

# Climate change justice: an introduction

TU VALU OR NOT TU VALU,  
THAT IS THE QUESTION!



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# talk outline

1. justice in climate change
2. 'justice in emissions'
3. 'justice in adaptation'
4. 'justice in loss & damage'

# 1. Justice in climate change

Normative research looks at the justifications activists, politicians, citizens offer concerning...

- why we should care about climate change?
- why we do something about climate change?
- what we should do?
- who should act?
- who should pay?

*and evaluates them*

# Three 'pillars' of climate change

1. **Mitigation**: 'anthropogenic intervention to reduce the sources or enhance the sinks of greenhouse gases" (Klein and Huq, 2007).
2. **Adaptation**: 'adjustment in natural or human systems in response to actual or expected climatic stimuli or their effects, which moderates harm or exploits beneficial opportunities' (Klein an Huq, 2007).
3. **'Loss and damage'**: 'action on addressing loss and damage associated with the adverse effects of climate change, taking into account national development processes' (UNFCCC, 2012: Decision 3/CP.18).

# Elements of a theory of climatic justice

Climatic justice: “the fair distribution of benefits and burdens arising from human activities that alter the stock of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere”

Three key elements:

- How should GHG emissions (rights) be distributed across states and generations (§2)?
- Who should bear the burdens of action to adapt to climate change so as to reduce its harmful consequences (§3)?
- How should the costs of harmful consequences of climate to which populations cannot adapt be distributed (§4)?

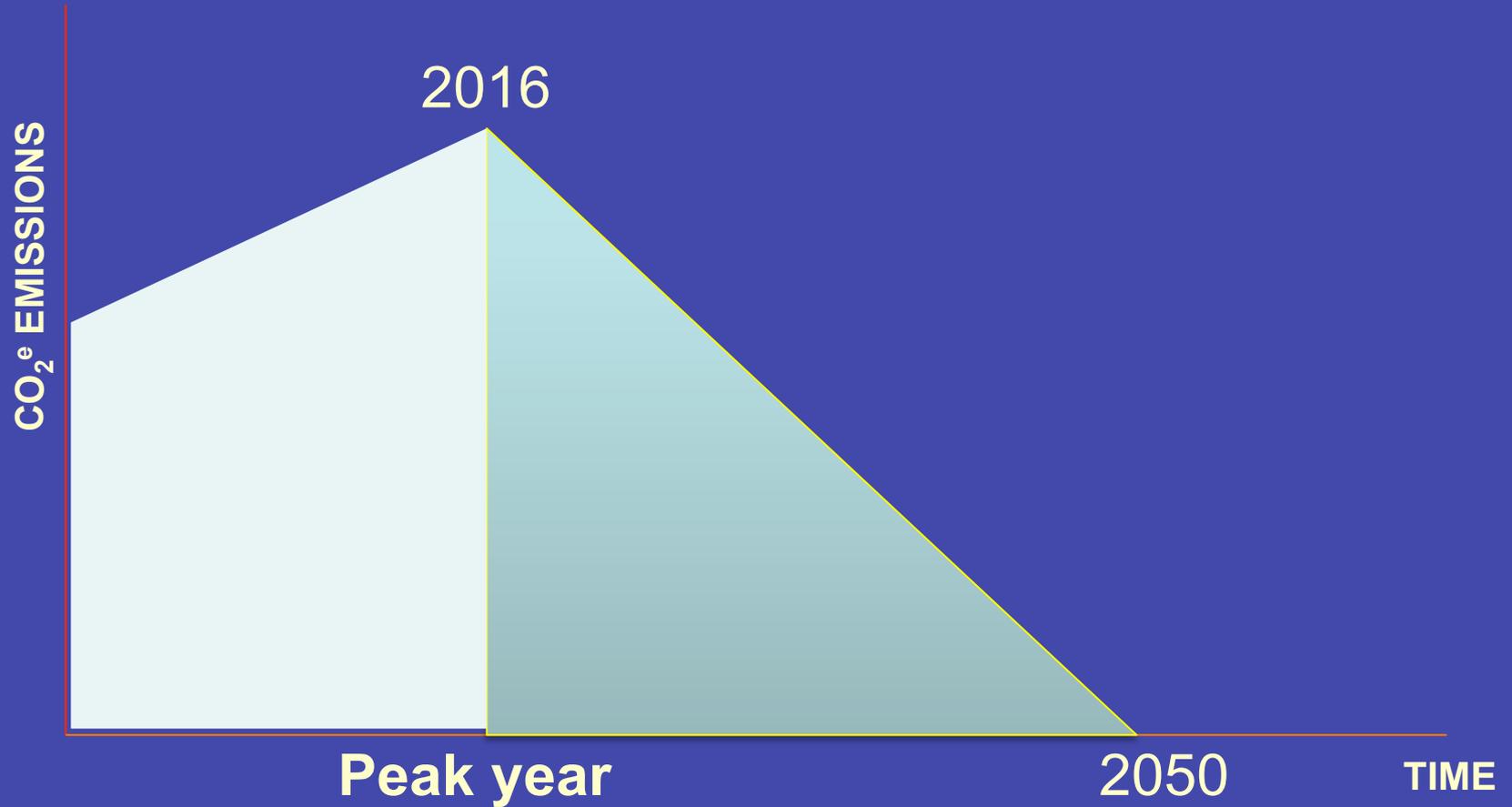
## 2. 'Justice in Emissions'

“We agree that deep cuts in global emissions are required according to science...to reduce global emissions so as to hold the increase in global temperature below 2 degrees Celsius, and take action to meet this objective consistent with science and on the basis of equity. We should cooperate in achieving the peaking of global and national emissions as soon as possible, recognizing that the time frame for peaking will be longer in developing countries” (**Copenhagen Accord, 2009**).

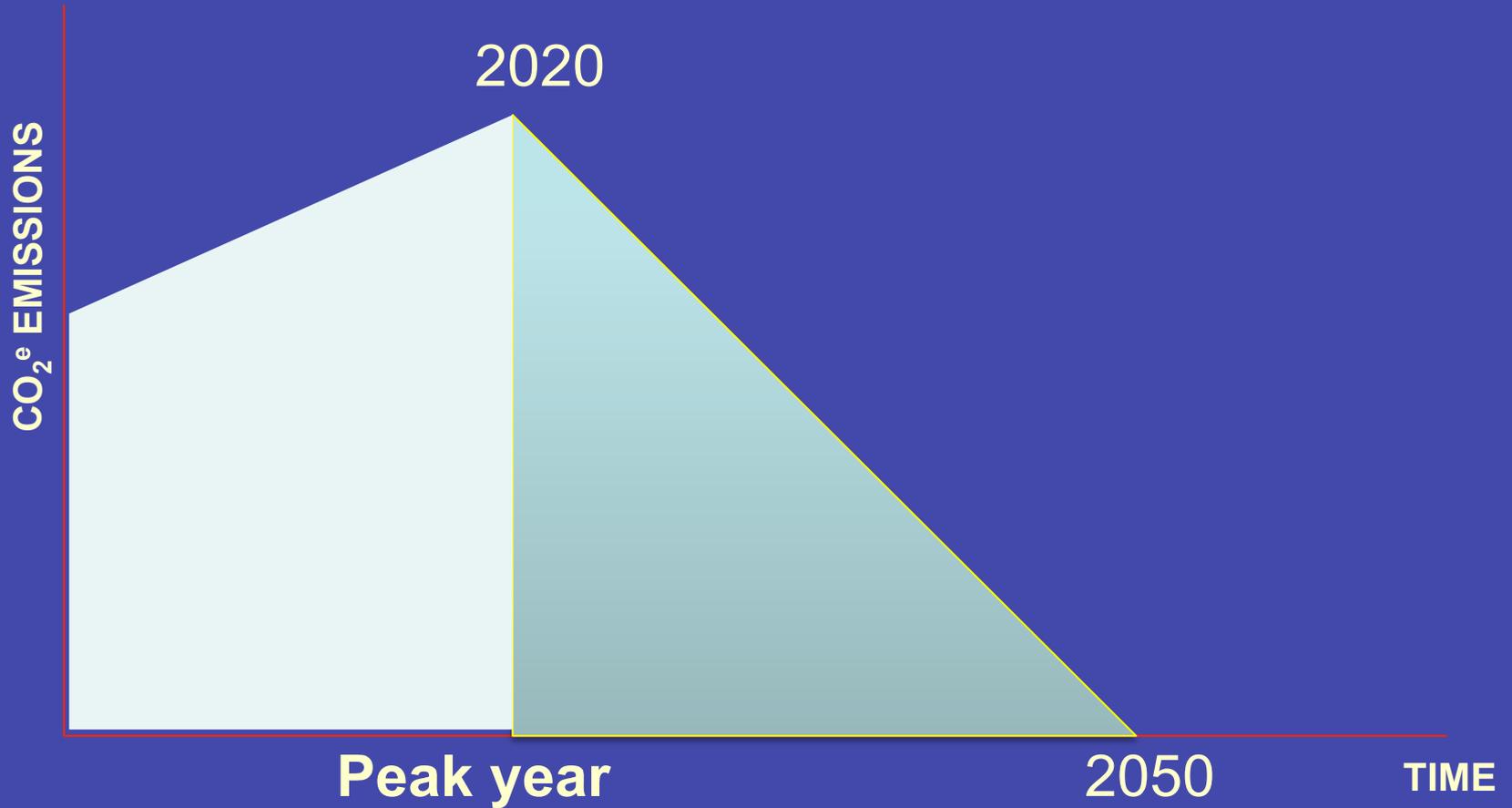
# Avoiding dangerous climate change: The 2°C challenge:

- A. Total amount of carbon (eg the 'trillionth tonne')
- B. Global peak date (eg 2016 or 2020)
- C. Global emissions reductions rate post-peak

# Pathways to safety (Starkey, Bows, Anderson)



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# 2°C Pathways (Meinshausen *et al*, 2009)

Min/max probability of >2C warming (range mean)	Emissions Peak	CO <sub>2</sub> <sup>e</sup> budget 2000-49 (GtCO <sub>2</sub> <sup>e</sup> )	Annual CO <sub>2</sub> <sup>e</sup> cuts post peak (%)
39-80% (60%)	2016	2160	1.6-1.7
	2020	2160	3.2-3.3
29-70% (50%)	2016	1998	2.8-3.0
	2020	1998	5.3-5.7
21-60% (41%)	2016	1836	4.6-5.0
	2020	1836	8.9-10.0
15-50% (38%)	2016	1654	8.0-9.1
	2020	1654	17.8-22.8

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# Obs!

The collective effect of implementing the 2015 INDCs would be a rise in global GHG emissions of 37-52 per cent relative to 2030 with no peak in sight despite slow in rate of emissions growth!

(source: [unfccc.int/resource/docs/2015/cop21/eng/07.pdf](http://unfccc.int/resource/docs/2015/cop21/eng/07.pdf))

# Common but differentiated responsibility (CBDR)

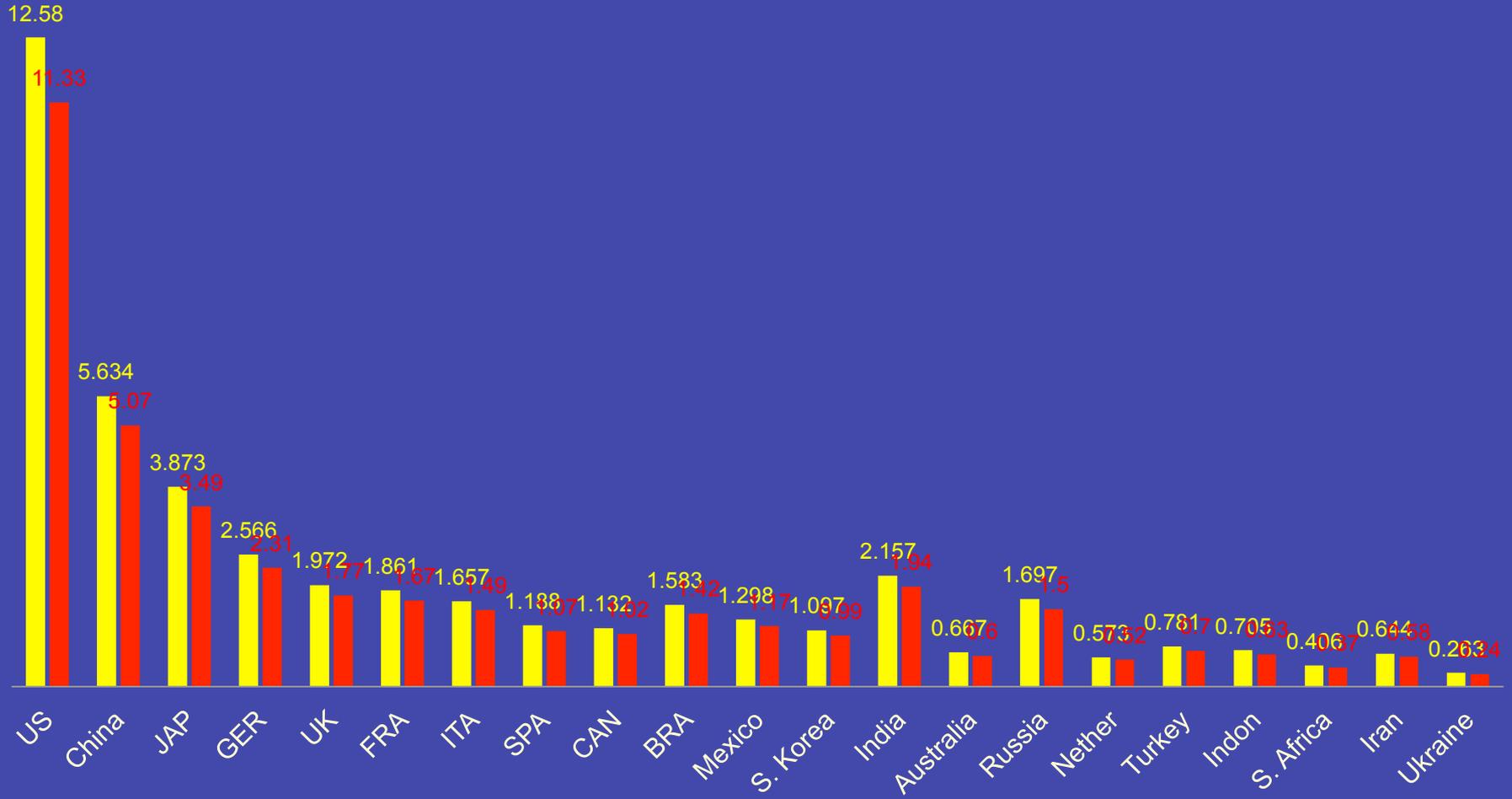
“the global nature of climate change calls for the widest possible cooperation by all countries and their participation in an effective and appropriate international response, in accordance with their **common but differentiated responsibilities** and respective capabilities and their social and economic conditions” (UNFCCC: 1992)

# Justice in emissions: three principles

- Equal emissions cuts
- Equal costs of making emissions cuts
- Equal per capita emissions entitlements

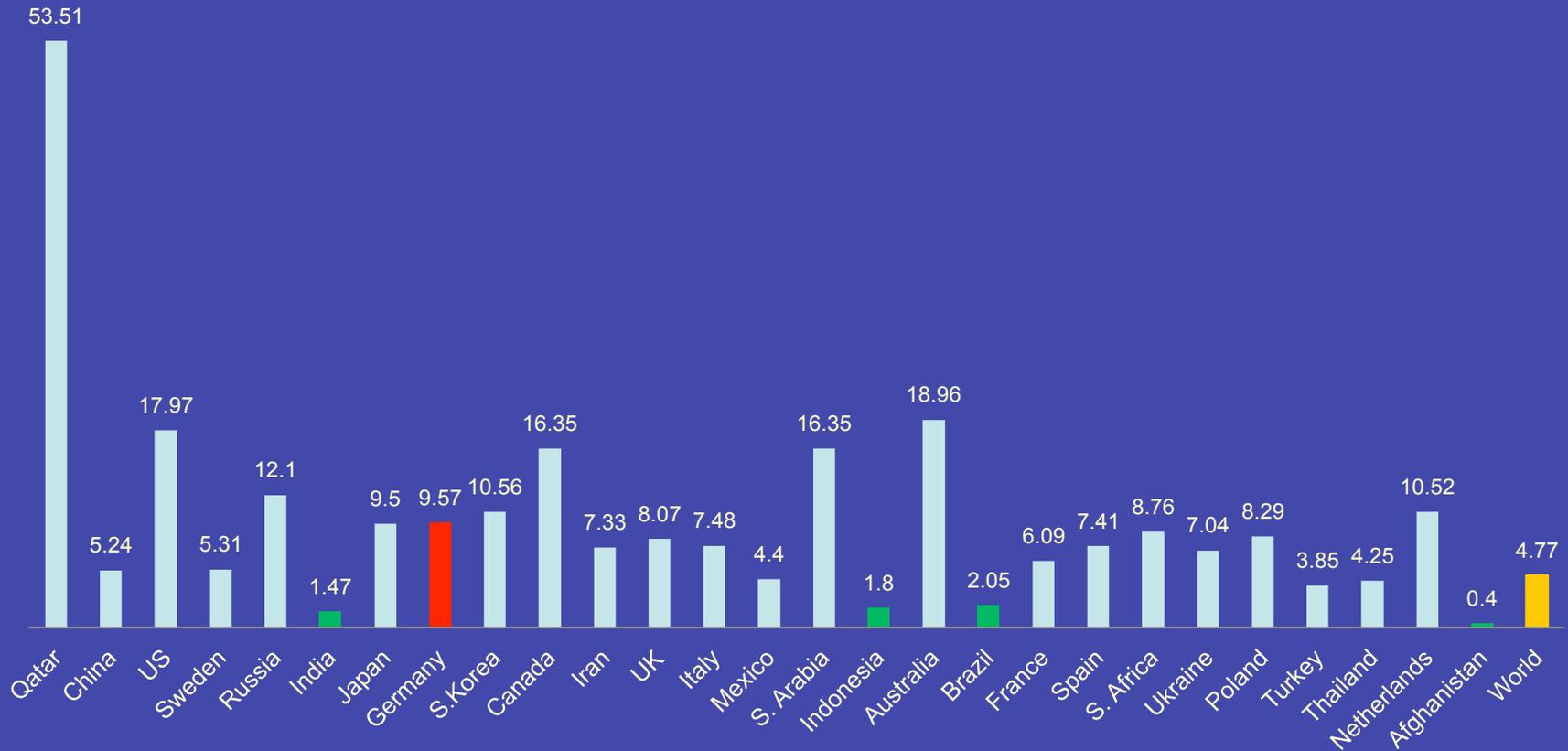
# GDP in 2005 (World Bank)

■ 2005 GDP in trillions of 2005 international US\$ (PPP)



# CO<sub>2</sub> emissions per capita (2008)

- Qatar    China    US    Sweden    Russia    India    Japan
- Germany    S.Korea    Canada    Iran    UK    Italy    Mexico
- S. Arabia    Indonesia    Australia    Brazil    France    Spain    S. Africa
- Ukraine    Poland    Turkey    Thailand    Netherlands    Afghanistan    World



# Mitigation: Questions for Paris

- Making sense of variation ambition of INDCs ('intended nationally determined contributions')
- Agreeing a global emissions reductions objective: zero net emissions v 40-70% below 2010 levels by 2050 in order to stay below 2C rise?
- Role of market-based mechanisms (oil tax (Ecuador) v global carbon trading mechanism (Brazil))
- Deforestation and land use emissions (& withdrawals)
- Targeting aviation and shipping emissions

### 3. 'Justice in adaptation'

Who should bear the burdens associated with undertaking action to adapt to climate change so as to reduce its harmful consequences?



# Climate adaptation: where are we now?

**Adaptation burden**: “Costs of planning, preparing for, facilitating, and implementing *adaptation* measures, including transition costs” (IPCC, 2007).

**Estimated annual cost** of effective set of adaptation measures in developing states, assuming warming of 2°C, will be \$US 70-100 billion over the 2010-2050 period (World Bank, 2010).

**Cost estimates** are necessary provisional due to (i) uncertainties associated with the magnitude/rate of warming; (ii) poor state of knowledge of adaptation opportunities/costs in many states; (iii) the unknown cost of developed world adaptation (Frankhauser, 2010).

**Copenhagen Accord** (2009): “In the context of meaningful mitigation actions and transparency on implementation, developed countries commit to a goal of mobilizing jointly USD 100 billion dollars a year by 2020 to address the needs of developing countries.”

**Cancun Adaptation Framework** (2011-): developed country Parties to UNFCCC requested to “provide developing country Parties, taking into account the needs of those that are particularly vulnerable, with long-term, scaled-up, predictable, new and additional finance, technology and capacity-building” (UNFCCC, 2010: Decision 1/CP.16).

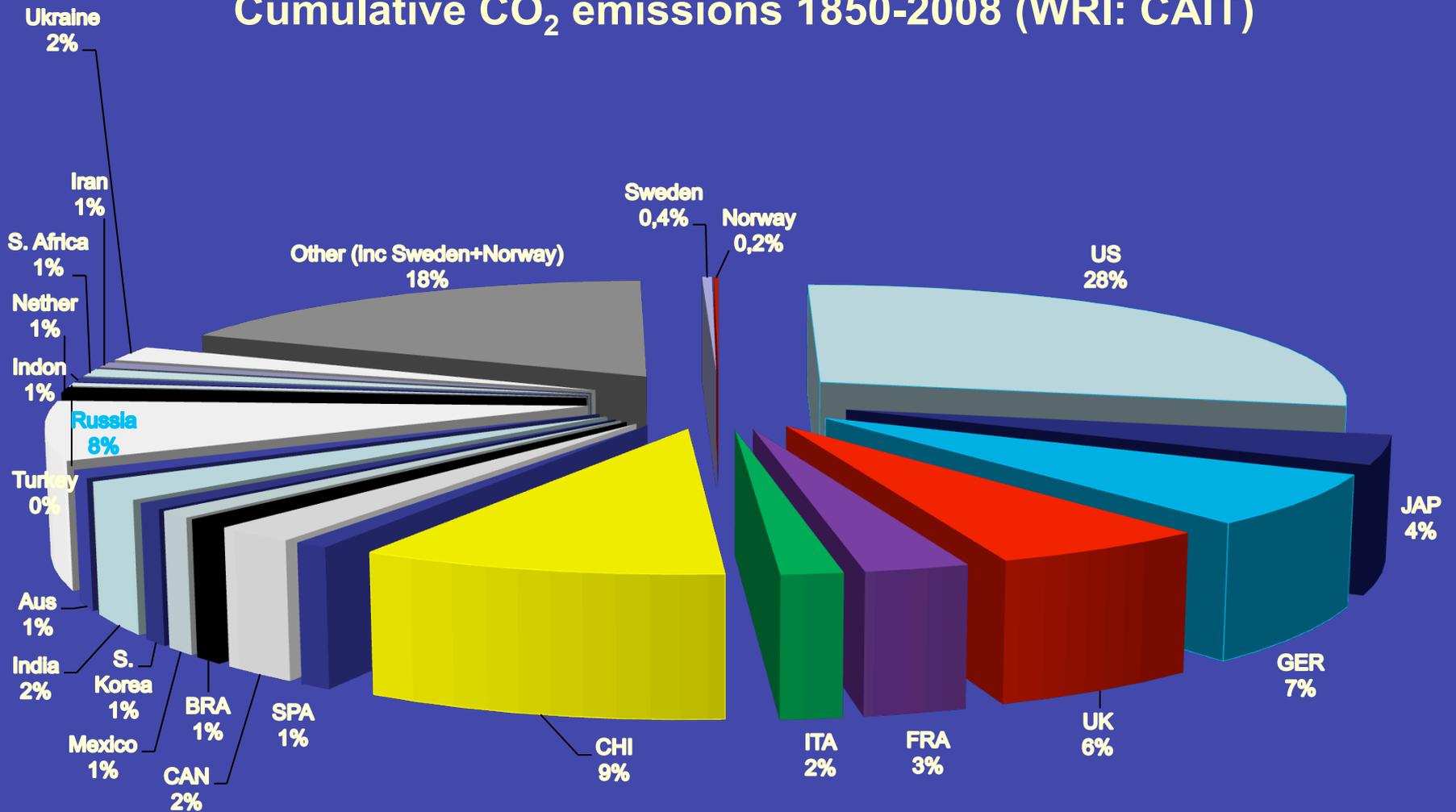
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# Three principles

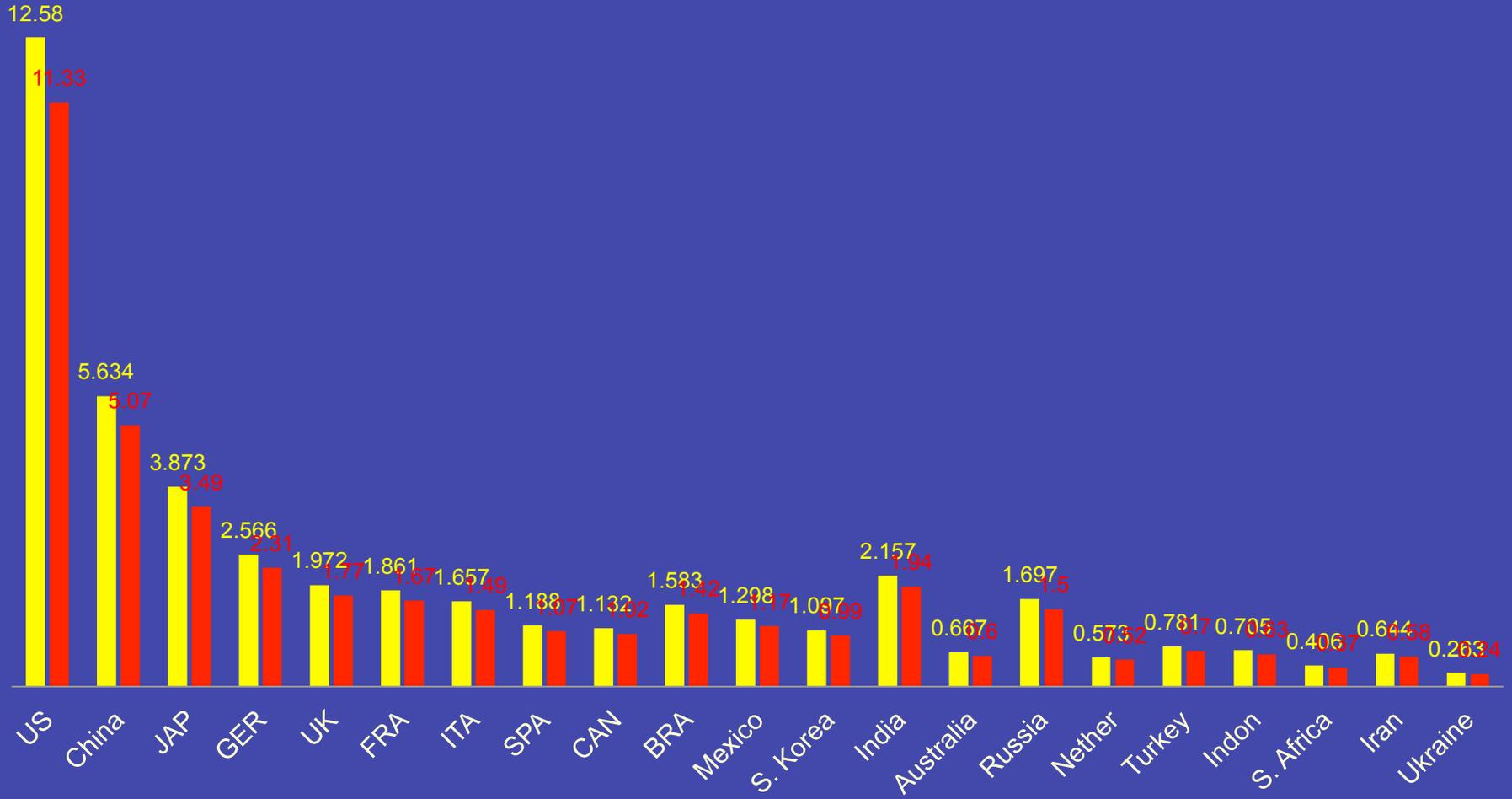
- ‘Contribution to problem’ (CPP)
- ‘Ability to Pay’ (APP)
- ‘Beneficiary Pays’ (BPP)

# Cumulative CO<sub>2</sub> emissions 1850-2008 (WRI: CAIT)

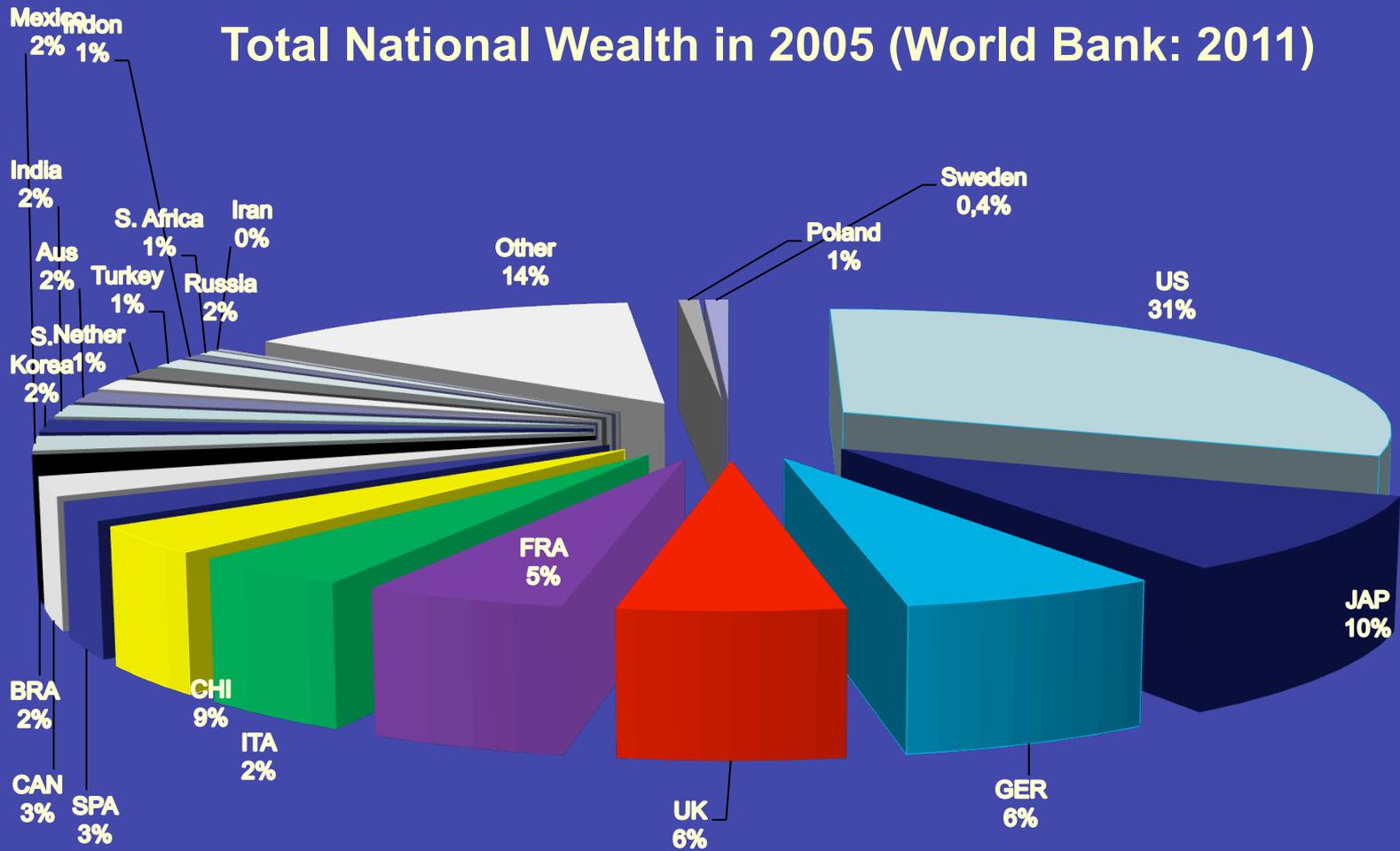


# GDP in 2005 (World Bank)

■ 2005 GDP in trillions of 2005 international US\$ (PPP)



# Total National Wealth in 2005 (World Bank: 2011)

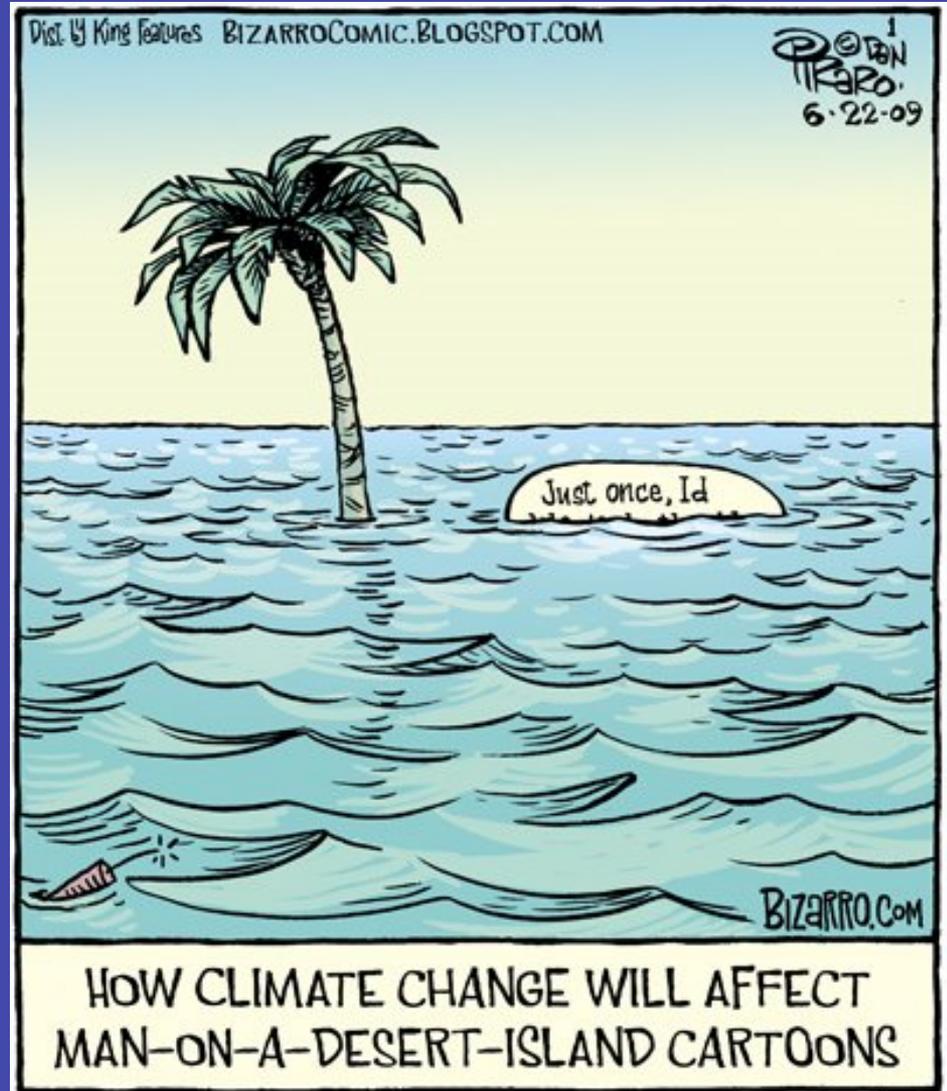


# Adaptations: Questions for Paris

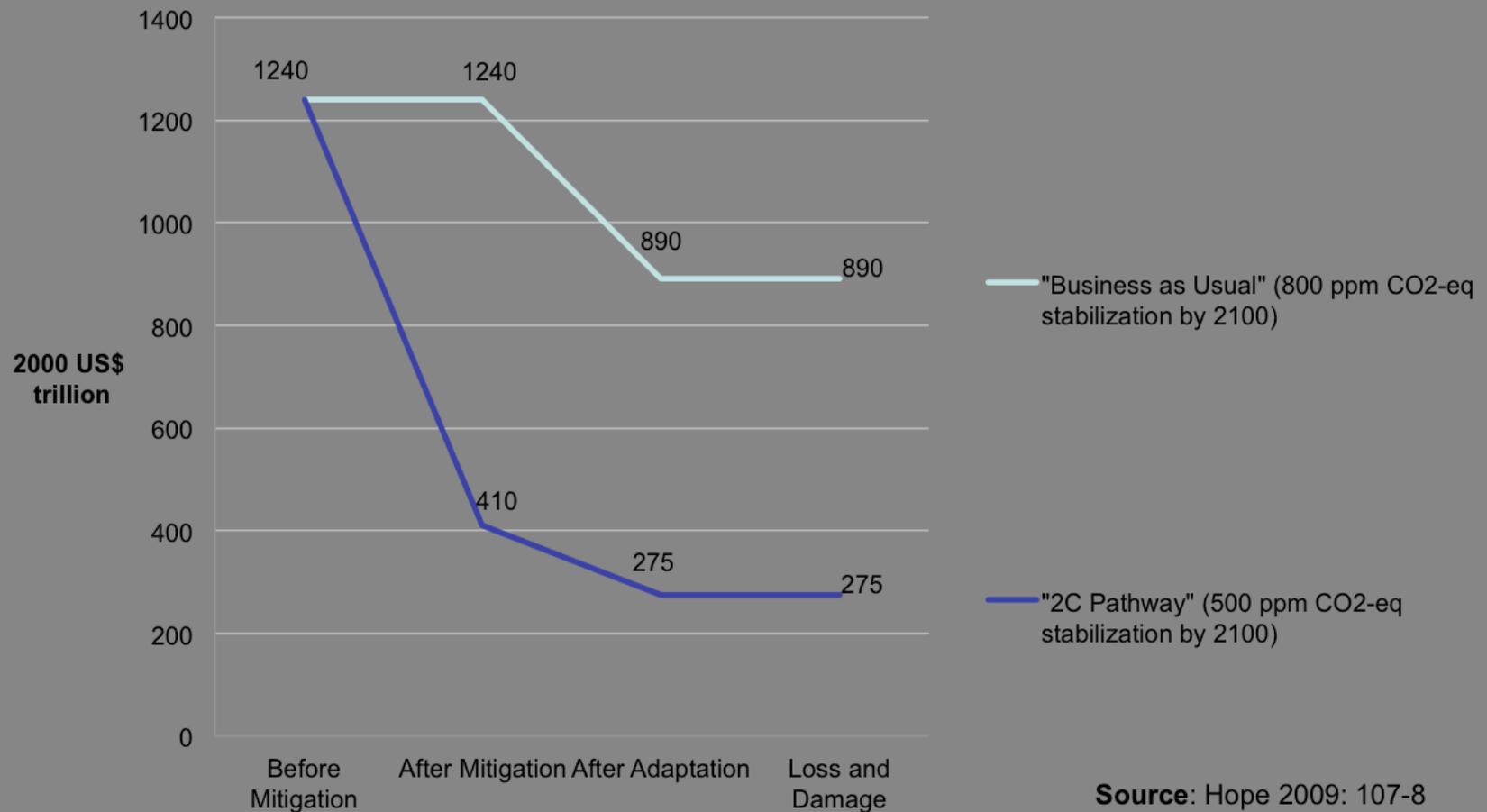
- Making sense of variation in adaptation ambitions of INDCs and National Adaptation Plans (NAPs)
- Closing the adaptation funding gap (currently 16% of current climate change funding). Eg, Oxfam: \$35bn pa by 2020 / \$100bn pa by 2030.
- Burden sharing rules: who should pay and how much?
- Responsibilities of recipients of funding

## 4. 'Justice in loss & damage'

What should be done about climate change-linked disruptions to the lives of populations after mitigation and adaptation has been attempted?



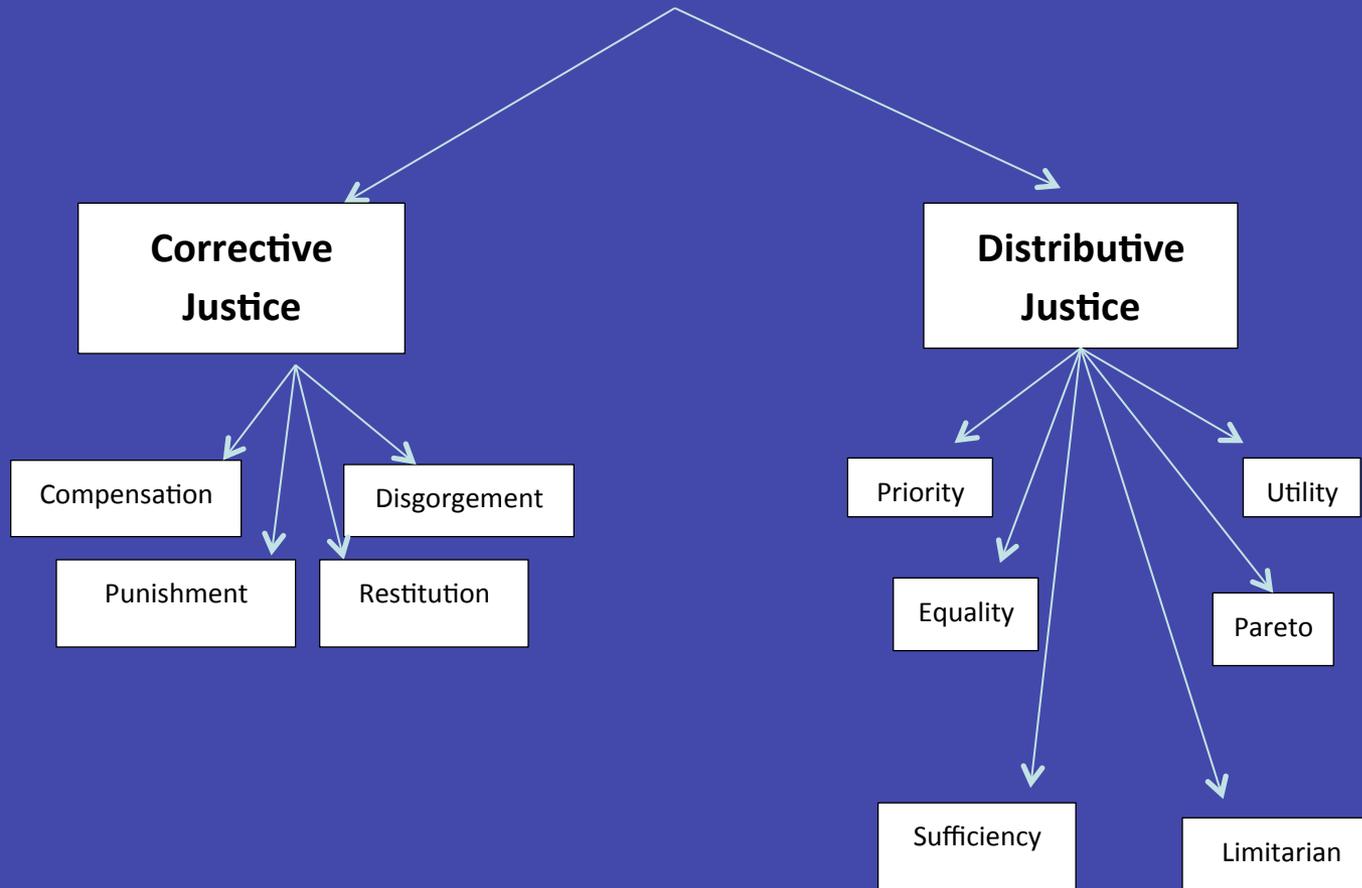
## Figure 2: Net present value of global economic cost of climate change 2000-2200



## A brief history of loss and damage

	Document / Milestone	Author / Decision
2013	Warsaw International Mechanism for Loss and Damage: 'enhancing knowledge and understanding', 'strengthening dialogue, coordination, coherence and synergies' and 'enhancing action and support' of approaches to loss and damage	UNFCCC: 2/CP.19
2012	Special Report Managing the Risks of Extreme Events and Disasters to Advance Climate Change Adaptation	IPCC SREX
2012	Literature review addressing 'a range of approaches to address loss and damage associated with the adverse effects of climate change'	UNFCCC: SBI/2012/INF.14
2012	Submission of Nauru on behalf of The Alliance of Small Island States to UNFCCC	Nauru/AOSIS
2012	Doha Climate Gateway	UNFCCC: 3/CP.18
2011	Durban Work Programme on Loss and Damage	UNFCCC: 7/CP.17
2010	The Cancun Adaptation Framework: 'Work Programme...to address loss and damage associated with climate change impacts and developing countries on loss and damage associated with climate change impacts in developing countries that are particularly vulnerable to the adverse effects of climate change'	UNFCCC: 1/CP.16
2008	Proposal for a Multi-Window to Address Loss and Damage from Climate Change Impacts	AOSIS
2007	Bali Action Plan: 'Enhanced action on adaptation, including, inter alia, consideration of...disaster reduction strategies and means to address loss and damage associated with climate change impacts in developing countries that are particularly vulnerable to the adverse effects of climate change'	UNFCCC: 1/CP.13
1992	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change	UNFCCC

# Justice-based to loss & damage



Taking a corrective  
(compensatory) justice  
approach...

1. *Getting the compensatory response right*: a just approach to loss and damage means fitting the type of compensation to the type of loss or damage, i.e. “Means for means” and “ends for ends”. This is the case even if it is cheaper to ends-displace than to means-replace/repair.
2. *Priority of prevention and adjustment over all forms of climatic compensation*: responses to climate change should focus on protecting ends and ensuring that ends-displacement compensation is unnecessary. This means more, not less, adaptation & mitigation.
3. *The need to go beyond compensation*: understanding the limits of compensation highlights the need to consider what might count as suitable measures of “satisfaction”.

# Loss & damage: Questions for Paris

- Towards a stable and practically operationalizable definition of loss & damage
- What social and environmental conditions qualify as loss&damage?
- Distinguishing loss&damage from adaptation
- Dealing with questions of attribution, liability, & compensation
- Debating concrete mechanisms to deal with loss&damage (e.g. 'index based insurance')

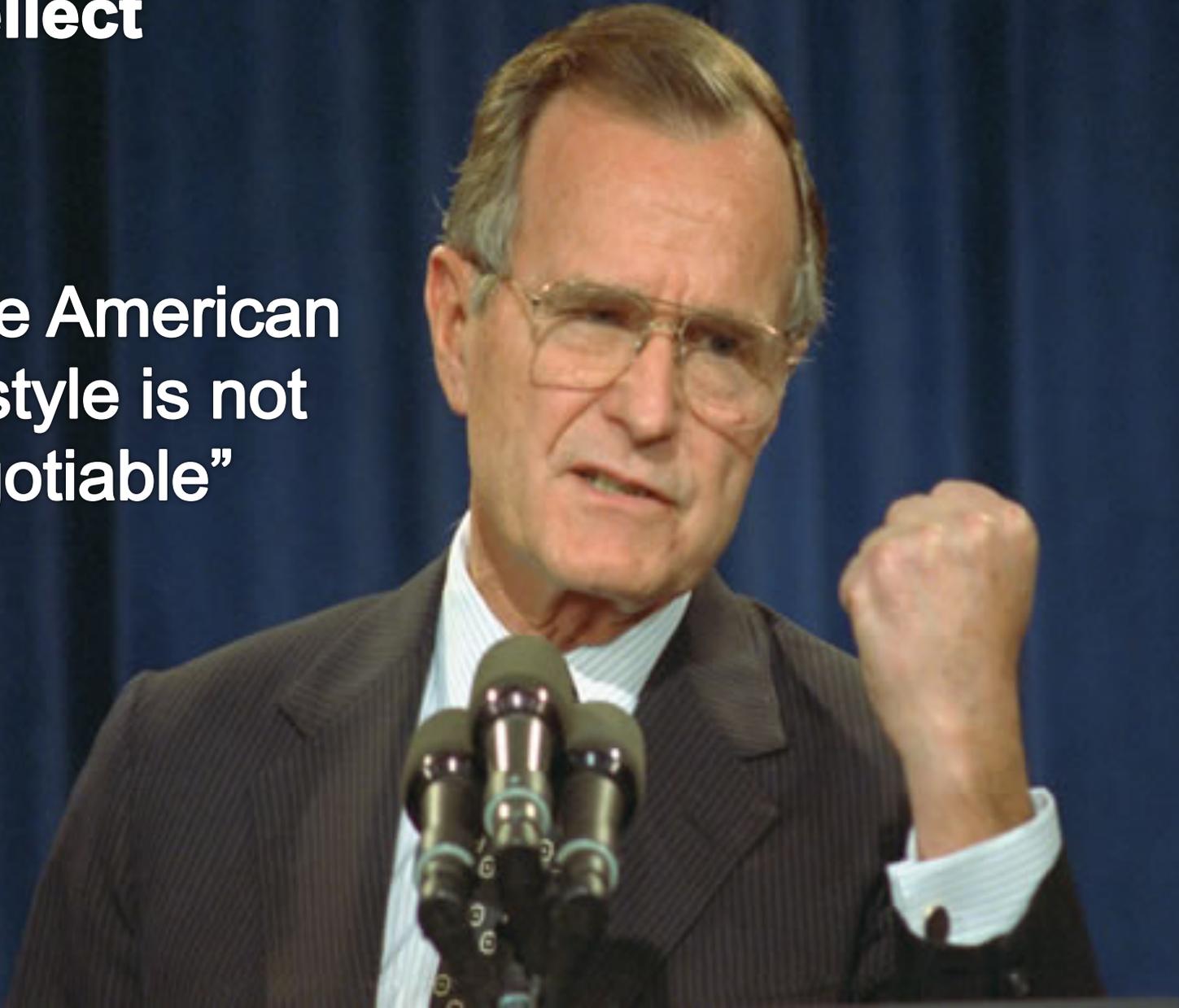
# The Politics of Climate Change

**Ben Richardson**



# Pessimism of the intellect

“The American  
lifestyle is not  
negotiable”



# Optimism of the will

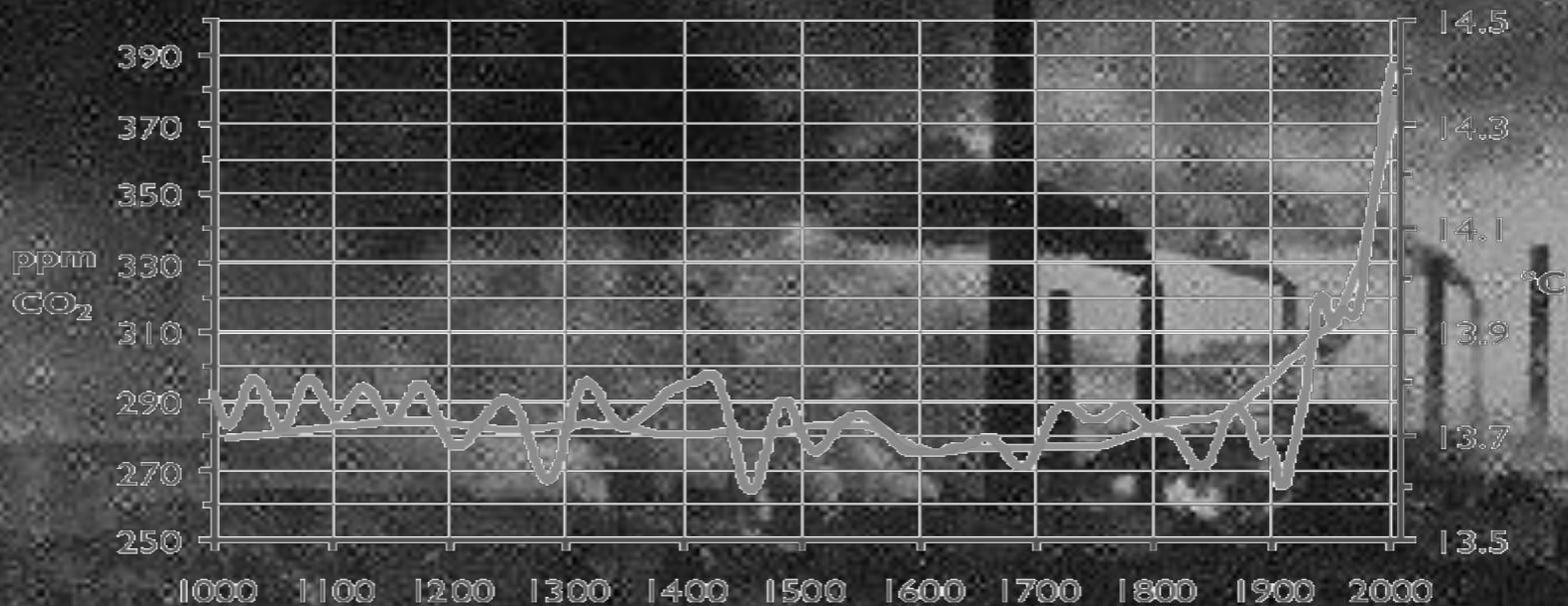


A black and white portrait of Antonio Gramsci, a young man with dark, wavy hair, looking slightly to the right. He is wearing a dark suit jacket over a white shirt and a dark tie. The background is a plain, light color.

**Antonio  
Gramsci  
(1891-1937)  
Political  
theorist  
and  
socialist**

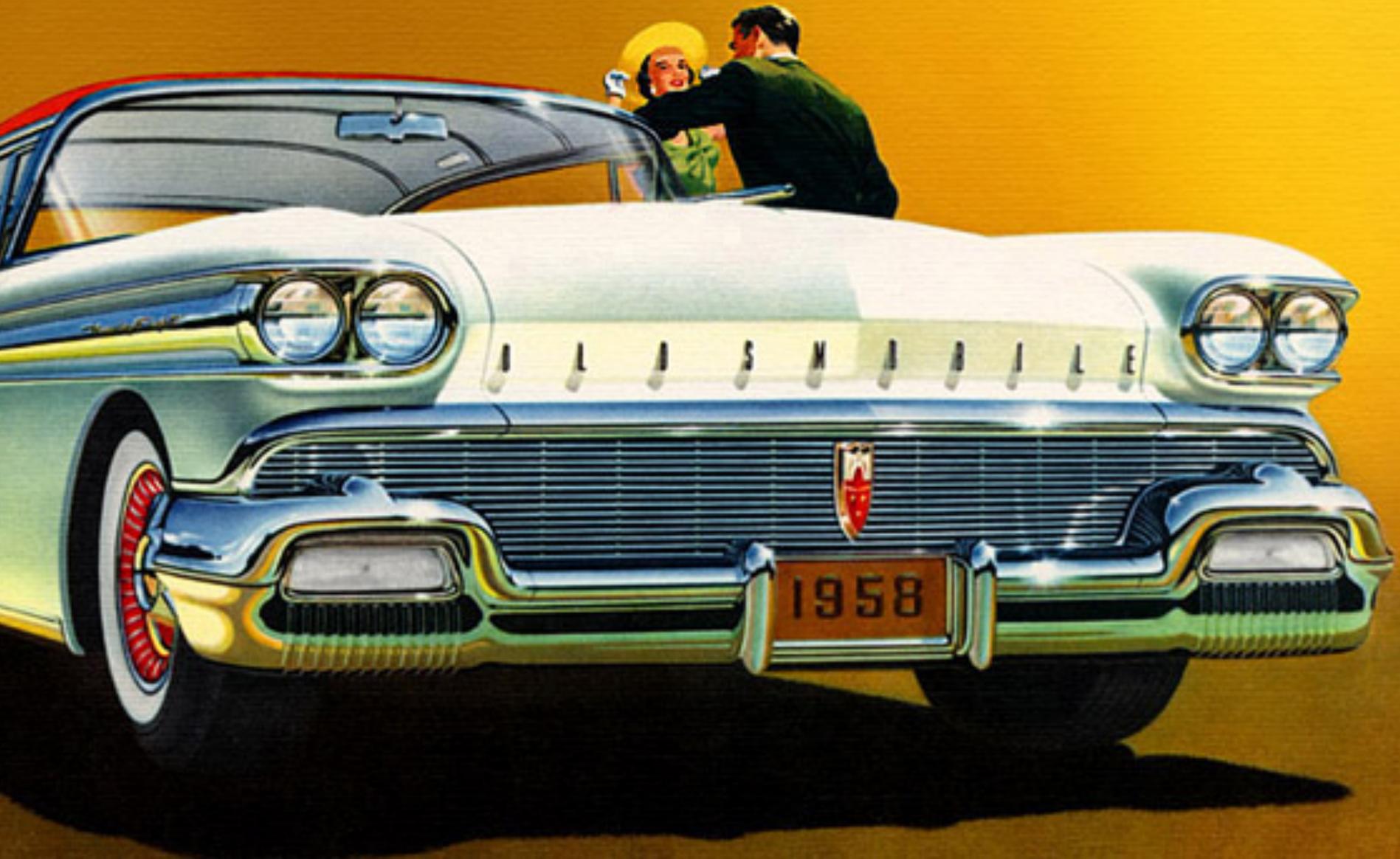
# Do we need to change capitalism?

The historical conjuncture of capitalism and anthropogenic climate change is no coincidence...



...and the accumulation drive and the inequalities this generates continues to shape climate politics

**Political control rests on coercion and consent (hegemony)**





**Hegemony is maintained but also challenged in civil society (counter-hegemony)**

A photograph of a village with many houses, each with solar panels installed on their roofs. The houses are built on a hillside, and the roofs are mostly red or brown. The solar panels are blue and rectangular, arranged in rows on the roofs. The background shows green hills and trees.

**How can  
environmentalism become  
hegemonic?**

**#1 Gain credibility for a  
different economic system**



**#2 Satisfy  
people's spiritual  
needs**



**#3 Have  
organic  
intellectuals act  
as permanent  
persuaders**

**#4 Find a 'prince'  
to be the vehicle  
of change**





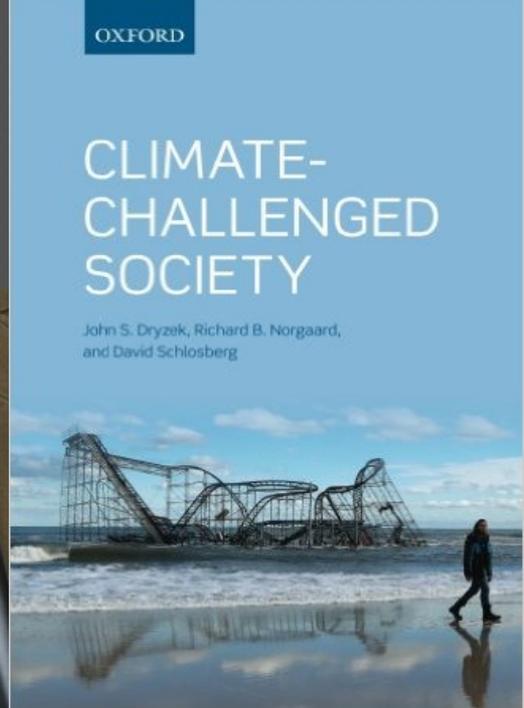
**#5 Avoid passive  
revolution**



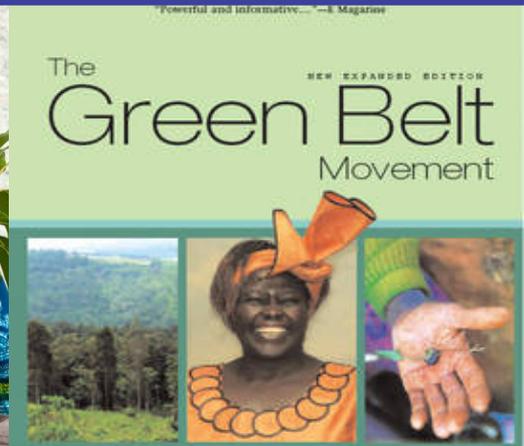
**and passive  
resistance**



**THIS  
CHANGES  
EVERY  
THING**



**ROGER  
SCRUTON**  
  
**GREEN  
PHILOSOPHY**  
  
HOW TO THINK  
SERIOUSLY ABOUT  
THE PLANET



Sharing the Approach  
and the Experience

RECIPIENT OF THE 2014 NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

**Wangari Maathai**

**Environmentalism 'from below'**



## **Conclusion**

**Responses to climate change require collective action and mobilisation**

**Gramscian thought offers one way of theorising this: counter-hegemonic projects that are economically credible, spiritually satisfying, culturally persuasive and politically**