

# Global Climate Governance Beyond 2012

Architecture, Agency, and Adaptation

Frank Biermann  
IVM, VU University Amsterdam

**ADAM**

Adaptation and Mitigation Strategies  
Supporting European Climate Policy



EDITED BY  
FRANK BIERMANN,  
PHILIPP PATTBURG AND FARIBORZ ZELLI

## Global Climate Governance Beyond 2012

Architecture, Agency and Adaptation



CORBIS OUTLINE

## Key research interest:

- Developing and assessing options for global climate governance in a long-term perspective.
- Building on current negotiations while researching underlying core dilemmas.
- Combining concrete policy advice with fundamental social science analysis.

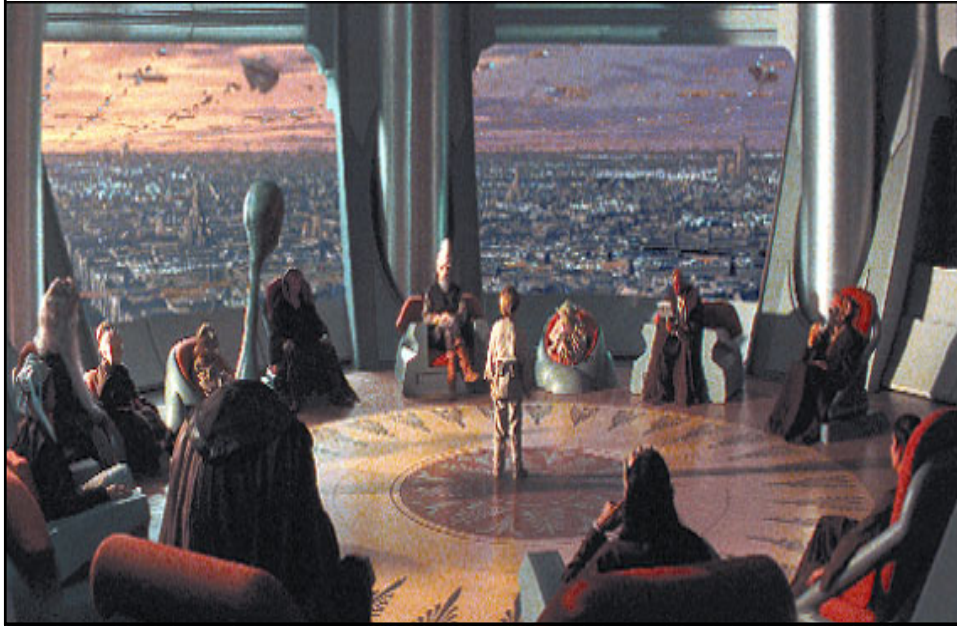
**ADAM**  
Adaptation and Mitigation Strategies  
Supporting European Climate Policy



## Long-term Climate Governance: Where we come from ...



.... But where do we go to?



# The Research Team

VU University **Amsterdam**, Institute for Environmental Studies

*F. Biermann, P. Pattberg, H. van Asselt*

**Tyndall** Centre, U East Anglia

*F. Zelli et al.*

**Potsdam** Institute for Climate Impact Research

*O. Edenhofer, C. Flachland et al.*

**Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency**

*A. Hof, den Elzen et al.*

**TERI** - The Energy and Resources Institute

*N. Goel et al.*

Center for International Climate and Environmental Research – **Oslo**

*G. Eskeland et al.*

**Lund** University

*J. Striiple, K. Bäckstrand*

**Centre for European Policy Studies**

*C. Egenhofer et al.*

**ADAM**  
Adaptation and Mitigation Strategies  
Supporting European Climate Policy

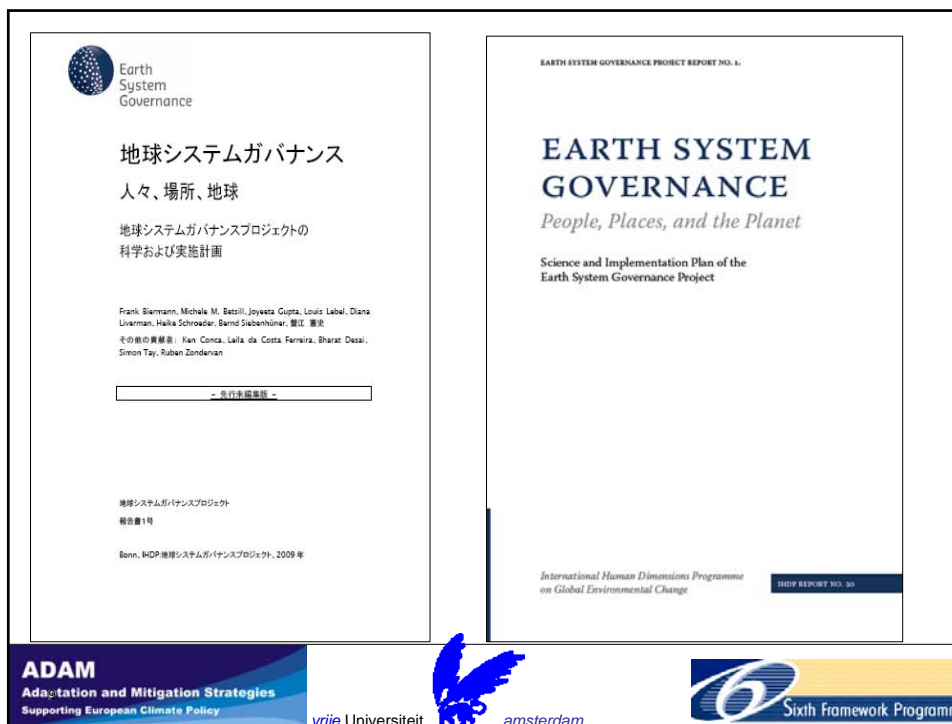


## Three Research Domains:

- 1. Architecture:** What architectures of long-term climate governance are likely to be most effective?
- 2. Agency:** What is the relevance of non-state actors in a long-term climate governance system (including the role of market-based and private mechanisms)?
- 3. Adaptiveness:** What mechanisms of global adaptation governance are likely to be most effective?

**ADAM**  
Adaptation and Mitigation Strategies  
Supporting European Climate Policy



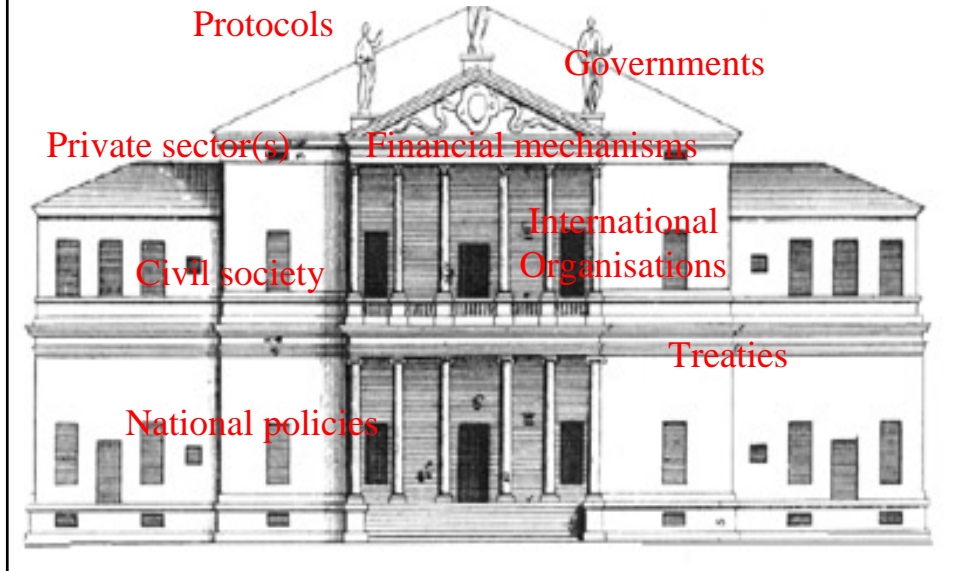


## Three Assessment Methods:

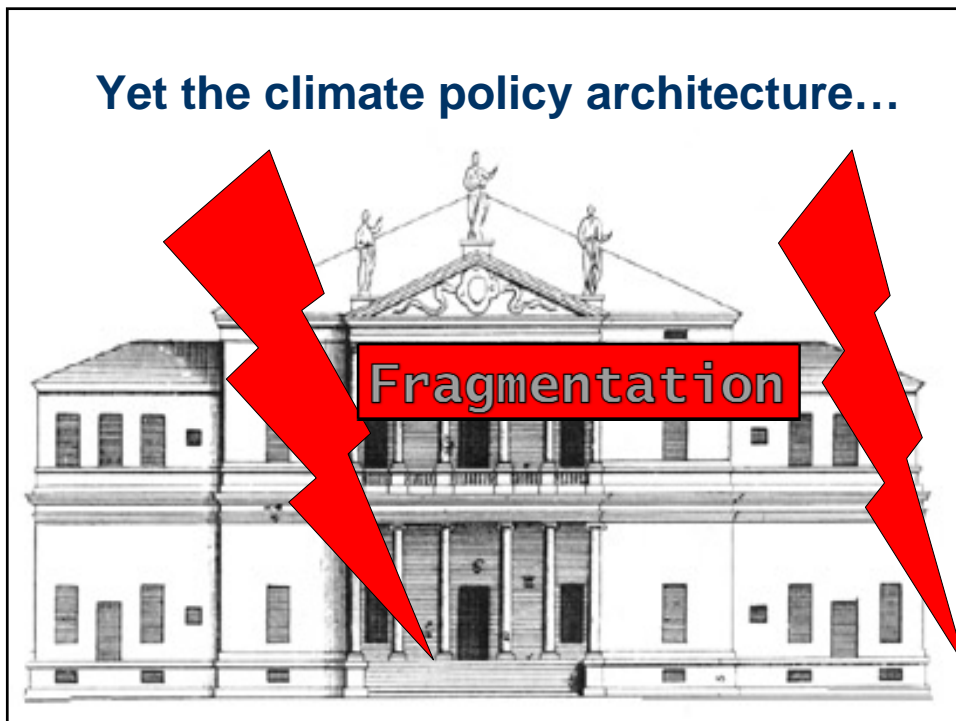
- 1. Policy Analysis** – legal, political and institutional analysis
- 2. Modelling** – e.g., based on the FAIR or REMIND models
- 3. Participatory Methods:** Workshops
  1. With trade community, on architecture
  2. With finance community, on agency/CDM
  3. With development community, on adaptation
  4. With decision-makers, in Brussels



## First Research Domain: Architecture

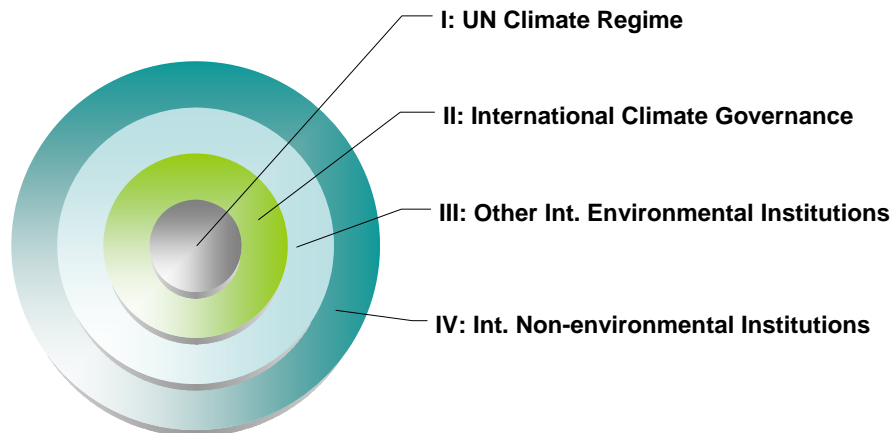


Yet the climate policy architecture...





# Spheres of Fragmentation



## Research Questions

1. What are the costs, or benefits, of different types of fragmentation?
2. What are political and legal solutions to emerging problems?

## Advantages of Fragmentation:

1. Small-n agreements may be faster to negotiate
2. Small-n agreements may be easier to implement
3. Small-n agreements may be more progressive
4. Fragmentation allows for side payments (bilateral deals)
5. Fragmentation helps integration of nonstate actors
6. Fragmentation helps innovation through competition
7. Circumventing negotiation stalemates

## Disadvantages of Fragmentation:

1. Serves particular interests
2. Increases bargaining power of larger countries
3. Favours short-term orientation
4. Undermines momentum for large-n deals
5. Reduces options for package deals
6. Complicates other inter-linkages
7. “Regulatory chaos” with no clear signals
8. Increases global negotiation costs



## Overall conclusion here...

- Increasing fragmentation reduces effectiveness of the overall governance architecture.
- *Negotiators should strive to minimise fragmentation by supporting a stable multilateral (or even “universal”) governance architecture.*

### The Fragmentation of Global Governance Architectures: A Framework for Analysis

Frank Biemann, Philipp Pattberg, Haro van Asselt, and  
Fonborz Zelli<sup>1</sup>

#### Introduction

Most research on global governance has focused either on theoretical accounts of the overall phenomenon or on empirical studies of distinct institutions to solve particular governance challenges. Only very recently have scholars begun to investigate the middle level, that is, larger systems of institutions and governance mechanisms in particular areas of world politics, which are sometimes referred to as regime complexes, clusters, or networks.<sup>2</sup> In this article, we conceive of such clusters of norms, principles, regimes and other institutions as the “governance architecture” of an issue area.<sup>3</sup> We focus our analysis on one aspect of global governance architectures that, we argue, is turning into a major source of concern for observers and policy-makers alike: the “fragmentation” of governance in important issue areas of world politics. Our investigation is driven by an apparent lack of consensus in the academic literature on the consequences of fragmentation. In the different strands of academic research that we outline in this article, we find different predictions that range from a positive, affirmative assessment of fragmentation to a rather negative one.

A key example is global climate governance, where the advantages and dis-

1. For valuable comments on previous versions of this research, we thank Steinar Andresen, Marcel Berk, Daniel Rodanovsky, Chandrashekar Dasgupta, Dagmar Droogema, Christian Flachland, Nitir Guel, Anri Gupta, Alex Haxelime, Andries Hof, Milie Hulme, Willem Thomas van Ierland, Norichika Kanie, Bo Kjellén, Eric Massey, Benito Müller, Lars Müller, Henry Neufeldt, Sebastian Oberhür, Kate O’Neill, Youba Sokona, Johannes Stripple, Simon Tay, Michael Wig, Iesworth, and Oran R. Young, as well as the three anonymous reviewers of GEP. This research was part of the European research program “Adaptation and Mitigation Strategies Supporting European Climate Policy” (ADAM Project). The ADAM Project lasted from 2006 through 2009 and was funded by the European Commission under its sixth framework research program (Global Change and Ecosystem Priority; contract no. 018476).

## More research on architecture

- “The consequences of a fragmented climate governance architecture: a policy appraisal”
- “Environmental effectiveness and economic consequences of fragmented versus universal regimes: what can we learn from model studies?”
- “Developing the international carbon market beyond 2012”
- “The overlap between the UN climate regime and the World Trade Organization: lessons for climate governance beyond 2012”
- “An architecture for long-term climate change North-South cooperation based on equity and common but differentiated responsibilities”
- “Shaping the architecture of future climate governance: perspectives from the South”

**ADAM**  
Adaptation and Mitigation Strategies  
Supporting European Climate Policy



## Second Research Domain: Agency Beyond the State



## Example:

### Public-private partnerships as solution?

Some argue that partnerships are an innovative form of governance that addresses deficits of inter-state politics, such as

- Regulatory deficit
- Implementation deficit
- Participation deficits

Others see it as a problematic form of governance that

- Privileges more powerful actors, in particular “the North” and “big business”
- Consolidates the privatization of governance
- Reinforces dominant neo-liberal modes of globalization
- Lacks accountability

## Demand or supply-driven?

In theory, partnerships fulfill implementation needs especially of developing countries.

In practice, most partnerships are not initiated by countries, but rather by

- international organisations (29%) and
- large transnational nongovernmental organisations (24%)
- OECD countries (22%)

## By and large....

- **Regulatory deficit** – partnerships are *not* predominantly active in areas where regulation is weak
- **Implementation deficit** – partnerships are often underfinanced, with often few observable effects. Many appear to be nonexistent.
- **Participation deficit** – many partnerships appear to reflect existing constellations of power and engagement. There is no predominant role of otherwise marginalised actors.

## More research on agency

- *Agency in global climate governance: setting the stage*
- *The role and relevance of networked climate governance*
- *Carbon market governance beyond the public-private divide*
- *A staged sectoral approach for climate mitigation*
- *Technological change and the role of non-state actors*

## Third Research Domain: Adaptation



**ADAM**  
Adaptation and Mitigation Strategies  
Supporting European Climate Policy



## Example: Protecting Climate Refugees



**ADAM**  
Adaptation and Mitigation Strategies  
Supporting European Climate Policy



## Climate refugees are defined here....

*.... People who have to leave their habitat, immediately or in the near future, because of sudden or gradual alterations in their natural environment related to at least one of three impacts of climate change: sea-level rise, extreme weather events, and drought and water scarcity.*

## Predictions and presumptions

- 50 million in 2010 according to UN climate secretariat
- 200-250 million by 2050 according to Myers
- “Hundreds of millions” according to Stern Report “even though not tested”
- 300 million flooded each year by 3-4 degree temp incr.
- 1 billion according to Christian Aid
- 12 million from Egypt by 2050
- 250 million at high risk in Ganges Brahmaputra
- Etc.





## The Current System – the UNHCR

- The 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees – and the UNHCR – protect individual refugees who flee their country because of state-led persecution.  
.... not per se climate refugees
- Shall the Geneva Convention be amended?
  - Political feasibility uncertain
  - Effectiveness doubtful given character of UNHCR
  - Impact on existing political refugees possibly negative

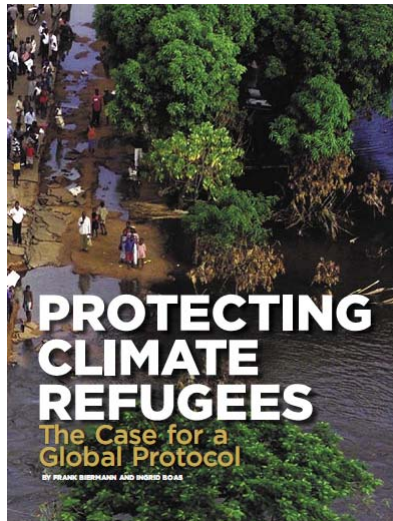
## Governing the Future Climate Refugee Crisis

Three questions need to be addressed:

1. What are the core governance principles?
2. What is the best institutional and organisational setting?
3. Who will pay the bill?

# Possible Solution...

- Legally binding agreement under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change:  
**Protocol on Recognition, Protection, and Resettlement of Climate Refugees**
- The agreement would provide for:
  - Decision-making procedure on determination of local populations affected by severe climate change damages (e.g., islands, low-lying regions)
  - Decision-making procedure on international cooperation, including funding
  - Respect of national sovereignty



## Preparing for a Warmer World: Towards a Global Governance System to Protect Climate Refugees

Frank Biermann and Ingrid Boas

### Introduction

The need to mitigate climate change has dominated the debate on global environmental governance until very recently. It is now evident that mitigation efforts have been too little and too late. Climate change is a reality of world politics in the twenty-first century. This reality requires a new, additional focus in both academic research and policy planning: how can we build over the course of the next decades systems of global governance that will cope with the global impacts of climate change? What institutions are in need of redesign and strengthening? To what extent, and in what areas, do we need to create new institutions and governance mechanisms from scratch?

Not much policy research on these questions is available.<sup>1</sup> In light of the most recent scientific findings, which indicate possibly accelerating climatic change, there is thus an urgent need for a new academic research program on what we propose to call "global adaptation governance." Global adaptation governance will affect many areas of world politics, including many core institutions and organizations of current global governance. The need to adapt to climate change will influence, for example, the structure of global food regimes and the work of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), global health governance and the agenda of the World Health Organization (WHO).

1. This research was funded by the European Commission (Global Change and European Priority of the Sixth Framework Research Programme, Integrated Project "Adaptation and Mitigation Strategies Supporting European Climate Policy" (ADAM Project), Contract No. 018478). For valuable suggestions and comments, we are grateful to: Hans van den Brink, Hans Kees Dijkwerf, Marc Cougle, Mike Hulme, Henry Nau, Robert Kagan, Ken O'Neil, Philip Poff, Peter Poff, and the anonymous referees of *OS*. In addition, Frank Biermann wishes to thank The Energy and Resources Institute, New Delhi, for generous hospitality during a research visit in September and October 2007. More credit for his research for the article goes to: Ingrid Boas, who contributed to the article on the effects of the Chinese budgetary reform, a new issue he set up by the Global Governance Project, a joint program of the European Research Infrastructure 018478 (www.govip.org/eng/018478).

2. See Biermann 2007 and Biermann and Poffberg 2004 for reviews of global environmental governance research.

# More research on adaptation

- “Global adaptation governance: setting the stage”
- “Costs, benefits and interlinkages between adaptation and mitigation”
- “Global adaptation governance: the case of protecting climate refugees”
- “Global adaptation governance beyond 2012: developing country perspectives”
- “Shaping future adaptation governance: perspectives from the poorest of the poor”

**ADAM**  
Adaptation and Mitigation Strategies  
Supporting European Climate Policy



EDITED BY  
FRANK BIERMANN,  
PHILIPP PATTBURG AND FARIBORZ ZELLI

## Global Climate Governance Beyond 2012

Architecture, Agency and Adaptation

CAMBRIDGE

20% discount with this flyer  
Expires 1 June 2010