UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI PADOVA

DIPARTIMENTO DI BIOLOGIA

Corso di Laurea in Scienze Naturali

ELABORATO DI LAUREA

INSIDE COP26: NARRATIVES AND DIALOGUES DEALING WITH CLIMATE JUSTICE AND FOSSIL FUEL-NON PROLIFERATION TREATY

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ANNO ACCADEMICO 2022/2023

Introduction

Nowadays climate change is one of the main challenges that humankind is facing. The average global temperature in 2022 increased by about 1.15°C compared to the annual average of the historical reference period (1850-1900) (WMO, 2023). The last eight years are the warmest on record since 1850 (WMO, 2023). Anthropogenic emissions of greenhouse gases are continuously increasing, and the last two years (2021-2022) have recorded the highest peak emissions since measurements began (WMO, 2023). Even if the goal set by the international climate governance is to keep temperature rise to 1.5°C above pre-industrial level, after 26 international climate conference, greenhouse gas emissions have risen by 57 % compared to 1990 level (Oliver, Schure and Peters, 2020). The COP26 held in Glasgow, hosted by United Kingdom and Italy, was anticipated by some very important statements regarding the current climate crisis. For the first time IPCC pronounced so sharply that the evidence of human influence on climate change is unequivocal (IPCC, 2021). Then after the publication of the first part of the sixth assessment report, the UN Secretary General António Guterres has been described the current climate emergency as a "code red for humanity" with an urgent call to act seriously on climate change[1]. Therefore, COP26 is placed at a crucial time in the fight against climate change for the reasons mentioned above. Moreover, for the first time since the Paris Agreement, it was scheduled the review of the Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs), which are the voluntary pledges implemented by the Parties to reach the goal set in Paris (UNFCCC, 2015). This is the first Conference of Parties after the COVID-19 pandemic which has blocked and slowed down the international climate governance. COP26 is one of the most participated and largest conference in the history of climate diplomacy with a lot of bilateral agreements and important outputs, adopting over 50 formal decisions (Depledge, Saldivia and Peñasco, 2022). Thanks to the project "Visto Climatico" promoted by the Viraçao & Jangada association, the present research explores spaces, narratives and actors present inside and outside COP26. The aim is to analyse the official outcomes of

[1] https://unfccc.int/news/secretary-general-s-statement-on-the-ipcc-working-group-1-report-on-the-physical-science-basis-of

the COP: the Glasgow Climate Pact and the bilateral agreements. The two main topics investigated through the use of a participant observation methodology are related to the phasing out from fossil fuels which represent 64% of total greenhouse gases emission (GHGs) (IPCC, 2022) and are the major driver of climate change. This topic is essential to achieve the goal set by the international climate governance in Paris and to guarantee basic human rights in the future, following the climate justice principles which is one of the main topics coming from the climate movements inside the dialogues and narratives of the COP26 (Robinson and Shine, 2018; Schlosberg and Collins, 2014; Piggot, *et Al.,* 2020).

Moreover, the present work focuses on the different points of view related to these topics considering the actors involved in the COP26 such as businesses, civil society, academics and politicians. Finally, the different and relevant best practices developed up to now in the analysed topics were highlighted as the Action for Climate Emporwerment (ACE) programme and the Fossil Fuel Non-Proliferation Treaty (FFNPT).

1. Climate Diplomacy: Negotiations on Climate Change

1.1 From Stockholm to the COP26

Climate diplomacy is a subcategory of environmental diplomacy that has evolved in the years. The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment held in Stockholm in 1972 was the first international conference, thus representing the beginning of an international approach to environmental diplomacy (Ali and Vladich, 2016). As for when the climate discourse became more central, in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), were adopted specific agreements on fundamental environmental issues, one of which dealt with climate change (Susskind and Ali, 2014). Thus begins the dialogue centered on climate change and, since the Earth summit in Rio, climate policies have evolved underlining the role of humankind in the earth-preservation for present and future generations (Handl, 2012). The Earth Summit of Rio represents the moment of passage from environmental diplomacy to climate diplomacy. With the creation of the United Nation Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), it is stipulated the existence of the Conference of Parties (COP), annual meetings between Parties to promote necessary policies, tools and measures to fight against climate change with the goal of international cooperation in order to safeguard the environment and natural ecosystems (Seo, 2017). A key role is given to science as well, even before this step in 1988, with the creation of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), a permanent working group with the aim to collect, organize and merge all the scientific relevant information on risks, impacts and policy regarding climate change[1]. The first working group of the IPCC in 2021, in a report that focuses on the physical science basis of climate change, declares that human influence on climate change is unequivocal (IPCC, 2021). This statement represents the first failure of the UNFCCC, which first goal is to stabilize the concentrations of greenhouse gases (GHGs) in the atmosphere in order to avoid dangerous interference in the climate system due to the anthropogenic activities (UN, 1992). The UNFCCC also defines

[1] https://www.ipcc.ch/about/

major principles in the fight against climate change, like the "common and differentiated responsibilities", considering the historical greenhouse gases (GHGs) emissions and the different role of the Parties addressing and contributing to the climate crisis (UN, 1992). An important outcome which has been produced by the COPs is the Protocol of Kyoto in 1997 (COP3) (Rajamani, 2016). The Protocol is legally binding and for the first time, Parties agreed to reduce carbon dioxide (CO_2) emission of 5% below 1990 levels in the period between 2008 and 2012 (UNFCCC, 1998). This goal is implemented in a climate change governance based on states with a top-down approach and a global deal strategy (Rajamani, 2016). The Protocol reaffirms the principle of equity already presented in the UNFCCC objectives by dividing the Parties into Annex I and Non-Annex I (UNFCCC, 1998). The first ones are legally bound to the Protocol which means that these countries must limit their GHGs emissions (UNFCCC, 1998). In contrast, the latter, Non-Annex I, which refers to developing countries, have no emission reduction commitments and the involvement of these Nations in the Protocol is limited (UNFCCC, 1998). Furthermore, it was introduced the international carbon credits market (Seo, 2017). Since according to the Protocol the count of the emissions are state-bounded and do not refer to the state companies, the creation of such market brought to a new phenomenon under the term "carbon leakage". This concept refers to the fact that developed countries move emission-intensive production to countries with less restrictive CO_2 emission-legislature, therefore not cutting their emissions, but just moving them elsewhere (Jakob, 2021). Rules that regulate the carbon market were strongly debated and criticized bringing COP 26 to formulate new ones. Kyoto is only the first attempt to create a unified action-plan, in fact, in Copenhagen, at COP15, the goal was for the Kyoto Protocol to be extended to all UNFCCC members (Seo, 2017). Unfortunately, COP15 did not manage in the intent due to the conflict between developed and developing countries on how to properly act, in the implementation of the Protocol, considering the issue of common but differentiated responsibility (Seo, 2017). After this step back there was COP16, in Cancún, where there was the establishment of the Green Climate Fund (GCF) (UNFCCC, 2010). The objective of the fund is to provide financial assistance to developing countries to transition to low-emission energy sources and to become climate-resilient (Kumar, 2015). Within this fund, the developed

countries promised 100 billion US dollars a year to developing ones by 2020 (Kumar, 2015). Lastly, in Durban (2011) at COP17, there was the creation of the Durban Platform for Enhanced Action in which Parties started the process to try to define a global agreement that ended in Paris with the formulation of the Paris Agreement (Rajamani, 2016).

The Paris Agreement is a turning point in the climate diplomacy. It was produced in Paris, in 2015, during COP21. The objectives of the Agreement as described in Article 2, include limiting temperature rise to well below 2°C, be able to be resilient adapting to the climate impacts and make finance flow consistent with these goals (UNFCCC, 2015). Furthermore, the Agreement introduces the Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) which are voluntary commitments made individually by every Parties to reduce GHGs emissions (UNFCCC, 2015). Moreover, the developed countries are called upon to financially support developing ones both concerning mitigation and adaptation (UNFCCC, 2015).

Even though the Paris Agreement represents a huge step in the right direction it is necessary to make some clarifications. It must be specified that even though total NDCs should be in line with the goals of the Agreement, this does not happen, creating an "emission gap" that has increasingly diminished in the years but has never been filled (Jacobs, 2021). To ensure credibility, the Agreement creates a pledge and review mechanisms where Parties redefine the pledges made to guarantee a permanent growth of the NDCs (UNFCCC, 2015). The review phase is represented by a Global Stocktake that takes place every five years, in which the Parties should demonstrate what they achieved in relation to their commitments (Jacobs, 2021). NDCs are not legally binding and there are no sanctions for Parties that do not fulfill their commitments (Seo, 2017). Furthermore, according to the Agreement, each country is responsible for accounting and monitoring its own NDCs (Rajamani, 2016). This means that the pledges are self-regulated and self-differentiated without an international entity which controls the contributions of the Parties (Seo, 2017). However, it must be said that the Agreement does contain rules that indicate the governments how, when and in which way to act (Jacobs, 2021).

Compared to the Kyoto Protocol, the goals of the Paris Agreement do not only deal with mitigation but also consider action and measures related to adaptation. In COP21, the Parties agreed on a Global Goal on Adaptation (GGA) to enhance

adaptive capacity and resilience, and to reduce vulnerability (UNFCCC, 2015). Efforts towards adaptation are also included in the global stocktake review (UNFCCC, 2015). Furthermore, loss and damage, that refers to the consequences of countries inability to adapt to the effect of climate change and that until then had been a part of adaptation, during COP21 gains more importance and it is put in a separate debating-frame (Oreke and Coventry, 2016). Moreover, the Paris Agreement also considers civil society aiming to increase education, training, and public awareness and involvement addressing the climate crisis (UNFCCC, 2015). To this end the Agreement also creates an enhanced transparency framework (ETF) to build trust and to ensure effective implementation that considers differentiated circumstances thus allowing for flexibility when it comes to developing countries (UNFCCC, 2015).

This conference certainly was groundbreaking in the climate diplomacy scenario, allowing a bottom-up approach for a multilevel governance that considers at the same level the importance of mitigation and adaptation policies to fight against the present climate crisis with a multiscale approach (Rajamani, 2016).

COP26 is maybe the last relevant conference after Paris and has therefore discussion topics brought on from previous COPs. The conference was hosted by the UK, in Glasgow, in collaboration with Italy, it came after a pause in the negotiations due to Covid-19 and had many pending matters to address.

1.1.1 Pre-COP 26

Pre-COP serve to define expectation and provide guidance on major issues which will be discussed during the COP. The pre-COP 26 was held in Milan and saw big youth participation represented within events like the Youth4Climate Driving Ambition that produced key demands included in the final pre-COP26 draft. During this event, seven major issues were identified: “keeping 1.5°C goal alive, scaling up adaptation, loss and damage, mobilizing finance and finalizing the Paris Rulebook: matters concerning Article 6, transparency and common time frames” (UN Climate Change Pre-Conference Italy 2021 in partnership with the UK, 2021). As for youth contribution, as stated in the Youth4Climate Manifesto, a set of key issues were addressed: the need to create a climate-conscious society, abolishing

the fossil fuel industry, an inclusion of all stakeholders regarding youth and all marginalized groups in order to guarantee a just and equitable transition (UNDP, 2021). Most of these matters consider problems that are directly linked to the concept of climate justice. This topic had already been presented in the previous COPs but only in a marginalized form as well as the topics related to climate justice (Schlosberg and Collins, 2014). The strong presence of this theme in the pre-COP is an early demonstration of how during COP26 it becomes central and important the intersectionality aspect of climate justice which considers the climate crisis along with the different injustices that arise with it.

1.*2 The spaces and actors of the COP26*

COP26 is a complex environment with many actors with different interests. One of the major groups are the fossil fuels lobbies whose interests interfere with the political standpoints needed from this negotiation (Jacobs, 2021). Not all spaces are subject to this influence, but official ones surely are. COP 26 has two designated areas: The Green Zone, open to the public and the Blue Zone which requires a badge. The Green Zone offeres daily lectures, movies, discussions and other interactive activities that due to Covid-19 related restrictions require people to sign up in order to be eligible for participation. It is the space where civil society is invited to take part in the climate debate or just become more conscious of the climate issue. In the Blue Zone, instead, is where the negotiations take place. It is divided into many areas: an Action hub to work, for interviews and conferences, the official side-event rooms for the UNFCCC events, and the plenaries that have a daily negotiation summary and it is where at the end of COPs all decisions are made official. Here is also the place where keynote speakers, like Obama or Al Gore in the case of COP26, make their statements. Even if the real negotiations are not open and take place behind closed doors, the final outputs and documents of the conference are open to everybody. The last relevant space are the pavilions with a diversified plethora of actors: NGOs, government agencies, academics and research institutes, civil organizations and businesses. Each stand of these actors, all day, offers lectures and discussions that also go outside what is the official program, for example there are stands talking about the emission problem of the food industry,

topic that in the plenaries is not even considered since it is not in the agenda. There are many different perspectives and narratives showing how to face the climate challenge. For this reason, this space can be considered one of the most variegate and interesting. Another aspect is related to how the different pavilions choose to attract people. For example, many governments give away free gadgets or in the case of the business pavilion it always has free food which might seem irrelevant, but many people come, at least at the end of their events, just for that. It also shows the seriousness with which the climate issue is taken and what kind of effort is made to deliver the view of the problem that the stands have.

Every day at COP 26 a different issue is addressed and in every space many ideas and perspectives are offered, for example an entire day was dedicated to adaptation and loss and damage. The latter being an issue brought on by civil society that opened the possibility to frame the problem in a climate justice discourse.

1.2.1 The counter COP spaces: the role of Climate movements and the People's Summit

One of the key aspects of the COP26 is the widespread participation of the climate movements from around the world, raising their voices outside the formal COP spaces, demanding climate justice and the phase out from fossil fuels through actions as marches and also organizing assemblies, speeches and plenaries. The climate movements create the so called "counter COP" spaces. Within these spaces it is possible to find major movements like Extinction Rebellion and Friday for Future, as well as important figures like Greta Thunberg or Vanessa Nakate. The groups are many and diversified and also include scientist-led movements like scientist rebellion, that take part with the other members of civil society to marches and demonstration, including acts of civil disobedience, one of which consisted in chaining themselves and blocking the King George V bridge (Thompson, 2021). In this environment, particularly relevant are the coalitions that unite various organizations and initiatives. In Glasgow this role is carried out by the COP26 Coalition[2], now called the Climate Justice Coalition, which organized the People's

[2] https://climatejustice.uk/the-coalition/

Summit. In this case, the events are scattered in various points of the city, including a Global Day of Action for Climate Justice and the movement assemblies. During the latter, numerous speakers are invited to address a variety of issues regarding climate change and justice, also considering the ongoing development of the internal negotiations at COP26 and how civil society is moving outside the meeting. Each presentation is followed by a moment of discussion between speakers and audience, creating temporary think-tanks with the aim of exchanging knowledge, deepening the issues and trying to address them. The Coalition had various demands and expectation from the climate negotiations including phasing out fossil fuels, centering the discourse on climate justice and ground-up participation to allow a system change (COP26 Coalition, 2021).

In these spaces, the climate crisis is communicated in a different way, certainly with better delineated and more radical points of view. This allows for a blunt communication, avoiding incoherencies and difficulties that are typically present inside the environments of COP26.

1.*3 Topics, narratives and dialogues from COP26*

Within the spaces of COP there are issues that are more central than others. The relevance of the topics depends on the capability to intersect various aspects of the climate crisis. These topics also arise from the urgency to be addressed and are felt as a problem broadly, especially by civil society, including vulnerable and marginalized groups that are the most affected by climate impacts. At COP26 these key issues are, as identified by the COP26 Coalition, climate justice and the non-proliferation of fossil fuels. These themes are intertwined as most climate matters, both are not easy to address, and both need an important shift in mindset and action to propose possible solutions. Fortunately, during the COP26 these two topics have been debated and discussed, even if majorly outside the official spaces.

1.3.1 A human-centered approach: the climate justice issue

Climate justice is a grassroot-originated concept that should be central in international climate negotiation, as it is based on a human-centered approach which safeguards the marginalized and vulnerable people that share, in a global partnership, the burdens and benefits of climate change and its impacts in an equitable and just manner (Robinson and Shine, 2018).

Climate justice is used for the first time as a concept by an organization called CorpWatch in 1999 dealing with the oil industry in a capitalistic economic model that exploits climate change for profit and perpetuates human rights violations and environmental disasters and pollutions (Schlosberg and Collins, 2014). In 2002 a coalition of groups comes together as the International Climate Justice Network and creates the Bali Principles of Climate Justice, an adaptation of the US movement's 1991 Principles of Environmental Justice listing the major issues related to climate justice (Schlosberg and Collins, 2014). Climate justice thus becomes the concept that finds in climate change the issue from which it is possible to identify social injustices, as well as for the possibility to condemn the system that allowed to create the present climate crisis (Schlosberg and Collins, 2014). It is a term that includes a range of arguments that reframe the debate on climate change, integrating justice issues and social impacts while looking for solutions (Sultana, 2022). Within its framework it is possible to find a science-based understanding of the problem of climate change, an analysis of the impacts of climate change centered on human-rights also considering the most vulnerable communities, and finally a reflection on how it is possible to act through a differentiated responsibility principle that takes into account present implication that arise from this differentiation and creates effective change with a people-centered approach (Robinson and Shine, 2018). Climate justice requires multi-level action and reflection that analyses the differences from which injustices arise, working on a spatial and an historical ground (Sultana, 2022). To better understand the concept, Newell in his research, identifies four major pillars to frame climate justice: procedural, distributive, recognition, and intergenerational (Newell, *et Al.,* 2021).

From a procedural climate justice framework arise issues related to participation, accountability and transparency of decision-making processes (Newell, *et Al.,*

2021). Within procedural justice it is possible to also include recognition climate justice based on the ideal that each subject recognizes every other as his or her equal in responsibilities and rights (Newell, *et Al.,* 2021). This allows for the expansion of concepts related to self-determination and sovereignty of the most vulnerable communities in both decision-making processes and in the follow-up management of resources at the international and local scale (Newell, *et Al.,* 2021). The inclusion of vulnerable groups, such as indigenous peoples, allows for the creation of mechanisms that permit harmonic coexistence between people and nature, addressing the importance of preserving indigenous habits and cultures (Schlosberg and Collins, 2014).

Distributive climate justice, on one hand allows for a dialogue on inequitable distribution of cost and benefit across society that are further exacerbated by climate change (Newell, *et Al.,* 2021). This permits to underline the existence of more vulnerable groups often based on gender, class or race related issues (Newell, *et Al.,* 2021). On the other hand, at international level, distributive justice, in this case also called "restorative justice" (Abram, *et Al.,* 2022), addresses the historic responsibilities of developed countries in generating the climate crises as expressed under the UNFCCC by the phrase "common and differentiated responsibilities" (UN, 1992). In terms of action towards better distributive justice the dialogue concentrates on how to address inequities across society with a strong link with the participation issue described above, and how to fulfill the "climate debt" of developed countries creating compensation and reparation mechanisms (Schlosberg and Collins, 2014).

Lastly, intergenerational climate justice deals with the term "sustainability" related to the fact that future generations must have equal opportunity as previous ones (Newell, *et Al.,* 2021). This opens the dialogue for youth to be included in decision-making processes and strongly addresses the importance of preservation broadly intended, both cultural and environmental (Newell, *et Al.,* 2021).

These pillars help to understand the concept of climate justice but are strongly intertwined together and cannot be acted upon singularly to create solutions. To address all these issues, and properly act within a climate justice framework, there is a clear need to re-evaluate the current social and economic system that allowed the present situation. This includes scholarship research that is anti-colonial,

decolonial, trans-feminist, anti-racist, indigenous and anti-fascist, to create an ethical base line from which to build upon (Sultana, 2022).

Climate justice approaches encourage multi-level governance and reflection. Inside a COP26 framework, but even beyond, climate justice can easily be found dealing with adaptation and loss and damage for what concerns responding to vulnerability issues and historic responsibilities. Meanwhile, on the issue of mitigation, it addresses the question on how to phase out of fossil fuels in a fair and equitable manner.

1.3.2 The non-proliferation of fossil fuels

To change the current social and economic system, the first step is the non-proliferation of fossil fuels since without a doubt, the fossil fuel industry is, today, one of the main causes of climate change. In fact, it is responsible for more than 64% of global greenhouse gasses (GHGs) emissions and about 90% of total CO_2 emissions into the atmosphere (IPCC, 2022; SEI, 2021). Furthermore, even though the need to curb the use of fossil fuels is well established, there still exists a "credibility gap" that considers the effort that countries put to limit temperature rise to 1.5°C and the actual commitments (Climate Action Tracker, 2021). The inconsistency between the two shows little effort to intervene when talking about fossil fuels which would allow to fill the gap. To address the fossil fuels issue, the first step would be to officially recognize them as part of the problem. In the Paris Agreement there is no direct mention of fossil fuels (Piggot, *et Al.,* 2020), nor is there in other texts of COPs until COP26. Moreover, COPs also rarely address the existence of high-emitting sectors when talking about mitigation efforts (Jacobs, 2021), which would be crucial to curb CO_2 emission. The energy supply sector is undoubtedly the worst: according to the Emission Gap Report, in 2020, its emissions amount to 20 Gt of CO_2, corresponding to 37% of the total emission (UNEP, 2022). Moreover, the fossil fuel industry, strongly linked to this sector, has grown more influential in the climate negotiation spaces hence influencing its policies (Gaulin and Le Billon, 2020). In addition, fossil fuels also have a strong economic influence, especially on countries that are highly oil-dependent, that

resolves in other sectors irrelevancy when trying to replace its economic and social value (Muttitt and Kartha, 2020).

Another important topic in the phasing out from fossil fuels is related to the remaining carbon budget to keep alive the Paris Agreement goal. Carbon budget is needed to set specific limits to global warming, it is expressed in the amount of CO_2 releasable in the atmosphere (IPCC, 2022). From the analysis conducted by the IPCC, in the last report, with a probability of 50%, the amounts of budget remaining to stay below the 1.5°C is 500 Gt of CO_2 (IPCC, 2022). Only last year, 2022, 36.8 Gt of CO_2 were emitted, a trend that increased by 0.9 % compared to the previous year (IEA, 2022). Moreover, another issue is the need to create a public and global interoperable network to have a trustworthy and comparable collection of data related to carbon budget (Luers, *et Al.,* 2022).

As for what concerns a decarbonization process that includes climate justice principles, a more articulated discourse is needed. These principles are essential since the transition process affects people and it is not only a technical matter (Abram, *et Al.,* 2022). Furthermore, keeping a 1.5°C pathway is crucial, also because it is only through this path that is possible to guarantee, in the future, basic human rights (Robinson and Shine, 2018). Fossil fuel extraction has historically violated human rights: like the right to health and to livelihood and more than often communities suffering the consequences are not the ones that benefit from it (Muttitt and Kartha, 2020). This results in uneven historical and present distribution of wealth, directly linked to uneven distribution of consumption along with the CO_2 emissions that come with it (Bruckner, *et Al.,* 2022). This is referred to as "carbon inequality" and addresses the fact that the top 10% of population, in terms of wealth, are responsible for half of the global CO_2 emissions (Bruckner, *et Al.,* 2022). This situation calls for the application of restorative, distributive and recognitional justice principles in the decarbonization process, that consider the loss that communities have suffered in the years, as well as prioritization over use of carbon budget for those countries that need it the most to transition away from fossil fuels, based on uneven vulnerabilities that arose in the years (Abram, *et Al.,* 2022). In fact, to keep a 1.5 °C pathway, developing countries face the greatest challenge, having to address also other vulnerabilities while reducing emission (Robinson and Shine, 2018). Furthermore, the transition must also be rapid, making it even harder for

developing countries and calling for developed countries to set the example, taking responsibility for majorly causing the problem and having the capacity to absorb financial and social consequences that come with such transition (Muttitt and Kartha, 2020).

Lastly, to implement an equitable and just transition there is the need for fair representation, hence procedural justice, that allows for local effective changes in the decarbonization process (Abram, *et Al.,* 2022).

To conclude, applying climate justice principles to the fossil fuel problem is not easy and needs a dedicated framework, because there is the need for international guidelines both to understand how to properly address the issue as well as implementation mechanisms capable of multilevel and diversified action since there is no universal solution.

1.4 Objective of the thesis

The thesis aims to delineate the innovative elements that characterized COP26 and make it one of the most important conferences in recent years in the climate diplomacy process. In more details thanks to a participant observation methodology it is intended to analyze in the following specific objectives: i) detailed review of official documents and scientific articles regarding the issue of climate justice and how this issue was addressed within the COP26 spaces, ii) critical in-depth study of initiatives, practices, and documents regarding the issue of fossil fuel non-proliferation and iii) how the interventions and outcomes outlined by COP26 brought back and recalled the concepts of climate justice and fossil fuel non-proliferation.

2. Materials and Method

This chapter on the materials and methods used for the development of this thesis will provide clarifications regarding the context in which the experimental research took place. It will present the "Visto Climatico" project, through which COP 26 can be experienced, in order to provide an idea of the position the people taking part to the project held during the days in Glasgow and the type of materials that were collected as a group within the project.
Subsequently, it will present an outline of the selected spaces and the chosen methodology to approach the climate negotiation environment in order to understand the basics for the writing of this thesis.

2.1 The "Visto Climatico" Project

The project "Visto Climatico" was promoted by the Viraçao & Jangada association with the support of the Department for Development Cooperation of the Autonomous Province of Trento and in collaboration with a number of local realities: the Jean Monnet European Centre, the Mazingira Association (MUSE), the Fontana Foundation, the Unimondo Portal, the In Medias Res Association and with the scientific support of the Trentino Climate Observatory[1].
The main goal of the Viraçao & Jangada association is edocommunication, which includes all those policies and actions aimed at strengthening communication in educational environments[2]. To this end, the "Visto Climatico" project was a three-years participatory journalism project, which ended in 2021, and included participation in UN conferences on climate change with the aim of getting acquainted with these negotiation spaces and engaging in journalism and information activities on climate change issues. In order to achieve these goals, the project was divided in three phases:

- The first phase was training and took place in collaboration with researchers and educators in order to arrive at the COPs with a notional background on

[1] http://www.stampagiovanile.it/in-evidenza/dal-trentino-alla-conferenza-onu-sul-clima-di-glasgow/
[2] https://www.viracaoejangada.org/

how they work, the climate-related issues that are dealt within these spaces, and how to conduct quality journalism.

- The second phase was the dissemination phase, which took place during the COP days and consisted of the production of material distributed through the social and web channels of the Viracao & Jangada association such as the Youth Press Agency website[3]. In addition, this phase included a moment of open discussion organized by some of the participants of the "Visto Climatico" project with a few Italian middle school students, in order to inform and testify about the experience.
- The third phase consisted in a series of interventions in schools that were aimed at raising awareness on the issues of global citizenship and climate change through direct testimony of personal experiences.

The groups that took part in the project were composed of students who won the call for applications managed by the Viraçao & Jangada association. The teams were coordinated by researchers and educators who guaranteed for the quality of the information and participated during all phases of the project.

Each person taking part in the project had two badges: the official observer badge and the informal Youth Press Agency badge. The function of the observer badge in the premises of COP is to ensure transparency of the closed-door diplomatic events and it is given to members of civil society in order to be able to participate in them. The second informal Youth Press Agency badge allows the interlocutor to recognize the observer as someone in the practice of youth-addressed journalism and thus places them within a context of edocommunication. These badges represent the role that the participant to the project had both in official environments of the COP and unofficial ones, such as marches and other events outside UN spaces.

[3] http://www.stampagiovanile.it/

2.2 The Participant Observation approach

The approach chosen for the analysis of these events and environments concerning climate diplomacy is participant observation.

It consists in the interaction between observation and participation. Participation allows for a deeper immersion in what is being analyzed by getting into direct contact with the subject and the people within it, while observation allows for a detailed description of the phenomenon in which the observer is taking part. In this way, information and detailed descriptions can be obtained from the ground up and the claim of an entirely objective analysis is avoided (Clifford, French and Valentine, 2010). Participation thus becomes a methodology that enriches knowledge and that alters the initial understanding of the world that is being approached (Clifford, French and Valentine, 2010). The use of both observation and participation as combined instruments provides an interpretation of what happens within the researched event, with respect to the starting goals of the investigation (Clifford, French and Valentine, 2010).

This methodology can be applied to small-picture research that investigates a single phenomenon in a given context, as well as to big-picture research that contributes to the analysis of a larger phenomenon (Clifford, French and Valentine, 2010). The present analysis falls into the latter category, and the contribution that this methodology can make is twofold: firstly, it offers more direct access to the phenomenon than the other, more complex and tough to apply, social science methodologies (Clifford, French and Valentine, 2010). Secondly, it contributes to make the concepts and arguments less abstract (Clifford, French and Valentine, 2010), while exploring and investigating the narratives in the different spaces of the COP26 related to the topics of climate justice and the non-proliferation of fossil fuels. In the analysis of these two themes, topics such as power, class, race and identity easily emerge. If taken individually they may be abstract but with the use of a participant observation methodology, they can be contextualized giving them a concrete expression on how they fit into a climate policy discourse.

Considering the reflections on what this methodology can bring to the research, it is important to understand the positioning from which the considerations developed in this thesis arise. Having a clear view of the position and role that is being held is

useful both for getting an idea of what the perception of people, in a given context, might be and for understanding and making observations during the course of the experiment (Clifford, French and Valentine, 2010). This allows for an analysis of how the view of the participant-observer may have changed as a consequence of newly acquired skills (Clifford, French and Valentine, 2010). The combination of these two factors allows the participant-observer a greater awareness of their role during their research. Regarding the perception that people have of the participant-observer, two elements are taken into account: firstly, the formal placement while participating in the spaces of the COP and secondly, the change in knowledge and the acquisition of new skills. This last aspect is intrinsically linked to the spaces chosen for the participant observation.

This methodology allowed to understand the variety of actors that participate to this kind of diplomatic events and the spaces in which they are located through the presentation of the different environments of the COP; this includes spaces of scientific dissemination, spaces related to the business world, official UNFCCC spaces and spaces of activism. Moreover, individual spaces such as conferences and discussion panels were considered.

2.2.1 Collected materials: Articles and Multimedia contents

The materials produced during the COP are both written articles and multimedia contents, which are the result of interviews and participation in conferences and events in the premises of the COP.

The primary purpose of these materials is to be broadly educational. For this reason, the type of information needs to be accessible to a wide audience, that has a large variety of interests, ranging from the desire to acquire theoretical, scientific or journalistic knowledge, to the simple curiosity of having a glimpse of the type of experience that can be lived within spaces of diplomacy such as COPs.

The collected materials come from both official COP spaces, such as the Green zone and the Blue zone, and external spaces like rallies and assemblies organized by the People's Summit. The result is a collection of scientific, artistic and political information ranging from lectures and film-screenings to activities organized by climate activists outside of the COP.

In addition to having the ability to embrace a wider and more diverse audience, such a broad view of the topic allows the participant taking part to the project to choose accordingly to what they are most passionate about, giving the opportunity to cultivate one's own interests. This is reflected in the production of the informative content, which benefits from the interest and care the participant pours into it.

The secondary purpose of the materials considers the objectives of the thesis. In this case the type of materials that were collected varied greatly according to the type of space. For a more general view of the actors involved in events such as the COP, videos, photos, interviews and articles were made, which were then published on the social pages belonging to the Youth Press Agency. For more specific analyses related to individual spaces other sources were taken into consideration: events within the Science Pavilion, events of the Business Pavilion; some of the events organized by the UNFCCC; events belonging to the People's Summit. All the events presented in the thesis were recorded and can be found in the respective Pavilion webpage.

The specific events taken into account deal with the issues of climate justice and fossil fuel non-proliferation, and where these topics were not the main focus of the discussion other events were considered that gave the opportunity, to some extent, to deal with the analysed topics.

3. Results

3.1 The analysis of Glasgow Climate Pact

The analysis of the official documents published from COP26 is important to figure out if the narratives and discussions of different topics raised during the conference found any acknowledgement. The main outcome from COP26 is the Glasgow Climate Pact. Those who came to Glasgow hoping for a radical change in the climate policy landscape did not find the answer neither in the Glasgow Climate Pact nor in other outcomes of COP26 (Espelage, *et Al.,* 2022). Climate diplomacy takes time to be changed, even though the Glasgow Climate Pact certainly includes elements that go in the direction of such change (Espelage, *et Al.,* 2022). The Pact is an agreed upon document that the Parties have signed at the end of COP26, it includes new elements that found little if no inclusion in texts from previous COPs and it represents an important change in the climate policy documents. Analyzing the Pact an element that pops out is the importance given to the preservation of nature and ecosystems as they ensure resilience to society and the environment acting as carbon sinks (UNFCCC, 2021b). Furthermore, in the text is inserted the concept of "Mother Earth" that shows the effort of inclusivity towards indigenous communities and other cultures that have a different and stronger relationship with nature as it is well rooted in their cultural baggage (UNFCCC, 2021b). The Pact, in this sense, also "acknowledges" the obligation of the Parties towards human rights, especially when it comes to vulnerable and marginalized members of society and includes the importance of climate justice principles when taking action (UNFCCC, 2021b). Not only the text acknowledges but it also "urges" to involve indigenous people, local communities and youth in decision making processes and implementing climate action (UNFCCC, 2021b). This level of inclusion can also be found over the fact that in the Pact is given a lot of space to loss and damage and adaptation, crucial elements that open the debate on climate justice issues that see these actors involved as members of society most vulnerable communities. Another groundbreaking consideration of the Glasgow Climate Pact is the inclusion of "phase-down of unabated coal power and phase-out of inefficient fossil fuel

subsidies" (UNFCCC, 2021b). Even if it is mere mention of fossil fuels, this part of the Pact is a step forward compared to other COPs which have no mention of these climate-altering substances and underlines the level of ambition the Pact tried to achieve (Depledge, Saldivia and Peñasco, 2022). The need for ambition is a direct consequence of the recognized state of emergency among Parties that emerges from the Pact (Hunter, Salzman and Zaelke, 2021). Thanks to a better consideration and use of the evidence brought by science, in the Pact it is put emphasis on the need to reaffirm the aim of the Paris Agreement and an invitation to further reduce by 2030 all GHGs emission (UNFCCC, 2021b).

In terms of technical decisions stated in the Glasgow Climate Pact is possible to identify four major issues: finance, loss and damage, adaptation and common time frames. Starting from the fact that in Glasgow the pledge to deliver 100 billion dollars to least developed countries was not met, as stated with "deep regret" in the Glasgow Climate Pact (UNFCCC, 2021b), it was welcomed a "Climate finance delivery plan: meeting the US$100 billion goal" including preferrable delivery methods, such as grants, that don't put developing countries in a debt position (Wilkinson and Flasbarth, 2021). Working to deliver these money is part of a major topic related to loss and damage, a pressing issue brought by climate movements and last pillar of the Paris agreement. Unfortunately, even though a debate between different stakeholders was opened to increase finance to address this problem (UNFCCC, 2021a), it was not created a loss and damage fund as requested by developing countries (Hunter, Salzman and Zaelke, 2021). The same goes for adaptation, even though it received more funding that ever, both in the case of the Adaptation Fund and The Least Developed Country Fund, the figures are far from what is needed (Espelage, *et Al.,* 2022). For this reason, concerning adaptation it was asked to double finance related to it (UNFCCC, 2021a). Moreover, it was established "the Glasgow Sharm el -Sheikh' work programme, in line with the Global Goal for Adaptation (GGA) first set in the Paris Agreement in order to improve adaptive capacity and resilience" (Espelage, *et Al.,* 2022) and it was urged Parties to "further integrate adaptation into local, national and regional planning" (UNFCCC, 2021b). Lastly, the Pact, "encourages" Parties to submit their National Determined Contributions (NDCs) every five years with a projection that considers the following 10 years (UNFCCC, 2021b). This decision on common time frames

goes hand in hand with decisions taken to finalize the “Paris rulebook”, a set of rules to implement the Paris Agreement. The unresolved issues of the Paris Agreement concern Article 13, 14 and 6. Article 13 is about the Enhanced Transparency Framework (ETF), a tool to ensure credible monitoring, reporting and verification of Parties' NDCs. NDCs, by their nature, are voluntary country pledges and the review mechanisms are the key to understanding whether the national Parties are upholding them (Hunter, Salzman and Zaelke, 2021). In Glasgow, Parties decided on common rules and tables in order to create standardized and comparable reports. Moreover, now that the ETF is in place, Parties are going to deliver annual reports starting from 2024 (Hunter, Salzman and Zaelke, 2021). These reports are an important tool for the Global Stoketake, to evaluate the implementation of NDCs and the possible need to strengthen them. As reported in the Emission Gap Report, at COP26, effort showed in NDCs and other announced pledges mirror a projection that puts the world on a path for a 2.7 °C temperature increase by the end of the century which is still far from what is needed to keep the Paris Agreement goal alive (UNEP, 2021). Based on these facts mentioned above, an intervention is also needed concerning article six on voluntary cooperation between Parties and international carbon markets. Carbon credits can be exchanged between governments and non-governments actors and need to be backed by projects working towards either GHGs removal or emission reduction with the aim of meeting the national goals (Hunter Salzman and Zaelke, 2021). At COP 26 the Parties defined 3 paragraphs, 6.2, 6.4 and 6.8 resolving issues on International Transferable Mitigation Outcomes (ITMOs), exchangeable carbon credits, and creating a new activity-based international crediting mechanism that replaces the old one under the Kyoto Protocol, Clean Development Mechanism (CDM). Moreover, it was established a cooperative mechanism for activities that contribute to reach NDCs goals but do not involve ITMOs (Depledge, Saldivia and Peñasco, 2022). In addition, in Glasgow the Parties managed to resolve an issue concerning double counting adding a “correspondence adjustment” since the carbon credits, up to COP 26, could be accounted for in two different NDCs strategies, hence be counted twice (Hunter, Salzman and Zaelke, 2021). Moreover, it was decided that 5% of proceeds connected to traditional market mechanism would go to adaptation funding (Mountford, *et Al.,* 2021). Deciding on these

pending technicalities allowed COP26 to finally complete the rulebook and increase efforts towards implementation.

3.1.1 Action for Climate Empowerment (ACE)

One of the most important initiatives launched in the Glasgow Climate Pact is the Glasgow work programme on Action for Climate Empowerment (ACE) (UNFCCC, 2021b). This initiative is a framework to develop and implement effective climate action related to both adaptation and mitigation policies that should be implemented within National strategic plans (Cintron-Rodriguez, *et Al.,* 2021). To reach this goal ACE centers itself on empowerment creating collaboration between local communities and political leaders so that climate action once implemented represents the needs and requests of the local communities thanks to the support and capacity building that international governance can offer (Cintron-Rodriguez, *et Al.,* 2021). Engaging and making civil society, especially marginalized groups, part of the solution becomes crucial to understand how to create local-effective action that can be easily implemented and responds to the community needs. It creates new power dynamics and disrupts injustices, because it is within a marginalized group mind-frame that it is possible to overcome a system biased approach (Cintron-Rodriguez, *et Al.,* 2021). The ACE framework is based on six major pillars: education, training, public awareness, public participation, public access to information and international cooperation on climate change (UNFCCC, 2022). At COP26 a 10 year program to strengthen the implementation of ACE was launched[1] and at COP27 the six pillars of ACE where translated into a four year action plan with "short-term and time-bound activities" (UNFCCC, 2022). These activities are divided into four main priority areas: policy coherence; coordinated action; tools and support; monitoring, evaluation and reporting (UNFCCC, 2022). Details elaborated within these key areas allow for the implementation at a local scale of the ACE work program showing efforts from the climate negotiation initiatives to be more than words and promises.

[1] https://unfccc.int/news/cop26-launched-a-decade-of-action-for-climate-empowerment

3.2 The overview of the bilateral agreements

Achievements from COP26 do not stop with the Glasgow Climate Pact and its technical decisions, but there are other agreements that happened during the conference. It is not unusual for COPs to be a place where delegates from different countries and other stakeholders make promises, announcements and create alliances to show extra effort to face the climate crisis. However, in COP26 the announcements were many and diversified. The commitments can be divided into state and non-state commitments dealing with various topics such as the safeguard of forests, finance, transitioning towards renewable energy sources, and phasing out from fossil fuels.

Concerning forests, the Global Leaders' Declaration on Forest and Land Use was signed by over 141 States and proposes itself to halt and reverse deforestation by 2030. The signatories include major states like Brazil, Indonesia and the Democratic Republic of Congo, covering up to 91% of the worlds' forests. The declaration was accompanied by a Glasgow Global Forest Finance Pledge of 12 billion along with private-public initiatives in order to support forest-related climate action and give credibility to this declaration that is similar to others made in the past that turned out to be unreliable (Hunter, Salzman and Zaelke, 2021). Support initiatives include financing to indigenous peoples and local communities has they are the most appropriate to steward and restore these ecosystems. A study conducted by the World Resources Institute shows that implementing such declaration would avoid the loss of 18.9 Gt of CO_2 (Taylor, *et Al.,* 2021).

To reduce the use of fossil fuels, there were several pledges and initiatives some of which aim directly at reducing emissions like the global Methane pledge signed by over 100 countries, including Italy, to reduce methane-use of 30% by 2030 (Hunter, Salzman and Zaelke, 2021). With the same spirit of this pledges at COP26 there were several announcements to end the subsides for new-coal power plants and support the phase out from coal power. Among this Nations that endorsed the announcement and initiative, there were important coal power generating countries like South Korea, Indonesia and Vietnam[2].

[2] https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/ukgwa/20230105153806/https://ukcop26.org/end-of-coal-in-sight-at-cop26/

Moreover, on a more finance-related note, it was created the Glasgow Climate Alliance for Net-Zero (GFANZ), an initiative that now includes over 550 financial institutions of over 50 different countries committing over 130 trillion of assets towards carbon neutral initiatives by 2050. The Alliance proposes itself to unite financial institution for a net-zero transition and to act as a forum to connect independent sector-specific Alliances that work on the same goal with race to net zero campaign, climate scientist and civil society[3].

Other pledges concerning finance address the direct financing of the fossil fuel industry like the Glasgow Statement. In this initiative, signed by Italy as well, the signatories agree to stop "direct public support" to the fossil fuel energy sector by the end of 2022[4].

More on this topic is the mission of transitioning to new clean energy sources and technologies. For example, the transition to zero emission vehicles, an announcement made by 11 automakers along with 30 governments to transition to 100% zero emission passenger cars and vans by 2035 (Hunter, Salzman and Zaelke, 2021). Moreover, the Breakthrough Agenda to support international collaboration for the deployment of clean and affordable technologies in order to achieve the goal set by the Paris Agreement. It was signed by 45 countries, including Italy, and includes the publication of an annual report in collaboration with the International Energy Agency (IEA). It applies a sectoral approach to "power, hydrogen, road transport, steel and agriculture" which are need of accelerated innovation (IEA, IRENA and UN Climate Change High-Level Champions, 2022). One last announcement which is worth mentioning because it deals with the topic of a just transition is the creation of the Beyond Oil and Gas Alliance (BOGA) initially founded by Costa Rica and Denmark. The Alliance is composed by core members, associate members and friends of Boga in which Italy can also be found[5]. All participants endorsed in the alliance signed the BOGA declaration agreeing to end new production and exploration of oil and gas within their jurisdiction, and to stop existing ones in line with the objectives of the Paris Agreement (BOGA, 2021).

[3] https://www.gfanzero.com/about/

[4] https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/ukgwa/20230313124743/https://ukcop26.org/statement-on-international-public-support-for-the-clean-energy-transition/

[5] https://beyondoilandgasalliance.org/who-we-are/

Initiatives like BOGA are important because other that phasing out domestic fossil fuels and stop public financing of oversee oil and gas research and extraction, reflect upon the fact that this transition must be a just and equitable one thus inserting a climate justice discourse and permitting an intersectional approach to the phase out from fossil fuels (BOGA, 2021). Along with these pledges another COP26 announcement worth mentioning is the Us-China Joint Declaration for Climate Action that proposes to implement measure to reach the Paris Agreement goals by the two worldwide major emitters. These announcements gave strength to the Glasgow Climate Pact itself, in fact a similar pledge was made before the Paris Agreement and helped advancing the negotiation (Espelage, *et Al.,* 2022). These initiatives are ambitious, but a concern can be raised over the fact that these pledges, being outside NDCs framework, are harder to monitor, non-binding and leave the responsibility to be enforced only to the signatories (Espelage, *et Al.,* 2022). An example can be found in Italy that already gets out from Glasgow Statement since, in collaboration with SACE (Servizi Assicurativi del Commercio Estero), decided to invest in fossil fuels at least until 2028[6]. Furthermore, another important factor to consider is that, unlike the Glasgow Climate Pact that is signed by all members unanimously, these pledges and alliances, being voluntary, might not include major emitters or key actors (Espelage, *et Al.,* 2022).

3.3 Climate justice in COP26 spaces: speeches and narratives

The topic of climate justice has been analysed through a series of events that took place inside and outside COP26. Some of these events dealt with loss and damage considering its relevance in the negotiation. In some cases, there was no idea of what climate justice is and the arguments brought to the table mirror the idea of what dealing with climate justice meant for that debating space. Anyhow, also through loss and damage, it was possible to analyze and individuate points of contrast from which the interests of the various Parties involved in the negotiations emerge. There was a wide discrepancy of opinion between those who made it a matter of pure finance, those who considered the human aspect and the system that

[6] https://www.climate-justice.earth/it/italy-get-out-from-the-glasgow-statement-public-subsidies-to-fossil-fuels-industry-will-continue/

generated the problem and those who focused on practical solutions. Finance is the major issue considered in the business spaces where the private sector is put in contrast with the governments and the international community that is described as unable to deliver on many levels, such as the 100 billion US dollars promised to developing countries, which is specified would still not be enough[7]. This inability to fulfil the needs of the countries majorly hit by the climate crisis brings them to turn to the private sector that wants to be on the forefront in the development of climate prosperity and is happy to help[7]. This kind of discourse focuses attention on businesses that assume a salvific role in the fight against climate change. What it lacks to address is a critic to the system that brought these countries in such desperate need. This kind of criticism can be found both in UNFCCC side event spaces and outside the COP, during the COP26 Coalition assemblies, where is given much more space to those living the problem. Here, other than a stronger contextualization of the climate justice issue, there is a strong communication over the fact that to make actual changes there must be a reflection on the economic and social system that allowed the present situation to happen, hence addressing the capitalistic system which, by necessity, is linked to neoliberal dynamics of colonialism, land grabbing, green washing instruments and the destruction of territories which are homeland of local and indigenous communities.[8]. To undergo this change and address the issue at its root a decolonization process is required that considers the climate issue as a humanitarian crisis that can only find solution within a human right based framework that includes marginalized and oppressed members of society[9]. The strength of considering human rights as the key for resilient and long-lasting change can be found also on the science pavilion where this kind of approach is described as functional for local action and able to involve and empower local communities allowing a work at the source rather than the mouth of the problem[10]. To consider the crisis from a humanitarian point of view

[7] "Theater Climate Vulnerable Forum" (We Mean Business Coalition, November 2nd, 2021) available at https://vimeo.com/showcase/8982541/video/642361725

[8] "Climate Reparations, Decolonising Movement Assembly" (COP26 Coalition, November 8, 2021) available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MTORzAA5BrM&list=PLg-Yr6iM4rOJ4qfRw9f4s0tYwfVw00bXl&index=10

[9] "Loss and Damage and Climate Reparation: a Call for solidarity" (United Nations, November 6, 2021) available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QtVOF1JYHew

[10] "Actions to increase resilience to climate disasters based on human rights" (WMO, November 8, 2021) available at https://vimeo.com/643829312

and formulate practical solutions it becomes crucial to have an intersectionality approach able to embrace different and interconnected aspects of the problem[11]. The climate crisis, in this sense, as mentioned also in the counter COP spaces, is considered even a social and humanitarian crisis and to be faced, these aspects, need to be addressed altogether with an intersectionality approach. In the science pavilion is also specified that this kind of approach is new to the academy that is still attached to past models that still divides climate issues in different fields of research, separated among them.

3.4 Analysis of the non-proliferation of fossil fuels in COP26 spaces

COP26, also with respect to the non-proliferation of fossil fuel, was characterized by different narratives. Different nuances of the discourse can be detected based, for example, on the contextual choice to talk about phase out from fossil fuels or investments in renewables, as well as in the temporal choice, preferring to refer to goals by 2030 or 2050. Applied scenarios to phase out fossil fuels challenge the whole system, coming across various other questions and arguments such as how to fairly and equitably implement the energy transition or other climate justice-related issues. This characteristic makes it a particularly complex discourse and it is up to those who deal with the topic to choose the narrative most appropriate to their point of view. This clarification is important to understand the wide range of arguments and the different centralities of the narratives around this topic.

Dealing with the non-proliferation of fossil fuels along with the energy transition issue, a discrepancy can easily be noticed, between businesses and the scientific community along with UNFCCC events and COP26 Coalition events. On one hand, businesses tend to have an optimistic view of the future centering the discussion around the energy transition issue, while on the other hand (especially in UNFCCC events and in COP 26 Coalition events), it is possible to find a call for seriousness that strongly dictates the need to keep fossil fuels in the ground in order to be in line with the objective of the Paris Agreement. Businesses, on one hand, express

[11] "Harnessing climate science for adaptation" (Met Office, November 8, 2021) available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9tR78gCf9ZA

good faith in capitalism that is described as a powerful tool that ensures the ambitious change that is strongly needed to implement the transition to renewable energy sources and technologies[12]. Counter COP spaces, on the other hand, concentrate much more on what the capitalist system caused over the years going hand in hand with fossil fuel extraction: other than the massive CO_2 emission, the land-abuse of local communities and the loss of culture that comes with it[13]. This is a process that is still in action and directly influences the possibility to change, because, as it is said in the COP26 Coalition assemblies, one of the changes that is needed, to guarantee a future, is a shift away from a western thought that, up to now, it can easily be found in COPs and the UN and translates into the preservation of capitalist and colonialist narratives and doesn't allow to truly take a strong position on coal and fossil fuel extraction (at the assembly COP26 is addressed as "conference of polluters" addressing the presence of oil companies in the conference's premises)[14]. This change includes reconnecting to nature and to one's own territory and indigenous communities are an extraordinary example of how to do it. The communities that can offer this kind of solutions are the same communities that are ceasing to exist due to mining and fossil fuel extraction[13]. The non-proliferation of fossil fuels in this sense is a topic that divides between spaces inside and outside COP26. Outside it is possible to find critics to false frontiers to the phase out of fossil fuels, like carbon capture, and to narrative like "net zero" that focuses on emission rather than a systemic change[14]. Inside, except for rare examples like some UNFCCC side event conferences, the focus is much more on energy transition and what can be done to make it happen, shifting the conversation away from the non-proliferation of fossil fuel. Nonetheless, outside COP26 the issue on how to act was also addressed and here there is a meeting point with the science part of the discourses that focuses on a communication issue that is essential in order to have and integrated approach to finding solutions that involve

[12] "Corporate Action and Energy Transition" (We Mean Business Coalition, November 4, 2021) available at: https://vimeo.com/showcase/8982541/video/642361725

[13] "Planning a just and equitable phase out of fossil fuel production to limit warming to 1.5°" (United Nations, November 11, 2021) available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A_VW2zLq6ng

[14] As for the COP26 coalition assemblies, since there is no assembly entirely dedicated to the phase out of fossil fuels, the thesis focuses on some interventions that have treated this issue as central. All assemblies are available at: https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLg-Yr6iM4rOJ4qfRw9f4s0tYwfVw00bX

governments, policymakers and grassroot projects in order to find the best available solution based on the best available knowledge, both scientific and local[15].

3.4.1 The Fossil Fuel Non- Proliferation Treaty: a global initiative of Phasing Out

Within the analyzed events above an initiative that was found both inside and outside COP26 is the Fossil Fuel Non- Proliferation Treaty (FFNPT). Being COP26 one of the major events dealing with the climate change issue and being fossil fuel a major cause that hasn't been addressed properly, the FFNPT has acquired, in the years, more and more momentum and is given more and more value also in climate negotiation official spaces, such as COPs. Building on the need for supply-side policies the FFNPT global initiative, at COP26, already had the support of 101 Nobel Laureates, 155 parliamentarians from 31 countries, 2,600 academics and 950 plus civil society organizations[16]. The treaty is based on the creation of multilateral supply-side structure with a high civil society mobilization and participation. The treaty, acting as a complement to the Paris Agreement, bases itself on three pillars: to immediately stop the expansion of fossil fuels (non-proliferation), phase-out existing production in an equitable way (disarmament), leaving no one behind in the transition away from fossil fuel dependence (peaceful use) (Newell and Simms, 2020). Uniting under this initiative is a diversified plethora of actors expressing a high level of engagement of the FFNPT and the urgency to phase out fossil fuels.
The FFNPT, inspired by the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, since 2019 has developed in a global articulation of different movements (climate justice, indigenous and civil societies) addressing the necessity to act differently and strongly on the major cause of a pressing world-threat issue like climate change (Newell, Simms, 2020). Thanks to the high resonance of this initiative and the large number of adhesions from different realities worldwide, a growing number of different initiatives and alliances related to the phasing out of fossil fuels have been implemented. The treaty would give them a place for implementation as well as

[15] "Guiding the path to net-zero through science" (Met Office, November 4 2021) available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uTZL4wknt2g
[16] https://fossilfueltreaty.org/cop26-press-release

“amplifying trends that are anyhow unfolding” like the lowering price of renewables or the new waves of activism (Newell, Van Asselt and Daley, 2022). For this reason, the FFNPT reflects on how to be the institutional architecture that in line with its three major pillars allows to reach its objective. The formulation of a FFNPT, that includes historical parallelisms and examples, considers its implementation and the issues that arise with it, like reporting and reviewing mechanism, data collection and flexibility issues (Newell, Van Asselt and Daley, 2022). Moreover, it addresses how to facilitate compliance mechanism, how to ensure effectiveness, possible financial mechanism and institutional bodies to create (Newell, Van Asselt and Daley, 2022). The Treaty, therefore, strongly considers participation, inclusivity, equity and justice throughout all the implementation’s steps. Within its proposal the FFNPT offers mitigation pathways based on existing mechanisms and structures in order to bring a renewed and much needed approach to the non-proliferation of fossil fuel issue.

4. Conclusion

The present research aimed to overview and analyse the main outcomes delineated in the Glasgow Climate Pact and to report the different narratives and dialogues, inside and outside the COP26 spaces, with a focus on two main topics: climate justice and the non-proliferation of fossil fuels. The conference, other than finishing the Paris rulebook, showed awareness of the state of emergency and defined ambition measures and possible actions on mitigation and adaptation. In addition, it centered many discussions around climate justice issues and put a focus on the fossil fuels. This includes mentioning for the first time the phase down from coal and fossil fuels in the official text and pushing for stronger participation and inclusion in decision-making processes, of members civil society, such as the youth community and marginalized groups. Furthermore, in the Pact is given more importance to loss and damage, also thanks to the emphasis that civil society put on the need to face these issues. There still needs to be a considerable change, but inclusion principles are also put in motion in the implementation mechanisms. ACE certainly best represents this effort centering its approach on empowerment of all members of a community in order to formulate proper and long-lasting solutions. Examples of the change brought by the Glasgow conference, can also be found in the bilateral agreements, where it is noticeable an effort to cooperate to achieve the 1.5°C goal and to implement climate justice principles. An example of cooperation within a climate justice discourse is the FFNPT, a bottom-up inclusive initiative that further increments an integrated approach to propose a framework to implement the non-proliferation of fossil fuels in an equitable and just manner. Even though there are positive takes from the Glasgow conference, within its spaces, it is also possible to observe many conflicts of interest and difficulty to strongly take a position, also based on the influence that oil companies have on these conferences. Related to this, an interesting consideration can be made about the science community. Rarely, inside the science pavilion, clear positions are taken with respect to the capitalist system, which in the business part is seen as a resource and in the civil society and some United Nations (UN) events is seen as the source of the problem. However, it is noticeable the desire for greater interdisciplinarity and stronger communication with civil society. Proof of this is found in citizen

protests and in the meaningful participation of members of the science community in civil society events (Thompson, 2021), providing science-based fact to implement the phase out of fossil fuels and the principles of climate justice. Moreover, within civil society movements, there are no difficulties in framing what is the issue in order to bluntly talk about it and to propose frameworks to create solutions. An example of such collaboration is the above-mentioned FFNPT. Proper framing can only be found within civil society and in UN events. A reason for this differentiation could be that, in the debates of these events, are also included representatives of marginalized groups giving them space and opportunity to voice their concerns and possible contribution, rather than using them to glorify business action compared to UN inaction like in the business pavilion. To conclude, if it is possible to see a shift in the language from the Pact, beside some exception, there are not many implementation mechanisms and finance tools which still represents an important issue to take concrete action. The many bilateral agreements show proactivity, but their implementation depends solely on the signatories. This incoherence between words and action is reflected in the dialogues within the spaces of COP resulting in conflict of interest that emerges both in the possibility to change the current system and the scientific community getting closer to civil society movements.

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