of international cooperation. Escobar (2020) differentiates between different types of international cooperation - cooperation as development aid, cooperation for social justice

and cooperation for autonomy (p. 106-107). Gustavo Esteva (Escobar, 2020) emphasizes the implication of cooperation simply for development aid, as it can result in imposing a "universal definition of the good life" (p. 101). Thus, moving away from international cooperation approaches solely with the intent of providing developmental aid, towards cooperation for justice and autonomy are important steps in balancing unequal power dynamics and avoiding the reproduction of environmental injustices in the establishment and implementation of international environmental governance instruments.

Cooperation for justice and autonomy are especially crucial in relation to the conservation and management of the world's forests. FAO & FILAC (2021) emphasize that many indigenous peoples "have productive systems that are less harmful to forest ecosystems" (p. 34), thus many of the indigenous territories hold big areas of conserved forests. This is tightly linked to their traditional knowledge and their customs of looking after the forests (FAO & FILAC, 2021). Mechanisms and instruments that harm indigenous peoples' culture and disregard their traditional knowledge, pose a threat not only to such communities themselves, but also to non-indigenous actors around the world that are dependent on the world's forest and their contribution for climate stability.

10.1. Reflection and further research

Due to the limited time of the research, a choice of interview candidates was made, based on their involvement in both the participatory construction of the subprogram and its implementation. It could be argued that the choice of interviewees may not be representative enough to make precise statements about the environmental justice outcomes of the different spaces, especially regarding the indigenous grassroots. To counteract this limitation, it is important to look at the trends the research revealed and further investigate them. This could potentially be done through a wide-range consultation of different stakeholders.

From our study program, we are urged to conduct our research in collaboration with a host organization, which in my case was the GIZ Brazil. Having my research hosted by the GIZ Brazil was a great help in bringing me closer to the actual case I studied, getting to know the workings of the program and its main stakeholders. Nevertheless, there might be a chance that the connection of the research to a certain institution influences the interviewees in their responses during interviews. Furthermore, it must be acknowledged that I as a white, European, academic hold a power position, which can potentially further influence spaces of exchange. Although I tried to address this by e.g. making sure the interviews would be conducted in Portuguese, building a certain level of trust before conducting the interviews and informing sufficiently about the research goals and my neutrality, there is a chance that my role and origin have influenced the research participants and their answers. This again demonstrates the importance of triangulation and going beyond including only interviews as a source of data.

The study demonstrated the necessity to further understand indigenous participation within environmental governance, from both a practitioner lens and through expanding critical environmental justice literature. Similar research to the one conducted here could be upscaled, including different cases of indigenous participation in environmental governance in Brazil. This would mean different environmental governance mechanisms could be evaluated in respect to indigenous participation and their contributions to justice, similar to Gustafsson & Vacaflor's (2022) approach, though including the dimension of power in more effectively understanding the workings of unaddressed power dynamics on limitations of equity in participation (as suggested also by Fischer, 2012).

Regarding the critical environmental justice literature, there needs to be more research on the links between power and justice within participatory spaces. This is especially crucial in cases investigating indigenous participation. The elaboration of a framework could help in more effectively linking these notions, while ensuring the comprehensive application in practical research. According to Vermeylen (2019) environmental justice approaches can only be transformative, if they recognize "plural ontologies and epistemologies" (p. 89). While this research intended to complement the more traditional, non-indigenous understanding of environmental justice with inductively defined indicators, there needs to be more targeted research on understanding indigenous understandings of environmental justice. This means further studies could focus on more effectively investigating and understanding different understandings of environmental justice, based on different indigenous ontologies and epistemologies. This could be done through processes of co-creation, including both indigenous and non-indigenous actors in knowledge creation.

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Appendix

A. Overview of Interviews

	Interviewee	Role	Date	Referenced in text as
1	Respondent 1	Representative of partner organization	June 2022	Interview 1, 2022
2	Respondent 2	Beneficiary	June 2022	Interview 2, 2022
3	Respondent 3	Beneficiary	July 2022	Interview 3, 2022
4	Respondent 4	Representative of Mato Grosso state government	July 2022	Interview 4, 2022
5	Respondent 5	Representative of Mato Grosso state government	July 2022	Interview 5, 2022
6	Respondent 6	Representative of partner organization	July 2022	Interview 6, 2022
7	Respondent 7	Representative of partner organization	July 2022	Interview 7, 2022
8	Respondent 8	Beneficiary	August 2022	Interview 8, 2022
9	Respondent 9	Representative of partner organization	August 2022	Interview 9, 2022

B. Overview of Analyzed Documents

	Name of document	Description	Date	Referenced in text as
1	1a Oficina para multiplicadores indígenas programa REM/MT	Report on the 1st multiplier workshop, executed as part of the consultation process for the subprogram Indigenous Territories (IT REM/MT)	n.d.	*1a Oficina para multiplicadores indígenas programa REM/MT*, n.d.
2	Relatório de Resultados |Edição Mulher	Report on the local women's workshop, executed during the consultation process for the subprogram IT REM/MT	December, 2018	*Relatório de Resultados |Edição Mulher,* 2018
3	Relatório de Resultados |Regional Xingu	Report on the local workshop in the Xingu region, executed during the consultation process	November, 2018	*Relatório de Resultados |Regional Xingu*, 2018
4	Relatório de Resultados |Regional Kayapó	Report on the local workshop in the Kayapó region, executed during the consultation process	December, 2018	*Relatório de Resultados |Regional Kayapó*, 2018
5	Missão de Monitoramento | Ajuda Memória	Summary report on the Monitoring Mission of the KfW conducted in June 2022	June, 2022	*Missão de Monitoramento | Ajuda Memória,* 2022

6	Programa REM Mato Grosso - Subprograma Territórios Indígenas	Proposal for the Indigenous Territories Subprogram based on the consultation process	December, 2019	*Programa REM Mato Grosso | Subprograma Territórios Indígenas,* 2019
7	Relatório da 6ª Reunião de Governança Indígena	Report on the 6th governance meeting in December 2021	n.d.	*Relatório da 6a Reunião de Governança Indígena*, n.d.
8	Relatório da 7ª Reunião de Governança Indígena	Report on the 7th governance meeting in July 2022	n.d.	*Relatório da 7ª Reunião de Governança Indígena,* n.d.