

Environmentalism and Global International Society

Environmentalism and Global International Society reveals how environmental values and ideas have transformed the normative structure of international relations. Falkner argues that environmental stewardship has become a universally accepted fundamental norm, or primary institution, of global international society. He traces the history of environmentalism's rise from a loose set of ideas originating in the nineteenth century to a globally applicable norm in the twentieth century, which has come to redefine international legitimacy and states' global responsibilities. He shows how this deep norm change came about as a result of the interplay between state and non-state actors, and how the new environmental norm has interacted with the existing primary institutions of global international society, most notably sovereignty and territoriality, diplomacy, international law, and the market. This book shifts the attention from the presentist focus in the study of global environmental politics to the *longue durée* of global norm change in the greening of international relations.

ROBERT FALKNER is an associate professor of International Relations and the Research Director of the Grantham Research Institute on Climate Change and the Environment, at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). He has published widely on global environmental politics and international political economy, including *The Handbook of Global Climate and Environment Policy* (2016) and *Business Power and Conflict in International Environmental Politics* (2008).

Cambridge Studies in International Relations: 156

Environmentalism and Global International Society

EDITORS

Evelyn Goh
 Christian Reus-Smit
 Nicholas J. Wheeler

EDITORIAL BOARD

Jacqueline Best, Karin Fierke, William Grimes, Yuen Foong Khong,
 Andrew Kydd, Lily Ling, Andrew Linklater, Nicola Phillips, Elizabeth
 Shakman Hurd, Jacque True, Leslie Vinjamuri, Alexander Wendt

Cambridge Studies in International Relations is a joint initiative of Cambridge University Press and the British International Studies Association (BISA). The series aims to publish the best new scholarship in international studies, irrespective of subject matter, methodological approach or theoretical perspective. The series seeks to bring the latest theoretical work in International Relations to bear on the most important problems and issues in global politics.

- 156 *Robert Falkner*
Environmentalism and Global International Society
- 155 *David Traven*
Law and Sentiment in International Politics
 Ethics, Emotions, and the Evolution of the Laws of War
- 154 *Allison Carnegie and Austin Carson*
Secrets in Global Governance
 Disclosure Dilemmas and the Challenge of International Cooperation
- 153 *Lora Anne Viola*
The Closure of the International System
 How Institutions Create Political Equalities and Hierarchies

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-83301-1 — Environmentalism and Global International Society
Robert Falkner
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Environmentalism and Global International Society

Robert Falkner

London School of Economics and Political Science



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-83301-1 — Environmentalism and Global International Society
Robert Falkner
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India
79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

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/9781108833011
DOI: 10.1017/9781108966696

© Robert Falkner 2021

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 2021

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

ISBN 978-1-108-83301-1 Hardback

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

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-83301-1 — Environmentalism and Global International Society
Robert Falkner
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

To Kishwer and Sophia

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-83301-1 — Environmentalism and Global International Society
Robert Falkner
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	page ix
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xii
1 Introduction: The Greening of Global International Society	1
Part I Theory	13
2 English School Theory and Global Environmental Politics	15
3 The Idea of Environmentalism	45
Part II History	81
4 The Origins of Global Environmentalism	83
5 The Emergence of Environmental Stewardship as a Primary Institution	104
6 The Globalisation of Environmental Stewardship	128
7 Environmental Stewardship between Consolidation and Contestation	161
Part III Analytical Perspectives	195
8 Solidarist Ambition	197
9 Pluralist Constraints	225
10 World Society to the Rescue?	250

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-83301-1 — Environmentalism and Global International Society
Robert Falkner
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

viii	Contents	
	Part IV Conclusions	279
11	Conclusions: International Relations in the Anthropocene	281
	<i>References</i>	299
	<i>Index</i>	340

Acknowledgements

Most academic work is a collective effort, so it is only right to start with an acknowledgement of the support and encouragement that I received from colleagues and friends during the writing of this book.

Andrew Hurrell, my doctoral supervisor at Oxford University, first introduced me to English School (ES) theory in the 1990s, and the conversations I had with him back then still resonate with me. Little did he (or I, for that matter) anticipate at the time that I might end up writing an ES book on the rise of environmentalism – after all, my doctoral research was focused on the international political economy of the global environment. But such is the power of ideas, good ideas, that they linger in your mind and spark new thoughts at unexpected moments. I am grateful for all the advice, inspiration and support that Andy has provided throughout all these years.

My second introduction to the English School came many years later, after I had joined the Department of International Relations at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). Working alongside Barry Buzan, including as associate editor (with Barry and Kim Hutchings) of the *European Journal of International Relations*, I came to appreciate Barry's critical role in the 'reconvening' of the English School. His 2004 book *From International to World Society?* sparked in me a renewed interest in ES theory and influenced my thinking about long-term normative change in international relations. In recent years, I have had the fortune of working with Barry on several projects in which we explore the fluctuating fortunes of certain fundamental norms in international society. This collaboration has been enlightening and fun in equal measure. I have learnt a great deal from Barry (including mind mapping) and suspect that I shall never be able to repay my intellectual debt to him.

There are many colleagues and friends who I have had the benefit of working with over the years and who have helped me develop the ideas that went into this book project, through joint research projects or publications, or simply in conversations in and around seminar rooms.

x Acknowledgements

I would like to thank, in particular, Ken Abbott, Helmut Anheier, Alina Averchenkova, Steven Bernstein, Frank Biermann, Sander Chan, Jeff Chwioroth, Jennifer Clapp, Mick Cox, Peter Dauvergne, Robyn Eckersley, Sam Fankhauser, Fergus Green, Aarti Gupta, Tom Hale, Veerle Heyvaert, Kathy Hochstetler, Matt Hoffmann, Bob Keohane, Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, Markus Lederer, Michael Mason, James Morrison, Pete Newell, Joana Setzer, Henry Shue, Hannes Stephan, Hidemi Suganami, Stacy VanDeveer, Leslie Vinjamuri, David Vogel, John Vogler, Andrew Walter, Peter Wilson and Steve Woolcock. I am also grateful to Barry Buzan for commenting on a first full draft of the book. I fear I may have left out some but hope they will forgive me.

I would like to thank the following institutions for giving me an opportunity to present some of the arguments from this book project: Cardiff University, the Grantham Research Institute on Climate Change and the Environment and the International Relations department at LSE, the Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy at Toronto University, Oxford University, Reading University and the 2017 Annual Convention of the International Studies Association in Baltimore.

I owe two institutions a special debt for their support: the International Relations department at LSE, both for material support and a period of sabbatical leave to get me started on this project, and the Grantham Research Institute on Climate Change and the Environment, which I joined in 2017 as its research director and where I was able to complete the book.

I am grateful to the wonderful cohort of PhD students that I have had the fortune of supervising at LSE: Christopher Wright, Carola Kantz, Jonas Meckling, Nico Jaspers, Richard Campanaro, Michael Bloomfield, Kai Monheim, Robyn Klingler-Vidra, Philip Schleifer and Marian Feist, and now Carlotta Clivio, Eunjeong Park and Katharina Kuhn. PhD supervision should be a two-way street, and time and again I've come away deeply enriched by the experience of working with so many gifted young scholars.

Special thanks go to two anonymous reviewers and the editors of the Cambridge Studies in International Relations, Evelyn Goh, Christian Reus-Smit and Nicholas Wheeler, for their helpful and constructive comments on the proposal and manuscript. Thanks are also due to John Haslam and his team at Cambridge University Press for steering me so ably through the publication process.

Since this is a book about expanding humanity's moral horizon to the non-human environment, I hope I might be forgiven for thanking at least some of the animals and landscapes, wild and cultivated, that have provided me with inspiration and solace during the writing process:

Acknowledgements

xi

Bavaria's Wörthsee, the olive groves of Umbria, Brompton Cemetery, Fuji the rescue cat, and the orangutans of Sabah's Danum Valley. It is one of the peculiarities of human psychology that we often only know the true value of something when it's lost, and the ecological costs of this psychological disposition are all too evident from our destructive relationship with the natural environment. For all the material prosperity that humanity aspires to, let us not forget that we will always need Thoreau's 'tonic of wildness', the sense of being part of a larger community of living beings and inanimate objects. We owe this community a duty of care.

Finally, my greatest debt is to my family, Kishwer and Sophia, for their unwavering support, patience and above all love. I dedicate the book to both of them.

Abbreviations

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASPCA	American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals
CAN	Climate Action Network
CBD	Convention on Biological Diversity
CBDR	common but differentiated responsibilities
CBDR-RC	common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities
CERES	Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies
CITES	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species
CLRTAP	Convention on Long-range Transboundary Air Pollution
COP	Conference of the Parties
CSD	Commission on Sustainable Development
ECA	export credit agency
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
EEC	European Economic Community
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
ES	English School
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
FSC	Forest Stewardship Council
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GCF	Green Climate Fund
GDP	gross domestic product
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GEF	Global Environment Facility
GEP	global environmental politics
GHG	greenhouse gas
GIS	global international society

List of Abbreviations

xiii

GM	genetically modified
GMO	genetically modified organism
GONGO	governmental and non-governmental organisation
GPM	great power management
GRI	Global Reporting Initiative
ICBP	International Council for Bird Protection
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICRW	International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling
IFC	International Finance Corporation
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
INGO	international non-governmental organisation
IOPN	International Office for the Protection of Nature
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IR	International Relations
ISO	International Organization for Standardization
ITCPN	International Technical Conference on the Protection of Nature
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources
IUPN	International Union for the Protection of Nature
IWC	International Whaling Commission
MARPOL	International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution from Ships
MDB	multilateral development bank
MEA	multilateral environmental agreement
MNC	multinational corporation
MPA	marine protected area
NAAEC	North American Agreement on Environmental Cooperation
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NASA	National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NEPA	National Environmental Policy Act
NGFS	Network of Central Banks and Supervisors for Greening the Financial System
NGO	non-governmental organisation
ODS	ozone-depleting substances
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OEEC	Organisation for European Economic Co-operation

xiv List of Abbreviations

OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PCBs	polychlorinated biphenyls
POPs	persistent organic pollutants
PPP	public–private partnership
PPP	polluter pays principle
PRI	Principles for Responsible Investment Initiative
RSPB	Royal Society for the Protection of Birds
RSPCA	Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals
RTA	regional trade agreement
SAICM	Strategic Approach to International Chemicals Management
SBSTTA	Subsidiary Body on Scientific, Technical and Technological Advice
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SPNR	Society for the Promotion of Nature Reserves
SPWFE	Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire
TCFD	Task Force on Climate-related Financial Disclosures
UN	United Nations
UNCCD	United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNCHE	United Nations Conference on the Human Environment
UNCSD	United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development
UNECE	United Nations Economic Commission for Europe
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCCUR	United Nations Scientific Conference on the Conservation and Utilization of Resources
WCS	World Conservation Strategy
WSSD	World Summit on Sustainable Development
WTO	World Trade Organization
WWF	World Wildlife Fund (until 1986), World Wide Fund for Nature (thereafter)