Addressing the climate and environmental crises through better governance: The environmental democracy approach in development co-operation

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Policy brief

The climate and environmental crises as governance failures

While science is clear on the urgency, impacts and the range of technological and policy solutions, political systems have lagged to produce the decisive action required to address adequately climate change and environmental degradation. Climate change crises and environmental degradation are therefore to a large extent consequence of governance and political failures. Lack of political will and political commitment, short-termism, vulnerability of policies to electoral cycles, weak accountability for implementation are some examples of such failures. Not accounting for governance failures and political economy factors undermines technocratic programmes on climate change and the environment.

This study explores the potential for development co-operation to help address climate change and environmental degradation through greater focus on environmental governance. We review the debate on the relationship between the interventions that strengthen the key pillars of governance and the environmental policy outcomes and complement it with semi-structured interviews with nineteen foreign aid experts to understand the current practice, barriers to and opportunities for scaling up such interventions as part of development co-operation. The key messages are presented in this summary. The full study integrates the discussions at the Conference on Environmental Democracy which took place on 29-31 March 2022 and is available at www.wfd.org/resources.

Addressing governance failures

Governance failures require solutions that trigger socio-political and institutional change through enhanced transparency, citizen participation, and justice in addressing climate crisis and environmental degradation. Most such solutions focus on political institutions and processes and lie in strengthening key pillars of democratic governance, an approach that is sometimes labelled as ‘environmental democracy’. They require addressing information gaps and uncertainty that often paralyze decision-making. This includes improving quality, transparency and access to environmental information, such as past and projected emissions, climate risk and vulnerability assessments, scenarios for mitigation and adaptation, and progress made with implementation of policies.

Governance failures also need solutions that augment credibility and longevity of political commitment to policies over longer-term across multiple electoral cycles and strengthen accountability for implementation. This includes enhancing political oversight through strengthening

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1 Interviews have been conducted with 19 development co-operation professionals, including several UK FCDO experts in the country offices and in the headquarters, staff from other European donor agencies and non-governmental organisations active on climate change and environmental governance.
the ability of legislatures and judiciaries to tackle environmental issues. Political voices and coalitions can help address environmental problems by raising citizen’s concerns and holding governments accountable. To do so, political voices need to be more inclusive and aware on climate change and environmental degradation and be backed by a strong set of environmental and democratic rights that allows them to be heard through freedom of expression and speech and research. Political parties can help strengthen environmental democracy through mediating public preferences and political voices, by holding government accountable on environmental actions, and through party competition.

Development co-operation can help by enhancing public awareness on environmental issues and policy responses, enabling capacity of the media and civil society to cover these issues and building multi-stakeholder coalitions to support policy development and implementation. It can also help by building awareness and ability of political parties and parliaments to engage with these issues.

“It’s evident that you cannot design an effective climate change support programme without considering all of the other governance measures and sensitivity to conflict, justice, security measures and enforcement.”

UK development professional, Latin America.

“The links between environment and climate-resilient sustainable development, and human rights, democracy and gender equality are clear.”


There is growing evidence on how integrating governance priorities into technical environmental co-operation programmes help increase effectiveness of interventions and sustainability and longevity of change. Emerging examples include projects focused on strengthening the civil society, parliaments and political parties, public opinion and participation on climate change and the environment, capacity of judiciary system to deal with environmental issues (e.g., through training of judges) and environmental defendants programmes.

Strengthening the core pillars of environmental governance can also contribute to overall strengthening of democracies. Environment and climate change provide a better entry point for supporting drivers of democratic change than trying to push for implementation of democratic priorities as the main objective of a co-operation programme.
“There's a lot to learn from other fields, particularly in the peace and security and conflict resolution. Everyone who worked on nation building or large-scale peace building implementation attempts, have learned critical lessons on how to balance, shape and strengthen political will.”

NGO democracy support expert, USA.

Barriers to addressing environmental governance through foreign aid

Expert interviews showed that while there is a growing recognition of the importance of dealing with governance failures especially in the context of climate change, several barriers persist to scaling up integration of governance related interventions into development co-operation on environment and climate change. These barriers largely relate to knowledge and framing; funding strategies and cycles; and measurement and reporting practices.

Knowledge and framing

Experts noted a lack of understanding on what environmental governance interventions could be and have been effective and shortage of practical examples. There are also knowledge gaps among the environmental experts on how to work politically, and among the governance and democracy experts on technical aspects of environmental and climate change issues. The governance departments in donor agencies often do not have a specialist in environment and are not thinking in these terms, and the environmental teams do not have specialists in politics. This often leads to reluctance to focus on political economy and politics of environment. Furthermore, the concept of environmental democracy is not widely understood and has not been an explicit strong focus of discussions in the development co-operation community. Some experts have also noted that talking about environmental ‘governance’ rather than ‘democracy’ is more effective way to engage experts and host country governments.

Funding strategies and cycles

A challenge that all interviewed experts raised is the short-termism of funding programmes, and inconsistency of funding cycles with the longer timeframes required for meaningful governance change. Pressure to deliver short-term results against easily measurable indicators make governance interventions more challenging to integrate into climate and environmental aid programmes.

“The challenge we face is that the way [funding] systems work and the way the political systems work, they don't lend themselves to investing in the kind of long-term projects required.”

UK development professional, Latin America.
“Governance issues take longer to address, and our funding tends to be short and very rarely medium term. It’s normally three to five years to tackle governance well unless there are easy fixes to the issue. But where they’re entrenched, you need at least a political cycle to start moving forward.”

UK development professional, Africa.

Much of the development funding is still structured in thematic silos, which makes it challenging to combine technical co-operation and support to interventions that lead to longer-term political change necessary to ensure improvements in the regulatory framework, improved transparency and strengthened accountability for implementation. Experts note overall strategic deficit, where most of the development finance programmes treat the objectives of strengthening governance and democracy separately from the objectives related to environmental protection. Governance objectives are often not explicitly integrated into the overarching strategies on environment and climate change, making integration at the programming stage at the regional and country level challenging.

“Donor bureaucracies are structured so that you end up working in silos… There is a need to more explicitly link in a holistic way the politics of climate change to the technocratic approach.”

Democracy support NGO expert, USA.

“We need a more interdisciplinary approach to funding mechanisms and to programming more generally.”

UK development professional, Eastern Europe.

Measurement and reporting

There is a strong perception among the interviewed experts that measurement systems for environmental and climate change programmes are over-focused on indicators related to physical output and emission reductions. There is a gap in the knowledge on how to measure governance change in environmental programs, and the need for integration of relevant indicators in the reporting systems.

“There are fundamental foreign policy barriers in how we structure aid systems and how we measure its effectiveness. “

Democracy support NGO expert, USA.
Opportunities to address the barriers

The importance of environmental governance has been recognised in several international and regional declarations and agreements, such as Principle 10 of the 1992 Rio Declaration; the 1998 Aarhus Convention on access to Information, public participation in decision-making, and access to justice in environmental matters; and the 2018 Escazu agreement on these matters in Latin America and the Caribbean. The Paris Agreement notes the importance of ‘climate justice’, public awareness, participation, transparency and access to information. These agreements provide solid basis for incorporation of these issues into development co-operation.

There are emerging good practice examples on explicit integration of environmental and governance, human rights, and democracy objectives at the strategic level into foreign aid; and through the longer-term theories of change. There is also a growing array of interventions that tackle policy change through strengthen environmental coalitions or grass-roots institutions, enhance capacity of parliaments and political parties to develop and adopt environmental legislation and carry out post-legislative scrutiny. Learning from these experiences is important step in addressing the barriers.

“Activities are to be conducted in a manner that strengthens the ability of regional actors to integrate an environmental and climate perspective into programmes related to human rights, democracy and gender equality, and that strengthens regional actors’ efforts to promote respect for human rights, greater opportunities for democratic participation and gender mainstreaming into programmes related to environment, climate and natural resources”


One of Glasgow’s UNFCCC COP26 announcements was an agreement on a multi-annual Work Programme on Action for Climate Empowerment (ACE), the area of voluntary work under the Convention that deals with matters of information and participation in climate decision-making. Article 12 of the Paris Agreement states: “Parties shall cooperate in taking measures, as appropriate, to enhance climate change education, training, public awareness, public participation and public access to information, recognizing the importance of these steps with respect to enhancing actions under this Agreement.” This is the operational lynchpin between the pillars of environmental democracy and the current multilateral climate governance process.

“The full package of asks included in the cover decision of the Glasgow work programme on action for Climate Empowerment adopted at COP26 provides a basic but robust checklist of the measures that any national, subnational, or local government keen to a) reinvigorate democracy
and b) create the conditions for the sort of turbo-charged climate action that we need to deliver the NDCs should take.”

Climate Democracy post-COP26: time to play the ACE
Rafael Jiménez Aybar, WFD Environmental Democracy Adviser

“How do we deal with the dynamics of short termism? We think in terms of long-term theories of change. Even for one-year programs, there’s still a long-term theory of change we have in place that is linked to governance and development strategies and national development plans.”

UK development professional, Latin America.

Furthermore, in UK the recent merger of the Department for International Development (DFID) and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) into the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO) offers an opportunity for closer integration of technical and political aspects of environmental and climate change aid.

“You’re getting really good synergy benefits where you can amplify the finance that you’re spending using the influence in the old [UK] Foreign Office through political channels… There’s some good evidence there that those two agendas overlap, and they should overlap.”

UK development professional, London.

The tangible impact on governance systems necessary to address climate change and environmental crises requires that development co-operation strategies and programmes:

- Ensure longer-term sustained investment and engagement with and support to the key governance actors (inside and outside of the governments), given that change in governance takes longer to take effect.

- Apply an interdisciplinary approach to funding mechanisms and to programming; and ensure closer integration and collaboration among the programmes targeting democracy and climate change/environmental priorities.

- Ensure that measurement of success does not solely focus on immediate short-term gains, but addresses longer-term systemic change in governance systems, processes and capabilities necessary to address climate crisis.

- Strengthen diplomatic political engagement on environmental governance from the capitals in the regional and national offices.
Recommendations for development co-operation decisionmakers:

- Launch dialogues or joint action groups to exchange experiences around the challenges and best practice to design, implement, oversee and measure impact for blended programming and gather examples on how integration has worked in different sectors and political contexts. These should include donor agencies, implementing institutions, civil society, local partners and academic experts.
- Improve understanding about the importance of governance as an issue within climate change and environmental agenda among the senior development co-operation leadership.
- Introduce cross-cutting objectives into development co-operation strategies and explicitly articulate the value of working politically and working on governance in a democratic way in the context of climate and environment development co-operation programmes.
- Tap into experiences of the country offices and embassies in the development of overarching strategic priorities and programming at the regional and the global level.
- Recognise environmental and climate governance explicitly as part of the governance advisors’ technical toolbox and include a recommendation for a political economy analysis as part of climate change and environmental programming.
- Develop systems of indicators for measuring governance change in environmental and climate change programmes.
- Fund pilot, multi-disciplinary programmes that bring together democracy assistance organisations with environmental organisations and learn what works and does not. Consider collaboration with philanthropic foundations working in this space.
- Fund programmes designed specifically to advance Aarhus and Escazu commitments, as well as to implement Action on Climate Empowerment (ACE).
- Focus on programmes that advance the key pillars of environmental democracy, including access to credible environmental data, political voice and multi-stakeholder coalitions, political parties, political accountability and oversight, and access to justice.
- Enhance access to environmental information through support to the development of regulatory frameworks and systems for environmental data collection, monitoring and evaluation, and open access data platforms. must be addressed and regulated at the state level; dialogue between governments and data users; regulations on data disclosure and enforcement systems.
- Support strengthening political voice and multi-stakeholder coalitions on climate change and the environment by focusing on interventions that help enhance public awareness, enable
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capacity of the media and civil society to cover climate change, and building multi-
stakeholder coalitions to support policy development and implementation.

- Support mechanisms for meaningful stakeholder and citizen engagement in climate change and environmental policy making and implementation, including citizens assemblies and stakeholder consultation mechanisms as part of national ACE action plans.

- Consider supporting the interventions to strengthen the positive influence and minimise potential negative impacts of political parties on environmental and climate agenda, including programmes to raise awareness and build internal capabilities of political parties to work on these issues, as well as support to cross-party initiatives on climate change and the environment; and to include the environmental agenda in the democracy assistance programmes targeting political parties.

- Support programmes focusing on strengthening accountability, oversight and access to justice on environment and climate change, including capacity building of parliaments, civil society, policy makers and other stakeholder to development draft legislation, pre- and post-legislative scrutiny, support to capacity building of and collaborative networks among judges and environmental defenders.
## Annex 1: Selected examples of environmental democracy projects in development co-operation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project title/ Headline</th>
<th>Relevant pillars of ED*</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Key activities</th>
<th>Key outcomes</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **A better deal: new law passed in Lebanon on oil and gas taxation**                  | Political oversight     | Lebanon   | WFD’s programme in Lebanon has focused on strengthening parliamentary oversight of oil and gas in Lebanon and providing support and technical advice to the Public Works, Energy, Water and Transport Committee and the Research and Information Department. | - The support has, among other things, improved the capacity of MPs and staff to manage the oil and gas sector in an effective and transparent way, enhanced institutional capacity of parliamentary committees; and improved access and openness to Parliament for CSOs engaged in the oil and gas sector.  
-- In September 2018, the Parliament ratified the Transparency of Oil and Gas law.  
-- WFD’s programme contributed positively towards the adoption of the law and ensuring its compliance with international standards. | WFD          |
| **Combing air pollution in Kyrgyzstan**                                                 | Political voice         | Kyrgyzstan | Actions taken to reduce air pollution  
- NDI’s six-stage policy development approach aims to create sustainable policy solutions by providing elected representatives with evidence, research and citizen input.  
- NDI assisted MPs in identifying experts who could help them understand the key causes of Kyrgyzstan’s air pollution problem. | -- Kyrgyzstan’s parliament, passed the Clean Air Bill on June 25, 2020  
-- The legislation seeks to incentivise electric car manufacturing through the exemption of certain customs and taxes.  
-- NDI’s six-stage policy development cycle allowed MPs to increase their knowledge and involvement not only in more effective and inclusive processes, but also in efforts to protect the environment and environmental stewardship. | NDI          |
| Drafting Effective Environmental Legislation Through Cross-Party Collaboration | Political oversight | Tunisia | –NDI has supported Tunisian Members of Parliament since 2014 in conducting their legislative and representative duties.  
–NDI provided technical advice on crafting effective legislation; connected parliamentarians to environmental experts; and convened civil society and government officials to exchange information on local environmental challenges and priorities.  
–NDI organised a working session among MPs, technical experts and civil society representatives | –Establishment of the Sustainable Development Network (SDN)  
–Members of SDN succeeded in passing 31 out of 37 proposals.  
–The SDN encouraged the passage of a law prohibiting the use of plastic bags, which went into effect in Tunisia in January 2021. | NDI |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Forging consensus to get a crucial climate bill passed in Uganda | Political voice  
Political coalition | Uganda | –WFD offered support to coordinate all the actors involved, to review the National Climate Bill of Uganda and generate consensus and advocate for its passage.  
–WFD convened a high-level roundtable that brought together all these actors in one room.  
–WFD supported a lobby meeting with the Speaker and Deputy Speaker of Parliament, WFD parliamentary champions and members of the climate change committee to solicit support for when the bill was tabled on the floor of parliament. | –A week after the lobby meeting, the bill was tabled for a second and third reading and was passed without opposition.  
–The passing of the bill received a positive response from many Ugandans.  
–The bill will enable Uganda to pursue its voluntary mitigation targets under the Paris Agreement of reducing greenhouse gas emissions in the energy supply, forestry and wetland sectors by 22% by 2030. | WFD |
| Fostering environmental democracy in Pakistan | Open data  
Political voice  
Political overview  
Accountability | Pakistan | –WFD provided technical support to the Standing Committee on Climate Change (CCC), including developing a guide for the committee to proactively develop systems to engage with civil society | –The National Assembly’s Committee on Climate Change has become a leading institution to bring together people and expert voices to develop policy initiatives.  
–It is creating opportunities for experts | WFD |
| **Georgia paves the way towards more environmental and climate change democracy** | Political oversight | Georgia | In 2018-19, WFD supported the Georgian parliament through two separate programmes to establish the practice of holding thematic inquiries and to conduct post legislative scrutiny (PLS), with the overall intention of improving the legislature’s oversight function. Both programmes had an environmental focus. WFD provided assistance to the Environmental Protection and Natural Resources Committee (EPNRC) of the Georgian parliament to conduct two separate thematic inquiries on ambient air pollution and municipal waste management. Through its support for these processes WFD has helped to improve the participation of citizens in environmental decision-making by supporting the parliament to produce recommendations based on well-structured, transparent and solution-oriented collaboration with civil society organisations and individual citizens, in addition to other stakeholders, such as government and the private sector. | WFD |
| **Green Caucus on Climate Change Responds to Citizen** | Political voice | Kosovo | NDI is tackling climate change by working to strengthen the development of issue-based caucuses in Kosovo’s Assembly, including a recently formed Green Caucus. The Speaker of Parliament at the time and the current President, Dr. Vjosa Osmani, also agreed that the environment was among the top three priorities of parliament and vowed to | NDI |
### Environmental Priorities

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Accountability</th>
<th>Caucus. In October 2020, with support from NDI, Kosovo’s Green Caucus held hearings with civil society organisations about environmental degradation in Kosovo focused on air pollution, waste mismanagement, illegal exploitation of forests and the use of coal.</th>
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### Helping Lebanese lawmakers achieve the sustainable development goals and uphold human rights

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<tr>
<th>Political scrutiny</th>
<th>Lebanon</th>
<th>–Building awareness and knowledge of the Sustainable Development Goals among MPs and members of the Parliamentary research centre through policy papers, a survey of the relevant legal framework in Lebanon and technical support to the committee. –WFD provided technical training to members of the Parliamentary Research Centre in Lebanon on how to report on progress made towards the sustainable development goals. –WFD has helped simplify information on sustainable development.</th>
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<td>Accountability</td>
<td></td>
<td>–This information will enable deeper and more effective scrutiny of the Government of Lebanon’s commitment to the SDGs. –These developments mark a step in the right direction to achieving the sustainable development goals and upholding human rights standards in Lebanon.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Open data</td>
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### Improving the oversight role of the Mozambican Parliament and provincial assemblies in the extractive industries sector

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Political oversight</th>
<th>Mozambique</th>
<th>–Demo Finland set up a project in 2017 supporting the democratic governance of extractive industries and natural resources. –The project aims to enhance the oversight role of the Parliament and six Provincial Assemblies on the extractive industries and to increase their capacity to assess the implementation of the existing legislation on natural resource</th>
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<td>Political voice</td>
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<td>–The project set up a dialogue platform for regional and national parliamentarians to facilitate co-operation in issues related to the extractive industry. –The training of the Parliamentary Committees has raised awareness in the Parliament about the effects and dynamics of the extractive industry sector and its oversight role has improved.</td>
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<td>Accountability</td>
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<td>Demo Finland</td>
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Addressing the climate and environmental crises through better governance: The environmental democracy approach in development co-operation
| **Innovating Legislative Procedures to Address Lead Contamination** | **Political oversight** | **Georgia** | The parliament is holding more hearings on extractive industry issues with the government, which are carried out with more technical knowledge than before.  
Awareness about environmental rights has improved, as well as the Parliament’s intervention in this area. |
|---|---|---|---|
|  | –NDI, with support from the United Kingdom’s Good Governance Fund, assisted the Parliament of Georgia to use a new oversight mechanism to conduct an in-depth study, called a “thematic inquiry,” into lead contamination.  
–NDI helped a parliamentary working group, led by the Chair of the Natural Resources and Environmental Protection Committee, develop key research questions; review relevant policy documents, regulations and studies; and identify independent experts to testify.  
–NDI supported the working group in organising public hearings with representatives of the executive branch at the national and local level to ensure a detailed understanding of the scale of the challenge and policy responses to date. |  | NDI |
|  | –The working group produced a report with 20 recommendations for government action, including developing a plan for testing additional products for lead contamination; preparing a needs-based assessment of public sector capacity to regularly monitor lead contamination; and creating guidelines for construction and renovation of old buildings, particularly kindergartens.  
–Strengthened relationship between the parliament and citizens by engaging them in the oversight process and responding to citizen priorities.  
–Demonstrated the importance of engaging experts, from civil society and academia, to ensure oversight processes are evidence-based. |  | |

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<tr>
<th><strong>Local Empowerment in Mali: Waste Management</strong></th>
<th><strong>Political voice</strong></th>
<th><strong>Mali</strong></th>
<th>A public education campaign on youth radio spread the word and encouraged Koniakary residents to participate, which they did through sanitation committees, neighbourhood watch committees and</th>
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<td></td>
<td>–NDI supported a deliberative process that included citizens, civil society and government officials to analyse the problem of waste management, recommend solutions</td>
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<td>NDI</td>
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</table>
| **Overhauling Tunisia’s water code: Ensuring equitable and sustainable distribution of water** | **Political voice** | **Tunisia** | – In January and February 2021, NDI helped organise a series of national and regional knowledge sharing sessions in which these civil society organisations, local governors, representatives from the Ministry of Agriculture and experts from the Sustainable Development Network discussed local challenges and solutions to accessing clean water.  
– NDI facilitated a parliamentary study day, where five experts from the Sustainable Development Network, UNDP, and GIZ presented on different components of the water code.  
– NDI will work to ensure that Tunisian citizens and government institutions work together to enhance the country’s environmental resilience. | – The creation of a parliamentary study day and knowledge sharing sessions to improve communication between different stakeholders.  
– Results of these efforts are still missing. | **NDI** |
| **Solomon Islands Youth Lead advocacy for integrity in the natural** | **Political voice (especially young people)** | **Solomon Islands** | – NDI launched a 10 month programme to help young activists develop the skills to advocate on behalf of their communities and the environment in Solomon Islands.  
– This was implemented in response | – 25 emerging youth leaders from the Solomon Islands have been selected to attend a two-phased programme, which includes a three-month in-depth course on Inclusive Monitoring and Advocacy for Transparency and Accountability. | **NDI** |
| resources management and environmental sectors | Political oversight | Accountability | | | | to survey, which showed citizens demanded more political integrity and sound decision-making. | | | | | | –NDI will leverage youth's sense of agency in affecting change in the economic sectors most vulnerable to corruption and mismanagement. | | | | | | –It will help them develop strong working relationships with government officials, local organisations and traditional leaders. | | | | | | –This aims to strengthen their ability to hold government accountable – still waiting to see the actual outcome. | | | | | | | | Strengthening response to floods in Nepal | Political voice | Accountability | Nepal | | | –NDI worked with local communities to strengthen their involvement in disaster responses to annual floods. | | | | | | –After facilitating dialogues between environmental experts and community leaders, deforestation was identified as the underlying cause of flooding. | | | | | | –Supporting a local advocacy effort to pass national forestry protection legislation, NDI then trained civil society to monitor and oversee implementation by the executive branch. | | | | | | –Nepal had a new law to protect forests and prevent floods. | | | | | | –NDI's approach strengthened democratic and environmental governance simultaneously -- and helped foster a sustainable solution to prevent future natural disasters. | | | | | | | | NDI | | | | | | Source: Authors based on the websites of the projects. | | | | | | * The pillars of environmental democracy that are relevant for each project in this column were assigned by the authors of this report, based on the original project description.
Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD) is the UK public body dedicated to supporting democracy around the world. Operating internationally, WFD works with parliaments, political parties, and civil society groups as well as on elections to help make countries’ political systems fairer, more inclusive and accountable.

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