

Yale

New Challenges to International Cooperation: Automation and Climate Change

Carlos Felipe Balcazar

MacMillan Center

December, 2023

Last class: international cooperation for climate change policy

- ▶ Climate change is a global public good - similar problems.
- ▶ Agreements are often poorly designed (veto players?).
- ▶ Depth/participation needs indep. investigators and issue bundling.
- ▶ Domestic support is important for generating int' cooperation.
- ▶ PTROs + PPPs may be needed.

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- ▶ Generates unintended consequences, may undermine progress.

Transnational movements can exert influence



- ▶ Through seeking participation in transnational governance.
 - ▶ Womens groups; indigenous groups; waste pickers, etc.
- ▶ Demand for rights; extension of existing rights.
- ▶ Existence of IOs, IGOs, PTROs, can present opportunities.
 - ▶ Demonstrations; boycotts - but can be offset by greenwashing.
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Regime Rights Typology

Regime Rights Type	Function	Relevant Concepts in the Literature
Recognition	Diffuse, codify and institutionalize norms that link entitlements or protections to the group's identity	Norm institutionalization (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998)
Representation	Enhance the institutional inclusion, participation and/or representation of particular groups in regime politics	Procedural gains (Betsill and Correl 2008) Global citizenship (Muetzelfeldt and Smith 2002)
Capability	Enhance the capability to act upon representation rights, overcoming various forms of inequality	Citizenship (Somers 2008) Capabilities (Sen 2001; Nussbaum 2001)
Extended rights	Establish international mechanisms that uphold rights at the local, state and/or regional level	Boomerang effect (Keck and Sikkink 1998)

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Extended rights Moderate:

- The Green Climate Fund governing framework has sections on Safeguards and Accountability; however it is not clear how these will be interpreted and enforced.
- Implementing agencies for REDD+ have developed safeguards requirements for national and local governments; however, there are various shortcomings.
- REDD+ safeguards were established in the climate regime; however, they are weakly worded and without robust requirements.
- The Cancun agreements say that REDD+ should ensure "...this decision are not used for the conversion of natural forests."⁸⁴ However, this text is weakly worded and without accountability measures.
- The CDM Executive Board revised its baseline methodology to require that eligible projects don't reduce recycling.⁸⁵ However, there are currently no criteria to validate that CDM waste projects meet this requirement, and several other demands of GAWA at the CDM were not met.
- Biofuels from peatlands were excluded from CDM eligibility, and nuclear power was not granted eligibility.

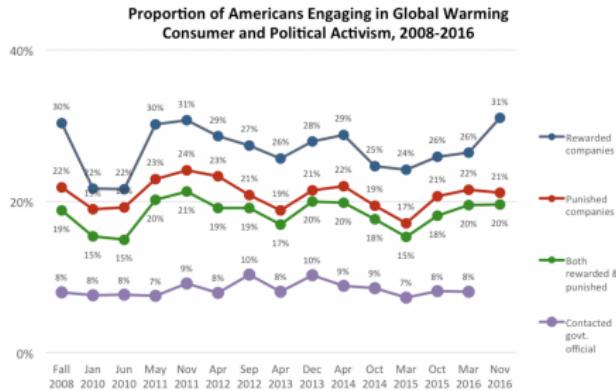
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The power of transnational movements

- ▶ Steer constituents towards (global) public goals.
- ▶ Extend the range of social networks as bases for activism.
- ▶ Generate broader movements (Face-to-face + virtual).
- ▶ Link specific targets outside local phenomena to the movement.
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Class exercise: What are the problems that transnational movements face?

1. Make groups of 2/3 people.
2. What could be the problems that transnational movements face to create an effective movement?
3. What are the obstacles that transnational movements may face to influence decisions?
4. 10 minutes.
 - ▶ Feel free to use the Internet.

reset

Transnational movements rarely emerge



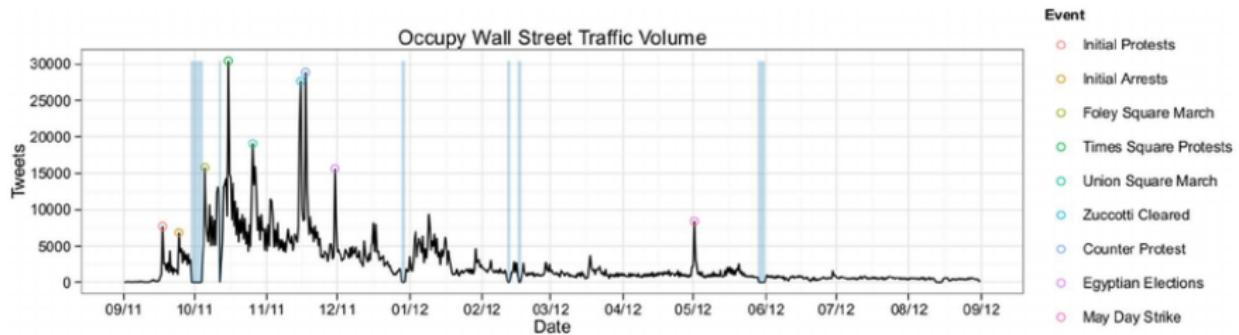
- ▶ Aggregation of preferences and freeriding.
- ▶ Focal points often needed for grassroots movements.
- ▶ Low survival without resources/methods to galvanize supporters.
- ▶ Legitimacy of the movement is necessary for survival.

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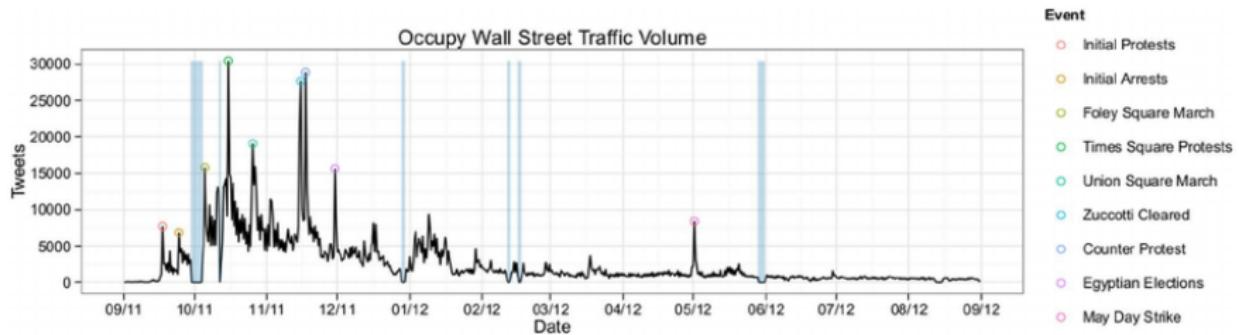
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- ▶ “Checkbook” supporters reduce widespread activism.
- ▶ Need for resources may lead to capture.
- ▶ Most militant activists are more likely to choose violence.

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Successful transnational movements

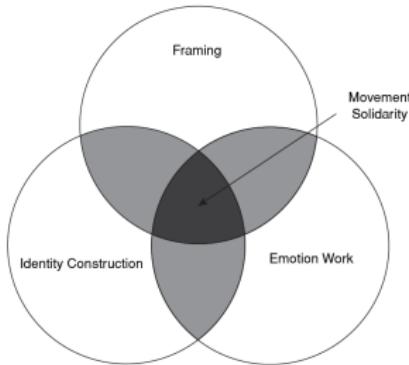


FIGURE 7.1. Components of Movement Solidarity

- ▶ Well-structured social networks.
- ▶ Identity/frames: Culturally resonant, action-oriented symbols.
- ▶ Timely: strong emotions and (often) one-issue ownership.
- ▶ Transparent: Organic movements that are not captured.
- ▶ Linking: similar actions/objectives across borders.

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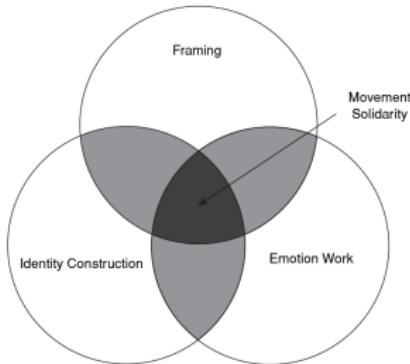


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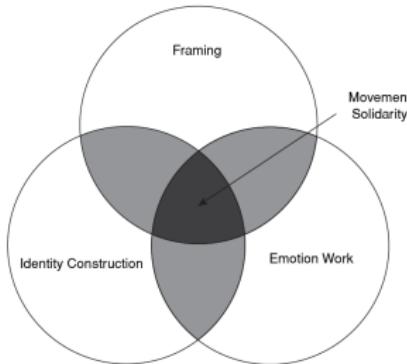


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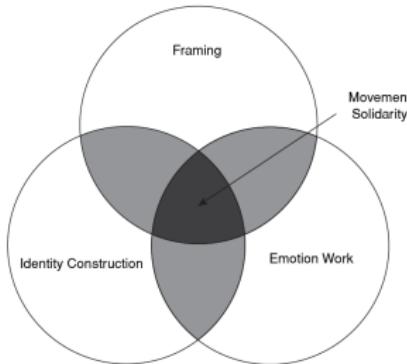


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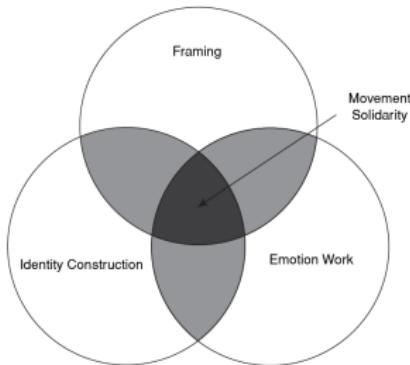


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Identity and frames



- ▶ Identify grievance(s) for aggregation of preferences.
- ▶ Ideology dignifies discontent, identifies a target for grievances.
- ▶ Embed concrete grievances within emotion-laden “packages.”
 - ▶ The cause is just, important and worth mobilizing for.
- ▶ Identity confers ownership of the issue to a group.

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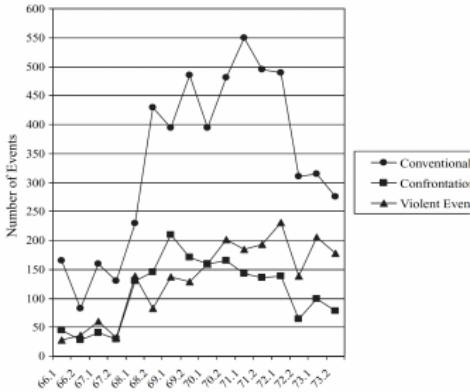


FIGURE 5.1. Italian Contention, 1966–1973. Source: Author's data.

- ▶ Three broad types: disruption, violence, and contained behavior.
- ▶ Violence are limited to small groups with few resources.
- ▶ Contained behavior builds routines ⇒ institutionalization.
- ▶ Disruption breaks with routine, disorients leites; innovation.
 - ▶ Can become stale and degenerate into violence.

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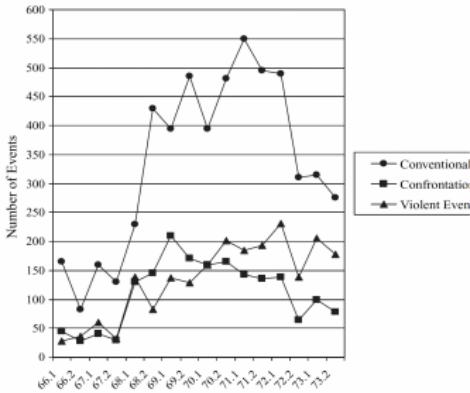


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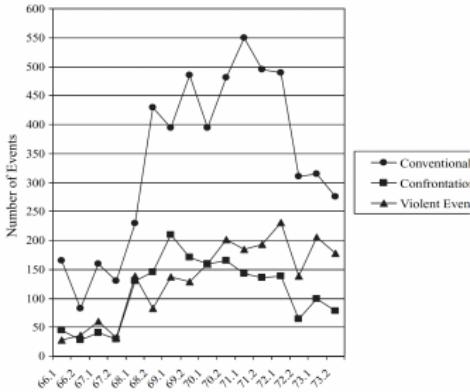


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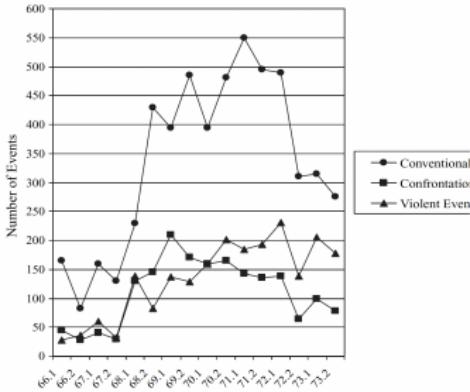


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The role of NGOs



- ▶ NGOs operate effectively; complement existing TGOs.
- ▶ If legitimate, can coordinate and mobilize resources and people.
 - ▶ May count already with identity and frames (e.g., green peace).
- ▶ Affected by relational pressure from their peers.
 - ▶ Competition and uncertain possibilities for cooperation.
- ▶ Forum-shopping; forum-linking.

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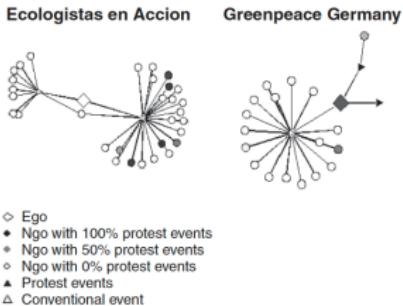


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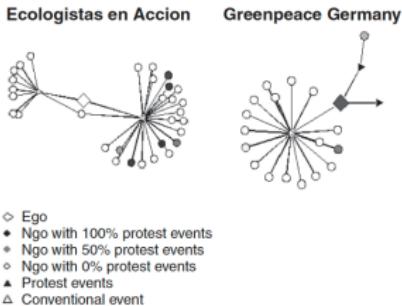


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Class exercise: Can NGOs address the collective action problems underlined?

1. Make groups of 2/3 people.
2. Does competition between NGOs helps or undermines their goals?
3. Can we be sure that NGOs may not be captured by special interests?
4. 10 minutes.
 - ▶ Feel free to use the Internet.

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Additional challenges for transnational climate movements

- ▶ Lack of awareness, concern or ideological divisions.
- ▶ Gridlock emerging from political divisions.
- ▶ Framing - e.g., global warming instead of climate shocks.
 - ▶ Are frames like divesting enough? Local activism enough?
- ▶ Union-driven mobilization on the issue has been small.

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Unintended (but equilibrium) consequences

- ▶ Race to the bottom: move to areas with weaker regulation.
- ▶ Top-down capture of transnational actors; low accountability.
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- ▶ Greenwashing in response to transnational movements.

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