

Global Justice's Critics of Green Politics Theory Towards International Rules of Climate Change

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ABSTRAK

Isu lingkungan telah menjadi perhatian banyak pihak dalam beberapa decade terakhir. Green Politics muncul sebagai bentuk perhatian dari masyarakat global karena adanya masalah perubahan iklim yang terjadi di dunia. Green Politics menekankan pada desentralisasi kekuatan untuk menyelesaikan masalah lingkungan. Peran individu menjadi penting dalam isu lingkungan. Setiap individu memiliki kepedulian yang sama untuk dapat menangani permasalahan lingkungan yang ada. Berdasarkan panangan dari global justice, kesamaan hak dalam menerima kesempatan yang sama merupakan kunci dalam penanganan perubahan iklim. Negara merupakan actor yang dapat memfasilitasi perubahan dalam penanganan perubahan iklim. Individu atau actor lainnya dianggap kurang memiliki power untuk di dengar dalam ranah internasional. Menurut global justice jika individu merupakan actor utama dalam isu lingkungan, maka hal tersebut menjadi tidak adil untuk individu yang berada di negara berkembang. Mereka tidak bisa mendapatkan kesempatan yang sama dengan individu yang ada di negara maju. Distributive of justice dibutuhkan untuk bisa membuat negara berkembang memiliki kesempatan yang serupa untuk meraih kemajuan yang sama seperti yang didapatkan oleh negara maju. Jurnal ini menggunakan metode mix method, dimana mencampurkan antara deskriptif konseptual dengan komparatif.

Kata kunci: Green Politics, Keadilan Global, Perubahan Iklim.

ABSTRACT

Environmental issues have become a concern issues in the last decades. Green Politics emerge as an enforcement from the global community because of the climate change problem in the world. Green Politics emphasizes the decentralization of power to solve environmental issues. The role of individuals becomes important in solving environmental issues. If each individual has a similar awareness, it could solve the environmental issues. Global Justice came up and claimed as a solution to the environmental problems. According to Global Justice, the equal right to opportunities is the key to handling climate change. States an actors that can facilitate the movement of climate change. The perception of global justice is that if the individual is the main actor in environmental issues, it would not be unfair to individuals in developing countries. Distributive justice is needed to give developing countries a similar opportunity to reach a similar improvement liked developed countries. This journal uses a mixed method, which combines conceptual descriptive with comparative studies.

Keywords: Global Politics, Global Justice, and Climate Change

INTRODUCTION

Environmental issues have been of concern to the world community since the last few decades. This is due to the many environmental problems experienced by various countries in the world. Many studies have emerged because of the great attention of scientists on various problems that arise due to climate change's problem. The governments of many countries have a great attention to this environmental problem. There are so many international meetings have been formed and held to discuss about climate change. It still

have not been able to find interests between developing countries and developed countries. Developing countries are considered to be the centers of environmental damage in the world. This has led to debates from various circles resulting in various approaches. These various approaches are green politics and global justice. Both of them have the same attention to environmental problems that occur from several different points of view (Miller, 2008).

This paper argues about the importance of reconciling interests between developing and developed countries in international meetings or agreements on environmental issues. According to global justice, developing countries need to be given the same opportunity to obtain progress that has been obtained by developed countries after the industrial revolution. This has been criticized by global justice regarding the views of green politics and environmentalism. Various academic studies on global justice have been published. However, how global justice sees the existence of a different view from green politics and environmentalism in the issue of climate change has not been widely studied. Therefore, this study will explain the importance of global justice in seeing environmental issues in the international realm (Santos, 2016).

For further understanding, the author divides this journal into three parts. In the first part, it will explain the fundamental differences in views between green politics and environmentalism. Then in the second part, it will explain how green politics rejects the state system in environmental issues. Because according to green politics, the most important thing in environmental issues is the willingness of each individual to be able to contribute in handling environmental problems. After seeing more clearly the views of green politics and environmentalism, the third part will explain environmental issues from the viewpoint of global justice. Global justice views the importance of distributive of justice in environmental issues (Santos, 2016, p. 5).

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Difference View Between Green Politics and Environmentalism

Environmentalism has focused on institutional reform which provides clear connections to other approaches. Institutional reform is not needed from the viewpoint of green politics, because the institutions are considered to have a big share in the environmental damage that occurred in the last few decades. Green Politics stated that country is too big and also too small to deal sustainability effectively, because the country also needs effective coordination at the regional level and global structure. According to green politics authoritarianism is

sometimes needed to force individuals to make a changes, but it cannot be done globally. What can be done is at a smaller level, namely at the individual level in society. According to Heilbroner, freedom and egoism are problems that cause environmental crises, they need to be addressed to produce a sustainable society (Toke , 2000, p. 79).

Green politics imagines that the global community network is in the small scale. This is along with the opinion of bioregionalists that ecological communities should be organized with natural environmental features such as watersheds that forming the boundaries between communities. Individuals must have a global responsibility to protect the environment around them so that environmental problems that occurred can be carried out effectively because every individual has their respective obligations in protecting the environment they lived in. There is rejection by green politics against the concept of a country that is considered anarchist (Fritz, 1999).

The concept of a state center given by Weber is considered by green politics as the source of the problem of environmental damage. Bookchin (1980) explains that the state is an institution whose primary hierarchy consolidates the creation of other institutional hierarchies. Carter (1993) said that state is part of modern society which causes the environmental crisis that occurred in recent years. The existence of competition from a democratic country that creates egalitarian economic relations, which can leads to policies that not environmentally friendly. Environmental destruction carried out by technology produced by coercive pressure exerted by the state. According to green politics, Country is something not needed and wanted (Fritz, 1999, p. 175).

One thing that prioritized by green politics is the existence of decentralization and the slogan think globally, act locally. The slogan is based on the view that the global environment and various other socio-economic problems that occur at the global level can only be solved by breaking down the strength of the global structure which can be done by taking action on a local scale through coordinated and independent small groups. Communities on the small scale can contribute to the environment around them so that they can quickly respond to environmental problems that occur in their scope. Fast response is needed so the damage does not get worse. Communities in smaller groups are considered be able to make direct contributions in efforts to repair environmental damage. Therefore green politics sees the importance of decentralization (Langlois, 2010).

Green politics sees the importance of decentralization and grassroots democracy. They think that the power of small communities can be more meaningful in making changes

to environmental damage. Every community is considered to have a culture that respects their environment, so that it can be used as a basis for society to contribute in improving the environment around them. Every individual can take an action based on global norms. So that, it is more be able to protect the earth. Green politics rejects global authority, Because global authorities don't have authority to punish the country when they don't carry out the agreements that have been reached. So it is more effective if the change is made from the local level. Management is considered more practical if there is decentralization. The main point of decentralization is the creation of smaller institutions and focus on the local level, More specifically on the human scale as individuals. To understand how to solving environmental problems by leaving political and territorial boundaries, so that every individual in the world can contribute significantly (Moellendorf, *Global Inequity Matters*, 2009).

Environmental problems that occurred in recent years have become one of issues that start to be discussed at international level. One of the main problems faced by every country in the world is the existence of climate change which has a huge impact on human life. Today millions of people threatened by risk from extreme weather and flooding. Nearly 344 million people were affected by tropical storms, 521 million people were affected by flooding, 130 million people were affected by dryness, and 2.3 million people were affected by landslides. Climate change is increasing significantly. Climate change itself occurs due to uncoordinated global use of energy and policies. Greenhouse gas emissions as one of the gases that cause climate change are mostly produced in industrialized countries, but those who experience the most are those who live in developing countries. Then it has become an impetus for many studies of environment global justice (Moellendorf, *Global Inequity Matters*, 2009, p. 230).

METHODS

This journal uses a mixed method, which combines conceptual description with comparative studies. The perception of global justice is that if the individual is the main actor in environmental issues, it would not be unfair to individuals in developing countries. Distributive justice is needed to give developing countries a similar opportunity to reach a similar improvement liked developed countries.

DISCUSSION

Green Politics Refuse State System

Environmentalism has focused on institutional reform which provides clear connections to other approaches. Institutional reform is not needed from the viewpoint of green politics, because the institutions are considered to have a big share in the environmental damage that occurred in the last few decades. Green Politics stated that country is too big and also too small to deal sustainability effectively, because the country also needs effective coordination at the regional level and global structure. According to green politics authoritarianism is sometimes needed to force individuals to make a changes, but it cannot be done globally. What can be done is at a smaller level, namely at the individual level in society. According to Heilbroner, freedom and egoism are problems that cause environmental crises, they need to be addressed to produce a sustainable society (Toke , 2000, p. 79).

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taking action on a local scale through coordinated and independent small groups. Communities on the small scale can contribute to the environment around them so that they can quickly respond to environmental problems that occur in their scope. Fast response is needed so the damage does not get worse. Communities in smaller groups are considered be able to make direct contributions in efforts to repair environmental damage. Therefore green politics sees the importance of decentralization (Langlois, 2010).

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The Importance Of Distributive Justice In Environmental Issues

Global justice itself is an issue that has been discussed in the last few decades. The discussion began when there were more questions about global justice. Seeing from global history, the distribution of global injustice began in the era of imperialism. Where there is a distribution of injustice, especially from Europe to Africa, which occurs vis a vis. This distribution has occurred in an institutional way, resulting in inequality. David Miller say that global justice requires a commitment to the principle of global equality, especially the principle of global equality of opportunity. Some of the problems faced the absence of cultural equality to understand the metrics used to make cross-national comparison opportunities. Especially with cultural differences and opportunities (Delanty, 2014).

Miller say that there are three main conditions of global justice, there are the obligation to respect human rights globally, refrain from exploiting the most vulnerable, provide an equal opportunities for all societies to determine their own destiny and achieve global justice. The debate about global justice has become an interesting topic to discuss in recent years. The highlight of discussing policies on climate change in global justice is in terms of social justice. There is a debate in global justice to criticize what is contained in climate change policies, some questions that arise are whether the duty of justice can still be applied to people who do not live in the same country? What responsibilities are meant and what are they? What principles are best used in categorizing the responsibilities involved? (Delanty, 2014, p. 214).

Cosmopolitanism argues that the responsibility of justice rest with the noncompatriots. Meanwhile, noncosmopolitan assumed that less responsibility was placed on compatriots. There are several reasons for the argument from noncosmopolitanism. First, the responsibility for the egalitarian distribution of justice rests with people only if they become the subject of existing coercive legal structures. The content of the responsibility of egalitarian distributive justice can be provided with a shared understanding of a situation where this understanding can only be done by the state. Third, egalitarian distribution justice will clash with the self-determination of a country. Fourth, state policies are the most important of the welfare of everyone (Paavola & Lowe , 2005).

Other cosmopolitanism groups see that social justice is still owned by everyone against all other people, which is limited by the state and culture of a country that restric their responsibility of each individual. In the end, individual's power still affects the content

of a policy taken by a country. The state is limited by the recognition of human rights which is a universal value that includes the right to life, this value frequently violated by international practice as a legitimate government. Other groups of cosmopolitanism believe that social responsibility attached on everyone but rather on groups of people who are bound by a greater duty of justice than those who are the subject of a coercive legal framework, including those who are members of economic associations that exist globally (Attfield, 2005).

Cosmopolitanism believes that the task of distributive justice requires significant qualifications. What is on earth should belong to everyone, not only to them who live near the resources or to them who are strong. The resources that exist on earth must be distributed globally. The next question that arises in global justice is how international rules can meet the costs of mitigating disasters caused by climate change, and the costs that will be applied, a portion for developed and developing countries (Paavola & Lowe, 2005, p. 200). In terms of responsibility, according to global justice, each of us has obligations to others, but these obligations are not all based on responsibility. This obligation can be based on solidarity, which rests on identity, and generally on relational. Cosmopolitanism solidarity is not only about the obligations of citizens, but is a process that aims to global justice, where its development depends on changes in existing social realities and how the public responds to a problem in the world. Global justice as a global project has four positions. One of the goals of global justice is to pursue equality. To achieve equality is to change the power relations of the state into a new social structure. Since all countries in the world try to achieve the same standard of living as an advanced civilization, make the earth as a planet that exploited and damaged, this is what makes global justice and environmentalism connected, where the goal is planet sustainability (Delanty, 2014, p. 56). Global justice has a broader scope in understanding sociocultural's changes such as environmental damage, racial conflict, minority discrimination, and various other problems. The purpose of global justice will be determined by public argumentation and it is a reflection of the social process that normative ideals are competing to be achieved. The goals will be different depend on each problem. Cosmopolitanism more focused on society than individuals so that its coverage is easier to solve a problem. Apart from that, cosmopolitanism still sees the important role of state in international problem.

International climate change regulatory regimes is a product that result from the negotiation of agreements between countries in the world. The main problem in these regulations is climate change that related to who will be responsible, whether countries or individuals. According to green politics, those who should be responsible is individual because the state is considered a hierarchy as the main cause of climate change, and if it is implemented at the individual level it will be more effective. But global justice sees if the burden given to this individual is not fair, because people in developed and developing countries have different vulnerabilities, so that when people in developing countries are charged with overcoming climate, they cannot achieve the same welfare as people in developed countries (Moellendorf, *Climate Change and Global Justice*, 2012).

Global justice sees that every country in the world should have the same opportunity to achieve prosperity. According to research conducted by the IPCC, most of the greenhouse gas emissions are produced by industrialized countries where they are developed countries. The current climate change is also the result of the industrial revolution carried out by developed countries, but the greatest impact is felt by people in developing countries. If the burden of responsibility for climate change is borne by individuals, of course we must ask those who lived during the industrial revolution for those who carried out industrial activities that resulted in climate change that happening today (Moellendorf, *Global Inequality Matters*, 2009, p. 135). For example, one of stated by global justice is the existence of a fault conception of responsibility for climate change adaptation states that it is wrong if the burden and the blame are individuals, Because no one can calculate how much the amount of emissions issued by individuals who lived during the industrial revolution, and most of them was died, they also do not think what they did is wrong.

Global justice see that countries have greater power in international level negotiations, so that they can bring the problems that exist in their country and discuss together in the international level regarding these issues. Individuals in each country certainly do not have the same power as countries at the international level, because according to global justice by making international norms, joint problems will be handled together, so that developing countries that are the worst victims of climate change ask to developed countries for those that they did during the industrial revolution, and demand them to carry out poverty alleviation in developing country (Brock , 2000).

Global justice also sees the important role of international negotiations on climate change. One of them is the formation of the United Nation Framework for Climate Change

(UNFCCC) as an international agreement in 1992 as an international institution. It is significant effort to make an international agreement on climate change. The UNFCCC provides institutional arrangements for international negotiations and provides a deliberative framework convention and contains a set of norms that must be implemented to deal with climate change. One of the markets in the UNFCCC, namely article 3 paragraph 1 said that the efforts must be distributed differently (common but differentiated responsibilities). It burdens on the basis of equity and responsibilities also the capabilities of each member country. This is based on the principles of global justice (Moellendorf, *Global Inequity Matters*, 2009, p. 25).

The global justice approach that adopted in making international rules of climate change, especially regarding common but differentiated responses (Moellendorf, *Global Inequity Matters*, 2009):

- Polluter pays principle.

Those who are responsible for climate change mitigation and financing are from parties that are proportional to their contribution to the current climate change problem, there are developed countries that are carrying out the industrial revolution.

- No Fault conception

Countries that produce the most emissions will be legally punished. Those who produced emissions at the time of the industrial revolution have progressed as they are today. So that they have the right to provide equal opportunities for developing countries to achieve the same prosperity.

- Ability to pay

The proportion of responsibility that is in accordance with the state's capacity is emphasized on developed countries that have a higher level of welfare so that they can provide funds provided to developing countries for climate change mitigation.

CONCLUSION

With the global justice approach above, according to international rules of climate change, developed countries will provide funds to developing countries to mitigate the effect of climate change, and developing countries are given the opportunity to make various policies for sustainable development. That way, rich people in developed countries who have various multi-national corporations in various other countries can consider the environmental

aspects of their corporate activities. So that the role of the state is still central in dealing with climate change that is happening today.

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