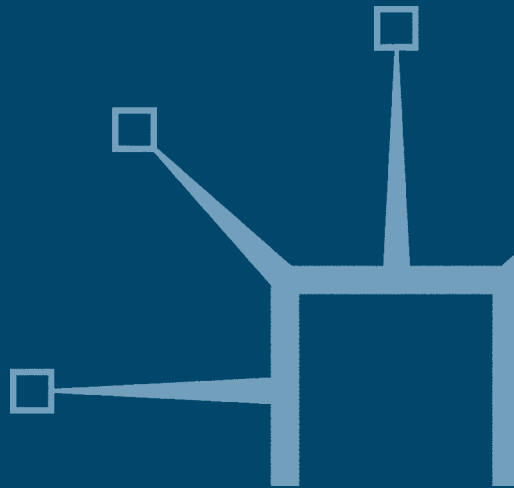


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Edited by
Michele M. Betsill, Kathryn Hochstetler
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edited by
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and dimitris stevis
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First published 2006 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN
Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS and
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010
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ISBN 978-1-4039-2107-9 ISBN 978-0-230-51839-1 (eBook)

DOI 10.1057/9780230518391

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and
made from fully managed and sustained forest sources.

A catalogue record for this book is available
from the British Library.

A catalogue record for this book is available
from the Library of Congress

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
15 14 13 12 11 10 09 08 07 06

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list of abbreviations and acronyms

AOSIS	Alliance of Small Island States
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
BASD	Business Action for Sustainable Development
CAN	Climate Action Network
CBNRM	community-based natural resource management
CEC	Commission on Environmental Cooperation
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency (US)
CITES	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora
CLRTAP	Convention on Long-Range Transboundary Air Pollution
CO ₂	carbon dioxide
COW	crude oil washing
CTE	Committee on Trade and Environment (WTO)
EB	Executive Body (CLRTAP)
ECA	export credit agency
ECGD	Export Credit Guarantee Department (UK)
ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
ECSP	Environmental Change and Security Project (of the Woodrow Wilson Center)
EFIC	Export Finance and Insurance Corporation (Australia)
EJ	environmental justice
EKC	Environmental Kuznets Curve
EMEP	Cooperative Programme for Monitoring and Evaluation of Long-Range Transmissions of Air Pollutants in Europe
ENGO	environmental non-governmental organization
ESS	Environmental Studies Section (of the ISA)

EU	European Union
ETUC	European Trade Union Conference
FDI	foreign direct investment
FoE	Friends of the Earth
FSC	Forest Stewardship Council
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	gross domestic product
GEF	Global Environment Facility
GHG	greenhouse gas
GIS	geographic information system
GIT	geospatial information technologies
GKG	Gaza/Kruger/Gonarezhou transfrontier park
GNP	gross national product
GPE	global political economy
GPS	global positioning system
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Countries
IC	Implementation Committee (CLRTAP)
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICLEI	International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives
ICSU	International Council of Scientific Unions (International Council for Science)
IDGEC	Institutional Dimensions of Global Environmental Change
IEP	international environmental politics
IGBP	International Geosphere-Biosphere Programme
IGO	intergovernmental organization
IHDP	International Human Dimensions Programme on Global Environmental Change
IIASA	International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	international non-governmental organization
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IPE	international political economy
IR	international relations
ISO	International Organization for Standardization
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (World Conservation Union)
IUPN	International Union for the Protection of Nature
JBIC	Japan Bank for International Cooperation
LDC	less developed country

MARPOL	International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution from Ships
MEA	multilateral environmental agreement
MNC	multinational corporation
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (US)
NAAEC	North American Agreement on Environmental Cooperation
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NEC	National Emissions Ceilings (Directive) (EU)
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	non-governmental organization
NH ₃	ammonium
NIEO	New International Economic Order
NOx	nitrogen oxides
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
OPIC	Overseas Private Investment Corporation
PCBs	polychlorinated biphenyls
PD	Prisoner's Dilemma
POPs	persistent organic pollutants
PPGIS	public participation global information system
PPMs	production and processing methods
RENAMO	Mozambique National Resistance Movement
RS	remotely sensed data
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAP	structural adjustment programme
SBT	segregated ballast tanks
SDI	spatial development initiative
SO ₂	sulphur dioxide
TBNRM	transboundary natural resource management
TBNRMA	transboundary natural resource management area
TERI	Tata Energy Research Institute
TFACT	Trust Fund for Assistance to Countries in Transition (CLRTAP)
TFCA	transfrontier conservation area
TNC	transnational corporation
TOMA	Tropospheric Ozone Management Area
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNCCD	United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification

UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNCSD	United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNECE	United Nations Economic Commission for Europe
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
URA	Unitary Rational Actor
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VOCs	volatile organic compounds
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WEF	World Economic Forum
WEO	World Environment Organization
WGS	Working Group on Strategies (CLRTAP)
WHO	World Health Organization
WMO	World Meteorological Organization
WOMP	World Order Models Project
WSSD	World Summit on Sustainable Development
WTO	World Trade Organization
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

notes on contributors

Michele M. Betsill is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Colorado State University and Affiliate Scientist with the Institute for the Study of Society and the Environment at the National Center for Atmospheric Research. Her research focuses on issues of global environmental governance, particularly related to climate change, and transnational environmental politics. She has published numerous articles and book chapters and is co-author (with Harriet Bulkeley) of *Cities and Climate Change: Urban Sustainability and Global Environmental Governance* (Routledge, 2003).

Frank Biermann is professor of Political Science and Environmental Policy Sciences at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. He is head of the Department of Environmental Policy Analysis at the university's Institute for Environmental Studies (IVM) and director of the Global Governance Project GloGov.Org, a multidisciplinary research programme of leading Dutch and German academic institutions. Most of his research has addressed questions of global environmental politics. He has authored, co-authored or edited six books, the last of which is an edited volume on the debate about a world environment organization.

Hans Bruyninckx is currently associate professor of international environmental politics and sustainable development at the Catholic University of Leuven (Belgium) and Associate Professor of environmental politics at the Wageningen University (Netherlands). Between 1997 and 2002 he was founder and research coordinator of the research group on Sustainable Development of the Catholic University of Leuven. He has been a member of the Belgian Federal Council for Sustainable Development

and the Flemish Environmental Council. Recent research projects address topics on the institutionalization of sustainable development in Belgian and EU policies and environmental governance in Russia.

Jennifer Clapp is associate professor of international development studies and environmental and resource studies at Trent University in Canada. Her work focuses on the interface between the global economy and the natural environment. She is author of numerous articles as well as several books, including *Adjustment and Agriculture in Africa: Farmers, the State and the World Bank in Guinea* (Macmillan, 1997) and *Toxic Exports: The Transfer of Hazardous Wastes from Rich to Poor Countries* (Cornell, 2001). Her most recent book, co-authored with Peter Dauvergne, is *Paths to a Green World: The Political Economy of the Global Environment* (MIT Press, 2005).

Kathryn Hochstetler is Associate Professor of Political Science at Colorado State University. In 2003–04, she was Research Fellow in Politics at the Centre for Brazilian Studies, Oxford University. She recently published the co-authored book *Sovereignty, Democracy, and Global Civil Society: State–Society Relations at UN World Conferences* (SUNY Press, 2005). She has also published numerous articles and book chapters on environmental politics and civil society in Brazil, Mercosur and United Nations conferences. She is currently completing a co-authored book manuscript on Brazilian environmental politics since 1972.

Gabriela Kütting is Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science and Center for Global Change and Governance at Rutgers University. She is also part of the core teaching faculty of MEPIELAN, a UNEP institution training Mediterranean civil servants in environmental law and policy. Her research interests lie in the field of global environmental politics and international/global political economy. She has published widely in the field of global environmental politics and is the author of two books: *Environment, Society and International Relations* (Routledge, 2000) and *Globalization and the Environment: Greening Global Political Economy* (SUNY Press, 2004).

Melinda Laituri is an Associate Professor in the Department of Forest, Rangeland, and Watershed Stewardship at Colorado State University. She conducts research on geographic information systems and their applications in natural and water resource management, indigenous land management and disaster response. Her geographic areas of research include: Puerto Rico, New Zealand, Sweden and South Africa. She has published several articles on public participation GIS (PPGIS).

Bradley C. Parks is a Development Policy Officer at the Millennium Challenge Corporation. He recently completed postgraduate studies at the London School of Economics and Political Science and is co-author of two forthcoming books: *A Climate of Injustice: Global Inequality, North–South Politics, and Climate Policy* (with J. Timmons Roberts) and *Greening Aid: Understanding Environmental Assistance to Developing Countries* (with Michael J. Tierney, J. Timmons Roberts and Robert Hicks).

Matthew Paterson is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Ottawa. His research focuses on the intersection between International Political Economy, International Relations theory and global environmental politics. He has published generally in this area, in particular with *Understanding Global Environmental Politics* (2000), and specifically regarding climate change, notably in *Global Warming and Global Politics* (1996). He is currently writing a book on cars and global politics.

J. Timmons Roberts is Professor of Sociology and Director of the Environmental Science and Policy Program at the College of William and Mary. He is author or co-author of 30 articles and three books: *From Modernization to Globalization* (Blackwell, 2000), *Chronicles from the Environmental Justice Frontline* (Cambridge, 2001), and *Trouble in Paradise: Globalization and Environmental Crises in Latin America* (Routledge, 2003).

Sandra Rose is a graduate student in the Political Science Department of the University of Kassel and currently located at the Center for Global Change and Governance at Rutgers. Her research interests lie in the field of critical political economy and the environment.

Dimitris Stevis is professor of international politics at Colorado State University. His research focuses on the social regulation of global and regional integration with an emphasis on environment and labour. He has published several chapters and articles on international environmental and labour politics and co-edited (with Valerie Assetto) *The International Political Economy of the Environment: Critical Perspectives* (Lynne Rienner, 2001). He is currently completing a book entitled *Globalization and Labor: Democratizing Global Governance?* (with Terry Boswell) and is researching the views of labour unions towards global environmental issues.

Larry A. Swatuk is Associate Professor and Head of the Natural Resources Governance Research Unit at the Harry Oppenheimer Okavango Research Centre in Maun, Botswana. Dr Swatuk lectured in the Department of Politics at the University of Botswana from 1996 to 2004. He continues to teach 'Water and Security' in the SADC/WATERNET MSc programme at the University of the Western Cape in South Africa. Among his recent publications are a 2004 co-edited special issue of the journal *Physics and Chemistry of the Earth* entitled 'Water Science, Technology and Policy: Convergence and Action By All'.

Jørgen Wettestad is a Senior Research Fellow and Programme Director at the Fridtjof Nansen Institute (FNI). He is also regularly involved in teaching activities at the University of Oslo. His research interest is regime theory, with specific focus on questions related to the effectiveness and design of international environmental institutions, including the science–politics relationship. Empirically, his work focuses on air pollution and climate change politics within the domestic, EU and global contexts. Recent books include *Clearing the Air: European Advances in Tackling Acid Rain and Atmospheric Pollution* (Ashgate, 2002) and *Environmental Regime Effectiveness: Confronting Theory with Evidence* (with E. L. Miles, A. Underdal, S. Andresen, J. B. Skjærseth and E. M. Carlin) (MIT Press, 2001).

1

general introduction

michele m. betsill, kathryn hochstetler and dimitris stevis

The study of international environmental politics (IEP) has grown in both quantity and quality over the last 30 years, and international relations (IR) scholars have been increasingly more involved, particularly since the late 1980s.¹ From a subdiscipline that attracted mostly American scholars, IEP has now spread throughout much of the world, although rather unevenly. The goal of this volume is to provide a state-of-the-art review of the study of IEP.

Over the years, a number of important volumes have tracked the trajectory of international environmental politics (Caldwell, 1984, 1996; Guha, 2000; McCormick, 1989, 1995; Porter and Brown, 1991; Porter et al., 2000). While these volumes provide important insights into the study of IEP, especially the politics behind it, their primary focus is the practice of international environmental politics. Several other volumes have offered a combination of chapters that examine aspects of the study of IEP along with particular sectors of the international environment (Axelrod et al., 2004; Chasek, 2000; Choucri, 1993; Elliott, 1998; Hurrell and Kingsbury, 1992; Vig and Axelrod, 1999; Vogler and Imber, 1996). Our volume complements these efforts with its systematic attempt to identify the major research issue areas of the field and to provide authoritative accounts of the major concepts, research agendas and debates involved in their study. There have also been a few chapter- and article-length attempts at synthesizing the study of IEP as a whole (Alker and Haas, 1993; Jacobsen, 1996, 1999; Jancar, 1991/92; Mitchell, 2001; Stevis et al., 1989). Our work expands on these projects as there is too much work to be covered by a single article or person, and there has been enough research to require a systematic theoretical review and stock-taking of greater length.

This volume examines the major theoretical approaches and substantive debates in the study of IEP as reflected in a sample of graduate syllabi and texts.² We have asked a number of scholars with active research agendas in these areas to provide an account of the past study of that issue area as well as the major questions and debates that characterize it presently.³ We have also asked them to apply their insights to a case study of their choice in order to illuminate both the theoretical issues that they have addressed as well as to demonstrate how these insights can be employed to better understand specific questions.

As a result the volume is intended to introduce graduate and advanced undergraduate students to the study of IEP, particularly those with some previous exposure to international relations. It can also serve as a complement to the types of volume mentioned above in more introductory courses. Scholars who are embarking on the study of IEP will also find this volume helpful both as a review of the relevant literature and as a guide to how research is being done. Academicians from various disciplines, including other areas of international relations, who are interested in learning more about the study of IEP, either for teaching or in order to initiate a new research project, will find that this volume offers authoritative, accessible and sophisticated accounts of research in IEP.

The contributors to this volume were chosen with an eye towards the increasing globalization of the study of IEP.⁴ While we collectively provide an authoritative account of English-language literature, most of the contributors are also familiar with literature published in various other languages and have sought to integrate it where relevant. As a result, this volume will appeal to the above audiences throughout the English-speaking world as well as to anyone who uses English for their research or writing.

The book's chapters discuss a number of themes that are crucial to understanding the theory, method, and substantive content of the field of IEP. Our organizing framework stresses the international politics roots of this field, as the chapters are focused on broad and enduring areas of study in international relations more generally. As Stevis' chapter on the history of the study of IEP shows, such disciplinary frameworks have been important influences on how the field defines its questions and seeks its answers. Specific substantive environmental issues such as biodiversity or water are studied quite differently depending on whether they are framed as, for example, elements of the international political economy or instances of non-state governance.

The chapters are organized into three major sections. The chapters in Part I, 'The Context of the Study of International Environmental Politics', place the later chapters in theoretical and historical context. They review the historical development of international environmental politics as well as the theoretical and methodological approaches used in its study. All three of these chapters stress the diverse perspectives and tools that have been developed over the history of the field. This is a field with few orthodoxies and many debates, as befits a still-emerging and multidisciplinary area of study. The chapters in Part II, 'The Forces that Shape International Environmental Politics', introduce a variety of actors, institutions and structures that have influenced IEP. Each chapter provides an overview of how a particular topic has risen to prominence, discusses the major theoretical views of that topic and identifies lines of future research. In addition, each chapter includes original arguments and evidence in a case study. A similar framework is used in Part III, 'Normative Frameworks for Evaluating International Environmental Politics'. The chapters in this final section discuss the most important standards that have been proposed for evaluating the quality and outcomes of international environmental politics: sustainability, effectiveness and justice.

At the outset of this project, we identified several cross-cutting themes to be addressed throughout the book, as we believed they were central to the study of IEP, regardless of issue area, theoretical perspective or methodological approach. The North–South dimension of international environmental politics is one such prominent theme, emerging in nearly every chapter. It is important in both the study of IEP and in the politics of the international environment as well. While this is a book primarily on international and global environmental politics, we expected that the interface between domestic and higher levels of politics would also be central in many of the chapters, providing links to the comparative politics field within political science. In the conclusion, we discuss how the relatively straightforward treatment of domestic–international linkages in concepts such as 'two-level games' has evolved into discussions of complex interactions across scales captured in ideas like 'multilevel governance'. Such discussions also challenge the state-centrism of many IR theories by tracking the emergence of other types of actors and new forms of governance in IEP. Finally, we anticipated that different research agendas would focus on varying parts of the policy process (for example, agenda-setting, negotiation, implementation), providing a connection to the public policy literature. This reflects our assumption that the field of IEP was converging around liberal institutionalist approaches in which

the phases of the policy process are central. The majority of chapters did not find that the phases of the policy process were characteristic or central to the study of the research areas that they covered. We consider this finding in greater detail in the conclusion.

Many of the chapters explicitly position themselves with respect to the extent to which they adopt critical postures of various kinds, illustrating the multivocal nature of the field. Each of the contributors is an accomplished scholar in their own right and individual authors have been encouraged to summarize existing research as well as to stake out their own position. While individual chapters may reflect some perspectives more heavily than others, across the volume as a whole these views are balanced, providing readers with a picture of the rich diversity of approaches used in the study of IEP.

Each of the chapters in Parts II and III includes original arguments and evidence in a case study. The cases are meant to illuminate the theoretical debates and concepts identified in each of the chapters and to provide readers with examples of empirical research conducted by scholars of IEP. The case studies cover a variety of issues including climate change, agricultural trade, desertification, trade in hazardous waste, transboundary resource management, the establishment of a World Environment Organization and transboundary air pollution in several different contexts. The various chapter authors employ a range of methods and approach their subject matter from a diversity of theoretical perspectives. As a result, the case studies reinforce the volume's central aim to introduce readers to the major approaches and debates that characterize the study of IEP.

The volume begins with a presentation of the historical trajectory of the study of IEP. In his chapter, Dimitris Stevis draws on an extensive review of IEP publications, research organizations and programmes as well as interviews with several senior IEP scholars to highlight the ways that international relations scholars have approached the issue and to put IR/IEP scholarship into the context of the broader IEP community. He divides the field's history into four distinct periods and documents how the political geographies of the study of IEP have evolved over time, tracking changes in the substantive issues that have been studied and the voices represented in those studies. He also traces the genealogy of world views on international environmental politics and of the research topics examined in the remainder of the volume. He concludes that the study of IEP has broadened and deepened both in terms of what is being studied and how it is being studied.

Matthew Paterson's chapter introduces the major theoretical approaches used in the study of IEP. He organizes the chapter according to what he sees as six fundamental starting points for enquiry that guide most analyses: international anarchy, knowledge processes, pluralism, structural inequalities, capital accumulation and sustainability. In the process, he examines an array of theories including realism, liberal institutionalism, ecoauthoritarianism, constructivism, pluralism, Marxism, feminism, dependency theory and Green political theory.

In their chapter on methods, Kathryn Hochstetler and Melinda Laituri note that IEP scholars have devoted little attention to the methods they use. Their aim is thus to outline a number of different approaches, discuss how they are used and identify their potential pitfalls. The chapter is oriented around two major categories of methods: positivist (including qualitative, quantitative, rational choice and geospatial approaches) and critical (including qualitative and structural approaches). Given the diversity of the field, they conclude that methodological pluralism is desirable but encourage IEP scholars to pay more attention to their methodological choices in order to avoid unnecessary and unintended weaknesses in their studies.

Gabriela Kütting and Sandra Rose's chapter on the environment as a global issue views the environment as an element of the structural organization of the international/global system. In order to understand this complex and contested concept, Kütting and Rose first take up the historical positioning of the concept. They then separate globalization into its economic, political and sociocultural dimensions and treat the debates about each individually. Such distinctions are inevitably artificial, but prove to be analytically useful as well. The dimensions are then reintegrated in a case study on trade and agriculture.

Jennifer Clapp orients her chapter on international political economy and the environment around three competing evaluations of the relationship: that growth in the global economy is positive for the environment, that the environment is harmed by growth in the global economy, and the third view that either outcome is possible and depends on the presence or absence of global rules that support the possible positive outcomes. These three positions reappear in her discussions of the more specific impacts of global trade, finance and investment flows on the environment and their governance. All of these flows occur in Clapp's case study of the international transfer of hazardous wastes from rich to poor countries.

The following chapter on transnational actors in IEP, by Michele Betsill, begins by pointing out that the issue area lacks a clear consensus on even

the nature (or name) of its basic unit of analysis, in part because it has many theoretical roots. Betsill then presents findings on how transnational actors engage in IEP, the effects of their participation, and issues related to their internal dynamics. In this section, she also discusses some of the methodological challenges encountered by scholars of transnational environmental politics. A brief case study of the Climate Action Network, a transnational advocacy network involved in the international politics of climate change, illustrates these points and concepts.

Larry Swatuk's chapter links the study of IEP to one of the central concerns of mainstream IR theory – security. Following a discussion of how environmental concerns have reshaped understandings of security in IR, Swatuk distinguishes between two types of environmental security scholars: those concerned primarily with problem-solving, particularly within a society of self-regarding states, and those taking a more critical and holistic approach to issues of security. He further elaborates the critical perspective in his case study of transboundary natural resource management practices in Southern Africa.

Frank Biermann addresses the question of global environmental governance. He starts by clarifying the main uses of the term and suggests a more empirical approach that distinguishes global governance from international relations at large. He then proceeds to discuss various aspects of global environmental governance, particularly participation by categories of actors other than states, the emergence of private governance and the segmentation of global environmental governance. Drawing upon these insights he elaborates on how Southern participation can be enhanced and advances a proposal to turn the United Nations Environment Programme into a World Environmental Organization, a move that would address segmentation as well as participation.

In the first chapter on possible standards for evaluating international environmental politics, Hans Bruyninckx examines the emergence of sustainable development as a central discourse in international environmental politics and its study. In the first part of his contribution, he traces the emergence of the concept from the early 1970s to the Brundtland Report (1987), the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (1992), and the World Summit on Sustainable Development (2002). He then examines various debates about the meaning of the concept in policy and academic debates. This is further illustrated by his account of the research on the institutionalization of sustainable development at various levels, from the global to the local. He closes by applying some of the key questions on sustainable development to

the politics of the Desertification Convention, arguably one of the most 'Southern' of policy instruments.

Jørgen Wettestad introduces the standard of effectiveness. The chapter begins by discussing three major ways that the concept has been measured in several large projects focused on international environmental regimes. Wettestad goes on to argue that levels of effectiveness can be explained by examining a combination of the characteristics of the problem itself and the institutional capacity available to address it. A case study of the Convention on Long-Range Transboundary Air Pollution serves to illustrate the concepts and arguments of the earlier sections.

Bradley Parks and J. Timmons Roberts examine international environmental justice as a belatedly but increasingly important issue in the study of IEP. After clarifying the emergence and various meanings of the term they suggest that realist and liberal approaches to IR have not addressed the question of environmental justice and, most likely, are prevented by their assumptions from doing so. In their view, world-systems analysis provides the most promising approach for a thorough account of international environmental justice. After clarifying the reasons for that view they apply the insights that follow from this theoretical choice to global climate change by identifying and commenting on ten layers of climate injustice, thus setting an agenda for additional research.

In the final chapter, the editors briefly reflect on the status of the field of IEP as a whole based on the individual chapters in the volume. We conclude that the study of IEP has become broader and deeper over time in terms of research agendas, substantive concerns, theoretical approaches, and the geographical and disciplinary origins of researchers. Consistent with this finding, we note that the field lacks a single normative core. We then make several observations related to the three cross-cutting themes – North–South relations, domestic–international linkages, and phases of the policy process. Looking ahead, we speculate on the future trajectory of substantive, methodological and theoretical debates in the study of IEP. Finally, we discuss the role of IR in the study of IEP and consider how IEP scholars might create bridges to a number of other disciplines.

notes

1. The editors are aware of the debates over the differences of the 'global' and the 'international'. The latter is generally used in a broad heuristic sense to cover both, unless the author explicitly indicates that they are distinguishing between the two concepts.
2. We fully recognize that other scholars might make different choices about the theoretical approaches and substantive debates to include in such a volume.

Some readers may find gaps in the issues presented and/or prefer that a topic addressed within one or more chapters be treated separately. We acknowledge these potential critiques and can only say that the organization of the volume reflects conscious decisions based on our own experiences teaching and researching in the field of IEP, constraints dictated by the publisher and/or the usual challenges of coordinating an edited volume.

3. We gratefully acknowledge support for this project from the International Studies Association, which funded a workshop in 2003, and Colorado State University.
4. Despite our best efforts, the volume does not include contributions from Southern scholars to the extent we would have liked.

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part i
the context of the study of
international environmental politics

2

the trajectory of the study of international environmental politics¹

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The aim of this chapter is to trace the study of post-World War II international environmental politics (IEP)² from the point of view of international relations (IR), primarily as it appears in the English language literature.³ Over the last fifteen years there has been a proliferation of publications on the subject. A crude counting indicates that the number of books on international environmental issues (including international environmental politics) rose from 92 in 1988 to 198 in 1989 and 325 in 1990.⁴ The growth has continued more or less unabated. Thus the central question of this chapter is whether this growth has been associated with a broadening and deepening⁵ of the study of IEP or whether the hegemony of certain issues and approaches has led to its narrowing over time. My general answer is that the study of IEP has in fact broadened and deepened over time substantively and theoretically, despite the prominence of specific issues and perspectives and the hegemony of liberal environmentalism (Bernstein, 2002).

The introduction clarifies how I have sought to answer the central question of the chapter and anticipates my findings; what I consider to be within the parameters of IEP; the types of information that I have used; and the rationale for the periodization that I have employed. Following the introduction I examine the trajectory of IEP through four periods while the conclusion identifies some desirable lines of future research.

I address the central question along two dimensions. The first traces the political geography of the study of IEP while the second traces its intellectual genealogy. With respect to political geography I am focusing on two specific aspects that, in my view, capture key dynamics in the study of world environmental politics. First, I trace the scale and types

of substantive foci of IEP, which I illuminate with reference to the major environmental issues that received closer scrutiny during the periods chosen.⁶ With respect to scale I find that while transboundary and other international issues remain central, there has long been a 'global' component to the framing of environmental issues and thus their study. What has changed over time has been the specific content of the 'global' and the increasing dominance of the globalist discourse. With respect to the type of environmental issues there has been a move towards adding pollution to the extraction of resources and political economy to a 'naturalist' view of the environment.⁷

Second, I trace the geographic origins of the voices represented in the literature.⁸ Here I find, along with other analysts, that most of the early research came from the US and the UK, spreading to the rest of the North and to the South over time. Where I may diverge from many analysts is in suggesting that neither the Northern nor the Southern views, in terms of geographical origin, are internally homogeneous. While there are some identifiable patterns, for example, discussions of North–South variabilities are more likely to come from the South, it would be a simplification to allow some patterns to colour our whole understanding.

In general, then, the political geography of the study of IEP suggests a clear broadening of the substantive scope of IEP. The increasing focus on the political economy of the environment and of the growing role of Southern scholars also suggests a deepening of the study of the IEP. However, it is possible for broadening to take place without deepening. Dealing with the intellectual genealogy of the study of IEP seeks to close this gap.

In addressing the genealogy of IEP I ask how the ranges of perspectives or worldviews and of research areas have varied over time.⁹ For the purposes of this chapter I distinguish perspectives in terms of the weight they place on the environment – geopolitical, environmental, ecopolitical – and in terms of their emphasis on distribution issues – no emphasis, allocational and redistributive.¹⁰

It is evident that the same environmental issue, such as climate change or resource depletion, may be approached from a geopolitical or ecopolitical point of view or may be examined in terms of global governance or environmental justice. Similarly, the same research area may be approached from a geopolitical or ecopolitical perspective while there may be various more specific research agendas within research areas. Some liberal analysts, for instance, approach governance from the angle of regimes while others emphasize the role of organizations.

In determining whether the intellectual scope of study of IEP has broadened I asked whether additional theories and research areas joined or disappeared from the mix. As an example of broadening, during the late 1990s, constructivist views became more prominent in IEP while societal politics became an important research area. In terms of deepening I have looked at whether this broadening reflects distinct worldviews and/or the preferences of hitherto excluded stakeholders, particularly the weak. Accordingly, the addition of ecopolitical theories that are sensitive to questions of equity is stronger evidence of a deepening of the field while the addition of liberal constructivism and liberal views of societal politics would be a much weaker indicator.

My view with respect to the genealogy of perspectives and research areas and agendas has changed as a result of the research for this chapter. A prominent reading suggests that the 1960s and 1970s were an era during which the international environment was debated at a more comprehensive theoretical level. On the same view, the 1990s is a period of 'normalization' with systematic research agendas focusing more on the trees and less on the forest. While it is true that the 1960s and 1970s were a period of profound theoretical debates, important points of view were not represented or had not yet emerged, at least with respect to IEP. Murray Bookchin (1962), for instance, had pointed to the broader issues that Rachel Carson eventually made famous, but his brand of social ecology did not find its way into the study of IEP until much later. Questions of environmental justice did not enter the IEP agenda until the late 1980s and into the 1990s. North-South debates in the 1970s were narrowly framed around the environment versus development dilemma. Even though it is also true that there has been a normalization of research since the late 1980s, this has involved a particular subcategory of IEP, what often is placed under the rubric of liberal institutionalism. While this approach has certainly left its imprint on US, Scandinavian and German research on IEP, and has arguably influenced the field more broadly, it has done so precisely at a time when the study of IEP has become profoundly broader and deeper.

But what does IEP from the point of view of IR consist of? While I have used the subdiscipline of IR as my anchor, it is apparent that the framing and study of IEP is not the monopoly of IR scholars, whether we think of IR as a subfield of politics or as a freestanding field. How IR scholars have approached international environmental politics is an important dimension, as their subject matter most directly addresses relations across political jurisdictions. I do not believe, however, that it is possible or desirable to draw narrow and precise lines of demarcation.

It seems to me that at the very least IEP must include work that focuses on the social dynamics of human practices that affect the quality of the environment. Long-standing debates demonstrate that there are deep disagreements over what constitutes a good environment. Yet we can distinguish those who do think about environmental quality from those who are interested in natural resources or pollution as a means to an end, whether military or financial.

Within these general parameters we could further delineate IEP in terms of the people who study it. The narrowest delineation would include only IR scholars who study the international environment. This would unnecessarily leave out many non-IR scholars who employ IR or non-IR theories that do focus on the social dynamics of environmental practices, for example, sociologists, economists, geographers, and so on. While the above heuristic cannot provide us with precise boundaries it does serve two purposes. It forces us to think about IEP in more inclusive disciplinary terms while also placing social dynamics and environmental quality at the centre of the subject matter.

With the above clarifications in mind, a few comments on the information that I have employed are in order. The study of IEP has grown precipitously over the last 30 years. This is manifested both in terms of *research producers* and in terms of *research output*. The category of research producers includes *research organizations*, *advanced training programmes* and *professional associations*. The category of research output includes *venue*, such as journals and book series, and *research products*, such as books and articles. The frequencies of books and articles are indicative of current research agendas. The launching, location and focus of research organizations, training programmes, professional associations, specialized journals and book series are in themselves evidence of the trajectory of the study of international environmental politics, because they reflect a critical mass of researchers and audiences.

I have also relied on a variety of secondary sources to guide me in writing this chapter. Advice by colleagues, interviews, electronic searches, bibliographies, overviews of the practice of world environmental politics (Bramwell, 1989; Caldwell, 1972; Caldwell and Weiland, 1996; Elliott, 1998, 2004; Guha, 2000; McCormick, 1995; Porter et al., 2000) and the study of IEP (Alker and Haas, 1993; Brenton, 1994; Chasek, 2000; Choucri, 1993; Conca and Dabelko, 2004; Hurrell and Kingsbury, 1992; Jacobsen, 1996, 1999; Jancar, 1991/92; Laferrière and Stoett, 1999; Le Prestre, 1997; Mitchell, 2001; Soroos, 1991; Stevis et al., 1989; Vogler and Imber, 1996) were all helpful. For the era after 1991, in particular, I have also depended extensively on the impressive listing of current publications available in

the Environmental Studies Section (ESS) newsletter of the International Studies Association (ISA), the review sections of the journals *Environmental Politics*, *Global Environmental Change*, and *Global Environmental Politics*, a number of graduate course syllabi, the contributions to this volume, and my own teaching of IEP over the last 15 years.

An account of the practice of international environmental politics organized in terms of periods from one major intergovernmental conference or political development to another is not necessarily the ideal periodization in terms of its study. IR scholars were relative latecomers and, even then, the correspondence between political developments and IEP output seems to be mediated by both external and internal, disciplinary dynamics, examples of which I offer throughout the rest of the chapter. As a result, I discuss the central question in terms of four periods that seem to me to reflect the patterns of IEP research, as these emerge from the frequencies and foci of publications by IR scholars. The periodization could benefit from additional refinement but it serves a useful heuristic and is not without empirical merit. The four periods are from the mid-1940s to the late 1960s; from the late 1960s to the very late 1970s; from the early to the very late 1980s, and from the very late 1980s to the present. I have avoided specific dates to highlight the overlaps and continuities from one period to the next. A few words on the periodization may be useful here. Immediately after World War II there were serious debates over the status of environmental issues – largely resource and population – on the emerging network of global organizations, mostly involving the US and the declining European colonial powers. By the late 1960s, two important changes were apparent: first, an intellectual move towards a more organic view of the globe; second, the rise of the South. While the 1972 Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment is the seminal development, it is only part of a process that was evident a few years earlier, and which is manifested by patterns in the literature. With the Stockholm Conference the quest for reconciling environment and development (or environment and growth, for some) joined questions of resource scarcities, population and pollution as a central issue. While it received increasing attention in the 1970s it was not until the 1980s that the ‘sustainable development’ synthesis made it one of the two hegemonic discourses in contemporary IEP. During the 1980s, also, there emerged the second grand discourse of ‘global environmental change’, with a focus on the aggregate rather than the distributive. The Rio Conference played a catalytic role in terms of the study of IEP. So did, however, extensive graduate training during the 1980s, which eventually produced the proliferation of IPE research in the