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DEVELOPING COUNTRIES' DISCOURSE ON CLIMATE CHANGE

- *How third generation of human rights fits into environmental discourses (Dryzek)*

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Executive Summary

This thesis looks at how the Group of Seventy-Seven and China frame the concept of climate change and especially examines how, and to what extent they connect third generation of human rights to the problems and solutions of the climate change issue. Discourse analysis and framing has been used in order to examine how the developing countries approach the complex issue of climate change. In addition to the environmental discourses suggested by Dryzek (1997), the thesis propose an alternative human rights environmental discourse taking into account the globally divided world into developed and developing countries. This discourse captures the approach taken by the G-77 in a more complete form than what the discourses proposed by Dryzek manages to do.

Climate change poses a huge threat to the fulfilment of human rights. Despite this the traditional approach towards responding the climate change has been to see it as an ecological or an economic problem. Social and human right implications have received little focus within these negotiations. This thesis argue that human rights can contribute to respond to the effects of climate change in an fair and balanced way, including elements such as equity and distribution. It shows however, that when developing countries frame the changes they implicit refer to the third generation of human rights, and then in particular the right to development. In this way they manages to avail from the discussion on a states obligation to fulfil individual human rights while at the same time ensure that developed countries take their responsibility for dealing with the adverse effects of climate change.

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Content

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY **3**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS **4**

LIST OF FIGURES **7**

LIST OF TABLES **7**

1. INTRODUCTION **8**

1.1. RATIONALE OF THE THESIS 8

1.1.2. Climate change and change management *10*

1.2. THE AIM OF THE STUDY 12

2. CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT **15**

2.1. GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE NEGOTIATIONS & IMPACTS 15

2.1.1. The developing world and impacts of climate change *18*

2.2. THE GROUP OF SEVENTY SEVEN 20

2.3. THIRD GENERATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS 22

2.3.1. The Right to Development *25*

2.3.2. The Right to a Clean Environment *26*

2.3.3. Right-based perspectives on climate change *28*

2.4. SUMMARY 30

3. THEORY AND METHODOLOGY **31**

3.1. METHODOLOGICAL STANCE 33

3.1.1. Qualitative research *33*

3.1.2. Research strategy and theoretical approach *33*

3.2. DISCOURSE ANALYSIS 34

3.2.1.Framing *35*

3.2.2. Environmental discourses *36*

3.2.3. The discourse of Problem Solving *37*

3.2.4.The survivalist discourse *39*

3.2.5. The sustainability discourse *40*

3.2.6. The green Radicalism discourse *42*

3.3.SOURCES OF EVIDENCE 44

3.4. ASSUMPTIONS AND LIMITATIONS 46

3.5. COLLECTION OF DATA 47

3.6. MY ROLE AS A RESEARCHER, VALIDITY AND THE RELIABILITY OF THE DATA 49

4. EMPIRICISM & ANALYSIS **51**

4.2.DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF G-77'S APPROACH TO CLIMATE CHANGE 57

4.2.1.Assumptions about natural relationships *57*

4.2.2. Agents and their motives *59*

4.2.3. Key metaphors and other rhetorical devices *62*
4.2.4. The sustainable development discourse and G-77 ..... *64*
4.3. ADAPTING DRYZEK'S CATEGORIES TO THE CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT 67
4.4. A HUMAN RIGHT ENVIRONMENTAL DISCOURSE 68
4.5. HUMAN RIGHTS IN CLIMATE CHANGE NEGOTIATIONS 70
4.6. WHAT CAN HUMAN RIGHTS CONTRIBUTE TO IN THE CLIMATE CHANGE NEGOTIATIONS? 73
4.7. HYPOTHESIS 1 74
4.8. HYPOTHESIS 2 76
5. CONCLUSION 80
5.1. A NEW ENVIRONMENTAL DISCOURSE 81
5.2. FRAMING THE THIRD GENERATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS 81
5.3. SUGGESTIONS TO FURTHER RESEARCH 82
BIBLIOGRAPHY 83
APPENDIX 1: SUMMING UP DRYZEK'S DISCOURSES (1997) 88
APPENDIX 2: GA/RES/128: DECLARATION OF THE RIGHT TO DEVELOPMENT 89
APPENDIX 3: ANNEX B COUNTRIES (DEVELOPED COUNTRIES) TO THE KYOTO PROTOCOL 93

List of Figures

Figure 3.1 Elements in my research design (From Blaikie, 2000:33)…….. 32

Figur 4.1. Example of statements studied……54

List of Tables

Table 3.2.2: Different environmental discourses…….34

Table 3.5.1: Overview of the categories applied in the collection of data according to Dryzek's discourse analysis (1997)…….48

Table 4.1: Statements studied……49

Table 4.3.1. Adapted categories for discourse analysis……67

Table 4.4.1 The human right environmental discourse…… ..69

1. INTRODUCTION

"Don't go around saying the world owes you a living; the world owes you nothing; it was here first"

–Mark Twain

1.1. Rationale of the thesis

Climate change is a global issue. Resulting from our unsustainable development path it affect everyone and is already undermining the realisation of universal human rights (ICHRP, 2008). Unsustainable development harms individuals everywhere although in different manners. According to an International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) report, water problems could affect 74 to 240 million people in Africa by 2020 and more than a billion people in Asia by the 2050s (IPCC, 2007:50, United Nation Non-Governmental Liaison Service, 2002). Climate change therefore affects a range of human right issues. Other key impacts of climate change that underlines this is for example hundreds of millions of people exposed to increased water stress, complex, negative impacts on small holders of food supply, subsistence farmers and fishers and an increased burden from malnutrition diarrhoeal and other infectious diseases (IPCC, 2007:51). In addition to this the «Monitoring disaster displacement in the context of climate change» reports from 2009 reveals that in 2009 approximately 36 million people had to leave their homes due to natural disasters. 20 million of these were due to disasters resulting from climate changes (OCHA and iDMC, 2009:15).

According to Solheim (2009), climate change is not something new; however, it is not until now political decisions are dependent upon climate experts. The developing world needs assistance with how to deal with these changes as they are posing a threat to the fundamental human rights. Egeland (2009) even describes climate changes as a threat to the humanity as a whole as the scale of human interventions in nature is increasing and the physical effects of our decisions cross national borders (WCED, 1987:27). The risks associated with these effects increase faster than our ability to manage them (WCED, 1987:35). Climate change represents the ultimate sustainable development issue. Sustainable development requires meeting the basic needs of all and extending to all the opportunity to satisfy their hopes for a brighter future (WCED, 1987:44). Critical objectives for environmental and development policies that follow from the concept of sustainable development include, amongst others, meeting essential needs for food and water (WCED, 1987:49). Both which are highly dependent upon a stable climate.

This impact of environmental harm on the realization of fundamental human rights is important. The United Nation Non-Governmental Liaison Service (2002:4) writes: "*Threats to the environment or serious environmental hazards may threaten the lives of large groups of people directly; the connection between the right to life and the environment is an obvious one".*

The climate change issue and all the factors around the decision-making processes taking place are complex. Environmental degradation represents a threat towards the structures supporting social development and fundamental human rights. It is in itself a serious danger to human survival as it affects the space needed in order to secure the quality of life and health (Giorgetta, 2002). Climate change's effect on the water and food supply, together with other consequences is harming the realization of universal human rights. This linkage between the two is highly evident, however nearly touched upon in the literature (Giorgetta, 2002). The relevance of this linkage is especially important for the developing nations who are the bearers of the most negative consequences in addition to social and developing issues they are already facing. Internal dynamics of domestic situations are crucial to understand in order to understand the overall human rights context. Due to this I have chosen to look at the relationship between human rights and climate change and how the Group of Seventy Seven with China conceives this relationship.

My dissertation will therefore start with a very brief description of the climate issue and why it is interesting to study in the context of the Group of Seventy-Seven (G-77) and China, representing 130 developing nations. Within this work I will look at how this group of developing countries has framed their inputs to the international climate negotiations in order to achieve an applicable solution responding to the common interests these countries share. Further, I will discuss this through the third generation of human rights and thereafter look for connections or patterns in different official statements on climate change. I will also discuss the role the third generation of human rights play in the G-77 and China discourse and framings of the issue.

The dissertation will be based upon the theory of environmental discourses as developed by Dryzek (1997). Within different discourses different terms and concepts may be applied in order to address similar issues (ICHRP, 2008). Dryzek's classifications will therefore form the foundations for my analysis of different texts and statements. However, as will be illustrated, it is difficult to place the G-77 discourse into Dryzek's discourses. Where are for

example the difference and relationship of North-South accounted for? And how can human rights fit into the discourses? The thesis therefore examines the issues from the developing countries' perspective, as oppose to Dryzek's western view. The aim is to examine what environmental discourse the G-77 and China apply and what characteristics of this we find in their statements and other written work representing their common opinion. This will give good implications for the group's framing of the issues. Three research questions will be explored:

1. *How do the environmental discourses proposed by Dryzek (1997) capture the approach communicated by the Group of Seventy-Seven?*
2. *What role does the third generation of human rights play in their approach and how is it framed?*
3. *What are the implications of including third generation of human rights into the climate change negotiations?*

1.1.2. Climate change and change management

The relevance of the topic of climate change to the field of change management can be argued to be extremely important. There is a strong interconnected relationship between the two: climate change is a fact and countries, corporations, organizations and individuals have to adapt and change their way of being in order to cope with it. Climate change creates enormous changes on the macro level globally and poses treats to the social systems familiar to us today. The focus in this thesis will be on the changes experienced today in the society by the effects from climate change. They pose global macro changes that each State individually, and collectively, have to take a stance towards. Emphasis will therefore be put on macro levels looking at coalitions of countries as one unit in contrast to smaller units such as corporations or organizations.

Simplified, change can be said to be the process of amending something or someone. According to the Oxford Dictionary (1973), change is the "substitution or succession of one thing in place of another". Barton and Martin (1994) favours change as "any alteration of the status quo". The different adjustment and variations in the climate experienced today

represents such an alteration and may be one of the biggest changes in modern history. It is forced and it affects all regardless of who created the cause. One simply has to adapt to it in order to survive. Change management as a field of study includes how to manage such change within a context and how to overcome the resistance to change. The nature of organizational change is slowly being understood and today it is maybe one of the most important aspects of an organization and has evolved into becoming a requirement for success; a company or an organization which is dynamic and can change as the environment changes is likely to be successful in a long term perspective. This is especially crucial today.

Framing is an important term as it presents the new ideas in ways to maintain the interests of the changing agent. Framing means interpretation that individuals rely on. It is hence the way in which one understands and views events. Climate is becoming a topic within most fields and is often the triggering point to why corporations or organizations have to tackle change. This is in line with for example Fred Niclos (2006) who underlines how an institution may be forced to change due to different causes. It may be enforced by the organization itself or by the demands in the environment. This is again underlined by Kotter (2001) who states that the macroeconomic forces imposing change, such as new regulations and natural causes, are growing stronger. Recently there has been a big focus on global climate change and several international conferences has worked towards achieving a common plan of action for how this can be coped with globally. These conferences host different international actors who strive towards reaching a common agreement on how to cope with the changing environment, a change that is inevitable and forced upon us. At the same time the actors also strive to maintain their interests in the international arena.

1.2. The aim of the study

There has been little attention given to human rights concerns within the mainstream climate change literature and debate, although several attempts have been made with the aim to include and emphasize rights within the future climate change regime (ICHRP, 2008). Lately there has been an effort by the international development community to systematically integrate human rights issues into the quest of sustainable development (ECLAC, 2007). After several search in literature I was only able to find a limited amount of texts combining the issue of climate change and the third generation of human rights. The language of rights have only partly been integrated into development discourses (ICHRP:2008). Several works discussed how climate change is breaching basic first and second generation of human rights and some were also mentioning the link to the rights to development and the rights to a clean environment. I was however unable to find research suggesting that the language of third generation of rights is interconnected and used by developing states in their discourse of climate change (Alfsen, 2001, Dunér, 2002, ECLAC, 2007, Gamson, 1992, Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 2008, ICHRP, 2008, Karlsen and Thiis, 2004, McGoldrick, 1996, Ringius, 1997, Sen, 1999, Shan, 2005, Tomuschat, 2003, Urry, 2003, Williams, 1997, Winkler, 2008). My interest was therefore triggered. By applying discourse analysis and framing theory I wanted to research statements by the G-77 and China to see if the two areas could be argued to interconnect. If so, I would expect the G-77 ad China, consisting of the "losers" in the climate change debate to aggressively stress their rights and use this commonly accepted concept expressively. In line with the ICHRP (2008:8-9) human rights represents a set of: *"international agreed values around which common action can be negotiated and motivated. They provide a language of minimum thresholds, legally defined, about which there is already widespread consensus"*.

Likewise I was unable to find literature linking change management directly to the tackle of the concept climate change (Alfsen, 2001, Barton and Martin, 1994, Birkeland, 2002, Botkin and Keller, 1995, Dryzek, 1997, Dunér, 2002, Gamson, 1992, Kotter, 2001, Røvik, 2007,Urry, 2003, Winkler, 2008). I believe there are many similarities from how one presents an issue in an private organization or in a public one, such as in this case the United Nations.

The importance of framing it to gain one's specific interests and to avoid resistance to those changes one believes are necessary are just two examples of this[1].

Already at this time I would like to suggest a hypothesis on the issue, as it is likely that the G-77 and China will urge the developed countries to take their responsibility in order to cope with the changes. It is therefore expected that I will find a shift of responsibility from the developing countries to the developed countries.

Hypothesis 1: The G-77's discourse and framing on the climate change challenge will be highly influenced by expectations that the developed countries must take the right measurements to cope with the issue globally.

Likewise I am expecting that their framing will be based on their *rights* and so the *duties* to act will be assigned to the developed world. How far this responsibility and right goes will be interesting to see. Does for example the developing countries, here represented by the G-77 and China, have the right simply to abstain from adopting new, more environmental friendly measurements, or do they also have the right to be assisted with coping with it and in looking for alternative solutions by the developed world? I expect their approach to be based on the fact that they represent the countries that will face the most severe consequences of the changing environment. I also believe that they will highlight the fact that human rights are breached as a result of the climate change. This is likely as human rights are considered a commonly accepted concept.

The importance of the climate change issue further has its roots in the fact that unless an agreement is reached, the number of basic human right breaches is likely to increase. According to the UN Committee on Human Rights, the term human rights is defined as: "the legal expression of the essential rights that every person is entitled to as a human being" (Høstmælingen, 2007). Basically, human rights describe what one needs to live a worthy life. In principle they are universal, meaning they should be equally valid for everyone at any time and in any place. With today's threats and injustice it appears that this is not fulfilled. The

[1] Røvik's theory of the translation of organizational ideas and Kotter's theory of resistance to change illustrates how change management theory applied in smaller organizational contexts also is applicable on a global and complex area.

question in matters is who should be seen as the responsible and the agents with the duty to act. The Kyoto protocol puts some obligations on the developed world, however, these countries attempted to move beyond this protocol in order to create something new on the COP 15 meeting in Copenhagen in December 2009. Different discourses are developed according to each state's, or group of states' interests. It is this conflict of interests, and how this is handled through different discourses, that will be the main content of this thesis.

According to the ICHRP (2008) developing countries can, through adopting negotiation position defending their "right to development", act in accordance with their obligation to fulfill and protect other, more basic human rights domestically. A second hypothesis can therefore be proposed:

Hypothesis 2: The framing of the climate change situation and its solutions will be influenced by several elements from human rights and especially the third generation including in particular the developing countries' right to development and a clean environment.

In the following I will outline for the contemporary context for this thesis. This includes looking at the climate change negotiations and the impacts of climate change as well as their implications for the Group of Seventy-Seven. Further there will also be a section discussing human rights and in specific third generation of human rights. This forms the basis for discussing the environmental or/and human rights discourse applied by the G-77 in climate change negotiations.

2. CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT

2.1. Global Climate Change Negotiations & Impacts

This section will give a brief outline of the issues discussed in international climate negotiations. I will highlight the most crucial issues of climate change for the developing countries. Subsequently some assumptions will be made in order to narrow down the issue and to make my research questions more concrete.

The starting point of international negotiations regarding environment and sustainability can be traced back to the UN conference on environment and development in Stockholm in 1972 (Giorgetta, 2002). Here a connection between environment and development was established. The conference brought the industrialised and developing states together with the aim to discuss the "rights" of the human family to a healthy and productive environment (WCED, 1987). WCED (1987:xi) explains the connection between development and environment: "*the "environment" is where we all live; and "development" is what we do in attempting to improve our lot within that abode".* The Stockholm Declaration (1972) states in part II paragraph, principle 1: "*Man has the fundamental right to freedom, equality and adequate conditions of life, in an environment of quality that permits a life of dignity and well-being, and he bears a solemn responsibility to protect and improve the environment for present and future generations".* This negotiation was originally centred on the issue of "acid rain" in Scandinavia, but ended up treating the issue of pollution as a global issue, including also the developing countries. Their participation was especially influenced by their concern of environmental issues affecting development issues (Blowfield and Murray, 2008).

The WHO conference in Vallach in 1984 was the first conference to treat climate change more specifically and marks the first attempt to re-contextualize climate change from a scientific context to the political arena. The international panel on climate change (IPCC) was established in 1988 leading to the UN conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 where the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCC) was signed. This lead to the Kyoto process and the production of the Kyoto Protocol in 1997 where binding targets for future emissions of greenhouse gases were established for the developed countries. With emissions I understand "*the release of greenhouse gasses and/or their precursors into the atmosphere over a specified area and period of time"* and

greenhouse gasses is "*those gaseous constituents of the atmosphere, both natural and anthropogenic, that absorb and re-emit infrared rediation"* (UNFCCC, 1992:3). The first negotiations on what would form the Kyoto Protocol stated by adopting the "Berlin Mandate" in 1995. According to Depledge (1999/2000), the G-77 and China frequently urged developed nations to take responsibility for the adverse effects resulting from climate changes. Depledge seeks to "*trace the evolution of each provision of the Kyoto Protocol during its negotiation process, from the original proposals submitted by Parties through to the final authentic text"* (1999/2000:V) and discussed the different stance that are taken by the States in the Negotiations. G-77 and China appears as an important and influential part in her technical paper aiming to give a picture of the process. In total there has been 16 Conferences of the Parties (COP). The COP 15 meeting in Copenhagen represents one of the many climate conferences held by the UN with the aim to maintain, or produce an alternative, to the Kyoto protocol.

Climate change negotiations can superficially be summarized as a process where developing countries have argued for a reduction of emissions by the industrial countries, while these countries, to a large extent, have opposed to such steps. In climate change negotiations actors are often classified as "importers" or "exporters" of transboundary pollutants. According to the United Nation Non-Governmental Liaison Service (2002) developing countries insist that their national responsibilities to uphold human rights are widely conditioned by transnational factors they cannot control. The climate change negotiations can according to this be looked at as a negotiating process where negotiations take place between groups of exporters of greenhouse gasses, represented mainly by industrialized states, and importers, primarily made up of developing states (Ringius, 1997). This traditional picture of the negotiations is however changing as some developing countries' economies such as for example China and India are growing bigger having relatively strong human capital basis.

The ICRHP (2008:79) states that "*the scale and urgency of the problem* (of climate change) *are beyond past challenges: treating it will mean destabilising and reorienting current global economic growth patterns".* According to the IPCC (2007:30), climate change is defined as *"a change in the state of the climate that can be identified (e.g. using statistical tests) by changes in the mean and /or the viability of its properties, and what persists for an extended period, typically decades or longer".* The IPCC includes both changes that have its cause in human activity and changes that are "natural". The UNFCCC (1992) on the other hand

includes only the changes created by humans. Climate change is here referred to as *"a change that is attributed directly or indirectly to human activity that alters the composition of the global atmosphere and that is in addition to natural climate variability observed over comparable time periods*". In this thesis only the ones that are due to human activity will be considered.

The GHGs resulting from human activities are carbon dioxide (CO_2), methane (CH_4), nitrous oxide (N_2O) and halocarbons. Carbon dioxide (CO_2) represents the most important of these gasses and has had an emission growth of 80% between 1970 and 2004 (IPCC, 2007). In line with the IPCC (2007), the largest growth in GHG emissions in this time frame has evolved from energy supply, transport and industry.

The changes in the composition of the GHG gasses alter the energy balance of the climate system and are so drivers of climate change (IPCC, 2007). The IPCC (2007:37) states that "*global atmospheric concentration of CO_2, CH_4, and N_2O have increased markedly as a result of human activities since 1750 and are now far exceed pre-industrial values determined from ice cores spanning many thousand years".*

Further the IPCC report from 2007 urges the fact that global GHG emissions will continue to increase over the next decades if one only considers the current climate change mitigation policies and related sustainability development practises. For example the CO_2 emissions are expected to grow 40 to 110% within 2030. This growth would cause further warming and induce many global climate changes in the 21st century like for instance a continuing of the growing sea level (IPCC, 2007).

The impacts of climate change and the increasing world temperature are many. In its synthesis report on climate change from 2007 the IPCC states that average world temperature has rose during the last decade. One of the consequences of this on the natural environment is an increase in the sea level that has rose at an average rate of approximately 3.1mm per year from 1993 to 2003 due to melting of glaciers. Other consequences the IPCC underlines are the likely increase in extreme weather events including heat waves, heavy precipitation events, and incidents of extreme high sea level. Some of the observed effects the IPCC underlined in the report are the high confidence that the increased temperature affects the natural systems related to snow, ice and frozen grounds, affects the terrestrial biological systems such as bird

migration, affects the marine and biological systems as well as the effect the changes imposes on the human environment, such as for example the agricultural sector.

IPCC (2007) further underlines how the resilience of many ecosystems is likely to be exceeded. 20 to 30% of plant and animal species face extinction and there is hence a projection of major changes in ecosystems structure and function. By the 2080s, many millions more people living in coastal areas will face the threat of food shortage. Poor communities will be especially vulnerable. Further, million of people's health status will be affected through for example malnutrition; increased deaths, diseases and injury from extreme weather events. The IPCC (2007) states that overall it is expected that benefits will be outweighed by the negative health effects of the increase in world temperature, especially in developing countries. Factors such as education, health care, public health initiatives, and infrastructure and economic development will be crucial for how a community can cope with these challenges. The changes will also impact the world's water supply and the negative impacts of climate change on fresh water are severe as they are linked to the mass losses of glaciers and reduction of snow cover. Drought-affected areas are projected to increase while floods will occur more frequently in other parts of the world (IPCC, 2007).

2.1.1. The developing world and impacts of climate change

I will here outline the projections on the challenges that the developing world is likely to face due to the climate change in order to understand the importance of the issue. The International Council on Human Rights Policy (ICHRP, 2008:1) underlines that *"the worst effects of climate change are likely to be felt by those individuals and groups whose rights protections are already precarious".* In the report on climate change and human rights they further claims *"the most dramatic impacts of climate change are expected to occur (and are already being experienced) in the world's poorest countries, where rights protections too are often weak"* (2008:1). The World Bank (2010) also states in their World Development report from 2010 that it is the developing countries that will be most negatively affected by the climate changes.

In line with Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (2008), the impacts of climate change-induced natural disasters are probable to be more severe and long-term for developing

countries than for developed ones. According to the World Bank (2010) the developing world is less equipped to cope with any of the negative impacts the climate changes impose and will bear most of the costs of the damages from the changes. This is because they live in physically exposed locations and economically challenging conditions, they do not have the adequate financial resources to adapt efficiently, and they lack a decent response mechanism (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 2008). For instance does 1.6 billion people lack access to electricity and are in needs of huge expansions in energy, transport, urban systems and agricultural production (WorldBank, 2010).

In addition the Norwegian Refugee council (2008) also underlines the vulnerability in this countries, as large parts of the population is dependent upon agriculture. The changes are likely to increase the flood of migration. According to the Norwegian Refugee Council (2008:11) "*The degree of vulnerability and resilience is contextual and depends upon socio-economic conditions (poverty often makes people vulnerable), gender, age, disability, ethnicity, the realisation of human rights and other criteria that influence people's ability to access resources and opportunities".* In line with the IPCC (2007), adaption can reduce both long-term and short-term vulnerability. The adaptive capacity is connected to social and economic development.

Africa faces a projected amount of 75 to 250 million people that will be exposed to increased water stress by 2020 (IPCC, 2007). In addition the agricultural sector in this region, including access to food, will be compromised. In Asia one of the biggest challenges is the freshwater availability that is projected to decrease by 2050. This region is also facing an increased risk of flooding. Latin America is faced with a projection of negative consequences for food security and the number of people at risk of hunger is likely to increase. Moreover the water availability will be affected due to changes in rain patterns and the disappearance of glaciers (IPCC, 2007). According to the IPCC (2007) small islands are facing future threats of costal hazards due to the rising sea level. This will impact their vital infrastructure, settlements and facilities that support the livelihood of island communities. Here it is also expected that there will be a lack on the freshwater availability. Africa is likely to be especially affected by climate change due to "*low adaptive capacity and projected climate change impacts"* (IPCC, 2007:52). In addition the IPCC (2007:52) underlines the small islands as they have a "*high exposure of population and infrastructure to projected climate change impacts"*. Populations

living among the big Asian and African rivers are also especially endangered as they are at high exposure to sea level, storm surges and river flooding (IPCC, 2007).

The developing countries will need assistance in adapting to the changes as they face 75-80% of the potential damage (WorldBank, 2010). The IPCC (2007:62) concludes that there is high agreement and much evidence for the fact that "*notable achievements of the UNFCCC and its Kyoto Protocol are the establishment of a global response to the climate change problem, stimulating of an array of national policies, the creation of an international carbon market and the establishment of new institutional mechanisms that may provide the foundation for future mitigation efforts".* As many central actors, such as the U.S., still are not participating, there is yet however no global carbon market.

2.2. The Group of Seventy Seven

The Group of 77 (G-77) was originally composed by 77 developing states signing the "Joint Declaration of the Seventy-Seven Countries" on the 15th of June 1964. The aim of the group is to "articulate and promote" the countries' economic interests and enhance their joint negotiating capacity on international economic issues within the United Nation system as well as promoting South-South cooperation for development. The group works towards the development of joint declarations, actions programs and agreements on developments issues as well as initiating resolutions and decisions in front of the United Nation General Assembly and is principally a forum for the co-ordination of the individual viewpoints of the member states (Group of 77, 2010). Today the group consists of 130 member states and make up the largest intergovernmental organization for Developing States in the United Nations. Further one can look at the coalition as an objective coalition based on common interests arising from unequal nature of the international economy. It is an informal, but highly institutionalized organization (Williams, 1997).

In line with Williams (1997) and Winkler (2008) the developing countries play an important role in the international climate negotiations as they hold a number of important cards in the

environmental issue. In developing countries, weather related events are, according to Alfsen (2001), capable of undoing decades of social and economic development. It has therefore become important for them to find a common ground in order to effectively be able to influence the climate negotiations and international treaties in their favor. The G-77 and China coalition of developing states has played a vital role in the international environmental diplomacy conducted between individual states and grouping of states (Williams, 1997). Williams (1997) further underlines how this is mainly due to the common negotiation platform composed of states with apparently similar interests and functions as a mean to enhancing the bargaining power and improving the negotiating capacity of developing states. It is based on consensus and appears at global conferences representing the Southern coalition.

Regarding environmental politics and the role of the G-77 and China in international climate conferences negotiating a common understanding of how to combat climate change, the G-77 and China is in a specific position as the countries composing the coalition differs in levels of economic development, political orientation, social systems and technological change. Already at the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment held in Stockholm in 1972 the developing countries, through the G-77, approached the issue by emphasizing a focus on the relationship between environment and development. According to Williams (1997) this illustrated a difference from the industrialized countries that approached the issue from the perspective of resource exploitation. Williams (1997) underlines how the developing countries were successful in re-orienting the agenda from transboundary pollution towards a consideration for development and human welfare. The developing countries played an important role due to the biodiversity including water, fish and land-use issues being necessary for their survival. In line with Williams (1997) they emphasized this dependency on the environment.

According to Birkeland (2002) the G-77 and China strongly argues for an approach where the industrialized countries, mainly responsible for the activities that enhance the global environmental degradation, should be the parties responsible for making the majority of the actions necessary to retard further environmental damage. The coalition stresses how their "right to development" should not be harmed as a result of coping with environmental issues and how they are dependent upon free transfer of technology in order to pursue sustainable development strategies. *"The dominant Western model of development does not sustain the*

(roughly) 40 000 people dying each day as a consequence of the destructions of natural systems and the resultant lack of clean air, water, fertile soils, wetlands or bio diverse forests which once provided for their sustenance and health. Nor does it sustain the one billion people now living in extreme poverty and hunger without clean water or reliable energy supplies" (Birkeland, 2002:1).

This affiliation between human rights and development, which the G-77 and China uses in order to contextualize how to cope with climate change in their internal environmental policies has, in line with Dunér (2002), an analytical character, as it is frequently perceived as a synthetic right, i.e. composed of other, traditional rights. This relationship therefore underlines how sustainable development in theory is vital for the realization of human rights and the view is that developed countries ought to take responsibility for their actions. The view of human rights being violated as a result of the actions taken by the developed states underlines the critical point in the framing and discourse of climate change within the G-77 and China.

2.3. Third generation of human rights

Here I will look into the concept of the third generation of human rights and present the content and history as well as their issues and weaknesses. The third generation of rights is crucial for this dissertation as it relates directly to the issues of development and environment.

According to the UN Committee on Human Rights, the term human rights is defined as: *"the legal expression of the essential rights that every person is entitled to as a human being"* (Høstmælingen, 2007). Several different definitions of international human rights have been proposed, in which most of them the essential content includes: (1) That the individuals have rights, but not duties which are solely on the side of the governments, (2) it is the nations, and the bodies created by the nations that creates the rights and duties, (3) the nations are not solely to respect the rights and freedoms of the individual, but also to positive secure that the

rights are maintained and realized and (4) it concerns international norms, and not rules that are developed within the national boundaries (Høstmælingen, 2007).

Tomuschat (2003:3) defines human rights as *"rights a person enjoys by virtue of being human, without any supplementary condition being required*". Bergem and Karlsen present the concept in Bergem et al. (2004) as simply rules for how the state is to treat individuals and groups. According to ICHRP (2008:13) every state that has ratified the international human rights has a duty to "*respect, protect and fulfill*" these rights. The ICHRP (2008:13) states "*the obligation to respect a right means the state must take no steps that would violate that right; the obligation to protect requires states act to ensure that other actors(...) are not permitted to violate that right; the obligation to fulfill requires that states take steps over time to "progressively realize" citizens' right to food, shelter, health, education and so on"*. In principle the rights are universal, meaning they should be equally valid for everyone at any time and in any place (ICHRP, 2008). However, Freeman (2002) indicates how they may not be rights one simply has because one is a human being as some rights are designed for specific groups (i.e. children). He claims they are rather rights of exceptional importance, designed to protect morally valid and fundamental human interests (2002).

Freeman (2002) emphasizes how "human rights" represents an abstract concept rather than something physical. According to him it is a device for thinking about the real, and expressing our thoughts (Freeman, 2002). The concept has become one of the most powerful in modern politics and the norms and declarations put forward by the UN human right system is generally accepted by states as binding. It represents a political and not philosophical regime and international human right laws are made through a political process (Freeman, 2002). Further, it belongs to the idealist tradition in the study of international relations as it sets high moral standards for governments (Freeman, 2002) and the countries therefore often aims to underline this moral importance.

In accordance with Thomas Pogge (2001) "human rights" should be understood as moral obligations for global institutions and not solely the states. He bases this understanding on paragraph 28 in the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights stating *"Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized"*. He further argues that the most important task regarding human rights is to change this order so that all human beings get secure access to the

fundamental goods they need in order to be respected members of their local societies and the world in general.

The first generation of human rights represents "negative" rights, or civil liberties with the purpose to avoid states interfering with personal freedom (Tomuschat, 2003:24). According to Tomuschat (2003:27) these rights are considered as the fundamentals for a protection from the abuse of power by the governments. The division of the two first generations of Human Rights, i.e. the civil and political rights and the economic, social and cultural rights, is a consequence of the conflict between the "east" and the "west" which was dominating the international arena at the time of the development of the conventions (Høstmælingen, 2007:42). However, Tomuschat (2003:32) shows how the two generations are linked through the GA Res 421 E(V) from 1950 and seen as "interconnected and interdependent". Regarding the relations of the first and the second generation of rights there has been different discussions on how civil and political rights may endanger the realization of economic and social rights, and therefore also development, or visa versa. For example Freeman (2002: 150) indicates that the restriction of civil and political rights may ease the government's task in creating social stability and in this way attract foreign investment that may contribute to economic development. However, Amartya Sen (1999:3) points out how development is a process that expands the real freedom of people and that there are little evidence that prove a correlation, either positive or negative, between the respect for civil and political rights and economic growth, and further that the violation of such rights is not necessary to economic development.

As human rights have been reinterpreted by some to refer to the structural causes of global inequality in addition to the legal obligations of states to their citizens, the third-generation of human rights has developed (Freeman, 2002), sometimes also referred to as group rights due to the collective nature of the goods to which they lay claim (Jones, 2005, Dunér, 2002). This generation of rights focuses on goods such as development, peace, a healthy environment, communication and ownership of the common heritage of mankind (Jones, 2005, Tomuschat, 2003). In line with Tomuschat (2003) these rights have been affirmed in international resolutions as well as state conferences, however, they have never been included in an international treaty. As a result, Tomuschat (2003) concludes that the third generation takes a political approach rather than legal. The content of these rights are very wide in scope and

Tomuschat (2003) argues that they present comprehensive goals for the international system to strive for rather than laws. These rights are however present in the UNFCCC.

2.3.1. The Right to Development

> "*The right to development is an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized"* (UN GA Res. 41/128, article 1/1, 4 December 1986)

According to Dunér (2002), *the right to development* is the right that has become most recognized as a human right despite the western recalcitrance. This represents the first third generation right this dissertation will consider. It is often regarded as a holistic vision integrating civil and political rights as well as economic, social and cultural rights (United Nation Non-Governmental Liaison Service, 2002). Development depends upon a relationship between the individuals, the state and the international community (ICHRP, 2008). In 1968 the United Nation adopted resolution A/RES/41/128 that became known as the Declaration on the Right to Development (Bergem et al., 2004), and already in 1981 the General Assembly in the UN characterized the right to development as an inalienable right in resolution A/Res/36/133. Shan (2005) stresses how this right often is referred to as part of the third generation rights in that it brings its own discord. Within this declaration the connection between human rights and development is made explicit and development is defined as *"a comprehensive economic, social, cultural and political process which aims at the constant improvement of the well-being of the entire population and of all individuals on the basis of their active, free and meaningful participation in the development and in the fair distribution of benefits resulting therefrom"* (A/RES/41/128). The text of the declaration is very similar to article 28 of the Universal Declaration. Shan (2005) adds that origins can be found here through its determination to "*promote social progress and better standards of life in large freedom".*

The right to development is a right that should count for every individuals and ethnical groups. In line with Karlsen and Thiis (in Bergem et al., 2004) it is a right to participate and benefit from economic, social and political development with the aim of realizing universal

human rights. ICHRP (2008) underlines how some participants in the international climate change negotiations have used this right in order to advance their own development objectives. The status of this rights is however ambiguous under international law, and its content is frequently discusses. Discussion about efforts to integrate human rights with development programming is according to ICHRP (2008) continuing and it is the ambiguity of the rights that underlines its connection to climate change. The ICHRP (2008:75) further outlines two respects in which work on the right to development might be relevant to climate change:

1. It acknowledges different links between human rights and development "*that rights taken together reflect more than the sum of their parts; that economic growth must be viewed as a means to an end, not an end in itself"*
2. Economic progress can be managed towards the goal of achieving human rights

Further, the ICHRP (2008) states that the right to development can be said to work as a framework for addressing issues in negotiating the different interests of developing and developed countries.

2.3.2. The Right to a Clean Environment

Another third generation right that is applicable in this work is the right to a clean environment. In accordance to the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (2008) there have been numerous discussions about the existence of an international recognized human right to an environment of a certain quality. This right can be found in more that 50 national constitutions and international conventions such as the African Charter (1981) the Additional Protocol to the American Convention on Human Rights (1988), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) and in the International Labor Organization's Convention Concerning Indigenous Peoples in Independent Countries (McGoldrick, 1996). According to Giorgetta (2002) this right may be said to be part of existing international law and may be implemented through human rights instruments. The environment has for a long period been considered important at the international agenda, however, this right as a human right is weaker than the right to development as indicated above (Høstmælingen, 2007). The

application of this right has been similar to the one of the development right. International conventions have been established at the international arena to be executed locally and monitored by international agencies. The aim of this right is to make the world a better place to live (Høstmælingen, 2007).

The right to a clean environment can be said to already exist implicit within the UN covenant on economic, social and cultural rights. For example does article 11 state: "*The State Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and for his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions".* Another example can be found in the UN declaration of Human Rights article 25 stating that: *"Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well being of himself and of his family…".* It is evident that a clean environment is necessary to fulfill these rights. Further, the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (2008) argues that States have an obligation to act to different threats to basic human rights such as the right to live (climate change can both have direct and indirect impacts on human life), the right to adequate food, the right to water (threatened by the raising temperature) and the right to health. However and in line with Giorgetta (2002) the Aarhus Convention outlines the first legally binding instrument linking environmental protection and human rights norms. It is based on principle 10 of the Rio Declaration and recognizes the right to a healthy environment.

Moreover, several conventions have mentioned the right to a clean environment. In 1989 "*the right to live in dignity in a viable global environment"* was outlined in the Hague Declaration on the Environment. Further, the Bizkaia Declaration (1999) stated, *"everyone has the right, individually or in association with others, to enjoy a healthy and ecologically balanced environment"*(Girogetta, 2002:176). The Rio Declaration (1992) and the Vienna Declaration (1993) can also be mentioned although their content is not as direct as the two above (Giorgetta, 2002). Despite the fact that some States still have not recognized this right, most of its content is executed through other basic human rights. For example does the right to health imply the absence of pollution and protection against natural hazards; the realization of the right to food presupposes the existence of a clean and safe environment (United Nation Non-Governmental Liaison Service, 2002).

According to Fitzmaurice (1999) there are three different schools of thoughts towards these rights. The first supports the view that there are no human rights without an environmental

right. Further a second sees the rights as a highly questionable proposition and the last admits the existing of a right to a clean environment but this existence is seen as a derivation of other basic human rights such as the right to life.

One of the weaknesses with these group rights is the fact that they do not represents the individuals and may therefore be difficult to follow a trail if there is a breach. Normally, the violence of a human right can be tackled in court, where the individual is the one who claims a right, while the government in the respective country has the obligation to fulfill this right. With development and environment it is more difficult to follow such a trial as the ones who have rights are groups, and the issue at stake, such as environment is a transnational issue. There still does not exist the right organ in the international arena to follow up these cases (Høstmælingen, 2007). Another issue here is the fact that the rights may collide with other basic individual rights such as for example the right to private property. Article 17 of the UN universal declaration of Human Rights states that *"Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others"* and in this implies the right to self-determination over private property. Again this is highlighted through article 2 of the UN charter*: "The organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members*". The problem arises when an action executed at a private property affects external parts.

Despite these weaknesses I expect to find that the G-77 applies some of the elements from human rights as a mean to urge the developed world to take their responsibility and to avoid taking unfair or unbalanced burdens themselves. This I believe is the case as human rights represents some common principles that the developed world easily can relate to, as it is a widely used concept in the western society.

2.3.3. Right-based perspectives on climate change

Parallel to the discussion of the third generation of human rights and their linkage to climate change, other right-based perspectives have been developed and this section will briefly mention some of these. The United Nation Non-Governmental Liason Service writes (2002) that the value of applying human rights approaches to meeting sustainable development

objectives is increasingly being appreciated and tested in national, regional and multilateral settings.

According to the ICHRP (2008) there is now a general shift towards the language of rights within climate change discussions and negotiations. The "contraction-and-converge" (C&C) is, in line with the ICHRP (2008) the most known right-based perspectives. Another model, developed in 2007, suggests, "*the climate change regime should give priority to violations of human rights associated with current low levels of development"* (ICHRP, 2008:11). The report on climate change and human rights developed by the ICHRP (2008) also mentions a model that distinguishes the use of carbon fuels to fulfill basic human needs from the use of carbon fuels that perpetuate luxurious lifestyles. Finally the Kyoto Protocol represents such a perspective through one country's right to sell or buy emission reductions amounts.

The Kyoto document also includes the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), which is the first global, environmental investment and credit scheme. It provides a standardized emission offset instrument and is defined in article 12 of the document. The aim of this mechanism is to allow a State with an emission-reduction of emission-limitation commitment under the Protocol to implement an emission-reduction project in development countries. By doing so, States can gain saleable certified emission reduction credit that can be counted towards meeting Kyoto targets (UNFCCC, 2011[2]). At the same time as this promotes development in the developing world, it also provides some flexibility to how the developed countries chooses to meet the Kyoto targets.

Joint implementation (JI) is another mechanism under the Kyoto protocol allowing a country with an emission reduction or limitation commitment under the Kyoto protocol (Annex B Parties) to gain emission reduction units form an emission-reduction or –removal project in another Annex B Party (mainly consisting of developed states). This means that the Parties have flexibility on how they fulfill their Kyoto commitments. The host countries benefit from technology transfer and foreign investment (UNFCCC, 2011[3]). These mechanisms helps ensure the developing countries that the developed states will take their responsibility in one or another way. However, these mechanisms have been controversial.

2.4. Summary

The first past of this thesis have established an understanding for the contemporary context of the topic. It has shown the magnitude and history of climate change negotiations, and the implications and impacts climate change has on developing countries. Further, it has presented the third generation of human rights and in particular the right to development and the right to a clean environment. An understanding of these issues is necessary in order to understand the discourses communicated by the G-77.

The next section will discuss the theory and methodology applied in order to examine and understand their discourse. The section will also outline for the environmental discourses proposed by Dryzek (1997). These discourses will form the basis for discussing the environmental or/and human right discourse applied by the G-77 and to answer my research questions:

1. *How do the environmental discourses proposed by Dryzek (1997) capture the approach communicated by the Group of Seventy-Seven?*
2. *What role does the third generation of human rights play in their approach and how is it framed?*
3. *What are the implications of including third generation of human rights into the climate change negotiations?*

3. THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

This section will look into the theory of framing and discourse analysis. It will outline how I have chosen to apply this in order to look for how the G-77 and China frame the problems and solutions of climate change and further to what extent this is present in the international climate conventions and negotiations. Finally I will discuss how this has been applied in the analysis. Limitations and weaknesses as well as reliability will be accounted for.

The method I apply will mainly consist of academic readings and analyses of international conventions and statements. Hence, I will apply a theoretical approach and focus on analytical theory. I attempt explore how climate change is framed as a human rights discourse by developing countries. Through academic readings and comparative analysis I will establish an understanding of how the Group of Seventy-Seven and China frame the topic of climate change. The diagram below illustrates the main elements of my methodology.

Topic / Problem:

The aim of the thesis is to examine the environmental or/and human right discourse of the G-77 and how the Group of Seventy Seven (G77) frames the problems and solutions of climate change

Research Questions and Objectives:

1. *How do the environmental discourses proposed by Dryzek (1997) capture the approach communicated by the Group of Seventy-Seven?*
2. *What role does the third generation of human rights play in their approach and how is it framed?*
3. *What are the implications of including third generation of human rights into the climate change negotiations?*

Research Strategies:

Abductive; discourse analysis, framing

Theories, Concepts and hypothesis:

Human Rights and Climate Change

Hypothesis:

- Influenced by expectations that the developed countries must take the right measurements to cope with the issue globally
- Influenced by several elements from human rights and especially the third generation including in particular the developing countries' right to development and a clean environment.

Data sources:

Social Artefacts, Secondary research

Selection from data sources:

Statements from specific years and on specific themes

Data collection and timing:

Historical literature study

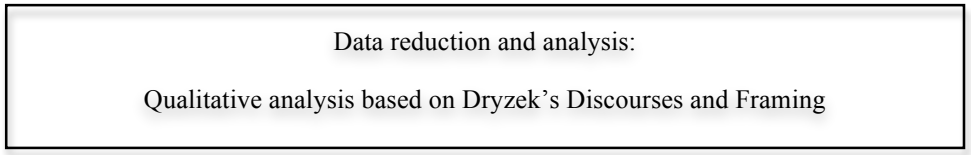

Figure 3.1 Elements in my research design (From Blaikie, 2000:33)

3.1. Methodological stance

3.1.1. Qualitative research

Qualitative methods have developed from aspects of anthropology and sociology. Its aim is for the understanding of human affairs (Holliday, 2002). As the intention of this thesis is to apply framing and discourse analysis, the dissertation will have a qualitative focus mainly based on theory and text analysis. Reports from the Intergovernmental Panel of Climate Change (IPCC), the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) (1992) as well as agreements and documents from the COP 3 meeting in Kyoto (1997) and COP 15 in Copenhagen (2009) will especially be in focus. Statements retrieved from the official webpage of G-77 compose my main data in order to underline my theoretical arguments and illustrate the framing of climate change issue done in practice by the Group of Seventy-Seven. The task is to examine how the organization frames their idea of coping with climate change by looking into the different environmental discourses.

3.1.2. Research strategy and theoretical approach

The theoretical point of departure is an abductive research strategy as described by Dey (2004:91) where theory will be used together with data with the purpose to produce an interpretation of something specific. In line with Danemark et Al. (1997) abduction means to analyze and reconstruct individual data or cases within a familiar pattern or context. It is a way of understanding something in a new way through looking at it from a different perspective than what has been done before. This can for example be by looking at a specific topic through a chosen theory or theoretical perspective. In line with Danemark et Al. (1997) the common factor amongst the objects studied in social science is the fact that they can partly

be described straightforward and partly analyzed and viewed as expressions for an underlying meaning. Abduction gives guidance for analyzing the data through the perspectives the researcher chooses and further placing it into a bigger context. The weakness is, according to Danemark et Al. (1997), that there are no specific set criteria for deciding the validity of an abductive reasoning. The criteria are that conclusions are seen as reasonable given the theoretical point of departure. In line with Dey (2004) the goal of the research is to end up with an interpretation of different perceptions of dealing with climate change and to look for evidences in the international reports and conventions produced by the G-77 and China, and through UN climate conferences.

3.2. Discourse Analysis

The history of environmental affairs can be conceived as a history of different discourses. A discourse means a way to look at the world. The environment did not exist as a political concept in any country until the 1960s. The nature of environmental problems, how they can be solved, and how they should be weighted against other policy goals, forces actors to take a stance. There are many different views, illustrated for example by the pressure posted upon governments to maintain economic growth (Dryzek, 1997). According to Dryzek (1997:3) "*the initial concerns were with pollution, wilderness preservation, population growth and depletion of natural resources. Over time these concerns have been supplemented by worries about energy supply, animal rights, species extinctions, global climate change, depletion of the ozone layer in the upper atmosphere, toxic waste, the protection of whole ecosystems, and environmental justice"*. This thesis will look into different discourses in order to understand the many ways one can look at an issue.

A discourse is a shared way of looking at the world where the participants will use a particular kind of language when talking about events or issues (Dryzek, 1997, Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002) and is often seen as both a theory and a method. It is a qualitative method, analyzing an opinion arises from the text or speech itself. Foucault is considered the founder of discourse analysis. He was searching for how and why opinion is created and valued the diversity of different discourses. According to him, discourse is what limits or creates text,

speech and thought within specific historical frames. Discourse means speech, conversation and argument and is created through codes and concepts in certain areas. Discourse analysis is the study of the specific opinion created in the coexistence of text/speech and context. It is a reduction of possibilities and an attempt to create consensus. Discourse analysis belongs to the social constructive research paradigm. It is therefore influenced by a critical ideology approach. Hayer (1995) defines discourse as a specific gathering of ideas, concepts and categorizations that are produced, reproduced and transformed to a specific set of practice and opinions towards social realities. Each social group will have their way of arguing. The actors are aiming to gain support for their definition of the reality. Something might be correct within one discourse, but at the same time not appear logical in other competing discourses.

3.2.1.Framing

Similar to discourse analysis, framing consists of a collection of ideas and concepts that individuals rely on in order to understand and respond to events. It refers to the social construction of a social phenomenon by a specific political or social movement or organization. In line with Scheufele (1999), research on framing tends to be vague empirically and theoretical. Framing is an extension of agenda setting i.e. a promotion of ones best interests. Framing includes an active, processual phenomenon that implies agency and contention at the level of reality construction. Framing is increasing in its accountability and is considered to be a good tool in order to understand social movement and collective action (Benford and Snow, 1992). Discourse analysis talk about social movements and framing is the study of these movements. Goffman (1974) represents one of the mayor researches within this field and according to him frames denoted "*schemata of interpretation"* that enable individuals "*to locate perceive, identify and label"* events within their life space and the world at large. In this dissertation I will only look at collective action frames that simplify and condense aspects of "*the world out there"*. In line with Gamson (1992), "*collective action frames are not merely aggregations of individual attitudes and perceptions but also the outcome of negotiating shared meaning"*. A frame defines how an element is conceived through encouraging certain interpretations.

According to Benford and Snow (1992), collective action frames are constituted by two sets of characteristics features. One concerns the action-oriented function, while the other refers to

the discursive processes attending to the action-oriented function or the "core framing tasks". Benford and Snow (1992) underline how framing gathers negotiated shared understanding of conditions or situations defined as in need of change, define who to blame and produce an alternative of solutions or arrangements.

Benford and Snow (1992) further note the lack of knowledge about how specific frames come to exist. However they suggest that discursive processes generate collective action frames in two different ways: frame articulation and frame amplifications. The prior involves the connection of events and experiences into a symbiosis where the way in which they are put together creates the new angle of vision, vantage point, and/or interpretation. Frame amplification on the other side includes the *"accenting and highlighting some issues, events, or beliefs as being more salient than others"*. The framing process can therefore be considered to be the result of a discourse, or how a discourse chooses to represents its meanings[2]. This dissertation will discuss how the discourse in G-77 and China results in specific framings of the climate change issue and how they connect to the environmental discourses suggested by Dryzek (1997). Finally the dissertation will also discuss the frames being invoked by these discourses.

3.2.2. Environmental discourses

Dryzek (1997) argue that the last four decades have included several different ways of looking at environmental issues. According to Dryzek (1997:19),: "*the impact of discourses can often be felt in the governments or intergovernmental bodies"*. It therefore provides a good tool for analyzing the approach towards climate change taken by the G-77. In this section I will therefore outline the characteristics of specific discourses in order to create the theory needed to understand the approach taken by the Group of Seventy-Seven in the climate negotiations. In a discourse, the adherents will apply a specific kind of language, in turn making some common judgments, assumptions and use of concepts about the subject in

[2] This is also the main argument of Røvik's translation theory from organizational change management theory: similar ideas or situation can be altered and represented in different ways depending upon the different contexts in which it exists.

matter. According to Dryzek (1997), discourse is important as it conditions the way we define, interpret and address environmental affairs as individuals look into things in different ways. Further Dryzek outlines a classification scheme of environmental discourse:

Table 3.2.2: Different environmental discourses. The vertical column describes to which extent the discourse accepts an imaginative approach; while the horizontal column should to what extent it holds or follows strong convictions or principles.

	Reformist	Radical
Prosaic	1. Problem Solving	2. Survivalism
Imaginative	3. Sustainability	4. Green Radicalism

The table above shows the categorization of the environmental discourses as proposed by Dryzek (1997). Prosaic means whether or not it is based on common-known facts or if it, on the contrary is more ambiguous applying a more imaginative approach. Further the differences of a reformist approach and a radical approach is to what extent it holds or follows strong convictions or principles.

3.2.3. The discourse of Problem Solving

Table 3.1 above presents four different branches of environmental discourses. The first one Dryzek (1997) has given the name *problem solving* and is defined by taking the political-economic status quo as given but in need of adjustment if it should be able to deal with environmental problems. The basic story line for this discourse assumes problem solving, however one can divide this into three different discourses: one in which one emphasis the role of experts, one where the role of the people is highlighted and the third one where the role of markets is emphasized. Dryzek (1997) calls the first version for the *administrative rationalism* and explain how this seeks to organize technical and scientific expertise into bureaucratic hierarchy of each state. It assumes the nature of established governments being about rational management informed by the best available expertise and looks at the nature as subordinated to human problem solving. Agents include both collective and individual

players, especially the state as a collective actor, but the discourse denies the existence of politics. Experts have better capacity in the solving of problems than the rest.

The second discourse centered on problem solving is what Dryzek (1997) calls the *democratic pragmatism* and involves democratic problem solving limited by the structural status quo. Here problem solving should be a democratic process involving multiple voices and opinions. Government is therefore treated as a multiplicity of decisions process populated by citizens as opposed to the unitary state as in administrative rationalism and is therefore carried out by a democracy. Nature is placed lower than human problem solving and equality amongst citizens is emphasized. Everyone has the right to act in the political arena, relations are complex and features both cooperation and competition. Agency is for everyone; individuals as much as collective groups. Motives for actions are mixed. The discourse uses metaphors of different forces pulling in the public policies and opinions.

Finally the problem solving discourse Dryzek (1997:102) also includes a third path defined by "*its commitment to the intelligent deployment of market mechanisms to achieve public ends*". Dryzek names this *economic rationalism*. This discourse promotes a solution to the environmental problems indicating private property and thereby creating a market. Some extreme followers urge a privatization of nearly everything (water, air, wildlife), however governments have attempted to create markets to create an equal effect. Putting a price on emission and thereby creating a market for rights to pollute is a practical example of a way to cope with the environmental issues according to this discourse (Dryzek, 1997). The world in this view is therefore populated by economic actors, either as consumer or producer. Markets, prices and property have real existence. Environment as a concept does not exist, however the existence of natural resources is recognized. The basic relationships are based on competition. According to this discourse, nature exists only with the purpose to provide income into the economy. The actors within this discourse are motivated by self-interests except from some government officials who are motivated by public interests. The basic metaphor is mechanic, i.e. the social world is treated as a machine producing to satisfy the demands of the society.

3.2.4.The survivalist discourse

Further, Dryzek (1997) talks about *survivalist* as a second environmental discourse. This is a radical and prosaic form stating that continued economic and population growth will eventually hit limits set by the earth's stock of natural resources. It emphasizes how human demands on the carrying capacity of ecosystems threaten to explode and searches for actions to lower these demands. "*Environmental problems are thought of in terms of shortfalls in the capacity of ecological systems acting in conjunction to sustain the conditions to support human- and possible nonhuman-life"* (Dryzek, 1997:32). Populations are here objects to be managed. It is radical as it seeks a redistribution of power within the industrial political economy and prosaic as it can see solutions in terms of the options set by industrialism (Dryzek, 1997). The discourse was given a blooming by the Club of Rome that consisted of industrialists, politics and academics. It talks about environmental issues through the concepts of carrying capacity and i.e. quality over quantity as it stresses ecological limits on human activities. Important personalities on this arena are, amongst others, Hardin (The tragedy of the commons, 1968) and Meadows et al. (The limits to growth, 1972).

According to Dryzek (1997) the ecosystems are conceptualized as the fundamental entitles within which human economic systems are surrounded and environmental problems are, in line with survivalism, thought of in terms of shortfalls in the capacity of ecological systems and economic systems in their co-existence. One main challenge is here to search for a way for economic systems to be made sustainable within the limits of the ecological constrains. To illustrate this one can apply Hardin's (1977) point stressing how the developed world ought to abandon the underdeveloped world in the case where governments in the underdeveloped countries promotes policies for population explosion and ecological devastation. This is also called *the lifeboat ethics*. Further, the supporters of this discourse sees decentralized systems as lacking cohesive leadership directing them, and therefore states how there are no incentives to care for collective goods such as environmental quality in these systems (Dryzek, 1997). Following, this represents one of the main challenges of this discourse, which is the fact that it solely considers elites, and only sees the issues on global levels.

In opposition and as a response to survivalism, the *promethean discourse* denies the existence of environmental limits and assumes a hierarchy where humans dominate everything and also competes amongst each others (Dryzek, 1997). The capacity to act is therefore for everyone

provided they act as economic actors and the key metaphor is mechanistic. This discourse has its roots from the industrial revolution were it was taken for granted. Resources from colonies ensured an image of infinite natural resources. According to Dryzek (1997) this discourse is also present today through a nation's focus on economic growth. Its supporters illustrate their points by turning to the development in the world and viewing how the human race manages to adapt to new technologies in order to avoid limits (i.e. when wood supply was running out one turned to coal and further to oil). For the Prometheans natural resources and ecosystems does not exists, they stress instead the view that *"resources are only sought and found as they are needed*" (1997:49) and that "natural" resources are created by humans ability to transform (Dryzek, 1997). Prometheans will therefore deny that global warming is a problem.

3.2.5. The sustainability discourse

The third discourse Dryzek (1997) has included in his classification is the sustainability discourse defined by its imaginative attempt to dissolve conflicts between environmental and economic values that energize the discourse of problem solving and limits. Sustainability is the center of this discourse and limits are non-existent. There is however no clear definition of what one means with sustainability but the discourse has its basis in the report of the Brundtland Commission (1987). Sustainable development typically means a development path in which the society is able to continue to develop its economy and social institutions and maintain its environment for an indefinite time (Botkin and Keller, 1995). Sustainability hence refers to the environment and development. The World Commission on Environment and Development defines sustainable development as followed: "*Sustainable development requires meeting the basic needs of all and extending to all the opportunity to satisfy their hopes for a brighter future"* (1987:44). It is hence a development path with the goal to balance economic and social development without destroying the natural environment on which all human life ultimately relies. Sustainable development in this way acknowledges that human quality of life is related to biodiversity and the pursuit of such a development path is also concerned with enabling social, economic and environmental equity between humans alive today as well as for future generations (WCED, 1987). In line with Dryzek (1997:124), sustainable development refers to the "*ensemble of life-support systems, and seeks perpetual*

growth in the sum of human needs that might be satisfied not through simple recourse garnering, but rather through intelligent operation of natural systems and human systems acting in combination". The definition is important, as different views of the term's meanings can express different self-interests.

The core story of the sustainability discourse starts with a recognition that not all people can reach development if the developing path of the industrial countries is kept in pace due to the fact that such action would over-burden the capacity of the eco-systems. Economic development is however necessary in order to satisfy basic needs of the poor. Economic development needs to be environmentally gentle and socially just. The discourse views the issue at a global level as well as local. Natural systems are related to human activity. Within the economy the capitalist way is taken for granted. Within this discourse, Dryzek (1997) outlines, economic growth, environmental protection, distributive justice, and long term sustainability are mutually reinforcing. The relationships are based on cooperation although humans are placed above nature. According to Dryzek (1997), sustainable development puts less emphasis on national governments and state actors. Relevant actors may exist in different levels. The metaphor structure is organic and the discourse appreciated progress in the environmental era. Finally it should be highlighted how this discourse gives a reassurance: sustainable development can be ensured.

In addition to Dryzek (1997), Langhelle (2000) also discusses the concept of sustainable development in his article "Sustainable Development and Social Justice: Expanding the Rawlsian Framework of Global Justice". In his article Langhelle makes two arguments: (1) social justice constitutes a natural part of the conception of sustainable development, and (2) the conception of sustainable development is compatible with liberal theories of justice. This differs from Dryzek's view as Langhelle (2000:299) writes: *"Social justice is <u>the</u> primary development goal of sustainable development"*. Langhelle (2000) further argues that in addition to poverty issues, it is just as important to consider the equal opportunity principle as a natural part of the concept of sustainable development. According to him (2000:300): "*intergenerational justice – understood as need satisfaction and equal opportunity – is the first priority of sustainable development"*. Langhelle (2000) thus takes account for the conflict created between intra- and intergenerational justice when meeting the needs of the present and expanding the opportunities for a better life to all, may also have environmental costs which in turn limits the prospects for future generations.

Dryzek (1997) also includes the discourse of *ecological modernization* within the sustainability branch. This refers to the restructuring of the capitalist political economy among more environmentally friendly lines. Industry participates in the design and implementation of policy as there are financially means in it for business. According to Dryzek (1997) ecological modernization distinguishes itself from sustainability in that it has a sharper focus on what exactly needs to be done to tackle the issues at stake. The story line is based on the capitalist political economy's need to reconfigure action so that environmental protection and economic development can proceed together and reinforce each other. It is a system approach that realizes the complex relationships within the society. The discourse does not recognize any limits to growth and implies a partnership where actors cooperate in the restructuring of the capitalist economy and the environmental protection. The key agents are these actors forming a partnership: governments, business, reform-orientated environmentalists, and scientists. The discourse gives a connection to progress and like sustainability, it also gives a reassurance. However it is completely silent about what might be the appropriate development path for Third world countries (Dryzek, 1997).

3.2.6. The green Radicalism discourse

Finally Dryzek (1997) talks about the *green radicalism* that rejects the basic structure of the industrial society and the way the environment is conceptualized in favor of different alternative interpretations of humans, their society and their place in the world. In this discourse the world is a diverse and lively place. Green radicalism can be divided into two major categories: one romantic and one rationalistic. The supporters of green romantics seek to change and save the world by changing the way individuals approach it. Their main concern is therefore the subjectivity experienced by individuals. Green romanticism builds on the storyline that industrial society induces and involves a biased conception of individuals and their place in the world. The supporters advocates that they presents a less manipulative and more humble and respectful attitude to the natural world (Dryzek, 1997). Limits of growths are recognized and applied to create urgency to the issues and nature is the foundation of this discourse. Nature here includes both inner and outer nature, and romanticisms believe that change needs to happen at the inner lever, i.e. in ones minds.

Natural relationship is therefore stressed and humans are not in a position over nature. All individuals can be agents but nature itself can also take the form of agents (Dryzek, 1997). Further, the discourse uses a wide rage of biological and organic metaphors and it appeals to emotions and intuitions. The discourse wants people to be different.

The second category, *green rationalism* is defined by its selective and ecologically guided radicalization of enlightenment values (Dryzek, 1997). In line with Dryzek (1997) rationalists recognize the importance of structure itself. The storyline in this discourse emphasizes how one can only deal with the issues at stake by radical political action and structural change. Ecological limits are recognized and nature is conceived as complex ecosystems whose wellbeing requires that humans change their ways. Social, political and economic structure plays an important part. The supporters of this discourse assume a natural relationship of equality across individuals however also allowing compromise with other relationships such as competitive ones (Dryzek, 1997:185). There is also a strong conception of complex ecological connections and humans are in a special position due to its reasoning capacity. Agency is both collective and individual. Green rationalists metaphors are organic at the same time as it is rational. A belief in progress is also present in the individual human development (Dryzek, 1997).

Dryzek (1997) concludes in his book that discourses not necessarily are competing with each other although there are also tensions amongst them. For example will green radicalism agree to many of the ideas of global limits developed by survivalists. Tension might be handled by remembering that different discourses may be applied to different issues (i.e. global problems versus local issues).

In the continuing, I will use these different discourses and try to identify the environmental discourse of the G-77 and China. I will also examine where the human rights (including third generation of rights) are in Dryzek's environmental discourses. In addition I will discuss which of these environmental discourses that are most connected to the third generation of human rights. The discourses give me a systematic approach in the examination of actual statements on behalf of the G-77 on issues concerning the environment and development.

3.3.Sources of evidence

In order to be able to analyze discourse and framing of the climate change in the G-77, I will systematically examine international documents and statements and look at their discursive belonging and their frames that are being utilized. Evidences of how one has chosen to frame the idea of coping with climate change will be looked for in official statements, reports, summaries and documents. These documents have been extracted from the web page of the G-77. Consequently the evidences I will look at can according to Blaikie (2000) be categorized as social artifacts involving the traces for social activities left behind by participants, in this case the G-77 and China.

Categorizing means to look into the different themes of what is being examined and to gather these data into groups. The aim is to move from the individual data one observes to the special phenomenon that is discussed. In order to get an overview over these different phenomenons it is necessary to create different categories from the text analyzed. By categorizing the texts analyzed in this dissertation I create a tool to use in order to say that some types of data are similar to other or on the contrary different (Jacobsen, 2000). I have chosen to apply a form of categorizing of my data in order to simplify the findings. It also simplifies a comparison between the texts analyzed.

First some relevant categories have to be established from the theory. In this dissertation these categories will expand from climate change negotiations and third generation rights, as well as an examination of which categories the Group of Seventy-Seven has used in their framing of the problem and solution of climate change. The main categories, however, will be adopted from Dryzek's work on environmental or/and human right discourses. Dryzek (1997) outlines a set of questions for the analysis of discourses which will be followed in order to identify the environmental discourse adopted by the group of Seventy-Seven. According to Dryzek (1997) each discourse constructs stories from the following elements or categories.

1. The ontology of the discourse, meaning the basic entities whose existence is recognized or constructed. This includes for example how one see people's place in the world and can be illustrated by looking at how some assume that governments and

their action matters while other assumes that it is the individual human spirit that matters (Dryzek, 1997).

2. The other element is the assumptions a discourse draws about natural relationships and therefore what it considers natural in the interactions between different entities. Is it for example question about cooperation or competition?
3. The third element is concerned about the agents and their motives. A discourse may be composed by individuals or collectives.
4. The last element is the key metaphors and other rhetorical devices that put a situation in a particular light.

Further in this report I will draw upon these elements in my analysis of the environmental discourse adopted by the Group of Seventy-Seven and China.

Practically I will therefore define the categories through the theories applied and thereafter search for words and expressions within the actual documents in order to examine how the Group of Seventy Seven has framed the problems and solutions to climate change. This categorization will help me analyze the framing systematically.

Secondly the elements from the texts must be dedicated into their respective categories. Practically this means searching the texts for words and concepts that fits into the specific categories. The categories will help establish a systematic examination of the texts. My goal is to manage to capture the categorizing done by the actors and through this also the framing.

I have also used some additional UN documents to complete my data. Conventions are the most common form of agreements between states and normally binding while agreement normally have no legal obligations but are based on mutual coincide between the parties involved. Further a protocol is a part of a bigger agreement giving parties options whether to agree to the whole agreement or solely some parts of it. Example of this kind of document is the Kyoto protocol. The main challenge in analyzing these kinds of papers is that many different interest groups construct them, and therefore, their content is often vague. These official documents make up a vital part of my material, as they provide me with the actual agreements and contextual background for the decisions made.

Other important sources for this thesis are articles and books contributed by other researchers. The main challenge here has been to critically choose amongst the big amount of written

work available. They have provided me with both theoretical stance as well as empirical evidence for how the different actors have transformed the idea of climate issues[3].

3.4. Assumptions and Limitations

This thesis is based on some assumptions I have chosen and that are likely to affect the result of the work.

A major emphasis will be on the greenhouse effect as a cause of climate change although it is important to be aware of the fact that other factors also affect the climate. The reason for this choice is the focus put on this cause in the international climate conferences as well as the fact that it operates on a time scale relevant to human beings. It is also one of the underlying factors of climate change that is affected in large scale by human activity (Alfsen, 2001). Despite the many arguments on whether or not climate change is real and caused by humans, I have assumed that it does exist and that human activity does play a role for the change. The thesis therefore assumes that anthropologic climate change is taking place.

The CO_2 concentration in the atmosphere, which is one of the main causes of the greenhouse effect, is far above what has been experienced in the last 400 000 years and the big increase that has been experienced since the 1976 can, according to Alfsen (2001), not be explained without considering man-made emission of greenhouse gases. According to IPCC, (2007) climate change of the last decade can to some extent be said to be resulting from man-made emissions of greenhouse gases. The development forward therefore is, in line with IPCC (2007) dependent upon the amount of greenhouse gases that is emitted that again is dependent upon factors such as technical development, economic development and population growth. Even more, it is dependent upon the future actions and regulations imposed on and by States.

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[3] Retaining primary research material from the decision-makers has been beyond the scope of this thesis.

This thesis therefore discusses the climate change that is said to be man-made and will not look further into the climate change imposed by nature.

In addition to this the thesis only consider the G-77 and China as one unit and does not look at internal differences. As mentioned above, the G-77 and China is in a special position as it consists of States with different levels of social and economic development. It can be argued that this weakens my research by making it superficial, however, as the aim of the thesis has been to examine how the coalition expresses, or frames, their view into a different context, this simplification has been done. The reader should keep this in mind. In the continuation of this thesis, the group will therefore only be referred to as G-77.

Further, the discourses I have studied have been limited to the ones proposed by Dryzek (1997) and his categories when analyzing the different discourses. Finally, the number of statements has also been narrow compared to all the reports, speeches and other documents that have been published. The selection process was based on two factors: the time and topic of the statement and they were solely found on the official web pages of G-77 (www.g77.org).

3.5. Collection of data

I have limited the study to the common statements from the G-77. This generalization was necessary, as I want to look at how they use specific terms and concepts in their work. I have therefore not looked at the different disagreements and opinions within G-77. Further my election of statements from the group may also be biased as they are randomly picked from their webpage (www.g77.org) and has been selected due to their time relevance (i.e. 1992 (UNFCCC), 1997 (Kyoto) and 2009 (COP-15)).

I have studied a total of 25 statements proposed by the G-77 at different climate change conventions and conferences. These statements represent the common opinion of the G-77 countries. Internal differences and conflicts are also present, but I have here assumed that the statements represent a common agreement for the group as a whole. In the data I have

looked for specific key words and concept applied as well as who the responsible actors are. In order to systemize the collection I have applied the same main categories as Dryzek's discourse analysis. I have done the collection in this matter, as it would ease my attempt to place the environmental discourse of G-77 into one of Dryzek's discourses. Further I have gathered the information into smaller categories for comparable reasons. In addition to the statements from G-77, I have applied the same method with international agreements concerning climate change, including the UNFCCC and the Kyoto Protocol with the purpose of substantiating discussion. The categories are presented in the table below:

Table 3.5.1. Overview of the categories applied in the collection of data according to Dryzek's discourse analysis (1997)

Main Categories	Under categories
Basic entities recognized or constructed	**Capitalist, democracy, markets etc.**
Assumptions about natural relationships	**Relationship between society and nature**
Agents and their motives	**Collective or individuals**
Key metaphors and other rhetorical devices	**Descriptions of situations or conditions**

If Dryzek's categories are applied directly, the first main category, i.e. the basic entities recognized or constructed, has not been necessary to examine in the texts. It can here simply be assumed that the G-77 considers their basic entities to consist of states and markets, as the association consists of state leaders and elites and also is a group within the UN system, also made up of states. Further, if following these categories, it is assumed that the G-77 recognizes global limits and nature as a complex ecosystem. This conclusion can be drawn from the fact that all the G-77 countries are parts to the UNFCCC. This has its base in my earlier assumption that climate change is a fact and that it is necessary to act in order to cope with the different consequences it implies. In addition it is underlined by the IPCC (2007) stating for example that the resilience of many ecosystems is likely to be exceeded. Finally I have assumed a capitalist market. However, this categorization does not fit too well with the issues that are studied in this thesis. Where are for example the globally divided world into developed and developing countries accounted for? And where would the third generation of human rights fit into these environmental discourses? Dryzek only considers the issue from a western perspective and fails to create a universal analytical tool for environmental

discourses. In the discussion, I therefore suggest an alteration of these categories so they coincide better with the data analyzed and examined.

3.6. My role as a researcher, validity and the reliability of the data

Validity of research is concerned with the truth of the interpretations made. According to Fisher (2007) this concerns three main issues:

1. Whether the concepts and terms used in the dissertation describes the research material accurately. In order to secure this I have used terms and concepts adopted from the theory.
2. Validity includes the fact that the interpretations and conclusions made ought to be logically derived from the design. By using a systematic approach towards the texts analyzed in this work this validity concern has been accounted for.
3. The used research methods should be appropriate to handle the discussed matter. This concerns whether or not I get access to the information needed to respond the research questions. In this dissertation it has been especially important that the texts analyzed are reliable.

In addition, Danemark et. Al. suggests a fourth point concerning reasonable interpretations from the chosen theoretical point of view.

Reliability is concerned with the dissertation's trustworthiness. A researcher approaching the matter at exactly the same way as already done should ideally end up with the same findings. However it is important to underline the threat of ambiguity and over interpretation. As already mentioned I am not fully objective and the work will always be affected by this ambiguity.

Through my adoption of the abductive strategy, I have aimed to look at the documents through a theoretical framework. This provides me with a tool to re-contextualize text and to identify how the actors have adopted different framings and discourse elements to the issue of dealing with climate change in the complex environment that the international arena is

frequently characterized as (Urry, 2003). I have, in line with how Danemark et. Al. describe the abductive research strategy, seen the case in matter through the theory and context provided. My findings are therefore subjective to the circumstances or framework I have set. As a researcher I am not considered objective, as I, according to discourse analysis, am subjective in nature. Although I have attempted to be objective, the results are most certain colored by this ambiguity.

4. EMPIRICISM & ANALYSIS

In this section I will present the data that I have found throughout my research. In order to present my findings clearly I will systematically go trough the most important aspects according to Dryzek's categorization of the environmental discourses. In addition, this section also includes the discussion of the data and of the two hypotheses. The table under shows the statements that I have studied.

Table 4.1: Statements studied

Name	Original Name	Date
1997		
1997-1	STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE GROUP OF 77 BY AMBASSADOR DAUDI N. MWAKAWAGO PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA, CHAIRMAN OF THE GROUP OF 77, AT THE AD-HOC WORKING GROUP OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON AN AGENDA FOR DEVELOPMENT	11. February
1997-2	STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE GROUP OF 77 BY M.W MANGACHI, MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY IN THE PERMANENT MISSION OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS, AT THE INTERSESSIONAL AD HOC OPEN-ENDED WORKING GROUP OF THE COMMISSION ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT	24. February
1997-3	STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE GROUP OF 77 BY M.W MANGACHI, MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY IN THE PERMANENT MISSION OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS, AT THE INTERSESSIONAL AD HOC OPEN-ENDED WORKING GROUP OF THE COMMISSION ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT. INSTITUTIONAL ISSUES	28. February
1997-4	STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE GROUP OF 77 BY M.W MANGACHI, MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY IN THE PERMANENT MISSION OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS, AT THE INTERSESSIONAL AD HOC OPEN-ENDED INTER SESSIONAL WORKING GROUP OF THE COMMISSION ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT	4. March
1997-5	STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE GROUP OF 77 BY M.W MANGACHI, MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY IN THE PERMANENT MISSION OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS, AT THE INTERSESSIONAL AD HOC OPEN-ENDED INTER SESSIONAL WORKING GROUP OF THE COMMISSION ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT	5. March
1997-6	COMMENTS BY M.W. MANGACHI, MINISTER PLENIPOTETIARY, TANZANIA MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS IN NEW YORK, ON BEHALF OF THE GROUP OF 77 AND CHINA, ON SECTORAL ISSUES IN C-CHAIR'S TEXT AT THE CSD INTERSESIONAL WORKING GROUP	6. March
1997-7	OPENING REMARKS BY H.E. AMBASSADOR DAUDI N. MWAKAWAGO, PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS, CHAIRMAN OF THE GROUP OF 77, AT THE ROUNDTABLE ON GLOBALIZATION SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND THE SOUTH ORGANIZED BY THE THIRD WORLD NETWORK AND THE GROUP OF 77	2. April
1997-8	STATEMENT BY MSUYA WALDI MANGACHI, MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY, ON BEHALF OF THE GROUP OF 77 AND CHINA, AT THE OPENING SESSION OF THE FIFTH SESSION OF THE COMMISSION ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT	8. April
1997-9	STATEMENT BY H.E. AMBASSADOR DAUDI N. MWAKAWAGO, PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS, CHAIRMAN OF THE GROUP OF 77, BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF U.S.A., NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA, WASHINGTON, D.C.	7. May
1997-10	STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA, HIS EXCELLENCY BANJAMIN WILLIAM MKAPA, AT THE UNITED NATION GENERAL ASSEMBLY SPECIAL SESSION TO REVIEW UNCED AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF AGENDA 21	23. June
1997-11	AFTER KYOTO, NEW ROUND OF BATTLE COMING UP (Journal of the Group 77 September/November 1997)	September / November

1997-12	STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE GROUP OF 77 AND CHINA BY MR. KATINDA E. KAMANDO, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA, IN THE SECOND COMMITTEE OF THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON AGENDA ITEM 98: Protection of the global climate for the present and future generations of mankind; (e) Convention on Biological Diversity; (f) Implementation of the outcome of the Global Conference, Sustainable Development of Small Islands Developing States	6. November
2009		
2009-1	STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE GROUP OF 77 AND CHINA BY AMBASSADOR JOHN ASHE, PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA TO THE UNITED NATIONS, AT THE THEMATIC DEBATE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON "ADDRESSING CLIMATE CHANGE: THE UNITED NATION AND THE WORLD AT WORK"	12. February 2008
2009-2	STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE GROUP OF 77 AND CHINA BY H.E. AMBASSADOR DR. IBRAHIM MIRGAHANI IBRAHIM, HEAD OF DELEGATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SUDAN, AT THE OPENING PLENARY OF THE AD HOC WORKING GROUP ON LONG-TERM COOPERATIVE ACTION UNDER THE CONVENTION	29. March 2009
2009-3	STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE GROUP OF 77 AND CHINA BY H.E. AMBASSADOR DR. IBRAHIM MIRGAHANI IBRAHIM, HEAD OF DELEGATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SUDAN, AT THE CLOSING PLENARY OF THE AD HOC WORKING GROUP ON LONG-TERM COOPERATIVE ACTION UNDER THE CONVENTION	8. April 2009
2009-4	STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE GROUP OF 77 AND CHINA BY H.E. AMBASSADOR DR. IBRAHIM MIRGAHANI IBRAHIM, HEAD OF DELEGATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SUDAN, AT THE OPENING PLENARY OF THE AD HOC WORKING GROUP ON LONG-TERM COOPERATIVE ACTION UNDER THE CONVENTION	1. June 2009
2009-5	STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE GROUP OF 77 AND CHINA BY H.E. AMBASSADOR DR. IBRAHIM MIRGAHANI IBRAHIM, HEAD OF DELEGATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SUDAN, AT THE CLOSING PLENARY OF THE AD HOC WORKING GROUP ON LONG-TERM COOPERATIVE ACTION UNDER THE CONVENTION	12. June 2009
2009-6	STATEMENT BY HIS EXCELLENCY MR. AHMAD BABIKER NAHAR, MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SUDAN, AT THE CLOSING PLENARY SESSION OF THE SUMMIT ON CLIMATE CHANGE CONVENED BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL	22. September
2009-7	STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE GROUP OF 77 AND CHINA BY H.E. AMBASSADOR DR. IBRAHIM MIRGAHANI IBRAHIM, HEAD OF DELEGATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SUDAN, AT THE OPENING PLENARY OF THE AD HOC WORKING GROUP ON LONG-TERM COOPERATIVE ACTION UNDER THE CONVENTION	28. September 2009
2009-8	STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE GROUP OF 77 AND CHINA BY H.E. AMBASSADOR DR. IBRAHIM MIRGAHANI IBRAHIM, HEAD OF DELEGATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SUDAN, AT THE CLOSING PLENARY OF THE AD HOC WORKING GROUP ON LONG-TERM COOPERATIVE ACTION UNDER THE CONVENTION	9. October 2009
2009-9	STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE GROUP OF 77 AND CHINA BY H.E. AMBASSADOR DR. IBRAHIM MIRGHANI IBRAHIM, HEAD OF DELEGATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SUDAN, AT THE CLOSING PLENARY OF THE NINTH SESSION OF THE AD HOC WORKING GROUP UNDER THE KYOTO PROTOCOL	9. November
2009-10	STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE GROUP OF 77 AND CHINA BY H.E. AMBASSADOR DR. IBRAHIM MIRGHANI IBRAHIM, HEAD OF DELEGATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SUDAN, AT THE OPENING PLENARY OF THE RESUMED NINTH SESSION OF THE AD HOC WORKING GROUP UNDER THE KYOTO PROTOCOL	2. November
2009-11	STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE GROUP OF 77 AND CHINA BY H.E. AMBASSADOR DR. IBRAHIM MIRGAHANI IBRAHIM, HEAD OF DELEGATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SUDAN, AT THE CLOSING PLENARY OF THE RESUMED NINTH SESSION OF THE AD HOC WORKING GROUP UNDER THE KYOTO PROTOCOL	6. November
2009-12	STATEMENT BY HIS EXCELLENCY AMBASSADOR ABDALMAHMOOD ABDALHALEEM MOHAMAD, PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE REPUBLIC OF SUDAN TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND CHAIRMEN OF THE GROUP OF 77, AT THE INFORMAL MEETING OF THE PLENARY OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO HEAR A BRIEFING BY THE UN SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE OUTCOME OF THE UN CLIMATE CHANGE CONFERENCE	21. December
2009-13	STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE GROUP OF 77 AND CHINA BY H.E. AMBASSADOR ABDULLA MOHAMMED ALSAIDI, HEAD OF DELEGATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF YEMEN, AT THE OPENING PLENARY OF THE FOURTEENTH SESSION OF THE AD HOC WORKING GROUP UNDER THE KYOTO PROTOCOL (AWG-KP 14)	4. October 2010

In the following I will discuss the content in these statements and connect the contemporary context and human rights to Dryzek's (1997) theory of environmental or/and human right discourses with the aim of understanding the environmental discourses applied by G-77. I will also outline for the benefits and contributions human right theory can have in the climate change negotiations. Under I have shown an example of the statements studied.

STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE GROUP OF 77 AND CHINA BY AMBASSADOR JOHN ASHE, PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA TO THE UNITED NATIONS, AT THE THEMATIC DEBATE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON "ADDRESSING CLIMATE CHANGE: THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE WORLD AT WORK" (New York, 12 February 2008)

INTRODUCTION

1. Mr. President, the Group of 77 and China thank you for convening this debate in the General Assembly on the theme "Addressing Climate Change: The United Nations and the World at Work." It provides the Assembly with an additional opportunity to exchange views among Member States and with other partners on one of the important issues on the development agenda of the UN.

2. At the outset, the Group of 77 and China reiterates that the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change is, and should remain, the primary comprehensive framework for addressing climate change. Therefore, this thematic debate should be recognized as an opportunity for Member States to dialogue on ways of increasing support for the Framework and on meeting the urgent need for immediate action to fully implement commitments under the Convention and its Kyoto Protocol; supporting the Bali Action Plan and other mechanisms of the Convention.

3. Mr. President, the Group of 77 and China is of the view that there should not be a parallel process of debates that would detract from the negotiation process under the Convention. The Group of 77 and China believes that multilateral action to address climate change should remain firmly rooted in the UNFCCC and the Kyoto Protocol.

4. Furthermore, this thematic debate, as well as the Secretary General's report on the Overview of UN activities in relation to Climate Change should not attempt to influence any other processes such as the system wide coherence debate or the discussions on international environmental governance.

CLIMATE CHANGE AS A SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGE

5. Mr. President, the Group of 77 and China is of the view that discussions on climate change should be placed within the proper context of sustainable development. It is imperative that our discussion reinforces the promotion of sustainable development, highlighting the three pillars - economic development, social development and environmental protection - and the need to promote all three in an integrated, coordinated and balanced manner.

6. We must not lose sight of the fact that climate change is a sustainable development challenge. As such we should adhere steadfastly to the Rio principles, in particular the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities. We must take fully into account that poverty eradication, economic and social development are the paramount priorities of developing countries. Hence, we must ensure that the discussion on climate change is placed in its proper context so that it does not undermine the overall discourse on sustainable development.

7. Mr. President, urgent action is needed now to fully implement the commitments under the Convention and the Kyoto Protocol, especially commitments on financing for adaptation,

technology transfer and capacity building, if we are to make progress towards the achievement of the sustainable development goals of developing countries, in particular the internationally agreed development goals (IADG) including the MDGs.

8. Urgent action is particularly needed on commitments, as climate change threatens the livelihoods of the very poor and vulnerable developing countries, in particular Africa, the LDCs, LLDCs, SIDS, and disaster prone developing countries. The G77 and China is of the view that while addressing the challenge of climate, the most affected countries and most vulnerable countries should be given adequate attention and support.

9. Developed countries Parties must take the lead in addressing the implementation gap, since the extent to which developing countries Parties can effectively respond to the challenge depends on the effective implementation by developed country Parties of their commitments relating to financing and technology transfer.

SCALING-UP FINANCING, TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER AND CAPACITY BUILDING SUPPORT

10. While the UN can support the efforts of developing countries in formulating policies for attracting climate change related investment flows, adaptation and nationally appropriate mitigation actions will have to be enabled by technology, financing and capacity-building that are commensurate with the magnitude of the tasks ahead of us, that is, in a measurable, reportable and verifiable manner, as agreed in the Bali Action Plan. The provision of financial resources is a binding commitment of developed country Parties. Clear guidance should be given to facilitate access to financial resources and investments without conditionalities. It is essential that such financial resources not be considered as official development assistance (ODA), but additional, and in compliance with existing binding commitments under the Convention. Further, financing for adaptation to climate change and the impact of response measures should not be a reallocation or realignment of existing development financing.

11. Developing countries should be provided with greater access to cost-effective, efficient and affordable advanced clean technologies. The Group of 77 and China has repeatedly led calls for developing countries to have greater access to climate-friendly technologies. Efforts in this regard need to be scaled up. Furthermore, the UN can play an important role through the promotion of an intellectual property rights (IPR) regime that facilitates the transfer of such technologies.

12. The Group of 77 and China reiterates its call for increased support for capacity building in developing countries to enhance national efforts to promote an integrated approach to climate change response measures and sustainable development planning.

GREATER SUPPORT BY THE UN SYSTEM FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO ADDRESS THE CLIMATE CHANGE CHALLENGE

13. The UN's efforts in supporting national adaptation activities must be strengthened, so that developing countries can achieve their sustainable development goals while responding to the challenges of climate change. The role of the UN in supporting the overall development efforts is vital. However, the G77 and China finds that technology transfer and financing, have not been addressed adequately in the background documents made available in preparation for today's debate.

14. On the issue of partnerships, Mr. President, the G77 and China is of the view that multi-

stake holder partnerships have an important role to play in addressing climate change. The UN system should assist in fostering and promoting partnerships in support of national efforts. However, partnerships should not replace ODA or international cooperation.

15. Additionally, South-South cooperation is useful in the area of adaptation efforts, and greater support for South-South Cooperation can also help developing countries better respond to the challenges of climate change. However, South-South Cooperation should not be considered within the context of multi-stakeholder partnerships. Further, South-South cooperation on climate change should complement North-South Cooperation.

REPORT ON THE OVERVIEW OF UN ACTIVITIES IN RELATION TO CLIMATE CHANGE

16. Mr. President, in General Assembly resolution 62/8 Member States requested a comprehensive report providing an overview of the activities of the UN system in relation to climate change. Based on this mandate the G77 and China anticipated a factual report that takes stock of current UN system activities in this regard. As such there is no mandate with regard to "an indication of the way forward," and "coordination of the UN system action on climate change." This remains the purview of the Member States to decide on. Work on coordination mechanisms, and structures or frameworks, including clusters of activity or lead agencies, must be subject of intergovernmental consideration and decision prior to implementation.

17. In general the UN system entities should assist in the effective implementation of the provisions, commitments and action plans of the UNFCCC. Coordination of UN system activities to enhance its role in meeting the challenge of climate change requires inter-governmental consideration, agreement and oversight by Member States.

18. The G77 and China recognizes the primacy of the UN in directing and supporting global efforts to meet the global challenge of climate change, and in supporting its Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The General Assembly, given its universality, should unequivocally urge Parties to undertake urgent action now to meet their commitments under the Convention, provide clear policy direction in this regard and to support to the Bali Plan of Action.

19. Mr. President, the G77 and China believes that the road to Copenhagen, where the concluding talks on the current process on the Bali roadmap will be held in 2009, will be a difficult one, particularly for developing countries and the poorest and most vulnerable. Leadership will therefore be critical if our response is to reflect the scale of the challenge. We need effective and comprehensive global response, within the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities, to cover adaptation, technology transfer and financing, as well as mitigation. Without rapid and tangible efforts by developed countries in this regard, climate change will lead to increased poverty and will negate our efforts at achieving sustainable development.

Thank you, Mr. President.

Figur 4.1. Example of statements studied

4.2.Discourse Analysis of G-77's approach to climate change

Primarily, I will sum up the main findings in my analysis and discuss these based on Dryzek's discourse analysis. This provides an overview over the main elements in the discourse of the G-77. The main focus will be on the statements given directly by the G-77, but I will also include the UNFCCC(1992) and the Kyoto Protocol (1997) in order to understand how the applied approach coincides with these commonly accepted international documents. The UNFCCC entered into force in 1994 and sets an overall framework for how to tackle the treats from climate change. It is build up around 26 articles, has nearly universal membership and *"recognizes that the climate system is a shared resource whose stability can be affected by industrial and other emissions of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases"* (UNFCCC, 2011). The Kyoto protocol was adopted in Kyoto, Japan in 1997 and entered into force in 2005. It consists of 28 articles and the protocol commits industrialized countries to stabilize GHG emissions, while the UNFCCC only encourages them to do so. The UNFCC has 194 parties while the Kyoto has 191 parties.

In the following section I will systematically present the findings through Dryzek's categories by looking individually at assumptions about natural relationships, agents and their motives and key metaphors and other rhetorical devices. Within each I will examine the UNFCCC (1992), the Kyoto protocol, statements from 1997 and statements from 2010.

4.2.1.Assumptions about natural relationships

United Nation Framework Convention on Climate change (1992)

In the discussion of climate change and dealing with the effects of these changes, the UNFCCC focused on relationships in which consensus is important. Cooperation amongst the Parties to the Convention, i.e. the States, was emphasized. The preamble of the Convention stated: "*Acknowledging that the global nature of climate change calls for the widest possible cooperation by all countries and their participation in an effective and appropriate international response, in accordance with their common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities and their social and economic conditions".*

Further, the Convention outlined specific duties existing for the developed country Parties. The natural relationships found was hence a cooperative interaction amongst the Parties to the Convention where developed country Parties were expected to take the lead. The preamble outlined how standards ought to be adapted to different contexts: "*... standards applied by some countries may be inappropriate and of unwarranted economic and social cost to other countries, in particular developing countries".* The convention also recognized the principle of sovereignty of States.

In addition, the Convention also established some sort of natural relationships where developed country Parties have duties while developing countries hold rights. It states for example "*The developed country Parties may also provide and developing country parties avail themselves of, financial resources related to the implementation of the convention through bilateral, regional and other multilateral channels".* It basically recognizes the division of responsibility between developing and developed states.

Statements from 1997

The statements on behalf of Group of 77 from the year 1997 and centered around the challenges of climate change had an overall consensus of a specific focus on cooperation. Statement 1997-2 illustrates this saying: "*sustainable development could not be achieved without all nations agreeing to act together to preserve the global environment".* International agreements, such as in particular the Agenda 21 and UNFCCC, was underlined and pointed out and the importance of upholding these was emphasized. Further the developing states expressed a need for all parts to work together and to take their responsibility in accordance with the *"common but differentiated responsibility"* principle from the UNFCCC. The statements illustrated a natural relationship within the discourse of G-77 where the developing countries urged for more international cooperation such as bilateral and regional agreements. Statement 1997-13 for example stated: "*Processes will only succeed if there is proven commitment by the international community".*

The Kyoto Protocol (1997)

The Kyoto Protocol saw the natural relationships amongst the States as a relationship based on common but differentiated responsibilities. The document put different responsibilities on different agents (States) due to different national circumstances. It further requested cooperation and consensus, highlighting bilateral, regional and other multilateral channels.

Statements from 2009

The statements from 2009 showed a similar focus and emphasis of maintaining international cooperation. It was especially the Kyoto protocol, and the necessity for a continuation of this, that was highlighted as a vital document for the cooperation. Further, the UNFCCC was brought up as a documents which should form the basis for all international cooperation on the how to combat climate change. Statement 2009-1 underlined the relationship of three pillars saying: *"it is imperative that our discussion reinforces the promotion of sustainable development, highlighting the three pillars –economic development, social development and environmental protection"*. The statements expressed a relationship in which the developed countries should take a leadership role in order to be successful in Copenhagen at the Conference of the Parties in 2009. Statement 2009-10 illustrated: "*calls for the widest possible cooperation by all countries and their participation in an effective and appropriate international response"*.

4.2.2. Agents and their motives

United Nation Framework Convention on Climate change (1992)

The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) took into account the different social and economic situation of the Parties and hence the agents. In its preamble the Convention recognized *"the special difficulties of developing countries"*. Here it also identified the developed country Parties as the responsible agent stating, *"the largest share of historical and current global emissions of greenhouse gases has originated in developed countries"*. The developing country Parties were considered a vulnerable agent and their specific needs were urged to be taken into full consideration. Implicit references to third generation of human rights (the right to development) were evident. The last part of the preamble said: "*Recognizing that all countries, especially developing countries, need access to resources required to achieve sustainable social and economic development and that, in order for developing countries to progress towards that goal, their energy consumption will need to grow taking into account the possibilities for achieving greater energy efficiency and for controlling greenhouse gas emission in general"*.

Statements from 1997

All statements from 1997 underlined the difficult situation for developing countries. The countries' need for economic development and growth was especially emphasized as well as the nature of the issue being an issue affecting all agents. For example was it stated in statement 1997-10: "*the consequences of environmental degradation and pollution respect no boarders –they affect equally the polluters and those who do not pollute, the rich and the poor, and hence the concept of common but differentiated responsibilities for all of us"*. The motives for the developing countries was expressed as enhancing economic development and limit the poverty, and in this way also consequently be better able to tackle the adverse effects of the climate change. As agents, the G-77 also stressed the need for acknowledging actions and initiatives taken on national level. Compared to the developed countries, the G-77 communicates itself as an agent bearing greater challenge due to the need for eradication of poverty as well as the need for a greater equity in income distribution and human resource development. Statement 1997-12 illustrated the case in point "*Most of developing countries continue to be the most vulnerable to the adverse effects of climate changes as a result of increased emissions of carbon dioxide, methane and nitrous oxide gasses into the atmosphere"*.

The G-77 therefore considers the developed countries as those agents to whom the responsibility lies. This finding is also supported by Depledge (1999/2000) in her article based on observation of the negotiation process prior to the Kyoto Protocol. She reports for instance that (on adverse impacts on developing countries): "*The G-77 and China submission included a proposal for a "concrete compensation mechanism for damages arising from implementation of response measures on developing countries…""* (1999/2000:Article 3.14). The developing countries were mainly responsible for unsustainable production patterns as well as pollution and overconsumption and should take the lead. The wasteful consumption and production pattern of developed countries that includes unsustainable use of energy resources was hence underlined. These agents should, according to the statements held on behalf of the G-77, support, financially and through technical cooperation, the efforts of acting by developing countries. The North needs to pay attention to the specific needs of developing countries and the statements specifically urges the developed countries to provide the South with "*sufficient development space and meeting the basic needs of the poor in*

developing countries" (example from statement 1997-4). Statement 1997-10 also included the private sector as important agents having a critical role to play in preventing damage to the environment.

The Kyoto Protocol (1997)

The Kyoto Protocol also highlighted the developing countries as the vulnerable actors and states for example that the Parties to the protocol must: "*minimize adverse effects, including the adverse effects of climate change, effects on international trade, and social, environmental and economic impacts on other Parties, especially developing country Parties".* Developed countries had the historical responsibility and was therefore, according to the document, the Parties whom had the duties to ensure a sustainable development path.

Statements from 2010

Similar to the statements from 1997, the G-77 underlined, in their statements from 2009, that developing countries are the least responsible for climate change while they represent the agents that suffers the most from its adverse impacts. These agents where not responsible for most of the emissions accumulated in the atmosphere but they have the most to loose as they will be the most affected.

Again it was the role of the developed countries as the responsible part that was highlighted. In line with G-77 it is this agent who must take ambitious targets due to their historical responsibilities. Throughout the statements there was a high emphasis on this agents' responsibilities both to reduce their emissions and also to provide developing states with adequate financial resources and technology support. The motives of the agents where mainly based around their will to continue or not continue to uphold the Kyoto protocol. G-77 stood against attempts by developed countries to generate an alternative to the protocol instead of upholding it. The statements clearly expressed the call for developed countries to show the necessary political will and leadership to set the scale of emission reduction in the light of historical responsibility and equity and in accordance with science.

Summing this up, it can be found that, not surprisingly, the G-77 highlights the developing States as the vulnerable agents and likewise the developed countries as the responsible parts.

Agents are therefore looked at individually, although acting towards a collective good. The statements show an assumption of agents acting as both collective and individual. Further, the statements also connected the States role as both keeping up human rights and coping with the climate change challenge. States are thus the central actors in both regimes: they carry the primary responsibility for protecting human rights, and this responsibility extends into the negotiation of a solution to climate change. In addition several implicit references to third generation of human rights were found.

4.2.3. Key metaphors and other rhetorical devices

United Nation Framework Convention on Climate change (1992)

In the UNFCCC there was a big emphasis on financial resources and technology transfer between the Parties to the Conventions. It also illustrated a strong linkage to social and economic development stating that: *"…the response to climate change should be coordinated with social and economic development in an integrated manner with a view avoiding adverse effects on the latter, taking into full account the legitimate priority needs of developing countries for the achievement of sustained economic growth and the eradication of poverty*".

The Convention also begins its preamble by expressing the urgency of the situation and, to some extent, appealing to emotions by making the case in point personal to humankind. It said: "*Acknowledging that change in the Earth's climate and its adverse effects are a common concern of human kind",* and further: *"Concerned that human activities have been substantially increasing the atmospheric concentrating of greenhouse gasses".*

Statements from 1997

From 1997 it was especially financial recourses and technology transfer that were in focus. In addition the connection between environment and development was highlighted and development needs in general was stressed. Self-determined and self-reliant development as well as the connection to poverty where also mentioned. Statement 1997-8 stated: "*the responsibility for technology development cannot be confined to market forces alone, nor can market approach be relied on to assure that such technologies become widely available and used".* The Kyoto protocol is a rather technical document and not much metaphors where used. Despite this a lot of emphasis was put on financial and technology transfer.

In addition rights where also referred to in the G-77 statements. Freshwater is for example referred to as a basic need. Statement 1997-8 stated: *"an effective strategy for tackling the problem*s *of poverty should be incorporated in all environmental projects and should inter alia be aimed at enhanced health care and education, the rights of women…"* It further continues with "*Solving the basic need of these groups, particularly food and their energy needs, would reduce problems such as deforestation, land degradation, water resources etc."* Basically the statements are urging for a balance between the needs for development and those of environment using the basic rights as metaphors.

Kyoto protocol (1997)

In the Kyoto protocol the most important metaphor is perhaps the constant division on developed and developing countries. This means that for some countries it is crucial to identify itself as a developing state in order to obtain the rights as opposed to the commitments the protocol suggests. The term "developing state" implies a nation that has little or nothing industrialization.

Statements from 2010

The metaphors referred to in the statements from 2009 where similar to those from 1997. Technology transfer and economic assistance from developed world where perhaps the two most highlighted concepts in these statements. In addition to these there was also a focus on equity, transparence and democracy. The benefits of all human kinds were also mentioned as a term and the words fair, just and equitable were repeated.

In contrast to the statements from 1997, single basic rights are not mentioned but more emphasis is put on the need for developed countries to uphold their commitments under the Kyoto protocol. Statement 2009-10 illustrates this: *"the killing of the Kyoto Protocol would have the effect of undermining the foundational principle of equity, common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities and ultimately puts at risk any ambitious outcome to aggressively address climate change"*. Finally the connection to development can also be mentioned. The emphasis of this concept can be summarized by a sentence from statement 2009-6; *"the Group of 77 reaffirms that responses to climate change should be coordinated with social and economic development, the first and overriding priorities of developing countries, in an integrated manner"*.

In this category it also became evident that the concept of right was used, however, in less directly form than first anticipated. From 1997 several documents mentioned basic human rights but keeping the main focus on the importance of development. The statements from 2009, on the other hand, the main emphasis was put on the need for developed countries to uphold their commitments under the Kyoto protocol and in this way ensure the ability for developing countries to uphold their development path. In other words, implying their right to development.

4.2.4. The sustainable development discourse and G-77

The G-77 includes elements from different environmental discourses from Dryzek's classification on discourses. It is however difficult to conclude with one specific discourse the G-77 can be identified with if solely considering the environmental discourses Dryzek proposes. When looking at assumptions about natural relationships, the G-77 emphasized cooperation and a need for all parts to work together. This part also reviled an emphasis for more international cooperation in forms of bilateral and regional agreements.

Within the discourse of problem solving, this identifies mostly with the *democratic pragmatism,* treating governments as a multiplicity of decisions process populated by citizens. It is therefore carried out by democracy. The appeal to cooperation illustrates the assumption of a broad platform of agents and therefore also different opinions and interests. Further, the approach found in the statements shows few or no similarities to the survivalist discourse when considering the assumptions about natural relationships as they emphasis control and competition and does not consider the aspects of cooperation. The sustainability approach, on the other hand, assumes a relationship based on cooperation where humans are placed above nature. This coincides well with what the statements from the G-77 communicate. As the statements mainly communicated the need for cooperation as the natural relationship, it can be suggested that it fits best under the democratic pragmatism and the sustainability. This was evident in the statements regardless of the year the statement was composed.

Finally the last category, the key metaphors and other rhetorical devices, was barely evident in the manner Dryzek has proposed. However, poverty stood out as a very central word in the

statements and G-77 several times emphasized the need of eradication of poverty as a mean to achieve development. In this way the statements also appeared to emotions as in accordance with the Green Romanticism. Statement 1997-2 stressed for example that work should be focused on the linkage between poverty and environmental protection and that more assistance was needed towards poverty alleviation projects and programs. Another example that illustrates this emotional line is illustrated through statement 1997-12: "*it is unfair and, indeed, unacceptable that developing countries which are struggling to attain decent standards of living should be asked to curtain their industrial activity and share in the efforts to reduce emissions so that the industrialized countries can continue with their unsustainable production and consumption patterns".* The statements expressed a need for an increase of resources so that the needs of developing countries could be addressed more adequately.

In addition to the links of process and therefore the connections to the environmental discourses as in the statements from 1997, the statements from 2009 also illustrated a tendency to appear to emotions as in the Green Romanticism. This approach had clear attempts to touch to the receivers' emotions. Statements 2009-6 illustrated this by saying "*this is a global challenge facing humanity and threatening our planet"* and statement 2009-12 stated "*the topic is a most serious one, how to save the world and humankind from climate change"* and that *"it is a crucial issue on which the lives of the people in each country depends".* The statements are talking about devastating impacts and that a solution needs to be fair, just and equitable.

It is interesting to see how some of the statements put forward by the G-77 aim to appeal to the "audience's" feelings. G-77 puts itself in this way in a very vulnerable and humble position. This way of communicating also aims to touch upon the other agents' consciousness and is evident in the green rationalism discourse. The approach also seemed to have many similarities with the sustainability discourse where the core story recognizes that not all people can reach development if the developing path of the industrial countries is kept in pace due to the fact this would over-burden the eco-systems. At the same time it sees that economic development is necessary in order to satisfy basic needs of the poor. Sustainable development assumes the fulfillment of both the right to development and the right to a clean environment.

Other “metaphor” that was frequently referred to was the transfer of technology and financial resources. They have been treated as metaphors here as they seem to be the key to what G-77 considers forming the solutions for coping with change. It can be argued that by applying these as metaphors, they express a connection to progress that Dryzek refers to in the sustainable development discourse. In addition, the constant use of development and developing countries may also be argued to form metaphors illustrating a division for who has obligations and who has rights.

This means that the approach taken by the G-77 best coincide with the sustainable development discourse when considering Dryzek’s analysis. Despite this it is also interesting to see how the statements to some extent aim at protecting self-interest of the developing states such as some of the other environmental discourses represented by Dryzek. The sustainable development approach assumes that the agents are motivated by public good, however the data also implies that self-interests are present. This would be similar to the category of agents and their motives Dryzek proposes. This discourse also takes account for the division between the developing and the developed countries. The need for assistance and the importance put on technological and financial transfer from developed countries illustrates this. Other example that clearly illustrates this is the view of developed states as the responsible parts. In nearly all statements, regardless of its period, G-77 appeals to developed states to take a leading role in the negotiations and to perform actions to ease the global negative impacts of the climate change mainly caused by their emissions. They refer to the third generation of human rights and in specific the right to development.

4.3. Adapting Dryzek's categories to the contemporary context

Looking back at table 3.6.1. it is possible to see that the categories applied by Dryzek (1997) in his attempt to analyze different discourses do not coincide well with the nature of the statements studied in this thesis on capture the essential of the discourses and framing of developing countries. Primarily this is due to his western perspective as his classifications only consider this point of view. On the contrary this thesis looks at the issue from the developing world's perspective. The nature of the themes marks a big difference on these two actors' perspective and one should be aware of this when applying Dryzek's discourses. Historical and contemporary contexts are vital to consider when doing a discourse analysis. Secondly, Dryzek's (1997) analysis fails to consider important elements as he solely emphasizes relationships between human and nature, as opposed to developed – developing world, which may be a more appropriate or important factor in environmental discourses. This is related to the first point: that his point of departure is too narrow to look at *global* environmental discourses as it leaves out the developing world accounting for a significant agent in the negotiations. Further, these discourses come to short when including the issue of rights and environment. Rights ought to have a natural place in the negotiations; however, they are hard to find within Dryzek's environmental discourses. The next section will discuss where in his categories rights can be found and how this coincides with the approach found in the statements from G-77. In the following table, the categories proposed by Dryzek (1997) have been adapted in order to fit into the contemporary context forming the foundations of this thesis. These categories represent the base for my continuing discussion on climate change and human rights.

Table 4.3.1. Adapted categories for discourse analysis

Main Categories (Adapted)	Under Categories (Adapted)
Assumptions about natural relationships amongst the States	**North-South**
Negotiation agents and their motives	**Self interests**
Framing	**Frequently applied terms and concepts, central elements and emotions used in the communication**

4.4. A Human Right Environmental Discourse

As already mentioned, the discourses proposed by Dryzek (1997) fail to include the issue of rights and do not consider the North-South relationship in any depth. As the paragraph above illustrates, G-77 over and over again underlines this unbalanced relationship. In addition both the UNFCCC and the Kyoto do take account for this North-South relationship although they do not have a pure development perspective. Dryzek could also have included this element within his discourses. The G-77 implicit protects their rights, and especially their third generation rights (the right to development and the right to a clean environment), through a continuing request for factors such as transfer of technology and financial aid from the developed world. In this way, none of the discourses proposed by Dryzek (1997) coincide well with the approach taken by the G-77. As a result, the following section will now suggest an alternative description of an existing discourse.

Primarily, G-77 expresses a view of the world as unbalance and divided however, it does also include the view of G-77 as one entity within a bigger context. This bigger context is the arena in which climate change negotiations take place, meaning the United Nations[4]. It is therefore more about the relationship between the North and the South, developed and developing world, than society-nature as implied in Dryzek's discourses. In difference to Dryzek's discourses, a human right discourse ought to take account for this relationship that can be argued for complying with both basic entities recognized and constructed as well as assumptions about natural relationships. On the other side, natural relationship also comes into account when G-77 urges for cooperation amongst the negotiation partners. Natural relationships therefore also accounts for the relationship that appears between these two groups of agents, i.e. developing countries and developed countries. The statements clearly urged for a transparent, well-balanced relationship amongst the two.

Further, agents can be summed up to include different States, or in this example, G-77 as one agent and the other States as remaining agents. There are therefore many different agents, but they all exist on the same level representing governments. Despite this, G-77 expresses an understanding for self-interests of the different agents especially in case of the developed

[4] This point is likely to result different if one considered internal inequalities within the G-77, however here only common statements on behalf of G-77 have been examined.

country agents against the developing country agents. A human right discourse ought to recognize these different needs and stages of the agents (States) and therefore also take account for their different motives in an international negotiation. Furthermore, this way of looking at agents also proves the use of primarily third-generation rights as both first and second generation of rights only appeals to individuals. As discussed earlier, third generation rights are group rights imposing implicitly the fulfillment of both first and second generation of rights.

Finally, Dryzek's use of key metaphors and other rhetorical devices is not easily comparable to the statements studied. This category could be more dominated by important concepts or solutions/actions. As is seen by the statements from G-77, concepts such as technology transfer and financial aid is repeating. This discourse of human right applied by the G-77 in the climate change negotiations can therefore be said to form a clear picture of who holds rights and who holds duties. The discourse is based on a normative and practical focus with foundations protecting and promoting international human rights.

The table below illustrated the main points of a human right environmental discourse:

Table 4.4.1 The human right environmental discourse

Main Categories (Adapted)	Human right environmental discourse
Assumptions about natural relationships amongst the States	**North-South relationship, the developed world is responsible for the climate changes and is therefore expected to take the lead. The developing world has a right to development and clean environment that the developed world has breached. Justice lies in the assumption of common but differentiated responsibilities.**
Negotiation agents and their motives	**Self-interests. Negotiations include many different agents operating in both groups and individually. Different context and backgrounds of the States naturally also provokes different priorities and self-interests.**
Framing	**Frequently applied terms and concepts, central elements and emotions used in the communication.** - **Transfer of technology** - **Financial founds** - **Rights**

By discussing the stance that the G-77 expresses in their statements, through the discourses and categories adapted from Dryzek (1997), it can be argued that the environmental discourse applied by the G-77 does not fit within one right discourse, but rather has elements from several and in addition elements that have not been touched upon by Dryzek. As the categories provided by Dryzek's framework for discourse analysis does not function as an appropriate analytical tool for the environmental discourse communicated by the G-77, it is difficult to suggest an discourse within his framework fitting better than others with their approach. A human right environmental discourse would coincide better with my findings and I have therefore outlined and discussed the aspect of this. The next section will discuss what role human rights have, or ought to have, in the international climate change negotiations.

4.5. Human rights in climate change negotiations

The UN Committee on Human Rights definition of human rights gives a baseline for understanding what human rights are. Basically, human rights describe what one needs to live a worthy life. In principle they are universal, meaning they should be equally valid for everyone at any time and in any place. The link between human rights and climate change is therefore already evident just considering definitions. For instance does Tomuscat's definition include the part that all human beings have rights "*without any supplementary conditions being required"*. Rights should, in other worlds, be uphold despite factors such as weak abilities to adopt to changing environment and the adverse effects of climate changes.

However, realizing for example that the projected amount of 75 to 250 million people will be exposed to increased water stress by 2020 as a result of the climate changes and other key impacts of climate change including hundreds of millions of people exposed to increased water stress, complex, negative impacts on small holders of food supply, subsistence farmers and fishers and an increased burden from malnutrition diarrhoeal and other infectious diseases it is evident that the realization of human rights are affected by climate change. Human rights fall between judicial rights and moral rights. If a human being is harmed, the human rights are not fulfilled. It is the States´ responsibility to make sure that individuals maintain their duties towards each other. The above paragraph clearly illustrates that human beings are harmed, and that there is a breach of human rights for individuals as a result of unsustainable decisions that affects our ecology.

The fact that today the scale of human interventions in nature is increasing and the physical effect of our decisions cross national borders emphasizes the point that climate change affects everyone and is often the cause of breach of human rights. The link between climate change and human rights is also evident while considering the aim of sustainable development as meeting the basic needs of all and extending to all the opportunity to satisfy their hopes for a brighter future. From this follows for example the concept of sustainable development include, amongst others, meeting essential needs for food and water. A sustainable development path already assumes that basic human rights already are fulfilled.

Who is to be claimed responsible for breaking the human rights? And how can agents provoking, or having a history of provoking climate changes evidently causing breaches of human rights be held responsible if the negative impacts primarily affect another State? A breach of a human right is connected to an act by the State. Climate change is not necessarily only a result of an act, however, it is becoming more and more evident that human actions do provoke and strengthen disasters. Nevertheless, they might not be caused by States but rather by multinational companies who are not directly bounded by human rights conventions. In accordance with Pogge (2001), it is therefore an urgent need for an institutional order that can secure human rights in developing countries where the government might lack the economic assets to assure this. The polluters, imposing more climate stress to the global environment could therefore be expected to assist in the coping of the effects of climate change and also the fulfilment of human rights in general. Human rights could, in other words, be understood as global demands to the institutionalized order in any well-developed social system.

Although there are efforts and conventions on so-called third generation rights, such as the right to development and the right to a clean environment that has been discussed above, it is not necessary to move beyond the fundamental human rights to see a link to sustainable development including the climate challenges the world is faced with today. However, these third-generation human rights do make the connection between the concepts evident as they refer to the structural causes of global inequality. Human development and human rights are mutually reinforcing and helps to secure the well-being and dignity of all people. Sustainable development ensures equal opportunities for everyone, also for the generations to come. The declaration of the right to development also reflects the principles of sustainable development as fighting poverty and achieving development is mainly about realizing fundamental human rights globally.

Human dignity is something every human being has and consists of the right to life, the right to security and the right to freedom. From these, the other human rights have developed. A State's duties are to respect, protect and execute these rights. The rights are universal, undividable and dependent upon each other. This is also to be the case when breach happen as a consequence of the humanity harming the ecological order and discouraging sustainable development and therefore also human rights.

Climate change represents the biggest threat to upholding the basic human rights. As these are not fulfilled, neither will the third generation rights be applicable as they function as holistic vision, integrating civil and political rights as well as economic, social and cultural rights. The relationship especially becomes tense when negotiating necessary efforts to be performed by the States in order to minimize the effects of climate change. This is because developing nations strive to achieve economic and social development that can imply emissions of greenhouse gasses and increased consumption in general. It is therefore difficult for them to agree to binding obligations as they advocate for a path of development including emissions of greenhouse gasses they, from their point of view, have yet to emit. The right to development therefore becomes applicable for these States as it expresses the right to participate and benefit from economic, social and political development at the same time as upholding universal human rights. In the same manner, the right to a clean environment may also be looked at as a way of connecting human rights and climate change as clean and healthy environment is necessary to fulfil other rights such as for example the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well being of individuals.

The link between the two concepts can therefore be argued to form an interconnected relationship. Adverse effects of climate change is likely to enhance the number of human rights breaches as well as complicate and slower the economic and social development for developing states already exposed to different transnational factors outside their control. A human right discourse can therefore offer or require important aspects when developing appropriate responses to the adverse impacts of climate change. The next section will discuss these aspects.

4.6. What can human rights contribute to in the climate change negotiations?

Despite the important role of climate change impacts to the fulfilment of human rights, the direct use of the word rights where rarely found within the statements. This finding is surprising as human rights can be argued to have a natural place within the climate change negotiations. As the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (2008) points out, the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights was created as an international response to the human tragedy of extreme nationalism, fascism and world war, and should also be included in the new era in which human dignity is threatened by the impacts of climate changes. States have a positive obligation to protect individuals from the adverse effects of climate change and to keep their basic human rights fulfilled. Supported by the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission in Australia, I will argue that climate change do have significant direct impacts across the globe. The UN system works in a large extent with the purpose to uphold these basic rights, and it is therefore surprising that the G-77 have not underlined this more throughout.

Including human rights into these kind of negotiations would perhaps forced the negotiation agents (States) to see the issue for a different angle and to put more emphasis on the justice and equality amongst the States affected by the adverse effects of climate change. This shift of focus could, ideally, bring forth a higher emphasis on the common good rather than individual self-interests. The traditional response have been to approach the issue as an ecological or economic one, however, giving more attention to the social and human rights implications of climate change might give more efficient responds to the direct human cost of climate change. By including rights in their discourse, equity issues will rise, and in agreement with the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission in Australia (2008), human rights can contribute to find an equitable distribution of responsibilities and rights.

On the other side, human rights could also increase the complexity of the negotiations. It can therefore also be argued that keeping the two fields separate is the most appropriate manner. However, it is reasonable to do so, considering how the two fields are interconnected as discussed above? Further, it can also be discuss in which extent the climate change negotiations already do include a human right discussion, as the negotiations partly have been initiated due to the threat climate change poses to the humanity. The focus on rights can although be said to be expressed in a very implicit form. I will argue that the negotiation

today mainly views the environmental rights as a derivation of other basic human rights, but that the more appropriate school of thought in this context could be the view that there are no human rights without and environmental right.

It is difficult to say what human rights may contribute to concretely in climate change negotiations, but it is evident that it is a lot and that human rights do belong in the negotiations and are implicit already part of the negotiations. The view that the most effective means to cope with climate change is to adopt a "human rights-based approach" to policy and legislative responses to climate change proposed by the Human rights and equal opportunity commission (2008) is supported by the human rights environmental discourse outlined above. This approach would use core minimum human rights standards as the foundation for weighing competing demands on limited resources. As human rights are so widely accepted and established on the international arena, the G-77 is likely to benefit from adopting an human rights environmental discourse and by referring to the treat the adverse effects of climate change poses to the fulfilment of basic human rights. By stressing third generation rights, i.e. the right to development and the right to a clean environment, which are both group rights, the member states of G-77 can also distance themselves from the responsibility that might be put on them if the basic first and second human rights, where States holds the responsibility, where brought up frequently.

4.7. Hypothesis 1

The G-77's discourse and framing on the climate change challenge will be highly influenced by expectations that the developed countries must take the right measurements to cope with the issue globally.

The fact that climate changes affect all countries despite their historical responsibility creates an expectation for identifying some responsible parts. In literature there are a big consensus for putting this responsibility on the developed countries that have accounted for the highest emission of greenhouse gasses historically. In climate change negotiations the traditional illusion is this division of developed states and developing states. Already at the UN conference of environment and development in Stockholm in 1972 pollution was treated as a global issue and developing countries where included although, as soon as at this point, they

were concerned of environmental issues affecting development issue. This illustrates how developing countries were mostly concerned of their own interests and how they saw pollution as a problem of the developed states.

Through time however, developing states have been severely affected by the developed world's emissions of greenhouse gasses. Environmental degradation is one of the most severe problems human beings are suffering from. Many people do not have access to clean air and drinking water and experience health problems due to the increasing pollution. As developing nations face most of these negative consequences and developed states, at least until now, have caused the biggest part of the emissions it is expected that the G-77 will urge the developed states to take their responsibility. Through the Kyoto protocol, binding targets for future emissions of greenhouse gasses have been put on the developed countries. The hypothesis therefore expects to indentify this tendency also in the statements that have been analyzed in this thesis. In accordance with the categories in the analysis, this hypothesis was most evident in when looking at agents and their motives.

The hypothesis establishes a division between looking at actors as individual actors or as collective actors. Throughout the statements there is an appeal to the international community to act as collective actors at the same time as there is a tendency to classify these actors into individual ones. This seems to be done in an attempt to divide the duties and rights and to ensure ones interests. In fact, the hypothesis already assumes different individual actors as it assumes a division of responsibilities. G-77 a be seen as a collective actor composed by different individual actors. The individual actors (States) create a common negotiation platform and in this way the developing States enhance their bargaining power and improve their negotiation capacity. Together they act as a collective actor.

By looking at the results specifically the UNFCCC illustrates a clear expression for a division of responsibility. Developing countries are considered "innocent" and vulnerable, while the developed country Parties are said to be the reason, both historically and present, for the emissions causing the climate stress. Actors are overall looked at individually, although the purpose of the document is collective. In the statements from 1997, five years after the UNFCCC, this division is still present, however, the nature of the issue as affecting all countries, is also significant. The G-77 communicated themselves as agents bearing greater challenges than the developed countries. These documents seem to highlight actors mostly as

collective. The exception of this, however, is the Kyoto Protocol, which assumes that each State is an individual actor with its own motives and interests.

Equally, the statements from 2009 also illustrated this division of responsibility. The statements from the G-77 underlined the developed countries as the agents who must take ambitious targets due to their historical responsibilities. Agents where again considered as individual agents acting according to their self-interest. This urge for responsibility and assistance from the developed countries is frequently repeated and shows the G-77's main argument throughout the statements. It is within the self-interests of the G-77 member States that most of the responsibility and financial burden is allocated to other agents. It should not be forgotten, however, that some of the member states do represents big human capital basis, and do account for a large part of world emissions of greenhouse gasses (especially China). It is interesting to see that these States are not more visible through the G-77 statements and that there is no division of these from other member States.

It can therefore seem that the hypothesis suggesting that the G-77's discourse and framing on the climate change challenge will be highly influenced by expectations that the developed countries must take the right measurements to cope with the issue globally, is highly probable.

4.8. Hypothesis 2

The framing of the climate change situation will be influenced by several elements from human rights and especially the third generation including in particular the developing countries' right to development and a clean environment.

There has been different resistance towards including the language of rights into climate change negotiations. Some argue that it confuses and devalues the existing human rights framework. However, as the preamble of the UNFCCC made an ambiguous reference to the right to development, it was expected that this right, and also especially basic human rights, would be frequently raised in the statements analyzed. The fact that so little emphasis was put on the difficulties developing States face to uphold the basic human rights was therefore surprising. This is because it was expected to find rights as a main argument due to their

international acceptance. The G-77 forms a key actor in the negotiation process of establishing general international norms and they base their key arguments on the right to development as a human right. This represents a so-called third generation of human rights. It is these rights the G-77 is referring to when they contextualize climate change into their internal policies and then especially the right to development.

Concretely there were some direct references to human rights in the statements showing that it is considered within the G-77 discourse of climate change. The statements from 1997 showed a specific focus on basic human rights such as the right to clean water. It is however, specifically interesting to see how there were even a wider emphasis for a balance between the needs for development and those of environment, using the basic rights as metaphors. An example illustrating this implicit reference to basic rights is referring to the *needs* of the people. Statement 1997-8 states for example: "*solving the basic needs of these groups* (developing States), *particularly food and their energy needs, would reduce problems such as deforestation, land degradation, water recourses etc.".* By 2009, most statements referred *only* to the need for developed countries to uphold their commitments under the Kyoto protocol instead of proposing an alternative and in this way, ensuring and strengthening both the developing States' right to development and right to a clean environment. Basic human rights where however not directly mentioned.

The development showed from the statements from 1997 to 2009 can be argued to reflect upon the development that happened in the field of human rights in the same period and in particular the increased focus on climate change and the adverse impacts this may have for the world. While the first and second human rights generations were established in 1966, climate change did not make it into the international political arena until the 1984 conference in Vallach and the IPCC was established in 1988. The Kyoto protocol (1997) reflects the first significant attempt to generate an international solution to the problem. The statements from 1997 therefore underline the fulfillment of basic human rights. With the Kyoto protocol binding targets for emissions from the developed countries were established, however, developing states emphasis their right to continue to emit, or be assisted in other alternative ways of developing, as an expression for the right to development.

In addition, it can also be argued that this focus on development rather than solely a human right framing can be said to be partly due to the underlying platform for G-77 as an organization. As it is based with the aim of enhancing the negotiating capacity on

international economic issue and in particular agreements on development issues. The reason can also be explained by the fact that the organization is in a specific position as it is composed of countries with different levels of economic development, political orientation, social systems and technological levels. This also include the area of human rights and in such, the question whether it is the negative impacts of climate change that is threatening the realization of human rights, or, if these States can be corrupt or inefficient and that this is the real reason for breaching basic rights. They may be said to not committing firmly to realizing the rights at a national level. It can additionally be mentioned that some States accused for this, may want to keep the discussion of human rights at a "safe" distance in international negotiations and attempt to avoid discussion on the theme that for them may be sensitive, as they fear interventions or restrictions from the international arena.

Related to this is also the issue of State sovereignty. Reference to this is found for example in article 2 of the UN charter stating: "*The organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members"*. This is supported by Depledge (1999/2000) who reports for example that G-77 and China repeatedly expressed opposition to for example the Joint Implementation Mechanism, arguing that the reduction objectives should be primarily through domestic actions. Some States making up important parts of the G-77 is likely to argue that the case of human rights is solely a matter of internal affairs while the international climate change negotiations, on the other hand, represents a global issue and therefore this can form an explanation for why the term *rights* is not mentioned and referred to more frequently in the statements. The States do not see a natural relationship between the two, although water stress in Africa and Asia, negative impacts on small holders of food supply, subsistence farmers and fishers and an increased burden from infectious diseases such as diarrhea do prove this relationship.

The G-77 aims at giving the Southern countries a stronger voice in the negotiation processes and they have played a crucial role in supporting a strategy favorable for the developing states, however it was surprising to see that so there was so little direct use of the term right. Despite this, several implicit connections to the right to development, such as the constant request for financial and technology transfer, could be found. Their internal contextualization of means to cope with climate change therefore urges the developed countries to take on more responsibility and to maintain the developing nation's right to develop.

Consequently the ideas and concept that have been applied by the G-77 in order to understand and respond to events, i.e. their framing, can be summed up to contain some elements from the human rights theory. As already mentioned, it was surprising to see how this framing had little *direct* use of the concepts of rights. Despite this, it was possible to draw several parallels to their right to development and their right to a clean environment, illustrating the reference to the human right theory. This use of implicit reference to rights can be argued to arise partly from the natural context of the G-77 as an organization consisting of individual States with their different interests and agendas.

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5. CONCLUSION

"Don't go around saying the world owes you a living; the world owes you nothing; it was here first"

–Mark Twain

This thesis has discussed climate change negotiations in the view of developing states though using G-77 as my main focus. Climate change imposes several changes on the macro level in our society and the negotiations around how to deal with the adverse effects of it are complex. Earlier it has been illustrated that, in order to understand approaches taken by the different negotiation agents, it is necessary to have an overview over the context in which the opinions and views are formed. In this dissertation discourse analysis has been used to examine the motives and opinions of the G-77 in the negotiations on climate change. Through Dryzek's discourses it proved difficult to place the stance taken by the G-77 as they did not take account for North-South relationships and to a inconsistent extent included a global perspective. Dryzek's view appeared to narrow and western to capture the discourse of developing nations.

G-77 represents the developing nations and is one of the biggest negotiations partners. Their discourse and how they have framed it helps understand their motives in the process. It should again be underlined that the G-77 here has been considered as one part although it do consist of individual states who may have other motives and interest than what is presented by the G-77. Both of the proposed hypothesis was strengthened by the findings in the analyzed statements; the G-77 discourse and framing on the climate change challenge was influenced by expectations that the developed countries must take the right measurements to cope with the issue globally, and the framing of the climate change was influenced by several elements from human rights although in an implicit form through frequent request on upholding the division between developed and developing states as well as transfer of technology and financial including the constant emphasis on common but differentiated responsibilities.

5.1. A new environmental discourse

Dryzek's classification of environmental discourses does not manage to include important aspects of the discourse found within the Group of Seventy Seven who forms one of the biggest negotiation partners within the global climate change negotiations. None of the categories of Dryzek's discourse analysis fits with the G-77, considering in particular their use of rights. Mainly this is due to the fact that Dryzek ignores the North-South relationship, and solely considers the relationship between society and nature. This thesis therefore suggests a different discourse giving the opportunity to also analyse this agent's point of view.

This human right environmental discourse takes into account this North-South relationship. Further, it recognizes the different needs and stages of development of each individual state. The third generation rights are framing this discourse as they are imposing group rights and presume the fulfilment of first and second human rights. The discourse is based on a normative and practical focus with foundations protecting and promoting human rights.

This discourse provides the agents in international climate change negotiations with a tool to include and understand all parts. As breaches of human rights are closely connected to the climate changes the world is experiences, it is useful to obtain an approach were the two coincides. By including the third generation of human rights, States would emphasis the justice and equality amongst the states, at the same time as identifying different needs and interests of the agents. It can in other words contribute to find an equitable distribution or responsibilities and rights.

5.2. Framing the third generation of human rights

As oppose to Dryzek's category looking at metaphors, this thesis has proven that in order to consider all different views, it can be more useful to analyze how the States have argued and underlined their interests in the international negotiations. This means looking at different terms and words used in their statements. Throughout the thesis it became evident that the term "right" was not much used by the G-77 in the statements. Despite this, the third generation of human rights plays an important role in the approach taken by the G-77. As

illustrated, it is indirectly and implicit involved frequently in the G-77 statements considering climate change and the adverse effects it involves. There was a throughout focus on the request for technology transfer and financial aid from the developed States. Here, this has been considered an indirect reference towards especially the right to development and also to some extent the right to a clean environment. Through this it can be assumed that the G-77 use the reference to concrete needs in order to frame their rights to development and clean environment.

A central implication for the member states to include third generation of human right is that this avails them from the discussion on the fulfillment of the more basic human rights and can concentrate on what they have on their agenda. It is not to be forgotten that some of the more dominant member states of the G-77 do have a history and reputation for not keeping up with their citizens' rights. Human rights for them represent a topic they preferably avoid.

5.3. Suggestions to further research

It would be interesting to examine how the human right environmental discourse coincides with the discourses within each individual of the member states to the G-77. It could also be useful to study non-member States of the G-77, such as for example Norway, and see how they differ in their discourses. In addition it could also be valuable to look at the time factor and examine how the discourse of G-77 changes or has been changed. Already at this time different events have changed the topics and priorities of the negotiation partners since the COP 15 meeting in Copenhagen. For example has there already been a COP 16 in Cancun, Mexico, where especially developing countries were central. The complexity of the themes studied naturally provides one with many other possibilities to continue studying.

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Appendix 1: Summing up Dryzek's Discourses (1997)

	Survivalism	Promethean discourse	Administrative rationalism	Democratic Pragmatism	Economic Rationalism	Sustainable Development	Ecological Modernization	Green Romanticism	Green Rationalism
Basic entities recognized or constructed	*Finite stock of resources *Carrying capacity of ecosystems *Population *Elites	*Nature as only creature in matter *Markets *Prices *Energy *Technology *People	*Liberal Capitalism *Administrative state *Experts *Manager	*Liberal capitalism *Liberal democracy *Citizens	*Homo economics *Markets *Prices *Property *Governments	*Social and ecological systems *Capitalist economy *No limits	*Complex systems *Nature as waste treatment plant *Capitalist economy *The state	*Global limits *Inner nature *Nature *Unnatural practices *Ideas	*Global limits *Nature as complex ecosystems *Rational humans *Social, economic and political structures
Assumptions about natural relationships	*Hierarchy and control	*Hierarchy of humans over everything else *Competition	*Nature subordinate to human problem solving *People subordinate to state *Experts and managers control state	*Equality among citizens *Interactive political relationship *Competition and cooperation	*Competition *Hierarchy on expertise *Subordination of nature	*Subordination of nature *Economic growth *Environment protection *Distributive justice *Long-term sustainability	*Partnership encompassing government, business, environmentalists and scientists *Subordination of nature *Environmental protection and economic prosperity go together	*Natural relationships between humans and nature which have been violated *Equality across people and nature	*Equality among people *Complex interconnections between humans and nature
Agents and their motives	*Elites	*Everyone motivated by material self-interest	*Motivated by public interests *Experts and Managers	*Many different agents *Motivation a mix of material self-interest and multiple conceptions of public interest	*Self-interested *Some governments officials motivated by public interests	*Many agents at different levels *Transnational and local rather than the state *Motivated by the public good	*Partners; motivated by public good	*Human subjects, some more ecologicallly conscious than others *Agency exists in nature too	*Many individual and collective actors *Multidimensional motivation *Agency in nature down played but not denied
Key metaphors and other rhetorical devices	*Overshoot and collapse *Commons	*Mechanistic	*Mixture of concerns and reassurance *The administrative mind	*Public policy as a resultant of forces *Policy as scientific experimentation	*Mechanistic *Stigmatizing administrative regulation *Connecting with freedom	*Organic growth *Connection to progress *Reassurance	*Tidy households *Connection to progress *Reassurance	*Wide range of biological and organic metaphors *Passion *Appears	*Organic metaphors *Appears to reason, and potential rationality of social structures

Tabel: Environmental Discours analysis as presented by Dyzek (p.37, 53, 76, 97, 115, 132, 146, 167 and 187)

Appendix 2: GA/RES/128: Declaration of the right to development

United Nations **A/RES/41/128**

General Assembly

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4 December 1986

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A/RES/41/128
4 December 1986
97th plenary meeting

41/128. Declaration on the Right to Development

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of the right to development,

Decides to adopt the Declaration on the Right to Development, the text of which is annexed to the present resolution.

ANNEX
Declaration on the Right to Development

The General Assembly,

Bearing in mind the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations relating to the achievement of international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian nature, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion,

Recognizing that development is a comprehensive economic, social, cultural and political process, which aims at the constant improvement of the well-being of the entire population and of all individuals on the basis of their active, free and meaningful participation in development and in the fair distribution of benefits resulting therefrom,

Considering that under the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in that Declaration can be fully realized,

Recalling the provisions of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights,

Recalling further the relevant agreements, conventions, resolutions, recommendations and other instruments of the United Nations and its specialized agencies concerning the integral development of the human being, economic and social progress and development of all peoples, including those instruments concerning decolonization, the prevention of discrimination, respect for and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms, the maintenance of international peace and security and the further promotion of friendly relations and co-operation among States in accordance with the

Charter,

Recalling the right of peoples to self-determination, by virtue of which they have the right freely to determine their political status and to pursue their economic, social and cultural development,

Recalling also the right of peoples to exercise, subject to the relevant provisions of both International Covenants on Human Rights, full and complete sovereignty over all their natural wealth and resources,

Mindful of the obligation of States under the Charter to promote universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction of any kind such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status,

Considering that the elimination of the massive and flagrant violations of the human rights of the peoples and individuals affected by situations such as those resulting from colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, all forms of racism and racial discrimination, foreign domination and occupation, aggression and threats against national sovereignty, national unity and territorial integrity and threats of war would contribute to the establishment of circumstances propitious to the development of a great part of mankind,

Concerned at the existence of serious obstacles to development, as well as to the complete fulfilment of human beings and of peoples, constituted, inter alia, by the denial of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, and considering that all human rights and fundamental freedoms are indivisible and interdependent and that, in order to promote development, equal attention and urgent consideration should be given to the implementation, promotion and protection of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights and that, accordingly, the promotion of, respect for and enjoyment of certain human rights and fundamental freedoms cannot justify the denial of other human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Considering that international peace and security are essential elements for the realization of the right to development,

Reaffirming that there is a close relationship between disarmament and development and that progress in the field of disarmament would considerably promote progress in the field of development and that resources released through disarmament measures should be devoted to the economic and social development and well-being of all peoples and, in particular, those of the developing countries,

Recognizing that the human person is the central subject of the development process and that development policy should therefore make the human being the main participant and beneficiary of development,

Recognizing that the creation of conditions favourable to the development of peoples and individuals is the primary responsibility of their States,

Aware that efforts at the international level to promote and protect human rights should be accompanied by efforts to establish a new international economic order,

Confirming that the right to development is an inalienable human right and that equality of opportunity for development is a prerogative both of nations and of individuals who make up nations,

Proclaims the following Declaration on the Right to Development:

Article 1

1. The right to development is an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized.

2. The human right to development also implies the full realization of the right of peoples to self-determination, which includes, subject to the relevant provisions of both International Covenants on Human Rights, the exercise of their inalienable right to full sovereignty over all their natural wealth and resources.

Article 2

1. The human person is the central subject of development and should be the active participant and beneficiary of the right to development.

2. All human beings have a responsibility for development, individually and collectively, taking into account the need for full respect for their human rights and fundamental freedoms as well as their duties to the community, which alone can ensure the free and complete fulfilment of the human being, and they should therefore promote and protect an appropriate political, social and economic order for development.

3. States have the right and the duty to formulate appropriate national development policies that aim at the constant improvement of the well-being of the entire population and of all individuals, on the basis of their active, free and meaningful participation in development and in the fair distribution of the benefits resulting therefrom.

Article 3

1. States have the primary responsibility for the creation of national and international conditions favourable to the realization of the right to development.

2. The realization of the right to development requires full respect for the principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

3. States have the duty to co-operate with each other in ensuring development and eliminating obstacles to development. States should realize their rights and fulfil their duties in such a manner as to promote a new international economic order based on sovereign equality, interdependence, mutual interest and co-operation among all States, as well as to encourage the observance and realization of human rights.

Article 4

1. States have the duty to take steps, individually and collectively, to formulate international development policies with a view to facilitating the full realization of the right to development.

2. Sustained action is required to promote more rapid development of developing countries. As a complement to the efforts of developing countries, effective international co-operation is essential in providing these countries with appropriate means and facilities to foster their comprehensive development.

Article 5

States shall take resolute steps to eliminate the massive and flagrant violations of the human rights of peoples and human beings affected by situations such as those resulting from apartheid, all forms of racism and racial discrimination, colonialism, foreign domination and occupation, aggression, foreign interference and threats against national sovereignty, national unity and territorial integrity, threats of war and refusal to recognize the fundamental right of peoples to self-determination.

Article 6

1. All States should co-operate with a view to promoting, encouraging and strengthening universal respect for and observance of all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without any distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

2. All human rights and fundamental freedoms are indivisible and

interdependent; equal attention and urgent consideration should be given to the implementation, promotion and protection of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights.

3. States should take steps to eliminate obstacles to development resulting from failure to observe civil and political rights, as well as economic, social and cultural rights.

Article 7

All States should promote the establishment, maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security and, to that end, should do their utmost to achieve general and complete disarmament under effective international control, as well as to ensure that the resources released by effective disarmament measures are used for comprehensive development, in particular that of the developing countries.

Article 8

1. States should undertake, at the national level, all necessary measures for the realization of the right to development and shall ensure, inter alia, equality of opportunity for all in their access to basic resources, education, health services, food, housing, employment and the fair distribution of income. Effective measures should be undertaken to ensure that women have an active role in the development process. Appropriate economic and social reforms should be carried out with a view to eradicating all social injustices.

2. States should encourage popular participation in all spheres as an important factor in development and in the full realization of all human rights.

Article 9

1. All the aspects of the right to development set forth in the present Declaration are indivisible and interdependent and each of them should be considered in the context of the whole.

2. Nothing in the present Declaration shall be construed as being contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, or as implying that any State, group or person has a right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the violation of the rights set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the International Covenants on Human Rights.

Article 10

Steps should be taken to ensure the full exercise and progressive enhancement of the right to development, including the formulation, adoption and implementation of policy, legislative and other measures at the national and international levels.

Appendix 3: Annex B countries (developed countries) to the Kyoto Protocol

Annex B

Party	Quantified emission limitation or reduction commitment (percentage of base year or period)
Australia	108
Austria	92
Belgium	92
Bulgaria*	92
Canada	94
Croatia*	95
Czech Republic*	92
Denmark	92
Estonia*	92
European Community	92
Finland	92
France	92
Germany	92
Greece	92
Hungary*	94
Iceland	110
Ireland	92
Italy	92
Japan	94
Latvia*	92
Liechtenstein	92
Lithuania*	92
Luxembourg	92
Monaco	92
Netherlands	92
New Zealand	100
Norway	101
Poland*	94
Portugal	92
Romania*	92
Russian Federation*	100
Slovakia*	92
Slovenia*	92
Spain	92
Sweden	92
Switzerland	92
Ukraine*	100
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	92
United States of America	93

* Countries that are undergoing the process of transition to a market economy.