



Paths to a Green World

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF
THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT

JENNIFER CLAPP AND
PETER DAUVERGNE

Paths to a Green World

Paths to a Green World

The Political Economy of the Global Environment

Jennifer Clapp and Peter Dauvergne

The MIT Press
Cambridge, Massachusetts
London, England

© 2005 Massachusetts Institute of Technology

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form by any electronic or mechanical means (including photocopying, recording, or information storage and retrieval) without permission in writing from the publisher.

MIT Press books may be purchased at special quantity discounts for business or sales promotional use. For information, please e-mail special_sales@mitpress.mit.edu or write to Special Sales Department, The MIT Press, 5 Cambridge Center, Cambridge, MA 02142.

This book was set in Sabon by SNP Best-set Typesetter Ltd., Hong Kong.
Printed and bound in the United States of America.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Clapp, Jennifer, 1963–

Paths to a green world : the political economy of the global environment /
Jennifer Clapp and Peter Dauvergne.

p. cm.

ISBN 0-262-03329-1 (alk. paper); 0-262-53271-9 (pbk: alk. paper)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Environmental economics. 2. Environmental policy. 3. Global environmental change. 4. Globalization—Economic aspects. I. Dauvergne, Peter. II. Title.

HC79.E5C557 2005
333.7—dc22

2004059256

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

For our families

Contents

| | |
|---|-----------|
| List of Illustrations | ix |
| Preface | xi |
| Acknowledgments | xv |
| Acronyms | xvii |
| 1 Peril or Prosperity? Mapping Worldviews of Global Environmental Change | 1 |
| Four Environmental Worldviews | 3 |
| Market Liberals | 4 |
| Institutionalists | 7 |
| Bioenvironmentalists | 9 |
| Social Greens | 11 |
| Conclusion | 16 |
| 2 The Ecological Consequences of Globalization | 19 |
| What Is Globalization? | 19 |
| Globalization and the Global Environment | 26 |
| Conclusion | 40 |
| 3 The Globalization of Environmentalism | 45 |
| The Evolution of Global Discourse on Environment and Development | 46 |
| Global Environmental Governance | 70 |
| Conclusion | 81 |
| 4 Economic Growth in a World of Wealth and Poverty | 83 |
| Wealth and Poverty for Market Liberals and Institutionalists | 83 |
| Critiques: Bioenvironmentalists and Social Greens | 100 |
| Conclusion | 115 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| 5 Global Trade and the Environment | 119 |
| Globalization and Trade | 121 |
| Trade's Impact on the Environment: Three Schools of Thought | 123 |
| Greening of Environmental Trade Agreements? | 134 |
| Regional Trade Agreements—Opportunity for Greener Models? | 150 |
| Conclusion | 153 |
| 6 Global Investment and the Environment | 157 |
| Globalization and Transnational Corporations | 158 |
| Differential Standards: Pollution Havens, Industrial Flight, Double Standards? | 161 |
| TNCs and Site Practices | 169 |
| Greening or Greenwash? | 174 |
| TNCs and Global Governance for Investment and the Environment | 179 |
| Conclusion | 187 |
| 7 Global Financing and the Environment | 189 |
| Scope and Trends in International Finance | 190 |
| Multilateral Lending: The World Bank and the IMF | 196 |
| Multilateral Environmental Aid and the GEF | 207 |
| Bilateral Finance: ODA and Export Credit Agencies | 210 |
| Private Finance and the Environment | 214 |
| Conclusion | 216 |
| 8 Paths to a Green World? Four Visions for a Healthy Global Environment | 221 |
| Market Liberal Vision | 222 |
| Institutionalist Vision | 227 |
| Bioenvironmentalist Vision | 230 |
| Social Green Vision | 234 |
| Clashing Visions? | 238 |
| Notes | 245 |
| References | 273 |
| Index | 307 |

Illustrations

Tables

| | | |
|-----|--|-----|
| 1.1 | Environmental perspectives | 14 |
| 3.1 | Intergovernmental organizations: Voting rules and revenue sources | 74 |
| 3.2 | Chronology of international environmental cooperation (summary of major initiatives) | 76 |
| 5.1 | Key GATT/WTO environmental dispute-resolution panels | 138 |
| 6.1 | NAFTA chapter 11 disputes related to the environment | 182 |

Figures

| | | |
|-----|--|-----|
| 2.1 | Life expectancy at birth (high-income and low-income countries) | 29 |
| 2.2 | World population growth | 29 |
| 2.3 | World population prospects | 30 |
| 2.4 | Global CFC production | 32 |
| 2.5 | World population: AD 1–2000 | 34 |
| 2.6 | Global CO ₂ emissions from fossil-fuel burning, cement manufacture, and gas flare | 40 |
| 4.1 | Global GDP | 84 |
| 4.2 | Growth in global GDP per capita | 85 |
| 4.3 | HDI and GDP, 2001, top ten HDI-ranked nations | 87 |
| 4.4 | HDI and GDP, 2001, bottom ten HDI-ranked nations | 88 |
| 4.5 | The economy as a circular flow system | 89 |
| 4.6 | The environmental Kuznets curve | 92 |
| 4.7 | The vicious cycle of poverty and environmental degradation | 96 |
| 4.8 | The economy as a subsystem of the ecosystem | 101 |

| | | |
|-----|--|-----|
| 4.9 | Entropy hourglass | 105 |
| 5.1 | World exports of goods and services | 121 |
| 5.2 | Growth in the volume of world merchandise exports | 122 |
| 5.3 | World trade (percent of GDP) | 122 |
| 5.4 | Percentage of global trade, by region (imports plus exports) | 123 |
| 6.1 | World total number of TNCs (parent companies) | 159 |
| 6.2 | World total number of TNC foreign affiliates | 159 |
| 6.3 | World foreign direct investments, net inflows (balance of payments) | 160 |
| 7.1 | OECD DAC: Official development assistance: ODA as percentage of OECD GNI | 192 |
| 7.2 | Official development assistance by DAC donor: ODA as percentage of GNI | 192 |
| 7.3 | OECD DAC: Official development assistance: Total | 193 |
| 7.4 | Debt owed by developing nations | 195 |
| 7.5 | Developing nations: Debt service ratios (percent of exports of goods and services) | 195 |
| 7.6 | Developing nations: Total debt service paid | 196 |
| 7.7 | Global foreign-exchange market turnover | 196 |

Boxes

| | | |
|-----|---|-----|
| 2.1 | Definitions of globalization | 21 |
| 3.1 | The earth from space | 50 |
| 3.2 | Maurice Strong | 55 |
| 3.3 | Gro Harlem Brundtland | 60 |
| 3.4 | Petra Kelly | 62 |
| 3.5 | Chico Mendes | 63 |
| 3.6 | Wangari Maatthai | 63 |
| 4.1 | Measures of economic development | 86 |
| 4.2 | The Simon-Ehrlich wager | 103 |
| 4.3 | Entropy and ecological economics | 104 |
| 5.1 | Absolute and comparative advantage | 124 |
| 5.2 | GATT article XX (general exceptions clause of the GATT) | 136 |
| 6.1 | ISO 14000 environmental management standards | 176 |
| 7.1 | The developing-country debt crisis | 194 |

Preface

Paths to a Green World is a highly ambitious book. It is the first to concentrate exclusively on the political economy of the global environment, striving to integrate the debates within the “real world” of global policy and the “academic world” of theory. It moves well beyond the traditional academic focus on international agreements and institutions in an effort to capture the views on politics, economics, and the environment within the halls of global conferences, on the streets during antiglobalization protests, and in the boardrooms of international agencies, nongovernmental organizations, and industry associations. In doing so, it investigates the debates over globalization, environmentalism, economic growth, poverty, consumption, trade, corporate investment, and international finance. It does so from a variety of angles—economic, political, ecological, and social.

The book does not advocate for a particular perspective on how politics and economics relate to the health of the global environment. Instead, it offers an original typology of worldviews to classify the various debates. This typology is, we believe, parsimonious enough for readers to grasp the key threads with ease, yet nuanced enough to rouse vigorous debate. The book fills, in our view, a critical gap in the literature on global environmental change. It meets an immediate need in the field of global environmental politics, by providing comprehensive coverage of the political economy of the global environment. The typology we propose in the book, we hope, will also meet a much more imposing need: to help scholars, bureaucrats, industrialists, and activists communicate in a common language. This latter goal is perhaps too ambitious, perhaps even naive. But striving to

facilitate such dialogue is, in our admittedly immodest vision, worth the risk of seeming arrogant about our ability to traverse disciplinary boundaries.

We have tried our best to explain the complexities of the political economy of global environmental change without disciplinary jargon. Naturally, the book uses terminology; otherwise, it could only skim the surface of the core debates. Yet, at every turn, we strive to explain debates and define terms in ways that transcend disciplines. Our hope is that those from a range of educational backgrounds—including development studies, economics, environmental studies, geography, human ecology, international law, philosophy, political science, and sociology—can use this book for a big-picture snapshot of the core debates.

Paths to a Green World would also function well as a university textbook to introduce the debates on the interface between political economy and global environmental change. Instructors using this as a textbook may want to add case studies of particular global environmental problems. In our own teaching, we add, for example, lectures and readings on the political economy of climate change, deforestation, food security, nonrenewable resource extraction, ozone depletion, persistent organic pollutants, and trade in hazardous waste. But other global environmental issues—like acid rain, biodiversity loss, desertification, energy use, overfishing, genetically modified organisms, trade in endangered species, transboundary pollution, whaling, as well as many others—would work equally well.

Instructors, too, may want to integrate some literature with more of a disciplinary focus to expose students to the particular terminology and research methods that their discipline uses to analyze the political economy of global environmental change. One of us, for example, teaches in a department of political science and supplements this book with readings that reflect the language and debates in the fields of international relations and global environmental politics. The other teaches in both environmental and international development studies and supplements the book with readings that reflect the learning of the students in these programs. It is, we believe, worthwhile to encourage students to think beyond disciplinary boundaries. Yet often it is just as valuable to

embed some learning within one or two disciplines, because this can allow for a more erudite analysis of the core questions in a particular discipline.

We trust all who choose to continue—regardless of the reason for beginning—will read with the curiosity of a true student, so each of the worldviews can spring equally to life in the analysis in the rest of the book.

Acknowledgments

We would like to thank all who have inspired us in one way or another with this book. For invaluable research assistance, special thanks go to Sam Grey for her tireless work and far-reaching talents. Sharon Goad, Joshua Gordon, Jeca Glor-Bell, and Sanushka Mudaliar also helped immeasurably with the research. We are grateful to the Australian Research Council and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for financial support for this research. For perceptive comments and valuable guidance we would like to thank Herman Daly, Catherine Dauvergne, Torben Drewes, Derek Hall, Eric Helleiner, and three anonymous reviewers for The MIT Press. We are grateful to Clay Morgan for shepherding this book through the publication process. And we would like to thank our friends and families for their moral support and patience throughout this project. We accept full responsibility for any errors or omissions that are bound to arise in a book of this scope, and would appreciate any feedback from our readers.

Acronyms

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| AIDS | Acquired immune deficiency syndrome |
| AoA | Agreement on Agriculture |
| APEC | Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation |
| BAN | Basel Action Network |
| BASD | The Business Action on Sustainable Development |
| BECC | Border Environmental Cooperation Committee |
| BIS | Bank for International Settlements |
| CBD | Convention on Biological Diversity |
| CDIC | Canadian Development Investment Corporation |
| CEC | Commission on Environmental Cooperation |
| CEO | Chief executive officer |
| CFCs | Chlorofluorocarbons |
| CIDA | Canadian International Development Agency |
| CIS | Commonwealth of Independent States |
| CITES | Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Flora and Fauna |
| CO ₂ | Carbon dioxide |
| COP | Conference of the Parties |
| CPRs | Common property regimes |
| CSD | UN Commission on Sustainable Development |
| CSR | Corporate social responsibility |
| CTE | Committee on Trade and Environment |
| DAC | OECD Development Assistance Committee |
| DCSD | Danish Committee on Scientific Dishonesty |

| | |
|--------|--|
| DDT | Dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane |
| DPRK | Democratic People's Republic of Korea |
| ECAs | Export credit agencies |
| ECGD | Export Credit Guarantee Department (UK) |
| ECOSOC | UN Economic and Social Council |
| EFIC | Australian Export Finance and Insurance Corporation |
| EIA | Energy Information Administration |
| EKC | Environmental Kuznets curve |
| EPA | Environmental Protection Agency (U.S.) |
| ESCAP | UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific |
| EU | European Union |
| FAO | Food and Agriculture Organization |
| FCCC | UN Framework Convention on Climate Change |
| FDA | Food and Drug Administration (U.S.) |
| FDI | Foreign direct investment |
| FOE | Friends of the Earth |
| FOEI | Friends of the Earth International |
| FSC | Forest Stewardship Council |
| G-77 | Group of 77 |
| GAST | General Agreement on Sustainable Trade |
| GATS | General Agreement on Trade in Services |
| GATT | General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade |
| GDP | Gross domestic product |
| GEF | Global Environment Facility |
| GEMI | Global Environmental Management Initiative |
| GEO | Global Environment Outlook |
| GMOs | Genetically modified organisms |
| GNI | Gross national income |
| GNP | Gross national product |
| GPI | Genuine progress indicator |
| HDI | Human development index |

| | |
|--------|--|
| HIPC | Heavily indebted poor countries |
| HIV | Human immunodeficiency virus |
| IBRD | International Bank for Reconstruction and Development |
| ICC | International Chamber of Commerce |
| ICSID | International Center for the Settlement of Investment Disputes |
| IDA | International Development Association |
| IFC | International Finance Corporation |
| IFG | International Forum on Globalization |
| IIC | International Insolvency Court |
| IISD | International Institute for Sustainable Development |
| IMF | International Monetary Fund |
| IPCC | Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change |
| ISEW | Index of sustainable economic welfare |
| ISO | International Organization for Standardization |
| ITU | International Telecommunications Union |
| IUCN | International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources |
| JBIC | Japan Bank for International Cooperation |
| LETS | Local exchange trading systems |
| LPI | Living planet index |
| MAI | Multilateral Agreement on Investment |
| MARPOL | Convention for the Prevention of Pollution by Ships |
| MEA | Multilateral Environmental Agreement |
| MFN | Most favored nation |
| MIGA | Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency |
| MMPA | Marine Mammal Protection Act (U.S.) |
| NAAEC | North American Agreement on Environmental Cooperation |
| NAFTA | North American Free Trade Agreement |
| NASA | National Aeronautics and Space Administration |
| NGO | Nongovernmental organization |
| NIEO | New International Economic Order |

| | |
|--------|---|
| ODA | Official Development Assistance |
| OECD | Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development |
| OPEC | Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries |
| OPIC | Overseas Private Investment Corporation (U.S.) |
| PCBs | Polychlorinated biphenyls |
| POPs | Persistent organic pollutants |
| PPMs | Production and processing methods |
| PPP | Polluter pays principle |
| PVC | Polyvinyl chloride |
| SAL | Structural adjustment loan |
| SAP | Structural adjustment program |
| SPS | Agreement on the Application of Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures |
| SUV | Sports utility vehicle |
| TBT | Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade |
| TNC | Transnational corporation |
| TRIPS | Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights Agreement |
| TWN | Third World Network |
| UK | United Kingdom |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNCED | UN Conference on Environment and Development |
| UNCTAD | UN Commission on Trade and Development |
| UNCTC | UN Center on Transnational Corporations |
| UNDP | UN Development Programme |
| UNEP | UN Environment Programme |
| UNFPA | UN Fund for Population Activities |
| U.S. | United States |
| USAID | U.S. Agency for International Development |
| WBCSD | World Business Council for Sustainable Development |
| WCED | World Commission on Environment and Development |
| WDI | World Development Indicators |
| WEO | World Environment Organization |

| | |
|------|---|
| WHO | World Health Organization |
| WICE | World Industry Council on the Environment |
| WLO | World Localization Organization |
| WRI | World Resources Institute |
| WWF | WWF Network (formerly World Wildlife Fund/World Wide Fund for Nature) |
| WWW | World Wide Web |

Paths to a Green World

- [The America's Test Kitchen Quick Family Cookbook: A Faster, Smarter Way to Cook Everything from America's Most Trusted Test Kitchen for free](#)
- **[Stamp Magazine \(April 2016\) pdf](#)**
- [read The King's Gold here](#)
- [read online Mind over Money: Overcoming the Money Disorders That Threaten Our Financial Health pdf, azw \(kindle\)](#)
- [click Rancher's Choice \(Silhouette Intimate Moments, Book 552\)](#)
- [read Lilies Without](#)

- <http://academialanguagebar.com/?ebooks/Pax-Indica--India-and-the-World-of-the-Twenty-First-Century.pdf>
- <http://anvilpr.com/library/Design-Elements--A-Graphic-Style-Manual.pdf>
- <http://flog.co.id/library/The-King-s-Gold.pdf>
- <http://www.1973vision.com/?library/Mind-over-Money--Overcoming-the-Money-Disorders-That-Threaten-Our-Financial-Health.pdf>
- <http://weddingcellist.com/lib/Rancher-s-Choice--Silhouette-Intimate-Moments--Book-552-.pdf>
- <http://pittiger.com/lib/Lilies-Without.pdf>