



Utrecht University

**California, international climate change  
agreements and the re-territorialisation of  
political authority**

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MA Thesis

26<sup>th</sup> June 2018

Word Count: 24,535

International Relations in Historical Perspective

Utrecht University

Supervisor: Dr. Steffen Rimner

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## **Dedication**

This project is dedicated to PK. Thank you for teaching me how to write, I wouldn't have gotten here without your help.

## **Acknowledgments**

I would like to extend my sincere thanks to my supervisor Dr. Steffen Rimner for his guidance and advice throughout the process of writing this thesis, and for his patience in answering my numerous stressed emails!

## **Abbreviations**

Cal-EPA – California Environmental Protection Agency

CBDR – Common but Differentiated Responsibilities

CEC – The California Energy Commission

COP – Conference of the Parties

EPA – Environmental Protection Agency

GHG – Greenhouse Gas

ICC – International Criminal Court

IPCC – United Nations International Panel on Climate Change

MOU – Memorandum of Understanding

NDCs – Nationally Determined Contributions

SOSA – State of the State Address

UNFCCC – United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

## **Abstract**

This project concerns itself with the divergence in local and national level climate policy in the US since the adoption of the Kyoto Protocol, the timespan under examination is 1997 to 2018. The Californian government is used as a local case study and through the examination of speeches made by US presidents and Californian governors it is demonstrated that national policy is dictated by party affiliations while local policies are more pragmatic. The evidence from the speeches demonstrates that California is increasingly looking to the authority of the UNFCCC in relation to climate policy rather than the authority of the federal government. Californian governors are utilising this re-territorialisation of authority as a way to lobby other sub-national actors to support international climate change agreements. Ultimately the project concludes that although local and sub-national climate policy is important for the mitigation of GHGs, in order to be successful, climate change agreements like the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement must be supported and implemented on a national level. Therefore, local actors such as California should continue lobbying their national governments in support of international climate agreements. This project argues that US climate change policies, as evidenced by the Californian case study, should be rooted in pragmatism not party affiliations.

**Key Words:** California, Paris Agreement, climate change, sovereignty, Kyoto Protocol



## Chapter 1. Introduction

“We are the modern equivalent of the ancient city states of Athens and Sparta. California has the ideas of Athens and the power of Sparta.”<sup>1</sup>

– Arnold Schwarzenegger, Governor of California, 2007.

### 1.1 The United States and international climate agreements

On 1<sup>st</sup> June, 2017 President Donald J. Trump issued a statement in which he officially withdrew the United States from the historic Paris Climate Agreement. He declared:

“As President, I can put no other consideration before the wellbeing of American citizens. The Paris Climate Accord is simply the latest example of Washington entering into an agreement that disadvantages the United States to the exclusive benefit of other countries, leaving American workers — who I love — and taxpayers to absorb the cost in terms of lost jobs, lower wages, shuttered factories, and vastly diminished economic production.

Thus, as of today, the United States will cease all implementation of the non-binding Paris Accord and the draconian financial and economic burdens the agreement imposes on our country. This includes ending the implementation of the nationally determined contribution and, very importantly, the Green Climate Fund which is costing the United States a vast fortune.”<sup>2</sup>

The withdrawal was in line with the promises Trump made during his presidential campaign: he had railed against the Paris Agreement throughout. His statement implied, that for Trump the “wellbeing” of American citizens was incompatible with an international agreement to regulate climate change. Yet, as this thesis demonstrates, the wellbeing of American citizens is directly related to the protection of the climate, particularly for the Californian citizens. In California the wellbeing of American citizens has been gravely

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<sup>1</sup> Arnold Schwarzenegger, “State of the State Address,” *Governors Library*. Delivered 9<sup>th</sup> January, 2007. [http://governors.library.ca.gov/addresses/s\\_38-schwarzenegger4.html](http://governors.library.ca.gov/addresses/s_38-schwarzenegger4.html). [accessed 13<sup>th</sup> April, 2018]

<sup>2</sup> “Statement by President Trump on the Paris Climate Accord,” *The White House. Energy & Environment*. Published on 1<sup>st</sup> June, 2017. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/statement-president-trump-paris-climate-accord/>. [accessed 20<sup>th</sup> March 2018]

affected by droughts and forest fires that have been aggravated by changes in the climate. The argument Trump was trying to make was that the financial “wellbeing” of American citizens and the American economy would be negatively affected by this agreement.

More generally, Trump has been a strong critic of the previous Administration’s climate change policy and has been public about his scepticism of global warming. The results of an investigation by the news and opinion website *Vox* concluded that between 2011 and 2015 Donald Trump had tweeted climate change denial 115 times,<sup>3</sup> famously calling climate change a “hoax.”<sup>4</sup> In the statement from 1<sup>st</sup> June 2017 he took a very hard-line approach, describing the Paris Agreement as “draconian,”<sup>5</sup> and fundamentally unfair to the United States. Yet, he also said that he would be willing to re-enter the agreement under new terms that were fairer to the United States.<sup>6</sup>

News of the withdrawal was met with disappointment and criticism from political leaders all around the world. The strongest criticism in Europe came from the leaders of France, Germany and Italy who, “released a joint statement rejecting Trump’s assertion that the climate deal can be redrafted.”<sup>7</sup> The Prime Ministers of America’s neighbours, Justin Trudeau in Canada and Enrique Peña Nieto in Mexico, also strongly condemned the decision, each emphasising their own country’s continued commitment to the agreement.<sup>8</sup> Both Mexico and Canada have partnered in greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions reduction initiatives with California; these partnerships are discussed in more detail in the proceeding chapters.

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<sup>3</sup> Dylan Matthews, “Donald Trump has tweeted climate change scepticism 115 times. Here’s all of it,” *Vox*. Published 1<sup>st</sup> June, 2017. <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/6/1/15726472/trump-tweets-global-warming-paris-climate-agreement>. [accessed 20th March 2018]

<sup>4</sup> Donal J Trump (@realDonaldTrump), “Ice storm rolls from Texas to Tennessee - I'm in Los Angeles and it's freezing. Global warming is a total, and very expensive, hoax!” *Twitter*. Published 6<sup>th</sup> December, 2016. <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/408977616926830592>. [accessed 19<sup>th</sup> April, 2018]

<sup>5</sup> “Statement by President Trump on the Paris Climate Accord,” *The White House*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Jonathan Watts & Kate Connolly, “World leaders react after Trump rejects Paris Climate deal,” *The Guardian*. Published 2<sup>nd</sup> June, 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2017/jun/01/trump-withdraw-paris-climate-deal-world-leaders-react> [accessed 20th March, 2018]

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

Although it was a disappointing development for all those committed to the reduction of GHG emissions and the protection of the environment, President Trump's withdrawal was not an unprecedented action for a Republican President. In fact, in 2001, the United States also withdrew from the Kyoto Protocol,<sup>9</sup> the world's first GHG emissions reduction treaty.<sup>10</sup> Christine Todd Whitman, the US Environmental Protection Agency administrator, "announced that the Kyoto Protocol was dead as far as the Bush administration was concerned, an announcement that provoked angry reactions from Japan and US allies in Europe."<sup>11</sup> The United States signed the Kyoto Protocol in 1997 but they did not ratify it.<sup>12</sup> Vice-President Al Gore signed the treaty on behalf of the Clinton Administration.<sup>13</sup> "In the interim, however, the change in presidential administrations altered the US position regarding the protocol, with the United States deciding that it would no longer actively pursue ratification and implementation of the protocol."<sup>14</sup> As with the Paris Agreement, commitment to the Kyoto Protocol was entirely dependent upon the political convictions of the US President.

The fact that both the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Climate Agreement have been rejected by the US presidents, Bush and Trump, who took office immediately after they had been signed means that national leadership on climate issues is inconsistent and unreliable. Instead, particularly after the withdrawal from the Paris Agreement, local actors such as state governors and city mayors have been implementing policies in order to meet national commitments to these agreements. There has been a growing disparity between the approach to climate policy on the local level and on the national level.

In this regard the case of California is a particularly striking one. In response to President Trump's announcement on 1<sup>st</sup> June 2017, the Governor of California, Edmund G. Brown Jr.

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<sup>9</sup> "U.S. Rejection of Kyoto Protocol Process," *The American Journal of International Law* 11, no. 3 (Jul. 2001): 648.

<sup>10</sup> "UNFCCC – 20 Years of Effort and Achievement. Key Milestones in the Evolution of International Climate Policy," *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change*. <http://unfccc.int/timeline/>. [accessed 20<sup>th</sup> March, 2018]

<sup>11</sup> "U.S. Rejection of Kyoto," 649.

<sup>12</sup> Jon C. Lovett, "1997 Kyoto Protocol," *Journal of African Law* 49, no. 1 (2005): 95.

<sup>13</sup> "Oh no, Kyoto," *The Economist*. Published 5<sup>th</sup> April, 2001. <https://www.economist.com/node/561509>. [accessed 20<sup>th</sup> March, 2018]

<sup>14</sup> "U.S. Rejection of Kyoto," 648.

issued a particularly emotional and damning statement: “Donald Trump has absolutely chosen the wrong course. He’s wrong on the facts. America’s economy is boosted by following the Paris Agreement. He’s wrong on the science. Totally wrong. California will resist this misguided and insane course of action. Trump is AWOL but California is on the field, ready for battle.”<sup>15</sup> In this statement, not only did he disparage the president’s decision making capabilities but, he presented California as a force strong enough to fight against climate change despite US refusal to do so. This statement was intended for both the local, national and global audience. With the statement the governor was simultaneously trying to reassure his constituents, reassure the Democrat voters nationally and present California to the global community as a more reliable partner for climate policy than the US federal government.

Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr. also physically presented California as a partner to the to the global community when he himself was at the Climate Conference in Paris where he participated in a number of events. Over the years he has proved his commitment to clean energy and the reduction of GHG emissions. Under his term as governor, “moving to reinforce and expand the world’s commitment to climate action, California and Baden-Württemberg, Germany in 2015 formed the Under2 Coalition – an international pact among cities, states and countries to limit the increase in global average temperature to below 2 degrees Celsius, the level of potentially catastrophic consequences. The growing coalition now includes 170 jurisdictions on six continents that collectively represent more than 1.18 billion people and \$27.5 trillion GDP – equivalent to 16 percent of the global population and 37 percent of the global economy.”<sup>16</sup> Just as he spoke out and condemned President Trump’s withdrawal from Paris so too did California’s acting governor in 2001 not allow the change in national direction affect California’s commitment to the Kyoto Protocol. California pursued the cap-and-trade policy proposed within the Kyoto protocol on a local level.

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<sup>15</sup> “Governor Brown Issues Statement on White House Paris Climate Agreement Announcement,” *Office of Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr.* Published 1<sup>st</sup> June 2017. <https://www.gov.ca.gov/2017/06/01/news19817/>. [accessed 22<sup>nd</sup> March, 2017]

<sup>16</sup> “California Governor Brown, 11 U.S. Governors Call on President Trump to Keep America in Paris Agreement,” *Office of Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr.* Published 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2017. <https://www.gov.ca.gov/2017/05/03/news19775/>. [accessed 5<sup>th</sup> March 2018]

California has continued to work towards clean energy and a reduction in GHG emissions despite the unreliable commitment of the federal government. It is an exemplary case study, though by no means the only state behaving in this way in the US.

By looking at the case of California this project examines the implications for national sovereignty when local, sub-national actors respond to international climate agreements in ways that contrast the national approach. Through an examination of California's climate policies and the rhetoric of California's governors an argument will be made that, since the signing of the Kyoto Protocol the US federal government is no longer being treated as the defining authority on issues of climate change policy. California's actions instead indicate that the authority is seen to be with the UN and the international system. In this sense climate change policies have transcended national borders and national sovereignty.

### 1.2 The UNFCCC and the history of international climate agreements

The road, which led to the signing of the Paris Climate Agreement in 2015, had its origins almost three decades earlier in the formation of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). The IPCC was established in November 1988 by the World Meteorological Organization and the UN Environment Program.<sup>17</sup> Its objective was, "to provide the world with a clear scientific view on the current state of knowledge in climate change and its potential environmental and socio-economic impacts."<sup>18</sup> The panel has since provided the "scientific underpinning" of international climate negotiations.<sup>19</sup> Such negotiations began in December 1990 when the UN General Assembly established an Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee for a Framework Convention on Climate Change. In May 1992, in New York, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), was adopted.<sup>20</sup>

The objective of the convention was the "stabilization of greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with

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<sup>17</sup> "UNFCCC – 20 Years of Effort and Achievement."

<sup>18</sup> "Organization," *IPCC. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change.*

<http://www.ipcc.ch/organization/organization.shtml>. [accessed 5<sup>th</sup> June, 2018]

<sup>19</sup> "UNFCCC – 20 Years of Effort and Achievement."

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

the climate system.”<sup>21</sup> In June 1992, the convention opened for signatures at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro. Almost two years later, on 21<sup>st</sup> May 1994, the UNFCCC entered into force with 197 countries having ratified it.<sup>22</sup> In the language of the Convention such countries were known as Parties to the Convention, and they meet annually at the Conference of the Parties (COP) in order to “negotiate multilateral responses to climate change.”<sup>23</sup>

One of the key principles of the UNFCCC, and one which has caused great disagreement between the developed and developing countries which are Parties to the Convention, is found in Article 3:

“1. The Parties should protect the climate system for the benefit of present and future generations of humankind, on the basis of equity and in accordance with their common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities. Accordingly, the developed country Parties should take the lead in combating climate change and the adverse effects thereof.”<sup>24</sup>

In 1992, developing countries, mostly in the Global South, worked together during the negotiations of the UNFCCC in order to ensure that this principle was included.<sup>25</sup> “This pattern of Southern cooperation continued through numerous UNFCCC Conference of the Parties meetings on topics such as financing, capacity building, and targets and timetables.”<sup>26</sup> The particular wording of ‘common but differentiated responsibilities’ (CBDR) has been central to the difficulties of negotiating international agreements under the UNFCCC. “Arguably, however, those tensions were often overstated by much of the press coverage and academic commentary [ . . . ] portrayal of the South as an unwilling participant in global environmental policy-making has proven extraordinarily long-lasting and difficult to

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<sup>21</sup> United Nations, “United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change,” New York, 1992. Article 2.

<sup>22</sup> UNFCCC, “What is the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change?” *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change*. <https://unfccc.int/process/the-convention/what-is-the-united-nations-framework-convention-on-climate-change>. [accessed 22<sup>nd</sup> March, 2017]

<sup>23</sup> “UNFCCC – 20 Years of Effort and Achievement.”

<sup>24</sup> “United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change,” Article 3, clause 1.

<sup>25</sup> Leah C. Stokes, Amanda Giang & Noelle E. Selin, “Splitting the South: China and India’s Divergence in International Environmental Negotiations,” *Global Environmental Politics* 16, no. 4 (2016): 13.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

dislodge.”<sup>27</sup> In fact, as this project demonstrates, the United States within the Global North, has also been an unwilling participant when being led by a Republican administration. The claims made by the US about the unfairness of international climate agreements, in relation to both Kyoto and Paris, are based on this principle. It underpinned President Trump’s argument that the Paris Agreement imposed, “draconian financial and economic burdens,”<sup>28</sup> on the United States.

The first Conference of Parties (COP1) took place in April 1995 in Berlin. It was presided over by Angela Merkel who, at the time, was Germany’s environment minister.<sup>29</sup> There the Parties agreed that the, “commitments in the Convention were ‘inadequate’ for meeting Convention objectives.”<sup>30</sup> As a result, a process was established that would negotiate stronger commitments for developed countries. These were the beginnings of what would become the Kyoto Protocol.<sup>31</sup> Adopted on 11<sup>th</sup> December 1997 at the COP3, the Kyoto Protocol was the first global GHG emissions reduction treaty.<sup>32</sup> More is written about the Protocol in the following chapters, consequently the only thing to mention at this stage is that it entered into force in 2005 after it was ratified by the Russian Federation.<sup>33</sup>

It has been broadly debated whether the Kyoto Protocol was a success or a failure. Many argued that it was a failure as some of the largest GHG emitters like China and the United States did not participate in it. While others have argued that it was a success because some countries, such as Germany and New Zealand,<sup>34</sup> did meet their targets and the Kyoto Protocol set the precedent for future negotiations such as the Paris Agreement. At the COP21 in Paris, on 12<sup>th</sup> December 2015, the Paris Agreement was adopted. It brought, “all nations into a common cause based on their historic, current and future responsibilities.”<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Karin Mickelson, “The Stockholm Conference and the Creation of the South-North Divide in International Environmental Law and Policy,” in *International Environmental Law and the Global South*, eds. Shawkat Alam, Sumudu Atapattu, Carmen G. Gonzalez and Jona Razzaque (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015): 118.

<sup>28</sup> “Statement by President Trump on the Paris Climate Accord,” *The White House*.

<sup>29</sup> “UNFCCC – 20 Years of Effort and Achievement.”

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Igor Shishlov, Romain Morel & Valentin Bellassen, “Compliance of the Parties to the Kyoto Protocol in the first commitment period,” *Climate Policy* 16, no. 6 (2016): 770.

<sup>35</sup> “UNFCCC – 20 Years of Effort and Achievement.”

The Agreement aimed to, “strengthen the global response to the threat of climate change,”<sup>36</sup> through a variety of different means that are discussed in greater detail in the following chapters. One of the most frequently quoted ambitions of the Agreement is found in Article 2 section (a):

“a) Holding the increase in the global average temperature to well below 2°C above pre-industrial levels and pursuing efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels, recognizing that this would significantly reduce the risk and impacts of climate change.”<sup>37</sup>

On the 4<sup>th</sup> November 2016, the Paris Agreement entered into force. The Agreement has 195 signatories and has been ratified by 175 Parties.<sup>38</sup>

### 1.3 Academic and Societal Relevance

This project examines how California’s political leadership has responded to climate change in contrast to the US federal government response. The relevance of this examination is linked to the relevance of global warming and climate change in the world more generally. While countries are negotiating about how to reduce GHG emissions, the economic and environmental consequences of climate change continue to escalate.

It is normal for the global climate to go through changes over time, but what makes the current rate of climate change particularly problematic is its unprecedented speed. As Demian Hommel and Alexander Murphy have noted, “the risk of reaching tipping points that speed up or increase warming has become a core concern of recent studies. There is growing worry that once certain thresholds are reached – lack of ice cover for example – warming may happen much more quickly, compounding the effects of increasing atmospheric concentrations of CO<sub>2</sub> and making intervention all but impossible.”<sup>39</sup> Although there is “disagreement in the scientific community about how quickly current and future

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<sup>36</sup> United Nations, “Paris Agreement,” Paris, 2015. Article 2, clause 1.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, Article 2, clause 1a.

<sup>38</sup> UNFCCC, “Paris Agreement – Status of Ratification,” *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change*. [http://unfccc.int/paris\\_agreement/items/9444.php](http://unfccc.int/paris_agreement/items/9444.php). [accessed 22<sup>nd</sup> March, 2018]

<sup>39</sup> Re-thinking Geo-politics article, p. 512.



emissions may contribute to climactic changes, a 4°C rise in temperature – which could be reached as soon as 2060 based on current rates of pollution and growth – has the potential to set in motion events that could seriously challenge future political and economic stability.”<sup>40</sup> The problems produced by climate change and global warming are not just physical changes like rising sea-levels and increased drought, but there are political consequences too. Naomi Klein in her most recent book, *No is not Enough*, examined the relationship between the price of oil, oil extraction, climate change and global conflict. She concluded that “in a very real sense, preventing war and averting climate change are one and the same fight.”<sup>41</sup>

This conclusion is in line with studies in Environmental Security which have demonstrated that “conflict and environmental issues are interrelated. Research in this field suggests that changes in climate specifically may degrade ecosystems to the point where the resource base of those communities, or even entire societies, is threatened.”<sup>42</sup> For example, “Homer-Dixon’s examination of the links between conflict and environmental degradations shows that, while not responsible for full-scale wars, resource shortages can promote destabilizing levels of social unrest, ethnic violence and economic turmoil. Lack of food, water and/or shelter has precipitated social unrest, leading to political upheaval in particular cases – a point reinforced by a recent study demonstrating a statistical relationship between civil conflict and global climate change.”<sup>43</sup> Climate change is a societally relevant issue because it has these many physical, geo-political and economic consequences. The societal relevance of this project also covers these areas. The link between climate change and, particularly civil, conflict has been proven. Therefore, attempts by both national and sub-national actors to reduce GHG emissions and limit climate change are a form of peace-building and conflict reduction, both very important things for society.

There is no clear and simple solution to this problem of climate change and “while predicted changes in climate are largely from the burning of fossil fuels and other activities globally,

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<sup>40</sup> Demian Hommel & Alexander B. Murphy, “Rethinking geopolitics in an era of climate change,” *GeoJournal* 78, no. 3 (2013): 512.

<sup>41</sup> Naomi Klein, *No is not Enough. Defeating the New Shock Politics* (London: Allen Lane, 2017): 175.

<sup>42</sup> Hommel & Murphy “Rethinking geopolitics,” 519.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*, 519-520.

the effects of these changes will likely be felt nationally, regionally, and at more local and individual levels.”<sup>44</sup> Precisely because the consequences of climate change occur on multiple levels so too should the solution be a multi-level one. The best solution available is to limit GHG emissions in order to control and limit the rise of global temperatures. The aim of the UNFCCC is to find such a solution and both the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement are aimed at solving the climate change problem through mitigation of GHGs. Nevertheless, despite these good intentions, the process of reaching these agreements has been slow and the agreements are unable to achieve global adoption and implementation. This project is relevant because it takes into account the above mentioned multi-level complexity by addressing the attempts to tackle climate change, on both a national and local level in the US, one of the world’s biggest contributors to the problem.

The academic relevance of this project stems from the applicability of a study on a sub-national actor tackling a global problem. It is likely that the conclusions reached by this project will be applicable to other issues that are being addressed by sub-national actors. What could the Californian example demonstrate about the unique angle and specific strengths of a sub-national actor in relation to climate change legislation?

#### 1.4 Methodology

The focus of this project, first and foremost, is primary source analysis. Nevertheless, there is also a strong emphasis on the theoretical framework that has been provided by scholars of global cities. There is an examination of various concepts used by theorists in the field and then these concepts are applied to the case study of California as a sub-national actor within the US.

The primary sources examined in the project are predominantly speeches. The project looks at speeches by US presidents to analyse how they have justified their commitment, or lack thereof, to international climate agreements and discern what patterns of argumentation can be detected in those speeches. There is also an analysis of speeches given by the governors of California, specifically their annual State of the State Addresses (SOSAs) and

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid, 517.

their inaugural addresses. The purpose of this analysis is to detect patterns, either continuities or changes over time, in the way that these governors discuss climate change policies and how they present California's position locally, nationally and globally.

Additionally, there is an examination of California's global orientation and the way in which California's governors have been criticising the US' withdrawal from the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement, thereby justifying California's actions on a more global scale. There is also a review of the agreements California has been and is making with other local actors, provinces in Canada, and national actors like China and Mexico.

### 1.5 Thesis Statement

California's leadership in the reduction of GHG emissions and the transition to clean energy, since the adoption of the Kyoto Protocol in 1997, is indicative of a re-territorialisation of political authority on a local level in relation to climate policies. Since 1997 the federal government has not been a reliable political leader on climate change issues because its policies have been dictated by the party affiliations of the sitting president. California's climate policies, in comparison, are more pragmatic. The governors of California have been increasingly behaving in a way which indicates that the UN is its guiding authority on climate issues rather than the federal government. This leaves US national sovereignty in an almost pre-Westphalian state. A situation wherein the US government has control over some issues, such as immigration, but the UN is the authority on climate change policy in the same way that the Catholic Church and the Pope had trans-border authority pre-Westphalia. Nevertheless, the UN system is set up to deal with national actors and therefore local actors should continue to lobby national actors because the best way for international climate agreements to succeed is when they are supported both locally and nationally, as demonstrated by the success of the Montreal Protocol. The election of President Trump has worsened the disparity between California's climate ambitions and those of the federal government. As is shown in the speech analysis, Republican presidents have focused on climate science less and less while the governors of California have become increasingly engaged with climate change on a local, national and global level.

## Chapter 2. Historiography

This project exists at the intersection of a variety of different disciplines, therefore, constructing an appropriate and relevant historiography is a rather tricky endeavour. Nevertheless, in the process of covering a range of topics such as urban theory, international relations, environmental history, globalisation and global governance a debate does seem to emerge. That debate centres around the 'rise of cities,' what that means, and what the implications are for nation states. The case study of California, although it is a state not a city, is situated firmly within this debate because it is a sub-national actor with increasing power and influence on both a national and global scale.

An appropriate place to begin in a historical study of climate change agreements is the study of environmental history itself. Environmental history is a new field in comparison to the study of history more generally. In 1976 historian William McNeill published *Plagues and Peoples*, "one of the founding texts of environmental history."<sup>45</sup> In the book he argued that historians should take seriously human encounters with all, "the other organisms that make up the Earth's ecosystem."<sup>46</sup> One example of such an encounter is the plague during the fourteenth century.<sup>47</sup> Overall, a recognition of environmental history became prominent within the discipline from the early 1980s onward.<sup>48</sup> The development of environmental history was more than just an "outgrowth"<sup>49</sup> of the late twentieth century environmental movement. Environmental history's emergence was not completely unique either, rather it was built on the "deep intellectual roots"<sup>50</sup> of new social sciences like sociology and economics.<sup>51</sup> One of the founders of the field, Donald Worster, defined environmental history as "the interactions people have had with nature in past times,"<sup>52</sup> in the preface to his 1988 book *The Ends of the Earth: Perspectives in Modern Environmental History*.<sup>53</sup> This

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<sup>45</sup> Andrew C. Isenberg, "Introduction. A New Environmental History," in *The Oxford Handbook of Environmental History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, 3.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, 4.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

broad definition was important in allowing academics from across many disciplines to work within the field. As the field has grown it has continued to be characterised by this thematic inclusivity. The current generation of environmental historians “integrate the environment into a host of complex subfields such as gender, labour, and borderlands.”<sup>54</sup> Scholarship on California’s environmental history has tended to focus on the physical environment rather than the policy decisions. For example, works such as *Big River: The Natural History of an Endangered Northern California Estuary* edited by Warrick F. Sheridan and Elizabeth D. Wilcox.

As with environmental history, interdisciplinary inclusivity is important for this study too. The historiography of International Relations (IR) itself is also important for this study. The most appropriate place to begin this historiographical discussion is with the history of IR. At its inception the discipline was extremely state-centric. Realism was one of the dominant theories within IR, it emphasised, “the role of the state, national interest, and military power in world politics.”<sup>55</sup> It was particularly influential on the discipline in the aftermath of the second world war.<sup>56</sup> Realism, although born in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, traces its roots back to the writings of Hobbes, Machiavelli and the Greek historian Thucydides.<sup>57</sup> A central aspect of the realist theory is the state quest for power. Realism understands the international system to be essentially a competitive one where the key actors are nation states that compete in a system lacking a centralised authority.<sup>58</sup> Morgenthau was a pioneer in classical realism, he wrote during the early Cold War years, and his seminal book *Politics among Nations* was published in 1948.<sup>59</sup> In 1979 Kenneth Waltz attempted to improve the weaker aspects of Morgenthau’s work in the publication of his book *Theory of International Politics*. Waltz’s approach was more scientific and became known as structural realism or neo-realism. Whereas Morgenthau rooted his theory in the struggle for power, which he related to human nature, Waltz made an effort to avoid any philosophical discussion of human

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid, 14.

<sup>55</sup> Duncan Bell, “Realism. International Relations,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.  
<https://www.britannica.com/topic/realism-political-and-social-science>. [accessed 26th March 2018]

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> William C. Wohlforth, “Realism,” in *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, ed. Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 132.

<sup>58</sup> Ken Booth and Toni Erskine, “Introduction: The Argumentative Discipline,” in *International Relations Theory Today*. Second Edition, eds. Ken Booth and Toni Erskine (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016), 32.

<sup>59</sup> Wohlforth, “Realism,” 136.

nature and set out instead to build a theory of international politics comparable to microeconomics. He argued that states in the international system are like firms in a domestic economy and have the same fundamental interest: to survive.<sup>60</sup> The central thesis of realism is that anarchy is the defining characteristic of the international system.<sup>61</sup> It is a system where “power is defined as capability relative to other states.”<sup>62</sup> During the Cold War era realism was the dominant theoretical framework used by IR scholars to understand the international system.

Yet, as the sudden end of the Cold War made clear, realism proved to be a poor predictive tool and not an expansive enough theory to include the changing nature of an increasingly globalised world. This apparent failure in realism led to a large amount of scholarship on the importance of non-state actors in International Relations, such as NGOs and international organizations. States could no longer be viewed as the primary influential actors in global politics. It is in this tradition, the examination of non-state actors, that the scholarship on the ‘rise of cities’ as actors in IR finds its place. In the West initiatives for global climate control have taken a similar trajectory. Initially the framework of the UN and cooperation between nation states has been important, and remains important as demonstrated by the Paris Agreement, negotiated between nation states. However, as the case of California demonstrates, regional and sub-national actors are increasingly being recognised as significant actors within global climate governance.

According to the political scientist, Simon Curtis, scholarship on the growing importance and re-emergence of cities has only recently been included in IR theory. He argues that, “it seems essential now that if IR is to retain its relevance for the 21<sup>st</sup> century, it must focus not just on state interactions, but also on the processes that are challenging the bounded spaces of the nation-state, and the consequences of such processes.”<sup>63</sup> One example of this new

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<sup>60</sup> Julian W. Korab-Karpowicz, “Political Realism in International Relations,” *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2017 Edition), ed. Edward N.

Zalta <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2017/entries/realism-intl-relations/>.

<sup>61</sup> Richard Ned Lebow, “The Long Peace, the End of the Cold War, and the Failure of Realism,” *International Organization* 48, no. 2 (1994): 250.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Simon Curtis, “Introduction. Empowering Cities,” In *The Power of Cities in International Relations*, ed. Simon Curtis (New York: Routledge, 2014), 2.

scholarship on cities is a report produced by *Clingendael*, the Netherlands institute of International Relations, in 2007. The report, 'City Diplomacy: The Expanding Role of Cities in International Politics,' aimed to "fill the gap in the academic literature on diplomacy by introducing the concept of city diplomacy, defined as the institutions and processes by which cities, or local governments in general, engage in relations with actors on an international political state with the aim of presenting themselves and their interests to one another."<sup>64</sup> The report examines what Curtis and others have argued is missing in IR scholarship: the interaction between state and non-state actors.

There is a particularly interesting connection to be considered in relation to this project as the current Governor of California, Edmund G. Brown Jr. has, in recent years, acted in a way that is not dissimilar to the definition of a city diplomat as described by the *Clingendael* report. Thus, his actions provide the link between the literature on the importance of non-state actors like cities and the justification of using California as a case study. One of the key conclusions reached by the report concerns the "growing professionalization of cities' international activities."<sup>65</sup> It notes that, "although various cities still participate in international politics on an ad hoc basis, many have professional civil servants dedicating their time to establishing a coherent municipal foreign policy."<sup>66</sup> The governor of California has participated in this 'professionalisation' by attending and participating in the United Nations Climate Change Conference in Paris in December 2015, COP21.<sup>67</sup> His attendance was, "at the invitation of UNFCCC Executive Secretary Christiana Figueres – the United Nations' top climate change official – and France's Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Development Laurent Fabius – the president of the COP21."<sup>68</sup> His attendance at the conference could be compared to the actions of a diplomat or ambassador. This connection between the local and the international provides evidence for the contemporary scholarship on the rise of cities and criticism of the state-centric focus of IR.

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<sup>64</sup> Roger van der Pluijm. *City Diplomacy: The Expanding Role of Cities in International Politics*. The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations *Clingendael*. (Clingendael Diplomacy Papers No. 10, April 2007), 6.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid*, 34.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>67</sup> Office of Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr., "Photo Release: Day 1: Governor Brown Joins World's Climate Leaders at UN Climate Change Conference," Published 5<sup>th</sup> December, 2015.

<https://www.gov.ca.gov/2015/12/05/news19231/>. [accessed 26<sup>th</sup> March 2018]

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid*.

This topic has been reaching an increasingly diverse audience, and those participating in the discussion are restructuring the information to make it accessible for popular audiences. For example, author and political theorist, Benjamin Barber's 2013 TED talk 'why mayors should rule the world' has been viewed on YouTube over 67,000 times.<sup>69</sup> While on the TED website itself the view count is over 700,000.<sup>70</sup> In relation to other TED videos these numbers are not very high. For example, on the TED website when sorting the videos by most viewed, the videos on pages 1-49, out of 78, have all been viewed over 900,000 times.<sup>71</sup>

Nevertheless, Barber's video being on YouTube and TED is more accessible to a popular audience than an article from an academic journal. In the talk Barber argued that mayors are on the opposite end of the political spectrum from prime ministers in relation to how they can and must behave. He argued that mayors are pragmatists, and local actors cannot get away with inaction. This is why they offer new and interesting possibilities in global governance. He cited the example of Los Angeles which managed to "clean up its port."<sup>72</sup> In this talk, Barber, draws crucial links between local action and international consequences. Similarly, engagement with these ideas were distributed to a broad audience in April 2018, when an article entitled 'the demise of the nation state' was published in *The Guardian*. The author, Rana Dasgupta, argued that the era of the nation state is coming to an end. He does this by finding the points of similarity between rising nationalism and religious extremism across the world in both developed and developing countries. His analysis points to an unavoidable link between the local and the global which has implications for state sovereignty.<sup>73</sup> The appearance of these issues in popular sources such as *The Guardian* or TED talks demonstrates that there is a hope that sub-national and non-state actors could offer a solution to the problems, such as climate change, that national actors have been unable to provide.

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<sup>69</sup> TED, "Benjamin Barber: Why mayors should rule the world," *YouTube*. Published 20<sup>th</sup> September 2013. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P-IBIZ3hqKc>. [view count as of 22<sup>nd</sup> March 2017 was 67,095 views]

<sup>70</sup> Benjamin Barber, "Why mayors should rule the world," *TED*. Published June, 2013. [https://www.ted.com/talks/benjamin\\_barber\\_why\\_mayors\\_should\\_rule\\_the\\_world](https://www.ted.com/talks/benjamin_barber_why_mayors_should_rule_the_world). [view count as of 19<sup>th</sup> April 2018 was 747,727 views]]

<sup>71</sup> "Find just the right one," *TED*. <https://www.ted.com/talks?page=49&sort=popular>. [accessed 5<sup>th</sup> June, 2018]

<sup>72</sup> TED, "Benjamin Barber." *YouTube*.

<sup>73</sup> Rana Dasgupta, "The demise of the nation state," *The Guardian*. Published 5<sup>th</sup> April, 2018. [https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/apr/05/demise-of-the-nation-state-rana-dasgupta?CMP=Share\\_iOSApp\\_Other](https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/apr/05/demise-of-the-nation-state-rana-dasgupta?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other). [accessed on 11<sup>th</sup> April, 2018]



This link between the local and the international through the study of global cities has been studied at length by scholars like John Friedmann and Saskia Sassen. Both scholars began publishing their work in the 1980s, so this area of study coincides with the birth of environmental history. Friedmann was an urban theorist while Sassen is a scholar of globalization. Her work has covered areas from immigration, global cities, terrorism and networked technologies. Friedmann's work has argued that nation states are being replaced by growing cities and "inter-urban networks."<sup>74</sup> While Sassen's work on globalisation and the rise of cities has added complexity to the academic debate. She writes, "my reading of history then makes problematic the prevalent notion in the globalization literature that the new phase entails the elimination, or weakening, of what made the national state strong."<sup>75</sup> The prevalent notion she is referring to is the dualistic analysis that the rise of cities results in the decline of states. Her work, as is explored in the theoretical chapter of this project, has added depth and complexity to this debate. Neil Brenner, an urban theorist, has also worked extensively on the expansion of global cities and the consequences for nation states. He has adopted the term 'glocal' in his analysis which is, "intended to describe this increasingly dense superimposition and interpenetration of global political-economic forces and local-regional responses within the parameters of a single, re-scaled framework of state territorial organisation."<sup>76</sup> The fundamental debate in this literature, such as the differences between Sassen and Friedmann's work, is the effect that the rise of cities has on the nation state. Whether or not the rise of cities results in the decline of the nation state.

This project is placed in the middle of that debate and examines California as a local, sub-national actor in relation to the US as a national actor. The specific intersection between global cities literature and climate change is an area covered extensively by scholars such as Harriet Bulkeley, a Professor of Geography at Durham University. Her work has been comparative in nature. She has examined local climate governance in Germany and the UK. She argues forcefully that it is, "only by taking a multilevel perspective that we can fully capture the social, political, and economic processes that shape global environmental

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<sup>74</sup> Neil Brenner, "Global cities, glocal states: global city formation and state territorial restructuring in contemporary Europe," *Review of International Political Economy* 5, no. 1 (1998): 5.

<sup>75</sup> Saskia Sassen, *Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 13.

<sup>76</sup>Brenner, "Global cities, glocal states," 16.

governance.”<sup>77</sup> To that end, the project takes a multilevel approach when examining climate governance in the US as there is a large disparity between the local and the national level.

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<sup>77</sup> Harriet Bulkeley & Michele M. Betsill, “Cities and the Multilevel Governance of Global Climate Change,” *Global Governance* 12, no 2. (2006): 141.

### Chapter 3. Theoretical background and concepts

The theoretical and conceptual framework to this project is the literature on the rise of cities and the significance of this rise on the global social, political, economic and cultural landscape. This work is not limited to one field, instead it has been investigated by historians, sociologists, international relations theorist, geographers, urban theorists and political scientists. As already acknowledged in the introduction the case study of California is not a city, it is a state within the United States. According to new data releases on 4<sup>th</sup> May 2018, California has become the world's fifth largest economy. It's "economic output is surpassed only by the total GDP of the United States, China, Japan and Germany."<sup>78</sup> Just like a global city, California is a local sub-national actor that has an incredible amount of political and economic power, with a highly developed political system and identity. Therefore, the theorising about global cities is also applicable to the case of California because it is also a powerful sub-national actor.

When one begins to investigate the literature on the rise of cities, one is confronted with large and non-specific concepts such as globalisation, global order and global governance. These concepts are wide, and that broadness is problematic as it negates meaningful analytical specificity. In order to deal with this topic in a way that provides analytical insight it is necessary to stay away from these broad, and therefore essentially useless, terms. Instead, as explored below, concepts such as 'glocal', scaling and authority will be more useful in this project.

#### 3.1 Theoretical background

The work of Saskia Sassen was already touched upon in the previous historiography chapter. Her seminal work has been incredibly influential in the development of the concept of global cities. She was, and still is, a pioneer in the field of sociology addressing many issues in her work on globalisation. For Sassen, "the global city is an analytic concept that helps us

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<sup>78</sup> Guardian staff and agencies, "California's economy passes UK's to become the world's fifth biggest," *The Guardian*. Published 4<sup>th</sup> May, 2018. [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/may/04/california-economy-uk-fifth-largest?CMP=fb\\_gu](https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/may/04/california-economy-uk-fifth-largest?CMP=fb_gu). [accessed 5<sup>th</sup> May, 2018]

understand how global flows of capital hit the ground.”<sup>79</sup> What makes her perspective so compelling is her ability to construct complexity within her argument which avoids the dualistic notion so often encountered in global cities literature that the rise of cities means the decline of the nation state. Rather than rely on this dualistic approach she allows for a more nuanced conclusion. She writes that “the geography for major new global economic processes partly overrides the duality global/national presupposed in much analysis of the relation between the global economy and state authority.”<sup>80</sup> Additionally, she argues, this is not something that is simply happening to nations, rather they are complicit within it: “National states have had to participate in creating the enabling institutional and legal environments that contribute to the formation of this cross-border geography for crucial functions largely embedded in the network of global cities. Thereby particular components of national states become denationalized.”<sup>81</sup> This process of denationalisation is a key aspect of this project and, although Sassen is referring to more to global financial economic issues, it is also relevant for international climate change negotiations and collective emissions reductions.

Climate change agreements, such as the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement, take place within the UN framework. They are part of the denationalising process Sassen refers to. Within such structures such as the UN, countries decide on the best courses of action together by consensus rather than each nation taking its own decisions. The United States helped to construct this UN framework in which their national authority is now being overridden by the UN, the global authority. In this way the authority over climate change policy has moved from the national to the global. Yet, as Sassen has pointed out, the rise of the global does not mean the decline of the national. The international criticism of President Bush and President Trump’s decisions to withdraw from the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement respectively indicated that the US was an important national actor and its national support was considered significant for the success of both agreements. It is discussed in the final chapter that California has been lobbying the US government on a

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<sup>79</sup> Sharon M. Meagher, “American Pragmatism and the Global City: Engaging Saskia Sassen’s Work,” *The Pluralist* 8, no. 3 (2013): 88.

<sup>80</sup> Saskia Sassen, “Introduction. Locating Cities on Global Circuits,” In *Global Networks Linked Cities*, ed. Saskia Sassen (New York: Routledge, 2016): 10.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

national level to commit to the Paris Agreement. This demonstrates that the importance of the national level has not diminished with the rise of sub-national actors. As Sassen herself has summarised, “crucial to my analysis is the notion that the global is multi-scalar: it does not take place only at the self-evident global scale, but also at the national and sub-national scales.”<sup>82</sup> This project is also multi-scalar, examining the local level, the national level and their interaction with the global level.

Two theorists on whose work this project has relied heavily and who have both in turn relied on the analytical foundations of Sassen are urban theorist Neil Brenner and political scientist Simon Curtis. Their work is also multi-scalar. Brenner argues that globalisation impacts the spatial scale of states, rather than being “eroded”<sup>83</sup> he argues, they are going through a process of “reterritorialization,”<sup>84</sup> resulting in, what Brenner terms, ‘glocal’ states.<sup>85</sup> He argues that this re-scaling of state and global city formation are, “dialectically intertwined moments of a single dynamic of global capitalist restructuring.”<sup>86</sup> For Brenner the spatial reorganisation of states and cities is a direct outcome of capitalist and neoliberal political structures. Curtis argues that the emergence of global cities poses increasing obstacles for the discipline of IR itself by challenging the traditional assumptions within the scholarship about the state centred nature of the international system.<sup>87</sup> He considers the rise of global cities to be symptomatic of shifts within the international system.<sup>88</sup> In his work he highlights that, “global cities are essential to processes of globalisation, providing a material and infrastructural backbone for global flows.”<sup>89</sup> Furthermore, Curtis suggests that IR theorists, who have typically worked with units of defined territorial space, could, “conceptualise units such as states and cities as process formations.”<sup>90</sup> He argues that such a strategy could be useful as it would allow theorists to deal with states and cities as “stable

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<sup>82</sup> Saskia Sassen, “The Participation of States and Citizens in Global Governance,” *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies* 10, no. 1 (2003): 5.

<sup>83</sup> Neil Brenner, “Global cities, glocal states: global city formation and state territorial restructuring in contemporary Europe,” *Review of International Political Economy* 5, no. 1 (1998): 1.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> Simon Curtis, “Global cities and the transformation of the International System,” *Review of International Studies* 37, issue 4 (2011): 1923.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 1945.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 1923.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 1946.

yet potentially transient entities,”<sup>91</sup> and thereby understand their “mutual transformation.”<sup>92</sup> This project will demonstrate that California, in relation to climate change legislation, can be described as such as a stable yet potentially transient entity. It is stable because it’s climate policies are not affected by the party affiliation of the governor and it is potentially transient because its lobbying efforts are affecting climate policies of other sub-national actors.

The rise of cities, and non-state actors such as California, and their interaction with the national level does not necessarily result in the decline of the national level. “The continuity theory claims that we merely are seeing variations on forms of global expansion, contract, and territories that we have seen at least since the age of colonialism. The discontinuity theory claims that we are seeing a totally new world order, one that breaks the sovereignty of the nation-state. Rejecting this either/or way of interpreting globalization, Sassen argues that the capabilities of the nation-state both make possible the new global world order but also get re-configured – mostly in ways not yet fully legible.”<sup>93</sup> This thesis argues along the same lines as Saskia Sassen, that the US has been an important participant in the creation of the UNFCCC system which governs climate change negotiations. Yet, the unreliability of Republican presidents and national leadership has helped to reconfigure the way that local powers approach climate change legislation. Brenner and Curtis’ work on the interplay between local, national and global levels, their work on the rise of cities and the concepts they used are applied to the case study of California, in particular within the final chapter of this project.

### 3.2 Concepts

As already mentioned, concepts such as globalisation are too large to offer any analytical specificity. Therefore, in this study the concepts that will be used are: authority and scale. The study analyses where the political authority lies in relation to international climate change agreements. Do the local actors refer to national authority or global authority?

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Meagher, “American Pragmatism,” 86.

These concepts are discussed most extensively in later chapters. Chapter five looks at authority while chapter six looks at scale.

Californian governors' rhetoric and policies are intended to act on a social, economic and political level but they are also meant to be impactful on a local, national and global stage. Through this multi-level action and process of re-territorialisation, it can be concluded that California is a 'glocal' actor.

### 3.3 National sovereignty – Westphalian sovereignty

The concept of national sovereignty warrants its own sub-section within this chapter. The term is used throughout the project and therefore it merits description and contextualisation. Sovereignty is a "core concept"<sup>94</sup> of political authority. As with 'globalisation' the literature around sovereignty is extensive and could fill numerous libraries. It has not only been defined, but also deconstructed and criticised at length. The concept of sovereignty must be defined to a certain extent in order to provide some boundaries, a conceptual starting point, for the project.

For the purpose of this study, when writing about national sovereignty it refers to the type of sovereignty that has been known as Westphalian sovereignty: "referring to the exclusion of external actors from domestic authority configurations."<sup>95</sup> Political theorist Stephen Krasner is an influential writer on the topic of Westphalian sovereignty. He has characterised the Westphalian nation state as such:

"The Westphalian state is a system of political authority based on territory and autonomy. Territoriality means that political authority is exercised over a defined geographic space rather than, for instance, over people, as would be the case in a tribal form of political order. Autonomy means that no external actor enjoys authority within the borders of the

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<sup>94</sup> Hagen Schulz-Forberg, "Sovereignty," in *Encyclopedia of Global Studies*, eds. Helmut K. Anheirer and Mark Juergensmayer. Managing Editor Victor Faessel (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2012): 1588.

<sup>95</sup> Stephen D. Krasner, *Sovereignty. Organised Hypocrisy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999): 9.

state. Territorial violations of the Westphalian model involve the creation of authority structures that are not coterminous with geographic borders.”<sup>96</sup>

The phrase Westphalian system refers to the international modern state system comprised of individual sovereign states. It is understood as “an institutional arrangement for organizing political life that is based on two principles: territoriality and the exclusion of external actors from domestic authority structures.”<sup>97</sup> Traditionally speaking the system was thought to have originated in 1648 at the Peace of Westphalia which concluded the Thirty Years War.<sup>98</sup> The Peace of Westphalia is significant because it brought to an end the Habsburg Empire and with it the decline of the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>99</sup> The power of the papacy was significantly reduced and “the Holy Roman Empire’s ability to enforce its ecclesiastical and political hegemony was virtually destroyed.”<sup>100</sup> Political authority and territorial autonomy were at the heart of Westphalia. The state system that it brought into being was one in which no larger authority, such as the Catholic Church, could hold authority over decisions and political processes within the boundaries of a nation state.

It must be acknowledged that the US federal system did not traditionally fit into this Westphalian model because it is governed by both local and national governments. Nevertheless, the US does not easily allow another political authority to override its sovereignty and in that sense, it is a traditionally post-Westphalian state. The term often used for this is ‘American Exceptionalism’. The term describes that “America’s self-conception has from the beginning involved a sense of world historical uniqueness and ineluctable destiny. Such a self-image is, inevitably, not easily reconcilable with the equality of nations and the protocols of a world community.”<sup>101</sup> This concept of American uniqueness is a primary reason why the US sees itself to be above international legal

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<sup>96</sup> Stephen D. Krasner, “Compromising Westphalia,” *International Security* 20, no. 3 (1995-1996): 115-116.

<sup>97</sup> Krasner, *Sovereignty. Organised Hypocrisy*, 20.

<sup>98</sup> Krasner, “Compromising Westphalia,” 115.

<sup>99</sup> Jason Farr, “Point: The Westphalian Legacy and the Modern Nation-State,” *International Social Science Review* 80, no. 3/4 (2005): 156.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> James Reed, “Why is the USA not a like-minded country? Some structural notes and historical considerations,” In *Enhancing global governance: Towards a new democracy?* edited by Andrew F. Cooper, John English and Ramesh Thakur (Tokyo, United Nations University Press: 2002): 57.



norms.<sup>102</sup> Political scientist Marlene Wind has argued that this American exceptionalism was the reason behind the US objections to the International Criminal Court (ICC). Such supranational institutions she argued are seen as posing a threat to US national sovereignty.

### 3.4 Concluding thoughts

The conclusion that can be drawn from the summary of the work of Saskia Sassen, Neil Brenner and Simon Curtis is that the rise of cities does certainly impact the sovereignty and authority of the nation state. Though the rise of one does not automatically result in the decline of the other. Rather the rise of sub-national actors, like global cities or local actors like the state of California, results in a complex interplay between the local and the national: there is a re-territorialisation of authority.

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<sup>102</sup> Marlene Wind, "Challenging sovereignty? The USA and the establishment of the International Criminal Court," *Ethics & Global Politics* 2, no. 2 (2009): 86.

## **Chapter 4. National level**

*Since 1997 international climate agreements, agreed under UNFCCC, have unfairly penalised the United States: The Republican Presidential perspective*

The Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Climate Agreement, as they relate to the United States, have two key similarities. They were both signed under the administration of Democratic presidents and then abandoned by the administrations of the proceeding Republican presidents. The focus of this chapter is the latter, and therefore the timescale covered in this chapter is the twenty years between 1997 to 2017. After a more comprehensive description of the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Climate Agreement and their functions there is an examination of Federalism and how it relates to US climate policy. The chapter is centred around an analysis of the statements made by President George W. Bush and President Donald J. Trump when they withdrew the United States from the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Climate Agreement respectively. In both cases the presidents argued that there was a fundamental problem in the way that these negotiations had been reached and that the common but differentiated responsibilities (CBDR) principle was discriminatory towards the United States. As is further elaborated in this chapter, it was the CBDR principle and the way that it manifested in the Kyoto Protocol that the United States rebelled against in their refusal to ratify the Protocol. The Republican presidents argued that because the international climate agreements were unfair to the United States this fact justified their lack of compliance with such agreements.

As a visual tool to provide a quick reference for the reader throughout this project, the table below gives a very basic overview of which US president and which Californian governor was in office at key moments in the history of international climate negotiations. In this chapter the 'US President' column is the most helpful, while in proceeding chapters the 'Governor of California' column will be of more value.

**Table 1**

US President			UNFCCC Agreement		Governor of California		
1981-1989	Ronald Reagan	Republican	1988	ICPP Established	1975-1983	Edmund G. Brown Jr.	Democrat
1989-1993	George H. W. Bush	Republican	1992	UNFCCC Convention Adopted	1983-1991	George Deukmejian	Republican
1993-2001	Bill Clinton	Democrat	1994	UNFCCC enters into Force	1991-1999	Peter Wilson	Republican
			1997	Kyoto Protocol Adopted	1999-2003	Gary Davis	Democrat
2001-2009	George W. Bush	Republican	2001	President takes US out of the Kyoto Protocol	2003-2011	Arnold Schwarzenegger	Republican
			2005	Kyoto Protocol Enters into Force C40 Formed			
2009-2017	Barack Obama	Democrat	2015	Paris Climate Agreement	2011-Present	Edmund G. Brown Jr.	Democrat
2017-Present	Donald J. Trump	Republican	2017	President Trump withdraws from the Paris Climate Agreement			

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#### 4.1 Kyoto Protocol and Paris Climate Agreement

As indicated in the introductory chapter it is necessary to give a more detailed description of the Kyoto Protocol, the Paris Climate Agreement and what they both required of the United States. The principles which underpinned the Kyoto Protocol came from the international recognition of the human influence on climate change. In 1995 an IPCC report confirmed this influence by linking, “the increased emissions of greenhouse gases – largely attributable to human activities such as fossil fuel use and agriculture – to the late-twentieth century warming trend worldwide.”<sup>104</sup> This acknowledgment was crucial to the creation of the Kyoto Protocol, an international agreement under which Parties committed to binding emissions reduction targets.<sup>105</sup> Under the Protocol Annex I (developed) countries agreed, “with a view to reducing their overall emissions of such gases by at least 5 per cent below 1990 level in the commitment period 2008 to 2012.”<sup>106</sup> Initially the United States had agreed to a 7 per cent reduction<sup>107</sup> in comparison to the 8 per cent that most European states agreed on.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Chart Produced by the author.

<sup>104</sup> Randall S. Abate, “Kyoto or Not, Here We Come: The Promise and Perils of the Piecemeal Approach to Climate Change Regulation in the United States,” *Cornell Journal of Law and Public Policy* 12, issue 2 (2006): 370.

<sup>105</sup> UNFCCC, “Kyoto Protocol,” *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change*. [http://unfccc.int/kyoto\\_protocol/items/2830.php](http://unfccc.int/kyoto_protocol/items/2830.php). [accessed 8<sup>th</sup> April, 2018]

<sup>106</sup> United Nations, “Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change,” Kyoto, 1998. Article 3, clause 1.

<sup>107</sup> William J. Clinton, “Remarks on the Kyoto Protocol on Climate Change and an Exchange with Reporters in New York City,” *The American Presidency Project*. Published 10<sup>th</sup> December, 1997. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=53688>. [accessed 8<sup>th</sup> April, 2018]

The Protocol was in line with the CBDR principle outlined in the original United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. Consequently, the protocol had different emissions reduction commitments for developed and developing countries. In order to “assist nations in meeting their emissions reduction commitments, the Protocol contains flexibility mechanisms. The first such mechanism, joint implementation, allows one Annex I (developed) nation party, or their private entities to sell reductions to another Annex I party or enterprise. Second, the Protocol permits emissions trading between Annex I nations. Finally, the Protocol includes the “Clean Development Mechanism,” which allows Annex I nations, or their private entities, to fund activities in non-Annex I (developing) nations that result in emissions reductions. Once such emission reductions are certified, the Annex I nation may then use those reductions to contribute to its own compliance.”<sup>109</sup> It was precisely this CBDR principle and the way that it differentiated between developed and developing countries in the Kyoto Protocol that the United States rebelled against in their refusal to ratify the Protocol.

In contrast to the Kyoto Protocol, the Paris Climate Agreement is only partially legally binding. Its main objective was to, “strengthen the global response to the threat of climate change by keeping a global temperature rise this century well below 2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels and to pursue efforts to limit the temperature increase even further to 1.5 degrees Celsius.”<sup>110</sup> In order to achieve this ambition each participating nation was required to set and commit to their own emissions reduction targets.<sup>111</sup> This was to be done through, what is termed, nationally determined contributions (NDCs).<sup>112</sup> Part of this method requires parties to the agreement to, “report regularly on their emissions and on their implementation efforts.”<sup>113</sup> NDCs varied between developed and developing countries, with those of the developed countries being higher. The United States agreed to reduce

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<sup>108</sup> Abate, “Kyoto or Not,” 371.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid, 371-372.

<sup>110</sup> UNFCCC, “The Paris Agreement,” *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change*. [http://unfccc.int/paris\\_agreement/items/9485.php](http://unfccc.int/paris_agreement/items/9485.php). [accessed 8<sup>th</sup> April, 2018]

<sup>111</sup> “Statement by the President on the Paris Climate Agreement,” *The White House. President Barack Obama*. Published 12<sup>th</sup> December 2015. <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2015/12/12/statement-president-paris-climate-agreement>. [accessed 9<sup>th</sup> April, 2018]

<sup>112</sup> United Nations, “Paris Agreement,” Paris, 2015. Article 3.

<sup>113</sup> UNFCCC, “The Paris Agreement.”

GHG emissions to 26 – 28 percent below 2005 levels by 2025 in addition to a pledging as much as \$3 billion for developing nations in aid.<sup>114</sup>

#### 4.2 Federalism and environmental policies: a balance between local and national government

The United States is politically organised as a federal system, meaning that separate states exist “within an overarching political system in such a way as to allow each to maintain its own fundamental political integrity.”<sup>115</sup> This has implications for policy making on both the local and national levels. Generally speaking, just like environmental history, comprehensive environmental policies are a fairly new phenomenon, dating back to the late 1960s and early 1970s. “For the first 180 years of the United States, the role of the federal government in environmental policy was limited primarily to the management of public lands.”<sup>116</sup> Some local legislation had been put together in cities such as Chicago and Cincinnati in order to combat smoke issues. However, there were no state air pollution laws in existence before 1955.<sup>117</sup> In early 1970, as a response to “heightened public concerns about deteriorating city air, natural areas littered with debris, and urban water supplies contaminated with dangerous impurities,”<sup>118</sup> President Richard Nixon proposed the creation of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to Congress. The purpose of the agency was meant to “consolidate many environmental responsibilities of the federal government under one agency.”<sup>119</sup> The Senate and the House approved the proposal and on 4<sup>th</sup> December, 1970 the EPA’s first Administrator took the oath of office.<sup>120</sup> Yet, in the 1980s, “the onus was shifted onto the states as Ronald Reagan slashed environmental spending and proclaimed the area the primary responsibility of state governments.”<sup>121</sup> Indeed, California took on

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<sup>114</sup> Brad Plumber, “Q. & A.: The Paris Climate Accord,” *The New York Times*. Published 31<sup>st</sup> May, 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/31/climate/qa-the-paris-climate-accord.html>. [accessed 11<sup>th</sup> April, 2018]

<sup>115</sup> The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, “Federalism. Political Science,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/federalism>. [accessed 20<sup>th</sup> April, 2018]

<sup>116</sup> Anthony Simon Kandel, “Federalism and the Determinants of Environmental Policy in the American States” (PhD dissertation, University of Southern California, 1992): 30.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid*, 31.

<sup>118</sup> “The Origins of EPA.” *United States Environmental Protection Agency. EPA History*. <https://www.epa.gov/history/origins-epa>. [accessed 13<sup>th</sup> June, 2018]

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>121</sup> Kandel, “Federalism and the Determinants of Environmental Policy,” 30.

increasing responsibility for environmental protection in the following years by setting up the California Environmental Protection Agency (Cal-EPA) in 1991.<sup>122</sup>

In conclusion, environmental policies are decided on both a local state and national level. This has resulted in, what Federalism scholar Deil Wright termed, an “overlapping-authority” model. It is “a system wherein many areas of government operation involve more than one level of government simultaneously, thus leaving few areas of policy where a single jurisdiction has complete control.”<sup>123</sup> Yet, since 1992 and the UNFCCC formation, this overlapping-authority over environmental policy has turned into a multi-level-authority. To a certain extent the UNFCCC and the international UN system of states and environmental negotiations challenges the authority of both the state and the nation state. In the following sections it is demonstrated that Republican presidents reject the authority of the UNFCCC while Democratic presidents increasingly embrace the UNFCCC as the guiding authority on climate change policies. At the same time California’s governors, on the local, state level, regardless of party affiliation are increasingly receptive to and accepting of the authority of the UNFCCC in relation to climate change policy.

#### 4.3 Bush on Kyoto/Trump on Paris – Consistency over time in relation to the CBDR principle

On 11<sup>th</sup> June 2001, President George W. Bush announced that the United States would not ratify the Kyoto Protocol which had been signed by the Clinton administration. Similarly, on 1<sup>st</sup> June 2017, President Donald J. Trump announced that the United States would withdraw from the Paris Climate Agreement entered into by the Obama administration. Both the statements by President Bush and Present Trump had a rather defensive tone, seemingly in anticipation of a backlash from the international community, in this case meaning the co-signatories of the agreements, and their own citizens who were in favour of the agreements. Both presidents argued that the withdrawal from these agreements was due to the terms of the agreements themselves and not because the United States was unconcerned about climate change and environmental protection. Yet, President Bush did this in a more comprehensive and deliberate way than President Trump. There was a stark

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<sup>122</sup> Peter Wilson, “State of the State Address,” *California State Library. Governors’ Gallery*. Delivered 9<sup>th</sup> January 1991. [http://governors.library.ca.gov/addresses/s\\_36-Wilson01.html](http://governors.library.ca.gov/addresses/s_36-Wilson01.html). [accessed 18<sup>th</sup> April, 2018]

<sup>123</sup> Kandel, “Federalism and the Determinants of Environmental Policy,” 9.

and noticeable change over time in their speeches in relation to green energy and GHG emissions reductions. For example, President Bush imbedded the defence of his withdrawal from the Kyoto Protocol within very specific scientific language that acknowledged the danger of climate change:

“We know the surface temperature of the earth is warming. It has risen by 0.6 degrees Celsius over the past 100 years. There was a warming trend from the 1890s to the 1940s. Cooling from the 1940s to the 1970s. And then sharply rising temperatures from the 1970s to today.

There is a natural greenhouse effect that contributes to warming. Greenhouse gases trap heat, and thus warm the earth because they prevent a significant proportion of infrared radiation from escaping into space. Concentration of greenhouse gases, especially CO<sub>2</sub>, have increased substantially since the beginning of the industrial revolution. And the National Academy of Science indicate that the increase is due in large part to human activity.

Yet, the Academy’s report tells us that we do not know how much effect natural fluctuations in climate may have had on warming. We do not know how much our climate could, or will, change in the future. We do now know how fast change will occur, or even how some of our actions could impact it.

[ . . . ]

The policy challenge is to act in a serious and sensible way, given the limits of our knowledge. While scientific uncertainties remain, we can begin now to address the factors that contribute to climate change.”<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> “President Bush Discusses Global Climate Change,” *The White House. President George W. Bush*. Published 11<sup>th</sup> June, 2001. <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/06/20010611-2.html>. [accessed 6<sup>th</sup> April, 2018]

In the above passage from his speech President Bush made it clear that the US was in agreement with the international consensus on climate change; that the concentration of GHGs have risen significantly since the industrial revolution and that climate change is linked to human activity. He also acknowledged that climate change was indeed an issue that needed to be addressed through policy. So, he was not critiquing the scientific premise of the Kyoto Protocol, rather, for him it was its specific practicalities and requirements that the Protocol placed on the US which were problematic.

Similarly, though much less successfully or convincingly, Trump also tried to provide an acknowledgement of climate change in his speech. Nevertheless, it is possible to see that there is a dramatic change over time between his belief in climate change than that of President Bush. President Trump said:

“Not only does this deal subject our citizens to harsh economic restrictions, it fails to live up to our environmental ideals. As someone who cares deeply about the environment, which I do, I cannot in good conscience support a deal that punishes the United States — which is what it does — the world’s leader in environmental protection, while imposing no meaningful obligations on the world’s leading polluters.

[. . .]

Even if the Paris Agreement were implemented in full, with total compliance from all nations, it is estimated it would only produce a two-tenths of one degree — think of that; this much — Celsius reduction in global temperature by the year 2100. Tiny, tiny amount.

[. . .]

I will work to ensure that America remains the world’s leader on environmental issues, but under a framework that is fair and where the burdens and responsibilities are equally shared among the many nations all around the world.”<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> “Statement by President Trump on the Paris Climate Accord,” *The White House*.



Unlike President Bush, President Trump did not give any specific acknowledgement to the issue of climate change. He only mentioned global warming in the context of his argument that the Paris Agreement was not sufficient to tackle it. It is in the area of commitment to environmental protection and GHG mitigation that it is possible to see the most dramatic change over time between these two Republican administrations. Saying that he “cares deeply” about the environment was the closest that President Trump would get to acknowledging the connection between the burning of fossil fuels and global warming. His speech focused almost entirely on the economic restrictions that the Paris Agreement have placed on the US and gave absolutely no indication of what climate policies would be implemented instead.

In comparison, President Bush, although he rejected the Kyoto Protocol, gave a comprehensive list of things that the US was doing to combat climate change. President Bush said: “The policy challenge is to act in a serious and sensible way, given the limits of our knowledge. While scientific uncertainties remain, we can begin now to address the factors that contribute to climate change.”<sup>126</sup> In their speeches both Bush and Trump were saying to both the international community and their citizens that they were choosing not to uphold their commitments to these climate agreements because the agreements were unfair to the United States, not because they disagreed with the severity of the climate change problem. Nevertheless, as demonstrated in the quotations above, President Bush did this much more convincingly than President Trump. The most noticeable difference between these two speeches is the degree to which climate change is acknowledged as a problem: President Bush argued strongly that climate change was a problem that needed to be tackled while President Trump talked vaguely about living up to “environmental ideals.”<sup>127</sup>

There has been some significant scholarship, particularly the work of Riley E. Dunlap and Aaron M. McCright, that has examined the growing link between the Republican party and climate change scepticism. They have found: “. . . partisan differences in support for

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<sup>126</sup> “President Bush Discusses Global Climate Change,” *The White House*.

<sup>127</sup> “Statement by President Trump on the Paris Climate Accord,” *The White House*.

environmental protection among the general public remained relatively modest until recently. For example, from the early 1970s until the mid-1990s, support for increased spending on environmental protection by self-identified Democrats was typically only around 10 percent higher than for self-identified Republicans. The gap began to widen in the late 1990s, likely reflecting voters' tendency to follow cues from party leaders and political pundits.

Nowhere is the partisan gap on environmental issues more apparent than on climate change. In the 1990s, particularly in 1997 when the United States signed (but did not ratify) the Kyoto Protocol on reducing carbon dioxide emissions, conservatives began to critique not only the proposal for reducing carbon emissions but the evidence for global warming itself. Indeed, a significant part of the U.S. conservative movement – made up of conservative foundations, think tanks, media, and public intellectuals – mobilized in the 1990s to challenge both climate science and climate policy. Conservative activists wrote hundreds of documents (including policy briefs, books, press releases, and op-eds), held numerous policy forums and press conferences, appeared regularly on television and radio programs, and testified at congressional hearings on global warming. It would appear that the vigorous conservative campaign against climate science (particularly the findings of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC)) and climate change advocates (especially Al Gore) has contributed to leaders of the Republican Party adopting a highly sceptical view of global warming.

Gallup Poll results on global warming spanning a decade, including results from Gallup's 2008 Environment Poll conducted 6-9 March, suggest that this scepticism among Republican and conservative elites (particularly leading conservative media figures) has led rank-and-file Republicans in the electorate to follow suit. Currently a very large gap exists between self-identified Republicans and Democrats in terms of perceptions of global warming."<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> Riley E. Dunlap & Aaron M. McCright, "A Widening Gap: Republican and Democratic Views on Climate Change," *Environment. Science and Policy for Sustainable Development*. (September/October 2008) <http://www.environmentmagazine.org/Archives/Back%20Issues/September-October%202008/dunlap-full.html>. [accessed 11<sup>th</sup> April, 2018]

This shift toward climate change denial is demonstrated in the speeches. The difference between President Bush's and President Trump's speech demonstrates that climate denial has been increasingly accepted within the Republican party. President Bush acknowledged climate change as a problem and described the policies in place to prevent it while President Trump loosely described himself as pro-environment but did not directly relate human activity and the burning of fossil fuels to global warming. He did not, in contrast to President Bush, provide any details about any climate related policies.

The official narrative presented in these speeches, that the climate agreements were unfair towards the US, appealed to citizens across the political spectrum and was presumably used because it would be taken more seriously by the international community than an argument based on climate change denial. In this sense there is a strong consistency over time, with both President Bush and President Trump justifying their withdrawal from the climate agreements because they argued the agreements were unfair to the US. There are two key examples that both President Bush and President Trump used to prove that the United States was being treated unfairly, they relate to the US economy and the commitments of developing countries like China and India in relation to the climate agreements. These two examples are linked through a fundamental critique of the CBDR principle which underpins both agreements. The key argument these two examples provided is that the US economy would suffer from restrictions while the economies of developing countries could continue to grow without restrictions.

President Bush addressed the disparity in the Kyoto Protocol between the commitments of the US and those of developing countries. He said:

“Our country, the United States is the world's largest emitter of manmade greenhouse gases. We account for almost 20 percent of the world's man-made greenhouse emissions. We also account for about one-quarter of the world's economic output. We recognize the responsibility to reduce our emissions. We also recognize the other part of the story -- that the rest of the world emits 80 percent of all greenhouse gases. And many of those emissions come from developing countries.

This is a challenge that requires a 100 percent effort; ours, and the rest of the world's. The world's second-largest emitter of greenhouse gases is China. Yet, China was entirely exempted from the requirements of the Kyoto Protocol.

India and Germany are among the top emitters. Yet, India was also exempt from Kyoto.”<sup>129</sup>

Bush agreed that the United States was required to take action to reduce its GHG emissions as the world's largest emitter. Yet, even though he acknowledged the United States' position as a developed country, he failed to include the concept of CBDR into his understanding of US obligations. The argument he presented was that the United States was being discriminated against because it was required to cut down its emissions while other countries, China and India for example, did not have to. According to the principle of CBDR the United States had more responsibility to act on emissions than China because the United States had more technological resources with which to do so, and the United States had been industrialized for a significant length of time while China was still in the process of industrialising. The United States has benefited from the process of industrialisation and according to the CBDR principle, China should be allowed to benefit from some industrialisation too. In this argument Bush was critiquing not just the Kyoto Protocol but the guiding principle on which it and future climate negotiations have been based. He critiqued the notion that all countries cannot be treated as equal because not all countries started from the same position.

In his speech President Trump made a remarkably similar argument that also critiqued the CBDR principle. He said:

“For example, under the agreement, China will be able to increase these emissions by a staggering number of years — 13. They can do whatever they want for 13 years. Not us. India makes its participation contingent on receiving billions and billions and billions of dollars in foreign aid from developed countries. There are many other examples. But the bottom line is that the Paris Accord is very unfair, at the highest level, to the United States.

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<sup>129</sup> “President Bush Discusses Global Climate Change,” *The White House*.

Further, while the current agreement effectively blocks the development of clean coal in America — which it does, and the mines are starting to open up. We're having a big opening in two weeks. Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, so many places. A big opening of a brand-new mine. It's unheard of. For many, many years, that hasn't happened. They asked me if I'd go. I'm going to try.

China will be allowed to build hundreds of additional coal plants. So, we can't build the plants, but they can, according to this agreement. India will be allowed to double its coal production by 2020. Think of it: India can double their coal production. We're supposed to get rid of ours. Even Europe is allowed to continue construction of coal plants.

In short, the agreement doesn't eliminate coal jobs, it just transfers those jobs out of America and the United States and ships them to foreign countries. This agreement is less about the climate and more about other countries gaining a financial advantage over the United States.<sup>130</sup>

President Trump argued that China and India were at an economic advantage in comparison to the United States as a result of the Paris Agreement. He argued that the way the agreement related to coal production was deliberately targeting and discriminating against the United States. Put simply, he found it unfair that different countries had different responsibilities to mitigating GHG emissions. As President Bush did in his speech, President Trump was in effect not criticising the Paris Climate Agreement itself but actually criticising something much deeper, the CBDR principle on which the Paris Agreement was built.

Between the Republican presidents who have held office since the adoption of the Kyoto Protocol, 1997, there has been a consistency over time in their response to the CBDR principle that underpinned both the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement. Both Republican presidents argued that the agreements treated the US unfairly. Yet there is also one clear way in which there has been a dramatic change over time. That change was

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<sup>130</sup> "Statement by President Trump on the Paris Climate Accord," *The White House*.

apparent in the way the presidents have included climate change science in their speeches. President Bush acknowledged the scientific underpinning of climate change while President Trump barely acknowledged that climate change was even occurring. Overall, both of the speeches clearly argued that the US was being unfairly treated by the international climate change agreements because the US had greater responsibilities than developing countries such as China and India. This indicated that the Republican presidents were actually criticising something much deeper, the very principle on which Kyoto and Paris are built. They were calling into question the principle of CBDR which was at the core of the UNFCCC.<sup>131</sup> The entire system in which climate change agreements were negotiated, according to Republican presidents, was flawed and unfair and therefore not worth participating in.

#### 4.4 Clinton on Kyoto/Obama on Paris – Change over time in relation to the CBDR principle

To demonstrate that this position and critique of the international system in relation to climate change agreements was uniquely tied to the Republican presidents it is important to look at the Democratic presidents as a comparison. Bill Clinton's administration signed the Kyoto Protocol and the Obama administration signed the Paris Climate Agreement. In comparison to Bush and Trump, these two Democratic presidents were not critical of the international system which regulated climate change agreements and legislation. Nevertheless, from the text of their speeches it is possible to detect a change over time towards increasingly stronger support of international climate agreements.

In Bill Clinton's statement announcing the Kyoto Protocol, although he also lamented the fact that developing countries had lower commitments than the United States, he was very clear about the fact that international commitments were a good and important step in the right direction and worth committing to. He said:

"We got what we wanted, which is joint implementation, emissions trading, a market-oriented approach. I wish it were a little stronger on developing nations' participation. But

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<sup>131</sup> United Nations, "United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change," New York, 1992. Article 3, clause 1.

we opened the way, the only way we can get there, through joint implementation of projects in those countries.

This is a very good agreement. It is going to be possible for us to do this and grow our economy. It is environmentally sound. It's a huge first step."<sup>132</sup>

Through his acknowledgement that the agreement was good and through his acceptance of the CBDR principle, he validated and accepted the international system in which such agreements are negotiated. By participating in such a negotiation and signing the Kyoto Protocol President Clinton was agreeing that the United States should have larger responsibilities than developing countries even if he was not that happy about it. In contrast to Bush's critique, Clinton argued that it would be possible to implement the Protocol without negative economic consequences to the United States.

There is a marked change over time between the Clinton presidency and the Obama presidency detectable in these speeches in relation to the CBDR principle. Even greater affirmation of the international system of climate change negotiations can be seen in President Obama's announcement of the Paris Climate Agreement than Clinton's announcement of the Kyoto Protocol. President Obama said:

"I also want to thank the people of nearly 200 nations -- large and small, developed and developing -- for working together to confront a threat to the people of all nations. Together, we've shown what's possible when the world stands as one."<sup>133</sup>

His statement offers very strong support for the international system in which both developed and developing countries are all part of negotiations. In contrast to the Republican president's critique he argued that the United States should embrace its position of global leader, its position of political and economic dominance, and use it to lead in the reduction of GHG emissions. He argued that, rather than seeing the US's strict targets as discrimination, they should instead be seen as an opportunity. He said:

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<sup>132</sup> William J. Clinton, "Remarks on the Kyoto Protocol."

<sup>133</sup> "Statement by the President on the Paris Climate Agreement," *The White House. President Barack Obama*.

“Today, the American people can be proud -- because this historic agreement is a tribute to American leadership. Over the past seven years, we’ve transformed the United States into the global leader in fighting climate change.

[. . .]

Now, skeptics said these actions would kill jobs. Instead, we’ve seen the longest streak of private-sector job creation in our history. We’ve driven our economic output to all-time highs while driving our carbon pollution down to its lowest level in nearly two decades. And then, with our historic joint announcement with China last year, we showed it was possible to bridge the old divides between developed and developing nations that had stymied global progress for so long.”<sup>134</sup>

President Obama argued that the rigid restrictions imposed on the United States by the Kyoto Protocol had been beneficial for the United States on multiple levels. According to him, they have actually benefited the economy by stimulating growth and entrepreneurship. It has also been a victory on moral and diplomatic levels. According to Obama, the US has become a moral leader doing the right thing for the environmental protection of the whole earth and climate action has allowed for diplomatic successes with nations such as the example he cites of China.

President Clinton too drew attention to this American moral leadership within the Kyoto Protocol when he said:

“The United States delegation, at the direction of the Vice President and with the very, very skilled leadership of Under Secretary of State Stu Eizenstat, showed the way. The momentum generated by the Vice President's visit helped to move the negotiations, and I thank him very much.

I'm particularly pleased that the agreement strongly reflects the commitment of the United States to use the tools of the free market to tackle this problem.”<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> William J. Clinton, “Remarks on the Kyoto Protocol.”



He also noted this diplomatic leadership as an important side effect of the Kyoto Protocol negotiations.

A common underlying aspect of President Clinton and President Obama's argumentation was that the international climate agreements were positive for the United States because they benefited the economy and placed America in a position of global moral and diplomatic leadership. Due to these reasons the Democratic presidents justified their participation in such international agreements. It is possible to detect a change between the statements of Clinton and Obama in relation to the CBDR principle. Clinton accepted it begrudgingly with his comment that he wished developing nations had to participate more, while Obama spoke very highly of the importance of international cooperation. There was absolutely no mention of the different responsibilities of developing countries in his speech, but rather he completely accepted the CBDR principle and praised all countries working together. From these two speeches it can be concluded that Democratic presidents over the years since 1997 increasingly supported and accepted the international system in which climate agreements are negotiated.

#### 4.5 Concluding thoughts

From a close analysis of these four speeches given by Republican presidents Bush and Trump and Democratic presidents Clinton and Obama, it is possible to see the stark differences between the way Republican presidents and Democratic presidents have understood and responded to the international system in which climate agreements are negotiated. The Republican presidents have consistently rejected the principle of CBDR on which the agreements are based, while Democratic presidents have increasingly embraced the principle.

This chapter has examined the national level, the presidential level, but what about the local level and state level? Are the same party divides true when one looks at local politics? The sources from the national, presidential level demonstrate a clear dualistic split on the basis of party affiliation. The next chapter explores how California, a local actor, has responded to the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement.

## Chapter 5. Local level

*Environmental protection and greenhouse gas reduction have, since the 1980s, increasingly become part of California's political identity on levels which transcend party affiliations*

In this chapter the analysis moves from the national level to the local level, which in practice means rather than looking at the actions of the US president, looking at the actions of state governors. The focus of this project is the state of California and therefore the governor of California, and the timespan under examination stretches from 1987 to 2018. By looking at the State of the State Addresses (SOSAs) and the inaugural addresses delivered by the governors of California this chapter argues that GHG reductions have increasingly become a part of California's political identity. Additionally, on this local level, in comparison to the national level, policies on GHG emissions appear to transcend traditional political party affiliations.

### 5.1 Why California?

California is unique in many ways, starting with its sheer size. It is the most populated state in the United States, an estimate from 2016 put the population at a little over 39 million.<sup>136</sup> The state contains Los Angeles, the second biggest city in the United States, whose population is over 4 million.<sup>137</sup> As already mentioned, in May 2018, California became the world's fifth largest economy.<sup>138</sup> There is a sense when reading the SOSAs, and particularly the inaugural addresses of the governors of California that the sense of state identity is tied up with the legacy of being a frontier place, on the cutting edge; a place of bold experimentation. There is also a sense of coherency, of being one unit. "California's political culture is divided geographically, separated by the Tehachapi mountains. The distinctive

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<sup>136</sup> "California's Population," *Public Policy Institute of California*. Published March 2017. <http://www.ppic.org/publication/californias-population/>. [accessed 19<sup>th</sup> April, 2018]

<sup>137</sup> Shelby Grad, "Los Angeles hits a milestone: 4 million people and counting," *Los Angeles Times*. Published 2<sup>nd</sup> May, 2017. <http://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-historic-population-20170501-htmlstory.html>. [accessed 23<sup>rd</sup> April, 2018]

<sup>138</sup> Guardian staff and agencies, "California's economy passes UK's to become the world's fifth biggest," *The Guardian*. Published 4<sup>th</sup> May, 2018. [https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/may/04/california-economy-uk-fifth-largest?CMP=fb\\_gu](https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/may/04/california-economy-uk-fifth-largest?CMP=fb_gu). [accessed 5<sup>th</sup> May, 2018]

political style of Southern California is extremist, paranoid, and hortatory.”<sup>139</sup> Nevertheless, “surveys have indicated that Californians support the geographical integrity of the state.”<sup>140</sup> Additionally California’s political style is more ideological than for that of which there is evidence.<sup>141</sup>

This spirit of entrepreneurship and ideological leadership can be seen in California’s climate change legislation, an area of policy in which it is a national and, as the speech analysis will demonstrate, increasingly global pioneer. Such legislation began in 1988, the same year that the IPCC was formed, with Assembly Bill 4420.<sup>142</sup> Under this bill the California Energy Commission (CEC) was, “directed to prepare and maintain the inventory of greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions and to study the effects of GHGs and the climate change impacts on the state’s energy supply and demand, economy, environment, agriculture, and water supplies. The study also required recommendations for avoiding, reducing, and addressing related impacts – and required the CEC to coordinate the study and any research with federal, state, academic, and industry research projects.”<sup>143</sup> This action was in line with the sitting President, Reagan’s environmental policies and a response to the progress and direction of the Montreal Protocol. At this point California’s environmental policies were in line with the spirit and motivation of those of the federal government.

This study focuses on agreements within the UNFCCC that relate to reducing GHG emissions and regulating global temperatures. Yet, it is necessary for the purposes of this study, to add a short section on the Montreal Protocol here, although it is not the primary focus. The Montreal Protocol is an international treaty that relates to the depletion of the ozone layer. This project is about the actions of California in relation to climate change agreements. However, the Montreal Protocol provides an example of how successful a climate change agreement can be when it is fully supported by the national government. In light of this past success California’s continued lobbying of the federal government and other sub-national

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<sup>139</sup> Samuel C. Patterson, “The Political Cultures of the American States,” *The Journal of Politics*. 30, no. 1 (1968): 203.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>142</sup> “California Climate Change Legislation,” *CA.gov*. <http://www.climatechange.ca.gov/state/legislation.html>. [accessed 23<sup>rd</sup> April, 2018]

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*

actors is significant because if the Paris Agreement were to receive federal support the targets might be achievable.

### 5.1.1 The Montreal Protocol

In March 1985 the Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer was adopted and signed. The Convention was the formalization of the scientific discovery of the depletion of the ozone layer.<sup>144</sup> It provided the basis for the Montreal Protocol which was signed in 1987.<sup>145</sup> “The Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer entered into force on Jan. 1, 1989, and in the years since, it has been used to phase out nearly 100 dangerous gases. [ . . . ] If production had been allowed to continue, a batch of scientific studies show, the planet would most likely be warming a lot faster than it is.”<sup>146</sup> One such study, conducted at the Autonomous National University of Mexico, suggested “that the slowdown in global warming that has occurred over the past 15 years is a direct result, at least in part, of the success of the Montreal Protocol.”<sup>147</sup> The Montreal Protocol was negotiated by the Reagan Administration and was, “widely seen as the most successful global environmental treaty.”<sup>148</sup> President Reagan said of it: “The Montreal protocol is a model of cooperation. It is a product of the recognition and international consensus that ozone depletion is a global problem, both in terms of its causes and its effects. The protocol is the result of an extraordinary process of scientific study, negotiations among representatives of the business and environmental communities, and international diplomacy. It is a monumental achievement.”<sup>149</sup> The Montreal Protocol was fully supported by the US federal government and as a result it was extremely successful. This example demonstrates what could have been possible for the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement if they had the full backing of the federal government, and consequently why

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<sup>144</sup> United Nations, “International Day for the Preservation of the Ozone Layer, 16<sup>th</sup> September. Background,” *United Nations*. <http://www.un.org/en/events/ozoneday/background.shtml>. [accessed 2<sup>nd</sup> May, 2018]

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Justin Gillis, “The Montreal Protocol, a Little Treaty That Could,” *The New York Times*. Published 9<sup>th</sup> December, 2013. <https://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/10/science/the-montreal-protocol-a-little-treaty-that-could.html>. [accessed 2<sup>nd</sup> May, 2018]

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

<sup>149</sup> Ronald Reagan, “Statement on Signing the Montreal Protocol on Ozone-Depleting Substances,” *The American Presidency Project*. Delivered 5<sup>th</sup> April, 1988. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=35639>. [accessed 2<sup>nd</sup> May, 2018]

the governors of California have so strongly opposed President Bush and President Trump's decision to withdraw from those agreements.

As discussed in the previous chapter there has been a growing link between the Republican party and climate change denial. Although Reagan was a Republican President his work on the Montreal Protocol resulted in ground-breaking environmental protection policy and proved to be a defining moment of his presidency. It provides additional proof that the Republican link to climate change denial only developed in the aftermath of the Kyoto Protocol. It should also be noted that before he was a president, Ronald Reagan was the governor of California. His commitment to climate protection in the White House adds weight to the argument that environmental protection and climate concern are central to the Californian political identity.

Returning now to California's nationally pioneering climate change legislation. There are many bills that merit closer examination. However due to the word restrictions of this project, only one bill, Assembly Bill 32 is examined.

### 5.1.2 Assembly Bill 32

The bill was approved by Republican Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger in 2006.<sup>150</sup> Which was the year after the Kyoto Protocol entered into force globally. The Assembly Bill 32, or the California Global Warming Solutions Act, required by law "a sharp reduction of greenhouse gas emissions."<sup>151</sup> It was a historic piece of legislation, and was "the first program in the country to take a comprehensive, long-term approach to addressing climate change."<sup>152</sup> Specifically, the bill required California to reduce its GHG emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2020.<sup>153</sup> In addition it was this bill which authorised California's cap-and-trade program<sup>154</sup>, a program that is discussed further in the next chapter of this project.

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<sup>150</sup> California State Assembly, "Assembly Bill No. 32. Chapter 488," Approved by Governor September 27, 2006. Filed with Secretary of State September 27, 2006. [http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/pub/05-06/bill/asm/ab\\_0001-0050/ab\\_32\\_bill\\_20060927\\_chaptered.pdf](http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/pub/05-06/bill/asm/ab_0001-0050/ab_32_bill_20060927_chaptered.pdf). [accessed 2<sup>nd</sup> May, 2018]

<sup>151</sup> "Assembly Bill 32 Overview," *California Air Resources Board*. Page last reviewed 5<sup>th</sup> August 2014. <https://www.arb.ca.gov/cc/ab32/ab32.htm>. [accessed 2<sup>nd</sup> May, 2018].

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>153</sup> California State Assembly, "Assembly Bill No. 32."

<sup>154</sup> "Assembly Bill 32 Overview," *California Air Resources Board*.

In the second chapter of the bill, the text indicates that the Governor was putting California on the global stage. Section (c) states: “California has long been a national and international leader on energy conservation and environmental stewardship efforts, including the areas of air quality protections, energy efficiency requirements, renewable energy standards, natural resource conservation, and greenhouse gas emission standards for passenger vehicles. The program established by this division will continue this tradition of environmental leadership by placing California at the forefront of national and international efforts to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases.”<sup>155</sup> Within the very text of the bill California is setting itself up as a local actor with national and global influence. As the rest of the chapter demonstrates, California’s position as a national and global climate leader is a significant part of California’s political identity.

## 5.2 State of the State Addresses and Inaugural Addresses

In this chapter the State of the State Addresses (SOSAs) given at the beginning of each year by the Governor of California and the governor’s inaugural addresses are analysed. A SOSA is the local equivalent to the State of the Union Address given by the US president. The inaugural addresses are also comparable with the presidential inaugural addresses, of which the first was delivered by George Washington in 1793.<sup>156</sup> On the presidential level, “inaugural speeches set a tone for the administration. [. . .] Usually bipartisan and unifying, the inaugural address gives the president a first “center stage” opportunity to introduce his vision to the nation and the world.”<sup>157</sup> The State of the Union address on a presidential level addresses annually “the condition of the country,” and “outlines the nation’s most serious problems, and proposes his annual program of legislation.”<sup>158</sup> The purpose of the SOSA and inaugural address on the local level are the equivalent to the presidential level. They are useful speeches to analyse because they demonstrate how the acting governor

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<sup>155</sup> California State Assembly, “Assembly Bill No. 32.” Chapter 2 clause c.

<sup>156</sup> “Presidential Inaugurations: The Inaugural Address,” *The White House Historical Association*. <https://www.whitehousehistory.org/presidential-inaugurations-the-inaugural-address>. [accessed 7<sup>th</sup> June, 2018]

<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> “State of the Union Message,” Dictionary.com. Based on the Random House Unabridged Dictionary, © Random House, Inc. 2018. <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/state--of--the--union--address>. [accessed 7<sup>th</sup> June, 2018]

wants California to be seen on the local, national and global level. The audience for these speeches is both the citizens of California but also the rest of the US, though increasingly that audience is also the international community. These speeches set the tone for the administration and are a good indication of how the governors want California to be viewed by the rest of the country and the federal government. This speech analysis will demonstrate that California clearly wants to be seen as a climate leader.

The aim of this analysis is to identify in what ways, and how frequently, since 1987, the governors of California referred to environmental protection and the action they and their administrations have taken on climate change. This analysis is done in order to deduce if there are any patterns that can be detected in the way that governors of differing party affiliations refer to climate policy. Did governors, like the presidents on the national level, act in accordance with party affiliations or was there a difference on this local level? Did the Republican governors speak about it less than Democratic governors?

The general trend which emerged is that climate change and environmental protection are becoming increasingly important in both of these Addresses regardless of the party affiliation of the Governor.

As the following analysis demonstrates the overall issue of environmental protection and climate change have become more prevalent within the SOSAs, especially in the years since the Kyoto Protocol entered into force. By examining the text across the SOSA and the inaugural addresses three broad conclusions are drawn:

1 – The increasing number of times these issues are mentioned, and the increasing amount of the speech which is dedicated to these issues, demonstrates that GHG emissions reduction and environmental protection are becoming an increasingly central part of the identity of the state of California. There is a move from general references of environmental protection to very specific and extensive discussions of policies to reduce GHG emissions.

2 – The US Federal Government does not seem to be the authority for California on climate legislation, instead they are looking increasingly to the international community for guidance and authority.

3 – Party affiliation has little, if any, impact on the climate policies of the state. This is due to, amongst other things, California’s very real experiences of environmental disasters such as forest fires and droughts. For California, climate change is more than an ideological issue but a very real physical threat. This is particularly evidenced during the Governorship of Arnold Schwarzenegger who, as a Republican, oversaw Assembly Bill 32 discussed above.

These three conclusions are discussed in the following sections of this chapter. Within the addresses there emerges a Californian sense of self that is much larger than a state within the U.S. Instead the words and rhetoric used demonstrates that the governors’ see their actions to have implication on a local, national and global stage.

The analysis of the SOSAs and the inaugural addresses begins with the speeches from the year 1987. This date was selected because it was closest to the IPCC official consensus of the human impact on the rise of global temperatures. Using that date is therefore significant as it tracks the importance of climate change within the identity of California from the moment that it became an internationally acknowledged problem.

**Table 2**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>The number of times that environmental protection and/or climate change policy mentioned in the SOSA.</b>	<b>The number of times that environmental protection and/or climate change policy mentioned in inaugural address.</b>
1987	George Deukmijan	Republican	2	0
1988	George Deukmijan	Republican	2 (IPCC Established)	n/a
1989	George Deukmeijan	Republican	1	n/a
1990	George Deukmeijan	Republican	1	n/a



1991	Peter Wilson	Republican	3	1
1992	Peter Wilson	Republican	3 (UNFCCC signed)	n/a
1993	Peter Wilson	Republican	3	n/a
1994	Peter Wilson	Republican	1	n/a
1995	Peter Wilson	Republican	0	0
1996	Peter Wilson	Republican	0	n/a
1997	Peter Wilson	Republican	1 (Kyoto Signed)	n/a
1998	Peter Wilson	Republican	1	n/a
1999	Gary Davis	Democrat	0	2
2000	Gary Davis	Democrat	0	n/a
2001	Gary Davis	Democrat	1 (Bush withdraws from Kyoto)	n/a
2002	Gary Davis	Democrat	0	n/a
2003	Gary Davis	Democrat	0	1 & 0 *
2004	Arnold Schwarzenegger	Republican	2	n/a
2005	Arnold Schwarzenegger	Republican	2 (Kyoto Enters into Force)	n/a
2006	Arnold Schwarzenegger	Republican	0	n/a
2007	Arnold Schwarzenegger	Republican	6	5
2008	Arnold Schwarzenegger	Republican	1	n/a
2009	Arnold Schwarzenegger	Republican	1	n/a
2010	Arnold Schwarzenegger	Republican	0	n/a
2011	Edmund G. Brown Jr.	Democrat	1	3
2012	Edmund G. Brown Jr.	Democrat	6	n/a
2013	Edmund G. Brown Jr.	Democrat	5	n/a
2014	Edmund G. Brown Jr.	Democrat	5	n/a
2015	Edmund G. Brown Jr.	Democrat	10 (Paris Signed)	9
2016	Edmund G. Brown Jr.	Democrat	4 (Paris Enters into Force)	n/a
2017	Edmund G. Brown Jr.	Democrat	6	n/a
2018	Edmund G. Brown Jr.	Democrat	15 (Trump	n/a

			withdraws from Paris)	
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\*there were two elections in 2003. Gary Davis did not keep the governorship for very long.

Turning to the first of the three conclusions mentioned above: the increasing number of times and the increasing amount of the speech which is dedicated to environmental protection and GHG emissions reduction policies. As can be seen from the table above the number of times that environmental and climate related issues were mentioned in these speeches has been increasing over time. The content of these references has been changing too. Within the speeches from 1989 to 2004 all references to climate related issues were along the lines of environmental protection such as the eradication of water and air pollution. In his 1991 SOSA Governor Peter Wilson announced policy in line with this trend. He announced his intention to create a California Environmental Protection Agency (Cal-EPA)<sup>160</sup> which would consolidate the pesticide regulations from the Department of Food and Agriculture and chemical risk assessment programs from the Department of Health Services.<sup>161</sup> There has been a change in the years since 2004, the focus of the environmental sections of the speeches have become increasingly centred around GHG emission reductions policies and California’s national and global leadership on these issues.

In 2004 Arnold Schwarzenegger’s SOSA was the first time, within the timescale of this project, that renewable energy and policies to reduce emissions were mentioned. And therefore, the first time they became part of California’s official goals and a part of how California was presenting itself to the rest of the country and the world. He encouraged the use of solar power in homes and the retrofitting of old energy inefficient buildings.<sup>162</sup> Then in 2007 the words “greenhouse gas” were used for the first time in a SOSA.<sup>163</sup> In the same speech Arnold Schwarzenegger, the governor at the time, said: “I ask you to appropriate the

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<sup>159</sup> Table produced by the author.

<sup>160</sup> Peter Wilson, “State of the State Address,” 1991.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> Arnold Schwarzenegger, “State of the State Address,” *California State Library. Governors’ Gallery*. Delivered 6<sup>th</sup> January, 2004. [http://governors.library.ca.gov/addresses/s\\_38-schwarzenegger1.html](http://governors.library.ca.gov/addresses/s_38-schwarzenegger1.html). [accessed 15<sup>th</sup> April, 2018]

<sup>163</sup> Schwarzenegger, “State of the State Address,” 2007.

funds to implement this global warming legislation, so that we can become part of the world market that is already trading in credits for the reduction of greenhouse gases.”<sup>164</sup> This was in direct reference to the Kyoto Protocol emissions reductions mechanisms. It was around these years that California’s engagement with these issues moved from environmental protection to specific emissions reductions policy. It was from the inaugural address in 2007 onwards that green energy policies, GHG emissions reduction and sustainability were given increasingly greater attention. In Governor Edmund G Brown Jr.’s 2015 Inaugural Address 682 words out of 2,781 words<sup>165</sup> were dedicated to environmental sustainability and GHG emissions reduction. A quarter of the entire speech was dedicated purely to climate related policies. That was a very high percentage of the speech when compared to Governor Peter Wilson’s 1991 inaugural address which only included one sentence of 24 words on the importance of protecting California’s oceans and forests.<sup>166</sup> The increasing frequency of this topic’s inclusion in SOSAs and inaugural addresses in addition to the increasing size of these sections in the speeches indicates that GHG emissions reductions and implementing green policies are increasingly becoming a significant, if not the defining, feature of California’s public political identity.

This first conclusion relates to the second conclusion which can be drawn from the speeches, specifically that the US Federal Government does not seem to be the only authority for California on climate legislation, instead they are looking increasingly to the international community for guidance and authority. Turning again to Governor Edmund G Brown Jr.’s 2015 inaugural speech in order to find evidence for this conclusion. In the speech he said:

“California has the most far-reaching environmental laws of any state and the most integrated policy to deal with climate change of any political jurisdiction in the Western Hemisphere. Under laws that you have enacted, we are on track to meet our 2020 goal of one-third of our electricity from renewable energy. We lead the nation in energy efficiency,

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<sup>164</sup> Ibid.

<sup>165</sup> Edmund G. Brown, “Third Inaugural Address,” *California State Library. Governors’ Gallery*. Delivered 3<sup>rd</sup> January, 2015. <http://governors.library.ca.gov/addresses/39-JBrown03.html>. [accessed 15<sup>th</sup> April, 2018]

<sup>166</sup> Peter Wilson, “First Inaugural Address,” *California State Library. Governors’ Gallery*. Delivered 7<sup>th</sup> January, 1991. <http://governors.library.ca.gov/addresses/36-Wilson01.html>. [accessed 18<sup>th</sup> April, 2018]

cleaner cars and energy storage. Recently, both the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the President of the World Bank made clear that properly pricing carbon is a key strategy. California's cap-and-trade system fashioned under AB 32 is doing just that and showing how the market itself can generate the innovations we need.

[. . .]

These efforts, impressive though they are, are not enough. The United Nations' Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, backed up by the vast majority of the world's scientists, has set an ambitious goal of limiting warming to 2 degrees Celsius by the year 2050 through drastic reductions of greenhouse gases. If we have any chance at all of achieving that, California, as it does in many areas, must show the way. We must demonstrate that reducing carbon is compatible with an abundant economy and human well-being. So far, we have been able to do that."<sup>167</sup>

In this section of the speech Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr. very clearly demonstrated that the authority, guidance and recommendations of international organisations such as the World Bank and the United Nations were the most influential on California's policy decisions in relation to climate change. He made the clear link between the recommendations of UN Secretary-General and the President of the World Bank and the policies that California had already implemented. There was no reference to the federal government at any point in this section of his speech. Additionally, the speech demonstrated, in the second section quoted above, that as well as California's current policies being in line with global authority, California's future policy decisions would also be influenced by the international authorities. For example, the IPCC goal of limiting global warming to 2 degrees was cited by Governor Brown as the guiding principle for California's future climate related policies.

In the SOSAs, the other side of this coin, the rejection of US Federal authority becomes clear. In Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger's 2007 SOSA he said:

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<sup>167</sup> Brown, "Third Inaugural Address."

“We hear so much about climate change. One area where we definitely need the climate to change is in the national government’s attitude toward global warming. It would not act so California did. California has taken the leadership in moving the entire country beyond debate and denial. . . to action.”<sup>168</sup>

In this section of the speech the governor, a Republican governor, criticised the federal government’s leadership on the issue of climate change and argued that they lacked authority in this area. Instead he suggested that California reject federal authority and decide their own policies. In his inaugural address from the same year Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger said:

“Consider the danger of global warming. Imagine your child is sick with a rising fever. If 98 out of 100 doctors said that the child needed immediate treatment. . .and two doctors said that the child was just fine. . .who would you listen to? The 98 or the 2? Should we do nothing about global warming on the slim chance a few skeptics who deny its existence may be right? No, we should not.

So last year California passed the world’s most comprehensive plan to reduce greenhouse gases.”<sup>169</sup>

In this section from his inaugural address the same year, he gave a suggestion as to where authority on climate change and green policies should come from: the international scientific community. This can also be interpreted as the IPCC because they are the international scientific body which has reached the consensus that the burning of fossil fuels has impacted climate change, a consensus on which the UNFCCC is based. So just as Governor Brown argued in the following years, Governor Schwarzenegger argued that the US government is not a suitable authority for climate change legislation and instead international bodies such as the UN should be seen as the authority on such issues.

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<sup>168</sup> Schwarzenegger, “State of the State Address,” 2007.

<sup>169</sup> Arnold Schwarzenegger, “Second Inaugural Address,” *California State Library. Governors’ Gallery*. Delivered 5<sup>th</sup> January, 2007. <http://governors.library.ca.gov/addresses/38-schwarzenegger02.html>. [accessed 15<sup>th</sup> April, 2018]

Looking at these extracts, there are many more examples but due to word restriction they cannot all be examined here, it is possible to conclude that the Californian Governors are increasingly rejecting the political authority of the federal government on issues of climate change and emissions reductions, instead they are reverting to the authority of international organisations such as the United Nations or the World Bank.

The third conclusion links back to the first section of this chapter: why California? Why is California such a good case study? The answer is twofold, both ideological and practical. The ideological level has already been discussed above: California is increasingly seeing environmental and green energy policies as an integral part of its political and public identity. But the second reason has to do with pragmatism. California has experienced climate disasters more acutely than other states. This is evidenced in the third conclusion that can be drawn from the speeches. The conclusion that political party affiliation has little, if any, impact on the climate policies of California. Rather, they are a response to California's very real experiences of environmental disasters such as forest fires and droughts. For California, climate change is more than an ideological issue but a very real physical threat. This was particularly evident during the Governorship of Arnold Schwarzenegger.

One of the key differences when it comes to the local level leadership and the national level leadership in relation to international climate agreements is the role of party affiliation. It was demonstrated in the previous chapter that on the presidential level, since the signing of the Kyoto Protocol, party affiliations have had a great influence on a president's commitment to international climate agreements and the implementation of policies to reduce GHG emissions. Democratic presidents have signed international climate agreements while Republican presidents have chosen in both cases not to uphold the agreements. On the local level things are different. The analysis at the beginning of this chapter evidences that some of California's most pioneering climate change legislation has come from both Republican and Democratic Governors.

One possible explanation for this commitment to climate related legislation that becomes apparent from the inaugural addresses and the SOSAs is the practical experience of environmental disaster in California, for example forest fires. In 2017 California experienced

terrible forest fires. “Nearly 9,000 wildfires tore through the state, burning 1.2 million acres of land, destroying more than 10,800 structures and killing at least 46 people.”<sup>170</sup> This level of destruction was massive. But the devastation of forest fires is not new to California. In Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger’s 2009 SOSA he described the damages which they had cause in the previous year. He said: “Let me close by saying something about the fires of 2008. At one point I got a phone call that we had 875 wildfires burning all at the same time. I said to myself, how could we deal with this? The next morning, I got another phone call: Governor, there are now 2014 fires burning all at the same time, the largest number on record. Imagine, 2,000 plus fires. What a huge challenge.”<sup>171</sup> The economic and environmental damage of such fires is huge. Living in an area that frequently falls victim to such environmental disasters has an effect on the policies which are prioritised by local government. Governor Schwarzenegger dedicated a significant amount of his speech to the severity of the forest fire problem in California. It was clear that the physical experience of environmental disaster was significant in Californian identity. As a result, the Californian government must deliver environmental policies which address the practical environmental concerns of Californian constituents. In this way, environmental protection has become an important aspect of the Californian political identity.

The link between the lived experience of environmental disaster and policy is nowhere more apparent than in Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr.’s 2018 SOSA. In it he proposed policy as a direct result of the destruction of forest fires:

“The devastating forest fires and the mudslides are a profound and growing challenge. Eight of the state’s most destructive fires have occurred in the last five years. Last year’s Thomas fire in Ventura and Santa Barbara counties was the largest in recorded history. The mudslides that followed were among the most lethal the state has ever encountered. In 2017, we had the highest average summer temperatures in recorded history. Over the last

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<sup>170</sup> Lauren Tierney, “The grim scope of 2017’s California wildfire season is now clear. The danger’s not over,” *The Washington Post*. Published 4<sup>th</sup> January, 2018.

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2017/national/california-wildfires-comparison/?utm\\_term=.ad63ad56c437](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2017/national/california-wildfires-comparison/?utm_term=.ad63ad56c437). [accessed 25<sup>th</sup> April, 2018]

<sup>171</sup> Arnold Schwarzenegger, “State of the State Address,” *California State Library. Governors’ Gallery*. Delivered 15<sup>th</sup> January, 2009. [http://governors.library.ca.gov/addresses/s\\_38-schwarzenegger6.html](http://governors.library.ca.gov/addresses/s_38-schwarzenegger6.html). [accessed 15<sup>th</sup> April, 2018]

40 years, California's fire season has increased 78 days – and in some places it is nearly year-round.

So, we have to be ready with the necessary firefighting capability and communication systems to warn residents of impending danger. We also have to manage our forests – and soils – more intelligently.

Toward that end, I will convene a task force composed of scientists and knowledgeable forest practitioners to review thoroughly the way our forests are managed and suggest ways to reduce the threat of devastating fires. They will also consider how California can increase resilience and carbon storage capacity. Trees in California should absorb CO<sub>2</sub>, not generate huge amounts of black carbon and greenhouse gas as they do today when forest fires rage across the land.

Despite what is widely believed by some of the most powerful people in Washington, the science of climate change is not in doubt. The national academies of science of every major country in the world – including Russia and China – have all endorsed the mainstream view that human caused greenhouse gases are trapping heat in the oceans and in the atmosphere and that action must be taken to avert catastrophic changes in our weather systems. All nations agree except one and that is solely because of one man: our current president.”<sup>172</sup>

In this segment from the speech Governor Brown proposed the investment of state money into scientific investigation into the prevention of forest fires and the how to combat the CO<sub>2</sub> emissions that these fires produce. The governor was, in this speech, very directly targeting the leadership of President Trump. There is no attempt to hide his contempt of the Trump administration when he says: “All nations agree except one and that is solely because of one man: our current president.”<sup>173</sup> The criticism is so harsh and so direct because, unlike President Bush, President Trump has been extremely overt about his

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<sup>172</sup> Edmund G. Brown Jr., “State of the State Address,” *California State Library. Governors' Gallery*. Delivered 25<sup>th</sup> January, 2018. [http://governors.library.ca.gov/addresses/s\\_39-JBrown7.html](http://governors.library.ca.gov/addresses/s_39-JBrown7.html). [accessed 15<sup>th</sup> April, 2018]

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*



climate denial. The strength of Governor Brown's accusations matched up with the overtness of President Trump's contempt for the Paris Agreement.

Governor Brown argued that California had already been the victim of the dramatic weather changes that would increase in frequency as GHG emissions increased. As with Governor Schwarzenegger's 2009 SOSA it was clear that a significant factor in making GHG and environmental protection such a central part of California's political identity was California's experience of environmental disasters which is directly attributable to the rise in GHG emissions.

The underlying common thread which runs through these three conclusions is that, in relation to climate policy, California's commitment to it transcends traditional Democrat and Republican party affiliations. In this way the action on the local level is very different from the national presidential level. The two governors referenced most often in this chapter are Arnold Schwarzenegger and Edmund G. Brown Jr. a Republican and a Democrat respectively. Yet they both very strongly prioritise GHG emissions reductions and both accept the scientific underpinnings of international climate change agreements and the consensus on the human contribution to global warming. In his inaugural address from 2007 Governor Schwarzenegger specifically drew attention to this Californian post-partisan approach: "There are growing numbers of independent votes in the state. In fact, if the current trend continues, they will outnumber each of the major parties in 20 years from now. They like some of the Republican ideas. But they also like some of the Democratic ideas. At the same time, they think some Republican ideas are too far right. They think some Democratic ideas are too far to the left. And they rightly know that if you stick to just one party's proposals you miss half of the good ideas."<sup>174</sup> In a later section of the speech he linked this post-partisan approach and the physical environment saying: "We don't need Republican clean air or Democratic clean air. We all breathe the same air."<sup>175</sup> The conclusion can be drawn that issues of environmental protection and GHG emissions reductions are so central to California's political identity that they transcend party divisions. The presence of

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<sup>174</sup> Schwarzenegger, "State of the State Address," 2007.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

these things in the SOSAs and inaugural addresses also indicates that they are part of the image that California wants to present to the rest of the US and the world.

### 5.3 Concluding thoughts

Overall, through the analysis of the governors of California's SOSAs and their inaugural addresses it can be deduced that issues of environmental protection and GHG emissions reductions are becoming increasingly central to California's political identity to such an extent that they transcend party affiliations. Such issues have moved from being just a few lines in a speech to entire sections within the speeches with their own sub-headings. On the local level this is largely due to the experience of environmental disasters that are exacerbated by climate change.

A central aspect of this chapter has been to indicate that California is seeing its political authority outside the boundaries of the nation state when it comes to issues of climate change and is adhering to climate agreements set on the global level, the UN level. Yet, the chapter has focused on California's local actions. For example, the bills that have been implemented.

The local and national level are both important to examine, yet there has been very little discussion of the global level so far. The global level has been rejected by Republican Presidents and accepted by California's Governors regardless of party affiliation. This chapter hinted at the global level, but the following chapter will look at that more closely. The next chapter will give examples of the global nature of California's climate legislation and examine what the implications of both local and global action are for US national sovereignty.

## Chapter 6. Global/local level

### California: a 'glocal' actor. The re-territorialisation of political authority over climate policies

The previous two chapters looked at the way international climate agreements have been received on the national, presidential, level and the place of climate change in the political identity at the local, state, level in California. The focus of this chapter is the global level. The chapter looks specifically at California's activities on the global stage and the increasingly international position of California's governor. The timescale under examination in this chapter is the same as the previous one, 1987-2018, however there is a particular focus on the governorship of Edmund G. Brown Jr. between 2011 and the time of writing. In some senses California is acting on a global level because the very nature of its borders forces it to do so. This is within the very DNA of the state identity. California has the rare position within the United States of sharing a border with one of the United States' international neighbours, Mexico. This puts it in the position of acting on a global level simply by interacting with its neighbour. Yet having an international border, though rare, is not unique to California. Nevertheless, the rhetoric with which the Californian governors present themselves to the world is decidedly more global than, for example, that of the governors of Arizona or Montana who share borders with Mexico and Canada respectively.

As mentioned in chapter one, the Prime Minister of Canada and the President of Mexico were both highly critical of President Trump's decision to withdraw from the Paris Climate Agreement and this chapter delves deeper into California's relationship with both countries. This chapter examines California's climate actions on the global level and argues that these actions are both local and global: 'glocal'. The chapter concludes that these actions are increasingly bypassing the office of the president and in this way the re-territorialisation of political authority over climate legislation is taking place. This re-territorialisation is an unintended consequence of the unreliable presidential direction and national climate policies. The national policies are subject to dramatic change because they are heavily dependent on which party is in power. This chapter is about authority but also scale: the scale on which California is operating.

## 6.1 'City Diplomacy' - The Governor of California: a local diplomat

In the historiography chapter of this project there was a brief section dedicated to the *Clingendael* City Diplomacy report and some description of the way Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr.'s actions in relation to climate change could be understood as that of a local diplomat. The intention of this local diplomacy is not very clear. Is it a demonstration of entrepreneurship, or a political power game, or are they simply opportunistic with the Governor taking chances that are economically and reputationally beneficial to California whenever they present themselves? Based on his scathing criticism of President Trump, for example describing his decision to leave the Paris Agreement as "AWOL"<sup>176</sup> it could be argued that Governor Brown is presenting the Californian government as an alternative to the federal government for international climate deals and negotiation. Although the motivation is not apparent, the consequences of these actions are clearly contributing to the re-territorialisation of political authority. This local diplomacy is increasingly rejecting the authority and leadership of the US President. There are many examples of Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr.'s diplomatic forays. The focus of this next section is on examples with Canada and Mexico.

Yet, California does not exclusively have relationships with neighbouring countries. California has also had significant interactions with China. In US-China relations on climate change California has played a pioneering role. One example of this being the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) to Enhance Cooperation on Low Carbon Development between the National Development and Reform Commission of the People's Republic of China and the State of California of the United States of America' which was signed in San Francisco on 13<sup>th</sup> September, 2013.<sup>177</sup> The purpose of the MOU was to "strengthen and coordinate efforts to combat global climate change, promote clean and efficient energy and support low carbon development, while protecting public health, the environment and natural resources."<sup>178</sup> It was built on more than "a year and a half of significant diplomatic and business exchanges between California and China, including the Governor's Trade and

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<sup>176</sup> "Governor Brown Issues Statement on White House Paris Climate Agreement Announcement," *Office of Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr.*

<sup>177</sup> "Photo Release: Governor Brown Expands Partnership with China to Combat Climate Change," *Office of Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr.* Published 13<sup>th</sup> September, 2013.

<https://www.gov.ca.gov/2013/09/13/news18205/>. [accessed 4<sup>th</sup> May, 2018]

<sup>178</sup> Ibid.

Investment Mission to China, and the opening of the California-China Office of Trade and Investment in Shanghai and a meeting with China's President Xi Jinping."<sup>179</sup> It was undoubtedly a great achievement, but what makes the MOU so ground-breaking is the fact that it was the first such agreement signed between the Chinese National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC) and a "subnational entity."<sup>180</sup> California was being dealt with in the same way that the NDRC would have dealt with a sovereign state. This MOU gave California's claim about being global player in the arena of climate change serious legitimacy. In addition, the MOU set the precedent for similar agreements with all sorts of national and subnational actors.

In this way, through the pursuit of climate policy cooperation agreements the Californian Governor has been increasingly formalising California's position as a global actor. Before signing the MOU with China, he said: "The fact that the National Development and Reform Commission of the People's Republic of China is entering into an agreement with one of the fifty states reflects the important position of California not only in the economy, but in science, technology and climate change initiatives. I see the partnership between China, between provinces in China, and the state of California as a catalyst and as a lever to change policies in the United States and ultimately change policies throughout the world."<sup>181</sup> This MOU proved that, as local actor, California had the potential to deal with the climate change issue on an international scale. Additionally, Governor Brown was using the MOU to demonstrate that California is a viable climate partner for sovereign states. In the last sentence of the above quotation is the evidence that Governor Brown attempted to make California a global actor. In this sense the MOU with China was California's demonstration to the rest of the world of its legitimacy as a partner.

## 6.2 Agreements with Mexico: agreements between national and sub-national actors

California has made specific climate agreements with Mexico. Mexico holds a unique significance for California. California is the state with the largest population of immigrants in the US. Estimates from 2015 place the number of immigrants at roughly 10.7 million,

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<sup>179</sup> Ibid

<sup>180</sup> Ibid.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

making them 27% of California's population.<sup>182</sup> Of these immigrants the largest group come from Mexico, roughly 4.3 million.<sup>183</sup> This important relationship with Mexico is evidenced in the Californian governor's inaugural addresses and SOSAs too. It is particularly apparent in the SOSAs. Every single governor has, in at least one of his SOSAs since 1989, mentioned the effort they have invested in fostering and growing the relationship with Mexico. From Governor George Deukmejian in 1989 describing the opening of a Californian trade office in Mexico as "long overdue"<sup>184</sup> to Governor Peter Wilson in 1994 announcing that his administration will host "How to Export to Mexico" seminars for industries ranging from agriculture to tech.<sup>185</sup> The mention of these links to Mexico were most often purely economic in nature. For example, in 2002 Governor Gary Davis said: "Within 28 days of taking office, I travelled to Mexico to demonstrate the respect our only international neighbour deserves. Our trade with Mexico has increased three years in a row – and Mexico is now our largest trading partner. As a result, we've added 66,000 new jobs in California."<sup>186</sup> The first time Mexico was viewed as a potential partner in California's climate policy ambitions was in January 2014 in Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr.'s SOSA. In the SOSA he reflected on the successful partnership with China in the previous year (discussed in the section above) and he declared: "We will go to Mexico next."<sup>187</sup>

Governor Brown followed through on that declaration in two key ways in the following year. On 28<sup>th</sup> July 2014, as part of California's Trade and Investment Mission to Mexico, he signed an agreement with Mexican environment officials to "help reduce greenhouse gas emissions and combat climate change."<sup>188</sup> The text of the agreement itself stated that: "The purpose of this Memorandum of Understanding is to promote and carry out cooperative activities

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<sup>182</sup> "California's Population," *Public Policy Institute of California*. Published March 2017. <http://www.ppic.org/publication/californias-population/>. [accessed 19<sup>th</sup> April, 2018]

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> George Deukmejian, "State of the State Address," *California State Library. Governors' Gallery*. Delivered 9<sup>th</sup> January, 1989. [http://governors.library.ca.gov/addresses/s\\_35-Deukmejian07.html](http://governors.library.ca.gov/addresses/s_35-Deukmejian07.html). [accessed 18<sup>th</sup> April, 2018]

<sup>185</sup> Peter Wilson, "State of the State Address," *California State Library. Governors' Gallery*. Delivered 5<sup>th</sup> January, 1994. [http://governors.library.ca.gov/addresses/s\\_36-Wilson04.html](http://governors.library.ca.gov/addresses/s_36-Wilson04.html). [accessed 18<sup>th</sup> April, 2018]

<sup>186</sup> Gary Davis, "State of the State Address," *California State Library. Governors' Gallery*. Delivered 8<sup>th</sup> January, 2002. [http://governors.library.ca.gov/addresses/s\\_37-davis4.html](http://governors.library.ca.gov/addresses/s_37-davis4.html). [accessed 15<sup>th</sup> April, 2018]

<sup>187</sup> Edmund G. Brown Jr., "State of the State Address," *California State Library. Governors' Gallery*. Delivered 22<sup>nd</sup> January, 2014.

[http://governors.library.ca.gov/addresses/s\\_39-JBrown4.html](http://governors.library.ca.gov/addresses/s_39-JBrown4.html). [accessed 15<sup>th</sup> April, 2018].

<sup>188</sup> "Governor Brown Signs Agreement with Mexico to Reduce Dangerous Greenhouse Gases," *Office of Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr.* Published 28<sup>th</sup> July, 2014. <https://www.gov.ca.gov/2014/07/28/news18622/>. [accessed 7<sup>th</sup> May, 2018]

related to environmental issues including, inter alia, climate change, human and environmental health, air quality, wildfires, and transportation, according to their respective competencies and based on principles of equality, reciprocity, information exchange and mutual benefit.”<sup>189</sup> The following day, on the 29<sup>th</sup> July, the Governor signed an energy agreement with Mexico.<sup>190</sup> This agreement was signed with Mexico’s Secretary of Energy at the time Pedro Joaquín Coldwell in order to “foster cross-border renewable energy investments.”<sup>191</sup> This agreement was intended to “ensure that Mexico and California will work closely together to promote energy efficient and renewable energy.”<sup>192</sup> The agreements with China and Mexico can be understood as ‘glocal’ agreements. They were local because they were implemented in California, yet they were simultaneously global because they included an international sovereign state. Additionally, they were public agreements therefore they were intended for a global audience. Through the agreements with both China and Mexico it is clear that California is increasingly pursuing climate agreements with other countries. California’s governors are pursuing such agreements because they want to be seen as a global climate leader and a legitimate international climate partner.

### 6.3 Agreements with Canadian provinces: agreements between sub-national actors

In response to President Trump’s announcement of the US withdrawal from the Paris Agreement, Justin Trudeau the Canadian Prime Minister said that the Canadian government was “deeply disappointed”<sup>193</sup> with the decision. Trudeau was an enthusiastic supporter of the Paris Agreement and followed up his comments about the US by saying: “Canada is unwavering in our commitment to fight climate change [ . . . ] we are proud that Canada

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<sup>189</sup> “Memorandum of Understanding to enhance cooperation on climate change and the environment between the state of California of the United States of America and the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources and the National Forestry Commission of the United Mexican States,” *California.Gov*. Signed in Mexico City on 28<sup>th</sup> July 2014. [https://www.gov.ca.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/7.28\\_Climate\\_MOU\\_Eng.pdf](https://www.gov.ca.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/7.28_Climate_MOU_Eng.pdf). [accessed 7<sup>th</sup> May, 2018]

<sup>190</sup> “Governor Brown Signs Energy Agreement with Mexico,” *Office of Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr.* Published 29<sup>th</sup> July, 2014. <https://www.gov.ca.gov/2014/07/29/news18630/>. [accessed 7<sup>th</sup> May, 2018]

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>193</sup> “Statement by the Prime Minister of Canada in response to the United States’ decision to withdraw from the Paris Agreement,” *Justin Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada*. Published 1<sup>st</sup> June, 2017. <https://pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2017/06/01/statement-prime-minister-canada-response-united-states-decision-withdraw-paris>. [accessed 5<sup>th</sup> May, 2018.]

stands united with all the other parties that support the Agreement.”<sup>194</sup> Yet this level of enthusiasm was relatively new from the Canadian federal level. Canada’s history with international Climate agreements is somewhat similar to that of the US in the sense that Canada’s commitment to them is heavily dependent on party politics.

In December 2011, under Stephen Harper’s Conservative Government, Canada announced its decision to withdraw from the Kyoto Protocol, effective from 15<sup>th</sup> December 2012.<sup>195</sup> According to analysis by *The Guardian*: “Canada’s previous Liberal government signed the accord but did little to implement it and current prime minister Stephen Harper’s Conservative government never embraced it.”<sup>196</sup> Peter Kent, Canada’s environmental Minister at the time argued along lines similar to the Republican presidents, as discussed in chapter one. He argued that the agreement was unfair to Canada. “Kent said Canada produced “barely 2%” of global emissions. The previous Liberal government had signed on to Kyoto in 1997 without any intention of meeting its targets, he said. Kyoto originally covered countries generating less than 30% of global emissions and that had fallen to 13%. Canada wanted a fair agreement covering all nations.”<sup>197</sup> He said: “The Kyoto protocol does not cover the world’s largest two emitters, the United States and China, and therefore cannot work [ . . . ] It’s now clear that Kyoto is not the path forward to a global solution to climate change.”<sup>198</sup> It can be concluded that, like the US, Canada left Kyoto because it fundamental disagreed with the principle of CBDR and it wanted all countries to have the same responsibilities under Kyoto. Although by the time they left so had the US, so it was not simply because of the limited involvement of developing countries like China and India but also because of the limited involvement of one of the largest developed GHG emitters, the United States.

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<sup>194</sup> Ibid.

<sup>195</sup> Compliance Committee, “Canada’s withdrawal from the Kyoto Protocol and its effects on Canada’s Reporting obligations under the Protocol,” *UNFCCC*. Published 20<sup>th</sup> August, 2014. [https://unfccc.int/files/kyoto\\_protocol/compliance/enforcement\\_branch/application/pdf/cc-eb-25-2014-2\\_canada\\_withdrawal\\_from\\_kp.pdf](https://unfccc.int/files/kyoto_protocol/compliance/enforcement_branch/application/pdf/cc-eb-25-2014-2_canada_withdrawal_from_kp.pdf). [accessed 6<sup>th</sup> May, 2018]

<sup>196</sup> Staff and Agencies, “Canada Pulls out of Kyoto Protocol,” *The Guardian*. Published 13<sup>th</sup> December, 2011. <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2011/dec/13/canada-pulls-out-kyoto-protocol>. [accessed 5<sup>th</sup> May, 2018]

<sup>197</sup> Ibid.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid.



On the local level however, there has been a very different picture emerging, one of cooperation on climate change issues. California has made making agreements with regions in Canada: Ontario and Québec to be specific. An agreement was reached on 22<sup>nd</sup> September, 2017 in which the cap-and-trade programs of California, Ontario and Québec would be linked from 1<sup>st</sup> January, 2018 onwards.<sup>199</sup> This link has created the, “largest carbon allowance market in North America.”<sup>200</sup> California’s cap-and-trade program had already linked with Québec’s in 2014<sup>201</sup> and the inclusion of Ontario suggested that the linking of regional programs was a successful endeavour.

These three local actors combined constitute a significant part of their nation’s economies. “Ontario and Québec together include approximately 62% of the Canadian population, and account for roughly 58% of Canada’s GDP. California includes approximately 12% of the U.S. population and accounts for roughly 14% of the country’s GDP.”<sup>202</sup> The extension of cap-and-trade across an international border demonstrated that regional cooperation could be effective. Although the Paris Agreement and the Kyoto Protocol were aimed at nation states, local sub-national policies have also proved to be an effective way to reduce GHG emissions and aid national emissions reductions targets. In this example of sub-national cooperation, the leaders of California, Ontario and Québec have chosen to ignore their unreliable, national leadership and decided to make agreements that by-pass the national level.

#### 6.4 ‘Glocal’ Policies: the policies with Canadian provinces and Mexico are both local and global

In April 2017, Governor Brown, on California’s behalf, facilitated Canada’s and Mexico’s entry to the Under2 Coalition.<sup>203</sup> The Under2 Coalition is an example of how California is

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<sup>199</sup> Jean-Grégoire Manoukian, “California-Ontario-Québec Harmonized Cap-and-Trade Program – Compliance Digest,” *Enablon*. Published 8<sup>th</sup> December, 2017. <https://enablon.com/blog/2017/12/08/california-ontario-quebec-harmonized-cap-trade-program-compliance-digest/> [accessed 6<sup>th</sup> May, 2018]

<sup>200</sup> Ibid.

<sup>201</sup> “California, Quebec and Ontario Sign Agreement to Link Carbon Markets,” *Office of the Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr.* Published 22<sup>nd</sup> September, 2017. <https://www.gov.ca.gov/2017/09/22/news19963/>. [accessed 6<sup>th</sup> May, 2018]

<sup>202</sup> Manoukian, “California-Ontario-Québec Harmonized.”

<sup>203</sup> “Mexico and Canada Join Growing Under2 Climate Coalition,” *Office of Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr.* Published 20<sup>th</sup> April, 2017. <https://www.gov.ca.gov/2017/04/20/news19757/>. [accessed 6<sup>th</sup> May, 2018]

participating in climate lobbying initiatives with actors both on national and sub-national levels. The agreements and policies which have been reviewed in the previous two sections of this chapter; the agreements in Canada and Mexico can be understood as 'glocal' policies. They are policies which operate on many different scales. They include the local and also the global scale. This is in line with the ideas presented in the theory chapter: the work of Sassen, Brenner and Curtis. The local and the global influence one another which result in processes of denationalisation and re-territorialisation. The agreements between California, Ontario and Québec are a perfect example of how climate change policy is in a process of denationalisation. The agreement was reached by sub-national actors therefore the national element has been removed. These 'glocal' policies are locally influential and there is an interplay between them and national policies.

Despite the rise of sub-national actors like California, the nation state is still an important actor and its validity as an actor is not diminished by the rise of sub-national actors. This is evidenced by the fact that, despite the rise of 'glocal' initiatives which will be discussed in the next chapter, international climate agreements still deal with nation states as single units. The increasingly influential policies of sub-national actors do not mean that national actors are becoming less significant. As Sassen, Brenner and Curtis have analysed in the city specific cases, the rise of cities does not result in the decline of the nation state. Instead there is an interaction between the national actions and the local policies that, in the case of climate change policy in California and the US, is resulting in a re-territorialisation of political authority over climate change policies. The integrity and authority of the nation state is not fully eroded, rather the boundaries of sovereignty are being re-territorialised; California's actions demonstrate that climate change policy is no longer under the authority of the federal government. The nation state is still sovereign, however no longer over issues of climate change policy. This is part of the denationalising that Saskia Sassen has written about.

### 6.5 California and 'glocal' initiatives

In addition to 'glocal' agreements with state and non-state actors, California has also been influential in the formation of 'glocal' initiatives. Some of these 'glocal' initiatives were mentioned earlier, this section of the chapter focuses on three that California is involved in:

America's Pledge, Under2 Coalition and the 2018 Global Climate Action Summit. California was a founding member of each of these initiatives and that is significant because it is another example of California presenting itself, both on a national and global level, as a leader in GHG emissions reduction. The aim of this is to present California as a stable reliable international partner and also to influence other non-state actors. This regional influence is particularly apparent in America's Pledge.

#### 6.5.1 America's Pledge

America's Pledge is an agreement between numerous non-state actors in the US, it "brings together private and public-sector leaders to ensure the United States remains a global leader in reducing emissions and delivers the county's ambitious climate goals of the Paris Agreement."<sup>204</sup> It is the optimal example of local and global. By making such a strong stance in support of the Paris Agreement it is clearly appealing to both American citizens who supported the Paris Agreement but also to the international community, essentially rejecting the president's authority in this area. As the Pledge website itself declares: "In July 2017, former New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg and California Governor Jerry Brown launched the America's Pledge initiative, which will aggregate and quantify the actions of states, cities and businesses and other non-national actors in the United States to drive down their greenhouse gas emissions consistent with the goals of the Paris Agreement.

Collect data on non-national climate action to quantify and report on progress made towards the US pledge (Nationally Determined Contribution) under the Paris Agreement.

Communicate the findings and results of our research and data collected from non-national actors to the international community and the United Nations.

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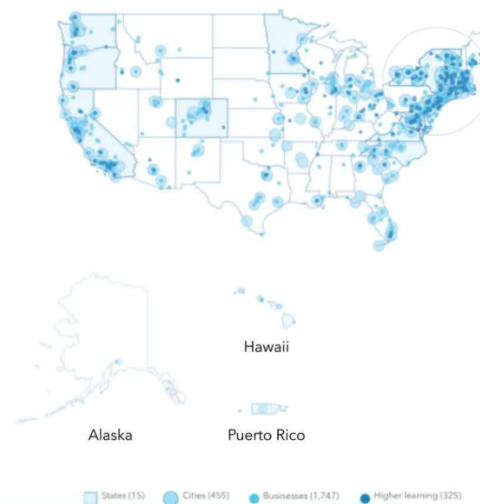
<sup>204</sup> "America's Pledge," *America's Pledge on Climate*. <https://www.americaspledgeonclimate.com/>. [accessed 7<sup>th</sup> May, 2018]

Catalyze further climate action in the near term by providing detailed roadmaps for similar business-level, city, and state action in the US and, potentially, in other countries around the world.”<sup>205</sup>

This group of local actors make up a significant and large economic force within the US, as demonstrated in the images below. California’s involvement in founding this pledge is significant because it demonstrates that California is attempting to influence other local non-state actors to pursue renewable energy and GHG emission policies regardless of national leadership.

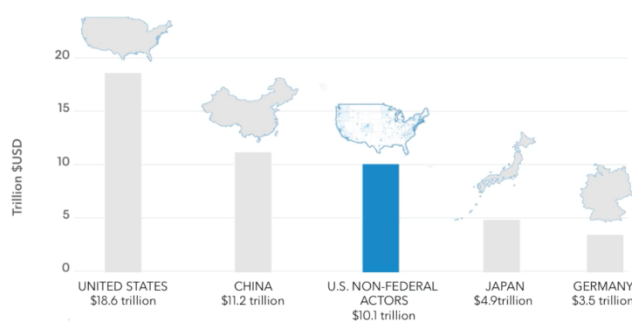
**Image 1**

**States, cities and businesses** representing **more than half the U.S. economy and population** have adopted GHG reduction targets and a similar proportion have declared their support for the Paris Agreement.



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**Image 2**



If these **non-federal actors were a country**, their economy would be the **third largest in the world**.

<sup>205</sup> “About America’s Pledge,” *America’s Pledge on Climate*.

<https://www.americaspledgeonclimate.com/about/>. [accessed 3<sup>rd</sup> May, 2018]

<sup>206</sup> “America’s Pledge,” *America’s Pledge on Climate*. There is a slideshow of images on the home page. And this is a screenshot of one of those images.

### 6.5.2 Under2 Coalition

California is also one of the founders of the Under2 Coalition, which is “a global community of ambitious sub-national governments publicly committed to long-term deep decarbonization and supporting the Paris Agreement’s climate goal of keeping the rise in global average temperature well below 2°C.

The Coalition brings together signatories of the Under2 MOU, a commitment by governments to limit their greenhouse gas emissions by 80 to 95% below 1990 levels, or to 2 annual metric tons of carbon dioxide equivalent per capita, by 2050.

The Under2 coalition is an initiative primarily driven by state, regional and provincial governments. However, jurisdictions at all levels of government are encouraged to sign or endorse the Under2 MOU, thus committing to deep decarbonisation in their jurisdictions. Signatories include over 200 states, provinces, regions and cities, as well as national government endorsers. Together they represent almost 40 percent of the global economy.”<sup>208</sup> The Under2 Coalition can be understood as a lobbying coalition. They aim to encourage and lobby national governments and local governments to prioritise GHG mitigation in order to meet their commitments to the Paris Agreement.

The Coalition itself came into being on 19<sup>th</sup> May 2015 and was based on a partnership between California and Baden-Württemberg that aimed to bring together national and regional actors “willing to make a number of key commitments towards emissions reduction and to help galvanise action”<sup>209</sup> at the Paris Climate Change Conference. Baden-Württemberg is a State in the South West of Germany and is one of the most prosperous regions in Europe. According to an estimate from 2012 the state population is roughly 10.8 million.<sup>210</sup> Although it lacks natural resources “it has developed into a technology hub, with a high density of research institutions and high employment in high-tech and future

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<sup>207</sup> Ibid.

<sup>208</sup> “Background,” *Under2 MOU*. <http://under2mou.org/background/>. [accessed 7<sup>th</sup> May, 2018]

<sup>209</sup> Ibid.

<sup>210</sup> “The State of Baden-Wuerttemberg,” *The Climate Group. States & Regions*. <https://www.theclimategroup.org/partner/state-baden-wuerttemberg>. [accessed 12<sup>th</sup> June, 2018]

technologies including green jobs and climate policies.”<sup>211</sup> Like California, Baden-Württemberg has ambitious GHG emission reduction goals. It aims to cut GHG emissions by 25% by 2020 and 90% by 2050 of 1990 levels.<sup>212</sup>

Baden-Württemberg, like California, is a local climate pioneer within a national context. It was one of the first states in Germany that enacted “a ‘climate protection bill’ and bottom-up ‘integrated concept for energy and climate protection’ that will translate the goals into legally binding targets.”<sup>213</sup> The example of Baden-Württemberg demonstrates that a non-national actor can contribute a great deal to the goal of GHG emissions reduction. However, it also demonstrates the dependence of non-state actors on national policies in order to successfully reduce GHGs.<sup>214</sup> An article from 2017 argued that Baden-Württemberg was likely to miss its targets of reducing GHG emissions by 25% by 2020 by a few percent.<sup>215</sup> It argued that they would miss this target because of their continued dependence on Germany and the European Union.<sup>216</sup> For example “without a properly functioning European emissions trading system including realistic CO2 prices,” the efforts of “Baden-Württemberg to invest in energy efficiency and thus climate protection will reach their limits.”<sup>217</sup> Both Baden-Württemberg and California are non-national actors who are doing their best on a local level to transition to green energy and reduce GHG emissions. Nevertheless, they still rely on national policy in order to meet their ambitious targets. What the Under2 Coalition demonstrates is that the actions of local actors are more effective in lobbying and encouraging other sub-national actors to reduce their GHG emissions than persuading their national governments.

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<sup>211</sup> Ibid.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid.

<sup>214</sup> “Think global, act local: The role of regional actors in climate protection,” *Green European Journal. Climate and Energy*. Published 6<sup>th</sup> September, 2017. <https://www.greeneuropeanjournal.eu/think-global-act-local-the-role-of-regional-actors-in-climate-protection/>. [accessed 12<sup>th</sup> June, 2018]

<sup>215</sup> Ibid.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid.

### 6.5.3 Global Climate Action Summit

'Glocal' initiatives look set to increase as Governor Brown has announced that California will host the Global Climate Action Summit in San Francisco in September 2018.<sup>218</sup> "The 2018 Summit will bring together leaders from state, tribal, and local government, business, and citizens from around the world, to demonstrate how the tide has turned into the race against climate change, showcase climate action taking place around the world, and inspire deeper commitments from each other and from national governments – in support of the Paris Agreement. [. . .] The Summit will culminate in a call to action to nations to step up their ambition under the Paris Agreement, and cut emissions on a science-based trajectory that limits warming to well below 2 degrees Celsius."<sup>219</sup> Unlike the other two initiatives already discussed, this one sees California not just a co-leader but a central actor. The Governor seemed to be setting California up as a central coordinator for local and sub-national actors not just in the US but globally. With this initiative California has presented itself to the international community as the national leader within the US on climate change legislation.

### 6.6 The implications of 'glocal' policies on US national sovereignty

The above mentioned 'glocal' initiatives were examples of how the political authority is being re-territorialised. The way that California has behaved indicates that climate change legislation has escaped the boundaries of traditional national sovereignty and now exists in a pre-Westphalian space. To complete this analogy a few parallels must first be drawn. In this metaphor the UNFCCC is taking the role of the papacy in the European power structures that existed before the peace of Westphalia. While the local mayors and governors are acting in the position of the local clergy and national leaders play the role of the monarchy.

California's political leadership is relating to the UNFCCC as if it is a new 'papacy'. Not that they are the new 'papacy' but California's governors have behaved as if that is the case, specifically on issues relating to climate change legislation. The same cannot be said of other

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<sup>218</sup> "California Governor Brown Announces Global Climate Action Summit in San Francisco in September 2018," *Office of Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr.* Published 6<sup>th</sup> July, 2017.

<https://www.gov.ca.gov/2017/07/06/news19866/>. [accessed 6<sup>th</sup> May, 2018]

<sup>219</sup> "About," *Global Climate Action Summit*. <https://globalclimateactionsummit.org/about/>. [accessed 6<sup>th</sup> May, 2018]

issues. There are certain things that are still very firmly controlled within the boundaries of traditional sovereignty, such as: immigration, health care practices, criminal justice. Yet climate change legislation has been re-territorialised. Since the adoption of the Kyoto Protocol, climate legislation is no longer confined by the boundaries of the nation state. California is looking increasingly to the authority of the UNFCCC and the international community, or, in the Westphalian metaphor to the papacy and the Holy Roman Empire.

#### 6.7 Example of re-territorialisation: letter from 12 Governors to President Trump

One example of this re-territorialisation of authority over climate change policy can be seen in a letter from twelve state governors to President Trump. The letter was lobbying him, attempting to persuade him to stay in the Paris Agreement, and including a thinly veiled threat that they were planning to maintain the US commitments to the Agreement.

The letter was published, and sent, on 3<sup>rd</sup> May, 2017. It was co-authored by the Governor of California Edmund G. Brown Jr. with John Hickenlooper the Governor of Colorado, Dannel P. Malloy the Governor of Connecticut, John Carney the Governor of Delaware, David Y. Ige the Governor of Hawaii, Mark Dayton the Governor of Minnesota, Andrew M. Cuomo the Governor of New York, Kate Brown the Governor of Oregon, Tom Wolf the Governor of Pennsylvania, Gina Raimondo the Governor of Rhode Island, Terence R. McAuliffe the Governor of Virginia and Jay Inslee the Governor of Washington. The letter was sent as a public letter which indicates that its intended audiences were wider than just the president himself. It was also intended for the citizens represented by the Governors who authored it and the international community, meaning the other signatories of the Paris Agreement.

The explicit agenda of the governors was to persuade President Trump to remain in the Paris Agreement. Their persuasion technique had a three-pronged approach. The first angle related to the economy. They wrote: “The policies we are implementing that support the U.S.’s achievement of its Paris commitment not only cut carbon pollution—they also create jobs, boost competitiveness, and bring clean energy and a cleaner environment to our



citizens. These benefits can and should accrue to all Americans.”<sup>220</sup> They argued that by staying in the Paris Agreement the whole of the country could benefit from things like the creation of jobs in the same way that the citizens of the represented states had. In this sense they were linking the local experience to the possibilities available nationally. For the authors the argument was simple, the US should stay in the Paris Agreement because it would be the most economically beneficial choice for the country.

The authors also appealed to the president’s patriotism by highlighting the international implications of withdrawal from Paris: “If the U.S. does not maintain global climate leadership through national policies to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and transition to clean energy, China and India will.”<sup>221</sup> They argued that China and India would likely become technological leaders in their commitment to meet their Paris Agreement obligations. The argument also had political implications, as China and India take up climate leadership the United States would become less relevant and powerful on the global political stage.

Finally, the governors also argued that staying in the Paris Agreement would be the best way to avoid increasing incidents of natural disaster. They wrote: “We see our climate changing today through rising sea levels, increasing flooding, drought, and decreasing snow cover. These changes are causing forest fires and water shortages, adding to air pollution levels, and accelerating the spread of disease-carrying pests and causing illness and death from extreme weather patterns, amongst other impacts. Our states stand to bear the brunt of these climate change impacts and the economic costs running in the tens of billions of dollars or more.”<sup>222</sup> They argued that climate change has, and will continue, to cause their states huge environmental troubles and that the economic impact of dealing with these issues is not sustainable. They argued that acting on climate change would be a crucial way for the president to protect his citizens from real environmental threats.

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<sup>220</sup> “California Governor Brown, 11 U.S. Governors Call on President Trump to Keep America in Paris Agreement,” *Office of Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr.* Published 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2017. <https://www.gov.ca.gov/2017/05/03/news19775/>. [accessed 5<sup>th</sup> March 2018]

<sup>221</sup> Ibid.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid.

These three arguments were made directly, and they were explicit, but more interesting is the implicit agenda of the document. It is in the implicit agenda of the letter that the re-territorialisation becomes clear. It seems that, with this letter, the governors were intending to reassure their citizens, and the citizens of the US more generally, that they still took climate change seriously. With the exception of Pennsylvania, all the other eleven states represented in the letter voted Democrat in the 2016 election. This letter served as an indication to those citizens that their governors were working towards their interests and with their priorities in mind.

As already mentioned, this letter was aimed at a broad audience. The letter was also addressing the international community, the other signatories of the Agreement. The implicit agenda of the letter was to signal to the international community that, on a local level, Americans were still committed to upholding the Paris Agreement. In this sense the governors were appealing to the international community for help and sympathy in their goal of proceeding with their commitments to the Paris Agreement.

With this letter the twelve governors implied their intention to rebel against the direction and leadership of President Trump. They wrote: “In each of our states, the path forward is clear. Our citizens demand the low-cost, clean-air benefits that a clean energy transition can provide. Our leading U.S. companies recognize the need to address business risks and opportunities through the Paris Agreement, and are wisely investing in low-carbon fuels and technologies to stay on the cutting edge of the global economy. Our track record—reducing carbon pollution while growing jobs and our economies—provides proof that we need not sacrifice opportunity for action. Indeed, we can secure that opportunity only by continuing to lead.”<sup>223</sup> The last sentence is particularly telling of how they viewed themselves. By saying that they would “continue to lead” it implied that they considered themselves to already be leading. The letter seems to be sending President Trump a warning that these states would not change their direction even if he did take the United States out of the Paris Climate Agreement.

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<sup>223</sup> Ibid.

The governors were implicitly and subtly pointing out their strength. They began the letter by writing: “We write as Governors of 12 states that are home to 107 million Americans and comprise approximately 38 percent of the nation’s GDP, to urge you to keep the United States in the Paris Climate Agreement.”<sup>224</sup> With this introduction they were pointing out their strength and size which demonstrated that they should be taken seriously. In the same way that this letter was an appeal to the president it was also an appeal to the international community. To extend the Westphalian metaphor from the previous section of this chapter: if the governors are the ‘clergy’, the president is the national ‘king’ and the UNFCCC is the ‘papacy’ then the letter is a good example of the local clergy appealing to the papacy because their regional king is not adhering to the authority of the papacy. It is clear that their allegiances lie with the papacy and not with the king and political authority in relation to climate legislation resembles a more pre-Westphalian model.

### 6.8 Concluding thoughts

In the previous chapter California’s position as a local actor was examined and this chapter has taken that theme further and examined how that local action intersects with the global level. This chapter has examined the agreements California has made with national actors, such as China and Mexico, and with sub-national actors like Ontario and Québec in Canada. Local action is bypassing national authority. In the case of the agreements between California, Ontario and Québec, the actors are all subject to national governments with an extremely unreliable track record on the issue of climate change. On the national level both of these country’s climate policies are dictated by party affiliations of their national leadership. The agreements between California and the provinces in Canada demonstrates that regional actors are looking to one another for guidance on climate policy rather than their national governments.

California has been a significant actor when it comes to ‘glocal’ initiatives: initiatives which have both local and global implications. In these initiatives California has bypassed, and generally stands directly in opposition to federal authority, America’s Pledge is the best example of this. The chapter concluded with a discussion of a letter sent by twelve state

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<sup>224</sup> Ibid.

Governors to President Trump lobbying him to stay in the Paris Agreement. This letter was a good example of the re-territorialisation of political authority in relation to climate change legislation that has been going on since the adoption of the Kyoto Protocol.

## Chapter 7. Conclusion

President Donald J. Trump's withdrawal from the Paris Climate Agreement on 1<sup>st</sup> June 2017, was subject to widespread international criticism and, significantly, scathing internal criticism, such as the America's Pledge initiative discussed in the previous chapter, from local political leaders. Not only was there criticism from the local level but very deliberate calls by local leaders, such as the Governor of California, to ignore President Trump's decision and nevertheless proceed with environmental protection policies. From that disparity between federal and local policy this study was born. The purpose of this study was to investigate California's national leadership in the reduction of GHG emissions and the transition to clean energy, since the global adoption of the Kyoto Protocol in 1997 and whether that is indicative of a crisis in US national sovereignty. Chapters one, two and three covered the history of the UNFCCC and climate agreements, the historiographical background of environmental history and the theoretical framework of the project.

In chapter four a brief description of the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement was provided. This was followed by an examination of the announcement speeches given by the Democratic Presidents who signed the agreements and then the Republican Presidents who withdrew from the agreements. These presidents were Bill Clinton, Barack Obama and George W. Bush and Donald J. Trump respectively. From the analysis it was concluded that, since the Kyoto Protocol, Republican Presidents have argued that the UNFCCC system in which climate agreements are negotiated is unfair towards the US and that justifies not participating in it. There was also a noticeable change between the speeches by President Bush and President Trump, there was an increasingly smaller emphasis on the scientific grounding of climate change present in the speeches. While the analysis of the Democratic President's speeches demonstrated that both presidents supported participation in these agreements because they were economically advantageous for the US. In their approach to the CBDR principle that underpinned the UNFCCC agreements there was a noticeable change over time with Democratic presidents. President Clinton reluctantly accepted it while President Obama did not see it as a problem and instead praised international cooperation. The overall conclusion was that on a national, presidential, level international climate agreements have been rejected by Republican presidents because they were

perceived as treating the US unfairly and they have been increasingly embraced by Democratic presidents.

The focus of the fifth chapter was the local level. There was an analysis of the inaugural addresses and SOSAs delivered by the governors of California since 1987. The chapter started with the acknowledgement that California is a national pioneer in policies that protect their environment and reduce GHG emissions. The analysis of the aforementioned speeches demonstrated that in the time period covered, the late 1980s to the present, that the topic of environmental protection has become an increasingly significant part of California's political identity. Unlike the national level, this has very little to do with party affiliation, but rather it is the result of the physical experience of environmental disasters related to global warming such as forest fires and droughts. What could be concluded from the speeches is that the governors of California have been increasingly looking to the international community and the decisions of the UNFCCC for political authority and legitimacy for their climate related policies.

The sixth chapter drew together all these threads and looked at the interaction between the local level and the global level and the conclusions that could be drawn about the implications on US national sovereignty. There was an examination of the Climate Agreements reached between California and national actors such as China and Mexico. There was also an examination of the agreements reached between California, Ontario and Québec which concluded that these regional actors are relying on each other to make progress on climate change because the national policy direction is too heavily determined by party affiliations. California's participation in 'glocal' initiatives was also examined. The chapter concluded by describing the implications of these actions on US national sovereignty and arguing that California is acting as if climate change is no longer under the political authority of the federal government but instead under the authority of the international system, the UNFCCC. In relation to climate change legislation the situation could be described as pre-Westphalian.

In conclusion the three final chapters combine to argue that in relation to climate change policy Republican presidents are pushing for a type of national sovereignty that is extremely

Westphalian in nature. However, the governors of California are behaving as if political authority on climate change legislation is coming from outside the territory of the United States: mainly from the international community under the UNFCCC.

The international criticism of President Bush and President Trump's decisions to withdraw from the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement respectively indicated that the US was an important national actor and its national support was considered significant for the success of both agreements. It was discussed in the sixth chapter that California has been lobbying the US government on a national level to commit to the Paris Agreement. This demonstrates that the importance of the national level has not diminished with the rise of sub-national actors.

California's leadership in the reduction of GHG emissions and the transition to clean energy, since the adoption of the Kyoto Protocol in 1997, is indicative of a re-territorialisation of political authority on a local level in relation to climate policies. Since 1997 the federal government has not been a reliable leader on climate change issues because its policies have been dictated by the party affiliations of the sitting president. California's climate policies, in comparison, are more pragmatic. The governors of California have been increasingly behaving in a way which indicates that the UN is its guiding authority on climate issues rather than the federal government. This leaves US national sovereignty in an almost pre-Westphalian state. A situation wherein the US government has control over some issues, such as immigration, but the UN is the authority on climate change policy in the same way that the Catholic Church and the Pope had trans-border authority pre-Westphalia. Nevertheless, the UN system is set up to deal with national actors and therefore local actors should continue to lobby national actors because the best way for international climate agreements to succeed is when they are supported both locally and nationally, as demonstrated by the success of the Montreal Protocol. The election of President Trump has worsened the disparity between California's climate ambitions and those of the federal government. As is shown in the speech analysis, Republican presidents have focused on climate science less and less while the governors of California have become increasingly engaged with climate change on a local, national and global level due to their experience of environmental disasters.

As the Under2 Coalition and America's Pledge demonstrated, local initiatives are extremely successful in encouraging and lobbying other local initiatives. California's steps towards green energy and the reduction of GHG emissions has very positively influenced other regional actors to behave in the same way. Although there has been a lot of hype, such as *The Guardian* article and the TED talks mentioned before, about the power of governors and local actors to tackle climate change the issue of scale is still important. As Saskia Sassen has written the rise of the sub-national actors does not mean the decline of national actors. Therefore, local actors can encourage other local actors, however they should continue to focus their energy on lobbying their national governments too in order to fulfil their commitments to international climate agreements. The success of the Montreal Protocol demonstrates that agreements are most successful when they are implemented on a national level. That scale is still significant. Whether things are implemented on a local or national scale is incredibly important for a global problem like climate change.

Climate policy must be unified in order to be effective. This project demonstrated that although climate change policy since 1997 has been a partisan issue on a national level, the Californian case study proves that climate change policy has the potential to be non-partisan. Using California as a case study demonstrates how effective climate change policy can be if climate change is looked at from a pragmatic point of view rather than through the partisan lens.

This study has only begun to scratch the surface of this topic and raises some significant questions for further investigation. One such investigation that could be carried out is to find out whether or not international climate negotiations should be conducted and agreed between local actors rather than nation states? This in turn leads to more questions about the nature of sovereignty and what issues should be under national authority and which should be under international authority and regulated entirely by bodies such as the UN.



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