

DISCOURSE INTERACTION AND POLICY CHANGES IN INDONESIA'S SUSTAINABLE PALM OIL GOVERNANCE

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ABSTRACT: Natural resource management generally involves multi stakeholder with conflicting interests and roles. The government is requested to be more transparent and open to accommodate the point of view of involved stakeholders in improving palm oil governance. It has implications to put environmental issue at the same level of economic interests. In this study, online media discourses from 2015 to 2018 were analyzed to provide a comprehensive description of issues and stakeholders involved in the development of sustainable palm oil. The study finding shows that there has been a significant paradigm shift in interpreting the importance of environmental services that were previously separated from economic development as a result of discourse interaction in public sphere. In an era where the Indonesian government was concerned about the strategic role of oil palm in developing the national economy, NGOs were able to gradually put environmental and social issues as a matter of concern and resulted in several policy changes

Keywords: discourse, media, environmental communication, palm oil, policy changes

I. INTRODUCTION

Sustainable Palm Oil

The controversy of palm oil rapid growth in Indonesia industry is growing along with the demands for aspects of sustainability, responsibility and conflict free (Dauvergne, 2018). The palm oil expansion, from 6.7 million ha in 2007 to 11.6 ha in 2016 in Indonesia, has been accused of being the main cause of severe deforestation and biodiversity loss in Indonesia (Wilcove & Koh, 2010; Koh & Wilcove 2008; Wicke et al., 2010; Fitzherbert et al, 2008; Koh et al., 2011; Koh & Ghazoul, 2010; Lee et al, 2014; Orsato et al., 2013, Vijay et al. 2016, Varkkey 2018). On the other hand, the state power favours palm oil companies and seeks legitimization through claims about national economic benefits (Dharmawan & Sarianti 2015, Tan et al., 2009, Sayer et al., 2012). The emergence of negative issues about palm oil development in Indonesia heralded by NGOs, by some parties, is considered merely a trade war (Ardian et al., 2018) or more subtly termed as green protectionism (Erixon & Abbot 2009, Erixon 2012). This controversy turned into a global discourse battle which has always been a "sexy" topic to be debated. It is discussed from farmers to the UN level. Palm oil governance is no longer solely owned by Indonesia as the world's largest producer country. Now palm oil has become a transnational and global affair that needs multi-stakeholder approach as a part of the solution to improve palm oil governance in Indonesia

II. ENVIRONMENTAL COMMUNICATION

Environmental communication as the basic theory in this study is defined by Cox (2013) as a study of the ways in which we communicate on the environment, the effects of this communication on our perceptions of both the environment and ourselves, and therefore on our relationship with the natural world. Environmental communication involves not only governance but also the study of public opinion and perception. Moreover, Lie & Servaes (2015) classifies environmental communications into a thematic sub-discipline in the field of development communication and social changes that address all interactions between humans and the environment. Hansen (2011) argued that there is a need for reconnecting and reintegrating three major foci of communication research on media and environmental issues: (1) the production/construction of media messages and public communications; (2) the content/messages of media communication; and (3) the International Communication.

As one area of research in environmental communication, media and journalism have several dimensions as the means or ways of transmitting the messages from sender to the receiver and as the actor itself, which through its role has capability to influence public opinion (Sadath et al. 2013), through making news by their own interpretations (Mc Nair 2003). International and national media coverage reflects the perceptions of these actors. These perceptions can have influence on political decision making, either by influencing government policies or by providing a deliberation platform (Kleinschmit, 2012). Those perceptions can be used by interested parties to support the legitimacy of certain policy alternatives or used by the government to reach a consensus (Steffek, 2009). Furthermore, Dahlberg (2007) revealed that there has been much academic discussion and increasing research on the possibility of the internet facilitating the idea of a public sphere. This sphere is seen as central to strong democracy, enabling the voicing of diverse views on any issue, the constitution of publicly-oriented citizens, the scrutiny of power and public sovereignty. The internet has been seen as a new medium of communication that offers citizens the opportunity to encounter and engage with a huge diversity of positions. Based on the above introduction, the objective of this study is to identify the discourse and the actors involved including its implications for policy changes in palm oil governance in Indonesia.

III. METHOD

This study is a part of a research based on the environmental communication theory to identify the discourse and stakeholder involved on sustainable palm oil. The methods of data collection in this study included text analysis in the form of documents, opinions, news and press releases from the internet during 2015-2018. The results of the analysis are presented in the form of a three-level analysis of Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (CDA) where in this journal, text or content analysis is the first level to provide a complete understanding of the problem. Discourse analysis is considered as an important factor in the explanation of policy change.

Discourse analysis involves large, varied and non-structured data. Computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) like Nvivo can be used as an efficient analysis tool (Sidik & Mulya 2011). Nvivo 11 software was used in this study to provide a more accurate and comprehensive description of the categorization of issues and involved stakeholders in the published texts/documents on palm oil issue.

IV. RESULT

The number of documents identified in this study were 137 texts, which were divided into 4 (four) groups based on the year of publication, namely: (1) 12 texts published in 2015, (2) 23 texts published in 2016, (4) 39 texts published in 2017, and (5) 63 texts published in 2018. The identified issues are divided into (1) the main issues and (2) accompanying issues. The main issue is an issue specifically raised by an actor or stakeholder so that it becomes a discourse in the public sphere. The main issue is closely related to the position or opinion of stakeholders on the current events, through news or through other communication channels. Meanwhile, the accompanying issue is an issue or one that supports the main issue and the objection issue as a negative response from the main issue.

The main issues and accompanying issues that have been identified are 23 topics which consisted of: (1) Religion, (2) CPO fund, (3) Forest Definition, (4) Deforestation, (5) Diplomacy, (6) Economy, (7) Peat restoration, (8) Biodiversity, (9) Land and Forest Fire, (10) Stakeholder Collaboration, (11) Corruption, (12) Moratorium, (13) Nationalism, (14) Forest first, (15) Trade, (16) ISPO Strengthening, (17) Regulation, (18) Replanting, (19) European Union Resolution, (20) The discussion of the draft of Palm Oil Law, (21) Sustainable certification, (22) Social and (23) Transparency issue. The increasing number of the identified texts, from 12 texts in 2012 to 63 texts in 2018, shows that public attention to oil palm issue is increasingly widespread, both pro and contra. The issues that became the main topic also expanded, from 3 main issues in 2015 and 9 main issues in 2016, to 16 issues in 2017 and 2018 respectively. These figures indicate that stakeholder attention to palm oil discourse continues to grow in line with the increasing of the complexity of the problems that need to be resolved in this sector.

The involved stakeholder in sustainable palm oil governance has been identified and divided into six main groups.

Table 1. The identified stakeholder

Government	Non-governmental and Other Organization
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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Coordinating Ministry of Economic Affairs Ministry of Agriculture Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning (BPN/ATR) Ministry of Environment and Forestry Ministry of Foreign Affairs Ministry of Trade Ministry of Industry Indonesian Oil Palm Estate Fund Agency (BPDPKS) Indonesia Sustainable Palm Oil (ISPO) Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) Business Competition Supervisory Commission (KPPU) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sawit Watch Oil Palm Farmers Union (SPKS) Indonesia Biodiversity Foundation (Yayasan KEHATI) Rainforest Alliance Forest Watch Indonesia Indonesian Forum for the Environment (WALHI) Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO) Greenpeace Indonesia World Wildlife Fund (WWF) Indonesian Oil Palm Farmers Association (APKASINDO) IDH-The Sustainable Trade Initiative Wetlands Indonesia Auriga Nusantara TUK Indonesia Indonesian Center for Environmental Law (ICEL) Transformation for Justice (TUK) Indonesia
University and Research Center	Business
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bogor Agricultural University (IPB) Lampung University Indonesia University Gadjah Mada University (UGM) Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR) Research Center for Climate Change (RSCC), University of Indonesia Southeast Asian Food & Agricultural Science & Technology (SEAFast) Center, IPB The Indonesian Palm Oil Community (MAKSI) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Golden-Agri Resources (GAR) Indonesian Palm Oil Association (GAPKI) Cargill Indonesia Palm Oil Pledge (IPOP) Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (KADIN) Indonesian Biofuel Producers Association (APROBI) Sustainable Strategy Plantation Development Forum (FP2SB) Indonesian Palm Oil Board (DMSI) Agribusiness Strategic Policy Institute (PASPI)
Politician	Institution under United Nations (PBB)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Indonesian House of Representatives (Commission IV) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

The results of the analysis show that the use of the internet as a channel to expand the dimensions of public sphere used by environmental pressure groups is growing. Internet media is able to spread voices and aspirations more effectively to increase public awareness and support in taking concrete actions in protecting the environment. On the other hand, the use of the internet in efforts to place oil palm as a strategic commodity especially from the government and corporations has also increased.

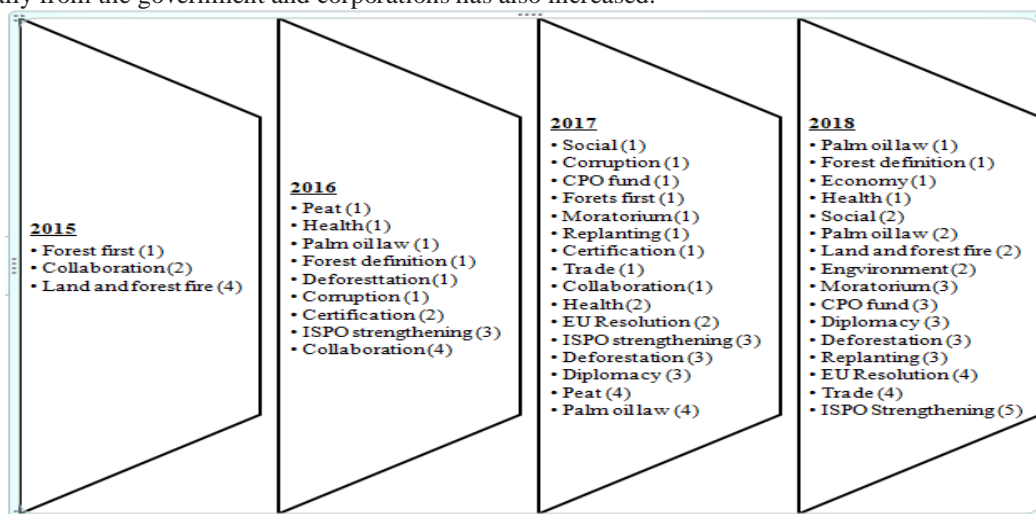


Figure 1. The identified main issues 2015 - 2018

The data tabulation shows that the main issue that received the most response from stakeholders in 2015 was the discourse on forest and land fires. Meanwhile in 2016, the polemic of the establishment of Indonesia Palm Oil Pledge (IPOP) which was followed by the idea of the government to strengthen Indonesia Sustainable Palm Oil (ISPO) rules dominated the discourse in the community. The controversy regarding the disband of IPOP affected the government's efforts to improve sustainable palm oil standards.

In 2017, the discourse on peat restoration and the discussion of the oil palm law draft dominated online news on the internet. The issue regarding peat is related to the revisions to the regulations of the Minister of Environment and Forestry on peat ecosystems which are considered to have the potential to reduce plantation area and disrupt the economy of farmers. Meanwhile in 2018, the most discussed issue was about the process of strengthening the ISPO which had not yet received a consensus from stakeholders. NGOs complained that the discussion process was not transparent. The other main issue in the spotlight was the issue of the issuance of the European Union Parliamentary Resolution where the disappointment of the Indonesian government grew with the issuance of two discriminatory and protectionist resolutions. As is known, in a relatively concurrent time, the European Union Parliament, through voting, approved two report documents, namely a report on oil palm associated with deforestation and restrictions on fuel made from oil palm. The discourse on trade war spreads and becomes the main issue highlighted in 2018.

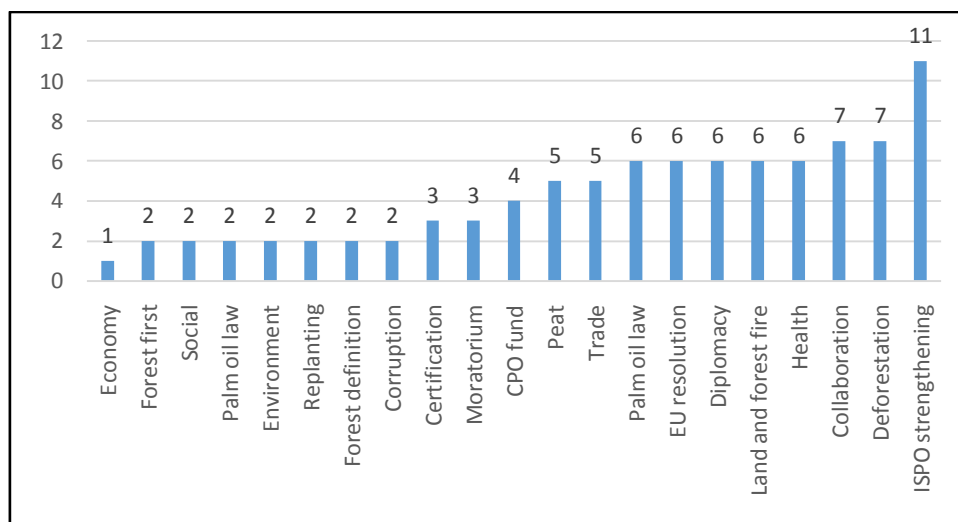


Figure 2. Issue Recapitulation based on news frequency 2015-2018

Figure 2 shows that throughout 2015 - 2018, the issue of strengthening ISPO was mostly discussed by stakeholders, especially NGOs. The discourse related to the environment preservation, such as the issue of deforestation or forest and land fires, became the dominant issues because of the NGOs' demand to the government to make significant improvements. The case of forest and land fires has become a political momentum for NGOs to encourage better change. The NGO movement utilizes complaints movements, where one issue is brought together to build legitimacy. NGOs also conduct framing processes through mass media and political pressure on the government to get the changes they expect.

The results of the analysis show that the media have a significant role in policy changes. The high frequency of reporting intensity on an issue has proven to be able to facilitate NGOs to put pressure on the government. On the other hand, the government with the power of authority tried to control those NGO efforts that were not in line with government policies.

V. DISCUSSION

Palm oil is no longer only owned or managed by the Ministry of Agriculture or even owned by Indonesia as the world's largest producer country. Now palm becomes a transnational and global affair. The complexity of governance ranging from the level of on farm to ready-to-use products is implied by the length of the supply chain and involves many actors who demand improvements in all aspects. A new transnational political space has emerged between Europe and Southeast Asia (Pye 2010) where European climate change policies and their consequences are spread by the transnational campaign alliance. The scale of the transnational campaign around palm oil is very large and varied, ranging from village level protests to the well-known and strong international NGOs such as WWF and Greenpeace (Pye and Bhattacharya 2013).

The government is requested to be more transparent and open to accommodate the multi-stakeholder interests in improving palm oil governance. It has implications to put environmental issue at the same level of economic interests. Following are some of the issues identified that were able to change the government's

decision to accommodate NGO interests or at least take the initiative to discuss which may lead to a policy change process. Interaction between stakeholders and the impact of their interactions can be seen in the chart below.

Table 2. The Discourse interaction and policy changing

Initial stage			
April 2017 - The EU Parliament approves: Resolution on Palm Oil and Deforestation of Rainforest	September 2014 - IPOPOP was established	July 2015 - BPDP was established	September 2015 - Forest and land fires - CIFOR published a research report on the 'Political Economy of Forest and Land Fires'
Process			
November- 2017 President asked the EU to stop palm oil discrimination January 2018 - EU Parliament approved Report on the Proposal for a Directive of the EU and of the Council on Promotion of the Use of Energy from Renewable Sources February 2018 - Indonesia chooses offensive after EU Resolution March 2018 - Ministry of Trade: Indonesia is ready to fight palm oil trade barriers	September 2015 - The government considered the IPOPOP criteria was too heavy October 2015 - APKASINDO asked IPOPOP to be disbanded February 2016 - Ministry of Agriculture urged IPOPOP to be disbanded April 2016 - KPPU: IPOPOP has the potential to become a means of a cartel	June 2017 - SPKS: protest for budget allocations and targets (10% for oil palm development, 90% for biodiesel) - UGM: Transfer pricing - IPB: ideally 40% for gardens - Ministry of Agriculture: 45% target for replanting October 2017 - The replanting program was started February 2018 - SPKS submitted Objection Request to the Supreme Court - Greenpeace: CPO fund assessed inappropriate target	October 2015 - WALHI released a list of big companies behind forest and land fires in Riau, Jambi, South Sumatra, West Kalimantan and Central Kalimantan. - Greenpeace: This crime is a corporate crime mixed with structural omission by the government November 2015 - Greenpeace: Some palm oil companies have damaged forests and peat lands which lead to forest fires in Kalimantan.
Impact/Result			
July 2018 Demand declined, in the first semester palm oil exports decline 6%	July 2016 - IPOPOP was disbanded and lead to the need of ISPO strengthening	March 2018 - BPDP reduced 20% of the allocation of incentives for biodiesel companies to 70%; 22% for replanting December 2018 - BPDP speeds up the replanting program	January 2016 - Establishment of Peat Restoration Agency (BRG) August 2018 - The Judges of the Palangkaraya High Court sentenced President guilty in a smoke disaster due to forest and land fires in 2015

It appears that interactions between stakeholders' discourse resulted in some policy changes and significant impacts. Some examples of policy change including: (1) the establishment of the IPOPOP until the decision to disband it, (2) the allocation of CPO funds, (3) the resolution of the European Union Parliament and (4) forest and land fires.

Table 3. The on going discourse interaction

Initial stage	
June 2016 - The palm oil draft law entered the DPR's national legislation program	July 2016 - The government planned to strengthen the ISPO
Process	
May 2017 - ICEL: contradicts the Environmental Law June 2017 - SPKS, Ministry of Industry and the Ministry of Economic Affairs refused the discussion of the draft of palm oil law December 2017 - DPR re-entered the draft of palm oil law in the national legislation program in 2018 January 2018 - Christians refused palm oil law discussion March 2018 - DPR met FP2SB, APKASINDO, GAPKI for hearings; WALHI urged President to withdraw the draft of palm oil law April 2018 - LPBINU and Sawit Watch rejected the palm oil law draft discussion May 2018 - the NGO coalition lobbied one of Islamic party (PKS) to reject palm oil law visits	November 2017 - Yayasan KEHATI: December 2017 is targeted for publication December 2017 - Representative of 30 Civil Society: strengthening the ISPO becomes more closed and difficult for the wider community to follow March 2018 - Economic Coordinating Ministry: Strengthening ISPO needs stakeholder consolidation April 2018 - GAPPERINDO: ISPO needs acceleration not strengthening September 2018 - Kaoem Telapak, Jikalahari, SPKS and ECOSOC worry that ISPO is getting weaker November 2018 -Economic Coordinating Ministry: Presidential decree of ISPO is still waiting for the approval of the ministers
Impact/Result	
On going process	On going process

In addition, there are several issues that are still proceeding or have not yet reached the stage of policy change such as (1) discussion of the draft of palm oil law, and (2) the issue of ISPO strengthening. Ardian et al. (2018) gave the example of multistakeholder engagement on ISPO strengthening. The existence of the non-government elements and other related institutions in the process of ISPO strengthening, indicates there is a demand to establish a transparent and credible palm oil governance. Ministry of Agriculture, which was previously the sole main actor, needs to open access for public participation and be willing to sit together with other related stakeholders, especially related to the supervisory function which presumably still needs a lot of improvement

ISPO Commission	ISPO Strengthening Team Steering Committee	ISPO Strengthening Team Working Team
		Chairman: Assistant Deputy for Plantation and Horticulture, Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs Vice chairman: Senior Advisor of Indonesia Biodiversity Foundation (Yayasan KEHATI)
Chairman: DG of Estate Crops, MOA Vice chairman: DG of Agricultural Marketing and Processing Product, MOA	Chairman: Deputy for Food and Agriculture Coordination, Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs Ministry of Trade Ministry of Environment and Forestry National Land Agency National Standardization Agency Association of Indonesian Palm Oil Producer (GAPKI) Indonesian Palm Oil Board (DMSI) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs Ministry of Trade Ministry of Environment and Forestry National Land Agency National Standardization Agency Association of Indonesian Palm Oil Producer (GAPKI) Indonesian Palm Oil Board (DMSI) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs Ministry of Trade Ministry of Environment and Forestry National Land Agency National Standardization Agency Association of Indonesian Palm Oil Producer (GAPKI) Indonesian Palm Oil Board (DMSI)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ministry of Agriculture Ministry of Industry; Indonesian Oil Palm Estate Fund Agency (BPDPKS) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ministry of Agriculture Ministry of Industry; Indonesian Oil Palm Estate Fund Agency (BPDPKS)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Indonesia Biodiversity Foundation (Yayasan KEHATI) Strategic Plantation Development Forum 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National Standardization Agency (BSN) National Accreditation Committee (KAN) Secretariat of the Indonesian Sustainable ISPO Secretariat Association of Indonesian Certification Institutions (ALSI)

Figure 2. The stakeholder involved in the strengthening of ISPO

To sum up, debates and controversy over Indonesian palm oil governance do not always have to end on a consensus as a main goal. It should culminate in the balance of environmental, economic and social aspects through a more transparent process which include stakeholder participation. Sustainable development can only be achieved through the growing of stakeholders' awareness to sit together as equal partners.

VI. CONCLUSION

This controversy about palm oil is turning into a global discourse that leads to a multi-stakeholder approach as an important part of the palm oil governance improvement in Indonesia. There has been a significant paradigm shift in interpreting the importance of environmental services that were previously separated from economic development as the result of discourse interaction raised by the opposed stakeholders.

In an era where the Indonesian government was concerned about the strategic role of oil palm in developing the national economy, NGOs were able to strategically put environmental and social issues as a matter of concern. The existence of political momentum and collective complaints were used by NGOs to carry out the discourse framing through the mass media. Supported by lobbying and continuous pressure on the government, those efforts are resulted in several policy changes.

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