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BOOK REVIEW

The EU and global climate justice. Normative power caught in normative

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Humanity faces one of the greatest challenges in its existence because of the impacts of climate change. Scientific research has already proven that it is human activities, mainly industrialization, that were the main reason for the rising temperatures. Increasing wildfires, rising sea levels, and natural disasters remind us that it is the very time to act before it becomes too late.

The book entitled *The EU and Global Climate Justice* is based on comprehensive research conducted by four scholars and aims to create a linkage between philosophical works on climate justice and policies of the European Union (EU) towards climate change. The basic research questions of the book are as follows: How can the EU's climate policies be analyzed using the concepts of climate justice? How and why did the EU policies change and evolve? How can this change be accounted for from a conceptual framework? Although there are extensive works on the EU's policies towards climate change in the literature, the lack of research about the examination of the EU's attitude from the dimension of climate justice is the starting point of this book.

The book aims to have three important contributions to the International Relations (IR) literature: First of all, it mainly focuses on procedural aspects of justice and tries to analyze empirical application of concepts of justice. Second, it tries to contribute to the analysis of climate negotiations at the global level and the EU's impact on it. Last, but not the least, it tries to shed light on how the Union's policies have changed over time and the impact of internal and external reasons on this shift.

The authors argue that climate justice is not just a philosophical concept, but it has the potential to have an empirical dimension as well. Therefore, they examine three different justice concepts, impartiality, non-domination and mutual recognition, from an empirical perspective. In the conceptual part, the scholars explain the three notions of global climate justice.

First of all, impartiality refers to the importance of science to tackle the problem of climate change. According to this perspective, universal, supranational, and binding rules and regulations are needed to solve the issue of climate change. In addition, it argues that individuals are the main actors whose rights and duties should primarily be taken into consideration.

Second, the concept of non-domination emphasizes that great powers should not dictate their climate policies to middle and small powers. Instead, smaller states should come together and build partnerships to bring their arguments to the agenda of international organizations. States are considered the most important actors, and sovereignty remains the key concept. In addition, supranational agreements should be avoided. Instead, voluntary regulations should be the main emphasis. Moreover, in facing the climate challenge, market mechanisms and economic considerations should also be taken into consideration.

Third, the notion of mutual recognition states that different actors must be considered in global climate negotiations. Moreover, all negotiations must be conducted inclusively and transparently. However, one must also consider the differences between developed and developing countries. All voices in the society, like NGOs, indigenous people, and local level actors, must be heard as well. If climate change is dealt with, it must start from the bottom.

The authors note throughout the book that although these three conceptualizations of global climate justice are important, they do not have to be mutually exclusive. Instead, all three notions can co-exist, and they can be kept in balance with each other. They also show that this co-existence is very visible in the EU policies. In analysing the issue the scholars benefitted from the qualitative content analysis of EU documents and interviews with EU officials, experts, NGOs and think tank representatives.

Although the US administration started to lead the global efforts for environmental problems, the EU became the leading actor in that regard since the end of the 1980s. With the Treaty of Maastricht, the Union committed itself to promoting measures at the global level to deal with regional and international environmental problems. Its initiative can be considered a way to gain legitimacy for the newly established Union and create new employment via green technologies.

At that time, Brussels had advocated accepting binding and universal rules to solve environmental problems. Hence it tried to implement the impartiality principle. It was an ambitious actor tackling climate change and tried to implement a global and binding climate regime. The Kyoto Protocol is a good example of how the EU was successful in implementing binding rules to reduce emissions. Hence, Kyoto Protocol shows the determination of the EU to advocate binding rules. In addition, EU Climate and Energy Package (2007-2008) brought a binding promise of the EU to cut emissions of the EU by 20% till 2020. In addition, the EU committed itself to increasing the proportion of renewables in the production of energy to 20% with the introduction of the Renewable Energy Directive (2009).

However, this understanding of impartiality as a global climate justice concept in the EU administration started to change after the Copenhagen Climate Change Conference in 2009. Since the Copenhagen Conference did not result in any commitment, EU officials started thinking about a new understanding of justice to bring forward environmental policies. With Copenhagen, the EU has seen the limits of its own normative power and came to the understanding that the EU needed better cooperation with developing countries. That was the time in which the EU started shifting its approach from impartiality towards mutual recognition and non-domination.

That change has different reasons: First of all, some of the new member states since 2004 resisted binding rules. Since their economic level was not as developed as the founding countries of the integration process, they wanted to have a voluntary approach. Besides, BASIC countries (Brazil, South Africa, India and China) did resist the top-down approach of the Union.

The Paris Agreement signed in 2015 is a watershed for the EU policies: On the one hand, the EU policies can be understood through the prism of non-domination and mutual recognition, on the other hand, EU tried to use impartiality 'through back door' (s. 52). Paris Rulebook of the EU is a good example of impartiality. According to Article 4 of the Agreement countries should make their Nationally Determined Contributions every five years and these should be under international assessment. An important conclusion of the authors is that accepting the non-domination and mutual recognition made it possible for the EU leadership to implement a certain level of impartiality.

There is already a huge literature on the changing global system as the US hegemony is declining and Western dominance is receding. The fact that the EU has taken the concerns of the BASIC countries into consideration is a good example of this shift. The EU officials in Brussels have understood that with a top-down approach, it would not be possible to convince developing countries to take effective measures against climate change. These countries did not want to be dictated to. Instead, they wanted to be perceived as partners.

The changing global system had an impact on the approach of the EU. Before the Copenhagen Summit, the Union did not have any previous quest for dialogue with developing countries, but in fact, before the Paris Agreement, the EU was in contact with those countries.

The book concludes that to take effective measures against climate change, the EU needs to bring developing countries into consideration. The authors emphasize that history is important. Whenever Western countries try to implement binding rules in a top-down manner, developing countries remember the colonial past and perceive them as a kind of neo-colonial policy. The criticism of 'New Green Colonialism' (117) is directed against Brussels. The main argument of the book is that the EU shifted its approach through time. It started from an impartial perspective, however, it then started more non-domination and mutual recognition attitudes. However, as the Paris Agreement has shown, it did not lead to a complete refusal of impartiality. By using back door channels, the EU still tries implementing impartiality to a certain extent.

The book is an important and timely contribution to a vital topic. It provides a comprehensive analysis of the EU's policies towards climate change from the perspective of global climate justice. Its novelty is based on building important bridges between the conceptual framework of climate justice and the EU's empirical policies. In that sense, it fills in a vacuum in the IR literature.

However, one should also note that the authors could have paid more attention to the change in the global system and its impact on EU policies. Although it is mentioned in some chapters briefly, it does not pay much attention to the importance of the BRICS system and the emerging post-Western global system. Western countries started taking developing countries into consideration with regard not only to climate change policies but also other issues, like the global economy. Hence, a deeper analysis of the changing global system and its impact on the EU should have been worthwhile.

The book has the potential to inspire new academic works to analyze policies of climate change and the global climate justice nexus. The issue can be examined in other regions as well. As the issue of climate change will remain a vital issue for the foreseeable future, how different actors in different parts of the world tackle the relationship between justice and climate problems would be an important research question.

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