Climate Change Governance & the Challenge of Multi-Level Action

A preliminary exploration of key developments, issues, & opportunities for parliamentary engagement with international & domestic climate change regimes

Written by Malini Mehra, GLOBE
THE COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION UK

CPA UK supports and strengthens parliamentary democracy throughout the Commonwealth. It focuses on key priority themes including women in parliament, modern slavery, financial oversight, security and trade.

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GOOD GOVERNANCE, PARLIAMENTARY OVERSIGHT AND ACCOUNTABILITY ACROSS THE COMMONWEALTH PROJECT

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Read more about the project here

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This paper is intended as a basis for discussion. The views and opinions expressed in this discussion paper are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of CPA UK.
CLIMATE CHANGE GOVERNANCE AND THE CHALLENGE OF MULTI-LEVEL ACTION

The discussion paper is an introduction to climate governance and devolution in national and sub-national context in the following seven countries: Australia, Canada, Maldives, Nigeria, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea and United Kingdom. This initial exploration will cover key issues and challenges with a view to deepening examination of the implications of different governance structures for climate action and implementation of the UNFCCC Paris Agreement. For example, how does devolution affect national climate strategies (e.g. UK context with Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland). Are national federal structures or sub-nationals, such as states/regions/provinces/territories, more effective in addressing climate change? What are the key issues and challenges depending on difference in governance systems?
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

To date more than 190 countries have committed themselves to national greenhouse gas emissions reductions under the Paris Climate Agreement of 2015.

Most of these governments have established national climate change action plans as their Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) and dozens have declared climate emergencies. These actions have been key starting points by member states and have established state-centric climate governance systems. However, the Paris Agreement explicitly recognises the importance of the engagements of all levels of government and various actors, in accordance with respective national legislations of Parties, in addressing climate change.

Climate governance and devolution of powers and responsibilities to sub-national entities therefore becomes a critical factor in the delivery of NDCs and related policies. With more than 2000 subnational governments having declared climate emergencies, the importance of understanding the role of sub-national governments and legislatures, and the relationship between the centre-state in national policies, is becoming more widely recognised. In countries such as the USA and Germany, clearly defined constitutional distinctions between federal and state powers and duties have resulted in often highly differentiated approaches to carbon reduction strategies and policies.

Given the significance of the issue, this discussion paper marks a first attempt to explore climate governance and devolution in seven Commonwealth nations: Australia, Canada, Maldives, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea and the United Kingdom. Countries of different sizes and constitutional systems to illustrate the diversity of experience. They span countries with different political systems, economies, population sizes and climate vulnerabilities, but underscore a common need for climate subsidiarity: action to be taken at the most appropriate level with correspondingly empowered and resourced economic and political institutions.

The paper does not attempt to be comprehensive or prescriptive but seeks to initiate a discussion on the need for greater political attention to understanding centre-state dynamics with a view to accelerating effective policy-making and delivery of climate change action plans.

The key recommendations to parliamentarians are two-fold:

(i) to study and raise awareness of the distinctions between central government and legislatures and sub-national ones; and

(ii) to subject existing national climate policies and frameworks to a ‘devolution test’ to bring clarity and aid public and institutional understanding of their different roles in climate policy formulation, delivery and monitoring, with a view to accelerating implementation at the most appropriate level of governance.
INTRODUCTION

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE REGIME FROM KYOTO TO PARIS

The origins of international climate change governance lie in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, one of the three Rio Conventions adopted at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), popularly known as the Earth Summit, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 1992. The UNFCCC is an inter-governmental agreement which entered into force in March 1994. It enjoys universal membership with 197 national governments, called Parties to the Convention, having ratified it through their domestic legislative processes.

The objective of the UNFCCC is to stabilize greenhouse gas concentrations “at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic (human induced) interference with the climate system.” The Convention is modelled on an earlier successful multilateral environmental agreement, the Montreal Protocol (1987), which operated on the basis of the precautionary principle to address threats from hazardous gases to the ozone layer.

The UNFCCC separates the world into two categories: the Annex 1 countries and non-Annex 1 countries. The former refers to industrialised countries who belong to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and 12 former Soviet-bloc members with “economies in transition” from Central and Eastern Europe. Due to historic responsibility for greenhouse gas emissions, these 36 Annex 1 countries bear the brunt of initial emissions reductions for seven greenhouse gases, lowering them progressively from a base year of 1990. The non-Annex 1 countries are largely developing countries with, at the time, weaker economies and no mandatory emissions reductions requirements under the Convention.

In addition to emissions reductions, Annex 1 countries bear responsibilities for financial support and technology transfer for climate change mitigation and adaptation in developing countries, to provide regular reports on their climate change policies and measures to the Convention secretariat, and to submit annual greenhouse inventories to monitor emissions reductions.

In 1997 at the 3rd Conference of the Parties (COP3) to the UNFCCC, Parties adopted a protocol in Japan that would define the first international legally-binding emissions reductions targets by Annex 1 countries. The Kyoto Protocol of 11 December 1997 bound Annex 1 countries to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in line with agreed individual targets. Annex B of the Kyoto Protocol sets binding emission reduction targets for 37 industrialised countries and economies in transition and the European Union. These binding targets covered only 18% of global emissions at the time and committed parties to an average 5% emission reduction compared to 1990 levels over the five-year period 2008–2012 (the first commitment period).

1 The other two being the UN Convention on Biodiversity and the UN Convention on Desertification.
2 The seven greenhouse gases listed in Annex A are carbon dioxide (CO$_2$), methane (CH$_4$), nitrous oxide (N$_2$O), hydrofluorocarbons (HFCs), perfluorocarbons (PFCs), and sulfur hexafluoride (SF$_6$). Nitrogen trifluoride (NF$_3$). Nitrogen trifluoride was added for the second compliance period during the Doha Round. Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kyoto_Protocol
3 As major emitters such as China and the USA were not included. China because of its status as a developing country and the USA because it had not ratified the Kyoto Protocol.
The Kyoto Protocol set national emissions reductions targets for industrialised countries but presented a number of means by which these could be met. One means was by using natural carbon ‘sinks’ such as forests to absorb carbon dioxide, and another was by establishing flexible market mechanisms that permitted Annex 1 and non-Annex 1 countries to help the former meet their targets by reducing emissions or removing carbon from the atmosphere in what were intended as cost-effective and mutually-beneficial arrangements. The proviso was that these mechanisms would be additional to national efforts, not in place of them. A criterion that was to be assessed and monitored by a Compliance Committee.

There were three principle market mechanisms under the Kyoto Protocol:

- **Clean development mechanism (CDM)** involving investment in developing countries to build clean(er) energy plants and infrastructure, contributing to more sustainable national development;
- **Joint implementation (JI)** which permitted Annex 1 countries to meet their reductions obligations by offset projects in other developed countries;
- **Emissions trading (ET)** which allowed countries with emission units to spare – unused credits so to speak – to sell these unused credits as commodities to countries who had exceeded theirs.

Collectively these three market mechanisms established what became known as the “carbon market” and opened up the national emissions reductions space to the private sector. Indeed, business, industry and non-governmental organisations were permitted to, and engaged, in these new schemes under the cognisance of their governments, in developing and industrialised countries.

At the conclusion of the first Commitment Period (2008-2012) of the Kyoto Protocol Parties decided at the 18th Conference of the Parties (COP18) in Doha, Qatar, to extend the Kyoto Protocol and establish a second Commitment Period from 2012-2020. This was with the assumption that there would be a comprehensive legally-binding climate change agreement under the UNFCCC by 2020. A pledge that had been made at the 17th Conference of the Parties (COP17) in 2011 in Durban, South Africa, with a view to adopting such a treaty by 2015. This new international treaty was intended to replace the Kyoto Protocol and bind all nations - including the major emitters excluded under the Kyoto Protocol such as the USA, China and India. The stage was set for Paris.

**The Paris Agreement and new forms of multilevel, collaborative implementation:**

After a four-year run-up, the 21st Conference of the Parties (COP21) under the French Presidency in Paris, delivered the most momentous agreement yet. The Paris Agreement is a universal legally-binding international treaty on climate change applicable to all nations. It was adopted by 196 Parties at COP 21 in Paris, on 12 December 2015 and entered into force on 4 November 2016. Its principle goal is to limit global warming to well below 2 °C (3.6 °F), preferably to 1.5 °C (2.7 °F) compared to pre-industrial levels. Also included are commitments to adaptation, resilience and finance.

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4 Although adopted by 196 Parties at COP21, the Paris Agreement has been ratified by 191 Parties out of 197 Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change.
The full Paris Agreement objectives (Article 2) read as follows:

This Agreement, in enhancing the implementation of the Convention, including its objective, aims to strengthen the global response to the threat of climate change, in the context of sustainable development and efforts to eradicate poverty, including by:

(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 risks and impacts of climate change;
(b) Increasing the ability to adapt to the adverse impacts of climate change and foster climate resilience and low greenhouse gas emissions development, in a manner that does not threaten food production; and
(c) Making finance flows consistent with a pathway towards low greenhouse gas emissions and climate-resilient development.

The Paris Agreement contains a number of innovative features such as the requirement to set long-term temperature goals, and for Parties to aim for global peaking of greenhouse gas emissions as soon as possible to achieve climate neutrality by mid-century. Implementation of the Paris Agreement is by Parties adopting national climate action plans called nationally determined contributions (NDCs), according to the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capacities. The Paris Agreement’s ratchet instrument is another mechanism to build progressively more ambitious national climate strategies every five years. These NDCs not only communicate action to be taken by Parties to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, but also actions to adapt to and build resilience to the impacts of global temperature rise and other climate impacts.

The first NDCs were required to be submitted by 2020 and enhanced NDCs urged in advance of the 26th Conference of the Parties (COP26) in Glasgow, Scotland in November 2021. The ratchet mechanism requires that more ambitious NDCs will be required every five years thereafter, regardless of their respective implementation time frames. The next ones will be in 2025 and 2030, and will be subject to a mandatory global stocktake starting in 2023, another Paris Agreement innovation, to review collective progress by Parties towards their long-term climate goals.

The Paris Agreement (Article 13) also establishes an enhanced transparency framework (ETF) designed to build mutual trust and confidence and to promote effective implementation of the Paris Agreement. The ETF will start in 2024 and also feed into the global stocktake process. The relevance of the ETF for legislatures has been surprisingly neglected and will be drawn out in the next section of this paper.

Finance, technology cooperation and capacity building are additional features of the Paris Agreement. The Agreements requires developed country Parties to collectively commit to USD$100 billion of climate finance for mitigation and adaptation support for developing countries by 2020. This $100 billion total is intended to be replenished annually, to provide a standing source of funds for the most vulnerable and least developed countries.

Failure to deliver on this goal – proposed originally in 2009 at COP15 in Copenhagen – has been a major bone of contention in negotiations since, and delivery by COP26 at Glasgow seen as a litmus test for developed countries’ commitment to an equitable international climate change regime by developing countries.
From national governments to sub-national engagement, the new climate landscape

Since the creation of the UNFCCC in 1992 at the Rio Earth Summit, there has been a sea change in non-state engagement with national government-centred UN treaties and processes. The UNCED Earth Summit's principle document *Agenda 21*, the UN action plan for sustainable development, was largely responsible for this with its recognition of nine\(^5\) major groups and their subsequent institutionalisation through UNCED's resultant Commission on Sustainable Development. *Major groups and other stakeholders*, many with observer status at the UN, have ever since been seen as key non-state implementors of treaties such as Agenda 21 and played a significant role in developing *Transforming our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* in 2015.

The UNFCCC process from Rio to Paris reflected this process of ever-greater enlargement of stakeholders as key delivery agents of intergovernmental agreements. There was increasing recognition from COP17 in Durban in 2011, that national governments would not be able to deliver UNFCCC commitments by themselves, and at the 2014 UN Climate Summit the UN Secretary General appointed Michael Bloomberg, former New York City mayor, as the UN Special Envoy for Cities and Climate Change. Later that year, at the 20\(^{th}\) Conference of the Parties (COP20) in Lima, Peru, the UNFCCC built this out further through its Non-State Actor Zone for Climate Action (NAZCA) platform\(^6\) and the Lima-Paris Action Agenda.

In 2015, the incoming French Presidency for COP21 instituted non-state action as the fourth pillar of their climate diplomacy, which culminated in the Paris Agreement's historical preambular recognition of the importance of multilevel governance and multistakeholder action for climate action:

> Recognizing the importance of the engagements of all levels of government and various actors, in accordance with respective national legislations of Parties, in addressing climate change

*Preamble, Paris Agreement 2015*

Paris also saw the appointment of *High-Level Champions for Climate Action* and in the following year, the *Marrakech Partnership for Global Climate Action* was launched as a more systematic institutional response to non-state actor engagement in the Paris delivery process. The Talanoa Dialogues instituted by the COP23 host, Fiji, provided yet another approach to multi-stakeholder engagement. A process that in recent years, pioneered at a global city level through *London Climate Action Week*, have been termed a 'whole of society mobilisation' for action on climate change.

Sub-national bodies such as cities, states and regions have been key to large-scale delivery, as have business and industry.

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\(^5\) The nine major groups are women; children and youth; indigenous peoples; non-governmental organizations; local authorities; workers and trade unions; business and industry; scientific and technological community.

The Local Governments and Municipal Authorities (LGMA) constituency at the UNFCCC is one of the oldest and most embedded in the sub-national government engagement process. There are now more than 20 global organisations involved in the LGMA constituency, with ICLEI acting as the focal point since the constituency’s inception in 1995 at COP1. It is arguably one of the most effective constituencies given that the majority of actions required for decarbonisation and adaptation are at the local level. According to ICLEI:

Through the LGMA Constituency, local and regional governments contribute to UNFCCC negotiations by sharing their views on various negotiation agenda items. They provide written or oral interventions, nominate representatives for technical workshops, participate at UNFCCC negotiation meetings as observers, engage in consultations of the Presidencies and convene specific events at UNFCCC official meetings. This work of the LGMA Constituency played an instrumental role in the adoption of specific COP decisions related to local and regional governments in 2010 and 2013, followed by the historic recognition of the importance of engagement of all levels of governments enshrined in the Paris Agreement and recognition of cities and other subnational governments as a dedicated group within the Non-Party Stakeholders of the UNFCCC process.

The Marrakech Partnership for Global Climate Action has seen a number of offshoot initiatives such as the Race to Zero and Race to Resilience campaigns engaging business, industry, local and regional government, civil society and others. Among recent developments ahead of COP26, the Marrakech Partnership has updated its Climate Action Pathways. Each Pathway sets out the near- and long-term milestones for limiting the global temperature rise to 1.5°C in the areas of energy, cities and other human settlements, industry, land use, oceans and coastal zones, transport, water and resilience. Collectively, these Pathways provide a blueprint to coordinate climate ambition among cities, regions, businesses and investors to reach net-zero emissions by mid-century, and limit warming to 1.5°C.

In 2014, the Global Climate Action Portal was launched as an online platform where governmental and non-governmental actors from around the globe can display their commitments to act on climate change. According to the most recent Marrakech Partnership Yearbook 2020:

...as of November 2020, the Portal registered 27,174 climate actions from 18,279 actors all around the world, representing a significant increase in actions and actors being recognized compared to COP 21 in 2015. There was also a significant increase in subnational and corporate net-zero targets in the past year, nearly doubling from late 2019 to late 2020 with 826 cities and 103 regions (representing about 11 per cent of the global population) and 1,565 companies making commitments despite the COVID-19 pandemic and the economic downturn that it brought about. A large part of the actors pledging net-zero emissions examined by the report are already taking part in the Race to Zero campaign, which at the moment encompasses 23 regions, 524 cities, 1,397 businesses, 569 universities and 74 of the biggest investors aiming for zero emissions.

8 https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/resource/2020_Yearbook_final_0.pdf
9 Idem
This State of Global Climate Action reveals the quantum of global activities and partnerships that are taking place to create delivery channels for the Paris Agreement. When one combines them with climate emergency declarations made by countries and states, and governmental net zero commitments now encompassing more than ¾ of the global economy, the scale of increase in global activity cannot be gainsaid.

[There is an] urgent need to reduce global emissions by half by 2030 in order to avoid breaching 1.5C

Nevertheless compared to the urgent need to reduce global emissions by half by 2030 in order to avoid breaching 1.5C, and the inadequacy of the most recent NDCs submitted by Parties to the UNFCCC, the scale of the challenge is still daunting.

What this new landscape of climate action does suggest however, is the absence of parliamentary engagement in, or awareness of, these UNFCCC initiatives and processes. National legislatures are seldom referenced in the materials, and even sub-national legislatures are not engaged as they could be, given the presence of organisations such as ICLEI and bodies such as LGMA.
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2 What is climate change governance and why do different constitutional arrangements matter?

Early focus on member states and national governments

The previous chapter has highlighted the emergence of the international climate change regime over the last thirty years since the adoption of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in 1992. The UNFCCC established a member state-centric international governance framework for climate change. At the national level, the process was led by the executive with foreign affairs and environment ministries typically in charge of negotiations. National parliaments had no locus standi with intergovernmental bodies such as the United Nations. In fact, the parliamentary network GLOBE International was set up by legislators themselves in 1991 to provide a platform for engagement with the UNCED process that led to the creation of the UNFCCC.

What is climate change governance?

As used here, climate change governance refers to the system of laws and institutions with decision-making and regulatory powers and duties, that direct the formulation, financing, implementation and monitoring of climate change policies, measures and processes. The climate change governance system can be international, regional, national and local.

As the previous chapter notes, the Paris Agreement has enshrined a multilevel approach with different levels of government implicated in its implementation. The interactions and dynamics amongst these different levels, in particular the relationship between central and sub-national entities such as states and provinces is of primary interest here.

All evidence from the past 10 years points to clear and overwhelming social and economic benefits of climate action. The full implementation of the agreement at the national level means that countries and non-state actors alike can fully capitalize on these benefits as they enter a new era of accelerated climate action.

Patricia Espinosa, Executive Secretary, UNFCCC

With attention now focussing post-Paris on implementation, the sub-national delegation or devolution of powers and responsibilities to sub-national actors, including parliaments and assemblies, should be the subject of far greater study and scrutiny than has been the case so far. This is the working assumption of this paper, which is an initial exploration of the subject and collation of relevant country-level data on climate change and constitutional arrangements from seven Commonwealth countries: Australia, Canada, Maldives, Nigeria, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea and United Kingdom.
The building block of climate change governance are laws. Since the days of the Kyoto Protocol in 1997 there has been an explosion of climate change legislation across the world. At the time of Kyoto, it is estimated that there were a mere 54 climate change-related laws and policies. By the time of the next major milestone COP15 in Copenhagen in 2009, there were 426. Just prior to Paris in 2015 there were 804 climate laws and policies, and since Paris the number has surged to 2345.

In short, since Kyoto there has been a doubling every five years, and since Paris there has been almost a tripling. The ‘Paris Affect’ has been particularly spectacular and is driving momentum in creating more comprehensive and complex global legislative architecture on climate change. Coverage is widening and there is no turning back.

This growth in legislation has been tracked since 2010 by the GLOBE Climate Legislation Studies and more recently by LSE GRI with the Climate Laws of the World Database. The value of these data collection efforts for parliamentarians, in particular, are threefold. Firstly, to support legislators advancing climate-related legislation by providing a detailed summary of existing legislation to identify best practice and help peer-to-peer learning. Secondly, to document the broad progress on climate change legislation at the domestic level in both industrialised and developing countries to provide positive momentum to the international negotiations. And thirdly, to highlight the fundamental role of legislators in any effective strategy to tackle climate change.

These climate legislation studies (conducted jointly with the London School of Economics Grantham Research Institute for Climate Change and Energy until 2015), present the full range of institutional, policy and legislative issues associated with climate change, although a clear delineation of the related energy, transportation, land-use and resource management objectives is not always easy. Many climate change laws also address other issues such as air pollution, energy security, green growth or disaster risk management. The studies use a broad categorisation to classify legislation – carbon pricing, energy demand, energy supply, reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation in developing countries (REDD+), land use, land-use change and forestry (LULUCF), transportation, adaptation, research and development, and institutional or administrative arrangements.

Parliaments are central to climate change governance and there has been considerable international cross-parliamentary learning to benefit from the experience of others. For example, South Korea’s emissions trading legislation and China’s sub-national schemes draw on the experience, and lessons learned, from the EU’s emissions trading system. Mexico’s General Law on Climate Change draws on the experience of the UK’s Climate Change Act, while Costa Rica’s draft law builds on Mexico’s legislation. Brazilian, Indonesian, Mexican and Congolese legislators have been sharing knowledge of forest-related legislation via the GLOBE Legislators’ Forest Initiative to ensure maximum consistency and share experience. In 2012 the team drafting China’s climate change law made a study visit to London and Brussels, to learn from the experience of the UK and the EU to inform the development of their national law.9 More recently, Nigeria’s climate change bill has benefited from discussions between Nigerian and UK legislators on the structure and experience of the UK’s Climate Change Act 2008, the first in the world and much imitated.

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9 Source: Global Climate Legislation Study 2014 and 2015
Political histories and different constitutional arrangements

In 1900 there were 77 countries in the world and under 2 billion people. Today there are 195 countries and 7.7 billion people. As a result, governance is infinitely more complex and challenging than a hundred years ago. But it is also more ordered. The emergence of the rules-based international system after the carnage of World War II has brought a measure of peace and stability. The establishment of the United Nations under the banner of peace, development and human rights, and the Bretton Woods economic institutions as part of the post-war settlement, have given structure to the community of nations for the first time in human history.

The UN Declaration of Human Rights was the first truly universal normative expression of a shared rights-based international order. All countries in the world are members of the United Nations, with the exception of the Vatican City (Holy See) and Palestine who have observer status.

These international norms and standards have found their way into national constitutions and political systems. Written constitutions were a rarity until the modern age but took off after World War I and surged in the great decolonisation period following World War II\(^\text{10}\). As a result, the constitutions to be found in many parts of the Commonwealth such as India tend to be more expansive, robust and expressly rights-based than those of the former colonial power such as the United Kingdom, which still lacks a written constitution.

The most active period of constitutional development was the forty-year period between the 1970s and 2010s. Typically nations emerging from dictatorships or political repression tend to have the strongest constitutions. Spain, Portugal, South Africa, Pakistan, Brazil, Venezuela, Bolivia, Rwanda and Zimbabwe all being cases in point. While Albania, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Slovak Republic and Serbia are all good examples from the former Eastern Bloc of modern states with strong rights-based constitutions.

The political systems created by modern constitutions reflect the different histories and traditions of countries. The adoption of parliamentary or presidential systems of governance, of unicameral or bicameral legislatures, of common law or Napoleonic code legal systems, depends on which political orbits countries moved. Canada and Australia for example, as former dominions of the British crown, have inherited a parliamentary political system. Independent Nigeria on the other hand opted for the US-style presidential system.

The last thirty years of environmental treaty building have been made possible by an international order that has managed to work towards consensus-building. The Paris Agreement could not have been possible one hundred years ago when the League of Nations collapsed. Paris was possible because political systems now are more alike than different. Of all the five major political systems – democracy, republic, monarchy, communism and dictatorship - representative democracy “government by and of the people” is the most common and has provided a shared normative framework that has facilitated intergovernmental consensus building. In particular for the past thirty years, which have seen the greatest rise in international treaty building.

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\(^{10}\) The gun, the ship and the pen: warfare, constitutions and the making of the modern world. Linda Colley, Profile books 2021:3
These political histories matter when trying to understand the political, legal and constitutional context within which multilateral environmental agreements, such as the Paris Agreement, insert themselves into and are given legal expression by.

**Different roles of the Executive, Parliament and Judiciary**

In the popular mind, governance today is largely equated with the central government of the day. Most people only have a generalised understanding of the different roles of the three branches of government – the executive, parliament and judiciary – or of the doctrine of the separation of powers. Few are aware of the different roles, powers and responsibilities of these three branches of government for law-making, administration, budgets, scrutiny, accountability, legal interpretation, challenge and review.

This lack of awareness is partly due to the decline of civics and political education, and partly to the increasingly dominant role that the executive has played in national life in the post-war period with the creation of the welfare state and the development state. The UN member state-based intergovernmental system has accentuated the role of national ministries and central government in international affairs and normed the governance = central government view. In international affairs, parliaments and the judiciary have been far less prominent.

The situation is changing, however, with parliaments’ involvement in post-Paris climate law-making and the passage of climate emergency declarations. For its part, the judiciary is attracting far greater attention as the site of climate contest and litigation against the state and business. For the 2345 climate change laws that are now on the books globally, there are 1894 climate lawsuits before the courts\(^\text{11}\).

This paper argues that it is vital to understand the different powers, roles and responsibilities of the three separate branches of government to fully appreciate the contours of climate change governance in the round. Not just as a function of the role of the executive branch of government, but also the specific roles of the legislature and the judiciary which collectively give full expression to the notion of ‘governance’ at the national level.

Each country has its own particular variety of constitutional arrangements governing the roles, powers and duties of the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government. These are important to understand to get a grip on what to expect from each branch of government and the checks and balances in place to hold them to account. Few other than some legal scholars and assiduous parliamentarians, have a well-developed understanding of comparative constitutions or the powers of different legislatures.

The University of Illinois-Champagne’s [Comparative Constitutions Project](https://climate-laws.org/) provides a unique overview of the balance of power of different political systems. Its ranking of countries according to executive power, legislative power and judicial independence, illuminate how weak or strong the different branches of government are. For example, the United Kingdom, Solomon Islands and Oman rank amongst the lowest for parliamentary power. The Maldives, Marshall Islands, Sierra Leone, Kenya and South Africa have amongst the most independent courts. Jordan, Brunei, Cameroon and Burkina Faso have amongst the most powerful executives.

These distinctions matter not only for democratic accountability but for informing public expectations of the quality, capacity and effectiveness of governance from different arms of government. A good understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of national political systems and governance institutions is vital for effective climate change governance. If a state is too weak to deliver on NDCs, or if a parliament lacks the power to hold strong states to account, governance as a whole will be affected and climate commitments compromised.

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\(^{11}\) Source: *Climate laws of the world*, Grantham Research Institute, LSE https://climate-laws.org/
Devolution and emerging importance of sub-national entities in implementation

This paper makes the case for a political analysis not just of national institutions, but of sub-national ones. As noted in earlier sections, the sub-national level of states, provinces and regions has come into greater prominence over the past decade with key figures such as mayors and provincial leaders making the case for local action. The Paris Agreement has enshrined this further with its express call for multilevel and collaborative action.

If climate change action must be multilevel, multistakeholder and collaborative, climate change governance systems must respond in kind. The days of national level action alone are over. Paris has seen to that. With national climate change frameworks and action plans in place in most countries (expressed in the NDCs), climate change governance must now address the sub-national level as the arena for implementation and delivery. This entails improved articulation of the necessary powers, duties and resource settlements to ensure sub-national delivery is fit for purpose.

This is of particular relevance for countries with federal systems of government where power is divided between a central authority and various sub-national entities such as states, provinces, territories or regions. The USA and Germany provide well-known examples of countries with strong historical national-state constitutional frameworks, where states have played a prominent role in climate action. California is a case in point, using its economic stature as the world’s 6th largest economy to drive an ambitious state climate agenda. One that is framed by strong climate legislation, the ability to raise taxes, and engage in international trade and diplomacy with major powers such as China.

The United Kingdom provides a good current example of debates taking place which can be characterised as calls for modernisation of climate change governance, in particular a new settlement between the centre, state and local levels of government to enable each level to more effectively deliver against national climate change targets.

The backdrop to this increasingly relevant debate is the UK’s Climate Change Act 2008. With this landmark piece of legislation, the UK became the first country to establish comprehensive climate change laws, soon becoming the gold-standard and sparking similar national laws around the world. In June 2019, the UK became the first national government to declare a climate emergency. With the capital city, London, taking an international lead on climate action through the establishment of the C40 initiative in the 2000s, and many more have joined since, there is a groundswell of local government in the UK calling for a new settlement between central and local government to enable local-level delivery of net zero targets. Powerful new metro mayors are calling for further decentralisation from a highly centralised UK political system, including new powers to legislate for local decarbonisation, attract capital investment, raise taxes at the city and regional level.

At a non-metropolitan sub-national level, few are aware that countries like Scotland have their own climate change laws and targets. In Scotland’s case an ambitious net zero target by 2045, that exceeds the UK’s by five years. These powers are as a result of devolution, the process started in 1998 in the UK that saw the transfer of (some) powers from central government in Westminster to the three other nations and regions of the UK. Devolution has been particularly significant for Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, with each acquiring their own parliaments and assemblies. Each devolved administration has varying executive and legislative powers to set their own policies in distinct ‘reserved’ areas from health and education, to justice and the environment.

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12 And more recently London Climate Action Week, as the largest such independent initiative in the world.
Brexit has further highlighted the differences between the UK government in Westminster and the devolved nations in approaches to environmental protection, climate change and related policies. With the UK no longer being a part of the European Union, the break-up has necessitated a rethink of current arrangements and creation of new national laws and institutions to maintain dynamic alignment with the EU\(^{13}\). For now, the situation is marked by internal domestic asymmetry and a lack of congruence between central, regional and local climate action.

To conclude, the UK experience, provides a good example of why climate change governance matters and why the search for coherence and coordination of multi-level action will mark the next post-Glasgow COP26 phase of climate policy implementation.

The next chapter draws out some relevant features for this discussion from a preliminary overview of six other Commonwealth countries: Australia, Canada, Maldives, Nigeria, Pakistan and Papua New Guinea. (Profiled in Chapter 5.) They represent a range of countries with different political systems, economies, population sizes and climate vulnerabilities, but underscore a common need for climate subsidiarity: action to be taken at the most appropriate level with correspondingly empowered and resourced economic and political institutions.

\(^{13}\) The Scottish Government has published proposals for a new UK Withdrawal from the European Union (Continuity) (Scotland) Bill to address the consequences of Brexit for environmental protection and governance in Scotland. [https://www.brexitenvironment.co.uk/2020/06/24/environmental-principles-governance-alignment-scotland-new-continuity-bill/](https://www.brexitenvironment.co.uk/2020/06/24/environmental-principles-governance-alignment-scotland-new-continuity-bill/)
This paper has made the case that in the post-Paris era, climate change policymaking and implementation has entered a new phase. With the first generation of climate change law-making and some form of framework legislation in place in many countries, climate change governance now requires a closer look at the nature of the political system and its ability to deliver from central government to local level. In other words, from top to bottom.

The paper presents a preliminary overview of some insights that can be gleaned from a handful of Commonwealth countries: Australia, Canada, Maldives, Nigeria, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea and the United Kingdom.

**Australia** presents a mixed picture. A Commonwealth with states and territories that coordinate well on scientific and technical aspects such as a consistent approach to national climate projections programme, risks and impact modelling and reporting. But with a federal government that continues to invest in and subsidise fossil fuels over renewable energy and has failed to set a zero emissions target. At the sub-tional level, one finds more responsive policy evidenced in most states and mainland territories.

Of all the seven countries reviewed, **Canada** presents the most joined-up in terms of federal and provincial/territorial (FPT) governments and the clearest delineation of powers and responsibilities. Climate change is a shared responsibility in Canada with a division of labour between the federal and provincial/territorial levels. Provinces have exclusive jurisdiction over energy development, electricity supply, resource extraction, land use and forestry, transportation infrastructure, and building codes. Federal jurisdiction over pollutants, including carbon dioxide and other GHGs, extends to matters of national interest, transboundary environmental impacts, and interprovincial/international commerce and trade.

Since 2014, the federal and provincial/territorial governments have used the Canadian Council of Ministers of the Environment (CCME) to facilitate FPT engagement on climate change. As with Australia, where the federal government is slow to act, the provinces and territories have initiated action, setting their own climate change targets. For example, while Canada has no national renewable energy targets, the province of Nova Scotia has set its own target for 80% renewable energy by 2030. Similarly, the province of Prince Edward Island – like Scotland – has exceeded the federal government’s legally binding net zero target, by setting its own for 2040.

**Nigeria** presents an interesting example of sectoral policymaking with its Land Use Act which gives states sovereignty over most of their lands. Given the critical role of land for a range of climate policy interventions, from REDD+ (reduced emissions from deforestation and land degradation), LULUCF (land use and land use change and forestry) to establishing nature-based solutions, the consent of states must be sought.
Unlike Nigeria’s federal presidential system, **Pakistan** has a federal parliamentary system with a national climate change policy where states have attracted considerable attention to do more at the local level, including through several lawsuits brought by farmers and young people to force compliance with national-level policy.

**The Maldives** are an example of a micro-state undergoing further decentralisation within a Presidential system through the establishment of a Local Government Authority. All Atoll councils are accountable to this body, though no documented evidence exists that the LGA has acted on its mandate to accelerate action on climate change.

**Papua New Guinea** offers another example of a relatively small nation with national administration divided between the centre and provinces and local government. In this case, strong overlap between the two as the twenty-two provinces are headed by Governors who are also members of the national Parliament.
4 Recommendations for further research and policy attention

Climate governance and devolution of powers and responsibilities to sub-national entities therefore becomes a critical factor in the delivery of NDCs and related policies. With more than 2000 subnational governments having declared climate emergencies, the importance of understanding the role of sub-national governments and legislatures, and the relationship between the centre-state in national policies, is becoming more widely recognised.

In countries such as the USA and Germany, clearly defined constitutional distinctions between federal and state powers and duties have resulted in often highly differentiated approaches to carbon reduction strategies and policies.

Given the significance of the issue, this discussion paper marks a first attempt to explore climate governance and devolution in seven Commonwealth nations: Australia, Canada, Maldives, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea and the United Kingdom. Countries of different sizes and constitutional systems have been chosen to illustrate the diversity of experience. The paper does not attempt to be comprehensive or prescriptive, but reveals the need for greater academic and political attention to understanding centre-state dynamics with a view to accelerating effective policy-making and delivery of climate change action plans.

The key recommendations to parliamentarians are two-fold:

(i) to study and raise awareness of the distinctions between central government and legislatures and sub-national ones; and
(ii) to subject existing national climate policies and frameworks to a ‘devolution test’ to bring clarity and aid public and institutional understanding of their different roles in climate policy formulation, delivery and monitoring, with a view to accelerating implementation at the most appropriate level of governance.
Country Profiles

Australia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Climate Laws</th>
<th>Policies</th>
<th>Lawsuits</th>
<th>Climate Targets</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>% Global Emissions</th>
<th>Climate Action Tracker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25.5m</td>
<td>1.09%</td>
<td>Highly Insufficient</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

- The Commonwealth of Australia is a federation of six states and two self-governing territories. The national government is the Australian Government, also referred to as the federal government or Commonwealth government. The constitution gives certain powers to the federal government, some powers are shared with the states and territories, while other powers remain with the states and territories. The states and territories thus have a significant degree of autonomy; the Australian Government does not have the legal power to influence many of their decisions. Source: [Introduction to Australia and its system of government | Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (dfat.gov.au)](https://dfat.gov.au)

CONSTITUTION

- The Constitution is the fundamental law of Australia binding everybody including the federal Parliament and the Parliament of each State. Accordingly, even an Act passed by a Parliament is invalid if it is contrary to the Constitution.

CLIMATE POLICIES AT NATIONAL LEVEL

- Australia’s national climate framework consists of 11 climate laws, 8 policies and 2 targets. The country’s policy journey towards climate action has been very contested and Australia is 2nd in the world (after the USA) for climate litigation with the largest number of climate change lawsuits. Its policy framework and NDC ambition is ranked as ‘Highly insufficient’ by the independent Climate Action Tracker.

- Information on Climate Change in Australia can be found here including Climate Change Explore for Australia [Super-Clusters (climatechangeinaustralia.gov.au)](https://climatechangeinaustralia.gov.au) Australia’s key climate change adaptation programmes and the Climate Compass (the risk management framework) can be found here: [Adapting to climate change | Department of Agriculture, Water and the Environment](https://www.agw.gov.au)
SUB-NATIONAL LEVEL / ACTION BY STATES OR REGIONS

What different powers/ responsibilities do states/ regions/ provinces have compared to national governments?

Role of States and Territories

- Australia has a number of clearly articulated duties that State and Territory Governments are responsible for. They must deliver a broad range of services, administer a significant body of legislation and manage a substantial number of assets and infrastructure, including assets and infrastructure of national significance. Climate change impacts will directly impact upon State and Territory services, assets and infrastructure. The focus for State and Territory Governments is on ensuring appropriate regulatory and market frameworks are in place, providing accurate and regionally appropriate information, and delivering an adaptation response in areas of policy and regulation that are within the jurisdiction of the state. This includes key areas of service delivery and infrastructure, such as emergency services, the natural environment, planning and transport. They are also required to encourage climate resilience and adaptive capacity, including:
  - promoting a risk management response to climate change adaptation by government and the private parties through appropriate forums, for example communicating changes in bushfire risk through emergency management organisations and communicating climatic changes to providers of infrastructure (both private and public);
  - ensuring State and Territory regulatory and market frameworks promote effective adaptation by private parties, using market mechanisms where these are likely to be most effective;
  - ensuring existing and new state planning, property and environmental legislation and policy encourages effective adaptation by asset owners and managers;
  - supporting Local Government to facilitate building resilience and adaptive capacity in the local community and to ensure that policies and regulations are consistent with State Government adaptation approaches.

Role of Local Governments

- In Australia, local governments are responsible for a broad range of services, the administration of a range of Commonwealth, State and Territory legislation, and the management of a substantial number of assets and infrastructure, including assets and infrastructure of local, regional, state and national significance. Local governments are on the frontline in dealing with the impacts of climate change. They have a critical role to play in ensuring that particular local circumstances are adequately considered in the overall adaptation response and in involving the local community directly in efforts to facilitate effective change. Local Governments are required to:
  - Administer relevant state and territory and / or Commonwealth (Federal) legislation to promote adaptation as required including the application of relevant codes, such as the Building Code of Australia;
  - Manage risks and impacts to public assets owned and managed by local governments;
  - Manage risks and impacts to local government service delivery;
  - Collaborate across councils and with State and Territory Governments to manage risks of regional climate change impacts;
• Ensure policies and regulations under their jurisdiction, including local planning and development regulations, incorporate climate change considerations and are consistent with State and Commonwealth (Federal) Government adaptation approaches;

• Facilitate building resilience and adaptive capacity in the local community, including through providing information about relevant climate change risks;

• Work in partnership with the community, locally-based and relevant NGOs, business and other key stakeholders to manage the risks and impacts associated with climate change; and

• Contribute appropriate resources to prepare, prevent, respond and recover from detrimental climatic impacts

**NET ZERO TARGET**

• Australia has not set a net zero target. Under the Paris Agreement, Australia committed to reduce emissions by 26-28 per cent below 2005 levels by 2030. This builds on the target under the Kyoto Protocol to reduce emissions by five per cent below 2000 levels by 2020. This has been achieved at almost 17 per cent. The 2030 target represents a halving of emissions per person. [https://www.dfat.gov.au/international-relations/themes/climate-change](https://www.dfat.gov.au/international-relations/themes/climate-change)

**CLIMATE ACTION TRACKER RATING**

• According to the non-partisan Climate Action Tracker (CAT), the Australian government has ramped up its “gas-fired recovery” over a green economic recovery, refused to increase its 2030 domestic emissions target, and is not on track to meet its current target. The CAT's new overall rating for Australia is “Highly Insufficient”. The government appears intent on replacing fossil fuels with fossil fuels: the 2021-22 budget allocates large sums (AUD 52.9m) to gas infrastructure projects and a gas-fired power station (AUD 30m), with no new support for renewable energy nor electric vehicles. The government will replace a coal power plant with a federal government-funded gas plant in New South Wales rather than renewables and storage, despite the fact subsidised competition creates high uncertainty for renewable energy investors. Australia continues to support carbon capture and storage (CCS) and fossil fuel derived hydrogen, which prolongs the life of aging fossil fuel fleets in the energy system. The federal government has failed to set a concrete zero emissions target. On a positive note, effective climate policy is evident in most states and mainland territories. [Australia | Climate Action Tracker](https://www.climateactiontracker.org/)

**ISSUES & CHALLENGES**

• Australia’s principal challenge is its continued fossil fuel dependency and lack of a net zero economic transition pathway to address it. This combined with climate change impacts such as drought, wildfires and coral bleaching leave the country vulnerable to economic impacts such as stranded assets and lack of competitiveness of agri-business and increasing social and challenges. As a fossil fuel exporter, Australia’s contribution to global emissions burden is greater than its domestic emission. Taking the country’s coal exports into account, Australia’s contribution to global emissions rises from 1.09% to close to 5%.

**GOOD WEBSITES/ RESOURCES ON CLIMATE GOVERNANCE**


Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Climate Laws</th>
<th>Policies</th>
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<th>% Global Emissions</th>
<th>Climate Action Tracker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>37.6m</td>
<td>1.64%</td>
<td>Highly Insufficient</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM**

- Canada’s political system is based on that of the United Kingdom. It is a constitutional monarchy, with the Queen or King as the Head of State, and the Prime Minister as the Head of Government.

- Canada’s Parliament is composed of the Queen of Canada (officially represented by the Governor General), the Senate and the House of Commons. The Senate has 105 seats and its members are appointed by the Governor General on the recommendation of the Prime Minister. The House of Commons consists of 338 members who are elected by Canadian citizens in general elections and by-elections.

- According to Canada’s Constitution, elections are held at least once every five years. However, an election may be called earlier if the Governor General accepts the resignation of the Prime Minister after the Government has been defeated on a motion of confidence in the House and the Governor General does not ask the leader of another party to become Prime Minister and form a government. In 2007, Parliament passed Bill C-16, which established fixed election dates every four years on the third Monday in October.

- Representation in the House of Commons is based on geographical divisions known as “electoral districts,” commonly referred to as “ridings.” The number of electoral districts is established by a formula set out in the Constitution Act, 1867, and one member of Parliament (MP) is elected in each electoral district. Canada currently has 338 ridings.

- Canada’s electoral system is referred to as a “single-member plurality” or “first-past-the-post” system. In every electoral district, the candidate with the highest number of votes wins a seat in the House of Commons and represents that electoral district as an MP. An absolute majority (more than 50 percent of the votes in the electoral district) is not required for a candidate to be elected.

- Voting in Canada is by secret ballot. The security of the ballot is paramount, and the system makes it impossible to discover who any voter has voted for.

- Adapted from: [Canada’s political system](https://www.elections.ca/en/citizens/education/learning-tools/canadas-political-system) | [Elections Canada’s Civic Education](https://electionsanddemocracy.ca)
CONSTITUTION

The Constitution of Canada is not based on a single document, but rather many different ones that collectively make up the highest levels of Canadian law. The most important of these is the Constitution Act of 1867, also known as the British North America Act. It outlines Canada's system of government, including the structure of Parliament, the way elections work, the role of the monarchy, the powers of the executive branch, and the division of powers between the federal government and the provinces. The second key piece is the Constitution Act of 1982, which is dominated by a long section called the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which outlines the civil rights of each Canadian citizen. The 1982 Act also describes the process for changing (amending) constitutional laws. Then there is everything else. In other words, various other lesser-known pieces of legislation that regulate things deemed to be “constitutional” matters —laws that affect the fundamental institutions of the Canadian government — such as laws that regulate the Governor General, the Supreme Court of Canada, and the provincial parliaments. Treaties with the aboriginal peoples of Canada also have the force of constitutional law. Adapted from: Constitution | The Canada Guide

CLIMATE POLICIES AT NATIONAL LEVEL

Canada's national climate framework consists of 7 climate laws, 19 policies and 8 targets. There is considerable variation between federal and provincial approaches and policies (see below). The country's resource intensive economy has led to conflicts between industry and government on climate change policies with climate litigation on the rise. Canada presently has 25 climate change lawsuits including those representing state-federal conflicts over the interpretation and scope of climate change legislation. Its policy framework and NDC ambition is ranked as ‘Highly insufficient’ by the independent Climate Action Tracker.

• Canada’s climate plan - Canada.ca
• Canada Policy Recommendations - Climate Scorecard

SUB-NATIONAL LEVEL / ACTION BY STATES OR REGIONS

What different powers/ responsibilities do states/ regions/ provinces have compared to national governments?

Domestic Climate Change Mitigation

• Since 2009, Canada has announced two greenhouse gas (GHG) emission reduction targets: 17% below 2005 levels by 2020 (2009) and 30% below 2005 levels by 2030 (2015). As reported in Canada’s 2015 National Inventory Report on GHG Sources and Sinks (NIR), economy-wide emissions in 2005 were 749 megatonnes (Mt). As such, Canada's 2020 (Copenhagen) and 2030 targets are 622 Mt and 524 Mt, respectively. In 2013, Canada's total GHG emissions are estimated to be 726 Mt, or 3.1% below 2005 emission levels.

• Canada’s unique geographic, demographic, and economic circumstances influence its GHG emissions profile and make addressing climate change a significant challenge. For instance, Canada has an extreme, highly variable climate that contributes to higher energy use for space heating. Moreover, Canada's large landmass and low population density contribute to higher transportation energy demand (and corresponding GHG emissions) per capita compared with more densely populated countries. As well, Canada has a large resource base, with production driven by US and global demand.
• Climate change is a shared responsibility in Canada. Under Canada’s constitution, jurisdiction for environmental protection is shared between the federal and provincial/territorial (FPT) governments. Provinces have exclusive jurisdiction over energy development, electricity supply, resource extraction, land use and forestry, transportation infrastructure, and building codes. Federal jurisdiction over pollutants, including carbon dioxide and other GHGs, extends to matters of national interest, transboundary environmental impacts, and interprovincial/international commerce and trade. Federal legislative authority on climate change is underpinned by the Canadian Environmental Protection Act, 1999 (CEPA 1999) which includes authorities to regulate various aspects of GHG releases, including setting the quantity or concentration of a GHG that may be released from various types of facilities, or from vehicles, engines and equipment. CEPA 1999 allows the federal government to establish equivalency agreements with PTs in order to avoid regulatory duplication (see below). The federal government also has program, taxation and spending authorities that can be used to address climate change.

• In 2014, the federal and provincial/territorial governments agreed to collaborate on climate change through the Canadian Council of Ministers of the Environment (CCME). Within the CCME, Ministers established a new climate change committee to facilitate ongoing FPT engagement on climate change. The initial work of the group is focused on greater collaboration on the analytical base (GHG inventories and emissions projections) but it may be a useful forum for broader climate change discussions.

• Provinces and territories set their own climate change targets and have been taking action to address climate change according to their unique circumstances. Examples include Nova Scotia’s absolute cap on emissions from electricity; Quebec’s cap-and-trade system; Ontario’s power feed-in tariffs and coal-fired electricity generation phase-out; Saskatchewan’s flaring and venting regulations for oil and gas production; Alberta’s regulatory framework for industrial emissions; and British Columbia’s carbon tax. Several governments, including British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba, Ontario, and Quebec are in the process of updating their climate change strategies.

NET ZERO TARGET

• Canada has a legally binding target of net zero emissions by 2050, with an updated NDC to reduce emissions by 40-45% compared to 2005 levels by 2030[1]. The province of Prince Edward Island (PEI) has gone further, with its own legally binding target of net zero emissions by 2040[2].

• Whilst Canada has no national renewable energy targets, there are provincial targets, such as in Nova Scotia, where 80% of electricity must be from a renewable source by 2030[3].

• In 2016, Canada adopted the Pan-Canadian Framework on Clean Growth and Climate Change (PCF), which focused on clean growth in the economy, reducing GHG emissions and increasing resilience to climate change. In 2020, Canada released a strengthened climate plan with policies, programs and investments to accelerate emission reductions and continue to grow a cleaner economy[1].

• Canada has the regulatory framework in place to phase out unabated coal by 2030, but will replace a lot of that capacity with natural gas. They aim to phase coal out completely by 2050, although this goal has been criticized for being too late. Canada has also committed to reducing methane emissions from its oil and gas sector by 40-45% compared to 2012 levels by 2025. Carbon pricing has also been in effect throughout the country since 2019[4].

• Within the transport sector, Canada has adopted sales targets for zero-emissions passenger vehicles: 10% by 2025, 30% by 2030 and 100% by 2040, and funding has been allocated to support the EV charging infrastructure, along with awareness campaigns[4].
• The government is updating energy efficiency regulations within the building sector for residential and commercial products. During the 2019 federal elections, the government promised to plant two billion trees over the next decade[4].

**CLIMATE ACTION TRACKER RATING**

• According to the non-partisan *Climate Action Tracker (CAT)*, Canada has been feeling the brunt of climate impacts, with deadly heat waves and devastating forest fires on its West Coast. Recent climate policy developments, while positive, are insufficient to address the climate crisis. The country’s new and stronger 2030 target is not quite Paris compatible. Its revised climate plan and additional measures announced in the 2021 federal budget are insufficient to meet that target. Canada continues to face challenges in implementing policies. We estimate that Canada has missed its 2020 target, even with the pandemic emissions drop.

The Trudeau government has called an election for September 20, giving Canadians the opportunity to have their say on the state of climate action in the country. CAT rates Canada’s climate target, policies and finance as ‘Highly Insufficient’. The “Highly insufficient” rating indicates that Canada’s climate policies and commitments are not consistent with the Paris Agreement’s 1.5°C temperature limit. Canada’s 2030 emissions reduction target is consistent with 2°C of warming when compared to modelled domestic emissions pathways. If fully implemented, Canada’s current policies are not enough to achieve this target and are only in line with 4°C warming. Canada is also not meeting its fair-share contributions to climate change and in addition to strengthening its targets and policies also needs to provide additional support to others. Source: [Canada | Climate Action Tracker](https://climateactiontracker.org/countries/canada/).

**ISSUES & CHALLENGES**

*Five climate issues Canada will have to tackle in 2020 - Open Canada*

**GOOD WEBSITES/ RESOURCES ON CLIMATE GOVERNANCE**

*National Issues Report (changingclimate.ca)*

*Case Studies — Canada in a Changing Climate*
Maldives

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>552.2k</td>
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</table>

**CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM**

- Maldives operates a unitary presidential system of government, with the President as the head of state and government. It has a unicameral legislature called the People’s Majlis. ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maldives](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maldives))

**CONSTITUTION**

- Maldives operates a republican constitution which is supreme. However, where the constitution is silent, the Islamic Shariah is considered. ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maldives#Government](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maldives#Government))

**CLIMATE POLICIES AT NATIONAL LEVEL**

- Maldives has 3 national climate laws, 10 policies and 7 targets. Since 2015 the country has had a national Climate Change Policy Framework and a National Adaptation Program of Action to help it adapt to the impacts of climate change act. The country is highly vulnerable to sea level rise and extreme weather events and faces an existential crisis as a small island state. It has been a vociferous champion for climate action and member of the Alliance of Small Island States and the Climate Vulnerable Forum.


**SUB-NATIONAL LEVEL / ACTION BY STATES OR REGIONS**

- What different powers/ responsibilities do states/ regions/ provinces have compared to national governments?

  - In 2010, the Maldives passes the Decentralisation Act in 2010 which led to the establishment of the Local Government Authority, to which the island and Atoll councils are now accountable to ([https://www.unicef.org/maldives/media/256/file/Study%20on%20the%20Decentralization%20Process%20In%20Maldives](https://www.unicef.org/maldives/media/256/file/Study%20on%20the%20Decentralization%20Process%20In%20Maldives)). There are however no documented independent efforts by the Local Government Authority to address the issue of climate change in Maldives

**NET ZERO TARGET:** N/A
CLIMATE ACTION TRACKER RATING

- Maldives is listed on CAT amongst countries that have submitted new targets. According to CAT, the target is “nominally stronger, but does not lead to real additional reduction.” [https://climateactiontracker.org/climate-target-update-tracker/](https://climateactiontracker.org/climate-target-update-tracker/)

ISSUES & CHALLENGES

- Maldives is one of the most endangered islands from the impacts of climate change. Since about 80% of the island's land area is less than one metre above mean sea-level ([https://www.adaptation-undp.org/explore/maldives](https://www.adaptation-undp.org/explore/maldives)), climate change is an existential threat to it. In fact, it is estimated that if the world does not take urgent actions to cut down on its emissions level immediately, by 2100, the Maldives could cease to exist ([https://www.cnbc.com/2021/05/19/maldives-calls-for-urgent-action-to-end-climate-change-sea-level-rise.html](https://www.cnbc.com/2021/05/19/maldives-calls-for-urgent-action-to-end-climate-change-sea-level-rise.html)).
Nigeria

CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

- Nigeria has a Presidential system of government with the President elected by simple majority during general elections. The President is the head of government and there is also the Legislative Arm at the Federal level, made up of 109 Senators (for the Senate) and 360 House of Representatives members (for the House of Representatives). The country also has thirty-six states and a Federal Capital Territory. These states have their own State Assemblies that legislate for them. In Nigeria, there are the Exclusive, Concurrent, and Residual legislative lists. The Exclusive is strictly for the Federal, the Concurrent is for both the federal and state, while the residual is for the state alone.

CONSTITUTION

- Nigeria's current constitution is the 1999 constitution which recognises the Presidential system of government. The constitution is supreme. However, the National Assembly can also enact laws which become binding when assented to by the President.

CLIMATE POLICIES AT NATIONAL LEVEL

- Nigeria’s national climate framework consists of 1 climate laws, 15 policies and 11 targets. The country has revised its National Climate Change policy ([https://climatechange.gov.ng/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/NCCP_NIGERIA_REVISED_2-JUNE-2021.pdf](https://climatechange.gov.ng/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/NCCP_NIGERIA_REVISED_2-JUNE-2021.pdf)) and is heading towards climate framework legislation in the form of a new Climate Change Bill which has passed the House of Representatives and is waiting passage in the Senate and assent by the President.

- The non-partisan Climate Action Tracker (CAT) ranks its policy framework and NDC ambition as ‘Highly insufficient’.

SUB-NATIONAL LEVEL/ ACTION BY STATES OR REGIONS

What different powers/ responsibilities do states/ regions/ provinces have compared to national governments?

- At the state level, there have been efforts made to help address Nigeria's climate change issues. Examples include:

- REDD+ Programme in Nigeria: Although there is coordination by the National REDD+ Secretariat in Abuja, the individual states that make up the programme operate solely at the state level. This has a lot to do with Nigeria's Land Use Act which gives the states control over most of the lands.

• On September 14, 2021, the Lagos State Government signed a Memorandum of Understanding for the Lagos State Green Bond Market Development Programme. The objective is to raise money through green bonds, that will help finance green and sustainability projects ([https://www.environewsng.com/lagos-raises-bond-to-address-climate-change/](https://www.environewsng.com/lagos-raises-bond-to-address-climate-change/)).

• The stipulations of the Land Use Act ensures that Nigeria’s efforts at nature-based solutions must have the buy-in of the states.

**NET ZERO TARGET**

• There is no official net zero commitment by Nigeria as yet. However, in its Climate Change Bill that has been passed by the House of Representatives and is presently awaiting Senate concurrence and assent by the President, there is a proposal for net zero emission between 2050-2070.

**CLIMATE ACTION TRACKER RATING**

• The Climate Action Tracker sees Nigeria as having a stronger target with economy-wide coverage. It however does not have any ratings for the country’s NDCs. ([https://climateactiontracker.org/climate-target-update-tracker/nigeria/](https://climateactiontracker.org/climate-target-update-tracker/nigeria/)).

**ISSUES & CHALLENGES**

• Climate change in Nigeria manifests in coastal erosions in the South South, gully erosions in the South East, desertification and drought in the North, irregular rainfall, extreme heat, etc. While the country is committed to scaling up its ambitions and in its recently submitted NDCs, scaled up its conditional GHG emission reduction from 45% to 47%, Nigeria’s major challenge towards just transition will come from how to find an alternative means of revenue, since the country’s revenue is largely dependent on fossil fuel.

**GOOD WEBSITES/ RESOURCES ON CLIMATE GOVERNANCE**

• [www.climatechange.gov.ng](http://www.climatechange.gov.ng); [www.climatetracker.org](http://www.climatetracker.org); [www.unfccc.int](http://www.unfccc.int)
Pakistan

<table>
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<th>Climate Laws</th>
<th>Policies</th>
<th>Lawsuits</th>
<th>Climate Targets</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>% Global Emissions</th>
<th>Climate Action Tracker</th>
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CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

- Pakistan has a federal parliamentary system of government. The Prime Minister is usually the leader of the party or coalition with a majority in the Lower House (National Assembly), is the Head of Government, while the President is the ceremonial Head of State. The country operates a bicameral legislature comprising of the Senate (Upper House) and the National Assembly (Lower House) ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan)).

CLIMATE POLICIES AT NATIONAL LEVEL

- Pakistan's national climate framework consists of 6 climate laws, 9 policies and 6 targets. The country adopted a National Climate Change Policy in 2012 which provides a framework for addressing a range of climate change issues, covering sectors such as water, agriculture, forestry, coastal areas, biodiversity, and other vulnerable ecosystems.

Pakistan is credited with being the first country in the world to establish a Ministry of Climate Change coterminous with adoption of the National Climate Change Policy in 2012. There is an unusually high degree of climate litigation in Pakistan brought by young people and others against the federal government and provinces. This includes celebrated pro-climate action judgements such as Asghar Leghari v Federation of Pakistan where a farmer brought a successful challenge against the state for inaction on climate change.

- More recently Pakistan has adopted a number of high-profile conservation initiatives and a 10 Billion trees afforestation programme across the country, as well as announcing a moratorium on new coal plants in the country. More at: [http://www.mocc.gov.pk/](http://www.mocc.gov.pk/)

SUB-NATIONAL LEVEL / ACTION BY STATES OR REGIONS?

What different powers/ responsibilities do states/ regions/ provinces have compared to national governments?

- As a federal-parliamentary government, Pakistan's administrative spheres are divided into the federal level, the provinces and territories, and the local government. the regional/territorial levels and the local government function as part of the federal. The federal however has more powers and its actions determine what the sub-regional can do. For instance, even though environmental impact is considered at the local level, there is no statutory mandate for local authorities to engage in actions that will help with climate change mitigation and adaptation especially as such signal has not come from the federal level ([https://www.lgcplus.com/politics/climate-change/pakistan-lack-of-national-declaration-hampers-local-climate-change-efforts-18-06-2020/](https://www.lgcplus.com/politics/climate-change/pakistan-lack-of-national-declaration-hampers-local-climate-change-efforts-18-06-2020/)).
NET ZERO TARGET

- A national net-zero policy has not been announced but is reportedly under discussion (https://eciu.net/netzerotracker).

CLIMATE ACTION TRACKER RATING: N/A

ISSUES & CHALLENGES

- The Global Climate Risk Index 2020 ranks Pakistan as the 5th most vulnerable country to climate change. According to the report, Pakistan lost 9,989 lives, suffered economic losses worth $3.8 billion and witnessed 152 extreme weather events from 1999 to 2018. Pakistan faces severe climate risks such as water and food insecurity, and catastrophic flooding. The country's vulnerability is further exacerbated by heavy investment in coal power, which is forecast to continue in its NDC and will increase emissions fourfold. More at https://www.dawn.com/news/1520402

GOOD WEBSITES/ RESOURCES ON CLIMATE GOVERNANCE

- http://www.mocc.gov.pk/
Papua New Guinea

**GOVERNANCE SYSTEM**

- Papua New Guinea has a Unitary Parliamentary–constitutional monarchy– system of government with Queen Elizabeth II as the Queen of Papua New Guinea. The Queen is represented by the Governor-General. The Prime Minister is the Head of Government. PNG operates a unicameral legislature from which the Governors of the 22 provinces are chosen. ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Papua_New_Guinea](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Papua_New_Guinea)). There are three levels of government in PNG viz: national, provincial, and local government.


**CONSTITUTION**

- The Constitution of the Independent State of Papua New Guinea was adopted by the House of Assembly in August 1975 entered into force in September 1975. The Constitution has been amended at least 43 times - the latest was in 2016 – the Constitutional Amendment No. 43 (Dual Citizenship) Law 2016. PNG also has a system of ‘organic laws’ that have the status of constitutional laws. The Constitution provides in s 11 that the Constitution and Organic Laws are the supreme law. Organic Laws are defined in s 12 as laws made by Parliament that are:

  (a) for or in the respect of a matter provision for which by way of an Organic Law is authorized by this Constitution; and

  (b) not inconsistent with this Constitution; and

  (c) expressed to be an Organic Law’.

- An Organic Law may be altered only by another Organic Law, or by an alteration to the Constitution.

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CLIMATE POLICIES AT NATIONAL LEVEL


- Land use and land use change and forestry (LULUCF) play a key role in PNG’s climate change challenge. The government has pledged to cut deforestation and forest degradation by 25% by 2030. ([https://www.un-redd.org/post/forests-are-central-to-papua-new-guinea-s-climate-change-fight](https://www.un-redd.org/post/forests-are-central-to-papua-new-guinea-s-climate-change-fight)).

SUB-NATIONAL LEVEL / ACTION BY STATES OR REGIONS

What different powers/ responsibilities do states/ regions/ provinces have compared to national governments?

- At the sub-national level, Papua New Guinea has twenty-two provinces headed by Governors who are also members of the national Parliament. The provinces and Local-level Governments are the main administrative units of the country ([https://www.clgf.org.uk/default/assets/File/Country_profiles/Papua_New_Guinea.pdf](https://www.clgf.org.uk/default/assets/File/Country_profiles/Papua_New_Guinea.pdf)).

NET ZERO TARGET

- A 2050 net zero target is projected but still appears to be under discussion. ([https://eciu.net/netzerotracker](https://eciu.net/netzerotracker)).

CLIMATE ACTION TRACKER RATING

- PNG is listed on CAT amongst the countries that submitted new targets. However, the target is “nominally stronger, but does not lead to real additional reduction.” ([https://climateactiontracker.org/climate-target-update-tracker/](https://climateactiontracker.org/climate-target-update-tracker/)).

ISSUES & CHALLENGES

- Climate change impacts are projected to lead to “loss of coastal defences. Loss of wetlands, changes to the fisheries, forestry and agriculture sectors, alteration to water resources and land use practices and impacts on health” ([https://www.adaptation-undp.org/explore/asia-and-pacific/papua-new-guinea](https://www.adaptation-undp.org/explore/asia-and-pacific/papua-new-guinea)). Sea level rise has displaced people in some of the provinces, while irregular rainfall also affects the largely agriculture-dependent local economies. Heatwaves caused by rising temperatures and a decrease in rainfall are among some of the other impacts facing the country due to climate change.

GOOD WEBSITES/ RESOURCES ON CLIMATE GOVERNANCE

United Kingdom

CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

• The United Kingdom is a constitutional monarchy. The Head of State of the United Kingdom is the hereditary Monarch. The Prime Minister is the Head of the United Kingdom Government. The Cabinet consists of the Prime Minister and senior Ministers and is the collective leadership of the United Kingdom Government. Ministers must be members of either House of Parliament and are appointed and dismissed by the Head of State, acting on the advice of the Prime Minister.

• There are devolved parliaments and assemblies in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. There is an assembly in Greater London. The powers and functions of these devolved parliaments and assemblies are determined by laws passed by Parliament. These laws may be amended or repealed by Act of Parliament. Local government There are directly elected local authorities in all areas of the United Kingdom. Local authorities are bound by Acts of Parliament in respect of powers to raise taxes, and to promote the economic, social and environmental well-being of the areas that they represent. The powers, funding and responsibilities of local authorities are determined by law. THE UK CONSTITUTION - London.

CONSTITUTION

• The United Kingdom constitution is composed of the laws and rules that create the institutions of the state, regulate the relationships between those institutions, or regulate the relationship between the state and the individual.

CLIMATE POLICIES AT NATIONAL LEVEL

• The UK's national climate framework consists of 18 climate laws, 25 policies and 27 targets. The UK Climate Change Act 2008 is the first such in the world and is regarded as the gold standard for national climate change framework legislation. It has inspired similar acts in many other countries. The UK has a legally binding target of net zero by 2050[1] along with targets in law to reduce greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions compared to 1990 levels: 51% by 2025, 57% by 2030 and 78% by 2035. The government is off track to reach these targets[2]. The government has announced that it will publish a comprehensive Net Zero Strategy in the lead up to COP26[3].

• Included within the Government Response to the Committee on Climate Change’s 2020 Progress Report to Parliament are sector-specific actions, which includes: transport, such as a £2 billion package for cycling and walking and £1 billion of support for ultra-low emission vehicles (ULEVs); buildings, including over £3 billion to reduce emissions from the UK’s buildings which includes grants to help homeowners obtain funding for energy saving home improvements; industry, £350 million to cut heavy industry emissions, £100 million to scale up low carbon hydrogen production and £100 million into direct air capture technologies; power, including plans to increase offshore wind
electricity generation to 40GW from 30GW, and phasing out coal powered electricity generation by 2024; and natural resources, where the government has announced funds to contribute towards planting 30,000 hectares of trees across the UK by 2025 and to restore 35,000 hectares of peatland[3].

**SUB-NATIONAL LEVEL / ACTION BY STATES OR REGIONS?**

*What different powers/ responsibilities do states/ regions/ provinces have compared to national governments?*

- Scotland - A just transition and social engagement – Scotland's 2019 Climate Change Act embeds the principles of a Just Transition, which means reducing emissions in a way which tackles inequality and promotes fair work, at the heart of Scotland's approach to reaching net-zero. The Scottish government has set a more ambitious and legally binding target of net zero emissions by 2045, with legally binding interim targets of a 75% reduction in GHGs (from 1990/1995 baselines) by 2030 and 90% by 2040[4].

  By 2030, they aim to generate 50% of Scotland's energy consumption from renewable resources, and by 2050 they aim to have decarbonised their energy system almost completely[5]. Scotland is also investing in reducing emissions in their transport sector, as well setting targets in their building sector: around 50% of homes and non-domestic buildings will be converted to a low or zero carbon heating system by 2030. The Scottish government is committed to utilising its natural capital in its net zero economy, such as developing rural communities based around woodland creation, peatland restoration, biodiversity and sustainable tourism[6].

- The Welsh government has accepted CCC's 95% recommendations for a 95% reduction in Wales and they wish to bring forward the target for Wales to achieve net zero emissions by no later than 2050. [https://gov.wales/wales-accepts-committee-climate-change-95-emissions-reduction-target](https://gov.wales/wales-accepts-committee-climate-change-95-emissions-reduction-target).

- Northern Ireland has been recommended by CCC to implement a number of measures immediately in order to achieve 35% reduction: 1. Legislate a credible long-term emissions reduction target. 2. Publish a coherent, long-term strategy for heat and energy efficiency. 3. Consult on an ambitious trajectory of new-build standards uplifts, including ensuring all new homes are designed for a changing climate, are ultra-efficient and use low-carbon heating from 2025. The Northern Ireland Executive should bring forward a resource efficiency package which matches the ambition of Wales and Scotland, including by: • Setting a target for 70% recycling across all wastes by 2030 [https://www.theccc.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Progress-in-reducing-emissions-2021-Report-to-Parliament.pdf](https://www.theccc.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Progress-in-reducing-emissions-2021-Report-to-Parliament.pdf)

**NET ZERO TARGET**

- In April 2021, the UK government announced it would set the world's most ambitious climate change target into law to reduce emissions by 78% by 2035 compared to 1990 levels. This is in line with the recommendation from the independent Climate Change Committee, this sixth Carbon Budget limits the volume of greenhouse gases emitted over a 5-year period from 2033 to 2037, taking the UK more than three-quarters of the way to reaching net zero by 2050. The Carbon Budget will ensure Britain remains on track to end its contribution to climate change while remaining consistent with the Paris Agreement temperature goal to limit global warming to well below 2°C and pursue efforts towards 1.5°C.
For the first time, this Carbon Budget will incorporate the UK's share of international aviation and shipping emissions – an important part of the government’s decarbonisation efforts that will allow for these emissions to be accounted for consistently. The government is already working towards its commitment to reduce emissions in 2030 by at least 68% compared to 1990 levels through the UK's latest Nationally Determined Contribution - the highest reduction target made by a major economy to date. Source: UK enshrines new target in law to slash emissions by 78% by 2035 - GOV. UK (www.gov.uk)

**CLIMATE ACTION TRACKER RATING**

- According to the non-partisan Climate Action Tracker, the onset of the COVID-19 crisis has had a severe impact on the UK economy, and the government's commitment to “build back greener” has so far not been matched by strong action. To date only 2% of the economic recovery funds are allocated towards climate related measures, compared to 30% of the EU's latest 2021-2027 budget and associated recovery package.

Since legislating its 2050 net-zero emissions target in 2019, the UK has been strengthening its announced suite of climate policies, an encouraging development. However, according to a key advisory body, these announcements do not yet go far enough to put the UK on a path to achieve the 2050 net-zero target. With the UK set to host the pivotal UN COP26 climate negotiations in November 2021, there is great impetus to show global leadership by bridging this policy gap. The CAT rates the UK as “Almost sufficient". [https://climateactiontracker.org/].

**ISSUES & CHALLENGES**

- Heatwaves, flooding, wildfires, sea level rise and coastal erosion, loss of species’ habitats and threats of extinction are some of the key issues and problems the UK faces today with climate change impact.


  - [The energy revolution and future challenges for UK energy and climate change policy (parliament.uk)](https://www.greenpeace.org.uk/challenges/climate-change/how-will-climate-change-affect-the-u)


  - [Flood risk and the UK | Energy & Climate Intelligence Unit (eciu.net)](https://www.greenpeace.org.uk/challenges/climate-change/how-will-climate-change-affect-the-u)

**How is the UK tackling the climate change?**

- Britain's Climate Change Act 2008 - legally binding national commitment and Carbon Budgets (The first carbon budget (2008-12) and the second (2013-17) have been met and the UK is on track to outperform the third (2018-22). However, it is not on track to meet the fourth (2023-27) or the fifth (2028-32).

- Action on climate change can be divided between measures to cut carbon emissions and promote cleaner alternatives in energy supply; to support energy efficiency; drive corporate reporting of carbon emissions; and support climate action overseas. [How is the UK tackling climate change? | Energy & Climate Intelligence Unit (eciu.net)].
GOOD WEBSITES / RESOURCES ON CLIMATE GOVERNANCE

- climate-change.pdf (icicibank.co.uk)
- Mayor sets out bold strategy to make London the greenest global city | London City Hall
- Climate change: Where we are in seven charts and what you can do to help - BBC News
- Great Britain: most important environmental issues 2020 | Statista
- ukcp18_headline_findings_v3.pdf (metoffice.gov.uk)