

Lament for a Network: A Comparative Case Study Analysis of the Impacts of the  
Partners for Climate Protection Network on Climate Change Policy in Two Canadian  
Cities

by

David Gordon

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of  
The University of Manitoba  
in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Political Studies  
University of Manitoba  
Winnipeg

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Of

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**Abstract:**

The actions of Canadian municipalities, working alone and together via linkage networks, demonstrate the existence of a multi-layered and multi-speed response to climate change in Canada, and point to the importance of a multilevel approach in attempts to discern the current state of domestic climate change policy. This thesis aims to explore the impact of one linkage network, the Partners for Climate Protection (PCP), as a key variable in explaining the divergent policy responses to climate change that have emerged in Canadian municipalities. Specifically, this thesis asks: *Does the influence of the PCP help to explain the different stages of political engagement with the issue of climate change in Canadian cities?* Using a comparative case study analysis and insights drawn from the theoretical and applied literature on constructivism and multilevel governance, this study examines the impact of the PCP on two member cities: Winnipeg and Toronto.

The results of qualitative analysis, based on a combination of elite actor interviews and primary document research, are a series of four linked conclusions: the impact of the PCP is most evident in fostering engagement with the issue of climate change and getting it on to the local political agenda; the impact of the PCP appears to be inversely related to the institutional capacity of the member city; the PCP is constrained, primarily, by a lack of funding and resources, leading to a significant incapacity to “network the network;” and, multilevel governance in Canada is strongly constrained by the federal level of government, although new and innovative means to increase the autonomy and impact of sub- and non-state actors are emerging.

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To my wife, Ellen, expressions of thanks fail to capture the extent to which your support, love, and faith impact upon my life and work. Suffice to say, your love is the light that guides my passage.

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Canada's reputation far exceeds our track record, and it has begun to fray, badly.<sup>1</sup>

*David Suzuki*

We need to reach the millions who live in cities, the hundreds of thousands in industrial centers, the tens of thousands in medium-sized towns, the thousands in small towns, and the hundreds in villages -- all these at once. Like a volcanic eruption, a spiritual revolution needs to spread through the country, to spur people to crucial decisions. People have to recognize the futility of splitting life up into politics, economics, the humanities, and religion. We must be awakened to a life in which all of these things are completely integrated.<sup>2</sup>

*Eberhard Arnold*

What we're saying is if the federal government is not going to take action, we will, city by city.<sup>3</sup>

*Mayor of Seattle Greg Nickels*

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in David Boyd. *Unnatural Law: Rethinking Canadian Environmental Law and Policy*. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003) p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Eberhard Arnold and Johann Christoph Arnold. *Eberhard Arnold: Selected Writings* (New York: Orbis Books, 2000)

<sup>3</sup> The Stranger. *Political Climate Change*. Accessed June 17, 2008:  
<http://www.thestranger.com/seattle/Content?oid=21837>.

## *Chapter One: Introduction*

A peculiar paradox emerges when one looks at the political reaction to climate change in Canada. Intuitively, it would be expected that the strongest policies, programs, and targets exist at the federal level of government, since this is the level of government that takes part in international negotiations, that signed on to and ratified the Kyoto protocol, and that committed to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Coincidentally, as one looks to the lower levels of government, it should be expected that the commitment towards addressing climate change would weaken as a result of free-riding temptations, spatial and temporal distance from the impact of climatic shifts, and exclusion from the official international negotiating process. A survey, however, of the actual political responses to climate change in Canada reveals a wildly different picture. Canadian cities and provinces are far out in advance of the federal government, and are taking a leadership position by driving the debate forward, developing and implementing innovative policies, programs, and projects, and setting aggressive emissions reduction targets commensurate with scientifically-based recommendations.<sup>1</sup> This study sets out to explore these actions, and aims its focus specifically on the actions of Canadian cities. Canadian cities, as diverse in their policy reactions to the challenges of climate change as they are in geographic location, demographic composition, and cultural identity, present an interesting

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<sup>1</sup> Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change Fourth Assessment Report. *Climate Change 2007: Synthesis Report – Summary for Policymakers*. Released November 17, 2007. Accessed May 5, 2008: <http://www.ipcc.ch/>. The IPCC 4AR presents the consensus international view, and as such it represents what some consider to be a conservative estimation of the severity of the risk posed by climate change. For an independent, and more alarming viewpoint, see James Hansen *The Threat to the Planet*, *The New York Review of Books*, Vol 53, No. 12 July 13, 2006. Accessed May 16, 2008: <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/19131>; and James Hansen, Makiko Sato, Reto Ruedy, Ken Lo, David Lea, and Martin Medina-Elizade. *Global Temperature Change*, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, Vol 103, No. 39 September 26, 2006. Accessed May 17, 2008: [www.pnas.org/cgi/doi/10.1073/pnas.0606291103](http://www.pnas.org/cgi/doi/10.1073/pnas.0606291103)

challenge. Some Canadian cities have established themselves as national, indeed world, leaders on this issue, while others are more modest in their policy actions, and others still have yet to take action at all.

This thesis seeks to explore whether or not this distinction in the level of political engagement with climate change is at all linked to the activities of the Partners for Climate Protection (PCP) programme, a linkage network for Canadian municipalities that has a mandate to foster and support climate change policy in Canadian cities. More specifically, the question posed at the outset of this thesis is: *Does the influence of the PCP help to explain the different stages of political engagement with the issue of climate change in Canadian cities?* Prior to the commencement of this project, the expected response to this question was that the PCP would be a strong factor in explaining the aggressive policy actions in early-adopter and leading-edge Canadian cities, but that this impact would be weaker in late-adopter and smaller cities.

The aforementioned question, addressed through a comparative case study assessment of the impact of the PCP on two Canadian cities, Winnipeg and Toronto, yielded a set of conclusions that run somewhat contrary to these expected findings. First among these is that the impact of the PCP is much more evident in the late-adopter city (Winnipeg) than it is in the early-adopter city (Toronto). The influence of the network in enabling local policy “heroes” and establishing some traction for the issue is much more evident than is its capacity to engender meaningful progression along the policy spectrum. This leads directly to a second, again slightly unexpected, conclusion, that the impact of the PCP is inversely related to the resource



capacity of the member city. In this study, the perceived and observable benefits derived by Winnipeg are far greater than those derived by Toronto, to the extent that, despite a level of funding and a staffing commitment an order of magnitude greater than exists in Winnipeg, the network linkage in Toronto has essentially disappeared. The proposed reason for this development provides the basis for the third conclusion, that the PCP is fundamentally constrained by a lack of resources. While it was expected that the primary constraint upon the network would be related to ideological resistance or political concerns, it appears from this study that the incapacity of the PCP to effectively “network the network” is a primary constraint on its influence and impact. This flows into the final conclusion drawn from this study, namely that the multilevel dynamic in Canada remains significantly constrained by the federal level of government. The fiscal constraints imposed upon the PCP appear to be largely the result of a lack of federal interest. As such, it appears that multilevel governance in Canada is still relatively underdeveloped, especially when looking at the issue of climate change.

The remainder of this chapter establishes the foundation upon which these conclusions have been drawn, and sets the table for the remaining three chapters. In order to do so, the importance and relevance of the issue of climate change is introduced, including a brief introduction to federal (in)action and the general context of sub-state actions that provided the initial inspiration for this thesis. Following this, the theoretical framework, to be fully developed in chapter two, is presented, along with a brief overview of the two case study cities selected. The

chapter closes with a detailed outline of the methodological approach adopted for this study, including an outline and a supportive case for the research tools utilized.

### **Context: The Issue of Climate Change and the Canadian Federal Response**

Climate change has exploded into the public consciousness over the past few years, moving from the social margins to occupy centre stage in the public discourse.<sup>2</sup> Major newspapers regularly publish feature articles describing the increasingly difficult-to-ignore impacts of climatic shifts, cataloguing, among numerous impacts and events, the disappearance of high altitude glaciers across the globe,<sup>3</sup> the shocking collapse of the Wilkins ice shelf in the Antarctic,<sup>4</sup> the record-breaking loss of Arctic sea ice in 2007,<sup>5</sup> and the increasing vulnerability of peoples in underdeveloped countries.<sup>6</sup> Alongside this increase in public awareness and media attention has come an increased level of engagement from the Canadian government with the issue of climate change, embodied in the Made-in-Canada plan unveiled in April 2007 by Environmental Minister John Baird.<sup>7</sup> The reasons for this engagement are broad and varied, but are certainly influenced by the increasing convergence and acceptance of

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<sup>2</sup> Maxwell T. Boykoff *Newspaper Coverage of Anthropogenic Climate Change in the United States and United Kingdom: 2003 – 2006*. Prepared for the 2007 Amsterdam Conference: International Human Dimensions Programme, Global Environmental Change. Accessed August 20, 2007:

[http://www.2007amsterdamconference.org/Downloads/P-AC2007\\_Boykoff.pdf](http://www.2007amsterdamconference.org/Downloads/P-AC2007_Boykoff.pdf) pp. 6-7. Boykoff's research shows the number of articles on climate change from 1998 – 2006 as increasing by roughly 1000% (in major US newspapers) and 3000% (in major UK newspapers). This point is supported in the following pieces: Maxwell T. Boykoff *The Real Swindle*. *Natural Environment Research Council Nature Reports: Climate Change*, Vol. 2 March 2008 pp. 21-22. Accessed April 10, 2008: [www.nature.com/reports/climatechange](http://www.nature.com/reports/climatechange); Maxwell T. Boykoff *Flogging a Dead Norm? Newspaper coverage of anthropogenic climate change in the United States and United Kingdom from 2003 to 2006*. *Area*, Vol. 39, No. 2, 2007 pp. 1-12.

<sup>3</sup> Somini Sengupta. "Glaciers in Retreat." *The New York Times*, July 17, 2007.

<sup>4</sup> Seth Borenstein "Massive Chunk of Antarctic ice shelf collapses." *Globe & Mail*. Accessed March 25, 2008: <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/story/RTGAM.20080325>

<sup>5</sup> CBC News website. "Melting of Arctic sea ice shatters record." September 21, 2007. Accessed May 25, 2008: <http://www.cbc.ca/technology/story/2007/09/21/science-arctic-ice.html>.

<sup>6</sup> Andrew C. Revkin. "Reports From Four Fronts in the War on Warming." *The New York Times*, April 3, 2007. Accessed April 3, 2007:

[http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/03/science/earth/03clim.html?\\_r=1&th=&oref=slogin&emc=th&pagewanted=print](http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/03/science/earth/03clim.html?_r=1&th=&oref=slogin&emc=th&pagewanted=print)

<sup>7</sup> Environment Canada. The Green Lane website. Accessed August 8, 2008: <http://www.ec.gc.ca/climate/home>

the underlying science on the issue. The most recent Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change report on climate change, the IPCC Fourth Assessment Report issued in 2007, makes the strongest assertion yet regarding the scientific consensus on anthropogenic climate change, with an especial emphasis on the varied and unequally distributed impacts of such change upon individuals and communities around the world.<sup>8</sup> A variety of book-length studies, popular polemics, and films have helped establish and entrench public concern, and have illustrated the ethical, humanitarian, ecological, and economic implications that will result from alterations in global temperature.<sup>9</sup> Although the public debate is far from settled,<sup>10</sup> there is a strong sense that it has shifted from a focus on whether anthropogenic impacts, mostly related to the burning of fossil fuels for energy, are the root cause of current shifts in the global climate, to a focus on what type of policies are best suited to dealing with these challenges. Contemporary debate, therefore, has shifted towards an attempt to monetize various policy options, such as business as usual, global carbon tax, and research and development subsidization, in order to determine whether costs are more efficiently borne in the present or by future generations. The *Stern Report*<sup>11</sup> issued by the British government and Danish business professor Bjorn Lomborg's *Cool It: The*

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<sup>8</sup> IPCC Fourth Assessment Report. *Climate Change 2007: Synthesis Report – Summary for Policymakers*. Accessed June 11, 2007: <http://www.ipcc.ch> p. 19.

<sup>9</sup> Prominent examples include: Tim Flannery. *The Weather Makers: How We Are Changing the Climate and What it Means For Life on Earth*. (Toronto: Harper Collins Publishers Ltd. 2005); Elizabeth Kolbert. *Field Notes from a Catastrophe: Man, Nature, and Climate Change* (New York: Bloomsbury. 2006); George Monbiot. *Heat: How to Stop the Planet from Burning*. (Cambridge: South End Press. 2007); and Al Gore's documentary film *An Inconvenient Truth*.

<sup>10</sup> There are still some who deny the existence of anthropogenic climate change, most notably the Science and Environmental Policy Project headed by Fred Singer (<http://www.sepp.org/>), as well as the Frontier Centre for Public Policy ([http://www.fcpp.org/main/project\\_jump.php?ProjectTypeID=21&GraphicID=82](http://www.fcpp.org/main/project_jump.php?ProjectTypeID=21&GraphicID=82)). However, in the main, the scientific consensus regarding the existence of anthropogenic climate change is accepted.

<sup>11</sup> HM Treasury. "Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change." Accessed February 23, 2008: [http://www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/independent\\_reviews/stern\\_review\\_economics\\_climate\\_change/sternreview\\_index.cfm](http://www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/independent_reviews/stern_review_economics_climate_change/sternreview_index.cfm)

*Skeptical Environmentalist's Guide to Global Warming*<sup>12</sup> provide two prominent examples, and also represent two ends of the economic valuation debate.<sup>13</sup> Such a shift underscores the emergence of climate change as a vitally important political issue, one that has a sound and increasingly urgent basis, and one that certainly warrants a high level of attention from the general public and policy actors across Canada.

Yet in spite of these interests and responsibilities, and despite high and increasing levels of public concern and interest,<sup>14</sup> Canada has, even taking into consideration the increased attention given to the issue by the current federal government, lagged far behind the rest of the western developed world in developing and implementing a coherent political response to climate change in order to effectively address and mitigate greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions. Despite being a signatory to the Kyoto protocol, and having ratified this commitment in 2002, not only is it unlikely that Canada will reach its' targeted reduction of 6% (baselined to 1990) by 2012, there are also serious concerns regarding its capacity to reach even the

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<sup>12</sup> Bjorn Lomborg. *Cool It: The Skeptical Environmentalist's Guide to Global Warming*. (New York: Knopf, 2007)

<sup>13</sup> The essential distinction between these two valuations is the level at which future costs are discounted to present day value. Stern assumes a discount rate of nearly zero, indicating that costs borne by future generation must be assessed at the full value in the present day calculation. Lomborg, on the other hand, assumes a discount rate of 6%, suggesting that future costs must be discounted since future generations will be much richer and thus more capable of bearing the costs associated with an altered climate. Thus, for Stern the costs of inaction are quite high while for Lomborg, the high cost of aggressive action in the present tense is deemed to be unwarranted.

<sup>14</sup> David Boyd. *Unnatural Law: Rethinking Canadian Environmental Law and Policy*. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003) pp. 4-5. Boyd cites several public surveys in which Canadians consistently rank concern for the environment as a primary concern. More recent evidence can be found in the July 2007 Environmental Monitor Poll conducted by GlobeScan and McCallister, in which 29% of those polled cited climate change as their top environmental concern (the highest response rate in the survey, and up by 9 percentage points from 2006). A summary of the survey is available at <http://www.mcallister-research.com/syndicated.html>. A separate international poll conducted by GlobeScan for the BBC in June 2007 cited Canada as one of the most highly concerned countries regarding climate change, with 91% of respondents agreeing to a statement regarding the need to address the issue. A summary of the survey was published by the National Post on Monday, November 5, 2007.

weakened targets that were established in April 2007.<sup>15</sup> Heavily reliant to date on a voluntary and industry friendly approach to addressing the issue of emissions management and reduction, the Canadian federal effort has proven, to date, incapable of stemming let alone reducing domestic emissions.<sup>16</sup>

### **Context: Actions in the Shadow of the State**

#### *State and Provincial Actions*

In the shadow of such inaction a trend has emerged across North America over the past few years, one which has seen sub-national actors, including state, provincial, and municipal governments, taking independent action as a means of filling the political void and engaging with the actual interests and concerns regarding climate change that have been seen to exist in the general public. In the face of the reluctance of the George W. Bush administration to undertake any serious efforts to address climate change, a number of state governments in the US have developed aggressive programs and policies.<sup>17</sup> Such efforts have been extended recently into the legal forum, with a group of US states successfully banding together to challenge the authority of the federal government to mandate fuel efficiency standards that are

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<sup>15</sup> Matthew Bramley, *Analysis of the Government of Canada's April 2007 Greenhouse Gas Policy Announcement*. Pembina Institute, May 28, 2007 p. 1. Accessed June 11, 2008: <http://climate.pembina.org/pub/1464>. The updated national targets are: 20% below 2006 levels by 2020 (equivalent to 2% above the 1990 level) and 60-70% below 2006 levels by 2050 (equivalent to 49-62% below 1990 levels). Besides the obvious, and disturbing, discrepancy between these targets and those established by the IPCC, Bramley asserts that the lack of specificity in the current federal plan, and its heavy emphasis on vaguely defined regulatory measures, lead to a serious level of doubt regarding the likelihood of achieving even these inadequate targets.

<sup>16</sup> Environment Canada. Accessed May 2007: [https://www.ec.gc.ca/pdb/ghg/inventory\\_report/2005/2005summary\\_e.cfm](https://www.ec.gc.ca/pdb/ghg/inventory_report/2005/2005summary_e.cfm). Canada's GHG emissions as of 2006 were 32.7% above the 2012 Kyoto commitment (and 25.3% above 1990 baseline level emissions). For an analysis of Canada's GHG emissions reduction performance relative to the rest of the developed world, see Thomas I Gunton. *The Maple Leaf in the OECD: Comparing Progress toward Sustainability*. (Vancouver: David Suzuki Foundation. 2005) pp. 4-5. In this review of the environmental performance of all 30 OECD countries, Canada is ranked 28<sup>th</sup>, ahead of only the USA and Belgium.

<sup>17</sup> John M. Broder. "Governors Join in Creating Regional Pacts on Climate Change." *The New York Times*, November 15, 2007. Accessed November 15, 2007: <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/15/washington/15climate.html>

lower than those implemented at the state level.<sup>18</sup> In Canada, there has been significant, although highly varied, policy activity at the provincial level. British Columbia, with the announcement of a carbon tax on all forms of fossil-based fuels, has established itself as a world leader in this respect.<sup>19</sup> Manitoba has formally committed to attaining emissions reductions in line with the Canadian Kyoto target by 2012,<sup>20</sup> and Ontario and Quebec recently signed a commitment to develop a regional cap and trade protocol in order to reduce regional emissions in line with the Kyoto target.<sup>21</sup> Some concern has been expressed regarding whether such actions are manifestations of political grandstanding and represent empty rhetorical commitments rather than real efforts to reduce emissions.<sup>22</sup> However, the acceptance of a responsibility to act, in addition to the actual policies being developed by these sub-state actors, is demonstrative of a significant trend in the governance of climate change. Even though there has been significant growth in the provincial/state response to climate change, such efforts have exploded when one looks at what is happening at the local level.

### *Municipal Actions*

Cities are emerging as a vital and important policy locus on climate change due to their proximity to the general public, the high (Western developed nations) and

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<sup>18</sup> Linda Greenhouse. "Justices Say E.P.A. Has Power to Act on Harmful Gases." *The New York Times*, April 3, 2007. Accessed April 3, 2007:

<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/03/washington/03scot...&en=b3594ac741c1dda8&ex=1175745600&pagewanted=print>

<sup>19</sup> Jonathan Fowlie and Fiona Anderson. "B.C. Introduces Carbon Tax" *The Vancouver Sun*, February 19, 2008. Accessed February 19, 2008: <http://www.canada.com/vancouversun/news/story.html?id=ecca1487-507e-43ef-ab88-5a972898e0b7&k=38130>

<sup>20</sup> Province of Manitoba. *Executive Summary: Meeting our Commitments – Reducing Emissions in Manitoba and Beyond*. Accessed June 18, 2008: [http://www.gov.mb.ca/beyond\\_kyoto/index.html](http://www.gov.mb.ca/beyond_kyoto/index.html). p. 6.

<sup>21</sup> CBCNews website. "Ontario, Quebec unveil carbon cap-and-trade plan." Accessed June 17, 2008: <http://www.cbc.ca/canada/toronto/story/2008/06/02/ont-que.html?ref=rss>

<sup>22</sup> Chris Green. *Climate Change: Action, Not Targets*. *Policy Options* December 2007-January 2008 p. 62.

increasing (developing nations) percentage of national populations that live in major urban centres, and the correspondingly large and increasing percentage of emissions that are located within their territorial jurisdiction. In Canada alone, it has been estimated that over 55% of total national emissions come under the direct or indirect influence of municipal jurisdictions.<sup>23</sup> This is of especial interest, in light of the spatial and temporal distance between the effects of local emissions and climatic impacts in Canada, which some authors suggest should lead to a strategy of free-riding at the local government level rather than action.<sup>24</sup> However, there is a growing sense, supported by an expanding body of evidence, that cities, although limited in terms of both jurisdiction and resources, have a great deal of capacity and interest in implementing innovative and progressive policies and programmes, and, especially in light of the relative inaction at higher levels of government, are worthy of a great deal more attention and study than they currently receive.<sup>25</sup> As major sites of both the production and management of GHG emissions, cities have the ability, though varying depending on specific context, to influence: land-use planning and management, transportation infrastructure, waste management, zoning and building regulations, and energy generation and transmission.

Supportive examples of such municipal efforts are evident across North America. In Seattle, the city has achieved a reduction of 8% of community-wide

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<sup>23</sup> Christopher D. Gore and Pamela J. Robinson. *Barriers to Canadian Municipal Response to Climate Change*. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* Vol 14, No. 1 (2005) p. 105.

<sup>24</sup> Carolyn Kousky and Stephen H. Schneider. *Global Climate Policy: Will Cities Lead the Way?* *Climate Policy* vol 3, No. 4 (December 2003) p. 2.

<sup>25</sup> Christopher D. Gore. *Local Governments and Climate Change Advocacy in Canada: Reflections on Network (In)Effectiveness OR the Politics of Indifference*. Paper prepared for the Canadian Political Science Association Conference, Vancouver, Canada June 4-6 2008; pp. 18-19; Michele M. Betsill and Harriet Bulkeley. *Looking Back and Thinking Ahead: A Decade of Cities and Climate Change Research*. *Local Environment* Vol 12, No. 5 (2007) pp. 447-456; Henrik Selin and Stacy D. VanDeveer, *Political Science and Prediction: What's Next for U.S. Climate Change Policy?* *Review of Policy Research*, Vol. 24 No. 1 (January 2007) pp. 1-27

GHG emissions through a combination of investment in public transportation, the purchase of renewable energy, holistic city planning, and energy efficiency projects and programs.<sup>26</sup> Vancouver has recently adopted a city planning charter committing the city to “make environmental sustainability a primary goal in all city planning decisions,”<sup>27</sup> a complement to the successful landfill and corporate energy efficiency policies that have been implemented thus far in the effort to achieve the aggressive emissions reduction targets established by the city.<sup>28</sup> Examples of progressive climate change action can be found elsewhere around the globe, in cities such as London, New York, and Copenhagen.<sup>29</sup>

In addition to such real jurisdictional responsibilities, cities also have the potential as the level of governance closest to civil society to both reflect and shape social engagement with public policy issues such as climate change. It must be noted at this juncture that this study has placed on emphasis on the mitigative as opposed to the adaptive policies development and implemented by municipal government. Efforts at mitigation involve policies that seek to reduce the amount of emissions produced within the municipal jurisdiction, and may consist of efficiency improvements, demand management, or waste reduction. Adaptive policies are those that seek to respond to the local impacts of a changing climate, and include efforts to

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<sup>26</sup> City of Seattle. *2007-2008 Seattle Climate Action Plan: Progress Report*. Accessed June 17, 2008: <http://www.seattle.gov/climate/>

<sup>27</sup> City of Vancouver EcoDensity. “EcoDensity: What is next?” Accessed June 17, 2008: <http://www.vancouver-ecodensity.ca/content.php?id=42>

<sup>28</sup> City of Vancouver. *Climate Protection Progress Report – 2007*. Accessed June 17, 2008: [http://vancouver.ca/sustainability/climate\\_protection.htm](http://vancouver.ca/sustainability/climate_protection.htm). The City has committed to achieving a 33% reduction in community-wide GHG emissions by 2020, and an 80% reduction by 2050. The City has also adopted a target of having all new construction in Vancouver carbon neutral by 2030.

<sup>29</sup> Climate Group (2005) *Low Carbon Leaders: Cities*. Berkeley, California: The Climate Group. Accessed May 5, 2008: [http://theclimategroup.org/assets/resources/low\\_carbon\\_leader\\_cities.pdf](http://theclimategroup.org/assets/resources/low_carbon_leader_cities.pdf).



respond to a variations in precipitation, to prepare for health-related problems resulting from the urban heat island effect or the emergence of disease bearing insects, or to prepare for potential sea-level rise or flooding. While adaptive efforts are centrally important in protecting local inhabitants, there has been, to date, a minimal policy effort along this vector in Canadian cities. As such, this paper has placed its emphasis on the mitigative policy efforts that have, to date, dominated the policy agenda.

#### *Networking Actions*

Of additional interest is that municipalities are not only acting independently from higher levels of government, they are increasingly establishing new and innovative linkages with other municipalities, within and across national territorial borders. Thus, the past decade has seen the emergence of the C40 Large Cities Coalition, EuroCites, the Cities for Climate Protection (CCP) programme and its various domestic iterations (including the Canadian Partners for Climate Protection programme under examination in this study), and the US Mayor's Coalition on Climate Change, among others. This new form of governance, in which municipal actors are operating outside of traditional hierarchies to out-flank regional and national levels of government in order to project a stronger voice, as well as to create real on the ground emissions reductions, is best qualified as multilevel, and embodies a larger trend towards a diffusion of political authority, responsibility, and capacity away from state actors. This larger trend is evident in such cross-border and cross-jurisdictional networks as the Western Climate Initiative, whose membership is

composed of seven US states and 3 Canadian provinces,<sup>30</sup> the Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative, which consists of most of the northeast US states and the eastern Canadian provinces,<sup>31</sup> and the International Carbon Action Partnership, which is a coalition of European states, US states and Canadian provinces working to develop integrated carbon trading systems.<sup>32</sup>

### **The Theoretical Framework**

Despite the existence of the two trends indicated above, namely the emergence of local climate change policy actors operating outside of traditional hierarchical boundaries and the new linkage networks tying them together, the mainstream literature in the field of international relations has for the most part ignored the role of sub- and non-state actors.<sup>33</sup> Orthodox international relations perspectives such as neorealism have traditionally sought to establish the state as the primary actor within the international system. While there has been a shift, embodied in neoliberal institutionalism, towards recognition of the existence and importance of non-state actors such as regimes, this diffusion of authority is typically expressed as a purposive effort engaged in by rational state actors acting to maximize national material interests.<sup>34</sup> In some cases, the dominant discourse has been expanded in

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<sup>30</sup> Western Climate Initiative. Accessed June 17, 2008: <http://www.westernclimateinitiative.org/>

<sup>31</sup> Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative. Accessed June 17, 2008: <http://www.rggi.org/>

<sup>32</sup> International Carbon Action Plan, *Press Release – October 29, 2007*. Accessed May 10, 2008: <http://www.icapcarbonaction.com/pr20071029.htm>

<sup>33</sup> Jeffrey Simpson, Mark Jaccard and Nic Rivers. *Hot Air: Meeting Canada's Climate Change Challenge* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 2007). While this book is not necessarily representative of the mainstream of International Relations theory, it does provide a recent, and prominent, example of the mainstream response to the challenge of climate change. The solutions outlined in this book, while worthy of much merit, do not accord any space or time to engagement with activities occurring below or outside of the state.

<sup>34</sup> For a prominent example of the neoliberal institutionalist approach, see Robert Keohane. *The Demand for International Regimes*, *International Organization*, Vol. 36. (Spring 1982) p. 146; For an example of the neorealist approach see, John J. Mearsheimer. *The False Promise of International Institutions*, *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 3. (Winter 1994-95) pp. 5-49.

order to take into account the inclusion of non-state, or sub-state, actors, but in this case the dynamic between these actors is often characterized as constrained within the political borders of the state.<sup>35</sup> Missing from both neorealism and neoliberal institutionalism is the recognition that there a process of interest and identity formation, a process that is subject to contestation, in addition to an increasing level of participation in the process of governance by non- and sub-state actors, in which authority is diffused upwards, downwards, and outwards. The former critique is examined through the lens of constructivist analysis, in which the process of interest construction is accepted and integrated into the assessment of network impact. The latter critique is conducted via the use of the multilevel governance approach. Originally established to conceptualize the political landscape of the European Union, the theoretical approach of multilevel governance takes into account this dynamic of diffusion and will be utilized as the general theoretical framework for this paper. Multilevel governance recognizes the shifting relationship between various policy actors and layers of government, and conceives of governance not in hierarchical, nested terms but rather as a series of non-linear relationships crosscutting territorial and jurisdictional borders, overlapping and intersecting at multiple junctures.<sup>36</sup> This conceptual framework is especially applicable to the territorially and jurisdictionally crosscutting issue area of climate change.

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<sup>35</sup> For examples of this approach, see Robert D. Putnam, *Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games*. International Organization, Vol. 42, No. 3. (Summer 1998) pp. 427-460; and Andrew Moravcsik *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose & State Power from Messina to Maastricht* (Cornell: Cornell University Press. 1998)

<sup>36</sup> Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks. *Multilevel Governance and European Integration* (Maryland: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, 2001). This piece is the seminal work on multilevel governance.

Emerging forms of multilevel governance and policy development, including cross-border policy networks, supranational institutions, and international regimes, and municipal engagement in political agenda setting and policy development represent two vitally important elements of contemporary politics. It is at this juncture – the intersection between new and emerging forms of barrier-crossing governance and the local policy response to climate change - that this thesis seeks to locate itself. However, this is not the first piece to engage in such an effort, and the analysis conducted in this thesis will draw heavily on the work of several authors in the field.

Michelle Betsill and Harriet Bulkeley are two of the most prolific scholars investigating the actions of local policy actors on climate change, and the impact of transnational municipal networks (TMN's) on such actions, and as such they provide the general inspiration for this thesis.<sup>37</sup> In *Cities and Climate Change*, Betsill and Bulkeley investigate the impact of the CCP on climate change policy in several case study cities in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia.<sup>38</sup> How networks such as the CCP/PCP act to exert influence, how they interact with municipal policy actors as well as actors at other nodes of governance, and how that influence can be measured, are issues of central importance. The works of both Henrik Selin and Stacy VanDeveer<sup>39</sup> and Liliana Andanova *et al*<sup>40</sup> provide the typological framework

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<sup>37</sup> Bulkeley and Betsill have, in combination or independently, authored nine separate pieces over the past decade on the emergence and impact of municipal climate change policy, as well as the transnational networks that link them together.

<sup>38</sup> Michele M. Betsill, and Harriet Bulkeley. *Cities and Climate Change: Urban Sustainability and Global Environmental Governance* (New York: Routledge, 2003)

<sup>39</sup> Henrik Selin and Stacy D. VanDeveer, *Political Science and Prediction: What's Next for U.S. Climate Change Policy?* *Review of Policy Research*, Vol. 24 No. 1 (January 2007) pp. 1-27. Available at <http://unhinfo.unh.edu/news/docs/020107vandeveer.pdf>.

within which such network impacts can be captured, categorized, and ultimately assessed. These pathways of influence incorporate both rational decision-making forms of influence (network learning, market expansion, and information effects) as well as cognitive forms of influence (norm development and information effects). This latter category, in which the network possesses the capacity to play a role in the framing of both the issue of climate change, as well as the potential solution set of policy responses, draws on the works of Rachel Slocum, Gard Lindseth, and Karen Litfin. Each of these authors has written on the importance of discourse on the political process, and the insights of each will be used to assess the impact of the PCP on the case study cities in this study.

### **Case Studies**

As noted at the outset of this chapter, the two cities chosen as case studies in this comparative study are Winnipeg and Toronto. While there are significant differences in population, resource capacity, and geographic locale, the two cities share a common institutional composition, are among the ten largest municipal centres in Canada, have undergone significant municipal consolidation over the past quarter century, and most importantly, both are members of the PCP. As such, they are similar enough structurally to allow for meaningful comparison and inclusion in this comparative case study. More importantly, these two case studies represent cities at different stages of policy engagement with the issue of climate change. Toronto has established and maintained an identity as a world-leader in the political response

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<sup>40</sup> Liliana Andanova, Michele M. Betsill, and Harriet Bulkeley. *Transnational Climate Change Governance*. Paper presented for the Amsterdam Conference on the Human Dimensions of Global Environmental Change, May 24-26, 2007. Available for download at: [www.2007amsterdamconference.org/Downloads/AC2007\\_Betsill.pdf](http://www.2007amsterdamconference.org/Downloads/AC2007_Betsill.pdf).

to climate change, and has a history of policy engagement and emissions reduction efforts dating back to the early 1990's. At present, Toronto has adopted a series of aggressive targets for community-wide emissions reductions in line with the IPCC recommendations. Winnipeg, on the other hand, is a relatively late-comer to the political engagement with climate change. Due to a combination of local resistance and a lack of leadership on the issue, Winnipeg has adopted relatively conservative emissions reduction targets. The two distinctive policy engagement paths evident in the case study cities offer the opportunity to examine the impact of membership in the PCP on climate change policy in both cities. Bracketing out the impact of other variables, including population size, demographic composition, industrial sector composition, and resource capacity, this comparative study will examine these two cities in order to determine whether the PCP is a distinguishing factor in explaining their respective policy responses.

## **Methodology**

In order to address the central research question of this paper, a triangulation methodological approach has been utilized. This approach combines primary data gathering, interviews with key policy actors in both the case study cities as well as the PCP, and a comprehensive review of the secondary literature on the topic of local climate change policy and transnational linkage networks.<sup>41</sup> This combined approach

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<sup>41</sup> This approach mirrors those utilized in the extant literature regarding the impact of the CCP network. Examples include: Michele M. Betsill, and Harriet Bulkeley. Cities and Climate Change: Urban Sustainability and Global Environmental Governance (New York: Routledge, 2003); Mikael Granberg. *Swedish Local Authorities and Climate Governance: "Multidimensional" Networking in Action?* (Paper for presentation at the Nordic Political Science Association XIV Congress, Aug 11 – 13, 2005 at the University of Reykjavik; Gard Lindseth. *The Cities for Climate Protection Campaign (CCPC) and the framing of Local Climate Policy*. Local Environment Vol 9, No. 4. (August 2004) pp. 325 – 336; Rachel Slocum. *Consumer Citizens and the Cities for Climate Protection campaign*. Environment & Planning A, Vol 36, No. 5 pp. 763 – 782.

offers the benefit of insight into both the objective measures of impact, as associated with the actual policies and programs enacted by local policy actors in the two case study cities, in addition to the more amorphous subjective measures of impact, as associated with issue normalization, attitude shifts, and discursive impacts, all derived from the perceptions of those policy actors actively involved in the process. Efforts to assess the former included an examination of all primary policy documents published by both case study municipal governments, by-laws enacted or introduced, position statements, news releases, and committee meeting minutes. The span of time covered by this study (1988 – 2008) parallels the era of local climate change policy engagement, anchored at one end by the Toronto Conference in 1988, following on the heels of the 1987 UN Brundtland Report on Local Sustainability, and by the release of the City of Toronto climate change adaptation strategy document in April 2008 at the other end.<sup>42</sup>

The latter, subjective measures of network impact, were assessed through the use of elite actor interviews. This approach, as discussed by Jarol Manheim and Richard Rich, involves the identification and one-on-one engagement with those individuals deemed to be “elites”. This elite status is determined not by the social standing or personal qualities of individuals, but rather by their access to information deemed vital to the nature of the research in question.<sup>43</sup> Semi-structured elite interviews were utilized as the primary research methodology. Such interviews were

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<sup>42</sup> Toronto Environment Office. *Ahead of the Storm: Preparing Toronto for Climate Change – Development of a Climate Change Adaptation Strategy*. April 18, 2008. Accessed May 18, 2008: <http://www.toronto.ca/changeisintheair/involved.htm>

<sup>43</sup> Jarol Manheim and Richard C. Rich. *Empirical Political Analysis: Research Methods in Political Science*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (New York: Longman, 1995) p. 162.

deemed necessary, as opposed to more general (and quantifiable) questionnaire or survey instruments, as a result of a number of cross-cutting factors.

Firstly, the fact that there are mitigative as well as adaptive policy measures, and that such measures cut across sectoral boundaries, make the policy environment complex and difficult to examine. For example, at the local level climate change policies can involve fleet management, water and waste, property, planning and development, transportation, and parks departments. Moreover, the policy environment and culture in different cities lead to different impacts and priorities. All of these challenges combine to contribute to what some term to be the “wicked” nature of the issue area of climate change, rendering the topic difficult to simplify into a questionnaire format.<sup>44</sup> Second, and closely related to the above point, because climate change policy involves a high degree of uncertainty regarding appropriate forms of policy responses, it is difficult to simplify the complex nature of climate change policy into questionnaire or survey format. Third, given that this thesis focuses on a comparative case study between two cities, there would be an insufficient number of respondents to achieve statistical validity, and, combined with the very nature of the inquiry into subjective perceptions of the impact of PCP membership on local climate change policy, a more dynamic one-on-one form of information gathering rather than a standardized set of questions was deemed appropriate. As such, the focus was oriented towards engagement with elite actors involved in the issue area in order to capitalize on their personal experience and

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<sup>44</sup> Horst W. J. Rittel and Melvin M. Webber. *Dilemmas in a General Theory of Planning*. Policy Sciences, Vol 4, 1973 pp. 155 – 169. See also Neil Bradford. *Place Matters and Multi-Level Governance: Perspectives on a New Urban Policy Paradigm*. Policy Options, Vol. 25, No. 2 (February 2004) p. 3.



perceptions, and gather information about climate change policy development not available through other means.

The interviews were semi-structured in order to provide a general framework of interview questions, while allowing the flexibility to ask further questions depending on the participants' specific responses, expertise, and experience.<sup>45</sup> The interview process consisted of a one-time face-to-face interview, lasting between thirty minutes to one and a half hours. The interview consisted of a series of open-ended questions, all of which were provided to the respondent prior to the interview, to allow for a fluid conversation between the interviewer and interviewee.<sup>46</sup> All interview questions were oriented towards the issue area of climate change, and the specific nature and impact of the relationship between the PCP and municipal policy in both case study cities. This format allowed for tangential discussions to evolve in each of the interviews, following from the specific engagement and expertise of the interviewee. For example, an official explicitly involved in adaptation strategies would provide a different perspective on the impact of PCP membership, due to the as yet limited efforts undertaken by the PCP on adaptation policy development, than would an official involved in the to-date dominant approach of emissions mitigation. In accordance with the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct Involving Humans* all efforts were undertaken to protect respondent anonymity, and this

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<sup>45</sup> Bruce Berg. Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Boston: Pearson Education, 2004) p. 81.

<sup>46</sup> The semi-structured interview questions for interviews with elite actors from the PCP, City of Toronto, and City of Winnipeg are included as Appendices B, C, and D.

research project was approved by the Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board at the University of Manitoba.<sup>47</sup>

The case studies for this project were selected based on a number of factors, including distinctions in municipal resource capacity, population demographics, and historical policy engagement with climate change. These factors will be identified and discussed in greater detail in chapter three. A total of eight elite actors were interviewed for the purpose of this research project. Potential participants were identified as elite actors based on their level of involvement and engagement with the issue area of climate change policy in each of the respective municipal jurisdictions under examination in this research project, and, in the case of the PCP, with the network itself. Potential participants were either current or former employees in the municipal civil service, elected officials, or staff members/officials of the PCP. All interviewees were selected based on their familiarity and engagement with climate change policy, and where possible they were individuals who are, or were, directly involved in the policy development process. In order to ensure confidentiality and minimize risk of identity disclosure, each interviewee was informed that no personally identifying information will be disclosed in the body of this research paper. All interviews were conducted in person, and were taped and transcribed in order to allow for data gathering and analysis. All audio recordings were erased upon transcription, and access to transcribed interview files have been digitally encrypted to ensure that the interviewer is the only individual with access to this information.

The information gleaned from these interviews was assessed using a qualitative

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<sup>47</sup> The University of Manitoba Joint Faculty Research Ethics Board project approval form has been attached as Appendix A.

method of analysis. Responses were categorized based on their relationship to the central research question (the impact of PCP membership on local climate change policy) and common themes were identified regarding the nature of the city-PCP relationship. This categorization allowed for inferences to be drawn regarding the perceived impact as well as the perceived shortcomings of the PCP. More detailed forms of content analysis were not deemed viable for this study, as the intent was not to explore sub-conscious and non-stated beliefs of respondents but rather to identify their conscious perceptions and compare those perceptions with the actual policy record. As noted in a study by Judith Gruber, the intent of a study such as this is “not to assess the validity of the positions bureaucrats take;” it is, rather, “to understand in detail what their perspectives are.”<sup>48</sup> This methodological approach is, however, susceptible to claims of bias, and, recognizing this, all efforts were taken to reduce researcher bias as much as possible. A set of standardized starting questions were developed and utilized in order to provide each interview with a common starting point. In addition, all interview data was cross-checked against the actual policy developments in both case study cities, in order to assess policy actor perceptions as against policy actions. This triangulated approach created a barometer against which unsupported interviewee statements, as well as researcher biases, could be measured.<sup>49</sup> Triangulation, as noted by Alan Bryman, is a common methodological undertaking in the social sciences, and, in its most general sense, “refers to the use of more than one approach to the investigation of a research question in order to enhance

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<sup>48</sup> Judith Gruber. *Controlling Bureaucracies: Dilemmas in Bureaucratic Governance* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1987) p. 89.

<sup>49</sup> Alan Bryman. *Triangulation*. Unpublished paper. Accessed May 2, 2008: [www.referenceworld.com/sage/socialscience/triangulation.pdf](http://www.referenceworld.com/sage/socialscience/triangulation.pdf) p. 1.

confidence in the ensuing findings.”<sup>50</sup>

It must be noted that, due to constraints imposed by financial and time considerations, the scope of this project examined only two cities in Canada. As such, this analysis does not represent a fully generalizable picture of municipal climate change policy and the relationship and impact of the PCP on such policy in Canada. In addition, these same considerations, in concert with the limited number of policy actors both within the bureaucracy and at the political level actually engaged with the issue of climate change in the two case study cities, placed a limitation on the number of interviews carried out. However, despite these limitations, it is my hope that this thesis will offer an insight into the dynamic between municipal policy actors and the PCP, and will illuminate potential pathways along which future research may be conducted.

## **Conclusion**

The remaining three chapters of this thesis present the theoretical context within which this study is situated, a detailed review of the primary and secondary research, and the findings and conclusions resulting from the comparative analysis of the impact of PCP membership on both case study cities.

Chapter two provides a full review of the relevant literature in the field. Beginning with a brief overview of the two orthodox approaches within the field of international relations, neorealism and neoliberal institutionalism, this chapter proceeds to introduce the theoretical perspectives of constructivism and multilevel

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid. p. 1.

governance, with a supportive case for the use of each. Following from this, the extant literature in the field of local responses to climate change and policy networks are reviewed, including those works specific to the study of transnational municipal networks and climate change policy. Chapter two concludes with an introduction to the typological and analytical frameworks that have been utilized in this study.

Chapter three presents the case studies and reviews each in detail. The PCP is introduced and profiled, in order to offer an insight into the stated goals as well as the objective and perceived impacts and weaknesses of the network. Flowing from this, both case study cities are introduced and profiled in order to identify the demographic, structural, and economic similarities and differences. A thorough review of interview responses, primary policy document research, and secondary sources is then presented in order to draw a complete picture of the policy responses to climate change in each of the case study cities over the past twenty years.

Chapter four draws together the research findings presented in chapter three and the analytical framework developed in chapter two in order to parse out four conclusions. The analytical framework is first developed in greater detail, in order to present a clear picture of the taxonomy of network impacts and the classification scheme. The analysis and conclusion is then presented, followed by a set of suggestions regarding the extension of this study into future areas of research.

However, before such conclusions and recommendations can be drawn, the fundamental building blocks must be set down in order to ensure the stability of the argument. Establishing the theoretical framework provides the first step in this process.

## *Chapter Two: Literature Review*

Efforts to understand the politics of global climate governance present problems for traditional international relations theorists. While strictly intergovernmental agreements such as the Kyoto Protocol fit well within the contours of state-centric models of inter-state relations, the diverse and varied political activities outlined in the preceding chapter suggest that different modes of thought are needed to draw a more complete picture of global climate governance. The activities of local policy actors for the most part do not fit into the traditional modes of conceptualizing international governance, and the resulting lacuna has been recognized and addressed by a new generation of international relations theorists.<sup>51</sup> Exploring the processes of diffusion, and the resultant complex interdependencies between the myriad actors interacting across vertical and horizontal levels, this new generation of theorists represents the embodiment of a fundamental ontological shift, from an emphasis on *government* to *governance*.<sup>52</sup> This shift embodies a movement away from state-centric, linear-hierarchical conceptions of the processes of government, towards a more nuanced and inclusive perspective of the interaction of political actors. By including the actions and activities of political actors operating at

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<sup>51</sup> Karen T Litfin, ed. *The Greening of Sovereignty in World Politics* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998); Michelle M. Betsill. *Mitigating Climate Change in US Cities: Opportunities and Obstacles*. *Local Environment*, Vol. 6, No. 4, pp. 393–406; Paul Wapner. *Environmental Activism and World Civic Politics* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996); Ronnie D Lipschutz. *Global Environmental Politics: Power, Perspectives, and Practice* (Washington: CQ Press, 2004); Gard Lindseth. *The Cities for Climate Protection Campaign (CCPC) and the framing of Local Climate Policy*. *Local Environment* Vol 9, No. 4. (August 2004) pp. 325 – 336

<sup>52</sup> James Rosenau. *Along the Domestic-Foreign Frontier: exploring governance in a turbulent world* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), Michelle M. Betsill and Harriet Bulkeley. *Cities and the Multilevel Governance of Global Climate Change*. *Global Governance* Vol 12, 2006 pp. 141-159; and Anne-Marie Slaughter, *A New World Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004) provide prominent examples of this shift in academia. The recent Fourth Assessment Report issued by the IPCC, and especially chapters 12 and 13, provide a non-academic policy example of this shifting emphasis, from government to governance, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change Fourth Assessment Report. *Climate Change 2007: Synthesis Report – Summary for Policymakers*. Released November 17, 2007. Accessed December 14, 2007: <http://www.ipcc.ch/>.

the sub-state (regional and local), supra-state (EU, UN) as well as non-state levels (NGO's, civil society, epistemic communities) this shift in theoretical perspective provides a more realistic image of the observable actions of political actors than with the orthodox models. This is an important theoretical shift, as it illustrates the need for a multi-dimensional approach to the analysis of trends in governance. Specific to this thesis, it is important in assessing the influence of new forms of inter-state political relations, such as the Partners for Climate Protection (PCP).

This chapter establishes the theoretical landscape and context for this thesis. The first section reviews the orthodox theoretical approaches of neorealism and neoliberal institutionalism and establishes their respective weaknesses in conceptualizing the dynamic of global climate governance. It is important to note that this critique does not equate to a rejection of these theoretical approaches *in toto*, nor does it contest the continued importance of the state as a political actor. Rather, it challenges the hegemonic position of the state as the sole unit of study in both approaches, and suggests the need for a broadened analytical perspective, inclusive of other political actors. These two approaches have been included in order to provide a foil against which the benefits of constructivism and multilevel governance can be illuminated. The next section introduces the critical approach of constructivism and presents a supportive case for this sociological and cognitive approach to understanding the nature of concepts such as "interests," while noting the fundamental gaps that may limit its theoretical prowess. The final section of the chapter introduces the multilevel governance approach, advances the case for multilevel governance as the most fruitful and appropriate means of theorizing global

climate governance, and introduces the extant literature in the field. The power of multilevel governance lies in its recognition of the fundamental shift from government to governance, and the non-hierarchical pattern of relations between political actors that constitutes the contemporary political reality of interactions between local policy actors. This approach allows for inclusion of sub- and non-state actors in efforts to understand the construction of policy responses. In addition, multilevel governance recognizes the emergence of network actors as an important element in the populous and diffuse context in which various political actors are linked together across territorial boundaries and jurisdictional lines. As such, the final sections of the chapter will review the literature in each of these fields in order to situate the analysis conducted in this thesis.

It is suggested that, in combination, multilevel governance and constructivism create the most effective means for evaluating and analyzing the processes of global climate governance in terms of both the capacity to account for observed trends and activities and in assessing their impact. However, before the case for these two approaches can be made, it is imperative to identify the weaknesses inherent in utilizing the two mainstream schools of thought to theorize global climate governance.

### **Two Orthodox International Relations Approaches**

Efforts to deploy orthodox international relations theoretical approaches to conduct an analysis of the dynamic of climate governance present problems, whether they are focused on power (neorealism) or rational self-interest (neoliberal



institutionalism).<sup>53</sup> This thesis follows the approach adopted by Hasenclever *et al*, in recognizing that much diversity exists under each theoretical rubric while choosing, for the sake of simplicity, to treat each as a singular entity. While both these approaches contain important insights into the underlying dynamic of inter-state relations, they suffer equally from the combined effects of theoretical parsimony and state-centric ontology. Theoretical parsimony, embodied in the effort to replicate the elegant simplicity of theories of natural science in the realm of social sciences, leads to an attempt to pinpoint singular motivating forces, such as power, which drive all subsequent state action and behaviour. As mentioned above, classic inter-state agreements such as the Kyoto Protocol are suggestive of such a dynamic. The applicability of such singular causal models to complex human behaviour is, however, subject to challenge, as there are a number of other causal factors, including knowledge, that can impact upon individual or group behaviour. State-centric ontology involves the identification of the state as the sole unit of analysis. Both orthodox theoretical approaches profiled in this thesis place the state at the centre of the political universe, and assert that the state pursues its' (for the state is typically reified in both neorealist and neoliberal institutional approaches) interests in the international arena. As mentioned above, the accordance of a position of primacy to the actions of the state cannot be dismissed out of hand, as the state remains the central player in international relations. However, neorealism and neoliberal institutionalism prove incapable of providing a full picture of the burgeoning levels of political activity and interaction of, and between, actors other than the state. While

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<sup>53</sup> Andreas Hasenclever, Peter Mayer and Volker Rittberger, Theories of International Regimes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) p. 3.

the analytical strengths of these two large bodies of theoretical thought are many, the following sections will focus on an assessment of the fundamental weaknesses that necessitate an alternative theoretical perspective concerning global climate governance.

### *Neorealism*

For neorealists, the world of international relations operates according to the strictures of power. More specifically, and resulting from the structural imperatives flowing from the anarchical international context within which neorealist scholars assume that states exist, it is *relative power* that matters.<sup>54</sup> The condition of international anarchy leads neorealists to view all international interactions as a perpetual struggle for power relative to all other states, a necessity to ensure survival. As such, there is only a limited amount of room that neorealists are willing to accord to international efforts at joint governance or management of common interests via cooperative, as opposed to conflictual, behaviour. International climate governance presents an obviously problematic case.

For some within the neorealist camp, the common response to questions regarding the impact and import of cooperative international behaviour, whether formalized as an international regime or organization or more loosely coordinated via transnational networks, is a flat rejection of their relevance. This type of response is clearly evident in the work of John Mearsheimer, who not only rejects outright the importance of institutions, but asserts that any academic attention directed their way

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid p. 3. See also John J. Mearsheimer. *The False Promise of International Institutions International Organization*, Vol. 19 No. 3 (Winter 1994-95) p. 10. The classic exemplar of this neorealist position is Kenneth Waltz. *Theory of International Politics*. (New York: McGraw Hill. 1979)

is the equivalent of donning rose-tinted intellectual glasses, leading one to fall victim to the “false promise of institutions” and representing an acute danger if adhered to by policy-makers.<sup>55</sup> Others, such as Susan Strange, assert that while international cooperation and institutions are not necessarily a bad thing, they are dependent for their existence on the interests of hegemonic states who ultimately provide the basis for international cooperation by acting as underwriters of the international system. Such hegemons may be beneficent or exploitative, but regardless of their intent it is their relative power that creates and enforces cooperation between states.<sup>56</sup>

In both of these accounts, the fundamental ontological assumption, that states are unitary actors existing in a static and unchangeable context of international anarchy, drives the analysis that *only states can act, and that states act only to protect and increase relative power*. Such an assumption leads to a conception of international climate governance as a dialogue between state actors, each aiming to ensure relative power gains. As power is traditionally conceptualized in hard (military) and soft (economy, cultural, diplomatic) forms, there is little room accorded for the expression of environmental concerns, which are necessarily conceived of in materially-oriented terms.<sup>57</sup>

There are reasons to support the case for a neorealist emphasis on self-interested power concerns as the driving force in international negotiations, especially if one considers the fashion in which the Kyoto Protocol has operated, as well as the

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<sup>55</sup> Mearsheimer, *The False Promise* p. 49.

<sup>56</sup> Susan Strange, *The Persistent Myth of Lost Hegemony* International Organization, Vol. 41 (Autumn 1987) p. 555.

<sup>57</sup> Robert Keohane and J. Nye, *Power and Independence in the Information Age* Foreign Affairs Vol. 77 No. 5, pp. 81-94.

laborious diplomacy and glacial pace at which the international negotiations for both Kyoto and the post-Kyoto agreement have progressed. However, the fact is that the Kyoto process moved forward in the absence of two of the largest emitting states, USA and Australia, and despite the absence of engagement from these two major emitters at the national level, a large number of political actors in both countries at the local and regional levels independently adopted Kyoto targets and have implemented emissions reduction policies.<sup>58</sup> The vast number of local, regional, and private sector efforts to reduce emissions represent a large portion of international activity that passes undetected under the radar of the neorealist approach. By negating the relevance of the activities of sub-state actors, since the interests of the state are assumed to be both unitary and to exist prior to the state itself, and non-state actors, which are irrelevant in an international system built upon a currency of power, the neorealist approach is rendered insufficient to efforts to conceptualize the nature of international climate governance, and does little to illuminate potential paths forward for effectively meeting the challenge of avoiding dangerous anthropogenic climate interference. These weaknesses expose the irrelevance of neorealism as a means of examining the impact of transnational municipal networks that have emerged within the international context.

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<sup>58</sup> Australia has since signed on to Kyoto, following a shift in national government which saw the victory of the Labour Party led by Kevin Rudd over incumbent John Howard. The campaign was focused, to a large extent, on environmental/climate change policy. However, in the Howard years, despite the lack of federal engagement there was a high level of local/regional action on climate policy. Associated Press, December 2007. *World Briefing, Australia; Kyoto Ratification First Act of New Leader*. January 15, 2008: <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9800E7DF1E3BF937A35751C1A9619C8B63&scp=6&sq=australia+climate+change&st=nyt>

### *Neoliberal Institutionalism*

While the neorealist tradition offers little in the way of accounting for, or assessing the impact of, contemporary efforts towards climate governance, neoliberal institutionalism at least offers the notion that cooperative, mutual-gains producing behaviour is indeed a possibility within the international system. Broadly based on the combination of microeconomic insights into rational behaviour with the self-help principle derived from the structural assumption of international anarchy (imported directly from the neorealist canon), neoliberal institutionalism conceives of states as rational actors seeking absolute increases in power and material well-being.<sup>59</sup>

Initiated as a response to, and critique of, the predictions of hegemonic stability theory,<sup>60</sup> Robert Keohane provides the archetypal model of the neoliberal/regime theory approach.<sup>61</sup> Keohane asserts that, contrary to the predictions of hegemonic stability theory, which asserts that a hegemon is required to insure international order and stability, cooperation within the international system occurs even when dominant structural powers cease to underwrite international regimes and institutions and that cooperation between states can occur even *after hegemony*.<sup>62</sup> As opposed to neorealists, neoliberal institutionalists place an emphasis on the rational pursuit of state interests through cooperative behaviour.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Hasenclever *et al*, *Theories of International Regimes* p. 4. See also Robert Keohane, *The Demand for International Regimes* *International Organization*, Vol. 36 (Spring 1982) pp. 325-355.

<sup>60</sup> Charles Kindleberger. *The World in Depression, 1929-39* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973). Kindleberger's book is widely accepted as providing the foundational position for Hegemonic Stability Theory. Susan Strange, *The Persistent Myth of Lost Hegemony*, offers another example of the precepts of HST.

<sup>61</sup> Robert Keohane. *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984) p. 49.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>63</sup> Stephen D. Krasner. *Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables*, in Stephen D. Krasner, ed. *International Regimes* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985) pp 1-21. Although

The neoliberal institutionalist approach envisions problems such as climate change as information-based. Information deficiencies lead to non-pareto efficient outcomes regarding the management of global public goods, a situation leading to the so-called “tragedy of the commons.”<sup>64</sup> The “tragedy” represents a situation whereby individual responsibility for the degradation of public goods, or “commons,” is diluted due to the disconnection between benefits, derived in full by each individual from usage, and costs, diluted over the number of individuals using the “common.”<sup>65</sup> What is needed in order to avoid this tragedy, according to neoliberal institutionalists, is a means of improving information flows in order to better manage the use of the commons by making better, more rational decisions. Typically, this form of cooperation has been embodied in international regimes, which has spawned a corresponding body of theory, aptly referred to as regime theory.<sup>66</sup> Regimes, defined variably as “social institutions that consist of agreed upon principles, norms, rules, decision-making procedures, and programs that govern the interactions of actors in specific issue areas”<sup>67</sup> or “principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures around which actor expectations converge in a given issue area”<sup>68</sup> provide the context in which information inefficiencies between states can be corrected. Under the rubric

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referred to commonly as a “soft” neorealist, Stephen Krasner displays a great deal of affinity with Keohane’s position on the rational state interests underpinning regime construction.

<sup>64</sup>Garret Hardin. *The Tragedy of the Commons*. *Science*, (December 13, 1968) pp. 1243-1248. Accessed April 29, 2008: [http://www.garretthardinsociety.org/articles/art\\_tragedy\\_of\\_the\\_commons.html](http://www.garretthardinsociety.org/articles/art_tragedy_of_the_commons.html). Hardin’s conception of a “tragedy of the commons” is the primary representation of this approach to understanding transboundary global environmental issues, including ozone depletion, water pollution, over-fishing, and climate change.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.* p. 1244.

<sup>66</sup> Betsill and Bulkeley, *Cities and Climate Change* p. 10. Even though there is some debate over whether or not this body of work truly embodies the characteristics of a theory, it will be treated as such in this paper for the sake of typological simplicity

<sup>67</sup> Oran Young. *Rights, rules and resources in world affairs*, in *Global Governance, drawing insights from the environmental experience*, Oran Young, ed. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997) pp. 5-6.

<sup>68</sup> James E. Dougherty and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., eds. *Contending Theories of International Relations: A Comprehensive Survey*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (New York: Longman, 2001) p. 527.

of regime theory, efforts have been oriented towards analyzing the conditions for establishment, efficacy, and resiliency of such regimes.<sup>69</sup> Keohane, basing his approach on the primacy of information as opposed to raw power motivations, assails the neorealist notion that a powerful hegemon is essential for the continued existence and efficacy of a regime as fallacious.<sup>70</sup> Instead, Keohane asserts that the demand for international cooperation through regimes is rooted in such factors as reduced transaction costs, reduced uncertainty regarding the actions and intents of other states, and reduced fear of defection through an extension of the “shadow of the future.”<sup>71</sup>

On the surface, the regime theory approach is appealing as it suggests a process of rational information processing and opens the door to cooperative inter-state behaviour. In addition it encompasses, in some manifestations, a place for cognitive processes of state learning and preference modification.<sup>72</sup> Thus, in the field of climate governance, it provides a fruitful means of assessing international efforts such as the Kyoto Protocol or the Major Economies negotiations,<sup>73</sup> where national delegations interact in the pursuit of binding and mutually beneficial agreements. Regime theory conceives of such interstate activities as agreements that seek to reduce information uncertainties and risk of defection, with the ultimate effect of

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<sup>69</sup> Hasenclever *et al*, *Theories of International Regimes* p. 2.

<sup>70</sup> Keohane, *After Hegemony*, p. 35.

<sup>71</sup> Keohane, *Demand for International Regimes* p. 147 and Keohane, *After Hegemony*. Keohane essentially conceives of regimes as means of reducing uncertainty between states, via a multi-iterated relationship resulting from regime membership and interaction.

<sup>72</sup> Oran R. Young. *Global Governance: Drawing Insights from the Environmental Experience*. (Cambridge: MIT Press. 1997)

<sup>73</sup> International Institute for Sustainable Development, “IISD Reporting Services – Linkages”. Accessed May 14, 2008: <http://www.iisd.ca/recent/recentmeetings.asp?id=5#mtg5385>. The Major Economies negotiations were initiated by US President Bush in 2007 as an alternative forum for emissions reduction agreements between the world’s largest economies (and thus largest emitters). This set of negotiations was meant to sidestep the central point of contention for the US as regards the Kyoto process (the Annex I vs. Annex II distinction) by including China and India.

increasing the rational decision-making of participating states and decreasing the likelihood of “tragedy.” However, there is much to be critical of when assessing the validity of the regime theory approach to conceptualizing climate governance.

The weaknesses of this approach are two-fold. Firstly, there is an inherent assumption that the interests of states are unitary, homogenous, and exist prior to state interaction.<sup>74</sup> Theorists such as Keohane and Nye make little room for sub- or non-state actors, and give little attention to the dynamic of interest construction between such actors and the state. There have been attempts to resolve this weakness via the appendage of an intra-state dynamic to the process of state interest formation. Robert Putnam’s two-level game theory provides a prominent example of such an effort,<sup>75</sup> as does the work of Andrew Moravcsik on the dynamics of EU integration.<sup>76</sup> These efforts, however, maintain a bounded hierarchical conception of the dynamic that occurs between sub-state and state actors, limiting the reach of their actions within national borders, and maintaining a subordinate relationship between sub-state and state actors. Within these approaches, there is also a limited engagement with the impact exerted by non-state actors. Peter Haas’ work on epistemic communities and Paul Wapner’s work on environmental NGO’s, to draw on just two examples, make the case that non-state actors are becoming increasingly embedded in international

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<sup>74</sup> Betsill and Bulkeley, *Cities and Climate* p. 11.

<sup>75</sup> Robert D. Putnam, *Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games*. *International Organization*, Vol. 42, no. 3 (Summer 1988) pp. 427 – 460.

<sup>76</sup> Andrew Moravcsik. *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose & State Power from Messina to Maastricht* (Cornell: Cornell University Press. 1998). Although Moravcsik’s work is typically characterized as liberal as opposed to neoliberal institutionalist, due to the fact that he assigns limited causal impact to the supranational institutions that have emerged within the EU, his theory does attempt to integrate a multi-level dynamic in which sub-state interests impact upon domestic bargaining positions that are adopted in international fora.



efforts to govern environmental issues.<sup>77</sup> A prominent example of this phenomenon in the process of global climate governance can be seen in the reliance of international negotiations teams on the reporting activities of the International Institute for Sustainable Development for information on environmental negotiations.<sup>78</sup> By neglecting to include such actors and activities in the analysis of international interactions, neoliberal institutionalism is missing a significant piece of the picture.

Secondly, the rationalist ontology of regime theory asserts that the interests of states are well-defined and materially oriented towards power and wealth. However, this assumption is particularly ill-suited for issues of climate governance, in which high levels of uncertainty regarding future costs and outcomes of current policies, the complexity resulting from the departmental, jurisdictional, and territorial border crossing nature of the issue, and concerns regarding ethical/moral impacts result in a highly contested context for decision-making to take place. As such, the interests of states may be more effectively conceived of as undergoing a process of “contestation and construction” as a variety of political actors engage with each other in support of their particular perspectives,<sup>79</sup> rather than a process of rational utility calculation.

This suggests the necessity of a more “clumsy” approach to resolving such

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<sup>77</sup> Peter Haas. *Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination*. *International Organization*, Vol 46, no. 1. (Winter, 1992) pp. 1-35; Paul Wapner. *Environmental Activism and World Civic Politics* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996)

<sup>78</sup> International Institute for Sustainable Development. “About IISD Reporting Services.” Accessed May 22, 2008: <http://www.iisd.ca/about/about.htm>

<sup>79</sup> Thom Kuehls. *Between Sovereignty and Environment: An Exploration of the Discourse of Government*, in Karen Litfin (ed.) *The Greening of Sovereignty in World Politics* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998) p. 49. See also Betsill and Bulkeley, *Cities and Climate Change* p. 11.

differences.<sup>80</sup> These weaknesses, combined with the aforementioned weaknesses of the neorealist approach, are suggestive of the limitations of orthodox international relations theory, and open the door to an exploration of alternative theoretical perspectives that can bring such processes into focus.

### **Two Heterodox International Relations Approaches**

Traditionally, most of the academic emphasis regarding inter-state relations has been grounded in one of the two mainstream approaches outlined above; however, as illustrated, there are some significant weaknesses inherent in the capacity of either to account for the political dynamic and observed realities associated with the issue of global climate governance. This section introduces two theoretical approaches that are deemed to provide a more effective means of theorizing the political response to climate change. Constructivism, in turning towards a sociological explanation for the behaviour of actors in the international arena, offers a powerful insight into the fragmented, dynamic, and socially constructed and contested nature of the issue area. In addition to establishing the importance of discourse and social interaction in producing (and reproducing) norms, interests, and identity, constructivism offers a means of evaluating the impact of newly emerging network actors such as the PCP via an insight into the processes of construction and contestation.

Multilevel governance, on the other hand, provides the necessary context within which the insights of constructivism can be deployed. By acknowledging the trend

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<sup>80</sup> Marco Verweij, Mary Doulas, Richard Ellis, Christoph Engel, Frank Hendriks, Susanne Lohmann, Steven Ney, Steve Rayner, and Michael Thompson. *Clumsy Solutions For A Complex World: The Case Of Climate Change*. *Public Administration* Vol. 84, No. 4 (2006) pp. 817-843. Verweij *et al* conceive of climate change as an issue that is simply too complex, with too many competing and ontologically exclusive groupings to be resolved. Rather, what is necessary is the development of inclusive processes whereby competing interests can be mediated and compromises reached.

towards a diffusion of authority and legitimacy away from centralized state political power while still recognizing the centrality of the state as a political actor, the multilevel governance approach provides the most accurate fit to understand the contemporary political realities associated with climate change governance. As will be established, multilevel governance allows for a recognition, not only of the importance of a diverse constellation of sub-, supra-, and non-state political actors, but also of the existence and relevance of the networks that have emerged to link them together.

In combination, these two approaches challenge the shared assumption evident in both neorealism and neoliberal institutionalism, that state interests and preferences exist *a priori* to social interaction and are exogenously given.<sup>81</sup> By unpacking this process, both constructivism and multilevel governance offer an opportunity to examine and assess interest and preference formation and the interactions occurring between actors at all levels of governance.

### *Constructivism*

Both of the orthodox approaches introduced earlier, although differing in their respective conception of the nature and likelihood of international cooperation, are built upon a rationalist ontology. As a knowledge-based perspective, constructivism departs from this position, holding as its central premise that interests, identity, values, and attitudes are social phenomena, and as such they are both subjectively created and dynamic over time.<sup>82</sup> It is recognized that there are outer limits to this

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<sup>81</sup> Hasenclever *et al.*, *Theories of International Regimes* p. 136.

<sup>82</sup> John Vogler. *Taking Institutions Seriously: How Regime Analysis Can Be Relevant to Multilevel Environmental Governance*. *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 3 No. 2 (2003) pp. 25–39. See also Alexander E. Wendt.

notion of interests as socially constructed phenomena, as such basic physiological needs as food, water, and security all have an objective rather than a subjective basis, and thus fall outside the scope of a constructivist approach. However, the fundamental insight of the constructivist approach is to identify the process of construction, and to recognize that, aside from the certitude of objective interests such as those mentioned above, a grey area exists in which there tends to be differing opinions and perspectives at work, thus resulting in a process characterized by contestation. Climate change provides an excellent example of such a process, even though at first glance the need for clean air may appear to render itself into the category of an objective interest. However, the notion of clean air is itself much contested. Evidence for this claim can be found in the ongoing legal battle between the Federal administration of George W. Bush and several environmental groups in the United States, in which the two sides are contesting the designation of carbon dioxide as a pollutant that can be regulated by the federal Environmental Protection Agency.<sup>83</sup> This points to what Marco Verweij *et al* conceive of as a fundamental reality of cross-cutting issues such as the governance of climate change, and supports the recognition of fundamentally opposed interests engaging in a process of contestation as essential to the understanding of the political processes surrounding climate change as well as the development of a robust and realistic policy programme

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*Anarchy is what States make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics* International Organization, Vol. 46, No. 2 (Spring 1992) and David Dessler. *What's At Stake in the Agent-Structure Debate?* International Organization, Vol. 43, No. 3 (Summer 1989) p. 443.

<sup>83</sup> Linda Greenhouse. "Justices say E.P.A. has power to act on harmful gases." The New York Times, April 3, 2007. Accessed April 3, 2007: <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/03/washington/03scot...&en=b3594ae741e1dda8&ex=1175745600&pagewanted=print> (1 of 4)03/04/2007. This article expounds upon the US Supreme Court decision in *Massachusetts v. EPA* that the EPA has both the authority and the duty to regulate carbon dioxide emissions from automobiles. This case demonstrates in a tangible fashion the process of contestation between different interest groups.

in response to the challenge.<sup>84</sup> Before connecting the constructivist approach to the efforts of this thesis, a brief overview of this theoretical approach will help to establish context.

The essence of constructivist international relations theory is embodied in a challenge to the rationalist ontology of neorealism and neoliberal institutionalism. Whereas neorealism and neoliberal institutionalism assume the existence of independent structural conditions such as anarchy, which cannot be modified or altered and therefore exist autonomously from, and work to shape, human activity, constructivism asserts that such institutions are not objective “facts” but rather are social constructs. This position is rooted in John Searle’s conception of institutions as intersubjective realities,<sup>85</sup> which form the context within which human or state behaviour is possessed of meaning. The impact of this position is concisely summarized by Alexander Wendt, who boldly asserts that, “anarchy is what states make of it.”<sup>86</sup> In Searle’s formulation, this idea is expressed as the status function “x counts for y in c,” where “c” is the social institution, or intersubjective agreement between social actors, that provides meaningful context.<sup>87</sup> David Dessler helpfully illustrates the role of such institutions by drawing an analogy with games such as chess or football, which possess a broad framework of rules (“c”) which establish the

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<sup>84</sup> Verweij *et al*, *Clumsy Policy Solutions*, p. 818.

<sup>85</sup> Vogler, *Taking Institutions Seriously*, p. 28. Vogler accepts that intersubjective realities are, as conceived by Searle, social facts that emerge from collective agreement regarding meaning, as opposed to brute facts, which exist independent from observation.

<sup>86</sup> Wendt, *Anarchy is what States make of it*, p. 395.

<sup>87</sup> Vogler, *Taking Institutions Seriously*, pp. 28-29.

outer boundaries of acceptable action (“x”) while giving meaning to legitimate actions (“y”).<sup>88</sup>

Of central importance is that such institutions are *not* seen as resulting from the self-interest maximizing behaviour of autonomous states. Instead, institutions are seen as emerging from social interactions, which, once established, guide and provide meaning to state actions.<sup>89</sup> However, as social constructs, they are susceptible to change as a result of individual or state agency. This point is fundamental to the constructivist position, as it establishes the complex relationship between agents and structures.<sup>90</sup> Constructivism is willing to engage with the complex interdependency between agents and structures, taking a stance well encapsulated by the oft-quoted Marxian aphorism, that “people make their own history but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past.”<sup>91</sup>

This is a tenuous position, balanced as it is between the poles of structural determinism, most evident in the neorealism of Kenneth Waltz, and the absolute agency of individual voluntarists such as Jean-Paul Sartre.<sup>92</sup> It builds on the work of, among others, sociologist Anthony Giddens and philosopher of science Roy Bhaskar.

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<sup>88</sup> Dessler, *What's at stake in the agent-structure debate*, p. 455.

<sup>89</sup> Friedrich V. Kratochwil and John Gerard Ruggie. *International Organization: A State of the Art on an Art of the State* *International Organization*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (Autumn 1986) p. 773.

<sup>90</sup> Dessler, *What's at stake in the agent-structure debate*, p. 443. As Dessler notes, this is a fundamental problem in the social sciences, in navigating the difficulties of developing theory that successfully meets the demands of balancing the power of agents versus the causal force of structures.

<sup>91</sup> Karl Marx. *The 18<sup>TH</sup> Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. Accessed April 3, 2008: <http://www.archive.org/details/eighteenthbrumai017766mbp>.

<sup>92</sup> Simone de Beauvoir. *The Ethics of Ambiguity* (New York: Kensington Publishing Corp, 1976) p. 5. Early on in *The Ethics of Ambiguity*, Beauvoir, building on Sartre's philosophical exposition in *Being and Nothingness*, nicely captures this position: “Man exists. For him it is not a question of wondering whether his presence in the world is useful, whether life is worth the trouble of being lived. These questions make no sense. It is a matter of knowing whether he wants to live and under what conditions.” As such, the Existentialists provide what must be the outer realm of the spectrum on the voluntarism.

Constructivists such as Wendt and Dessler conceive of this relationship between agent and structure as one where structure both enables and constrains action, and is reproduced and altered via action.<sup>93</sup> This position is relevant to global climate change governance as it allows for a different conception of international structures such as the Kyoto Protocol. Kyoto can now be perceived as both a forum for the intersection of national interests as well as an enabling structure allowing various actors (whether traditional state actors or non-traditional NGO or sub-state actors) to participate in the process of defining interests, whether through explicit participation or through aligned emission reducing actions such as those being taken by a variety of municipal and regional actors around the world. A prominent example of this phenomenon are the actions of the World Mayors Council on Climate Change, which, although not officially involved in the Kyoto process, convened during the COP11/MOP1 meetings in Montreal in December 2005 and officially endorsed and committed to the Kyoto targets.<sup>94</sup>

There are two fundamental sub-sectors of thought within the constructivist school,<sup>95</sup> both of which aspire to unpack the process of identity and interest formation. The first or *weak* form presents constructivism as a corrective to the mainstream rationalist approaches. In this sense, constructivism is seen as a supplement, allowing for insight into the process of preference formation and reproduction that rationalists take for granted.<sup>96</sup> An example of this approach, which

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<sup>93</sup> Dessler, *What's at stake in the agent-structure debate* p. 452.

<sup>94</sup> Dawn Intikhab Amir. *Campaign against climate change goes down to the municipality level*. Fourth Municipal Leaders Summit on Climate Change. Accessed March 2, 2006: [www.inwent.org/themen\\_reg/ijj/reports/06804/index.en.shtml#a10](http://www.inwent.org/themen_reg/ijj/reports/06804/index.en.shtml#a10)

<sup>95</sup> Hasenclever *et al.*, *Theories of International Regimes* p. 137.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid* p. 140.

in many ways resembles some iterations of the regime approach that incorporate cognitive processes of learning, can be seen in the work of New York Times op-ed commentator Thomas Friedman. Friedman's effort to link environmental interests with national security concerns represents the attempt to alter the rational arithmetic of climate governance while maintaining a firm commitment to the process of rational calculation.<sup>97</sup>

The second or *strong* form is founded upon a more fundamental rejection of the separation of agents from structures and asserts that the former exists independently, and prior to, the latter. Moreover, the strong form envisions a fluid and interdependent relationship between agents and structures at its core.<sup>98</sup> From this perspective, agents and structures are conceived of as mutually constitutive, engaged in a messy process of interaction and feedback. What emerges as centrally important, from this perspective, is the function played by norms and rules of behaviour, which are embedded in broader social institutions.<sup>99</sup> Such norms set the context for international interaction, and can both enable, structure, and reflect agreed upon notions of behaviour.<sup>100</sup> It is important to note at this juncture that institutions are conceived not as formal organizations but rather as constitutive frameworks that

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<sup>97</sup> Thomas Friedman. *The Power of Green*. The New York Times Online Edition. Accessed April 15, 2007: [http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/15/magazine/15green.t.html?\\_r=1&th=&oref=slogin&emc=th&pagewanted=all](http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/15/magazine/15green.t.html?_r=1&th=&oref=slogin&emc=th&pagewanted=all) This approach comes under heavy criticism in the work of Rachel Slocum and Gard Lindseth, a point that will be visited in a later section of this chapter.

<sup>98</sup> Alexander E. Wendt. *The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory* International Organization, Vol. 41, No. 3 (Summer 1987) p. 355. Wendt's position is rooted in the work of Anthony Giddens, Roy Bhaskar and Pierre Bourdieu. See also Dessler, *What's at stake in the agent-structure debate*; and, Hasenclever *et al.*, Theories of International Regimes p. 158.

<sup>99</sup> Vogler, *Taking Institutions Seriously* p. 28. Vogler draws heavily on John Searle's "general theory of institutional facts" in making the claim that there is an "inter-relationship and ubiquity of institutions in social life and that they are not just constraints to be imposed on normal activities from which they have a separate existence"

<sup>100</sup> Wendt, *Anarchy is what States make of it*, p. 397. See also Dessler, *What's at stake in the agent-structure debate* p. 443.



provide meaning to human action. This approach thus allows for theorists to challenge a variety of assumptions that are taken for granted within the mainstream, examples of which include the problematization of the institution of sovereignty,<sup>101</sup> and the aforementioned assertion that “anarchy is what states make of it.”<sup>102</sup> In attempting to link this process to environmental concerns, Karen Litfin suggests that, much in the same way that the Westphalian system emerged as a shift in generally accepted rights and responsibilities in response to the challenges of the time, emerging concerns regarding environmental degradation may result in revisions of “patterns of authority.”<sup>103</sup>

In the analysis of global climate governance, constructivism allows for insight into the processes through which actors with divergent interests compete to both define the problem of climate change as well as to delineate the set of potential policy responses and select from among this set. By challenging rationalist assumptions regarding *a priori*, exogenously given interests and preferences of states, constructivism provides a means of gaining insight into the dynamic process through which states frame the issue of climate change, develop policy positions and programs, and interact with other states. Interest and identity construction then becomes a product of discourse, which itself is a struggle for power between various component constituents or participants in a given context.<sup>104</sup> This power involves the framing of the issue of climate change (as a local problem, a global problem, or not a

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<sup>101</sup> Litfin, *Greening of Sovereignty*, p. 10.

<sup>102</sup> Wendt, *Anarchy is what States make of it*, p. 395.

<sup>103</sup> Litfin, *Greening of Sovereignty*, p. 10.

<sup>104</sup> George Orwell's *1984* provides the dystopic extreme of the power struggle executed through discourse, in which language itself is corrupted and manipulated so as to render certain thoughts and actions impossible. Foucault provides the most obvious intellectual exemplar of this form of power analysis.

problem at all) as well as the potential policy responses (taxation, regulation, voluntary targets, or business as usual).<sup>105</sup> Henrik Selin and Stacy VanDeveer posit that constructivism also provides the analytical tools to assess the impact of network actors, such as the CCP, on climate change policy. By examining the impact of the CCP on norm creation and promulgation, as well as processes of cognitive learning, Selin and VanDeveer seek to establish the grounds for normative change occurring over time.<sup>106</sup>

This leads to a final strength inherent in constructivist theory, as the theoretical toolkit with which normatively motivated change can be incorporated into analysis. John Vogler notes that the orthodox approaches to theorizing international cooperation are singularly committed to the “maintenance of order in the absence or incapacity of government.”<sup>107</sup> However, the central problem with which social scientists, engaged with the political response to climate change are grappling, is how to generate broad-scale behavioural change from a consumptive/destructive onto a sustainable trajectory.<sup>108</sup> This may constitute what is, in Dessler’s words, the “most crucial stake” in social theorizing. Dessler continues on to assert that a constructivist approach provides not only a conceptual model for understanding political actions

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<sup>105</sup> Rachel Slocum. *Consumer Citizens and the Cities for Climate Protection campaign*. Environment & Planning A, Vol 36, No. 5 pp. 763 – 782; Rachel Slocum. *Polar bears and energy-efficient lightbulbs: strategies to bring climate change home*. Environment and Planning D: Society and Space Vol 22 (2004) pp. 413-438; Alex Aylett and Ted Rutland. *The Work of Policy: Actor-Networks, Governmentality, and Local Action on Climate Change in Portland, Oregon*. Unpublished Paper; Gard Lindseth. *The Cities for Climate Protection Campaign (CCPC) and the framing of Local Climate Policy*. Local Environment Vol 9, No. 4 (August 2004) pp. 325 – 336. All of these pieces provide examples of this type of discursive analysis, in which the problem of climate change itself is subject to construction and contestation in the framing process.

<sup>106</sup> Henrik Selin and Stacy D. VanDeveer, *Political Science and Prediction: What's Next for U.S. Climate Change Policy? Review of Policy Research*, Vol. 24 No. 1 (January 2007) pp. 15-16. Available at <http://unhinfo.unh.edu/news/docs/020107vandeveer.pdf>.

<sup>107</sup> Vogler, *Taking Institutions Seriously*, p. 36.

<sup>108</sup> Susanne C. Moser and Lisa Dilling, eds. Creating a Climate for Change: Communicating Climate Change and Facilitating Social Change. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)

and behaviours, but also acts as a transformative model for situating possibilities for positive change.<sup>109</sup>

Constructivism, though, only succeeds in unpacking one layer of the black box of interest and identity construction. What is missing from the constructivist approach is an explicit extension of the analysis to include the various players involved in this process. Thus, constructivism suffers in many cases from the same state-centrism that causes problems for both neorealism and neoliberal institutionalism.<sup>110</sup> In particular, what is missing is the explicit recognition that climate change is not merely an international problem but rather it is a local, regional, national, and international problem with corresponding potential solutions existing at these various spatial levels. Michelle Betsill and Harriet Bulkeley suggest that the emphasis on inter-state coordination problems as the driving force leading to problems associated with climate change leads to a negation of the other spatial components of the problem: namely, the emissions-producing and emissions-reducing activities of individuals and organizations at the local, regional, national, and international scales.<sup>111</sup> Of especial interest are the various “experiments in governance” occurring at multiple spatial scales around the globe, ranging from relatively autonomous grassroots carbon rationing action groups (CRAG’s), to municipal policy actions such as those explored in this paper, through to corporate emissions reduction efforts such as those being

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<sup>109</sup> Dessler, *What's at stake in the agent-structure debate*, p. 473. Dessler responds to a criticism leveled by Waltz towards critical theory, namely that it “would transcend the world as it is; meanwhile we have to live in it,” by stating that “[our efforts] to explain the world as it is [must not] condemn us to giving up hope of changing it.”

<sup>110</sup> Wendt, *Anarchy is what States make of it*, p. 424. Some constructivists, such as Wendt, are explicit on this point. Wendt clearly states his position of state-centrism, holding the belief that “in the medium run sovereign states will remain the dominant political actors in the international system.”

<sup>111</sup> Betsill and Bulkeley, *Cities and Climate Change* p. 12.

undertaken by the PEW Center's Business Environmental Leadership Council.<sup>112</sup> This creates a theoretical void, whereby the importance of sub- and non-state actors, both as contributors to the problems as well as sources of possible solutions, are ignored.<sup>113</sup> Vogler, in attempting to bridge the gap between constructivism, mainstream regime approaches, and the multilevel governance approach,<sup>114</sup> and Selin and VanDeveer's work in developing a typological and analytical framework for assessing the impact of transnational networks,<sup>115</sup> provide two examples of an explicit attempt to resolve this weakness, but such efforts are thus far limited within the literature. The following section outlines the benefits to be derived from adoption of the multilevel governance approach, and will explore the various efforts to explore global climate governance from this perspective.

### *Multilevel Governance*

Originally developed by Gary Marks and Liesbet Hooghe, the multilevel governance perspective was oriented towards providing a means of conceptualizing the form of governance underpinning the evolution of the European Union.<sup>116</sup> As the EU evolved, a process of diffusion of authority away from state governments, upwards to supra-state bodies, outwards to non-state entities such as NGO's, and

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<sup>112</sup> Matthew J. Hoffman. *Beyond Interstate Stalemate: Experiments in Climate Governance*. Paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association. March 29, 2008, San Francisco, CA. pp. 1-2

<sup>113</sup> Betsill and Bulkeley, *Cities and Climate Change*, p. 12. See also Lipschutz, *Global Environmental Politics*, p. 6

<sup>114</sup> Vogler, *Taking Institutions Seriously*, p. 38.

<sup>115</sup> Selin and VanDeveer, *Political Science and Prediction: What's Next for U.S. Climate Change Policy?* Selin and VanDeveer's efforts to ground a prediction regarding future US Federal climate change policy in a combined rationalist/Constructivist framework provide a prominent example, one that will be explored in greater detail at both a later point in this chapter as well as in chapter four. The work of Rachel Slocum and Gard Lindseth on assessing the CCP from a discursive angle, in terms of the specific issue framing strategies adopted by the CCP, provide other examples of the integration of multilevel governance and Constructivist analysis.

<sup>116</sup> Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks. *Multilevel Governance and European Integration* (Maryland: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, 2001)

downwards to regional and local bodies, suggested a shift away from traditional state autonomy and sovereignty.<sup>117</sup> This trend has been fuelled within Europe by a number of factors, including the neoliberal erosion of the welfare state, the complexity of managing interconnected modern economies, and the normative desire for increased autonomy at the local and regional levels.<sup>118</sup>

In its initial iteration, multilevel governance conceived of the process of diffusion as being driven by three central forces: active state delegation of authority; unknowing transfer of authority; and unavoidable transfer of authority.<sup>119</sup> It is important to note, however, that this diffusion of authority away from state government was, and is, not characterized as an inescapable and irreversible linear progression. Hooghe and Marks are explicit on this point, noting that, “the multilevel governance model does not reject the view that state executives and state arenas are important or that these remain the *most* important pieces of the European puzzle.”<sup>120</sup> What multilevel governance does suggest is that the dynamic of governance is significantly more complex than a simple reduction to the actions and intents of state actors. What is therefore required is a deeper exploration of the role of all the other political entities involved in the process, and the mechanisms through which they interact and seek to exert influence.

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid, p. 3. See also Harriet Bulkeley, Anna Davies, David Evans, and Kristine Gibbs. *Environmental Governance and Transnational Municipal Networks in Europe*. Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning, Vol. 5 No. 3, p. 237.

<sup>118</sup> James Rosenau. *Normative Challenges in a Turbulent World*. Ethics & International Affairs, Vol 6. 1992 pp. 8, 11-12. See also Betsill and Bulkeley, Cities and Climate Change p. 17. Betsill and Bulkeley cite the work of Eric Swyngedouw, Neil Brenner, Camilleri and Falk, and Jessop to support this point.

<sup>119</sup> Hooghe and Marks, Multilevel Governance and European Integration, p. 19.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid p. 23. This point is echoed in numerous other works, including: Litfin, The Greening of Sovereignty; Bulkeley *et al*, *Environmental Governance*; Betsill and Bulkeley, Cities and Climate Change, p. 18; Rosenau, *Normative Challenges*, p. 12; and Slaughter, A New World Order, p. 18.

This approach, although rooted in EU-specific research, has been expanded and adopted into a much broader political analysis. The core of this extension lies in the significance of the perceived shift, embodied in the multilevel governance approach, from *government* to *governance*,<sup>121</sup> or what Anne-Marie Slaughter refers to as the “disaggregation of the state.”<sup>122</sup> Betsill and Bulkeley, commenting on the theoretical appropriateness of this shift, note that, “this shift towards a governance perspective has entailed a recognition of the roles played by supranational and sub-national state and non-state actors, and the complex interactions between them.”<sup>123</sup> Therefore, what is of key importance is the recognition that global governance, in the realm of issues such as climate change, takes place through “processes and institutions operating at international, transnational, national and local scales.”<sup>124</sup> Neat analytical containers such as the interaction of autonomous and unitary states are difficult to reconcile with the realities of our “turbulent times.”<sup>125</sup> The degree to which this shift in thinking has made inroads is evidenced in the explicit acknowledgment of the process of governance within major international regimes, including the IPCC<sup>126</sup> and the EU.<sup>127</sup> There have also been efforts to track this altered dynamic by looking at the impact of epistemic communities,<sup>128</sup> private sector

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<sup>121</sup> Betsill and Bulkeley, *Cities and Climate Change*, p. 13.

<sup>122</sup> Slaughter, *A New World Order*, pp. 11-12.

<sup>123</sup> Betsill and Bulkeley, *Cities and Climate Change*, p. 9.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid*, p. 9.

<sup>125</sup> Rosenau, *Normative Challenges*

<sup>126</sup> S. Gupta, D. A. Tirpak, N. Burger, J. Gupta, N. Höhne, A. I. Boncheva, G. M. Kanoan, C. Kolstad, J. A. Kruger, A. Michaelowa, S. Murase, J. Pershing, T. Saijo, A. Sari, 2007: *Policies, Instruments and Co-operative Arrangements*. In *Climate Change 2007: Mitigation*. Contribution of Working Group III to the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change [B. Metz, O.R. Davidson, P.R. Bosch, R. Dave, L.A. Meyer (eds)], Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, United Kingdom and New York, NY, USA.

<sup>127</sup> Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks. *Types of Multilevel Governance*. *European Integration online Papers (EIoP)* Vol 5, No. 11 (2005). Accessed August 12, 2007: <http://ciop.or.at/ciop/texte/2001-011a.htm>, p. 3. Hooghe and Marks cite an EU Commission White Paper.

<sup>128</sup> Haas, *Epistemic Communities*

organizations,<sup>129</sup> NGO's,<sup>130</sup> and civil society organizations and communities,<sup>131</sup> as well as a wide body of literature on the sub-state responses to climate change in the United States,<sup>132</sup> and elsewhere.

There are two formal types of multilevel governance immanent in the literature.<sup>133</sup> Type I, or nested, multilevel governance, conceives of authority as diffused to a limited number of autonomous and non-intersecting jurisdictions.<sup>134</sup> Within this iteration, there is acceptance of the increasing interdependency between the multiple levels of governance, but these interactions take place within a linear, hierarchical framework. This approach mimics, in some ways, the efforts of Putnam<sup>135</sup> and Moravcsik<sup>136</sup> to integrate a domestic dynamic into the inter-state system, but expands on those two theoretical constructs by relaxing the domestically bounded nature of sub- and non-state actors, allowing for greater agency and engagement outside of national borders.

Type II, or polycentric, multilevel governance discards the traditional linear hierarchical framework and conceives, instead, of a fluid constellation of actors

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<sup>129</sup> Sverker C. Jagers and Johannes Stripple. *Climate Governance Beyond the State*. Global Governance, Vol 9, (2003) pp. 385-399. Jagers and Stripple explore the impact of the insurance and re-insurance industry on climate governance, in terms of the monetization of what are typically conceived of as intangible costs. Interview evidence from the City of Toronto also supports the case for a meaningful impact exerted by the Insurance industry on local climate change (both adaptive and mitigative) policy.

<sup>130</sup> Wapner, Environmental Activism, pp. 3-4. Wapner conducts a holistic assessment of the impact of NGO's such as Greenpeace and the World Wildlife Fund on global environmental governance. His focus is on the multi-scalar actions of these NGO's, which operate not only as activist entities lobbying national governments but also more directly through transnational linkages and networks in an effort to generate broad ideational shifts.

<sup>131</sup> Lipschutz, Global Environmental Politics. Lipschutz conceives of an approach to global environmental governance that is grounded in individual efforts, aggregated through active political engagement across multiple scales of governance.

<sup>132</sup> Examples of this literature include: Selin and VanDeveer, *Political Science and Prediction*, as well as Betsill, *Mitigating Climate Change in US Cities*.

<sup>133</sup> Hooghe and Marks, *Types of Multilevel Governance*, p. 6.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid, p. 8. See also Bulkeley *et al*, *Environmental Governance*, p. 238.

<sup>135</sup> Putnam, *Two-Level Games*.

<sup>136</sup> Moravcsik, The Choice for Europe.

engaging over specific policy issues.<sup>137</sup> In this interpretation, there are no linear divisions or levels of governance, indeed “neat scales, or levels, or tiers, disappear – they meld into one another. There is no up or under, no lower or higher, no dominant class of actor; rather, a wide range of public and private actors compete or collaborate in shifting coalitions.”<sup>138</sup>

These two perspectives allow for insight into the activities of actors who are engaged across local, regional and international levels simultaneously. It must be noted that these two types of multilevel governance are not necessarily conceived of as being mutually exclusive; indeed they may both exist in combination.<sup>139</sup> This is important, as any claim made in favour of the polycentric interpretation is susceptible to challenges resulting from jurisdictional, resource, and legitimacy realities. In this fashion, multilevel governance is able to account for both the traditional interactions of autonomous levels of governance (domestic-regional-state) as well as the non-linear linkages occurring across and around these barriers. This approach thus opens up an analytical window onto the complex set of processes in which international agreements have created normative shifts at local and regional levels of government, fostering policy action and upwards pressure, as well as non-linear linkages to both international regimes and transnational networks, the end result of which may be expected to lead to policy action at the national level.<sup>140</sup>

### *Theorizing Below the State: Local Actors*

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<sup>137</sup> Bulkeley *et al*, *Environmental Governance*, p. 239.

<sup>138</sup> Hooghe and Marks, *Multilevel Governance and European Integration*, p. 7.

<sup>139</sup> Hooghe and Marks, *Types of Multilevel Governance* p. 12.

<sup>140</sup> Selin and VanDeveer, *Political Science and Prediction*, pp. 19-20. Selin and VanDeveer outline this precise dynamic in the US context, and use it as a base for their predictions regarding likely shifts in US national climate change policy in the post-Bush era.



There has been, over the past decade or so, an increasing interest in the activities of local policy actors, regarding their role in global environmental governance in general, and climate governance in particular.<sup>141</sup> The relevance of all matters urban in nature is rooted in prevailing trends in population and demography, trends that have witnessed an enormous shift from rural to urban concentrations over the past fifty years.<sup>142</sup> In Canada, over 80% of the national population currently reside in urban agglomerations, with the vast majority of this number located in the four major Canadian urban corridors,<sup>143</sup> leading one Canadian researcher to assert that “cities [are] *the* strategic places in the global age.”<sup>144</sup> As well, the aforementioned forces that have led to a generalized diffusion of authority and legitimacy away from the state (the neoliberal erosion of the welfare state, the primacy of the market, and emerging democratic deficits resulting from, among other things, the increasing influence and impact of international organizations such as the IMF, WTO, and World Bank), and the accompanying search for more effective forms of democratic representation, have provided support for the notion that cities do indeed matter.<sup>145</sup> Finally, related to climate change, there is an emerging moral discourse regarding the

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<sup>141</sup> Michele M. Betsill and Harriet Bulkeley. *Looking Back and Thinking Ahead: A Decade of Cities and Climate Change Research*. Local Environment Vol 12, No. 5 (2007) pp. 447-456. Betsill and Bulkeley provide a recap of this body of literature, outlining the extant body of work as well the challenges requiring further exploration.

<sup>142</sup> David Satterthwaite. The transition to a predominantly urban world and its underpinnings. IEED Human Settlements Discussion Paper Urban Change: 4 (September 2007). Accessed December 3, 2007: <http://www.iied.org/pubs/display.php?o=10550IIED>. See also Mike Davis Planet of Slums (New York: Verso, 2006). Davis explores the trend in developing countries, and assesses the impacts of mass migrations to urban centres in countries such as Indonesia, India, Nigeria, and Brazil.

<sup>143</sup> Neil Bradford. *Place Matters and Multi-Level Governance: Perspectives on a new Urban Policy Paradigm*. Policy Options, Vol. 25, No. 2 (February 2004) p. 2. Bradford notes that the four city regions of Calgary-Edmonton, Toronto-Hamilton, Montreal-Ottawa, and Vancouver account for over 51% of total population.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid*, p. 3.

<sup>145</sup> Mike Harcourt. *From restless communities to resilient places: fixing our municipal fiscal imbalance*. Globe and Mail, November 6, 2007. See also Paul Parker and Ian H. Rowlands. *City Partners Maintain Climate Change Action Despite National Cuts: Residential Energy Efficiency Programme Valued at Local Level*. Local Environment Vol 12, No. 5 (2007) p. 507.

ethical duty inherent on all levels of government to address the impact of emissions producing activities.<sup>146</sup> Cities do not avoid this moral duty, especially when one considers that between thirty to fifty percent of all worldwide emissions are generated in urban centres.<sup>147</sup>

Cities are, thus, a central contributor to the problem of climate change. The question, though, still begs to be asked as to whether and why cities really do matter when it comes to the *political response* to climate change. Early research efforts in the field identified four interconnecting pillars supporting the case for the political relevance of cities.<sup>148</sup> First, cities have a number of jurisdictional capacities and responsibilities that allow them to impact upon local emissions. Although these vary across specific national contexts, in general municipal governments typically have jurisdiction over land-use planning, waste disposal, transportation supply and demand, zoning/built landscape regulation, energy production and supply, and local infrastructure. Second, policies and programs in support of Local Agenda 21 (LA21), a global effort towards sustainable cities embodied in the 1987 UN Brundtland Report, provide some cities with pre-existing expertise in sustainability planning and development that can be transferred to climate change issues. Another reason for the

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<sup>146</sup> Donald A. Brown. *Local and Regional Governments' Ethical Responsibility to Reduce Greenhouse Gas Emissions: the Case of Pennsylvania*. Climate Ethics website. Accessed April 17, 2008: <http://climateethics.org/?p=34>. This website provides a sample of the moral discourse that is emerging around climate change, and is especially focused around the work of Professor Brown of Penn State University.

<sup>147</sup> Christopher D. Gore and Pamela J. Robinson. *Barriers to Canadian Municipal Response to Climate Change*. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* Vol 14, No. 1 (2005) pp. 102-120. See also Lindseth, *Framing of Local Climate Policy*, p. 325.

<sup>148</sup> L. D. Danny Harvey. *Tackling Urban CO2 Emissions in Toronto*. *Environment* Vol 35, No. 7 (September 1993) pp. 16-44; B. Deangelo, and L. D. Harvey. *The Jurisdictional Framework for Municipal Action to Reduce Greenhouse Gas Emissions: Case Studies from Canada, U.S.A and Germany*. *Local Environment* Vol. 3 (1998) pp.111-136.; W. H. Lambright, A. Changnon, and L. D. Harvey. *Urban Reactions to the Global Warming Issue: Agenda Setting in Toronto and Chicago*. *Climatic Change* Vol. 34 (1996) pp. 463-478; T. J. Wilbanks and R. W. Kates *Global Change in Local Places: How Scale Matters*. *Climatic Change* Vol. 43, (1999) pp. 601-628; Carolyn Kousky and Stephen H. Schneider. *Global Climate Policy: Will Cities Lead the Way?* *Climate Policy* vol 3, No. 4 (December 2003) pp. 359-372; Betsill and Bulkeley, *Cities and Climate Change*, p. 2

political relevance of cities is that they have the capacity to act as incubators, demonstrating the validity of climate policies or programmes through pilot projects. As a figurative canary in the coalmine, cities are thus able to provide an interesting testing ground for, as well as a barometer for public response to, emissions abatement and adaptation policies. Finally, due to the jurisdictional capacity mentioned above, cities have a wealth of personnel with valuable experience in the fields of energy management, transportation, and waste management, among others; an expertise that can be readily transferred to climate change policy development.

In addition to these tangible jurisdictional and policy development factors, it has also been suggested that cities are important due to their close connection with civil society, which may enable them to instigate the broad behavioural changes deemed to be necessary to reduce emissions to the necessary trajectory.<sup>149</sup> This is a premise built upon the sociological notion of a behavioural/attitudinal “tipping point,” in which incremental change imperceptibly builds until large-scale paradigmatic shifts occur.<sup>150</sup> The potential impact of this dynamic is such that Selin and VanDeveer make the bold assertion that, in the US context, “pressure from below...will soon shape federal policy making and outcomes”<sup>151</sup> in the issue area of climate change.

This assertion, attributed to Selin and VanDeveer but supported by others, is not one that is shared by all. While some flatly reject the role of sub- and non-state

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<sup>149</sup> Moser and Dilling, eds. *Creating a Climate for Change*.

<sup>150</sup> Malcolm Gladwell. *The Tipping Point: How Little Things Can Make a Big Difference*. (New York: Back Bay Books, 2001). Gladwell's *The Tipping Point* provides a compelling catalogue of various observed examples of this phenomenon.

<sup>151</sup> Selin and VanDeveer, *Political Science and Prediction*, p. 21.

actors and, adopting a macro perspective, assert that there are only a “small number of big and important things”(i.e.: states) to consider when examining international behaviour,<sup>152</sup> others are more nuanced in rejecting the relevance of local politics when analyzing the development of policy responses to an issue such as climate change. Andrew Sancton provides a prominent example of this latter approach in asserting that cities are, at the end of the day, “policy takers” rather than “policy makers,” as they simply do not have the capacity to overcome the limitations imposed by resource poverty and jurisdictional subordination.<sup>153</sup> There is also the matter of free riding, which, in a world composed of rational local policy actors who are bound by the dictates of electoral politics and the myopic focus that ensues, and who recognize that the costs of climatic changes are (for the most part) distant both temporally and spatially and thus outweighed by the immediate costs of taking action, should be expected to occur.<sup>154</sup> However, in their study of this very phenomenon amongst US cities, Carolyn Kousky and Stephen Schneider found that, despite the strong expectation of free riding, a large number of them were actively engaging in climate change policy actions.<sup>155</sup>

In a similar study conducted in a Canadian context, Christopher Gore and Pamela Robinson found that, despite the existence of formidable barriers, a significant number of Canadian cities have engaged in climate change policy

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<sup>152</sup> Hasenclever *et al.*, *Theories of International Regimes*, p. 25.

<sup>153</sup> Andrew Sancton. *Cities and Climate Change: Policy-Takers, Not Policy-Makers*. *Policy Options* Vol. 27 No. 8. (October 2006) p. 32. See also Harcourt, *From restless communities re: the impacts of tax distribution distortions between levels of government in Canada*.

<sup>154</sup> Kousky & Schneider, *Global Climate Policy*, p. 2.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid*, p. 3.

action.<sup>156</sup> Such findings are replicated in studies conducted on European municipalities, leading one researcher to conclude that, “an adequate response to the climate change issue must also include innovative action taken by governments, business companies, voluntary organizations and individuals at the local level of society.”<sup>157</sup> Finally, to use the CCP as an example, there are now 692 (and counting) cities around the globe that have committed to following the five milestone approach to achieve emissions reduction targets mandated by the network,<sup>158</sup> a great number of which are taking measures far ahead of their national governments.<sup>159</sup>

It is important to note, however, that any conception of cities and the governance of climate change must avoid the pitfall of re-creating the inverse rendition of the state-centric model by according cities a role of *primus inter pares*, disconnected from the political context in which they exist. Cities, while possessed of certain jurisdictional capacities and capable of engaging directly in the process of governance, are no more autonomous nor insulated than are states operating within the international system.<sup>160</sup> Indeed, the danger of according a position of primacy to local policy actors is that the embedded nature of the city is neglected; the fact that local, regional, national, and international are permeable constructs as opposed to

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<sup>156</sup> Gore and Robinson, *Barriers to Canadian Municipal Response to Climate Change*, p. 107.

<sup>157</sup> Ingemar Elander, Eva Gustavsson, and Mats Lundmark. *Multilevel Governance, Networking Cities and Climate Change: Experiences from two Swedish Cities*. (Paper presented at the Sixth European Urban & Regional Studies Conference 21st-24th September 2006, Comwell Hotel, Roskilde, Denmark), p. 1. Accessed May 2007: [www.surf.salford.ac.uk/documents/RethinkingUrbanism/IngemarElanderEvaGustavsson.pdf](http://www.surf.salford.ac.uk/documents/RethinkingUrbanism/IngemarElanderEvaGustavsson.pdf).

<sup>158</sup> International council for Local Environmental Initiatives. Accessed April 17, 2008: <http://www.iclei.org/index.php?id=809>

<sup>159</sup> Selin and VanDeveer, *Political Science and Prediction*. See also The US Mayors Climate Protection Agreement, Accessed May 25, 2008: <http://www.seattle.gov/mayor/climate/>. The US Mayors Climate Protection Agreement was spearheaded by Seattle Mayor Greg Nickels, and has reached a membership of 720 US municipalities. These municipalities have committed to reducing GHG emissions to meet Kyoto targets within their respective jurisdictions, as well as to lobbying higher levels of government for meaningful policy action.

<sup>160</sup> Betsill and Bulkeley, *Cities and Climate Change*, p. 26. Betsill and Bulkeley remark that local-centric approaches such as new Localism and green cities essentially re-create the theoretical lacunae of orthodox IR approaches such as neorealism and neoliberal institutionalism.

insulated silos is lost.<sup>161</sup> An over-emphasis on local politics can therefore degenerate into insignificant trivialities, as in Al Gore's call for a revolution in home lighting,<sup>162</sup> or ineffectual wish lists<sup>163</sup> if not placed within a context that recognizes the situated nature of cities, and the complex interdependency that exists between the multiple political actors comprising the international system.<sup>164</sup>

If, as suggested above, the policy actions of cities are indeed important, the question still remains as to the nature of their involvement, and their relative importance as compared to other political actors. Early efforts by academics to engage with this question, appearing in the mid to late 1990s, placed a great deal of emphasis on the local level as a policy implementer rather than as an active policy actor.<sup>165</sup> The key questions addressed were in regards to jurisdiction, and the key conclusions drawn were that municipal governments were well positioned to undertake policy actions, and to make use of pre-existing policy tools and

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<sup>161</sup> Lipschutz, *Global Environmental Politics*.

<sup>162</sup> Michael Pollan. *Why Bother?* *New York Times*, April 20, 2008. Accessed April 20, 2008: [http://www.stopglobalwarming.org/sgw\\_read.asp?id=438384202008](http://www.stopglobalwarming.org/sgw_read.asp?id=438384202008). See also Tim Flannery. *The Weather Makers: How We Are Changing the Climate and What it Means For Life on Earth*. (Toronto: Harper Collins Publishers Ltd, 2005). Flannery's *The Weathermakers* contains a section, at the end of the book, outlining a series of individual actions that can be taken to reduce individual emissions (such as installing solar panels, purchasing a hybrid vehicle, etc...). While all of unquestionable merit, the capacity to translate such actions in to broad societal shifts, and the lack of connection between such individual actions and more systematic efforts, demonstrates the dangers of the overly localist approach.

<sup>163</sup> Clive Doucet. *Urban Meltdown: Cities, Climate Change and Politics as Usual* (Gabriola Island: New Society Publishers, 2007). Doucet's book on urban politics in Canada is engaging, entertaining, and at-times illuminating, but in the end his call for broad-scale change is untethered to any meaningful policy program through which it might be achieved.

<sup>164</sup> Liliana Andanova, Michele M. Betsill, and Harriet Bulkeley. *Transnational Climate Change Governance*. Paper presented for the Amsterdam Conference on the Human Dimensions of Global Environmental Change, May 24-26, 2007. Accessed April 2, 2008: [www.2007amsterdamconference.org/Downloads/AC2007\\_Betsill.pdf](http://www.2007amsterdamconference.org/Downloads/AC2007_Betsill.pdf); Harriet Bulkeley, Anna Davies, David Evans, and Kristine Gibbs. *Environmental Governance and Transnational Municipal Networks in Europe*. *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning*, Vol. 5 No. 3, pp. 235 – 254; Michelle M. Betsill, and Harriet Bulkeley. *Cities and the Multi-level Governance of Global Climate Change*. *Global Governance* Vol 12, (2006) pp. 141-159.

<sup>165</sup> Harvey, *Tackling Urban CO2 Emissions*; Lambright et al, *Urban Reactions to the Global Warming Issue*; Wilbanks & Kates, *Global Change in Local Places*.

capacities.<sup>166</sup> The impact of local policy actors was asserted to be in relation to the implementation of policies deriving from commitments made by national government, with little space accorded to local actors to impact upon agenda setting or issue framing.<sup>167</sup> Even in those studies that conceive of a more active role for local policy actors, the capacity for action is conceived as bounded or constrained within domestic borders.<sup>168</sup> However, the activities of local policy actors, working around or outside of traditional hierarchies, exposes a weakness in this bounded (Type I) conception.

In recognition of the complex dynamic in which local policy actions take place within a dynamic multilevel environment, a shift towards a more inclusive, or Type II, conception of the role of local governance has emerged. This work focuses on assessing the spatial relationship between various levels of governance and is premised on the notion that climate change is a problem that occurs “simultaneously [at the] local and global [levels]” therefore necessitating political responses that mirror this spatial relationship.<sup>169</sup> Thus, this body of research is characterized by the effort to assess the impacts of cities and their interactions with other political actors, along and across vertical and horizontal axes, in direct opposition to those who seek to analyze urban politics in isolation.<sup>170</sup> The vast majority of this work has been

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<sup>166</sup> Deangelo & Harvey, *The Jurisdictional Framework for Municipal Action*, p.112.

<sup>167</sup> Lambright *et al*, *Urban Reactions to the Global Warming Issue*, p. 466.

<sup>168</sup> Deangelo and Harvey, *The Jurisdictional Framework for Municipal Action*, p. 114.

<sup>169</sup> Betsill and Bulkeley, *Cities and Climate Change*, p. 12. See also Elizabeth Malone and Steve Rayner. *Ten suggestions for policymakers: Guidelines from an international social science assessment of human choice and climate change* in *Human Choice and Climate Change*, Malone and Rayner (eds). (Columbus: Batelle Press, 1997). Rayner and Malone’s summary paper from the 1997 Vancouver Social Sciences Conference provides another excellent example of this approach, calling for a holistic and situated response to the challenges posed by climate change, including an increased emphasis on local and regional responses.

<sup>170</sup> Betsill and Bulkeley, *Cities and Climate Change*; Bulkeley *et al*, *Environmental Governance*; Anna R. Davies, *Local action for climate change: transnational networks and the Irish experience*. *Local Environment* Vol 10,

oriented towards the examination of municipal policy in the US,<sup>171</sup> Europe,<sup>172</sup> and Australia.<sup>173</sup> It must be noted that there is a relative paucity of Canadian research into this topic, with only a handful of papers published over the past decade.<sup>174</sup> Emerging from this body of literature is an effort to identify the linkage networks that are tying together municipalities within, and across, national borders, and to assess the impact of such networks on local policy actors. These efforts, which can be compiled loosely under the rubric of transnational municipal network (TMN) evaluation, although still in their infancy, provide some interesting insights into this phenomenon.

*Theorizing Around the State: Network Actors:*

Academic investigation into network forms of governance is centered, for the most part, on assessment of the nature and impact of policy networks, which are defined as “structures that regulate the interactions of state and civil society actors in the governance process.”<sup>175</sup> Within this framework, policy networks are conceived of

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No. 1 (2005) pp. 21-40; Harriet Bulkeley and Kristine Kern. *Local Government and the Governing of Climate Change in Germany and the UK*. *Urban Studies*, Vol 43, No. 12 (November 2006) pp. 2237-2259; Lindseth, *The CCP Campaign*; Andanova et al, *Transnational Climate Change Governance*. These approaches can be meaningfully contrasted with the isolated approach favoured by Hall & Pfeiffer (see Betsill & Bulkeley, *Cities and Climate Change*, p. 26).

<sup>171</sup> Betsill and Bulkeley, *Cities and Climate Change*; Betsill, *Mitigating Climate Change in US cities*; Slocum, *Consumer Citizens*.

<sup>172</sup> Betsill and Bulkeley, *Cities and Climate Change*; Bulkeley et al, *Environmental Governance*; Bulkeley & Kern, *Local Government and the Governing of Climate Change in Germany and the UK*; Davies, *Local action for climate change: transnational networks and the Irish experience*; Lindseth, *The CCP Campaign*; Andanova et al, *Transnational Climate Change Governance*; Mikael Granberg. *Swedish Local Authorities and Climate Governance: “Multidimensional” Networking in Action?* (Paper for presentation at the Nordic Political Science Association XIV Congress, Aug 11 – 13, 2005 at the University of Reykjavik; Elander et al, *Multilevel Governance, Networking cities and Climate Change; Experiences from two Swedish Cities*.

<sup>173</sup> Betsill and Bulkeley, *Cities and Climate Change*.

<sup>174</sup> Bradford, *Why Cities Matter*; Bradford, *Place Matters and Multi-Level Governance*; Gore and Robinson, *Barriers to Canadian Municipal Response to Climate Change*; Parker & Rowlands, *City Partners Maintain Climate Change Action*. These papers provide the exceptions to the general paucity of research in this field.

<sup>175</sup> Eric Montpetit. *Misplaced Distrust: Policy Networks and the Environment in France, the United States, and Canada*. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003) p. 4; see also Michael Howlett. *Do networks matter? Linking policy network structure to policy outcomes: evidence from four Canadian policy sectors 1990–2000*. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 35, (2002) pp. 235–267.



as being composed of various interest groups (whether civil society-based or private sector) organized around a particular government department. Such networks are typically issue-oriented, and involve varying levels of cooperation and conflict depending upon the relative power relationship between the government department and the other actors.<sup>176</sup> However, this policy network approach is of limited value when assessing the impact of TMN's such as the CCP/PCP, as a result of what Betsill and Bulkeley refer to as the "quasi-governmental" nature of the network.<sup>177</sup> Betsill and Bulkeley support this categorization by asserting that the CCP is both a non-state actor (in its advocacy, lobbying, and autonomous goal-setting activities) as well as a state actor (in that its membership is composed entirely of local government officials, and its funding is derived entirely from the federal government) and, therefore, it is more accurately understood as a member in a variety of other policy networks.<sup>178</sup> Thus, traditional forms of network analysis, which seek to explore the connection between network form and function,<sup>179</sup> or that seek to envision networks as "patterns of regular and purposive relations among like government units working across the borders that divide countries from one another and that demarcate the 'domestic' from the 'international' sphere,"<sup>180</sup> fail to capture the full impact of TMN's such as the CCP/PCP.

In recognition of this gap in the theory, there has been, in recent years, an increase in the number of efforts to explore the origins and impacts of TMN's, which

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<sup>176</sup> Montpetit, *Misplaced Distrust*, p. 44. Montpetit, citing a study conducted by William D. Coleman, presents a matrix of the possible policy network forms, based upon the level of inclusion offered to civil society/private sector actors.

<sup>177</sup> Betsill and Bulkeley, *Cities and Climate Change*, p. 30.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>179</sup> Howlett, *Do Networks Matter?* p. 237.

<sup>180</sup> Slaughter, *A New World Order*, p. 215.

can be defined broadly as coalitions of municipal actors stretching across national borders, in an effort to address the inadequacy of policy network approaches. The number of TMN's operating in the area of climate change has increased significantly over the past decade or so, and as such TMN's have become a topic of increasing interest. The Cities for Climate Protection (CCP) international network, the C40, Energie-Cities, Islenet, and Fedarene have each garnered research attention over the past decade or so.<sup>181</sup> Analyses of these networks are grounded in the notion that they exert an independent impact on policy decisions, thus making them a relevant unit of study. This line of thought is evident in recent academic works, which seek to develop typologies of network impact and influence, by distinguishing between networks engaged in advocacy and information sharing as opposed to networks engaged in actual governance activities.<sup>182</sup> Working from Rosenau's formalized definition, in which governance "takes place through systems of rule in which an institution or actor influences or controls the behaviour of others,"<sup>183</sup> Andanova *et al* assert that "transnational governance occurs when networks operating in the transnational political sphere purposively steer constituent members to act."<sup>184</sup> The actions of TMN's such as the CCP (and PCP), especially their independent emissions reduction target setting, provide traction for this analytical distinction and underscore the relevance of this line of research.

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<sup>182</sup> Andanova *et al*, *Transnational Climate Change Governance*.

<sup>183</sup> Betsill and Bulkeley, *Cities and Climate Change*, p. 14. Betsill and Bulkeley cite Rosenau's *Governance, order, and change in world politics*, in J. Rosenau and E. Czempiel (eds) *Governance without Government: order and change in world politics*.

<sup>184</sup> Andanova *et al*, *Transnational Climate Change Governance*, p. 2.

Efforts at evaluating network impact are, therefore, oriented towards an assessment of how governance functions are enacted and the impact that such actions have on actual policy. Andanova *et al's* typology of transnational governance offers one such means to categorize and assess network impact. The functions of transnational networks are divided into three groupings: information sharing; capacity building; and rule setting.<sup>185</sup> Although it is understood that many network activities will span more than one of these categories (PCP workshops, for example, involve both the sharing of information with local policy actors, as well as capacity building, through the communication of best practices and the forging of network connections) and most networks will engage in two or more of these activities, the Andanovan typology allows for the actions of TMN's to be distilled, grouped, and evaluated. In a similar vein, Selin and VanDeveer, observing a weakness in attempts in the literature to connect network activity with causal effect, propose four pathways along which network influence can be identified and assessed: strategic use of demonstration effects; market pricing and expansion; policy diffusion and learning; and norm creation and promulgation.<sup>186</sup> Each of Selin and VanDeveer's categories represent a means of isolating network activities, and although there are differences between their typology and that of Andanova *et al*, chapter four presents a supporting case for the notion that the two can be meaningfully combined to provide a means of assessing network impact.

In *Cities and Climate Change*, Betsill and Bulkeley assert that the impact of the CCP has been limited, due to an over-emphasis on information sharing, based on

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<sup>185</sup> Ibid, pp. 7-8.

<sup>186</sup> Selin and VanDeveer, *Political Science and Prediction*, p. 12.

a rationale for enacting climate change policies that is rooted in economic cost-linkage and capacity-building.<sup>187</sup> Their critique suggests that the CCP is over-dependent upon local policy “heroes,” pre-existing in-house policy programmes, and low impact efficiency improvements which offer economic co-benefits – what they refer to as the “low-hanging fruit” of local climate change policies.<sup>188</sup> Relatively little attention has been devoted to the relational impacts of TMN’s such as the CCP/PCP as regards their capacity to alter the local dynamic of issue construction and contestation. Selin and VanDeveer suggest that the impacts of this relational dynamic are real, and can be witnessed in the discursive shift at the local level, from “should we do anything” to “what kind of action should we take.”<sup>189</sup> However, there are some who are skeptical of the discursive impacts achieved by the CCP/PCP, as the deeper changes required to significantly reduce community-wide emissions have been much more difficult to address, and an implementation gap between published targets and actual emissions reductions has emerged. One explanation for this gap is the discursive framing approach adopted by the CCP. Gard Lindseth, employing a constructivist analysis of interest formation, asserts that the framing of the local response to climate change adopted by the CCP/PCP has emphasized limited economically-oriented actions, the consequence of which has been a narrow engagement along with correspondingly limited policy responses.<sup>190</sup> Policies and

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<sup>187</sup> Betsill and Bulkeley, *Cities and Climate Change*, pp. 183-185.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid, p. 188. These “low hanging fruit” policies represent efficiency gains, and comprise the first half of the McKinsey emissions reduction cost-curve.

<sup>189</sup> Selin and VanDeveer, *Political Science and Prediction*, p. 17. Aylett provides another example of research results supportive of the relational impact of network actors on local policy discourse.

<sup>190</sup> Lindseth, *The CCP Campaign*, p. 331.

programs at the local level, therefore, emphasize economic co-benefits and improvements in local conditions rather than the global impacts of local actions.<sup>191</sup>

In their comparative study of the nature and impact of linkages between select municipalities in the US, UK, and Australia and the CCP, Betsill and Bulkeley suggest that successful engagement with the network is premised upon local initiative/political will, a desire to access sources of program funding, and the pursuit of national and international prestige.<sup>192</sup> However, Anna Davies reminds us that, “empirical evaluation of these transnational climate change networks is geographically limited,”<sup>193</sup> and, as noted above, there is a virtual absence of any such studies conducted within a Canadian context. Therefore, it remains to be seen whether, and how, such generalizations apply to the Canadian iteration of the CCP, the PCP.

## **Conclusion**

As illustrated in this chapter, a gulf has emerged between the orthodox international relations theoretical approaches and the political realities that define efforts to respond politically to the challenge of climate change. The orthodox approaches of neorealism and neoliberal institutionalism were presented in order to illustrate the weaknesses inherent in focusing solely on the activities of states, motivated by the structural imperative of anarchy. While the analysis presented is insufficient to discard these approaches in their entirety, they were presented in order

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<sup>191</sup> Slocum, *Consumer Citizens*, p. 763. This point is underscored by a quick survey of municipal and provincial position papers and program outlines on climate change in Western Canada, in which mentions of global impacts of local actions, and any corresponding responsibility, are almost universally absent.

<sup>192</sup> Betsill and Bulkeley, *Cities and Climate Change*, p. 174.

<sup>193</sup> Davies, *Local Action for Climate Change*, p. 21.

to suggest that they are inadequate and address no more than a narrow slice of the multi-layered, multi-speed, and non-hierarchical political activities that characterize the contemporary political responses to climate change.<sup>194</sup> Indeed, the distinction between international and domestic politics has become blurred in some cases, adding further to the theoretical confusion when attempting to discern who it is that is actually “governing” the response to climate change. This chapter has outlined the case for alternative theoretical approaches, namely constructivism and multilevel governance, to bridge this gulf by providing insight into the social, intersubjective nature of identity and preference formation, taking place amongst political actors at the sub-, supra-, and non-state levels, across and around traditional hierarchical pathways.

There are two centrally important points that emerge from this chapter that will be explored in the remainder of this thesis. First, the engaging with the process of identity and interest construction allows for insight into the dynamic process whereby various actors interact to frame the issue and establish the potential set of actions to address the problem(s) of climate change. The discursive dynamics addressed by the constructivist approach allow for a much richer analysis of the political responses occurring at various levels of governance. It also provides the theoretical framework within which to explore new forms of international relationships, including the linkage networks binding together municipalities within, and across, national borders.

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<sup>194</sup> There are a number of other heterodox approaches to the study of international relations that have not been discussed here. Among these are feminist, neo-marxist, and peace & conflict studies. These approaches all, in various ways, challenge the assumptions of orthodox theory outlined in brief in this chapter.

Secondly, the inclusion of local policy actions within the analysis of the international response to climate change creates theoretical space within which such activities can be assessed. This represents the effort to identify *who* the “various actors” involved in the dynamic of interest construction are. Rather than being relegated to the political periphery, or subordinated to the dominance of the state, local policy actors and their efforts to work alongside, or in the case of Canada, outside and ahead of, national government are recognized and considered as worthy of analytical attention.

The chapter to follow presents a detailed description of the research findings resulting from this study, in order to establish the goals and activities of the PCP, as well as the climate policies developed and implemented by both case study cities over the past twenty years. This sets the stage for the final chapter, which draws on the two central points established in this chapter, namely the importance of interests as socially constructed and the relevance of local actors to the process of construction, in assessing the impact of the PCP linkage network on climate change policy in Winnipeg and Toronto.

### *Chapter Three: Case Study Analysis*

In attempting to assess the impact of the PCP on municipal climate change policy in Canada, this paper builds upon the application of the theoretical insights drawn from constructivism and multilevel governance outlined in the preceding chapter. However, before such an analysis can be conducted, the empirical structure upon which it is based must first be introduced. The first section of this chapter introduces local climate change policy actions in Europe, the US, and Canada, in order to situate this project in a broader context. The section to follow introduces the specific entities under examination, namely the PCP and the case study cities of Winnipeg and Toronto. The case study cities are assessed on a variety of demographic comparators, in order to identify and isolate significant differences between them. This allows for certain variables to be bracketed out of the analysis, such as financial and institutional capacity, since they cannot be controlled for within the scope of this project.

In the course of profiling these two cities, the case for their inclusion is developed, based on their respective levels of engagement with the PCP, the general trajectory of their respective climate change policy histories, and their current stage of policy development. Following this section, each case study city is explored in respect to their actual climate change policy history. Both Winnipeg and Toronto are examined in detail, and the climate change policies and programs, targets and trajectories of each traced. Based on a review of primary policy documents and publications, data gathered from interviews with key policy actors in both cities, and information gleaned from secondary sources, this section paints a detailed picture of



the actual policy actions taken in each city, setting the stage for an assessment, in the following chapter, of the impact of the PCP on climate change policy in each.

### **Context: Local Climate Change Policy**

As noted in the introductory chapter of this thesis, cities are emerging as a vital and important policy locus for the response to climate change. The Fourth Assessment Report issued by the IPCC in 2007 includes the following three pieces of information that help to underscore the relevance of the issue at the municipal level: the rate of sea-level rise has increased over the past decade by 180% to its current level of 3.1 mm per year; the past thirty-five years have seen an increase in the frequency and severity of extreme weather events, with Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans and the Cyclone Nargis in Burma providing two prominent examples, and; there are projected to be thirty-three megacities with populations over eight million by 2015, twenty-eight of which are in developing countries, and twenty-one of which are in coastal locations.<sup>195</sup> These trends are suggestive of the global importance of climate change as a municipal issue. Due to their proximity to the general public, the high (Western developed nations) and increasing (developing nations) percentage of national populations that live in major urban centres, and the correspondingly large and increasing percentage of emissions that are located within their territorial jurisdiction, cities have a major role to play in abating GHG emissions and adapting to the impacts of climate change. This section outlines some of the actions being taken at the municipal level in a variety of national contexts.

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<sup>195</sup> ; A. Kreimer, M. Arnold, and A. Carlin, eds.; Building Safer Cities: The Future of Disaster Risk; Disaster Risk Management Series No. 3 (The World Bank, 2003) Table 8.1, p. 103.

Despite the lack of concerted policy action at the federal level of government in the United States, there have been a number of American municipalities that have taken aggressive steps to reduce GHG emissions and prepare for the impacts of climate change. San Francisco has adopted a comprehensive Climate Action Plan, with a targeted community-wide GHG reduction of 20% (baselined to 1990) by 2012. The plan includes a \$100 million bond initiative to foster and fund renewable power sources for civic buildings, a building standard that requires all city construction over 5,000 square feet to meet LEED silver certification, a solid waste diversion target of 75% by 2010 and 100% by 2020,<sup>196</sup> and the first carbon tax in the United States, introduced in May 2008, consisting of a 4.4% levy on each tonne of carbon produced by large emitters.<sup>197</sup> The City of Seattle has committed to aggressive emissions reduction targets as well, with a target of 7% reduction in community-wide emissions (baselined to 1990) by 2012. The city committed the municipally-owned public utility to a target of becoming carbon neutral, via efficiency improvements and investment in renewable energy production, has made significant investments in public transportation infrastructure, and has achieved major efficiency gains in civic operations.<sup>198</sup> New York City provides a final example of a major US city that has committed to a significant climate change target, aiming for a 20% reduction (baselined to 1995) of community-wide emissions by 2010. Efforts to attain this target include funding for energy efficiency upgrades in civic buildings, the creation

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<sup>196</sup> Climate Group (2005) Low Carbon Leaders: Cities. Berkeley, California: The Climate Group. May 5, 2008: [http://theclimategroup.org/assets/resources/low\\_carbon\\_leader\\_cities.pdf](http://theclimategroup.org/assets/resources/low_carbon_leader_cities.pdf), p. 6.

<sup>197</sup> CBC News website. "Carbon Taxes: A Global Perspective." Accessed June 18, 2008: <http://www.cbc.ca/canada/story/2008/06/19/f-carbon-tax-map.html>

<sup>198</sup> Climate Group. Low Carbon Leaders, p. 7.

of a series of tax incentives to foster energy efficient architecture, installation of solar and wind energy systems, and the purchase of over 300 hybrid-electric buses for New York Transit.<sup>199</sup>

While much attention has been devoted to the progressive targets and impressive emissions reduction performance of various European states, such performance has been supported by actions taken at the municipal level. Under the leadership of ex-Mayor Ken Livingstone, London emerged as a world leader and has established a targeted reduction of GHG emissions by 20% (baselined to 1990) by 2010. Policies and projects developed in support of this target include: the introduction of a congestion charge in 2003 that is estimated to have reduced traffic-related emissions by 19% and, in concert with increased funding for public transportation, has led to a 40% increase in bus usage; and a comprehensive energy strategy that includes targets for renewable energy production and increased energy efficiency in civic buildings.<sup>200</sup> Copenhagen has established a target of 30% reduction in community-wide emissions (baselined to 1990) by 2005, and has implemented a series of policies in support of this goal. The city has made massive investments in renewable energy, mostly in wind and solar energy systems, mandated energy efficiency audits in all buildings over 1500 square metres, and banned the installation of electric heating systems in new buildings in favour of district heating systems. The city is also famous for its investments in bicycle infrastructure, leading to over 30% of all Copenhageners cycling to work.<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> Ibid, p. 12.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid, p. 13.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid, p. 14.

While Canada is not noted for its federal ambition or performance in cutting GHG emissions, there are a number of Canadian cities that have made significant commitments and efforts towards addressing climate change. Toronto, which is profiled in detail at a later point in this chapter, is recognized as a world leader in the municipal response to climate change.<sup>202</sup> Vancouver has established a targeted reduction in community-wide GHG emissions of 33% (baselined to 2008) by 2020 and 80% (baselined to 1990) by 2050, and has committed to ensuring that all new building construction is carbon neutral by 2030.<sup>203</sup> In support of these targets, the city has recently adopted EcoDensity, a city planning charter committing the city to “make environmental sustainability a primary goal in all city planning decisions,”<sup>204</sup> enacted a successful landfill gas recovery program, made significant investments in public transportation, evidenced by a 20% increase in bus ridership over the past decade as well as a decrease in vehicle trips in and out of the city of 10% over the same period, and requires all new civic buildings to meet LEED gold certification.<sup>205</sup> Calgary, despite enormous increases in population over the past decade, has developed significant corporate emissions reduction targets, aiming for a 50% reduction (baselined to 1990) by 2012, and has achieved impressive results as corporate emissions have been reduced by 4% as of 2006. The city has fostered significant investments in wind energy, via a mandated level of renewable energy for

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<sup>202</sup> Ibid, p. 9.

<sup>203</sup> City of Vancouver. *Climate Protection Progress Report – 2007*. Accessed June 17, 2008: [http://vancouver.ca/sustainability/climate\\_protection.htm](http://vancouver.ca/sustainability/climate_protection.htm).

<sup>204</sup> City of Vancouver. “EcoDensity: What is Next?” Accessed June 17, 2008: <http://www.vancouver-ecodensity.ca/content.php?id=42>.

<sup>205</sup> City of Vancouver. *Climate Protection Progress Report – 2007*, pp. 5-6.

all city operations of 75%, has developed landfill gas capture projects, and has made significant efficiency improvements in civic operations.<sup>206</sup>

### **Context: Transnational Municipal Networks**

What is interesting to note about the cities mentioned in the preceding section is that they are all members of one or more transnational networks. Over the past decade, a number of networks have emerged in order to provide a mechanism for fostering and supporting political engagement with climate change, link together cities within and across national borders in order to share information, knowledge, and build capacity, and create a larger profile for municipal political actors in order to influence political (via advocacy efforts) and market dynamics (via combined purchasing power and buying practices). In addition to the PCP, which is the subject of this paper and is profiled in detail in this chapter, there are a number of other networks that are worthy of introduction.

The US Mayors Agreement on Climate Change is comprised of over seven hundred American municipalities (including San Francisco, Seattle, and New York) who have collectively agreed to reduce GHG emissions by 7% (baselined to 1990) by 2012. The network acts to share best practices among members, engages in advocacy efforts with state and federal governments and has recently been successful in obtaining a \$2 billion annual Energy and Environmental Block Grant to help cities combat global warming, and offers a variety of supportive tools, templates, and

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<sup>206</sup> City of Calgary. "Climate Change". Accessed June 18, 2008: <http://content.calgary.ca/CCA/City+Hall/Business+Units/Environmental+Management/Climate+Change/Climate+Change.htm>.

policy guidelines to member municipalities.<sup>207</sup> The Clinton Climate Initiative C40 Cities: Climate Leadership Group is a collection of the world's largest cities joined together in a collective effort to tackle climate change. This network aims to assist member cities in reducing GHG emissions by pooling the buying power of large cities and thus exerting an impact on market dynamics, providing technical support to cities in the areas of building efficiency, waste management, transportation, water and sanitation, and energy production, and providing a forum for inter-city networking regarding best practices and information sharing.<sup>208</sup> Fedarene, IsleNet and Energie-Cites are all European climate change networks comprised of local governments and regional authorities. Each is oriented towards information and best practices sharing, providing a forum for networking activities, and advocating for member interests at higher levels of government.<sup>209</sup>

### **Network Profile: Partners for Climate Protection**

As the central causal agent under examination in this study, it is essential to identify the institutional history, operational goals, and methodological tools embodied the Partners for Climate Protection (PCP). The roots of the PCP can be traced back to 1993 when the nascent Urban CO2 Project was transformed into the CCP, leading to the development of specific policy programs, services, and dedicated staffing. The PCP was officially formed in 1998 as a merger between ICLEI's Cities for Climate Protection (CCP) program and the Federation for Canadian

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<sup>207</sup> Mayors Climate Protection Center. Accessed June 19, 2008: <http://www.usmayors.org/climateprotection/>.

<sup>208</sup> C40 Cities: Climate Leadership Group. Accessed June 19, 2008: <http://www.c40cities.org/solutions/>.

<sup>209</sup> Information on each can be found at: Fedarene. Accessed June 19, 2008: <http://www.fedarene.org/>; IsleNet. Accessed June 19, 2008: <http://www.europeanislands.net/?secid=1>; Energie-Cites. Accessed June 19, 2008: <http://www.energie-cites.org/>.

Municipalities' (FCM) 20% Club.<sup>210</sup> The PCP is a partnership between the FCM and ICLEI (the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives), in which the FCM has the lead role on day-to-day operations, policy development, government relations and funding, while ICLEI provides international linkages, technical support, and the broad framework of targets and methodology for the program.<sup>211</sup> Funding for the PCP is derived from the Green Municipal Fund (GMF), a federally funded pool of money administered by the FCM that is intended to provide capacity-building loans and grants to municipal governments in order to foster sustainable municipal development in Canada.<sup>212</sup> The PCP currently has a membership of 157 Canadian municipalities, accounting for over 60% of Canada's population and exerting control, whether direct or indirect, over more than 50% of Canadian GHG emissions.<sup>213</sup> The broader international coalition of cities, which comprises the CCP network, has grown to a membership of over 690 municipalities, spanning six continents, and features operational networks in the United States, Australia, Europe, Japan, Latin America, Mexico, New Zealand, South Africa, South Asia, and Southeast Asia in addition to the Canadian iteration.<sup>214</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> Federation of Canadian Municipalities. *Partners for Climate Protection Annual Report: 2003-2004*. Accessed March 27, 2008: <http://www.sustainablecommunities.fcm.ca/Partners-for-Climate-Protection/Resources-Tools.asp>, p. 12.

<sup>211</sup> Federation of Canadian Municipalities. "About Partners for Climate Protection." Accessed March 27, 2008: <http://www.sustainablecommunities.fcm.ca/Partners-for-Climate-Protection/>.

<sup>212</sup> Federation for Canadian Municipalities. "The Green Municipal Fund." Accessed March 27, 2008: <http://www.sustainablecommunities.fcm.ca/GMF/>. The GMF was created as a means of allowing the Federal government to by-pass the traditional taboo regarding direct federal-municipal funding.

<sup>213</sup> Federation for Canadian Municipalities. *Partners for Climate Protection Annual Report: 2004-2005*. Accessed March 27, 2008: <http://www.sustainablecommunities.fcm.ca/Partners-for-Climate-Protection/Resources-Tools.asp>, p. 7.

<sup>214</sup> International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives. Accessed March 3, 2008: <http://www.iclei.org/index.php?id=800>.

The PCP program, following the CCP template, is built upon the provision of three core functions: target setting, technical support, and network building. The primary role of the PCP is to establish a framework of emissions reduction targets, which member communities commit to achieving upon joining the network. The current target for PCP members is a reduction of corporate emissions (resulting from civic operations) by 20% below 2000 levels and a reduction of community emissions by 6% below 2000 levels within 10 years of joining the network.<sup>215</sup> This separation between corporate and community emissions is intended to provide a wedge (which I have defined for the purposes of this paper as a means of establishing local political engagement and getting the issue of climate change onto the local council agenda) to engage municipal government with emissions reduction efforts. The connection between reducing corporate emissions and benefiting from efficiency gains creates an immediate hook upon which local policy actors can hang the issue of climate change policy. For example, one of the interview respondents noted in response to a question about the traction of issue framing in local city council that,

...the obvious [approach] is [to start with] those areas that [local government] can control – that’s what they are starting with. So [local policy actors] can save some energy and save money, by doing all the energy efficiency improvements they can reduce energy consumption and also reduce GHG’s at the same time. Climate change was initially explained to municipal government as energy efficiency and conservation – do this, save some money, and as a co-benefit you reduce your emissions.<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>215</sup> Federation of Canadian Municipalities. *PCP Sample Council Resolution*. Accessed February 18, 2008: <http://www.sustainablecommunities.fcm.ca/partners-for-climate-protection/>, p. 2.

<sup>216</sup> Interview PI002. Conducted February 28, 2008.



This point is further underscored by the statement of one city official, who, when asked about the forces that were propelling climate change policies along, responded:

...what you've seen at departmental levels is massive efficiencies within the departments that have been achieved, often times things like fuel, hybrid vehicles, fleet management services, have seen great benefits even though they were never designed to [reduce emissions].<sup>217</sup>

These responses illustrate the local motivations that have led the PCP to develop an approach based on linking the issue of climate change to other, more immediately tangible, local concerns such as increasing operational efficiency and saving money.

The second central role played by the PCP is in the provision of technical assistance and support activities to member municipalities. These efforts are couched in the five-milestone framework for emissions reductions utilized by the PCP, which all member municipalities have adopted in their efforts to develop a policy response. These milestones provide a generic guideline for member cities, taking them through emissions inventory development, through goal setting and plan development, and ending with plan implementation and review.<sup>218</sup> The actual five milestones are: create a GHG inventory; set emission reduction targets; develop a local action plan; implement the plan; and monitor progress and report results. In support of this framework, the PCP provides a number of technical tools. Among these are an emissions inventory software package, emissions calculation coefficients and a set of

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<sup>217</sup> Interview WI002. Conducted February 19, 2008.

<sup>218</sup> Federation of Canadian Municipalities. *Partners for Climate Protection Annual Report: 2004-2005*. Accessed June 18, 2008: <http://www.sustainablecommunities.fcm.ca/Partners-for-Climate-Protection/Resources-Tools.asp>, p. 11.

protocols for completing a GHG inventory.<sup>219</sup> As well, the PCP supplies a set of support documents, including among others a *Quick Action Guide* for municipal policy actors that outlines the top twenty cost-effective activities that local governments can enact, *The Business Case for GHG Reductions*, which connects fiscal savings to climate change policies, and a *Model Climate Change Action Plan*, which provides a template for local policy actors to guide the process of developing a local action plan.<sup>220</sup> All of these documents and tools are aimed at assisting local policy actors in the development of policies and local emissions reduction plans, and place a strong emphasis on overcoming initial information deficiencies and linking climate change policy to local concerns, most evidently to the potential for local cost-savings. Furthermore, the PCP conducts workshops for local policy actors, and provides day-to-day technical support to member municipalities. Examples of such activities include issue or sector specific webinars, the *Sustainable Communities Orientation Workshop* for new members, and responses to member questions regarding PCP protocols and software, data collection, emission inventory preparation, and target setting.<sup>221</sup> However, the provision of these services is limited and reactive in nature, as a result of severe budget and resource constraints. The situation is such that one individual familiar with PCP operations characterized it as,

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<sup>219</sup> Federation of Canadian Municipalities. *GHG Inventory Quantification Support Spreadsheet; Electricity Coefficients Update for Inventory Quantification Support Spreadsheet; CCP/PCP Protocols for Completing a GHG Inventory*; and, *Estimated Inventory Guide*. All documents accessed June 18, 2008: <http://sustainablecommunities.fcm.ca/Partners-for-Climate-Protection/Resources-Tools.asp>.

<sup>220</sup> The documents cited, as well as all other support documents available to PCP members, are all available for download at: <http://www.sustainablecommunities.fcm.ca/Partners-for-Climate-Protection/Resources-Tools.asp>

<sup>221</sup> Federation of Canadian Municipalities. *Partners for Climate Protection Annual Report: 2004-2005*. Accessed May 5, 2008: <http://www.sustainablecommunities.fcm.ca/Partners-for-Climate-Protection/Resources-Tools.asp>, pp. 13-14.

...part of our challenge with the program. I mean, right now the program has \$150,000 and half of [one staff-member]. So the reality of the program at the moment is that it can deal with only those municipalities that are interested in moving forward. The 75 that are [relatively inactive] have got to come to us and say they want to move forward. Ideally we would be going out and coming back to [those slow moving municipalities] with a council presentation, show them what their peers are doing, apply some peer pressure, maybe bring in another [chief administrative officer] to show them how they did it. In the early days of the program it was much easier to do that – there was some more funding and resources, and there were a lot fewer [members]. We had 2 people and 30 municipalities, now we have half of 1 [staff member] and 155 [members].<sup>222</sup>

This minimal level of funding points to the challenges facing the PCP in achieving its mandate to foster and support local climate change policy in member cities, and leads to a lack of capacity to effectively engage in networking activities. While no direct explanations were given for this limited level of funding, the reliance of the network on federal money and the low level of issue salience amongst the current Conservative government certainly point to a potential explanation.

The final primary role played by the PCP is perhaps its most fundamental, that of creating networking linkages between member municipalities. The PCP is, above all else, a network that, in the words of one interviewee, allows “municipalities [to help] themselves. By providing a conduit for a guy in Winnipeg to talk to a guy in Calgary, we’re providing a significant benefit – that’s important stuff. We’re kind of like the center of the wheel.”<sup>223</sup> When asked to quantify the nature of these networking activities, one respondent commented that,

...first and foremost the PCP acts as a network, to share experiences and contacts between municipalities. So if municipality A is

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<sup>222</sup> Interview PI002. Conducted February 28, 2008.

<sup>223</sup> Interview PI001. Conducted February 28, 2008.

experiencing a challenge, then one of the easiest things we can do is get them in touch with municipality B and municipality C, who have experienced something similar, and just let the peers communicate together. If we don't have the solution, then somebody else in the field probably does.<sup>224</sup>

This form of non-linear interaction captures what the PCP perhaps does best although, paradoxically, there is little mention of networking activities or goals on either the PCP website or in annual reports. This provokes the thought that perhaps these networking activities have emerged as a primary capacity despite a stated lack of intent, as an unintended result of the resource constraints facing the network. It must be noted that the relevance of such networking activities appears to be diminished when looking at leading edge cities as there are minimal benefits to be derived from such network connections when a city is far out in advance of others in the network. As well, in the absence of highly motivated local policy actors in member cities, the incapacity of PCP staff to actively foster networking and inter-municipal connections places a strong limitation on the benefits that can be derived from this function.

Together, these three functions (target setting, technical support, and networking) form the foundation of PCP activities, and embody the tools with which the PCP seeks to impact upon local climate change policy in Canada. The following sections introduce the case study cities selected for this study, both PCP members, in order to present a general overview of both cities as well as the trajectory of the

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<sup>224</sup> Interview PI002. Conducted February 28, 2008.

policy engagement with climate change that each has followed over the past twenty-five years.

### **Case Study Cities: Background Profiles of Winnipeg and Toronto**

The profiles presented below have been included for two significant reasons. First, they offer an overview of the case study cities included in this paper. This allows for a brief familiarization with the demographic and economic conditions in each city, as well as the general trajectory that each has been following over the past decade or so. Second, it allows for a quick comparison between the two cities, in order to justify their selection as viable case studies for this project. On the matter of this second point, I elaborate a bit further on the reasoning for their selection in the section immediately following the individual profiles.

#### *Winnipeg*

The first city selected for this study is Winnipeg, Manitoba. Located in the southern end of the province, Winnipeg is the capital city of Manitoba and is the eighth largest census metropolitan area in Canada.<sup>225</sup> Winnipeg is by far the most populous city in Manitoba, with over 60% of the total provincial population located within the capital city region.<sup>226</sup> Winnipeg has a total population of just under 695,000, up by 4.1% over the past decade.<sup>227</sup> Population growth has occurred mostly at the periphery of the city, as there has been a general trend that has seen the city

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<sup>225</sup> Statistics Canada "2006 Census: Portrait of the Canadian Population in 2006." Accessed May 14, 2008: <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census06/analysis/popdwell/Subprov3.cfm>.

<sup>226</sup> Statistics Canada "2006 Census: Portrait of the Canadian Population in 2006." Accessed May 14, 2008: <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census06/data/profiles/ct/CTdata.cfm?Lang=E&CTCODE=4356&CATYPE=CM>.

<sup>227</sup> Statistics Canada. "Community Profile: Winnipeg." Accessed May 14, 2008: <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census06/data/profiles/ct/CTdata.cfm?Lang=E&CTCODE=4356&CATYPE=CM>.

sprawling out towards previously undeveloped agricultural land as individuals move away from the city core.<sup>228</sup>

The City of Winnipeg Charter Act, a provincial act of legislation that grants jurisdictional powers to the municipal government, governs Winnipeg. The city, originally incorporated in 1873, has undergone substantial changes in the interceding 135 years. Most importantly, the Act was amended in 1971 to amalgamate thirteen rural municipalities, towns, and cities into a unified City of Winnipeg, colloquially referred to as the “unicity.”<sup>229</sup> The city has undergone further consolidation in the years since, most notably in a 1992 amendment that reduced the number of city communities and wards and consolidated political power. In 2002, the province replaced the City of Winnipeg Act of 1972 with a new charter. This new City of Winnipeg Act was intended to form the basis of a new relationship between the province and city, and endow the city with a broader set of jurisdictional powers and an increased level of autonomy.<sup>230</sup>

The municipal government of the City of Winnipeg consists of fifteen city councilors and a mayor, in addition to a bureaucracy of just over 8,330 employees.<sup>231</sup>

The City of Winnipeg has a single tier council-mayor system with a unicameral

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<sup>228</sup> Statistics Canada. “2006 Census: Portrait of the Canadian Population in 2006.” Accessed May 14, 2008: <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census06/analysis/popdwel/tables.cfm#popchange>.

<sup>229</sup> City of Winnipeg. “History of City Government.” Accessed April 28, 2008: <http://www.winnipeg.ca/Services/CityLife/HistoryOfWinnipeg/CityGovernment.stm>. The cities involved in the amalgamation were: R.M. of Charleswood, R.M. of Fort Garry, R.M. of North Kildonan, R.M. of Old Kildonan, Town of Tuxedo, City of East Kildonan, City of St. Vital, City of Transcona, City of St. Boniface, City of St. James-Assiniboia, City of Winnipeg, and The Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg.

<sup>230</sup> City of Winnipeg. . “History of City Government.” Accessed April 28, 2008: <http://www.winnipeg.ca/Services/CityLife/HistoryOfWinnipeg/CityGovernment.stm>.

<sup>231</sup> City of Winnipeg. *Chief Administrative Office Report* (2006. Accessed April 28, 2008: <http://www.winnipeg.ca/cao/pdfs/BusinessPlansByService/OrgSupportSvc.pdf> - 2008-02-26. ) p. 236. This was the size of the City of Winnipeg bureaucracy as of 2006.

legislative body. The current mayor, Sam Katz, was first elected in 2004 and subsequently re-elected in 2006.

The City of Winnipeg has a capital budget of just over \$421 million, and a preliminary operating budget of just over \$767 million for the 2008 year.<sup>232</sup> The city as a whole has experienced strong economic performance over the past four years, with an average real GDP growth rate of 2.9%.<sup>233</sup> The economy, fueled by a low cost of living and a subsequent low cost of doing business, is expected to continue adding jobs over the next five years, as the economy is forecast to grow by an average yearly rate of 2.8% over this timeframe.<sup>234</sup>

#### *Toronto*

The second case study selected for this research project is the City of Toronto. Located in the south-eastern quadrant of Ontario, Toronto is the provincial capital as well as Canada's most populous city. The City of Toronto, with a population of just over 2.5 million, is not only Canada's largest city, but, along with the surrounding municipalities that form the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) is also the sixth largest urban agglomeration in North America.<sup>235</sup> The population of the city has grown by just slightly under 1% over the time span between the 2001<sup>236</sup> and 2006 national

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<sup>232</sup> City of Winnipeg, *2008 Adopted Capital Budget: 2009 to 2013 Five Year Forecast*. Adopted by Council December 18, 2007, p. 1. City of Winnipeg *2008-2010 Preliminary Operating Budget*. Submitted to Council March 6, 2008, p. 1. Both accessed April 29, 2008: [http://www.winnipeg.ca/finance/documents\\_page.stm](http://www.winnipeg.ca/finance/documents_page.stm).

<sup>233</sup> City of Winnipeg, "Chief Administrative Officer Secretariat." *Trends Report: Key Demographic, Economic & City Government Information*. Accessed April 29, 2008: <http://www.winnipeg.ca/Services/CityLife/WorkingInWinnipeg/EconoDemo.stm>, p. 10.

<sup>234</sup> City of Winnipeg, *Trends Report*, p. 12.

<sup>235</sup> Statistics Canada "Community Profiles – Toronto." Accessed May 14, 2008:

<http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census06/data/profiles/community/Details/Page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CMA&Code1=535&Geo2=PR&Code2=35&Data=Count&SearchText=toronto&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&B1=All&Custom>.

<sup>236</sup> Population data for the City of Toronto prior to the 2001 Census is unavailable, due to the fact that the city amalgamated in 1998.

population census. However, when one pans back and looks at the Census Metropolitan Area (an area which includes several of the surrounding municipalities, but is slightly smaller than the GTA) these population growth rates increase significantly, up to 20% over the 1996 to 2006 decade, making this region not only the largest but also one of the most dynamic and fast-growing in Canada.<sup>237</sup> With over 20% of the total provincial population located within its boundaries, the City of Toronto is the largest single urban centre within the province of Ontario.<sup>238</sup>

Similar to Winnipeg, a significant portion of this population growth has occurred at the periphery of the city. This growth does not appear to have been driven entirely by a hollowing out of urban core neighbourhoods, as these appear to have maintained high levels of density, especially in the central downtown neighbourhoods.<sup>239</sup> However, it must be noted that there are significant levels of population sprawl occurring when one takes into account the commuter municipalities surrounding the City of Toronto (examples of which include Mississauga, Richmond Hill, Markham, Vaughan, and, slightly further out, Oakville and Brampton). These municipalities have expanded at a pace far in excess of Toronto, with five-year growth rates ranging from 23% (Richmond Hill) up to 33% (Brampton).<sup>240</sup> While not directly relevant to this study, the impact of these periphery communities, and the growth rates that they are experiencing, are worthy of note in

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<sup>237</sup> Statistics Canada. "2006 Census: Portrait of the Canadian Population in 2006." Accessed May 3, 2008: <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census06/analysis/popdwell/Subprov3.cfm>.

<sup>238</sup> Statistics Canada. 2006 Census. "Community Profile: Toronto"

<sup>239</sup> Statistics Canada. 2006 Census. "Toronto Census Metropolitan Area Population Map." Accessed May 3, 2008: <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census06/analysis/popdwell/tables.cfm#popchange>.

<sup>240</sup> Statistics Canada "2006 Census: Portrait of the Canadian Population in 2006." Accessed May 3, 2008: <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census06/analysis/popdwell/Subprov4.cfm>.



that they represent significant challenges to any municipal policy effort aimed at curbing GHG emissions.

The City of Toronto is, as are all Canadian municipalities, established and its jurisdictional powers delimited by provincial legislation. Originally incorporated in 1834, the City of Toronto has undergone a number of iterations along the path to its present day form. Notable evolutionary events occurred in 1967, as a number of smaller municipalities were dissolved into a collection of six municipalities organized into a metropolitan form of government, and in 1998, as those six municipalities were amalgamated into the single municipality of the City of Toronto that exists today – which is often referred to as the “mega-city.”<sup>241</sup> The City of Toronto Act was most recently amended in 2006 by Provincial Bill 53, increasing the powers of the municipal government.<sup>242</sup> These increases are embodied, generally, in a greater level of autonomy from the province, allowing for permissive power to pass by-laws relating to financial management, public assets of the city, the economic, social, and environmental well-being of the city, and city services, among others.<sup>243</sup> However, it must be noted that the city remains significantly financially dependent upon the province, with over 16% of capital expenditure funding coming from the Government of Ontario.<sup>244</sup>

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<sup>241</sup> The amalgamation proceeded despite high levels of voter opposition – for an example see the Toronto Star January 1, 2008 Online Edition. Accessed May 12, 2008: <http://www.thestar.com/comment/columnists/article/290172>.

<sup>242</sup> Province of Ontario. *Bill 53: An Act to revise the City of Toronto Acts, 1997 (Nos. 1 and 2), to amend certain public Acts in relation to municipal powers and to repeal certain private Acts relating to the City of Toronto.* Achieved Royal Assent June 12, 2006. Accessed May 3, 2008: [www.toronto.ca/committees/pdf/torontoact.pdf](http://www.toronto.ca/committees/pdf/torontoact.pdf).

<sup>243</sup> City of Toronto. “Background on the City of Toronto Act.” Accessed May 14, 2008: [http://www.toronto.ca/mayor\\_miller/summaryact.htm](http://www.toronto.ca/mayor_miller/summaryact.htm).

<sup>244</sup> City of Toronto. *2008 Adopted Capital Budget & 2009-2012 Capital Plan.* Approved by Council December 11, 2007. Accessed May 4, 2008: [http://www.toronto.ca/city\\_budget/index.htm](http://www.toronto.ca/city_budget/index.htm).

The municipal government of the City of Toronto consists of forty-four city councilors and a mayor,<sup>245</sup> in addition to a bureaucracy of roughly 27,000 employees.<sup>246</sup> The City of Toronto has a single tier council-mayor system, with a unicameral legislative body. The current mayor, David Miller, was first elected in 2003 and subsequently re-elected in 2006. The City of Toronto has a capital budget of just over \$1.6 billion, and an operating budget of just under \$8.2 billion dollars for the 2008 year.<sup>247</sup>

### *Summary of Case Study Profiles*

Recognizing, first of all, that a study of this nature is inherently limited in scope, it was my intent to select two cities that would offer a reasonable representation of the Canadian municipal landscape in terms of demography, population, and economy, as well as the level and extent of commitment to their respective policy response to the challenges of climate change. As can be seen in the preceding section, the cities of Winnipeg and Toronto have significantly divergent population characteristics. Winnipeg, though certainly not a small city, is one of the mid-range urban centres that exist in Canada. The city has experienced modest population growth over the past decade or so, and, partly as a function of its prairie locale, has had to contend with the challenge of urban sprawl. However, this sprawl has acted mostly to stretch the city out at its edges rather than lead to extensive growth in surrounding municipalities. Toronto, on the other hand, is representative of

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<sup>245</sup> City of Toronto. "Members of Toronto City Council 2006-2010." Accessed May 4, 2008: <http://app.toronto.ca/im/council/councillors.jsp>.

<sup>246</sup> City of Toronto. "Human Resources." Accessed May 11, 2008: <http://www.toronto.ca/divisions/hr.htm>.

<sup>247</sup> City of Toronto. *2008 Adopted Capital Budget & 2009-2012 Capital Plan*. Approved by Council December 11, 2007 p. 12. City of Toronto *2008 Recommended Operating Budget*. Approved by Council March 31, 2008, p. 2. Both documents accessed May 4, 2008: [http://www.toronto.ca/city\\_budget/index.htm](http://www.toronto.ca/city_budget/index.htm).

a truly global city, a large metropolitan centre with a highly diverse demographic composition. Toronto offers an opportunity to explore the response of Canada's largest and most financially well-endowed city to the challenges posed by climatic change. Toronto, however, is burdened with significant sprawl pressures as well – with shifts occurring towards the outlying commuter municipalities that surround the city itself. Economically, there is a difference of an order of magnitude between the two cities, as Winnipeg operates on a budget nearly one quarter that of Toronto.

As such, these two cities represent different regions of the municipal spectrum in Canada. This offers the opportunity to examine the impact of membership in the PCP on two cities of significantly different demographic and economic make-up. This will be important in attempting to assess the difference in policy responses between the two cities, as well as the differing impacts that network membership has had on each. The two cities, however, share a common institutional composition, in that both are single-tier municipalities with a mayor-council system. Both have undergone significant consolidation over the past quarter century, both consist of previously distinct municipalities that have been amalgamated together, and both are the capital cities of their respective provinces. As such, they are similar enough structurally to allow for meaningful comparison.

What is left now is to explore the climate change policy trajectory of each city over the past twenty to twenty-five years, in order to identify actual positions taken, programs developed, and policies enacted by each municipal government. This sets the table for the final chapter, in which the data presented is assessed in order to draw conclusions regarding the impact of the PCP in each city.

*Climate Change Policy Profile: Winnipeg*

The climate change policy history for the City of Winnipeg is marked by fits and starts, a relatively early engagement with the PCP followed by a lengthy period of inactivity, and a modest but limited policy effort to reduce corporate emissions that has, to date, failed to cross the corporate-community divide. As such, Winnipeg is representative of a city responding to the public pressures for engagement with the issue of climate change, but one that has had a difficult time crossing the dividing line between rhetorical commitment and real emissions reducing performance.

The history of climate change policy in Winnipeg dates back to the 25<sup>th</sup> of November, 1998, the date at which city council passed a resolution to join the PCP network.<sup>248</sup> Prior to this point, there are no records indicating that the city had expressly addressed issues related to climate change. At this point, the city committed itself to the PCP target of “reduc[ing] greenhouse gas emissions from municipal operations 20% below 1990 levels within ten years of joining the program, and to reduce community-wide greenhouse gas emissions at least six per cent below 1990 levels within ten years of joining the program.”<sup>249</sup> The city developed, in accordance with PCP milestone number one, a greenhouse gas inventory for the years of 1994, 1998, and a projection for 2010 emissions. This inventory includes both corporate as well as community emissions profiles, and PCP emissions inventory software and protocols were utilized in the process.<sup>250</sup>

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<sup>248</sup> City of Winnipeg. *Climate Change Action Plan*. Adopted September 2006. Accessed April 3, 2008: <http://www.winnipeg.ca/Interhom/GreenSpace/ClimateChange.stm>, p. 1.

<sup>249</sup> City of Winnipeg. *Towards a Sustainable Winnipeg: An Environmental Agenda*. Accessed April 3, 2008: [http://www.winnipeg.ca/cao/media/news/nr\\_2000/nr\\_20001215.stm](http://www.winnipeg.ca/cao/media/news/nr_2000/nr_20001215.stm), p. 4.

<sup>250</sup> City of Winnipeg *GHG Emissions Inventory: 1998*. Accessed April 3, 2008: [http://www.sustainablecommunities.fcm.ca/Partners-for-Climate-Protection/Milestone\\_Status.asp](http://www.sustainablecommunities.fcm.ca/Partners-for-Climate-Protection/Milestone_Status.asp), p. 2.

At this point, Winnipeg was a relatively early-adopter in terms of engagement with both the issue of climate change, as well as with the PCP itself. The Mayor at the time, Glen Murray, was personally committed to the issue and made efforts to push policy efforts through City Council. These efforts, though, were undermined by a general lack of political support within both council as well as the city bureaucracy. According to one interviewee,

...the Mayor got out there and put [climate change] in people's faces, he was out there talking to people about the responsibility of individual citizens and the responsibility of municipal governments.....there was leadership at the top of the pyramid, but very little below. It was like pushing a piece of string up a hill.<sup>251</sup>

This characterization underscores the difficulty in getting the issue of climate change onto the local political agenda in Winnipeg, and is suggestive of the space that exists for supportive networks such as the PCP to assist local policy actors in their efforts.

In January 2001, the city made its first efforts to institutionalize climate change concerns by creating the position of Environmental Coordinator, as a political appointee of the Mayor.<sup>252</sup> The Environmental Coordinator was tasked with the responsibility of liaising with internal departments as well as external bodies, with the goal of representing climate change concerns in the policy development process.<sup>253</sup> Despite this effort at institutionalization, there was still little actual policy movement. On top of the political resistance within City Council, there was a sense, at the time,

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<sup>251</sup> Interview WI003. Conducted January 31, 2008.

<sup>252</sup> City of Winnipeg. "News Release, December 15, 2000." Accessed April 3, 2008: [http://www.winnipeg.ca/cao/media/news/nr\\_2000/nr\\_20001215.stm](http://www.winnipeg.ca/cao/media/news/nr_2000/nr_20001215.stm).

<sup>253</sup> City of Winnipeg *Towards a Sustainable Winnipeg: An Environmental Agenda* (December 2000). Accessed April 3, 2008: [http://www.winnipeg.ca/cao/media/news/nr\\_2000/nr\\_20001215.stm](http://www.winnipeg.ca/cao/media/news/nr_2000/nr_20001215.stm), pp. 9-10.

of difficulty in converting policy decisions into administrative actions. One interview respondent characterized the situation at the time as one whereby,

when our first Environmental Coordinator was on the political side - he was a political appointee by the Mayor and so he had a lot of clout on the political side – things were moving. The challenge of the Environmental Coordinator being on the political side was that , well, administration’s not really doing it, they’re not really following through, there’s not that connect. The political side was saying “it shall be thus” but it wasn’t really translating across.<sup>254</sup>

Despite this sense of resistance, the city was actively supportive of local climate change policy responsibility, and the necessity for local policy action, signing the Municipal Leader’s Resolution on Climate Change in October of 2000,<sup>255</sup> and incorporating climate change concerns into the city’s long-term development plan, *Plan Winnipeg*, in 2001.<sup>256</sup> In 2002, the Civic Environment Committee (CEC) was formed, with a mandate to provide advice on environmental and sustainability issues, and also to monitor the implementation of environmental policy.<sup>257</sup> In 2004, city council adopted *Sustainable Winnipeg: A Comprehensive Environmental Strategy*, and published *Embracing Sustainability: An Environmental Priority and Implementation Plan for the City of Winnipeg*. These two documents outlined the commitment of the city of Winnipeg to reducing greenhouse gas emissions, and embedded sustainability concerns into the policy decision-making process. The commitments embodied in these plans are oriented towards a general engagement with environmental issues, but climate change is a unifying theme throughout as all

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<sup>254</sup> Interview WI002. Conducted February 19, 2008.

<sup>255</sup> City of Winnipeg *Towards a Sustainable Winnipeg: An Environmental Agenda*, p. 4.

<sup>256</sup> City of Winnipeg *Plan Winnipeg 2020 Vision: A Long Range Plan For City Council*. Adopted December 12, 2001. Accessed April 3, 2008: <http://winnipeg.ca/Services/government/PlanWinnipeg/>, p. 22.

<sup>257</sup> City of Winnipeg, *Civic Environmental Committee Annual Report: 2002*. Accessed April 4, 2008: [www.winnipeg.ca/clkdms/documents/epc/2003/a1947/03%20cec%20report%20attachment.pdf](http://www.winnipeg.ca/clkdms/documents/epc/2003/a1947/03%20cec%20report%20attachment.pdf) - 2003-04-17.

chapters, whether focused on waste, transportation, or land use, are linked to a climate perspective. These plans, however, suffered from a lack of specific detail regarding implementation, and one interviewee remarked that “the intents were there, but the way it was going to be operationalized was missing.”<sup>258</sup>

At this juncture two significant events took place that would prove to impact climate change policy efforts in the city of Winnipeg. First, there was a shift in city hall, as Mayor Murray departed in an attempt to enter into federal politics. The man elected to replace him was Sam Katz, who was subsequently re-elected to the position in 2006. Second, the position of Environmental Coordinator was shifted from the political to the administrative side of city government. This shift, though reflecting the decreased political clout of the position, allowed it to be insulated from the prevailing political winds, and helped create the space for policy initiatives to gain traction.<sup>259</sup> According to interview results, there appears to have been a lag in climate change policy action and attention at this point in time. One interviewee noted that “there were a few years where [climate change] fell off policy-wise,”<sup>260</sup> a statement that is supported by the observable gap in climate change policy, the abandonment of the *Sustainable Winnipeg: A Comprehensive Environmental Strategy*, and *Embracing Sustainability: An Environmental Priority and Implementation Plan for the City of Winnipeg* plans, and the non-renewal of the CEC in December 2005 which, having run the course of its mandate, was disbanded.

Yet, despite the lack of political support for aggressive climate change policy at

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<sup>258</sup> Interview W1003. Conducted January 31, 2008.

<sup>259</sup> This claim is based on statements made in Interviews W1001 and W1003.

<sup>260</sup> Interview W1002. Conducted February 19, 2008.

the Mayoral level at this time, some progress was made. In 2005 an interdepartmental task force was established to develop an emissions reduction plan for civic operations.<sup>261</sup> Having originally signed on to the PCP with the expectation of pursuing both corporate and community emissions reductions, the city now focused exclusively on the corporate side of the ledger. Having abandoned efforts to address community emissions, the city chose to update the emissions inventory compiled in 1998, and to compile a second inventory for 2003. This process culminated in the development of set of strategies for reducing corporate emissions, which were embodied in the *City of Winnipeg Climate Change Action Plan* published in April 2006. This plan was officially adopted by City Council in September of 2006, and commits the city to reduce corporate emissions by 20% (using a baseline year of 1998) by 2012.<sup>262</sup> The plan outlines a number of different policy initiatives aimed at reducing corporate emissions, including retrofits of civic facilities, reducing the size of the city fleet while upgrading to low-emissions vehicles, replacement of traffic signals with high-efficiency LED systems, and a series of information-based programs aimed at civic employees and departments.<sup>263</sup> The plan also commits the city, in accordance with the last PCP milestone, to monitoring corporate emissions performance and regularly reporting the results through quarterly reports. The city has been moderately compliant with this commitment, releasing reports for the first,<sup>264</sup> second,<sup>265</sup> third, and fourth quarters of 2007,<sup>266</sup> but there have been no

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<sup>261</sup> City of Winnipeg *Action Plan*, p. 2.

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.*, p.p 7-14.

<sup>264</sup> City of Winnipeg *Climate Change Action Plan Quarterly Status Report – First Quarterly Report. January 2007*. Submitted to the Executive Policy Committee January 15, 2007. Accessed April 4, 2008: <http://www.winnipeg.ca/Interhom/GreenSpace/ClimateChange.stm>.



quarterly reports released as of yet for the 2008 year.

Performance in reducing corporate emissions has been modest. The city has been quick to claim its' near-attainment of the stated target of a 20% reduction, with the latest quarterly report showing an 18.05% decrease in emissions as of 2006 (the October 2007 quarterly report included an updated 2006 corporate emissions inventory).<sup>267</sup> However, a significant portion of this reduction has been achieved as a result of the shift of emissions from the corporate on to the community ledger. The sale of Winnipeg Hydro, in the wording of the city's own *Action Plan*, had the effect of "displac[ing] a large amount of emissions. These are not actual greenhouse gas reductions, but these emissions are no longer part of the City's corporate inventory and fall outside the scope of [the] plan."<sup>268</sup> In addition, the 2006 inventory unearthed several calculation errors in the 2003 inventory, resulting in the restatement of these numbers and an increase in stated emission reductions.<sup>269</sup>

At present day, the city has nearly achieved the modest emissions reduction target of 20% (1998 baseline) entrenched in the 2006 *Action Plan*. The characterization of this performance, while worthy of some merit, is, especially in light of the balance sheet shifting referred to above, dubiously referred to as an exemplar of innovative climate change policies in a recent report by the Canada West

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<sup>265</sup> City of Winnipeg *Climate Change Action Plan Quarterly Status Report – Second Quarterly Report. April 2007*. Submitted to the Executive Policy Committee July 6, 2007. Accessed April 4, 2008: <http://www.winnipeg.ca/Interhom/GreenSpace/ClimateChange.stm>.

<sup>266</sup> City of Winnipeg *Climate Change Action Plan Quarterly Status Report – Third/Fourth Quarterly Reports. October 1, 2007*. Submitted to the Executive Policy Committee October 22, 2007. Accessed April 4, 2008: <http://www.winnipeg.ca/Interhom/GreenSpace/ClimateChange.stm>.

<sup>267</sup> City of Winnipeg *Third/Fourth Quarterly Status Report – October 2007*, p. 5.

<sup>268</sup> City of Winnipeg *Action Plan*, p. 6.

<sup>269</sup> City of Winnipeg *Third/Fourth Quarterly Status Report – October 2007*, p. 5.

Foundation.<sup>270</sup> While there are some indications that emissions reduction targets will be extended in the future, as Mayor Katz recently committed to an additional 20% reduction in corporate emissions reductions within the original commitment period,<sup>271</sup> the scope of corporate emissions as a percentage of community emissions underscores the necessity for a detailed community action plan. As of 2006, corporate emissions for the city of Winnipeg were just over 56,000 tonnes. The most recent estimate of community emissions, based on 2003 numbers, places the number at just over 5.2 million tonnes,<sup>272</sup> revealing a large gap between the emissions being addressed (1.1%) and those left unaddressed at the moment (98.9%). This gap is exacerbated by the absence of any policy efforts oriented towards climate change adaptation, as to-date all city efforts have been mitigative in nature. While there is some indication that both of these areas are currently under consideration by city officials<sup>273</sup> as of yet there has been no activity on either, and the immediate focus of the local government, which appears to be oriented towards more immediate issues of crime and public safety as opposed to climate change and environmental efforts,<sup>274</sup> does not bode well for the closing of this gap.

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<sup>270</sup> Kari Roberts. *Setting an Example: Combating Climate Change in North America* (Canada West Foundation; April 2008). Accessed May 18, 2008: [http://www.cwf.ca/V2/cnt/publication\\_200804211128.php](http://www.cwf.ca/V2/cnt/publication_200804211128.php), pp. 3–4.

<sup>271</sup> City of Winnipeg “2008 State of the City Speech.” Delivered to the Winnipeg Chamber of Commerce, February 8, 2008. Accessed February 11, 2008: <http://www.samkatz.ca/htmlfiles/MEDIA/feb08.asp>.

<sup>272</sup> City of Winnipeg *Action Plan*, p. 2.

<sup>273</sup> Based on comments drawn from Interview W1001.

<sup>274</sup> Dan Lett. *Salesman Katz Fails To Deliver The Goods*. *Winnipeg Free Press*, Feb 9, 2008. Accessed February 25, 2008: <http://www.winnipegfreepress.com/subscriber/columnists/top3/story/4122876p-4717066c.html>; Joe Paraskevas. *Crime dominates Katz speech*. *Winnipeg Free Press*, February 8, 2008. Accessed February 25, 2008: <http://www.winnipegfreepress.com/breakingnews/story/4122241p-4716765c.html>. Both articles assess the 2008 State of the City speech given by Mayor Katz, and comment on the general attention paid to issues of crime and public safety. Joe Paraskevas notes that, “in a 40-minute speech, Katz devoted 26 minutes to telling an audience of about 900 people at the Winnipeg Convention Centre that the responsibility for crime-fighting in Winnipeg must go beyond the police.” In a separate article, Free Press columnist Dan Lett observed that “conspicuous by their absence in yesterday’s speech were discussions about urban planning and sprawl, the financing of major public amenities (can anyone say football stadium?) and public transit.”

*Climate Change Policy Profile: Toronto*

While Winnipeg has had a modest policy response to the issue of climate change, Toronto has been characterized as a world leader in this regard.<sup>275</sup> Toronto was an incubator for the municipal policy response to climate change, not only in Canada but globally, and has maintained a consistent and active engagement with the issue over the past twenty years. This section explores the history of climate change policy in Toronto and outlines the policies and programs that have been developed along the way.

In 1988, the same year that NASA scientist James Hansen testified before the US Congress as to the reality and severity of the phenomenon of climate change, the city of Toronto played host to the World Conference on the Changing Atmosphere. Of the various outcomes of the conference, most notable were: the establishment of the so-called “Toronto targets,” under which industrialized countries committed to voluntarily reduce carbon dioxide emissions by 20% (1988 baseline) by the year 2005; the establishment of the IPCC;<sup>276</sup> and a major awakening as to the importance of climate change for local policy actors, including those in the City of Toronto government.<sup>277</sup> As noted by Lambright *et al*, the conference caught the attention of an influential member of Toronto City Council, who was able to push climate change onto the civic agenda through the establishment of the Special Advisory Committee

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<sup>275</sup> Climate Group (2005) Low Carbon Leaders: Cities. (Berkeley, California: The Climate Group) p. 9. Accessed February 12, 2008: [http://theclimategroup.org/assets/resources/low\\_carbon\\_leader\\_cities.pdf](http://theclimategroup.org/assets/resources/low_carbon_leader_cities.pdf). See also Corporate Knights Second Annual Ranking of Canada’s Most Sustainable Cities: Ranking the most sustainable large Canadian urban centres. Corporate Knights Investment Issue 2008, p. 42. Accessed April 2, 2008: [http://www.corporateknights.ca/reports/cities/page.asp?name=cities\\_2008](http://www.corporateknights.ca/reports/cities/page.asp?name=cities_2008).

<sup>276</sup> Greenpeace. “Archives section.” Accessed April 18, 2008: <http://archive.greenpeace.org/climate/politics/reports/conferences.html>.

<sup>277</sup> W. H. Lambright, S. A. Changnon, and L. D. Harvey. *Urban Reactions to the Global Warming Issue: Agenda Setting in Toronto and Chicago*. Climatic Change Vol. 34 (1996) p. 466.

on the Environment (SACE).<sup>278</sup> SACE produced a report in 1990 that resulted in the adoption of an official corporate emissions reduction target, in line with the aforementioned “Toronto target” of 20% (1988 baseline) by 2005, which was unanimously passed by council in January of 1990.<sup>279</sup> This target established Toronto as “one of the first, if not the first, city in the world to have a local climate-change policy.”<sup>280</sup>

Toronto was also an instrumental actor in the World Conference of Local Governments for a Sustainable Future held in New York in 1990, out of which the International Council for Local Environmental Issues (ICLEI) was formed. ICLEI was originally housed at Toronto City Hall, and the City of Toronto continues to this day to provide in-kind and monetary support for ICLEI operations.<sup>281</sup> A further outgrowth of this initiative was the Urban CO2 Project, formed in 1991 as an agreement between the City of Toronto and twelve other European and North American cities to develop emissions inventories, share information about successful policies and programs, and develop strategies to reduce emissions by between 15% to 25% by 2005.<sup>282</sup> This network, which would eventually evolve into the CCP, established Toronto as a world leader in transnational climate change networking.

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<sup>278</sup> Ibid, p. 466.

<sup>279</sup> B. Deangelo and L. D. Harvey. *The Jurisdictional Framework for Municipal Action to Reduce Greenhouse Gas Emissions: Case Studies from Canada, U.S.A and Germany*. Local Environment Vol. 3 (1998) p. 129.

<sup>280</sup> Lambright et al. *Urban Reactions to the Global Warming Issue: Agenda Setting in Toronto and Chicago*, p. 467.

<sup>281</sup> International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives. Accessed February 18, 2008:

<http://www.iclei.org/index.php?id=783>.

<sup>282</sup> Deangelo and Harvey. *The Jurisdictional Framework for Municipal Action to Reduce Greenhouse Gas Emissions: Case Studies from Canada, U.S.A and Germany*, pp. 112–113. The full list of cities involved in the Urban CO2 Project is as follows: Dade County (Miami), Florida; City and County of Denver, Colorado; San Jose, California; Portland, Oregon; Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota; Toronto and the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, Canada; Helsinki, Finland; Hannover and Saarbrücken, Germany; the Municipality of Greater Ankara, Turkey; and Copenhagen, Denmark.

At this time, the city took its first steps towards institutionalizing a concern for climate change issues within the local government by establishing an Energy Efficiency Office (EEO) in January 1991 as well as the Toronto Atmospheric Fund (TAF) in December of 1992. The EEO, which was housed in the Department of Public Works and Environment, was tasked with responsibility for the collection of data on emissions, the evaluation of energy efficiency performance of new and existing building stock, and inter-departmental as well as community outreach.<sup>283</sup> The TAF, on the other hand, was created with the intent of providing a source of funding for emissions reduction efforts within the city, and was endowed with \$25 million to pursue these activities.<sup>284</sup> Both of these actions were derived from recommendations made in the initial 1990 SACE report to City Council.<sup>285</sup>

There ensued something of a stagnation in the development of climate change policy in Toronto. The city, while committing itself rhetorically to significant emissions reduction targets, ran into the difficult task of trying to operationalize them. This period was characterized by an interviewee as one of struggle:

[Our policy successes of today are] a legacy of over 20 years. All sorts of people banging their heads against the wall, and perhaps bashed their heads in the process – but making it easier for the next person banging their head against the wall, and then the wall can end. It didn't come easy, and it still isn't easy.<sup>286</sup>

This difficulty was perceived to have resulted from strong political resistance within City Council to major expenditures or programs, a Mayor (Mel Lastman) with

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<sup>283</sup> L. D. Danny Harvey. *Tackling Urban CO2 Emissions in Toronto*. Environment Vol 35, No. 7 (September 1993) p. 19.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid*, p. 19.

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid*, p. 19.

<sup>286</sup> Interview T1001. Conducted March 1, 2008.

minimal interest in environmental issues, and significant fiscal constraints emerging in the aftermath of the process of municipal amalgamation in January 1998.<sup>287</sup> In addition, the city found that energy usage increased in civic operations over this time span, as a result of increased building stock and increased electricity consumption in those buildings, which offset any efficiency gains that were attained.<sup>288</sup> Despite these difficulties in converting rhetorical commitments into real emissions reductions, efforts were being made by the city to connect with the broader community in Toronto in order to address city-wide emissions. This is exemplified by the creation of the Better Building Partnership (BBP), a public-private partnership promoting and implementing energy efficiency and building retrofits in industrial, commercial, and institutional buildings.<sup>289</sup>

Immediately on the heels of amalgamation, the City of Toronto Environmental Task Force (ETF) was created, with the primary objective of developing a comprehensive environmental plan for the city. The ETF was a multi-stakeholder body comprised of city politicians, city staff, private citizens, and representatives from the private sector, labour and environmental organizations, and school boards and universities. In February 2000, the ETF published *Clean, Green, and Healthy: A Plan for an Environmentally Sustainable Toronto*, which represented

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<sup>287</sup> Ajay Sharma. *From the Global to the Local and Back Again: Analyzing The City of Toronto's Climate Change Response*. Paper prepared for the Canadian Political Science Association Conference, Vancouver, Canada June 4-6 2008, p. 12.

<sup>288</sup> Toronto Atmospheric Fund. *The City of Toronto's Corporate Energy Use and CO2 Emissions, 1990-1998: A Progress Report*. Accessed May 2, 2008: [www.toronto.ca/taf/pdf/co2emissions\\_060101.pdf](http://www.toronto.ca/taf/pdf/co2emissions_060101.pdf), p. 7. Of additional interest is the fact that, over this same timeframe, the fossil fuel component of energy generated by Ontario Hydro increased as well, as a result of an increase in energy produced by coal plants relative to energy produced by nuclear and hydroelectricity. This fact illustrates yet an additional layer of complexity in attempting to reduce emissions in municipalities.

<sup>289</sup> City of Toronto. "Better Buildings Partnership." Accessed May 12, 2008: <http://www.toronto.ca/bbp/about.htm>.

the first-ever comprehensive environmental sustainability plan, and combined economic, social, and environmental concerns into one holistic strategic document.<sup>290</sup> While technically labeled a “plan,” the document is in fact a high-level strategic document that establishes a number of recommendations to guide policy action in the future. While some of these recommendations, such as the call for investigation and investment in green roofs, solid waste diversion, and improving energy efficiency in civic buildings, have been adopted and are major components of the present-day efforts to reduce emissions, they can only loosely be connected to this document as it does not contain any specific policy recommendations, implementation frameworks, or measurement guidelines.

Despite the overall commitment to reducing GHG emissions, to this point the City of Toronto had yet to establish an official emissions inventory for either corporate or community emissions. In June of 2001, Toronto, using the CCP emissions inventory calculation software, published *The City of Toronto’s Corporate Energy Use and CO2 Emissions, 1990-1998: A Progress Report*.<sup>291</sup> This report includes an inventory of corporate emissions for 1990 and 1998, allowing the city to quantify their emissions reduction performance over this time span. At this point, the city had successfully reduced corporate emissions by 5% (keeping in mind that the target at the time was a 20% reduction in corporate emissions by 2005, using a 1990 baseline), through a combination of building retrofits and fleet downsizing.<sup>292</sup> During

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<sup>290</sup> Toronto Environment Office. *Clean, Green and Healthy: A Plan for an Environmentally Sustainable Toronto*. City of Toronto Environmental Task Force Final Report. February 2000.

<sup>291</sup> Toronto Atmospheric Fund. *The City of Toronto’s Corporate Energy Use and CO2 Emissions, 1990-1998: A Progress Report*. Accessed April 27, 2008: [www.toronto.ca/taf/pdf/co2emissions\\_060101.pdf](http://www.toronto.ca/taf/pdf/co2emissions_060101.pdf).

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid*, p. 6.

the course of 2001, the city also created the Sustainability Roundtable, a multi-stakeholder body that replaced the Environmental Task Force, with the goal of creating a forum for high-level strategic thinking regarding sustainable development. Continuing in the pursuit of the 1990 target, the city published another two progress reports in April of 2003.<sup>293</sup> These two reports expanded upon the 1998 emissions inventory, and included revised corporate inventory numbers for 1990 and 1998 that incorporate previously excluded emissions from landfill and solid waste management operations, the Toronto Transit Commission (TTC) and Toronto Hydro. These reports revealed that the city had managed to reduce corporate emissions by 42% between 1990 and 1998, with the vast majority of this reduction stemming from waste management policies (including gas recovery and utilization projects at major city landfills, and increased recycling and composting activities).<sup>294</sup>

At this juncture, there was a political change at City Hall with the election of David Miller in November 2003. Alongside his successful battle for increased autonomy for municipal government, embodied in the amended City of Toronto Act passed by the Province of Ontario in 2006, the Mayor has placed climate change at the forefront of the local policy agenda. The emphasis at this time was placed on addressing community-wide emissions, in an effort to develop a general strategy as well as a set of policy initiatives that would establish Toronto as a world-leader.

These efforts were further entrenched with the establishment of the Toronto

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<sup>293</sup> Toronto Atmospheric Fund. *Moving Towards Kyoto: Toronto's Emission Reductions 1990-1998 – Technical Report*. April 22, 2003 and Toronto Atmospheric Fund. *Moving Towards Kyoto: Toronto's Emission Reductions 1990-1998 – Policy Report*. April 22, 2003. Both accessed April 19, 2008: <http://www.toronto.ca/taf/reports.htm>.

<sup>294</sup> Toronto Atmospheric Fund *Moving Towards Kyoto: Toronto's Emission Reductions 1990-1998 – Technical Report*, p. 32.



Environment Office (TEO) as the official home of administrative efforts regarding climate change in 2006. The TEO is tasked with the responsibility for developing, implementing, and coordinating environmental policy in the City of Toronto.<sup>295</sup> In March of 2007, the city launched the “Change is in the Air” Framework for Public Review and Engagement, an effort to “engag[e] the community in how governments, residents and businesses can work together to address [climate change].”<sup>296</sup>

The outcome of this process of public consultation was a series of recommendations made to City Council in June of 2007, published as *Change is in the Air: Climate Change, Clean Air and Sustainable energy Action Plan: Moving from Framework to Action – Phase 1*.<sup>297</sup> This body of recommendations, itself based on the publication of an updated inventory of corporate and community emissions<sup>298</sup> is built around an updated, tripartite community emissions reduction commitment: 6% reduction by 2012; 30% by 2020; 80% by 2050 (all using a 1990 baseline).<sup>299</sup> The recommendations embodied in the Action Plan were unanimously adopted by City Council in July of 2007. This significant step underlines the political heft that climate change has achieved within Toronto’s government, and the sense of pressure

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<sup>295</sup> City of Toronto. *Mandate of the Toronto Environment Office*. Accessed May 25, 2008: [www.toronto.ca/legdocs/mmis/2007/pe/bgrd/backgroundfile-7303.pdf](http://www.toronto.ca/legdocs/mmis/2007/pe/bgrd/backgroundfile-7303.pdf), p. 3.

<sup>296</sup> Toronto Environment Office. *Climate Change, Clean Air and Sustainable Energy Action Plan: Moving from Framework to Action – Staff Report*. June 13, 2007. Accessed January 27, 2008: [www.toronto.ca/legdocs/mmis/2007/pe/bgrd/backgroundfile-4982.pdf](http://www.toronto.ca/legdocs/mmis/2007/pe/bgrd/backgroundfile-4982.pdf), p. 3.

<sup>297</sup> Toronto Environment Office *Change is in the Air - Climate Change, Clean Air and Sustainable Energy Action Plan: Moving From Framework to Action. Phase 1*. Toronto Energy Efficiency Office/Toronto Environment Office. June 2007. Accessed April 18, 2008: <http://www.toronto.ca/changeisintheair/index.htm>.

<sup>298</sup> Toronto Environment Office *Greenhouse Gases and Air Pollutants in the City of Toronto: Toward a Harmonized Strategy for Reducing Emissions*. Prepared by ICF International in collaboration with Toronto Atmospheric Fund and Toronto Environment Office. June 2007. Accessed April 22, 2008: [www.toronto.ca/taf/reports.htm](http://www.toronto.ca/taf/reports.htm). This was the first comprehensive GHG inventory for both Corporate and Community emissions (the inventory is based on 2004 numbers). This was also the first effort at a combined inventory of both GHG’s and CAC (critical air contaminants – ie: NOX, SOX, VOC, PM, CO).

<sup>299</sup> Toronto Environment Office, *Change is in the Air*, p. 1.

and expectation that is felt from the electorate. In explaining this shift, one interviewee noted:

The more you do, if you're doing the right thing, the more people come to understand that you're doing the right thing, and the more they support it. And therefore, resistance tends to be overcome. So, to begin with, I'm not suggesting that all members of City Council are all of the same degree interventionists – some are not. And some will fight on a program-to-program basis. But, the general public is of the understanding that, well if you argue against doing something about climate change, you put yourself at a political disadvantage. So there is enough public pressure to force the issue. So, that's not to say that everyone is on the same page – don't let unanimity fool you. But there is enough political pressure.<sup>300</sup>

Confirming the political commitment to action, the city has allocated \$1 billion over the next five years to support the implementation of policies recommended in the Action Plan.<sup>301</sup> Planned expenditures include increased investment in the BBP, continued building retrofits for civic facilities, increased tree planting and conservation, a commitment to expanding the city's bike ways and improving public transportation through expanded capacity as well as the purchase of hybrid buses, efficiency investments in Toronto Water operations, increased methane capture and utilization project funding, and funding of pilot programs for the development of green roofs and local food production and consumption.<sup>302</sup> The city is currently working on development of Phase 2 of the Action Plan, to be oriented towards

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<sup>300</sup> Interview T1001. Conducted March 1, 2008.

<sup>301</sup> Toronto Environment Office. *Ahead of the Storm: Preparing Toronto for Climate Change – Development of a Climate Change Adaptation Strategy*. April 18, 2008. Accessed April 28, 2008: <http://www.toronto.ca/changeisintheair/involved.htm>, p. 3.

<sup>302</sup> Toronto Environment Office. *Ahead of the Storm*, p.3. These policies are also supported by the publication of a number of other City of Toronto strategic plans released in 2007. These include the *Sustainable Transportation Implementation Strategy* and the *Toronto Official Plan* Accessed May 27, 2008: [http://www.toronto.ca/planning/official\\_plan/introduction.htm](http://www.toronto.ca/planning/official_plan/introduction.htm).

adaptive as opposed to mitigative climate change policies. In April 2008 the city published the first, preliminary stage of their comprehensive adaptation strategy, with a full report expected by the end of the year.<sup>303</sup>

As always, the separation between stated targets and actual performance is a central concern, especially as targets have increased. Anecdotally, there appears to have been a large degree of buy-in from within the city, as developers are attempting to meet the demand for high efficiency homes and condominiums, roofing companies are advocating the development of green roofs,<sup>304</sup> and over 1,000 Toronto business and office buildings signed on to the 2008 Earth Hour and turned off their lights for an hour.<sup>305</sup> There is, however, no available published record of community emissions reductions or progress towards the targets established in the 2007 *Change is in the Air* plan. This lack of information regarding the actual impact of policies, and the actual emissions improvements resulting from such policies, represents a real problem in attempting to assess the city's success to date.

## **Conclusion**

The preceding sections of this chapter have served to establish the empirical backdrop for the analysis to follow in chapter four. In an effort to explore the impact of the PCP on climate change policy in Canada, two cities have been introduced and described. The reader has been presented with a brief overview of both cities, as well as the supportive case for their inclusion in this study. In addition, the climate change policy history of each has been outlined, establishing the actual policy performance of

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<sup>303</sup> Ibid, p. 22.

<sup>304</sup> Interview TI001. Conducted March 1, 2008.

<sup>305</sup> Peter Gorrie. *Earth Hour: Let There Be Dark*. *The Toronto Star*, March 29, 2008. Accessed June 18, 2008: <http://www.thestar.com/Earth%20Hour/article/407094>.

both Winnipeg and Toronto over the past quarter century. One can see that Winnipeg, as a result of significant political resistance within City Council and relatively recent efforts to institutionalize the engagement with climate change among other contributing factors, has made only modest progress in developing and implementing climate change policy, with a central emphasis on the reduction of corporate emissions and little effort devoted to community emissions. Toronto, on the other hand, has been a leader from the outset as a result of the actions of local policy heroes, early and continued institutionalization, and committed political leadership, and has established aggressive corporate and community targets, achieving significant progress on the former while showing some promise on the latter. In addition, the PCP itself has been profiled, in order to identify the core activities with which it is engaged, the means via which it seeks to impact upon the development of climate change policy in Canadian cities, and the limitations (financial and staffing) with which it must contend.

The following, and final, chapter draws heavily on the information presented above in the process of conducting a comparative case study between these two cities. The data presented in this chapter is assessed in order to determine the role of the PCP as a causal factor in explaining the differing climate change policy paths traced by these two cities over the past twenty years.

## *Chapter Four: Analysis and Conclusions*

The impetus for this project was a desire to explore the efforts of Canadian cities to address the challenges posed by climate change, especially in light of federal inaction and mixed provincial activity on this important issue. Cities, in Canada and elsewhere, were observed to be making statements regarding climate change, setting targets, and talking about issues of sustainability and emissions reduction, thus provoking the question as to whether such efforts are relevant and worthy of further study. As cities have begun to address this issue, a variety of network actors have emerged onto the scene, ostensibly to assist in supporting and fostering local activities and to project a louder voice for municipalities than they would achieve in isolation in order to lobby higher levels of governance.

This chapter returns the reader to the foundational question posed at the outset of this thesis, namely: *Does the influence of the PCP help to explain the different stages of political engagement in Canadian cities with the issue of climate change?* At the outset of this project the expected response to this question was that the PCP would be a strong factor in explaining the aggressive policy actions in early-adopter and leading-edge Canadian cities, and the gap in policy action between these leading-edge cities and in late-adopter and smaller cities. Over the course of the preceding chapters, the theoretical context for research into the politics of climate change was established, the literature in the field was introduced and surveyed, and the case study cities of Winnipeg and Toronto were introduced and profiled. In the course of this chapter, the research findings presented in chapter three are assessed in order to advance and support the following conclusions.

First, the PCP does exert an impact on municipal climate change policy in Canada, but this impact is centered on “wedge” actions, defined as those actions that serve to open the door within local council in order to get climate change on the political agenda, occurring at the outset of the policy engagement period and diminishes as municipalities move along the policy engagement spectrum. Secondly, the perceived and observable impact of the PCP on local climate change policy appears to be inversely related to levels of city resources allotted to the issue area. Third, this weakness, while undoubtedly influenced by the discursive approach of economic issue linkage and “low hanging fruit” policy action favoured by the PCP, is to a significant extent rooted in the lack of capacity of the network itself. This leads directly to a fourth, and final, conclusion, that while the nature of climate change governance in Canada is multilevel, the PCP, as well as municipalities, are strongly constrained and limited due to their structural dependence on higher orders of governance, leading to a weak multilevel framework in Canada and exposing the need for innovation on the part of the PCP in order to continue, and expand, its influence on local climate change policy.

The following sections introduce the analytical framework, present an analysis of the research findings emerging during this project, and provide evidence to buttress my main arguments. The chapter, and this paper, concludes with a summation of the general findings, as well as a brief discussion of three potential avenues for future research.

## **Analytical Framework: A Typology for Organizing and Assessing Network Impact**

As outlined in chapter two, this thesis has argued against using the traditional models of international relations theory to explain the process of climate change governance in favour of using a hybrid constructivist/multilevel governance approach. Although introduced briefly in chapter two, this chapter will re-visit the works of Selin and VanDeveer and Andanova *et al*, in order to present a detailed overview of the analytical framework deployed in this thesis, as well as a supportive case for the use and combination of their respective typologies of network influence. This section then proceeds to present the four vectors of network influence along which the impact(s) of the PCP have been categorized and assessed.

As mentioned above, there are two separate typologies of network influence and impact that have been selected, and combined, in order to provide the analytical framework for this thesis. The Selin and VanDeveer and Andanovan typologies have been selected based on their capacity to provide a broad picture of the various forms of influence exerted by TMN's, and, while several categories overlap, they are distinct enough to warrant combination into one singular framework.

In the first framework under review Selin and VanDeveer assert that, although there are a number and variety of efforts to explore the growing impact of networks on climate change policy at the local, state, and national levels there is a weakness in actually connecting network activity with causal effect.<sup>306</sup> In other words, the agency

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<sup>306</sup> Henrik Selin and Stacy D. VanDeveer, *Political Science and Prediction: What's Next for U.S. Climate Change Policy? Review of Policy Research*, Vol. 24 No. 1 (January 2007) p. 12. Available at <http://unhinfo.unh.edu/news/docs/020107vandeveer.pdf>.

and causality of the network are “underspecified.”<sup>307</sup> Recognizing this weakness, Selin and VanDeveer propose four pathways along which network influence can be identified and assessed: strategic use of demonstration effects; market pricing and expansion; policy diffusion and learning; and norm creation and promulgation. These four pathways reflect Selin and VanDeveer’s effort to combine rationalist and constructivist forms of analysis, “without collapsing or confusing the different logics” in order to provide what they assert to be a full picture of the “games that real actors play.”<sup>308</sup>

The first pathway, the strategic use of demonstration effects, embodies the efforts undertaken by “climate change advocates in public and private sectors [who] draw attention to the multitude of new climate change initiatives to demonstrate the viability of more aggressive climate change action.”<sup>309</sup> Networks such as the PCP, while they do not have the capacity to overtly push along demonstration policies or programs at the municipal level, are capable of enabling such activities through the provision of networking liaisons, issue expertise, constructive frameworks, and access to avenues of funding. Such demonstration effects can be further sub-categorized, depending on whether they are oriented towards influencing higher order levels of government or whether they are oriented towards influencing local stakeholders (including reticent local politicians, the private sector, and lobby groups).

The second pathway, market pricing and expansion, involves, in Selin and VanDeveer’s definition, the efforts of networks of local policy or regional actors to

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<sup>307</sup> Ibid, p. 12.

<sup>308</sup> Ibid, p. 12.

<sup>309</sup> Ibid, p. 13.



exert an influence on market dynamics. Examples of this include the development of regional cap and trade systems, which can help to establish a market for carbon emissions or can alter the actual or perceived cost impacts of such systems, private-public grant programs, which can provide financial incentives towards such activities as building retrofits, as well as the development of local renewable energy purchasing requirements, which can help to leverage the buying power of local governments to expand the market for renewable energy, spur increased production capacity, and which has the possibility to push down prices.<sup>310</sup>

For Selin and VanDeveer, the third pathway of policy diffusion and learning embodies “policy-relevant learning (viewed as cognitive change driven by experience and information) and the diffusion (or spread) of policies and the information and ideas related to them within political systems.”<sup>311</sup> Policy learning represents, therefore, the process of interaction whereby actors engage with other stakeholders and, in the course of such interaction, “develop and internalize norms on climate change abatement and draw important policy lessons.”<sup>312</sup>

Norm creation and promulgation, as the fourth and final pathway of influence, are important due to the fact that “normative change over time can be a powerful influence on policy making, as norms shape policies and behaviors that are viewed as ‘appropriate’.”<sup>313</sup> Ideas of responsibility, moral duty, and a necessity to act are embodied in this pathway, and represent the activities of TMN’s to create a normative shift in member municipalities.

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<sup>310</sup> Ibid, p. 14.

<sup>311</sup> Ibid, p. 15.

<sup>312</sup> Ibid, p. 15.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid, p. 16.

The categories, or pathways, proposed by Selin and VanDeveer capture a wide variety of the means through which TMN's are capable of exerting influence. The Andanovan typology overlaps Selin and VanDeveer's in many ways, and has been included in order to both strengthen the case for inclusion of such a typology as well as to round out the four pathways of influence.

The Andanovan typology is actually comprised of two separate matrices, these being actor type and actor function. The former, focused on the type of members that comprise the network, is to be bracketed out of this analysis due to the fact that it is analytically irrelevant to this particular study.<sup>314</sup> The latter is the primary element of interest in the Andanovan typology, as it provides three categories for capturing, and assessing, the impact of TMN's such as the PCP. The three categories proposed by Andanova *et al* are: information sharing; capacity building and implementation; and rule setting. In their work, Andanova *et al* choose to characterize the CCP (and, due to the relationship between the CCP and the PCP, this characterization is assumed to apply to the latter as well) as primarily a "rule setting" network, while still recognizing that networks such as the PCP inevitably engage in all three activities/functions.

The first pathway, capacity building and implementation, captures, according to Andanova *et al*, "a range of activities with explicit governance scope. These types of transnational governance activities often take place in reference to an explicit set of

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<sup>314</sup> Andanova *et al* identify three network forms based on actor type: public, private, public-private hybrid. However, the actor type matrix becomes relevant only in a comparative study of a variety of different network types. Since this study is only concerned with assessing the impact of one form of network, the PCP – which is deemed a public network since all members of government actors, it can be effectively removed from the analytical treatment.

already agreed upon intergovernmental or domestic rules and norms and seek to enhance the capacity of actors to implement them effectively.”<sup>315</sup> In other words, this is the function of TMN’s that seeks to operationalize the goals and targets established for responding to the challenge of climate change.

Information sharing, the second pathway defined by Andanova *et al*, “is a mechanism to achieve governance functions such as norm diffusion, consensus building, or the reevaluation of actor goals, practices, and behavior.”<sup>316</sup> As such, it involves a variety of activities including networking linkages, as well as the provision of policy guidelines, models, and tools.

The final aspect of network impact in the Andanovan typology is rule setting, defined as efforts at “establishing a new set of rules and norms intended to guide and constrain [network] members’ behavior.”<sup>317</sup> This is the most evident governance function performed by networks such as the PCP, and involves the independent emissions reduction targets established by the network.

These two typologies have, for the purpose of this study, been combined into a four-vector framework of network impact. The combined typology is felt to better capture the full range of network activities and influences than either in isolation. The combined categories are outlined below, and the rationale for each combination or for keeping them separate has been included.

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<sup>315</sup> Liliana Andanova, Michele M. Betsill, and Harriet Bulkeley. *Transnational Climate Change Governance*. Paper presented for the Amsterdam Conference on the Human Dimensions of Global Environmental Change, May 24-26, 2007. Accessed January 15, 2008: [www.2007amsterdamconference.org/Downloads/AC2007\\_Betsill.pdf](http://www.2007amsterdamconference.org/Downloads/AC2007_Betsill.pdf), p. 8.

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid*, p. 7.

<sup>317</sup> *Ibid*, p. 8.

## **A Framework for Assessing Network Impact**

### *1. Local capacity building (demonstration effects and capacity building/implementation)*

Although Selin and VanDeveer's "demonstration effects" category is oriented more towards the actual implementation of projects, it does correspond with the Andanovan category of capacity building and implementation, which places an emphasis on the actions of TMN's to assist member cities in the attainment of agreed upon targets. Both categories seek to capture the impact of TMN's on actual policy development and implementation, in terms of establishing a "wedge" at the local level, from which further, and more aggressive, policies can emerge.

### *2. Market pricing and expansion*

This category was left uncombined, as it does not correspond to any of the vectors of TMN influence in the Andanovan typology. Intended as an effort to measure the market making and expanding influence of the network, this form of influence is distinct enough to warrant its own category.

### *3. Information effects (policy diffusion/learning and information sharing)*

The categories of policy diffusion/learning and information sharing have been combined under the rubric of *information effects* due to their shared emphasis on the processes of learning taking place at the local level as a result of interaction with TMN's. From the perspective of Selin and VanDeveer, this process is characterized as one driven by diffusion of policies and policy learning (both of which are evident in the networking linkages forged by the PCP between local policy actors in member cities). For Andanova *et al*, the learning process is captured by actions that seek to

alter the political climate, as well as actual practices and behaviours (which are embodied in networking linkages as well).

4. *Setting norms (norm creation/promulgation and rule setting)*

The last two categories or norm creation/promulgation and rule setting have been deemed worthy of combination due to their shared focus on the creation of new norms of climate change policy action in member cities. What Selin and VanDeveer refer to as “norm creation and promulgation” is perfectly captured in the Andanovan category of “rule setting,” with its’ reference to “new set[s] of rules and norms intended to guide and constrain [network] members.” These two categories capture all those TMN activities aimed at creating a shift in beliefs and rationale for climate change action in member municipalities, as well as the actual targets to which member municipalities agree to upon joining the network.

It must be noted that there are no clear dividing lines separating the activities of the PCP into these four categories. Best efforts have been made to judge network activities according to the dictates provided by Selin and VanDeveer and Andanova *et al*, but the classification of activities is by no means absolute. However, it is felt that there is little lost in the process, as what is of utmost importance is the identification and assessment of network activities, regardless of the actual category in which they are placed. In combination, these four categories provide the means by which the impact of the PCP on the case study cities of Winnipeg and Toronto can be captured and assessed.

## Findings: The City of Winnipeg and the City of Toronto

This section reviews and categorizes the policy actions taken in Winnipeg and Toronto along each of the four pathways outlined above, with a special emphasis on identifying the various actions taken in each of the case study cities that have been identified, through a combination of observed policy actions and elite actor perceptions, as having been impacted by the PCP.

### *1. Local capacity building (demonstration effects and capacity building/implementation)*

If one looks at the PCP in terms of its ability to foster demonstration projects and policies that exert impact upon provincial or national policy makers, the evidence is scarce. In Winnipeg, there is little evidence that the province, let alone the federal government, have taken notice or have been impacted by the policies enacted by the city. Interviews with local policy actors at the municipal and provincial levels provide support for this statement, with one interviewee commenting that:

Manitoba has a great reputation for a lot of programs that are going on at the provincial level –and I mean, they aren't unfriendly [to the City], but do I see a lot of things going on that access us at the City level? No not really. And, if Winnipeg is two thirds of the population of Manitoba, then... how does Manitoba have a great reputation without the City having a great reputation?<sup>318</sup>

A simple reason for this disconnection may be that the city has not, despite some claims to the contrary,<sup>319</sup> been terribly innovative or progressive in the implementation of climate change policies, a point that was made evident in the process of reviewing the climate change policy history in the preceding chapter. The

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<sup>318</sup> Interview W1002. Conducted February 19, 2008.

<sup>319</sup> Kari Roberts. *Setting an Example: Combating Climate Change in North America* (Canada West Foundation: April 2008). Accessed May 4, 2008: [http://www.cwf.ca/V2/cnt/publication\\_200804211128.php](http://www.cwf.ca/V2/cnt/publication_200804211128.php), pp. 1-2.

PCP, limited in its organizational capacity by a restrictive budget and minimal staffing, has a limited capacity to push policies where they are not supported by a proactive local policy entrepreneur or a motivated City Council, and as outlined in the preceding chapter, the steps taken to date to reduce emissions in Winnipeg have been relatively rudimentary.

In Toronto, on the other hand, there are a wide variety of progressive and innovative demonstration projects that have been deployed, including the TAF, the BBP, EnWave, and the Green Roofs campaign. While the existence of these programs predates the existence of the PCP, it could certainly be argued that the Urban CO2 Project as well as the ICLEI-sponsored CCP that succeeded it, have played an important role in supporting these innovative demonstration policies.<sup>320</sup>

There does appear to be a strong level of interaction between municipal policy actors and the Province of Ontario, stemming in part from the positive relationship between Mayor Miller and the McGuinty administration<sup>321</sup> and as evident in the increased powers granted in the new City of Toronto Act of 2006. However, the linkage between such demonstration projects, the Toronto-provincial government relationship, and the PCP is a weak one, and any assertions of causality between local actions and PCP influence to provincial decision-making are purely conjectural. Therefore there are no strong conclusions that can be drawn at this point regarding

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<sup>320</sup> L. D. Danny Harvey. *Tackling Urban CO2 Emissions in Toronto*. *Environment* Vol 35, No. 7 (September 1993) p. 18. Harvey suggests that the Urban CO2 Project, while highlighting the difficulties inherent in converting rhetorical commitments into real emissions reductions, did provide support for local policy actors in getting climate change onto the local agenda in Toronto.

<sup>321</sup> Interview TI001. Conducted March 1, 2008. The respondent commented that, "the City of Toronto has established an excellent relationship with the Ontario government. So, for example, we have been given powers under the new City of Toronto act that are much greater than we had before."

the impact of the PCP to foster demonstration projects that impact upon decision-making policy at higher levels of governance.

If, on the other hand, one looks to the impact of the PCP to foster demonstration projects that impact upon local decision-making and policy development, a different picture emerges. While the stated mandate of the PCP makes no mention of developing demonstration projects to influence local decision-making, the splitting of corporate from community emissions suggested by the network framework implicitly endorses and encourages such efforts. By splitting apart emissions, and tackling the more easily quantifiable and manageable emissions resulting from civic operations, the PCP works to create a wedge with which to open the door to further policy action.

In Winnipeg, where only a minimal level of political engagement with climate change has occurred, this impact is evident. It has allowed the city, in the face of political resistance within City Council and in the Mayor's Office, to create and pass emissions targets, begin integrating sustainability and climate change impacts into the regular decision-making process, and has helped to "normalize" the issue.<sup>322</sup> This was seen as important since, as one interviewee noted, it

...finally put climate change into the light. It did get to the point where, and I don't know what exactly it was, but there is a procedure for filing reports and there is a standard line for environmental/climate impact, so I think it did at that point start to integrate some environmental and climate thinking into standard procedure.<sup>323</sup>

While the city has not yet moved past this initial phase of corporate targets and emission reductions, the activities taken to date have certainly helped create a much more supportive environment for climate change policy than existed prior to

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<sup>322</sup> Interview WI001. Conducted January 16, 2008.

<sup>323</sup> Interview WI003. Conducted January 31, 2008.



membership. It will be interesting to follow the progress towards a community-wide emissions reduction plan in Winnipeg, and to see if these small steps can be converted into a broader plan.

Looking to Toronto, one can find some supportive evidence for the possible trajectory that Winnipeg may follow over the coming years. The approval of the “Toronto target” in the early 1990’s, in line with the framework established by the Urban CO2 Project, provided the first steps along the path of emissions reduction that the city was able to take. The early days of Toronto’s efforts featured a heavy emphasis on corporate actions such as civic building retrofits, streetlight upgrades, fleet right-sizing, and landfill emissions capture and re-use.<sup>324</sup> Such policies represented a process of legitimacy building, which one respondent characterized as one of the most important results of those early actions:

The best thing that somebody can do from a policy point of view is not to spout rhetoric, but it’s to put in programs that work. Because that diminishes resistance and it also increases information.<sup>325</sup>

Such early actions have gradually given way to the more ambitious community-wide targets that emerged in the 2007 *Change is in the Air* Action Plan.<sup>326</sup> Toronto, at this stage, appears to have progressed well past the point at which the PCP is able to exert much influence on the development of demonstration projects, a factor of the aforementioned resource limitations under which it exists. While it is difficult to parse out the specific impact played by the PCP on the development of more

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<sup>324</sup> Toronto Atmospheric Fund. *The City of Toronto’s Corporate Energy Use and CO2 Emissions, 1990-1998: A Progress Report* p. 1. Accessed May 2, 2008: [www.toronto.ca/taf/pdf/co2emissions\\_060101.pdf](http://www.toronto.ca/taf/pdf/co2emissions_060101.pdf).

<sup>325</sup> Interview T1001. Conducted March 1, 2008

<sup>326</sup> Toronto Environment Office *Change is in the Air - Climate Change, Clean Air and Sustainable Energy Action Plan: Moving From Framework to Action. Phase 1*. Toronto Energy Efficiency Office/Toronto Environment Office. June 2007. Accessed April 18, 2008: <http://www.toronto.ca/changeisintheair/index.htm>.

progressive climate change policy as a result of demonstration projects, the fact that the city has progressed from a modest starting point to where it is today provides some support for the demonstration effects fostered and enabled by the network.

In addition, access to the Green Municipal Fund (GMF) managed by the PCP provides a source of funding that has proven fundamentally important to building capacity for the development of climate change policy in Winnipeg. Winnipeg has accessed GMF funding for all five milestone activities,<sup>327</sup> allowing the city to develop a climate change policy response even in the face of a relative lack of interest from both the mayor and City Council. In Toronto, however, the resource differential between the PCP and the City of Toronto has resulted in a situation whereby the internal capacity within the city far exceeds that of the network. Indeed the city of Toronto has more in common with other major global cities, in terms of resource capacity, political clout, and ambition, and their engagement with such major international networks as the C40 is reflective of this desire to access a linkage network that is more appropriately matched to local context. Add to this the availability of funding that is available to the city of Toronto, from the TAF, the province, and a much larger local tax base, and the appeal of the PCP in terms of capacity building is further diminished.

## *2. Market pricing and expansion*

While the PCP does suggest that in-house policies can have an impact on market dynamics, there are no overt network functions aimed at supporting such measures in

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<sup>327</sup> Federation of Canadian Municipalities, *Partners for Climate Protection Annual Report: 2004-2005*. Accessed May 5, 2008: <http://www.sustainablecommunities.fcm.ca/Partners-for-Climate-Protection/Resources-Tools.asp>, p. 14.

member cities. There is some evidence of these market-influencing activities in Canada, with Calgary, where the local government has signed an agreement that “requires that at least 75% of the City's electricity purchase comes from green electricity sources beginning in 2007, with the ability to increase the purchase target to at least 90% green electricity by 2012,”<sup>328</sup> providing a prominent example. Looking to Winnipeg, there are a minimal number of low-impact market-influencing initiatives underway, including pilot bio-diesel and hybrid transit bus programs that are both currently at very early stages of implementation.<sup>329</sup> Interviews with local policy actors did not provide any supportive evidence for PCP impact or influence on these programs, leading to an assessment of minimal impact along this vector in Winnipeg. Toronto, on the other hand, has developed and deployed a number of market-influencing projects, including the EnWave Deep Lake Water Cooling system, the Better Buildings Partnership, the Green Roofs program, and the Toronto Atmospheric Fund, to name the most prominent examples. While these programs represent significant, and important, efforts to engage the private sector and influence market dynamics, there was no supportive evidence to be found that could link together the impact of the PCP to these projects.

### *3. Information effects (policy diffusion/learning and information sharing)*

The PCP produces information effects mainly through its’ networking activities. In its primary capacity as a linkage network, the PCP “provid[es] a conduit for a guy

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<sup>328</sup> City of Calgary. “Green Energy.” Accessed May 14, 2008:

<http://content.calgary.ca/CCA/City+Hall/Business+Units/Infrastructure+Services/Green+Energy.htm>

<sup>329</sup> City of Winnipeg *Climate Change Action Plan Quarterly Status Report – Third/Fourth Quarterly Reports. October 1, 2007*. Submitted to the Executive Policy Committee October 22, 2007. Accessed May 25, 3008: <http://www.winnipeg.ca/Interhom/GreenSpace/ClimateChange.stm>, pp. 7-8.

in Winnipeg to talk to a guy in Calgary, which provides a significant benefit. We're kind of like the center of the wheel."<sup>330</sup> This is a point that was reinforced in the process of interviews, as one interviewee, responding to a question regarding the role and impact of the PCP on Canadian municipal climate change policy, commented

...well, first and foremost the PCP acts as a network, to share experiences and contacts between municipalities. So if municipality A is experiencing a challenge, then one of the easiest things we can do is get them in touch with municipality B and C who have experienced something similar, and just let the peers communicate together. If we don't have the solution, then somebody else in your field probably does.<sup>331</sup>

This linkage function appears to have had varying degrees of impact upon local policy actors. In the Winnipeg context, there is a significant perceived value attributed to the ability of the PCP to provide connections to local policy actors in other Canadian cities, especially in terms of administrative questions regarding the development of an action plan, the administrative aspects of developing an inventory, and the challenges of implementation. This impact of the PCP was characterized as "important and influential" in the development of the local action plan, as network connections with policy actors in other Canadian cities provided support and advice in the development of the local action plan.<sup>332</sup> There is also a perception that the "PCP was seen to play an integral role in connecting policy actors at the bureaucratic level."<sup>333</sup>

While evidential support for the impacts of network linkages can be found in the Winnipeg case study, such support is scarce when looking to Toronto. In Winnipeg,

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<sup>330</sup> Interview P1001. Conducted February 28, 2008.

<sup>331</sup> Interview P1002. Conducted February 28, 2008.

<sup>332</sup> Interview WI001. Conducted January 16, 2008.

<sup>333</sup> Ibid.

the interaction of local policy actors with the PCP has a high perceived value, especially as regards technical support and networking linkages. In Toronto, on the other hand, there is little perceived benefit derived from network membership among policy actors interviewed for this project. In actuality, the linkages between the PCP and the City of Toronto appear to have weakened to the point that there is a general sense of disconnection between the two parties, evidenced in comments from actors on both sides of the equation.<sup>334</sup> The most obvious indicator of this disconnect is visible on the PCP website, where, despite having achieved PCP milestone five, Toronto is still listed as having only completed milestone two.<sup>335</sup> Similarly, despite some assertions of involvement with the network<sup>336</sup> there was a general sense of disinterest among interviewees when asked about engagement with the network.<sup>337</sup>

Shifting to informational impacts, examples of information sharing activities undertaken by the PCP include the various supportive tools made available to member municipalities.<sup>338</sup> Winnipeg has drawn heavily on PCP tools and resources, for technical support in the calculation of baseline inventories and in the development of the local action plan.<sup>339</sup> The impact of information sharing on the activities of Toronto policy actors is much more difficult to discern, due especially to the fact that Toronto has historically been out in front of the network. However, the fact that the

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<sup>334</sup> This point was made in interviews PI002 and TI002.

<sup>335</sup> Federation of Canadian Municipalities. "About Partners for Climate Protection." Accessed May 20, 2008: <http://www.sustainablecommunities.fcm.ca/Partners-for-Climate-Protection/>.

<sup>336</sup> Interview TI002. Conducted March 3, 2008.

<sup>337</sup> This point was drawn from interviews TI001 and TI003.

<sup>338</sup> Partners for Climate Protection. "About Partners for Climate Protection." Accessed April 23, 2008: <http://www.sustainablecommunities.fcm.ca/Partners-for-Climate-Protection/Resources-Tools.asp>. These tools and resources include: The Quick Action Guide; The Business Case for Cutting Greenhouse Gas Emissions from Municipal Operations; The Model Climate Change Action Plan; The Estimated Inventory Guide; and the Inventory Quantification Support Spreadsheet, amongst others.

<sup>339</sup> Interview WI001. Conducted January 16, 2008.

City of Toronto continues to follow and reference the PCP five milestone framework for addressing climate change, and draws on the PCP tools and principles in the calculation of their corporate and community emissions inventories, combine to suggest that a certain amount of learning has occurred.<sup>340</sup>

#### *4. Setting norms (norm creation/promulgation and rule setting)*

In defining the importance of the normative impacts of the TMN's, Selin and VanDeveer note, "[i]f climate advocates succeed in generating a broader political and public expectation that GHG emissions should decline over time, then policies and behaviors that reduce GHG emissions will be judged more appropriate than those that engender increases. Evidence suggests that such change is under way."<sup>341</sup> In the context of the two case study cities examined in this project, there is, once again, mixed evidence of the impact that the PCP has had on such norm creation.

In Winnipeg, the PCP is perceived to have played a major role in the creation of the local action plan, and in the general shift in attitudes within City Council that has allowed for climate change concerns to begin to become entrenched in the local policy decision making process. This sentiment is well captured in the words of one respondent, who stated,

...getting that old-boys network to actually sign on to the notion of climate change was probably the biggest benefit [of PCP membership]. It put the issue out there, and to have councilors that would have scoffed at the issue signing on, that is a major accomplishment.<sup>342</sup>

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<sup>340</sup> Toronto Environment Office *Greenhouse Gases and Air Pollutants in the City of Toronto: Toward a Harmonized Strategy for Reducing Emissions*. Prepared by ICF International in collaboration with Toronto Atmospheric Fund and Toronto Environment Office. June 2007.. Accessed May 26, 2008: [www.toronto.ca/taf/reports.htm](http://www.toronto.ca/taf/reports.htm), p. 4.

<sup>341</sup> Selin and VanDeveer *Political Science and Prediction*, p. 16.

<sup>342</sup> Interview WI003. Conducted January 31, 2008.

However, while it is evident that the PCP was instrumental in getting climate change onto the local agenda, the extent to which such norms have promulgated is debatable. The modest nature of current targets, in concert with the means through which they are being achieved (recall from the preceding chapter that the *actual* amount of emissions actually reduced in Winnipeg is minimal) significantly weaken any argument made for the impact of the PCP to foster a norm of aggressive emissions reduction. Toronto provides some evidence to rebut this statement, as it has adopted very aggressive targets for the reduction of GHG emissions and appears to have internalized the norm of taking strong local action to address climate change. The linkages between such norm creation and the PCP are tenuous, but it could be argued that the preceding network (the Urban CO2 Project) helped to empower local policy heroes<sup>343</sup> and to foster the norm of local policy action. Evidence of this can be seen in the recommendations of the *SACE* report in 1991, which included the recognition that local policy actors can play a central role in the response to the challenges of climate change.<sup>344</sup> However, due to the weakened links between the PCP and the city of Toronto, the continued impact of the network on the promulgation of norms is difficult to discern.

One potential reason for this difficulty in generating and promulgating norms is the particular discursive approach favoured by the PCP. In their study of the CCP, Betsill and Bulkeley assert that such a weakness is related, in part, to the discursive

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<sup>343</sup> Lambright *et al.* *Urban Reactions to the Global Warming Issue: Agenda Setting in Toronto and Chicago.* *Climatic Change* Vol. 34 (1996) p. 469. Lambright *et al* provide some implicit support for this statement, in that they suggest that the existence of a local policy hero was essential to the early policy action on climate change, and that the Urban CO2 Project was a supportive mechanism for local policy heroes in early adopter jurisdictions.

<sup>344</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 466.

approach favoured by the network, one that links local emissions reduction efforts to economic benefits.<sup>345</sup> By stressing “co-benefits” there is the danger that cities will merely re-purpose existing policies and projects as “climate initiatives,”<sup>346</sup> a thought that certainly applies to the ledger-shifting emissions reductions achieved in Winnipeg as a result of the sale of Winnipeg Hydro that were documented in chapter two. In separate pieces on the nature, and impact, of the CCP approach, Slocum and Lindseth echo this position, asserting that the network is in fact self-limiting as a result of the chosen approach of economic issue linkage. Slocum critiques the discourse of efficiency as one that closes off other potentialities for promoting emissions reducing action, and suggests that “[t]hrough their choice of this object, municipal politicians and administrators enable what is speakable....By playing into the overriding concern with the bottom line, saving money overshadows other values and reasons for climate protection.”<sup>347</sup> This results in “the final oddity of this strategy...the reason to care about climate in the first place is absent. The effects of climate change are not invoked. Instead, people are asked to care about the savings they can achieve.”<sup>348</sup> In a similar vein, Lindseth notes that “th[e] idea of climate change as a moral responsibility and risk issue requiring immediate action” is absent

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<sup>345</sup> Michele M, Betsill and Harriet Bulkeley. Cities and Climate Change: Urban Sustainability and Global Environmental Governance (Routledge, New York. 2003) p. 182.

<sup>346</sup> Ibid, p. 167.

<sup>347</sup> Rachel Slocum. *Polar bears and energy-efficient lightbulbs: strategies to bring climate change home.* Environment and Planning D: Society and Space Vol 22 (2004) p. 423.

<sup>348</sup> Ibid, p. 424. The type of ethically vacuous reasoning is evident in many economic analyses of potential policy options for addressing climate change, a good example of which is William Nordhaus’ recent publication A Question of Balance: Weighing the Options on Global Warming Policies (Yale University Press, 2008) – a review of which can be found in the New York Review of Books, Vol LV no. 10. June 12, 2008 pp. 43 – 45.



from CCP/PCP discourse, and represents a major limitation on the potential impact of the network.<sup>349</sup>

While such a critique is certainly relevant, it does tend to overshadow the importance of PCP activities that foster the norm of policy engagement. Rule setting, as the most concrete of the governance activities undertaken by TMN's such as the PCP, represents both the most explicit example of the diffusion of traditional governance activities from the nation-state to other actors as well as the most explicit form of norm generation engendered by the network. The setting of emissions targets by the PCP, currently established as a commitment to 20% reduction in emissions within 10 years of joining the network, represents the assumption of a governance role by the PCP that is typically associated with the national, or even provincial, level of governance. The PCP, therefore, has created "a set of rules and norms intended to guide members' behaviour" that exist "in parallel to the existing intergovernmental regime on climate change [the Kyoto protocol]."<sup>350</sup> In so doing, the PCP has assumed a meaningful position within the complex universe of political actors that comprise the multilevel governance of climate change. However, despite the assertion by Andanova *et al* that this rule setting function is the primary one adopted by the CCP/PCP,<sup>351</sup> the efficacy of the network in this role is subject to challenge based on the evidence gathered in this study.

In Winnipeg, the target adopted has been subject to considerable shifting since the passing of a membership resolution in 1998. Whereas the initial commitment

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<sup>349</sup> Gard Lindseth, *The Cities for Climate Protection Campaign (CCPC) and the framing of Local Climate Policy*. *Local Environment* Vol 9, No. 4. (August 2004) p. 332.

<sup>350</sup> Andanova *et al*, *Transnational Climate Change Government*, p. 8.

<sup>351</sup> *Ibid*, p. 8.

involved a reduction in both community and corporate emissions, the Action Plan that finally emerged in 2006 was silent on the issue of community emissions, and presented what can fairly be termed a watered down commitment for the reduction of corporate emissions. The current target, a 20% reduction in emissions by 2018 (using a 1998 baseline) is certainly a first step for the city, and an important one at that. By conforming to the PCP target, it also supports the important rule setting role played by the network in fostering municipal policy action. As such, it provides evidence of the PCP's successful undertaking of an "initiative [to] link actors across boundaries and layers of governance to establish a set of rules not necessarily envisaged or specified by the UNFCCC or Kyoto Protocol but serving the general goals of climate change mitigation and management."<sup>352</sup> However, the manner in which it is being approached, via "hot air" reductions achieved through the shifting of emissions off of the corporate ledger, does not signify a true translation of the PCP targets into real actions, and raises concerns regarding the capacity of the city to overcome the implementation gap and achieve real, meaningful, emissions reductions on a community-wide basis.

In Toronto, the opposite case appears to be true. Toronto has moved significantly past the PCP targets, and has now adopted the aggressive targets promoted by the EU in international negotiations and mandated in the IPCC AR4 report, of a 6% reduction by 2012, 20% by 2030, and 80% by 2050. These targets render the rule setting role of the PCP moot, and further underscore the independence of Toronto from the network. The engagement of Toronto with multiple TMN's in

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<sup>352</sup> Ibid, p. 8.

the issue area of climate change does raise interesting questions, however, as regards the permeability of network rule setting activities. As Toronto, influenced by international leaders, sets aggressive targets, it will be interesting to see if these targets and norms end up diffusing back through to the PCP and outward to other PCP member cities.

#### **Four Proposed Conclusions**

My analysis sought to identify the pathways of influence that exist between the PCP and member cities, in order to assess the actual impact that the network has had on the development of local climate change policy in Canada. The expectation, at the outset, was that the PCP has emerged as an autonomous actor in a multi-level governance environment, with the intent of fostering and supporting climate change policy at the local level in Canada, and has had marginal success in doing so. Following Betsill and Bulkeley, it was predicted that the evidence would reveal that more proactive cities would have stronger connections to the network, would derive greater benefits from membership via accessing competitive pools of funding, and would use that strong network connection to advance their reputation for leadership on the issue.<sup>353</sup> Therefore, the expectation was that Toronto would exhibit a much stronger connection to the PCP and would have a greater observable and perceived benefit than Winnipeg. Winnipeg, as a late adopter and slow-mover on the issue of climate change, was expected to exhibit a much weaker network connection, due to a lack of local interest, support, and financial commitment, and was predicted to have derived a much lower objective and perceived benefit from network membership.

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<sup>353</sup> Betsill and Bulkeley, *Cities and Climate Change*, p. 173.

The findings of my research, conducted using a combination of the Selin and VanDeveer and Andanovan typologies, are suggestive of a different set of conclusions than were expected. As noted at the outset of this chapter, four conclusions presented themselves in the process of completing this study. The following section outlines each in succession.

First, the PCP does exert an impact on municipal climate change policy in Canada, but this impact is centered on “wedge” actions occurring at the outset of the policy engagement period and diminishes as municipalities move along the policy engagement spectrum. In contrast to the Betsill and Bulkeley findings, the impact of the PCP on the late-adopting and slower moving city of Winnipeg appears to be much stronger and more evident than in the progressive city of Toronto.<sup>354</sup> In Winnipeg, there is an observable and perceived impact played by the PCP on the development of a local climate change action plan, the establishment of emissions reduction targets, and on a more general level, the sense of acceptance that climate change is a relevant concern for actors at the municipal level in Winnipeg. Winnipeg has made use of the network linkages provided by the PCP, has accessed GMF funding for all five milestone activities completed to date, has drawn on the technical support offered by the network, and has adopted the normative case for reducing emissions as well as the policy framework for achieving such reductions. As such, the network can legitimately be said to have exerted a significant impact on the development of

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<sup>354</sup> In this instance, the terms “late-adopting” and “slow moving” refer to the policy history of Winnipeg in the issue area of climate change. As noted in chapter three, the City of Winnipeg has only recently developed and implemented a climate change action plan, and has only achieved minimal emissions reductions via its policy actions. In the same sense, the activities of the City of Toronto is characterized as “progressive” due to its long history of climate change policy action, the substantial emissions reductions achieved to date, and the aggressive emissions reduction targets established for the entire Toronto community.

climate change policy in Winnipeg. In Toronto, on the other hand, the impact of the network is much more diffuse and difficult to discern. While Toronto has institutionalized the general approach favoured by the PCP, and was instrumental in the creation of the Urban CO2 Project, ICLEI, and the CCP, the city has moved well beyond the PCP framework and targets. There is little perceived value among Toronto policy actors regarding the impact of the PCP on local climate change policy, to the point that the connection between the network has deteriorated and frayed. Betsill and Bulkeley assert that such a weakened connection between city actors and the CCP should be a result of, among other factors, a lack of institutionalization within the local government bureaucracy or a diminution of political will and support.<sup>355</sup> However, this is clearly not the case in Toronto where climate change concerns have a strong and stable place within the city bureaucracy (the Toronto Environment Office) as well as at the political level, as evidenced by the unanimous adoption of the *Change is in the Air* targets and the appointment of a high level coordinator on climate change within the Mayor's office.<sup>356</sup> Instead, the weak network connection observed in the Toronto-PCP relationship appears to be related to a discrepancy in capacity and resources, which leads directly to the second conclusion advanced in this thesis. It is possible that, due to the temporal proximity of this study to the meaningful actions in Winnipeg, and the much more advanced nature of climate change policy in Toronto, elite actors in Winnipeg simply have a stronger recollection or impression of network benefits. However, even if this were true, it would seem to provide still more support for the notion that the network simply loses

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<sup>355</sup> Betsill and Bulkeley. *Cities and Climate Change*, p. 184.

<sup>356</sup> Interview TI003. Conducted February 29, 2008.

impact the farther along the policy trajectory a city moves. This notion, that the network struggles to remain relevant as cities progress past the initial challenge of issue engagement, was well-captured by one interviewee in responding to a question regarding the impact of the network:

I think the PCP has a function to play. But I think it's again, maybe they've done their thing at the early stages, and maybe now they have to start to focus on the implementation side of things in order to stay – meaningful.<sup>357</sup>

Of central importance, then, is the problem of continued relevance of the PCP to its member cities.

A second conclusion drawn from this study is that the perceived and observable impact of the PCP on local climate change policy appears to be inversely related to levels of city resources allotted to the issue area. In Winnipeg, there has been a minimal amount of funding, staffing, and resources allotted to the development of climate change policy, as there is only one administrative official designated to the issue area. Consequently, relevant policy actors in Winnipeg appear to perceive a significant value in PCP membership. This value includes the “normalizing” of the issue, as well as the administrative and policy development learning requisite for the development and implementation of the local climate change action plan. While Winnipeg has only achieved a minimal level of implementation and has not as of yet addressed the vexing issue of community-wide emissions reductions, there is a real sense that the city might not have progressed to where they currently are without the support of the PCP. Toronto, on the other hand, has achieved a high level of

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<sup>357</sup> Interview WI003. Conducted January 31, 2008.

institutionalization and has an entire office, the Toronto Environment Office formed in 2006,<sup>358</sup> dedicated to issues relating to climate change and the environment. Toronto has earmarked over \$1 billion over the next five years for capital budget expenditures related to climate change mitigation and adaptation projects, signaling a healthy level of commitment to addressing the issue.<sup>359</sup> As such, the level of commitment at the local level far outstrips the situation in Winnipeg. The perceived and observable impact of the PCP, however, is negligible. Local policy actors in Toronto have little interest in the activities of the PCP, and have not bothered to even keep the network apprised of policy achievements relative to the five milestone framework. The benefits of network engagement appear to be far outstripped by local capacity, leaving Toronto operating in isolation from the network and with a focus directed much more strongly towards international networks such as the C40. The discrepancy in profile is evidenced by the prominent presentation of information on the City of Toronto Office of the Mayor's website, regarding Mayor Miller's recent posting as Chair of the C40,<sup>360</sup> whereas there is virtually no mention of the PCP at all on any of the City of Toronto website pages.<sup>361</sup> As Toronto has moved farther along the policy engagement spectrum, the ability of the PCP to remain relevant appears to have diminished. Admittedly, the scope of this project allows for this to be nothing more than a tentative conclusion, as further testing in other Canadian cities with

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<sup>358</sup> City of Toronto. *Mandate of the Toronto Environment Office*. Accessed May 25, 2008: [www.toronto.ca/legdocs/mmis/2007/pe/bgrd/backgroundfile-7303.pdf](http://www.toronto.ca/legdocs/mmis/2007/pe/bgrd/backgroundfile-7303.pdf), p. 2.

<sup>359</sup> Toronto Environment Office. *Ahead of the Storm: Preparing Toronto for Climate Change – Development of a Climate Change Adaptation Strategy*. April 18, 2008. Accessed April 22, 2008: <http://www.toronto.ca/changeisintheair/involved.htm>, p. 3.

<sup>360</sup> City of Toronto. "Office of the Mayor." Accessed June 20, 2008: [http://www.toronto.ca/mayor\\_miller/index.htm](http://www.toronto.ca/mayor_miller/index.htm).

<sup>361</sup> A search of the entire City of Toronto website for the term "Partners for Climate Protection" resulted in only three positive hits, all of which were located in staff reports issued in 2006 or earlier.

varying levels of local financial and staffing commitments and policy progress is necessary in order to assess the veracity of this claim. However, it is an interesting finding and runs counter to both the intuitive position adopted at the outset of this project and the hypotheses of Betsill and Bulkeley.<sup>362</sup>

Following from the preceding point, it is argued as a third conclusion that this inverse relationship, and the decreased relevancy of the PCP at points further along the policy engagement spectrum, while undoubtedly influenced by the discursive approach of economic issue linkage and “low hanging fruit” issue framing favoured by the network, is rooted in the lack of capacity of the network itself. The PCP, as noted in chapter three, is severely under-staffed and under-funded, to the point that the network is essentially reduced to a reactive body. This is perhaps one of the most surprising results of this study, as it was assumed at the outset that the impact of internal constraints such as funding/staffing on the capacity of the network to engender normative change and policy action would be vastly overshadowed by local political resistance and member reticence. It appears, however, that a major constraint on network impact and efficacy is an inability to fully utilize the experiences of head-of-the-pack members, or to reach out and prompt, cajole, or support slow-moving members that are having problems moving from rhetorical commitment to real policy action. As one interviewee put it, “what is lacking is really the time to network the network.”<sup>363</sup>

This leads to a final conclusion, namely that there is a high degree of dependence between local actors, newly emerging networks and traditionally dominant state

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<sup>362</sup> Betsill and Bulkeley, *Cities and Climate Change*, p. 182.

<sup>363</sup> Interview PI002. Conducted February 28, 2008.



actors, which, in the Canadian context, has severely limited the PCP and its impact on climate change policy in Canadian cities. As a relatively new entrant into the arena of climate change governance, the PCP has been severely constrained by the lack of federal interest in municipalities. When compared with a country such as Australia, which has endowed the Australian CCP with a \$3 million operating budget and fifteen staff members, in addition to distinct responsibilities for emissions inventory reporting as a part of the national effort,<sup>364</sup> the Canadian context is one in which there is a startling lack of engagement with local policy actors. This point is underscored by the political salience of the PCP, which one respondent familiar with the situation characterized as “relatively speaking, is small fish.”<sup>365</sup> In response to a question regarding the activities within the FCM to push for greater support for the PCP from the federal government, the blunt answer given by one interviewee was that “when we send our people out in December to talk to all the MP’s, which we do, this just isn’t one of the things that we’re going to push.”<sup>366</sup> The preceding phrase aptly captures the limitations facing the PCP in its efforts, and represents a major constraint on the potential efficacy of the network.

Such difficulties expose Canada’s status as an “urban policy laggard,” and underpin Bradford’s call for a more inclusive, multilevel approach as the best means of addressing vexing public policy issues such as climate change.<sup>367</sup> However, there is some evidence that sub-state actors are seeking innovative means of overcoming

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<sup>364</sup> Ibid.

<sup>365</sup> Interview WI002. Conducted February 19, 2008.

<sup>366</sup> Ibid.

<sup>367</sup> Neil Bradford *Place Matters and Multi-Level Governance: Perspectives on a new Urban Policy Paradigm. Policy Options*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (February 2004) p. 44.

this dependence and pushing forward the multilevel platform in the face of federal disinterest. In a North American context, Selin and VanDeveer have commented on the somewhat inchoate, yet promising activities of local and state actors to exert influence upon higher orders of government.<sup>368</sup> In Canada, Gore suggests that such impacts are difficult to discern, and are subject to significant constraints, but that despite these constraints there is a significant level of activity among, and between local actors in Canada.<sup>369</sup> Parker and Rowlands, in their study of the impact of cuts in federal funding for a home energy efficiency rebate program, remark that innovative methods of funding are necessary for local policy actors to overcome limitations imposed by the lack of federal engagement with Canadian municipalities on the issue of climate change. In their profile of the City of Waterloo, Parker and Rowlands note that the city engaged local utilities, in addition to the provincial government in Ontario, in order to secure funding to independently carry on with an energy efficiency rebate program, after the federal government ceased all funding to the program.<sup>370</sup> This sort of innovation provides a wonderful example of both the restrictions imposed upon lower-order levels of governance, as well as the potentially

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<sup>368</sup> Henrik Selin and Stacey D. VanDeveer. *Canadian-U.S. Environmental Cooperation: Climate Change Networks and Regional Action* *The American Review of Canadian Studies* Vol. 35 No.2 pp. 353-378. See also Selin and VanDeveer *Political Science and Prediction*, as well as Linda Greenhouse. *Justices Say E.P.A. Has Power to Act on Harmful Gases*. *The New York Times*, April 3, 2007. Accessed April 3, 2007: <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/03/washington/03scot...&en=b3594ae741e1dda8&ex=1175745600&pagewanted=print>. The piece by Greenhouse documents the legal actions being taken by US state-level governments in an effort to force stronger climate change action.

<sup>369</sup> Christopher Gore. *Local Governments and Climate Change Advocacy in Canada: Reflections on Network (In)Effectiveness OR the Politics of Indifference*. Paper prepared for the Canadian Political Science Association Conference, Vancouver, Canada June 4-6 2008, p. 3.

<sup>370</sup> Paul Parker and Ian H. Rowlands. *City Partners Maintain Climate Change Action Despite National Cuts: Residential Energy Efficiency Programme Valued at Local Level*. *Local Environment* Vol 12, No. 5 (2007) pp. 512 – 513.

innovative means by which such restrictions can be overcome. Parker and Rowlands drive home the importance of such innovative actions, noting:

For local climate action to be effective, partnerships are required among municipalities, utilities and other interested parties to share the costs and increase local awareness, thereby enabling climate action programmes to achieve substantial participation rates and emission reductions.<sup>371</sup>

There is some evidence that the PCP has recognized this need to remain “meaningful” and is beginning to explore such options, including an increased focus on provincial engagement, a membership fee structure, and engagement with the private sector.<sup>372</sup>

Such actions represent a further evolution of the non-linear process of diffusion and interdependence that most effectively characterizes multilevel governance in Canada today.

### **Potential Avenues of Future Research**

As noted above, this thesis has attempted to make a small contribution towards filling the identified lacuna of research into the role and impact, in a Canadian context, of sub-national and network actors on the policy response to climate change. Inevitably, over the course of this project more questions than potential answers have emerged, leading to a number of potential avenues along which future research could be carried out.

The most obvious of these is an extension of the research carried out in this project to include a broader and more representative sub-set of Canadian municipalities. While the conclusions advanced in this thesis provide some insight into the dynamic that exists between the PCP and local climate change policy, an

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<sup>371</sup> Ibid, p. 516.

<sup>372</sup> Interview PI002. Conducted February 28, 2008.

extended sample set of cities with, for example, a greater disparity in terms of population base, resource and financial capacity, history of environmental/climate change action, and period of engagement with the PCP would paint a much clearer picture of the municipal policy response to climate change in Canada and the impact of the PCP on such actions. By incorporating large municipalities, such as Calgary, Edmonton and Vancouver, as well as small municipalities such as Whistler, Perth, and Sydney, that have been active to varying degrees in developing climate change policy, the conclusions reached in this thesis could be tested to a much fuller extent and amended, authenticated, or abandoned as necessary.

A second avenue for future research involves the unpacking of the local policy response into the component streams of mitigation and adaptation activities. While this is an area that has, as yet, received only minimal attention in the literature, there is evidence that policy actors in Canadian cities, and elsewhere, are beginning to awaken to the importance of adaptive policy actions in responding to the impacts of climatic change.<sup>373</sup> The PCP has, as yet, devoted scant attention to this component of climate change policy, but appears to have identified adaptation as a key area that requires increased attention both internally, and amongst member municipalities.<sup>374</sup> There is, in the general literature on the municipal policy response to climate change, a relative absence of research into the adaptive responses to climate change, as regards both “whether and how cities are planning for the impacts of climate

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<sup>373</sup> Toronto Environment Office. *Ahead of the Storm: Preparing Toronto for Climate Change – Development of a Climate Change Adaptation Strategy*. Accessed April 22, 2008. Available for download at: <http://www.toronto.ca/changeisintheair/involved.htm>. The Toronto Environment Office Climate Change Adaptation web page contains a very useful summary of the extant efforts amongst municipalities to develop adaptation strategies, and is available at [http://www.toronto.ca/teo/climate\\_change\\_adaptation/topten.htm](http://www.toronto.ca/teo/climate_change_adaptation/topten.htm)

<sup>374</sup> Interview P1002. Conducted February 28, 2008.

change.”<sup>375</sup> This is compounded by what Bulkeley and Betsill, in their review of research completed over the past decade in the field of local climate change politics, refer to as a tradition of policy practice that “gives higher priority to mitigation than to adaptation.”<sup>376</sup> This research gap is an even larger one in the Canadian context, as no published academic studies could be found regarding the issue of local adaptation to climate change. The literature in Canada at the moment consists of a small number of policy studies conducted by the Clean Air Partnership for the City of Toronto,<sup>377</sup> as well as a framework document for local policy actors produced by the now-defunct Canadian Climate Impacts and Adaptation Research Network (C-CIARN).<sup>378</sup> As such, there is a pressing need to explore the nature of the adaptive policy responses that have been developed in Canadian cities, the role that linkage networks such as the PCP can play in terms of fostering, supporting, and facilitating adaptive policies, and the impact that adaptive policy-making may have on, in many cases, nascent mitigative policy commitments that have yet to be operationalized.

A final area into which this project could be extended in the future is related to the capacity for vertical policy, and norm, proliferation in Canada. While this project has emphasized the impact of the PCP on fostering, supporting, and transmitting policy actions between member municipalities in Canada, it has not explored nor

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<sup>375</sup> Michele M. Betsill and Harriet Bulkeley. *Looking Back and Thinking Ahead: A Decade of Cities and Climate Change Research*. *Local Environment* Vol 12, No. 5 (2007) p. 453.

<sup>376</sup> *Ibid*, p. 454.

<sup>377</sup> Jennifer Penney and Ireen Wieditz. *A Scan of Climate Change Impacts on Toronto*. (Clean Air Partnership, Toronto. 2006). Accessed March 1, 2008: <http://www.cleanairpartnership.org/reports.php>; Jennifer Penney and Ireen Wieditz. *Climate Change Adaptation Options for Toronto's Urban Forest*. (Clean Air Partnership, Toronto. 2007). Accessed March 1, 2008: <http://www.cleanairpartnership.org/reports.php>; Jennifer Penney and Ireen Wieditz. *Cities Preparing for Climate Change: A Study of Six Urban Regions* (Clean Air Partnership, Toronto. 2007). Accessed March 1, 2008: <http://www.cleanairpartnership.org/reports.php>.

<sup>378</sup> Bano Mehdi, Charles Mrena, and Al Douglas. *Adapting to Climate Change: An Introduction for Canadian Municipalities*. (Canadian Climate Impacts and Adaptation Research Network, February 2006. Accessed March 2, 2008: [http://www.toronto.ca/teo/climate\\_change\\_adaptation/topten.htm](http://www.toronto.ca/teo/climate_change_adaptation/topten.htm).

assessed their advocacy efforts. While it has been noted in this thesis that the vast majority of the Canadian population resides in urban settings, and that over 55% of Canadian emissions fall under the direct or indirect influence of local policy actors, there is no doubt that an integrated federal-provincial-municipal effort will be required in order to achieve the requisite level of emissions reductions suggested in the scientific literature. Therefore, the question as to how much influence local policy actors can have on higher orders of governance is a key one. In the United State, the Mayors Climate Protection Agreement, signed in 2005, explicitly calls for both local policy action as well as advocacy efforts to convince state and federal governments to act.<sup>379</sup> In Canada, the Big City Mayors Caucus has advocated on behalf of Canadian cities on specific issues, while the FCM has tended to shy away from lobbying the federal government on major issues.<sup>380</sup> This leads one observer to note that, “municipalities have not had a prominent influence on federal climate strategies.”<sup>381</sup> In light of the findings of this thesis, and especially in consideration of the significant capacity limitations imposed on the PCP by a lack of funding and resources, the ability of the network and its members to exert direct influence on higher levels of government, if possible, or work around and outside of them to exert indirect influence presents numerous opportunities for further examination.<sup>382</sup>

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<sup>379</sup> US Conference of Mayors Climate Protection Center. Accessed May 27, 2008: <http://www.usmayors.org/climateprotection/agreement.htm>.

<sup>380</sup> Gore, *Local Governments and Climate Change Advocacy*, p. 9.

<sup>381</sup> *Ibid*, p. 17.

<sup>382</sup> *Ibid*, p. 19. Gore notes, at the end of his paper, that there is a need for research into “the tentative argument that future municipal policy influence may come about from indirect actions, rather than direct advocacy.”

## Conclusion

The political challenges embodied in attempting to attain the scientifically mandated emissions reductions present a Herculean task, regardless of whether such reductions are the result of a massive behavioural shift or unforeseen technological advances. It is the aim of this thesis to have contributed in some small fashion to this task, via an insight into the role of the PCP, as a relatively new actor in the issue area of climate change policy, in fostering and supporting policy action in Canadian municipalities. This is an area of study that has only emerged in the past decade or so<sup>384</sup> and has, as yet, garnered a relatively minor amount of attention in Canada.<sup>385</sup> At the federal level, Canada has abandoned a leadership role in terms of addressing climate change and reducing emissions. However, the activities of local, provincial, and non-state actors provide areas of active engagement, innovation, and hold out promise for meaningful results. It is my hope that this thesis has helped to illustrate the impacts that one such actor, the PCP, has had on Canadian municipalities, as well as the limitations facing this network as a result of the complex set of relationships that exist between actors at the various levels of governance. It is my intent to continue onward with future research efforts to further explore this vitally important, exciting, and challenging area of study.

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<sup>384</sup> Betsill and Bulkeley, *Looking Back and Thinking Ahead*. This piece by Betsill and Bulkeley provides an overview of the past 10 years of research into the local/global intersection in the issue area of climate change.

<sup>385</sup> Gore, *Local Governments and Climate Change Advocacy*, pp. 5, 13, 18.

**Appendix A: University of Manitoba Research Ethics Board Approval Certificate**

**APPROVAL CERTIFICATE**

31 January 2008

**TO: David Gordon**  
(Advisor K. Speers)  
Principal Investigator

**FROM: Wayne Taylor, Chair**

Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (JFREB)

**Re: Protocol #J2008:003**  
**“The Impact of the Partners for Climate Protection (PCP)**  
**Programme on Climate Change”**

Please be advised that your above-referenced protocol has received human ethics approval by the **Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board**, which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement. This approval is valid for one year only.

Any significant changes of the protocol and/or informed consent form should be reported to the Human Ethics Secretariat in advance of implementation of such changes.

**Please note:**

- if you have funds pending human ethics approval, the auditor requires that you submit a copy of this Approval Certificate to Kathryn Bartmanovich, Research Grants & Contract Services (fax 261-0325), including the Sponsor name, before your account can be opened.
- if you have received multi-year funding for this research, responsibility lies with you to apply for and obtain Renewal Approval at the expiry of the initial one-year approval; otherwise the account will be locked.



## Appendix B: Outline of PCP Interview Questions

1. In your opinion, what role does local government in Canada currently play in terms of addressing the issue of climate change?
2. In your opinion, what role should local government in Canada play in terms of addressing the issue of climate change?
3. In your opinion, what positive actions have been taken by the Canadian cities, and specifically the City of Winnipeg/City of Toronto in terms of responding to the issue of climate change?
  - a. Adaptive
  - b. Mitigative
4. What areas of competence do you think that Canadian cities have that are/can be effective in addressing the issue of climate change?
5. What areas of jurisdiction do you think that Canadian cities have that are/can be effective in addressing the issue of climate change?
6. What are the most formidable barriers to effective municipal policy action regarding climate change?
  - a. Jurisdiction
  - b. Resource base
  - c. Public opinion
  - d. Interest group lobbying
  - e. Political resistance
7. What influence do you think that membership in the PCP had on climate change policy in Canadian cities, and specifically the City of Winnipeg/City of Toronto?
8. What improvements could be made in order to increase the influence of the PCP on municipal climate change policy actions?
9. What are the most significant barriers acting to impede the ability of the PCP to positively impact upon municipal climate change policy actions?

10. In your opinion, is the role of the PCP primarily to establish targets for GHG emissions reductions or to assist in attaining reduction levels established elsewhere?
11. What level of interaction is there between the PCP and the international CCP? (goal-setting, methodology, etc...)
12. How does the PCP measure its own success? Is there a barometer that is used to quantify or parse out the impact of network membership? Overall network success?
13. Are there any thoughts to including a broader spectrum of stakeholders in the PCP process? (ie: private interests, civil society representatives, etc...)

## Appendix C: Outline of Toronto Interview Questions

14. In your opinion, what role does local government in Canada currently play in terms of addressing the issue of climate change?
15. In your opinion, what role should local government in Canada play in terms of addressing the issue of climate change?
16. In your opinion, what positive actions have been taken by the City of Toronto in terms of responding to the issue of climate change?
  - a. Adaptive
  - b. Mitigative
17. What areas of competence do you think that the City of Toronto has that are/can be effective in addressing the issue of climate change?
18. What areas of jurisdiction do you think that the City of Toronto has that are/can be effective in addressing the issue of climate change?
19. What are the most formidable barriers to effective municipal policy action regarding climate change?
  - a. Jurisdiction
  - b. Resource base
  - c. Public opinion
  - d. Interest group lobbying
  - e. Political resistance
20. The City of Toronto joined the PCP in 1993. What has been the impact of membership on the policy actions taken regarding climate change since joining?
21. What, if any, positive influence has membership in the PCP had on climate change policy in the City of Toronto?
22. To your knowledge, are there currently ongoing discussion or planning efforts between the City of Toronto and the PCP in regards to the long-term impact/implications of climate change?
23. If yes, what are the nature of these plans?

- a. What was the nature of input/communication with the PCP in the formulation of these plans?
24. If no, why not?
25. The PCP advocates a distinction between “corporate” and “community” GHG emissions reduction efforts.
- a. Does the City of Toronto have a responsibility to take actions in both realms?
  - b. Does the City of Toronto have the capacity to impact upon both the corporate and community realms?
  - c. Can the PCP help to extend this capacity?
26. How could networks such as the PCP improve in order to have a greater positive impact upon climate change policy actions in the City of Toronto?
27. How could networks such as the PCP improve in order to have a greater positive impact upon climate change policy actions across all cities?
28. What are three most important issues facing the City of Toronto over the:
- a. Short term (current year)
  - b. Medium terms (1 to 5 years)
  - c. Long term (6 to 20 years)
29. How important does the City of Toronto consider the issue of climate change, as compared to other policy issues?
30. How important should the City of Toronto consider the issue of climate change, as compared to other policy issues?
31. How should economic interests be balanced as against environmental interests?
32. Is there a moral imperative or duty inherent upon the City of Toronto to aggressively address the issue of climate change?

## Appendix D: Outline of Winnipeg Interview Questions

33. In your opinion, what role does local government in Canada currently play in terms of addressing the issue of climate change?
34. In your opinion, what role should local government in Canada play in terms of addressing the issue of climate change?
35. In your opinion, what positive actions have been taken by the City of Winnipeg in terms of responding to the issue of climate change?
  - a. Adaptive
  - b. Mitigative
36. What areas of competence do you think that the City of Winnipeg has that are/can be effective in addressing the issue of climate change?
37. What areas of jurisdiction do you think that the City of Winnipeg has that are/can be effective in addressing the issue of climate change?
38. What are the most formidable barriers to effective municipal policy action regarding climate change?
  - a. Jurisdiction
  - b. Resource base
  - c. Public opinion
  - d. Interest group lobbying
  - e. Political resistance
39. The City of Winnipeg joined the PCP in 1998. What has been the impact of membership on the policy actions taken regarding climate change since joining?
40. What, if any, positive influence has membership in the PCP had on climate change policy in the City of Winnipeg?
41. In your position, do you have direct contact or communication with the PCP? If yes, how would you assess the strength of this connection?
42. To your knowledge, are there currently ongoing discussion or planning efforts between the City of Winnipeg and the PCP in regards to the long-term impact/implications of climate change?
43. If yes, what are the nature of these plans?

- a. What was the nature of input/communication with the PCP in the formulation of these plans?
44. If no, why not?
45. The PCP advocates a distinction between “corporate” and “community” GHG emissions reduction efforts.
- a. Does the City of Winnipeg have a responsibility to take actions in both realms?
  - b. Does the City of Winnipeg have the capacity to impact upon both the corporate and community realms?
  - c. Can the PCP help to extend this capacity?
46. How could networks such as the PCP improve in order to have a greater positive impact upon climate change policy actions in the City of Winnipeg?
47. How could networks such as the PCP improve in order to have a greater positive impact upon climate change policy actions across all cities?
48. What are three most important issues facing the City of Winnipeg over the:
- a. Short term (current year)
  - b. Medium terms (1 to 5 years)
  - c. Long term (6 to 20 years)
49. How important does the City of Winnipeg consider the issue of climate change, as compared to other policy issues?
50. How important should the City of Winnipeg consider the issue of climate change, as compared to other policy issues?
51. How should economic interests be balanced as against environmental interests?
52. Is there a moral imperative or duty inherent upon the City of Winnipeg to aggressively address the issue of climate change?
53. How important are accountability and transparency in the efforts taken by the City of Winnipeg to reduce GHG emissions?
54. What level of interaction/cooperation exists between the City of Winnipeg and the Province of Manitoba, as regards the issue of climate change mitigation and adaptation?

55. What is the Province's position regarding policy initiatives taken at the City level in Winnipeg?

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