



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

sample content of Paths to a Green World: The Political Economy of the Global Environment:2nd (Second) edition

- [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>