



Transnational CLIMATE CHANGE Governance

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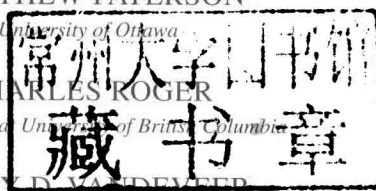
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32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

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www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107068698

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First published 2014

Printed in the United States of America

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Bulkeley, Harriet, 1972–

Transnational climate change governance / Harriet Bulkeley, Durham University; Liliana Andonova, The Graduate Institute, Geneva; Michele M. Betsill, Colorado State University; Daniel Compagnon, Sciences Po Bordeaux; Thomas Hale, Blavatnik School of Government, Oxford University; Matthew J. Hoffmann, University of Toronto; Peter Newell, University of Sussex; Matthew Paterson, University of Ottawa; Charles Roger, Liu Institute at University of British Columbia; Stacy D. VanDeveer, University of New Hampshire.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-06869-8 (hardback)

1. Climatic changes – Government policy. 2. Climatic changes – International cooperation. 3. Global environmental change – Government policy. 4. Global environmental change – International cooperation. I. Title.

GE170.B85 2014

363.73874561–dc23 2014002453

ISBN 978-1-107-06869-8 Hardback

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TRANSNATIONAL CLIMATE CHANGE GOVERNANCE

It is increasingly clear that the world of climate politics is no longer confined to the activities of national governments and international negotiations. Critical to this transformation of the politics of climate change has been the emergence of new forms of transnational governance that cut across traditional state-based jurisdictions and operate across public and private divides. This book provides the first comprehensive, cutting-edge account of the world of transnational climate change governance. Co-authored by a team of the world's leading experts in the field and based on a survey of sixty case studies, the book traces the emergence, nature and consequences of this phenomenon and assesses the implications for the field of global environmental politics. It will prove invaluable for researchers, graduate students and policy makers in climate change, political science, international relations, human geography, sociology and ecological economics.

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Acknowledgements

Often, a book emerges with purpose, the carefully crafted output designed to relate the findings of a project, to position an argument or to explore a set of ideas. This book arose in a more roundabout fashion. Having worked on the emergence and development of transnational municipal networks in the climate change field, Harriet Bulkeley approached colleagues with expertise in different areas of transnational climate change governance to join her application to the Leverhulme Trust for support to fund an international research network. This funding support, which is gratefully acknowledged here, with its intended purpose of developing new research communities, fostering the exchange of knowledge and identifying emerging areas of research, provided the vehicle for fifteen researchers from across Europe and North America to bring together their research expertise through a series of workshops over the period 2008–2010. Supported by a research assistant, Tori Milledge, the Leverhulme Transnational Climate Governance Network also developed a database of different types of initiatives, initially designed as an object around which to create internal discussion and dialogue across the network. As the network and our ideas developed, we found increasing value in bringing our work into dialogue and in the analysis of the database. What had originally been intended as a means of fostering knowledge exchange became a collective project of knowledge generation. Our first step towards collective writing – an endeavour which is not often practiced in the social sciences – took the form of an article describing and analysing the database (Bulkeley et al. 2012) as part of a special issue that emerged from the final workshop of the Leverhulme Network, held in Durham in October 2010.

It was through this process, of exchanging ideas, developing common understanding, producing new knowledge, sharing this with peer communities and undertaking collective writing, that the idea of translating the Leverhulme Transnational Climate Governance Network into a book crept up on us. Not all the colleagues involved in the initial network or writing project followed this path, as other projects and interests came along. We are especially grateful to Tori Milledge for her invaluable work in developing the database and keeping us organised in the many and varied locations

where the workshops took place, and to Karin Bäckstrand, Kristine Kern, Ans Kolk, David Levy, Marc Levy and Philipp Pattberg for their participation in the network and the valuable insights they provided into the workings of transnational climate change governance in their areas of expertise. We would also like to thank the participants in the 2010 Durham workshop for their reviews and critiques of our work and the many excellent papers that were presented and which provided further food for thought. As the book project progressed, we met in November 2011 at the Graduate Institute, Geneva, with the kind support of the Center for International Environmental Studies and Programme for the Study of International Governance for a writing workshop. Several colleagues, Joerg Balsiger, Thomas Biersteker, Juliet Fall, Jean-Christophe Graz, Joost Pauwelyn and Davide Rodgno, provided detailed comments on first drafts of chapters which added significantly to the quality of our ideas and arguments. A further writing retreat was held in Ontario in July 2012, and the book began to take its final shape. Gabe Eidelman did sterling work finalising the database and producing the figures for the book, for which many thanks. In these final stages, we have been particularly grateful to Suzanne and Res, who undertook the task of copyediting the manuscript to bring our diverse styles into some order, and to Matt Lloyd and Cambridge University Press, who have been supportive of its publication and who, together with Sarika Narula, have assisted us greatly with the production process.

The process of writing a book as a collective of ten social scientists, working from different theoretical and disciplinary perspectives, has not always been smooth. It has been eased considerably by good doses of humour, friendship, food, wine and coffee, and by the forbearance and support of all our families, to whom much love and thanks are due. The challenges involved have, we hope, led to the production of a richer and more nuanced account of transnational climate change governance than any one of us would have achieved alone.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

APP	Asia-Pacific Partnership
BioCF	BioCarbon Fund
BRICSAM	Brazil, India, China, South Africa and Mexico
CCBA	Climate, Community and Biodiversity Alliance
CCP	Cities for Climate Protection
CCX	Chicago Climate Exchange
CDM	Clean Development Mechanism
CEAMSE	Coordinación Ecológica Área Metropolitana Sociedad del Estado
CERES	Coalition of Environmentally Responsible Economies
CERs	Certified Emission Reductions
CFCB	Carbon Finance Capacity Building
CLASP	Collaborative Labelling and Compliance Standards Programme
CRAGs	Carbon reduction action groups
CSLF	Carbon Sequestration Leadership Forum
CUD	Connected Urban Development
DNA	Designated National Authority – Argentina
ENGO	Environmental Non-Governmental Organisation
EUETS	European Union Emissions Trading Scheme
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FSC	Forest Stewardship Council
GAIA	Global Anti-Incinerator Alliance
GMI	Global Methane Initiative
GPMDG	Green Power Market Development Group
ICLEI	International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives
ICSU	International Council of Scientific Union
ICT	Information and communications technology
IETA	International Emissions Trading Association
IGO	Intergovernmental Organisation
IGY	International Geophysical Year
ILACS	International Leadership Alliance for Climate Stabilization

INC	International Negotiating Committee for a Framework Convention on Climate Change
IO	International Organisation
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
JI	Joint Implementation
JREC	Johannesburg Renewable Energy Coalition
LULUCF	Land Use, Land Use Change and Forestry
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MoUVic/CA	Memorandum of Understanding between Victoria (Australia) and California (USA)
nrg4SD	Network of Regional Governments for Sustainable Development
PCF	Prototype Carbon Fund
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
REDD	UN Collaborative Programme on Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation in Developing Countries
REEEP	Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency Partnership
REN21	Renewable Energy Network
RGGI	Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative
SIF	Sustainable Infrastructure Finance
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
TCCG	Transnational Climate Change Governance
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNFIP	UN Fund for International Partnerships
VAT	Value-Added Tax
VCS	Voluntary Carbon Standard
WBCSD	World Business Council for Sustainable Development
WEF	World Economic Forum
WHO	World Health Organization
WMO	World Meteorological Organization
WRI	World Resources Institute
WSSD	World Summit for Sustainable Development
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

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Introducing Transnational Climate Change Governance

Whose responsibility is it to tackle climate change? ‘Everyone’s and no one’s’, we might glibly reply. Responsibility is diffused across scales, social groups, sectors, countries and generations. The causes of climate change are implicated in everyday acts of production and consumption and relate to the ways in which societies organise their transportation, housing, energy, water and food systems. Recognising the complex and diffuse agencies and authorities that address climate change, the world of climate politics is no longer limited to the activities of national governments, international organisations and interstate bargaining between states. Increasingly, subnational governments, non-governmental organisations, businesses and individuals are taking responsibility into their own hands, experimenting with bold new approaches to the governance of climate change (Betsill & Bulkeley 2004; Andonova, Betsill & Bulkeley 2009; Selin & VanDeveer 2009b; Bulkeley & Newell 2010; Hoffmann 2011; Bulkeley et al. 2013). The governance of climate change now takes a seemingly bewildering array of forms: carbon markets, certification standards, voluntary workplace schemes, emissions registries, carbon labelling, urban planning codes and so on. Critical to this transformation of the politics of climate change has been the emergence of new forms of transnational governance that cut across traditional state-based jurisdictions, operate across public-private divides and seek to develop new approaches and techniques through which responses are developed. What sets these initiatives apart from other forms of transnational relations is how they not only influence others, but also how they directly intervene in the governing of global affairs in ways that defy conventional understandings of international relations.

But why are all of these actors, apparently independently, seeking to *govern* climate change? At first glance, it seems rather remarkable that organisations as diverse as the HSBC, the Greater London Authority, local community groups and the state of California should want to engage in governing climate change with others beyond their jurisdictional or organisational boundaries. Why would they make the effort to do this when so many others are not taking the lead and when any actor’s individual contribution can only be insignificant in relation to the true scale of the global

challenge? Who are creating these schemes? What specific issues within the broad domain of climate change are they seeking to address? How do they gain legitimacy or authority? And are these schemes at all effective? Finally, what wider effects does transnational climate change governance (TCCG) have on international cooperation, the environment and human welfare more generally?

In this book, we attempt to offer answers to some of these questions. We do so not only because the phenomenon itself is puzzling but also because the answers may have significant implications for our understanding of world politics. In recent years, scholars have documented the existence of transnational governance schemes across a range of different issue areas. What has been happening in the arena of climate change, therefore, reflects a much larger trend in global politics (Hale & Held 2011), with potentially significant consequences for fair, effective and accountable global governance prospects. For some, transnational governance appears to offer dynamic new solutions to global challenges that states seem incapable of resolving on their own. For others, it represents, at best, a distraction from intergovernmental efforts and, at worst, a potential undermining of multilateral approaches. And, finally, for a few, transnational governance is interesting but entirely without consequence.

The fact that such divergent views are held on the same phenomenon is, we argue, partly attributable to the way in which we have tried to study it. Much existing work on the nature and consequences of transnational governance has focused on a few high-profile cases involving organisations such as the Forest Stewardship Council, the Marine Stewardship Council, the Basel Committee on Banking Supervision, Responsible Care and the UN Global Compact. In the domain of climate change, examples include Cities for Climate Protection, the C40, the World Bank Climate Finance partnerships, the Chicago Climate Exchange and so on. While these detailed case studies have yielded important insights, their specific focuses make it difficult to evaluate the larger dynamics and effects of transnational governance as a whole. Different cases can be used to support any one of the three positions outlined earlier. Thus, we believe that any sweeping conclusions based upon these case studies are premature. Without first getting a sense of the overall scope and impact of transnational governance, without considering the entire landscape of transnational initiatives, it is difficult to sustain such bold assertions.

In order to fill this gap in our understanding, this book offers the first comprehensive account of TCCG, which we regard as a microcosm of the larger world of transnational governance. Co-authored by a team of experts in the field, and based on an analysis of sixty TCCG initiatives, the book traces the emergence, characteristics and consequences of this unique phenomenon, assessing its overall implications and significance. In doing so, it also raises questions about the extent to which such a phenomenon can be found in other fields and the connections between responses to climate change and other important areas of global governance, including security, the global economy and development.

Why Care about TCCG?

As suggested previously, while matters of transnational governance have attracted more attention of late, for some they remain at best a distraction from the main game of international relations or environmental politics. First and foremost, our analysis demonstrates that those who regard transnational governance as a sideshow in the world of climate politics are wrong. TCCG is pervasive and has significant political, economic and environmental impacts. TCCG initiatives exercise authority over individuals, companies and even states and intergovernmental organisations (IGOs); collectively, they command a significant share of the resources that are dedicated to the climate issue. Indeed, it is not possible to fully understand the politics of climate change without understanding TCCG. All individuals concerned about climate change – academics, activists, citizens and policymakers – should be interested in how TCCG works, for whom it works and how it might contribute to efforts to stave off the consequences of climate change. To answer these questions, we need to understand the characteristics of TCCG, its drivers as well as its effects and how it has evolved over time. Our book provides these insights.

In addition, our analysis of TCCG speaks to a number of broader academic debates. For scholars interested in transnationalism (Keohane & Nye 1977; Risse-Kappen 1995; Slaughter 2004a; Tarrow 2005; Cerny 2010), climate change provides the quintessential example of a dense area of transnational relations and illuminates some of the core issues within the field. It does this by opening our eyes to the range of possible forms that transnational governance can take. Looking at particular instances of governance or narrow issue areas is important and indicative, but it does not provide the basis for understanding more general shifts in institutional forms. Climate change, because of its cross-sectoral nature and intimate connections to issue areas such as trade, finance and production, and security, is sufficiently dense and expansive to offer a more general laboratory for the study of transnationalism. There are simply more initiatives taking a wider variety of forms across multiple scales than in other issue areas. This richness means we are well placed to explore ideas about where TCCG sits within the broader regime complex of actors involved in collective endeavours to tackle climate change (Raustiala & Victor 2004; Keohane & Victor 2011; Abbott 2012) and to probe the relationship between public and private authority.

Scholars of environmental governance (e.g. O'Neill 2009; Adger & Jordan 2011) may be more familiar with the dynamics of climate change than those researching transnational governance. But while these scholars have recognised that transnational governance is an important part of multilevel governance, there is relatively little research that attempts, as we do here, to provide a synoptic overview of all initiatives within this particular field; research remains, by and large, case-study based. As such, this book provides scholars with a means to systematically explore the characteristics

of transnational environmental governance as well as how it relates to other aspects of the complex multilevel character of environmental governance.

For academic and policy specialists working on climate change, a deeper understanding of TCCG is important because it provides a less state-centric and regime-centric analysis of the sources, drivers and forms of climate governance which exist within and beyond the state and international regime. Most of the literature on climate governance remains resolutely state-centric (e.g. Gupta et al. 2007; Victor 2011). That which tries to avoid this state centrism focuses either on particular actors, such as cities (Betsill & Bulkeley 2004); or on multilevel governance involving diverse actors and institutions within particular regions (Schreurs, Selin & VanDeveer 2009; Selin & VanDeveer 2009a, 2011, 2012); or on one-dimensional or bilateral relationships between specific subgroups of actors, whether they be NGOs and the state (Arts 1998; Newell 2000a; Betsill & Bulkeley 2004), businesses and the state (Newell & Paterson 1998; Levy & Newell 2005) or relationships between regimes (Oberthür & Stokke 2011). What we tend to lack is an understanding of the multiple interlinkages and relationships in which these actors are simultaneously involved – precisely the kind of analysis we develop here.

In sum, what we provide in this book for scholars and practitioners engaged in these debates is a more comprehensive analysis of TCCG, which can also tell us much about the phenomenon of transnational governance more generally. The analysis of sixty key TCCG initiatives provides comprehensiveness of coverage, a sufficiently diverse sample to be able to generate meaningful conclusions about this area of transnationalism and the ability to compare TCCG initiatives according to common criteria. In doing so, we are able to move the analysis of transnational governance beyond individual cases to consider overall patterns and trends and to assess the extent to which initiatives converge and diverge by region, sector, actor or issue. Combining quantitative and qualitative data in this way, informed by a range of theories drawn from different disciplines, our analysis provides an evidence base from which we respond to critiques of existing scholarship on transnational governance.

Putting Transnational Climate Change Governance in Context

Of course, understanding TCCG first requires an engagement with its three core components: transnationalism, climate change and governance. Each of these terms denotes a field of study in itself, with its own sets of debates and contested claims. In situating this book at the intersection of these three concepts, our intention is neither to delimit an exclusive research arena nor to replicate arguments that have been well rehearsed elsewhere. Rather, we seek to explore how working across these three areas of research can provide a basis for examining the empirical phenomenon of TCCG and how, in turn, this can inform our understanding of the nature and dynamics of transnationalism, climate change and governance more generally. In order to begin

this task, we establish how each core component informs our understanding of TCCG by discussing how it is applied within the book.

Transnationalism

The notion of the transnational has a rich history in the discipline of international relations, and it has acquired a rather specific meaning even while playing an increasingly larger role in a range of fields, including history, sociology, geography and political science.¹ Within the field of international relations, it denotes the scope of a particular activity or set of relations, as the colloquial use of the word suggests. Transnational phenomena are those that bridge, operate or extend across the boundaries of states. But the word also tells us something about the kind of actors involved. Transnational phenomena, by definition, involve non-state or substate actors, such as businesses, individuals, religious groups, charities, NGOs, municipalities, courts and so on. It should not be understood as a synonym for international, supranational or intergovernmental activity, which involves relations between states as they interact strategically and symbolically with one another. Transnational relations are those that occur between state and non-state actors as they interact across state borders.

States are central to the conceptualisation of transnational phenomena in international relations (IR) given that, by their very definition, transnational phenomena cut across state borders. However, the term itself emerged largely in reaction to the hegemony of the state as the central organising concept of the discipline. Canonically, modern international relations theory took interstate interactions in an anarchic environment as its dominant subject matter (Morgenthau 1948; Bull 1977; Waltz 1979; Gilpin 1981). Scholars working in the realist tradition were concerned primarily with actors such as heads of states, diplomats and militaries – the main organs of governments that interacted with their counterparts in the international arena. Other kinds of actors were of interest only insofar as they affected the behaviour of statesmen, though they were generally thought to be inconsequential because of the rigors of the anarchical system within which states operated.

This understanding of the proper subject matter of international relations played an important role in establishing the field within the broader discipline of political science (Guzzini 1998). However, in the 1960s and 1970s, IR theorists challenged the paradigmatic status of realism. This occurred, first, as those such as Graham Allison (1971) sought to unpack state decision making and, second, as increasing globalisation and interdependence brought scholars' attention to new phenomena that constituted international politics but were not the struggles of states attempting to survive

¹ We are grateful to participants in the Workshop on Transnational Governance of Climate Change at the Centre for International Environmental Studies of the Graduate School of International Studies in Geneva for pushing us to situate our work in this broader historical context. In particular, we thank Thomas Biersteker for his insights on the themes of this chapter.