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HALF LETTER

But while the theory remains somewhat mysterious, the detailed descriptions of grassroots organizations provide a rich sense of what eco-sufficiency looks like as a practice. Leo Podlashuc describes how the daily practice of communal savings amongst slumdwellers in the global South not only created more political autonomy for the community but created "a material antithesis to the logic of neoliberalism" (268). Brownhill and Turner describe how the Ogoni people of Nigeria joined forces with NGO environmentalists in London to force Shell Oil off their land. Particularly for American academics, who tend to be somewhat self-referential in their thinking, this volume will provide a much needed picture of the power of grassroots communities in the global South.

Eco-sufficiency, writes Salleh, "is already modeled by the global majority of labour-indigenous, peasant, and care-giving workers" (291). If that's the case, then there is the promise for the development of a global class of care-givers. Yet, with the exception of Podlashuc, none of the authors use these unpaid practices to explore the production of political subjectivity. What needs to happen, says Waring, is for members of the sustainable development community to recognize reproductive and sustainable labors. What needs to happen, says Meike Spitzner, is for international councils on climate change to recognize that global warming "is gendered in both causes and its effects" (227). This is not to say that the paid shouldn't pay attention to the unpaid but that political power is better realized when academics and NGO's start recognizing how the unpaid pay attention to themselves.

That said, the various perspectives put forward in this volume reveal just how relevant feminist thought is in navigating one's way through the multiple crises of global capitalism. By beginning with the assumption that women's work matters, that the labor of care is important, efforts to bring about social justice will be far more successful. Who knows what will happen when the meta-industrial workers of the world unite?

Steven Vanderheiden, editor. *Political Theory and Global Climate Change*. Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 2008. 280 pages. ISBN: 9780262720526 (paper). \$24.00.

Reviewed by Shane Ralston, Pennsylvania State University, Hazleton

Who are the winners and losers in any particular scheme to fight global warming by mitigating global greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions (e.g. the Kyoto or Montreal Protocols)? Which kind of justice—global, social, intergenerational, ecological—should dictate the distributive outcomes? What form of polity and economy should be adopted if human communities are to adapt to the demands of global climate change? This collection is a contribution to the grow-

ing scholarship in the humanities and social sciences devoted to the normative dimension of global climate change. The volume gathers the work of seven political theorists and one philosopher: Part One focuses on the ethical and distributive justice implications of global climate change; Part Two addresses more wide-ranging legal, social, ecological, and spatial dimensions. According to the editor, Steve Vanderheiden, one of the volume's virtues is that it demonstrates a commitment to methodological pluralism, "show[ing] how the plurality of methods, concepts, and approaches that comprise environmental political theory can illuminate a more complete set of problems and point to needed solutions" (xvii).

In the first contribution to the volume, "Allocating the Global Commons: Theory and Practice," Leigh Raymond addresses the issue of how governments and governmental coalitions (such as the European Union) should fairly apportion rights to emit GHGs. Raymond clearly articulates the two dominant norms of allocation: (i) ownership through possession (Hume), rather than prior use (Locke), and (ii) equal allocation based on common humanity, or the "Common Heritage of Mankind" (CHM) principle (17). Taking a best practices approach, the author shows how past schemes to allocate the environmental commons (such as Antarctica, the ocean, and the moon) have imparted valuable lessons for developing new projects: (i) freezing past allocations by acknowledging all previous claims (while denying future ones) based on proximity and possession (as in the Antarctica Treaty), (ii) stipulating that all activities in the commons advantage "mankind as a whole" (as in the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea), and (iii) extending the CHM principle to an extraterrestrial body by rejecting any claims that would violate an equal human right to enjoy common resources (as in the Moon Treaty). Raymond ends the piece by noting "the rather startling degree of conceptual creativity on display in addressing the issue of allocation, *both at an empirical and at a theoretical level*" (20).

The second essay, "A Perfect Moral Storm: Climate Change, Intergenerational Ethics, and the Problem of Corruption," is authored by Steven Gardiner, the only professional philosopher among the volume's contributors. Gardiner invokes the idea of a "perfect storm" or the confluence of several independent factors that individually cause little harm, but in combination prove devastating (26). In the moral context, the author observes three ominously threatening storms: (i) global, (ii) intergenerational, and (iii) theoretical. The first results in what economists and game theorists call "coordination problems," or collective bads when individually rational actors either refuse to cooperate (i.e. a prisoner's dilemma) or choose to selfishly exploit scarce resources (i.e. the tragedy of the commons) (27). In the second storm, the present generation favors its own interests over those of future generations. The last storm represents the inability of the best minds to theorize the complex problem of global climate change. With all the storms, the upshot is that politicians will engage in what Gardiner calls "moral corruption," whereby they selectively emphasize some factor (e.g. economic loss) to justify inaction or delay (36-37).

In "Climate Change, Environmental Rights, and Emission Shares," Steve Vanderheiden highlights the vital link between global climate change and global justice. One of the unfortunate consequences of the U.S. decision to opt out of the Kyoto Protocol is the establishment of a dangerous precedent: a developed nation can exempt itself from any global GHG mitigation scheme that imposes differential treatment on its capacity to emit relative to less-developed countries (43–44). In order to reveal the faulty logic behind this precedent, the author distinguishes survival and luxury emissions, or GHG emissions necessary for subsistence and those over and above the subsistence threshold. He argues that there are three legitimate rights claims at work in any debate over how to fairly distribute the atmospheric commons: (i) a right to climatic stability, (ii) a right to survival emissions, and (iii) a right to develop (46–47). Since the first two rights are more basic than the last, they imply a strong correlative duty (and strict liability) on the part of highly industrialized countries—which have historically abused luxury emissions—to cap and reduce their GHG emissions accordingly. Furthermore, developed countries are obligated to assist in the economic development of poorer countries (that still retain a right to develop), which notoriously suffer the worst side-effects of global warming, so that eventually their emissions will rise to the level of the cap. Vanderheiden connects his rights analysis with the demands of global justice: "Global climate may be only part of the complex causal chain that produces this unjust inequality, but resource exploitation patterns that contribute to climate change also lead to global inequality, and the predicted effects of climate change include the imposition of negative externality effects that significantly exacerbate that inequality" (63).

In the fourth chapter, entitled "Environmental (In)justice in Climate Change," Martin Adamian mounts a powerful critique of international environmental law from a Critical Legal Studies (CLS) perspective. He identifies the ways in which the dominant legal-political order stymies effective GHG regulatory schemes, masquerading power politics with claims to legal neutrality, and prioritizing individual over group values in order to sideline substantively just outcomes. Besides this negative thesis, there is a positive upshot: any effort to regulate GHG emissions must involve "a broad, pluralist approach" and "greater democratization of environmental governance" (83–84). While suffering from a narrowness of perspective, Adamian's contribution will nevertheless pique the interest of those readers already sympathetic to CLS, a movement which by its own design remains on the margins of the legal academic community.

In "Climate Change and Arctic Cases: A Normative Exploration of Social-Ecological System Analysis," Amy Lauren Lovcraft employs an interpretative social scientific approach to the problem of global climate change. Employing the framework of a social-ecological system (SES), she demonstrates how biotic communities (both ecosystems and social systems) are impacted by the interruption of wildlife fires in the boreal forest and the reduction of

seasonal sea ice on the northern coastline (92–93). Although the piece is rich with descriptions of environmental degradation and policy responses, the reader must strain to comprehend its relationship with normative political theory. Nevertheless, the author concludes that politics as she defines it (“struggles over claims to authority to decide what is, what is right, and what works”) should generate a “space of institutional development and subject creation”—or opportunities to make regulatory institutions more consonant with individual choices and identities (115).

In the sixth chapter, “Climatologies as Social Critique: The Social Construction/Creation of Global Warming, Global Dimming, and Global Cooling,” Timothy Lake argues that competing technocratic, neoliberal, and socialist discourses have socially constructed the problem of global climate change. The author provides an extensive history of global warming, particularly how increasing industrialization and fossil fuel use in the developed nations have buoyed global temperatures. Lake treats global climate change as a “contested proposition” (144). Scientific data collected through alternative measurement techniques has, in some instances, revealed that the Earth is generally cooling and, in others, that portions of the planet’s surface reflect greater amounts of solar radiation due to denser cloud coverage resulting from anthropogenic pollutants—a phenomenon known as global dimming (124–26). The author concludes that “climatology must become [a form of] social critique” if humans are to slow or reverse the destructive process by which urban and built environments replace wild or natural environments (133, 147).

The final two contributions to the collection—George Gonzalez’s “Urban Sprawl, Climate Change, Oil Depletion, and Eco-Marxism” and Peter Cannavò’s “In the Wake of Katrina: Change and the Coming Crisis of Displacement”—resemble position papers. The authors advocate for social-economic changes based on their observations of global warming’s causes and effects (e.g., urban sprawl and community displacement due to extreme weather). Taking an Eco-Marxist perspective, Gonzalez demonstrates that “the pro-urban sprawl policies of the U.S. government,” particularly the 1934 National Housing Act and the Federal Housing Authority’s suburban home mortgage program, are largely responsible for the “unabated emission of anthropogenic climate change gasses (especially carbon dioxide) by the U.S. economy” (166–67). Employing the post-Katrina reconstruction of New Orleans as a case study, Cannavò criticizes efforts to relocate whole populations away from their homes and to areas less threatened by flooding in a strategy known as ‘adaptation’: “...reliance on adaptation as a solution to global warming would mean that many more places [and their cultures] will be endangered. We are better off trying to mitigate climate change and minimize the tragic dilemmas by reducing fossil fuel consumption and deforestation” (195).

Although public knowledge about global warming has swelled (in no small part due to Al Gore’s activism and film *An Inconvenient Truth*), there has not been a comparable surge in rigorous normative-theoretical treatments

of the issue—that is, until now. If there is one weakness in the collection, it is the complete silence of the essays on an innovative solution that has, of recent, captured the imagination of environmental scientists, policymakers and even some ethicists: geoengineering, or the intentional manipulation of the planet's climate to either reverse or mitigate the effects of global warming. While a knee-jerk reaction to geoengineering is that it distracts from more feasible options (such as mitigation and adaptation) or attempts to make the Earth into a virtual Petri dish, geoengineering might be worthy of our consideration, if just to acknowledge that it offers one more instrument to add to the global climate change tool kit. Indeed, excellent ethical treatments of geoengineering can be found in the works of Dale Jamieson and Martin Bunzl (see Jamieson, "Ethics and Intentional Climate Change," *Climatic Change*, 33 [1996]: 323-336 and Bunzl, "An Ethical Assessment of Geoengineering," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 64[2] [May/June 2008]: 18). Notwithstanding this lacuna, the essays in *Political Theory and Global Climate Change* represent a significant contribution to the emerging literature on global climate change's normative dimension.