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Mainstreaming Climate Change in Development Cooperation: Theory, Practice and Implications for the European Union

Edited by Joyeeta Gupta and Nicolien van der Grijp

Summary for policymakers

The problem

Climate change and development are closely related. A debate that has been taking place in the margins of the climate change negotiations for some years now – is whether these two issues should be dealt with together or not. Initially the political trend was to focus exclusively on climate change and hope that a technocratic and market based approach would lead to a rapid solution to the climate problem. However, increasingly the need to mainstream climate change into development cooperation is being picked up by a number of different actors in the international arena. This has also been translated into policy decisions at the level of the European Union and the OECD/ DAC. Although there are a large number of practical reasons driving this debate there are also a number of reasons to be sceptical about this new shift in the policy process.

The question

Against this background, the overarching question is: Should countries mainstream climate change into development cooperation? The sub-questions that fall under this overarching question are: What does mainstreaming climate change into development cooperation mean in terms of both the theory of mainstreaming and in terms of the current policy and approach to mainstreaming? What can be learnt from past experiences in development cooperation? What are the political sensitivities and the practical arguments regarding the issue of mainstreaming climate change into development cooperation? What is the policy of the European Union and its member states on incorporating climate change in development cooperation? What are key developing country needs and how do they align to the supply of assistance to these countries?

Structure of the assessment

The assessment begins by describing the problem (Chapter 1) framing the issue in terms of the literature on development cooperation (Chapter 2) and mainstreaming (Chapter 3). It then takes a policy perspective examining the evolving positions on global cooperation (Chapter 4) and climate change cooperation (Chapter 5). It then specifically examines the position of the European Union (Chapter 6) and its member states (Chapter 7) on development cooperation and the role of climate change therein. A third step is a closer examination of the needs of developing countries as reflected in critical national documents (Chapter 8) and the supply of assistance as reflected in EU documents on their partner countries (Chapter 9). The last chapter draws conclusions based on the previous analysis.

Lessons learnt from development cooperation applicable to climate cooperation

Chapter 2 argues that the history of development cooperation has been subject to questioning the effectiveness of such cooperation and whether it should be continued. However, relatively little systematic and comprehensive work has been undertaken on the effectiveness of development cooperation as a whole taking also into account the very political nature of the instrument. Like others, the book focuses more on the question – how can development cooperation be made more effective and suggests accepting the idea of ‘clumsy BASICS’.

Clumsy (a la Verweij and Thompson, 2006) reacts against the modern reductionist tendency to make everything efficient and to ignore the inherent political nature of the development cooperation tool; political in terms of the motives of the donor and political in terms of the context in which it is expected to make a difference.

‘BASICS’ refers to five ideas that need to be considered, but are not prescriptions to be blindly followed. ‘B’ is for ‘broader assessments’ of aid processes and approaches that take a transdisciplinary approach to analyzing the results rather than converting the results to single criteria predetermined in advance; this gives confidence in the aid process and justifies its continuation by ensuring fine-tuning based on assessments. ‘A’ is for ‘aligning’ aid type with partner country, organization and person, where long-term budgetary, programme and sectoral assistance is provided to competent persons in governments within countries with good governance, short-term project related assistance to competent persons and organizations within countries with poorer governance, and a community-based, basic needs approach to the poorest countries. ‘S’ is for ‘simplicity avoidance’ and realizing that change in specific places occurs in very specific context-relevant power relationships and that development cooperation has to find a route through these relationships to identify workable solutions. ‘I’ is for ‘imbalances’ or distortions to the local economy in terms of income, diversion of expertise and resources from one field to another, policy substitution effect and other distortions that should be avoided. ‘C’ is for rigid ‘conditionalities’ including conditions on recipients, tied aid and technical assistance. However, while these can have counterproductive results, they also create a domestic constituency in donor countries; and removing them may remove the domestic constituency. ‘S’ is for engaging and mobilizing ‘stakeholders’.

Mainstreaming is not integration

Chapter 3 argues that the tendency of some actors including the EU to use the term mainstreaming as synonymous to integration is inappropriate. It submits that: ‘Mainstreaming of climate change into development and/ or development cooperation is the process by which existing processes are redesigned and reorganized, improved, developed and evaluated from the perspective of climate change mitigation and adaptation. Mainstreaming implies involving all social actors – governments, civil society, industry, and local communities – into the process. Mainstreaming calls for changes in policy as far upstream as possible.’ It argues that the process of incorporating climate change into development and development policy includes five stages, of which the very last stage is mainstreaming. The earlier stages include a focus on ad hoc projects, a systematic search for win-win projects, climate impact proofing of the entire

portfolio of projects and taking into account the emissions of greenhouse gases from such projects (See Figure 1).

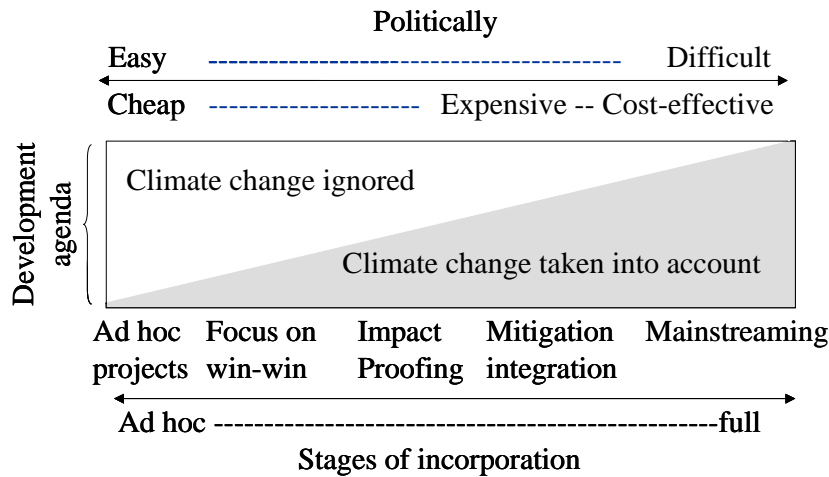


Figure 1. The stages of incorporating climate change in development and/or development cooperation

The book also recommends that climate mainstreaming should link up with existing mainstreaming efforts in other environmental areas, gender and disaster, because of the close links between these. This can be undertaken through adopting a CEGD lens – a climate, environment, gender and disaster lens.

Climate change and development cooperation are two complex North-South issues

Chapter 4 submits that international cooperation in the area of development has been governed in a diffuse manner and is a politically sensitive issue from a North-South perspective for four reasons:

- the right to development which has been on the international agenda since the 1960s, finally adopted by Declaration in 1986 remains contested as to whether it applies to people or states;
- the voluntary promise of the industrialized countries to provide 0.7% of their GNI as resources for development cooperation has been on the agenda since the 1950s, but articulated often since the 1970s has still to be implemented by the majority of donors;
- the link between right to development and the voluntary commitment to development cooperation is articulated as a right to development cooperation and this is contested; and
- assistance via development cooperation does not compensate for the perceived lack of a level playing field in other areas of international cooperation, namely trade and investment.

Chapter 5 argues further that climate change too has a strong North-South character for four reasons:

- Past emissions of greenhouse gases mostly by the industrialized countries will have negative impacts on the developing countries in the near future and exacerbate their existing problems;
- Although the original North-South deal was that the industrialized countries would reduce their own emissions first, and help developing countries to reduce their emissions, this deal has morphed four times, and current emission reductions are marginal in the industrialized countries compared to what is necessary, partly offset by the emission reductions purchased in the South. The lack of drastic reductions in the developed countries, also limits the space for growth in the developing countries if global concentrations are to be kept at so-called 'safe' levels.
- The resources for climate assistance is cumulatively in the order of millions, while possibly some 270 billion may be needed annually (Opschoor 2009). The assistance was expected to leverage sustainable development benefits, but these have been elusive.
- Finally, past efforts of the developed countries to define climate change as a narrow sectoral, technocratic issue and to emphasize mitigation over adaptation, especially given how low the mitigation is, is also problematic for the developing countries.

In combination, the climate change and development issues become a highly sensitive North-South issue. First, the *right* to development of 1986 is recognized as a *need* in the preamble and is morphed into the "right to and should promote sustainable development" principle in the Climate Convention. The right to traditional forms of development is thus not recognized as such. There is some attempt within the UN Human Rights Council to reinvigorate this discussion through their examination of climate change and human rights. Second, the ICs have not delivered on their promise to provide 0.7% of GNI for about four decades. The promised new and additional resources for climate change appear to be equally elusive, being more in USD millions cumulatively than the USD billions needed annually. Third, although market mechanisms have been created to promote greenhouse gas- friendly investments in the South, this basically offsets IC emissions, and has no impact on normal technology transfer to the South or on rules of international trade.

The European Union and its Member States: Diverging views on mainstreaming

Chapters 6 and 7 provide a history of the discussion on mainstreaming within the European Union and its Member States. Based on the analysis, the chapters submit that, as the single largest donor, the EU and its member states could seriously influence global development cooperation policy. Given that at Union level, the motivation is security, altruism with respect to the Millennium Development Goals and ideological in terms of promoting liberal democracy, the Union has fewer specific geopolitical motivations than individual countries and could potentially serve as a role model in the future. The Union has been trying to consistently integrate environmental and climate change policy in its sectoral policies, including development cooperation policy; although the latter may be easier to achieve than the former. Although the EU uses integration and mainstreaming as synonymous terms in respect of the environment, in terms of our definitions, the EU leans towards climate proofing and integration, although in terms of practice it does not seem to be able to get beyond ad hoc projects and win-win projects, partly because of the

need to ensure partner country ownership of ideas. The EU is reticent about its views with respect to meeting the 0.7% and the new and additional norms; but has noted its determination to increase its assistance to 0.7% by 2015 in general and to Africa in particular.

Unlike the EU's policy, member states have divergent policies on aid. Of the 27 EU member states, only 15 are OECD DAC donor states and only 21 have signed the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness. Only four small member states have met the 0.7% target and implicitly accept the new and additional norm for environmental help. Member states have difficulty mainstreaming climate change into their national policies – and simple evidence of that is that some older member states are allowed to increase their emissions and most are purchasing reductions elsewhere. Definitions, policies, and tools differ with respect to mainstreaming. From the five countries studied, Denmark and Germany take climate change seriously in their aid strategies. Denmark has clear objectives, specific actions, indicators and entry points. Germany has operationalized its ideas and subjects its portfolio to an assessment. The other countries are debating on how best to incorporate climate change into their strategy (see Figure 2). Likewise the emphasis given by individual countries to specific values in aid differs.

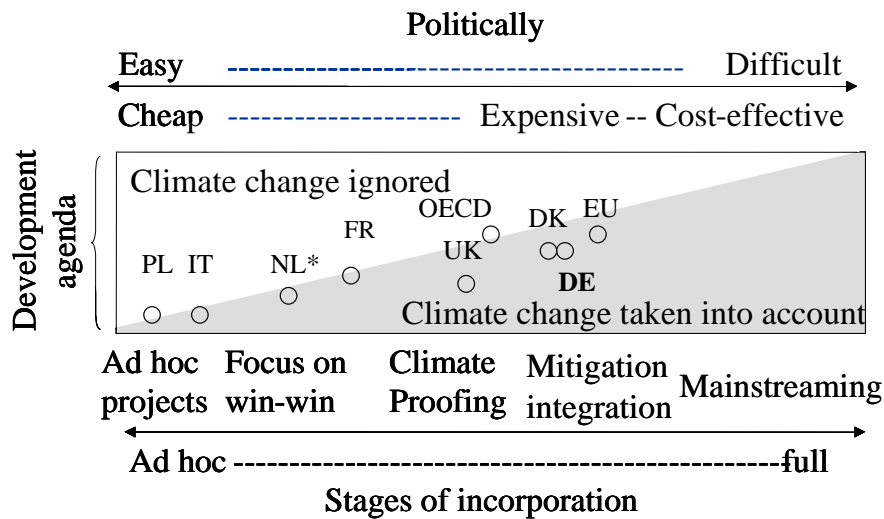


Figure 2 Policies of different countries on incorporation

NB. The asterisk next to NL denotes that the Netherlands has opted to allow recipients to develop their own strategies.

Many EU member states are developing and using climate change incorporation tools. Sometimes the tools are used in an ad hoc manner – such as the application of the ‘quick scans’ in the Netherlands. The German ‘climate check’ tool is systematically applied and seems to be a model that others can also use. If the screening process is too complex, it becomes difficult to implement and this adds to mainstreaming fatigue.

Furthermore, the motives of member states vary considerably; their favourite partner countries are different and their policies are different.

The needs and supply of assistance: A possible mis-match

Chapters 8 and 9 study the climate change needs of ten developing countries as articulated in their reports to the Climate Secretariat and the supply of assistance based on the country strategies of the European Union. Technically, the former documents focus only on climate change, and the latter on poverty reduction. However, the latter are supposed to take environment-poverty linkages into account. Furthermore, the reports are often not internally consistent, nor is there always consistency between the different reports. Subject to these caveats some trends can be discerned with respect to the energy, biodiversity, agriculture and forestry sectors. First, the DCs emphasise mitigation over adaptation, probably because more is known about the former and adaptation is more difficult as downscaling climate models to specific localities is still full of uncertainties. Second, there is some variation in the needs but developing countries emphasize their research, monitoring and technological needs. Third, an examination of the needs reveals that in agriculture, forestry and biodiversity sectors, there may be synergy between mitigation and adaptation policies, and if these are well-designed, they may serve both purposes. Fourth, some reports are explicit and others implicit that development will lead to increased emissions, even though climate considerations are taken into account, reflecting an implicit faith in the 'U' shape of the environment Kuznets curve. Fifth, the supply of assistance as determined from the Country Strategy Papers which are based on the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers reveals an overwhelming reliance on ideas of good governance, capacity building and aid for trade. This approach dominates the perception of what is needed by the developing countries and translates generally into more help for governance, than help for research and technology transfer, e.g. in the area of drought resistant seeds.

Conclusions

The book concludes first that there is considerable convergence among actors, and different motivations bring these actors together to argue in favour of the right to development, the voluntary commitment to provide 0.7% of GNI as aid, the agreement to provide new and additional resources for environmental assistance, and in favour of incorporating and 'mainstreaming' climate change into development and development cooperation. However, underlying this convergence, there is divergence about the content of the right to development, there is lack of implementation of the 0.7% norm, divergence in interpretation of the new and additional norm, and there is confusion about what mainstreaming implies. This affects the level of trust between developed and developing countries and this is an impediment in progress.

Second, the book concludes that mainstreaming, climate change, (environment, gender and disaster) in development processes at national and international level, as defined in the book, is a good idea and justified by the close relations between these sets of issues. Mainstreaming is a good idea because climate change, because the path of development chosen has implications for greenhouse gas emissions and because the impacts of climate change may affect development opportunities.

Third, however, mainstreaming climate change in development cooperation, given current trends and needs, appears to make sense in a number of ways:

- Logically, since (i) climate change impacts will affect all sectors of society and all projects and programmes being developed, and (ii) all projects, programmes and initiatives in society may exacerbate the climate change problem.
- Financially, for donors since (i) there are not enough resources for meeting the MDGs and worse still, the MDGs may be negatively affected by climate change; and since (ii) there are not enough resources for meeting the climate change goals.
- Practically, since (i) the existing development cooperation agencies already have an institutional framework for implementing policies in DCs and could easily engage in climate cooperation; and (ii) there is probably a domestic constituency in the ICs that would support measures on climate change, even if they would not support measures on development.
- In the context of DCs, since (i) they prioritize development; and (ii) these very goals may be affected by climate change itself through its physical impacts or through global climate change policy and its implications for mitigation policy.
- From a stakeholder perspective, as it (i) brings the development and environmental communities (government, non-governmental, scientific) together; and (ii) unites their experiences and theories.
- From existing reporting and accountability trends, where (i) development aid is calling for the preparation of poverty reduction strategy papers and country strategy papers, while (ii) climate cooperation is calling for national communications and national adaptation plans of action.

Mainstreaming climate change in development cooperation has support from many different actors for different reasons: e.g. it helps existing aid agencies secure greater funding; it helps banks cope with the environmental critique (see Table 3.2).

However, there are also six arguments against mainstreaming in development cooperation:

- Different paths to development: Given the seriousness of the climate problem, the urgency to address it, the actual N shaped curve of the environment Kuznets curve, the rapidity with which emission space consistent with a 2 degree target is declining, developing countries need to find an alternative route to sustainable development than follow in the path of the developed. Mainstreaming climate change in development cooperation may involve the transfer of Western technologies and lifestyles and lock-in developing countries into these pathways.

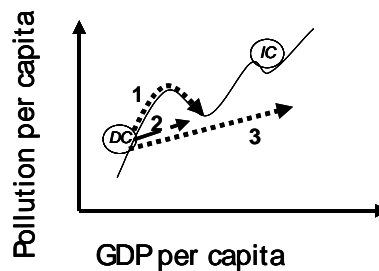
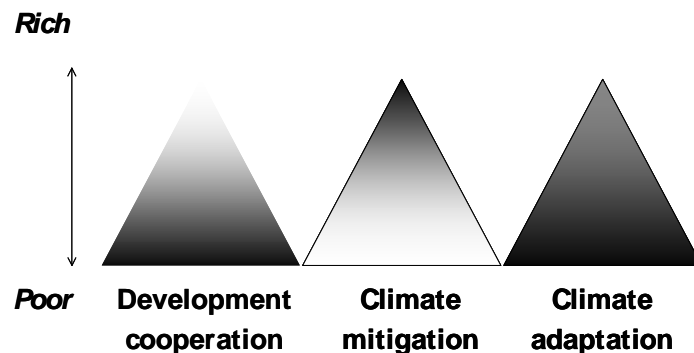


Figure 3 DCs and ICs need to move through an uncharted landscape

- Diversion - development cooperation in the context of promises: Given the 0.7% norm for development cooperation, and the new and additional norm for environmental and climate help, have both not been met by most industrialized countries, this is a sore issue in North-South relations. Efforts at mainstreaming will be seen as yet another way to both restrict developing country rights to develop as well as well as being a back door retreat from both commitments.
- Diversion - development cooperation in the context of resources needed: The literature review reveals that on top of existing development cooperation flows of USD 100-120 billion, an additional 50-135 billion is probably needed for meeting the Millennium Development Goals, 125 billion is needed for the more general issues raised in Agenda 21 of 1992, and around 270 billion, if not more is needed for climate change mitigation and adaptation assistance. Although, there is clearly some double counting here, and most estimates are educated guesses, mainstreaming climate change in development cooperation, may amount to a shift in resources from development goals to climate goals – especially as these are not always synergetic.
- Diversion- the Triple Triangle of beneficiaries: Although there are considerable overlaps and links between climate change and development, the developing country beneficiaries of such cooperation differ considerably. The ostensible beneficiaries of development cooperation at present are the poorest at the bottom of the triangle; the beneficiaries of climate mitigation action are the industrial classes and large agriculture; while the beneficiaries of action on adaptation are across the board – from poor to rich (see Figure 4).

Figure 4 The diverging beneficiaries of development cooperation and climate change



- Development cooperation as a small part of international transfers: Global cooperation relations between countries lie in the area of trade, investment, environment, and aid. Aid and environmental flows are a fraction of global financial flows and to that extent have a limited impact on developing countries in general although a larger impact on the smaller, poorer developing countries that scarcely receive investment flows and/or flows through the Clean Development Mechanism. Trade and investment are much more significant areas of cooperation – and in both worlds there is considerable discussion about the degree to which the views of the DCs and environmental and social impacts are taken into account.
- Is mainstreaming a conditionality? The last argument against mainstreaming is that this may amount to a conditionality. Like the PRSPs which have been seen as a sort

of disguised conditionality, the CSPs may also appear to be less demand driven and more supply oriented. The inclusion of a mainstreaming agenda into development cooperation may also evolve into a kind of conditionality. If so, given the relatively poor experience with the conditionalities in development cooperation of the past, the odds for success are low. However, clearly if the money is earmarked for climate change, there should be some general principles that guide spending. But extrapolating from developing country in the negotiations, they would probably argue that if the money is compensatory in nature for the impacts caused to them, then it is up to them how the money is spent. Where the resources are generated as part of a cooperative process, all parties concerned should democratically decide how the resources are spent in a joint management and implementation system.

This book concludes that the arguments against mainstreaming are more valid than those in favour of mainstreaming. This conclusion would not be valid if (a) large resources commensurate with both the development and the climate change problem were available; (b) if all countries were actually mainstreaming climate change into their development processes; and (c) if all flows of investment into developing countries were actively mainstreaming climate change. However, this does not imply that climate proofing and mitigation integration should not be undertaken.

Recommendations

The book recommends:

- First, that since mainstreaming climate change in development is a good idea, it could possibly be implemented in national development policies and in all international cooperative activities - such as on trade and investment. This will have much larger demonstration and spill over effects on the developing countries.
- Second, mainstreaming climate change in development cooperation, given current trends, is not a good idea and, hence, should not be undertaken. This does not imply that climate impact proofing and mitigation integration activities should not be carried out in full collaboration with partner countries.
- Third, if however, donors including the EU and its member states are set on the idea of mainstreaming, then they could consider adopting some conditions of success as depicted in Table 1 below.

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Table 1 Conditions of success for mainstreaming climate change into development cooperation

Issue	Conditions of success
Will mainstreaming become mainstreaming lite?	1. Adopt a CEGD (climate, environment, gender, disaster) lens to assess development and suggest changes. 2. Include also a dedicated policy for CEGD policy.
Will mainstreaming transfer Western modalities to the South?	3. Ensure <i>clumsy tripartite decision-making</i> between stakeholders, private parties and governments of both ODA countries and partners to design context relevant, locally owned policies. Avoid focus on formulae, efficiency, rationality and conditionality and accept clumsy solutions.
Will mainstreaming bypass the ODA commitment and the new and additional argument?	4. Additionality: Increase ODA to 0.7% and raise new and additional resources above this amount.
Will mainstreaming be a symbolic gesture in comparison to the efforts needed?	5. <i>Commensurate resources</i> : Resources generated should be somewhat commensurate with what is needed or problems will not be addressed.
Will mainstreaming divert resources to the rich in poor countries?	6. <i>Beneficiary assessment</i> : To the extent possible, mainstreaming should prioritise the poorest.
Will mainstreaming learn from the lessons of aid?	7. Promote <i>BASICS</i> : - Broader goals and evaluations (not just effects on GDP or emission reduction); - Alignment between tools and countries/actors; - Simplicity avoidance (e.g. look at contextual power relations); Imbalance avoidance (avoid creating distortions in culture, policy and economy); - Conditionality avoidance (avoid being dogmatic about conditions); - Stakeholders engagement and mobilization
Will mainstreaming be a symbolic gesture contradicted by other international flows?	8. <i>Coherence and consistency</i> : Trade, investment and other development regimes need to also mainstream CEGD.

Source: Building on Gupta *et al.*, 2009.

In addition, the EU could consider the following strategies to improve the quality of its own decisionmaking process (see Table 2).

Table 2 Practical recommendations to improve development cooperation strategies

Level	Recommendations
Political	<p>Stimulate stronger and ongoing high-level endorsement in donor and partner countries of mainstreaming goals.</p> <p>Strengthen financial commitment by dedicating a specific long-term budget.</p> <p>Ensure a parallel climate change budget to prevent ‘retreat into invisibility’.</p>
Policy	<p>Aim for common terminology, creating clarity about what is meant by terms like ‘mainstreaming’, ‘integration’, ‘climate-proofing’, etc. This could build on the definitions provided in this book.</p> <p>Define clear objectives, targets, and timetables.</p> <p>Formulate clear criteria of what counts as climate-related aid.</p> <p>Develop markers or indicators for measuring progress in climate mainstreaming.</p>
Planning	<p>Create a proper institutional setting for matching DC needs and aid supply.</p> <p>Include climate related issues to improve regional and country strategy papers.</p> <p>Make regional and country strategy papers climate proof’, and also other partnership documents, such as economic partnership agreements.</p> <p>Assist DCs in identifying needs through bottom-up processes.</p>
Implementation	<p>Communicate the issue of climate change clearly and simply to development agencies, partner countries and embassies, avoiding the perception that it is another burden.</p> <p>Systematically apply impact assessment methodologies, and other integration tools.</p> <p>Take a systematic approach towards climate screening, including a process for follow-up.</p> <p>Add a section specifically about climate in the Environmental Integration Handbook for EC Development Cooperation.</p> <p>Use development aid especially for pilot projects focused on innovative approaches.</p> <p>Develop other practical tools and guidelines.</p>
At all levels	<p>Monitor and evaluate aid projects and approaches in a structured and systematic way in order to learn what works and what does not.</p>

Third, whether or not the EU decides to mainstream climate change into development cooperation, it could play a more dominant role in global governance on development cooperation. This role is summed up in the table 3.

Table 3. General recommendations to the European Union

Suggestion	Arguments
Global level	
1. Promote the establishment of a Global Development Assistance Committee	Existing OECD DAC represents only OECD members; at UN level there is no such body; only competing bodies – the G8, the UN Development Group, the Banks, etc.
2. Promote discussion on who should be donors and who partners in the climate change regime	Donors are limited to only the richer industrialized countries, but could include past polluters from the countries with economies in transition. They could also include the richer developing countries, and possibly the rich in developing countries. Some climate victims may fall out of the boat as they are not traditional aid recipients.
3. Revisit the offsetting role of the CDM	The Clean Development Mechanism reduces pressure on the industrialized countries to reduce their own emissions. It slows down the process of emission reduction in the North!
Multilateral level	
1. Promote assessment of the role of OECD DAC in influencing policy.	Such assessments are scarce and could provide ideas about how to improve OECD DAC itself as well as how to design a Global DAC
2. Insist that all new OECD members become DAC members and Annex II countries in the Climate Convention	This will treat like countries alike.
3. Influence the multilateral banks to accelerate the greening process.	The literature shows that aid still funds ‘dirty’ projects.
EU level	
1. Insist that all new EU members take on development cooperation responsibilities.	This will treat like countries alike.
2. Influence member state policy through a role model approach	

Post script

Although the book makes conclusions and recommendations, if past actions in development cooperation and climate cooperation are an indicator of future commitments, then the developing countries need to also revisit their own strategy with regard to addressing their own development and climate challenges. This is a moment for re-thinking strategy: how can developing countries completely bypass the developed countries in a sustainable development process by unleashing their own intellectual humanpower and focusing all their attention to addressing their short-term problems, problems that will become worse each year? In 1937, Romein wrote a paper on the ‘Law of the handicap of a jump start’ arguing that firstcomers can become backseaters, and *vice versa*: there is potential for latecomers to become frontrunners.

[Title]

MAINSTREAMING CLIMATE CHANGE IN DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION:
THEORY, PRACTICE AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE EUROPEAN UNION

Edited by

Joyeeta Gupta and Nicolien van der Grijp

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