ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS AND GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

2021 FALL

COP26: EVERYTHING YOU NEED TO KNOW
2021. 9. 29.

- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=12q3WcTJYgM

- **Don't Choose Extinction**
- **https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VaTgTiUhEJg**

LIST OF COPS TO UNFCCC

- https://unfccc.int/process/bodies/supreme-bodies/conference-of-the-parties-cop

UNFCCC TIMELINE

- UNFCCC view

https://unfccc.int/timeline/

- UN Climate Talks (Civil Society view)

https://www.cfr.org/timeline/un-climate-talks

SAUDI GREEN INITIATIVE

- https://www.saudigreeninitiative.org/

- Middle East Green Initiative to invest $10 bln, Saudi crown prince says (Reuters, 25 Oct 2021)
- https://www.reuters.com/business/cop/mideast-green-initiative-invest-104-bln-says-saudi-crown-prince-2021-10-25/

SAUDI GREEN INITIATIVE

- RIYADH, Oct 25 (Reuters) - Saudi Arabia's crown prince launched a Middle East Green Initiative on Monday which he said aimed to invest 39 billion riyals ($10.4 billion) to reduce carbon emissions in the region and protect the environment
- On Saturday, the crown prince pledged that Saudi Arabia would reach "net zero" emissions by 2060 at the Saudi Green Initiative forum.

SAUDI GREEN INITIATIVE (AUDIO VISUAL MATERIAL)

- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CDojzIlpYdk

- *According to the interview:*

Q1: Why did Saudi Arabia change its strategy?

Q2: Is the country's target of net zero emission by 2060 feasible according to the speaker?

Q3: Will COP26 be successful in terms of the key agenda of COP26?

CLIMATE CHANGE: MULTILEVEL ANALYSIS

1. CLIMATE CONTROVERSIES
2. CLIMATE CHANGE AS A GLOBAL ISSUE
3. LOCALISING CLIMATE CHANGE POLICY (CASE STUDY ON JAPAN)
4. EVALUATING GLOBAL CLIMATE GOVERNANCE (CF. MONTREAL PROTOCOL)

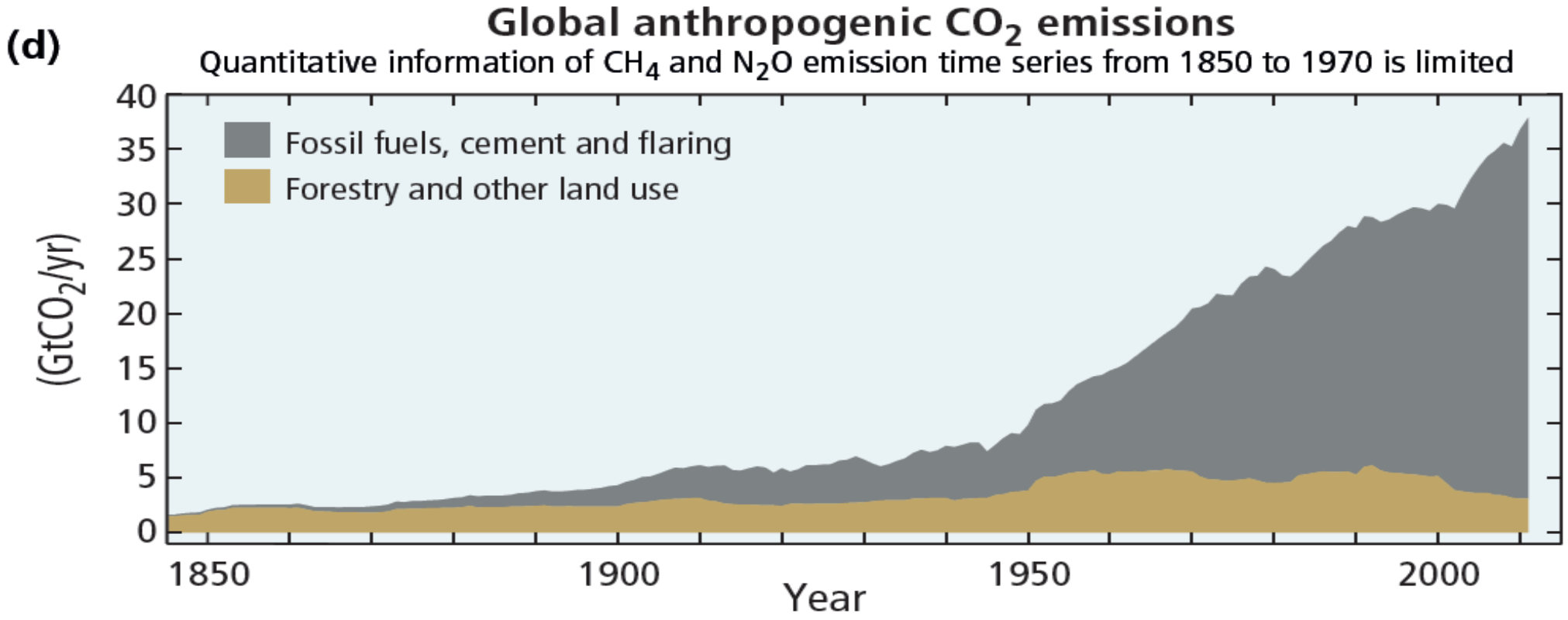
I ANALYSIS ON THE CONTROVERSIES

CLIMATE DENIAL VS ALARMISTS

LIST OF QUESTIONS

- *Some people doubt on climate change itself. Explain why.*
- *Do you (dis)agree with climate change skeptics? Explain on what grounds?*
- *What are the ecological socio-economic consequences of climate change?*
- *Can an individual citizen contribute to solving climate change problems? If yes, how?*
- *What are the significant governments' policies toward climate change?*
- *Explain any global level efforts in solving problems related to climate change.*
- *What are the main barriers to accelerating the climate change mitigation process?*
- *Do you think international cooperation largely contributes to resolving climate change?*

IPCC 2014 REPORT P.45



FEATURES OF CLIMATE ISSUES

- **Q: Why is climate change so important and yet controversial?**

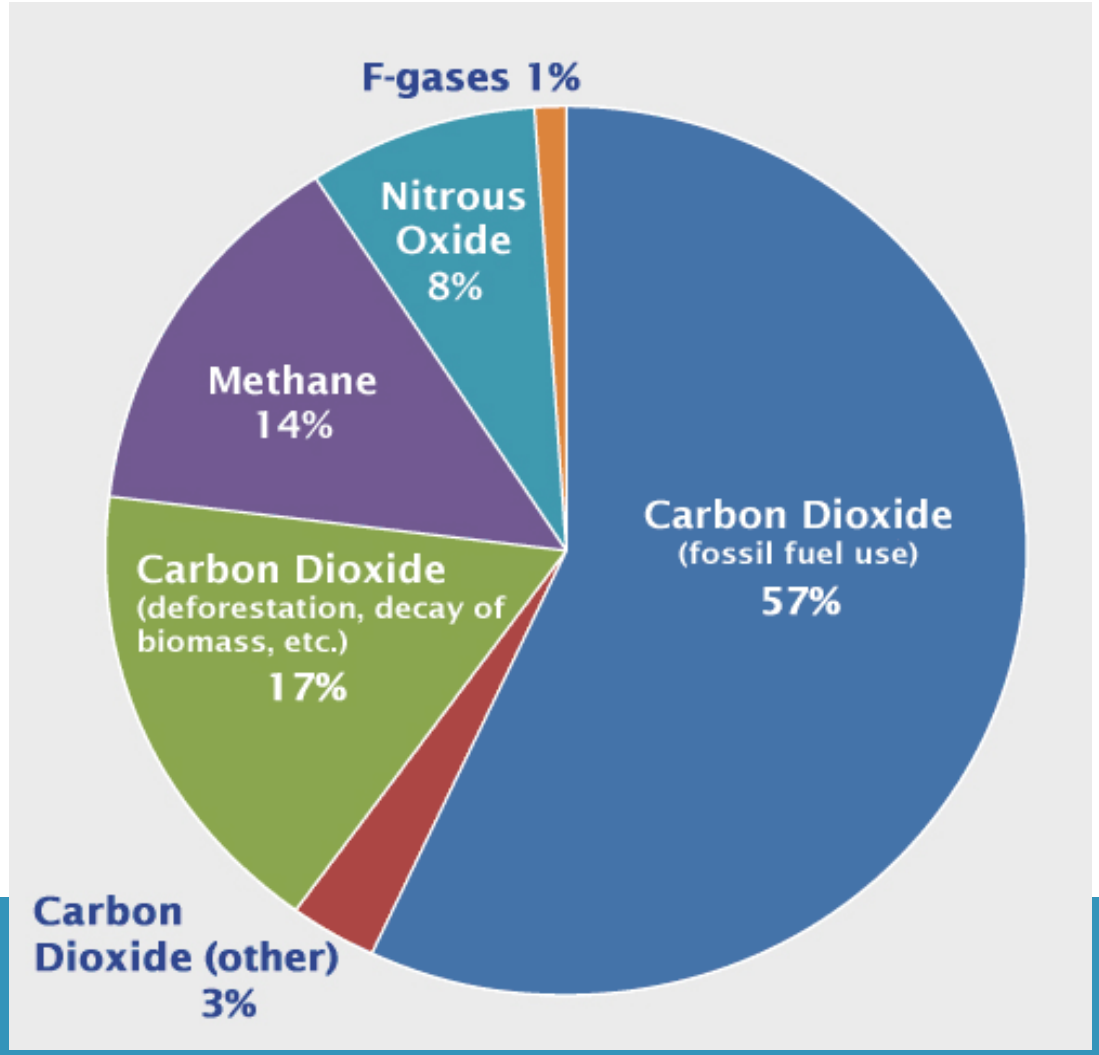
- Problems are not directly experienced by human senses or studied directly
- Mega-problems: vast scope, abstract nature, long-term horizon
- High risks in terms of consequences (beyond human capacity)*
- No one is exempt from their effects
- Challenge to conventional science and infeasibility of experimental research
- General public's high dependency on cadres of experts and their scientific (social) constructions of the problem

FACTUAL INFORMATION

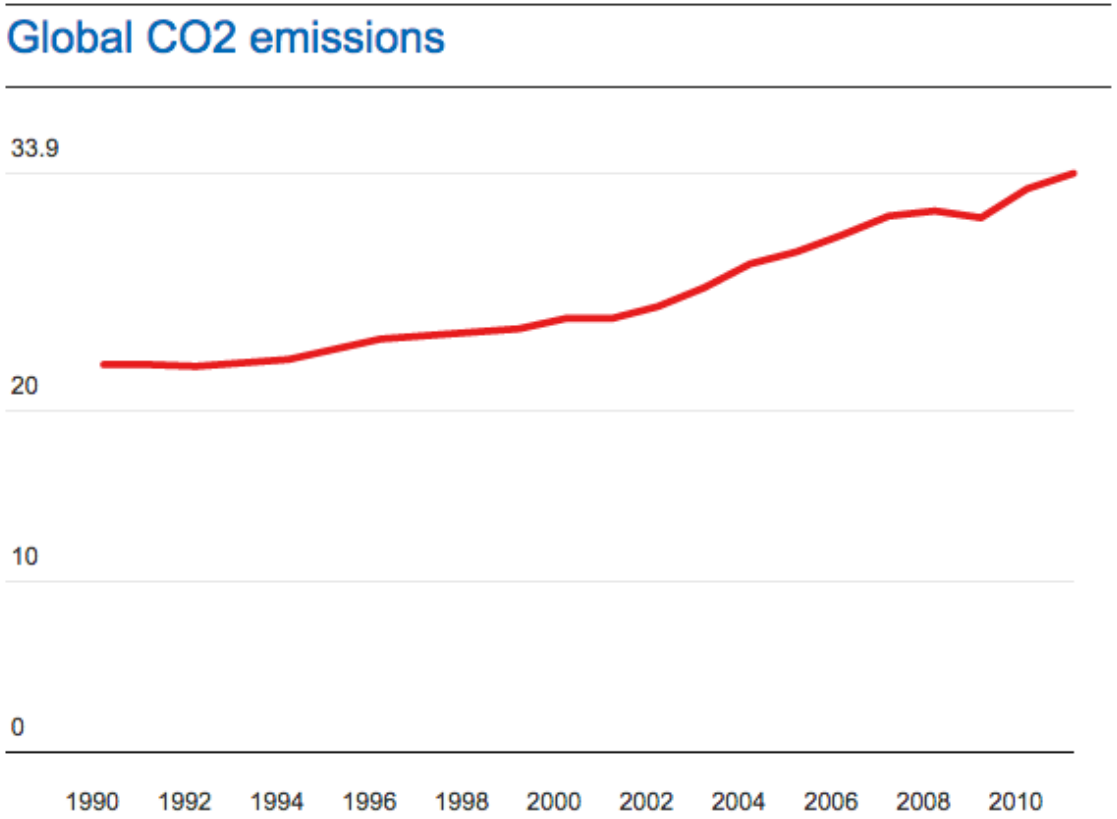
- **Pollutants contributing to global warming:**
- Water vapor, CO2, tropospheric ozone (low altitude), methane (CH4), NOx (nitrogen oxide)
- Water vapor + CO2 = taking 90% of heat trapping capacity

- **CO2 (tons) per capita (2015):** *(UN MDG indicator data base)*
- Russia, 12.28; ROK, 11.78; JP, 9.25; China, 6.18; HK, 5.15; Mongolia, 4.18; DPRK, 2.94; Singapore, 2.66 (cf. US, about 14-15)

GHG EMISSION BY SOURCE

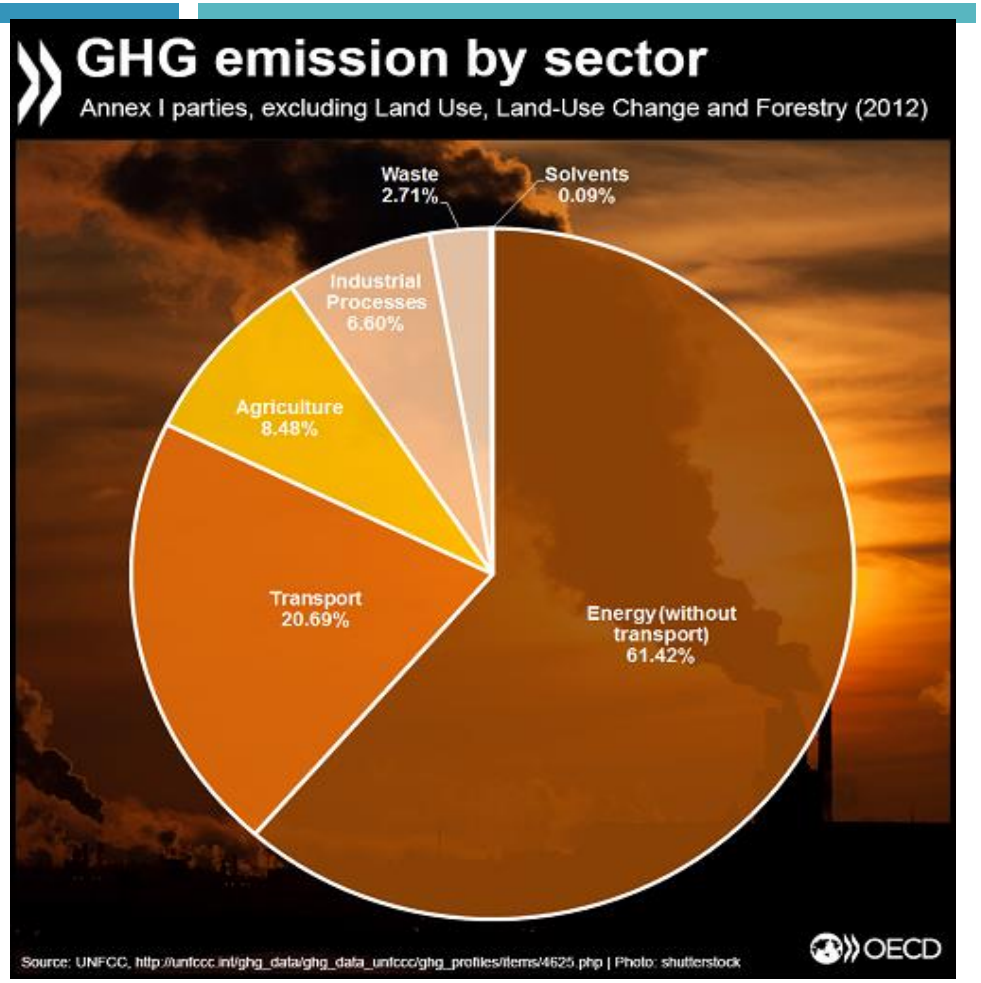


IPCC (2008)



GLOBAL TRENDS

http://www.theguardian.com/environment/blog/2012/nov/26/kyoto-protocol-carbon-emissions



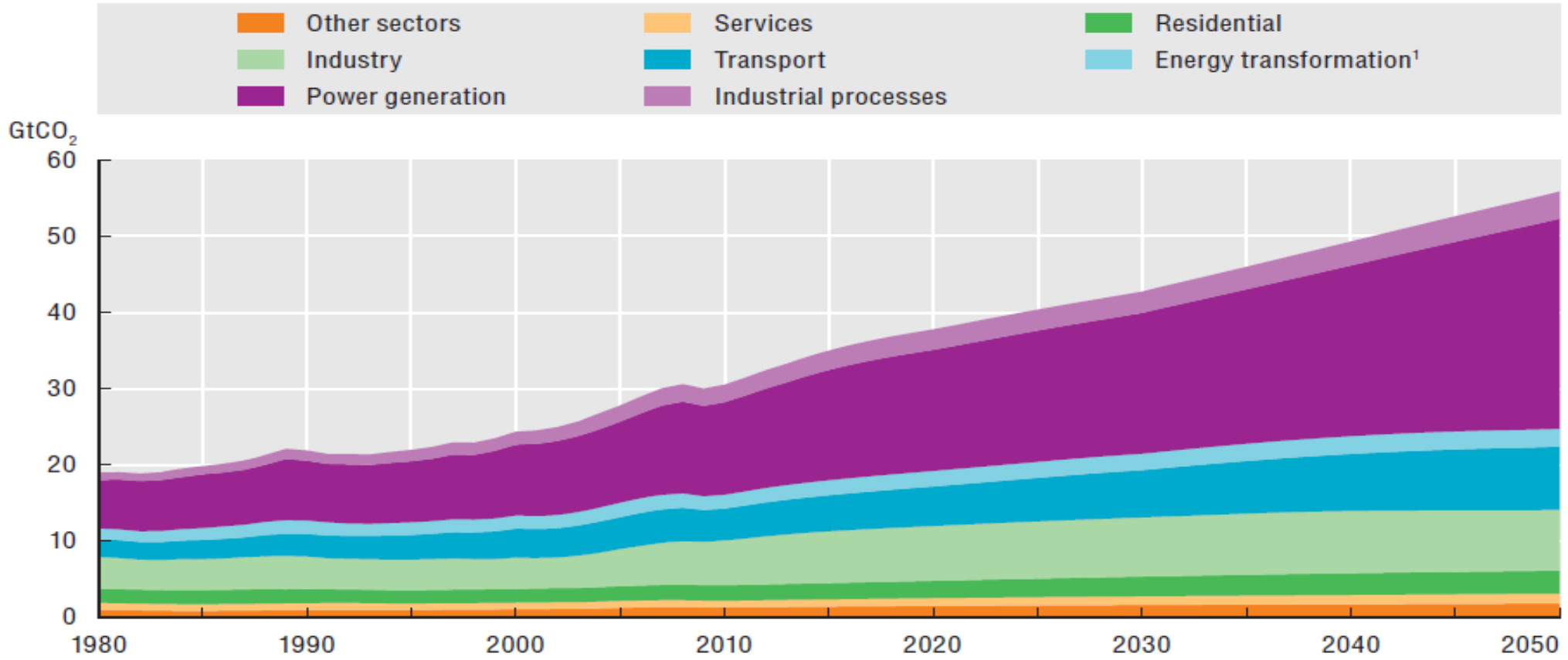
GLOBAL WARMING AS A HUMAN CAUSE

International Energy Agency (2012)

World Energy Outlook

CONTROLLING EMITTING SOURCES (FUTURE PROJECTION)

Figure 3.7. **Global CO_2 emissions by source: *Baseline*, 1980-2050**



1. The category "energy transformation" includes emissions from oil refineries, coal and gas liquefaction.

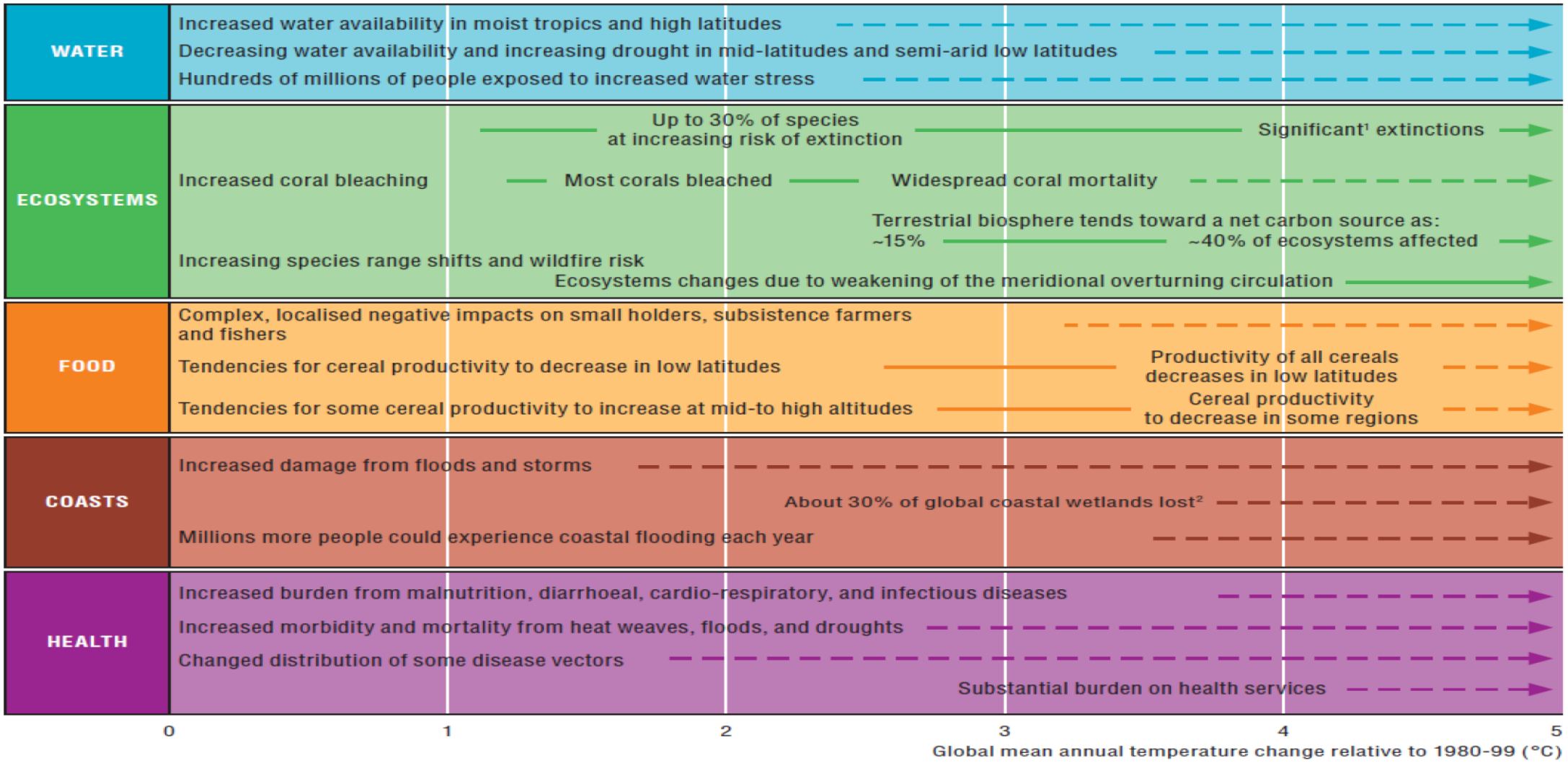
Source: OECD Environmental Outlook Baseline; output from IMAGE.

StatLink http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888932570506

CONSEQUENCES

- Unique and threatened ecosystems and cultural systems
- Extreme weather events
- Uneven distribution of impacts, with disadvantaged people and communities facing greater risks.
- Large-scale singular events, such as Arctic ecosystems or warm water coral reefs reaching an irreversible tipping point
- Global aggregate impacts, for example global biodiversity loss

CONSEQUENCES OF INCREASING GLOBAL TEMPERATURE



ANALYTICAL TOOLS

TOWARD CARBON-NEUTRAL ECONOMY? (SKEPTICISM)

- **Skeptics:**

1) No global warming or temperature rise

2) The reversed causal link: 'CO2 → global warming?' vs 'warming (natural cause) → CO2'
https://hankookilbo.com/v/187eb6a19e054d52a922c01fd3fa7b3c

3) Anthropogenic cause?

4) Causal link between natural disasters and global warming

5) Warning against 'CO2 fetishism'

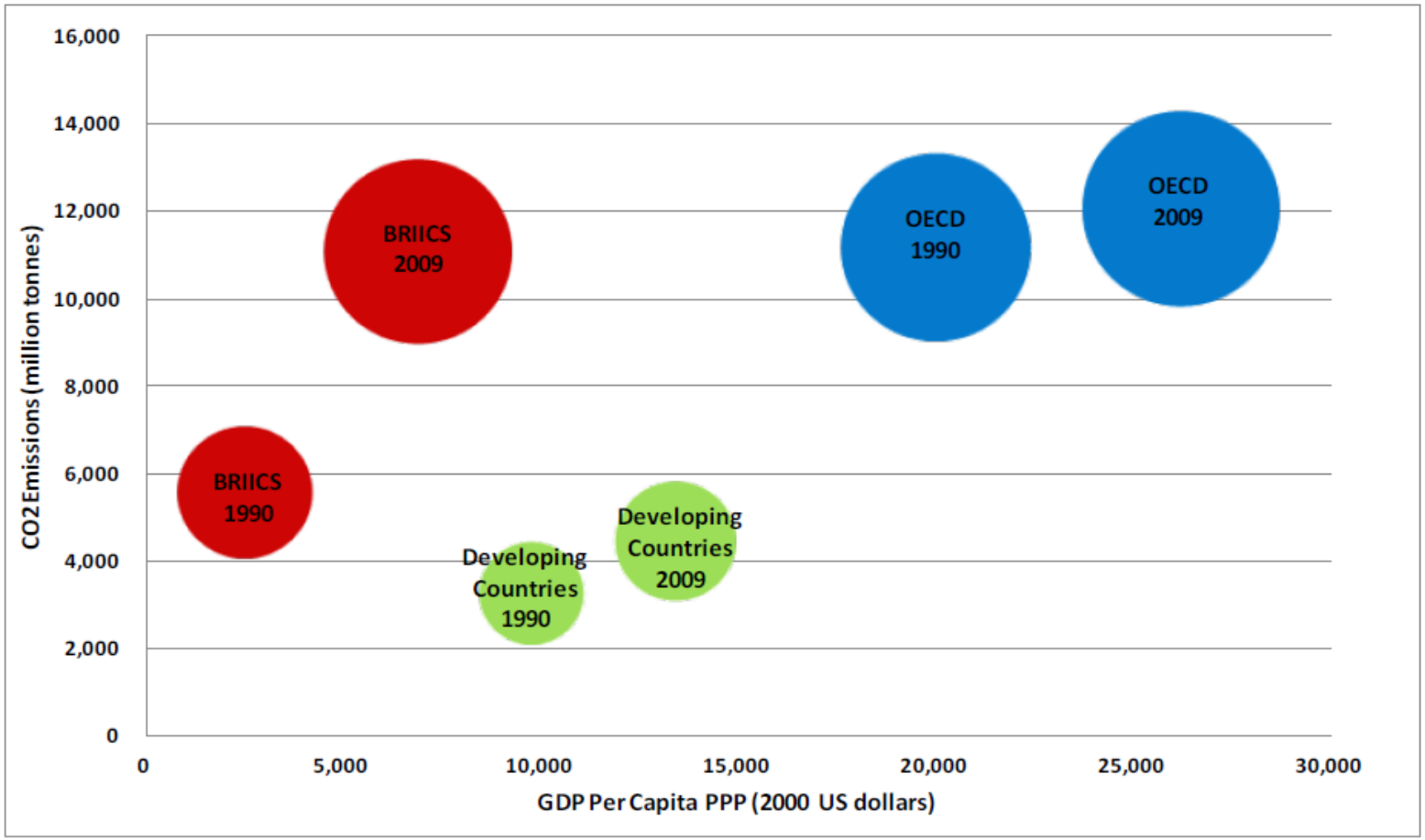
6) Eco-nationalism (protectionism) vs green imperialism

7) Targeting certain industries for higher tax or control on market

8) Techno-centrism

9) Hegemonic power game (negotiation over risk and cost distribution) (e.g. US vs China)

10) North–South redistribution of wealth (Jacques 2006, 2009)



EMISSION AND WEALTH

CO2 emissions in 1990 and 2009 by country group (IEA 2012) (per cpita)

MODERN ENVIRONMENTALIST VIEW

BARRY BUZAN (1991); UNDP (1994); *BARRY BUZAN, OLE WAEVER AND JAAP DE WILDE (1998);* OSTROM ET AL. 1999; YOUNG 1989, 1994; BARRETT 2003

❑ Pre-cautionary approach:

- ✓ Environmental degradation could well be a threat multiplier.
- ✓ If not a cause, environmental tensions could be a factor exacerbate other existing tensions.
- ✓ Entering into the mainstream discourse of global security (comprehensive non-traditional security)
- ✓ Climate Security agenda by the UN Security Council in April 2007 (legal grounds)
- ✓ Linking security and environment seek for "cooperation as an opportunity"

CLIMATE SKEPTICISM VS ENVIRONMENTALISM

Skepticism

- Knowledge gap/scientific ambiguity: temperature rise → global warming → climate change?
- Causal link: human or natural cause?
- CO2 fetishism (cf. CH4, N2O, F-gases)
- Technological optimism
- The 'North vs South' division

Precautionary environmentalist view

- Extreme weather events and warmest years → clear consequences
- Clear consequences of human activities (mining, deforestation, transportation)
- CO2: largest contributor and longest lasting in the atmosphere
- Technological uncertainty and Irreversible consequences

ACADEMIC REFERENCES

- PETER J. JACQUES & CLAIRE CONNOLLY KNOX (2016) 'HURRICANES AND HEGEMONY: A QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF MICRO-LEVEL CLIMATE CHANGE DENIAL DISCOURSES' *ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS* VOL. 25, NO. 5, 831–852

- TAKAO Yasuo (2012) 'MAKING CLIMATE CHANGE POLICY WORK AT THE LOCAL LEVEL: CAPACITY-BUILDING FOR DECENTRALIZED POLICY MAKING IN JAPAN' *Pacific Affairs: Volume 85, No. 4. pp. 767-788*

CHANGING RISK PERCEPTION (GO TO SLIDE P.60)

	Conventional	Non-conventional
Temporal (inter-generational)	Short term interests (immediate security)	Long term security including distant future for next generation
Spatial (intra-generational)	Disparity between domestic and international justice (sovereignty / Harmon doctrine) (GOVERNMENT)	Recognition of global interconnectivity (state-to-state; state-to-communities etc.) (GOVERNANCE)

2. CLIMATE CHANGE AS A GLOBAL ISSUE

UNDERSTANDING GLOBAL CLIMATE GOVERNANCE UNDER THE SD AGENDA

HUMAN SECURITY

- UNDP (UN Development Programme)'s **1994 Human Development Report** p.157
- Security has been related to nation-states more than people
- The legitimate concerns of ordinary people's daily life : required
- Protection from the disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental hazards
- Human security: 'bottom up approach: the people and their well-being' (Evans 1999:59)

Box 3.1 Process of building a global climate regime

1992	UN Framework Convention on Climate Change
1997	Kyoto Protocol (COP3)
2005	Montreal, Canada (COP11) The 1st after the Kyoto Protocol took force
2007	Bali Action Plan (COP13) (Annex I parties' commitment; ensuring two track process Kyoto + Post-Kyoto)
2009	Copenhagen Accord (COP15) (Calling on specific actions e.g., voluntary mitigation target and financing)
2010	Cancun Mexico (COP16) (GCF for developing countries (Financing climate change)
2011	Durban Platform for Enhanced Action (ADP) (COP17) (Possibility of a legally binding protocol for all parties; technology transfer for climate mitigation and adaptation)
2012	The Doha Climate Gateway (Doha Amendment to the Kyoto Protocol with a 2nd commitment period as 2013–2020)
2014	Lima Peru (COP20) (Adoption of IPCC 5th Assessment Report; Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDCs))
2015	Paris Agreement (COP21) 1st universal legally (partially) binding climate agreement
2017	Bonne UNFCCC Meeting (COP23)

WHY IS INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION NEEDED?

- The nature of Climate Change : One atmosphere, no boundary **('Heaven is without kin.')**
- Trans-boundary harm : direct (pollutions and accidents) and indirect (trade, investment eg. carbon leakage)
- Effective (procedural) tools: (i) Institutions: sustainable development → UNFCCC → national greenhouse gas inventory, as a count of greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions and removals; (ii) Global peer pressure (eg. JP in 1980s) → beginning of the climate regime under UNFCCC
- Cost-saving; technology transfer; information sharing

ACHIEVEMENTS IN INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

- **Two milestones of int'l cooperation:**
  - The UN Conf. at Stockholm 1972
  - The Rio Earth Summit in 1992

MULTILATERAL ENVIRONMENTAL AGREEMENTS

- 'Declaration of the UN Conference on the Human Environment 1972' http://www.unep.org/Documents.Multilingual/Default.asp?DocumentID=97&ArticleID=1503

- 'Rio Declaration on Environment and Development 1992' http://www.unep.org/Documents.Multilingual/Default.asp?documentid=78&articleid=1163 (27 principles)

MEA (MULTILATERAL ENVIRONMENTAL AGREEMENT) 1972

- **Establishment of Global Environmental Governance 1972**

  - UN Development Programme (UNDP);
  - The International Law Commission (ILC);
  - UN Conference on ENV and DEV (UNCED);
  - The Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD)

MEA 1992

- **The 1992 Rio Earth Summit:**

- Pushed the environment to centre-stage

- The then largest gathering of world leaders and attendance of NGOs and interest groups

MEA 1992

- **Tangible results;**

(1) **Agenda 21** launched committing the international community to the principle of **Sustainable Development**

(2) Climate Change and BOD **regimes** (legalising governance) established

(i) The Framework Convention on Climate Change (UN FCCC)

(ii) The CBD (UN Convention on Biodiversity)

(iii) The UNCCD (UN Convention to Combat Desertification)

http://www.unccd.int/en/Pages/default.aspx

MEA 1992 AND THE GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY

- **1992 UN CED**:

- Watershed for transnational actors involvement in global environmental politics (1500 NGOs organised side meetings)

※ 2002 Rio+10: over 6000 officially registered NGOs gathered in Johanesberg

→ Globalising environmental issues through building **environmental governance***

Gro Harlem BRUNDTLAND

THE BRUNDTLAND REPORT' (1987)

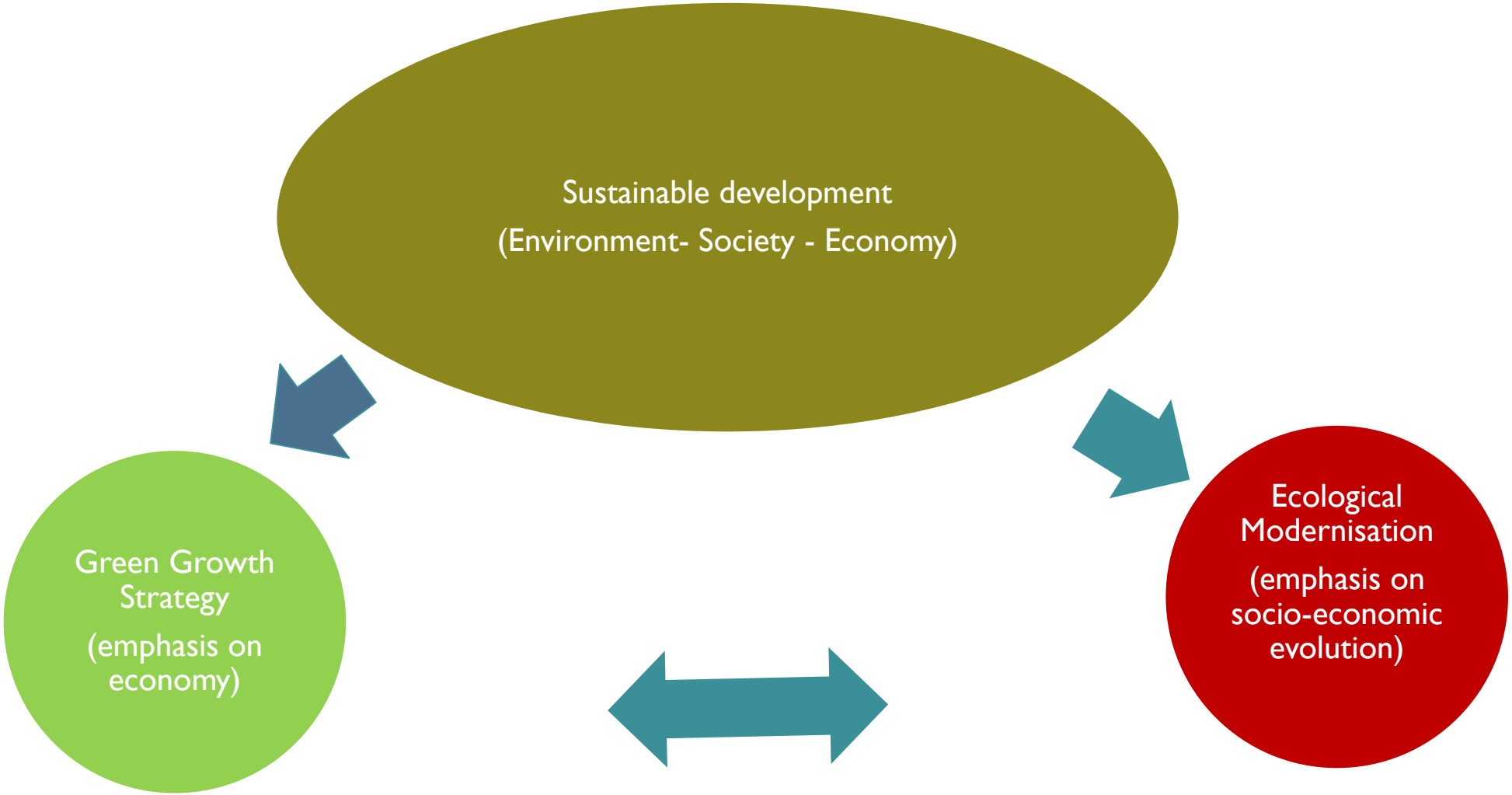
SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

- Sustainable development: more than an economic growth

- 'Development': a set of desirable goals or objectives for society, including the basic aim to secure a rising level of real income per capita (= *traditionally, standard of living,* ***inclusive wealth***)

- But now people require more than rising real incomes i.e. economic growth

ECOLOGICAL MODERNISATION PROCESS (HARPER: PP.177-178)



‘HOW WE GROW’ MATTERS

- Some kind of guideline required → ‘The Brundtland Report’ (1987)
- UN World Commission on Environment and Development chaired by the then PM, **Gro Harlem BRUNDTLAND** (“Our Common Future”)
- Anthropocentric compromise: keeping developing but in a different way
- Concepts on the SD Art. 3 / para. 27-30 http://conspect.nl/pdf/Our_Common_Future-Brundtland_Report_1987.pdf

ART. 3 (PARA 27)

- Humanity has the ability to make development sustainable **to ensure that it meets the needs of the present without** compromising **the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.**
- The concept of sustainable development does imply limits - **not absolute limits** but **limitations imposed by the present state of technology** and social organization on environmental resources and by the ability of the biosphere to absorb the effects of human activities.

ART. 3 (PARA 27)

- But technology and social organization can be both managed and improved to make way for a new era of economic growth.
- The Commission (UN World Commission on Environment and Development) believes that widespread **poverty** is no longer inevitable. Poverty is not only an evil in itself, but sustainable development requires **meeting the basic needs of all and extending to all the opportunity to fulfil their aspirations for a better life. A world in which poverty is endemic will always be prone to ecological and other catastrophes.**

ART. 3 (PARA 28)

- Meeting essential needs requires not only a new era of economic growth for nations in which the majority are poor, but an assurance that **those poor get their fair share of the resources** required to sustain that growth.

- **Such equity would be aided by political systems** that secure effective citizen participation in decision making and **by greater democracy** in international decision making.

ART. 3 (PARA 29)

- Sustainable global development requires that those who are more affluent **adopt life-styles within the planet's ecological means** - in their use of energy, for example.

- Further, **rapidly growing populations** can increase the pressure on resources and slow any rise in living standards; thus sustainable development can only be pursued if **population size and growth are in harmony** with the changing productive potential of the ecosystem.

ART. 3 (PARA 30)

- Yet in the end, sustainable development is not a fixed state of harmony, but rather **a process of change** in which the **exploitation of resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of technological development, and institutional change** are made consistent with future as well as present needs.
- **We do not pretend that the process is easy or straightforward. Painful choices have to be made.**
- Thus, in the final analysis, sustainable development must rest on **political will**.

THE BRUNTLAND REPORT AFTERWARDS

- **Implementation level**:

disparities between diverse interpretations, approaches, policy means, timeline, priority-setting, regional conflicts, social classes …..

ECOLOGISM ←→ TECHNO-CENTRISM

Anthropocentric critics on SD:

- based exclusively on human-related values
- Welfare of mankind: the ultimate drive for defining env policies (eg. Norton 2005)

- *'Ecological modernization' (anthro- and techno- centric) theory:* ***technical and managerial approaches*** *could well solve the environmental crisis* → no need to radically change the present patterns of development (eg. Baker 2007) **(natural socio-economic evolution via comprehensive modernisation process)**

ECOLOGISM VS TECHNO-CENTRISM

Non-anthropocentric worldviews

- rejects the idea that "nature has intrinsic value **"only because it directly or indirectly serves human interests**" (eg. McShane 2007)
- radical lines= eco-centrism or biocentrism: nature has value in itself
- skeptical of large scale technological developments and the commitment of big corporations to environmental matters
- **ethical issues** are considered the main driving force for the protection of nature (eg. Mason 1999)

THE BRUNTLAND REPORT AFTERWARDS

- Economic aspect: "inter-generational equity = ensuring stock of wealth to be inherited"

- Disagreement in on whether 'man-made capital' or 'natural capital' only or both : **what capital / how much / until when to save?**

PRINCIPLES TO ACHIEVE SUS DEV

(1) Re-**value** capitals

(2) **Futurity**: extending the **time horizon**: both short and medium term horizons **(intergenerational equity)**

(3) **Equity**: providing the needs of the least advantaged in society **(intra-generational equity and, both at domestic and international levels)**

‘SUSTAINABILITY’ ASSUMPTION

- Recognise: ‘Human beings are not a producer but only a converter’. **(cf. against techno-centrism)**

- **Each category of goods is essentially different (= not always replaceable)** cf. market makes no distinctions. (price tag in the market) **(cf. strong sustainability)**

- Recognition of the existence of ‘goods’ which never appear on the market (cannot be appropriated and yet essential precondition of human activity) **(non-market goods)**

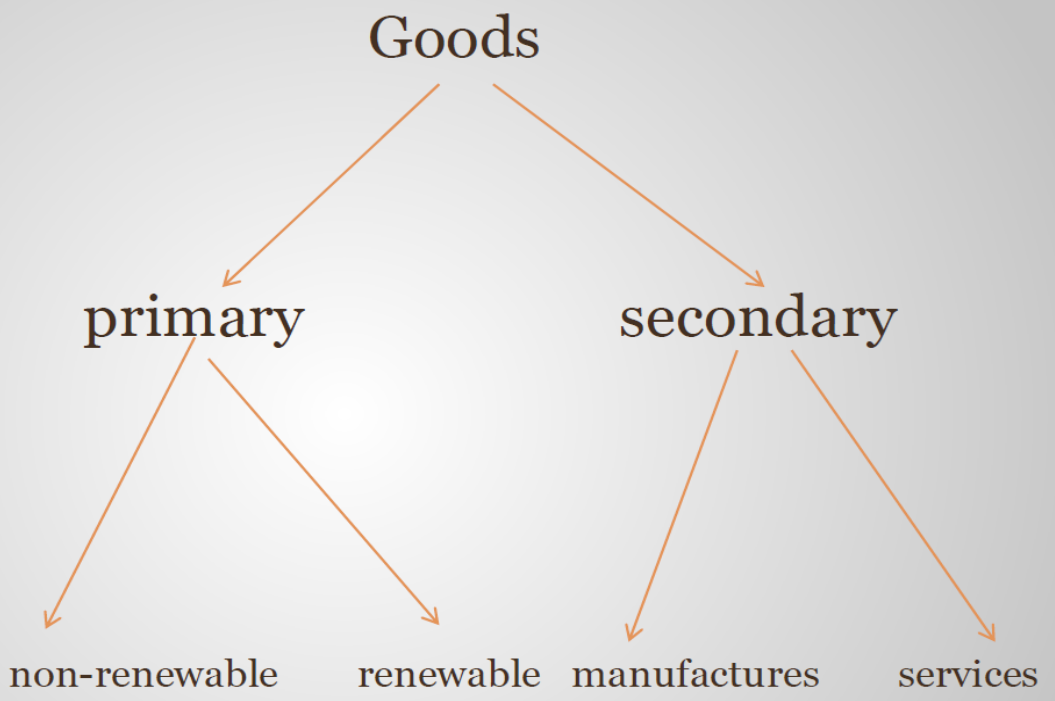
CATEGORY OF GOODS

Category of goods

-Man is not a producer but only a converter, for converting, primary energy is necessary.

-Each category of goods is essentially different but market makes no distinctions. (price tag in the market)

-Recognition of the existence of 'goods' which never appear on the market (cannot be appropriated and yet essential precondition of human activity)



E. F. Schumacher (1973, 1993) *Small is Beautiful*; p. 34~36

MEA ON CLIMATE CHANGE

- **The Goal of the Treaty:**

- *"… aimed at **stabilizing greenhouse gas** concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent **dangerous anthropogenic interference** with the climate system – commonly believed to be around **2 ℃** above the pre-industrial global average temperature*."*

*** global temperatures** between 1850–1900 (a**verage global temperatures** then: appx. 0.8 C cooler than 2014, meaning appx. 13.8 C

AVERAGE GLOBAL TEMPERATURE RISE