

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-63250-8 - Climate for Change: Non-State Actors and the Global Politics of the Greenhouse

Peter Newell

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Climate for Change

Climate for Change: Non-state Actors and the Global Politics of the Greenhouse provides a challenging explanation of the forces that have shaped the international global warming debate. Unlike existing books on the politics of climate change, this book concentrates on how non-state actors, such as scientific, environmental and industry groups, as opposed to governmental organisations, affect political outcomes in global fora on climate change. It also provides insights into the role of the media in influencing the agenda.

Critical of the predominance of state-based regime theory in the explanation of international environmental cooperation, the author makes a strong case for the centrality of non-state scientific, environmental and industry groups, as well as the mass media, to explanations of how the climate regime was formed and has evolved. The book draws on a range of analytical approaches to assess and explain the influence these non-state actors have brought to bear on the course of global climate politics. It explores the benefits of a theoretical perspective that fuses insights from international political economy with those of transnational relations in order to capture more adequately the different dimensions of the power of non-state actors in global environmental politics.

The book will be of interest to all researchers and policy-makers associated with climate change, and will be used in university courses in international relations, politics and environmental studies.

Peter Newell is a research fellow at the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex. Before joining the IDS he was a lecturer in International Studies at the University of Warwick (1997–9) and a researcher for Climate Network Europe in Brussels (1996). He is an active researcher, teacher and consultant on various aspects of environmental politics. He has published widely on the international politics of climate change in journals such as *Review of International Political Economy* and *Environmental Politics*, and has co-authored a book (with Wyn Grant and Duncan Matthews) on *The Effectiveness of European Union Environmental Policy* (Macmillan, 2000). He has also edited a special issue of the journal *IDS Bulletin* on *Globalisation and the Governance of the Environment*. His recent work has focused on the governance implications of relations between environmental NGOs and transnational corporations in the context of globalisation.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-63250-8 - Climate for Change: Non-State Actors and the Global Politics of the Greenhouse

Peter Newell

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Climate for Change

Non-state Actors and the Global Politics of the Greenhouse

PETER NEWELL

*Institute of Development Studies,
University of Sussex*



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-63250-8 - Climate for Change: Non-State Actors and the Global Politics of the Greenhouse

Peter Newell

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK <http://www.cup.cam.ac.uk>

40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA <http://www.cup.org>

10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia

Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain

© Cambridge University Press 2000

This book 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 2000

Printed in the United States of America

Typeface Ehrhardt 10/12 pt. System 3B2 [KWP]

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Newell, Peter (Peter John)

Climate for change: non-state actors and the global politics of the greenhouse / Peter Newell.
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 0-521-63250-1 (hb)

1. Greenhouse effect, Atmospheric. I. Title.

QC912.3.N49 2000

363.738'7457 - dc21

99-087673

ISBN 0 521 63250 1 hardback

Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	ix
1 Politics in a warming world: introduction	1
1.1 <i>Introduction</i>	1
1.2 <i>Why these actors?</i>	2
1.3 <i>Why global warming?</i>	8
1.4 <i>Methodology</i>	10
1.5 <i>Scope</i>	12
1.6 <i>Background: emerging themes in global climate politics</i>	13
<i>Negotiating blocs</i>	13
<i>Europe</i>	14
<i>The United States</i>	15
<i>The North–South dimension</i>	16
<i>Divisions within the South</i>	17
<i>Policy options after Rio</i>	18
<i>Kyoto and beyond</i>	21
2 Existing approaches: problems and limitations	23
2.1 <i>Existing approaches to explaining global environmental politics</i>	23
2.2 <i>Critique of regime approaches</i>	26
2.3 <i>Current approaches to the study of global warming</i>	30
2.4 <i>Reconfiguring political influence</i>	32
3 Knowledge, frames and the scientific community	40
3.1 <i>Introduction</i>	40
3.2 <i>Structural factors/bargaining assets</i>	40
3.3 <i>Agenda-setting</i>	44
3.4 <i>Negotiation-bargaining</i>	54
3.5 <i>Implementation</i>	63
3.6 <i>Conclusions</i>	65

vi	Contents	
4	Climate of opinion: the agenda-setting role of the mass media	68
4.1	<i>Introduction: agenda-setting</i>	68
4.2	<i>A note on methodology</i>	69
4.3	<i>Public opinion and international environmental regimes</i>	70
4.4	<i>The importance of the media in shaping public opinion</i>	71
	<i>Direct effects</i>	72
	<i>From direct to indirect</i>	77
	<i>Indirect effects</i>	78
4.5	<i>Media constructions of global warming</i>	79
	<i>The scientific dimension</i>	79
	<i>Impacts</i>	82
	<i>The economic dimension</i>	84
	<i>Declining attention to the international</i>	85
4.6	<i>Explanations and consequences</i>	86
	<i>The political economy approach</i>	86
	<i>Social dimensions</i>	88
	<i>The culturalist approach</i>	93
4.7	<i>Conclusions</i>	94
5	Climate for business: the political influence of the fossil fuel lobbies	96
5.1	<i>Introduction</i>	96
5.2	<i>Structural factors/bargaining assets</i>	98
5.3	<i>Observable and direct influence</i>	101
	<i>Agenda-setting</i>	102
	<i>Negotiation-bargaining</i>	106
	<i>Implementation</i>	112
5.4	<i>Compatibility of agendas</i>	114
5.5	<i>Cross-issue influence</i>	116
5.6	<i>The un-politics of climate change</i>	118
5.7	<i>Conclusion</i>	120
6	Climate for change: environmental NGOs	123
6.1	<i>Introduction</i>	123
6.2	<i>Global warming and environmental pressure groups</i>	124
6.3	<i>Scope of the analysis</i>	126
6.4	<i>Structural factors/bargaining assets</i>	127
6.5	<i>Agenda-setting</i>	128

<i>Contents</i>		vii
6.6	<i>Negotiation-bargaining</i>	136
6.7	<i>Implementation</i>	149
6.8	<i>Conclusions</i>	152
7.	<i>Conclusion: states, NGOs and the future of global climate politics</i>	154
7.1	<i>Key themes</i>	154
7.2	<i>Review of chapter conclusions</i>	158
7.3	<i>The NGO project and international relations</i>	161
7.4	<i>Towards an alternative perspective</i>	166
7.5	<i>From transnationalism to IPE</i>	167
7.6	<i>Conclusion</i>	171
	<i>Appendix A: List of abbreviations</i>	173
	<i>Appendix B: Chronology of the international response to the issue of climate change</i>	176
	<i>References</i>	179
	<i>Index</i>	215

Acknowledgements

As is often the case, this book started life as a PhD thesis. It was completed at the University of Keele between 1993 and 1996. Firstly, therefore, I would like to acknowledge the invaluable assistance of Matthew Paterson and David Scrivener, the two supervisors who guided me through the logistical and psychological battlefield that is doing a PhD.

Thanks are due to the numerous colleagues who commented on earlier drafts of the chapters that make up this book. John Vogler and Brian Doherty, the examiners of my thesis, gave me an immense amount of positive and constructive feedback. In addition, I am grateful to the anonymous reviewers of the proposal for this book who made a number of useful suggestions, and to Matt Lloyd at CUP, for guidance and encouragement. Finally, I would like to extend my appreciation to all those NGOs and government officials who spared the time to complete questionnaires, be interviewed or allowed me to use their archives.

The financial support of the following is also gratefully acknowledged: the British International Studies Association, the Gilbert Murray Trust Fund, the Polehampton Trust and the Department of International Relations at the University of Keele, the Department of Politics and International Studies at Warwick and the MacArthur Foundation.

The research for and writing up of this book have taken me on a journey from Keele to Warwick to Brighton. At each stage I have been lucky enough to form great friendships that I would like to acknowledge briefly. At Keele, Ben Seel, Matt Paterson, 'Sparky' Bedwell, Fiona Candelin, Glyn Williams, Rosarie McCarthy, Johnny Mac(Millan), Paul (Alty) Johnson and too many others to list individually, all deserve thanks. Philippa Bell, in particular, was a wonderful companion. At Warwick, the group of individuals collectively known as the 'geezers' (Richard Devetak, Charlie Dannreuther, Rohit Lekhi, Jane Booth and Ben Rosamond) have been a source of entertainment and life beyond work as well as providing greatly valued friendships. At IDS, the band, the football team and the rest of the staff have all been great people to be around, and the secretarial support of Linda Bateman has been critical in keeping to deadlines.

Rahul Moodgal deserves special mention for being a wonderfully caring human being. His friendship means everything to me. The love and support of Bridget Allan have been an immense source of strength in this endeavour. Huge thanks are due to all these people. The helter-skelter fortunes of the mighty

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-63250-8 - Climate for Change: Non-State Actors and the Global Politics of the Greenhouse

Peter Newell

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

x

Acknowledgements

Seagulls (Brighton and Hove Albion FC) have made the ups and downs of writing a book look like a smooth ride. May future times be less turbulent and a little more successful.

I dedicate this book to my parents and my sister for their loving support for everything I have done.

*Peter Newell
Brighton, 2000*