

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-06869-8 - Transnational Climate Change Governance

Harriet Bulkeley, Liliana B. Andonova, Michele M. Betsill, Daniel Compagnon, Thomas Hale, Matthew J. Hoffmann, Peter Newell, Matthew Paterson, Charles Roger and Stacy D. Vandever

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

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.

HARRIET BULKELEY is a professor in the department of geography at Durham University. Her research is concerned with the processes and politics of environmental governance, with particular expertise in the areas of climate change, energy and urban sustainability. She has published more than fifty books and articles, including *Cities and Climate Change: Urban Sustainability and Global Environmental Governance* (2003, with Michele M. Betsill); *Governing Climate Change* (2010, with Peter Newell) and *Cities and Low Carbon Transitions* (2011, edited with others).

LILIANA B. ANDONOVA is a professor and chair in the department of political science/international relations at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva. She has been appointed a Giorgio Ruffolo Fellow in Sustainability Science at Harvard University and a Jean Monnet Fellow at the European University Institute. Her research and publications focus on international institutions, public-private partnerships, European integration, environmental cooperation, transnational governance and climate change. She is the author of *Transnational Politics of the Environment: EU Integration and Environmental Policy in Eastern Europe* (2003).

MICHELE M. BETSILL is a professor of political science and the founder and co-leader of the Environmental Governance Working Group at Colorado State University, Fort Collins. Her research investigates the multiple ways in which climate change is governed from the local level to the global level, across both public and private spheres. She is co-author of *Cities and Climate Change: Urban Sustainability and Global Environmental Governance* (2003, with Harriet Bulkeley) and author of numerous articles and book chapters on climate change governance. Professor Betsill is a member of the editorial boards of the journals *Global Environmental Politics* and *Environment and Planning C: Policy and Government* and is on the Scientific Steering Committee for the Earth System Governance Project of the International Human Dimensions Programme on Global Environmental Change.

DANIEL COMPAGNON is a professor of political science at Sciences Po Bordeaux, where he teaches globalisation and global environmental issues. His work is focused on understanding the dynamics of global environmental governance from a transcalar perspective, with a particular concern for southern countries and the impact of North–South international relations. His books include *A Predictable Tragedy: Robert Mugabe and the Collapse of Zimbabwe* (2010), which was ranked best book of the year on Africa by *Foreign Affairs*.

THOMAS HALE is a postdoctoral research Fellow at the Blavatnik School of Government, Oxford University. His research seeks to explain how political institutions evolve – or not – to face the challenges raised by globalisation and interdependence, with a particular emphasis on environmental and economic issues. He is the author of *Gridlock: Why Global Cooperation Is Failing When We Need It Most* (2013, with David Held and Kevin Young).

MATTHEW J. HOFFMANN is an associate professor in the department of political science at the University of Toronto and co-director of the Environmental Governance Lab at the Munk School of Global Affairs. He is the author of *Climate Governance at the Crossroads: Experimenting with a Global Response after Kyoto* (2011) and *Ozone Depletion and Climate Change: Constructing a Global Response* (2005) and the co-editor of *Contending Perspectives on Global Governance* (2005, with Alice Ba).

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-06869-8 - Transnational Climate Change Governance

Harriet Bulkeley, Liliana B. Andonova, Michele M. Betsill, Daniel Compagnon, Thomas Hale, Matthew J. Hoffmann, Peter Newell, Matthew Paterson, Charles Roger and Stacy D. Vandever

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

PETER NEWELL is a professor of international relations at the University of Sussex. His current research interests lie in the political economy of climate change, especially in relation to carbon markets, ideas about a 'just transition' to a lower carbon economy and the governance of north-south clean-energy investment. He is co-author of the following books: *Climate Capitalism: Global Warming and the Transformation of the Global Economy* (2010, with Matthew Paterson); *Governing Climate Change* (2010, with Harriet Bulkeley) and *Globalization and the Environment: Capitalism, Ecology and Power* (2012).

MATTHEW PATERSON is a professor of political science at the University of Ottawa. His research focuses on the political economy of global environmental change. His publications include *Global Warming and Global Politics* (1996); *Understanding Global Environmental Politics: Domination, Accumulation, Resistance* (2000); *Automobile Politics: Ecology and Cultural Political Economy* (2007, Cambridge University Press) and, most recently, *Climate Capitalism: Global Warming and the Transformation of the Global Economy* (2010, with Peter Newell). He is a lead author for the Fifth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC).

CHARLES ROGER is a PhD student in political science and Liu Scholar at the Liu Institute for Global Issues, University of British Columbia. His research focuses on global environmental politics and international political economy, especially as related to the governance of climate change in developing and emerging economies. He is a contributing author to the Fifth Assessment Report of the IPCC. He is the co-editor of *Climate Governance in the Developing World* (2013, with David Held and Eva-Maria Nag) and *Global Governance at Risk* (2013, with David Held).

STACY D. VANDEVEER is a professor of political science at the University of New Hampshire. He is the author or co-author of more than seventy articles, book chapters, working papers and reports. He has co-edited six books, including *Comparative Environmental Politics* (2012), *Changing Climates in North American Politics* (2009) and *Transatlantic Environment and Energy Politics* (2009).

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-06869-8 - Transnational Climate Change Governance

Harriet Bulkeley, Liliana B. Andonova, Michele M. Betsill, Daniel Compagnon, Thomas Hale, Matthew J. Hoffmann,
Peter Newell, Matthew Paterson, Charles Roger and Stacy D. Vandever

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

TRANSNATIONAL CLIMATE CHANGE GOVERNANCE

HARRIET BULKELEY

Durham University

LILIANA B. 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



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-06869-8 - Transnational Climate Change Governance

Harriet Bulkeley, Liliana B. Andonova, Michele M. Betsill, Daniel Compagnon, Thomas Hale, Matthew J. Hoffmann, Peter Newell, Matthew Paterson, Charles Roger and Stacy D. Vandever

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

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

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

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

© Harriet Bulkeley, Liliana B. Andonova, Michele M. Betsill, Daniel Compagnon, Thomas Hale, Matthew J. Hoffmann, Peter Newell, Matthew Paterson, Charles Roger and Stacy D. VanDeveer 2014

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

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

363.738'74561–dc23 2014002453

ISBN 978-1-107-06869-8 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-06869-8 - Transnational Climate Change Governance

Harriet Bulkeley, Liliana B. Andonova, Michele M. Betsill, Daniel Compagnon, Thomas Hale, Matthew J. Hoffmann,

Peter Newell, Matthew Paterson, Charles Roger and Stacy D. Vandever

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Contents

<i>List of Figures and Tables</i>	page vii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	ix
<i>Acronyms and Abbreviations</i>	xi
1 Introducing Transnational Climate Change Governance	1
2 Mapping the World of Transnational Climate Change Governance	17
3 Theoretical Perspectives on Transnational Governance	38
4 Origins, Agency and the Forms of Transnational Climate Change Governance	61
5 Constructing Transnational Climate Change Governance Issues and Producing Governance Spaces	89
6 The Uneven Geography of Transnational Climate Change Governance	117
7 Understanding Authority and Legitimacy in Transnational Climate Change Governance	134
8 Making a Difference? Tracing the Effects and Effectiveness of Transnational Climate Change Governance	158
9 Conclusions – Looking Beyond Transnational Climate Change Governance	178
<i>References</i>	187
<i>Index</i>	207

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-06869-8 - Transnational Climate Change Governance

Harriet Bulkeley, Liliana B. Andonova, Michele M. Betsill, Daniel Compagnon, Thomas Hale, Matthew J. Hoffmann,
Peter Newell, Matthew Paterson, Charles Roger and Stacy D. Vandever

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-06869-8 - Transnational Climate Change Governance

Harriet Bulkeley, Liliana B. Andonova, Michele M. Betsill, Daniel Compagnon, Thomas Hale, Matthew J. Hoffmann,

Peter Newell, Matthew Paterson, Charles Roger and Stacy D. Vandever

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Figures and Tables

Figures

2.1. Initiating actors	<i>page</i> 26
2.2. Functions	27
2.3. Key functions by actor type	28
2.4. Issues addressed by TCCG initiatives	29
2.5. Issue areas by actor type	30
2.6. Issue areas by initiating actor	31
2.7. Regional participation by actor type	33
2.8. ‘Hard’ and ‘soft’ forms of institutionalisation by initiating actor	34
3.1. Transformation in Governance Systems	48
4.1. Trend in transnational collaboration on climate change	63
4.2. Clustering of TNCCG by actor type and time	69
4.3. Private TCCG issue areas	70
4.4. Private TCCG governance functions	70
4.5. Hybrid TCCG by initiating actor	74
4.6. Hybrid TCCG issue areas	79
4.7. Hybrid TCCG governance functions	80
4.8. Public TCCG by government type	82
4.9. Public TCCG by initiation period	83
4.10. Public TCCG issue areas	86
4.11. Public TCCG governance functions	87
5.1. Functions by cluster	113
6.1. Levels of participation, global North and South	122
6.2. Patterns of regional marginalisation in TCCG	124
6.3. Participation by type and region (two or more actors)	126
7.1. Institutionalisation by region (non-BRICSAM)	145
7.2. Voluntary institutionalisation	146
7.3. Compulsory institutionalisation	147
7.4. Motivating worldviews of initiating actors (n = 57)	150
7.5. Sources of initiating actor legitimacy	151
7.6. Motivating worldviews of initiating actors (n = 57)	153

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-06869-8 - Transnational Climate Change Governance

Harriet Bulkeley, Liliana B. Andonova, Michele M. Betsill, Daniel Compagnon, Thomas Hale, Matthew J. Hoffmann,

Peter Newell, Matthew Paterson, Charles Roger and Stacy D. Vandever

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

viii

Figures and Tables

Tables

2.1. Sixty TCCG initiatives	20
2.2. Coding of transnational climate governance initiatives	22
7.1. Formal vs. informal institutionalisation	147

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-06869-8 - Transnational Climate Change Governance

Harriet Bulkeley, Liliana B. Andonova, Michele M. Betsill, Daniel Compagnon, Thomas Hale, Matthew J. Hoffmann, Peter Newell, Matthew Paterson, Charles Roger and Stacy D. Vandever

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

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

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-06869-8 - Transnational Climate Change Governance

Harriet Bulkeley, Liliana B. Andonova, Michele M. Betsill, Daniel Compagnon, Thomas Hale, Matthew J. Hoffmann, Peter Newell, Matthew Paterson, Charles Roger and Stacy D. Vandevier

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

x

Acknowledgements

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.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-06869-8 - Transnational Climate Change Governance

Harriet Bulkeley, Liliana B. Andonova, Michele M. Betsill, Daniel Compagnon, Thomas Hale, Matthew J. Hoffmann, Peter Newell, Matthew Paterson, Charles Roger and Stacy D. Vandevier

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

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

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-06869-8 - Transnational Climate Change Governance

Harriet Bulkeley, Liliana B. Andonova, Michele M. Betsill, Daniel Compagnon, Thomas Hale, Matthew J. Hoffmann,

Peter Newell, Matthew Paterson, Charles Roger and Stacy D. Vandever

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xii

Acronyms and Abbreviations

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