

## Contents

<i>Foreword by Yvo de Boer</i>	<i>page</i> xii
<i>Preface and acknowledgements</i>	xv
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xvii
<b>Part 1 Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
1 Grasping the essentials of the climate change problem	3
1.1 Climate change intertwined with life	3
1.2 Science, scientific uncertainty and climate sceptics	5
1.2.1 The problem	5
1.2.2 Sceptics and their rebuttal	5
1.3 Climate change as an economic issue in an anarchic world	11
1.3.1 A sceptical framing of climate change	11
1.3.2 Countering this framework	13
1.4 Climate change as a classic North–South issue	14
1.4.1 The carbon budget and the ecospace problem	14
1.4.2 GHG emissions and development	17
1.5 Conclusion	21
2 Mitigation, adaptation and geo-engineering	22
2.1 Introduction	22
2.2 Climate change and development	22
2.3 Options to deal with climate change	24
2.4 Systemic changes	25
2.5 Dealing with underlying driving forces	28
2.5.1 Introduction	28
2.5.2 Options and issues	28

viii	<i>Contents</i>	
2.6	Dealing with proximate driving forces: mitigation and sequestration options	29
2.6.1	Introduction	29
2.6.2	Options and issues	29
2.7	Dealing with atmospheric concentrations and warming	30
2.7.1	Introduction	30
2.7.2	Options and issues	30
2.8	Dealing with impacts	32
2.8.1	Introduction	32
2.8.2	Options and issues	32
2.9	Dealing with residual impacts	34
2.9.1	Introduction	34
2.9.2	Options and issues	35
2.10	Structure and outline of this book	37
2.11	Inferences	38
<b>Part 2</b>	<b>The history of the negotiations</b>	<b>39</b>
3	Setting the stage: defining the climate problem (until 1990)	41
3.1	Introduction	41
3.2	The chronology of events	41
3.3	The problem definition and measures discussed	49
3.3.1	The problem definition	49
3.3.2	Measures discussed	50
3.4	The role of actors	51
3.4.1	Individual countries active: an agenda is born	51
3.4.2	Science is institutionalized: an epistemic community is born	53
3.4.3	Other social actors	53
3.5	The governance outputs	53
3.5.1	The discourses: liability and the leadership paradigm	53
3.5.2	The principles	54
3.5.3	The long-term objective	55
3.5.4	Targets and timetables	56
3.5.5	Policies and measures: winners and losers and no-regrets measures	56
3.5.6	Technology transfer – ‘leapfrogging’ and finance – ‘new and additional’	57
3.6	Key trends in Phase 1	58

<i>Contents</i>		ix
4	Institutionalizing key issues: the Framework Convention on Climate Change (1991–1996)	59
4.1	Introduction	59
4.2	The chronology of events	59
4.3	The governance outputs	62
4.3.1	Introduction	62
4.3.2	The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change	62
4.3.3	Assessing the Climate Convention	65
4.3.4	The remaining INCs and the COPs	68
4.4	The problem definition: leadership defined	69
4.5	The role of actors	72
4.6	Key trends in Phase 2	76
5	Progress despite challenges: towards the Kyoto Protocol and beyond (1997–2001)	78
5.1	Introduction	78
5.2	The chronology of events	78
5.3	The governance outputs: the Kyoto Protocol and COP decisions	80
5.3.1	The Kyoto Protocol	80
5.3.2	Assessing the Protocol	85
5.3.3	The COP decisions	91
5.4	The evolving problem definition: conditional leadership	94
5.5	The role of actors	95
5.6	Key trends in Phase 3	97
6	The regime under challenge: leadership competition sets in (2001–2007)	99
6.1	Introduction	99
6.2	The chronology of events	99
6.3	The governance outputs: the COP and CMP reports	101
6.3.1	The Marrakesh Accords, COP7, 2001	101
6.3.2	COP8 till COP10	107
6.3.3	The COPs and CMPs (2005–2007)	109
6.4	Climate-related agreements in other fora	114
6.5	The climate funds over time	115
6.6	The problem definition	118
6.7	The role of actors	120
6.8	Key trends in Phase 4	121
7	Enlarging the negotiating pie (2008–2012)	123
7.1	Introduction	123

x	<i>Contents</i>	
7.2	The chronology of events	123
7.3	The COPs and CMPs	124
	7.3.1 COP14–15, from Poznan to Copenhagen	124
	7.3.2 COP16–18, from Cancun to Doha	130
7.4	REDD revisited	135
7.5	Outside the regime	138
	7.5.1 Recession and climate change	138
	7.5.2 UN-REDD	139
	7.5.3 The human rights paradigm: countering market-based approaches	139
	7.5.4 Climate-related agreements in other fora	140
7.6	The problem definition	140
7.7	The role of actors	142
7.8	Key trends in Phase 5	143
	<b>Part 3 Issues in global climate governance</b>	<b>145</b>
8	Countries, coalitions, other actors and negotiation challenges	147
	8.1 Introduction	147
	8.2 Countries and coalitions	147
	8.2.1 The formal classifications of countries	147
	8.2.2 Negotiation challenges	150
	8.2.3 The evolution of coalitions	151
	8.3 Developed-country actors and coalitions	154
	8.3.1 The USA	154
	8.3.2 The European Union	156
	8.3.3 The East Bloc	159
	8.3.4 Russia	160
	8.3.5 Japan	160
	8.3.6 Others	161
	8.4 Developing-country coalitions and countries	161
	8.4.1 The G77 and China	161
	8.4.2 Africa	162
	8.4.3 AOSIS	164
	8.4.4 LDCs	166
	8.4.5 OPEC countries	167
	8.4.6 China	167
	8.4.7 India	168
	8.5 Other actors	169
	8.5.1 Non-state actors	169
	8.5.2 Sub-national authorities	170

<i>Contents</i>		xi
8.6	Conclusions: the changing nature of the North–South discourse	171
9	Litigation and human rights	173
9.1	Introduction	173
9.2	The role of courts	174
9.2.1	Evolution: the rise of literature and legal action	174
9.2.2	The issues	177
9.3	Human rights and climate change	182
9.3.1	The evolution of human rights and climate change	182
9.3.2	The key issues	185
9.4	Inferences	189
<b>Part 4</b>	<b>Towards the future</b>	<b>191</b>
10	Climate governance: a steep learning curve!	193
10.1	Introduction	193
10.2	Framing	194
10.3	Learning	196
10.3.1	Unstructured problems call for learning	196
10.3.2	First-order learning: improving routines	197
10.3.3	Second-order learning: focusing on proximate drivers and impacts	199
10.3.4	Triple-order learning: focusing on underlying drivers and impacts	200
10.3.5	Implication: coherence where possible, leveraging elsewhere	202
10.4	Towards the rule of law at international level for climate governance	203
10.4.1	The rule of law as applicable to the project of climate governance	204
10.4.2	Global problems multiplying: scale of responsive governance increasing	206
10.4.3	Revisiting the fundamentals of society: towards predictability	206
10.4.4	Limits of existing governance and incremental innovation	207
10.4.5	Pre-emptive geo-political pragmatism	209
10.4.6	Towards constitutionalization	209
10.5	Towards the future	210
	<i>References</i>	212
	<i>Index</i>	241