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**Report on Stakeholder Mapping: Multi-level interaction of climate policy
stakeholders in the run-up to the 2015 agreement**

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Mobilizing and transferring knowledge on post-2012 climate policy implications

D2.1: Report on Stakeholder Mapping: **Multi-level interaction of climate policy stakeholders in the run-up to the 2015 agreement**

Project Coordinator: **JIN**

Work Package 2 Leader Organization: CEPS

Authors: Axel Michaelowa, Paula Castro, Chandreyee Bagchi,
Climate Strategies and University of Zurich

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PREFACE

POLIMP intends to facilitate a process to identify, for different policy and decision making levels, knowledge gaps about implications of possible directions of international and EU climate policies. The core objective is to cover these gaps with knowledge packages derived from a broad range of existing reports, research and climate policy decisions at, e.g., EU and UNFCCC levels. With these information packages, climate policy associated stakeholders will be better able to extract key policy conclusions. Through series of workshops these packages will be communicated with stakeholders and collect feedback. In addition, POLIMP will provide an overall, on-line platform for information exchange of a wider list of contemporary and future climate policy initiatives.

Knowledge gaps will be identified for a range priority issues related to climate policy making in consultation with stakeholders, but as a starting point for discussion the following three (categories of) issues are suggested by the POLIMP partners:

- ⤴ What would different possible international climate policy scenarios entail for EU society, business, Member States and EU as a whole, in the terms of economic, social, and environmental impacts looking especially at likely reactions and resulting political acceptability for different groups such as those impacted by job losses and reductions in welfare as well as potential gains?
- ⤴ How can EU stakeholders deliberate in an evidence based manner about the advantages and disadvantages of these different scenarios?
- ⤴ How can EU and EU stakeholders learn from design and implementation of climate policies worldwide as well as share the experience the EU has gained in designing and implementing climate friendly actions?

PROJECT PARTNERS

N°	Participant name	Short Name	Country code
CO1	Stichting Joint Implementation Network Stichting	JIN	NL
CB2	Centre for European Policy Studies	CEPS	BE
CB3	University of Piraeus Research Center	UPRC	GR
CB4	Universitaet Graz	UNI GRAZ	AT
CB5	Ecologic Institut gemeinnützige GmbH	ECOLOGIC	DE
CB6	Climate Strategies	Climate Strategies	GB
CB7	Fundacja Naukowa Instytut Badan Strukturalnych	IBS	PL



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The just released natural science part of the 5th Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change states with unprecedented boldness that “human influence on the climate system is clear” (IPCC 2013, p. 10). Human beings are responsible for growing greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere that lead to a temperature increase. Despite this scientific consensus, action to address global climate change has so far been insufficient. One of the main reasons for this insufficient response lies in the global and public good nature of climate change mitigation, and in the resulting complex net of governmental and non-governmental stakeholders with differing interests regarding climate policy. This report aims at providing a current map of the stakeholders involved in the international climate policy process, including both governmental actors at all decision-making levels (international, national, subnational and local), and non-governmental actors representing different sectors of the economy and civil society.

The report starts by briefly introducing the nature of the climate change problem and the historical development of international climate policy, before describing the main stakeholders involved in this policy process, including actors at the different governmental levels, actors within the EU, and non-governmental actors. It then discusses the main general drivers of country governments’ positions in the climate change negotiations, which lays the ground for the more detailed description of the evolution of government positions over time up to the current pre-Warsaw situation. The last section finally presents conclusions and a possible outlook for future negotiations.

Over the 20 years of international climate policy, a complex system of stakeholder interaction on multiple levels – the international, multilateral, national and subnational – has developed. Frequently, policy instruments for climate change mitigation are triggered by a cascade of decision-making. On each level, various interest groups try to influence decision-making. Despite all ups and downs of the negotiation process and the emergence of competing multilateral fora, however, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) has remained the pivot, and national governments remain the main implementers of climate policy. Still, other international organizations, such as the International Civil Aviation Organization, the International Maritime Organization and the Montreal Protocol have already been confronted with climate-relevant policy issues within their areas of work. In addition, less encompassing multilateral groups, such as the Major Economies Forum on Energy and Climate or the G 20 are increasingly discussing climate-related issues, although without leading to actual policy implementation yet. The EU, as a unique form of supranational institution, shows in a smaller setting how difficult it is to reach agreement on climate policy issues across countries driven by different interests, even if it has a stated goal of being a leader and a proactive global actor in climate protection. Multilateral financial institutions such as the World Bank have become important players as providers of climate finance, and even city governments have organized in transnational networks to try to combine efforts and share experiences in addressing climate change. Federal and other subnational units, in addition, serve as laboratories that experiment with new climate policy designs and that are sometimes more proactive than the central governments.

Within the UNFCCC negotiations, a wide range of stakeholders is involved actively and provides different types of inputs – from position papers to analytical support of delegations. Stakeholder participation and diversity has continuously increased over time, and now includes actors representing environmental, business, local government, indigenous peoples, research, trade union, gender-related,

youth-related and farmer organizations, in addition to several UN bodies and other intergovernmental actors.

In parallel to the increasingly complex set of involved actors, the two decades of UNFCCC negotiations have witnessed substantial changes in the positions of parties and, consequently, in the composition of the main negotiation coalitions, particularly among developing countries. Developing countries have become more and more differentiated with regards to several development and climate-related indicators, now including both countries with comparable (or even higher) development indicators as OECD members, and countries still dominated by subsistence and agriculture-based economies. As a result of this evolution, and of the failure of COP 15 in Copenhagen to bring about a new climate agreement, regional or special-interest subgroups of developing countries have started to become stronger and to defend positions that are distinctly different from those of the traditionally unified G 77. Even more recently, the Umbrella group of developed countries has practically disintegrated into countries that decided not to join a second commitment period under the Kyoto Protocol, those that did (Australia and Norway), and the former Soviet bloc.

It seems likely that this trend towards fragmentation of negotiation blocs and positions helps to pave the way to a new agreement that moves away from the Annex I – non-Annex I dichotomy of the 1990s to a continuum of differentiated engagement of all parties in terms of mitigation (and potentially other) commitments, although the most recent COP decisions of Cancun, Durban and Doha continued to apply a distinction between developed and developing countries. Of course, the overarching principles of the Convention will need to be respected, such as the concept of common but differentiated responsibilities. A future solution needs to incorporate these differences and deal with the equity and fairness question, and both progressive negotiators and experts external to the process have already made various proposals of how such a solution could look like. In addition, the balance of power between the different country coalitions, as well as the way in which the consensus decision-making rule under the UNFCCC is applied in the future, will also play an important role in whether and how a new agreement is reached.

Only a success, as pursued by the EU, in reaching a 2015 agreement covering all countries would complete the repair process that became necessary after the failure of the Copenhagen conference, but this essentially means a loss of one decade compared to the situation if Copenhagen had delivered a treaty. For this new agreement, there is a clear tendency towards a “pledge and review” mitigation policy, although it is unclear how it will generate the level of ambition needed to put the world on a 2°C target path. A failure of the 2015 process would put the focus on options outside of the UNFCCC. To date, these options have not really performed well.

1 International climate policy as a multi-level and multi-stakeholder process

1.1 Introduction and background to international climate policy

The just released natural science part of the 5th Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) states with unprecedented boldness that “human influence on the climate system is clear” (IPCC 2013, p. 10). Human beings are responsible for increasing greenhouse gas (GHG) concentrations in the atmosphere that lead to a temperature increase. Despite this scientific consensus, action to address global climate change has so far been insufficient. One of the main reasons for this insufficient response lies in the global and public good nature of climate change mitigation, and in the resulting complex net of governmental and non-governmental stakeholders with differing interests regarding climate policy. This report aims at providing a current map of the stakeholders involved in the international climate policy process, including both governmental actors at all decision-making levels (international, national, subnational and local), and non-governmental actors representing different sectors of the economy and civil society.

The report starts by briefly introducing the nature of the climate change problem and the historical development of international climate policy, before describing the main stakeholders involved in this policy process, including actors at the different governmental levels, actors within the EU, and non-governmental actors. Section 2 then discusses the main general drivers of country governments’ positions in the climate change negotiations, which lays the ground for the more detailed description of the evolution of government positions over time up to the current pre-Warsaw situation in section 3. The last section finally presents conclusions and a possible outlook for the coming negotiations.

As GHGs uniformly mix in the atmosphere regardless of the location of the emission, mitigation of anthropogenic climate change has the characteristics of a global public good: everyone benefits from the mitigation action implemented by others. While this is a challenge for international climate policy cooperation inasmuch as it can lead to “free rider” behavior, international cooperation also creates the chance of harnessing low-cost mitigation options across the world. This is different for adaptation to climate change, which is usually more specific to countries or regions and only in specific cases has the characteristics of a public good such as the development of drought-resistant crops. Some forms of adaptation are even entirely private goods, such as making one’s house storm-proof.

The global public good nature of climate change mitigation as well as the dependence of most economic activities on GHG emitting technologies makes mitigation policy a “wicked problem” that cannot be addressed by one government alone and thus requires international cooperation. This is furthermore complicated by the absence of an overarching disciplinarian or “world government”, which implies that countries have the sovereign right to join or reject international climate agreements. International cooperation, however, is only the trigger for mitigation policies on the national, subnational and local (e.g. city) level. Coordinated action at all levels of government is necessary in order to harness the most cost-effective options available. Given this multi-level nature of mitigation policies, a large number of stakeholders with differing characteristics is involved. These stakeholders include governments, the private sector and civil society.

With growing recognition of the severity of the climate change issue over the last 20 years an array of mitigation policies have been developed on all levels. They have been shaped by the interaction of the different levels, but clearly been driven by negotiations under the UN framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). A short account of the key events follows below (for a detailed assessment of the events until the Copenhagen conference see Gupta 2010, for an overview until COP 19 in Warsaw in French language IFDD 2013, and for a current account of the status quo of positions in the run up to Warsaw see POLIMP's D3.1 report).

With the recognition of the relevance of the climate change problem by two large international scientific conferences in Bellagio and Villach in the mid-1980s, UNEP and the WMO joined forces to set up the IPCC in 1988 in order to synthesize the world's scientific knowledge on climate change. In the same year, the Canadian government convened a conference in Toronto where representatives of governments for the first time discussed global GHG emission targets. When the IPCC's 1st Assessment Report in 1990 concluded that anthropogenic climate change was a serious risk, the UN convened an intergovernmental negotiation committee (INC) to draft an international treaty on climate change, which was to be opened for signature at the UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992.

During the INC process, many fault lines became visible that have persisted to this day. Non-OECD countries formed a coalition under the umbrella of the G 77, which developed the principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities" based on the idea that different countries have made different contributions to the climate change problem, will suffer differently from its consequences, and have different capabilities to act. The practical implication of this principle became that industrialized countries should embark on mitigation, while the other countries would be exempt. In the course of international climate negotiations until the mid 2000s, this principle was upheld. Also, among industrialized countries positions started to differentiate. While the EU proposed a harmonization of policies and legally binding emission targets, the US and Pacific OECD states as well as Russia formed a coalition arguing for a "pledge and review" process in which each country would define its mitigation commitment as it liked. The Framework Convention agreed in the run-up to Rio thus remained rather weak as it only defined a voluntary target for industrialized countries of stabilizing CO₂ emissions at 1990 levels by 2000. But it defined the ultimate aim of climate policy – to prevent dangerous anthropogenic climate change – and set up a process of national reporting of GHG emissions. Moreover, it contained embryonic possibilities for international cooperation on mitigation, which later led to the emergence of market mechanisms.

The UNFCCC was quickly ratified by a majority of countries and entered into force in 1994. At its first Conference of Parties (COP 1) in 1995, an unusual alliance between India (as leader of the 'Green Group' of 72 developing countries that excluded the oil-producing states) and the EU led to the decision to negotiate a protocol (or another legal instrument) to the UNFCCC (which then became the Kyoto Protocol) that would contain binding GHG emission reduction or limitation commitments by 1997 (IISD 1995). Several factors made it possible to agree on the Kyoto Protocol (KP). In 1995, the 2nd Assessment Report of the IPCC had stated that "the balance of evidence suggests a discernible human influence on global climate" which had led to a more accommodating stance by the US government at COP 2 in 1996. The US negotiators at 'Kyoto' also ignored a unanimous resolution by its Senate requiring developing country emission reduction commitments and Vice President Gore showed compromise spirit during the Kyoto negotiations in defining the numbers for industrialized country commitments. Moreover, the fact that Japan hosted the conference neutralized the Japanese tendency to prefer "pledge and review" type approaches. Another unusual alliance between Brazil and the US enabled agreement on an innovative market mechanism, the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM).

And finally, the skillful chairing of the conference by seasoned diplomat Raul Estrada was key in finding a compromise solution in the heated atmosphere of the final night.

The KP defined differentiated emissions commitments for industrialized countries for the period 2008-2012. Developing countries remained exempt from such emissions-related commitments but were allowed to generate emission credits through the CDM. The high ratification thresholds would almost have proven insurmountable: it took eight years to achieve the KP's entry into force. An attempt by the US government to make the KP palatable to US Congress failed when in 1998 the Argentinean willingness to take up an emission target found a hostile reception by other developing countries (Bouille and Girardin 2002). In November 2000, COP 6 in The Hague failed due to a row between the EU and the other industrialized countries regarding use of forests in the context of the Kyoto commitments. Less than three months later, newly elected US president Bush declared that the US would not ratify the KP (Kahn 2003). This shock led to a rallying of the countries interested in a success of international climate policy (inspired by the EU-troika). Compromises on the contentious issues relating to forestry, compliance and use of market mechanisms were agreed at a re-convened COP 6 bis in June 2001 and COP 7 in Marrakech in October/November 2001 agreed on a 250-page rulebook for implementation of the KP. This allowed to set up the institutions overseeing the market mechanisms as well as checking compliance with the commitments. Still, the Protocol did not enter into force until after 2004, when Russia ratified it in response to heavy pressure from the EU that threatened to block Russian accession to the WTO.

COP 11 in Montreal in 2005 (which also served as the first Meeting of the Parties to the Kyoto Protocol) opened the negotiations for the period after 2012, when the first commitment period of the KP would end. While the KP clearly contained the possibility to add further commitment periods, industrialized countries wanted a treaty that would engage developing countries in mitigation more than foreseen under the KP. It seemed that this path would be universally supported when COP 13 in Bali 2007 agreed on a "roadmap" that would lead to a new treaty by 2009. The decision to approach mitigation by developing countries in the form of voluntary "nationally appropriate mitigation actions" (NAMAs) that would be partially supported through finance and technology transfer from industrialized countries was seen as key breakthrough. In hindsight, Bali can be seen as high point of the universal approach to mitigation policy, also aided by the unprecedented attention to the climate change issue exemplified by the Nobel Peace Prize for the IPCC and Al Gore's documentary on climate change in the same year.

The eruption of the global financial crisis in 2008 led to a rapid decline of the salience of climate change. Despite a huge investment by the Danish hosts, COP 15 in Copenhagen 2009 turned out to be a disaster. Showing a lack of understanding of the traditional UNFCCC procedures, the Danish attempt to carefully lead the negotiation process by preparing its own text instead of facilitating the work of the parties angered developing countries and heads of state that were participating in hitherto unprecedented numbers (Meilstrup 2010). The emergence of the BASIC group of large advanced developing countries meant a geopolitical sea change, which eventually sidelined the EU. BASIC (Brazil, South Africa, India and China) and the US showed unwillingness to engage in legally binding emission reduction commitments and thus hammered out a political deal that eventually brought back the idea of "pledge and review", sweetened by promises of USD 30 billion of climate finance. But even that deal fell through in the final plenary due to opposition by a small ad-hoc alliance of some small island states that felt that the agreement was not ambitious enough with countries that objected to the nature of the process that led to the accord.

Since 2009, the UNFCCC negotiation process has essentially tried to heal the wounds opened in Copenhagen. COP 16 in Cancun 2010 managed to get approval of the principles underlying the

Copenhagen Accord and officially underwrote the target to limit global warming to less than 2°C from preindustrial levels. COP 17 in Durban agreed on a 2015 deadline for negotiation of an agreement covering all countries and defining commitments from 2020 onwards. COP 18 in Doha agreed on a 2nd commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol covering 2013-2020. However, key fault lines remain. Only Australia, the EU and some other European countries (Belarus, Kazakhstan, Liechtenstein, Monaco, Norway, Switzerland and the Ukraine) have taken up new commitments under the Kyoto Protocol. While many countries have made pledges under the Copenhagen Accord and the Cancun decisions, they are difficult to compare and leave a gap of 8-13 billion tCO₂eq. compared to the emissions path that would “likely” reach the 2° target. This gap has been growing over time (UNEP 2012). For the status of international negotiations to address the ambition gap, please see POLIMP report D3.1.

1.2 The multi-layer nature of decision-making

In line with the above-described multilevel nature of international climate policy, there has been a proliferation of institutions on various levels that deal with climate change issues. Figure 1 shows a range of these institutions as well as policy instruments defined by them.

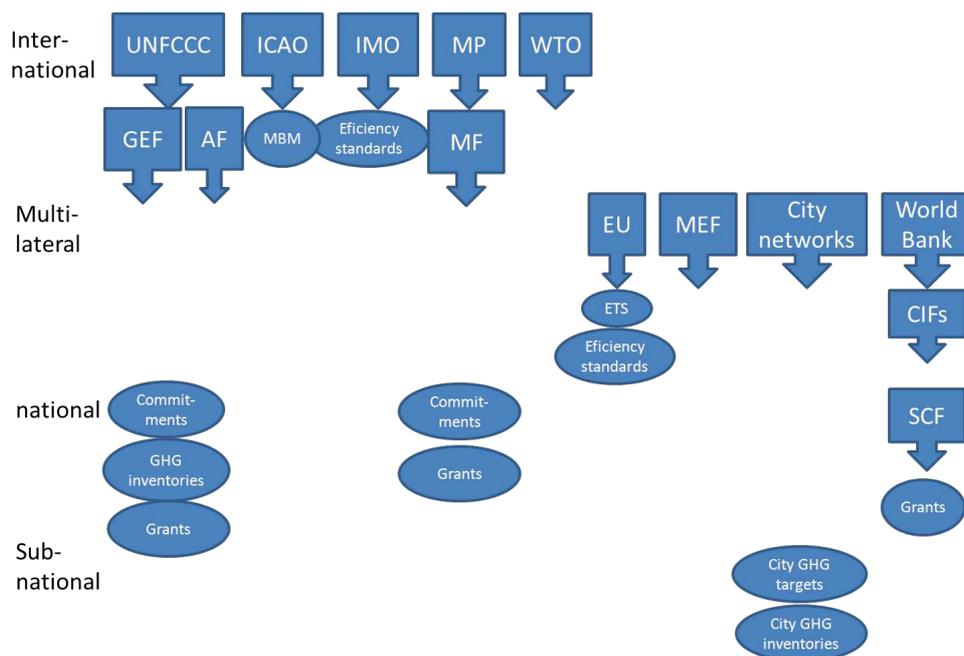


Figure 1. Multi-level institutional setting of climate policy

Notes: Arrows denote institutions, ovals show key policies/incentives introduced by these institutions. The list is not exhaustive. ICAO: International Civil Aviation Organization, IMO: International Maritime Organization, MP: Montreal Protocol, WTO: World Trade Organization

GEF: Global Environment Facility, AF: Adaptation Fund, MBM: market-based mechanism, MF: Multilateral Fund

MEF: Major Economies Forum

ETS: Emissions trading scheme, CIFs: Climate Investment Funds, SCF: Spanish Climate Fund

Institutions at the international level outside the UNFCCC dealing with climate change include other UN organizations, for example those overseeing international transport, ozone-depleting substances and

international trade. Emissions from international transport fuels had been exempt from any commitments under the KP. Due to the slow action of ICAO and IMO, the EU included international air transport in its emissions trading system from 2012 onwards, which led to diplomatic conflicts with the US and advanced developing countries. This EU action however also drove action by ICAO, which in its assembly in October 2013 agreed to develop a market-based mechanism covering air traffic emissions by 2016 which would enter into force from 2020. IMO already in 2011 had introduced mandatory energy efficiency standards for new ships.

Under the Montreal Protocol (MP), phase-out schedules for replacement substances of the banned ozone-depleting refrigerants have been agreed. The MP Multilateral Fund finances phase-out activities in developing countries. Currently, negotiations about phase-out of HFCs – a replacement refrigerant that does not damage the ozone layer but is a strong GHG – are being undertaken. It is still not decided whether these negotiations should be continued under the MP or shifted to the UNFCCC.

The WTO has relevance for mitigation policies that could be seen as trade barriers. So far, the WTO has not taken up any dispute relating to mitigation policies; but it is feared that such a dispute may lead to decisions that could severely limit the ability of states to unilaterally introduce mitigation policy instruments.

It should be noted that except for the MP, compliance systems of the international institutions are rather weak.

A number of multilateral institutions has emerged that deal with climate policy issues. The EU has probably the most relevant impact and will thus be discussed separately below. Due to multiplying complaints about the ineffectiveness of the complex UNFCCC process, a number of alternative approaches have been proposed. For example, the Major Economies Forum on Energy and Climate (MEF) was set up in 2007 by the Bush administration as the “Major Economies Meetings” and covers Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, the EU, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Russia, South Africa, South Korea, the UK, and the US and thus about 80% of global emissions. It however only serves as venue for discussion. The G 20 (which beyond the MEF members includes Argentina, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey) has stressed the need to phase out fossil fuel subsidies, but again has not led to implementation of specific policies. Transnational city networks such as ICLEI (formerly the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives, now known as Local Governments for Sustainability) have gained importance but their impact with regards to emissions mitigation on the urban level has been mixed (Sippel 2011). Multilateral financial institutions like the World Bank play a key role in setting up both multilateral and bilateral climate finance vehicles.

National level institutions remain critical in the context of mitigation policies, especially given that there is no world government that can enforce compliance with international agreements. While some states, especially “coordinated market economies” see mitigation policies as part of a green economy that could provide economic benefits in the long run, “liberal market economies”, as well as autocratic systems are much less likely to engage in mitigation policies (Lachapelle and Paterson 2013). In a number of countries, climate policy issues have already led to the fall of governments. The most conspicuous case is Australia where in 2007 opposition leader Kevin Rudd won the election on a platform that called for ratification of the KP that previously had been blocked by the government. Rudd’s administration ratified the KP but then failed to implement an emissions trading system, which led to his replacement by Julia Gillard who promised not to introduce a carbon tax. This promise led to her party losing the election in 2013, as opposition leader Tony Abbott ran his campaign on the “carbon tax lie” and vowed to abolish the recently introduced carbon pricing scheme as soon as possible. Generally there is an increasing

polarization of political parties with regards to climate policy, with conservative parties increasingly opposing it. This trend was spearheaded in the US where the Republican Party is now so opposed to any climate policy that even state governors with high stature who implemented serious mitigation policies in their states had to “recant” and state that they no longer believed in climate change as a relevant issue.

The failure of national governments to effectively address climate change has several explanations. First, climate change is a very complex, all-encompassing problem that affects many aspects of life and the economy. Thus, a country’s economic, industrial and energetic structure critically influences its ability to address its domestic drivers of climate change in a cost-effective manner. In line with this, traditional heavy industries in many countries initially formed strong interest groups opposing climate change action, or at best arguing for voluntary action (see section 1.3 for more details on the emergence and current status of interest groups). More recently, the economic crisis and ensuing recession have led national governments to redirect their efforts to saving their economies, leaving allegedly costly policies to address climate change at the side. Second, government institutions have a strong impact on the ability of a – maybe willing – government to adopt domestic climate-related policies and to adhere to international agreements, as has become clear in the case of the US inability to pass climate legislation in its polarized congress, despite the acknowledged willingness of the Obama administration to take action. Finally, beyond these failures related to economic and political structures, the failure to appropriately communicate the science of climate change and the implications of climate policies to societies is an additional reason. Al Gore’s film “An inconvenient truth” visualized the climate change catastrophes, but when citizens asked what they could do, no clear solutions were given. Discrepancies between different economists’ estimations of the costs of climate change and of climate-related policies contributed to polarization. Disinformation campaigns organized by anti-climate policy lobby groups and climate skeptics, including (false) allegations of fraud within the IPCC reinforced doubts. In a context in which economic difficulties increased and also an unwillingness to change consumption-based lifestyles prevails, citizens became increasingly receptive to policy makers and lobbyists saying that climate change was overrated. Without clear messages by science, by the media and the governments, and in view of the failure of the international political process under the UNFCCC, citizens in many parts of the world remain at best unconcerned, confused or unconvinced, and at worst opposed to climate change action. And without clear demands by the citizenship, reinforced by opposition from critical sectors of the industry, governments themselves remain unwilling to act.

The subnational level plays an important role for experimentation. In large federal countries, states often try to introduce mitigation policies when the central government is hostile to climate policy. This has happened in Australia, Canada and the US, where states like New South Wales, Quebec and California unilaterally introduced emissions trading schemes. In India, renewable energy support policies differ widely across states, and in China provinces serve as laboratories for the design of emissions trading schemes. Currently, seven provincial schemes are under development and the experiences with them shall inform the design of a national emissions trading scheme from possibly 2016 onwards.

To a minor extent, this effect can also be seen on a city level. Cities have become engaged in climate policy through the activities of networks such as ICLEI, the Climate Alliance, the Major Cities Initiative or the Covenant of Mayors. Progressive mayors try to impress their electorate by climate policy campaigns and by setting climate- or clean energy-related targets. Recent studies point out that such initiatives have the potential to meaningfully contribute to emission reductions, but there is limited empirical assessment of their effectiveness yet (UNEP 2013). The existing assessments are somewhat contradictory. Sippel (2011), for example, shows that the emissions performance of German cities closely follows the performance of the country as a whole, and that neither the existence of city-level mitigation action

plans, nor the institutionalization of city-level climate protection nor the membership within city networks appear to be related to such emissions performance. Cerutti et al. (2013) attach quite a high potential in terms of emission reductions to the Covenant of Majors initiative (almost 24% of total EU-27 annual emissions in the concerned sectors if all signatory cities take comparable action to those that have already submitted a Sustainable Energy Action Plan), even though after 5 years of existence of the Covenant emission reductions are only starting to materialize. A potential additional problem is that the lifetime of municipal mitigation policies can be short, as it is often linked to the political fate of the city government that introduced them.

1.3 The EU as a unique actor between the national and international level

The EU is the only regional integration organization recognized as a party to the UNFCCC and the Kyoto Protocol itself. Being unique in all aspects, the EU cannot be considered as a 'state' or as an 'international institution', as it is a coalition of supranational along with intergovernmental attributes (Hix 1999). It is a "political and economic partnership that represents a unique form of cooperation among 28 member states" (Archick 2013, p. 1). The main institutions that operate behind the EU's policy-making are the European Commission, the Council of Ministers and the European Parliament (EP).

Within climate policy, the EU's role is that of a regional actor influencing policy making at national and international levels. It plays a primary role in drawing European climate change legislation and by actively engaging with the national climate change activities amongst its member states (Damro et al. 2008). In addition, the EU is unique in that it always presents itself with one unified negotiating position in the international climate negotiations, which makes it sometimes hard for the EU to react with sufficient speed to sudden developments (as modifications require assurance of Member State support). Decision-making largely remains centered around consensus among its member states in the Environmental Council.¹ Despite requests from the Commission to co-ordinate the EU's international climate policy position, the Council has not granted it this right, keeping its position as the principal governing body for external climate policy (Schunz 2011). It is the Council that gives the Commission a mandate to start negotiations. An ad hoc Council working group on climate change was formed in the mid-1990s. It reports to the Council Working Party on International Environmental Issues (WPIEI-CC), which then proposes draft international negotiation positions to the Committee of Permanent Representatives (Coreper). The proposal from the Coreper is then given to the environment ministers for a final round of debate, agreeing to a final position by consent (Pavese and Torney 2012). Thus before each negotiation round, the EU's position is decided upon by unanimity in a Council meeting.

The Lisbon Treaty in effect since December 2009 assigns the European Parliament with power to veto future international agreements, including climate agreements. Since then the EP can assert a more significant position in the EU's external climate policy in the future (Groen and Niemann 2013).

¹ The Environmental Council is the specific configuration of the EU Council that deals with environmental issues. It is composed of the Member States' environmental ministers.

Reaching consensus among the EU member states, or between the different European institutions has frequently been difficult. Conflict between countries with regard to climate policies has driven a wedge between the EU's ambitions and its member states' views, so that the positions adopted by the EU at the UNFCCC negotiations do not always reflect the envisioned leadership that the EU would like to display. One recent example of such conflict is the Commission's proposal to 'backload' or postpone the auctioning of allowances on the EU ETS as a short-term solution to the falling prices of carbon. This proposal first failed in the EP, which caused a fall of 45% in the allowance price. Some environmental groups then wanted to give up the EU ETS in favor of 'more direct emission reduction policies' (Keating 2013). However, after several rounds of parliamentary committee negotiations, finally in July 2013 the EP decided to approve the Commission's proposal subject to certain amendments such as several compromises and declarations that such a move will not be taken again in the future (CleanTechnica 2013).

In another instance of conflict that directly affected the EU's negotiating position, Poland opposed the EU's plan of almost zero carbon power generation by 2050, due to its heavy reliance on coal. However, Poland was isolated as the resolution found backing from 26 member states indicating to the Commission that it can start working on its legislative proposals for 2030 (EurActiv 2012).

More recently, the Czech Republic and Poland decided to slash subsidies for renewable energy, following Spain and the UK (Carney 2013). These decisions are potentially at odds with the EU's climate and energy goals for 2020 and 2030. Germany, in a similar move, is considering reducing the exemptions on renewable energy price surcharges that were granted to large companies as a way to shield them from high energy costs in highly competitive industrial sectors. German households are becoming tired of having to cover the energy bills of businesses, and the exemptions are additionally being challenged by the EC as a potential breach of EU competition law (Belinski 2013).

In October 2013, the EU's move to curb CO₂ emissions from new cars to 95g CO₂/km was put on hold after severe opposition from a German-led coalition that believes that manufacturers like BMW, Audi and Daimler will suffer due to these new regulations. Germany was supported in its stance by the UK, France, Portugal, Slovakia, Poland, Estonia, Hungary and Czech Republic (King 2013). Earlier in September, German Chancellor Angela Merkel, had already cautioned the EU against stringent actions with regard to the car industry, claiming that the EU must keep in mind that climate change is a global effort and not impose burdens on its own industries (Hetzner 2013).

These examples show that there are important cleavages with respect to climate policy across the EU. Accordingly, in its stakeholder engagement plan, as well as in its first screening of EU-level stakeholders (POLIMP reports D2.2 and MS1), POLIMP recognized the need to differentiate the climate policy needs and focus, as well as the relevant stakeholders across three broad European regions: Western and Northern Europe, Southern Europe and Central and Eastern Europe. This recognition relies on the fact that these three regions embody different social, economic and political characteristics that in turn shape their governments' and stakeholders' perceptions, positions and actions with respect to climate policy.

These examples also illustrate that not only EU and state-level governmental actors have an influence on EU policy- and decision-making, but also pressure groups (such as representatives of the automobile industry, or environmental groups) that are active at both the national and the international levels. In the recent past, pressures to tone down mitigation policies have increased, coupled with statements that they reduce the EU's competitiveness. These pressures and struggles themselves are reflected in the positions that the EU adopts for the UNFCCC negotiations, which will be described in some more detail in section 3.2 of this report.

1.4 Relevant non-governmental stakeholders

Of course, not only government representatives have a stake in the UN climate change negotiations. Climate change affects so many aspects of life and the economy, that a large number of extremely diverse interest groups try to influence the negotiations and have been actively involved in them (see e.g. Willetts 1996; Charnowitz 1997; Raustiala 2001; Willetts 2002; Betzold 2012). However, these groups only have an observer status at the negotiations, and do not have any decision-making power.

Non-governmental stakeholders that have an interest in following the negotiation process can request to be admitted to attend the UNFCCC sessions as “observer organizations”. There are several categories of these observer organizations, including:

- ▲ UN bodies and secretariats, such as UNEP, UNDP or the secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity;
- ▲ Specialized international agencies, like the World Meteorological Organization, the Intergovernmental Panel for Climate Change, or the Global Environment Facility;
- ▲ Intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), such as the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, the International Energy Agency, or the Inter-American Development Bank;
- ▲ Non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

This final NGO category is itself subdivided into nine constituencies, which seek to group, represent and coordinate the participation of the main currently recognized stakeholder and civil society groups (UNFCCC Secretariat 2011, Rietig 2011a):

- ▲ Environmental NGOs (ENGOs): grouping all NGOs with an environmental focus, this is one of the original constituencies that was first recognized under the UNFCCC process. Many ENGOs are in addition grouped within the Climate Action Network (CAN), a worldwide network of over 800 environmental NGOs engaged in avoiding dangerous climate change. With members in more than 90 countries, CAN is organized in regional and national networks that seek to coordinate advocacy activities to increase their impact. ENGOs advocate for ambitious and legally-binding climate mitigation goals, and for a fair distribution of the costs of addressing climate change among all countries, taking into account developing countries’ need of financial and technical support (CAN International 2013).
- ▲ Business and industry NGOs (BINGOs): the business constituency is the other original constituency within the UNFCCC process; it groups an heterogeneous set of private sector interests, ranging from fossil fuel producers and electricity generators, to heavy industry and producers of emissions-intensive goods, to businesses that provide mitigation technologies or advisory services related to the carbon market. Due to this broad membership, BINGOs’ goals and interests are highly diverse and have evolved over time (Vormedal 2008). In the early 1990s, the business community, mainly comprised of fossil fuel producers and other emitters organized in the Global Climate Coalition (GCC) and the International Chamber of Commerce, held a strong opposition to climate regulation, and was successful in averting emission reduction obligations both internationally and in the US. In the mid-1990s, however, some firms split from this coalition and started to advocate market-based approaches to climate change mitigation, working together with some liberal environmental groups such as Environmental Defense as part of the International Climate Change Partnership (Meckling 2011). According to Meckling, this first division of the business community was crucial in moving the

US to support international emissions controls tied to emissions trading, and eventually also in dispelling the European opposition to carbon markets and driving the emergence of the EU ETS. It allowed finding a compromise between the earlier staunch anti-regulation position of businesses and the traditional pro command-and-control position of environmental groups and paved the way to the adoption of mandatory emission reduction targets under the Kyoto Protocol. By the end of the 1990s, a strong and growing pro-markets coalition emerged under the name of the International Emissions Trading Association (IETA), and the GCC was continuously losing political weight. Due to the dichotomy of interests within the BINGO constituency, it is always granted two speaker slots at the negotiations in order to allow each “sub-constituency” to be heard.

- ▲ Local government and municipal authorities (LGMA): This constituency formed at COP 1 in 1995 to represent the interests of local governments in the UNFCCC negotiations, such as advocating for more visibility to the important role that local governments and cities need to play in combatting climate change. Within the LGMA constituencies, transnational networks of cities or local governments, such as ICLEI, play a leading role. Only recently, in COP 16 in 2010, the role of subnational and local governments as actual government stakeholders in the intergovernmental climate change negotiations was finally acknowledged in an official COP decision (nrg4SD 2011).
- ▲ Indigenous peoples organizations (IPOs): IPOs formed their own constituency at COP 7 in 2001, mainly with the goal of advocating for indigenous land rights in the discussions related to forest conservation as a possible climate change mitigation strategy (Betzold 2013).
- ▲ Research and independent NGOs (RINGOs): the RINGO constituency formed in 2003 with the aim of “developing sound strategies to address both the causes and consequences of global climate change” by means of independent research and analysis (RINGOs n.d.). RINGOs do not develop any positions but strive to provide high quality analytical input on issues that are critical in the negotiations (Rietig 2011a).
- ▲ Trade union NGOs (TUNGOS): the labour organizations were recognized the status of a constituency in COP 14 in 2008, and advocate not only for the creation of green jobs, but also for a just transition for workers in the process towards a low-carbon economy, which takes into account the need to protect (e.g. through re-employment, alternative employment or compensation) workers employed in traditional industries that may be negatively affected by climate policy (Boggild 2010).
- ▲ Women and gender NGOs (Women and Gender): The women and gender groups gained full status as a constituency at COP 17 in 2011, but have been active in the negotiations mainly since 2007. One of its greatest achievements so far has been the adoption of a COP decision on promoting gender balance and improving women participation in the climate negotiations and in bodies established under the convention (UNFCCC 2012b).
- ▲ Youth NGOs (YOUNGOS): While the youth movement has been participating in the UNFCCC negotiations since their beginning, it only gained full constituency status in 2011. At the negotiations, youth groups work hand in hand with environmental NGOs and other civil society groups, to support the efforts to find an ambitious solution to the climate change problem.
- ▲ Farmers NGOs (Farmers): The farmers group currently holds a provisional constituency status, which is expected to become full status at COP 19 in 2013. The constituency brings together civil society and non-governmental organizations focusing on agricultural issues related to mitigation of and adaptation to climate change, and its main goal is to raise the awareness about the importance of agriculture for the negotiations (Friis 2013).

These constituencies have each a focal point, which coordinates the interaction and communication of its members with the UNFCCC secretariat. While participation in a constituency is neither mandatory nor official, and does not preclude direct communication of NGOs with the secretariat, the large majority of NGOs (almost 90%) are affiliated with one of them. Among the admitted observer organizations that remain outside these constituencies there are, for example, faith groups and organizations of national parliamentarians (UNFCCC Secretariat 2011; Betzold 2013).

The three largest constituencies, ENGOs, BINGOs and RINGOs, group about 80% of all NGOs; each of the other groups accounts for around 2% of all NGOs or less (see Figure 2). About 75% of the observer organizations are headquartered in Annex I countries, while only 25% are in non-Annex I countries. Figure 3 shows the geographical distribution of observer organizations by country of headquarters.

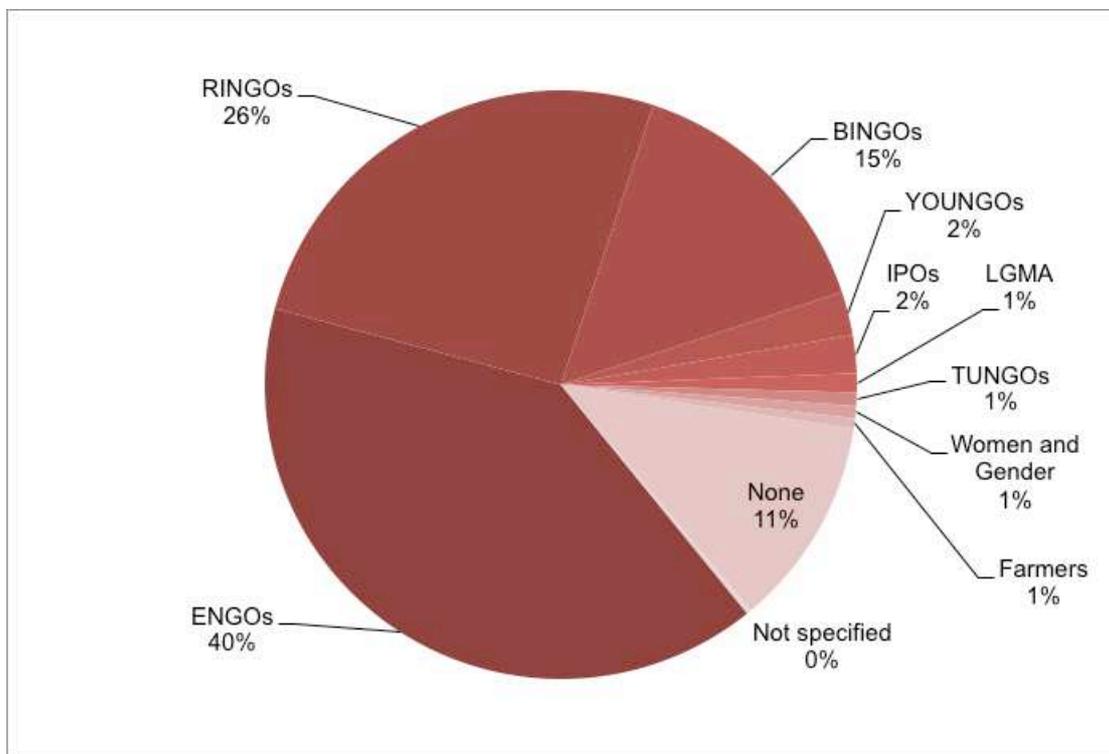


Figure 2. Observer organizations by NGO constituency

Source: UNFCCC 2013.

The above figures clearly show that there is a large heterogeneity of interest groups involved in the UNFCCC process, and also that this heterogeneity has continuously grown, from two initial constituencies clearly defined to now nine of them. In addition, more and more organizations have applied and been granted observer status over time, as Figure 4 shows. This also illustrates the increasing relevance of the negotiations for new stakeholders, which seek to participate in them either to try to influence their outcomes, or to get first-hand information about their progress.

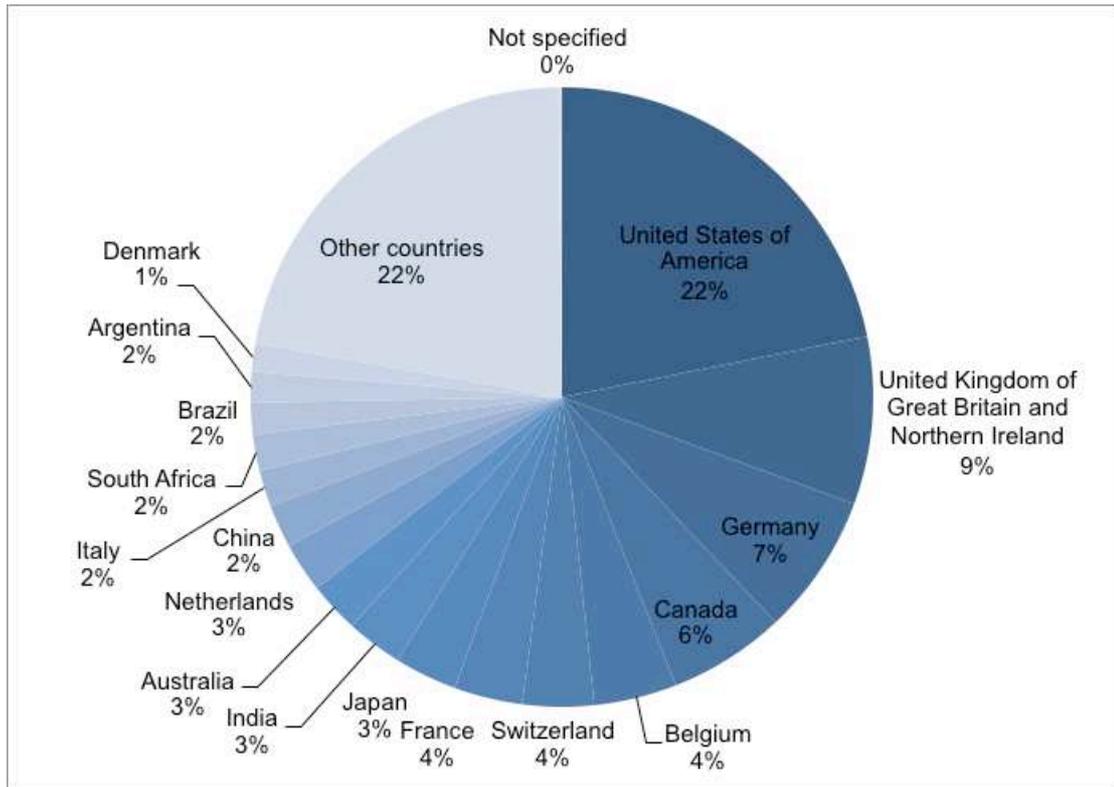


Figure 3. Observer organizations by country of headquarters

Source: UNFCCC 2013.

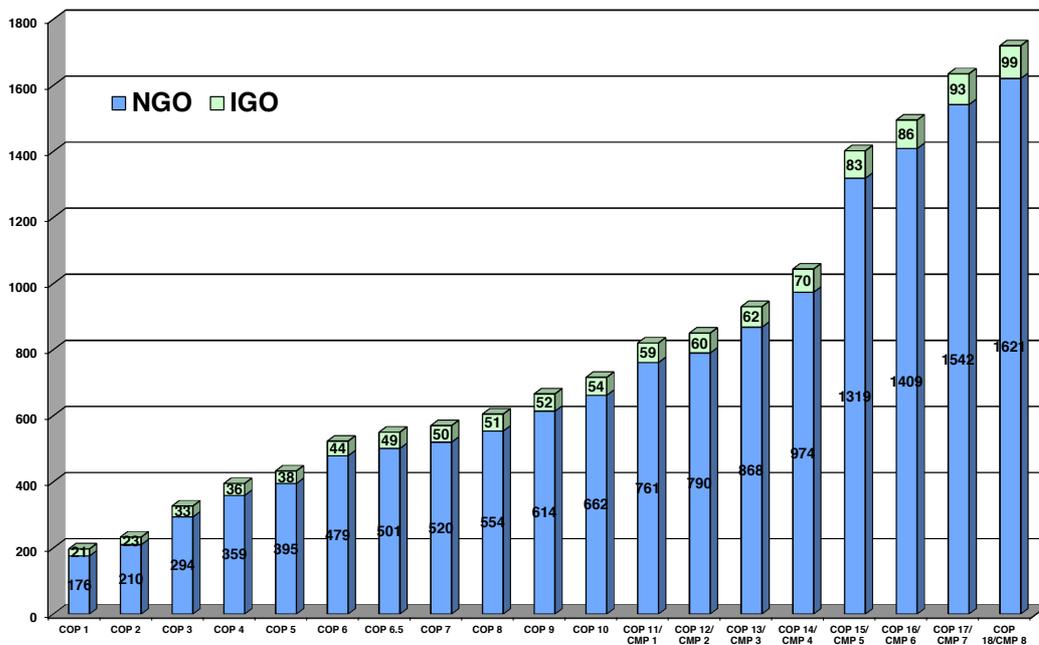


Figure 4. Cumulative admissions of observer organizations to the UNFCCC

Source: UNFCCC 2012a.

This growing interest in the negotiations among non-governmental stakeholders stems likely from the fact that the negotiations themselves have grown to become more and more encompassing thematically, which has itself also led to the emergence of an increasing number of specialized country coalitions defending particular interests in the negotiations. Thus, the multiplication of issues under negotiation apparently has led to the fragmentation of country coalitions (Betzold et al. 2012) and the diversification of non-governmental stakeholder groups engaged in the process.

1.4.1 European stakeholder groups at the UNFCCC negotiations

European non-governmental stakeholders are well represented at the UNFCCC negotiations: 562 stakeholders with seat in an EU country are currently registered under the UNFCCC, representing 34.5% of the overall admitted observer organizations. Of these, the vast majority (89%), are located in a Western or Northern European country; 10% are located in Southern European countries and only 1% are based in Central or Eastern Europe. This geographic distribution, however, may be deceiving to a certain extent: on the one hand, an important number of these organizations have their seat in Brussels, which is an indication that they also carry out lobbying activities at the EU level, and thus probably represent interests across all of Europe; on the other, particularly for the case of business groups (broadly 20% of all EU-located observer organizations), many of these observers are actually broad business associations with membership across Europe or even the world.

The different constituencies are represented in Europe in a broadly similar way as in the whole world: about 30% of admitted European organizations are ENGOs, followed by RINGOs (almost 30%) and BINGOs (almost 20%). The most important difference is that environmental groups are somewhat underrepresented, while business groups are slightly overrepresented.

Figure 5 shows some detail about the thematic focus area of work of the registered European BINGOs, and makes clear that a broad diversity of European interests participates actively at the UNFCCC meetings, ranging from green industries (e.g. those related to renewable energy technologies and generation, energy efficiency and the carbon market), to large emitters (such as industry and the more traditional energy producers), to business sectors that only slowly start to relate to the climate change discourse (insurance, information and communication technologies, agriculture).

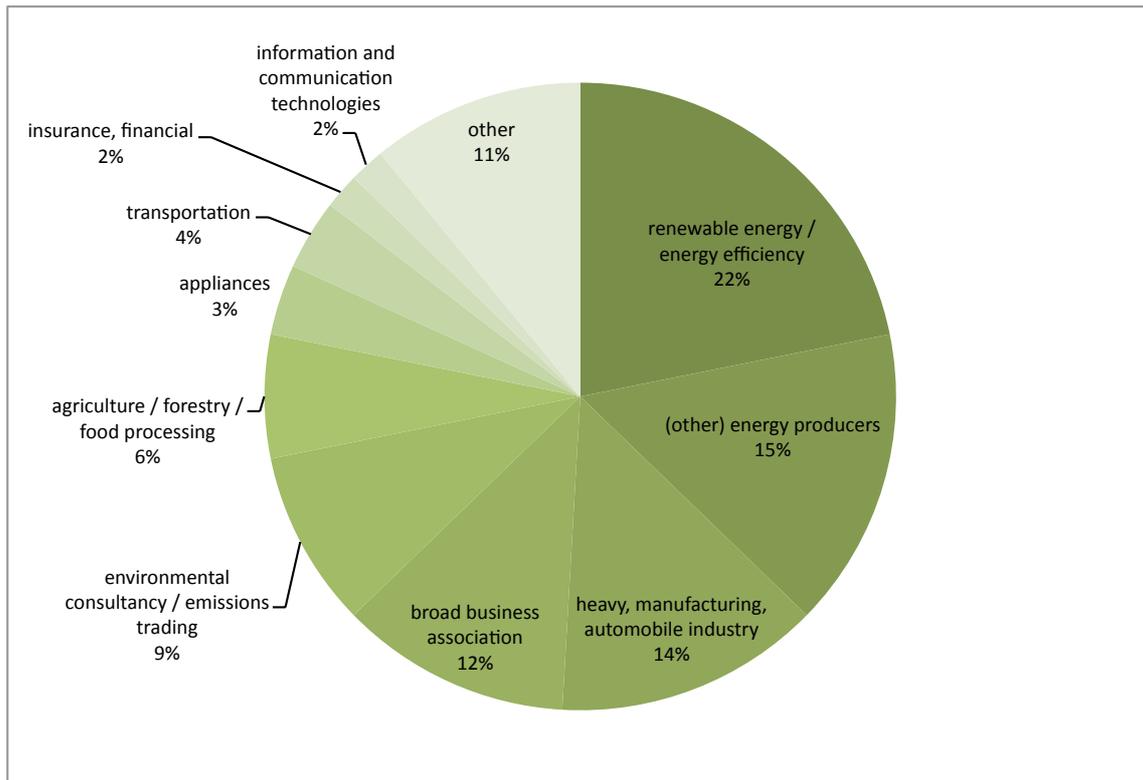


Figure 5. EU-based business observer organizations by thematic focus area

Source: UNFCCC 2013.

2 Drivers of government positions

International relations theory suggests that domestic and international decision-making are intertwined in a two-level process (Putnam 1988). Similarly, we can assume that country positions in the international climate change negotiations are shaped both by the political process within each country, and by the international exchange between the different country delegations at the international level. An additional element that can influence delegation positions is the normative basis of international environmental law. Gupta (2012) argues that civil society pressure for common norms on equity and justice as well as climate change-related litigation by NGOs and public institutions in national or global courts could strengthen government support for norms over time.

At both levels, knowledge of the role of pressure groups in influencing domestic and international decision-making is necessary for explaining these positions, too (Bang et al. 2005).

At the national level, public choice theory (e.g. Olson 1971) suggests that government positions will typically be driven by the urban middle classes rather than by the masses of the rural poor. The reason is that governments usually provide more attention to those actors in the economy that are more vocal, organize better, protest more easily, or have the relevant financial means to support politicians who defend their preferences. Moreover, the urban middle class tends to benefit from a higher level of education, which allows them to understand the relevant problems and to compare the effect of alternative policies, in addition to increasing their organizational capacity (Michaelowa and Michaelowa *forthcoming*).

In one of the first applications of public choice theory in the context of climate change, Michaelowa (2001) identified the different groups of political actors such as companies, emitters of GHGs, climate protection industries, providers of adaptation or mitigation technology, environmental and development NGOs, media and voters who had unique self-driven interests regarding the issue of reducing emissions of GHGs. Based on this framework he establishes how each actor in a political economy benefits or accrues costs of following mitigation policies. Policy-makers and bureaucrats in charge of developing climate change mitigation policies will work keeping the various interest groups in mind.

Clearly, a country's core position in the negotiations is frequently driven by the strongest stakeholder groups dominating domestically – which establishes its position on the basis of its fear of economic losses from climate action (or inaction), or its expectation of economic gains from climate action (or inaction). Countries with a strong fossil fuel producing lobby typically oppose strong action against climate change, while countries with strong climate protection industries support ambitious mitigation goals. Countries with a high vulnerability to climate change may rather follow the demands from civil society, local governments or the agricultural industry struggling to cope with adaptation (and poverty reduction) needs, and thus advocate strong mitigation action and ask for financial support or even compensation payments to cover the climatic impacts they are already suffering. In addition, a government's political orientation and ideology may be decisive in shaping a negotiation position, as is the case of the opposition to market-based approaches by some Latin American left-oriented governments. Dolšak (2001) additionally claims that political recognition given to governments – both domestically and internationally – for higher levels of commitment may encourage them to adopt mitigation policies in their own country. This holds especially true for democratic nations where a significant concern for climate change effects among voters may encourage governments to adopt climate-friendly policies. In other words, the degree of democratization along with considerable public concern relating to climate might be a driver of governments to take a firmer stance in climate change negotiations.

But parties may not have a clear position on a specific issue in the negotiations to start with, due to lack of understanding of the issue or a low relevance to its domestic constituencies. For example, a developing country without a large share of forests may not have formed a domestic position about avoided deforestation (REDD+). In these cases, it is the negotiations at the international level that may be more relevant in influencing its positioning.

At the international level, country representatives not only consider the preferences of their home constituencies with respect to the subject matter, but also how their positions and strategies will be received by their peers at the UNFCCC and by the international media (which will eventually also be observed by their own national citizens). In this context, not only the negotiating position's relevance for domestic goals is important, but also its effect on other foreign policy goals, such as the demonstration of leadership capabilities, the maintenance of a good reputation, or logrolling – the exchange of favors (in this case, support for a position) with other parties, most frequently the members of the own coalition group (Michaelowa and Michaelowa *forthcoming*).

In addition, also at the international level, transnational interest groups, such as those described above, engage in lobbying with the aim of influencing national positions and, eventually, final decisions. But the influence of these interest groups depends on their capabilities to access decision-makers and to lobby them effectively, and also on their rational decision whether doing so is cost-effective for them. For example, Rietig (2011b) discusses that the extent to which environmental NGOs can affect negotiations

depends on several factors such as personal competence, entrepreneurial strategies with regard to policies, whether they have “insider status” with government delegations and the phase in the negotiation cycle in which they try to offer suggestions to the negotiations. NGOs also pursue outsider-strategies by means of organizing and partaking in mass protests. In contrast, business groups rely on their economic importance, their expertise and specialized knowledge, and on insider status among the policy community (Schlozman 1984; Atkinson and Coleman 1992). In addition, it can be established that interest groups refrain from lobbying if the costs of lobbying are higher than the intended achievements of the same. This happens particularly in the case where the interest groups’ interests are synced with the political stance they can lobby against, if lobbying is predicted to have an unfavorable effect, or if the probability of success is low (Gullberg 2008).

Finally, several other factors also play a role for the ability of country representatives to effectively position themselves in the international negotiations. Despite the existence of a fund that aims to secure the participation of at least two delegates per country in all UNFCCC negotiations, small developing countries lack the resources to send sufficient representatives to be able to follow all negotiation groups. This makes it more difficult for them to understand and follow some of the highly technical issues being discussed. Language barriers are similarly problematic, particularly for small developing country delegations. Despite these limitations, governments may enhance their negotiation resources by organizing and staffing their delegations with skilled diplomats, including external experts from academia or the non-governmental sector with the aim of augmenting their internal power resources (Bailer 2012). The lack of resources of developing country delegations will be exacerbated if governments see the subsidy for delegation members as sinecure that can be granted as a favour. Given the low salaries in many developing countries, the daily UNFCCC subsistence allowance can equal a full monthly salary. Usually, this leads to a lack of continuity of delegation members as well as a lack of knowledge. It will however not actively damage the country’s position. But in extreme cases, governments grant places in their delegations and a voice to representatives of interest groups, whose positions may not be consistent with the interests of the country (see e.g. Allan 2010).

Finally, outstanding personalities can make a difference. Chairpersons of COPs can achieve agreement if they sense on which issues governments will compromise, and where they will stand firm. During COP 1 in Berlin, the then German environment minister, Angela Merkel, played an instrumental role in getting parties to agree to the Berlin Mandate to negotiate binding emission reduction commitments that eventually led to the Kyoto Protocol. Two years later, the way in which Raul Estrada masterfully understood the map of interests on the last night of the Kyoto negotiations was probably crucial for the success of the KP. Similarly, Mexican foreign minister Espinoza creatively overrode the Bolivian opposition to the Cancun agreement and correctly gauged that all other parties would tolerate this courageous interpretation of the consensus principle. Maybe the Copenhagen fiasco could have been avoided if Danish prime minister Lars Lokke Rasmussen had been more skillful in chairing the final plenary where he once even wanted to call a vote, completely ignoring the UNFCCC’s consensus principle... These cases show that persons can make a difference if they are well-informed, respected and do not attempt to force through issues opposed by powerful governments (Jepsen 2013).

3 Mapping government positions

3.1 The fragmentation of negotiation groups over time

Over the two decades of negotiations in the international climate change regime, substantial changes have been observed in the positions of parties to the UNFCCC and, consequently, in the composition of the main negotiation coalitions, particularly among developing countries. Developing countries, as defined under the UNFCCC – i.e., those countries not listed in Annex I to the Convention – have become more and more differentiated with regards to several development and climate-related indicators: while some have become highly industrialized and have even joined OECD, others are currently among the top performers in terms of per capita GDP and the top “sinners” in terms of total or per capita GHG emissions. At the same time, many other developing countries remain dominated by subsistence and agriculture-based economies, and have become more and more aware of their high vulnerability to climate change impacts (see Michaelowa and Michaelowa *forthcoming* for a more detailed account of these differences).

In addition, the climate change negotiations have grown themselves in complexity, covering more and more topics that are directly or indirectly related to climate change, and hence concerning more and more different interests (Betzold et al. 2012).

These developments have not remained without effect on the negotiation behavior of parties to the UNFCCC. While initially all developing countries, despite potential differences in opinion, negotiated in a unified manner under the umbrella of the G 77 and China, this unity has slowly and gradually started to break apart. Already in the 1990s, the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS) started to advocate for special treatment for particularly vulnerable countries, with quite high success in comparison to their low level of political clout (Betzold et al. 2012). Another important actor, from the beginning on, was the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), which has over time successfully slowed progress in the negotiations through procedural maneuvers, such as blocking the adoption of voting rules under the UNFCCC and thus forcing the use of consensus for any decision-making (Depledge 2008).

Despite this early differentiation, for almost 20 years the G 77 managed to present a unified voice in the UNFCCC discussions, with only a few defections such as Mexico and South Korea who founded an unusual coalition with Switzerland and Liechtenstein, the Environmental Integrity Group, a coalition characterized for progressive positions and cooperative attitudes, and for being the only one that bridges the separation between Annex I and non-Annex I countries. Mexico and South Korea joined this group as a way to portray themselves as cooperative countries with strong domestic action to mitigate climate change, with the expectation of being able to avoid top-down emission reduction commitments being imposed upon them.

It is mainly in the past four years, since COP 15 in Copenhagen, that regional or special-interest subgroups of developing countries have started to become stronger and to defend positions that are distinctly different from those of the G 77. Initially, the ALBA group of Latin American new socialist countries distinguished itself with a strong anti-markets position and with discourses advocating respect to the Mother Earth and the payment of the environmental debt by the industrialized countries. The BASIC group of countries, comprised of the large emerging economies Brazil, South Africa, India and China, emerged with the ambition of portraying themselves as leaders among the developing world and

with the goal of maintaining the firewall between Annex I and non-Annex I countries (see Hallding et al. 2013 for a detailed account of BASIC's formation and strategy). The Coalition of Rainforest Nations appeared as a group of countries interested in REDD+ activities and the provision of finance to support them; the Central American Integration System (SICA) emerged seeking to be recognized as a highly vulnerable region. As a reaction to ALBA, the more recent Association of Independent Latin American and Caribbean states (AILAC) was created, characterized by environmentally-ambitious domestic actions and international positions. It needs to be noted that already in 2010, as a reaction to the failure in Copenhagen, a larger group of small- and middle-sized progressive countries, including both Annex I and non-Annex I parties, started to coordinate negotiation positions and strategies in the framework of the Cartagena Dialogue for Progressive Action (see section 3.2.3). Finally, as a further reaction to AILAC and the Cartagena Dialogue, and again with the main goal of maintaining the strict division between industrialized and developing countries, the group of Like-Minded Developing Countries started to become active in late 2012, led by the BASIC countries but also encompassing members of ALBA, OPEC and other developing countries (Roberts and Edwards 2012; Michaelowa and Michaelowa *forthcoming*).

Among the industrialized countries, the two most important and constant negotiation blocks are the EU (see description above) and the loose coalition of all other Annex I countries, in the early years JUSSCANZ, which did not include the Russian Federation or other former Soviet countries, and later the Umbrella group, which was joined by Russia and Ukraine. A first split occurred when Switzerland and Liechtenstein joined the Environmental Integrity Group. Norway also became highly progressive and lined up with the EU, despite remaining formally within Umbrella. A more recent development is the practical disintegration of the Umbrella group, into countries that decided not to join a second commitment period under the Kyoto Protocol, those that did (Australia the EU and Norway), and the former Soviet bloc.

Figure 6 (a) to (f) graphically shows the evolution of country coalitions and NGO constituencies in the UNFCCC negotiations over time.

3.2 Positions prior to COP 19

Figure 5 makes clear that a matrix of negotiation groups is emerging, each of them with specific positions on the different topics under negotiation, in particular with respect to the new post-2020 agreement being negotiated under the Ad Hoc Working Group on the Durban Platform for Enhanced Action (ADP): mitigation ambition up to 2020, mitigation ambition post-2020, allocation of mitigation commitments across countries, finance, use of market mechanisms, adaptation and technology transfer.

In this section, we present a brief overview of the positions of the most important negotiation coalitions discussed in the previous paragraphs, focusing on the most contentious issues that have given rise to the gradual fragmentation of country coalitions, particularly mitigation commitments. For a more detailed description of current positions on a broader set of negotiation topics, see the parallel POLIMP report on the current status of the negotiations (Deliverable 3.1), as well as Herold et al. (2013).

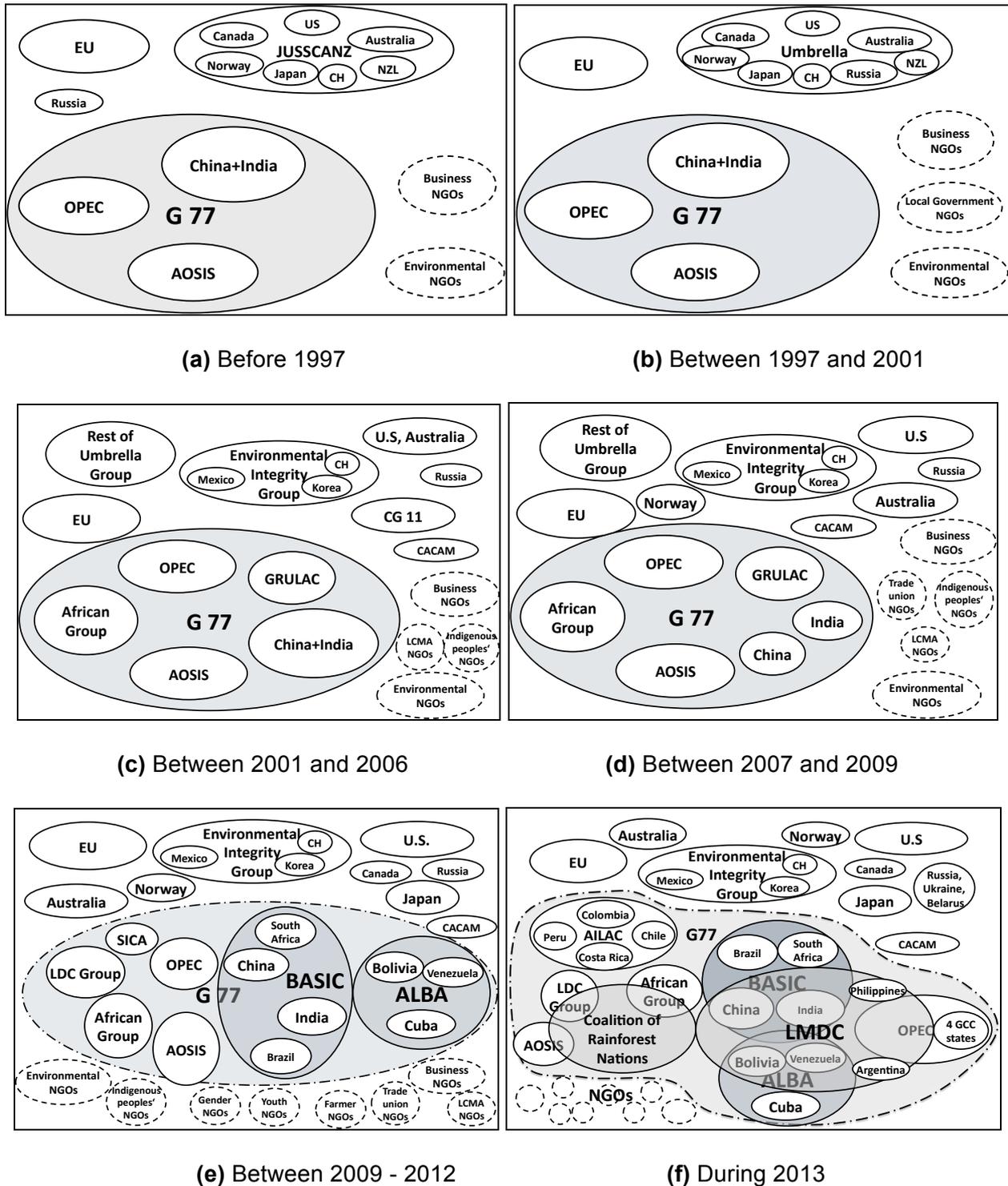


Figure 6: Country and NGO coalitions in the UNFCCC process

3.2.1 Industrialized countries

European Union

Since the inception of official discussions relating to climate change on a global scale in 1991, the EU has endeavored to be a leader in climate change related negotiations (Gupta and Grubb 2000; Oberthür

2009). It has supported the UNFCCC and later the KP, in undertaking ambitious targets for mitigation of GHG emissions.

As explained above, however, it is not always easy for the EU to keep up with this leadership ambition. The key (internally) contentious issues within the EU position for the UNFCCC negotiations are raising the ambition of its pre-2020 target from the current 20% reduction to the 30% reduction offered conditionally, and setting an ambitious reduction target for 2030. While there has not been internal European agreement on raising the pre-2020 target, agreement was reached on acknowledging the inadequacy of the current target and the need to revise it, through ministerial discussions with other countries in Warsaw. Regarding the 2030 target, a proactive group of 13 EU environment ministers, the Green Growth Group, is a driving force towards promoting low-carbon development and a 50% reduction target by 2030. However, this group does not represent a majority in the 28-member EU and is counterweighted by strong opponents of ambitious action, such as Poland and other new member states, as well as the energy directorate (Bankwatch Blog 2013; Hope 2013; UtilityWeek 2013).

With regards to the upcoming UNFCCC negotiation round in November 2013 in Warsaw, the EU Council stresses the importance of mitigating GHG emissions, emphasizing that GHG emissions should peak by 2020 and globally be scaled down by a minimum of 50% of their 1990 level by 2050. It also articulates the need for all parties to contribute significantly to make these targets achievable. It is also demanding that a multilaterally agreed common measurement, reporting and verification (MRV) framework be implemented in order to avoid the problems of loss of environmental integrity and double counting, restates the need to revamp existing market-based mechanisms and looks forward to the development of new ones as mitigation strategies. It maintains its resolve to work in co-ordination with other international parties on adaptation and work on analyzing which areas need to be considered for immediate action (Council of the European Union 2013; IISD 2013a).

US

Stern (the head of the US delegation) (2013) stresses that the 2015 agreement should be based on “nationally determined mitigation commitments” consistent with countries’ own circumstances and capabilities. Initial commitments and explanations of why governments believe their proposed commitment is fair and adequate would be reviewed by governments and other stakeholders during a “consultative or assessment period”, and could then be finalized. The dichotomy of industrialized and developing country annexes should be replaced by “a single operational system differentiated across the spectrum of countries”. The US, in addition, opposes the strong MRV and accounting system advocated by the EU, and prefers a more flexible system without any compliance procedures (Herold et al. 2013). Regarding climate finance, the position withdraws even behind the Copenhagen Accord stating “no step change in overall levels of public funding from developed countries is likely to come anytime soon”, and that leveraging of private finance is the only realistic approach (Stern 2013).

Japan

Japan proposes a “pledge and review” system bolstered by a transparency mechanism with ex-ante consultation as well as ex-post international evaluation and review of each Party’s performance based on internationally agreed rules (European Parliament 2013). Its highest priority is that the future mitigation agreement includes all major emitters, also from the developing countries, and is applicable to all countries. It proposes a global mitigation commitment for 2050 of 50% and 80% for industrialized countries.

Russia

Russia is not participating in the second commitment period under the Kyoto Protocol, because it wants legally “locked” mitigation commitments for all large emitters, including Annex I and rapidly industrializing developing countries (European Parliament 2013). In addition, it argues that its specific national circumstances (cold climate, large country, economic reliance on energy trade and heavy industry, and growth-oriented focus) need to be taken into account, and that special rules for economies in transition should continue in the future. Its current emissions pledge, of -15 to -25% reduction below 1990 levels, actually implies an increase in emissions from current (-33%) and projected BAU levels by 2020 (-30%) (Herold et al. 2013).

3.2.2 Developing countries

While with respect to climate finance, adaptation, loss and damage, technology and capacity building developing countries remain quite united, with common positions under the G77 umbrella or similar positions in their respective groups, in other topics an increasing differentiation across groups is emerging. For climate finance, developing countries call for the mobilization of public, new and additional sources of long-term finance, and for equitable distribution between mitigation and adaptation activities (Herold et al. 2013).

African Group

Active since the negotiations under the UNFCCC started in the early 1990s, the African Group is a regional coalition that aims to advance the interests of the 53 African states in the area of climate change by pooling resources and power in the UNFCCC negotiations (Roger 2013). Its level of activity and salience in the negotiations has been low for most of the past 20 years, mainly because the Group’s positions did not clearly distinguish themselves from those of the G77, and because of the poor negotiation capacity of its members. Over time, the Group became aware of the losses it had suffered as a result of failed participation in the negotiations: low competitiveness for the market-based CDM; low relevance of the issue of adaptation in the negotiations. At the same time, the issue of climate change also gained more political importance in the continent. As a result, in more recent years, the African Group started to become more vocal in the UNFCCC discussions. In COP 12 in Nairobi (2006), it achieved the launch of the Nairobi Work Programme on Impacts, Vulnerability and Adaptation the Climate Change, and of the Nairobi Framework to improve African participation in the CDM. During COP 15 in Copenhagen (2009), finally, the Group played an important part in the negotiations on climate finance, and earned considerable attention by the international press. In Durban, in 2011, they allied with the European Union, the LDCs and AOSIS to demand a comprehensive legally-binding agreement for 2020, putting a clear distance between themselves and other developing countries (Roger 2013).

The issues of highest importance for the African Group remain its need to overcome poverty and achieve sustainable development; a high level of vulnerability to climate change and need for adaptation, particularly in the area of agriculture and food security; the provision of finance to support adaptation and mitigation efforts in the region; a higher mitigation ambition by industrialized countries both for the pre- and the post-2020 period; and an unsatisfactory experience with the CDM (IISD 2013b; UN Economic Commission for Africa 2013). It explicitly calls for a global adaptation target. Annex II countries should take binding climate finance commitments.

AILAC

The Association of Independent Latin American and Caribbean states first became formally active during COP 18 in Doha (2012), comprising a group of middle-income countries – Colombia, Costa Rica, Chile, Guatemala, Panama and Peru, with the support of the Dominican Republic – that have already started ambitious mitigation policies at home and advocate low-carbon development by all. They stand out among the developing countries for their support to binding mitigation obligations for all countries, which clearly defies the typical G77 defense of the Annex I – non-Annex I division. In addition, however, they demand clarity on the finance pledges by industrialized countries, acknowledging that the provision of sufficient finance is a necessary catalyzer for trust and for more ambitious mitigation action by developing countries. Their negotiating strategy is to be constructive and open to dialogue with others, and to show proactively that middle-income countries can also display leadership in climate change action without having to wait for others to pledge reductions or provide financial support (Roberts and Edwards 2012; AILAC 2013). AILAC calls for defining a structure of the 2015 agreement at the Warsaw COP.

ALBA

ALBA, the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of our America, consisting of Bolivia, Cuba, Ecuador, Nicaragua and Venezuela, holds the view that developed countries should pay their historical “climate debt” to developing countries and commit to very strong emission reductions. They also strongly oppose to the use of market mechanisms to facilitate the achievement of emission reduction targets, denounce the consumerist lifestyle and the capitalist economy for their role in causing climate change, and plea for a development model based on respect for “Mother Earth” and nature. The ALBA countries were among those few UNFCCC parties that persistently opposed the approval of the Copenhagen Accord at COP 15, arguing that the procedure to negotiate it was non-inclusive and illegitimate, and that it falls very short on delivering the needed legal strength and ambition to effectively mitigate climate change. Their tactics include blocking the negotiations and having a confrontational style with strong language and hard bargaining strategies (Greenpeace 2009; Roberts and Edwards 2012). However, from COP 16 onwards only Bolivia continued the hard-core blockade, and was overridden.

AOSIS

The Alliance of Small Island States formed already in 1990 with the aim of defending island state interests in the UNFCCC negotiations, particularly in view of their high vulnerability to climate change and their lack of political weight. AOSIS held from the beginning a unified and strong voice, which led them to early successes in the negotiations, such as gaining a special seat in several bodies under the Convention and the Kyoto Protocol, obtaining special consideration of the needs of particularly vulnerable countries, and achieving a review of the Convention goals to consider the aim of keeping average temperature rise below 1.5°C (Betzold 2010; Betzold et al. 2012).

However, recent research has shown that this coalition has found it difficult to remain unified to the same degree, due to the recent multiplication of issues under negotiation and the emerging new interests among different subgroups of island states. While in the main topics of interest for island states – achieving strong and binding mitigation targets, getting sufficient finance for adaptation and implementing a mechanism for compensating losses and damages from climate impacts already occurring – AOSIS maintains a unified voice, some other topics such as REDD and land use change have started to cause disagreements within the group (Betzold et al. 2012).

With respect to the negotiations towards a post-2020 agreement under the ADP, AOSIS on the one hand emphasizes the fact that the new agreement should be applicable to all parties, with all parties participating in mitigation. On the other, the Alliance points out that the new agreement should respect the principles of the Convention, including those of historical responsibility and common but differentiated responsibilities: “The goal of the ADP is not to re-write or re-negotiate the Convention or its principles and provisions. In this regard, the Annexes are an integral part of the Framework Convention” (AOSIS 2013). It seems hence that despite their call for stronger mitigation ambition, AOSIS still supports the G 77 position of keeping the traditional division between developing and industrialized countries. It calls for an Annex I mitigation commitment of -45% for 2020 and -90% for 2050 compared to 1990.

BASIC

BASIC advocates a continuation of the dichotomy between developing and developed countries, although they do recognize the need for (differentiated) commitments by all countries. They also demand that the ADP process should not only address mitigation, but give equal importance to adaptation, finance, technology and transparency of action and support, and underscore that fulfillment of developed countries’ existing financial and mitigation commitments, as well as closing the finance and mitigation gaps is necessary for building trust in the post-2020 negotiations (BASIC 2013). Within BASIC, however, individual country positions are somewhat differentiated. South Africa and Brazil are progressive, China and India defensive. Brazil proposes that COP 19 shall launch domestic processes for the definition of commitments, that parties shall come up with pledges in the course of 2014 and that a process for multilateral considerations of commitments shall be established. South Africa proposes multilaterally agreed criteria for the latter and stresses that absolute targets and zero emission pathways should apply for developed countries and relative emission reduction commitments and actions for developing countries. It also calls for elimination of fossil fuel subsidies. Brazil also wants that early action during the pre-2020 period will be accounted for under the 2015 agreement, but opposes review or strengthened MRV of NAMAs. China and India oppose mitigation commitments for developing countries.

With regards to adaptation, South Africa proposes a global adaptation target.

Central American Integration System (SICA)

SICA groups several Central American countries (Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama and Dominican Republic), which seek to get recognition as highly vulnerable countries. Their main concern lies therefore on adaptation and the provision of finance for adaptation, although they also plea for strong mitigation commitments by industrialized countries and voluntary mitigation action by developing ones. SICA has not made any submission under the ADP so far.

LDCs

LDCs call for mitigation action by all countries but differentiated between industrialized countries, countries in transition, middle income countries, highly vulnerable countries and LDCs. Quantitative and qualitative criteria should guide the definition of commitments, such as historical responsibility, future development needs and vulnerabilities; an equity reference framework is requested. Transparency is seen as important as well as maintaining a balance between mitigation and adaptation. LDCs argue for strong MRV comparable to that of the KP.

Like-minded Developing Countries

This group formed in October 2012 and consists of Bolivia, China, Ecuador, Egypt, India, Malaysia, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Thailand and Venezuela as well as up to 20 other developing countries in varying configurations depending on the issues at stake. It is a reaction to the Cartagena dialogue as well as to the cooperation between the EU, AOSIS and small and least developed countries in Durban. Essentially, it opposes any commitments for developing countries while asking for upscaled climate finance, ideally not through market mechanisms.

Middle East / OPEC

While no longer contesting climate change science, OPEC countries led by Saudi Arabia oppose commitments for developing countries as well as guidelines for domestic MRV of unilateral NAMAs. They also still uphold the principle of taking into account negative impacts of mitigation policies (“response measures” in negotiation jargon).

Coalition for Rainforest Nations

The Coalition for Rainforest Nations is an official intergovernmental organization that brings together 41 developing countries with tropical rainforest resources with the goal of protecting these forests while achieving social and economic development. Within the UNFCCC, their main goal is to advance REDD+ activities and to achieve sufficient financing for REDD activities, including also through the use of markets.

Consequently, also under the ADP negotiations on a post-2020 agreement they ask for the inclusion of a mechanism to advance REDD+ activities and to promote the provision of finance for them. In addition, as a way to enhance the mitigation ambition before 2020, they propose a stronger focus on identifying and operationalizing the mitigation potential of forest-related activities (Coalition for Rainforest Nations 2013).

3.2.3 Coalitions bridging Annex I and non-Annex I countries

Cartagena Dialogue for Progressive Action

Despite not being an official negotiating bloc, the Cartagena Dialogue for Progressive Action stands out as a progressive group with a broad membership that breaks the dividing lines between Annex I and non-Annex I. Created in 2010 as an informal discussion group between progressive countries on both sides of the North-South divide, such as the AILAC nations, Australia, Ethiopia, France, Germany, Ghana, Indonesia, New Zealand, Samoa, the UK and the European Commission, the Cartagena Dialogue seeks to help the negotiations move forward towards creating an ambitious and legally-binding regime. To achieve this goal, it attempts to find areas of convergence between members of the different negotiation blocs, who nonetheless have different positions and goals. Through its informal character and the joint goal of achieving progress in the negotiations, it has managed to create a honest, facilitative and trustworthy atmosphere in which participants can talk freely and actually engage in dialogue about their positions. So far, 47 countries have attended the Cartagena Dialogue’s meetings at least once, with about 30 of them participating always. The Dialogue meets about 3 times along the year and then daily during the UNFCCC COPs (Araya 2011; Pineda 2012).

Environmental Integrity Group

The EIG consist of Liechtenstein, Mexico, South Korea and Switzerland. It is the oldest negotiation group – established in 2000 - containing both industrialized and developing countries. It proposes commitments consistent with the 2° target. It supports international MRV rules for commitments as well as stringent rules for the new market-based mechanism. REDD+ should generate offset credits. Fossil fuel subsidies should be phased out.

3.3 Possible paths for change

The historical map of country coalitions drawn above and the current division of negotiation positions, particularly among the developing country parties to the UNFCCC indicate potential for new dynamics in the negotiations.

It seems likely that the current trend towards fragmentation of negotiation blocs and of positions helps to pave the way to a new agreement that moves away from the Annex I – non-Annex I dichotomy of the 1990s to a continuum of differentiated engagement of all parties in terms of mitigation (and potentially other) commitments, although the most recent COP decisions of Cancun, Durban and Doha continued to apply a distinction between developed and developing countries. Of course, the overarching principles of the Convention will need to be respected, such as the concept of common but differentiated responsibilities, which is very deeply rooted in the UNFCCC discourse and in other international environmental agreements. It institutionalizes the recognition that different countries have indeed contributed to a very different extent to the problem, that they will also suffer its consequences differently due to distinct vulnerability profiles, and that they have different capabilities to act. A future solution needs to incorporate these differences and deal with the equity and fairness question, and both progressive negotiators and experts external to the process have already made various proposals of how such a solution could look like.

Other important factors that need to be considered when looking forward are the balance of power between the different coalitions – is it at all possible to get BASIC and OPEC countries to accept an end of the Annex I/non-Annex I division? – and the evolution of the application of the consensus decision-making rule. The last few COPs have shown that consensus does not necessarily mean unanimity, for example when the opposition by Bolivia to the outcomes of COP 16 in Cancun was overruled by all other countries – including Venezuela, their closest ally. But they have also shown that individual powerful parties do have the means to disrupt the process if their opposition is not taken into account – as has been the case with the Russian reaction after its attempt (together with Belarus and Ukraine) to block a decision on limiting the acceptance of existing surplus emission allowances in the future. After being overruled by the COP President in December 2012 in Qatar, in the intersessional meeting in June 2013 Russia blocked the Subsidiary Body for Implementation (SBI) by insisting upon the need to include an additional agenda item on procedures in its workplan. As disagreement with this proposal ensued, SBI could not even start working on its planned agenda.

If future decisions, crucially on the new post-2020 agreement, can only be made by overruling the opposition of few laggards, then the application of the consensus rule will need to be clarified to avoid a potential deadlock.

4 Conclusions

Over the 20 years of international climate policy, a complex system of stakeholder interaction on multiple levels – the international, multilateral, national and subnational – has developed. Frequently, policy instruments for climate change mitigation are triggered by a cascade of decision-making. On each level, various interest groups try to influence decision-making. Despite all ups and downs of the negotiation process and the emergence of competing multilateral fora, the UNFCCC has remained the pivot. A wide range of stakeholders participates in the UNFCCC negotiations and provides different types of inputs – from position papers to analytical support of delegations. Stakeholder participation has continuously increased over time.

However, the failure of the Copenhagen conference in 2009 needed to be “repaired” through a patient process, which has not been completed yet. Only a success, as pursued by the EU, in agreeing on a 2015 agreement covering all countries would put an end to this repair process but essentially means a loss of one decade compared to the situation if Copenhagen had delivered a treaty. There is a clear tendency towards a “pledge and review” mitigation policy. It is unclear how it will generate the level of ambition needed to put the world on a 2°C target path. A failure of the 2015 process would put the focus on options outside of the UNFCCC. To date, these options have not really performed well.

The likelihood to get an agreement in 2015 that overcomes the strict Annex I / non-Annex I distinction is increasing due to the fact that the hitherto solid block of developing countries in form of the G 77 has increasingly split up into smaller groups. Nowadays, the same country can be member of various thematic and regional groups. Some groups now even include both industrialized and developing countries. A wider differentiation than the Annex I/Non-Annex I dichotomy seems possible, but needs careful work on interpretation of the principle of “common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities”.

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