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‘Geopolitics of climate action: Africa in a distributed leadership space’

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1. Climate goals and action
2. Challenges
3. Africa in a distributed leadership context

1. Climate goals and action

Adoption

1992 - UNFCCC

1997 – Kyoto Protocol

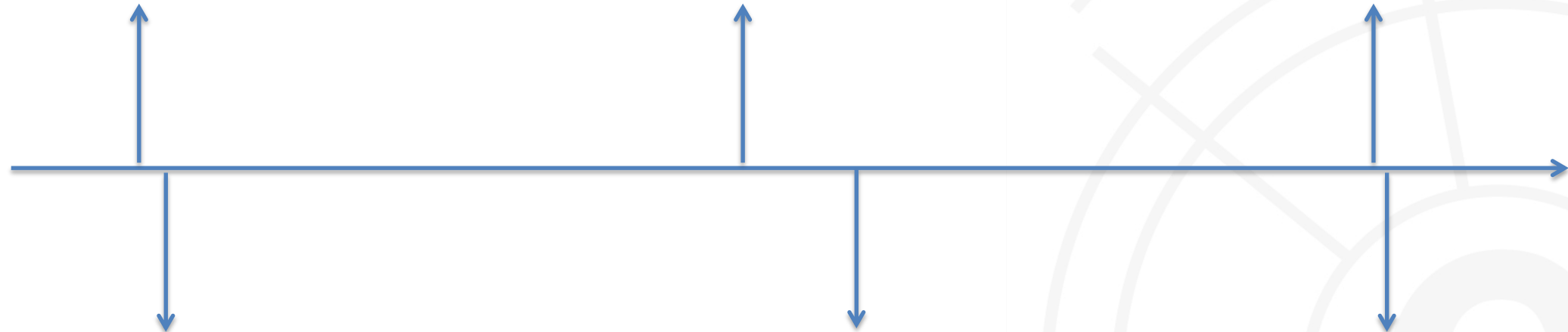
2015 – Paris Agreement

1994 - UNFCCC

2005 – Kyoto Protocol

2016 – Paris Agreement

Entry into force



1. Climate goals and action



Temperature goal

Limit the global rise to as close as possible to 1.5 °C.



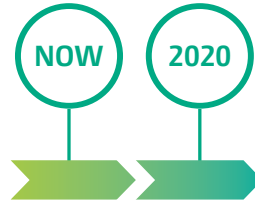
Transparency and the global stocktake

Robust transparency and accounting, supported by international review and global stocktakes.



Mitigation and voluntary cooperation

All Parties must prepare nationally determined contributions (NDCs) and work to achieve them, reporting on progress, and regularly enhancing ambition.



Pre-2020 action and support

Encourage action between now and 2020 by all actors, including non-Party stakeholders.



Finance, technology and capacity-building

International cooperation to support a low-carbon and climate-resilient future.



Adaptation and loss and damage

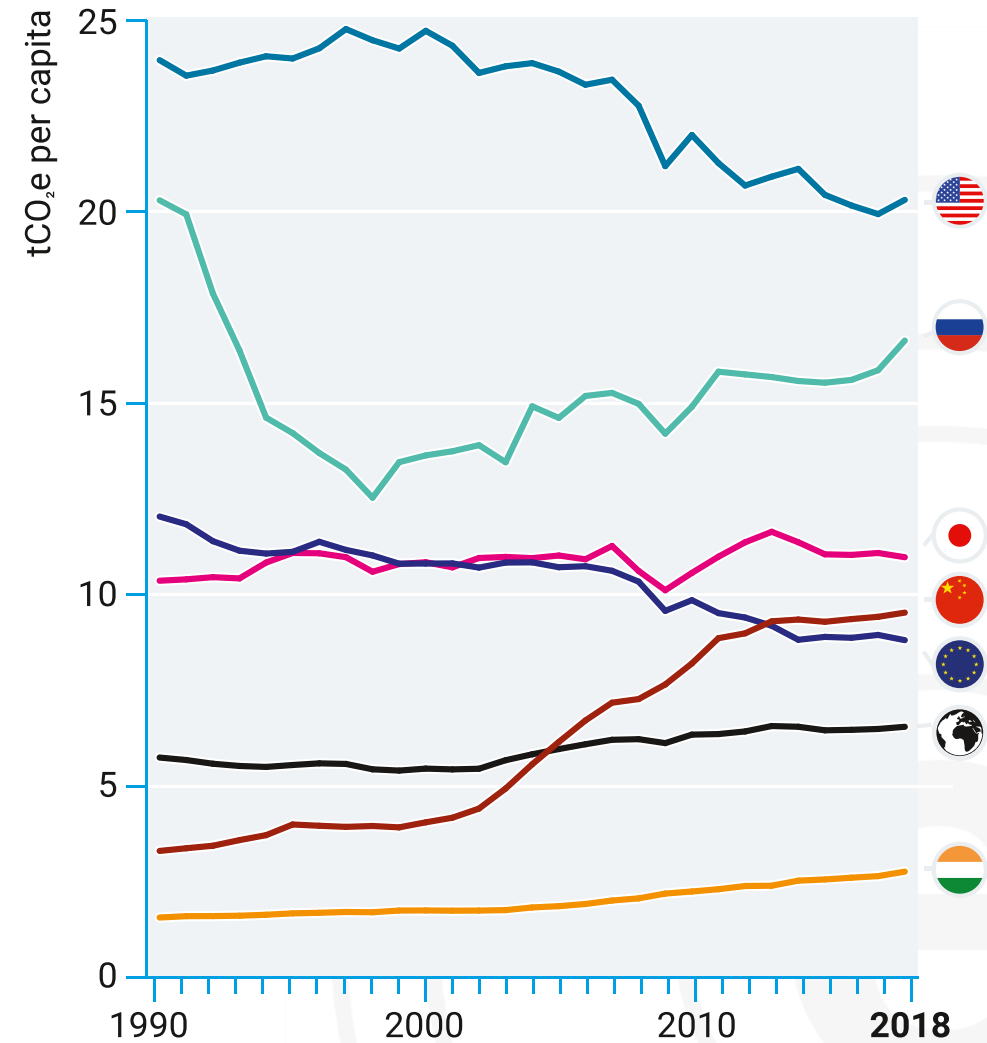
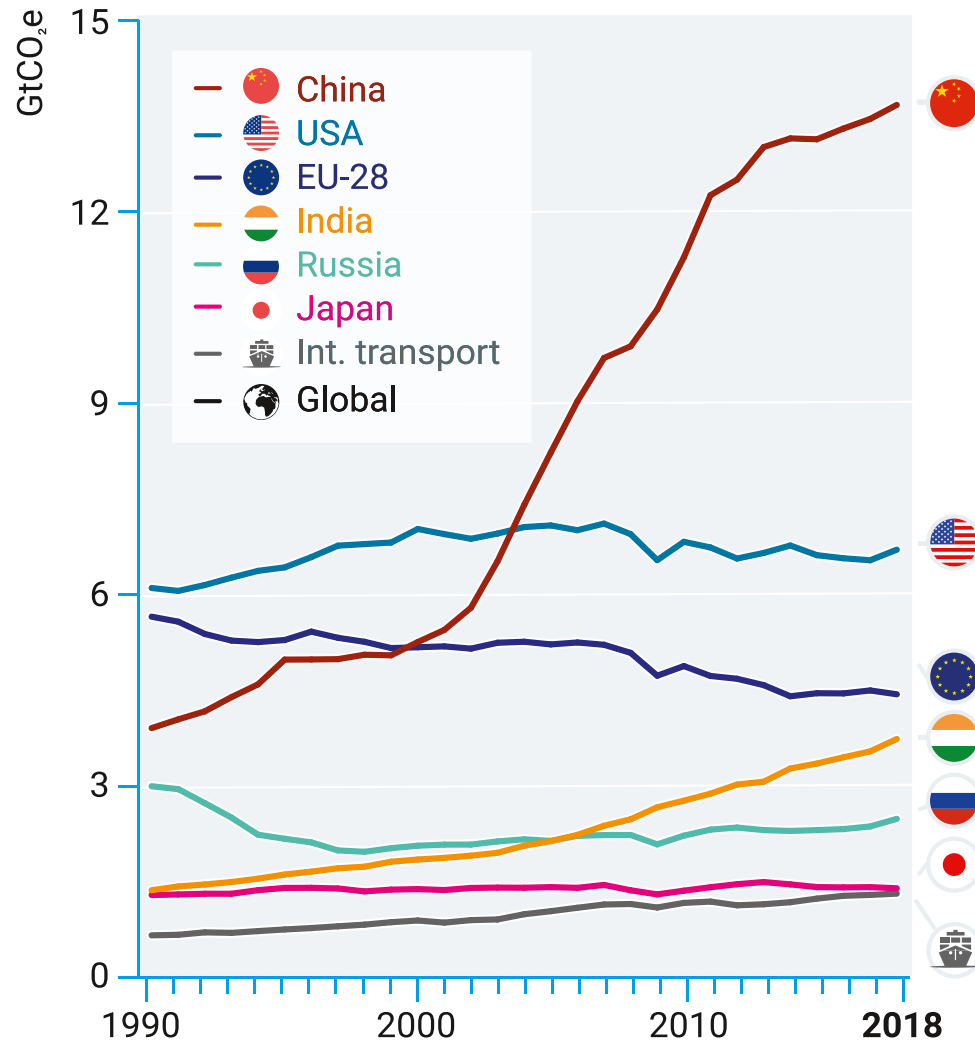
Strengthen national adaptation efforts and support vulnerable countries to cope with climate change effects.



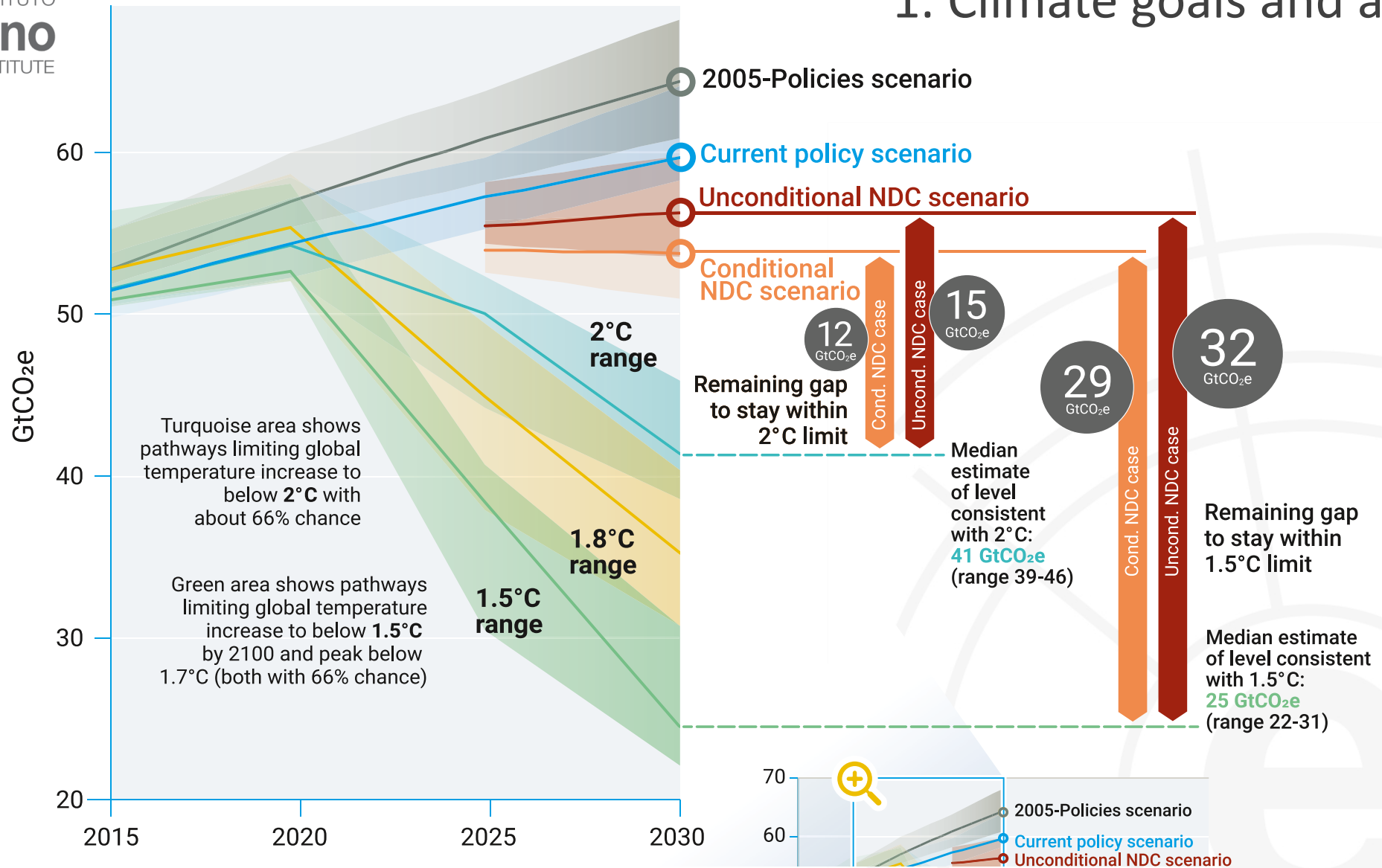
COP21 • CMP11

Source: UNFCCC (2018)

1. Climate goals and action



1. Climate goals and action



Source: UNEP (2019: XIX)

Rerum Cognoscere Causas

IPAT (Commoner, 1971); (Ehrlich y Holdren, 1971)

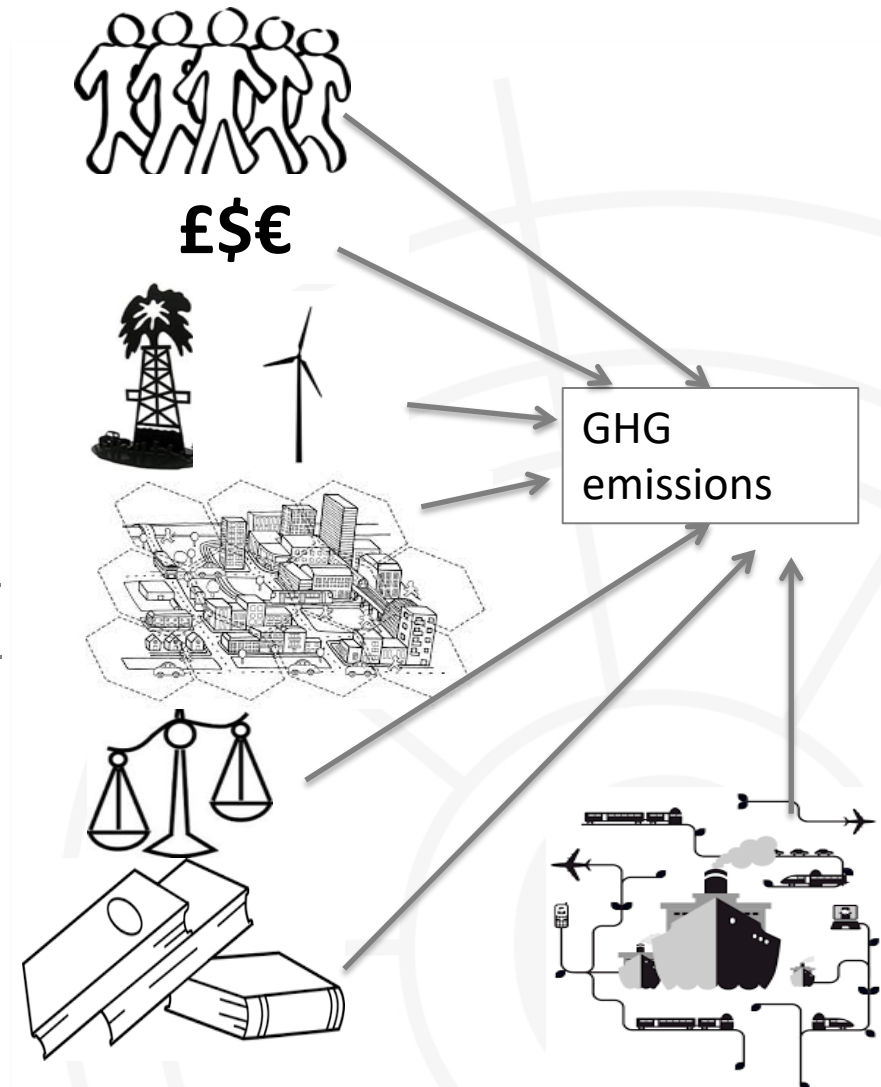
*Impact = population * affluence * technology*

$$Impact = Population * \frac{GDP}{Population} * \frac{Impact}{Population * \frac{GDP}{Population}}$$

Identidad de Kaya (Kaya, 1990)

$$Emissions = Population * \frac{GDP}{Population} * \frac{Energy}{GDP} * \frac{Emissions}{Energy}$$

Source: Rosa y Dietz (2012)



- **Governance: No universally agreed definition...**
 - *'we are still in a period of creative disorder concerning governance'* Kooiman (2003: 5)
- Broader term covering all institutions and relationships in the process of governing
- New/softer instruments used
- Social actors to coordinate among themselves with little/no central government steering

Geopolitics

- Interaction & ‘rivalries between states’
- ‘The role of geographical settings in human affairs, in international politics in particular’
- ‘Modes of knowledge and representation that shape related political discourse and policy formulation’ Agnew (2003) in Dalby (2018: 2)

Past discussions:

- Climate had a bearing on societies qualities.

XXI century

- Humans influence climate: reversing the causal logic of human-nature relations

Geopolitics and climate change

- Industrial powers and the global economy has been fuelled by fossil fuels leading to anthropogenic climate change.
- ‘Geopolitics is now about the struggle to control this process (climate change), evade or accept responsibilities for the changes, and shape international institutions to deal with the consequences’ (Dalby, 2018:3)

The 5 'W'...for woes... and the need to distribute leadership (Tubiana)

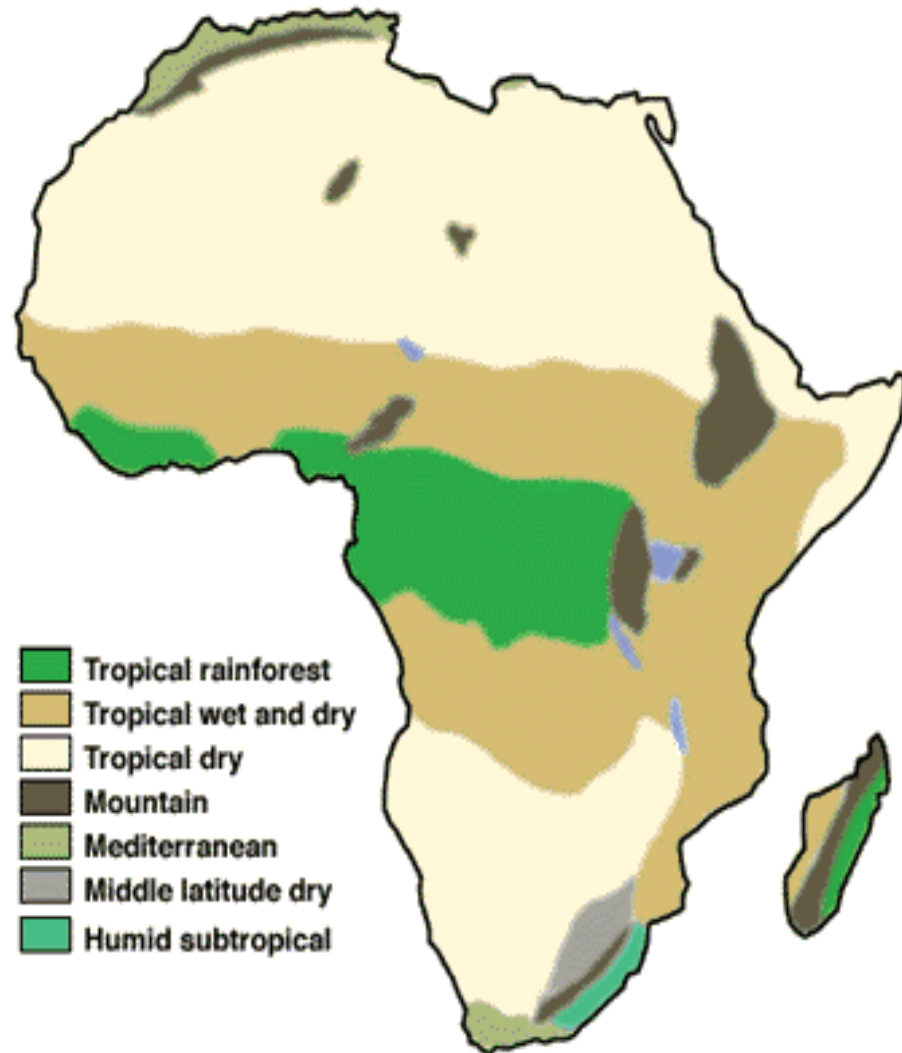
Country/ region	Woe
US	Withdrawal (?) funding & science
Brazil	Withhold – article 6
China	Whither – WEF, UNGA (2020) or BRI (?)
India	Wellbeing
EU	Willing and able (?)...Brexit, Yellow vests, EU Green Deal NextGeneration EU, Net Zero, ...

2. Challenges

Types of leadership	Leading Agents	Negotiating phases (Years in which different leadership types are observed in CC)	Características
Intellectual	Generally individuals	Agenda-setting (up to 1991)	The thought leader produces knowledge that affects the negotiators
Instrumental	Individuals or countries	Agenda-setting (up to 1991)	The instrumental leader uses the ideas of the intellectual leader to influence the agenda for negotiations
Structural or based on power	Countries	Agenda setting (1950-1991) & Negotiations (1991 – onwards)	Based on the power the country has to go through with its threats and meet its commitments. It requires the pursuit of the common good as well as of self-interest
Directional	Countries	Negotiation (1991 – 1997) implementation (1997 - actualidad)	Leadership by example, proves it can solve problems and shows own sacrifice. The leader can either be the first to act or show others valid solutions.

Source: Adapted from Skodvin y Andersen (2006), Andersen y Agrawala (2006)

3. Africa in a distributed leadership context



Continent with smallest contribution to GHG 3.8% (Sy, 2016) - 7% (GRI, 2019)

1.3 bn. 17% Pop. 70% lack access to energy and <10% global GDP (RES4Africa, 2020)

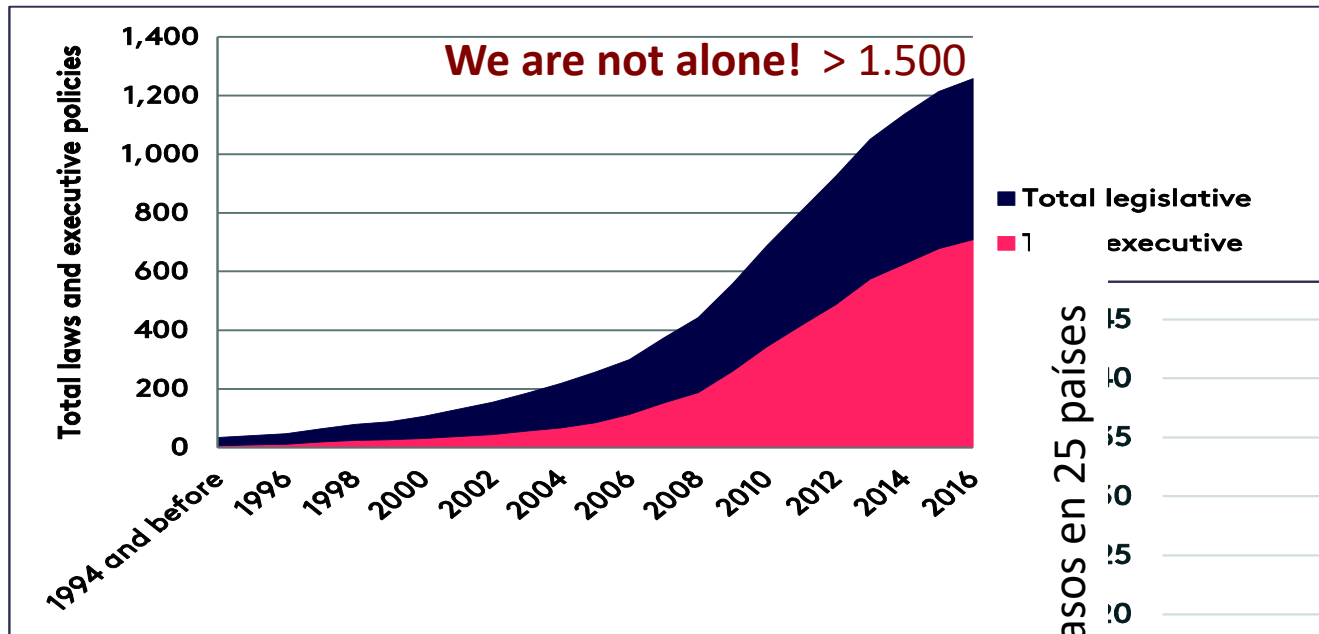
Vulnerability: Asymmetry

- High exposure
- Low adaptability
- Pre-existing socioeconomic conditions
- Impacts: +0.5°C in past 50-100 years
- Future:
 - +2°C. RCP 4.5
 - 3°C to 6°C. RCP 8.5
 - Precipitation: greater uncertainty

- Changes in species ranges
- Less water availability
- Food security
- Debate on socially contingent outcomes (migration and conflict)

3. Africa in a distributed leadership context

Climate legislation 1994-2016 (x 20)

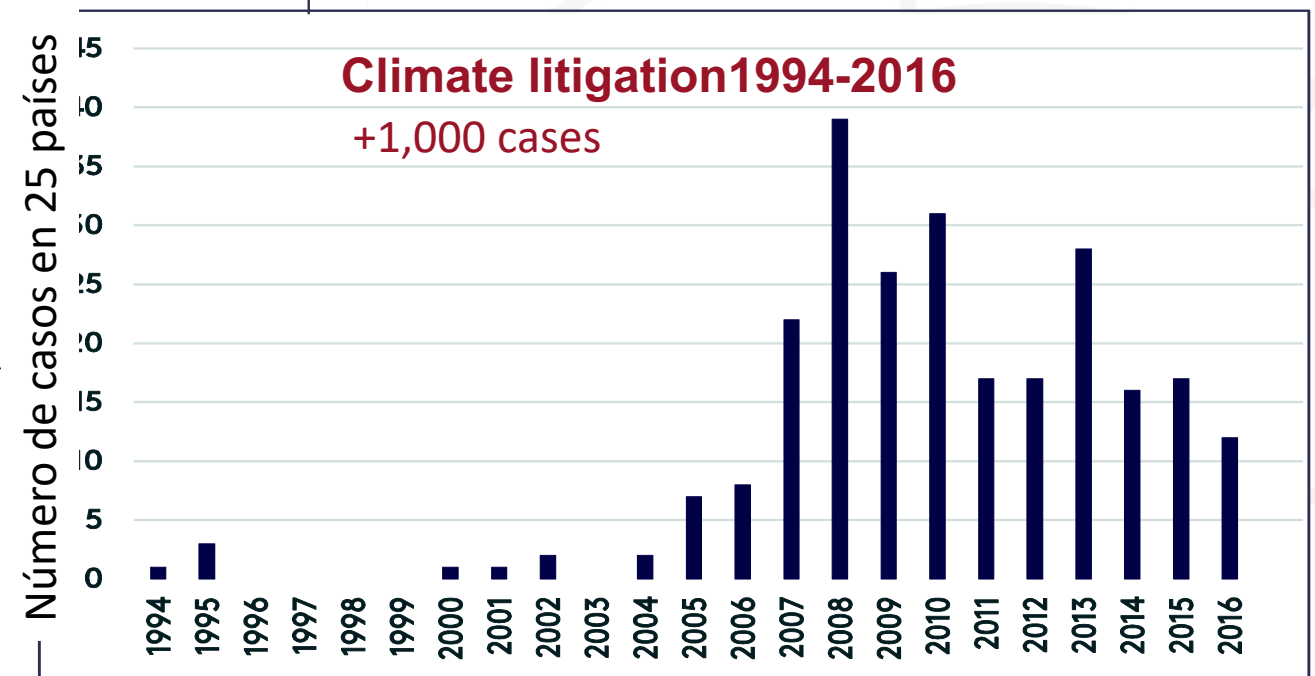


Source: *Climate Change Laws of the World*

Towards greater litigation

- Attribution EWE (EUPHEME, MET Office):
 - Probability Δ
 - Severity Δ
 - Changes in science leading to changes in the duty to protect.

106 new legislations since the Paris Agreement, 28 refer to the Paris Agreement
Africa: 409 laws & policies; 27% of current CC legislation



Source: *Climate Change Litigation of the World*
source: Nachmany et al. (2017)

3. Africa in a distributed leadership context

- African NDCs
 - Heterogenous: content, structure and format
 - Reflecting African heterogeneity
 - Lack of NDC guidelines, methodologies and templates
 - Negotiating strategy (first NDCs presented ahead of COP21)
 - Potential lack of coordination among countries
 - CAT analysis: Morocco (1.5°C compatible) & Ethiopia (2°C compatible), Kenya (2°C compatible) vs. SA (highly insufficient)- with brown COVID-19 recovery?
 - RES in NDCs (lower bound estimate)
 - Mitigation.- As expected
 - Adaptation (Nigeria, Tanzania, Mali, Uganda).- Preparedness for
 - Greater demand for electricity
 - Reductions in thermal efficiency, hydro.

NDCs Non-comparable
Adaptation key
CBDR-RC
Conditionality. Fin, tech

RES addition in 1st NDCs in Africa

Technology	MW
Solar PV	34160
Hydro	26443
Wind	25739
Geothermal	7427
CSP	3310
Biomass	1123

+102GW
I=241bn
Feasible?

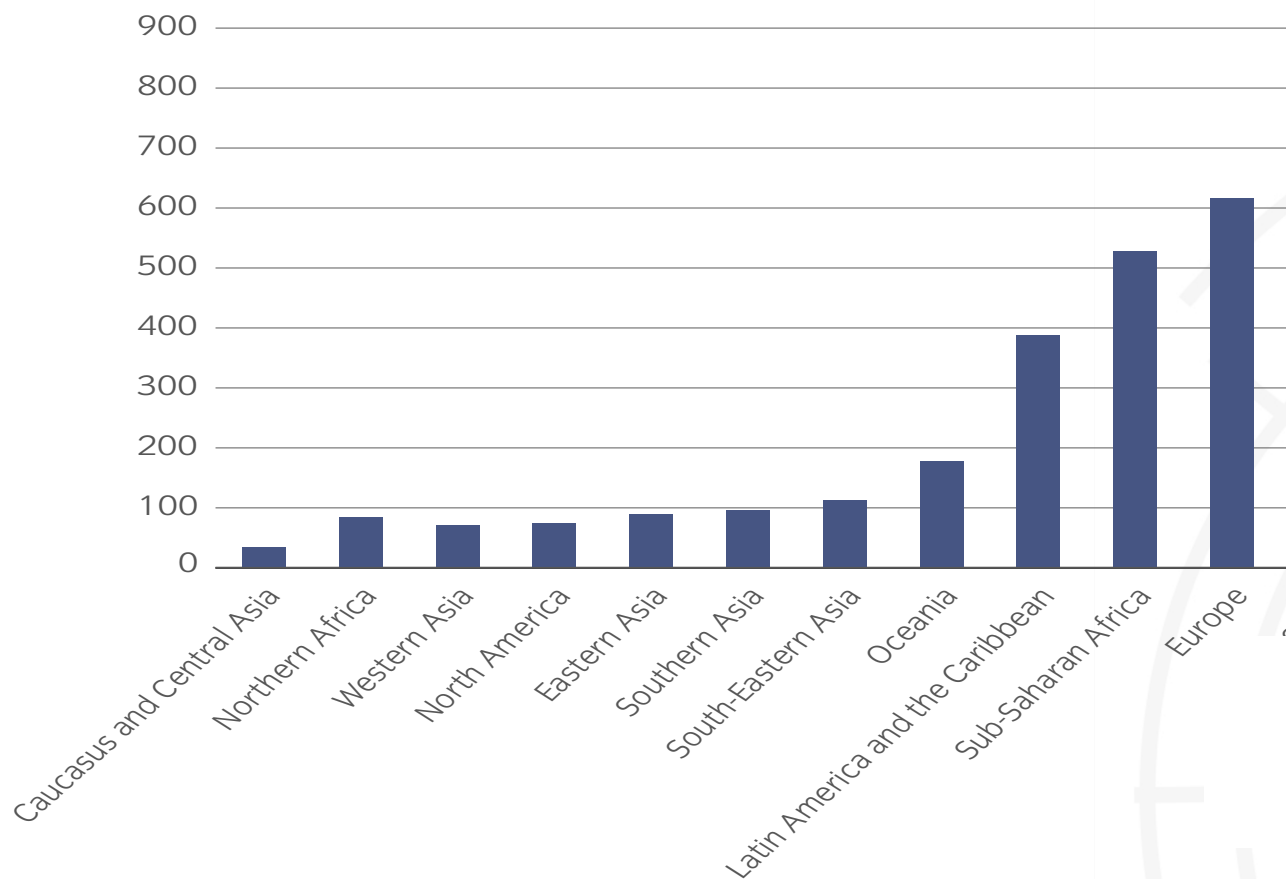
Source: Muñoz and Sokona (2016)

3. Africa in a distributed leadership context

Country	Detail of mitigation policy	Ambition of mitigation contribution	Ambition of mitigation contribution (conditional)	Financial support required per capita		Willingness to engage in market mech.	Adaptation component included?
		(unconditional)					
Benin	Low	Low	Medium	High		No	✓
Burkina Faso	Medium	Medium	Medium	Low		Yes	✓
Cameroon	Low	Low	High	High		Yes	✓
Congo Republic	Low	Low	High	High		Yes	✓
Côte d'Ivoire	Low	High	High	Unclear		Yes	✓
Democratic Republic of	Low	Low	Medium	Medium		Unclear	✓
Egypt	Low	Low	Low	High		Yes	✓
Ethiopia	High	Low	High	High		Yes	✓
Ghana	Medium	Medium	High	High		Yes	✓
Kenya	High	Low	High	High		Yes	✓
Lesotho	Medium	Medium	High	High		Yes	✓
Liberia	Medium	Low	Medium	Unclear		Yes	✓
Madagascar	Low	Low	Medium	Medium		Unclear	✓
Malawi	Medium	Low	Low	Unclear		Unclear	✓
Mali	Medium	High	Medium	High		Unclear	✓
Morocco	High	High	Medium	High		Yes	✓
Mozambique	Medium	Low	Medium	Unclear		Yes	✓
Niger	Low	Low	High	High		Yes	✓
Nigeria	Medium	High	High	Unclear		Yes	✓
Rwanda	Low	Low	Low	Medium		Unclear	✓
Sierra Leone	Low	Low	High	Medium		Yes	✓
South Africa	High	Low	Low	Unclear		Unclear	✓
Tanzania	Medium	Low	Medium	High		Unclear	✓
The Gambia	Medium	Low	High	Unclear		Yes	✓
Tunisia	High	High	High	High		Yes	✓
Uganda	High	Low	Medium	Medium		Yes	✓
Zambia	Medium	Low	High	High		Yes	✓

3. Africa in a distributed leadership context

Non-state Climate action implemented or planned by region

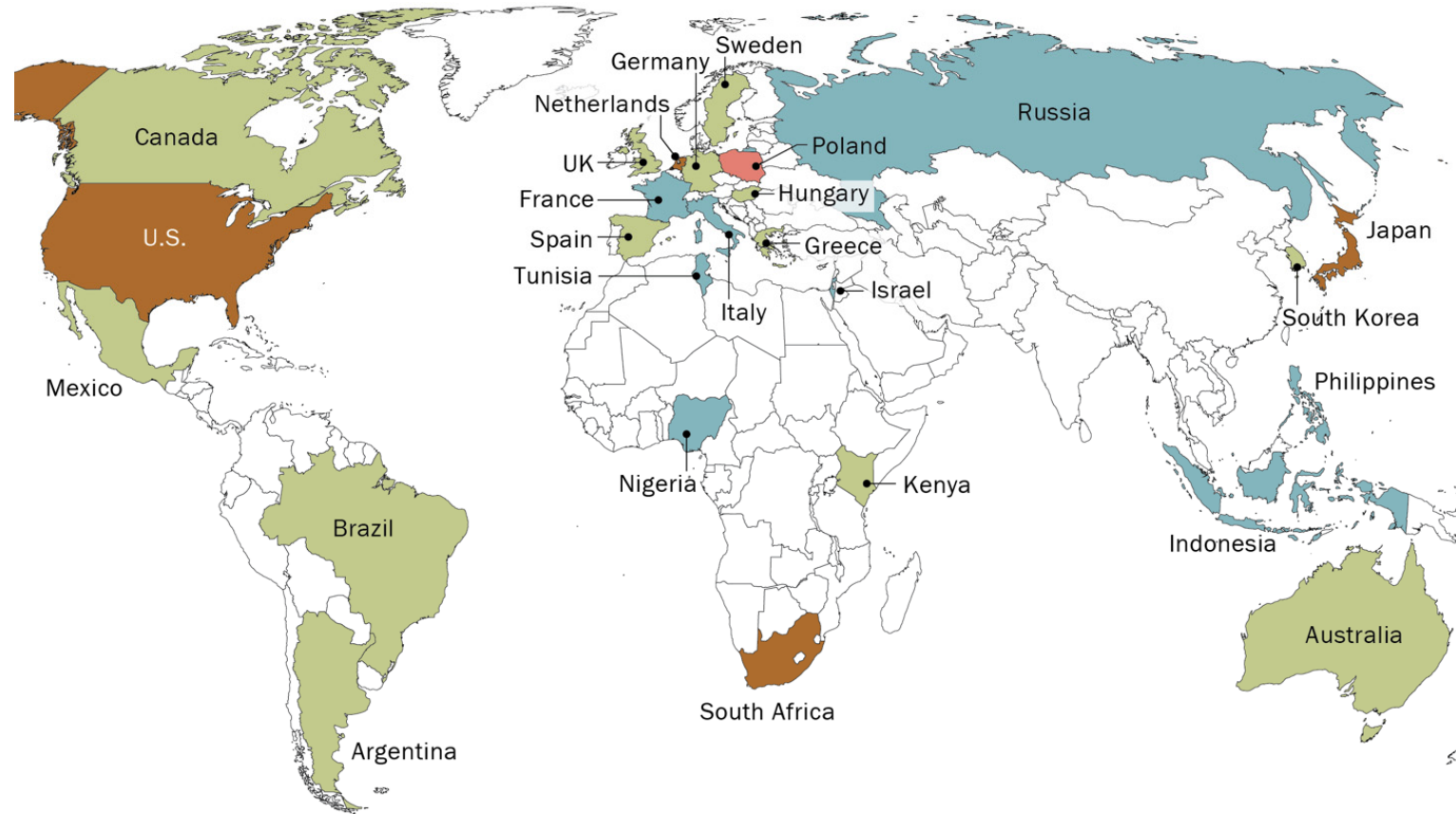


3. Africa in a distributed leadership context

TOP CHOICE IS ...

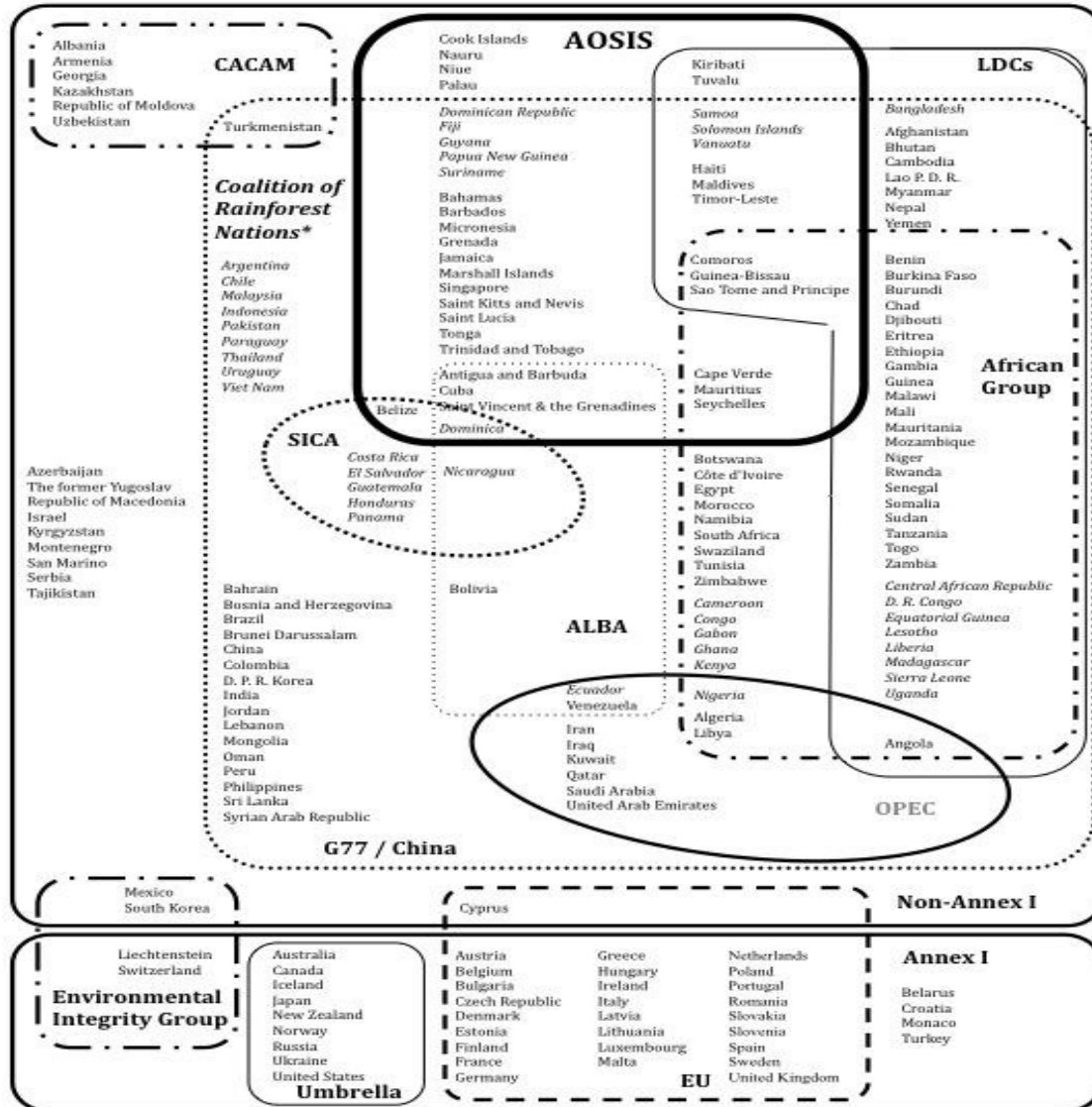
OF COUNTRIES

Global climate change	13	Cyberattacks from other countries	4
The Islamic militant group known as ISIS	8	Russia's power and influence	1



Note: U.S. power and influence question not asked in the U.S., and Russia's power and influence question not asked in Russia.
Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q22a-h.

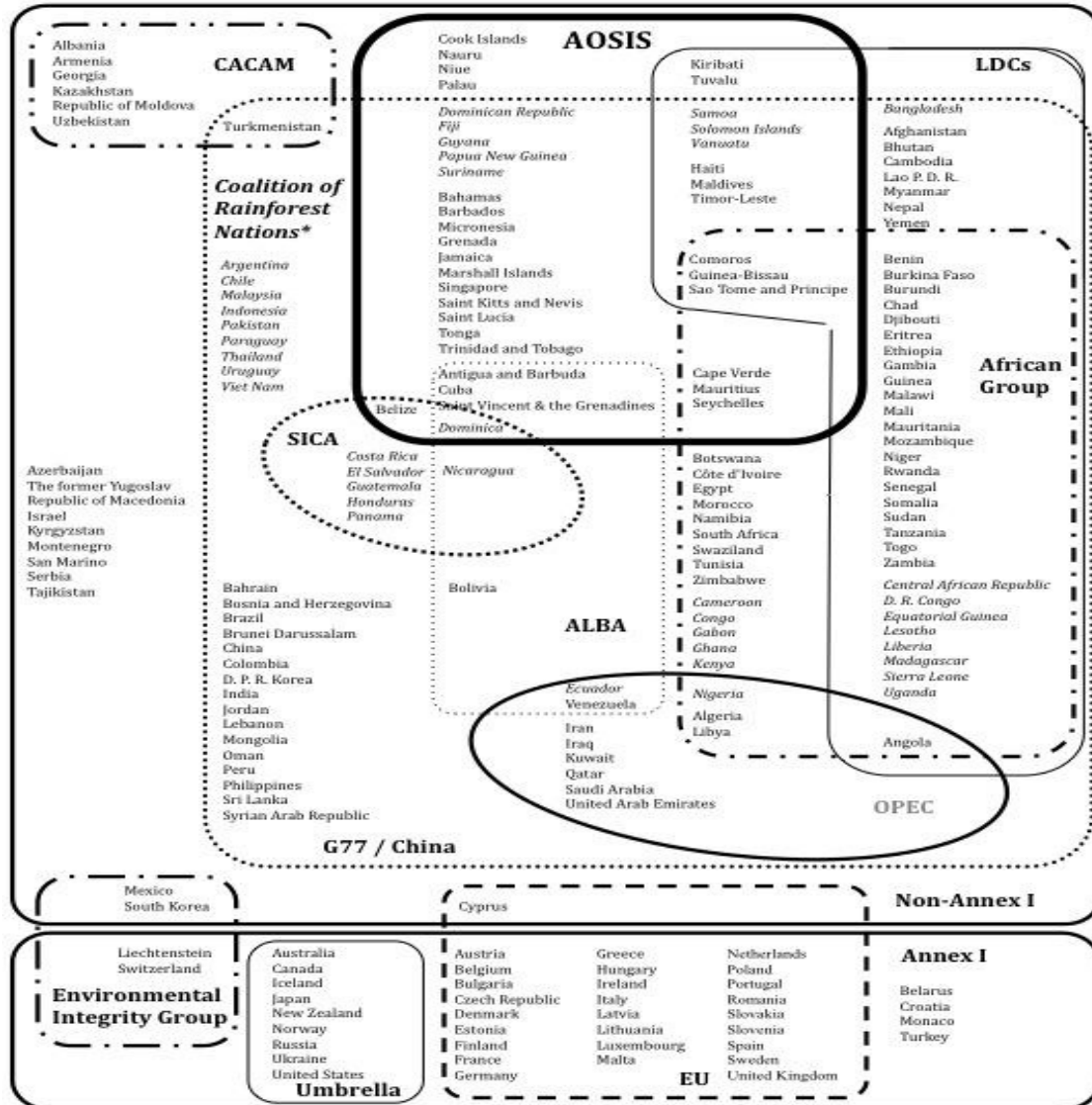
3. Africa in a distributed leadership context



- Engaged in different negotiating blocks since the 90's: G77/China, BASIC, AGN
- G77 - Follower
- Limited impact in earlier stages
 - Lack of interest
 - Lack of personnel
 - Lack of trained negotiators
- COP 12 in Kenya 2006, turning point
 - Increase in number of submissions
 - Fast-start finance and long term finance
- COP 15
- Second KP commitment period.

* countries in italics form part of the Coalition of Rainforest Nations.

3. Africa in a distributed leadership context



* countries in italics form part of the Coalition of Rainforest Nations.

- Replicating the RIOCC (Red iberoamericana de Oficinas de Cambio Climático). The potential for a Network of African and European Climate Change Offices (NAEECCO) to:
 - Foster dialogue
 - Exchange experiences
 - Build trust
 - Address joint challenges
 - Adaptation, L&D, migrations, security

Thank you!

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