

Chapter 14: International cooperation

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Date of Draft: 15/01/2020

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1 **Executive summary**

2 **New forms of international cooperation have emerged since AR5 in line with an evolving**
3 **understanding of effective mitigation policies, processes, and institutions, and together with pre-**
4 **existing forms these are vital for achieving climate mitigation goals in the context of sustainable**
5 **development** (*robust evidence, high agreement*). Since AR5, international cooperation has shifted
6 towards facilitating national level mitigation action through numerous channels, including both
7 processes established under the UNFCCC regime and through regional and sectoral agreements and
8 organisations. International cooperation is now believed to be effective at helping countries achieve
9 long-term mitigation targets when it directly supports countries' development and diffusion of low-
10 carbon technologies, often at the level of individual sectors, which can simultaneously lead to
11 significant benefits in the areas of sustainable development and equity (*medium evidence, medium*
12 *agreement*). While previous assessments have noted important synergies between the outcomes of
13 climate mitigation and achieving sustainable development objectives, there now appear to be synergies
14 between the two processes themselves (*medium evidence, high agreement*). {14.2, 14.3, 14.5, 14.6}

15 **International cooperation under the UN climate regime has taken an important new direction**
16 **with the conclusion and entry into force of the 2015 Paris Agreement, which strengthened the**
17 **objective of the UN climate regime, including its long-term temperature goal, but adopted a**
18 **different architecture to that of the Kyoto Protocol to achieve it** (*robust evidence, high agreement*).
19 The core national commitments under the Kyoto Protocol have been legally binding quantified emission
20 targets for developed countries based on common metrics and tied to well-defined mechanisms for
21 monitoring and enforcement. By contrast the commitments under the Paris Agreement are procedural,
22 extend to all parties, and are designed to trigger domestic policies and measures, enhance transparency,
23 and stimulate climate investments, particularly in developing countries, and to lead iteratively to rising
24 levels of ambition across all countries (*robust evidence, high agreement*). Issues of equity remain of
25 central importance in the UN climate regime, notwithstanding shifts in the operationalisation of
26 'common but differentiated responsibilities' from Kyoto to Paris. {14.3}

27 **There are conflicting views on whether the Paris Agreement's commitments and mechanisms will**
28 **lead to the attainment of its stated goals.** The strongest critique of the Paris Agreement is that it lacks
29 a mechanism to review the adequacy of individual Parties' Nationally Determined Contributions
30 (NDCs), and that collectively current NDCs are inconsistent in their level of ambition with achieving
31 the Paris Agreement's temperature goal (*robust evidence, high agreement*). Arguments in support of
32 the Paris Agreement are that the processes it initiates and supports will lead in multiple ways to rising
33 levels of ambition over time (*medium evidence, medium agreement*). These are met with counter
34 arguments, either suggesting that the incentives created under the Paris Agreement are insufficient to
35 lead to the necessary changes, or that these changes will not occur in time (*medium evidence, medium*
36 *agreement*). The extent to which countries increase the ambition of and effectively implement their
37 NDCs will depend in part on the successful implementation of the support mechanisms in the Paris
38 Agreement, and in turn will determine whether the goals of the Paris Agreement are met. {14.3, 14.4}

39 **The Paris Agreement is intended to support all countries in setting and achieving ambitious**
40 **mitigation targets, however other forms of international cooperation provide critical support for**
41 **such actions in particular regions, sectors and industries, types of emissions, and at the sub-**
42 **national level** (*medium evidence, high agreement*). Social science modelling suggests that sub-global
43 and regional cooperation, often described as 'climate clubs,' can play an important role in accelerating
44 mitigation, including the potential for reducing mitigation costs through linking national carbon
45 markets, although actual examples of these remain limited (*medium evidence, high agreement*).
46 Agreements addressing ozone depletion, transboundary air pollution, and release of mercury are all
47 leading to reductions in the emissions of specific greenhouse gases (*robust evidence, high agreement*).

1 Cooperation is occurring at multiple governance levels, including cities, with trans-national
2 partnerships and alliances involving non-state and sub-state actors playing a growing role in stimulating
3 low-carbon technology diffusion and emissions reductions (*medium evidence, medium agreement*).
4 Such trans-national efforts include those focused on climate litigation; for these, the impacts are unclear
5 but promising. Climate change is being addressed in a growing number of international agreements
6 operating at sectoral levels, as well as within the practices of a number of multilateral organisations and
7 institutions (*robust evidence, high agreement*). {14.2, 14.4, 14.5, 14.6}

8 **International cooperation is proving effective, yet would need to be strengthened in several key**
9 **respects in order to support mitigation action consistent with limiting temperature rise to well**
10 **below 2°C in the context of sustainable development and equity (*medium evidence, high***
11 ***agreement*)**. There are multiple metrics of effectiveness in the literature. In relation to *environmental*
12 effectiveness, while overall greenhouse gases (GHGs) have continued to rise through at least 2018,
13 there are some areas where international cooperation has already had an effect, such as reducing many
14 countries' CO₂ emissions from the AFOLU sector, as well as emissions of some non-CO₂ greenhouse
15 gases (*medium evidence, medium agreement*). In other areas where effectiveness can be assessed –
16 transformative potential, distributive outcomes, economic performance, and institutional strength –
17 international cooperation is having a positive effect, but one that is as yet too weak to achieve the
18 objectives of the Paris Agreement (*medium evidence, medium agreement*). Collectively, countries'
19 NDCs are inadequate for achieving the temperature goal of the Paris Agreement. A large number of
20 developing countries' NDCs are contingent on receiving assistance with respect to finance, technology
21 development and transfer, and capacity-building, to an extent greater than what has been provided to
22 date. Sectoral and sub-global cooperation is providing critical support, and yet there is room for further
23 progress. In some cases, notably with respect to aviation and shipping, sectoral agreements have
24 adopted climate mitigation goals that fall far short of what would be required to achieve the temperature
25 goal of the Paris Agreement. Moreover, there are cases where international cooperation may be
26 hindering mitigation efforts, with evidence that trade and investment agreements, as well as agreements
27 within the energy sector, impede national mitigation efforts (*medium evidence, medium agreement*).
28 {14.2, 14.3, 14.4, 14.5, 14.6}

1 **14.1 Introduction**

2 This chapter assesses the role of international cooperation in mitigating the effects of climate change.
3 Such cooperation includes multilateral global cooperative agreements between nation states such as the
4 1992 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), and its related legal
5 instruments, the 1997 Kyoto Protocol and the 2015 Paris Agreement, but also plurilateral agreements
6 involving fewer states, as well as those focused on particular economic and policy sectors, such as
7 components of the energy system. Moreover, this chapter assesses the role of transnational agreements
8 and cooperative arrangements between non-state and sub-state actors, including municipal
9 governments, private-sector firms and industry consortia, and civil society organisations. This chapter
10 does not assess international cooperation within the European Union, as this is covered in Chapter 13
11 of this report.

12 Past IPCC assessment reports have discussed the theoretical literature, providing insights into the
13 rationale for international cooperation, as well as guidance as to its structure and implementation. This
14 chapter limits such theoretical discussion primarily to the new developments since AR5. Important
15 developments in this respect include attention to climate clubs (groups of countries and potentially non-
16 state actors that can work together to achieve particular objectives), and the effects of framing the global
17 climate change mitigation challenge as one of accelerating a socio-technical transition or
18 transformation, shifting development pathways accordingly, in addition to (or rather than) solving a
19 global commons problem. This chapter draws from theory to identify a set of criteria by which to assess
20 the effectiveness of existing form of international cooperation.

21 The rest of this chapter describes the existing cooperative international agreements, institutions, and
22 initiatives with a view to clarifying how they operate, what effects they are meant to have, and
23 ultimately, whether they work. At the heart of this lies the Paris Agreement, which sets the overall
24 framework for international cooperation under the UNFCCC at the global scale. In many ways, the
25 Paris Agreement fundamentally reshapes the intention and structure of such cooperation, from one
26 oriented towards target setting, monitoring, and enforcement, to one that is oriented towards supporting
27 and enabling nationally determined actions, as well as catalysing non-state and sub-state actions at
28 multiple levels of governance. In addition to the Paris Agreement, many forms of cooperation have
29 taken shape in parallel: those designed to address other environmental problems that have a significant
30 impact on climate mitigation; those operating at the sub-global or sectoral level; and, those where the
31 main participants are non-state actors. The chapter ends with a synthetic overall assessment of the
32 effectiveness of international cooperation as it exists today, and identifies areas where the need for
33 improved international cooperation is acute.

34 **14.1.1 Key findings from AR5**

35 AR5 found that two characteristics of climate change make international cooperation essential: that it
36 is a global commons problem that needs to be addressed in a coordinated fashion at the global
37 scale; and, that, given the global diversity with respect to opportunities for and cost of mitigation, there
38 are economic efficiencies associated with cooperative solutions (13.2.1.1). Consequently, AR5
39 found evidence to suggest that climate policies that are implemented across geographical regions would
40 be more effective in terms of both their environmental consequences and their economic costs (13.13,
41 13.6, 14.4). AR5 also suggested that regional cooperation could offer opportunities beyond what
42 countries may be able to achieve in isolation. The opportunities it noted are due to geographic
43 proximity, shared infrastructure and policy frameworks, trade, and cross-border investments, and
44 examples included renewable energy pools across borders, networks of energy infrastructure and
45 coordinated forestry policies (1.2, 6.6, 15.2, 14.2). AR5 also suggested that policy linkages exist across
46 regional, national, and sub-national scales (13.3.1, 13.5.1.3). For these reasons, AR5 suggested that
47 although UNFCCC remains the primary international forum for climate negotiations, many other

1 institutions engaged at the global, regional, and local levels do and should play an active role
2 (1.3.3.1,13.4.1.4,13.5). Further AR5 noted that the inclusion of climate change issues across a variety
3 of forums often creates institutional linkages between mitigation and adaptation (13.3,13.4.13.5). In
4 addition to centralised cooperation and governance, with a primary focus on the UNFCCC and its
5 associated institutions, AR5 noted the emergence of new transnational climate-related institutions of
6 decentralised authority such as public-private sector partnerships, private sector governance initiatives,
7 transnational NGO programs, and city-led initiatives (13.2,13.3.1,13.12). It noted that these have
8 resulted in a multiplicity of cooperative efforts in the form of multilateral agreements, harmonised
9 national policies and decentralised but coordinated national and regional policies (TS 38, 13.4.1, 13.3.2,
10 14.4). Finally, it suggested that international cooperation may also have a role in promoting a more
11 active engagement of the private sector in technological innovation and cooperative efforts leading to
12 technology transfer and development of new technologies (13.3, 13.9, 13.12).

13 **14.1.2 Developments since AR5**

14 ***14.1.2.1 Negotiation of the Paris Agreement***

15 The key development since AR5 has been the negotiation and adoption of the Paris Agreement, which,
16 while building on the UNFCCC, introduces a new approach to global climate governance. This new
17 approach, as discussed below (Section 14.3.1.1), is driven by the need to engage developing countries
18 in emissions reductions, extend mitigation commitments to those developed countries that had rejected
19 or withdrawn from the Kyoto Protocol, and to respond to the rapidly changing geopolitical context
20 (Section 14.3.1.2).

21 ***14.1.2.2 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the Sustainable Development Goals***

22 It has long been clear that a failure to mitigate climate change would exacerbate existing poverty,
23 accentuates vulnerability and worsens inequality (IPCC 2014), but a new development has been the
24 attempt to harmonise mitigation actions with those oriented towards social and economic development.
25 A key development since AR5 is the adoption of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, which
26 contains 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which offer a aspirational narrative, coherent
27 framework and actionable agenda for addressing diverse issues of development through goals that
28 balance the economic, social and environmental dimensions of sustainable development as well as
29 issues of governance and institutions (ICSU ISSC 2015). Scholars have noted that their implicit logic
30 makes them dependent on each other (Nilsson, Mans, Griggs, Dave, Visbek 2016), and this inter-
31 dependency reflects a belief that it is difficult if not impossible to achieve economic and social gains
32 while neglecting environmental concerns, including climate change (Le Blanc 2015). They are
33 inextricably linked to the Paris Agreement, adopted a few weeks later. There is a growing body of
34 literature that examines the interlinkages between SDGs, including SDG 13 (taking urgent action to
35 combat climate change) and others, concluding that without a proper response to climate change,
36 success in many of the other SDGs would be difficult if not impossible (ICSU ISSC 2015; Le Blanc
37 2015; Nilsson, Mans, Griggs, Dave, Visbek 2016; Weitz et al. 2018). Initiatives such as The World in
38 2050 (TWI2050 2018), a large research initiative by a global consortium of research and policy
39 institutions, work on the premise that pursuing climate action and sustainable development in an
40 integrated and coherent way, based on a sound understanding of development pathways and dynamics
41 offers the strongest approach to enable countries to achieve their objectives in both agreements..

42 ***14.1.2.3 IPCC Special Reports on 1.5°C, Land and Oceans***

43 Further key developments since AR5 include the release of three IPCC special reports. The first of these
44 assessed the differential impacts of limiting climate change to 1.5°C global average warming compared
45 to 2°C warming, indicated the emissions reductions necessary and enabling conditions to stay within
46 this limit (IPCC 2018a). While the events that have unfolded since the report are not yet
47 comprehensively documented in literature, arguably the report has led to a renewed perception of the
48 urgency of climate mitigation (Wolf et al. 2019). In particular, the report appears to have crystallised

1 media coverage in some parts of the world around a need to reduce emissions to net zero by 2050
2 (whether of GHGs or CO₂), rather than delaying such reductions until the latter half of the century, as
3 had been previously understood. Its release is hence one factor explaining the rise in trans-national
4 climate mobilisation efforts (Boykoff and Pearman 2019). It has also played a role, in addition to the
5 Paris Agreement (Geden 2016a), in the numerous announcements, pledges and indications by
6 governments, including by all G-7 countries, of their adoption of net zero GHG targets for 2050. The
7 other two special reports focused on oceans and the cryosphere (IPCC 2019), and the potential of land-
8 related responses to contribute to adaptation and mitigation (IPCC 2020). There has been no literature
9 directly tying the publication of these latter two reports to changes in international cooperation.

10

11 **14.2 Evaluating international cooperation**

12 This section describes recent insights from social-science theory that can shed light on the need for and
13 ideal structure of international cooperation. This section starts by describing developments in framing
14 the underlying problem, move towards a body of theory describing the benefits of multi-lateral but sub-
15 global action, and ends with a theory-based articulation of assessment criteria.

16 **14.2.1 Framing concepts for assessment of the Paris Agreement**

17 Scholars have long framed climate mitigation as a problem of managing a global commons or public
18 good. Since AR5 the literature reflects an increasing attention to framing it as accelerating a
19 transformation to a low carbon society, and a sustainable development pathway, with a set of challenges
20 associated with such evolution taking place quickly (Patt 2017). As described briefly in this section,
21 there are clear points of overlap between these two framings in the application to challenges of
22 international cooperation, but there are also important differences. A brief explanation of these issues
23 is important for assessing the value of existing international cooperation and understanding whether
24 new forms of cooperation are valuable. This is especially the case when understanding climate
25 mitigation as being embedded in process of sustainable development more generally, as described in
26 Chapter 4 of this report.

27 Previous IPCC reports frame climate change mitigation as a public good, because everybody can enjoy
28 the benefits of a more stable climate, and because the enjoyment of a stable climate by one party does
29 not interfere with its enjoyment by others (Stavins et al. 2014). This is consistent with framing climate
30 change as a tragedy of the commons problem (Gordon 1954; Hardin 1968). Within this framing, the
31 incentives for mitigation at the global level are greater than they are for any single country, since the
32 latter does not enjoy the benefits of its own mitigation efforts that accrue outside its own borders. This
33 framing does not preclude that countries would engage in mitigation, even ambitious mitigation, but it
34 suggests that these countries' level of ambition and speed of abatement would be greater still were they
35 part of a cooperative agreement. Only a fully multilateral binding agreement, covering all or most of
36 the countries of the world, would achieve the global optimum. As discussed in previous IPCC reports,
37 theoretical economists have shown that reaching such a global agreement is impeded by countries'
38 incentive to free-ride, namely benefit from other countries' abatement efforts while failing to abate
39 themselves (Barrett 1994; Gollier and Tirole 2015). Numerical models that integrate game theoretic
40 concepts, whether based on optimal control theory or on dynamic programming (see Annex C to this
41 report), have consistently confirmed this insight, at least in the absence of transfers (Germain et al.
42 2003; Lessmann et al. 2015; Chander 2017). For this reason, several recent (Stavins et al. 2014;
43 Battaglini and Harstad 2016; Asheim et al. 2006; Froyn and Hovi 2008) contributions have drawn
44 attention to the benefits of regional or sectoral agreements, or agreements focused on a particular subset
45 of GHGs, which can be seen as building blocks towards a global approach (Asheim et al. 2006; Froyn
46 and Hovi 2008; Sabel and Victor 2017; Stewart et al. 2017). In a dynamic context, this gradual approach

1 through building blocks can alleviate the free-riding problem and ultimately lead to global cooperation
2 (Caparrós and Péreau 2017). Other developments based on dynamic game theory suggest also that the
3 free-riding problem can be mitigated if the treaties do not prescribe countries' levels of green investment
4 and the duration of the agreement, as countries can credibly threat potential free-riders with a short-
5 term agreement where green investments will be insufficient due to the hold-up problem (Battaglini and
6 Harstad 2016). Finally, thresholds and potential climate catastrophes have also been shown,
7 theoretically and numerically, to reduce free-riding incentives, especially for countries that may become
8 pivotal in failing to avoid the threshold (Barrett 2013; Emmerling et al. 2020).

9 In addition to mitigation in the form of emissions abatement, innovation in green technologies also has
10 public good features, leading for the same reasons to less innovation than would be globally ideal (Jaffe
11 et al. 2005), and falling prey to the same incentives for countries to free-ride on other countries' efforts.
12 Here as well theory suggests that there are benefits from cooperation on technology development at the
13 regional or sectoral levels, but also that cooperation on technology, especially for breakthrough
14 technologies, may prove to be easier than for abatement (El-Sayed and Rubio 2014; Rubio 2017).

15 While the public goods and global commons framing identifies misaligned incentives as the primary
16 barrier to mitigation taking place at a pace that would be globally optimal, a separate body of theory
17 focuses on path dependent processes as an impediment to the deployment of the needed technologies.
18 Many of the contributions to this theory lie within the discipline of economics, complementing and in
19 no way contradicting the work on public goods. A growing body of work in this area, however, comes
20 from other social sciences, based on the empirical study of historical cases of wholesale technological
21 transitions. Since AR5 this body of theory, which can be referred to as the technological transitions
22 framing, has taken on greater prominence in the scholarly literature, as described in detail in Chapter 1,
23 Section 1.6.4 of this report.

24 The roots of this transitions framing can be found in evolutionary economics. Here the guiding questions
25 are not concerned with market failures – and indeed evolutionary economics does not start from a
26 general hypothesis of efficient markets – but rather the processes that accelerate or postpone changes
27 in economic production and consumption systems. A core finding is that established technologies enjoy
28 lower production costs – as a result of past innovation and learning by doing – as well as higher value
29 to consumers, when such value correlates positively with the number of other people using the same
30 technology. These factors make it initially costly and unattractive to switch from an established
31 technology to a newer one, even if the new one is objectively superior (Arthur 1989). This mirrors the
32 conclusion of the dynamic economics literature, where the combination of infrastructure lock-in,
33 network effects with high switching cost, and dynamic market failures suggests that deployment and
34 adoption of clean technologies is path dependent (Aghion et al. 2014; Acemoglu et al. 2012), with a
35 multiplicity of possible equilibria. This implies that no outcome is guaranteed, although the most likely
36 pathway will depend on economic expectations and initial conditions of the innovation process
37 (Krugman 2011). Therefore, the government has a role to play, either by shifting expectations (e.g.
38 credibly committing to climate policy), or by changing initial conditions (e.g. investing in green
39 infrastructure or subsidising clean energy research) (Aghion et al. 2014; Acemoglu et al. 2012).

40 As with the global commons framing, general conclusion of the evolutionary economics literature is
41 that government intervention is needed (Acemoglu et al. 2014), in particular given the irreversibility of
42 energy investments and the extremely long periods of operation of the typical energy investment
43 (Baldwin et al. 2020; Caparrós et al. 2015). Within the transitions framing, the primary goal of
44 governmental interventions is not to overcome free-riding and the misalignment of incentives, but rather
45 to overcome path-dependant factors such as lock-in, enabling new technologies to flourish (Patt and
46 Lilliestam 2018). This implies a somewhat different policy architecture than that identified by the
47 global commons framing, operating within rather than across separate economic sectors (Geels et al.
48 2017, 2019). There is an emphasis in the transitions literature on adapting the 'regime' within which

1 technologies operate – including physical infrastructure networks, firm production capacities, and
 2 institutional frameworks – in order to fit the new technologies’ particular performance profiles
 3 (Mazzucato 2016; Geels 2002; Grubb et al. 2014; Geels et al. 2017; Patt and Lilliestam 2018; Lilliestam
 4 et al. 2012).

5 With respect to international cooperation, the two framings focus on different indicators of progress,
 6 and potentially different types of cooperative action. Within the global commons framing, the primary
 7 indicator of progress is the actual level of GHG emissions, and the effectiveness of policies can be
 8 measured in terms of whether such emissions rise or fall (Patt and Lilliestam 2018). The fact that the
 9 sum of all countries’ emissions has continued to grow (IPCC 2018a), even as there has been a global
 10 recognition that they should decline, can be seen within this framing as being consistent with the
 11 absence of a strong global agreement. Within this framing, there is traditionally an emphasis on treaties
 12 containing self-enforcing agreements (Olmstead and Stavins 2012), ideally through binding
 13 commitments, as a way of dealing with the overarching problem of free-ridership (Barrett 1994; Finus
 14 and Caparrós 2015). However, as discussed above, the emphasis has now shifted to a gradual
 15 cooperation approach, either regional or sectoral, as an alternative way of dealing with free-riding
 16 incentives (Sabel and Victor 2017; Stewart et al. 2017; Caparrós and Péreau 2017)(see Section
 17 15.5.1.4). The gradual linkage of emission trading systems (discussed in Section 15.4.4.4), goes in the
 18 same direction. There is also a literature suggesting that the diversity of the countries involved may in
 19 fact be an asset to reduce the free-rider incentive (Finus and McGinty 2019; Pavlova and De Zeeuw
 20 2013), which argues in favour of a system where developed and developing countries are fully involved
 21 in mitigation, unlike the Kyoto Protocol and in line with the Paris Agreement. Finally, recent efforts
 22 have discussed potential synergies between mitigation and adaptation efforts in a strategic context
 23 (Bayramoglu et al. 2018)(see Section 15.5.1.2) In general, current efforts go beyond considering climate
 24 policy as a mitigation-only issue, much in line with the discussion about linkages between climate
 25 change and sustainable development policies described in detail in Chapter 1 of this report (1.4).

26 In the transitions framing, by contrast, emissions levels are the end (and often greatly delayed) result of
 27 a large number of transformative processes. A given policy may be effective at stimulating such
 28 processes, even if a change in emissions is not yet evident, implying that emissions levels may be a
 29 misleading indicator of progress (Patt 2017). The literature does not identify a single clear indicator to
 30 use instead; there are many metrics of technological progress and transformation, described in Chapter
 31 16, Section 16.3.3 of this report. In the transitions framing, the emphasis with respect to treaty design
 32 is on providing mechanisms to support parties’ voluntary actions, such as with financial and capacity-
 33 building support for new technologies and technology regimes within specific economic sectors (Geels
 34 et al. 2019). This fits quite closely with an understanding of climate mitigation taking place within a
 35 wider development agenda; in many cases it is a lack of development that creates a barrier to rapid
 36 system transformation, which international cooperation can then address. Table 14.1 summarises the
 37 key differences between the framings, with particular attention to the context of international
 38 cooperation.

39
 40 **Table 14.1 Key implications of alternative framings on international cooperation**

Framing	Barriers to mitigation	Treaty architecture	Indicator of progress
Public goods / global commons	Misalignment of incentives, free-riding	Self-enforcing emission reduction commitments, ideally with compliance mechanisms. Gradual cooperation, regional or sectoral, as building-blocks towards global cooperation.	Global and national emissions reductions

Path dependency / technological transition	Lock-in, network effects, existing infrastructure	Financial, capacity-building, and technical and technology support for voluntary actions to switch to green technologies	Multiple metrics including technology costs, market penetration, and performance
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1

2 **14.2.2 Climate Clubs**

3 A recent development in the literature on international climate governance has been increased attention
4 to the potential for climate clubs – sub-global coalitions of states and non-state actors committed to
5 particular mitigation objectives (Victor 2011) – to advance global mitigation objectives. The literature
6 operates within the framing of climate change as a global commons problem, where it had previously
7 been seen as essential for cooperative action to take place globally, modifying that by identifying the
8 potential for valuable sub-global governance. The literature has a static dimension that focuses on the
9 incentives for actors to join such a club, and a dynamic one, which focuses on the “building blocks” for
10 global cooperative agreements.

11 The literature focusing on the static aspects of clubs highlight that they represent “coalitions of the
12 willing” (Falkner 2016a; Gampfer 2016), which offer a package of benefits, some of which are pure
13 public goods, and others being club benefits not accessible to non-club members (Hovi et al. 2016).
14 The latter, members-only or excludable part can be a system of transfers within the club (the coalition)
15 to compensate the countries with higher costs. For example, the benefit from participating in the club
16 can be to have access to a common emissions trading system, which is more attractive the larger the
17 number of countries involved (Doda and Taschini 2017). However, as costs and effort sharing
18 agreements are unsuccessful in a static context (Barrett 1994), mainly due to free-rider incentives,
19 several studies have proposed using tariffs on trade or other forms of sanctions to reduce the free-rider
20 incentives (Al Khourdajie and Finus 2020; Anouliès 2015; Eyland and Zaccour 2012; Helm and Sprinz
21 2000; Nordhaus 2015). In an influential paper, Nordhaus (2015) shows, based on his C-DICE model,
22 that a uniform percentage tariff on the imports of nonparticipants into the club region (at a relatively
23 low tariff rate, about 2%) can induce high participation within a range of carbon price values. More
24 recently, Al Khourdajie and Finus (2020) have confirmed that border carbon adjustments (see Chapter
25 13, Section 13.7.1) can lead to a large stable climate agreement, including full participation, which is
26 associated with large global welfare gains, but only if the club does not restrict membership (open
27 membership). However, there is also literature highlighting the perverse effects of trade sanctions
28 (Böhringer et al. 2015). Table 14.2 presents a number of key results related to climate clubs from a
29 static context.

30

31

Table 14.2 Key climate club static modelling results

	Aakre et al. (2018)	Nordhaus (2015)	Hovi et al. (2019); Sprinz et al. (2018)	Sælen et al. (2020); Sælen (2020)
Scope	Transboundary black carbon & methane in the Arctic	Global	Global	Global
Modelling method	TM5-FASST model	C-DICE	Agent-based model	Agent-based model
Border tax adjustment	No	Yes	No	No
Key results	Black carbon can be more easily	For non-participants in mitigation	Climate clubs can substantially	The architecture of the Paris

	controlled than methane, based on self-interest; inclusion of non-Arctic Council major polluters desirable to control pollutants	efforts, modest tariffs on trade are advised to stabilise coalition for emission reductions	reduce GHG emissions, provided club goods are present. The departure of a single major actor (USA) reduces emissions coverage, yet is rarely fatal to the existence of the club	Agreement will achieve the 2°C goal only under a very fortunate constellation of parameters. US withdrawal further reduces these chances considerably
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1

2 In a dynamic context, the literature on climate clubs highlights the co-called ‘building blocks’ approach
3 (Stewart, Oppenheimer, and Rudyk 2013a; Stewart, Oppenheimer, and Rudyk 2013b; Stewart,
4 Oppenheimer, and Rudyk 2017). This is a bottom-up strategy designed to create an array of smaller-
5 scale, specialised initiatives for transnational cooperation in particular sectors and/or geographic areas
6 with a wide range of participants. Potoski and Prakash (2013) provide a conceptual overview of
7 voluntary environmental clubs, showing that many climate clubs do not require demanding obligations
8 for membership and that a substantial segment thereof are mostly informational (Andresen 2014;
9 Weischer, Morgan, and Patel (2012). Also crafted onto the building blocks approach, Potoski (2017)
10 demonstrates the theoretical potential for green certification and green technology clubs. In this
11 dynamic context, one question is whether to negotiate a single global agreement or to start with smaller
12 agreements in the hope that they will eventually evolve into a larger agreement. This issue has been
13 debated extensively in the context of free trade, where the question is whether a multilateral (global)
14 negotiating approach is better than a regional approach, seen as a building block towards global free
15 trade. Aghion, Antràs, and Helpman (2007) analysed this issue formally for trade, showing that a leader
16 would always choose to move directly to a global agreement. In the case of climate change, it appears
17 that even the mildest form of club discussed above (an efforts and costs sharing agreement, as in the
18 case of the linkage of emission trading systems) can yield global cooperation following a building-
19 blocks approach, and that the sequential path relying on building-blocks may be the only way to reach
20 global cooperation over time (Caparrós and Péreau 2017).

21 Results based on an agent based model suggest that only if there is a sufficiently high value to the club
22 good relative to the public good that a sufficient number of states will want to join the climate club, and
23 hence is an important determinant of whether such a club can grow over time, being a precursor to
24 effective global action (Hovi et al. 2017). In the wake of the United States exiting the Paris Agreement,
25 Sprinz et al. (2018) extended this model to explore whether climate clubs are stable against a leader
26 willing to change its status, e.g., from leader to follower or even completely leaving the climate club
27 (outsider), finding in most cases such stability to exist. Related studies on the macroeconomic incentives
28 for climate clubs by Paroussos et al. (2019) show that climate clubs are reasonably stable, both internally
29 and externally (i.e., no member willing to leave and no new member willing to join), and climate clubs
30 that include obligations in line with the 2°C goal combined with financial incentives to lift the risk
31 premium, facilitate technology diffusion; preferential trade arrangements for low-carbon goods can
32 reduce the macroeconomic effects of mitigation policies. Aakre et al. (2018) show numerically that
33 small groups of countries can limit black carbon in the Arctic, driven mainly for reasons of self-interest,
34 yet reducing methane requires larger coalitions due to its larger geographical dispersal and require
35 stronger cooperation. More conceptually, van den Bergh et al. (2020) propose to create clubs which
36 either entail coalitions of countries levying carbon taxes or creating carbon markets which grow over
37 time, initially externally to the UNFCCC and subsequently embedded within the negotiation structure
38 of the UNFCCC; they do not provide empirical evidence or modelling support.

1 **14.2.3 Assessment criteria**

2 This section identifies a set of criteria for assessing the effectiveness of international cooperation, which
3 is applied later in the chapter. First, lessons from the implementation of other multilateral environmental
4 agreements (MEAs) can provide some guidance, particularly ‘successful’ agreements, such as the
5 Montreal Protocol (Green 2009). There is considerable literature on this topic, most of which predates
6 AR5, and which will therefore not be covered in detail. Issues include ways to enhance compliance,
7 and the fact that a low level of compliance with an MEA does not necessarily mean that the MEA has
8 no effect (Weiss and Jacobson 1998; Victor et al. 1998; Downs et al. 1996). Recent research examines
9 effectiveness from the viewpoint of the extent to which an MEA influences domestic action, including
10 the adoption of implementing legislation and policies (Brandt et al. 2019).

11 Many have pointed to the Montreal Protocol as an example of a successful treaty, and relevant for
12 solving climate change; this literature predates AR5, and is not repeated here. More recent scholarship
13 emphasises that the Paris Agreement has a greater ‘bottom-up’ character than many other MEAs,
14 including the Montreal or Kyoto Protocols, allowing for more decentralised ‘polycentric’ forms of
15 governance that engage diverse actors at the regional, national and sub-national levels (Victor 2016;
16 Jordan et al. 2015; Falkner 2016b; Ostrom 2010). Given this, lessons drawn from studies of MEA
17 regimes need to be supplemented with assessments of the effectiveness of cooperative efforts at other
18 governance levels and in other forums. Emerging research in this area proposes methodologies for this
19 task (Hsu et al. 2019a). Findings highlight the persistence of similar imbalances between developed and
20 developing countries as at the global level, as well as the need for more effective ways to incentivise
21 private sector engagement in transnational climate governance (Chan et al. 2018).

22 While environmental outcomes and economic performance have been long-standing criteria for
23 assessment of effectiveness, the other elements deserve some note. It is the case that the achievement
24 of climate objectives, such as limiting global average warming to 1.5 – 2°C, will require the transition
25 from high- to low-carbon technologies, and the transformation of the sectors and social environments
26 within which those technologies operate. Such transformations are not linear processes, and hence many
27 of the early steps taken – such as supporting early diffusion of new renewable energy technologies –
28 will have little immediate effect on GHG emissions (Patt 2015; Geels et al. 2017). Assessing the
29 transformative potential of international cooperation takes these factors into account. Equity and
30 distributive outcomes are of central importance to the climate change debate, and hence for evaluating
31 the effects of policies. Equity encompasses the notion of distributive justice which refers to the
32 distribution of goods, burdens, costs and benefits among agents (Kverndokk 2018). Finally, the
33 literature on the performance of other MEAs highlights the importance of institutional strength.

34 Institutional strength can include regulative quality, mechanisms to enhance transparency and
35 accountability, and administrative capacity. Regulative quality includes guidance and signalling
36 (Oberthür et al. 2017), as well as clear rules and standards to facilitate collective action (Oberthür and
37 Bodle 2016). The literature is clear that legally binding obligations (which require the formal expression
38 of state consent) and non-binding recommendations can each be appropriate, depending on the
39 particular circumstances (Skjærseth et al. 2006), and indeed it has been argued that for climate change
40 non-binding recommendations may better fit the capacity of global governance organisations (Kinley
41 et al. 2020). Mechanisms to enhance transparency and accountability are essential to collect and analyse
42 relevant data about parties’ implementation of their obligations, and to identify and address challenges
43 in implementation (Kinley et al. 2020). Administrative capacity refers to the strength of the formal
44 bodies established to serve the parties to the regime and help ensure compliance and goal attainment
45 (Anderl and Behrle 2009; Bauer et al. 2017).

46 In addition to building on the social science theory just described, we recognise that it is also important
47 to strike a balance between applying the same standards developed and applied to international
48 cooperation in AR5, and maintaining consistency with other chapters of this report (primarily Chapters

1 1, 4, 13, and 15). Table 14.3 presents a set of criteria that do this, and which are then applied throughout
 2 the remainder of this chapter.

3

4

Table 14.3 Criteria for assessing effectiveness of international cooperation

Criterion	Description
Environmental outcomes	Does international cooperation lead to identifiable environmental benefits, namely the reduction of economy-wide and sectoral emissions of greenhouse gases from pre-existing levels or ‘business as usual’ scenarios?
Transformative potential	Does international cooperation contribute to the enabling conditions for transitioning to a zero-carbon economy and sustainable development pathways at the global, national, or sectoral levels?
Distributive outcomes	Does international cooperation lead to greater equity with respect to the costs, benefits, and burdens of mitigation actions, taking into account current and historical contributions and circumstances?
Economic performance	Does international cooperation promote the achievement of economically efficient and cost-effective mitigation activities?
Institutional strength	Does international cooperation create the institutional framework needed for the achievement of internationally agreed-upon goals, and contribute to national, sub-national, and sectoral institutions needed for decentralised and bottom-up mitigation governance?

5

6 **14.3 The UNFCCC and the Paris Agreement**

7 **14.3.1 The UN climate change regime**

8 **14.3.1.1 Instruments & Milestones**

9 The international climate change regime, in evolution for three decades, comprises the 1992 UNFCCC,
 10 the 1997 Kyoto Protocol, and the 2015 Paris Agreement. The UNFCCC is a ‘framework’ convention,
 11 capturing broad convergence among states on an objective, a set of principles, and general obligations
 12 relating to mitigation, adaptation, reporting and support. The UNFCCC categorises Parties into Annex
 13 I and Annex II, with the former comprising developed country Parties with a GHG stabilisation goal,
 14 and the latter comprising developed country Parties except for those with economies in transition, with
 15 additional obligations relating to the provision of financial and technology support. All Parties,
 16 including developing country Parties, characterised as non-Annex-I Parties, have reporting obligations,
 17 as well as obligations to take policies and measures on mitigation and adaptation. The UNFCCC also
 18 establishes the institutional building blocks for global climate governance. Both the 1997 Kyoto
 19 Protocol and the 2015 Paris Agreement are ‘related legal instruments’ in that only Parties to the
 20 UNFCCC can be Parties to these later instruments.

21 The Kyoto Protocol concretises the general obligations in the UNFCCC for developed countries,
 22 specifying GHG emissions reduction targets for the 2008-2012 commitment period for countries listed
 23 in its Annex B (which corresponds to Annex I to the UNFCCC) (UNFCCC 1997, Art. 3 and Annex B).
 24 The Kyoto Protocol entered into force in 2005. Shortly thereafter, states began negotiating a second
 25 commitment period under the Protocol for Annex B Parties, as well as initiated a process under the
 26 UNFCCC to consider long-term cooperation among all Parties.

27 At COP 13 in Bali in 2007, parties adopted the *Bali Action Plan* that launched negotiations aimed at a
 28 new agreement providing for the UNFCCC’s ‘full, effective and sustained implementation’. The

1 agreement was to be adopted at COP 15 in Copenhagen in 2009, but negotiations failed to deliver a
2 consensus document. The result instead was the *Copenhagen Accord*, which was taken note of by the
3 COP. While it was a political agreement with no formal legal status under the UNFCCC, it reflected
4 significant progress on several fronts and set in place the building blocks for the Paris Agreement,
5 namely: setting a goal of limiting global temperature increase to 2°C; calling on all countries to put
6 forward mitigation pledges; establishing broad terms for the reporting and verification of countries’
7 actions; setting a goal of mobilising \$100 billion a year by 2020 in public and private finance for
8 developing countries; and, calling for the establishment of a new Green Climate Fund and Technology
9 Mechanism (Rogelj et al. 2010; Rajamani 2010; UNFCCC Decision 2/ CP. 15). One hundred forty
10 states endorsed the Copenhagen Accord, with 85 countries entering pledges to reduce their emissions
11 by 2020 (Christensen and Olhoff 2019a). Following the Copenhagen Accord, the European Union (EU)
12 approached those developing countries that shared its desire for a legally binding regime covering all
13 major emitters, and explored compromises with veto players, such as China and the United States (US).
14 This bridge-building strategy was combined with a conditional pledge to agree to an extension of the
15 Kyoto Protocol (Bäckstrand and Elgström 2013).

16 At COP 16 in Cancun in 2010, parties adopted a set of decisions termed the *Cancun Agreements* that
17 effectively formalised the core elements of the Copenhagen Accord, and the pledges states made, under
18 the UNFCCC. The Cancun Agreements were regarded as an interim arrangement through to 2020, and
19 parties left the door open to further negotiations toward a legally binding successor to the Kyoto
20 Protocol (Freestone 2010; Liu 2011). Collectively the G-20 states are on track to meeting the mid-level
21 of their Cancun pledges, although there is uncertainty about some individual pledges. However, there
22 is an estimated gap of 8-10 GtCO₂eq between emissions expected under full implementation of pledges
23 and the level consistent with the 2°C target (Christensen and Olhoff 2019a).

24 At the 2011 Durban climate conference, parties launched negotiations for ‘a Protocol, another legal
25 instrument or agreed outcome with legal force’ with a scheduled end to the negotiations in 2015
26 (UNFCCC 2012, Dec. 1, para. 2). At the 2012 Doha climate conference, parties adopted a second
27 commitment period for the Kyoto Protocol, running from 2013-2020. The Doha amendment entered
28 into force in January 2021. Given the subsequent adoption of the Paris Agreement, the Kyoto Protocol
29 is unlikely to continue beyond 2020 (Bodansky, Brunnée, & Rajamani, 2017b). At the end of the
30 compliance assessment period under the Kyoto Protocol, Annex B parties were in full compliance with
31 their targets; in some cases, through the use of the Protocol’s flexibility mechanisms (Shishlov et al.
32 2016).

33 Although both the Kyoto Protocol and Paris Agreement are under the umbrella of the UNFCCC, they
34 represent fundamentally different approaches to international cooperation on climate change (Falkner
35 2016b; Held and Roger 2018). The Paris Agreement is characterised as a ‘decisive break’ from the
36 Kyoto Protocol (Keohane and Oppenheimer 2016). The mitigation efforts under the Kyoto Protocol
37 take the form of targets that, albeit based on national self-selection, were part of the multilateral
38 negotiation process, whereas under the Paris Agreement parties make ‘nationally determined’
39 contributions. Some have characterised this as a distinction between a ‘top down’ and ‘bottom up’
40 approach (Doelle 2016; Chan 2016a; Bodansky and Rajamani 2016; Bodansky et al. 2016) but others
41 disagree (Depledge 2017). The Kyoto Protocol’s core obligations are legally binding, substantive
42 obligations of result. By contrast, the Paris Agreement’s core obligations are legally binding procedural
43 obligations, complemented by obligations of conduct (Rajamani 2016a).

44 The broad differences between the two treaties are summarised in Table 14.4 below. The Kyoto targets
45 apply only to developed country/Annex I parties, but the procedural obligations relating to NDCs in the
46 Paris Agreement apply to all parties, with some flexibilities for Least Developed Countries (LDCs),
47 Small Island Developing States (SIDs), and developing countries that need it in light of their capacities.
48 The Kyoto targets are housed in its Annex B, therefore requiring a formal process of amendment for

1 revision, whereas the Paris NDCs are located in an online registry that is maintained by the Secretariat,
 2 but to which parties can upload their own NDCs. The Kyoto Protocol allows Annex B parties to use
 3 three market-based mechanisms – the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), Joint Implementation
 4 and International Emissions Trading – to fulfil their GHG targets. The Paris Agreement permits parties
 5 to cooperate voluntarily on markets, in the form of cooperative approaches under Article 6.2, and a
 6 mechanism with international oversight under Article 6.4, subject to rules relating to integrity and
 7 accounting that are yet to be agreed (La Hoz Theuer et al. 2019). Article 5 also provides explicit
 8 endorsement of REDD+. The Kyoto Protocol contains an extensive reporting and review process,
 9 backed by a compliance mechanism. This mechanism includes an enforcement branch, to ensure
 10 compliance, and sanction non-compliance, with its national system requirements, and GHG targets. By
 11 contrast, the Paris Agreement relies on informational requirements and flows to enhance the clarity of
 12 NDCs, and to track progress in the implementation and achievement of NDCs.

13
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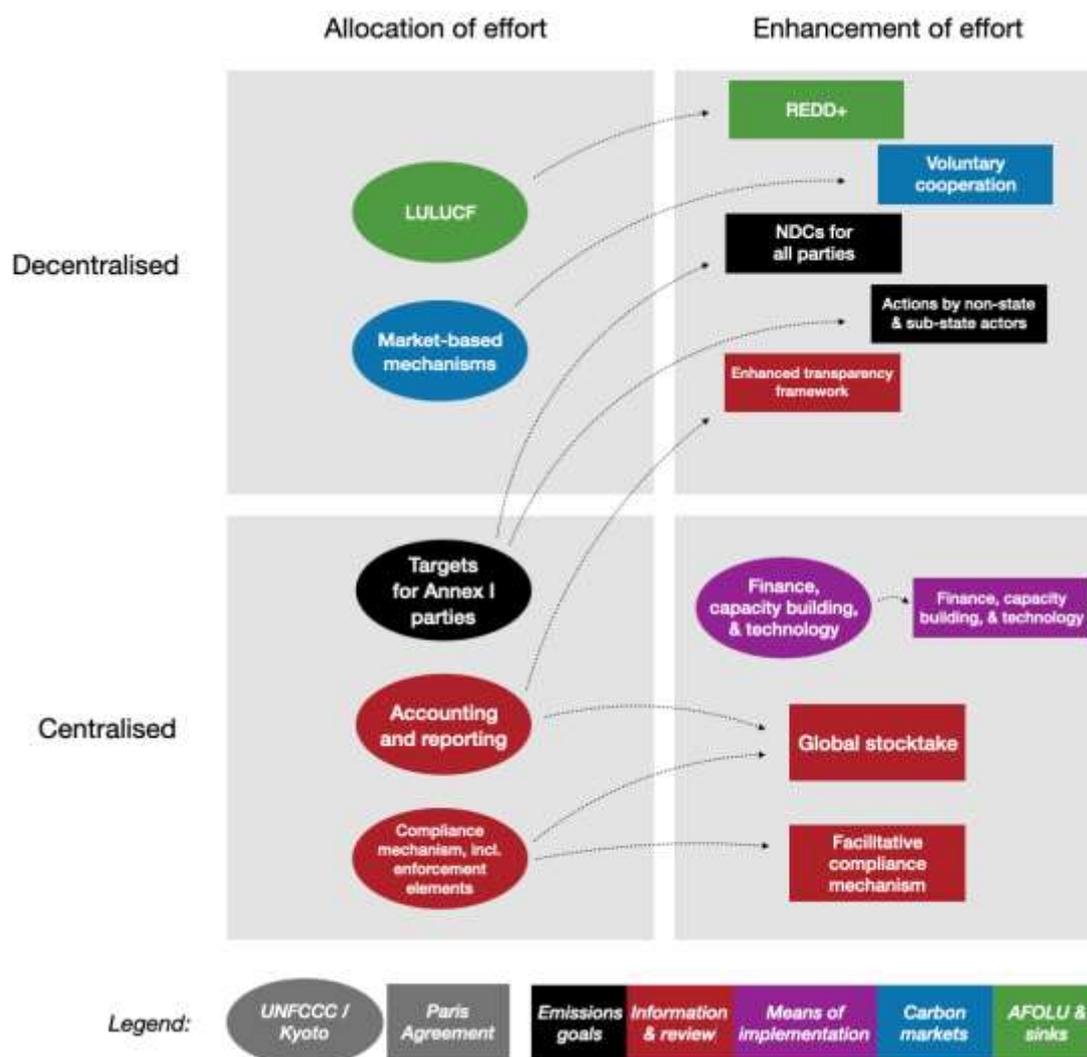
Table 14.4 Key differences between the Paris Agreement and the Kyoto Protocol

Feature	Kyoto Protocol	Paris Agreement
Objective	Primarily mitigation-focused (although in continuation of UNFCCC objective, which refers to food security and sustainable development)	Mitigation in line with a long-term temperature goal, adaptation and finance goals, as well as sustainable development and equity
Architecture	Differentiated targets, based on national offers submitted to the multilateral negotiation process ('top-down'), and multilaterally negotiated common metrics	Nationally determined ('bottom-up' or 'hybrid') contributions subject to transparency and multilateral consideration of progress
Coverage of mitigation-related commitments	Developed country parties (FCCC Annex I/Kyoto Annex B)	All parties
Targets	Legally-binding, differentiated mitigation targets inscribed in treaty	Non-binding contributions incorporated in parties' NDCs but subject to several normative expectations including those relating to highest possible ambition, progression and common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities, in light of different national circumstances
Timetable	Two commitment periods (2008-2012; 2013-2020)	Initial NDCs for timeframes from 2020 running through 2025 or 2030 with new NDCs every five years
Adaptation	Parties to formulate and implement national adaptation measures, share of proceeds from CDM to fund adaptation	Qualitative global goal on adaptation to enhance adaptive capacity and resilience, and reduce vulnerability, parties to undertake national adaptation planning and implementation
Loss and Damage	Not covered	Cooperation and facilitation to enhance support for loss and damage, including through the Warsaw International Mechanism on Loss and Damage under the UNFCCC

Transparency	Reporting and review – developed country parties only	Enhanced transparency framework and five-yearly global stocktake for a collective assessment of progress towards goals – all parties
Support	Advances FCCC commitments for developed countries relating to provision of finance, development and transfer of technology to developing countries	Enhances reporting in relation to support, expands the base of donors, and tailors support to the needs and capacities of developing countries
Implementation	Market mechanisms (international emissions trading, joint implementation, CDM)	Voluntary cooperation on mitigation (including through market-based approaches); encouragement of REDD+
Compliance	Compliance committee with facilitative and enforcement branches; sanctions for non-compliance	Facilitative compliance committee; no sanctions

1

2 Figure 14.1 depicts graphically some of the key differences associated with moving from the Kyoto
3 Protocol to the Paris Agreement. Each instrument contains mechanisms oriented towards particular
4 governance functions, and yet the specific forms of the mechanisms differ. In its first commitment
5 period, the Kyoto Protocol mechanisms were oriented around allocating national emissions reduction
6 responsibilities in order to achieve a collective target of 5% emissions reductions across Annex 1
7 countries; the market mechanisms, compliance regime, and national reporting were all associated with
8 increasing the efficiency and enforceability of this allocation. By contrast, the Paris Agreement's
9 commitments relate to a set of long-term objectives, with each of the mechanisms oriented towards
10 accelerating and enhancing efforts over time towards achieving these. There has been a shift from
11 centralised mechanisms under Kyoto to more decentralised ones under Paris.



1
2 **Figure 14.1 Schematic representation of the main mechanisms in the UNFCCC, Kyoto Protocol, and**
3 **Paris Agreement. ‘Allocation of effort’ instruments are associated with determining and allocating**
4 **countries’ relative mitigation efforts in order to achieve the intermediate cumulative emissions target for**
5 **Annex 1 countries. ‘Enhancement of effort’ instruments are associated with enhancing all countries’**
6 **mitigation efforts, independent of other countries’ mitigation efforts, in order to achieve the long-term**
7 **temperature goal. Decentralised processes are those determined and carried out by individual parties,**
8 **whereas centralised are those taking place at the UNFCCC organs.**

9 *14.3.1.2 Negotiating Context and Dynamics*

10 The 2015 Paris Agreement was negotiated in a starkly different geopolitical context to that of the 1992
11 UNFCCC, and even the 1997 Kyoto Protocol (Streck and Terhalle 2013; Ciplet et al. 2015). The
12 ‘rupturing binary balance of superpowers’ of the 1980s had given way to a multipolar world with several
13 distinctive trends: emerging economies began challenging US dominance (Jernnäs and Linnér 2019);
14 industrialised countries’ emissions peaked in the 2010s and started declining, while emissions from
15 emerging economies began to grow (Falkner 2019); the EU stretched eastwards and became
16 increasingly supra-national (Kinley et al. 2020); disparities within the group of developing countries
17 increased (Ciplet et al. 2015); and, the role of non-state actors in mitigation efforts gathered salience
18 (Falkner 2019; Bäckstrand et al. 2017; Kuyper et al. 2018b). The rise of emerging powers, many of
19 whom now have ‘veto power’, however, some noted, did not detract from the unequal development and
20 inequality at the heart of global environmental politics (Hurrell and Sengupta 2012).

1 In this altered context, unlike in the 1990s when the main cleavages were between the EU and the US
2 (Hurrell and Sengupta 2012), US- China ‘great power politics’ came to be seen as determinative of
3 outcomes in the climate change negotiations (Terhalle and Depledge 2013). The US-China joint
4 announcement (Whitehouse 2014), for instance, before the 2014 Lima climate conference, brokered the
5 deal on differentiation that came to be embodied in the Paris Agreement (Rajamani 2016a; Ciplet and
6 Roberts 2017). Others have identified, on the basis of economic might, political influence, and
7 emissions levels, three influential groups - the first comprising the US with Japan, Canada, and Russia,
8 the second is the EU and the third comprising China, India and Brazil (Brenton 2013). The emergence
9 of the Major Economies Fora (MEF), among other climate clubs (discussed in Section 14.2.2) reflects
10 this development (Brenton 2013). It also represents a ‘minilateral’ forum, built on a recognition of
11 power asymmetries, in which negotiating compromises are politically tested and fed into multilateral
12 processes (Falkner 2016a).

13 Beyond the climate ‘great powers’, in the decade leading up to the Paris climate negotiations, increasing
14 differences within the group of developing countries divided the 134-strong developing country alliance
15 of the G-77/China into several interest-based coalitions (Bodansky et al. 2017b; Vihma et al. 2011). A
16 division emerged between the vulnerable least developed and small island states on the one side and
17 rapidly developing economies, the BASIC (Brazil, South Africa, India and China) on the other, as the
18 latter are ‘decidedly not developed but not wholly developing’ (Hochstetler and Milkoreit 2013). This
19 ‘fissure’ in part led to the High Ambition Coalition in Paris between vulnerable countries and the more
20 progressive industrialised countries (Ciplet and Roberts 2017). A division also emerged between the
21 BASIC countries (Hurrell and Sengupta 2012), characterised as never more than a ‘sum of their national
22 parts’ (Hochstetler and Milkoreit 2013). In the lead up to the Paris negotiations, China and India formed
23 the Like-Minded Developing Countries with OPEC and ALBA countries, to resist the erosion of
24 differentiation in the regime. Yet, the ‘complex and competing’ identities of India and China, with
25 differing capacities, challenges and self-images, have also led to tensions in the negotiations (Ciplet and
26 Roberts 2017; Rajamani 2017). Other developing countries’ coalitions also played an important role in
27 striking the final deal in Paris. The small island states, despite their lack of structural power, played a
28 leading role, in particular in relation to advocating the 1.5°C long term temperature goal (Ourbak and
29 Magnan 2018; Agueda Corneloup and Mol 2014). The Association of the Latin American and
30 Caribbean Countries (AILAC) that emerged in 2012, and overtook the Bolivarian Alternative for the
31 Americas (ALBA) in terms of influence in the negotiations, also played a decisive role (Watts and
32 Depledge 2018).

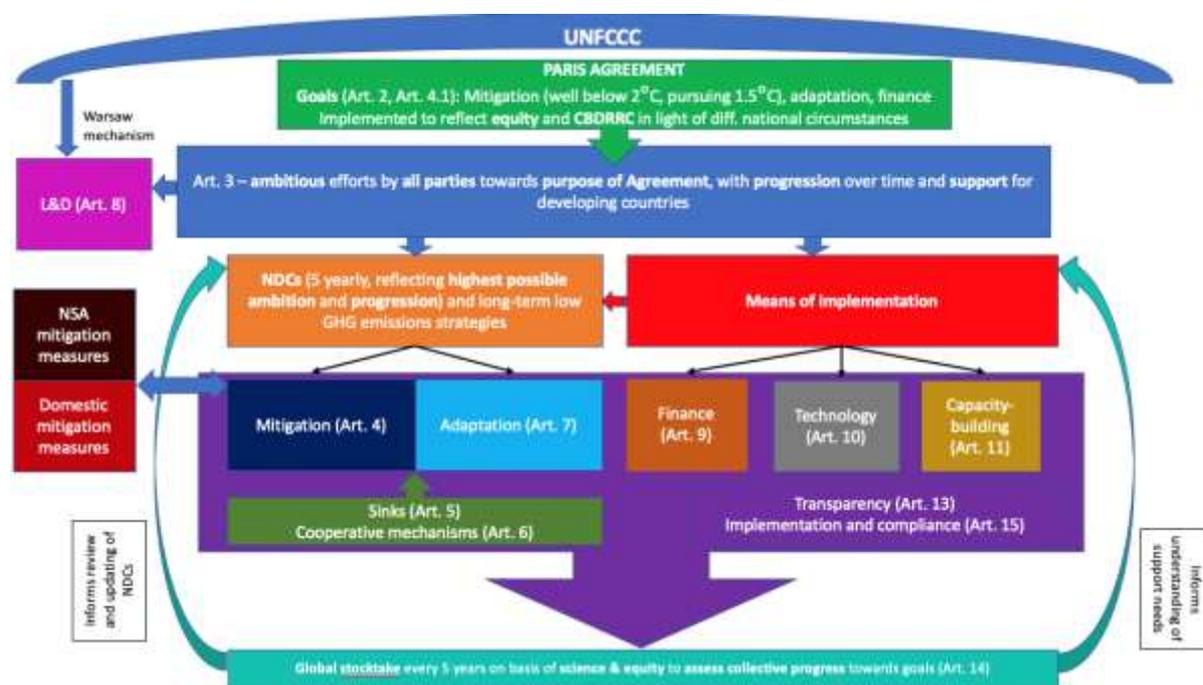
33 Leadership is considered essential to reaching international agreements and overcoming collective
34 action problems (Karlsson et al. 2012). The Paris negotiations, were faced, as a reflection of the
35 multipolarity that had emerged, with a ‘fragmented leadership landscape’ with the US, EU, and China
36 being perceived as leaders at different points in time and to varying degrees (Parker et al. 2014; Karlsson
37 et al. 2012). Small island states are also credited with demonstrating ‘moral leadership’ (Agueda
38 Corneloup and Mol 2014), and non-state and sub-state actors are beginning to be recognised as pioneers
39 and leaders (Wurzel et al. 2019). There is also burgeoning literature on the emergence of diffused
40 leadership and salience of followers (Parker et al. 2014; Busby and Urpelainen 2020).

41 It is in the context of this complex, multipolar and highly differentiated world - with a heterogeneity of
42 interests, constraints and capacities - increased contestations over shares of the carbon and development
43 space, as well as diffused leadership, that the Paris Agreement was negotiated. This context
44 fundamentally influenced the shape of the Paris Agreement in particular on issues relating to its
45 architecture, ‘legalisation’ (Karlsson 2017) and differentiation (Bodansky et al. 2017b; Kinley et al. 2020)
46 (discussed below).

1 14.3.2 Elements of the Paris Agreement relevant to mitigation

2 The 2015 Paris Agreement to the UNFCCC, which entered into force on 4 November 2016, and has
 3 189 Parties as of date, is at the centre of international cooperative efforts for climate change mitigation
 4 and adaptation in the post-2020 period. Although its legal form was heavily disputed in its four-year
 5 negotiating process (Maljean-Dubois and Wemaëre 2016; Rajamani 2015; Klein et al. 2017; Bodansky
 6 et al. 2017b), the Paris Agreement is a treaty containing provisions of differing levels of “bindingness”
 7 (Bodansky 2016; Oberthür and Bodle 2016; Rajamani 2016b). The legal character of provisions within
 8 a treaty, and the extent to which particular provisions lend themselves to assessments of compliance or
 9 non-compliance, depends on factors such as the normative content of the provision, the precision of its
 10 terms, the language used, and the oversight mechanisms in place (Bodansky 2015; Oberthür and Bodle
 11 2016; Rajamani 2016b; Werksman 2010). Assessed on these criteria, the Paris Agreement contains the
 12 full spectrum of provisions, from hard to soft law (Pickering et al. 2019; Rajamani 2016b) and even
 13 non-law, which plays a narrative-building and context-setting role (Rajamani 2016b). The key features
 14 of the Paris Agreement are set out in Box 14.1.

15



16

17 **Figure 14.2 Key elements of the Paris Agreement under the umbrella of the UNFCCC. Arrows**
 18 **illustrate the interrelationship between the different elements of the Paris Agreement, in**
 19 **particular between the Agreement’s goals, required actions (through nationally determined**
 20 **commitments (NDCs)), means of implementation (finance, technology and capacity-building),**
 21 **transparency framework and global stocktake process. The figure also represents points of**
 22 **interconnection with domestic mitigation measures, whether taken by state parties or by non-**
 23 **state actors (NSAs).**

24 Figure 14.2 illustrates graphically the key elements of the Paris Agreement. The centrepiece of the Paris
 25 Agreement is a set of binding procedural obligations requiring parties to ‘prepare, communicate, and
 26 maintain’ ‘nationally determined contributions’ (NDCs) (UNFCCC 2015a, Art. 4.2) every five years
 27 (UNFCCC 2015a, Art. 4.9). These obligations are complemented by: (1) an ‘ambition cycle’ that
 28 expects parties’ successive NDCs, informed by five-yearly global stocktakes (Art 14), to represent a
 29 progression on their previous NDCs (Bodansky et al. 2017b; UNFCCC 2015a), and (2) an ‘enhanced
 30 transparency framework’ that places extensive informational demands on parties, tailored to capacities,

1 and establishes review processes to enable tracking of progress towards achievement of NDCs
2 (Oberthür and Bodle 2016). In contrast to the ‘top-down’ Kyoto Protocol with its internationally
3 inscribed targets and timetable for emissions reduction for developed countries, the Paris Agreement is
4 a hybrid of ‘bottom-up’ national contributions embedded in an international system of transparency and
5 accountability for all countries (Doelle 2016; Maljean-Dubois and Wemaëre 2016) accompanied by a
6 shared global goal, in particular in relation to a temperature limit.

7 **14.3.2.1 Context, objective and purpose**

8 The preamble of the Paris Agreement lists several factors that provide the interpretative context for the
9 Agreement (Carazo 2017; Bodansky et al. 2017b), including a reference to human rights. The human
10 rights implications of climate impacts garnered particular attention in the lead up to Paris (Duyck 2015;
11 Mayer 2016). In particular, the Human Rights Council, its special procedures mechanisms, and the
12 Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, through a series of resolutions, reports, and
13 activities, advocated a rights-based approach to climate impacts, and sought to integrate this approach
14 in the climate change regime. The Paris Agreement’s preambular recital on human rights recommends
15 that parties take into account ‘their respective obligations on human rights’ (UNFCCC 2015a,
16 preambular recital 14), a first for an environmental treaty (Knox 2016). The ‘respective obligations’
17 referred to in the Paris Agreement include those relating to the right to life (UNGA 1948, Art. 3, 1966,
18 Art. 6), right to health (UNGA 1966b, Art. 12), right to an adequate standard of living, including the
19 right to food (UNGA 1966b, Art. 11), which has been read to include the right to water and sanitation
20 (CESCR 2002, 2010), the right to housing (CESCR 1991), and the right to self-determination (UNGA
21 1966a,b, Art. 1). In addition, climate impacts contribute to displacement and migration (Mcadam 2016;
22 Mayer and Crépeau 2016), and have disproportionate effects on women (Pearse 2017). There are
23 differing views on the value and operational impact of the human rights recital in the Paris Agreement
24 (Adelman 2018; Boyle 2018; Savaresi 2018; Duyck et al. 2018; Knox 2019; Rajamani 2018).
25 Notwithstanding opportunities to mainstream and operationalise human rights in the climate regime
26 post-Paris (Duyck et al. 2018), and references to human rights in COP decisions, the 2018 Paris
27 Rulebook contains limited and guarded references to human rights (Duyck 2019; Rajamani 2019) (see
28 Section 14.5.1.2).

29 The overall purpose of international cooperation through the Paris Agreement is to enhance the
30 implementation of the UNFCCC, including its objective of stabilising atmospheric GHG concentrations
31 ‘at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system’ (UNFCCC
32 1992, Art. 2). The Paris Agreement aims to strengthen the global response to the threat of climate
33 change, in the context of sustainable development and efforts to eradicate poverty, by ‘[h]olding the
34 increase in the global average temperature to well below 2°C above pre-industrial levels and pursuing
35 efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels’ (UNFCCC 2015a, Art.
36 2(1)(a)). There is an ongoing structured expert dialogue in the context of the second periodic review of
37 the UNFCCC (the first was held between 2013-2015) aimed at enhancing understanding of the long-term
38 global goal, pathways to achieving it, and assessing the aggregate effect of steps taken by Parties to
39 achieve the goal.

40 Some authors interpret the Paris Agreement’s temperature goal as a single goal with two inseparable
41 elements, the well below 2°C goal pressing towards 1.5°C (Rajamani and Werksman 2018), but others
42 interpret the goal as a unitary one of 1.5°C with minimal overshoot (Mace 2016). Although having a
43 long-term goal has clear advantages, the literature highlights the issue of credibility, given the lengthy
44 timeframe involved (Urpelainen 2011), and stresses that future regulators may have incentives to relax
45 current climate plans, which could have a significant effect on the achieved GHG stabilisation level
46 (Gerlagh and Michielsen 2015).

47 As the risks of adverse climate impacts, even with a ‘well below’ 2°C increase, are profound, the
48 objective extends to increasing adaptive capacity and fostering climate resilience (UNFCCC 2015a,

1 Art. 2(1)(b)), as well as redirecting investment and finance flows (Thorgeirsson, 2017; UNFCCC,
2 2015a, Art. 2(1)(c)). The finance and adaptation goals are not quantified in the Paris Agreement, but
3 the temperature goal and the pathways they generate will enable a quantitative assessment of the
4 resources necessary to reach these goals, and the nature of the impacts requiring adaptation (Rajamani
5 and Werksman 2018). The decision accompanying the Paris Agreement records an agreement to set a
6 new collective quantified finance goal prior to 2025 (not explicitly limited to developed countries), with
7 \$100 billion yr⁻¹ as a floor (Bodansky et al. 2017b; UNFCCC 2016a, para. 53). The objective also
8 references sustainable development and poverty eradication, and underscores the need to integrate the
9 SDGs in the implementation of the Paris Agreement (Sindico 2016).

10 The Paris Agreement's objective is accompanied by an expectation that the Agreement 'will be'
11 implemented to 'reflect equity and the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities and
12 respective capabilities (CBDRRC), in the light of different national circumstances' (UNFCCC 2015a,
13 Art. 2.2). This provision generates an expectation that parties will implement the agreement to reflect
14 CBDRRC, and is not an obligation to do so (Rajamani 2016a). Further, the inclusion of the term 'in
15 light of different national circumstances' introduces a dynamic element into the interpretation of the
16 CBDRRC principle. As national circumstances evolve, the application of the principle will also evolve
17 (Rajamani 2016a). This change in the articulation of the CBDRRC principle is reflected in the shifts in
18 the nature and extent of differentiation in the climate change regime (Maljean-Dubois 2016; Rajamani
19 2016a; Voigt and Ferreira 2016a), including through a shift towards 'procedurally-oriented
20 differentiation' for developing countries (Huggins and Karim 2016).

21 Although NDCs are developed by individual state parties, the Paris Agreement requires that these are
22 undertaken by parties 'with a view' to achieving the Agreement's purpose and collectively 'represent a
23 progression over time' (UNFCCC 2015a, Art. 3). The Paris Agreement also encourages parties to align
24 the ambition of their NDCs with the temperature goal through the Agreement's 'ambition cycle', thus
25 imparting operational relevance to the temperature goal (Rajamani and Werksman 2018). Article 4(1)
26 contains a further non-binding requirement that parties 'aim' to reach global peaking of GHG 'as soon
27 as possible' and to undertake rapid reductions thereafter to achieve net zero GHG emissions 'in the
28 second half of the century'. Coupling this requirement with the long-term temperature goal in Article
29 2.1(a) implies a need to reach net zero GHG emissions between 2065 and 2100 (IPCC 2018a, ch2, table
30 2.4). (Rogelj et al. 2015). To reach net zero CO₂ around 2050, in the short-term global net human-
31 caused CO₂ emissions would need to fall by about 45% from 2010 levels by 2030 (IPCC 2018b).
32 Reaching net-zero GHG emissions requires resorting to carbon dioxide removal methods (IPCC 2018b),
33 there are divergent views on different methods. Albeit non-binding, this provision has acted as a catalyst
34 for several national net-zero GHG targets, as well net zero CO₂ and GHG targets across local
35 governments, sectors, businesses, and other actors (Data-Driven EnviroLab; NewClimate Institute
36 2020). There is a wide variation in the targets that have been adopted – in terms of their legal character
37 (policy statement, executive order or national legislation), scope (GHGs or CO₂) and coverage (sectors
38 or economy-wide). National net-zero targets could be reflected in the long-term strategies that states
39 are urged to submit under Article 4.19, but only a few states have submitted such strategies thus far.
40 The Paris Rulebook, agreed at the Agreement's first meeting of the parties in 2018, further strengthens
41 the operational relevance of the temperature goal by requiring parties to provide information when
42 submitting their NDCs on how these contribute towards achieving the objective identified in UNFCCC
43 Article 2, and Paris Agreement Articles 2.1 (a) and 4.1 (UNFCCC 2019a, Annex I, para. 7).

44 ***14.3.2.2 NDCs, progression and ambition***

45 Each party to the Paris Agreement has a binding procedural obligation to 'prepare, communicate and
46 maintain' successive NDCs 'that it intends to achieve.' Parties have a further binding procedural
47 obligation to 'pursue domestic mitigation measures' (UNFCCC 2015a, Art. 4.2). These procedural
48 obligations are coupled with an obligation of conduct to make best efforts to achieve the objectives of

1 NDCs (Mayer 2018; Rajamani 2016a). Many states have adopted climate policies and laws, discussed
2 in Chapter 13, and captured in databases (LSE Grantham Research Institute on Climate Change and the
3 Environment).

4 The framing and content of NDCs is thus largely left up to parties, although certain normative
5 expectations apply. These include developed country leadership through these parties undertaking
6 economy-wide absolute emissions reduction targets (UNFCCC 2015a, Art. 4.4), as well as
7 ‘progression’, ‘highest possible ambition’ and ‘common but differentiated responsibilities and
8 respective capabilities in light of different national circumstances’ (Art 4.3). There is ‘a firm
9 expectation’ that for every five year cycle a party puts forward a new NDC that is ‘more ambitious than
10 their last’ (Rajamani 2016a). While what represents a party’s highest possible ambition and progression
11 is not prescribed by the Agreement or elaborated in the Paris Rulebook (Rajamani and Bodansky 2019),
12 these obligations could be read to imply a due diligence standard (Voigt and Ferreira 2016b).

13 In communicating their NDCs, every five years (UNFCCC 2015a, Art. 4.9), all parties have a binding
14 obligation to ‘provide the information necessary for clarity, transparency and understanding’ (UNFCCC
15 2015a, Art. 4.8). These requirements are further elaborated in the Paris Rulebook (UNFCCC 2019b;
16 Doelle 2019). This includes binding requirements — for Parties’ second and subsequent NDCs — to
17 provide quantifiable information on the reference point e.g. base year, reference indicators and target
18 relative to the reference indicator (UNFCCC 2019a, Annex I, para 1). It also requires parties to provide
19 information on how they consider their contribution ‘fair and ambitious in light of different national
20 circumstances’, and how they address the normative expectations of developed country leadership,
21 progression and highest possible ambition (UNFCCC 2019a, Annex I, para. 6). However, parties are
22 required to provide the enumerated information only ‘as applicable’ to their NDC (UNFCCC 2019a,
23 Annex I, para. 7). This allows parties to determine the informational requirements placed on them
24 through their choice of NDC. In respect of parties’ first NDCs or NDCs updated by 2020, such
25 quantifiable information ‘may’ be included, ‘as appropriate’, signalling a softer requirement (UNFCCC
26 2019a, Annex I, para. 9).

27 Parties’ first NDCs submitted to the registry maintained by the UNFCCC vary in terms of type of NDC,
28 reference points, time frames, and scope and coverage of GHGs. A significant number of NDCs include
29 an adaptation contribution, and several NDCs have conditional components, for instance, being
30 conditional on the use of market mechanisms or on the availability of support (UNFCCC 2016b). There
31 are wide variations across NDCs. Uncertainties are generated through interpretative ambiguities in the
32 assumptions underlying NDCs, which results in estimated emissions for 2030 ranging from 47 to 63
33 GtCO₂eq yr⁻¹ (Rogelj et al. 2017). Many omit important mitigation sectors, provide little detail on
34 financing implementation, and are poorly designed to meet assessment and review needs (Pauw et al.
35 2018). Although, it is estimated that the land-use sector could contribute as much as 20% of the full
36 mitigation potential of all the intended NDC targets (Forsell et al. 2016), there are variations in how
37 the land-use component is included, and the related information provided, leading to large uncertainties
38 on whether and how these will contribute to the achievement of the NDCs (Forsell et al. 2016; Fyson
39 and Jeffery 2019; Grassi et al. 2017; Obergassel et al. 2017a; Benveniste et al. 2018). All these
40 variations make it challenging to aggregate the efforts of countries and compare them to each other
41 (Carraro 2016). Although parties attempted to discipline the variation in NDCs, including whether they
42 could be conditional, through elaborating the ‘features’ of NDCs in the Rulebook, no agreement was
43 possible on this. Thus, parties continue to enjoy considerable national discretion in the formulation of
44 NDCs (Rajamani and Bodansky 2019; Weikmans et al. 2019). The second round of NDCs due by 2020,
45 but delayed due to the pandemic, are yet to be analysed.

46 There are several approaches to evaluating NDCs incorporating indicators such as CO₂ emissions, GDP,
47 energy intensity of GDP, CO₂ per energy unit, CO₂ intensity of fossil fuels, and share of fossil fuels in
48 total energy use (Peters et al. 2017). However, some favour approaches that use metrics beyond

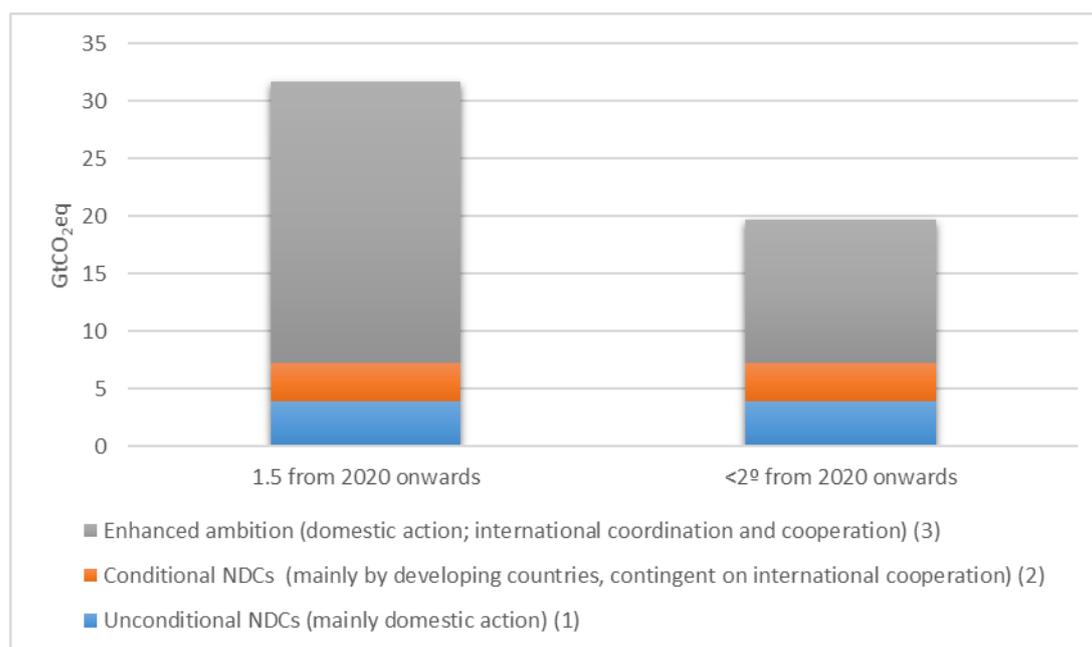
1 emissions such as infrastructure investment, energy demand, or installed power capacity (Jeffery et al.
2 2018; Iyer et al. 2017). One approach is to combine the comparison of aggregate NDC emissions using
3 Integrated Assessment Model scenarios with modelling of NDC scenarios directly, and carbon budget
4 analyses (Jeffery et al. 2018). Another approach is to engage in a comprehensive assessment of several
5 approaches that reflect the different viewpoints of the Parties under the UNFCCC (Höhne et al. 2018;
6 Aldy et al. 2017).

7 It is clear, however, that the NDCs communicated by parties for the 2020-2030 period are insufficient
8 to achieve the temperature goal (Alcaraz et al. 2019; Schleussner et al. 2016; UN Environment
9 Programme 2018; Rogelj et al. 2016; den Elzen et al. 2016; UN Environment Programme 2019; Robiou
10 du Pont and Meinshausen 2018), and the emissions gap is larger than ever (Christensen and Olhoff
11 2019b) (see Chapter 4). The IPCC 1.5°C Report notes that pathways that limit global warming to 1.5°C
12 with no or limited overshoot show up to 40-50% reduction from 2010 levels by 2030, and that current
13 pathways reflected in the NDCs are consistent with cost-effective pathways that result in a global
14 warming of about 3°C by 2100 (IPCC 2018b SPM, D.1.1).

15 Many conditional NDCs may not be feasible as the conditions are not clearly defined and existing
16 promises of support are insufficient (Pauw et al. 2020). Moreover, ‘leadership by conditional
17 commitments’ (when some states promise to take stronger commitments if others do so as well), and
18 the system of pledge-and-review, may lead to decreasing rather than deeper contributions over time
19 (Helland et al. 2017). Some note, however, that many of the NDCs are conservative and may be
20 overachieved, that NDCs may be strengthened over time as expected under the Paris Agreement, and
21 there are significant non-state actions that have not been adequately captured in the NDCs (Höhne et
22 al. 2017). Further, if all conditional and unconditional NDCs are implemented, net land use, land use
23 change and forestry emissions will decrease in 2030 compared to 2010 levels, but large uncertainties
24 remain on how Parties estimate, project and account for emissions and removals from this sector
25 (Forsell et al. 2016). According to the estimates in Table 4.3 (Chapter 4), communicated unconditional
26 commitments imply about a 7% reduction of world emissions by 2030, in terms of Kyoto GHGs,
27 compared to a scenario where only current policies are in place. If conditional commitments are also
28 included, the reduction in world emissions by 2030 would be about 12%.

29 Particularly relevant for this chapter on international cooperation is the significant contribution of
30 conditional NDCs, as such NDCs require international cooperation on finance, technology and capacity-
31 building (Kissinger et al. 2019), through article 6 and in the form of bilateral agreements and market
32 mechanisms (UNFCCC 2016b). More broadly there is a ‘policy inconsistency’ between the facilitative,
33 ‘bottom up’ architecture of the Paris Agreement, and both the setting of the long-term temperature goal,
34 as well as expectations that it will be delivered (Geden 2016b). As Figure 14.3 shows, there is a large
35 share of additional effort needed to reach a 1.5°C compatible path by 2030 (and even a 2°C compatible
36 path). International coordination and cooperation will be crucial to enhance the ambition of current
37 pledges, as countries will be more willing to increase their ambition if matched by other countries
38 (coordination) and if cost-minimising agreements between developed and developing countries,
39 through article 6 and other means, are fully developed (cooperation) (Sælen 2020).

40



1
2 **Figure 14.3 The role of international cooperation in achieving a 1.5°C (respectively 2°C)**
3 **compatible path by 2030. The figure represents the contribution of unconditional and**
4 **conditional NDCs, and the remaining emissions gap, to the reductions in emissions needed to**
5 **move from current policies to cost-effective long-term mitigation pathways for limiting warming**
6 **to 1.5°C with no or low (<0.1°C) overshoot (50% chance), respectively for limiting warming to**
7 **2°C (66% chance), using in all cases median values. See Cross-Chapter Box 3 in Chapter 4,**
8 **Figure 1, and Table 4.1 for details. (1) Unconditional NDCs refer mainly to domestic abatement**
9 **actions, although developed countries can use international cooperation, Article 6, to meet their**
10 **targets. (2) Conditional NDCs require international cooperation, mainly through Article 6 and**
11 **in the form of bilateral agreements, market mechanism, and monetary or technological**
12 **transfers. Conditional NDCs have been proposed almost exclusively by developing countries. (3)**
13 **Enhanced ambition can potentially be achieved through national and international actions.**
14 **International coordination of more ambitious efforts promotes global ambition and**
15 **international cooperation provides the cost-saving basis for more ambitious future NDCs.**

17 14.3.2.3 NDCs, fairness and equity

18 The Paris Agreement encourages Parties, while submitting their NDCs, to explain how these are ‘fair
19 and ambitious’ (UNFCCC 2015a, Art. 4.8 read with UNFCCC 2016a, para. 27). The Rulebook obliges
20 Parties to provide information on ‘fairness considerations, including reflecting on equity’ as applicable
21 to their NDC (UNFCCC 2019a, paras 7 and 9, Annex, paras. 6(a) and (b); Rajamani and Bodansky
22 2019).

23 In the first round of NDCs, most Parties declared their NDCs as fair (Robiou du Pont et al. 2017). Their
24 claims, however, were largely unsubstantiated or drawn from analysis by in-country experts (Winkler
25 et al. 2018). At least some of the indicators Parties have identified in their NDCs as justifying the
26 ‘fairness’ of their contributions, such as a ‘small share of global emissions’, and assumptions that
27 privilege current emissions levels (‘grandfathering’) are not in accordance with principles of
28 international environmental law (Rajamani, L., Jeffrey, L., Hohne, N., Hans, F., Glass). Moreover, the
29 NDCs reveal long-standing institutional divisions and divergent climate priorities between Annex I and
30 non-Annex I Parties, suggesting that equity and fairness concerns remain salient and need to be

1 addressed (Stephenson et al. 2019). Fairness concerns also affect the share of carbon dioxide removal
2 (CDR) responsibilities for major emitters if they delay near-term mitigation action (Fyson et al. 2020).

3 It is challenging, however, to determine ‘fair shares’, and address fairness and equity in a world of
4 voluntary climate contributions (Chan 2016a), in particular, since these contributions are insufficient
5 (see above Section 14.3.2.2.). Self-differentiation in contributions has also led to fairness and equity
6 being discussed in terms of individual national contributions rather than between categories of countries
7 (Chan 2016a). In the climate change regime, one option is for Parties to provide more rigorous
8 information under the Paris Agreement to assess fair shares (Winkler et al. 2018), and another is for
9 Parties to articulate what equity principles they have adopted in determining their NDCs, how they have
10 operationalised these principles, and explain their mitigation targets in terms of the portion of the
11 appropriated global budget (Hales and Mackey 2018).

12 Equity is critical to addressing climate change, including through the Paris Agreement (Klinsky et al.
13 2017), however, since the political feasibility of developing equity principles within the climate change
14 regime is low, it needs to be developed through mechanisms and actors outside the regime (Lawrence
15 and Reder 2019). Equity and fairness concerns are being raised in national and regional courts that are
16 increasingly being asked to determine if the climate actions pledged by states are adequate in relation
17 to their ‘fair share’ (Supreme Court of the Netherlands, Civil Division 2019; European Court of Human
18 Rights 2020), as it is only in relation to such a ‘fair share’ that the adequacy of a state’s contribution
19 can be assessed in the context of a global collective action problem. Domestic courts have stressed that
20 as climate change is a global problem of cumulative impact, all emissions contribute to the problem
21 regardless of their relative size and there is a normative expectation under the UNFCCC and Paris
22 Agreement for developed countries to ‘take the lead’ in addressing GHG emissions (Preston 2020).
23 Given the limited avenues for multilateral determination of fairness, the onus is on the scientific
24 community to generate methods to assess fairness (Herrala and Goel 2016; Lawrence and Reder 2019),
25 and on peer-to-peer comparisons to create pressure for ambitious NDCs (Aldy et al. 2017).

26 There are a range of options to assess or introduce fairness. These include: adopting differentiation in
27 financing rather than in mitigation (Gajevic Sayegh 2017); adopting a carbon budget approach (Alcaraz
28 et al. 2019; Hales and Mackey 2018), which may occur through the transparency processes (Hales and
29 Mackey 2018); quantifying national emissions allocations using different equity approaches, including
30 those reconciling finance and emissions rights distributions (Robiou du Pont et al. 2017); using data on
31 adopted emissions targets to find an ethical framework consistent with the observed distribution (Sheriff
32 2019); adopting common metrics for policy assessment (Bretschger 2017); and developing a template
33 for organising metrics on mitigation effort - emission reductions, implicit prices, and costs - for both ex
34 ante and ex post review (Aldy et al. 2017). The burden of agricultural mitigation can also be distributed
35 using different approaches to effort sharing (responsibility, capability, need, equal cumulative per-
36 capita emissions) (Richards et al. 2018). Further, there are temporal (inter-generational) and spatial
37 (inter-regional) dimensions to the distribution of the mitigation burden, with additional emissions
38 reductions in 2030 improving both inter-generational and inter-regional equity (Liu et al. 2017b). Some
39 of the equity approaches rely on ‘grandfathering’ as an allocation principle, which has arguably led to
40 ‘cascading biases’ against developing countries (Kantha et al. 2018), and is morally ‘perverse’ (Caney
41 2011).

42 **14.3.2.4 Transparency and accountability**

43 Although NDCs reflect a ‘bottom-up’, self-differentiated approach to climate mitigation actions, the
44 Paris Agreement couples this to an international transparency framework designed to track progress in
45 implementing and achieving mitigation contributions (UNFCCC 2015a, Art. 13). This transparency
46 framework is applicable to all Parties, although with flexibilities for developing country Parties that
47 need it in light of their capacities (Mayer 2019). Each Party is required to submit a national inventory
48 report, as well as ‘the information necessary to track progress in implementing and achieving’ its NDC,

1 (UNFCCC 2015a, Art. 13.7) biennially (UNFCCC 2016a, para. 90). The Paris Rulebook requires all
2 Parties to submit their national inventory reports using the 2006 IPCC Guidelines (UNFCCC 2019c,
3 Annex, para. 20).

4 In relation to the provision of information necessary to track progress towards implementation and
5 achievement of NDCs, the Paris Rulebook allows each party to choose its own qualitative or
6 quantitative indicators (UNFCCC 2019c, Annex, para. 65), a significant concession to national
7 sovereignty (Rajamani and Bodansky 2019). The Rulebook phases in common reporting requirements
8 for developed and developing countries (except LDCs and SIDs) at the latest by 2024 (UNFCCC 2019c,
9 para. 3), but offers flexibilities in ‘scope, frequency, and level of detail of reporting, and in the scope of
10 the review’ for those developing countries that need it in light of their capacities (UNFCCC 2019c,
11 Annex para. 5). Some differentiation also remains for information on support provided to developing
12 countries (Winkler et al. 2017), with developed country parties required to report such information
13 biennially, while others are only ‘encouraged’ to do so (UNFCCC 2015a, Art. 9.7).

14 The information provided by Parties in biennial transparency reports and GHG inventories will undergo
15 technical expert review, which must include assistance in identifying capacity-building needs for
16 developing country parties that need it in light of their capacities. Each Party is also required to
17 participate in a ‘facilitative, multilateral consideration of progress’ of implementation and achievement
18 of its NDC. Although the aim of these processes is to expose each Party’s actions on mitigation to
19 international review, thus establishing a weak form of accountability for NDCs at the international level,
20 the Rulebook circumscribes the reach of these processes (Rajamani and Bodansky 2019). The technical
21 expert review teams are prohibited in mandatory terms (‘shall not’) from making ‘political judgments’
22 or reviewing the ‘adequacy or appropriateness’ of a party’s NDC, domestic actions, or support provided
23 (UNFCCC 2019c, Annex, para. 149). This, among other such provisions, has led some to argue that the
24 scope and practice of existing transparency arrangements reflects rather than mediates ongoing disputes
25 around responsibility, differentiation and burden sharing, and thus there is limited answerability through
26 transparency (Gupta and van Asselt 2019). There are also limits to the extent that the enhanced
27 transparency framework will reduce ambiguities, and associated uncertainties, for instance, in how
28 LULUCF is incorporated into the NDCs (Fyson and Jeffery 2019) and lead to increased ambition
29 (Weikmans et al. 2019). More broadly, there has been weak translation of transparency norms into
30 accountability (Ciplet et al. 2018). Hence, the Paris Agreement’s effectiveness in ensuring NDCs are
31 achieved will depend on additional accountability pathways at the domestic level involving political
32 processes and civil society engagement (Karlsson-Vinkhuyzen et al. 2018; Jacquet and Jamieson 2016;
33 Van Asselt 2016; Campbell-Durufflé 2018a).

34 ***14.3.2.5 Global stocktake***

35 The Paris Agreement’s transparency framework is complemented by the global stocktake, which will
36 take place every five years (starting in 2023) and assess the collective progress towards achieving the
37 Agreement’s purpose and long-term goals (UNFCCC 2015a, Art. 14). The scope of the global stocktake
38 is comprehensive – covering mitigation, adaptation and means of implementation and support – and the
39 process is to be facilitative and consultative. The Paris Rulebook cautiously (i.e. ‘as appropriate’)
40 expands the scope of the global stocktake to take into account social and economic consequences and
41 impacts of response measures, and loss and damage associated with the adverse effects of climate
42 change (UNFCCC, 2019d, paras. 8-10).

43 The global stocktake is to occur ‘in the light of equity and the best available science.’ While the focus
44 of the global stocktake is on collective and not individual progress towards the goals of the Agreement,
45 the inclusion of equity in the global stocktake ‘leaves the door open for a dialogue on equitable burden
46 sharing’ (Rajamani 2016a). The Paris Rulebook seeks to operationalise equity by including
47 consideration of it in the modalities and sources of inputs for the global stocktake (UNFCCC, 2019d,
48 paras 1, 2, 13, 27, 31, 36h and 37g), which will likely result in equity being factored into the outcome

1 of the stocktake (Winkler 2019). The Rulebook does not, however, resolve the tension between the
2 collective nature of the assessment that is authorised by the stocktake and the individual assessments
3 required to determine relative fair share (Zahar 2019; Rajamani and Bodansky 2019).

4 The global stocktake is seen as crucial to encouraging parties to increase the ambition of their NDCs
5 (Huang 2018; Milkoreit and Haapala 2019; Hermwille et al. 2019) as its outcome ‘shall inform Parties
6 in updating and enhancing, in a nationally determined manner, their actions and support’ (Art 14.3).
7 The Rulebook provides for the stocktake to draw on a wide variety of inputs sourced from a full range
8 of actors, including ‘non-Party stakeholders’ (UNFCCC, 2019d, para. 37). However, the Rulebook
9 specifies that the global stocktake will be ‘a Party-driven process’ (UNFCCC, 2019d, para. 10), will
10 not have an ‘individual Party focus’, and will include only ‘non-policy prescriptive consideration of
11 collective progress’ (UNFCCC, 2019d, para. 14).

12 ***14.3.2.6 Conservation of sinks and reservoirs, including forests***

13 Article 5 of the Paris Agreement calls for parties to take action to conserve and enhance sinks and
14 reservoirs of greenhouse gases, including forests, and encourages countries to take action in to support
15 the REDD+ framework under the Convention. The explicit inclusion of land use sector activities,
16 including forest conservation, is potentially a ‘game changer’ as it encourages countries to safeguard
17 ecosystems for climate mitigation purposes (Grassi et al. 2017). Analyses of parties (I)NDCs shows
18 pledged mitigation from land use, and forests in particular, provides a quarter of the emission reductions
19 planned by parties and, if fully implemented, would result in forests becoming a net sink of carbon by
20 2030 (Forsell et al. 2016; Grassi et al. 2017).

21 A key action endorsed by Article 5 is REDD+, which refers to mechanisms established under the
22 UNFCCC for reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation and the role of
23 conservation, sustainable management of forests and enhancement of forest carbon stocks in developing
24 countries (Park et al. 2013). Article 5.2 encourages parties to implement and support the existing
25 framework for REDD+, including through ‘results-based payments’ i.e. provision of financial payments
26 for verified avoided or reduced forest carbon emissions (Turnhout et al. 2017). The existing REDD+
27 framework set up under decisions of the UNFCCC COP includes the Warsaw Framework for REDD+,
28 which specifies modalities for measuring, reporting and verifying (MRV) greenhouse gas emissions
29 and removals. This provides an essential tool for linking REDD+ activities to results-based finance
30 (Voigt and Ferreira 2015). Appropriate finance support for REDD+ is also considered critical to move
31 from its inclusion in many countries’ NDCs to implementation on the ground (Hein et al. 2018). Since
32 public finance for REDD+ is limited, private sector participation is expected to leverage REDD+
33 (Parker and Streck 2012; Pistorius and Kiff 2015; Seymour and Busch 2016; Ehara et al. 2019;
34 Henderson et al. 2013). It is worth noting that REDD+ cannot be considered as a comprehensive
35 solution in its current form for Article 5 implementation.

36 Article 5.2 also encourages parties’ support for ‘alternative policy approaches’ to forest conservation
37 and sustainable management such as ‘joint mitigation and adaptation approaches.’ It reaffirms the
38 importance of incentivising, as appropriate, non-carbon benefits associated with such approaches (e.g.
39 improvements in the livelihoods of forest-dependent communities, facilitating poverty reduction and
40 sustainable development). This provision, along with the support for non-market mechanisms in Article
41 6 (discussed below), is seen as an avenue for cooperative joint mitigation-adaptation and non-market
42 REDD+ activities with co-benefits for biodiversity conservation (Gupta and Dube 2018).

43 ***14.3.2.7 Cooperative approaches***

44 The content and potential importance of Article 6 of the Paris Agreement on cooperative approaches
45 should be viewed against the background of key lessons from the market-based mechanisms under the
46 Kyoto Protocol, particularly the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM).

1 As described in previous IPCC reports, the 1997 Kyoto Protocol included three international market-
2 based mechanisms. These operated among Annex I Parties (i.e. International Emissions Trading and
3 Joint Implementation) and between Annex I Parties and non-Annex I countries (i.e. the CDM) (Grubb
4 et al. 2014; World Bank 2018). Joint Implementation, with projects and credits mainly being developed
5 by Russia, Ukraine and some Eastern European countries, resulted in only a limited number of trades.
6 International Emissions Trading was marginally more important, with trade mainly with the Russian
7 and Eastern European countries as sellers and Japan as the key buyer. Demand has generally been low
8 (World Bank 2018).

9 Of the Kyoto Protocol's mechanisms, the CDM market has been the most important, with a 'gold rush'
10 period between 2005 and 2012. The CDM has also been used for implementing bilateral strategies and
11 unilateral (non-market) actions, hence virtually covering all the mechanisms now included in Article 6
12 of the Paris Agreement (Phillips 2013).

13 The EU, as the main buyer of credits, tightened its rules and restricted the use of CDM credits in 2011,
14 contributing to a sharp drop in the price of CDM credits in 2012. This price never recovered, as the
15 demand for CDM was very weak after 2012, mainly because of the difficulties encountered in securing
16 the entry into force of the Doha Amendment, which established the second commitment period of the
17 Kyoto Protocol (Michaelowa, A., Shishlov, I.; Brescia 2019). Although the Doha Amendment came
18 into force in January 2021, this price has not recovered.

19 Assessing the effectiveness of international emissions trading mechanisms is challenging. CDM
20 projects have been criticised for lack of 'additionality', problems of baseline determination and uneven
21 geographic coverage (as most projects were in India, China and Brazil) (Michaelowa, A. and
22 Michaelowa 2011a; Öko-Institut 2016; Michaelowa, A., Shishlov, I.; Brescia 2019). While a number
23 of early studies raised concerns about the additionality of CDM projects, more recent studies taking into
24 account regulatory tightening and learning how to devise robust additionality tests see a more positive
25 outcome (Michaelowa, A., Shishlov, I.; Brescia 2019). The CDM's contribution to capacity building in
26 some developing countries has been identified as possibly its most important achievement
27 (Gandenberger, C.; Bodenheimer, C.; Schleich, J.; Orzama, R.; Macht 2015; Spalding-Fecher, R.,
28 Achanta, A. N., Erickson, P., Haites, E., Lazarus, M., Pahuja, N., ... Tewari 2012; Murata, A.; Jiang,
29 J.; Eto, R.; Tokimatsu, K.; Okajima, K.; Uchiyama 2016; Xu et al. 2016; Lindberg et al. 2018; Dong,
30 Y.; Holm Olsen 2017). The CDM lowered compliance costs significantly for the EU and Japan
31 (Spalding-Fecher, R., Achanta, A. N., Erickson, P., Haites, E., Lazarus, M., Pahuja, N., Tewari, 2012).
32 In host countries, the CDM led to the establishment of national approval bodies and the development
33 of an ecosystem of consultants and auditors. While this was costly (Michaelowa and Michaelowa 2017),
34 it provides a basis for GHG accounting under the Paris Agreement.

35 This experience is relevant to the implementation of Article 6 of the Paris Agreement. Article 6.1
36 recognises the role that cooperative approaches can play, on a voluntary basis, in implementing parties'
37 NDCs 'in order to allow for higher ambition' in their mitigation actions and to promote sustainable
38 development and environmental integrity. It lists a number of specific types of cooperative approaches
39 that come within its ambit, including internationally transferred mitigation outcomes (ITMOs), a
40 'mechanism to contribute to mitigation and support sustainable development', and a framework for
41 non-market mechanisms.

42 Article 6.2 indicates that ITMOs can originate from a variety of sources including regional carbon
43 markets or REDD+. Parties can use ITMOs to achieve their NDCs but when engaging in this activity
44 shall promote sustainable development, ensure environmental integrity, ensure transparency, including
45 in governance, and apply 'robust accounting' in accordance with CMA guidance to prevent double
46 counting. While this provision, unlike similar provisions in the Kyoto Protocol, does not create an
47 international carbon market, it enables parties to pursue this option should they choose to do so, for
48 example, through the linking of domestic or regional carbon markets (Marcu 2016; Müller and

1 Michaelowa 2019). Article 6.2 could also be implemented in other ways, including direct transfers
2 between governments, linkage of mitigation policies across two or more parties, sectoral or activity
3 crediting mechanisms, and other forms of cooperation involving public or private entities, or both
4 (Howard 2017).

5 Assessments of the potential of Article 6.2 generally find that ITMOs are likely to result in cost
6 reductions in achieving mitigation outcomes, with the potential for such reductions to enhance ambition
7 and accelerate parties' progression of mitigation pledges across NDC cycles (Mehling 2018; Gao et al.
8 2016; Fujimori et al. 2016). However, a growing body of research – usually drawn from experience
9 with existing carbon markets and the Kyoto mechanisms – highlights environmental integrity risks
10 associated with using ITMOs under the Paris Agreement given the challenges that the diverse scope,
11 metrics, types and timeframes of NDC targets pose for robust accounting (Schneider and La Hoz Theuer
12 2019) and the potential for transfers of 'hot air' as occurred under the Kyoto Protocol (La Hoz Theuer
13 et al. 2019). These studies collectively affirm that robust governance, including guidance on accounting
14 for ITMOs, will be critical to ensuring environmental integrity (Müller and Michaelowa 2019; Mehling
15 2018).

16 Article 6.4 concerns the mitigation mechanism, referred to by some parties as the 'sustainable
17 development mechanism' (SDM). Unlike the CDM, there is no restriction on which parties can host
18 mitigation projects and which parties can use the resulting emissions reductions towards their NDCs
19 (Marcu 2016). The SDM will operate under the authority and guidance of the CMA, and is to be
20 supervised by a body designated by the CMA in a similar fashion to the CDM.

21 The SDM is to foster sustainable development. The decision adopting the Paris Agreement specifies
22 experience with Kyoto mechanisms like the CDM as a basis for the new mitigation mechanism
23 (UNFCCC, 2016b, para. 37(f)). Compared with the CDM under the Kyoto Protocol, the SDM has a
24 more balanced focus on both climate and development objectives, and a stronger political mandate to
25 measure sustainable development impact and to verify that the impacts are 'real, measurable, and long-
26 term' (Olsen et al. 2018). There are also opportunities to integrate human rights into the SDM
27 (Calzadilla 2018; Obergassel et al. 2017). It is further subject to the requirement that it must deliver 'an
28 overall mitigation in global emissions,' which operates in addition to the general requirement in Article
29 6 for cooperation to enhance ambition (Kreibich 2018).

30 Negotiations over rules to operationalise Article 6 have proven intractable, failing to deliver both at
31 COP-24 in Katowice in 2018, where the rest of the Paris Rulebook was agreed, and in COP-25 in
32 Madrid in 2019. There are entrenched differences between parties on several issues including: whether
33 to permit the carryover and use of Kyoto CDM credits, and AAUs, towards compliance with parties'
34 NDCs, whether to impose a mandatory share of proceeds on both Article 6.2 and 6.4 mechanisms to
35 fund adaptation; and, whether credits generated under Article 6.4 should be subject to accounting rules
36 under Article 6.2.

37 **14.3.2.8 Finance flows**

38 Finance is the first of three means of implementation and support specified under the Paris Agreement
39 to accomplish its objectives relating to mitigation (and adaptation) (UNFCCC 2015a, Art. 14.1). This
40 sub-section discusses the provision made in the Paris Agreement for international cooperation on
41 finance. Section 14.4.1 below considers broader cooperative efforts on public and private finance flows
42 for climate mitigation, including by multilateral development banks and through instruments such as
43 green bonds.

44 As highlighted above, the objective of the Paris Agreement includes the goal of '[m]aking finance flows
45 consistent with a pathway towards low greenhouse gas emissions and climate-resilient development'
46 (UNFCCC 2015a, Art 2.1(c)). Provision of finance will be critical to achievement of many parties'

1 NDCs, particularly those that are framed in conditional terms (Zhang and Pan 2016; Kissinger et al.
2 2019) (see further Chapter 15 on investment and finance).

3 International cooperation on climate finance represents ‘a complex and fragmented landscape’ with a
4 range of different mechanisms and forums involved (Roberts and Weikmans 2017). These include
5 entities set up under the international climate change regime, such as the UNFCCC financial
6 mechanism, with the Global Environment Facility (GEF) and Green Climate Fund (GCF) as operating
7 entities; special funds, such as the Special Climate Change Fund, the Least Developed Countries Fund
8 (both managed by the GEF), and the Adaptation Fund established under the Kyoto Protocol; the
9 Standing Committee on Finance, a constituted body which assists the COP in exercising its functions
10 with respect to the UNFCCC financial mechanism; and other bodies outside of the international climate
11 change regime, such as the Climate Investment Funds (CIF) administered through multilateral
12 development banks (the role of these banks in climate finance is discussed further in Section 14.4.1
13 below).

14 Pursuant to decisions adopted at the Paris and Katowice conferences, parties agreed that the operating
15 entities of the financial mechanism – GEF and GCF – as well as the Special Climate Change Fund, the
16 Least Developed Countries Fund, the Adaptation Fund and the Standing Committee on Finance, all
17 serve the Paris Agreement (UNFCCC, 2016b, paras 58 and 63, 2019e, 2019a). The GCF, which became
18 operational in 2015, is expected to become the main mechanism for transferring public funds, and some
19 private funds, to developing countries to address climate change (Brechin and Espinoza 2017;
20 Antimiani et al. 2017).

21 Much of the current literature on climate finance and the Paris Agreement focuses on the obligations of
22 developed countries to provide climate finance to assist the implementation of mitigation and adaptation
23 actions by developing countries. The principal provision on finance in the Paris Agreement is the
24 binding obligation on developed country parties to provide financial resources to assist developing
25 country parties (UNFCCC 2015a, Art 9.1). This provision applies to both mitigation and adaptation and
26 is in continuation of existing developed country parties’ obligations under the UNFCCC. This signals
27 that the Paris Agreement finance requirements must be interpreted in light of the UNFCCC (Yamineva
28 2016). The principal novelty introduced by the Paris Agreement is an expansion in the potential pool
29 of donor countries as article 9.2 encourages ‘other parties’ to provide or continue to provide such
30 support on a voluntary basis. However, ‘developed countries should continue to take the lead in
31 mobilising climate finance’, with a ‘significant role’ for public funds, and a requirement that such
32 mobilisation of finance ‘should represent a progression beyond previous efforts’ (UNFCCC 2015a, Art
33 9.3).

34 Beyond this there are no new recognised promises (Ciplet et al. 2018). In the Paris Agreement
35 negotiations, parties merely formalised and extended to 2025 previous long-term finance pledges made
36 under the international climate regime, such as the Copenhagen Accord’s pledge by developed countries
37 to raise USD 100 billion yr⁻¹ by 2020. The Paris Agreement decision also provided for the CMA by
38 2025 to set a new collective quantified goal from a floor of USD 100 billion yr⁻¹, taking into account
39 the needs and priorities of developing countries (UNFCCC, 2016b, para. 53). This new collective goal
40 on finance is not explicitly limited to developed countries and could therefore encompass finance flows
41 from developing countries’ donors (Bodansky et al. 2017b). A decision on the initiation of a process
42 for determining a new collective goal on finance has been deferred to the Glasgow COP26 in 2021
43 (UNFCCC, 2019b, para. 1; UNFCCC 2019f; H. Zhang, 2019).

44 It is widely recognised that the USD 100 billion yr⁻¹ figure is a fraction of the broader finance and
45 investment needs of mitigation and adaptation embodied in the Paris Agreement (Peake and Ekins
46 2017). One estimate, based on a review of 160 (I)NDCs, suggests the financial demand for both
47 mitigation and adaptation needs of developing countries could reach USD 474 billion yr⁻¹ by 2030
48 (Zhang and Pan 2016). The OECD reports that climate finance provided and mobilised by developed

1 countries was USD 78.9 billion in 2018. This finance included four components: bilateral public,
2 multilateral public (attributed to developed countries), officially-supported export credits and mobilised
3 private finance (OECD 2020). Some research has also sought to quantify the climate finance ‘gap’
4 resulting from the US withdrawal from the Paris Agreement, with estimates that the GCF funding gap
5 will increase by USD 2 billion yr⁻¹, while the long-term finance gap for mobilisation of the \$100 billion
6 per annum will increase by around USD 5 billion yr⁻¹ (Chai et al. 2017). The new Biden administration,
7 however, has pledged to re-join the Paris Agreement and reinstate US funding for the GCF (Norton
8 2020).

9 More broadly there is recognition of the need for better accounting, transparency and reporting rules to
10 allow evaluation of the fulfilment of finance pledges and the effectiveness of how funding is used (Xu
11 et al. 2016; Roberts et al. 2017; Gupta and van Asselt 2019; Jachnik et al. 2019). Some authors see the
12 ‘enhanced transparency framework’ of the Paris Agreement (see Section 14.3.2.4 above), and the
13 specific requirements for developed countries to report on financial support and mobilisation efforts
14 (Articles 9.5 and 9.7), as promising marked improvements (Weikmans and Roberts 2019), including
15 for the fairness of effort-sharing on climate finance provision (Pickering et al. 2015). Others offer a
16 more circumspect view of the transformative capability of these transparency systems (Ciplet et al.
17 2018).

18 The more limited literature focusing on the specific finance needs of developing countries, particularly
19 those expressed in NDCs conditional on international climate finance, suggests that once all countries
20 have fully costed their NDCs, the demand for (public and private) finance to support NDC
21 implementation is likely to be orders of magnitude larger than funds available from bilateral and
22 multilateral sources. For some sectors, such as forestry and land-use, this could leave ‘NDC ambitions
23 ... in a precarious position, unless more diversified options are pursued to reach climate goals’
24 (Kissinger et al. 2019). In addition, there is a need for fiscal policy reform in developing countries to
25 ensure international climate finance flows are not undercut by public and private finance supporting
26 unsustainable activities (Kissinger et al. 2019). During the 2018 Katowice conference, UNFCCC parties
27 agreed to conduct an assessment of developing countries financial needs and priorities and requested
28 the Standing Committee on Finance to produce a ‘2020 Needs Report’ for presentation at COP26 in
29 2021 (UNFCCC 2019g).

30 **14.3.2.9 Technology development and transfer**

31 Technology development and transfer is the second of three means of implementation and support
32 specified under the Paris Agreement to accomplish its objectives relating to mitigation (and adaptation)
33 (UNFCCC 2015a, Art. 14.1). This sub-section discusses the provision made in the Paris Agreement for
34 international cooperation on technology development and transfer. Section 14.4.2 below considers
35 broader cooperative efforts on technology development and transfer under the UNFCCC.

36 The importance of technology as a means of implementation for climate mitigation obligations under
37 the Paris Agreement is evident from parties’ NDCs. Of the 168 NDCs submitted as of June 2019, 109
38 were expressed as conditional upon support for technology development and transfer, with 70 parties
39 requesting technological support for both mitigation and adaptation, and 37 parties for mitigation only
40 (Pauw et al. 2020). Thirty-eight LDCs (79%) and 29 SIDS made their NDCs conditional on technology
41 transfer, as did 50 middle-income countries (Pauw et al. 2020).

42 While technology is seen as a key means of implementation and support for Paris Agreement
43 commitments, the issue of technology development and the transfer of environmentally sound
44 technologies for climate mitigation was heavily contested between developed and developing countries
45 in the Paris negotiations, and these differences are likely to persist as the Paris Agreement is
46 implemented (Oh 2019). Contestations arising in negotiations for the Paris Rulebook include those over
47 the meaning of technological innovation, which actors should be supported, and how support should be
48 provided by the UNFCCC (Oh 2020a).

1 Article 10 of the Paris Agreement articulates a shared ‘long-term vision on the importance of fully
2 realising technology development and transfer in order to improve resilience to climate change and to
3 reduce greenhouse gas emissions’ (UNFCCC, 2015, Art. 10.1). All parties are required ‘to strengthen
4 cooperative action on technology development and transfer’ (UNFCCC, 2015, Art. 10.2). In addition,
5 support, including financial support, ‘shall be provided’ to developing country parties for the
6 implementation of Article 10, ‘including for strengthening cooperative action on technology
7 development and transfer at different stages of the technology cycle, with a view to achieving a balance
8 between support for mitigation and adaptation’ (UNFCCC, 2015, Art. 10.6). Available information on
9 efforts related to support on technology development and transfer for developing country parties is also
10 one of the matters to be taken into account in the global stocktake (UNFCCC, 2015, Art. 10.6) (see
11 Section 14.3.2.5 above).

12 The Paris Agreement emphasises that efforts to accelerate, encourage and enable innovation are ‘critical
13 for an effective long-term global response to climate change and promoting economic growth and
14 sustainable development’ and urges that they be supported, as appropriate, by the Technology
15 Mechanism and Financial Mechanism of the UNFCCC (UNFCCC, 2015, Art. 10.5). This support
16 should be directed to developing country parties ‘for collaborative approaches to research and
17 development, and facilitating access to technology, in particular for early stages of the technology cycle’
18 (UNFCCC, 2015, Art. 10.5). Inadequate support for R&D has been identified in previous studies of
19 technology interventions by international institutions as a key technology innovation gap that might be
20 addressed by the Technology Mechanism (Coninck and Puig 2015).

21 In order to support parties’ cooperative action, the Technology Mechanism, established in 2010 under
22 the UNFCCC (see further Section 14.4.2 below), will serve the Paris Agreement, subject to guidance
23 of a new ‘technology framework’ (UNFCCC, 2015, Art. 10.4). The latter was strongly advocated by
24 the African group in the negotiations for the Paris Agreement (Oh 2020a), and was adopted in 2018 as
25 part of the Paris Rulebook, with implementation entrusted to the component bodies of the Technology
26 Mechanism. The guiding principles of the framework are coherence, inclusiveness, a results-oriented
27 approach, a transformational approach and transparency. Its ‘key themes’ include innovation,
28 implementation, enabling environment and capacity-building, collaboration and stakeholder
29 engagement, and support (UNFCCC 2019j, Annex). A number of ‘actions and activities’ are elaborated
30 for each thematic area. These include: enhancing engagement and collaboration with relevant
31 stakeholders, including local communities and authorities, national planners, the private sector and civil
32 society organisations, in the planning and implementation of Technology Mechanism activities;
33 facilitating parties undertaking, updating and implementing technology needs assessments (TNAs) and
34 aligning these with NDCs; and enhancing the collaboration of the Technology Mechanism with the
35 Financial Mechanism for enhanced support for technology development and transfer. As regards TNAs,
36 while some developing countries have already used the results of their TNA process in NDC
37 development, other countries might benefit from following the TNA process, including its stakeholder
38 involvement, and multi-criteria decision analysis methodology, to strengthen their NDCs (Hofman and
39 van der Gaast 2019).

40 ***14.3.2.10 Capacity-building***

41 Together with finance, and technology development and transfer, capacity-building is the third ‘means
42 of implementation and support’ specified under the Paris Agreement (see UNFCCC 2015a, Art. 14.1).
43 Capacity-building has primarily been implemented through partnerships, collaboration and different
44 cooperative activities, inside and outside the UNFCCC. This sub-section discusses the provision made
45 in the Paris Agreement for international cooperation on capacity-building. Section 14.4.3 below
46 considers broader cooperative efforts on capacity-building within the UNFCCC.

47 In its annual synthesis report for 2018, the UNFCCC secretariat stressed the importance of capacity-
48 building for the implementation of the Paris Agreement and NDCs, with a focus on measures already

1 in place, regional and cooperative activities, and capacity-building needs for strengthening NDCs
2 (UNFCCC 2019h). Of the 168 NDCs submitted as of June 2019, capacity-building was the most
3 frequently requested type of support (113 of 136 conditional NDCs) (Pauw et al. 2020). The focus of
4 capacity-building activities is on enabling developing countries to take effective climate change action,
5 given that many developing countries continue to face significant capacity challenges, undermining
6 their ability to effectively or fully carry out the climate actions they intend to pursue (Dagnet et al.
7 2016). Content analysis of NDCs shows that capacity-building for adaptation is prioritised over
8 mitigation for developing countries, with the element of capacity-building most indicated in NDCs
9 being research and technology (Khan et al. 2020). In addition, developing countries' needs for
10 education, training and awareness-raising for climate change mitigation and adaptation feature
11 prominently in NDCs, particularly those of LDCs (Khan et al. 2020). Differences are evident though
12 between capacity-building needs expressed in the NDCs of LDCs (noting that Khan et al's review was
13 limited to NDCs in English) compared with those of upper-middle income developing countries as
14 categorised by the World Bank; the latter have more focus on mitigation with an emphasis on
15 technology development and transfer (Khan et al. 2020).

16 The Paris Agreement urges all parties to cooperate to enhance the capacity of developing countries to
17 implement the Agreement (UNFCCC 2015a, Art. 11.3), with a particular focus on LDCs and SIDS
18 (UNFCCC 2015a, Art. 11.1). Developed country parties are specifically urged to enhance support for
19 capacity-building actions in developing country Parties (UNFCCC 2015a, Art. 11.3). Article 12 of the
20 Paris Agreement addresses cooperative measures to enhance climate change education, training, public
21 awareness, public participation and public access to information, which can also be seen as elements of
22 capacity-building (Khan et al. 2020).

23 Under the Paris Agreement, capacity-building can take a range of forms, including: facilitating
24 technology development, dissemination and deployment; access to climate finance; education, training
25 and public awareness; and the transparent, timely and accurate communication of information
26 (UNFCCC 2015a, Art. 11.1). Principles guiding capacity-building support are that it should be: country-
27 driven; based on and responsive to national needs; fostering country ownership of parties at multiple
28 levels; guided by lessons learned; and an effective, iterative process that is participatory, cross-cutting
29 and gender-responsive (UNFCCC 2015a, Art. 11.2). Parties undertaking capacity-building for
30 developing country parties must 'regularly communicate on these actions or measures.' Developing
31 countries parties have a soft requirement ('should') to communicate progress made on implementing
32 capacity-building plans, policies, actions or measures to implement the Paris Agreement (UNFCCC
33 2015a, Art. 11.4).

34 Article 11.5 provides that capacity-building activities 'shall be enhanced through appropriate
35 institutional arrangements to support the implementation of this Agreement, including the appropriate
36 institutional arrangements established under the Convention that serve this Agreement'. The COP
37 decision accompanying the Paris Agreement established the Paris Committee on Capacity-building,
38 with the aim to 'address gaps and needs, both current and emerging, in implementing capacity-building
39 in developing country Parties and further enhancing capacity-building efforts, including with regard to
40 coherence and coordination in capacity-building activities under the Convention' (UNFCCC 2016,
41 para. 71). The activities of the Committee are discussed further in Section 14.4.3 below. The relevant
42 COP decision also established the Capacity Building Initiative for Transparency (UNFCCC 2016, para.
43 84), which is managed by the GEF and designed to support developing country parties in meeting the
44 reporting and transparency requirements under Article 13 of the Paris Agreement (Khan et al. 2018).

45 Studies on past capacity-building support for climate mitigation offer some lessons for ensuring
46 effectiveness of arrangements under the Paris Agreement. For example, Umemiya et al (2020) suggest
47 the need for a common monitoring system at the global level, and evaluation research at the project
48 level to achieve more effective capacity building support (Umemiya et al. 2020). Khan et al (2020)

1 articulate ‘four key pillars’ of a sustainable capacity-building system for implementation of NDCs in
2 developing countries: universities in developing countries as institutional hubs; strengthened civil
3 society networks and partnerships; long-term programmatic finance support; and consideration of a
4 capacity-building mechanism under the UNFCCC – paralleling the Technology Mechanism – to
5 marshal, coordinate and monitor capacity-building activities and resources (Khan et al. 2020).

6 **14.3.2.11 Implementation and compliance**

7 The Paris Agreement establishes a mechanism to facilitate implementation and promote compliance
8 under Article 15. This mechanism is to operate in a transparent, non-adversarial and non-punitive
9 manner (Voigt 2016; Campbell-Durufflé 2018b; Oberthür and Northrop 2018) that distinguishes it from
10 the more stringent compliance procedures of the Kyoto Protocol’s Enforcement branch. The Paris
11 Rulebook elaborated the modalities and procedures for the implementation and compliance mechanism,
12 specifying the nature and composition of the compliance committee, the situations triggering its
13 procedures, and the facilitative measures it can apply, which include a ‘finding of fact’ in limited
14 situations, dialogue, assistance and recommendations (UNFCCC 2019b). The compliance committee is
15 focused on ensuring compliance with a core set of binding procedural obligations (UNFCCC 2019b,
16 Annex, para 22). This compliance committee, characterised as ‘one of a kind’ and an ‘an important
17 cornerstone’ of the Agreement’s legitimacy, effectiveness and longevity (Zihua, Voigt, & Werksman,
18 2019), is designed to facilitate compliance rather than penalise non-compliance.

20 **Box 14.1 Key features of the Paris Agreement relevant to mitigation.**

21 The Paris Agreement’s overall aim is to strengthen the global response to the threat of climate change,
22 in the context of sustainable development and efforts to eradicate poverty. This aim is explicitly linked
23 to enhancing implementation of the UNFCCC, including its objective in Article 2 of stabilising
24 greenhouse gas emissions at a level that would ‘prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the
25 climate system’. The Agreement sets three goals:

- 26 1. *Temperature*: holding the global average temperature increase to well below 2°C above pre-
27 industrial levels and pursuing efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5°C above pre-industrial
28 levels.
- 29 2. *Adaptation and climate resilience*: increasing the ability to adapt to the adverse impacts of climate
30 change and foster climate resilience and low greenhouse gas emissions development, in a manner
31 that does not threaten food production.
- 32 3. *Finance*: making finance flows consistent with a pathway towards low greenhouse gas emissions
33 and climate-resilient development.

34 In order to achieve the long-term temperature goal, parties aim to reach global peaking of emissions as
35 soon as possible, recognising that peaking will take longer for developing countries, and then to
36 undertake rapid reductions in accordance with the best available science. This is designed to reach
37 global net zero GHG emissions in the second half of the century, with the share of emissions reductions
38 effort borne by different parties to be determined on the basis of equity and in the context of sustainable
39 development and efforts to eradicate poverty. In addition, implementation of the Agreement as a whole
40 is expected to reflect equity and parties’ differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities, in
41 light of different national circumstances.

42 The core mitigation commitments of parties under the Paris Agreement centre on preparing,
43 communicating and maintaining successive ‘nationally determined contributions’ (NDCs), the contents
44 of which countries determine for themselves. All parties must have NDCs and pursue domestic

1 mitigation measures with the aim of achieving the objectives of their NDCs, but parties NDCs are
2 neither subject to a review of adequacy nor to legally binding obligations of result. The compliance
3 mechanism is correspondingly facilitative.

4 The Paris Agreement establishes a global goal on adaptation, and recognises the importance of averting,
5 minimising and addressing loss and damage that arises where mitigation and adaptation efforts are
6 insufficient.

7 The efficacy of the Paris Agreement in achieving its goals is therefore dependent upon three additional
8 elements:

9 1. *Voluntary ratcheting of NDCs*: Parties must submit a new NDC every 5 years that is in line with
10 the Paris Agreement's expectations of *progression* over time and reflecting the party's *highest*
11 *possible ambition* and *common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities in light*
12 *of different national circumstances*.

13 2. *Enhanced transparency framework*: Parties' actions to implement their NDCs are subject to
14 international transparency and review requirements, which will generate information that may also
15 be used by domestic constituencies and peers to pressure governments to increase the ambition of
16 their NDCs.

17 3. *Collective global stocktake*: The global stocktake undertaken every 5 years will review the
18 collective progress of countries in achieving the Paris Agreement's objectives, in light of equity
19 and best available science. The outcome of the global stocktake informs parties in updating and
20 enhancing their subsequent NDCs.

21 These international processes establish an iterative ambition cycle for the preparation, communication,
22 implementation and review of NDCs.

23 For developing countries, the Paris Agreement recognises that increasing mitigation ambition and
24 realising long-term low-emissions development pathways depends upon the provision of financial
25 resources, capacity building, and technology development and transfer. The Paris Agreement also
26 permits voluntary cooperation between parties in the implementation of their NDCs to allow for higher
27 ambition in their mitigation and adaptation actions and to promote sustainable development and
28 environmental integrity.

29 30 **14.3.3 Assessment of the Paris Agreement**

31 This section assesses the Paris Agreement on the criteria identified in Section 14.2.2 (above). Given the
32 comparatively recent conclusion of the Paris Agreement, evidence is still being gathered to assess the
33 effectiveness of the Paris Agreement in practice, in particular, since its long-term effectiveness hinges
34 on states communicating more ambitious national contributions in successive cycles over time.
35 Assessments of the Paris Agreement on paper are necessarily speculative and limited by the lack of
36 credible counterfactuals. Despite these limitations, numerous assessments exist of the potential for
37 international cooperation under the Paris Agreement to advance climate change mitigation.

38 These assessments are mixed and reflect uncertainty over the outcomes the Paris Agreement will
39 achieve (Keohane and Oppenheimer 2016; Young 2016; Christoff 2016; Cléménçon 2016; Dimitrov et
40 al. 2019). There is a divide between studies that reach a pessimistic conclusion and those that take an
41 optimistic approach. Pessimistic studies base this assessment on factors such as: US non-cooperation
42 under the Trump administration and the resulting gap in mitigation, finance and governance; a lack of
43 clarity in the expression of obligations and objectives; a lack of concrete plans collectively to achieve

1 the temperature goal; extensive use of soft law provisions; limited incentives to avoid free-riding; and
2 the Agreement's weak enforcement provisions (Kemp 2018; Bang et al. 2016; Thompson 2017; Chai
3 et al. 2017; Lawrence and Wong 2017; Spash 2016; Barrett 2018; Tulkens 2016; Dimitrov et al. 2019).
4 Optimistic studies emphasise factors such as: the breadth of participation enabled by self-differentiated
5 NDCs; the 'logic' of domestic climate policies driving greater national ambition; the multiplicity of
6 actors engaged by the Paris Agreement's facilitative architecture; the falling cost of low-carbon
7 technologies; provision for financial, technology and capacity-building support to developing country
8 parties; possibilities for voluntary cooperation on mitigation under Article 6; and the potential for
9 progressive ratcheting up of parties' pledges over time fostered by transparency of reporting and
10 international scrutiny of national justifications of the 'fairness' of contributions (Chan 2016a; Victor
11 2016; Caparrós 2016; Urpelainen and Van de Graaf 2018; Morgan and Northrop 2017; Falkner 2016b;
12 Tørstad 2020). Turning to the assessment criteria articulated in this chapter, the following preliminary
13 assessments of the Paris Agreement can be made.

14 In relation to the criterion of *environmental effectiveness*, the Paris Agreement potentially exceeds the
15 Kyoto Protocol in terms of coverage of GHGs and participation of states in mitigation actions. In terms
16 of coverage of GHGs, the Kyoto Protocol limits its coverage to a defined basket of gases identified in
17 its Annex A (Carbon dioxide (CO₂), Methane (CH₄), Nitrous oxide (N₂O), Hydrofluorocarbons (HFCs),
18 Perfluorocarbons (PFCs) and Sulphur hexafluoride (SF₆)). The Paris Agreement does not specify the
19 coverage of gases, thus parties may cover the full spectrum of GHGs in their NDCs (and conversely
20 choose to exclude important mitigation sectors). Moreover, the Paris Agreement makes express
21 reference to Parties taking action to conserve and enhance 'sinks and reservoirs of greenhouse gases'
22 (Article 5). This allows for coverage of AFOLU emissions, both CO₂ and emissions of other Kyoto
23 Annex A gases. A few countries, particularly LDCs, include quantified non-CO₂ emissions reductions
24 from the agricultural sector in their NDCs, and many others include agriculture in their economy-wide
25 targets (Richards et al. 2018). Some studies find that agricultural development pathways with mitigation
26 co-benefits can deliver 21–40% of needed mitigation for the 'well below 2°C' limit, thus necessitating
27 'transformative technical and policy options' (Wollenberg et al. 2016). Other studies indicate that
28 broader 'natural climate solutions', including forests, can provide 37% of the cost-effective CO₂
29 mitigation needed through 2030 for a more than 66% chance of holding warming to below 2°C
30 (Griscom et al. 2017). As the estimates in Table 4.3 (Chapter 4) demonstrate, communicated
31 unconditional NDCs, if achieved, lead to a reduction of about 7% of world emissions by 2030 in relation
32 to the Kyoto GHGs, and conditional NDCs increase this reduction to about 12%. According to a survey
33 of existing studies (den Elzen et al. 2016), six G20 countries are on track to meet their unconditional
34 NDC, two need 'low' additional efforts and five need 'high' additional efforts to meet their targets for
35 2030, and there is not sufficient information for the remaining countries. There is also insufficient
36 information to determine whether countries are on track to meet their conditional targets. However, the
37 experience with the Cancun pledges has been positive, as countries will collectively meet their pledges
38 by 2020, and even individual pledges will be met in most cases, although arguably helped by the
39 COVID-19 pandemic (United Nations Environment Programme 2020). In any case, the main challenge
40 that remains is to close the emissions gap, the difference between what has been pledged and what is
41 needed to achieve by 2030 to reach a 1.5° C compatible path (respectively 2° C) (Roelfsema et al. 2020;
42 United Nations Environment Programme 2020, see also Cross-chapter Box 3 in Chapter 4). In terms
43 of participation of states in mitigation actions, the Paris Agreement performs better than the Kyoto
44 Protocol. The latter contains mitigation targets only for developed countries listed in its Annex B, while
45 the Paris Agreement extends binding procedural obligations in relation to mitigation contributions to
46 all states.

47 In relation to the criterion of *transformative potential*, there is, as yet, limited empirical data or
48 theoretical analysis on which to assess the Paris Agreement's transformative potential. The linking of
49 the UNFCCC financial apparatus, including the GCF, to the Paris Agreement, and the provisions on

1 technology support and capacity-building, provide potential avenues for promoting increased
2 investment flows into low-carbon technologies and development pathways (Labordena et al. 2017).
3 However, the extent of the ‘investment signal’ sent by the Agreement to business is unclear (Kemp
4 2018), and it is also unclear to what extent the Paris Agreement is fostering investment in break-through
5 technologies. US non-cooperation from 2017 to 2020 posed a significant threat to adequate investment
6 flows through the GCF (Urpelainen and Van de Graaf 2018; Chai et al. 2017). The IPCC’s 1.5°C report
7 concluded that pathways limiting global warming to 1.5°C would require systems transitions that are
8 ‘unprecedented in terms of scale’ (IPCC 2018b). There is limited evidence to suggest that this is
9 underway. Victor et al. (Victor et al. 2019) argue that international cooperation that enhances
10 transformative potential needs to operate at the sectoral level, as the barriers to transformation are highly
11 specific to each sector (Labordena et al. 2017). The Paris Agreement’s broad consensus around a clear
12 level of ambition sends a strong signal on what is needed in each sector, but on its own will do little
13 unless bolstered with sectoral-specific action (Victor et al. 2019). Similarly, Kern and Rogge (Kern and
14 Rogge 2016) argue that the Paris Agreement’s global commitment towards complete decarbonisation
15 may play a critical role in accelerating underlying system transitions, by sending a strong signal as to
16 the actions needed by national governments and other international support. Hence, while the Paris
17 Agreement may fail to directly support system transformations, its signalling function is stronger than
18 that of Kyoto, in particular since, unlike Kyoto, it expects mitigation measures from all countries.

19 In relation to the criterion of *distributive outcomes*, the Paris Agreement performs well in some respects
20 but worse in others, and its performance relative to the Kyoto Protocol is lower in respect of some
21 indicators such as industrialised country leadership, and differentiation in favour of developing
22 countries. The Kyoto Protocol implemented a multilaterally agreed burden sharing arrangement set out
23 in the UNFCCC and reflected in Annex-based differentiation in mitigation obligations, while the Paris
24 Agreement relies on NDCs, accompanied by self-assessments of the fairness of these contributions,
25 some of which do not accord with equitable principles of international environmental law. At present,
26 mechanisms in the Paris Agreement for promoting equitable burden-sharing and evaluating the fairness
27 of parties’ contributions are undefined, although numerous proposals have been developed in the
28 literature (Sheriff 2019; Herrala and Goel 2016; Alcaraz et al. 2019; Robiou du Pont et al. 2017; Ritchie
29 and Reay 2017) (discussed in Section 14.3.2.3, above). In relation to other indicators such as the
30 provision of support, the distributive outcomes of the Paris Agreement are heavily dependent on the
31 availability of support through mechanisms such as the GCF to meet the mitigation and adaptation
32 financing needs of developing countries (Chan et al. 2018; Antimiani et al. 2017). This is particularly
33 important given that the implementation of the emissions reduction objectives stated in the NDCs
34 implies trade-offs with poverty reduction efforts needed to achieve SDGs (Campagnolo and Davide
35 2019). In relation to the promotion of co-benefits the Paris Agreement has enhanced mechanisms for
36 promoting co-benefits (e.g. for biodiversity conservation through the endorsement of REDD+) and
37 linkages to sustainable development (e.g. through the SDM). Finally, the Paris Agreement also endorses
38 and incorporates human rights perspectives, creating a hook for further elaboration of procedural and
39 substantive human rights in relation to climate impacts, and response measures, in the regime.

40 On the criterion of *economic performance*, the Paris Agreement’s performance is potentially enhanced
41 by the capacity for parties to link mitigation policies, therefore improving aggregate cost-effectiveness.
42 Voluntary cooperation under Article 6 of the Paris Agreement could facilitate such linkage of mitigation
43 policies (Chan et al. 2018). A combination of common accounting rules and the absence of restrictive
44 criteria and conditions on the use of ITMOs could accelerate linkage and increase the latitude of parties
45 to scale up the ambition of their NDCs. However, significant question marks remain over how the
46 environmental integrity of traded emissions reductions can be ensured (Mehling 2018). The ability of
47 Article 6 to contribute to the goal of the Paris Agreement will depend on the extent to which the rules
48 ensure environmental integrity and avoid double counting, while utilising the full potential of
49 cooperative efforts (Schneider et al. 2019; Michaelowa et al. 2019). Employing a synthetic control

1 group design, Almer and Winkler (Almer and Winkler 2017) demonstrate that the Kyoto Protocol had
2 no discernible effect on the emission levels of countries with emission-limiting obligations.

3 In relation to the criterion of *institutional strength*, the performance of the Paris Agreement is mixed.
4 The Paris Agreement has broad participation in relation to coverage of mitigation-related commitments
5 which compares favourably with the Kyoto Protocol. The Paris Agreement has 189 parties thus far, 188
6 of whom have submitted first NDCs, and three of whom have submitted their second NDCs. The
7 durability and future ambition of NDCs was temporarily threatened by the US withdrawal (Chan et al.
8 2018; Pickering et al. 2018), and it remains uncertain how effectively momentum can be rebuilt
9 following US reengagement with the Paris Agreement under the Biden administration. In addition, the
10 trade-off for securing broad participation in the Paris Agreement was greater discretion for parties,
11 vagueness of obligations and a weak compliance system (Keohane and Oppenheimer 2016), elements
12 that reduce institutional strength.

13 The Paris Agreement's institutional strength in terms of its signalling and guidance function is,
14 however, arguably high. The Paris Agreement has the potential to interact with complementary
15 approaches to climate governance emerging beyond it (Held and Roger 2018). It may also be used by
16 publics – organised and mobilised in many countries and transnationally – as a point of leverage in
17 domestic politics to encourage countries to take costly mitigation actions (Keohane and Oppenheimer
18 2016). More broadly, the Paris Agreement's architecture provides flexibility for decentralised forms of
19 governance (Victor 2016; Jordan et al. 2015) (see further Section 14.5 below). The Agreement has
20 served a catalytic and facilitative role in enabling and facilitating climate action from non-state and sub-
21 state actors (Hale 2016; Chan et al. 2016, 2015; Kuyper et al. 2018b; Bäckstrand et al. 2017). Such
22 action could potentially 'bridge' the ambition gap created by insufficient NDCs from parties (Hsu et al.
23 2019b). The 2018 UNEP Gap Report estimates that if 'cooperative initiatives are scaled up to their
24 fullest potential', the impact of non-state and sub-state actors could be up to 15-23 GtCO₂eq yr⁻¹ by
25 2030 compared to current policy, which could bridge the gap. However, at present such a contribution
26 is limited (UN Environment Programme 2018; Michaelowa and Michaelowa 2017). Non-state actors
27 are also playing a role in enhancing the ambition of individual NDCs by challenging their adequacy in
28 national courts (see Chapter 13 and Section 14.5.3 below).

29 The Paris Agreement's institutional strength in terms of 'rules and standards to facilitate collective
30 action' is disputed given the current lack of clear reporting requirements and comparable information
31 in NDCs (Mayer 2019; Pauw et al. 2018; Zihua et al. 2019; Peters et al. 2017), and the extent to which
32 its language, as well as that of the Rulebook, strikes a balance in favour of discretion over
33 prescriptiveness (Rajamani and Bodansky 2019). Similarly, in terms of 'mechanisms to enhance
34 transparency and accountability', although detailed rules relating to transparency have been developed
35 under the Paris Rulebook, these rules permit parties considerable self-determination in the extent and
36 manner of application (Rajamani and Bodansky 2019), and may not lead to further ambition (Weikmans
37 et al. 2020). Further the Paris Agreement's compliance committee is facilitative and designed to ensure
38 compliance with the procedural obligations in the Agreement, rather than with the NDCs themselves,
39 which are not subject to obligations of result. The Paris Agreement does, however, seek to support the
40 building of transparency-related capacity of developing countries, potentially triggering institutional
41 capacity-building at the national, sub-national and sectoral level (see 14.3.2.7).

42 Ultimately, the overall effectiveness of the Paris Agreement depends on its ability to lead to ratcheting
43 up of collective climate action to meet the long-term global temperature goal (Bang et al. 2016; Christoff
44 2016; Dimitrov et al. 2019; Gupta and van Asselt 2019; Young 2016). The design of the Paris
45 Agreement, with 'nationally determined' contributions at its centre, countenances an initial shortfall in
46 collective ambition in relation to the long-term global temperature goal on the understanding and
47 expectation that Parties will enhance the ambition of their NDCs over time (Article 4). This is essential
48 given the current shortfall in ambition. The pathways reflecting current NDCs, according to various

1 estimates, imply global warming in the range of 3°C by 2100 (UN Environment Programme 2018;
2 UNFCCC 2016b). NDCs will need to be substantially scaled up if the temperature goal of the Paris
3 Agreement is to be met (Rogelj et al. 2016, 2018; Höhne et al. 2017; UN Environment Programme
4 2019; United Nations Environment Programme 2020). The Paris Agreement’s ‘ambition cycle’ is
5 designed to trigger such enhanced ambition over time. Some studies find that like-minded climate
6 mitigation clubs can deliver substantial emission reductions (Hovi et al. 2017) and are reasonably stable
7 despite the departure of a major emitter such as the United States (Sprinz et al. 2018), other studies find
8 that conditional commitments in the context of a pledge and review mechanism are unlikely to
9 substantially increase countries’ contributions to emissions reductions (Helland et al. 2017), and hence
10 need to be complemented by the adoption of instruments designed differently from the Paris Agreement
11 (Barrett and Dannenberg 2016). In any case, high (but not perfect) levels of mean compliance rates with
12 the Paris Agreement have to be assumed for reaching the ‘well below 2°C’ temperature goal (Sælen
13 2020; Håkon Sælen, Hovi, Jon, Detlef Sprinz 2020). This is by no means assured.

14 In conclusion, it remains to be seen whether the Paris Agreement—which represents a fundamental
15 shift in architecture from the Kyoto Protocol—will deliver the collective ambition necessary to meet
16 the temperature goal. While the Paris Agreement does not contain strong and stringent obligations of
17 result for major emitters, backed by a demanding compliance system, it establishes binding procedural
18 obligations, lays out a range of normative expectations, and creates mechanisms for regular review,
19 stock taking, and revision of NDCs. In combination with complementary approaches to climate
20 governance, engagement of a wide range of non-state and sub-state actors, and domestic enforcement
21 mechanisms, these have the potential to deliver the necessary collective ambition. Whether it will do
22 so, remains to be seen.

23 **14.4 Supplementary means and mechanisms of implementation**

24 As discussed above, the Paris Agreement sets in place a new framework for international climate policy.
25 Whereas international governance had earlier assumed centre stage, the Paris Agreement recognises the
26 salience of domestic politics in the governance of climate change (Kinley et al. 2020). The new
27 architecture also provides more flexibility for recognising the benefits of working in diverse forms and
28 groups and allows for more decentralised “polycentric” forms of governance (Victor 2016; Jordan et
29 al. 2015). The next two sections address this complementarity between the Paris Agreement and other
30 agreements and institutions.

31 The Paris Agreement identifies a number of pathways, or means of implementation, towards
32 accomplishing rapid mitigation and the achieving of its temperature goal: finance; capacity building;
33 technology and innovation; and, cooperative approaches and markets. In this section, we examine each
34 of these means and mechanisms of implementation, and the agreements and institutions lying outside
35 of the UNFCCC that contribute to each. In the following Section, 14.5, we examine the agreements and
36 institutions playing other governance roles: regulating activities in particular sectors; linking climate
37 mitigation with other activities such as adaptation; and, stimulating and coordinating the actions of non-
38 state actors at a global scale.

39 Figure 14.4 maps out the interlinkages described in the text of the two sections. It is an incomplete list,
40 but illustrates clearly that across multiple types of governance, there are multiple instruments or
41 organisations with activities connected to the different governance roles associated with the Paris
42 Agreement and the UNFCCC more generally.

Type	Instrument / Organization	Mitigation	Transparency	Sinks	Markets	Finance	Technology	Capacity building
Global treaties	Montreal Protocol	14.5.1.1				14.5.1.1		
	CBD	14.5.1.1		14.5.2.1				
	UNCCD			14.5.2.1				14.5.2.1
	Minimata Mercury Convention	14.5.1.1						
United Nations Programmes and Specialized Agencies	UN REDD+ programme	14.5.1.1		14.5.2.1		14.5.2.1		14.4.3
	UNEP	14.5.1.1						14.4.3
	UNDP							14.4.3
	UNIDO							14.4.1.2
	UNOSSC							14.4.1.2
	FAO			14.5.2.1				14.4.1.2
	ICAO IMO	14.5.2.3 14.5.2.3			14.5.2.3		14.5.2.3	
Other global organizations	IEA						14.5.2.2	
	IRENA					14.5.2.2	14.5.2.2	14.5.2.2
	MDBs					14.4.1.2		14.4.3
		14.4.1.2	14.4.1.2	14.5.4	14.4.4	14.4.1.2		
Regional, multi- and bilateral agreements	LRTAP	14.5.1.1						
	MIGA					14.5.2.2		
	PPCA	14.5.2.2						
	Regional trade agreements	14.5.1.3			14.5.1.3		14.5.1.3	
	Bilateral development programs				14.4.4	14.4.1.1	14.4.1.1	14.4.3
	International science programmes						14.4.2	
	South South Cooperation					14.5.1.4	14.5.1.4	14.4.3
Non-state trans-national actors	Global city networks	14.5.5		14.5.5		14.5.5	14.5.5	14.5.5
	Environmental NGOs	14.5.2.2	14.5.4			14.5.3		
	Climate social movements	14.5.3		14.5.3				
	Business partnerships	14.5.4	14.5.4			14.5.4	14.5.4	14.5.4

Figure 14.4 Climate governance beyond the UNFCCC. The figure shows those relationships, marked in blue, between international governance activities, described in the text, that relate to activities of the UNFCCC and Paris Agreement.

14.4.1 Finance

International cooperation on climate finance is underpinned by Article 11.5 of the UNFCCC, which states that the developed country Parties may also provide, and developing country Parties avail themselves, of financial resources related to the implementation of the Convention through bilateral, regional and other multilateral channels (UNFCCC 1992). This was further amplified through the commitment by developed countries in the Copenhagen Accord and the Cancun Agreements to mobilise jointly \$100 billion yr⁻¹ by 2020 to meet the needs of the developing countries (UNFCCC 2010). This commitment was made in the context of meaningful mitigation action and transparency of implementation. As mentioned earlier in Section 14.3.2.8, in the Paris Agreement the binding obligation on developed country parties to provide financial resources to assist developing country parties applies to both mitigation and adaptation (UNFCCC 2015a, Art. 9.1). In 2018, climate finance provided and mobilised by developed countries was in the order of \$78.9 billion, coming from different channels including bilateral and multilateral channels, and also through mobilisation of the private sector attributable to these channels (OECD 2020; UNFCCC 2018). A majority (70%) of these flows targeted mitigation action exclusively (see Chapter 15). These estimates, however, have been criticised on various grounds, including on whether or not they represent climate specific net assistance only; that in grant equivalence terms the order of magnitude is lower; and the questionable extent of transparency of information on mobilised private finance, as well as the direction of these flows (Carty et al. 2020). On balance, such assessments need to be viewed in the context of the original commitment, the source of the data and the evolving guidance, and modalities and procedures from the UNFCCC processes.

The multiplicity of actors providing financial support has resulted in a fragmented international climate finance architecture as indicated in Section 14.3.2.8. It is also seen as a system which allows for speed, flexibility and innovation (Pickering et al. 2017). However, the system is not yet delivering adequate flows given the needs of developing countries (see Section 14.3.2.8). An early indication of these needs is provided in the conditional NDCs. Of the 136 conditional NDCs submitted by June 2019, 110 are

1 conditioned on financing support for mitigation and 79 for mitigation support for adaptation (Pauw et
2 al. 2020). While the Paris Agreement did not explicitly countenance conditionality for actions in
3 developing countries, it is generally understood that the ambition and effectiveness of climate ambition
4 in these countries is dependent on financial support (Voigt and Ferreira 2016b).

5 **14.4.1.1 Bilateral finance**

6 Both the Paris Agreement and the SDGs reinforce the need to forge strong linkages between climate
7 and development by referring to the need to address the twin challenges of development and climate
8 change (Fay et al. 2015). This in turn has highlighted the urgent need for greater attention to the
9 relationship between development assistance and finance, and climate change (Steele 2015). The
10 literature on how these programs promote international cooperation is still limited.

11 The UNFCCC website cites some 20 bilateral development agencies providing support to climate
12 change programs in developing countries (UNFCCC 2020a). These agencies provide a mix of
13 development cooperation, policy advice and support and financing for climate change projects. Since
14 the year 2000, the OECD Development Assistance Committee has been tracking trends in climate-
15 related development finance and assistance. The amount of bilateral development finance allocated to
16 climate change has increased exponentially since 2000 (OECD 2019a). Reportedly in 2018, it was \$32.1
17 billion directly and \$2.1 billion through export credit agencies. Further, another \$29.6 billion of the
18 climate finance provided through multilateral channels is attributable to the developed countries (OECD
19 2020). The OECD methodology has been critiqued as it uses Rio markers the limitations of which could
20 lead to erroneous reporting and assessment of finance provided as well as the mitigation outcome
21 (Michaelowa and Michaelowa 2011b; Weikmans and Roberts 2019). This issue is to be addressed
22 through the modalities, procedures and guidance under the Enhanced Transparency Framework of the
23 Paris Agreement (see Section 14.3.2.4), through the mandate to Subsidiary Body for Scientific and
24 Technological Advice (SBSTA) to develop Common Tabular Formats (CTFs) for the reporting of
25 information on, *inter alia*, financial support provided, mobilised and received (UNFCCC 2019i). Until
26 then, the Biennial Assessment Report prepared by the Standing Committee on Finance provides the
27 best available information on financial support.

28 **14.4.1.2 Multilateral finance**

29 Multilateral Development Banks (MDBs) play a key role in international cooperation at the global,
30 regional and sub-regional level because of their growing mandates and proximity to policymakers
31 (Prizzon and Engen 2018).¹ For many, climate change is a growing priority and for some, because of
32 the needs of the regions, or sub-regions in which they operate, climate change is embedded in many of
33 their operations.

34 In 2015, twenty representative MDBs and members of the International Development Finance Club
35 unveiled five voluntary principles to mainstream climate action in their investments, including

FOOTNOTE ¹ Six global development banks that include European Investment Bank (EIB), international Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), International Investment Bank (IIB), New Development Bank (NDB), OPEC Fund for International Development (OFID), World Bank Group; six regional development banks that include African Development Bank (AfDB), Asian Development Bank (AsDB), Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), Inter American Development Bank (IADB), and Islamic Development Bank (IsDB); and thirteen sub-regional development banks that include Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa (BADEA), Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development (AFESD), Black Sea Trade and Development Bank (BSTDB), Caribbean Development Bank (CDB), Central American Bank for Economic Integration (CABEI), Development Bank of the Central African States (BDEAC), Development Bank of Latin America (CAF), East African Development Bank (EADB), Eastern and Southern African Trade and Development Bank (TDB), Economic Cooperation Organization Trade and Development Bank (ETDB), ECOWAS Bank for Investment and Development (EBID), Eurasian Development Bank (EDB), West African Development Bank (BOAD).

1 commitment to climate strategies, managing climate risks, promoting climate smart objectives,
2 improving climate performance and accounting for their own actions. The members subscribing to these
3 principles have since grown to 44 in January 2020 (World Bank 2015a; Institute for Climate Economics
4 2017). Arguably, it is only through closer linkages between climate and development that significant
5 inroads can be made in addressing climate change. MDBs can play a major role through the totality of
6 their portfolios (Larsen et al. 2018).

7 The multilateral development banks as a cohort have been collaborating and coordinating in reporting
8 on climate financing since 2012 following a commitment made in 2012 at the Rio +20 summit (MDB
9 2012). This has engendered other forms of collaboration among the MDBs, including: commitments to
10 collectively total at least USD 65 billion annually by 2025 in climate finance, with \$50 billion for low
11 and middle income economies; to mobilise a further \$40 billion annually by 2025 from private sector
12 investors, including through the increased provision of technical assistance, use of guarantees, and other
13 de-risking instruments; and to commit to helping clients deliver on the goals of the Paris Agreement;
14 building a transparency framework on impact of MDBs' activities and enabling clients to move away
15 from fossil fuels (Asian Development Bank 2019). While the share of multilateral development banks
16 in overall climate financing is insignificant, their role in influencing national development banks and
17 local financial institutions, and leveraging and crowding in private investments in financing sustainable
18 infrastructure, is widely recognised (New Climate Economy 2016). However, with this recognition
19 there is also an exhortation to do more to align with the goals of the Paris Agreement, including a
20 comprehensive examination of their portfolios beyond investments that directly support climate action
21 to also enabling the long term net zero emissions trajectory (WRI 2018; Cochran and Pauthier 2019).
22 Further, a recent assessment has shown that MDBs perform relatively better in mobilising other public
23 finance than private co-financing (Thwaites 2020). In addition, the banks have launched or are members
24 of significant initiatives such as the Climate and Clean Air Coalition (CCAC) to reduce short lived
25 climate pollutants, the Carbon Pricing Leadership Coalition (CPLC), the Coalition for Climate Resilient
26 Investment (CCRI) and the Coalition of Finance Ministers for climate action. These help to spur action
27 at different levels, from economic analysis, to carbon financing and convenors of finance and
28 development ministers for climate action, with leadership of many of these initiatives led by the World
29 Bank.

30 The multilateral climate funds also have a role in the international climate finance architecture. This
31 includes, as mentioned in Section 14.3.2.8, those established under the UNFCCC's financial
32 mechanism, its operating entity the Global Environment Facility (GEF), which also manages two
33 special funds, the Special Climate Change Fund (SCCF) and the Least Developed Countries Fund
34 (LDCF); the Green Climate Fund (GCF) which in 2015, was given a special role in supporting the
35 Paris Agreement. GCF aims to provide funding at scale, balanced between mitigation and adaptation,
36 in the form of either grants, loans, equity, or guarantees to activities that are aligned with the priorities
37 of the countries compatible with the principle of country ownership (GCF 2011). The Green Climate
38 Fund faces many challenges. While some see the GCF as an opportunity to transform and rationalise
39 what is now a complex and fragmented climate finance architecture with insufficient resources and
40 overlapping remits (Smita, Nakhoda 2014), others see it as an opportunity to address the frequent
41 tensions which arise between mitigation-focused transformation and national priorities of countries.
42 This tension is at the heart of the principle of country ownership and the need for transformational
43 change (Winkler and Dubash 2016). Leveraging private funds and investments by the public sector is
44 another expressed aim of the GCF (Green Climate Fund).

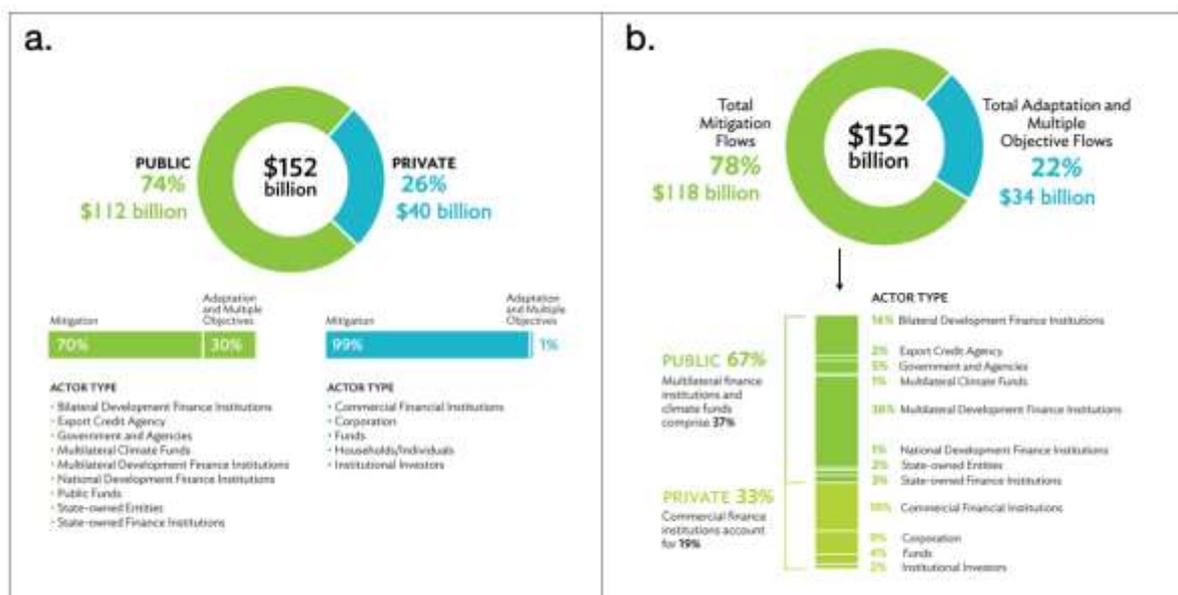
45 The UN system is also supporting climate action through much needed technical assistance and capacity
46 building, which is complementary to the financial flows insofar as it enables countries with relevant
47 tools and methodologies to assess their needs, develop national climate finance roadmaps, establish
48 relevant institutional mechanisms to receive support and track it, enhance readiness to access financing,

1 and include climate action across relevant national financial planning and budgeting processes (UN
2 2017a). The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) is the largest implementer of climate action
3 among the UN Agencies, with others, such as the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), United
4 Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), United Nations Industrial Development Organisation
5 (UNIDO), United Nations Office for South-South Cooperation (UNOSSC), providing relevant support.

6 The current architecture of climate finance is one that is primarily based on north-south, developed-
7 developing country dichotomies. The Paris Agreement, however, has clearly recognised the role of
8 climate finance flows across developing countries, thereby enhancing the scope of international
9 cooperation (Voigt and Ferreira 2016b). Estimates of such flows, though, are not readily available.

10 **14.4.1.3 Private sector financing**

11 There is a growing recognition of the importance of mobilising private sector financing including for
12 climate action (World Bank 2015b; Michaelowa et al. 2020). An early example of the mobilisation of
13 the private sector in a cooperative mode for mitigation outcomes is evidenced from the Clean
14 Development Mechanism of the Kyoto Protocol and the linking with the European Union's Emissions
15 Trading Scheme, both triggered by relevant provisions in the Kyoto Protocol (see Section 14.4.4) and
16 lessons learnt from this are relevant for development of market mechanisms in the post Paris Agreement
17 period (Michaelowa, A., Shishlov, I.; Brescia 2019). In 2017/2018, public and private climate financing
18 was on the order of \$ 574 billion, of which \$ 274 billion originated from the private sector. However,
19 as much as 76% of the finance stays in the country of origin (Macquarie et al. 2020). This trend holds
20 true also for private finance. Figure 14.5 depicts the international climate finance flows, totalling \$ 152
21 billion reported in 2018, of which 26% were private flows. For mitigation financing flow of \$ 118
22 billion, the share of private sources is estimated at 33%.



24
25 **Figure 14.5 International Finance Flows. Total international climate financial flows for 2018**
26 **were \$152 billion. Part a. disaggregates these according to public and private sources, and**
27 **indicates the breakdown between mitigation and adaptation, as well as multiple actor types,**
28 **within each source. Part b. disaggregates these according to intended purpose, namely**
29 **mitigation or adaptation and multiple objectives, and for the mitigation total (\$118 billion)**
30 **disaggregates these according to source. By comparison, public sector bilateral and multilateral**
31 **finance in 2017 for fossil fuel development, including gas pipelines, was roughly \$4 billion.**

32 Sources: CPI, OECD.

1

2 Foreign direct investments and its greening is seen as a channel for increasing cooperation. An
3 assessment of the greenfield foreign direct investment in different sectors shows the growing share of
4 renewable energy at \$ 92.2 billion (12% of the volume and 38% of the number of projects) (FDI
5 Intelligence 2020). However, coal, oil and gas sectors maintain the top spot for capital investments
6 globally. Over the last decade there is growing issuance of green bonds with non-financial private sector
7 issuance gaining ground (Almeida 2020). While it is questionable if green bonds have a significant
8 impact on shifting capital from non-sustainable to sustainable investments, they do incentivise the
9 issuing organisations to enhance their green ambition and have led to an appreciation within capital
10 markets of green frameworks and guidelines and signalling new expectations (Maltais and Nykvist
11 2020). In parallel, institutional investors including pension funds are seeking investments that align
12 with the Paris Agreement (IIGCC 2020). However, the readiness of institutional investors to make this
13 transition is arguable (OECD 2019b; Ameli et al. 2020). This evidence suggests that international
14 private financing could play an important role but this potential is yet to be actualised (see Chapter 15).

15 **14.4.2 Science, technology and innovation**

16 Science, technology and innovation are essential for the design of effective measures to address climate
17 change and, more generally, for economic and social development (de Coninck and Sagar 2015a). The
18 OECD finds that single countries alone often cannot provide effective solutions to the global challenges
19 of today, as these cross national borders and affect different actors (OECD 2012). However, the capacity
20 for scientific and technological innovation is not evenly distributed, particularly across the developed
21 and the developing world. For this reason, many countries have introduced strategies and policies to
22 enhance international cooperation in science and technology, and have made this a priority (Chen et al.
23 2019). Partnerships and international cooperation can play a role in establishing domestic innovation
24 systems, which enable more effective science and technology innovation (de Coninck and Sagar
25 2015a,b).

26 International cooperation in science and technology occurs across different levels, with a growing
27 number of international cooperation initiatives aimed at research and collaborative action in technology
28 development. Weart (2012) finds that such global efforts are effective in advancing climate change
29 science due to the international nature of the challenge. Global research programmes and institutions
30 have also provided the scientific basis for major international environmental treaties. For example, the
31 Transboundary Air Pollution Convention and the Montreal Protocol were both informed by scientific
32 assessments based on collaboration and cooperation of scientists across several geographies (Andresen
33 et al. 2000). Furthermore, the Global Energy Assessment (GEA 2012) provided the scientific basis and
34 evidence for the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, in particular SDG7 to ensure access to
35 affordable, reliable and sustainable modern energy for all. The GEA drew on the expertise of scientists
36 from over 60 countries and institutions. Several other platforms exist to provide scientists and
37 policymakers an opportunity for joint research and knowledge sharing, such as The World in 2050, an
38 initiative that brings together scientists from some 40 institutions from around the world to provide the
39 science for SDG and Paris Agreement implementation (TWI2050 2018).

40 Non-state actors are also increasingly collaborating internationally. Such collaborations, referred to as
41 international cooperative initiatives (ICIs), bring together multi-stakeholder groups across industry,
42 communities, and regions, and operate both within and outside the UNFCCC process. While a large
43 number of ICIs exist, Bakhriari (2018) finds that the impact on greenhouse gas reduction of these
44 initiatives is hindered due to a lack of coordination between ICIs, overlap with other activities conducted
45 by the UNFCCC and governments, and a lack of monitoring system to measure impact. Increasing the
46 exchange of information between ICIs, enhancing monitoring systems, and increasing collaborative
47 research in science and technology would help address these issues (Boekholt et al. 2009; Bakhtiari
48 2018).

1 At the level of research institutes, there has been a major shift to a more structured and global type of
2 cooperation in research, building on the existing bottom-up, informal and regional (mostly European)
3 cooperation (Georghiou 1998). Wagner et al (2017) found that the number of scientific papers that are
4 co-authored internationally increased from 10% to 25%, and the amount of countries participating in
5 international research grew by 58 countries in the period 1990 to 2015. Although only a portion of these
6 scientific papers address the issue of climate change specifically, this growth of scientific collaboration
7 across borders provides a comprehensive view of the conducive environment in which climate science
8 collaboration has grown.

9 However, there are areas in which international cooperation can be strengthened. Both the Paris
10 Agreement and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development call for more creative forms of
11 international cooperation in science that to help bridge the science and policy interface, and provide
12 learning processes and places to deliberate on possible policy pathways across disciplines on a more
13 sustainable and long-lasting basis. Scientific assessments, such as the IPCC and IPBES offer this
14 possibility, but the processes need to be enriched for this to happen more effectively (Kowarsch et al.
15 2016) This is especially apparent in literature surrounding scenarios, where researchers are
16 collaborating to produce new families of scenarios that aim to be more comprehensive and inclusive of
17 economic, social and environmental dimensions (Riahi et al. 2017; Ebi et al. 2014). These efforts
18 involve researchers and institutions globally, drawing expertise from individuals in both developed and
19 developing countries The IPCC Special Report on Emissions Scenarios (SRES) in 2000, the
20 Representative Concentration Pathways (RCPs) (van Vuuren et al. 2011), and the collaboration on
21 Shared Socioeconomic Pathways (SSPs) (Riahi et al. 2017; O'Neill et al. 2017) all relied on the
22 successful cooperation of scientists across borders.

23 Rapid advances in technology, major geopolitical changes, shifts in the way research is funded, and
24 more pressures for open access will all have significant impacts on international cooperation in science.
25 A report by Elsevier and Ipsos finds that these new developments have the potential, if well managed,
26 to bring positive impacts (Elsevier and IPSOS MORI 2019). Major advances in general purpose
27 technologies, such as digital technology, will have implications across sectors and have already been
28 disruptive in the energy sector (Skea et al. 2019). Big data, artificial intelligence, blockchain, and
29 augmented reality are opening not only new ways of sharing and accessing data and providing new
30 learning tools, but also changing the shape of science and technology (Elsevier and IPSOS MORI 2019).
31 Digital technologies, such as nanotechnologies and nanobiotechnology, genetic engineering, synthetic
32 biology, biometrics, and additive manufacturing, all have the potential to open new frontiers in the
33 complex fight against climate change. However, if not well managed, these developments might not be
34 realised by all countries, thus creating a new divide (TWI2050 2018). International cooperation that
35 strengthens institutional and policy frameworks in developing countries and builds their innovation
36 systems can aid technology transfer and knowledge to flow to their advantage (de Coninck and Sagar
37 2015a,b; Niosi 2018).

38 A particular locus for international cooperation on technology development and innovation is found
39 within institutions and mechanisms of the UN climate regime. The UNFCCC, in Article 4.1(c), calls on
40 'all parties' to 'promote and cooperate in the development, application and diffusion, including transfer,
41 of technologies, practices and processes that control, reduce or prevent anthropogenic emissions of
42 greenhouse gases' and places responsibility on developed country parties to 'take all practicable steps
43 to promote, facilitate and finance, as appropriate, the transfer of, or access to environmentally sound
44 technologies and know-how to other parties, particularly developing country parties, to enable them to
45 implement the provisions of the Convention' (UNFCCC 1992, Art. 4.5). The issue of technology
46 development and transfer has continued to receive much attention in the international climate policy
47 domain since its initial inclusion in the UNFCCC in 1992 – albeit often overshadowed by dominant
48 discourses around market-based mechanisms – and its role in reducing greenhouse gas emissions and

1 adapting to the consequences of climate change ‘is seen as becoming ever more critical’ (de Coninck
2 and Sagar 2015a, 2). Milestones in the development of international cooperation on climate
3 technologies under the UNFCCC have included: (1) the development of a technology transfer
4 framework and establishment of the Expert Group on Technology Transfer (EGTT) under the
5 Subsidiary Body for Scientific and Technological Advice (SBSTA) in 2001; (2) recommendations for
6 enhancing the technology transfer framework put forward at the Bali Conference of the Parties in 2007
7 and creation of the Poznan strategic program on technology transfer under the Global Environmental
8 Facility (GEF); and (3) the establishment of the Technology Mechanism by the Conference of the
9 Parties in 2010 as part of the Cancun Agreements (UNFCCC 2010). The Technology Mechanism is
10 presently the principal avenue within the UNFCCC for facilitating cooperation on the development and
11 transfer of climate technologies to developing countries (UNFCCC 2015b). As discussed in Section
12 14.3.2.9 above, the Paris Agreement tasks the Technology Mechanism also to serve the Paris Agreement
13 (UNFCCC 2015b, Art. 10.3).

14 The Technology Mechanism consists of the Technology Executive Committee (TEC) (replacing the
15 EGTT), as its policy arm, and the Climate Technology Centre and Network (CTCN), as its
16 implementation arm (UNFCCC 2015b). The TEC focuses on identifying and recommending policies
17 that can support countries in enhancing and accelerating the development and transfer of climate
18 technologies (UNFCCC 2020b). The CTCN facilitates the transfer of technologies through three core
19 services: (1) providing technical assistance at the request of developing countries; (2) creating access
20 to information and knowledge on climate technologies; and (3) fostering collaboration and capacity-
21 building (CTCN 2020a). The CTCN ‘network’ consists of a diverse set of climate technology
22 stakeholders from academic, finance, non-government, private sector, public sector, and research
23 entities, together with more than 150 National Designated Entities, which serve as CTCN national focal
24 points. Through its network, the CTCN seeks to mobilise policy and technical expertise to deliver
25 technology solutions, capacity-building and implementation advice to developing countries (CTCN
26 2020b). At the Katowice UNFCCC Conference of the Parties in 2018, the TEC and CTCN were
27 requested to incorporate the technology framework developed pursuant to Article 10 of the Paris
28 Agreement into their respective workplans and programmes of work (UNFCCC 2019j).

29 The Joint Annual Report of the TEC and CTCN for 2019 indicated that, as of July 2019, the CTCN had
30 engaged with 93 developing country parties regarding a total of 273 requests for technical assistance,
31 including 11 multi-country requests. Nearly three-quarters (72.9%) of requests received by the CTCN
32 had a mitigation component, with two-thirds of those mitigation requests related to either renewable
33 energy or energy efficiency. Requests for decision-making or information tools are received most
34 frequently (28% of requests), followed by requests for technology feasibility studies (20%) and
35 technology identification and prioritisation (18%) (TEC and CTCN 2019).

36 The CTCN is presently funded from ‘various sources, ranging from the [UNFCCC] Financial
37 Mechanism to philanthropic and private sector sources, as well as by financial and in-kind contributions
38 from the co-hosts of the CTCN and from participants in the Network’ (TEC and CTCN 2019, para. 97).
39 Oh (2020b) describes the institution as ‘mainly financially dependent on bilateral donations from
40 developed countries and multilateral support’. Nevertheless, inadequate funding of the CTCN poses a
41 problem for its effectiveness and capacity to contribute to implementation of the Paris Agreement. A
42 2017 independent review of the CTCN identified ‘limited availability of funding’ as a key constraint
43 on its ability to deliver services at the expected level and recommended that ‘[b]etter predictability and
44 security over financial resources will ensure that the CTCN can continue to successfully respond to its
45 COP mandate and the needs and expectations of developing countries’ (Ernst & Young 2017, para. 84).
46 The 2019 Joint Report of the TEC and CTCN indicates that resource mobilisation for the Network
47 remains a challenge (TEC and CTCN 2019, pp. 23-24).

1 The importance of ‘financial support’ for strengthening cooperative action on technology development
2 and transfer was recognised in Article 10.6 of the Paris Agreement. The technology framework
3 established by the Paris Rulebook specifies actions and activities relating to the thematic area of
4 ‘support’ as including: (a) enhancing the collaboration of the Technology Mechanism with the Financial
5 Mechanism; (b) identifying and promoting innovative finance and investment at different stages of the
6 technology cycle; (c) providing enhanced technical support to developing country parties, in a country-
7 driven manner, and facilitating their access to financing for innovation, enabling environments and
8 capacity-building, developing and implementing the results of TNAs, and engagement and
9 collaboration with stakeholders, including organisational and institutional support; and (d) enhancing
10 the mobilisation of various types of support, including pro bono and in-kind support, from various
11 sources for the implementation of actions and activities under each key theme of the technology
12 framework.

13 Notwithstanding the technology framework’s directive for enhanced collaboration of the Technology
14 and Financial Mechanisms of the UNFCCC, linkages between them, and particularly to the GCF,
15 continue to engender political contestation between developing and developed countries (Oh 2020b).
16 Developing countries sought to address concerns over the unsustainable funding status of the CTCN by
17 advocating linkage through a funding arrangement or financial linkage, whereas developed countries
18 favour the design of an institutional linkage maintaining the different and separate mandates of the
19 CTCN and the GCF (Oh 2020a,b). With no resolution reached, the UNFCCC COP requested the
20 Subsidiary Body for Implementation, at its fifty-third session, to take stock of progress in strengthening
21 the linkages between the Technology Mechanism and the Financial Mechanism with a view to
22 recommending a draft decision for consideration and adoption by the Glasgow COP, scheduled for 2021
23 (UNFCCC 2019k).

24 **14.4.3 Capacity Building**

25 International climate cooperation has long focused on supporting developing countries in building
26 capacity to implement climate mitigation commitments. While there is no universally agreed definition
27 of capacity-building and the UNFCCC does not define the term (Khan et al. 2020), elements of capacity-
28 building can be discerned from the Convention’s provisions on education and training programmes
29 (UNFCCC 1992, Art. 6), as well as the reference in Article 9(2)(d) of the UNFCCC to the Subsidiary
30 Body for Scientific and Technological Advice (SBSTA) providing support for ‘endogenous capacity-
31 building in developing countries.’

32 Capacity-building is generally conceived as taking place at three levels: individual (focused on
33 knowledge, skills and training), organisational/institutional (focusing on organisational performance
34 and institutional cooperation) and systemic (creating enabling environments through regulatory and
35 economic policies (Khan et al. 2020; UNFCCC 2020c). In its annual synthesis report for 2018, the
36 UNFCCC secretariat compiled information submitted by parties on the implementation of capacity-
37 building in developing countries, highlighting cooperative and regional activities on NDCs, including
38 projects to build capacity for implementation, workshops related to transparency under the Paris
39 Agreement and collaboration to provide coaching and training (UNFCCC 2019h). A number of
40 developing country Parties also highlighted their contributions to South–South cooperation (discussed
41 further in Section 14.5.1.4 below), and identified capacity-building projects undertaken with others (e.g.
42 capacity-building for risk management in Latin America and the Caribbean, improving capacity for
43 measurement, reporting and verification (MRV) through the Alliance of the Pacific and a climate action
44 package launched by Singapore).

45 Beyond the UNFCCC, other climate cooperation and partnership activities on capacity building include
46 those organised by the OECD, IFDD (Francophonie Institute for Sustainable Development), UNDP-
47 NCSP programme, UNEP and the World Bank. There are also a number of regional cooperative
48 structures with capacity-building components, including ClimaSouth, Euroclima+, the UN-REDD

1 Programme, the Caribbean Regional Strategic Programme for Resilience, the Caribbean Climate Online
2 Risk and Adaptation Tool, a project on accelerating low carbon and resilient society realisation in the
3 Southeast Asian region, the World Health Organisation’s Global Salm-Surv network, the Red
4 Iberoamericana de Oficinas de Cambio Climático network and the Africa Adaptation Initiative. Many
5 climate-related capacity-building initiatives, including those coordinated or funded by international or
6 regional institutions, are implemented at the national and sub-national level, often with the involvement
7 of universities, consultancy groups and civil society actors.

8 Despite a decades-long process of capacity-building efforts under many development and
9 environmental regimes, including the UNFCCC, progress has been uneven and largely unsuccessful in
10 establishing institution-based capacity in developing countries (Khan et al. 2018). In an effort to
11 improve capacity-building efforts within the UNFCCC, in 2015, the Paris Committee on Capacity-
12 building (PCCB) was established by the COP decision accompanying the Paris Agreement as the
13 primary body for enhancing capacity-building efforts, including by improving coherence and
14 coordination in capacity-building activities (UNFCCC 2016, para. 71). The activities of the Committee
15 include the provision of guidance and technical support on climate change training and capacity
16 building, raising awareness and sharing climate information and knowledge. During 2020, the PCCB
17 was able, despite the Covid-19 situation, to hold its 4th meeting, implement and assess its 2017-2020
18 work plan, and develop and agree on its future roadmap (2021-2024) (UNFCCC Subsidiary Body for
19 Implementation 2020). Non-governmental organisations such as the Coalition on Paris Agreement
20 Capacity-building provide expert input to the PCCB.

21 Quantifying the contribution of capacity-building efforts to climate mitigation is acknowledged to be
22 ‘difficult, if not impossible’ (Hsu et al. 2019a). Nonetheless, such activities ‘may play a valuable role
23 in building a foundation for future reductions’ by providing ‘necessary catalytic linkages between
24 actors’ (Hsu et al. 2019a).

25 **14.4.4 Cooperative mechanisms and markets**

26 In theory, trading carbon assets can reduce the costs of global climate mitigation, by helping facilitate
27 abatement of greenhouse gases at least-cost locations. This could help countries ratchet up their
28 ambitions more than in a situation without such mechanisms (Mehling et al. 2018). Progress as to
29 developing such mechanisms has however so far been moderate and uneven.

30 Of the three international market-based mechanisms under the 1997 Kyoto Protocol discussed in
31 Section 14.3.2.7, and in previous IPCC reports, only the CDM has a role to play under the Paris
32 Agreement, although the precise terms are yet to be decided.

33 Article 6, also discussed in Section 14.3.2.7, is the main mechanism to foster enhanced cooperation
34 within the Paris Agreement. Although there are some examples, such as the bilateral treaty signed under
35 the framework of Article 6 in October 2020 by Switzerland and Peru, the possibilities of bilateral
36 cooperation are yet to be explored and exploited. As discussed above, adequate accounting rules are
37 key to the success of Article 6. Sectoral agreements are also a promising cooperative mechanism, as
38 discussed in Section 14.5.2. In fact, both bilateral and sectoral agreements have the potential to enhance
39 the ambition of the parties involved and can eventually serve as building blocks towards more
40 comprehensive agreements (see the discussion in Section 14.2.2).

41 A relevant and promising new development is the international linkage of existing regional or national
42 emission trading systems. Several emission trading systems are now operational in different
43 jurisdictions, including the EU, Switzerland, China, South Korea, New Zealand, and several US states
44 and Canadian provinces (Wettstad, J. and Gulbrandsen 2018). More systems are in the pipeline,
45 including Mexico and Thailand (ICAP 2019). The link between the EU and Switzerland entered into
46 force in January 2020 and other linkages are being negotiated. Scholars analyse the potential benefits
47 of these multilateral linkages and demonstrate that these are significant (Doda and Taschini 2017; Doda

1 et al. 2019a). Over time, the linkages of these emission trading systems can be seen as building blocks
2 to a strategic enlargement of international cooperation (Mehling 2018; Caparrós and Péreau 2017). The
3 World Bank has emerged as an important lynchpin and facilitator of knowledge-building and sharing
4 of lessons about the design and linking of carbon markets, through initiatives such as the Partnership
5 for Market Readiness, Networked Carbon Markets and the Carbon Pricing Leadership Coalition
6 (Wettestad, J.; Gulbrandsen, L.H.; Andresen 2020).

7 However, it is important to distinguish between theory and practice. The practice of ETS linking so far
8 demonstrates a few links and several processes breaking down due to shifts of governments and political
9 preferences (for instance the process between the EU and Australia, and Ontario withdrawing from the
10 WCI) (Bailey and Inderberg 2018). It is worth noting that the linking of carbon markets raises problems
11 of distribution of costs and loss of political control and hence does not offer a politically easy alternative
12 route to a truly international carbon market. Careful, piece-meal and incremental linking may be the
13 most feasible approach forward (Green et al. 2014; Gulbrandsen et al. 2019). It is premature for any
14 serious assessment of the practice of ETS linking to be conducted. Environmental effectiveness,
15 transformative potential, economic performance, institutional strength and even distributional outcomes
16 can potentially be significant and positive if linking is done carefully (Mehling et al. 2018; Doda and
17 Taschini 2017; Doda et al. 2019b), but are all marginal if one focuses on existing experiences
18 (Spalding-Fecher, R., Achanta, A. N., Erickson, P., Haites, E., Lazarus, M., Pahuja, N., ... Tewari 2012;
19 Haites 2016; Schneider, I.; Lazarus, M.; van Asselt 2017; Schneider et al. 2019; La Hoz Theuer et al.
20 2019).

21 **14.4.5 International Governance of SRM and CDR**

22 While Solar Radiation Modification (SRM) and Carbon Dioxide Removal (CDR) were often referred
23 to as ‘geoengineering’ in earlier IPCC reports and in the literature, IPCC SR1.5 started to explore SRM
24 and CDR more thoroughly and to highlight the differences between – but also within – both approaches
25 more clearly. Therefore, as in SR1.5, ambiguous umbrella terms like ‘geoengineering’ or ‘climate
26 engineering’ are avoided in AR6. This section assesses the international governance of both SRM and
27 CDR. Chapter 12 of this report covers the emerging national, sub-national and non-state governance of
28 CDR. Chapters 4 and 5 of the WGI Report assess the physical climate system and biogeochemical
29 responses to different SRM and CDR methods. The Cross Working Group Box SRM (WGII, Chapter
30 16 and Cross-Working Group Box 4 in WGIII below) gives a brief overview of solar radiation
31 modification methods, risks, benefits, ethics and governance.

33 **Cross-Working Group Box SRM: Solar Radiation Modification**

34 *Cross-Working Group Box in WGII and Cross-Working Group Box 4 in WGIII*

35
36 Christopher H. Trisos (Republic of South Africa), Oliver Geden (Germany), Sonia Seneviratne
37 (Switzerland), Masa Sugiyama (Japan), Maarten van Aalst (the Netherlands), Govindasamy Bala
38 (India), Katherine Mach (the United States of America), Veronika Ginzburg (the Russian Federation),
39 Heleen de Coninck (the Netherlands), Anthony Patt (Switzerland)

40 *Proposed Solar Radiation Modification Schemes*

41
42 Solar Radiation Modification refers to proposals to increase the reflection of shortwave radiation
43 (sunlight) back to space to counteract anthropogenic warming (Cross-Chapter Box 10 in IPCC SR15;
44 WGI AR6 Chapters 4 and 5). A number of SRM schemes have been proposed, including: Stratospheric
45 Aerosol Injections (SAI), Marine Cloud Brightening (MCB), Ground-Based Albedo Modifications
46 (GBAM), and Ocean Albedo Change (OAC). Although not strictly a form of SRM, Cirrus Cloud
47 Thinning (CCT) has been proposed to cool the planet by increasing the escape of longwave thermal
48 radiation to space and is included here for consistency with previous assessments (IPCC SR15).

1 These proposals differ in their projected climate impacts, and risks to people and ecosystems (Table 1).
 2 SRM schemes may be effective in alleviating climate warming either locally or globally, but these
 3 effects will be short-lived when compared to mitigation, and there is *high confidence* that SRM would
 4 not return the climate to a pre-industrial state (WGI AR6 Chapter 4). There is also *high confidence* that
 5 SRM cannot be the main policy response for addressing climate change risks and is, at best, a
 6 supplement to deep mitigation (Buck et al., 2020).

7 **Which scenarios?**

9 The choice of SRM deployment scenarios and counterfactual reference scenarios is crucial in
 10 assessment of SRM risks (Keith and MacMartin, 2015). SAI is the approach most frequently addressed
 11 in scenarios in the literature and the coverage of the potential scenario space is insufficient. Most climate
 12 model simulations have used highly idealized deployment scenarios or high-emission scenarios with
 13 large radiative forcing in order to enhance the signal-to-noise ratio of climate responses to SRM (Kravitz
 14 et al., 2015; Sugiyama et al., 2018b; Tilmes et al., 2018; Krishna-Pillai et al., 2019). There are only a
 15 few Integrated Assessment Model scenarios on SAI (Arino et al., 2016; Emmerling and Tavoni, 2018),
 16 which mostly focused on risks from SAI since the direct cost of SAI is deemed low (Moriyama et al.,
 17 2017; Smith and Wagner, 2018).

18 Numerous aspects of SRM scenarios fundamentally depend on societal choices about deployment,
 19 including whether deployment happens at all (Sugiyama et al., 2018a). The plausibility of many SRM
 20 scenarios is highly contested and not all scenarios are equally plausible because of socio-political
 21 considerations (Talberg et al., 2018). Choice of scenarios should reflect a diverse set of societal values,
 22 as depending on the focus of a limited climate model scenario, SRM could look grossly risky or highly
 23 beneficial (Pereira et al. forthcoming). In terms of the Paris 2°C or 1.5°C limits, there are many potential
 24 scenarios of SRM deployment. Each scenario will present different levels and distributions of SRM
 25 benefits, side effects, and risks. The larger the SRM deployment, the more significant the uncertainty.
 26 Relying on SRM alone to enable underlying GHG emissions to increase, while holding global average
 27 temperature constant, poses very large risks. Indeed the majority of studies have examined scenarios
 28 where SAI is deployed to hold average global temperature constant despite high emissions, with a subset
 29 simulating the injection of sulphur particles to form a global stratospheric aerosol cloud. Only a few
 30 studies have examined the use of SAI to reduce global average warming alongside ambitious
 31 conventional mitigation, such as to achieve a temperature target 1.5°C in the context of emissions
 32 scenarios that would otherwise constrain warming to below 2°C, finding the risks from SRM to be small
 33 in relation to the anticipated benefits (MacMartin, Ricke, and Keith 2018; Keith and MacMartin 2015).

34 **Table CWGB SRM.1:** [PLACEHOLDER FOR FINAL DRAFT: caption to be added]

SRM Proposal	SAI	MCB	OAC	GBAM	CCT
Description	Injection of a gas into the stratosphere, which then converts to aerosols that reflect sunlight	Spraying sea salt or other particles in marine clouds, making them more reflective	Increase surface albedo of the ocean (e.g., by placing reflective foam on the surface)	Whitening roofs, changes in land use management (e.g., no-till farming), covering glaciers with reflective sheeting	Seeding to promote nucleation, reducing optical thickness and cloud lifetime to allow more outgoing longwave radiation to escape to space
Scale	Global	Regional or global	Regional or global	Regional	Uncertain

Climate impacts other than reduced warming	Changes in rainfall patterns, degrade ozone (if using sulphur particles)	Regional precipitation changes and sea salt deposition over land	Uncertain	Changes in regional precipitation pattern	Altered regional water cycle
Impacts on human and natural systems	Changes in crop yields, ecosystem productivity, acid rain, reduced risk of heat stress to corals, change in geography of infectious disease	Changes in regional ocean productivity, changes in crop yields, reduced heat stress for corals, changes in ecosystem productivity on land	Uncertain	Altered photosynthesis, carbon uptake and side effects on biodiversity	Uncertain
Termination effects	Sudden termination would result in rapid warming, “termination shock”	Halting would cause little to no termination risk	Uncertain	Urban roof whitening is reversible over a few years	Uncertain

1
23 ***SRM risks to human and natural systems***

4 Since AR5, hundreds of studies have explored the effects of SRM on the climate (Kravitz et al., 2015;
5 Tilmes et al., 2018) and large uncertainties exist for climate processes associated with SRM options
6 (WGI AR5 Chapter 4). Many fewer studies have examined potential impacts of SRM for people,
7 ecosystems, or impact-relevant climate indices (Curry et al., 2014; Irvine et al., 2017).

8 There is *low confidence* in projected impacts of SRM on crop yields. Because SRM does not reduce
9 CO₂ concentrations, the CO₂ fertilization effect on plant productivity is common to emissions scenarios
10 with and without SRM. Nevertheless, changes in climate due to SRM may have substantial impacts on
11 crop yields. Models suggest SAI cooling would reduce crop productivity at higher latitudes, but benefit
12 crop productivity in lower latitudes by reducing heat stress (Pongratz et al., 2012; Xia et al., 2014; Zhan
13 et al., 2019). Crop productivity is also projected to be reduced where SAI reduces rainfall, including
14 scenarios indicating a drier Asian summer monsoon reducing groundnut yields, but these reductions
15 due to water stress might be moderated by CO₂ fertilization effects (Xia et al., 2014; Yang et al., 2016).
16 SAI will increase the fraction of diffuse sunlight, which is projected to increase photosynthesis, but will
17 reduce total available sunlight, which tends to reduce photosynthesis, with the result that any benefits
18 to crops from avoided heat stress may be offset by reduced photosynthesis (Proctor et al., 2018). A
19 single study suggests MCB may reduce crop failure rates compared to climate change from a doubling
20 of CO₂ pre-industrial concentrations (Parkes et al., 2015).

21 Few studies have examined risk to human health or economies from SAI. Use of sulphur aerosols for
22 SAI would degrade the ozone layer, with changes in mortality from skin cancer due to UV-B exposure
23 projected to be relatively small (Eastham et al., 2018). Looking only at temperature, SAI may reduce
24 inter-country income inequality, because many tropical countries are projected to suffer severe
25 economic impacts of unmitigated warming (Harding et al., 2020). However, SAI would also shift
26 climate suitability for infectious diseases (Carlson and Trisos, 2018). SAI deployment could reduce
27 transmission suitability for malaria in highland East Africa, but exacerbate transmission risk for
28 hundreds of millions of people in West Africa and south Asia (Carlson et al., 2020). Taken together,

1 these studies raise serious concerns about the distribution of SRM impacts across countries and
2 vulnerable groups.

3 Few studies have assessed SRM risk to ecosystems. SAI and MCB may reduce risk of coral reef
4 bleaching compared to global warming with no SAI (Latham et al., 2013; Kwiatkowski et al., 2015),
5 but risks to marine life from ocean acidification remain, because SRM proposals do not reduce
6 emissions. MCB could cause changes in marine net primary productivity by reducing light availability
7 in deployment regions, with important fishing regions off the west coast of South America showing
8 both large increases and decreases (Partanen et al., 2016; Keller, 2018). Regional precipitation change
9 and sea salt deposition over land from MCB could affect primary productivity in tropical rainforests
10 (Muri et al., 2015). On land, compared to a high CO₂ world without SRM, global-scale SRM will limit
11 plant growth at high latitudes due to cooling (Glienke et al., 2015); reduced heat stress in low latitudes
12 would increase plant productivity, but there would be less Nitrogen mineralization which could decrease
13 plant productivity (Glienke et al., 2015; Duan et al., 2020). For the same amount of global mean cooling,
14 SAI, MCB, and CCT would have different effects on gross and net primary productivity because of
15 different spatial patterns of temperature, available sunlight, and hydrological cycle changes (Dagon and
16 Schrag, 2019; Duan et al., 2020). SAI may reduce high fire risk weather in Australia, Europe and parts
17 of the Americas, compared to global warming without SAI (Burton et al., 2018). Yet SAI using sulphur
18 injection could shift the spatial distribution of acid-induced aluminium soil toxicity into relatively
19 undisturbed ecosystems in Europe and North America (Visioni et al., 2020).

20 Some studies have assessed the effects of SRM forcing on climate extremes (Curry et al., 2014;
21 Seneviratne et al., 2018). They reveal disparate effects on regional scale, with simulations fully
22 offsetting mean global warming leading to an overcompensation of regional climate change in some
23 regions and minor effects in others. This creates novel climate characteristics, which do not reflect pre-
24 industrial conditions and which are fundamentally unstable in the case of SAI since they depend on the
25 continuous injection of further sulfate aerosols.

26 Several studies find large and extremely rapid warming would occur within a decade if a sudden
27 termination of SAI occurred (McCusker et al., 2014; Crook et al., 2015). The size of this “termination
28 shock” is proportional to the amount of radiative forcing being masked by SAI. A sudden termination
29 of SAI—even if SAI was used to only partly offset warming—could place thousands of species at risk
30 of extinction, because the resulting rapid warming would be too fast for species to track the changing
31 climate (Trisos et al., 2018).

32 33 *Perceptions of SRM*

34 Studies on the perception of SRM have used multiple methods: questionnaire surveys, workshops, and
35 focus group interviews (Burns et al., 2016; Cummings et al., 2017). Most studies have been limited to
36 Western societies with some exceptions. Studies have repeatedly found that respondents are largely
37 unaware of SRM (Merk et al., 2015), prefer Carbon dioxide removal (CDR) to SRM (Pidgeon et al.,
38 2012), that publics are very cautious about SRM because of potential environmental side effects and
39 governance concerns, and that the public mostly reject deployment. Studies also suggest conditional
40 and reluctant support for research, including proposed field experiments, with conditions of proper
41 governance (Sugiyama et al., 2020). Limited studies for developing countries show a tendency for
42 respondents to be more open to SRM (Visschers et al., 2017; Sugiyama et al., 2020), perhaps because
43 they experience climate change more directly (Carr and Yung, 2018).

44 45 *Ethics*

46 There is broad literature on ethical considerations around SRM, mainly stemming from philosophy or
47 political theory, and almost exclusively focused on SAI (Flegal et al., 2019). There is high agreement

1 that publicly debating, researching and potentially deploying SAI involves a ‘moral hazard’, highly
2 likely obstructing ongoing and future mitigation efforts (Morrow, 2014; Baatz, 2016; McLaren, 2016).
3 There is much less agreement whether research and outdoors experimentation will create a ‘slippery
4 slope’ toward eventual deployment or can be effectively regulated at a later stage to avoid undesirable
5 outcomes (Hulme, 2014; Callies, 2019). Regarding potential deployment of SRM, procedural,
6 distributive and recognitional conceptions of justice are being explored, as are potential harm
7 compensation mechanisms (Svoboda and Irvine, 2014; Preston and Carr, 2018). With the SRM climate
8 modelling community’s increasing focus on how SAI could help to minimize climate change,
9 proponents of SAI have started more explicitly addressing vulnerable countries and communities
10 (Horton and Keith, 2016; Flegal and Gupta, 2018).

11 12 *Governance of research and of deployment*

13 Currently, there is no dedicated SRM governance (see WGIII AR6 Chapter 14). Some multilateral
14 agreements—such as the UN Convention on Biological Diversity or the Vienna Convention on the
15 Protection of the Ozone Layer—cover parts, but none is comprehensive (Reynolds, 2019). While
16 governance rationales encompass a broad range from aiming to restrict to wanting to enable research
17 and potentially deployment (Sugiyama et al., 2018b; Gupta et al., 2020), there is broad agreement in
18 the literature that emerging and potentially disruptive SRM technologies should be governed in an
19 anticipatory manner. Accordingly, governance arrangements are, and should continue, co-evolving with
20 respective SRM technologies, aiming to be at least one step ahead of research, development,
21 demonstration, and—potentially—deployment (Rayner et al., 2013; Parson, 2014). This potential needs
22 to be realized already in outdoors research; for example, in developing robust governance for MCB and
23 OAC experiments on the Great Barrier Reef (McDonald et al., 2019). Co-evolution of governance and
24 SRM research would provide a chance for responsibly developing SRM technologies with broader
25 public participation and political legitimacy (Stilgoe, 2015).

26 Given that risks of SRM proposals differ substantially and their large-scale deployment is highly
27 speculative, there is a wide array of concrete proposals for anticipatory or adaptive governance, from
28 which four core principles can be distilled (Nicholson et al., 2018): (1) Guard against potential risks
29 and harms; (2) Enable appropriate research and development of scientific knowledge; (3) Legitimize
30 any future research or policy-making through active and informed public and expert community
31 engagement; (4) ensure that SRM is considered only as a part of a broader portfolio of responses to
32 climate change.

33 34 *14.4.5.1 Global governance of solar radiation modification and associated risks*

35 Solar Radiation Modification, in the literature also referred to as ‘solar geoengineering’, encompasses
36 proposals to increase the reflection of shortwave radiation (sunlight) back to space to counteract
37 anthropogenic warming. Several SRM schemes have been proposed, including Stratospheric Aerosol
38 Injection (SAI), Marine Cloud Brightening (MCB), Ground-Based Albedo Modifications, and Ocean
39 Albedo Change (OAC). SRM has been discussed as a potential response option within a broader climate
40 risk management strategy, as a supplement to emissions reduction, carbon dioxide removal and
41 adaptation (Crutzen 2006; Royal Society 2009; Caldeira and Bala 2017; Buck et al. 2020), for example
42 as a temporary measure to slow the rate of warming (Keith and MacMartin 2015) or address temperature
43 overshoot (MacMartin et al. 2018). SRM assessments of potential benefits and risks still primarily rely
44 on modelling efforts and their underlying scenario assumptions (Sugiyama et al. 2018a), for example
45 in the context of the Geoengineering Model Intercomparison Project GeoMIP6 (Kravitz et al. 2015).
46 Recently, small-scale MCB and OAC experiments started to take place on the Great Barrier Reef
47 (McDonald et al. 2019).

1 Stratospheric aerosol injection (SAI) – the most researched SRM method – poses significant
2 international governance challenges since it could potentially be deployed uni- or minilaterally and alter
3 the global mean temperature much faster than any other climate policy measure, at comparatively low
4 direct costs (Parson 2014; Nicholson et al. 2018; Smith and Wagner 2018; Sugiyama et al. 2018b;
5 Reynolds 2019). While being dependent on the design of deployment schemes, both geophysical
6 benefits and adverse effects would potentially be unevenly distributed (WGI Chapter 4). Perceptions
7 could exacerbate geopolitical conflicts, not the least depending on which countries are part of a
8 deployment coalition (Maas and Scheffran 2012; Zürn and Schäfer 2013) but also because immediate
9 detection and attribution of SAI deployment would not be possible. Uncoordinated deployment
10 triggered by perceived climate emergencies could create international tensions (Corry 2017; Lederer
11 and Kreuter 2018).

12 While there is room for national and even sub-national governance of SAI – for example on research
13 (Jinnah et al. 2018; Hubert 2020) and public engagement (Bellamy and Lezaun 2017; Flegal et al. 2019)
14 – international governance of SAI faces the challenge that comprehensive institutional architectures
15 designed too far in advance could prove either too restrictive or too permissive in light of subsequent
16 political, institutional, geophysical and technological developments. (Bodansky 2013; Sugiyama et al.
17 2018b; Reynolds 2019). While governance rationales encompass a broad range from aiming to restrict
18 to wanting to enable research and potentially deployment, there is broad agreement in the literature that
19 emerging and potentially disruptive SRM techniques should be governed in an anticipatory manner
20 (Gupta et al. 2020). Accordingly, governance arrangements would co-evolve with respective SRM
21 technologies, aiming to be at least one step ahead of research, development, demonstration, and—
22 potentially—deployment (Rayner et al. 2013; Parson 2014). With the modelling community’s
23 increasing focus on showing how SAI could help to minimise climate change impacts in the Global
24 South, considerations about equity and justice dimensions take a prominent role in the SRM governance
25 literature (Flegal and Gupta 2018; Hourdequin 2018; Horton and Keith 2016).

26 Given that risks of SRM proposals differ substantially and their large-scale deployment is highly
27 speculative, there is a wide array of concrete proposals for near-term anticipatory or adaptive
28 governance, from which four core principles can be distilled (Nicholson et al. 2018): (1) Guard against
29 potential risks and harms; (2) Enable appropriate research and development of scientific knowledge;
30 (3) Legitimise any future research or policymaking through active and informed public and expert
31 community engagement; (4) Ensure that SRM is considered only as a part of a broader, mitigation-
32 centered portfolio of responses to climate change. Regarding international institutionalisation, options
33 range from formal integration into existing UN bodies like the UNFCCC (Nicholson et al. 2018) or the
34 Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) (Bodle et al. 2014) to the creation of specific, but less
35 formalised global fora (Parson and Ernst 2013) to forms of club governance (Bodansky 2013; Lloyd
36 and Oppenheimer 2014). Recent years have also seen the emergence of transnational non-state actors
37 focusing on SRM governance, primarily expert networks and NGOs (Horton and Koremenos 2020).

38 Currently, there is no targeted international law relating to SRM, although some multilateral
39 agreements—such as the Convention on Biological Diversity, the UN Convention on the Law of the
40 Sea or the Vienna Convention on the Protection of the Ozone Layer and its Montreal Protocol—contain
41 provisions applicable to SRM (Bodansky 2013; Reynolds 2019; Jinnah and Nicholson 2019).

42 **14.4.5.2 Carbon Dioxide removal**

43 Carbon dioxide removal refers to a cluster of technologies, practices, and approaches that remove and
44 sequester carbon dioxide from the atmosphere and durably store it in geological, terrestrial, or ocean
45 reservoirs, or in products. CDR is needed to counterbalance residual GHG emissions that are hard to
46 abate (e.g., from industry, aviation or agriculture) in the context of reaching net zero emissions both
47 globally – in the context of Article 4 of the Paris Agreement – and nationally. CDR could also later be
48 used for returning from temporary overshoots of carbon budgets and temperature thresholds by

1 providing net negative emissions on the global level (Fuglestvedt et al. 2018; Bellamy and Geden 2019).
2 Despite the common feature of removing carbon dioxide, technologies like afforestation/reforestation,
3 soil carbon sequestration, bioenergy with carbon capture and storage (BECCS), direct air capture with
4 carbon storage, enhanced weathering, ocean alkalinity enhancement or ocean fertilisation are very
5 different, as are the governance challenges.

6 CDR methods other than afforestation/reforestation and soil carbon sequestration have only played a
7 minor role in UNFCCC negotiations so far (Fridahl 2017; Rumpel et al. 2020). To accelerate CDR
8 globally, stringent rules and practices regarding emissions accounting, MRV and project-based market
9 mechanisms are needed (Honegger and Reiner 2018; Mace et al. 2018). Given their historic
10 responsibility, it can be expected that developed countries would carry the main burden of researching,
11 developing, demonstrating and deploying CDR, or finance such projects in other countries (Fyson et al.
12 2020; Pozo et al. 2020).

13 Specific regulations for those CDR options posing transboundary risks have so far only been developed
14 in the context London Protocol, an international treaty that explicitly regulates ocean iron fertilisation
15 and allows parties to govern other marine CDR methods like ocean alkalinity enhancement (GESAMP
16 2019; Burns and Corbett 2020). Instruments such as the London Dumping Convention and its 1996
17 Protocol, and the CBD have adopted a precautionary approach and imposed moratoria on ocean
18 fertilisation, except for small-scale studies or legitimate scientific research (Sands & Peel, 2018). The
19 London Convention/Protocol has also developed an Assessment Framework for Scientific Research
20 Involving Ocean Fertilisation (London Convention/Protocol 2010) and in 2013 adopted amendments
21 (which are not yet in force) to regulate marine geoengineering activities, including ocean fertilisation.

22 **14.5 Multi-level, multi-actor governance**

23 The Paris Agreement sets in place a new framework for international climate policy (Paroussos et al.
24 2019), which some cite as evidence of ‘hybrid multilateralism’ (Bäckstrand et al. 2017; see also
25 Christoff 2016; Savaresi 2016). While a trend of widening involvement of non-state actors was evident
26 prior to conclusion of the Paris Agreement, particularly at UNFCCC COPs, the ‘new landscape of
27 international climate cooperation’ features an ‘intensified interplay between state and non-state actors,’
28 including civil society and social movements, business actors, and subnational or substate actors, such
29 as local governments and cities (Bäckstrand et al. 2017, p. 562). This involvement of other actors
30 beyond states in international climate cooperation is facilitated by the Paris Agreement’s ‘hybrid
31 climate policy architecture’ (Bodansky et al. 2016) (Section 14.3.1.1 above), which acknowledges the
32 primacy of domestic politics in climate change and invites the mobilisation of international and
33 domestic pressure to make the Agreement effective (Falkner 2016b). In this landscape, there is greater
34 flexibility for more decentralised ‘polycentric’ forms of climate governance and recognition of the
35 benefits of working in diverse forms and groups to realise global climate mitigation goals (Jordan et al.
36 2015; Oberthur 2016).

37 In turn, this has encouraged increasing attention to the role of multi-level, multi-actor cooperation
38 among actors, groupings and agreements beyond the UNFCCC climate regime as potential ‘building
39 blocks’ towards enhanced international action on climate mitigation (Stewart et al. 2017; see also
40 Falkner 2016b; Potoski 2017; Caparrós and Péreau 2017). This can include agreements on emissions
41 and technologies at the regional or sub-global level; what scholars often refer to as climate ‘clubs’
42 (Green 2017; Nordhaus 2015; Sprinz et al. 2018; Hovi et al. 2016). It also includes cooperation on
43 narrower sets of issues than are found within the Paris Agreement; for instance, other international
44 environmental agreements dealing with a particular subset of GHGs; linkages with, or leveraging of,
45 efforts or agreements in other spheres such as adaptation, human rights or trade; agreements within
46 particular economic sectors; or transnational initiatives involving global cooperative efforts by different
47 types of non-state actors. Cooperative efforts in each of these forums are reviewed in the following

1 sections of the chapter. Section 14.5.1 discusses international cooperation at multiple governance levels
2 (global, sub-global and regional); Section 14.5.2 discusses cooperation with international sectoral
3 agreements and institutions such as in the forestry, energy and transportation sectors; and Section 14.5.3
4 discusses transnational cooperation across civil society and social movements, business partnerships
5 and investor coalitions, and between sub-national entities and cities.

6 A key idea underpinning this analysis is that decomposition of the larger challenge of climate mitigation
7 into ‘smaller units’ may facilitate more effective cooperation (Sabel and Victor 2017) and complement
8 cooperation in the UN climate regime (Stewart et al. 2017). However, it is recognised that significant
9 uncertainty remains over the feasibility and costs of these efforts (Sabel and Victor 2017), as well as
10 whether they ultimately strengthen progress on climate mitigation in the multilateral climate arena
11 (Falkner 2016a).

12 **14.5.1 International cooperation at multiple governance levels**

13 *14.5.1.1 Role of other environmental agreements*

14 International cooperation on climate change mitigation takes place at multiple governance levels,
15 including under a range of multilateral environmental agreements (MEAs) beyond those of the
16 international climate regime.

17 The 1987 Montreal Ozone Protocol is the leading example of a non-climate MEA with significant
18 implications for mitigating climate change (Barrett 2008). The Montreal Protocol regulates a number
19 of substances that are both ozone depleting substances (ODS) and GHGs with a significant global
20 warming potential (GWP), including chlorofluorocarbons, halons and hydrochlorofluorocarbons
21 (HCFCs). As a result, implementation of phase-out requirements for these substances under the
22 Montreal Protocol has made a significant contribution to mitigating climate change (Molina et al. 2009).
23 Velders et al (2007) found that over the Kyoto Protocol period from 1990 to 2010, the reduction in
24 GWP-weighted ODS emissions expected with compliance to the provisions of the Montreal Protocol
25 was 8 GtCO₂eq yr⁻¹, an amount substantially greater than the first commitment period Kyoto reduction
26 target. This was estimated to have delayed resultant climate forcing by 7–12 years (Velders et al. 2007).

27 The 2016 Kigali Amendment to the Montreal Protocol applies to the production and consumption of
28 hydrofluorocarbons (HFCs). HFCs, which are widely used as refrigerants (Abas et al. 2018), have high
29 GWP values ranging from 53 to 14,800 for HFC-23 (Hoch et al. 2019). The Kigali Amendment
30 addresses the risk that the phase-out of HCFCs under the Montreal Protocol and their replacement with
31 HFCs could exacerbate global warming (Akanle 2010; Hurwitz et al. 2016), especially with the
32 predicted growth in HFC usage for applications like air conditioners (Velders et al. 2015). In this way
33 it creates a cooperative rather than a conflictual relationship between addressing ozone depletion and
34 the climate protection goals of the UNFCCC regime (Hoch et al. 2019). The Kigali Amendment requires
35 developed country parties to phase-down HFCs by 85% from 2011-2013 levels by 2036. Developing
36 country parties are permitted longer phase-down periods (out to 2045 and 2047), but must freeze
37 production and consumption between 2024 and 2028 (UN 2016; Ripley and Verkuijl 2016). A ban on
38 trade in HFCs with non-parties will come into effect from 1 January 2033. For HFC-23, which is a by-
39 product of HCFC production rather than a ODS, parties are required to report production and
40 consumption data, and to destroy all emissions of HFC-23 occurring as part of HCFCs or HFCs to the
41 extent practicable from 2020 onwards using approved technologies (Ripley and Verkuijl 2016).

42 Full compliance with the Kigali Amendment is predicted to reduce HFC emissions by 61% of the global
43 baseline by 2050 (Höglund-Isaksson et al. 2017), with avoided global warming of up to 0.5°C this
44 century (Roberts 2017; Graziosi et al. 2017). Examining the interplay of the Kigali Amendment with
45 the Paris Agreement, Hoch et al. (2019) show how the Article 6 mechanisms under the Paris Agreement
46 could generate financial incentives for HFC mitigation and related energy efficiency improvements.
47 Early action under Article 6 of the Paris Agreement could drive down baseline levels of HFCs for

1 developing countries (calculated in light of future production and consumption in the early and mid-
2 2020s) thus generating long-term mitigation benefits under the Kigali Amendment (Hoch et al. 2019).
3 However, achievement of the objectives of the Kigali Amendment is dependent on its ratification by
4 key developed countries, such as the United States, and the provision of funds by developed countries
5 through the Protocol's Multilateral Fund to meet developing countries' 'agreed incremental costs' of
6 implementation (Roberts 2017). The Kigali Amendment came into force on 1 January 2019 and has
7 been ratified by 112 of the 196 parties to the Montreal Protocol.

8 MEAs dealing with transboundary air pollution, such as the Convention on Long-Range Transboundary
9 Air Pollution (CLRTAP) and its implementing protocols, which regulate non-GHGs like particulates,
10 nitrogen oxides and ground-level ozone, can also have potential benefits for climate change mitigation
11 (Erickson 2017). Studies have indicated that rigorous air quality controls targeting short-lived climate
12 forcers, like methane, ozone and black carbon, could slow global mean temperature rise by about 0.5°C
13 by mid-century (Schmale et al. 2014). Steps in this direction were taken with 2012 amendments to the
14 CLRTAP Gothenburg Protocol (initially adopted back in 1999) to include black carbon, which is an
15 important driver of climate change in the Arctic region (Yamineva and Kulovesi 2018). The amended
16 Protocol, which has 28 parties including the US and EU, entered into force in October 2019. However,
17 its limits on black carbon have been criticised as insufficiently ambitious in light of scientific
18 assessments (Khan and Kulovesi 2018).

19 Another MEA that may play a role in aiding climate change mitigation is the 2013 Minamata Mercury
20 Convention, which came into force on 16 August 2017. Coal burning for electricity generation
21 represents the second largest source (behind artisanal and small-scale gold mining) of anthropogenic
22 mercury emissions to air (UNEP 2013). Efforts to control and reduce atmospheric emissions of mercury
23 from coal-fired power generation under the Minamata Convention may reduce GHG emissions from
24 this source (Eriksen and Perrez 2014; Selin 2014). For instance, Giang et al (2015) have modelled the
25 implications of the Minamata Convention for mercury emissions from coal-fired power generation in
26 India and China, concluding that reducing mercury emissions from present-day levels in these countries
27 is likely to require 'avoiding coal consumption and transitioning toward less carbon-intensive energy
28 sources' (Giang et al. 2015). Parties to the Minamata Convention include five of the six top global CO₂
29 emitters – China, the United States, the EU, India and Japan (Russia has not ratified the Convention).
30 The Minamata Convention also establishes an Implementation and Compliance Committee to review
31 compliance with its provisions on a 'facilitative' basis (Eriksen and Perrez 2014).

32 MEAs that require state parties to conserve habitat (such as the Convention on Biological Diversity) or
33 to protect certain ecosystems like wetlands (such as the Ramsar Wetlands Convention) may also have
34 co-benefits for climate change mitigation through the adoption of well-planned conservation policies
35 (Phelps et al. 2012; Gilroy et al. 2014). At a theoretical level, REDD+ activities have been identified as
36 a particular opportunity for achieving climate mitigation objectives while also conserving tropical forest
37 biodiversity and ecosystem services. Elements of REDD+ that promise greatest effectiveness for
38 climate change mitigation (e.g. greater finance combined with reference levels which reduce leakage
39 by promoting broad participation across countries with both high and low historical deforestation rates)
40 also offer the greatest benefits for biodiversity conservation (Busch et al. 2011). However, actual
41 biodiversity and ecosystem service co-benefits are dependent on the design and implementation of
42 REDD+ programs (Ehara et al. 2014; Panfil and Harvey 2016), with limited empirical evidence to date
43 of emissions reductions from these programs (Newton et al. 2016; Johnson et al. 2019).

44 ***14.5.1.2 Linkages with sustainable development, adaptation, loss and damage, and human rights***

45 As discussed in Chapter 1, the emerging framing for the issue of climate mitigation is that it is no longer
46 to be considered in isolation but rather in the context of its linkages with other areas. Adaptation, loss
47 and damage, human rights and sustainable development are all areas where there are clear or potential
48 overlaps, synergies, and conflicts with the cooperation underway in relation to mitigation.

1 The IPCC defines adaptation as: 'in human systems, the process of adjustment to actual or expected
2 climate and its effects, in order to moderate harm or exploit beneficial opportunities. In natural systems,
3 the process of adjustment to actual climate and its effect; human intervention may facilitate adjustment
4 to expected climate and its effects' (See Annex A: Glossary).

5 Adaptation involves actions to lessen the harm associated with climate change, or take advantage of
6 potential gains (Smit and Wandel 2006). It can seek to reduce present and future exposure to specific
7 climate risks (Adger et al. 2003), mainstream climate information into existing planning efforts (Gupta
8 et al. 2010; van der Voorn et al. 2012, 2017), and reduce vulnerability (or increase resilience) of people
9 or communities to the effects of climate change (Kasperson and Kasperson 2001). There is a body of
10 literature highlighting potential synergies and conflicts between adaptation actions – in any of the three
11 areas above – and mitigation actions - and potential strategies for resolving them (Watkiss et al. 2015;
12 Casado-Asensio and Steurer 2014; Suckall et al. 2015; Locatelli et al. 2011; Duguma et al. 2014; van
13 der Voorn et al. 2020). In a strategic context, this issue has been analyzed in Bayramoglu et al. (2018),
14 Eisenack and Kähler (2016) and Ingham et al. (2013), among others. Bayramoglu et al. (2018) analyze
15 the strategic interaction between mitigation, as a public good, and adaptation, essentially a private good,
16 showing that the fear that adaptation will reduce the incentives to mitigate carbon emissions may not
17 be justified. On the contrary, adaptation can reduce free-rider incentives (lead to larger self-enforcing
18 agreements), yielding higher global mitigation levels and welfare, if adaptation efforts cause mitigation
19 levels between different countries to be complements instead of strategic substitutes (on the conditions
20 for adaptation and mitigation to be substitutes or complements, see Ingham et al. 2013).

21 Distinct from project or programmatic level activities, however, international cooperation for adaptation
22 operates to provide finance and technical assistance (Bouwer and Aerts 2006). In most cases it involves
23 transboundary actions, such as in the case of transboundary watershed management (Milman et al. 2013;
24 Wilder et al. 2010; van der Voorn et al. 2017). In others it involves the mainstreaming of climate change
25 projections into existing treaties, such as for the protection of migratory species (Trouwborst et al.
26 2012).

27 International cooperation in mitigation and adaptation share many of the same challenges, including the
28 need for effective institutions. The UNFCCC, for example, addresses international financial support for
29 adaptation and for mitigation in the same general category, and subjects them to the same sets of
30 institutional constraints (Peterson and Skovgaard 2019). Sovacool and Linnér (2016) argue that the
31 history of the UNFCCC and its sub-agreements has been shaped by an implicit bargain that developing
32 countries participate in global mitigation policy in return for receiving financial and technical assistance
33 for adaptation and development from industrialised countries and international green funds. Khan and
34 Roberts (2013) contend that this played out poorly under the Kyoto framework: the Protocol's basic
35 architecture, oriented around legally binding commitments, was not amenable to merging the issues of
36 adaptation and mitigation. Kuyper et al. (2018a) argue that the movement from Kyoto to Paris represents
37 a shift in this regard; Paris was designed not primarily as a mitigation policy instrument, but rather one
38 encompassing mitigation, adaptation, and development concerns. While this argument suggests that the
39 Paris architecture, involving voluntary mitigation actions and a greater attention to issues of financial
40 support and transparency, functions better to leverage adaptation support into meaningful mitigation
41 actions, there are only few papers that examine this issue. Stua (2017a,b) explores the relevance of the
42 so-called 'share of proceeds' included in Article 6 of the Paris Agreement as a key tool for leveraging
43 adaptation through mitigation actions.

44 There are recognised limits to adaptation (Dow et al. 2013), and exceeding these limits results in loss
45 and damage, a topic that is gathering salience in the policy discourse. UNEP (2014) focused on 'loss
46 and damage', essentially those climate change impacts which cannot be avoided through adaptation.
47 The Paris Agreement contains a free-standing article on loss and damage (UNFCCC 2015a, Art 8),
48 focused on cooperation and facilitation, under which parties have established a clearing house on risk

1 transfer, and a task force on displacement (UNFCCC 2016a, paras 48 and 49). The COP decision
2 accompanying the Paris Agreement specifies that ‘Article 8 does not involve or provide a basis for any
3 liability or compensation’ (UNFCCC 2016a, para 51). There is a range of views on the treatment of
4 loss and damage in the Paris Agreement, how responsibility for loss and damage should be allocated
5 (Lees 2017; McNamara and Jackson 2019), and how it could be financed (Roberts et al. 2017;
6 Gewirtzman et al. 2018). Some scholars argue that there are continuing options to pursue compensation
7 and liability in the climate change regime (Mace and Verheyen 2016; Gsottbauer et al. 2018). There
8 have also been efforts to establish accountability of companies—particularly ‘carbon majors’ (Frumhoff
9 et al. 2015)—for climate damage in domestic courts (Ganguly et al. 2018). In this context is important
10 also the literature on contributions by countries to warming (Skeie et al. 2017; Otto et al. 2017). In any
11 case, states that have suffered loss and damage can pursue ‘state responsibility’ claims under general
12 international law and international human rights law (Wewerinke-Singh 2018; Wewerinke-Singh and
13 Salili 2020).

14 Some have argued that climate impacts are ‘incremental violence structurally over-determined by
15 international relations of power and control’ that affect most those who have contributed the least to
16 GHG emissions. Calls for compensation or reparation for loss and damage are therefore a demand for
17 climate justice (Dehm 2020). Many small island states entered declarations on acceptance of the
18 UNFCCC and Paris Agreement that they continue to have rights under international law regarding state
19 responsibility for the adverse effects of climate change, and that no provision in these treaties can be
20 interpreted as derogating from any claims or rights concerning compensation and liability due to the
21 adverse effects of climate change.

22 The adoption in 2013 of the Warsaw International Mechanism on Loss and Damage as part of the United
23 Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) occurred despite the historic
24 opposition of the United States to this policy. Vanhala and Hestbaek (2016) examine the roles of frame
25 contestation and ambiguity in accounting for the evolution and institutionalisation of the loss and
26 damage norm within the UNFCCC. However, there is little international agreement on the scope of loss
27 and damage programmes, and especially how they would be funded and by whom (Gewirtzman et al.
28 2018). Moreover, non-economic loss and damage (NELD) forms a distinct theme that refers to the
29 climate-related losses of items both material and non-material that are not commonly traded in the
30 market, but whose loss is still experienced as such by those affected. Examples of NELD include loss
31 of cultural identity, sacred places, human health and lives (Serdeczny 2019). The Santiago Network
32 is part of the Warsaw International Mechanism, to catalyse the technical assistance of relevant
33 organisations, bodies, networks and experts, for the implementation of relevant approaches to avert,
34 minimise and address loss and damage at the local, national and regional level, in developing countries
35 that are particularly vulnerable to the adverse effects of climate change (UNFCCC 2020d).

36 There are direct links between climate mitigation efforts, adaptation and loss and damage - the higher
37 the collective mitigation ambition and the likelihood of achieving it, the lower the scale of adaptation
38 ultimately needed and the lower the scale of loss and damage anticipated. The liability of states, either
39 individually or collectively, for loss and damage is contested, and no litigation has yet been successfully
40 launched to pursue such claims. The science of attribution, however, is developing (Marjanac and
41 Patton 2018), and while it has the potential to address the thorny issue of causation, and thus
42 compensation, it could also be used to develop strategies for climate resilience (James et al. 2014).

43 There are also direct links between mitigation and sustainable development. The international agendas
44 for mitigation and for sustainable development have shaped each other, around concepts such as
45 common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities, as well as the distinction – in the
46 UNFCCC and later the Kyoto Protocol – between Annex I and non-Annex I countries (Patt 2015, Victor
47 2011). The same implicit bargain that developing countries would support mitigation efforts in return
48 for assistance with respect to adaptation also applies to support for development (Sovacool and Linnér

1 2016). That linkage between mitigation and sustainable development has become even more specific
2 with the Paris Agreement and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, each of which explicitly
3 pursues a set of goals that encompass both mitigation and development (Schmieg et al. 2017), reflecting
4 the recognition that achieving sustainable development and climate mitigation goals are mutually
5 dependent (Gomez-Echeverri 2018). It is well-accepted that the long-term effects of climate mitigation
6 will benefit sustainable development. A more contested finding is whether the mitigation actions
7 themselves promote or hinder short-term poverty alleviation. One study, analysing the economic effects
8 of developing countries' NDCs, finds that mitigation actions slow down poverty reduction efforts
9 (Campagnolo and Davide 2019). Other studies suggest possible synergies between low-carbon
10 development and economic development (Hanger et al. 2016; Labordena et al. 2017; Dzebo et al. 2019).
11 These studies typically converge on the fact that financial assistance flowing from developed to
12 developing countries enhances any possible synergies or lessens the conflicts. However mitigation
13 measures can also have negative impacts on gender equality, and peace and justice (Dzebo, Janetschek,
14 Brandi, Iacobuta 2019).

15 The literature also identifies institutional synergies at the international level, related to the importance
16 of addressing climate change and development in an integrated, coordinated and comprehensive manner
17 across constituencies, sectors and administrative and geographical boundaries (Le Blanc 2015). The
18 literature also stresses the important role that robust institutions have in making this happen, including
19 in international cooperation in key sectors for climate action as well for development (Waage et al.
20 2015). Since the publication of AR5, which emphasised the need for a type of development that
21 combines both mitigation and adaptation as a way to strengthen resilience, much of the literature has
22 focused on ways to address these linkages and the role institutions play in key sectors that are often the
23 subject of international cooperation – for example, environmental and soil degradation, climate, energy,
24 water resources, forestry (Hogl et al. 2016). An assessment of thematic policy coherence between the
25 voluntary domestic contributions regarding the Paris Agreement and the 2030 Agenda should be
26 integrated in national policy cycles for sustainable and climate policy-making to identify overlaps, gaps,
27 mutual benefits and trade-offs in national policies (Brandi et al. 2019).

28 It is only relatively recently that the relationship between climate change and human rights has become
29 a sustained focus of international law and policy making (Hallt and Weiss 2012). The issue of human
30 rights–climate change linkages was first taken up by the UN Human Rights Council (HRC) in 2008
31 (Peel and Osofsky 2018). Climate change effects and related disasters have the potential to affect human
32 rights broadly, for instance, by giving rise to deaths, disease or malnutrition (right to life, right to health),
33 threatening food security or livelihoods (right to food), impacting upon water supplies and
34 compromising access to safe drinking water (right to water), destroying coastal settlements through
35 storm surge (right to adequate housing), and in some cases forcing relocation as traditional territories
36 become uninhabitable (right to self-harm and threats to international peace and security) (OHCHR
37 2009). As a result, groups of citizens are starting to increasingly lose trust in their respective executive
38 and legislative branches and by means of protest, climate advocates have now turned to courts invoking
39 State responsibility for a failure to mitigate polluting activities. Often-times representing the public
40 interest. This choice of adjudicatory dispute settlement has grown out to be a popular trend throughout
41 the past few years and the number of cases on courts' dockets continue to grow quickly (De-Bruijn
42 2020).

43 Some argue that there is an increased use of human rights arguments by litigants and a growing
44 receptivity of courts towards such arguments in climate change cases (Peel and Osofsky 2018). In the
45 landmark *Urgenda* climate case the Dutch Supreme Court adopted a human rights-based approach and
46 ordered, on the obligations under the UNFCCC regime and climate science, the state to mitigate
47 greenhouse gas emissions by 25% by end-2020 compared to 1990. There are dozens of cases in national
48 and regional courts, increasingly based on human rights claims. and this trend is only likely to grow.

1 Studies have found that it is not only the impacts of climate change but also mitigation responses to
2 climate change that affect human rights (Shi, X., Chen, Y., Liu 2017).

3 *14.5.1.3 Trade agreements and regional economic communities*

4 As discussed in AR5, policies to open up trade can have a range of effects on GHG emissions, just as
5 mitigation policies can influence trade flows among countries. Trade rules may impede mitigation
6 action by limiting countries' discretion in adopting trade-related climate policies, but they also have the
7 potential to stimulate the international adoption and diffusion of mitigation technologies and policies
8 (Droege et al. 2017).

9 The mitigation impacts of trade agreements are difficult to ascertain, and the limited evidence is mixed.
10 Examining the effects of three free trade agreements (FTAs) – Mercosur, the North American Free
11 Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the Australia-United States Free Trade Agreement – on GHG
12 emissions, (Nemati et al. 2019) find that these effects depend on the relative income levels of the
13 countries involved, and that FTAs between developed and developing countries may increase emissions
14 in the long run. However, studies also suggest that FTAs incorporating specific environmental or
15 climate-related provisions can help reduce GHG emissions (Baghdadi et al. 2013; Sorgho and Tharakan
16 2020).

17 Investment agreements, which are often integrated in FTAs, seek to encourage the flow of foreign
18 investment through investment protection. These agreements have tended to protect investor rights,
19 constraining the latitude of host countries in adopting environmental policies (Miles 2019). Moreover,
20 international investment agreements may lead to 'regulatory chill', which may lead to countries
21 refraining from or delaying the adoption of mitigation policies (Tienhaara 2018). More contemporary
22 investment agreements seek to better balance the rights and obligations of investors and host states, and
23 in theory offer greater regulatory space to host states (UNCTAD 2019), although it is unclear to what
24 extent this will hold true in practice.

25 In their NDCs, parties mention various trade-related mitigation measures, including import bans,
26 standards and labelling schemes, border carbon adjustments (BCAs; see also Chapter 13), renewable
27 energy support measures, fossil fuel subsidy reform, and the use of international market mechanisms
28 (Brandt 2017). Some of these 'response measures' (Chan 2016b) may raise questions concerning their
29 consistency with trade agreements of the World Trade Organisation (WTO). Non-discrimination is one
30 of the foundational rules of the WTO. This means, among others, that 'like' imported and domestic
31 products are not treated differently ('national treatment') and that a WTO member should not
32 discriminate between other members ('most-favoured-nation treatment'). These principles are
33 elaborated in a set of agreements on the trade in goods and services, including the General Agreement
34 on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), the Agreement on
35 Technical Barriers to Trade (TBT), and the Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures
36 (ASCM).

37 Some measures that can be adopted as part of carbon pricing instruments have been examined in the
38 light of WTO rules. Specifically, the free allocation of emissions allowances under an ETS could in
39 some cases be considered a subsidy inconsistent with the ASCM (Rubini and Jegou 2012). The WTO
40 compatibility of another measure that countries could adopt to address the problem of carbon leakage,
41 namely BCAs, has been widely discussed (Ismer and Neuhoff 2007; Tamiotti 2011; Pauwelyn 2013;
42 Holzer 2014; Cosbey et al. 2019; Mehling et al. 2019; Porterfield 2019). These analyses gained new
43 currency following the initiative to introduce a 'carbon border adjustment mechanism' in the EU
44 (European Commission 2019). BCAs can in principle be designed and implemented in accordance with
45 international trade law, but the details matter. To increase the likelihood that a BCA will be compatible
46 with international trade and climate change agreements, studies suggest that it should: have a clear
47 environmental rationale (i.e. reduce carbon leakage); apply to imports and exclude exports; account for

1 the mitigation efforts by other countries; and provide for fairness and due process in the design and
2 implementation (Pauwelyn 2013; Cosbey et al. 2019; Mehling et al. 2019).

3 Like BCAs, other regulatory measures may also target the GHG emissions associated with the
4 production of goods (Dobson 2018). These measures include emissions standards for the production
5 process of imported goods, and carbon footprint labels. The compatibility of such measures with trade
6 agreements remains subject to debate, though non-discriminatory measures targeting the emissions
7 from a product itself (e.g. fuel efficiency standards for cars) are more likely to be allowed than measures
8 targeting the production process of a good (Green 2005). Mayr et al. (2020) suggest that sustainability
9 standards targeting the emissions from indirect land-use change associated with the production of
10 biofuels may be inconsistent with the TBT Agreement. Importantly, trade rules express a strong
11 preference for the international harmonisation of standards over unilateral measures (Delimatsis 2016).

12 Renewable energy support measures may be at odds with the ASCM, the GATT, and the WTO
13 Agreement on Trade-Related Investment Measures. In WTO disputes, measures adopted in Canada,
14 India, and the United States to support clean energy generation were found to be inconsistent with WTO
15 law due to the use of discriminatory local content requirements, such as the requirement to use
16 domestically produced goods in the production of renewable energy (Cosbey and Mavroidis 2014;
17 Kulovesi 2014; Lewis 2014; Wu and Salzman 2014; Charnovitz and Fischer 2015; Shadikhodjaev 2015;
18 Espa and Marín Durán 2018).

19 Some measures may both lower trade barriers and potentially bring about GHG emission reductions.
20 An example is the liberalisation of trade in environmental goods (Hu et al. 2020). In 2012, the APEC
21 economies agreed to reduce tariffs for a list of 54 environmental goods (including e.g. solar cells; but
22 excluding e.g. biofuels or batteries for electric vehicles). However, negotiations on an Environmental
23 Goods Agreement under the WTO stalled in 2016 due in part to disagreement over which goods to
24 include (de Melo and Solleder 2020). Another example is fossil fuel subsidy reform, which may reduce
25 GHG emissions (Jewell et al. 2018; Erickson et al. 2020) and lower trade distortions (Burniaux et al.
26 2011; Moerenhout and Irschlenger 2020). However, fossil fuel subsidies have largely remained
27 unchallenged before the WTO due to legal and political hurdles (Asmelash 2015; De Bièvre et al. 2017;
28 Meyer 2017; Steenblik et al. 2018; Verkuijl et al. 2019).

29 With limited progress in the multilateral trading system, some studies suggest that regional FTAs hold
30 potential for strengthening climate governance. In some cases, climate-related provisions in such FTAs
31 can go beyond provisions in the Kyoto Protocol and Paris Agreement, addressing for instance
32 cooperation on carbon markets or electric vehicles (Gehring et al. 2013; van Asselt 2017; Morin and
33 Jinnah 2018; Gehring and Morison 2020). However, Morin and Jinnah (2018) find that these provisions
34 are at times vaguely formulated, not subject to third-party dispute settlement, and without sanctions or
35 remedy in case of violations. Moreover, such provisions are not widely used in FTAs, and they are not
36 adopted by the largest GHG emitters. For instance, the 2019 United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement,
37 NAFTA's successor, does not include any specific provisions on climate change, although it could
38 implement cooperative mitigation actions through its Commission for Environmental Cooperation
39 (Laurens et al. 2019).

40 A trend in international economic governance has been the adoption of 'mega-regional' trade
41 agreements involving nations responsible for a substantial share of world trade, such as the
42 Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP), the EU-Canada
43 Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA), and the Regional Comprehensive Economic
44 Partnership (RCEP) in East Asia. Given the size of the markets covered by these agreements, they hold
45 potential to diffuse climate mitigation standards (Meltzer 2013; Holzer and Cottier 2015). However,
46 although CETA includes climate-related provisions and parties have made a broad commitment to
47 implement the Paris Agreement (Laurens et al. 2019), RCEP and CPTPP do not include provisions
48 specifically about climate change.

1 Studies have discussed various options to minimise conflicts, and strengthen the role of trade
2 agreements in climate action. Some of these options require multilateral action, including: (1) the
3 amendment of WTO agreements to accommodate climate action; (2) the adoption of a ‘climate waiver’
4 that temporarily relieves WTO members from their obligations; (3) a ‘peace clause’ through which
5 members commit to refraining from challenging each other’s measures; (4) an ‘authoritative
6 interpretation’ by WTO members of ambiguous WTO provisions; (5) improved transparency of the
7 climate impacts of trade measures; (6) the inclusion of climate expertise in WTO disputes; and (7)
8 intensified institutional coordination between the WTO and UNFCCC (Hufbauer et al. 2009; Epps and
9 Green 2010; Bacchus 2016; Droege et al. 2017; Das et al. 2019). In addition, issue-specific suggestions
10 have been put forward, such as reinstating an exception for environmentally motivated subsidies under
11 the ASCM (Horlick and Clarke 2017).

12 Options can also be pursued at the plurilateral and regional level. Several studies suggest that climate
13 clubs (see Section 14.2.2) could employ trade measures, such as lower tariffs for climate-related goods
14 and services, or BCAs, to attract club members (Keohane et al. 2017; Nordhaus 2015; Brewer et al.
15 2016; Stua 2017b; Banks and Fitzgerald 2020). Another option is to negotiate a new agreement
16 addressing both climate change and trade. Negotiations between six countries (Costa Rica, Fiji, Iceland,
17 New Zealand, Norway, Switzerland) were launched in 2019 on a new Agreement on Climate Change,
18 Trade and Sustainability (ACCTS), which, if successfully concluded, would liberalise trade in
19 environmental goods and services, create new rules to remove fossil fuel subsidies, and develop
20 guidelines for voluntary eco-labels (Steenblik and Droege 2019). At the regional level, countries could
21 further opt for the inclusion of climate provisions in the (re)negotiation of FTAs (Yamaguchi 2020a;
22 Morin and Jinnah 2018). Moreover, the conduct of climate impact assessments of FTAs could help
23 identify options to achieve both climate and trade objectives (Porterfield et al. 2017). In their assessment
24 of various options for reform, (Das et al. 2019) find that the near-term feasibility of options that require
25 consensus at the multilateral level (notably amendments of WTO agreements) is low. By contrast,
26 options involving a smaller number of parties, as well as options that can be implemented by WTO
27 members on a voluntary basis, face fewer constraints.

28 For international investment agreements, various other suggestions have been put forward to
29 accommodate climate change concerns. These include incorporating climate change through ongoing
30 reform processes, such as reform of investor-state dispute settlement under the UN Commission on
31 International Trade Law (UNCITRAL); modernisation of the Energy Charter Treaty; the (re)negotiation
32 of international investment agreements; and the adoption of a specific treaty to promote investment in
33 climate action (Yamaguchi 2020b; Brauch et al. 2019; Tienhaara and Cotula 2020).

34 ***14.5.1.4 South-South cooperation***

35 South-South (SSC) and triangular (TrC) cooperation are bold, innovative, and rapidly developing means
36 of strengthening cooperation for the achievement of the SDGs (FAO 2018). SSC is gaining momentum
37 in achieving sustainable development and climate actions in developing countries (UN 2017b). Through
38 SSC, countries are able to map their capacity needs and knowledge gaps and find sustainable, cost-
39 effective, long-lasting and economically viable solutions (FAO 2019).

40 There has been a recent resurgence of South-South cooperation. Gray and Gills (2016), signalled inter
41 alia by the South-South Cooperation Action Plan adopted by the UN as a substantive pillar to support
42 the implementation of the UN Climate Change Engagement Strategy 2017 (UNOSC 2017). Liu et al.
43 (2017a) explored prospects for South–South cooperation for large-scale ecological restoration, which
44 is an important solution to mitigate climate change. Emphasis is given to experience and expertise
45 sharing, co-financing, and co-development of new knowledge and know-how for more effective policy
46 and practice worldwide, especially in developing and newly industrialised countries.

47 Janus, Klingebiel and Hahn (2014) explore evolving development cooperation and its future governance
48 architecture based on The Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation (GPEDC) and

1 The United Nations (UN) Development Cooperation Forum (DCF). Drawing on evidence from the
2 hydropower, solar and wind energy industry in China, Urban (2018) introduces the concept of
3 ‘geographies of transfer and cooperation’ and challenges the North-South technology transfer and
4 cooperation paradigm for low carbon innovation and climate change mitigation. While North-South
5 technology transfer and cooperation (NSTT) for low carbon energy technology has been implemented
6 for decades, South-South technology transfer and cooperation (SSTT) and South-North technology
7 transfer and cooperation (SNTT) have only recently emerged. Kirchher and Urban (2018) provide a
8 meta-synthesis of the scholarly writings on NSTT, SSTT and SNTT from the past 30 years. The
9 discussion focuses on core drivers and inhibitors of technology transfer and cooperation, outcomes as
10 well as outcome determinants. A case study of transfer of low-carbon energy innovation and its
11 opportunities and barriers, based on first large Chinese-funded and Chinese-built dam in Cambodia is
12 presented by Urban et al. (2015a).

13 Urban, Zhou, Nordensward and Narain (2015b) explore the role that technology transfer/cooperation
14 from Europe played in shaping firm level wind energy technologies in China and India and discuss the
15 recent technology cooperation between the Chinese, Indian, and European wind firms. The research
16 finds that firm-level technology transfer/cooperation shaped the leading wind energy technologies in
17 China and to a lesser extent in India. Thus, the technology cooperation between China, India, and
18 Europe has become multi-faceted and increasingly Southern-led.

19 Rampa, Bilal and Sidiropoulos (2012) focus on the manner in which African states understand and
20 approach new opportunities for cooperation with emerging powers, especially China, India and Brazil,
21 including the crucial issue of whether they seek joint development initiatives with both traditional
22 partners and emerging powers. UN (2018) presents and analyses case studies of SSTT in Asia-Pacific
23 and Latin America and Caribbean regions. Illustrative case studies on TrC can be consulted in Shimoda
24 and Nagasawa (2012), and specific cases on biofuel SSC and TrC in UNCTAD (2012).

25 The central argument in the majority of these case studies is that South–South cooperation, which is
26 value-neutral, is contributing to sustainable development and capacity building (Rampa et al. 2012;
27 Shimoda and Nakazawa 2012; UN 2018). An important new development in SSC is that in relation to
28 some technologies the cooperation is increasingly led by Southern countries (for instance, wind energy
29 between Europe, India and China), challenging the classical North–South technology cooperation
30 paradigm. More broadly, parties should ensure the sustainability of cooperation, rather than focusing
31 on short-term goals (Eyben 2013). The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is a classic example of a recent
32 SSC Initiative led by China. According to a joint study by Tsinghua University and Vivid Economics
33 the 126 countries in the BRI region, excluding China, currently account for about 28% of global GHG
34 emissions, but this proportion may increase to around 66% by 2050 if the carbon intensity of these
35 economies only decreases slowly (according to historical patterns shown by developing countries). In
36 this context it is important to highlight that China has already outlined a vision for a green BRI, and
37 recently increased its commitment through the Green Investment Principles (GIP) initiative, announcing
38 a new international coalition to improve sustainability and promote green infrastructure (Jun and Zadek
39 2019).

40 Information on triangular cooperation is more readily available than on South-South cooperation though
41 some UN organisations such as UNDP and FAO have established platforms for the latter which also
42 includes climate projects. Further, although there are many South-South cooperation initiatives
43 involving the development and transfer of climate technologies the understanding of the motivations,
44 approaches and designs is limited and not easily accessible. There is no dedicated platform for South-
45 South and triangular cooperation on climate technologies. Hence, it is still too early to fully assess the
46 achievements in the field of climate action (UNFCCC and UNOSSC 2018). In order to maximise its
47 unique contribution to Agenda 2030, southern providers recognise the benefits of measuring and
48 monitoring South–South cooperation, and there is a clear demand for better information from partner

1 countries. Di Ciommo (2017) argues that better data could support monitoring and evaluation, improve
2 effectiveness, explore synergies with other resources, and ensure accountability to a diverse set of
3 stakeholders.

4 The global landscape of development cooperation has changed dramatically in recent years, with
5 countries of the South engaging in collaborative learning models to share innovative, adaptable and
6 cost-efficient solutions to their development and socio-economic-environmental challenges, ranging
7 from poverty and education to climate change. The proliferation of new actors and cross-regional
8 modalities had enriched the understanding and practice of development cooperation and generated
9 important changes in the global development architecture towards a more inclusive, effective, and
10 horizontal development agenda. South-South cooperation will grow in the future. However, there are
11 knowledge gaps in relation to the precise volume, impact, effectiveness and quality of development
12 cooperation from emerging development partners. This gap needs to be plugged, and evidence on such
13 cooperation strengthened.

14 **14.5.2 International sectoral agreements and institutions**

15 Sectors refer to distinct areas of economic activity, often subject to their own governance regimes;
16 examples include energy production, mobility, and manufacturing. A sectoral agreement could include
17 virtually any type commitment with implications for mitigation. It could establish sectoral emission
18 targets, on either an absolute or an indexed basis. It could also require states (or particular groups of
19 states, if commitments are differentiated) to adopt uniform or harmonised policies and measures for a
20 sector, such as technology-based standards, taxes, or best-practice standards, as well as providing for
21 cooperation on technology research or deployment.

22 **14.5.2.1 Forestry, land-use and REDD+**

23 Since 2008, several, often overlapping, voluntary and non-binding international efforts and agreements
24 have been adopted to reduce net emissions from the forestry sector. These initiatives have varying levels
25 of private sector involvement and different objectives, targets, and timelines. Some efforts focus on
26 reducing emissions from deforestation and degradation, while other focus on negative emissions
27 through restoration of cleared or degraded landscapes. These initiatives do not elaborate specific
28 policies, procedures, or implementation mechanisms. They merely set targets, frameworks, and
29 milestones, aiming to catalyse further action, investment, and transparency in conservation and
30 consolidate individual country efforts.

31 After the admittedly ineffective UN-sponsored Tropical Forestry Action Plan (Seymour and Busch
32 2016; Winterbottom 2015), the longest standing program in the forestry sector is the UN REDD+
33 Programme, initiated in 2008, which aims to reduce forest emissions and enhance carbon stocks in
34 forests while contributing to national sustainable development in developing countries, after the 2007
35 COP13 in Bali formally adopted REDD+ in the UNFCCC decisions and incorporated it in the Bali Plan
36 of Action. As discussed above, Article 5 of the Paris Agreement encourages parties to take action to
37 implement and support REDD+. These efforts tend to focus on reducing emissions through the creation
38 of protected areas, payments for ecosystem services, and/or land tenure reform (Pirard et al. 2019). The
39 programme supports national REDD+ efforts, inclusion of stakeholders in relevant dialogues, and
40 capacity building toward REDD+ readiness in partner countries. The Forest Carbon Partnership Facility
41 is a related initiative that helps facilitate funding for REDD+ readiness and specific projects. To date
42 the conservation and emissions impacts of REDD+ remain poorly understood (Pirard et al. 2019), but
43 existing evidence suggests that reductions in deforestation from subnational REDD+ initiatives have
44 been minimal (Bos et al. 2017).

45 The shift in the REDD+ focus from mere ecosystem service payment to domestic policy realignments
46 and incentive structure has changed the way REDD+ was developed and implemented (Brockhaus et
47 al. 2017). Large-scale market resources have not fully materialised due to the failure to establish a

1 global carbon market system that explicitly integrates REDD+ (Angelsen 2017). Public funding for
2 REDD+ is also limited. Leading up to the adoption of the Paris Agreement, the governments of
3 Germany, Norway, and the United Kingdom formed a partnership in 2014 called ‘GNU’ to support
4 results-based financing for REDD+, with Norway emerging as one of, if not the single largest major
5 donor for REDD+ through its 2007 pledge in 2007 of some \$3 billion annually. Norway pledged \$1
6 billion for Brazil in 2008 and the same for Indonesia in 2010 (Schroeder et al. 2020).

7 In addition to Brazil, Indonesia has attracted significant interest as a host country for REDD+. Indonesia
8 ranks second, after Brazil, as the largest producer of deforestation-related greenhouse gas emissions
9 (Zarin et al. 2016), but it commits to a large reduction of deforestation in its conditional NDC
10 (Government of Indonesia 2016). Norway, Germany, the United Kingdom, and Australia have
11 collaborated on scientific research and emission reduction monitoring (Tacconi 2017). It took a while,
12 however, before emission reductions were witnessed (Meehan et al. 2019). The expansion of
13 commodity plantations, however, conflict with the reduction ambitions (Anderson et al. 2016; Irawan
14 et al. 2019). In addition to implementation at the site and jurisdictional levels, legal enforcement
15 (Tacconi et al. 2019) as well as policy and regulatory reforms (Ekawati et al. 2019) appears to be needed.

16 Another relevant initiative is one under the 2015 United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification
17 (UNCCD), which targets land degradation neutrality i.e., ‘a state whereby the amount and quality of
18 land resources, necessary to support ecosystem functions and services and enhance food security,
19 remains stable or increases within specified temporal and spatial scales and ecosystems’ (Orr et al.
20 2017). This overarching goal was recognised as also being critical to reaching the more specific avoided
21 deforestation and degradation and restoration goals of the UNFCCC and UNCBD. The Land
22 Degradation Neutrality (LDN) initiative from UNCCD includes target setting programmes (TSP) that
23 assist countries by providing practical tools and guidance for the establishment of the voluntary targets
24 and formulate associated measures to achieve LDN and accelerate implementation of projects (Chasek
25 et al. 2019). Today, 124 countries have committed to their LDN national targets (UNCCD 2015). The
26 LDN Fund is an investment vehicle launched in UNCCD COP 13 in 2017, which exists to provide long-
27 term financing for private projects and programmes for countries to achieve their LDN targets.
28 According to the UNCCD, most of the funds will be invested in developing countries.

29 Recent efforts toward reduced emissions from the forestry sector have the overarching goal of reaching
30 zero *gross* deforestation globally (no more clearing of natural forests). The New York Declaration on
31 Forests was the first international pledge to call for a halving of ‘natural forest’ loss by 2020 and the
32 elimination of natural forest loss by 2030 (Climate Focus 2016). It was endorsed at the United Nations
33 Climate Summit in September 2014. By September 2019 the list of NYDF supporters included over
34 200 actors: national governments, sub-national governments, multi-national companies, groups
35 representing indigenous communities, and non-government organisations. These endorsers have
36 committed to doing their part to achieve the NYDF’s ten goals, which include ending deforestation for
37 agricultural expansion by 2020, reducing deforestation from other sectors, restoring forests, and
38 providing financing for forest action (Forest Declaration 2019).

39 The effectiveness of these agreements, which lack binding rules, can only be judged by the
40 supplementary actions they have catalysed. The NYDF contributed to the development of several other
41 zero-deforestation pledges, including the Amsterdam Declarations by seven European nations to
42 achieve fully sustainable and deforestation-free agro-commodity supply chains in Europe by 2020 and
43 over 150 individual company commitments to not source products associated with deforestation
44 (Lambin et al. 2018; Donofrio et al. 2017). Recent studies indicate that these efforts currently lack the
45 potential to achieve wide-scale reductions in clearing and associated emissions due to weak
46 implementation (Garrett et al. 2019). The NYDF may have triggered small additional reductions in
47 deforestation in some areas, particularly for soy, and to a lesser extent cattle, in the Brazilian Amazon
48 (Lambin et al. 2018), but these effects were temporary, as efforts are being actively reversed and

1 deforestation has increased again significantly. Deforestation rates have escalated in Brazil, with the
2 rate in June 2019 (the first dry-season month in the new administration) up 88% over the 2018 rate in
3 the same month (INPE 2019). Curtis et al (2018) find global targets are clearly not being met

4 In 2010, the parties to the CBD adopted the Strategic Plan for Biodiversity 2011–2020 which included
5 20 targets known as the Aichi Biodiversity targets (Marques et al. 2014). Of relevance to the forestry
6 sector, Aichi Target 15 sets the goal of enhancing ecosystem resilience and the contribution of
7 biodiversity to carbon stocks through conservation and restoration, including ‘restoration of at least 15%
8 of degraded ecosystems’ (UNCBD 2010). The plan elaborates milestones, including the development
9 of national plans for potential restoration levels and contributions to biodiversity protection, carbon
10 sequestration, and climate adaptation to be integrated into other national strategies, including REDD+.

11 Recent efforts toward negative emissions through restoration include the Bonn Challenge, the African
12 Forest Landscape Restoration Initiative (AFR 100) and Initiative 20X20. The Bonn Challenge, initiated
13 in 2011 by the Government of Germany and the IUCN, is intended to catalyse the existing international
14 AFOLU commitments. It aims to bring 150 million hectares (Mha) of the world’s deforested and
15 degraded land into restoration by 2020, and 350 Mha by 2030. AFR has the goal of restoring 100 Mha
16 specifically in Africa (Nhlapho 2019), while 20X20 aims to restore 20 Mha in Latin America and the
17 Caribbean (Peimbert 2019). Increasing commitments for restoration have created momentum for
18 restoration interventions (Chazdon et al. 2017; Mansourian et al. 2017; Djenontin et al. 2018). To date
19 97 Mha has been pledged in INDCs. Yet only a small part of this goal has been achieved. The Bonn
20 Challenge Barometer – a progress-tracking framework and tool to support pledgers - indicates that 27
21 Mha (InfoFLR 2018) are currently being restored, equivalent to 1.379 billion tonnes CO₂eq sequestered
22 (Dave et al. 2019). A key challenge in scaling up restoration has been to mobilise sufficient financing
23 (FAO and UNCCD 2015; Djenontin et al. 2018). This underscores the importance of building
24 international financing for restoration (equivalent to the Forest Carbon Partnership Facility focused on
25 avoided deforestation and degradation).

26 In sum, existing international agreements have had a small impact on reducing emissions from the
27 AFOLU sector and some success in achieving negative emissions through restoration. However, these
28 outcomes are nowhere near levels required to meet the Paris Agreement goals –which would require
29 turning land use and forests globally ‘from a net anthropogenic source during 1990-2010 (1.3 ± 1.1
30 $\text{GtCO}_2\text{eq yr}^{-1}$) to a net sink of carbon by 2030 (up to $-1.1 \pm 0.5 \text{ GtCO}_2\text{eq yr}^{-1}$), and providing a quarter
31 of emission reductions planned by countries’ (Grassi et al. 2017). The AFOLU sector continues to be a
32 large source of emissions that is not close to being offset by existing restoration initiatives.

33 **14.5.2.2 Energy sector**

34 International cooperation on issues of energy supply and security has a long and complicated history.
35 There exists a plethora of institutions, organisations, and agreements concerned with managing the
36 sector. There have been efforts to map the relevant actors, with authors identifying in one case six
37 primary organisations (Kérébel and Keppler 2009), in another sixteen (Lesage et al. 2010), and in a
38 third fifty (Sovacool and Florini 2012). At the same time, very little of that history has had climate
39 mitigation as its core focus. As Van de Graaf and Colgan (Van de Graaf and Colgan 2016) document,
40 global energy governance has encompassed five broad goals – security of energy supply and demand,
41 economic development, international security, environmental sustainability, and domestic good
42 governance – and as only one of these provides an entry point for climate mitigation, effort in this
43 direction has often been lost. To take one example, during the 1980s and 1990s a combination of
44 bilateral development support and lending practices from multilateral development banks pushed
45 developing countries to adopt power market reforms consistent with the Washington Consensus:
46 towards liberalised power markets and away from state-owned monopolies. The goals of these reforms
47 did not include an environmental component, and among the results was new investment in fossil-fired
48 thermal power generation (Foster and Rana 2020).

1 As Goldthau and Witte (2010) document, the majority of governance effort, outside of oil and gas
2 producing states, was oriented towards ensuring reliable and affordable access to oil and gas imports.
3 For example, the original rationale for creation of the International Energy Agency (IEA), during the
4 oil crisis of 1973-74, was to manage a mechanism to ensure importing countries access to oil (Van de
5 Graaf and Lesage 2009). On the other side of the aisle, oil exporting countries created the international
6 institution of OPEC to enable them to influence oil output, thereby stabilising prices and revenues for
7 exporting countries (Fattouh and Mahadeva 2013). For years, energy governance was seen as a zero-
8 sum game between these poles (Goldthau and Witte 2010). The only international governance agency
9 focusing on low carbon energy sources was the International Atomic Energy Agency, with a dual
10 mission of promoting nuclear energy and nuclear weapons non-proliferation (Scheinman 1987).

11 More recently, however, new institutions have emerged, and existing institutions have realigned their
12 missions, in order to promote capacity building and global investment in low carbon energy
13 technologies. Collectively, these developments may support the emergence of a nascent field of global
14 sustainable energy governance, in which a broad range of global, regional, national, sub-national and
15 non-state actors, in aggregate, shape, direct and implement the low carbon transition through climate
16 change mitigation activities, which produce concomitant societal benefits (Bruce 2018). Beginning in
17 the 1990s, for example, the IEA began to broaden its mission from one concerned primarily with
18 security of oil supplies, which encompassed conservation of energy resources, to one also concerned
19 with the sustainability of energy use, including work programs on energy efficiency and clean energy
20 technologies and scenarios (Van de Graaf and Lesage 2009). Scholars have suggested that it was the
21 widespread perception that the IEA was primarily interested in promoting the continued use of fossil
22 fuels, and underplaying the potential role of renewable technologies, that led a number of IEA member
23 states to successfully push for the creation of a parallel organisation, the International Renewable
24 Energy Agency (IRENA), which was then established in 2009 (Van de Graaf 2013). An assessment of
25 IRENA's activities in 2015 suggested that the agency has a positive effect related to three core activities:
26 offering advisory services to member states regarding renewable energy technologies and systems;
27 serving as a focal point for data and analysis for renewable energy; and, mobilising other international
28 institutions, such as multilateral development banks, promoting renewable energy (Urpelainen and Van
29 de Graaf 2015). The United Nations, including its various agencies such as the Committee on
30 Sustainable Energy within the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, has also played a role
31 in the realignment of global energy governance towards mitigation efforts. As a precursor to SDG 7,
32 the United Nations initiated in 2011 the *Sustainable Energy for All* initiative, which in addition to
33 aiming for universal access to modern energy services, included the goals of doubling the rate of
34 improvement in energy efficiency, and doubling by 2030 the share of renewable energy in the global
35 energy mix (Bruce 2018).

36 Sub-global agreements have also started to emerge, examples of issue-specific climate clubs. In 2015,
37 seventy solar-rich countries signed a framework agreement dedicated towards promoting solar energy
38 development (International Solar Alliance 2015). In 2017 the Powering Past Coal Alliance was formed,
39 uniting a set of states, businesses, and non-governmental organisations around the goal of eliminating
40 coal-fired power generation by 2050 (Blondeel et al. 2020). Chapter 6 of this report, on energy systems,
41 notes the importance of regional cooperation on electric grid development, seen as necessary to enable
42 higher shares of solar and wind power penetration (RGI 2011). Finally, a number of transnational
43 organisations and activities have emerged, such as *REN21*, a global community of renewable energy
44 experts (REN21 2019), and *RE100*, an NGO led initiative to enlist multilateral companies to shift
45 towards 100% renewable energy in their value chains (RE100 2019).

46 Whether a result of the above activities or not, multilateral development banks' lending practices have
47 shifted in the direction of renewable energy (Delina 2017), a point also raised in Chapter 15 of this
48 Assessment Report. Activities include new sources of project finance, concessional loans, as well as

1 loan guarantees, the latter through the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA 2019). This
2 appears to matter. For example, Frisari and Stadelmann (2015) find concessional lending by multilateral
3 development banks to solar energy projects in Morocco and India to have reduced overall project costs,
4 due to more attractive financing conditions from additional lenders, as well as reducing the costs to
5 local governments. Labordena et al. (2017) projected these results into the future, and found that with
6 the drop in financing costs, renewable energy projects serving all major demand centres in sub-Saharan
7 Africa could reach cost parity with fossil fuels by 2025, whereas without the drop in financing costs
8 associated with concessional lending, this would not be the case. Similarly, Creutzig et al. (2017)
9 suggest that greater international attention to finance could be instrumental in the full development of
10 solar energy.

11 Despite improvements in the international governance of energy, it still appears that a great deal of this
12 is still concerned with promoting further development of fossil fuels. One aspect of this is the
13 development of international legal norms. A large number of bilateral and multilateral agreements,
14 including the 2015 Energy Charter Treaty, include provisions for using a system of investor-state
15 dispute settlement (ISDS), designed to protect the interests of investors in energy projects from national
16 policies that could lead their assets to be stranded. Numerous scholars have pointed to ISDS being able
17 to be used by fossil-fuel companies to block national legislation aimed at phasing out the use of their
18 assets (Bos and Gupta 2019; Tienhaara 2018). Another aspect is finance; Gallagher et al. (2018)
19 examine the role of national development finance systems, focusing in particular on China. They find
20 the majority of finance devoted to projects associated either with fossil fuel extraction or with fossil
21 fuel-fired power generation. Ascensão et al. (2018) similarly suggest that activities associated with the
22 Belt and Road Initiative could play a role in slowing down mitigation efforts in developing countries.

23 Given the complexity of global energy governance, it is impossible to make a definitive statement about
24 its overall contribution to mitigation efforts. Three statements, do however, appear to be robust. First,
25 prior to the emergence of climate change on the global political agenda, international cooperation in the
26 area of energy was primarily aimed at expanding and protecting the use of fossil energy, and these goals
27 were entrenched in a number of multilateral organisations. Second, since the 1990s, international
28 cooperation has gradually taken climate mitigation on board as one of its goals, seeing a realignment of
29 many pre-existing organisations priorities, and the formation of a number of new international
30 arrangements oriented towards the development renewable energy resources. Third, the realignment is
31 far from complete, and there are still examples of international cooperation having a chilling effect on
32 climate mitigation, particularly through financing and investment practices, including legal norms
33 designed to protect the interests of owners of fossil assets.

34 ***14.5.2.3 Transportation***

35 The transportation sector has been a particular focus of cooperative efforts on climate mitigation that
36 extend beyond the sphere of the UN climate regime. A number of these cooperative efforts involve
37 transnational public-private partnerships, such as the European-based Transport Decarbonisation
38 Alliance, which brings together countries, regions, cities and companies working towards the goal of a
39 ‘net-zero emission mobility system before 2050’ (Transportation Decarbonisation Alliance 2019).
40 Other efforts are centred in international institutions, such as the International Civil Aviation
41 Organisation (ICAO) and the International Maritime Organisation (IMO).

42 Regulations introduced by the ICAO and IMO have addressed emissions from international shipping
43 and aviation. Emissions from these parts of the transportation sector are generally excluded from
44 national emissions reduction policies and NDCs because the ‘international’ location of emissions
45 release makes allocation to individual nations difficult (Bows-Larkin 2015; Lyle 2018; Hoch et al.
46 2019). Aviation emissions currently account for 2-2.5% of global CO₂ emissions (Grote et al. 2014;
47 Larsson et al. 2019), with total shipping emissions contributing 2.6% global CO₂ emissions (Olmer et

1 al. 2017). Notably, however, the contribution of CO₂ emissions is estimated to represent only 36-51%
2 of the total aviation-related radiative forcing of climate (Terrenoire et al. 2019).

3 Despite increasing efficiency, emissions from aviation and shipping are predicted to grow substantially
4 with increasing demand (Bows-Larkin 2015; Gençsü and Hino 2015). For international aviation,
5 Climate Action Tracker's projections are for a 220-290% increase in CO₂ emissions between 2015 and
6 2050, even taking into account the near-term adverse impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on air travel
7 (Climate Action Tracker 2020a). In the case of international shipping, the impact of COVID-19 on trade
8 and tourist arrivals is estimated to have reduced shipping emissions in 2020 by 18-35% from 2019
9 levels. However, by 2030 it is expected that shipping emissions growth may have returned to its pre-
10 COVID levels or have experienced a reduction of around 13% compared to pre-COVID projections,
11 equating to about 2019 emissions levels (Climate Action Tracker 2020b). Increases in trans-Arctic
12 shipping and tourism activities with sea ice loss are also forecast to have strong regional effects due to
13 ships' gas and particulate emissions (Stephenson et al. 2018).

14 The Kyoto Protocol required Annex I (developed country) parties to pursue emissions reductions from
15 aviation and marine bunker fuels by working through IMO and ICAO (UNFCCC 1997, Art. 2.2).
16 Limited progress was made by these organisations on emissions controls in the ensuing decades (Liu
17 2012), but greater action was prompted by conclusion of the SDGs and Paris Agreement (Martinez
18 Romera 2016), together with unilateral action, such as the EU's inclusion of aviation emissions in its
19 Emissions Trading Scheme (ETS) (Dobson 2020). The Paris Agreement neither explicitly addresses
20 emissions from international aviation and shipping, nor repeats the Kyoto Protocol's provision requiring
21 parties to work through ICAO/IMO to address these emissions (Hoch et al. 2019). This leaves unclear
22 the status of the Kyoto Protocol's article 2.2 directive after 2020 (Dobson 2020; Martinez Romera
23 2016), potentially opening up scope for more attention to aviation and shipping emissions under the
24 Paris Agreement (Doelle and Chircop 2019). In the case of shipping emissions, Doelle and Chircop
25 note there is nothing in the Paris Agreement to prevent a party from voluntarily reporting on such
26 emissions, or from including international shipping in some form in its NDC (Doelle and Chircop 2019).
27 Given provision for a five-yearly global stocktake under the Paris Agreement to monitor progress in
28 emissions reduction (see Section 14.3.2.5 above), there is likely to be increased pressure on parties who
29 are also IMO or ICAO member states to act in the case of inadequate progress in these international
30 institutions on transportation emissions (Doelle and Chircop 2019).

31 ICAO has adopted a 'basket' of mitigation measures for the aviation sector consisting of technical and
32 operational measures, measures on sustainable alternative fuels and a market-based measure, known as
33 the Carbon Offset and Reduction Scheme for International Aviation (CORSIA) introduced in 2016
34 (ICAO 2016). CORSIA is intended to be the main international measure for meeting the ICAO's
35 aspirational goal of 'carbon neutral growth from 2020' (ICAO 2016). CORSIA will commence in 2021
36 with a voluntary phase, becoming mandatory from 2027 onwards for states whose share in the total
37 international revenue tonnes per kilometre (RTK) is above a certain threshold (Hoch et al. 2019). Under
38 CORSIA, overall aviation emissions are not capped but rather compensated through use of 'offset units'
39 from emissions reduction projects in other industries (Erling 2018). However, it is unclear whether the
40 goal of carbon neutrality and further CO₂ emissions reduction in the sector will be possible solely
41 through the use of such offsets without additional constraints on demand (Lyle 2018). Likely non-
42 participation in CORSIA by countries such as China, as well as Brazil, India and Russia, could
43 significantly undermine its capacity to deliver substantial emissions reductions by limiting coverage of
44 the scheme to less than 50% of international aviation CO₂ emissions in the period 2021-2035 (Climate
45 Action Tracker 2020a; Hoch et al. 2019). In addition, a wider range of offsets can be used in CORSIA
46 than are contemplated under the Paris Agreement Article 6 mechanism and ICAO does not apply quality
47 standards to offsets, which may raise questions over their integrity (Hoch et al. 2019). Further
48 limitations on the scheme's effectiveness are likely as a result of the ICAO Council's decision setting

1 2019 as the baseline year for at least the first three years of CORSIA, despite significant reductions (45-
2 60%) in aviation CO₂ emissions in 2020 compared with 2019 (Climate Action Tracker 2020a). Other
3 measures adopted by ICAO include an aircraft CO₂ emissions standard that applies to new aircraft type
4 designs from 2020, and to aircraft type designs already in production as of 2023 (Smith and Ahmad
5 2018). Overall, CORSIA and applicable regional measures, such as the EU ETS, are estimated to reduce
6 aviation carbon emissions by only 0.8% per year from 2017-2030 (noting, however, that if non-
7 CO₂ emissions are included in the analysis, then emissions will increase) (Larsson et al. 2019).
8 Accordingly, pathways consistent with the temperature goal of the Paris Agreement are likely to require
9 more stringent international measures for the aviation sector (Larsson et al. 2019).

10 The IMO has also considered a range of measures to monitor and reduce shipping emissions. In 2016,
11 the IMO's Marine Environment Protection Committee (MEPC) approved an amendment to the
12 MARPOL Convention Annex VI for the introduction of a Mandatory Global Data Collection scheme
13 for CO₂ emissions (Dobson 2020). Other IMO measures have focused on energy efficiency (Martinez
14 Romera 2016). The IMO's Energy Efficiency Design Index (EEDI), which is mandatory for new ships,
15 is intended, over a ten-year period, to improve energy efficiency by up to 30% in several categories of
16 ships propelled by diesel engines (Smith and Ahmad 2018). In May 2019, the MEPC approved draft
17 amendments to the MARPOL Convention Annex VI, which if adopted, will bring forward the entry
18 into force of the third phase of the EEDI requirements to 2022 instead of 2025 (IMO 2019; Joung et al.
19 2020).

20 However, it is unlikely that the EEDI and other IMO technical and operational measures will be
21 sufficient to produce necessary emissions reduction because of the future growth in international
22 seaborne trade and world population (Shi and Gullett 2018). Consequently, in 2018, the IMO adopted
23 an initial strategy on reduction of GHG emissions from ships (IMO 2018). This includes a goal for
24 declining carbon intensity of the sector by reducing CO₂ emissions per transport work, as an average
25 across international shipping, by at least 40% by 2030, and pursuing efforts towards 70% by 2050,
26 compared to 2008 levels (IMO 2018, para. 3.1). The strategy also aims for peaking of total annual GHG
27 emissions from international shipping as soon as possible and a reduction by at least 50% by 2050
28 compared to 2008 levels, whilst pursuing efforts towards phasing them out 'as soon as possible in this
29 century' as a point 'on a pathway of CO₂ emissions reduction consistent with the Paris Agreement
30 temperature goals' (IMO 2018, para. 2, 3.1). The shipping industry is on track to overachieve the 2030
31 carbon intensity target but not its 2050 target (Climate Action Tracker 2020b). The initial IMO strategy
32 is to be kept under review by the MEPC with a view to adoption of a revised strategy in 2023.

33 The IMO's initial strategy identifies a series of candidate short-term (2018-2023), medium-term (2023-
34 2030) and long-term (beyond 2030) measures for achieving its emissions reduction goals, including
35 possible market-based measures in the medium-to-long term (IMO 2018, paras. 4.7-4.9). Further
36 progress on market-based measures faces difficulty in light of conflicts between the CBDR principle of
37 the climate regime and the traditional non-discrimination approach that has guided past IMO regulation
38 (Zhang 2016). Both the CBDR and non-discrimination principles are designated as 'principles guiding
39 the initial strategy' (IMO 2018, para. 3.2). While the IMO strategy is viewed as a reasonable first step
40 that is ambitious for the industry, there is a the need for the next iteration in 2023 to specify concrete
41 implementation measures and to strengthen targets in order to achieve the 'vision' of alignment with
42 the temperature goals of the Paris Agreement (Doelle and Chircop 2019; Climate Action Tracker
43 2020b).

44 **14.5.3 Civil society and social movements**

45 Transnationally-organised civil society actors have had long-standing involvement in international
46 climate policy. The term 'civil society' generally denotes 'the voluntary association of individuals in
47 the public sphere beyond the realms of the state, the market and the family' (de Bakker et al. 2013, p.
48 575). Whereas civil society organisations are usually involved in lobbying or advocacy activities in a

1 public arena, social movements focus on mobilisation and action for social change (Daniel and Neubert
2 2019). Examples of civil society groups involved in international climate policy include non-
3 governmental organisations (NGOs) such as Greenpeace International, the World Wildlife Fund, the
4 Environmental Defence Fund, the World Resources Institute, Friends of the Earth and Earthjustice
5 among many others, as well as NGO networks such as the Climate Action Network (CAN), which has
6 over 1300 NGO members in more than 130 countries, working to promote government and individual
7 action to limit human-induced climate change to ecologically sustainable levels (Climate Action
8 Network International 2020). The influence of civil society engagement in global climate governance
9 is well-acknowledged, with these organisations’ globally dispersed constituencies and non-state status
10 offering perspectives that differ in significant ways from those of many negotiating states (Derman
11 2014).

12 Historically, the issue of climate change did not give rise to intense, organised transnational protest
13 characteristic of social movements (McAdam 2017). During the 1990s and early 2000s, the activities
14 of the global climate movement were concentrated in developed countries and largely sought to exercise
15 influence through participation in UNFCCC COPs and side events (Almeida 2019). The mid-2000s
16 onwards, however, saw the beginnings of use of more non-institutionalised tactics, such as simultaneous
17 demonstrations across several countries, focusing on a grassroots call for climate justice that grew out
18 of previous environmental justice movements (Almeida 2019). Climate justice has been variously
19 defined, but centres on addressing the disproportionate impacts of climate change on the most
20 vulnerable populations and calls for community sovereignty and functioning (Schlosberg and Collins
21 2014; Tramel 2016). Contemporary climate justice groups mobilise multiple strands of environmental
22 justice movements from the Global North and South, as well as from indigenous and peasant rights
23 movements, and are organised as a decentralised network of semiautonomous, coordinated units
24 (Tormos-Aponte and García-López 2018; Claeys and Delgado Pugley 2017). The climate justice
25 movement held global days of protest in most of the world’s countries in 2014 and 2015, and mobilised
26 another large campaign in 2018 (Almeida 2019). The polycentric arrangement of the global climate
27 movement allows simultaneous influence on multiple sites of climate governance, from the local to the
28 global levels (Tormos-Aponte and García-López 2018).

29 Prominent examples of new climate social movements that operate transnationally are Extinction
30 Rebellion and Fridays for Future, which collectively held hundreds of coordinated protests across the
31 globe in 2019, marking out ‘the transnational climate justice movement as one of the most extensive
32 social movements on the planet’ (Almeida 2019). Fridays for Future is a children’s and youth movement
33 that began in August 2018, inspired by the actions of then 15-year old Greta Thunberg who pledged to
34 strike in front of the Swedish parliament every Friday to protest against a lack of action on climate
35 change in line with the Paris Agreement targets (Fridays for Future 2019). Fridays for Future events
36 worldwide encompass more than 200 countries and close to 10 million strikers. The movement is
37 unusual for its focus on children and the rights of future generations, with children’s resistance having
38 received little previous attention in the literature. Fridays for the Future is regarded as a progressive
39 resistance movement that has quickly achieved global prominence (for example, Thunberg was invited
40 to address governments at the UN Climate Summit in New York in September 2019) and is credited
41 with helping to support the discourse about the responsibility of humanity as a whole for climate change
42 (Holmberg and Alvinus 2019). Whereas Fridays for Future has focused on periodic protest action,
43 Extinction Rebellion has pursued a campaign based on sustained non-violent direct citizen action that
44 is focused on three key demands: declaration of a ‘climate emergency’, acting now to halt biodiversity
45 loss and reduce greenhouse gas emissions to net zero by 2025, and creation of a citizen’s assembly on
46 climate and ecological justice (Extinction Rebellion 2019; Booth 2019). The movement first arose in
47 the United Kingdom (UK) – where it claimed credit for adoption of a climate emergency declaration
48 by the UK government – but now has a presence in 45 countries with some 650 groups having formed
49 globally (Gunningham 2019).

1 Transnational civil society organisations advocating for climate justice in global governance have
2 articulated policy positions around rights protections, responsibility-based approaches to climate
3 finance, and the need for transparency and accountability (Derman 2014). Another recent area of
4 activity, which overlaps with that of emerging investor alliances (discussed further in Section 14.5.3.2),
5 is the sustainability of capital investment in fossil fuel assets. Efforts to shift away from fossil fuels led
6 by civil society include the Beyond Coal Campaign (in the US and Europe) and the organisation for a
7 Fossil Fuel Non-proliferation Treaty. 350.org has supported mobilisation of youth and university
8 students around a campaign of divestment that has grown into a global movement (Gunningham 2019).
9 As of November 2020, more than 1,200 institutional investors managing over \$14 trillion of assets
10 around the world have committed to divest some or all of their fossil fuel holdings (Mormann 2020).
11 Studies suggest that the direct impacts of the divestment movement have so far been small, given a
12 failure to differentiate between different types of fossil fuel companies, a lack of engagement with retail
13 investors, and a lack of guidance for investors on clean energy re-investment (Mormann 2020; Osofsky
14 et al. 2019). The movement has had a more significant impact on public discourse by raising the profile
15 of climate change as a financial risk for investors (Bergman 2018). Blondeel et al (2019) also find that
16 broader appeal of the divestment norm was achieved when moral arguments were linked to financial
17 ones, through the advocacy of economic actors, such as Bank of England’s governor, Mark Carney.

18 Climate justice campaigns by transnational civil society organisations increasingly embrace action
19 through the courts. Chapter 13 discusses the growth and policy impact of such ‘climate litigation’
20 brought by civil society actors in domestic courts, which is attracting increasing attention in the
21 literature (Setzer and Vanhala 2019; Peel and Osofsky 2020). Transnational and international court
22 actions focused on climate change, by contrast, have been relatively few in number (Peel and Lin 2019).
23 This reflects—at least in part—the procedural hurdles to bringing such claims, as in many international
24 courts and tribunals (outside of the area of human rights or investor-state arbitration) litigation can only
25 be brought by states (Bruce 2017). However, there have been active discussions about seeking an
26 advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice on states’ international obligations regarding
27 the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions (Sands 2016; Wewerinke-Singh and Salili 2020), or bringing
28 a case to the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea on marine pollution harms caused by climate
29 change (Boyle 2019). The aim of climate litigation is generally to supplement other regulatory efforts
30 by filling gaps and ensuring that interpretations of laws and policies are aligned with climate mitigation
31 goals (Osofsky 2010).

32 The overall impact of transnationally-organised civil society action and social movements for
33 international cooperation on climate change mitigation has not been comprehensively evaluated in the
34 literature. This may reflect the polycentric organisation of the movement, which poses challenges for
35 coordinating between groups operating in different contexts, acting with different strategies and around
36 multiple issues, and lobbying multiple decision-making bodies at various levels of government in a
37 sustainable way (Tormos-Aponte and García-López 2018). Influence may be enhanced through taking
38 advantage of ‘movement spillover’ (the involvement of activists in more than one movement) (Hadden
39 2014) and coordination of activities with a range of ‘non-state governors,’ including cities, sub-national
40 governments, and investor groups (Gunningham 2019). Studies of societal change suggest that once
41 3.5% of the population are mobilised on an issue, far-reaching change becomes possible (Gladwell
42 2002; Chenoweth and Belgioioso 2019) – a tipping point that may be approaching in the case of climate
43 change (Gunningham 2019).

44 **14.5.4 Transnational business and public-private partnerships and initiatives**

45 An important feature of the evolving international climate policy landscape of the recent years is the
46 entrepreneurship of UN agencies such as UNEP and UNDP, as well as international organisations such
47 as the World Bank in initiating public-private partnerships (PPPs). Andonova (2017) calls this
48 ‘governance entrepreneurship’. Such partnerships can be defined as ‘voluntary agreements between

1 public actors (IOs, states, or sub-state public authorities) and non-state actors (non-governmental
2 organisations (NGOs), companies, foundations, etc.) on a set of governance objectives and norms, rules,
3 practices, and/or implementation procedures and their attainment across multiple jurisdictions and
4 levels of governance’ (Andonova 2017). Partnerships may carry out different main functions: first,
5 *policy development*; establishing new agreements on norms, rules, or standards among a broader set of
6 governmental and non-governmental actors; second, *enabling implementation and delivery of services*,
7 by combining resources from governmental and non-governmental actors; and, third, *knowledge*
8 *production and dissemination*, to e.g. the evolution of relevant public policies.

9 An example of a prominent PPP in the area of climate mitigation is the Renewable Energy Network
10 (REN21), which is a global multi-stakeholder network focused on promoting renewable energy policies
11 in support of the transition to renewable energy through knowledge. It includes members from industry,
12 NGOs, intergovernmental organisations, and science and academia (established 2004). Another
13 example is the Green Economy Coalition founded in 2009 to bring to bear the perspectives of workers,
14 business, poor people, the environment community, and academics in the transition to greener and more
15 sustainable economy. More recently, the UNFCCC ‘Race to Zero’ initiative led by High-level Climate
16 Champions Nigel Topping and Gonzalo Muñoz seeks to mobilise actors beyond national governments
17 to join the Climate Ambition Alliance and pursue net zero CO₂ targets. Its membership includes 454
18 cities, 23 regions, 1,391 businesses, 74 of the biggest investors, and 569 universities.

19 PPPs may also be developed to assist with implementation and support of states’ climate mitigation
20 commitments. For instance, UNEP has initiated a number of PPPs for climate change finance. These
21 are designed to increase financing for the purposes of disseminating low-carbon technologies to tackle
22 climate change and promote clean energy in many parts of developing countries (Charlery and Traerup
23 2019) (UNEP/CPR/142/4 2018).

24 In 2010 FAO delivered the Framework for Assessing and Monitoring Forest Governance. The
25 Framework draws on several approaches currently in use or under development in major forest
26 governance-related processes and initiatives, including the World Bank’s Framework for Forest
27 Governance Reform. The Framework builds on the understanding that governance is both the context
28 and the product of the interaction of a range of actors and stakeholders with diverse interests (FAO
29 2010). For example, UNFCCC and UN-REDD program focus on REDD+ and UNEP focus on TEEB
30 institutional mechanisms have been conceptualised as a ‘win-win-win’ for mitigating climate,
31 protecting biodiversity and conserving indigenous culture by institutionalising payments on carbon
32 sequestration and biodiversity conservation values of ecosystems services from global to local
33 communities. These mechanisms include public-private partnership, and non-governmental
34 organisation participation. REDD+ and TEEB allocation policies will be interventions in a highly
35 complex system, and will inevitably involve trade-offs; therefore, it is important to question the ‘win-
36 win-win’ discourse (Zia and Kauffman 2018; Goulder et al. 2019). The initial investment and the longer
37 periods of recovery of investment are sometimes barriers to private investment. In this sense, it is
38 important to have government incentives and encourage public-private investment (Ivanova and Lopez
39 2013).

40 The World Bank has also established several partnerships since 2010, mainly in the field of carbon
41 pricing. Prominent examples are the Networked Carbon Markets initiative (established 2013; spanning
42 both governmental actors and experts; now entering a phase II) and the Carbon Pricing Leadership
43 Coalition (established 2015; spanning a wide range of governmental and non-governmental actors, not
44 least within business) (World Bank 2018, 2019; Wettestad, J.; Gulbrandsen, L.H.; Andresen 2020).
45 These partnerships deal with knowledge production and dissemination and seek to enable
46 implementation of carbon pricing policies. The leadership role of the international ‘heavyweight’ World
47 Bank gives these partnerships additional comparative political weight, meaning also a potentially

1 greater involvement of powerful finance ministries/ministers generally involved in Bank matters and
2 meetings.

3 PPPs for cooperation on climate mitigation goals have emerged at multiple levels of governance beyond
4 the realm of international organisations. For example, PPP funding for cities expanded rapidly in the
5 1990s and outpaced official external assistance almost tenfold. Most of the PPP infrastructure
6 investment has been aimed at telecommunications, followed by energy. However, with the exception
7 of the telecommunications sector, PPP investments have generally bypassed low-income countries
8 (Ivanova 2017). It is therefore not surprising that PPPs have added relatively little to the financing of
9 urban capital in developing countries over the past two decades (Bahl and Linn 2014). Liu and Waibel
10 (2010) argue that the inherent risk of urban investment is the main obstacle to increasing the flow of
11 private capital. Nevertheless, there have been cases where PPP investments have exceeded official
12 external aid flows even for water and sanitation, and highly visible projects have been funded with PPPs
13 in selected metropolitan areas of developing countries, including urban rail projects in Bangkok, Kuala
14 Lumpur, and Manila (Liu and Waibel 2010).

15 Local governments are also creating cross-sector social partnerships (CSSPs) at the sub-national level;
16 entities created for addressing social, economic, and/or environmental issues with partner organisations
17 from the public, private and civil society sectors (Crane and Seitanidi 2014). In particular, with support
18 from international networks such as ICLEI Local Governments for Sustainability, C40, Compact of
19 Mayors, and Global 100% Renewable Energy, local governments around the world are committing to
20 aggressive carbon reduction targets for their cities (Ivanova et al. 2015; Clarke and Ordonez-Ponce
21 2017). Research on CSSPs implementing community sustainability plans shows that climate change is
22 one of the four most common issues, after waste, energy and water (which are also highly relevant to
23 climate mitigation) (MacDonald et al. 2017).

24 Community climate action plans consider all GHGs emitted within the local geographic boundaries,
25 including from industry, home heating, burning fuel in vehicles, etc. It is these community plans that
26 require large multi-stakeholder partnerships to be successful. Partners in these partnerships generally
27 include the local government departments, other government departments, utilities, large businesses,
28 Chamber of Commerce, some small and medium sized enterprises, universities, schools, and local civil
29 society groups (Clarke and MacDonald 2016). Research shows that the partnership's structural features
30 enable the achievement of plan outcomes, such as reducing GHG emissions, while also generating value
31 for the partners (Austin and Seitanidi 2012; Clarke and MacDonald 2016; Clarke and Ordonez-Ponce
32 2017). Stua (2017c) explores the Mitigation Alliances (MAs) on the national level. The internal
33 governance model of MAs consists of overarching authorities mandated to harmonise the overall
34 organisational structure. These authorities guarantee an effective, equitable and transparent functioning
35 of the MA's pillars (the demand, supply, and exchange of mitigation outcomes), in line with the
36 principles and criteria of the Paris Agreement. This hybrid governance model relies upon its unique
37 links with international climate institutions (Stua 2017aw).

38 Transnational business partnerships are a growing feature of the landscape of multi-level, multi-actor
39 governance of climate change. A leading example is the World Business Council on Sustainable
40 Development (WBCSD), a global, CEO-led organisation of over 200 leading businesses working
41 together to accelerate the transition to a sustainable world. Member companies come from all business
42 sectors and all major economies, representing a combined revenue of more than USD 8.5 trillion and
43 with 19 million employees. The WBCSD aims to enhance 'the business case for sustainability through
44 tools, services, models and experiences'. It includes a Global Network of almost 70 national business
45 councils across the globe. The overall vision is to create a world where more than 9 billion people are
46 all living well and within the boundaries of our planet, by 2050. Vision 2050, released in 2010, explored
47 what a sustainable world would look like 2050, how such a world could be realised, and the role that
48 business can play in making that vision a reality. A few years later, Action2020 took that Vision and

1 translated it into a roadmap of necessary business actions and solutions (WBCSD 2019). WBCSD
2 focuses on those areas where business operates and can make an impact. They identify six
3 transformation systems that are critical in this regard: Circular Economy, Climate and Energy, Cities
4 and Mobility, Food and Nature, People and Redefining Value. All have an impact on climate. An
5 important initiative launched in September of 2008 – the ‘natural climate solutions’, has the objective
6 of leveraging business investment to capture carbon out of the atmosphere. This initiative has built
7 strong cross-sectoral partnerships and is intended to tap into this immense emissions reduction solution
8 potential through natural methods with the help of private investment.

9 Another potentially influential type of transnational business partnership is investor coalitions or
10 alliances formed for the purpose of pushing investee companies to adopt stronger measures for stranded
11 asset management and climate change mitigation. MacLeod & Park (2011, p. 55) argue that these
12 transnational groups ‘attempt to re-orient and “regulate” the behaviour of business by holding
13 corporations accountable via mechanisms of information sharing, monitoring of environmental impacts,
14 and disclosure of activities related to the corporate climate footprint’. This favours a theory of active
15 ownership (investor engagement with corporate boards) over capital divestment as the optimal pathway
16 to shape the behaviour of corporate actors on climate risk (Kruitwagen et al. 2017; Krueger et al. 2018).

17 Transnational cooperative action by investors on climate mitigation has been facilitated by international
18 standard-setting on issues of climate risk and disclosure. For example, in 2017 the Financial Stability
19 Board’s Taskforce on Climate-related Financial Disclosures (TCFD) adopted international
20 recommendations for climate risk disclosure (TCFD 2017). These recommendations, which apply to all
21 financial-sector organisations, including banks, insurance companies, asset managers, and asset owners,
22 have received strong support from investor coalitions globally, including Climate Action 100+ (with
23 300 investors with more than USD 33 trillion in assets under management), the Global Investor
24 Coalition on Climate Change (a coalition of regional investor groups across Asia, Australia, Europe and
25 North America) and the Institutional Investors Group on Climate Change (IIGCC). One of the key
26 recommendations of the TCFD calls for stress-testing of investment portfolios taking into consideration
27 different climate-related scenarios, including a 2°C or lower scenario. Broad adoption of the TCFD
28 recommendations could provide a basis for decisions by investors to shift assets away from climate-
29 risk exposed assets such as fossil fuel extraction projects (Osofsky et al. 2019). There is strong evidence
30 showing the urgent need for scaling-up climate finance to mitigate greenhouse gases in line with pursuit
31 of limiting the temperature increase to 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels, and to support adaptation to
32 safeguard the international community from the consequences of a changing climate. While public
33 actors have a responsibility to deploy climate finance, it is clear that the contribution from the private
34 sector needs to be significant (Gardiner et al. 2016).

35 As most of these partnerships are of recent vintage an assessment of their effectiveness is premature.
36 Instead, partnerships can be assessed on the basis of the three main functions introduced earlier. Starting
37 with policy development, i.e. establishing new agreements on norms, rules, or standards among a
38 broader set of governmental and non-governmental actors, this is not the most prominent aspect of
39 partnerships so far, although both the cities’ networks and risk disclosure recommendations include
40 some elements of this. The second element, enabling implementation and delivery of services, by
41 combining resources from governmental and non-governmental actors, seems to be a more prominent
42 part of the partnerships. Both UNEP financing, the World Business Council on Sustainable
43 Development (WBCSD), the REDD+ and TEEB mechanisms, and PPP funding for cities are examples
44 here. Finally, the third element, knowledge production and dissemination, for example, contributing to
45 the evolution of relevant public policies, is the most prominent part of these partnerships, with the
46 majority including such activities.

47 There is a relatively large volume of literature that assesses PPPs in general. Much of this applies to
48 partnerships which, either by design or not, advance climate goals. This literature provides a good

1 starting point for assessing these partnerships as they become operational. These can help assess
2 whether such partnerships are worth the effort in terms of their performance and effectiveness (Liu et
3 al. 2015), their economic and social value added (Quelin, B.V, Kivleniece, i., Larazzaini 2017), their
4 efficiency (Estache, Antonio, Saussier 2014) and the possible risks associated with them (Grimsey and
5 Lewis 2002).

6 What is less common, but gradually growing, is an important and more relevant literature on criteria to
7 assess sustainability and impact on climate and development goals. Michaelowa and Michaelowa
8 (2017) assess 109 trans-national partnerships and alliances based on four design criteria: existence of
9 mitigation targets; incentives for mitigation; definition of a baseline; and existence of a monitoring,
10 reporting, and verification procedure. About half of the initiatives do not meet any of these criteria, and
11 not even 15% satisfy three or more. A recent study using a systematic review of business and public
12 administration literature on PPPs concludes that research in the past rarely incorporates sustainability
13 concepts. The authors propose a research agenda and a series of success factors that, if appropriately
14 managed can contribute to sustainable development, and in so doing contribute to a more solid scientific
15 evaluation of PPPs (Pinz et al. 2018). There is evidence that with the adoption of the Sustainable
16 Development Goals (SDGs), many of which are directly linked to climate goals, PPPs will become even
17 more prominent as they will be called upon to provide resources, knowledge, expertise, and
18 implementation support in a very ambitious agenda. PPT in the developing world needs to take into
19 account different cultural and social decision making processes, language differences, and unfamiliar
20 bureaucracy (Gardiner et al. 2016). Having more evidence on what norms and standards in relation to
21 sustainability are used and their governance is essential (Axel 2019). Some recent studies aim to provide
22 systems to assess the impact of PPPs beyond the much-used notion of value for money. One of these
23 recent studies proposes a conceptual model that addresses six dimensions relevant to economic, social
24 and environmental progress. These include resilience and environment, access of services to the
25 population, scalability and replicability, economic impact, inclusiveness, and finally, degree of
26 engagement of stakeholders (Pacual 2019). These systems will most likely continue to evolve.

27 **14.5.5 International co-operation at the sub-national and city levels**

28 Local and regional governments have an important role to play in global climate action, something
29 recognised by the Paris Agreement, and also assessed in Sections 13.3.2 and 13.3.4 of this report. There
30 are several ways they can be useful. First, subnational governments can contribute insights and
31 experience that provide valuable lessons to national governments, as well as offering needed
32 implementation capacity (GIZ 2017; Leffel 2018). A great deal of policymaking has occurred at the
33 level of city governments in particular. Cities have been responsible for more than 70% of global
34 greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions and generate over 80% of global income (World Bank 2010), and
35 many of them have started to take their own initiative in enacting and developing mitigation policies
36 (CDP 2015). Most of these activities aim at the reduction of GHG emissions in the sectors of energy,
37 transportation, urban land use and waste (Bulkeley 2010; Xuemei 2007), and are motivated by concerns
38 not only over climate, but also a consideration of local co-benefits (Rashidi et al. 2017, 2019). Second,
39 sub-national governments can fill the void in policy leadership in cases where national governments are
40 ineffectual, even to the point of claiming leadership and authority with respect to foreign affairs (Leffel
41 2018). International cooperation plays a role in such action. Several international networks , such as
42 C40, ICLEI, Mayors for Climate Protection, and the Covenant of Mayors have played an important role
43 in defining and developing climate-policy initiatives at the city level (Fünfgeld 2015). While the
44 networks differ from each other, they generally are voluntary and non-hierarchical, intended to support
45 the horizontal diffusion of innovative climate policies (Kern and Bulkeley 2009). The literature has
46 addressed the questions of why cities join the networks (Betsill and Bulkeley 2004; Pitt 2010), what
47 recognition benefits cities can expect (Buis 2009; Kern and Bulkeley 2009), and how memberships can
48 provide visibility to leverage international funding (Betsill and Bulkeley 2004; Heinrichs et al., 2013).

1 Membership in the networks has been found to be a significant predictor of cities' adoption of mitigation
2 policies, even when controlling for national-level policies that may be in place (Rashidi and Patt 2018).

3 With respect to their role in formal international cooperation, however, it is unclear what authority, as
4 a non-state actor, they actually have. Cities, for example, are members of transnational initiatives aimed
5 at non-state actors, such as Global Climate Action, originally the Non-state Actor Zone for Climate
6 Action, under the UNFCCC. While there is reason to believe that such membership can add value to
7 mitigation efforts, the effects have yet to be reliably quantified (Hsu et al. 2019a). Michaelowa and
8 Michaelowa (2017) suggest that few such networks fulfil governance criteria, and hence challenge their
9 effectiveness. Several researchers suggest that their role is important in informal ways, given issues
10 about the legitimacy of non-state actors (Chan et al. 2016; Nasiritousi et al. 2016). Bäckstrand et al.
11 (2017) advance the concept of 'hybrid multilateralism' as a heuristic to capture this intensified interplay
12 between state and non-state actors in the new landscape of international climate cooperation. The
13 effectiveness of such non-state government actors should be measured not only by their contribution
14 to mitigation, but also by their success to enhance the accountability, transparency and deliberative
15 quality of the UNFCCC and the Paris Agreement (Hale et al. 2016; Chan et al. 2015; Busby 2016). In
16 the post-Paris era, effectiveness also revolves around how to align non-state and intergovernmental
17 action in a comprehensive framework that can help achieve low carbon futures (Chan et al. 2016). Stua
18 (2017c) suggests that networks involving non-state actors can play an important role in enhancing
19 transparency. Such effectiveness has to be complemented also by *normative questions*, applying a set
20 of democratic values: participation, deliberation, accountability, and transparency (Bäckstrand and
21 Kuyper 2017). Such concepts of polycentric governance offer new opportunities for climate action,
22 but it has been argued that it is too early to judge its importance and effects (Jordan et al. 2015).

23 **14.6 Synthesis**

24 **14.6.1 Changing nature of international cooperation**

25 The main development since AR5 in terms of international climate cooperation has been the negotiation
26 and subsequent operationalisation of the Paris Agreement (Section 14.3). As noted earlier, the Paris
27 Agreement is tailored to the evolving understanding of the climate mitigation challenge as well as
28 shifting political imperatives and constraints. Whether the Paris Agreement will in fact be effective in
29 supporting global action sufficient to achieve its objectives is contested, with competing arguments
30 supporting different views. The strongest critique of the Paris Agreement is that the NDCs themselves
31 fail by a wide margin to add up to the level of aggregate emissions reductions necessary to achieve the
32 objectives of holding global average warming well below 2°C, much less 1.5°C (see Section 14.3.3 and
33 Figure 14.3). Arguments in support of Paris are that it puts in place the processes, and generates
34 normative expectations, that nudge NDCs to become progressively more ambitious over time. The
35 collective quantified goal from a floor of USD100 billion a year in transfers to developing countries,
36 the Green Climate Fund and other provisions on finance in the Paris Agreement have also been
37 recognised as key to cooperation (Sections 14.3.2.8 and 14.4.1). But then these arguments are met with
38 counter arguments, that even with Paris processes in place, given the logic of iterative, rising levels of
39 ambition over time, this is unlikely to happen within the narrow window of opportunity that exists to
40 avert dangerous levels of global warming (Section 14.3.3). The degree to which countries are willing
41 to increase the ambition of their NDCs over time will be an important indicator of the success of the
42 Paris Agreement; evidence of this was expected by the end of 2020, but the COVID-19 pandemic has
43 delayed the process of updating NDCs.

44 An increasing role is also played by other cooperative agreements, in particular (potentially) under
45 Article 6 (Sections 14.3.2.10 and 14.4.4), trans-national partnerships, and the institutions that support
46 them. This fits both a transitions narrative that cooperation at the sub-global and sectoral levels is
47 necessary to enable specific system transformations, and a recent emphasis in the public goods literature

1 on club goods and a gradual approach to cooperation, also referred to as building blocks or incremental
 2 approach (Sections 14.2 and 14.5.1.4). There has been little analysis of whether these other agreements
 3 are of sufficient scale and scope to ensure that transformations happen quickly enough. This chapter
 4 appraising them together, concludes that they are not. First, many agreements, such as those related to
 5 trade, may stand in the way of bottom-up mitigation efforts (Section 14.5.1.3). Second, many sectoral
 6 agreements aimed at decarbonisation – such as within the air travel sector – have not yet adopted targets
 7 comparable in scale, scope or legal character to those adopted under the Paris Agreement (Section
 8 14.5.2.3). Third, there are many sectors for which there are no agreements in place. At the same time,
 9 there are some important bright spots, many in the area of trans-national partnerships. A growing
 10 number of cities have committed themselves to adopting urban policies that will place them on a path
 11 to rapid decarbonisation, while learning from each other how to implement successful policies to realise
 12 climate goals (Section 14.5.5). An increasing number of large corporations have committed to
 13 decarbonising their industrial processes and supply chains (Section 14.5.4). And, an ever-increasing
 14 number of non-state actors are adopting goals and initiating mitigation actions (Section 14.5.3). These
 15 goals and actions, some argue, could bridge the mitigation gap created by inadequate NDCs, although
 16 there is literature challenging this as unlikely as there is less transparency and limited accountability for
 17 such actions, and mitigation targets and incentives are also not clear (Sections 14.3.3 and 14.5).

18 **14.6.2 Overall assessment of international cooperation**

19 This section provides an overall assessment of international cooperation, taking into account the
 20 combined effects of cooperation within the UNFCCC process, other global agreements, as well as
 21 regional, sectoral, and transnational processes. Recent literature highlights that cooperation can be
 22 particularly effective when it addresses issues on a sector-by-sector basis (Victor et al. 2019). Table
 23 14.5 below summarises the effects of international cooperation on mitigation efforts in each of the
 24 sectoral areas covered in Chapter 5 – 12 of this Assessment Report. As it indicates, there are some
 25 strong areas of sectoral-specific cooperation, but also some important weaknesses. Formal agreements
 26 and programs, both multilateral and bilateral, are advancing mitigation efforts in energy, AFOLU, and
 27 transportation, while transnational networks and partnerships are addressing issues in urban systems
 28 and industry. The one sector lacking current international cooperative action is buildings, although
 29 many of the concerns relevant for buildings may be embedded in the energy sector with respect to their
 30 operation, and the industrial sector with respect to their materials. Several of the sectors have very little
 31 formal cooperation at the international level, and a common theme across many of them is a need for
 32 increased financial flows to achieve particular objectives.

33
 34 **Table 14.5 Effects of international cooperation on sectoral mitigation efforts**

Sector	Key strengths	Key gaps and weaknesses
Demand, services, social aspects	Adoption of SDGs addressing social inequities and sustainable development in the context of mitigation.	Little international attention to demand-side mitigation issues.
Energy	Greater incorporation of climate goals into sectoral agreements and institutions; formation of new specialised agencies (e.g. IRENA, SE4All) devoted to climate-compatible energy.	Need for enhanced financial support to place renewable energy on an equal footing with fossil fuel energy in developing countries; investor-state dispute settlement mechanisms designed to protect the interests of fossil fuel companies from national policies; ensuring just transition; and, addressing stranded assets

AFOLU	Inclusion of support for REDD+ in Paris Agreement mechanisms; transnational partnerships disincentivising use of products from degraded lands.	Need for increased global finance for forest restoration projects; failure of national governments to meet internationally agreed upon targets with respect to deforestation and restoration; no cooperative mechanisms in place to address agricultural emissions
Urban systems	Transnational partnerships enhancing the capacity of municipal governments to design and implement effective policies.	Need for increased financial support for climate compatible urban infrastructure development.
Buildings	None identified.	Limited evidence of international cooperation to enhance mitigation activities in buildings.
Transport	Sectoral agreements in aviation and shipping begin to address climate concerns.	Need to raise the level of ambition in sectoral agreements consistent with the Paris Agreement and complete decarbonisation, especially as emissions from international aviation and shipping continue to grow, often unaccounted for in NDCs.
Industry	Transnational partnerships and networks encouraging the adoption of zero emission supply chain targets.	No formal multilateral or bilateral cooperation to address issues of decarbonisation in industry.
Cross-sectoral, including CDR and SRM	International agreements addressing risks of ocean-based CDR	Lack of cooperative mechanisms addressing risks and benefits of SRM; lack of cooperative mechanisms addressing financial and governance aspects of land- and technology-based CDR.

1

2 Table 14.6 below provides examples of mechanisms addressing each of the assessment criteria
3 identified in Section 14.2.3. The effects of different forms of international cooperation are separated
4 out, including not only UNFCCC and other multilateral processes, but also sub-global and sectoral
5 agreements. Several points stand out. First, the Paris Agreement has the potential to significantly
6 advance the UN climate regime's transformative potential. Second, there has been only limited
7 replacement for the market-based mechanisms of the Kyoto Protocol; the Paris Agreement addresses
8 economic effectiveness only through the more limited Article 6, and only one sectoral agreement, the
9 CORSIA operating for international aviation, makes use of offsetting. Third, there is a lack of attention
10 to both distributive outcomes and institutional support within sectoral agreements, representing a
11 serious gap in efforts to harmonise mitigation with equity and sustainable development. Fourth, there
12 are transnational partnerships and initiatives, representing the actions of non-state actors, addressing
13 each of the assessment criteria, with the exception of economic effectiveness.

14

15 **Table 14.6 Illustrative examples of multi-level governance addressing criteria of effectiveness**

	Environmental effectiveness	Transformative potential	Distributive Outcomes	Economic effectiveness	Institutional strength
UNFCCC	Stabilisation goal, and quasi-targets for	Financial mechanism; provisions for	Financial mechanism, transfers from		Reporting requirements

	industrialised countries	technology transfer, and capacity building	developed to developing; stabilisation targets restricted to industrialised countries		
Kyoto Protocol	Binding national targets for industrialised countries		Adaptation Fund; targets restricted to industrialised countries	Market-based mechanisms	Emissions accounting and reporting requirements, institutional capacity building
Paris Agreement	NDCs and the global stocktake	Mechanisms for capacity building and technology transfer	Furthering financial commitments under the UNFCCC, including enhanced transparency on finance	Voluntary cooperation	Mechanism for enhanced transparency
Other multilateral agreements (Montreal protocol, and SDG 7, etc)	Phase out of Ozone depleting substances (ODS) with high global warming potential - significant effects on GHG mitigation	Ozone Fund, technology transfer; development and sharing of knowledge and expertise	SDGs embedding mitigation in sustainable development		Processes for adjustment and amendment, reporting requirements
Multilateral and regional economic agreements and institutions	Positive effect from harmonised lending practices of MDBs; potential positive effect from liberalisation of trade in climate-friendly goods and services; negative effect from regulatory chill		Concessional financing agreements		Potentially negative results from dispute settlement processes

Sectoral agreements and institutions	Climate mitigation targets and actions in AFOLU, and energy	Institutions devoted to developing and deploying zero-carbon energy technologies (e.g. IRENA).	Use of carbon offsets to reduce growth in emissions from aviation	
Transnational networks and partnerships	Youth climate movement raising mitigation and fossil fuel divestment on political agendas and in financial sector	Non-state actor commitments to reaching net zero emissions	Climate justice legal initiatives	City networks providing information exchange and technical support

1

2 14.7 Gaps in Knowledge and Data

3 Any assessment of the effectiveness of international cooperation is limited by the methodological
 4 challenge of observing sufficient variance in cooperation in order to support inference on effects. There
 5 is little in the way of cross-sectional variance, given that most of the governance mechanisms assessed
 6 here are global in their geographical coverage. Time series analysis is also of little value, given the other
 7 determinants of climate mitigation, including technology costs and the effects of national and sub-
 8 national level policies, are rapidly evolving. Thus this chapter reviews scholarship that compares
 9 observations with theory-based counter-factual scenarios.

10 Many of the international agreements and institutions discussed in this chapter, in particular the Paris
 11 Agreement, are new. The logic and architecture of the Paris Agreement, in particular, is a break from
 12 the past, and there is limited prior experience to draw on. Such instruments have evolved in response to
 13 geo-political and other drivers, that are changing rapidly, and will continue to shape the nature of
 14 international cooperation under it and triggered by it. The Paris Agreement is also, in common with
 15 other multilateral agreements, a ‘living instrument’ evolving through interpretative and operationalising
 16 rules, and forms of implementation, that parties continue to negotiate at conferences year on year. It is
 17 a constant ‘work in progress’ and thus challenging to assess at any given point in time. The Paris
 18 Agreement also engages a larger set of variables – given its privileging of national autonomy and
 19 politics, integration with the sustainable development agenda, and its engagement with actions and
 20 actors at multiple levels – than earlier international agreements, which further complicates the task of
 21 tracing causality between observed effects and international cooperation through the Paris Agreement.

22 Understanding of the effectiveness of international agreements and institutions is driven entirely by
 23 theory driven prediction of how the world will evolve, both with these agreements in place and without
 24 them. The former predictions in particular are problematic, because governance regimes are complex
 25 adaptive systems, making it impossible to predict how they will evolve over time, and hence what their
 26 effects will be. Time will cure this in part, as it will generate observations of the world with the new
 27 regime in place, which we can compare to the counterfactual situation of the new regime’s being absent,
 28 which may be a simpler situation to model. But even here our modelling capacity is limited: it may
 29 simply never be possible to know with a high degree of confidence whether international cooperation,
 30 such as that embodied in the Paris Agreement, is having a significant effect, no matter how much data
 31 is accumulated.

1 Given the importance of theory for guiding assessments of the past and likely future impacts of policies,
2 it is important to note that among the alternative theoretical frameworks for analysis, some have been
3 much more extensively developed in the literature than others. This chapter has noted in particular the
4 partial dichotomy between a global-commons framing of climate change and a transitions framing,
5 which include different criteria for assessment. The latter framing is particularly under-developed.
6 Greater development of theories resting in social science disciplines such as economic geography,
7 sociology, and psychology could potentially provide us with a more complete picture of the nature and
8 effectiveness of international cooperation.

10 **Frequently Asked Questions**

11 **FAQ 14.1: Now that the Paris Agreement has entered into force, and it requires countries to**
12 **develop their own nationally determined emissions reduction contributions, does this mean that**
13 **international cooperation no longer plays a useful role in achieving long-term climate goals?**

14 Continued international cooperation remains critically important. The Paris Agreement has changed the
15 framework for international cooperation, from one built on multilaterally negotiated emissions
16 reduction targets, backed by a compliance mechanism with an enforcement branch and penalties for
17 non-compliance, to one relying on nationally determined contributions (NDCs) that are subject to an
18 international oversight system, and bolstered through international support. The international oversight
19 system is designed to generate transparency and accountability for individual emission reduction
20 contributions, and regular moments for stock-taking of these efforts towards global goals. Such
21 enhanced transparency may instil confidence and trust, and foster solidarity among nations. It can also
22 influence domestic politics in these countries, with theory-based arguments that this will lead to greater
23 levels of ambition. Further, for most developing countries, international cooperation and support is
24 important for their mitigation efforts. Such support includes bilateral and multilateral cooperation on
25 low-carbon finance, technology support, capacity building, and enhanced South-South cooperation. It
26 can take place through the implementation of the Paris Agreement, and through a large number of sub-
27 global and sectoral agreements, as well as the actions of transnational organisations (*high confidence*).

28 **FAQ 14.2: Is international cooperation working?**

29 Countries' emissions were in line with their internationally agreed targets – the collective Greenhouse
30 Gas (GHG) mitigation stabilisation target for Annex I countries in the UNFCCC for 2000, and their
31 individual target in the Kyoto Protocol for 2008-12. Neither of these required transformational policy
32 changes, whereas meeting the long-term goals of the Paris Agreement will. International support of the
33 kinds that the Paris Agreement advances are yet to be fully implemented, as well as those embodied in
34 other cooperative agreements at the sub-global and sectoral levels, play an important role in making
35 political, economic, and social conditions more favourable to ambitious mitigation efforts in the context
36 of sustainable development and efforts to eradicate poverty. The degree to which countries are willing
37 to increase the ambition of their NDCs over time, which has yet to be observed, will be an important
38 indicator of the success of the Paris Agreement.

39 **FAQ 14.3: Are there any important gaps in international cooperation, which will need to be filled**
40 **in order for countries to achieve the objectives of the Paris Agreement, such as holding**
41 **temperature increase to 'well below 2°C' and pursuing efforts towards '1.5°C' above pre-**
42 **industrial levels?**

43 While international cooperation is contributing to global mitigation efforts, its effects are far from
44 uniform. Cooperation has made a contribution to falling CO₂ emissions in the Agriculture, Forestry,
45 and Other Land Use (AFOLU) sector, although these gains are not immune to backsliding in some
46 countries. Likewise, international cooperation is leading to rapid reduction in emissions of many non-

1 CO₂ greenhouse gases, such as those covered under the Kigali Amendment to the Montreal Protocol,
2 and it may influence institutional factors that are vital for achieving the objectives of the Paris
3 Agreement, such as with respect to administrative capacity (including on accounting, and reporting of
4 emissions). In most other respects, further strengthening of international cooperation is necessary to
5 improve the likelihood of achieving the Paris Agreement’s long-term global goals. Finalising the rules
6 to pursue voluntary cooperation in the implementation of NDCs, without compromising environmental
7 integrity, may play an important role in accelerating mitigation efforts in developing countries. Finally,
8 there appears to be a large potential role for international cooperation addressing sectoral-specific
9 technical and infrastructure challenges to eliminating emissions quickly, as well as those associated
10 with managing Carbon Dioxide Removal (CDR) and Solar Radiation Management (SRM).

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