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Climate calculus:  
Does realist theory explain the Howard Government's decision not to ratify the Kyoto  
Protocol?

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment  
of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts  
in  
Social Policy

at Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

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2008

## **ABSTRACT**

Climate change caused by greenhouse gas emissions has the potential to cause widespread damage to the environment. As scientific and political consensus converged on the necessity to take action, a large number of countries negotiated the Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change in 1997, with the goal of limiting these emissions.

Australia under the Howard Government initially played an important part in these negotiations, but refused to ratify the Protocol. The government cited the lack of binding targets on developing countries and the potential for harm to the Australian economy as the reasons it rejected the agreement.

International relations theory studies large-scale political forces and analyses their interplay in the global political system. Realism is a model of international relations that views countries as self-interested, security-driven bodies that exist in a state of international anarchy.

This study examines whether realist theory offers a satisfactory explanation for the Howard Government's decision not to ratify the Kyoto Protocol. The study focuses on six realist ideas and examines the evidence for each. Based on thematic analysis of textual data taken from official political archives and newspapers from 1998–2004, it suggests that realist theory does provide an adequate explanation of the Howard Government's rejection of the Kyoto Protocol.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to thank Christine Cheyne and Robin Peace for their supervision on this research project. Their intellectual rigour and inspirational guidance have taught me a lot about the research process. Through the engaging supervision sessions we have had over the past year, I have grown intellectually and I am indebted to them for that. They taught me a lot about project management, the ability to take criticism constructively, and to have confidence in myself in the academic world.

I must thank my current employer, the University of Melbourne, for being flexible enough to let me take time off sporadically to complete this thesis, and for giving me access to their abundant information resources. Countless thanks also to Aimée for her support in writing this thesis.

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

ABARE	Australian Bureau of Agricultural and Resource Economics
ALP	Australian Labor Party
CoP	Conference of the Parties (i.e. parties to the UNFCCC)
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
NGO	Non-governmental organization
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

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## **CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION**

In December 1996, member countries of the UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change) met in Kyoto to negotiate a protocol that would stabilise greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere “at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system” (UN, 1992, Article 2). On June 5 2002 the Australian Prime Minister, John Howard, declared Australia would not ratify the Kyoto Protocol (Howard, 2002).

This thesis examines the reasons for the Howard Government’s decision and investigates whether realism, a prominent theory in international relations, can explain this significant decision in Australian climate change policy. Realist theory, stated simply, claims countries are materially self-interested rational calculators, existing in a condition of anarchy (Williams, 2005). This chapter will present the research question, the rationale behind it, a brief overview of the methodology and research design used, and a summary of the chapters that follow.

### **1.1 The Research Question**

This inquiry asks: “Does realist theory explains the Howard Government’s decision not to ratify the Kyoto Protocol?” Realist theory is historically the most prominent one in the study of international relations (Donnelly, 1995; Guzzini, 1998; Legro & Moravcsik, 1999). Realist theory contends that countries are unitary, rational self-interested entities that strive for power in an international situation characterised by anarchy (see Carr, 1946; Morgenthau, 1967; Waltz, 1979). This thesis will examine the period from 1998 to 2004, the second and third Howard administrations, and examines whether the Howard Government’s rejection of Kyoto reflects realist tenets.

### **1.2 Rationale**

This thesis takes an influential theory in international relations and applies it to a major environmental issue. Climate change is considered the biggest environmental problem the world faces at this time, hence it is an important topic of study (Christoff, 2006; Gore, 1992, 2006; Jepma & Munasinghe, 1998; Stern, 2006).

Climate policy is also important because it involves equity issues. Environmental policy makes some people better off than others, giving it a strong bearing on social equity (Papadakis & Young, 2000). It is commonly accepted that poor countries will be more severely affected by the effects of climate change than wealthy ones (Stern, 2006). The price of energy and transport, and the structure of the job market in heavy industry are all affected by environmental policy. Moreover, the negative effects of climate change will affect future generations more than present ones, requiring governments to make judgments affecting intergenerational justice.

The topic attracted the interest as a researcher resident in Australia, for a number of reasons. Climate change has become a high profile issue in Australia since 2006. One of the many reasons is that Australia is ecologically vulnerable if the negative effects of climate change come to pass (Hamilton, 2001). As Elliot (2001, p. 236) comments, "No other environmental concern caused as much domestic controversy or generated as much international attention for Australia ... not all of it favourable."

The Howard Government's rejection of Kyoto is interesting because Australia has traditionally been party to a large number of environmental agreements and has been considered, until recently, a leader in environmental matters (Hamilton, 2001; Roberts, Parks, & Vásquez, 2004). This has now changed, as shown by an assessment by Daniel Esty, Yale law professor, who stated of Australia, "there is no country that had swung more sharply against environmental improvements in the decade since the Rio Earth Summit than Australia" (in Christoff, 2002, p. 49). The Howard Government's decision is also interesting because it was made despite strong public opinion in support of action to prevent climate change (Christoff, 2005a). This raises the issue of whether there are social influences on the acceptance of environmental agreements, something investigated in Section 5.6.

There are significant bodies of literature on both climate change and realist theory. There is also literature on international relations applied to the environment (see Kremenyuk & Lang, 1993; Ott, 2001; Vogler, 1996), international relations applied to climate change more specifically (see DeGarmo, 2005; Roberts et al., 2004), international relations and international environmental cooperation (see Auer, 2000), and realist theory applied to Australia (see Smith & Lowe, 2005). There has not been a study on realist theory and climate change in relation to Australia, however.

If realist theory does provide insights into the Howard Government's rejection of Kyoto, this thesis may offer suggestions developed from realist theory to lessen rejection of environmental agreements by other countries. If the realist hypothesis appears to hold in the case of the Howard Government's response to the Kyoto Protocol then solutions developed from realist theory could be applied in other situations where governments are reluctant to engage in environmental agreements. The conclusion contains a brief discussion of what actions might be developed from realism in response to the issue of countries not participating in environmental agreements might be.

If solutions developed from realist theory could encourage Australian governments to engage more fully with environmental agreements there would be two benefits. Australia, by ratifying the Kyoto Protocol, or any similar future environmental agreement, would reduce the planet's greenhouse gas emissions. It has the highest per capita greenhouse gas emissions of any country (Christoff, 2007). Furthermore, many acknowledge that technological progress must be made for the world to develop a low carbon emitting economy as required by the Kyoto Protocol (Oberthür & Ott, 1999; Stewart & Weiner, 2002). Australia, as a technologically advanced nation, could make an important contribution to this progress.

If this research is able to demonstrate that realist theory is useful in explaining the environmental policy of nations in a similar position that Australia was in from 1998 to 2004, then perhaps the lessons and solutions of realist theory may have an even broader impact. There will undoubtedly be a number of future agreements required after the Kyoto Protocol's commitment period ends in 2012, involving a great number of countries. The current research is therefore relevant now and may be even more so in the future.

### **1.3 Methodology and research design overview**

Realist theory is traditionally empiricist and positivist (Morgenthau, 1967), however this study diverges from traditional realist study by taking an interpretivist, qualitative approach to answering the research question. This study uses, as raw data, the speeches, interviews, and media releases of three cabinet ministers in Howard administrations from 1998–2004, as well as commentary from six Australian newspapers. These data are then analysed against the six key themes of this

research: that the international system is anarchic; that international cooperation is, untrustworthy, short-lived, and only instrumental; that countries can only achieve gains relative to each other, rather than absolute gains; that countries promote their national interests in a self-interested manner; that the nation-state is the main actor in international relations; and that the relations between countries are determined by power and characterised by power politics.

The data are gathered in a table with codes relating to the realist themes detailed in Chapter 2. The data are displayed in quotation format, and analysed by interpreting them in relation to the themes they represent. Insights from the theory and literature review chapters are used to inform this thematic analysis.

#### **1.4 Key concepts**

##### *Realism*

Realist theory is so broad that some classify it as a family of theories rather than one united theory (Legro & Moravcsik, 1999). Realism, for the purposes of this thesis, refers to the classic version, as propounded by Morgenthau (1967) and Carr (1946), and subsequently reinvigorated by Waltz (1979). Realists contend that countries are rational, unitary political entities existing in a state of anarchy. National preferences are fixed; countries aim to promote their national interest which, given scarcity, usually puts them in conflict with other countries (Legro & Moravcsik, 1999). The most important factor internationally is power (Waltz, 1979). This can be conceived broadly as the material capability to achieve security (Carr, 1946; Morgenthau, 1967).

Chapter 2 contains an examination of realist theory that applies realist claims to climate change policy. It is likely that only certain aspects of realist theory will be relevant to the Howard Government's decision to reject Kyoto, and the purpose of this section to discover which aspects.

In its simplest form, realism in international relations is the theory of power politics; 'might is right', or *realpolitik* (Carr, 1946; Williams, 2005). Realists think politics are amoral, rather than immoral. As Morgenthau (1967, p. 10) puts it, "political ethics judges actions by its political consequences."

### *The Howard Government*

This study investigates the Howard Government's refusal to ratify the Kyoto Protocol. Australia's federal system of government does not allow state governments to sign or ratify international agreements, so this study does not investigate state-level action or responses. The Howard Government here refers only to the federal cabinet, for two reasons. First, as the executive branch of government, the cabinet has power over foreign policy and controls the legislature (Commonwealth of Australia, 2004). The Prime Minister, who is the leader of the ruling party, chooses members of the cabinet. Second, the principle of collective cabinet responsibility exists in Australia, which states that individual members should publicly concur with the agreed view of the cabinet (Commonwealth of Australia, 1998, 2004).

### *The Kyoto Protocol*

The Kyoto Protocol is a protocol to the UNFCCC with the purpose of reducing greenhouse gases that cause climate change (UNFCCC, 1997). The Protocol dictates that bound countries must reduce their emission of six greenhouse gases by an average of 5.2% between 2008 and 2012 compared to their 1990 levels (UNFCCC, 1997). Australia negotiated a target that was an 8% increase over their 1990 levels. Principal negotiations finished in 2001, and then the Protocol was made available for ratification. To come into force, the Protocol requires at least 55 countries to ratify, and that those countries' 1990 emissions combined make up at least 55 per cent of global greenhouse gas emissions (UNFCCC, 1997). Once the Protocol comes into force, countries that are ratified are legally bound to reduce their emission to the level they had negotiated (UNFCCC, 1997).

The Howard Government refused to ratify the Protocol in 2002. Nevertheless, when Russia ratified in October 2004 the 55% threshold was met and the Protocol came into force in 2005. Australia and the USA are the only major developed countries that have not ratified. Ratification is defined as "the final confirmation of a signatory power to an international treaty," and "an expression on consent whereby the state assumes the rights and duties imposed by the instrument ratified" (Starkey, Boyer, & Wilkenfield, 1999, p. 4).

## **1.5 Chapter summary**

Chapter 2 provides an overview of international relations theory and, in particular, the nature of realist theory. It will bring out the key ideas from realist theory that apply to climate change policy. Realist theory is broad (Donnelly, 1995; Guzzini, 1998), and it is important to distil the key themes for the purposes of this topic. Chapter 3 examines key literature that relates to the research question. Significant topics in this chapter include how authors have viewed climate change policy in Australia, what international relations theorists claim about climate policy and the environment, and what realist thinkers have written on climate policy. Chapter 4 describes the research design and methodology. Chapter 5 presents the data, and Chapter 6 comprises the analysis of these data. Chapter 7 concludes the study, and highlights what the research adds to the debate on climate change policy in Australia, and what issues may still need attention. It will also assess solutions developed from realist theory to increase participation in environmental agreements by reluctant signatories.

## CHAPTER 2 - REALISM

### 2.1 Introduction

International relations is a branch of political science that studies foreign affairs and global issues among states within the international system (Viotti & Kauppi, 1993). Realist theory is a central one in the field of international relations; indeed, it has previously been mistaken for the study of international relations itself (Guzzini, 2004). It has the most substantial body of theory in the discipline (Legro & Moravcsik, 1999).

The purpose of a discussion on realist theory is twofold. First, the discussion establishes the explanatory power of the realist hypothesis and determines in particular what it can offer to the explanation of the Howard Government's rejection of the Kyoto Protocol. Second, it is necessary to distil the relevant ingredients from broader realist theory into the narrower focus of the research question.

This chapter examines realist theory, objections to the theory, and the major alternatives in international relations. Three realist ideas are then developed further: the structure of the international system, power and the national interest, and cooperation and competition. This discussion also examines what evidence would be required to show that realist theory explains the ratification of environmental agreements.

### 2.2 Realist theory

Realist thought stems from early philosophical roots in the writings of Machiavelli, Thucydides, Hobbes, and Bismarck (Viotti & Kauppi, 1993). It was first articulated in a more modern form by Carr (1946) and Morgenthau (1967). Realist theory began as a response to what Carr (1946) called utopianism, roughly equating to the liberal view that nation-states are essentially good-natured and act based on ideology. It has since been acknowledged that the utopian view Carr criticizes was an example of the straw man fallacy<sup>1</sup>, and that nobody really held the views Carr attributed to

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<sup>1</sup> The straw man fallacy involves setting up a position that is easy to refute attributing that position to another. Often, the straw man is set up to exaggerate the position of that other person (Parkinson & Burke, 1988)

believers in utopianism (Jeffery, 2006). Carr's point is still relevant, however; the realist framework draws thinkers away from assuming human benevolence will ultimately solve international political problems.

Williams (2005, p. 12) describes realist theory succinctly as a theory that claims countries are materially self-interested, rational calculators existing in a condition of anarchy, with no system of authority existing above the nation-state. Realism is the foundation for most international relations theories, whether those theories are adjuncts to classical realist theory, or developed from an objection to realist theory (Guzzini, 1998, 2004).

A range of different ideas are elaborated on within the realist perspective and some of these are briefly canvassed. First, according to realist theory, the international system of nation-states is characterised by anarchy. No supranational authority exists that controls countries (Carr, 1946; Morgenthau, 1967). States are what is of concern in the realist framework; they are cohesive units, and are the primary actors in international relations (Keohane & Nye, 1989). Realist theory denies that non-governmental organisations (NGOs) or international institutions have any independent authority, beyond the authority vested in them by national governments.

A second realist perspective entails the view that countries are self-interested and aim to promote their national interest (Kütting, 2000). A country's national interest is its own security and survival. This is achieved with power, traditionally understood as military power, although Evans and Newnham (1998, p. 465) note that the realist definition of power is "notoriously loose and slippery." Realists state the problem to be analysed by international relations theory is the scarcity of material resources, coupled with the self-interest of countries, which leads to the recurrence of conflict (Laferrrière & Stoett, 1999). Realists are not optimistic about the prospect of cooperation, according to Viotti and Kauppi (1993).

Added to the idea of self-interest is the idea that differences in power capabilities are the basis for the relations between countries. Many realist theorists also claim that balances of power occur at the international level, due to nations attempting to protect themselves against other strong nations or alliances (Burchill, 1996).



Realist thinkers affirm that countries are concerned with making relative gains and they emphasise the prospect of conflict. As a country increases in power, it could lower its level of security because others may react aggressively to its increased strength (Powell, 1991).

Realists traditionally see military and strategic concerns as high politics. Economic and social issues tend to be regarded as low politics. Realists have suggested high politics influence behaviour and outcomes internationally more than low politics (Viotti & Kauppi, 1993). This high/low politics dichotomy is less widespread among realist thinkers more recently, claim Viotti and Kauppi (1993).

The realist view of human nature is pessimistic. People are seen as self-interested, immoral, and egoistic (Donnelly, 1995). Morgenthau (1967) claimed that the nation-state was a reflection of human nature. The conflicts that occur frequently between individuals reappear on a global scale between countries, in cycles of power balances followed by conflict.

Realism has been the major theoretical standpoint in the history of international relations theory, and is still very influential today (Guzzini, 2004; Legro & Moravcsik, 1999). One important reason for its continued influence is that political leaders themselves think international politics are played out according to rules very similar to those that realist scholars believe exist (Viotti & Kauppi, 1993).

Realist epistemology is empiricist (Morgenthau, 1967). Realists claim that international political theories can and should be tested empirically (Morgenthau, 1967). Realist ontology fits a similar mould. It claims that politics is a science governed by objective laws, such as the supremacy of power and self-interest (Kütting, 2000). The purpose of international relations theory is, according to this view, explanatory, not prescriptive. Consistency with the facts and logical validity should determine the worth of realist theory (Morgenthau, 1967).

Realist thinkers claim humanity is not inherently benevolent but rather self-centered and competitive; and a country's motivations come from human nature. The realist perspective is used to explain the recurrent conflict in the international order, and to steer us away from the illusion that nations operate according to any kind of benevolent ideology.

### 2.3 Objections to realist theory

A common objection to realist theory is that it is too broad; it encompasses so many things it is not distinguishable from competing models (Legro & Moravcsik, 1999). Some realist thinkers actually use the breadth of their theory as a defence against other objections (Guzzini, 2004). The breadth of realist theory could threaten its credibility, suggesting some of its claims are ad hoc additions incorporated to avoid objections.

This objection can be rebutted by contrasting the differences between realist theorists and by finding a form of realist theory that non-realists would reject. Realist scholars can be divided into 'strong' realists like Morgenthau and Waltz, and 'weak' realists who acknowledge the problem of international relations, but do not agree that the best solution is the politics of power, security, and self-interest, according to Donnelly (1995). Viotti and Kauppi (1993, p. 11) claim of realist thinkers that "what unites them as international relations theorists is more important for our purposes than what divides them." Foreign policy practitioners certainly see a dichotomy between the international relations frameworks of realism and liberalism (Guzzini, 2004). The core of realist theory is different from others in international relations. Realists think that power relations are the most important ones in the international system. Realists also claim that countries are predominantly self-interested and are focused on security. Non-realists would not support these claims. Realist theory is not characterised broadly in this thesis, in any case. Later in this chapter, the realist concepts that most directly relate to international climate change policy are developed. These concepts split into the six realist themes used throughout this thesis.

Realist theory is often criticised for not being able to explain change (Donnelly, 1995; Keohane, 1989, 1993). If this criticism is valid, while realist theory may explain the current international political system, it nevertheless lacks the ability to explain how the current system came about, and how it might evolve in the future. Donnelly (1995) argues that this is a legitimate criticism, which can be seen in the failure of realist ideas to explain the increase in international cooperation at the end of the Cold War. Keohane (1989) points out that realist theory does not explain the many peaceful changes that have occurred in the last century. For the purposes of the present study, this objection is not troublesome. This study aims to explore whether

realist theory explains the Howard Government's rejection of Kyoto. This criticism is not an issue for the arguments raised in this thesis because the Howard Government's rejection of Kyoto is not an instance of systemic change. If realist theory cannot explain change, it does not jeopardise a realist explanation of the Howard Government's actions.

Realist theory places a lot of emphasis on the nation-state, seeing it as the appropriate unit of analysis for international relations. It also claims the nation-state is cohesive and is the primary actor in international affairs (Keohane & Nye, 1989). Many opponents of realist theory think this emphasis on the nation-state discounts other important factors such as culture and domestic politics (Williams, 2004), powerful individuals (Byman & Pollock, 2001), and NGOs (Raustiala, 2001), for instance. To determine whether the nation-state is the proper unit of analysis in international relations is beyond the scope of the current research. One would need to attempt to frame the current debate by reference to supranational or sub-national bodies and compare their explanatory power. To explore whether the nation-state is cohesive one can simply examine the behaviour of the national government in question. Similarly, with political influence from non-state actors, one could examine whether such entities have been influential. This research will investigate these two questions when examining data from political leaders and media commentators that mention divisions within government policy or the authority of non-state actors.

Other international relations thinkers criticise realist theory for failing to explain the increase in interdependence and cooperation in the international system that has occurred in recent decades (Donnelly, 1995; Keohane, 2005; van Ierland, Gupta, & Kok, 2003). It seems evident that international interdependence has increased in recent times, with an increase in the number and power of international institutions such as the UN, the World Bank, and the EU.

This thesis, by examining the Howard Government's rejection of Kyoto, investigates a deviation from the apparent trend towards increased interdependence. Australia is one of only two developed nations that had not ratified the treaty at the time this research was undertaken (Hamilton, 2001). As Ritt Bjerregarrd, chief European negotiator at Kyoto stated: "It's quite clear we have a problem ... Maybe the pressure was not strong enough on Australia" (in Hamilton, 2001, p. 89).

Realist theory is sometimes challenged because it does not offer solutions to the problems in international affairs (Dorn, 2006). Carr (1946, p. 93) was aware of this problem and stated that, “realism can offer nothing but a naked struggle for power which makes any kind of international society impossible.” Moreover, realist theory does not give an adequate description of what happens when a country does not take realist considerations into account, as Feaver and Hellman (2000) observe. For example, no suggestion is given as to what punishment or reward would befall a country that decided to ignore power politics and instead sought altruistic goals.

These objections may both be valid, but they do not render the realist enterprise of no use. Although realist theory might not be very helpful at prescribing action, it may still offer a compelling description of the international situation. A useful basis for being able to solve a problem is being able to understand the situation properly in the first place. In this case, a theorist could use the realist understanding of the world to develop solutions to international problems. The conclusion considers the potential for realist theory to contribute to more effective multilateral environmental action.

## **2.4 Competing international relations theories**

Three important frameworks in international relations other than traditional realism are neorealism (a variant of realism), liberalism, and institutionalism. Legro and Moravcsik (1999) see the difference in international relations theories in terms of the emphasis they put on different elements. Realists emphasise power relations, liberals highlight differences in national preferences, and institutionalists stress the difference in information between countries (Legro & Moravcsik, 1999).

It is common to find liberalism and institutionalism combined to produce neoliberal institutionalism, as supported by authors such as Keohane (1989; 1993) and Young (1994).

The major debate in international relations in recent times has been between neorealism and neoliberal institutionalism (Vogler, 1996). Neorealism differs from realist theory by steering away from the concept of human nature in explaining international relations, towards the rational calculus of cost-benefit analysis found in economic thinking (Donnelly, 1995). Neorealists claim that nation-states' actions are constrained by structures in the international system such as the existence of

hegemony and balances of power, rather than placing significance on the idea of human nature in explaining national actions. Most modern realist scholars accept this neorealist insight (Gupta, 2002). Neorealists also differ from classic realist scholars in their belief that nation-states are concerned with security, not only with power (Guzzini, 2004). The reason for this is that neorealists consider that having too much power can bring insecurity, because others may view the concentration of power as a threat (Waltz, 1979). For the purposes of this thesis, these two neorealist insights are considered part of realist theory. Neorealists also think interdependence is increasing, whereas traditional realist theorists are pessimistic about the possibility of widespread cooperation, according to Maghroori (1982).

According to Legro and Moravcsik (1999), liberals stress that countries have different preferences and that these differences explain the behaviour of a country. Liberals think that government type, economic system, and culture can all affect nation-state behaviour and relations between countries (Keohane, 1989). Liberals would suggest non-state actors such as environmental NGOs could influence the acceptance of environmental agreements. They would also suggest that non-political considerations are taken into account when countries decided whether to ratify environmental agreements (Auer, 2000).

Institutionalists such as Keohane differ from realists because they suggest that the international system does have a structure, and that international institutions play a large part in fostering cooperation between nation-states (Keohane, 2005). Institutions are “sets of practices and expectations rather than ... formal organisations with imposing headquarters buildings” (Keohane, 2005, p. 246). In this view, institutions matter because they distribute power, constrain choices, and give incentives and disincentives to countries to act in certain ways. Institutionalists would contend that organisations such as the UNFCCC should make accepting environmental agreements more likely.

Neoliberal theorists in international relations accept the neorealist contention that states are the key actors in international relations, but still maintain that non-state actors and intergovernmental organizations matter. According to Viotti and Kauppi (1993), neoliberal institutionalists believe that countries can make their own choices as to how they will make policy without any international organizations blocking their right to sovereignty.

The scope of this thesis is not wide enough to investigate any other theories in international relations. As Paterson (1996, p. 62) states, “however contested by the recent development of critical approaches, mainstream contemporary international relations theory is still dominated by ... neorealism, and ... neoliberal institutionalism.”

## **2.5 Realist theory and international climate change policy**

Neither realist theory, nor international relations in general, are traditionally concerned with environmental issues (Williams, 2005). Paterson (1996, p. 59) states that using international relations theory to analyse climate change politics “remains severely undertheorised.”

As a precursor to using realism to explain an environmental matter, one must show that realist theory is applicable to environmental concerns. This section comprises an assessment of three areas where realism may be applied to the ratification of environmental agreements. These three areas are the role of the nation-state in the international system, power politics and the national interest, and competition and cooperation between nation-states. The last of these three areas map directly on to the six themes seen in the data presentation and analysis. The reason for focusing on these concepts is that they contribute to an understanding of why the Howard Government rejected the Kyoto accord.

The following three subsections identify the kind of evidence, for or against a realist explanation of environmental concerns that could be tracked in political speeches, interviews and media releases. This evidential reasoning is then followed through into the analysis in Chapter 6. These three areas correlate with the six realist themes found throughout this study and the secondary theme of the environment’s importance in international relations. Section 2.5.1 examines the themes of the nation-state being the main actor in the international system and anarchy. Section 2.5.2 concerns power politics and the pursuit of the national interest. Chapter 2.5.3 investigates cooperation and the possibility of countries making absolute gains, rather than merely gains relative to each other.

### **2.5.1 International structure**

Two important realist views are the primacy of nation-states and the existence of anarchy above the level of the nation. Realist theorists make three major points about the nation-state in international relations. First, states are cohesive, second, they are the proper unit to be analysed in international relations, and third, they are the primary actors in international affairs. Waltz (2000) suggests this final point is demonstrated in the widespread increase in power of central governments.

Theda Skocpol (1984) developed a classification of social theories that contrasted 'state-centric' and 'society-centric' models. Realist theory is a 'state-centric' one because realists believe the source of change is from the state more than from society (Maghroori, 1982, Saurin, 1996). Realists also believe nation-states are rational entities (Legro & Moravcsik, 1999). This does not mean they are always rational; rather, they always attempt to be (Viotti & Kauppi, 1993).

States exist in the international system as autonomous units. Above this level, there is no hierarchy of authority; anarchy reigns instead (Legro & Moravcsik, 1999). This does not mean there is no hierarchy of power at the national level. It merely signifies that no country has any legitimate authority over another (Viotti & Kauppi, 1993). International anarchy does not mean there is no international society either. It instead means there is no international government that wields true power (Axelrod & Keohane, 1985).

Even entities normally considered candidates for supranational government such as the EU are, according to realist scholars, no such thing. Attempts to create international governments can result in simply shifting the focus of power, with the new powerbroker being the strongest nation-state(s) within the new super-government (Carr, 1946). The EU, for example, is dominated by France, Germany, and the UK. Anarchy implies distrust and continual conflict between countries (Viotti & Kauppi, 1993).

The situation of anarchy, coupled with a lack of material resources means countries find themselves in conflict with one another; as Donnelly puts it, the "law of the jungle" is at work (1995, pp. 175-176). There is also a lessened chance of altruism in international anarchy. According to Carr (1946, p. 166), it makes sense to make sacrifices for one's country, but with many other self-interested countries in the world, it is far less likely sacrifices will be made for the sake of the planet.

These two realist concepts contribute to understanding the Howard Government's rejection of Kyoto as follows. The difference between how politics operate at the national and international levels suggests there is a situation like Putnam's two-level game (Putnam, 1988). Putnam points out that actions on international agreements have two sides to them. Treaties are negotiated internationally, but ratified and implemented domestically (Putnam, 1988). In the face of this, realist theorists would state that international cooperation is not very likely, there are no key influences below the level of the nation-state and therefore any explanation of political action must put a great deal of emphasis on the nation-state itself. Furthermore, the realist focus on nation-state level explanations would be acceptable if it can be shown that there are no influential agents below this level. A lack of persuasive citizen groups would demonstrate this. A realist explanation would be weakened if non-state actors such as environmental NGOs had heavily influenced Australian climate policy. If there were evidence of domestic political manipulation, an explanation based on realist theory would be less likely to be adequate. A realist explanation would also be weakened if there were significant divisions in the government, and those divisions had an impact on climate policy.

If there were anarchy at the international level, realist thinkers would expect power relations at the international level to be the basis for interactions between countries. If some other powerful country or countries had influenced the Howard Government's decision to ratify Kyoto this would comprise evidence against the anarchy hypothesis. Realist theory would also explain the actions of countries that ignored requests to act from supposed international authorities.

### 2.5.2 Power and the national interest

Realists believe that countries try to increase their security, primarily through power (Carr, 1946; Waltz, 2000). Carr (1946, p. 102) claimed that politics is always power politics; it is inherent in the word itself. The nature of this power is not well defined, however. Morgenthau (1967, p. ix) emphasises that power is not to be understood as purely material, stressing its "immaterial aspects".

That the world is controlled by the power relations between nations is probably the most important thought that realist scholars bring to the international relations



debate (Legro & Moravcsik, 1999). The best attempt at defining the term 'power' is the ability to influence others and avoid being influenced oneself (Evans & Newnham, 1998). According to Guzzini (2004), many realist theorists would state it is best to view power as the ability to control outcomes. Morgenthau (1967) points out that although the nature of power can change over time, given contingencies in the real world, the interests that this power is used to promote are always the same: the ability to control others and avoid being controlled oneself. Carr (1946, p. 108) breaks power into three types: military, economic, and power over people's opinion.

The importance of the national interest and the endeavour to promote it is a core realist belief (Morgenthau, 1967). Morgenthau (1967) claims that interest is defined as power. Strategic power defines a country's national interest. The national interest represents what a country stands for (Williams, 2005). If it accepted that the environment is important to a nation-state's security, as noted in Section 2.5.1, this strategic power may incorporate economic and environmental concerns.

When discussing the national interest it is clear that all countries pursue their national interest to some extent. For realist thinkers, this pursuit is imperative. The promotion of the national interest is potentially to the detriment of others. Countries also have little appreciation for the idea of 'interests' applying to anything higher than the national level (Morgenthau 1967).

The link between power and interests is clear for Morgenthau (1967); forms of power can change over time, but the interests they strive to achieve are always security and survival. History shows this in the various forms of power that countries employ against others: military, strategic, geopolitical, and economic.

The classic realist concepts of power and the national interest are central to any explanation of the Howard Government dismissing the Kyoto Protocol. If it were found that international power politics were on display in this matter, a realist explanation would be a useful one. The existence of successful coercion by powerful countries and the manipulation of weaker countries would be an example of this.

Equally, whether the Kyoto Protocol is in the national interest of Australia is important. Realists believe that countries only consent to agreements that are in

their national interest, according to Kütting (2000). The Kyoto Protocol needs to be examined to see whether it would be in Australia's interests to ratify. There is a difficulty in answering this, however, because it is unclear whose definition of the national interest should be used.

Realist theory implies that if the Kyoto Protocol is not in a country's national interest, that country will not endorse it. Conversely, if the Protocol is not in a nation's interests, and yet is widely accepted, this would be evidence against the realist contention about the dominance of national interest.

### 2.5.3 Cooperation and competition

As stated by Maghroori (1982), realists are distrustful of coalitions and cooperation. This follows from the realist belief in international anarchy and national self-interest. Realist authors differ over whether or not conflict is natural, but most agree that it always eventuates (Laferrière & Stoett, 1999). Axelrod and Keohane (1985) point out that cooperation is not necessarily a beneficial thing in all situations. This suggests that the pessimism in realist theory is useful, because it helps to keep countries alert to cooperative ventures that may be against their interests.

According to Burchill (1996), realist theorists claim that the liberal ideal of the common interest is a fallacy. There is no common interest, instead, strong countries successfully create the illusion that their concerns are the concerns of all. If this realist thesis is correct, cooperation will often not be a rational objective for less powerful countries. Viotti and Kauppi (1993, p. 56) affirm that "in any given issue area, not all states are equally vulnerable." If cooperation is not going to benefit all parties equally, then it must come about through altruism, something realist scholars view as unlikely (Morgenthau, 1967). If cooperation does occur, realists believe it is only instrumental, according to Laferrière & Stoett (1999).

A major point of difference between the arguments of realists and neoliberals is whether absolute or relative gains are possible in international relations. Absolute gains exist when a number of countries all gain some benefit, relative gains exist when a country is only gaining an advantage in relation to another country. Realists, particularly neorealists, claim that countries act to increase their relative gain over others because absolute gains are not possible, Paterson states (1996). Liberals,

however, claim countries act to make absolute gains (Paterson, 1996). Absolute gains are not possible, according to realist thinkers, because there is no shared view of justice that could create an environment in which these gains could be made (Parks & Roberts, 2006). Moreover, as Powell (1991) asserts, power is scarce, so nations must fight amongst themselves to gain a greater share of it.

Any discussion of economic competitiveness could provide evidence on the issue of whether countries can make relative or absolute gains. If a country pursued its competitive advantage over other nations, this would show that country also believed there was only a certain amount of economic prosperity to go around.

For a realist explanation of cooperation and competition to be upheld, one would expect to see difficult negotiations and nations promoting their own interests. If the Kyoto Protocol favoured some nations over others, and yet the less favoured nations still ratified, this would instead provide evidence that a realist explanation was inaccurate.

## **2.6 Conclusion**

Realism is an important theory in international relations, and one that is widely recognised as central to the field of international relations, both by supporters and critics. The realist thesis is broad so it is necessary to focus solely on the realist lines of argument most relevant to climate change policy. This chapter has identified a number of realist claims that are central to the research question.

A number of realist beliefs are not actively investigated in this study. Realist thinkers believe that countries' actions are based on human nature (Donnelly, 1995; Laferrière & Stoett, 1999; Morgenthau, 1967). This line of enquiry would take the present study beyond the limits placed by the research question. Realists also believe in the cyclical nature of conflict, and that power balances occur, in between outbreaks of conflict (Burchill, 1996; Laferrière & Stoett, 1999). Again, the research question is based solely on Australian policy and does not require the inclusion of this principle. Lastly, the inevitability of conflict is something central to realist theory (Carr, 1946; Laferrière & Stoett, 1999). The issue of conflict is touched on during the analysis of power politics, but the inevitability of conflict is not examined as this study only concerns one event.

The themes explored in this chapter inform the analysis in Chapter 6. Each of the realist elements examined describe the evidence one would expect to find in support of, or against, the realist ability to explain the Howard Government's reaction to the Kyoto Protocol. Chapter 6 will refer back to these key concepts to see if there is a correlation between what this section claims would be evidence and what the data bear out.

## **CHAPTER 3 - LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **3.1 Introduction**

As noted in Chapter 1, this research considers whether realist theory explains the Howard Government's decision not to ratify the Kyoto Protocol. The literature relevant to this question is that which considers different explanations for the Australian government's non-ratification.

Section 3.2 is an overview of literature relevant to the research question. Section 3.3 considers five reasons why the Howard Government may have rejected or accepted the Kyoto Protocol, and whether these reasons support a realist explanation or not. Section 3.4 considers the literature on the two leading international relations theories, realism and neoliberal institutionalism, in order to see what their explanation for the acceptance of environmental agreements would look like. Section 3.5 examines four recent studies that have a close connection to the research question and in each of the case studies, the research issue, method, literature reviewed, findings, and analysis will be discussed. In the summary, gaps in the literature are identified, and the current study is positioned within this literature.

### **3.2 Literature overview**

This thesis draws on literature spanning a number of academic disciplines. The literature examined explores international relations theory, discusses climate change policy, the Kyoto Protocol, and examines the Howard Government's rejection of it. As Christoff (2005a, p. 37) notes about the use of different academic fields to explain Australia's Kyoto policy, "each of these frames is more likely to identify and highlight certain aspects of a multifactorial history."

This literature review omits certain things. In general, it does not examine literature written before 1990. Our knowledge of climate change has increased dramatically since this time, as has our understanding of climate policy, so literature since this date is more relevant to the research question (Jepma & Munasinghe, 1998; IPCC, 2001). This review examines international relations literature but not foreign policy literature. Focusing on foreign policy with no similar domestic focus would bias the review in favour of realist theory, which presupposes that domestic proceedings

have little effect on international policy. As mentioned, the founders of realist theory, Carr and Morgenthau, believe the nation-state is the main actor in the international system (Carr, 1946; Morgenthau, 1967). To analyse a realist explanation requires paying equal attention to sub-national and supranational forces.

Realism, despite being the oldest theory in international relations, is still regarded by many authors as relevant, having explanatory power, and being a useful framework for analysis. As Waltz (2000, p. 39), suggests, when conflict is present, realist theory is well-placed to explain it, whereas, "Every time peace breaks out, people pop up to proclaim that Realism is dead." When conflicts are renewed, the insights of realist theory are germane once more. There are many contemporary authors writing on this topic, such as Williams (2004) with recent writing on classical realist theory and Morgenthau. Guzzini (1998; 2004) examines realist theory and its relation to political economy. Waltz (2000) is the founder of neorealism, a theory very similar to realism, which posits that countries' actions can frequently be explained by the demands of international competition. Legro and Moravcsik (1999) question the distinctness of realist theory, and received many responses criticising their work, most notably from Feaver et al. (2000). Legro and Moravcsik's critical article sparked an important debate about the continued relevance of realist theory.

Since being negotiated ten years ago, the merits and defects of the Kyoto Protocol has been the focus of much scholarly work. A major work by Brown (1998) examines many of the controversies surrounding the Protocol. Grubb, Vrolijk and Brack's (1999) work views the agreement from a legal point of view. Oberthür and Ott (1999) focus on the economic, political and legal implications of Kyoto. Victor's (2001) book is quite critical of the agreement's capacity to reduce global warming.

According to Jäger and O'Riordan, "the literature on climate change is congested and voluminous" (1996, p. xii). Many important contributions have been made recently. Dessler and Parson (2006) clarify the debates for policy-makers and scientists. Jepma and Munasinghe (1998) provide a synopsis of the social impacts of climate change. Schneider, Rosencranz, and Niles (2002) concentrate on the understanding of climate change and policies to combat it. Stewart and Weiner (2002) believe increased participation in resisting climate change is necessary, and investigate obstacles to this participation. Finally, Luterbacher and Sprinz (2001a)

ask whether state-centric explanations are sufficient to explain climate change problems.

Christoff (2002; 2005a; 2005b; 2006; 2007) and Hamilton (1997; 1998; 2000; 2001; 2004; 2006), who have published extensively on Australia's non-ratification of the Kyoto Protocol are both sceptical of the Australian position. Christoff specialises in comparative climate change policy, and strongly rejects the Howard Government's non-participation with Kyoto. Hamilton, an advocate of sustainable development, and social and economic equality, is also critical of the Howard Government's attitude.

As mentioned, this thesis is situated in the broader area of environmental agreement adoption. Previous literature has examined different subsets of the variables involved in the research question. Benedick (1991) studied just one environmental agreement, Kyoto, and contended that governments should still ratify despite uncertainty. Choucri (1993), Haas, Levy and Parson (1992), and Sprinz and Vaahtoranta (1994) investigated a single country. Choucri (1993), in his study of global environmental actors, presents an analytical framework for examining how individuals, groups, and nations create environmental dislocations, and how nations can work together to solve cross-border environmental problems. Haas, Levy, and Parson's (1992) study of the success of the Earth Summit examines the importance of new institutions, national reporting measures, financial mechanisms, and the heightened participation of the public and NGOs in climate change policy. Sprinz and Vaahtoranta (1994), in their study of interest-based explanations of international environmental policy, claim that a country's vulnerability to ecological damage and the costs for that country to reduce emissions are positively correlated with their level of action on climate change.

Roberts (1996), Meyer (1997) and Frank (1999) considered just one theory each in their studies. Roberts (1996) claimed that differing external political positions often reflect widely different national policies towards the environment and in the priority given to enforcement of environmental legislation. Thus, poorer countries are more hesitant to participate with potentially growth-inhibiting treaties. Meyer's (1997) point is that different sectors of world society become structured through more inconsistent processes than are usually contemplated. Frank (1999) contends that

countries with dense connections to world society are most likely to embody global models of national environmentalism, regardless of measures of national interests.

This current study is more specific still, surveying only one country, one treaty, and applying only one theory. Four recent studies have examined multiple countries, theories, and agreements, and these will be examined at length: DeGarmo (2005), Roberts, Parks and Vásquez (2004), Recchia (2002), and Zahran, Kim, Chen and Lubell (2007).

Climate change research on the adoption of environmental agreements received a surge in interest in the early 1990s, following the 1992 Earth Summit (Laferrrière & Stoett, 1999). Europe is the major source for academic writing on climate change policy. The majority of climate change research in Australia centres on drought related policy.

Many international relations theorists from the early 1990s onwards began incorporating environmental problems into existing international relations explanations (Vogler, 1996). Since this time, two significant collections on the incorporation of the environment into international relations frameworks have been the books edited by Luterbacher and Sprinz (2001a), and Vogler and Imber (1996). The Luterbacher and Sprinz collection surveys current conceptual, theoretical, and methodological approaches to global climate change and international relations. Vogler and Imber's compilation examines the relevance of international relations approaches to environment. The contributors analyse the debate between neorealism and neoliberal institutionalism, and discuss the monitoring and implementation of environmental agreements, the place of ideology in negotiations, and the role of international organisations.

Saurin (in Vogler & Imber, 1996, p. 77) notes that "the prevailing approach of international relations scholars to the environment remains state-centric." This is certainly true of realist thinkers, who believe countries are the main actors in the international system. Post-positivist theories such as social constructivism suggest social forces have a part to play (Bernstein, 2002). This thesis investigates the state-centric view.



The consensus of researchers in the field is that no one international relations theory can explain the acceptance of environmental agreements (DeGarmo, 2005; Kreps & Arend, 2006). Jäger (1996) affirms that the understanding of this topic has been hindered by the lack of integration between natural and social scientists on the climate change issue. According to Morgan (1998), there has been scientific research on climate change for the past sixty years, but social and economic research on it for only the last twenty. Lantis (2005, p. 414) draws attention to the fact that, although there are many studies on the negotiation of environmental agreements, “the ratification process ... is under-represented in the literature.”

In the literature relating to the research question, the main gap is specific reference of Australia’s situation, and the insights offered by realist theory for understanding the participation in multilateral environmental agreements. The summary of this literature review will revisit the existence of gaps in the research.

### **3.3 The acceptability of the Kyoto Protocol**

Before directly examining the response to environmental agreement ratification by the major international relations theories, this review will first examine five points that arise in the literature that may play a part in explaining the Howard Government’s rejection of Kyoto. These are the two-level format of international negotiations, the influence of cost-benefit analysis in decision-making, the influence of domestic actors, the influence of the USA, and whether the Kyoto Protocol is flawed.

#### **3.3.1 The two-level game**

Putnam (1988) draws attention to the interaction of domestic and international politics. He claims that most typical responses to this issue are either ad hoc or unsystematic. Most suggest a link specific to a particular case or merely state there is a link without explaining what it is. The nature of this two-level system is that international treaties are negotiated internationally, yet ratified domestically (Sprinz & Weiß, 2001; Thompson, 2006). This causes difficulties, claims Christoff (2005a), because a government must deal with other countries internationally during negotiations, while domestic political concerns are what is important for ratification.

Lantis (2005) observes that the strategies required for these processes are entirely different.

A further complicating issue is that, according to evidence from the USA and Canada, engagement with international policy-making bodies such as the UNFCCC does not equate to domestic action (Rabe, 2004). Thus, the dual nature of local and international politics suggests a single factor explanation of ratification or non-ratification may be inappropriate; there may be both a domestic and international explanation required.

Lantis (2005) contends that the existence of a two-level structure is an argument against realist theory because it implies domestic considerations have a major influence, which is something that realist scholars generally deny (Burchill, 1996). This may be an argument against realist theory, but it is not conclusive. The two-level game argument draws a fundamental distinction between international and domestic affairs, which is consistent with realist theory. It is only the further supposition that domestic affairs influence international ones that causes problems for a realist explanation. It can be accepted that the international / domestic relationship is real without also believing that one influences the other.

### 3.3.2 Cost-benefit analysis

Many authors have demonstrated how the Howard Government relied heavily on economic thinking and cost-benefit analysis in its decision not to ratify the Kyoto Protocol (see Christoff, 2005a; Firth, 2005; Hamilton, 2001; Papadakis, 2002; Yu & Taplin, 2000). As Yu and Taplin (2000, p. 119) put it, "Australia's negotiating stance was largely driven by overemphasised national economic interests."

Views such as those expressed by the Howard Government from 1998–2004 have drawn criticism from those who think cost-benefit analysis does not do justice to environmental concerns. According to van Ierland et al. (2003) cost-benefit analysis ignores the power inequality between rich and developing nations. It disregards the acknowledged principle of 'polluter pays'<sup>2</sup>, and it ignores the finality of the potential consequences of climate change. Cost-benefit analysis measures the value of non-

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<sup>2</sup> The principle that the polluting party must pay for the damage done to the environment from the pollution it causes (Oberthür & Ott, 1999)

traditional items, such as the environment, based on what consumers are willing to pay to preserve them. This standard is unjust because some countries are more able to pay than others are; thus, the environment they inhabit is valued more highly, yet for other than environmental reasons.

Cost-benefit analysis is even less appropriate between nations because differences in purchasing power parity distort calculations (Jäger & O'Riordan, 1996). Stewart and Weiner (2002) see atmospheric pollution as a tragedy of the commons<sup>3</sup>. In this situation, everybody gets the benefits of a clean environment but no one takes enough responsibility. In his recent report, influential economist Stern (2006, p. viii) stated, "climate change is the greatest market failure the world has ever seen."

Cost-benefit analysis, based on orthodox economics, is a rational system and therefore the Howard Government's insistence on using it could provide support for the realist supposition that countries are rational and self-interested. Economics only gives answers according to what those asking questions of it consider valuable, however. If the Howard Government had put a substantial economic value on an undisturbed climate, perhaps its decision would have been different. Although the Howard Government's reliance on cost-benefit analysis appears to show rationality and short-term self-interest, it does not demonstrate what interests the Howard Government aims to promote. An international relations theory would be needed to help explain this.

### 3.3.3 Domestic influence

Many domestic influences may affect national policies. On the issue of accepting environmental agreements, there is a significant literature on the pressure from domestic politics and opinion, and lobby groups (Bührs & Christoff, 2006; Christoff, 2005a; Lantis, 2005; McDonald, 2005). Bührs and Christoff (2006) examine the influence of internal political customs. McDonald (2005) argues that Australia's position has regressed from support for the central ethical principles (defined as distributive and retributive justice) underpinning the climate change regime to an ultimate rejection of these principles; the Howard Government ignored public

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<sup>3</sup> The tragedy of the commons involves a conflict over finite resources between individual interests and the common good, where no one person devotes enough resources to protect public goods (Parkinson & Burke, 1988).

opinion, which was in favour of environmental action (Christoff, 2005a). Lantis (2005) asserts that the ratification process for international treaties has become increasingly politicized in many democratic nation-states, and that leaders have an important role to play.

Domestic political culture is suggested as an influential factor by Bührs and Christoff (2006). Government positions are based on party political platforms, as demonstrated by the then Australian opposition party, Labor, which had indicated its policy was to ratify Kyoto, therefore differentiating itself from the ruling coalition (Bührs & Christoff, 2006). "Liberal governments since federation have been 'hard-headed' in pursuit of the core national interests of security for the nation and enhanced well-being for its citizens," claims Bridge (2001, p. 309). This suggests a realist explanation of the Howard Government's rejection of Kyoto would require an investigation into how political parties develop policy. However, because there is a majoritarian system of democratic government in Australia, a ruling political party can assume its policies will become national policy. Realist theory does not need to explain party political impulses because it already explains central government motivations. Because of Australia's government structure, party policy can be considered a sub-set of government policy, and is therefore already included in realist analysis.

Christoff (2005a) highlights the discrepancy between Australian government policy and popular opinion on climate change. Surveys in 1997 revealed that 79% of Australians thought their government should ratify Kyoto, and 70% of Australian CEOs surveyed believed Australia should have legally binding emissions targets (Christoff, 2005a, p. 34). Christoff (2005a) and McDonald (2005) both suggest the system of voting stifled the ability of the Australian population to have their environmental concerns heard. McDonald claims that, given only one vote, voters only have the opportunity to display one preference: their preference for economic policy over environmental policy. Christoff contends that the Howard Government was able to act against popular opinion because there is neither a great deal of political accountability in Australian politics nor cross-party policy coalitions, especially on the issue of climate change.

A common theme in literature on the Howard Government's dismissal of Kyoto is the influence of lobby groups, specifically the carbon-intensive industry lobby. There is

substantial literature suggesting the fossil fuel, mining, and aluminium industries affected the climate change policy of the government (see, for example, Alley, 2000; Bulkeley, 2001; Christoff, 2005a; Firth, 2005; Hamilton, 2000, 2001, 2006).

Christoff (2005b) believes the conflict between domestic politics and international obligations is a challenge for climate policy because international environmental agreements are negotiated internationally, yet implemented domestically. Hamilton (2000) notes that it is no coincidence the Howard Government and industry positions on Kyoto are largely the same. Bulkeley (2001) indicates that the resource and energy industries have been influential in keeping climate change action primarily at the voluntary level. Alley (2000) demonstrates that industry groups have regular access to politicians working in relevant areas. Firth (2005, p. 308) claims that the Howard Government was influenced by the fossil fuel industry. Dessler and Parson (2006, p. 130) give an example of the industry attitude, stating, “coal producers are most threatened by mitigation ... and are most forceful in their opposition.”

Literature suggesting a significant influence on Australian climate change policy from domestic sources refutes the realist position. Although realist theorists deny sub-state influences are significant in the international realm, the literature discussed here highlights the existence of sub-state influences on the Howard Government’s attitude to ratifying the Kyoto Protocol.

#### 3.3.4 American influence

Suggestions that the USA influenced the Howard Government’s reaction to the Kyoto Protocol are common in literature surrounding Australia’s stance on ratification. Luterbacher and Sprinz (2001b) claim the USA tried to deter a number of countries, including Australia, from ratifying the Protocol. The non-participation of the USA renders the Protocol less environmentally effective, so its decision is influential. A document leaked from the Australian Government in 1998 confirmed this, revealing that the Howard Government would not ratify unless the USA did (Alley, 2000). Hamilton (2004, p. 4) supports this claim, stating, “only the US matters; if the US ratified tomorrow, Australia would ratify the next day.”

American influence over the Howard Government in this matter is consistent with realist theory in two ways. First, by siding with the USA in not ratifying, the Howard Government is protecting Australia's national economic interests. Australia has a free trade agreement with the USA and being outside Kyoto means businesses in both nations are on a level playing field. Second, by aligning itself with America, Australia gains the protection of a powerful nation.

### 3.3.5 Potential flaws in the Protocol

If the Kyoto Protocol was so flawed that any rational country would not ratify it, one does not need to introduce an international relations theory to explain a country rejecting it; it would be self-evident. A number of writers do not believe the Protocol was fit for ratification (see Auer, 2000; Barrett, 2003; Daley, 2000; R. Evans, 2003; Lomborg, 2001; McKibbin, 2002; Meyerson, 1998; Shogren, 2000; Stewart & Weiner, 2002; Victor, 2001; Warby, 1997). Four objections are common in the literature: the Protocol has too few participants, it is economically ineffective, it does not do enough to combat climate change, and has an inadequate mechanism of enforcement. These are now considered, in order to ascertain whether they might explain the decision not to ratify.

One view is that the Kyoto Protocol does not have enough parties bound by emissions reductions to make a difference (Lomborg, 2001; McKibbin, 2002; Shogren, 2000; Victor, 2001). Stewart and Weiner (2002, p. 10) state that the Protocol only covers one quarter of worldwide carbon emissions, whereas this figure would have been 50-80%, had the USA and a small number of developing countries ratified. Lomborg (2001, p. 302) claims that because developing countries are not bound by limits, Kyoto will only delay a temperature increase of 1.92°C from 2094 until 2100. By 2020, the developing world is predicted to produce half of all greenhouse gas emissions, so it is a major flaw in the Protocol that they are not bound by emissions reductions, according to Victor (2001, p. 33).

Many assert that the Kyoto Protocol is economically flawed. Evans (2003) claims that Kyoto calculations are wrong because the economic modeling associated with them is unsound. Protocol modelers attempted to calculate countries' future economic growth, something considered incredibly difficult over the long term. Victor (2001) claims that the science of measuring emissions and carbon sinks is

unreliable. Victor also asks how, with no method for determining future economic growth, the agreement can set an emissions reduction target that will be manageable. With this in mind, tackling a global problem with simple national targets is an oversimplification, according to Meyerson (1998). Lomborg (2001) claims it is more economically viable to adapt to climate change than trying to avoid it.

The Kyoto Protocol is also criticised because it does not adequately curb climate change (Lomborg, 2001; van Ierland et al., 2003). Barrett (1998, p. 12) summarises the problem: although the UNFCCC is trying to avoid dangerous interference with the climate, no one can determine what constitutes a dangerous level. Not all countries are required to reduce their greenhouse gas output, so processes that create emissions would simply move from a Kyoto-bound country to one that was not, known as 'carbon leakage' (Daley, 2000; Stewart & Weiner, 2002).

Russia's economy collapsed after 1990, the year emissions targets are based on (Victor, 2001). This means that Russia has a large number of carbon credits that can be sold to other Kyoto participants (Victor, 2001). In this way, other countries can buy their way out of making actual emissions cuts. The arbitrary date chosen to base targets on has created this problem. Stewart and Weiner (2002) claim that a major downfall of the Protocol is that it sets environmental targets for nations, yet offers no suggestion to achieve these targets.

The OECD Kyoto Protocol report notes that, "compliance enforcement will depend very much on individual countries' desire to meet treaty commitments rather than on threats of punitive action" (1999, p. 20). This comment highlights the frail enforcement provisions of the Kyoto accord. A number of authors consider this a major problem with the Kyoto Protocol (see Barrett, 2003; McKibbin, 2002; Victor, 2001). Enforcement was the last matter discussed at the Kyoto conference, and it received little attention (Barrett, 2003).

The five Kyoto flaws discussed above suggest it may have been unwise to ratify Kyoto. If these flaws are considered significant, a realist explanation of the Howard Government's rejection of Kyoto may still be possible, but not necessary. One can simply point to the shortcomings of the Protocol as the reason for the Howard Government's decision. If these flaws are not deemed significant enough on their

own for a country to reject Kyoto, another explanation of the Howard Government's refusal is required, such as one that realist theory might offer.

### **3.4 International relations theories and accepting environmental agreements**

The two major current theories in international relations are realism and neoliberal institutionalism (Legro & Moravcsik, 1999). Since the Kyoto Protocol was negotiated in late 1997, there has been an increase in the amount of literature on whether these two theories can explain climate change policy. The literature does not necessarily discuss realist or neoliberal institutionalist theory explicitly, however. Instead, factors discussed by the authors below are very similar to realist and neoliberal institutionalist tenets. This means that those theories are being examined, just in sections, and under another name.

#### **3.4.1 Realist theory**

As discussed in Chapter 2, realist theory has tended not to focus on environmental policy, instead focusing on more traditional foreign policy concerns. Kütting (2000) suggests realist thinkers sideline both moral and environmental matters. Viotti and Kauppi (1993) agree, stating that realist thinkers are fixated on security issues and have seldom discussed environmental concerns at any great length. Laferrière and Stoett (1999) disagree. They claim that because realist theorists have always considered resources something to protect militarily, it is reasonable to include the environment in one's definition of security. The importance a nation places on the environment is discussed in the data analysis.

Dessai, Lacasta and Vincent (2003) make a number of observations about realist theory and the Kyoto Protocol. Realists predicted that traditional defence and security issues would take precedence over environmental concerns after the events of September 11, 2001. On this matter they were correct, according to Dessai et al. (2003). Dessai et al. point out that the negotiating bloc that Australia was a part of, the Umbrella Group<sup>4</sup>, behaved in a way consistent with a realist explanation (2003). This group attempted to extract as many concessions as

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<sup>4</sup> The Umbrella Group is a loose coalition of non-EU developed countries that formed during the negotiations of the Kyoto Protocol. Although there is no formal list, the Group is usually made up of Australia, Canada, Iceland, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, the Russian Federation, Ukraine and the USA (Oberthür & Ott, 1999).



possible during negotiations in a self-interested manner. The collapse of the negotiations at The Hague in 2000, in part because of the actions of the Umbrella Group, also suggests the talks were characterised by power politics (Dessai et al., 2003).

Yu and Taplin (2000) believe the Howard Government acted in a self-interested manner during the Kyoto negotiations, therefore offering support for a realist explanation of those actions. Christoff (2005a) claims the 1997 Howard Government policy document *In the National Interest* contains clear evidence that the Howard Government's attitude is explained by realist theory. This body of evidence is well-summarised by McDonald (2005, pp. 229-230), who states "possible explanations all point to the government's conservative world-view in which global concerns and the imperatives of cooperation are superseded by narrow conceptions of 'national interest', in a manner ultimately indicative of a Realist approach to international politics."

Christoff (2005a) and Hamilton (2000), staunch opponents of the Howard Government's position, raise the possibility that the federal government did not act rationally by rejecting Kyoto. Realists claim that countries are rational, so if the Howard Government had acted irrationally this would weaken a realist argument.

An author who rejects realist explanations of environmental policy is Auer (2000). He claims there are many non-state actors in leadership roles in climate change policy such as NGOs, intergovernmental organisations, multinational corporations, and international groups of academics. Auer refers to research carried out in the 1990s that demonstrates non-state actors were influential in environmental policy matters, thus weakening a realist explanation of climate change policy.

#### 3.4.2 Neoliberal institutionalist theory

Keohane and Nye (1989) claim neoliberal institutionalism better explains the existence of international cooperation. As noted in Section 2.4, neoliberal institutionalists argue that international institutions play an important role in coordinating international cooperation. Countries create institutions to pursue cooperation on international issues (Keohane, 2005). Keohane's argument in *After Hegemony* (2005) was that international cooperation could still flourish in the

absence of hegemony. Applied to the Kyoto Protocol, this suggests it could exist without the support of the US, which it has done. The heart of international climate change negotiations is compromise, and according to Dessai et al. (2003) this is something neoliberal institutionalism is suited to explaining. Roberts (2004) believes that the widespread existence of voluntary cooperation on international matters in recent times offers evidence in favour of institutional theory.

### **3.5 Studies similar to the current research**

Four recent studies have examined the ratification of environmental agreements and explanation using theories such as realism. The following section investigates the characteristics of each study: the problem formulated, the literature reviewed, the method used, and the findings made.

#### **3.5.1 DeGarmo**

DeGarmo's (2005) study, *International environmental treaties and state behaviour: factors influencing cooperation*, is the most substantial of the four examined in this review. It is a book-length study, whereas the other three are shorter article length treatments of the subject. It studies the problem of what affects the behaviour of a country during attempts to cooperate on environmental agreements. She addresses the problem from an international relations perspective, attempting to find if an international relations theory explains international cooperation on environmental agreements.

DeGarmo's literature review notes that there has been little research to date that links international relations and environmental politics (2005, p. 73). She notes that this is changing, stating "only now are some scholars conducting empirical analysis to determine the usefulness of existing theoretical constructs in explaining the behaviour of a country in the international environmental realm" (2005, p. 5). DeGarmo extensively investigates past applications of international relations theories to environmental cooperation and concludes that realist theorists are now more inclined to accept environmental concerns as relevant to security (2005, p. 13).

She does not believe current international relations theory can adequately explain nation-state behaviour towards environmental agreements, however, stating that the “failure of existent literature is the lack of a single comprehensive theory or framework that can address the range of complex processes and factors which have been shown to influence state behavior” (2005, p. 29). DeGarmo also notes the abundance of equity issues surrounding international environmental cooperation. Environmental problems exacerbate existing domestic gaps between rich and poor (2005, p. 14), and international gaps between the rich north and the poor south (2005, p. 55).

DeGarmo’s method is positivist and quantitative. She uses international relations theory to develop nine hypotheses related to her outcome variable, “the probability a state will become a party to an international environmental treaty” (2005, p. 76). Her approach overlooks the difference between becoming a party to an environmental agreement, and ratifying one. Ratification involves domestic legal action to make an agreement law. The focus of the current study is Australia, which signed but did not ratify, so DeGarmo’s question differs from the current research question.

She hypothesises that a nation is more likely to agree to an environmental agreement if the agreement is over resource management, distributes costs evenly between parties, if the country involved is prosperous, ecologically vulnerable, “free”, and a “great power” (2005, pp. 78-84). If the environmental agreement in question imposes behavioural constraints, especially if this affects military interests, or requires technology transfer between countries, DeGarmo (2005, pp. 78-84) claims there is less likelihood it will be agreed to. In stating this, DeGarmo is focusing on the nature of the environmental agreement as a predictor variable. The current study does the same, as there are many objections to Kyoto raised in the data gathered for this study. DeGarmo assigns an indicator to each hypothesis and ranks five case studies using these indicators to see which are relevant to the acceptance of environmental agreements.

There is a clear link between DeGarmo’s research orientation and her method. She does not believe one theory can explain acceptance of multilateral environmental agreements. She therefore tests hypotheses drawn from different theories and breaks these theories into smaller pieces, with the aim of building a cross-theoretical explanation.

DeGarmo draws two sets of conclusions. First, she examined whether any international relations theory explains international environmental cooperation and concludes that none does (2005, pp. 112-118). Second, she surveys which individual factors make nation-states more likely to cooperate on environmental agreements. She concludes that factors influencing cooperation include the equality of the costs to implement the agreement, the lack of technology transfer required, and whether the agreement incorporated adequate monitoring mechanisms (2005, p. 96).

DeGarmo's study has a far broader agenda than the current study. Her literature review is a comprehensive summary of work that applies international relations to environmental issues. She examines numerous theories, countries, and environmental agreements, whereas analysis in this study is concerned only with realist theory, the Howard Government, and the Kyoto Protocol. Because DeGarmo's all-embracing literature review implies no single theory explains international environmental cooperation, this study's focus only on realism and Australia is justified. If she is correct in her finding that there is no international relations theory that can explain all engagement with environmental agreement, one does not need to make the attempt.

### 3.5.2 Roberts, Parks, and Vásquez

Roberts, Parks, and Vásquez (2004) ask why countries sign up to environmental agreements in their article, *Who ratifies environmental treaties and why? Institutionalism, structuralism and participation by 192 countries in 22 treaties*. They express concern over the number and severity of environmental problems, and observe that only national governments have the ability to change this situation (2004, p. 22). Roberts et al. seek to determine if countries are able to cooperate to the extent required to deal with global environmental problems.

They begin by reviewing literature from foreign policy, stating, "primarily through case studies ... we have learned a great deal about comparative foreign policy and begun untangling complex causal processes" (2004, p. 23). According to the literature reviewed by Roberts et al., constructivists claim there is a global culture of cooperation that is developing, realist scholars sideline environmental concerns and

focus on power, and rational-choice institutionalists assert institutions are needed to reduce uncertainty and transaction costs that would otherwise hinder international cooperation (2004, p. 23). Roberts et al. claim there is a gap in research on environmental agreement acceptance; all previous studies are specific to one country, theory, or agreement (2004, p. 23). Roberts et al. also take a positivist stance. They have a clear theoretical standpoint, arguing that, “nation-states are of course the principal units held accountable for addressing these global environmental problems” (2004, p. 22). This is consistent with the realism / idealism dichotomy in international relations, in which both theories argue countries are the primary actors in the world order.

The authors argue in favour of world-systems theory (2004, p. 30), which concentrates on the structural constraints on nations, is historically and globally focused, and is interested in material exchange (2004, p. 31). Roberts et al. test world-systems theory against the other major international relations theories. This is done in an attempt to avoid the problems of monocausality and relativism (2004, p. 24). Roberts et al. make predictions based on world-systems theory and test them on the participation records of 192 countries in 22 treaties (2004, p. 37). They predict that if world-systems theory is correct, a country with a narrow export base will have a less engaged civil society and participate less in environmental agreements (2004, p. 37). Higher participation with environmental agreements is predicted to coincide with domestic political accountability and a highly mobilised civil society (2004, p. 37). The study ranks countries based on these indicators and examines whether they participated in environmental agreements. In this manner, the authors attempt to draw a path from cause (the presence of the stated indicators) to effect (an increase in participation with environmental agreements) (2004, p. 39). A positivist quantitative methodology is evident in their research design.

Roberts et al. conclude that there are both positive and negative influences on participation with environmental agreements. Positive influences include the number of domestic NGOs present in a country, the accountability of the government, and the power of the citizenry “voice” (2004, pp. 39-40). Natural capital, ecosystem well-being, and international NGO influence have little impact, according to their study (2004, p. 45). A “major unexpected finding” was that a narrow export base itself often increased the accepting of environmental agreements (2004, p. 40). It was

noted, however, that a narrow export base usually comes with an unaccountable government and a lack of domestic NGOs, thus cancelling out the effect of having a narrow export base (2004, p. 40).

Some support for realist theory also emerged. Roberts et al. state that, “the realist emphasis on countries of global environmental significance proved statistically and substantively significant” (2004, p. 43). In their conclusion, Roberts et al. advise that to improve a country’s environmental record, that country should be encouraged to improve its standard of civil society, and diversify its economy (2004, p. 45).

Roberts et al. study just one conceptual framework, focusing on world-systems theory. They find that “one’s willingness and ability to carry out international environmental commitments is the best proximate predictor of environmental treaty ratification” (2004, p. 43). Simply put, countries ratify treaties if they are willing and able to do what the treaty requires.

Their research also suggests that realist theory does not explain the ratification of environmental agreements. If the presence of NGOs had a positive influence, this would offer evidence against a realist explanation being correct. Roberts et al. claim that no single international relations theory will work alone. This is consistent with the current study’s restricted research question. Roberts et al.’s suggestion that no single theory is enough to explain ratification worldwide implies that realist theory may be able to explain the Howard Government rejecting the Kyoto Protocol, even if it cannot explain the rest of the world ratifying.

### 3.5.3 Recchia

Recchia (2002) undertook a study entitled *International environmental treaty engagement in 19 democracies*. He sought to discover “what accounts for the international environmental engagement of democratic states” (2002, p. 470). He examines engagement in 15 environmental agreements by 19 democracies from 1976–1997, but not including the Kyoto Protocol.

Recchia’s literature review highlights four reasons that may explain a country’s engagement with environmental agreements: structural constraints and opportunities (structural constraint theory), strong government (institution-based

theory), domestic influences (idea-based theory), and transnational forces (transnational forces theory) (2002, p. 471). Recchia makes predictions using these four theories that are based on his literature review. His research tests them on a number of countries involved in environmental agreements. Recchia is also a positivist, and uses an empirical quantitative method to test theories.

Recchia's structural constraints theory predicts that with increased economic prosperity comes increased participation with environmental agreements, as reducing pollution becomes more affordable (2002, pp. 472-473). It also predicts that countries with cleaner environments are more likely to accept environmental agreements. Recchia measured this by rating each country's economic development and the quality of its environment.

His institution-based theory predicts that countries with strong, centralised governments are more likely to participate in environmental agreements because a strong government is able to strictly enforce the regulations needed to comply with them (2002, p. 474). Recchia measured this by noting the concentration of power in each country's government.

The idea-based theory predicts a country is more likely to accept environmental agreements if it has a strong civil society and its citizens have postmodern values, because postmodern views and environmentalism are statistically linked (2002, p. 475). This is measured by two things: surveys on the prevalence of postmodern views within each country and membership numbers in civil society groups.

Finally, the transnational forces theory predicts countries will engage more with environmental agreements the more interdependent they are (p. 476). Recchia measures this by studying "each state's involvement in international regimes and institutions" (2002, p. 477).

All these theories test a different aspect of the realist framework. Structural constraints theory tests the link between having an abundance of material resources (i.e. a strong economy) and environmental concern. Institution-based theory (predicting a strong government is influential) and idea-based theory (predicting domestic influences are significant) both test whether countries are the main actors in international affairs. Transnational forces theory, which predicts that transnational

forces are influential, tests whether the international system is anarchic above the level of the nation-state.

Recchia's method is quantitative, using "comparative statistical evaluation of multiple indicators of four rival theories." (2002, p. 470). The data is created by ranking to what extent the indicators are present in each country. This is cross-referenced with the number of environmental agreements that country has ratified.

Recchia's findings centre on two factors that positively influence a country's likelihood of ratifying environmental agreements: having a dominant political executive, and having a postmodern citizenry (2002, p. 484). They note that, "International environmental commitments among democracies are constructed by the cultural composition of the polity and institutional rules that centralize ratification procedures, rather than by structural conditions and international forces" (2002, p. 470). He concedes that the findings probably do not apply to non-democratic countries (2002, p. 488).

Recchia's finding on executive dominance is interesting because both Australia and the US, neither of whom ratified, have federal systems. In both nations, however, the state governments are more pro-Kyoto than the federal government (Hamilton, 2001). Likewise, Australia, as a member of the Western world with strong cultural links to other first world nations, does not appear to be significantly less postmodern in its outlook than its fellow OECD members are. Four out of five Australians surveyed in 1997 thought the Howard Government should ratify the Protocol (Christoff, 2005a, p. 34). While Recchia's findings may be statistically significant for many nations, it is not clear they are applicable to Australia.

Despite this, one of Recchia's findings suggests an element of realist thought may be relevant to the likelihood of a country ratifying Kyoto. He claims that the level of international interdependence of a country does not affect its likelihood of ratifying environmental agreements (2002, p. 470). As noted in Chapter 2, realists hold that international cooperation is untrustworthy and only treated instrumentally by cooperating countries (Laferrière & Stoett, 1999).



#### 3.5.4 Zahran, Kim, Chen and Lubell

Zahran, Kim, Chen and Lubell examine the Kyoto Protocol closely in their study, *Ecological development and global climate change: A cross-national study of Kyoto Protocol ratification* (2007). They aim to discover whether ecological modernisation theory can explain why some countries are more likely to ratify the Kyoto Protocol than others (2007, p. 39).

The article does not contain an expansive literature review. They claim “our knowledge is found wanting because few scholars explicitly link strategy and structure in the context of coherent theory” (2007, p. 39). They conclude that any theory must take into account the unique features of the country in question in order for its explanation to be correct (2007, p. 39). This is similar to this study’s approach, which focuses on Australia’s individual circumstances. As their literature review shows, little has been done previously to link strategy with reality in international environmental politics (2007, p. 39), it arguably makes sense to attempt an explanation with an established theory.

Zahran et al. test predictions logically derived from a theory, ecological modernisation, using economic regression tests. Proponents of ecological modernisation think that countries can develop economically and socially, while still conserving the environment (Zahran et al., 2007).

Zahran et al. measure the extent to which a country has ecologically modernised in three ways. First, the political aspect of a country’s ecological modernization is measured internally by the strength of civil and political rights in that country (2007, p. 43). If these rights are affirmed, a country is more likely to be influenced by socially-led reform (2007, p. 43). Externally, if a country is more likely to cooperate collectively on international problems, it is more ecologically modernised (2007, p. 43). Second, economic evidence of ecological modernisation can be found in a country’s energy efficiency and the amount of greenhouse gas it emits per capita. The more efficient and the less emissions-intensive a country is, the more ecologically modernised it is (2007, p. 43). Third, a country is more economically modernised if it has a high level of education. Zahran et al. equate the level of education in a country with their level of concern for postmodern concepts such as the environment (2007, p. 43).

Using these measures, Zahran et al. develop hypotheses and test them using Cox proportional hazards regression and logistic regression tests. They hypothesise that the more ecologically modernised a country is, the more likely it is to have ratified the Kyoto Protocol.

Zahran et al. find that a country is more likely to ratify Kyoto if it is a democratically open country with a long record of involvement with environmental agreements, has low carbon emissions, and is highly energy-efficient (2007, p. 37). They also present evidence suggesting educated people care more about the environment (Zahran et al., 2007, p. 37). These findings are consistent with the hypothesis that ecologically modernised countries are more likely to have ratified the Kyoto Protocol. They claim their main contribution to the field is showing that ecological modernisation theory can produce testable hypotheses, which can then be proven quantitatively (2007, p. 56).

One of their policy recommendations is questionable. They state that if a country increases its energy efficiency, an indicator of ecological modernisation, it will subsequently increase its likelihood of ratifying environmental agreements. This seems to confuse correlation with causation. Their findings show that a country with high energy-efficiency is more likely to sign Kyoto (2007, p. 37). However, it seems likely that a country worried about the health of its environment would be more likely to ratify the Kyoto Protocol and be energy efficient, because all three actions are a product of the same characteristic, environmental concern. Ecological modernisation theory is not needed to explain this.

The research Zahran et al. have undertaken is the most recent and the most relevant to the research question in this study. They ask, referring to the Kyoto Protocol, "what about Australia's nonparticipation?" (2007, p. 39) Some of their findings apply to Australia and some do not. Australia has a very high emissions profile and is relatively energy inefficient (IPCC, 2007). Conversely, it has a long record of engaging in international environmental agreements, and its citizens have expressed concern about climate change (Christoff, 2005a; Hamilton, 2000). Ecological modernisation theory claims that high emissions and energy inefficiency make Australia less likely to ratify, whereas its record on environmental agreements

and the nature of its citizenry make it less likely. The research of Zahran et al. is therefore inconclusive in the case of Australia.

### 3.5.5 Summary of similar studies

The four studies examined here are instructive because they deal more specifically with the research question. DeGarmo (2005) concludes that no international relations theory explains the acceptance of environmental agreements adequately. Such a conclusion is in keeping with the current study, because it only attempts to explain one country's reaction to one environmental agreement. The study by Roberts et al. (2004) is the most similar to the current one in terms of method. Where Roberts et al. explore a world-systems approach, this study will focus on an international relations realist approach. Rather than test a whole theory, Roberts et al. break down their study into parts. In line with the method of analysis of this study, the more their findings support world-systems theory, the more warranted a world-systems explanation is. Recchia (2002) tests realist claims under different names. His findings suggest international interdependence is not important for ratification, which realist theorists would agree with. Recchia's findings also claim that countries with a dominant executive and a population with postmodern values are more likely to ratify international environmental agreements. This is not true for Australia. Zahran et al. (2007) break down the theory they test into its parts, leading them to a number of tentative conclusions. This is consistent with the present study, which only focuses on some of the component parts of realist theory and makes only moderate conclusions.

The cases that the literature describes have different methodological orientations to the current study. All four studies are similar in subject matter but not in methodology, although they are all quantitative. This raises the question of whether a qualitative approach is suitable. However, as Morgenthau (in Williams, 2005, p. 44) states, "it is the testing of this rational hypothesis against the actual facts and their consequences that gives meaning to the fact of international politics and makes a theory of politics possible." He suggests that realist theory should be tested against real life situations. Recognising the fact that international relations theory and the environment are only infrequently studied together (DeGarmo, 2005; Paterson, 1996) and noting the need for more qualitative research in the environmental field (Cannibal & Winnard, 2001), a case can be made for

undertaking research that examines the motivations of national actors by qualitatively studying their words, and the media commentary of the time. The following chapter outlines a research design that seeks to do this.

Rather than using complex quantitative testing, this study looks at the facts as they may appear to the layman. There is very little research of this kind done in the field of international relations. This may be evidence of a hidden assumption in international relations, biasing the academic discipline in favour of quantitative measurements. This assumption may prejudice international relations theorists against the use of public statements from the actors involved to assist in the understanding of political phenomena.

### **3.6 Conclusion**

The literature examined in this chapter leaves some questions unanswered. There may indeed be a distinction between levels of government as Putnam (1988) suggests, but it is still unclear whether domestic influences affect international policy in a way that might defeat a realist explanation. The importance placed on cost-benefit analysis raises questions about how the Howard Government decided what was significant for its international environmental policy.

The literature suggests there were both sub-state and international influences on the Howard Government's refusal to ratify the Kyoto Protocol. It will be important to determine which influence was stronger. The often-discussed flaws of Kyoto also raise the question of why the presence of these flaws influenced Australia, but not other countries.

The current research question is of merit because there is no agreement on the question, at the level of theory, and because a qualitative approach will complement past research, which has come primarily from quantitative studies. This study can contribute to the debate about explaining engagement in environmental agreements by attempting to apply a major international relations theory to a pressing environmental problem, and by using a qualitative approach in exploring that theory.

## **CHAPTER 4 - RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This study considers whether international relations theory, and specifically realist theory, can explain the Howard Government's decision not to ratify the Kyoto Protocol. It does so using an interpretivist methodology. Unlike much international relations scholarship the data is analysed qualitatively, not quantitatively. In this study, a multistage purposive sampling method was used to derive a body of data from political and media sources. The data was then coded according to themes developed from realist theory and analysed to see whether the texts provided evidence to support a realist explanation of the Howard Government's rejection of Kyoto.

The following discussion of methodology and research design presents the research question, methodology, sampling technique, nature of the data gathered, method of analysis, and means of drawing conclusions.

### **4.2 Research question**

The research question asks, "Does realist theory explain the Howard Government's decision not to ratify the Kyoto Protocol?" This question can be broken down into six parts each examining a different aspect of realist theory. Six issues emerge from the research question. These six issues are directly linked to the topics of Chapter 2. The 'international structure' topic (Section 2.5.1) breaks down into two themes, international anarchy and whether the nation-state is the main actor in the international order. The 'power and the national interest' topic (Section 2.5.2) breaks down into the themes of power politics, and the promotion of the national interest. Finally, the 'cooperation and competition' topic (Section 2.5.3) breaks down into the themes of whether cooperation is likely, and whether countries can make absolute gains or merely gains relative to each other. The six themes are briefly described below.

First, the issue of anarchy in the international political system leads to the question, "is the international system above the level of countries anarchic?" Data relevant to

answering this question involve evidence of influence by supranational authorities like the UN and the EU, and sub-state actors like NGOs and civil society groups.

Second, is there evidence of sustained and meaningful cooperation in the international system? The data pertaining to the level of participation in Kyoto may offer insight into this question.

Third, are countries able to make absolute gains, or can countries only make gains relative to each other? The data could provide evidence for or against this proposition if there is mention of, for example, competition for economic benefits as opposed to economic cooperation.

Fourth, was the Howard Government promoting Australia's national interest? Data that address this question reveal whether Kyoto is in Australia's national interest, and what that interest is.

Fifth, the research explores the role of countries in international relations and asks whether the nation-state is the main actor in international relations. The data analysis examines whether this question can be answered in the affirmative. The evidence sought was whether actors other than the Australian federal government had an impact on the Howard Government's rejection of Kyoto.

Finally, is there evidence of power politics in the international system? Evidence of the use of coercion and force between Australia and other countries over the Kyoto Protocol in the data would indicate whether this is true or not.

The purpose of asking the research question is twofold. Methodologically, this study is a qualitative examination of the explanatory power of realist theory, which is complementary to the quantitative methods more commonly employed in international relations. Furthermore, if it can be shown that realist theory does explain the Howard Government's rejection of Kyoto, it would follow that solutions developed from the theory can be applied to countries such as Australia, and others in a similar position, in an attempt to engage them more in environmental agreements.

### 4.3 Methodology

According to Burnham et al. (2004, pp. 34-35), “political science as a ‘junction’ discipline is not associated with a particular research method.” In keeping with this sentiment, the research design of this study was not predetermined by past studies. A similar point is made by Leher (in Brenner, 2006, p. 498), when discussing the possibility of realist theory explaining the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, stating that it “represents a different kind of challenge, requiring not only theoretical creativity but also some methodological eclecticism and experimentation.”

Realist theory is empirical (Morgenthau, 1967), meaning it is dependent on evidence observable by the senses. While it is more common to use a positivist methodology when investigating it, this study chooses to use an interpretive method instead, for a number of reasons. Some goals of positivist research do not match the goals of this study. Two positivist goals are to “predict and control the forces that surround us” (O’Leary, 2004, p. 5), and to obtain findings that have “broad applicability to the whole of a population” (O’Leary, 2004, p. 6). This research does not aim to achieve either of these things. It aims to see whether realist theory explains the Howard Government’s rejection of the Kyoto Protocol. If it does, it might be useful for future research combining international relations and climate policy or for those attempting to make similar nations more active in environmental agreements. It is not trying to predict the future, nor is it attempting to make claims that apply more broadly.

The interpretivist method was seen as appropriate for the current study because the analysis undertaken involved interpreting the meaning of statements by political leaders and media commentators. It would not be possible to obtain the kind of results typical of positivist research from looking at themes expressed in written and verbal communication. This study attempts to complement traditional quantitative international relations research by probing the motivations of political actors. This requires interpretation; observation alone would not achieve this goal.

Qualitative research emphasises thematic exploration more than the testing of hypotheses (O’Leary, 2004; Sarantakos, 1998). The method of analysing the data is qualitative, something associated with interpretivism (Giddings & Grant, 2007; Howe, 1988). This is appropriate for the current research, as it does not attempt to test the entirety of realist theory. It only examines whether realist theory can explain

the Howard Government's rejection of Kyoto. The qualitative research model has a loose structure in the sense that the research is planned, but not in a prescriptive way (Sarantakos, 1998).

It is common to see documentary analysis performed qualitatively, using an inductive methodology (O'Leary, 2004). This study analyses documents inductively. For example, if the data set shows no evidence that international organisations had an independent influence on the Howard Government's ratification of Kyoto, this would lend support to a realist explanation. This is because realist thinkers believe countries are the main international actors and there is no hierarchy of authority above the level of the nation-state. This study is in some ways similar to a case study. As Luterbacher and Sprinz (2001b, p. 12) state, "Qualitative, theoretical approaches ... are quite useful for an examination of issues of international cooperation, negotiation, and bargaining – especially in the context of international public goods."

Very few studies are either purely qualitative or purely quantitative because either approach ignores the reality that social facts have both a qualitative and quantitative aspect (Sarantakos, 1998). The dual nature of social facts can be seen in this study. The number of times an idea appears in the data has some bearing on the importance of the theme it represents to the analysis.

This study interprets themes, and therefore falls under the heading of post-positivist research. Post-positivists see the world as variable, ambiguous, and capable of multiple realities (O'Leary, 2004). The post-positivist researcher participates in the study, rather than merely observing, and their research is intuitive and holistic in nature (O'Leary, 2004). Interpretivism "acknowledges and explores the cultural and historical interpretations of the social world" (O'Leary, 2004, p. 10).

One of the founders of the interpretive method, Max Weber (in Sarantakos, 1998, p.35), described the interpretive enterprise as *verstehen*, "the emphatic understanding of human behaviour". Interpretivists see reality as "socially constructed through interaction and interpreted through the actors" (Sarantakos, 1998, p. 36). Research is based on common-sense, through understanding the meanings and interpretations of the actors, "to interpret and understand the actors'



reasons” (Sarantakos, 1998, p. 38). This describes how the current study interprets the meaning of the statements of politicians and media professionals.

#### 4.4 Sampling

Two types of data are used in this study, both drawn from online archives covering the period 3 October 1998 to 9 October 2004. This period covers the second and third Howard ministries. Speeches, media releases, and interview transcripts from four federal politicians form one body of data. The politicians investigated are John Howard, the Prime Minister during the period; Alexander Downer, the Foreign Minister of the time; and Robert Hill and David Kemp, Environment Ministers from 1998 to 2002, and from 2002 to 2004 respectively. Each of these politicians has an official government archive. The public are able to browse, search, and download information from these archives at no cost. The archives used are as follows:

- John Howard: [www.pm.gov.au/media/index.cfm](http://www.pm.gov.au/media/index.cfm)
  
- Alexander Downer:
  - Before 2002: [www.foreignminister.gov.au/speeches](http://www.foreignminister.gov.au/speeches) and [www.foreignminister.gov.au/transcripts](http://www.foreignminister.gov.au/transcripts)
  - 2002 and after: [www.dfat.gov.au/media/speeches/foreign](http://www.dfat.gov.au/media/speeches/foreign) and [www.dfat.gov.au/media/transcripts](http://www.dfat.gov.au/media/transcripts)
  
- David Kemp and Robert Hill: [www.environment.gov.au/minister/env](http://www.environment.gov.au/minister/env)

The second body of data comprises media commentaries from six Australian newspapers. Newspaper titles separated by a hyphen represent the weekend and/or Sunday versions of the same newspaper. The newspapers studied were: *The Age / The Sunday Age*, *The Australian / The Weekend Australian*, *The Australian Financial Review*, *The Courier Mail / The Sunday Mail*, *The Daily Telegraph / The Sunday Telegraph*, and *The Sydney Morning Herald / The Sun-Herald*.

There are two major newspaper groups in Australia, Fairfax Holdings and News Corporation (Chaudhri, 1998). The data from media sources was gathered from the online archives of these two groups, both of which charge for their articles:

- Fairfax: [www.afr.com.au](http://www.afr.com.au)
  - *The Age / The Sunday Age, The Australian Financial Review, and The Sydney Morning Herald / The Sun-Herald*
  
- News Corporation: [www.newstext.com.au](http://www.newstext.com.au)
  - *The Australian / The Weekend Australian, The Courier Mail / The Sunday Mail, and The Daily Telegraph / The Sunday Telegraph*

This data was sampled using multistage sampling, which is “any sampling technique in which two or more sampling steps are used” (Neuendorf, 2002, p. 86). The first sampling step narrowed the period studied to the time between 3 October 1998 and 9 October 2004, both dates being Australian federal elections. These dates are relevant because the announcement that the Howard Government would not ratify Kyoto was made on 5 June 2002 by Australian Prime Minister John Howard in response to a question in the Federal House of Representatives (Howard, 2002). The above dates represent the end points of the political administration on either side of that decision. Successive administrations from the same political party would be likely to display continuity in their policy setting, so these dates are appropriate for the study.

Only federal politicians have been included in the data collection because only the federal government has the power to sign and ratify international treaties. John Howard, as Prime Minister, and Alexander Downer, as Foreign Minister, are obvious choices to investigate when examining an international policy issue such as the Kyoto Protocol. The same applies to the successive Federal Environment Ministers, Robert Hill and David Kemp. It did not seem necessary to include any more politicians in the study given that the Federal Cabinet is bound by the principle of collective responsibility. This principle states that all Cabinet members must adhere to the collective decisions of the Cabinet (Commonwealth of Australia, 1998, 2004).

The selected politicians’ archives were searched, using the keywords ‘greenhouse’, ‘climate change’, and ‘Kyoto.’ The word ‘Protocol’ was not included as the agreement is often simply referred to as ‘Kyoto’ or the ‘Kyoto accord’ or similar. This search found 33 documents from John Howard, 3 from Alexander Downer, 23 from Robert Hill, and 31 from David Kemp. The size of the sample is not a concern in this study because it uses purposive sampling. With this sampling method, there is no

required sample size for statistical purposes, as there might be in a piece of quantitative research (Mason, 2002).

For the media commentary data, the six newspapers listed earlier were chosen for a number of reasons. Three newspapers were chosen from each of the two major Australia media conglomerates to neutralise any bias the two businesses might have. For example, Hamilton (2006, p. 11) claims that the Fairfax owned *The Sydney Morning Herald* is widely regarded as pro-Kyoto, while *The Australian*, owned by News Corporation, is perceived as being against the Protocol. *The Australian* and *The Australian Financial Review* are the only national newspapers in Australia (Nielsen NetRatings, 2006). They were chosen because, being national, they are more likely to focus on national issues such as Kyoto ratification than the more state-focused newspapers. Two newspapers were chosen from the most populous state in Australia, New South Wales (*The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Daily Telegraph*), and one each from the next two most populous states, Victoria (*The Age*), and Queensland (*The Courier Mail*).

In each case, the newspapers have the biggest circulation in their respective states (Nielsen NetRatings, 2006), with one exception. *The Herald-Sun* in Victoria has a higher readership than *The Age* (Nielsen NetRatings, 2006). However, the editorial quality in tabloid newspapers has been shown to be of a lower quality, with less focus on international issues than those of broadsheets newspapers (Esser, 1999; Robertson, 2004). For example, *The Australian*, with a weekly readership of 130,758 in 2006, has more overseas offices than *The Herald-Sun*, with a circulation of more than 545,000 (Chaudhri, 1998; Nielsen NetRatings, 2006). The print media was preferred as a source of data to television media for a similar reason. Print media is regarded as a better source for political information than television (Brians & Wattenberg, 1996, p. 172).

The keyword searches of the newspaper databases differed to those of the political archives. There were two requirements for these keyword searches. The articles needed to have both one of the words "greenhouse", "climate change," or "Kyoto" and one of the names "John Howard," "Alexander Downer," "Robert Hill," or "David Kemp." This sampling method was to ensure the data gathered from newspapers encompassed statements by the four politicians on the Kyoto issue.

The media texts did not come from everyday news articles, as this would have produced many texts merely reporting events, instead of those containing commentary and analysis. Articles from any features sections, including editorials, were included. Items from the normal news section as well as letters to the editor were not included. Articles written by the four politicians were also excluded because their contribution to the data is already included in their political archive material. This sampling resulted in 10 texts from *The Australian Financial Review*, 31 texts from *The Sydney Morning Herald / The Sun-Herald*, 42 texts from *The Australian / The Weekend Australian*, 18 texts from *The Age / The Sunday Age*, 11 texts from *The Courier Mail / The Sunday Mail*, and 13 texts from *The Daily Telegraph / The Sunday Telegraph*.

#### **4.5 Data**

This thesis uses textual data, which shares the characteristics of documentary data. Documentary data is a suitable source of information for many reasons. As Yin (2002, p. 85) points out, “except for studies of preliterate societies, documentary information is likely to be relevant to every case study topic.” Documents enable relatively quick and easy access to information about events long past (Sarantakos, 1998). The documents used in this research were not created for this study and are therefore not biased towards its findings. In the case of the media texts, they have already been vetted for quality by their respective newspaper editors, and are therefore of a comparatively high standard. Documents are also non-reactive because they are in the past. The actions of the researcher will not normally affect them (Yin, 2002). Moreover, documents are stable, can be retested, and findings made from them are replicable (Yin, 2002).

Documents may be unrepresentative (Sarantakos, 1998). This research is only trying to represent the motivations of four politicians, so how representative it needs to be is less of a problem. Documents can also be unrepresentative because of a researchers’ bias in the selection of documents to study, or because of a bias in what was recorded by the reporter at the time. Yin (2002, p. 87) states, “every document was written for some specific purpose and some specific audience other than those of the case study being done”. In this case, the study is using the official archives of the Federal Government and major newspaper conglomerates, so one would expect their coverage to be less biased than most sources.

Official sources play an important part in ascertaining the reasons governments act in certain ways. Researchers can use “rational reconstruction” of political language to establish the motives of a country, according to Keohane (1989, p. 39). On the other hand, Burnham et al. (2004) make the point that it is often inappropriate to take political discourse at face value. Despite this, the words of a person imply something about their inner state. However, one ought to be hesitant about making conclusions based purely on political rhetoric. This is one reason media texts are included in the data: to corroborate the interpretation of the data from political sources.

The reliability of the political speech, interview, and media release transcripts is high because Australia has a policy of open government, so it is legally bound to keep accurate records (Freedom of Information Act, 1982). It is still possible that the speeches and interviews in the archives have been incorrectly transcribed, whether by design or in error. As these archives are the only source for these speeches and interviews, there is no practical way to avoid this problem.

In the case of John Howard, it could be particularly difficult to discover his true motives from his interviews. The interviews he allowed were often with entertainers rather than journalists, held on talkback radio, or at ‘doorstops’ where he could end the interview at any time, thus avoiding difficult issues (Young, 2007). Howard often ignored the question being asked and simply repeated a prepared answer, a tactic known as “staying on message” (Young, 2007).

Media texts are invaluable for this study because, as Young (2007) points out, the public learn almost everything they know about politics from the media. Media texts can be a useful gauge of the public’s view of politicians’ motivations. They are also appropriate because the public, having gained most of their political knowledge from the media, choose the governments that make future climate change policy. However, the media are becoming more and more controlled by political influences (Young, 2007), which could limit the ability of media texts to perform their task of substantiating or contradicting the information in the political texts.

To simplify the data from political sources, they do not include the words of those interviewing the politicians. This means all the quotations from the political data are the word of the Howard Government.

Some things that have been described as skewing reports on climate change issues include newspaper profit making, the bias of newspaper proprietors, deadline and space considerations, and editorial bias (Boykoff, 2007). Moreover, climate change is a complicated phenomenon, and “Journalists are less adept at reporting complex phenomena ... [and] have difficulty reporting stories that never culminate in obvious events” (Fedler, Bender, Davenport, & Kostyu, 1997, p. 94). By using six different newspapers run by two different companies, these problems have been mitigated to some extent.

Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003) point out that any research using a combination of data sources gains the advantages of data triangulation. The present study uses a limited form of triangulation by using two distinct data sets.

A major difference between the two types of data in this research is their respective audiences. The political texts have a variety of audiences, depending on whether they are speeches, interview transcripts, or media releases. They are all in the public domain, so the potential audience is unlimited. The speeches of these politicians were often aimed at a specific audience, most notably business groups in the case of Robert Hill and David Kemp, and international press gatherings in the case of John Howard.

The audience for the media texts is more limited. The six newspapers studied all target the audience that pays for their newspaper. In general, newspaper readers are more educated (Mohn, 1982), and as Zahran et al. (2007, p. 37) claim, more educated people are more inclined to want action taken on climate change. Therefore, the media texts may be slightly biased in favour of Kyoto.

A common problem in the keyword searches is that some data produced were not relevant to the research question. The mere fact that a text contained certain keywords does not mean it is pertinent to the research topic. A small amount of the search results in this study used the keywords in irrelevant ways, such as talking about Kyoto the Japanese city, rather than the Kyoto Protocol. Moreover, media

commentators and political figures sometimes mislead their audience. This can make it difficult to discern the meaning of the documents used as data in this study. Having noted this point, the researcher was careful to look out for potentially misleading statements in the data.

Full bibliographic reference is made to all 215 texts in Appendix 2. They are referenced in this study by an abbreviated title. For example, the first text from John Howard, the transcript of an interview held with J Cordeaux on 19 October 1998 is referred to as (John Howard, 1).

#### **4.6 Analysis**

This study performs thematic analysis of content on the texts in the data set. This is a common method in qualitative research (O'Leary, 2004). Mason (2002), suggests that there are three ways to read data: reflexively, literally, and interpretively. In this study, texts have been read interpretively; the analysis interprets the meaning of the political texts and media commentary.

Ryan and Bernard (2003) see analysis as comprised of four parts. First, the researcher discovers themes and sub-themes. This task was performed by reading over the texts a number of times, to recognize common ideas. Second, one should decide which themes are important. This was achieved by considering the themes relevant to the research question. Anything that could not potentially provide evidence for or against a realist explanation of the Howard Government's rejection of Kyoto was not considered relevant. Third, the researcher builds a hierarchy of themes. This was carried out in two rounds of coding. The second round codes group the more specific first round codes into broader codes based on the themes of the research (see Appendices 3 and 4). Fourth, Ryan and Bernard (2003) state that a researcher must link their themes back to a theoretical model. This step is clear in the current study. The themes developed in the theory and literature review chapters are visible in the data. These themes all test aspects of the realist idea.

The process of coding and retrieving is common in research that analyses texts (Mason, 2002). The difficulty with this type of research is deciding what to code. As Tesch (1991, p. 34) notes, "when coding, the researcher decides which sentences form a relevant meaning unit, then determines which code is appropriate and

attaches it.” In line with what Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 56) state, the thought being coded for in this research is any amount of text that represents one pertinent idea, “it is not the words themselves but their meaning that matters.” A code could represent a few words, a sentence, or a whole paragraph. A section of text was coded when an idea was expressed relevant to one of the six themes drawn from realist theory. Those themes, and their codes, are:

1. Anarchy (ANK) –The international system is anarchic; there is no authority, such as an institution or a world government, above the level of nation-states.
2. Cooperation (COOP) – International cooperation is, untrustworthy, short-lived, and only instrumental.
3. Absolute versus relative gains (AVR) – Countries can only achieve gains relative to each other, not absolute gains.
4. National interest (NI) – Countries promote their national interests.
5. The state (STAT) – The nation-state is the main actor in international relations; sub-state groups and supranational entities have little influence.
6. Power politics (PP) – The relations between countries are determined by power and characterised by power politics; the promotion of a country’s national interest involves the use of power.

The process of translating these 215 texts into coded material usable for analysis involved inspecting the texts three times. Both Miles and Huberman (1994) and Neuman (1997) agree that performing a number of passes over a data set increases reliability. The first pass was to highlight passages relevant to the research question. This made the second pass more rapid as only passages previously highlighted were observed. The texts were read over and coded twice. A full list of the first round codes and their meaning is contained in Appendix 3. These were then summarised into a smaller number of codes, based around the six themes of the research. These second round codes are displayed in Appendix 4. A two level coding system is not uncommon, according to Miles and Huberman, who note, “Many researchers use a simple two-level structure: a more general ‘etic’ level ... and a more specific ‘emic’ level, close to participants’ categories but nested in the etic codes.” (1994, p. 61) The ‘etic’ level in this study is the second round codes, and the ‘emic’ level is the first round codes.



The codes were entered into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. Accompanying most of the codes was a quotation from the text that summarised the instance of the code. For example, the first code in (Daily Telegraph, 2), an article from the Daily Telegraph entitled “Are our greens good for us”, is “ZUS”, which represents a mention of the Australian-American alliance, and relates to the power politics theme. The corresponding quotation is ‘The choice seems to be either following the US lead or ratifying the protocols.’ There was no quotation used for instances of a code that simply repeated an earlier entry in the data, or if the language used provided no extra clues to its meaning. Each text ranged from having no instances of any codes to 18 instances of codes in the text. Each code received its own entry in the data spreadsheet. This resulted in 308 entries from the data from political sources and 171 entries from the data from the media. The data are included on the disc accompanying this text.

Microsoft Excel was used to collate and assist in the analysis of the data. Using a computer to aid analysis has many advantages. It saves the researcher time-consuming labour. It increases reliability, because the researcher is able to make the same analysis every time, as long as the same method is used (Lee & Fielding, 1991; Mizrach, 2006). A computer is especially useful for ‘code and retrieve’ analysis, as computer software is able to find patterns in data too complex for a human researcher to see, “the speed at which programs can carry out sorting procedures on large volumes of data is remarkable” (Silverman, 2005, p. 190). However, software can only perform the mechanical aspect of the process. It remains the researcher’s task to tell the program where and how to look for patterns in the data (Lee & Fielding, 1991). Computer software can carry out the labour involved in analysis, but would be useless without a thinking researcher to guide it (Spencer, Ritchie, & O’Connor, 2003).

A problem with using computer-aided analysis is that qualitative data can be treated too much like quantitative data (Lee & Fielding, 1991). For example, one occurrence of a theme may not be as significant as another. Take, for instance, two texts that talk of the Howard Government promoting Australia’s national interest. One may only mention the national interest briefly, without explanation, while the other may contain specific evidence, thus being a more significant piece of qualitative data. This issue has been minimised by including quotations at length in all instances of a code except where the text repeats an earlier instance and does not aid

understanding of the text's meaning. Quotations were used in the analysis to show the full meaning of the text. In this way, the qualitative nature of the data was preserved.

The method of analysis used in this study is very similar to the illustrative model. The illustrative model is broadly deductive, searching for causal propositions derived from a theory (Bonnell, 1980). A researcher applies a theory to a situation by making conceptual boxes, then seeing if the evidence fits into those boxes (Neuman, 1997). In this research, the boxes are the six themes listed earlier. The data has been coded so that all instances of a code relate to one of these themes. The analysis involves comparing how much evidence confirms or weakens the statement that each theme represents, as described earlier. As part of the analysis, reference is made to external sources of information such as the works examined in the literature review and theory chapters to corroborate or challenge evidence in the data.

The illustrative method of analysis compares one or more cases with a theory (Bonnell, 1980). This study compares one case, the Howard Government's rejection of the Kyoto Protocol, with a theory, realism. An issue with this kind of analysis, as Skocpol (1984) demonstrates, is knowing whether the researcher is leaving out countering evidence during the data coding. To do this deliberately would be unethical, and would devalue any conclusions reached.

Miles and Huberman believe strongly in the value of displaying one's data in a number of ways to assist with analysis, saying "Valid analysis requires, and is driven by, displays that are focused enough to permit a viewing of a full data set in the same location, and are arranged systemically to answer the research questions at hand." (1994, p. 91) The data gathered in this study, having been entered into a spreadsheet, were easily converted into graph form. A number of graphs were created from the data in order to uncover correlations and connections. Included was a graph totaling the number of occurrences of each code, a graph comparing the most common co-occurrences of codes in the same text, and a graph comparing the occurrence of codes in the data from political as opposed to media sources. This method of visualising the relationships within the data was useful when performing the analysis. Two of the graphs produced appear in Chapter 5. Appendix 5 contains a visual representation of the connections between the themes and the research question.

There are three levels of empirical generalisation: applying something to a single case, applying something to a class of cases (middle-range theory), and universal applicability (Bonnell, 1980). Although this study attempts to make a generalisation that applies to a class of cases, namely the class of countries that were in a similar situation to Australia from 1998–2004, the findings are most clearly focused on Australia as a single case.

A common method for making ‘middle-range theory’ conclusions is to draw generalisations from consistencies in the data, and then confront these with a theory to see if they conform to it (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Miles and Huberman declare, “we keep the world consistent and predictable by organizing and interpreting it. The critical question is whether the meanings [found] in qualitative data are valid, repeatable, and right” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 245).

Using the illustrative method, generalisations were drawn from the data. Miles and Huberman (1994) suggest a number of methods for drawing conclusions. Of the many methods listed by Miles and Huberman, this research employs noting patterns and themes, counting, making comparisons, subsuming particulars into the general, and coherence with other knowledge.

During the analysis, the texts were examined with a view to discovering whether realist principles are reflected in the Howard Government’s refusal to ratify Kyoto. If these principles are duly demonstrated, then a claim can be made that realist theory provides an adequate explanation for this rejection. It is acknowledged there is no number of quotations for or against a claim that would determine for certain its validity. Instead, the presence of evidence in the form of quotations will be considered sufficient if the language used in the quotations clearly offers evidence for one of the claims in the thesis, with a concurrent lack of evidence in favour of the contrary position.

The analysis only investigates the theory of realism. The scope of this study is not wide enough to examine how strong the explanation from competing theories in international relations such as neoliberal institutionalism might be.

## 4.7 Ethics

Ethical concerns were addressed at various points in the research process. Mason (2002) states that ethical matters arise over the purpose of the research, who the research affects, who is interested in the research, and the implications for these people. The purpose of this research is threefold. First, this study aims to answer the research question. Second, from a methodological standpoint, it attempts to apply international relations theory to an environmental issue, to see if international relations theory needs to incorporate environmental concerns. Third, if the research question is answered in the affirmative, solutions developed with the help of the realist framework that might help make countries participate in environmental agreements will be investigated.

In the situation where solutions are derived from realist theory, there are ethical implications as doing this potentially gives political activists the tools to change a country's international environmental policy. Furthermore, having stated that this is an explicit purpose of the research, it also encourages environmental campaigners to use the research to find solutions. The ethical obligation in performing this research is superseded by the obligation that those who might use it would have.

May (1993) shows that it is impossible to eradicate one's personal bias; it must instead be acknowledged. As Weber (in Silverman, 2005, p. 257) states, "all research is contaminated to some extent by the values of the researcher." The researcher believes climate change is a major international problem and that national governments should be doing everything they can to deal with it. For this reason, the researcher acknowledges the need to be extra vigilant in letting such personal partiality interfere with the analysis and conclusions of this study. As O'Leary (2004, p. 42) comments, "research as a purely objective activity removed from all aspects of politics and power is a myth no longer accepted in the research world." Perhaps the easiest way this research could be compromised is by selectively coding material, whether deliberately or through inattention, disregarding data that does not confirm to the realist thesis, and placing emphasis on the data that does. From the outset of this study, every care has been taken to be both thorough and ethical.

The people affected by this research are the politicians and media commentators studied, and those that may be affected by government policy on climate change. There is no ethical dilemma in studying politicians and media commentators as their statements are intended to be the public domain. Those affected by climate change policy may be affected by this research but only if other parties use the research, in which case the onus would fall on them to use any findings ethically.

Mason (2002) contends that those interested in the research deserve ethical consideration as well. If the consequences of climate change are as grave as many authors believe (see Christoff, 2005b; Gore, 1992, 2006; Hamilton, 2004; Stern, 2006), research on climate change could interest everyone. It is more likely this research may interest those who study either climate policy or international relations theory, who are attempting to draw the two fields of study closer together. It may also interest political activists attempting to make countries engage in environmental agreements. Researchers would view this study with a critical eye and do not need ethical safeguards. Again, environmental advocates wishing to use this research to change government policy would need to be ethical themselves; this research alone does not contain unethical directives.

#### **4.8 Conclusion**

The research question has been broken down into six parts, each of which examines a part of broader realist theory. Applying an international relations theory such as realism to an environmental problem requires an innovative approach to methodology. This research uses an interpretive, qualitative methodology to interpret the meaning of texts. Two data sets are used in this research: political data from speeches, media releases and interview transcripts from four Howard Government politicians, and texts from six newsprint media sources. Textual data has many advantages including relevance, ease of access, and replicability of findings drawn from them. The two data sets were sampled using a multistage purposive procedure. A keyword search was made of the politicians' official websites, and another keyword search was made of the online archives of the newspapers. This resulted in 379 coded pieces of text that are presented in part in Chapter 5 and analysed in Chapter 6. The data is presented by displaying indicative quotations, with two graphs to show the frequency of codes within the texts. The method used to analyse the data is thematic examination of the content of the texts.

The themes are discovered by linking common themes in the data to aspects of realist theory. The data is then coded according to these themes. The analysis is modeled on the illustrative model, where data is bunched into themes drawn from a theory. It looks to see whether these themes offer evidence that the Howard Government was acting in accordance with realist theory principles. From an ethical point of view, this research is of low risk due to the public nature of both data sets and the theoretical nature of its findings. The research draws tentative conclusions, which by themselves have no negative ethical consequences.

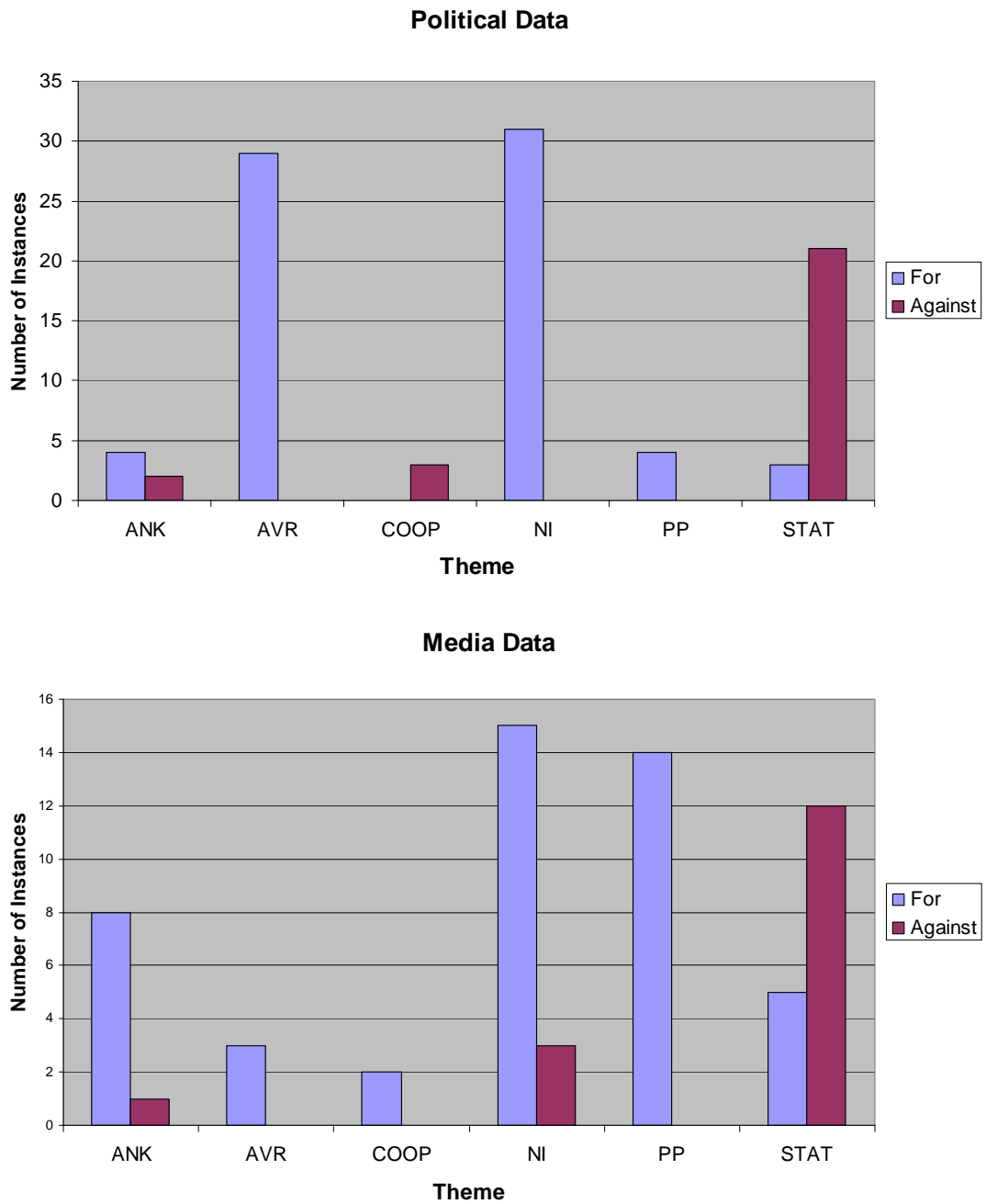
## CHAPTER 5 - FINDINGS

### 5.1 Introduction

The findings of this study are grouped into six themes: anarchy, cooperation, absolute versus relative gains, national interest, the nation-state, and power politics. The data are divided into two parts: media and political. The two data sets, because they come from such different sources, offer distinct insights into the research question. The same piece of information found in one set of data represents something different from what it represents if found in the other. For example, there is data that voices the opinion that countries ought not to let the aims of the Protocol be lost in the complex procedure of negotiating, for example in (Robert Hill, 17). In the data sourced from politicians, this claim might suggest that the government was not supportive of multinational negotiations to arrive at climate change solutions, perhaps preferring bilateral or unilateral solutions. In the data from media sources, this comment might be more likely to be criticising the specific nature of the Kyoto negotiations, as opposed to the general form of the agreement. The media and politicians have very different goals, motivations, audiences, and methods of communication. Thus, it is typical to find their statements meaning different things, even if they are couched in similar terms.

The data are grouped according to the codes outlined in the previous chapter (see also Appendix 4). These codes represent the themes of the research. To give an idea of the numerical significance of these themes, Figure 1 outlines the number of instances of each themed code in the two data sets.

**NUMBER OF CODED TEXTS PROVIDING EVIDENCE FOR OR AGAINST A  
REALIST EXPLANATION**



*Figure 1*

Figure 1 shows that there is little data on the themes of anarchy, cooperation, and power politics in the data from political sources. There is considerable data on the relative gains and national interest themes in the political data. There is also data on the nation-state as the main actor in the political data; most of it is interpreted as against the realist view. The data from media sources, in contrast, provide little



material on the relative gains and cooperation themes. The media data contain evidence in favour of the anarchy, national interest, and power politics themes. The data from the media again contain data against the realist view that the nation-state is the main actor in international affairs.

The strength of a theme in the data sets reflects the weight given to that theme by politicians and the media. In other words, the politicians wanted the public to think the government values these issues. As the print media makes a living by selling newspapers, the focus on these themes in their publications also implies public interest. It is not the mere presence of these codes that makes them significant but the warning it gives to the analysis that the issues these statements represent are considered important by those making them.

The data that relates to each theme is divided into subsections. During the data gathering topics emerged from the data, and it is useful to view the data in this manner rather than with no subdivisions. This method of organisation is repeated in the analysis chapter that follows. In this way, the analysis of quotations found in a section of the data chapter can be easily seen in the analysis chapter, by referring to the title of the section. For example, Section 5.5.4 contains data pertaining to Australia's pleas that it had special circumstances. In Section 6.5.4 this data is analysed.

The presentation of the data in the sections that follow consists of quotations from the data sources from the media and politicians. Often there are a number of quotations that express the same idea. Only one of these would be used to represent the sentiment. For an understanding of how many comments are made on each topic, the graphs displayed above are useful. Every item used in the analysis is included in the disc that accompanies this text.

A large number of quotations are used in this chapter. The quotations used are the most representative of a larger number. For many of the ideas raised, there are more quotations that represent each idea than can be shown in this data chapter. The full data set contained in the disc that accompanies this thesis demonstrates that the quotations used in this data presentation are representative of the full data set.

## 5.2 Anarchy

Three topics emerge in the data on anarchy. The attitude of the Howard Government to international institutions and their rules is shown. A potential loss of national sovereignty is suggested in the data, and the possibility that Australia may have had a moral obligation is also exposed.

### 5.2.1 Institutions and their rules

The evidence implies that the Howard Government ministers involved in rejecting the Kyoto Protocol were not attracted to the idea of negotiating using institutions. The words of Robert Hill demonstrate this:

We cannot allow the aims of the Kyoto Protocol to become bogged down in a never-ending series of international conferences and diplomatic negotiations (Robert Hill, 17).

When describing another environmental policy area not bound by a legal agreement, Robert Hill stated:

It is also another example of working to improve the environment without being forced to do so by an international convention (Robert Hill, 10).

The contrast Hill drew between the environmental aims of Kyoto and the diplomatic architecture surrounding it is apparent. He made a distinction between reducing emissions, which he believed was a worthwhile goal, and creating the institutions to help accomplish this, which he did not:

After all, it's the actions in terms of reducing global greenhouse gas concentrations which really count, not the international architecture (Robert Hill, 21).

An article in The Sydney Morning Herald criticised the Howard Government's rejection of institutions:

If Australia follows the USA down this track it will continue to lead to the erosion of multilateral institutions at a time when the world really needs those institutions, because it can't deal with problems like refugees and the environment without them (The Sydney Morning Herald, 4).

### 5.2.2 Autonomy

This media quotation shows that the Protocol could reduce the level of anarchy in the international system, stating that if Australia ratified:

It would also potentially surrender Australia's sovereignty and control over its economic and social policies to northern Europe's green zealots (The Australian, 22).

Moreover, a commentary from The Australian suggested that Australia could lose some autonomy, because it would shift the Kyoto processes overseas. Kyoto would, according to this source, lead to:

the transfer of power of enforcement, compliance and taxation to an international bureaucracy based in Bonn, a bureaucracy that will be totally unaccountable to the Australian people (The Australian, 19).

### 5.2.3 Morality

This Sydney Morning Herald commentator felt that Australia had a moral obligation to act, when referring to helping Pacific nations adapt to rising sea levels:

Australia, as one of the world's leading carbon emitters and a nation that refuses to ratify the Kyoto Protocol on global warming, could perhaps be seen to have a bit of a moral obligation here (The Sydney Morning Herald, 3).

Moreover, these Sydney Morning Herald commentaries claimed that the Howard Government avoided their moral responsibility:

This ignores the moral principle at the core of the protocol that developed nations, having benefited immensely from industrialization, have a responsibility to lead the global clean-up (The Sydney Morning Herald, 6).

The world's industrialized nations have built wealth at the cost of environmental degradation ... Australia's moral responsibility to contribute to global emissions reductions, however, remains (The Sydney Morning Herald, 8).

A comment from The Australian summed up the Howard Government's attitude:

The key thing to understand about John Howard is that while he remains ideologically committed on many policy issues, since 1995 he has always put politics first. For him 'it's the politics, stupid' (The Australian, 31).

### **5.3 Cooperation**

Data on the theme of cooperation fall under three topics. The level of participation in the fight against climate change is discussed, with the two views expressed that participation should be global, and that the Kyoto Protocol does not offer this. Uncertainty surrounding the climate change debate is also a subject of the data pertaining to the cooperation theme.

#### **5.3.1 The need for global involvement**

David Kemp explicitly acknowledged the need for cooperation on climate change:

we must also continue to assist developing countries in building their capacity to respond to climate change - both in terms of mitigation and adaptation - by accelerating the transfer of environmentally sound technologies (David Kemp, 20).

technology introduction in developing countries is going to be critical to really address this issue effectively in the longer term (David Kemp, 24).

The Courier Mail supported Kemp's view that the government valued cooperation:

The Australian Government's position of concentrating on what is achievable in practice through international co-operation makes sense (The Courier Mail, 7).

It is revealing that the Howard Government's rejection of the Kyoto Protocol was done despite that government's recognition that there needed to be a global effort to reduce carbon emissions.

### 5.3.2 The lack of participation

There are many references to the Australian Government's dissatisfaction with the level of participation in the Kyoto Protocol. The Howard Government used this as a reason for rejecting ratification of the agreement many times. The government was against the non-participation of the USA and developing countries:

I support a world wide agreement effectively controlling the growth of greenhouse gas emissions. What I don't support is an approach that doesn't include the developing countries (John Howard, 11).

There's no point in believing that an agreement like this can be ratified if the United States is not part of it (John Howard, 10).

it is not possible to have an effective Protocol without the United States of America (Robert Hill, 21).

David Kemp often stressed that the lack of participation in Kyoto would mean the agreement could not achieve its environmental goals:

So, Kyoto covers about thirty per cent of the world's greenhouse gas emissions and, implemented, it will produce about a one per cent reduction (David Kemp, 31).

seventy-five percent of greenhouse gas emissions are not covered by Kyoto (David Kemp, 22).

Kyoto is going to deliver a one per cent reduction at best (David Kemp, 6).

Most of the gases that are warming the atmosphere are not covered by Kyoto because they're coming out of the developing countries, and the United States, and they're not covered (David Kemp, 10).

Kyoto fully implemented will reduce global emissions by around 1% (David Kemp, 15).

One piece of evidence indicates that if the Howard Government was indeed less cooperative on international environmental agreements, this was only recent:

Australia once had a reputation as a strong supporter of the UN and the rule of international law. Since the election of the Howard Government, we have become instead a leading player in the attempt to weaken several UN conventions and have become the only Western government, other than the US, which has refused to sign the Kyoto Protocol (The Sydney Morning Herald, 19).

This comment suggests the Howard Government is less cooperative than previous Australian administrations. In turn, this implies a realist explanation may be more apt for Australia under the Howard Government than before.

### 5.3.3 Uncertainty

The Howard Government implied that the lack of certainty over climate change influenced their policy:

The more certain the science and economics, the more readily will governments commit to the actions, and inevitably the costs, needed to manage climate change (David Kemp, 29).

Our challenge now is to provide sufficient certainty on the measurement of the positive effects of sinks to allow countries to move toward ratification of the Kyoto Protocol (Robert Hill, 8).

Uncertainty over Kyoto is not restricted to the causes and effects of climate change, but also includes the Protocol itself and any agreement after Kyoto:

There are a number of uncertainties in the global picture at the moment. First we do not know whether in fact, the Kyoto Protocol will enter into force (David Kemp, 27).

There are other uncertainties on the international front. Nobody knows what will follow the Kyoto Protocol (David Kemp, 27).

Sections of the media were sceptical of the existence of climate change:

There is no proof whatsoever that this [human induced climate change] is true (Daily Telegraph, 2).

the margin for error in global temperature forecasts 100 years hence is large, and this makes the link between greenhouse emissions and future temperatures highly uncertain (The Australian, 36).

The media also expressed concern for uncertainty over the Kyoto accord itself:

They have been shocked to find that nobody knows whether the costs of Kyoto exceed the benefits, or how large those costs might be (The Australian, 9).

Evidence that uncertainty was not handled in the way most would expect came from an unlikely source, Environment Minister Robert Hill:

Domestically, people are finding it increasingly difficult to understand why, having heard the view of the scientists, and why, having reached agreement at Kyoto, uncertainty remains at the international level (Robert Hill, 18).

Moreover, there is conflicting evidence from the Howard Government, suggesting that the level of uncertainty on this topic was not so great:

We all agree that climate change is a huge challenge and we all agree that there is, well I certainly accept that there is evidence of global warming (John Howard, 23).

It appears that the [IPCC] Panel will advise that the science of global warming is becoming more certain rather than less certain (Robert Hill, 14).

The question is not "Will the climate change?" but rather "How will it change?" (David Kemp, 20).

#### **5.4 Absolute versus relative gains**

Three topics become apparent in data relating to the absolute versus relative gains theme. Competition for market share, and whether being bound by Kyoto might deter investment from Australia are both issues evident in the data. A third topic in the data that links the absolute versus relative gains thesis with another realist contention is whether the Howard Government was displaying rationality in the events surrounding its non-ratification of the Kyoto Protocol.

##### **5.4.1 Competition**

It is clear from the data sourced from politicians that the Howard Government was intent on having a competitive edge over competing economies. Howard Government politicians made it clear that they wanted to gain a competitive advantage over other countries, especially in the Asia-Pacific region. A number of comments plainly stated that Australia ought not to disadvantage itself competitively:

We don't think that the ratification of the Kyoto Treaty is in Australia's interests because it would lead to the shipping of Australian industries and jobs overseas (David Kemp, 17).

industries could be driven overseas by competitive pressure (David Kemp, 20).

maintaining our competitive advantage is crucial (David Kemp, 27).



ratifying Kyoto would mean the loss of industries from Australia (John Howard, 33).

David Kemp commented that Australia's competitive edge and its emissions intensity are connected:

we have a very energy intensive economy and our international competitiveness lies to a significant extent in the low cost of energy in this country (David Kemp, 20).

There is evidence in favour of the relative gains thesis in the data from political sources emphasising that, in the confines of a region, countries fight for the same export markets, making relative gains impossible. Specific reference was made to Australia's competition with regional countries:

none of the countries in our region, our major competitors, are accepting legal obligations of the kind that we would have to accept to ratify (David Kemp, 10).

it would create obligations for Australia that are not imposed on many of our regional competitors (David Kemp, 22).

ratifying Kyoto would mean the loss of industries from Australia to countries like China and Indonesia that do not have the same restrictions under Kyoto (John Howard, 33).

none of the countries in our region are going to be in Kyoto which means that if we were to sign up ... [it] could have the effect of driving investment offshore (David Kemp, 4).

David Kemp drew attention to the difference between Australia's regional situation and Europe's:

Our position is entirely different to the Europeans because their main competitors are all within the treaty framework (David Kemp, 4).

The Howard Government's attempt to make gains over other countries by attracting foreign investment was visible in the data from politicians:

if Australia were to ratify now, companies would say, well, why would you invest in Australia? (David Kemp, 4).

it would send a signal to investors that Australia was prepared to expose itself to binding legal commitments that could in the future impose costs not faced by neighbouring regional economies (Alexander Downer, 2).

In our region, virtually no country is accepting those obligations ... countries that could be receiving investment that could otherwise come to Australia (David Kemp, 10).

#### 5.4.2 Deterring investment

The subject of investment provides a more powerful example than that of trade when searching for evidence that countries can only make relative gains. Unlike trade, there is a more limited amount of investment to go around.

John Howard thought that Australia's competitive edge over other countries would be unfairly diminished by the Kyoto Protocol:

the principles that were laid down at the Kyoto Summit were of particular advantage to the European countries (John Howard, 6).

if we enter into the obligations under Kyoto ... without the Americans being involved and without developing countries being involved we'll be played off a break by the rest of the world (John Howard, 16).

The Australian newspaper also suggested that keeping Australia's competitive edge played a part in the decision-making over the Kyoto Protocol:

The problem is that Kyoto is aimed at substantially increasing their cost of production in Australia, making us less competitive and driving industries ...

to developing countries where no Kyoto obligations apply (The Australian, 12).

On the other hand, if the rush to Kyoto falls over - with Canada and Japan now wavering - Australia is ahead (The Australian, 17).

Yet ratifying it would lock Australia into binding legal commitments that could drive investment and jobs offshore (The Australian, 22).

David Kemp's comments show that industries moving overseas if Australia ratified was a concern:

We don't want to drive jobs overseas or industries overseas (David Kemp, 11).

We could end up driving jobs offshore, industries offshore (David Kemp, 5).

John Howard's comments show how much his government valued the energy industry:

we don't want to take on burdens that will leave our energy industries, in particular, in an uncompetitive position with competitor countries in our part of the world that are not part of the International [sic] Protocol (John Howard, 26).

#### 5.4.3 Rationality

The following comment from David Kemp suggests that the Howard Government was not being rational:

In developing Australia's future greenhouse strategy, we are mindful that the nations best placed to tackle environmental problems are those who can afford to do so. Thus, maintaining our competitive advantage is crucial and we are keen to continue to work with industry to ensure that happens (David Kemp, 27).

If all countries are expected to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, and wealthier countries are better equipped to do so, it does not make sense for the Howard Government to try to have an edge over another country. That country would then be less wealthy and less able to reduce emissions themselves. This quotation demonstrates the hidden assumption that the Australian Government is more concerned with economic outcomes than environmental ones.

Howard Government politicians routinely objected to carbon leakage:

This could not only economically disadvantage Australia, but also actually increase global greenhouse gas emissions by driving offshore our high-emitting economic sectors to countries that, unlike Australia, have made no commitment at all to achieving emissions reductions (David Kemp, 22).

if the developed countries accept the disciplines then the industries, the dirty industries will simply disappear from the developed countries and relocate without penalty or restriction in the developing countries (John Howard, 8).

The aggregate level of pollution will be exactly the same [if Kyoto excludes developing nations] it's just that the location of the polluters will have changed (John Howard, 10).

## **5.5 National Interest**

There is a significant amount of data on the theme of national interest.

Consequently, data on this theme are divided into seven topics: the negotiating style of the Howard Government, that the Kyoto Protocol was not in the national interest, the converse view that the Protocol was in the national interest, the Howard Government's insistence that Australia deserved special treatment because of its special circumstances, whether the economy or the environment took precedence in Howard Government decisions, and two topics also considered previously, the level of participation in the Kyoto Protocol, and uncertainty surrounding the Protocol and climate policy.

### 5.5.1 Negotiations

There is a lot of evidence in the data from both the media and politicians that the Howard Government was advancing Australia's national interest. The media commentators generally accepted that the Howard Government's negotiating tactics were self-interested. The language used in the media commentaries to describe Australia's negotiations demonstrates this:

In a stunning diplomatic victory they stared down ferocious international pressure to demand special consideration for Australia's energy-intensive economic base (The Australian Financial Review, 1).

The Kyoto Protocol was a diplomatic triumph for the Howard Government (The Courier Mail, 1).

Australia won virtually everything it sought at Kyoto (The Australian, 6).

Australia, Canada, and Japan have all won significant concessions (The Australian, 10).

Robert Hill achieved an excellent result for Australia at the Kyoto meeting (The Courier Mail, 10).

Australia gained significant concessions ... because of its heavy dependence on fossil fuel exports (The Australian, 2).

Robert Hill acknowledged the outcome of the negotiations was in Australia's interests:

The Kyoto Protocol was a significant diplomatic and environmental victory for Australia (Robert Hill, 4).

John Howard's language indicates he saw the negotiations as a confrontation between positions:

we are still doing things that are going to reduce emissions but we should not give away our negotiating position (John Howard, 16).

These comments suggest parties to the negotiations saw them as a confrontation, rather than as a group of nations working collectively to solve a global problem.

#### 5.5.2 Kyoto not in the national interest

The data sourced from politicians confirmed their desire to promote the national interest:

until we find a pathway for the involvement of the developing countries in a way where they do accept some obligations, then Australia does not see it is in its national interest to ratify (David Kemp, 8).

under present arrangements, excluding both developing countries and the United States, it is not in the national interest to do so (Alexander Downer, 2).

We are not willing to sign the protocol at present because we don't think it's in Australia's interest to do so and I've made that very plain now for months (John Howard, 23).

On one hand, Howard Government politicians during the time studied were very clear that a major factor in the decision to reject Kyoto was their belief that it conflicted with the national interest:

we do not see it as being in Australia's national interest to sign up to Kyoto (David Kemp, 31).

on current settings it was not in Australia's interests to ratify the Kyoto Protocol (David Kemp, 3).

And our refusal to sign the protocol is based on our own independent assessment of our national interest (John Howard, 26).

When those national interests change then, obviously, we can take a different decision (David Kemp, 11).

We believe we must act in Australia's national interest (David Kemp, 5).

The data that I released last Friday clearly shows that the longer term interests of Australia, our longer term national interests, are in not ratifying the Protocol (David Kemp, 12).

On the other hand, the Howard Government also made it clear they were aiming to reduce emissions:

Domestically, Australia has shown its willingness to act ahead of ratification of the Protocol (Robert Hill, 10).

we are within 3 per cent now of reaching our target (David Kemp, 5).

we will obviously take a position which is designed both to uphold the agreement reached in Kyoto, but which protects Australia's interests and protects Australian jobs (Alexander Downer, 1).

The international community has acknowledged Australia's efforts to progress domestic responses to greenhouse before it is legally required to do so (Robert Hill, 10).

### 5.5.3 Kyoto in the national interest

Media commentary suggested ratifying the Kyoto Protocol might have been in the national interest of Australia:

Australia should beware the next agenda from Europe - trade sanctions based on environmental grounds (The Australian, 28).

The Federal Government's refusal to sign the Kyoto protocol which sets greenhouse-gas reduction targets for developed nations was putting Australia's best interests at risk (The Sydney Morning Herald, 18).

non-ratification of the Kyoto Protocol amounted to a betrayal of Australian business (Daily Telegraph, 4).

Some commentators argue that Kyoto will produce benefits rather than costs, by inducing innovation (The Australian Financial Review, 4).

Australia's strong stance in the international arena is already generating talk of trade sanctions and consumer boycotts against Australian farm produce (The Australian Financial Review, 6).

Australia could gain hundreds of millions of dollars in export income by signing the Kyoto protocol on climate change, according to the Australian EcoGeneration Association (The Age, 4).

Robert Hill acknowledged there were gains to be made from ratifying Kyoto:

According to ABARE [Australian Bureau of Agricultural and Resource Economics], adoption of international emissions trading would see the overall costs of abatement fall by around 80 per cent (Robert Hill, 7).

The Kyoto outcome has given Australia the breathing space required to make the structural changes in our economy (Robert Hill, 14).

We recognise, however, that this [Australia meeting its Kyoto Protocol target while not ratifying] will not lead to optimal outcomes in terms of the level of abatement and the full utilisation of least cost options without an international agreement setting binding targets (Robert Hill 21).

However, the lack of agreed international rules threatens to constrain the development of the next phase of our domestic response (Robert Hill, 21).

#### 5.5.4 Special circumstances

The media commentary discussed the issue of special circumstances often raised by Australian negotiators. Instead of suggesting Australia receive a lesser burden



because of its unique position, media commentators pointed out that Australia produces a disproportionate amount of greenhouse gases:

We rank 134 on this issue out of the 142 nations on the Environmental Sustainability Index (The Age, 5).

A recent Australia Institute study shows that Australia produces 27 per cent more greenhouse gases per capita than the next culprit, the US (The Age, 13).

recent studies still put Australia ahead of the United States as the world's greatest pre capita polluter (The Sydney Morning Herald, 13).

The Howard Government tried to receive special treatment because of its national situation:

the Howard Government worked very hard to ensure that the Kyoto Protocol have recognition to Australia's special circumstances (Robert Hill, 7).

The Howard Government tried to differentiate itself from other countries in order to have its national interest recognised. It often suggested that the Kyoto Protocol is more suited to other countries:

We don't have the hydro power resources of countries like Canada or the US or Norway. We're a country that has rejected nuclear power (David Kemp, 31).

Our situation is completely different to that of the European countries (David Kemp, 5).

Australia is a net exporter of energy and therefore it's a lot more difficult for us than it is for some of the European countries who stand as it were on the sidelines and deliver lectures to us and countries like the United States (John Howard, 9).

Australia would be even more severely affected than the United States, indeed probably any other country (John Howard, 15).

The question of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions is an especially perplexing one for Australia because unlike most other industrialised nations we are a net exporter of energy products and therefore it proposes a particular difficulty to us (John Howard, 3).

#### 5.5.5 Prioritising the economy over the environment

That the Howard Government believed the economy was more important than the environment to the national interest is clear from the following comment:

I want to make it absolutely clear that the government is not prepared to sacrifice economic growth and jobs in Australia in order to artificially expand the renewable energy component of our total energy (David Kemp, 17).

Three months later David Kemp seemed to contradict himself:

the longer term prospect of the hydrogen economy ... is an area where Australia can contribute, and where our long term energy strategy will play a critical role (David Kemp, 20).

Robert Hill argued that any changes made for the sake of the environment should be done while prioritising economic interests:

We therefore argued [in Kyoto] against common policies and measures, allowing instead for each country to implement reforms that would achieve abatement compatible with the national interest and the least cost (Robert Hill, 9).

Robert Hill admitted their negotiations were inspired by economic interests:

Australia's position was influenced by the nature of our economy (Robert Hill, 9).

The government also admitted its economy depends on emissions intensive processes:

We are a country that is heavily reliant and has been traditionally reliant, on cheap fossil fuels (David Kemp, 4).

#### 5.5.6 Participation

The Australian newspaper suggested joining Kyoto without the US would be bad for Australia:

would it really be in Australia's interest to sign on if the world's biggest polluter, the US, remained a firm opponent? No (The Australian, 24).

The politicians also argued against ratifying Kyoto if the US did not:

we do not believe that the Protocol without a clear pathway for the involvement of developing countries, and without the United States, is in our national interest (David Kemp, 23).

We currently don't see it as in our national interests because of the absence of the developing countries and the United States to ratify the Protocol (John Howard, 22).

#### 5.5.7 Uncertainty

Whether the Howard Government is furthering Australia's national interest is linked to the issue of uncertainty. David Kemp emphasised the level of uncertainty the government was working under:

We need to remove as much of the uncertainty in the science and economics which provides the basis for these projections as possible, and to understand more about the possible impacts of climate change (David Kemp, 29).

We acknowledge that at this stage the scientific picture is far from complete (David Kemp, 3).

Robert Hill revealed his view on the existence of uncertainty when discussing the Pew Center holding a climate conference he was invited to speak at:

It will do so against a backdrop of increasing uncertainty over the future of the Kyoto Protocol on Climate Change (Robert Hill, 20).

## **5.6 The nation-state as primary actor**

Data on the theme of the nation-state as primary actor can be divided into three topics, all of which are possible influences on the state, and potentially argue that the state is not the primary actor in international affairs: public opinion, the influence of industry, and domestic political influence.

### **5.6.1 Public opinion**

In both data sets, there are clear references to the lack of influence public opinion has over policy. Robert Hill acknowledged the public support for the environment:

Reliable surveys show that almost three-quarters of Australian people believe that protection of the environment is of equal importance to economic growth (Robert Hill, 6).

public surveys tell us that the community rates environmental protection as being of equal importance to economic growth (Robert Hill, 12).

Media commentaries also demonstrate how strong public opinion on the environment was:

A community survey carried out by the network showed 80 per cent of people were concerned about global warming (Daily Telegraph, 4).

People are still interested in the environment but the government doesn't listen (The Sydney Morning Herald, 17).

The US and Australian Governments stand isolated in their opposition to the protocol despite majority public support for action to tackle the climate change crisis in both countries (The Sydney Morning Herald, 17).

#### 5.6.2 Industry influence

There is a lot of data suggesting the realist claim that nation-states are the main actors in international relations is not correct in this instance. The media commentary data highlight the favourable attitude of the government towards certain industries, which implies those groups influence the government. The Daily Telegraph commentary emphasised the anti-Kyoto position of industry:

For some years now [the government] has maneuvered a path between pacifying the agricultural, industrial and commercial interests strongly opposed to the protocols, a green movement itching to see them ratified, and an oscillating and faintly bemused general public (Daily Telegraph, 2).

The Sydney Morning Herald reported that the Howard Government openly favoured industry:

The announcement by the Environment Minister David Kemp, reads as yet another attempt ... to convince a number of industry groups that the government remains committed to the central pillar of its climate policy: business as usual (The Sydney Morning Herald, 23).

The Australian and The Australian Financial Review had commentaries that also suggested the government was partial to industry:

Mind you, the Liberals haven't given up their day job: keeping the big end of town happy. The Howard Government still refuses to sign the Kyoto Protocol, facilitates uranium mines and brings in wider fossil fuel subsidies (The Australian, 34).

Two years ago, the Australian Industry Greenhouse Network (an association of 13 industry groups) helped fund the research on which the Government's Kyoto position was based (The Australian Financial Review, 1).

David Coutts, executive director of the Aluminium Council was quoted in The Australian Financial Review as stating:

The government promised not to do anything that would hurt Australian business (The Australian Financial Review, 1).

The politicians also indicated in their statements that the government was sympathetic to the concerns of industry:

we will not allow efficient producers to be disadvantaged by the implementation of the Kyoto Protocol (Robert Hill, 14).

It is through government's partnerships with industry that we will best meet the challenges posed by climate change (David Kemp, 27).

quite a bit of that \$1 billion dollars that the government is investing in greenhouse gas emission today is going on incentives [to industry] (David Kemp, 7).

The aim of the working groups is to allow business and Government to work together and discuss the range of options that face Australia (David Kemp, 7).

For whatever governments might do, it is this growing attitude within the business sector ... which will really make the difference (Robert Hill, 11).

A comment in The Australian Financial Review suggested industry had a noticeable influence on the government:

The chief executive of Woodside Petroleum, John Akehurst, last week demanded that the Federal Government delay ratification until the international situation was clearer (The Australian Financial Review, 1).

Unless Mr. Akehurst thought his demand would be taken notice of by the government, there would have been little sense in his making such a claim.

The following comment is interesting because it shows the failure to differentiate between political and industrial will:

a lack of political and industrial will means we risk economic sanctions and pariah status at the approaching sequel to the Kyoto greenhouse summit (The Australian, 7).

David Kemp used language that seems to show the government was trying to keep industry happy:

But the industry message to sum up basically is that the government is very much on the right track (David Kemp, 7).

This comment in The Australian Financial Review also suggested the government prioritises industry interests:

According to business ... the government ... has forgotten one of the underlying principles of its greenhouse policy - to do nothing to damage the competitiveness of Australian industry (The Australian Financial Review, 1).

David Kemp made further statements that provide clues to the level of influence over policy that industry had. He acknowledged that industry had policy influence:

This has provided a real opportunity for industry to contribute directly to the Commonwealth's policy process (David Kemp, 22).

He also stated that policy is developed with industry in mind:

it is environmental legislation that has been introduced in close consultation with those in the industry (David Kemp, 25).

I mean we are working very closely with industry to achieve these objectives (David Kemp, 25).

through the Government-Business Dialogue on Climate Change, Energy Minister Macfarlane and I have sought business perspectives on how we can achieve further abatement. We're especially interested in business views on technological solutions and foundations for longer term response, as well as cost effective abatement opportunities; economic adjustment issues; how to avoid long term emissions lock-in; and balancing policy flexibility with a reduction in investment risk (David Kemp, 27).

### 5.6.3 Domestic politics

The speeches of Robert Hill questioned whether the federal government could be autonomous on this policy issue. He warned that actions by the state governments could halt the ability of the Federal Government to achieve its policy outcomes:

Many of the decisions that will affect Australia's ability to meet its Kyoto target fall within the constitutional responsibility of the States (Robert Hill, 11).

the States and some industry groups are telling the Commonwealth to "butt out" of that decision-making process, despite our concerns about the national interest in meeting our obligation and the impact this will have on the global environment (Robert Hill, 13).

So it was with complete amazement and a great deal of disappointment that we watched the legislation which will deliver these outcomes become bogged down by ideological obsessions and political point scoring by the non-government parties in the Senate (Robert Hill, 16).

David Kemp demonstrated the difference in policy between the two parties:

all we've heard from the Labor Party so far is the suggestion that somehow or other, all you need to do is to sign up to Kyoto and everything will be alright (David Kemp, 31).



## 5.7 Power politics

Two topics surface from the data relating to the power politics theme. The issue of the alliance between Australia and the USA is observed, as is the previously discussed subject of the Howard Government delegation's negotiating style at the Kyoto Protocol negotiations.

### 5.7.1 Australia and the USA

Robert Hill revealed his government's preference for consultation with the USA:

If the United States has determined that the Protocol is unacceptable ... then we will want to explore with the United States its views on the international architecture that can deliver an optimal global response (Robert Hill, 21).

John Howard insisted that Australian climate policy was not influenced by the USA:

The Americans will follow the policy they want to follow and we'll follow ours. Our policy on the environment is not driven by the United States (John Howard, 6).

whatever decision we take will not be based on following one country or another. It would be based upon what we regard as being the best interest of Australia (John Howard, 14).

And our refusal to sign the protocol is based on our own independent assessment of our national interest (John Howard, 26).

The Daily Telegraph instead implied that Australia obeys the powerful USA:

Acting as a deputy of the US is not a role most Australians would feel comfortable with (Daily Telegraph, 4).

The Age suggested the American alliance had an impact on Howard Government policy:

In policy terms, it also seems Howard is determined to go all the way with Bush. Australia followed the US in deciding against ratifying the Kyoto Protocol (The Age, 3).

The Sydney Morning Herald commentary alluded to the Australian reliance on America's power to shape the world in its favour:

In the government there is a misguided faith in American power and hegemony as a core factor in creating a world order that will suit Australia (The Sydney Morning Herald, 4).

The Courier Mail discussed the power relations surrounding the USA:

While second-order powers such as China and Germany might want to restrict US power, smaller nations such as Spain and Australia might prefer to see the US strengthened. John Howard's support for the US reflects such a view (The Courier Mail, 8).

The telling nature of Australia's alliance is highlighted in this passage from The Sydney Morning Herald:

Australia, the world's biggest per capita polluter, backs Washington, not the 120 nations ... which have ratified (The Sydney Morning Herald, 24).

There were also suggestions in the media that the Australian-American alliance was not in Australia's national interest:

After all, it's one thing to behave like a rogue elephant on the international scene when you're actually an elephant like the US but it's another to posture like a rogue elephant when, in global terms, you scarcely carry the size and muscle of a wombat. Perhaps Howard is now wavering on Kyoto because he finally recognises this fact (The Australian, 25).

While Mr. Howard may see strategic advantages in aligning Australia with US foreign policy, there is little honour or sense in following Washington's environmental lead (The Sydney Morning Herald, 8).

It's one thing for the only remaining superpower to tell the world to get stuffed; it's madness for a small player like Australia to try that one on (The Australian Financial Review, 4).

### 5.7.2 Negotiating style

There were suggestions from the media that the negotiations over the Kyoto Protocol represented power politics, by noting the tone of Australia's negotiations:

in the end brinkmanship and the chaotic negotiations in the ancient Japanese capital delivered the Howard Government an unexpected victory - a target so generous it stunned even the government's own negotiators (The Australian Financial Review, 1).

Comments in the media reinforced the confrontational nature of the Australian delegation's negotiating style:

Australians were repeatedly warned that the Howard Government's negotiating position was internationally unacceptable. We were told the Europeans ... would simply reject Australia's "immoral" stance (The Australian, 6).

With the major powers polarised, Japan, Australia and Canada are emerging out of the diplomatic chaos as the pivotal countries which will determine the future and character of international action on climate change (The Sydney Morning Herald, 1).

The combative nature of Australia's negotiating style created the potential for a backlash. Commenting on the discussions of a Senate environmental committee, an article in The Australian stated:

it was a 'reasonable assumption' other countries could implement trade sanctions if Australia did not agree to greater greenhouse emissions reduction (The Australian, 7).

## **5.8 Conclusion**

The data is broken up into six themes common in both the data and realist theory. There is not a great deal of data on the realist suggestion that the international system is anarchic. What data there is comes from media sources. These data show that the Howard Government was not deeply concerned about international institutions and rules, that there was a fear of losing national sovereignty by signing Kyoto, and that the media believed the Howard Government had a moral duty to act on climate change.

There was a lot of evidence in favour of the realist proposition that countries act as if there are relative, not absolute gains to be made in the international arena, especially from the political data. The data highlighted the concerns the Howard Government had about losing market share and foreign investment if it ratified the Kyoto Protocol. The data also suggested the Howard Government might not have been acting rationally in its decision not to ratify.

Whether cooperation is sustained or meaningful internationally is not something the data contained much evidence on. The Howard Government, while stating that participation needed to be global for the Kyoto Protocol to be effective, used the low level of participation in the Protocol as one of its reasons to reject it. The Howard Government also felt that uncertainty surrounding the issue hampered the possibility of cooperation.

There was ample evidence concerning the realist idea that international actors are primarily concerned with their national interest. The data hinted that the Howard Government had a self-interested negotiating style; that it believed it had unique circumstances that warranted special consideration; and that it believed low participation in, and uncertainty over the Protocol would mean ratification would have negative consequences for Australia's national interest. There is evidence in the data both for and against the question as to whether ratifying the Protocol would

have been in Australia's national interest. There is also evidence that the Howard Government favoured economic over environmental considerations when making its decision not to ratify.

Data from media sources suggested that there were power politics on display to some extent during the Howard Government's rejection on the Kyoto Protocol. Both the US / Australian alliance and the Howard Government's negotiating style could provide evidence for this.

Both data sets contain evidence against the realist suggestion that states are the primary actor in international affairs. Public opinion and domestic political influence do not appear as likely candidates to shake this belief, according to the data. The data does suggest, however, that the domestic and international business interests did have influence on the international stage.

## **CHAPTER 6 - ANALYSIS**

### **6.1 Introduction**

This study performs thematic analysis of texts. It interprets the meaning of these texts and draws conclusions. A few of the realist themes do not have a large amount of data concerning them but analysis of those themes can still be useful. The analysis, informed as it is by both theory and literature, can provide a fresh way of viewing this environmental policy problem from an international relations point of view. Moreover, the analysis may offer insights into these problems that other researchers working with different sets of data may be able to use.

The analysis of this study, in keeping with the structure of the data presentation chapter, is grouped into six themes: anarchy, cooperation, absolute versus relative gains, national interest, the nation-state, and power politics. The analyses that follow investigate how closely the Howard Government's rejection of Kyoto aligns with the six realist themes used in this study. The closer the fit, the better a realist explanation of this rejection will be.

Each section gives a brief description of what the theme in question represents, drawn from the investigations made in the theory and literature review chapters. These sections look firstly at what the theme argues for and what would be evidence for or against that argument. During the analysis of the data for each theme, reference is made to the theme's place in broader realist theory. The analyses in this chapter are subdivided into the topics that emerged when the data were gathered. In order to see the data that each section analyses, one can refer to the corresponding section in the data chapter. For example, Section 5.2.3 contains data on the topic of morality as it relates to the theme of anarchy. Section 6.2.3 contains an analysis of this data. The end of each section briefly summarises what the findings suggest. In a final summary section, there will be a meta-level discussion integrating the separate analyses.

### **6.2 Anarchy**

The idea that the international realm is in a state of anarchy is a crucial component of realist theory. Viotti and Kauppi (1993) state that the problem in the international

system is the combination of anarchy and self-interested nations. Further, Viotti and Kauppi contend that if there were no anarchy, many of the problems realist theorists highlight would cease to exist. It is not possible to show that there is a state of anarchy in the world merely by studying the actions of the Howard Government in relation to the Kyoto Protocol. For the purposes of this thesis, it only needs to be demonstrated that the Howard Government acted in a way that suggested it considered the international situation to be anarchic in its rejection of Kyoto. There is little evidence for or against the anarchy thesis in the political data set. There is limited evidence in the media data set relating to the theme of anarchy, all of it in favour of the realist claim about anarchy.

The Howard Government pursued another agreement, the Asia-Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate, instead of the Kyoto Protocol, which does not promote the creation of an overarching international body like the UNFCCC (Asia-Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate, 2007). Australia also had bilateral partnerships with six different entities, none of which had binding pollution targets (Australian Greenhouse Office, 2007). The fact that Australia signed up to environmental agreements other than the Kyoto Protocol may suggest it saw the international system as anarchic. The signing of these other agreements implies that the Howard Government did not value the negotiating rules developed through the UNFCCC because of its willingness to work outside of them, against the will of the majority of its members. This supports Waltz's (2000) argument that international institutions have not made a significant difference to the structure of the international system, despite the appearance of increased cooperation.

#### 6.2.1 Institutions and their rules

Keohane (1989) objects to the realist claim about anarchy because he instead contends that international institutions are able to combat the problem of anarchy. Realists assert that the actions of a country are not consistently influenced by the rules or norms of an international institution, according to Legro & Moravcsik (1999). This understanding of anarchy could also include rejecting the idea that there is an international moral code emerging.

The suggestion by the Howard Government that it was willing to meet its Kyoto Protocol emissions target without ratifying the agreement offers evidence suggesting

that the Howard Government viewed the world as anarchic. Such a declaration by the government shows they wanted to combat climate change, yet they did not respect the conventions of the UNFCCC. This is despite having agreed to UNFCCC rules in 1992 and having been an integral part of negotiations under its authority. Moreover, as Griffin (2002) points out, it is more difficult to reach one's Kyoto target without the many flexibility mechanisms such as emissions trading and the Clean Development Mechanism that Kyoto-bound countries have access to (UNFCCC, 1997).

The quotations in Section 5.2.1 suggest the Howard Government wanted a positive environmental outcome but does not value the rules, and by extension the authority, of the UNFCCC. This has implications for how the Howard Government dealt with its objections to the Protocol. Most parties to the Kyoto Protocol had reservations about it yet, having previously agreed to be bound by Protocols negotiated under the UNFCCC, still ratified it. Australia under Howard, having no regard for the UNFCCC agreement, decided to pull out of the Kyoto negotiating process and not submit it for ratification. This can be seen as consistent with what a country would do if it felt it was living in an anarchic system, not bound by rules.

#### 6.2.2 Autonomy

The quotations in Section 5.2.2 show that the hesitation to ratify Kyoto displayed by the Howard Government may have been due to a perceived loss of autonomy, which might suggest the anarchy thesis is correct. The Howard Government turned down an opportunity to make the international system less anarchic, by not ratifying Kyoto and denying the chance to implement a system of international authority.

From the data, it is clear that the media considered it a potential problem that Australia may lose some of its autonomy given that the Kyoto Protocol would be administered overseas by an unelected body. There is no corresponding fear expressed in the data sourced from political archives, however. The lack of data from political sources makes it inappropriate to comment as to whether the Howard Government felt the potential loss of autonomy was a reason not to ratify the Kyoto Protocol.



### 6.2.3 Morality

Morgenthau (1967) contends that politics is independent of morality. Moreover, realist theorists believe human nature is immoral (Donnelly, 1995, p. 175). Comments from the media suggested that the Howard Government was not acting according to any moral imperative. Again, the lack of any direct evidence suggesting the Howard Government acted against moral imperatives limits the ability to argue that Howard ministers were acting immorally. The added complication is that it can be very difficult to determine what moral imperatives the Howard Government was supposed to have been operating under. On the media evidence, however, realist theory offers an acceptable explanation for the Howard Government's disregard for moral principles: realist theory suggests nation-states simply do not operate according to such standards.

### 6.2.4 Summary

The evidence that is available in the political and media texts about the realist theme of anarchy, primarily from media sources, indicates that the Howard Government did view the international system as anarchic. It ignored the institutional rules that had been set up by the UNFCCC for negotiating Protocols. There is evidence the Howard Government was not guided by moral imperatives, at least in the eyes of many of the media commentators studied. However, none of the data discuss whether the Howard Government's actions suggest it believed there was no hierarchy of authority above the national level. This means only moderate support for a realist explanation can be drawn from this theme.

## 6.3 Cooperation

Realists contend that international cooperation is only instrumental (see, for example, Laferrière & Stoett, 1999). The cooperation thesis in this study refers to the realist claim that cooperation is untrustworthy, occurs because of hidden, usually self-interested motives, and is short-lived, given the constant shifting of those motives. Evidence for this hypothesis would emerge if it can be shown that countries are not genuinely committed to the cooperative ventures they engage in. This is difficult to determine because it involves uncovering the motives of countries. It is not simple to work out whether a government's cooperative actions have been

undertaken with genuine mutual benefit in mind or whether such a benefit is an unintended side effect. It is easier to discount genuine cooperation if it is clear that no such mutual benefit was the goal. There is very little discussion of the concept of cooperation in either data set.

The fact that almost all developed nations except Australia ratified Kyoto has relevance for the notion of cooperation. A straightforward objection raised against realist theory is that there has been more cooperation in the twentieth century than at any other time, which realist theory does not explain (Keohane, 2005, p. 5; van derland et al., 2003). Not ratifying the Protocol put Australia out of step with other nations. An explanation of the Howard Government's position would not be similar to an explanation of other countries' point of view. The conclusions reached by this study can only be applied to countries in similar situations to, or with similar motivations as, Australia. Whether the Howard Government's rejection of Kyoto implied it was against international cooperation more generally is not a question dealt with in this investigation. Conversely, realist thinkers can point to the Howard Government's rejection of the Kyoto Protocol and claim this implies that cooperation on the international stage has a less solid foundation than what many theorists claim.

There are a number of arguments suggesting the cooperation thesis is invalid. There has undoubtedly been an increase in the number of international environmental agreements, as has the number of countries ratifying them. As Paterson (1996) suggests, it appears neoliberal theory is better at explaining the politics of global warming than realist theory because the level of cooperation that is needed to combat it is usually ruled out by realism. He also states that the USA used the perceived lack of adherence to cooperative measures as an excuse not to cooperate themselves; the USA was concerned about developing countries free riding on the Kyoto Protocol (Paterson, 1996). This highlights an added complication with the belief that cooperation is ineffectual. If one or more countries openly hold this belief, such scepticism may spread and prevent other countries from cooperating.

### 6.3.1 The need for global involvement

While it acknowledged the need for cooperation, the Howard Government did not cooperate. Furthermore, the David Kemp comments show that he supported the idea of helping developing countries cooperate more fully, something that the Kyoto Protocol unequivocally supports through the Clean Development Mechanism (UNFCCC, 1997). On the subject of low participation making the goal of reducing emissions less achievable, note that the Howard Government rejected the only global attempt at such a reduction. It instead pursued the Asia-Pacific Partnership that only includes seven countries, and contains no binding emissions targets (Asia-Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate, 2007; Australian Greenhouse Office, 2007).

### 6.3.2 The lack of participation

The data show that Howard ministers, especially David Kemp, felt the level of participation in the Kyoto Protocol was too low for the agreement to deliver any real benefits. What, then, was the Howard Government's response to this lack of participation? It threatened to withdraw from the negotiations a number of times because of the lack of participation (Hamilton, 2001). Howard's stated reason for not ratifying was because of the lack of participation (Howard, 2002). In 2007 the Howard Government began negotiating a separate agreement that had the participation of only six countries (Asia-Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate, 2007). Given this information, it is difficult to accept at face value the Howard Government's criticism of the Kyoto Protocol for having too few participants. It seems plausible that the Howard Government was not interested in this form of international cooperation.

### 6.3.3 Uncertainty

The issue of uncertainty raises the question: why did the Howard Government react to the uncertainty over climate change by refusing to cooperate when so many other countries, with similar information, accepted the need to work together? It could be suggested it was because the Howard Government did not think that cooperation in this matter would be dependable, meaningful, or long-lived, a realist principle (Laferrière & Stoett, 1999). By this rationale, it could be claimed that the Howard

Government's reaction to the uncertainty over this issue supports a number of realist assertions, such as the contention that countries are motivated by self-interest. This point is considered in the analysis of national interest in Section 6.5.

The Howard Government's reaction to uncertainty does seem to provide evidence in favour of the realist view of cooperation. If the Howard Government had a commitment to cooperation at least equal to the many other nations involved, it would have acted in a similar fashion, given the same information. Schelling (2007) makes a related point, remarking that uncertainty in almost any other policy area would demand precaution, rather than inaction.

#### 6.3.4 Summary

In review, the evidence from the political and media texts on the realist theme of cooperation does not specifically indicate whether the Howard Government believed cooperation on the matter of Kyoto was a goal. The evidence from the data does suggest the Howard Government steered away from cooperation on this issue. The limited conclusions that can be drawn from the data on cooperation only hold for countries in a similar position to the Howard Government from 1998–2004.

### **6.4 Absolute versus relative gains**

The notion that countries are only able to secure gains relative to other countries is vital to realist theory (Morgenthau, 1967; Waltz, 1979). It sets realist theory apart from a major rival, neoliberalism (Paterson, 1996). Given the existence of scarcity, anarchy, and self-interested countries, a situation develops where countries can only make relative gains. In turn, cooperation is unstable and power politics come to the fore. It is scarcity that produces the relative gains view; there is only a limited amount of power to go around, so countries must compete for it (Powell, 1991).

There is substantial evidence in favour of the relative gains thesis in the data from politicians and a small amount in favour of it in the data from media sources. In neither data set is there any direct evidence against the realist claim about relative gains.

The contrary position to the relative gains thesis argues that absolute gains over other countries can be made. The denial of the realist assertion that countries are the main actors in the international system provides evidence for this. If international organisations had real authority over nation-states, they might be able to spread benefits equally among nations in the same way that national governments can redistribute wealth using the tax system (Donnelly, 1995; Keohane, 2005).

Avoiding the negative effects of climate change by joining a global agreement aimed at halting such effects would bring absolute gains for all. The contention that everybody wins from the Kyoto Protocol is a major argument in its favour (Christoff, 2007). It is difficult to think what a relative gain over another country might look like concerning climate change. There may be a minority of countries benefiting from climate change as the heightened presence of carbon dioxide increases agricultural productivity in some areas because carbon dioxide is used by plants for photosynthesis (Lomborg, 2001). However, this will only be a short-term gain because these gains will quickly be swamped by other negative consequences of climate change (Hamilton & Turton, 2001). This argument does not hold weight because the existence of scarcity does not apply in the case of the climate, in a similar sense that sunlight is not considered a scarce resource. Instead, the gains possible on climate change refer to the economic benefits or losses associated with making the changes required to avoid or lessen the effects of climate change. The problem with believing an agreement like Kyoto can bring absolute gains is that any one country could free-ride on the agreement and be rewarded with a cleaner environment while at the same time gaining from not having to make any economic adjustment (Christoff, 2005a; DeGarmo, 2005).

#### 6.4.1 Competition

The relative gains thesis is linked to the existence of competition. Realist thinkers emphasise this point more powerfully than simply recognising that competition exists. Realists would claim nation-states do not attempt to make gains collectively because it is not possible to do so (Paterson, 1996). On the evidence, it is apparent that the Howard Government actively sought to keep its competitive advantage over other nations. That the Howard Government was trying to protect Australia's economic interests in an international system dominated by competition is a very common feature in the data from political archives. Moreover, there is a distinct lack

of evidence that the Howard Government was actively trying to foster economic cooperation in its region. These two points taken together provide confirmation of the aptness of a realist explanation in this situation. A nation-state trying to make gains relative to others and not being interested in making absolute gains as a group is explained by realist theorists, who contend that only relative, not absolute, gains are possible and therefore only relative gains are sought.

#### 6.4.2 Deterring investment

The difficulty with accepting some of the claims made in the data from politicians is that they ignore the fact that businesses have huge sunk costs in their existing locations. For the Howard Government to have been concerned about aluminium smelters relocating to Asia disregards the enormous cost this would have, compared to a smaller cost to make their factories less emissions intensive (Hamilton, 2001).

Considering the Australian energy industry is so successful because of Australia's significant resources such as coal and uranium, it is doubtful the Protocol could affect it in the way the Howard Government claims (Gittins & Forsyth, 2007). These quotations suggest the relative gains thesis is correct, but they also mirror Hamilton's (2001) point that the Protocol may not really be against Australia's national interest; instead, the Howard Government's view may be influenced by the industry lobby. This suggestion will be returned to when examining the nation-state as primary actor thesis in Section 6.6.

#### 6.4.3 Rationality

Another claim by Hamilton (2001) which is supported by the data is that the Howard Government was not acting rationally during the period concerned, because it chose to ignore a lot of economic data in favour of ratification, and instead was persuaded by an industry funded economic forecasting body, ABARE.

John Howard suggested that the lack of participation in the Protocol meant the environmental goals would not be reached. In the process, competitor countries would have simply made gains over Australia, had it ratified. The problem is that the Howard Government could not use this as a reason not to ratify. If the Howard Government rejected Kyoto, the carbon emissions it is supposedly concerned about

will still be produced. They will merely have been produced in Australia rather than overseas (Yu & Taplin, 2000). Again, the real justification the government seems to be making for its view here is economic, not environmental.

Hamilton (2001; 2004) raises doubts over the rationality of the Howard Government. The government believed ABARE's economic forecasting over that of the Australia Institute, foreign governments, institutions such as the IPCC and domestic environmental organisations (Hamilton, 2001). Economist Warwick McKibbin from the Australian National University, Australia's premier research institution, stated Australia would be economically worse off if it rejected Kyoto (Hamilton, 2004, p. 11). However, this contention is challenged by Viotti and Kauppi's (1993) point that realist theory only claims that nations attempt to be rational, not that they always succeed. Once this is taken into account, the Howard Government's rejection of the Kyoto Protocol based on biased economic forecasting could be seen as the result of imperfect information, not irrationality. It still leaves open the question of why only selected information was considered accurate, however. This topic is revisited in the section on national interest, Section 6.5. It discusses why the Howard Government's reaction to Kyoto was different to that of other countries, given that all countries had access to similar information

#### 6.4.4 Summary

To conclude, if the absolute versus relative gains thesis is correct, there are negative consequences for the environment. A solution to the problem of a degraded environment could be to change the pay-off structure of the international economy, with rules enforcing the sharing of gains. The problem with this solution is that it assumes an international institution exists that could perform this task – something realist scholars are very sceptical of. Grundig's (2006, p. 798) research on relative gains reached a similar conclusion:

the conclusions to be drawn from the relative gains argument suggest that the current impasse in reaching a high level of cooperation on reducing greenhouse gases is not just a stage in the bargaining process or a problem that can possibly be manipulated by policy makers; rather, it suggests that this issue is unlikely to be resolved effectively unless action can be achieved at costs that have no security implications.

The evidence points to the Howard Government taking a competitive approach to ratification of the Kyoto Protocol and that it acted according to the belief that countries can only make relative, not absolute gains.

## **6.5 National interest**

The idea that countries pursue national self-interest is important to realist theory. The national interest being pursued is essentially what a country “stands for” (Williams, 2005, p. 187). Morgenthau claimed that while forms of power differ, a nation’s interests are always the same, irrespective of the government in office (Morgenthau, 1967). The national interest thesis claims that countries are self-interested, and will act on that self-interest to promote what they want.

States can only make gains relative to others so cooperation is fruitless and the self-interested pursuit of one’s interests is the best course of action. Realists believe that the pursuit of a country’s national interest is a stronger motivation than do other international relations theorists. Realists believe an international environmental treaty is only worth signing if it is in a country’s national interest; other deciding factors are not enough (Kütting, 2000).

Realists think interests are defined as power, and that power is often obtained by economic means, according to Viotti and Kauppi (1993). Therefore, in any discussion of the Howard Government promoting Australia’s national interest, emphasis placed on economic considerations could be evidence in favour of self-interest. Throughout the data, and in much of the literature examined (see, for example, Christoff, 2005a; Hamilton, 2001), the Howard Government considered economic growth a more important goal than the health of the environment.

### **6.5.1 Negotiations**

International negotiations are an ideal environment to explore the extent to which the Howard Government was operating according to the principles of power politics. The media commentary data certainly suggests the Howard delegation operated according to such imperatives. The language used by Hill and Howard also implies



they saw the negotiations as similar to a conflict, or confrontation, rather than as a group of nations working collectively to solve a problem.

#### 6.5.2 Kyoto not in the national interest

If ratification of the Kyoto Protocol is so against the national interest of Australia, why did the Howard Government insist that it was still aiming to meet its Kyoto target? It does not seem to make sense to reject Kyoto while still aiming to meet the targets. Being a party to the agreement makes achieving the target easier through the flexibility mechanisms of emissions trading, joint implementation, and the Clean Development Mechanism (Griffin, 2002).

The one criticism the Howard Government makes of the Kyoto Protocol that avoids this problem is the claim that the Protocol is disproportionately bad for the Australian economy (Brown, 1999). Every nation's economy is unique, so perhaps the Howard Government can claim it was unfairly treated by the agreement. Hamilton (2001) makes a case against this contention by criticizing ABARE's economic assessment of Kyoto's impacts. He argues that ABARE deliberately exaggerated the economic costs of Kyoto, while ignoring the potential benefits of signing the Protocol (Hamilton, 2001).

If the Protocol was in Australia's interests, this is not an argument against the suggestion that the Howard Government acted in Australia's interests. The opposite of being self-interested is being altruistic. Instead, the data offer evidence against the realist claim that nation-states are rational. If signing the Protocol was in Australia's interests, and the government claimed to want to promote those interests, they should have ratified.

All of the Howard Government arguments criticising the Kyoto Protocol are challenged by Hamilton (2001, p. 150):

It is easy to become caught up in arguments over the detailed definitions and proposed loopholes in the Kyoto Protocol and to forget that its implementation would be no more than a small first step on the path to achieving a 'safe' level of global greenhouse gas emissions.

### 6.5.3 Kyoto in the national interest

The national interest argument is challenged by the proposition that ratifying the Kyoto Protocol was in Australia's national interest, as many believe (see, for example, Australia Institute, 1997; Christoff, 2002, 2005a; Hamilton, 2001, 2004; Kinrade, 1998; McDonald, 2005). If the Protocol is in Australia's national interest and the Howard Government did not ratify, they must either not be trying to pursue their national interest, or they are not rationally equipped to ascertain what their own interests are. Hamilton (2001) argues in favour of the second suggestion. For realist theorists, either suggestion is likely to be unwelcome because realist thinkers also claim that countries are rational. The Howard Government's rationality may have been affected by a lack of information, or by the influence of groups trying to change Australia's climate policy. The second suggestion is considered in Section 6.6. The first suggestion is linked to the second because the Howard Government commissioned economic research from ABARE, part of whose funding was sourced from the energy and mining industries (Hamilton, 2001).

If it turns out that Kyoto is against the interests of many nations that still ratified, this would suggest countries are motivated by something other than just self-interest. Considering the amount of economic restructuring that will be required by most signatories, it is unlikely that Kyoto-bound countries would class themselves as winners out of the agreement. An exception is Russia, whose economic collapse after 1990 had meant it now has a target higher than its emissions, meaning it can financially profit by trading its unused emissions allowance (Victor, 2001). Many countries that stand to lose in the short-term from Kyoto have nonetheless ratified. The reason this may not be an argument against realist theory is that these countries have quite likely defined their national interest in wider terms than Australia. This argument does not bear directly on Australia because it did not ratify, but it does raise the question of why the Howard Government reacted differently to Kyoto than similar countries, and also why the Howard Government defined Australia's national interest differently to other signatories.

If the Kyoto Protocol was in the best interests of Australia, the Howard Government should have ratified it, if promoting the national interest was its goal (Hamilton, 1997, p. 3). Hamilton contends it is difficult to see how not supporting a worldwide climate change treaty was in Australia's best interests (2001, p. 145). The government

repeatedly expressed its desire to protect Australian industry, but Hamilton (2001) questions whether the fossil fuel industry is really of value to the country. This depletion of finite resources discourages technological processes, and creates uncertainty because of the fluctuating nature of fossil fuel prices. Hamilton contends that, "While a country cannot be expected to prevent a profitable mine from opening ... is unwise to use policy to further push a country in this direction" (2001, p. 86).

#### 6.5.4 Special circumstances

According to a view widely expressed in the media, If Australia has contributed to climate change, natural justice suggests it needs to accept responsibility for its part in reducing emissions. With statistics showing Australia's disproportionate contribution to greenhouse emissions is it hard to accept the argument of the Howard Government that they be allowed to increase their emissions by eight per cent during the first commitment period.

The Howard Government's pleas that Australia had special circumstances are related to the national interest theme. The Howard Government repeatedly announced its belief that the Kyoto Protocol favours Europe (Warby, 1997). Using 1990 as the baseline for measuring emissions against has benefited Germany, the UK, and Russia (Christoff, 2006; Victor, 2001). Russia's economy, and therefore its carbon emissions, plummeted after 1990. German reunification caused an economic recession. The switch from coal to natural gas in the UK since 1990 brought similar emissions-reducing results. The Howard Government claimed that setting 1990 as the baseline year has been unfair to them. The Howard Government claimed almost every other developed nation in the world got a better deal than it did at Kyoto. At the time, Australia was the world's greatest polluter (OECD, 1996), so it makes sense that it makes changes to reduce emissions. It is difficult not to interpret the Howard Government's pleas for special treatment as a negotiating tactic to promote Australia's national interests when its emissions are so high, thus offering Australia many opportunities for emissions reductions.

#### 6.5.5 Prioritising the economy over the environment

The Howard Government repeatedly chose economic concerns over environmental ones. This shows that it believes the economy is more central to the national interest

than the environment. The issue of why the Howard Government's reaction to these problems was different to other countries must again be raised. If the Kyoto Protocol does not go far enough in combating climate change, one would assume this was a strong reason for other countries to reject it as well. An environmental problem such as climate change will cause problems globally if it is not tackled. All countries are at risk if there are few participating in reducing emissions; it is not a uniquely Australian argument. Another motive must be sought to explain the difference in reaction to ratifying the Protocol. A realist would suggest the Howard Government is simply promoting Australia's national interest.

#### 6.5.6 Participation

The Howard Government did have a reason for thinking low participation in Kyoto is a uniquely Australian issue. As mentioned in Section 5.4, the Howard Government believed it was disadvantaged because countries in the Asia-Pacific region are not participating. This concern with local economies highlights both the Howard Government's competitive nature and its desire to advance its national interest over that of neighbouring countries.

#### 6.5.7 Uncertainty

The Howard Government's reaction to the existence of uncertainty was different to almost all other developed nations. This is intriguing, especially considering that, as shown in Section 6.3, the government often denied the existence of uncertainty. Either uncertainty is present, and the question of why the Howard Government reacted differently to other nations is still unanswered, or uncertainty is not present and the Government would have had one more reason to have ratified – the certainty of the damaging effects of climate change if it did not.

Moreover, a major uncertainty during the time period studied was whether the Protocol was going to come into effect (McKibbin, 2002). This was an uncertainty in part created by the Howard Government, so it seems inappropriate for them use this as a reason for rejecting Kyoto. A reasonable conjecture would be that the Howard Government was advancing Australia's national interest and merely using the presence of uncertainty as an excuse to reject the Protocol. In almost any other policy area, uncertainty invokes a response that insures against the worst possible

scenario (Schelling, 2007). The idea of responding to uncertainty with inaction, “is almost unique to climate” (Schelling, 2007, p. 4).

#### 6.5.8 Summary

The national interest thesis is the most significant in the data. The evidence is generally in favour of the realist claim that countries promote their national interest. The theme is significant because it offers a plausible explanation for why the Howard Government reacted so differently to the problems of Kyoto’s flaws and uncertainty over climate change. If so many other nations accepted Kyoto despite these problems, analysis of the Howard Government’s motivation must seek an answer elsewhere. That the Howard Government was promoting its own agenda is a likely reason. That the Howard Government was pursuing Australia’s national interest has significance for other realist notions, especially the prevalence of power politics, the problem of cooperation, and the inability of countries to make absolute gains.

### 6.6 The nation-state as primary actor

The theme of the nation-state in realist theory combines two points relevant to the research question. First, realist theorists have a certain view of the nation-state; they contend that it is rational and cohesive (Legro & Moravcsik, 1999). Second, realist thinkers claim the nation-state is the main actor in the international system, and that sub-state and supranational influences are only secondary to the will of the nation-state itself (Keohane & Nye, 1989). There is data from both the political and media sources pertaining to this second realist claim; it is the third most prevalent topic in the data from both sources.

#### 6.6.1 Public opinion

A potential source of influence that might be considered to lessen the Howard Government’s role as the main actor in international relations is public opinion. The data sourced from the media casts doubt on this claim. Many media sources stated that the government had gone against public opinion over ratifying Kyoto. A Herald / AC Nielsen poll conducted in 1997 revealed 79% of Australians wanted the government to sign (Christoff, 2005a, p. 34). Given the fact that the government did

not sign, it is clear public opinion did not sway government policy in this matter. Christoff offers two reasons the Howard Government was able to survive politically after taking such an unpopular action. There was no clearly defined opposition climate change group to match that of the industry lobby, and there are no policy coalitions stretching across party lines in the Australian political landscape (Christoff, 2005a, p. 34).

### 6.6.2 Industry influence

There is evidence in the data indicating influence from industry in the climate policy process. A realist could claim that business influence on policy is not a counterexample because the consideration of business concerns is part of normal policy development. However, it is difficult to ignore the amount of data that points to a business influence. There is clear evidence of general influence of business on the Howard Government, and more specifically, influence on climate policy.

### 6.6.3 Domestic politics

A realist explanation would be weakened if it were shown that the Howard Governments of 1998 to 2004 were not cohesive. This could be from internal divisions within the federal government or from disagreements between the federal and state governments. Only the federal government can ratify international treaties, yet state governments actively make environmental policy (Cranwell, 2001). While the federal government signs international environmental agreements, state governments carry out most of the implementation. The Liberal Party controlled the Federal Government from 1998–2004, when Kyoto was rejected, while the opposition ALP (Australian Labor Party) had a policy that they would ratify the Kyoto Protocol.

On the subject of internal divisions in the federal government itself, Hamilton (2001, p. 32) cites differences between the environment and energy ministers as a reason early negotiations on climate change policy were bogged down. Furthermore, David Kemp stated they had yet to decide whether to ratify Kyoto while only three months later John Howard ruled out ratifying the agreement ("Howard refuses to budge on Kyoto," 2002). However, none of these incidents altered the eventual policy of the Howard Government. The ministerial code of conduct in Australian politics dictates

that individual members of the cabinet must speak with one voice (Commonwealth of Australia, 1998, 2004). This weakens the claim that the federal government was internally divided to the extent that climate policy outcomes were affected.

It cannot be claimed that other domestic political parties hindered the Howard Government from ratifying, because the opposition actively supported Kyoto. There is no evidence that the federal system in Australia created disunity over climate change policy because domestic political differences did not influence the Howard Government's Kyoto policy.

#### 6.6.4 Summary

From the evidence the data provide, there does appear to have been influence from big business over the government's Kyoto policy. There are signs of general business influence, signs that the government favoured business over other interests, and a suggestion that there was direct policy influence from business. There was no sign that either domestic politics or public opinion had any power over federal government policy. Missing from the data is any indication that a foreign body influenced Australia's climate change policy, aside from the multinational businesses operating within Australia. The power politics analysis discusses one possibility in this regard - that the USA had influence on Australia's Kyoto policy, which may shed light on whether any supranational body could be considered a major actor in the international system.

### 6.7 Power politics

The realist contention about power politics claims that international relations are dominated by the use of power (Carr, in Burchill, 1996, p. 72; Kütting, 2000, p. 12). The realist theme of power politics will be able to help explain the Howard Government's rejection of Kyoto if Australia's approach shows it was acting according to the dictates of power politics. Carr suggests that power politics are exemplified in a world order created by power relations, rather than created by ideology (in Burchill, 1996). Guzzini (2004, p. 537) states that power, in a political situation, is the power to control outcomes. Politics is always about power politics, it is detailed in the meaning of the word itself (Carr, 1946, p. 465). The dictionary lists one of the meanings of politics as "concerned with relationships of power within an

organization rather than matters of practicality or principle” (Allen, 2002, p. 681). The emphasis on power rather than ideals here is precisely what realist theorists accentuate.

The data points to two instances where evidence for the claim that the Howard Government acted on rules based on power politics could be found: Australia’s alliance with the USA, and its attitude during the Kyoto negotiations. There is not a great deal of evidence pertaining to power politics in the data sourced from politicians. It is not something they would admit to in public expressions of policy. There is significant mention of power politics in the data from the media. It is all in favour of the notion that the Howard Government’s rejection of Kyoto demonstrates it acted according to power politics on the international stage.

#### 6.7.1 Australia and the USA

The data suggest that Australia’s alliance with the United States could be considered a power political ploy. The United States has a strong influence over other nations and one would expect the power associated with the USA would have advantages for Australia, enhancing their power as well (Hunt, 2007). A weak or small country gains power and security by allying itself with a more powerful nation (Ball, 1997). There is evidence Australia was siding with the USA. However, the extent to which the Howard Government’s rejection of Kyoto is attributable to these political pressures is inconclusive. It may be a coincidence that both countries had a policy rejecting the agreement.

The Howard Government does deny a number of times that its position is influenced by the USA, but this does not square with their claim that the lack of participation was a major factor in their rejection of Kyoto. Sections 6.3.2 and 6.5.6 both emphasised this point.

The difficulty with deciding whether the Howard Government rejected Kyoto because the USA did is that the aims of the Kyoto Protocol are less likely to be met effectively or efficiently without the participation of the USA (Grubb et al., 1999). According to Stern (2006), not only is the USA the world’s biggest greenhouse gas polluting nation, it is also a major source of technological change and would be a crucial member in any worldwide emissions trading scheme. The Howard



Government may have rejected Kyoto for environmental and economic reasons, not political ones.

### 6.7.2 Negotiating style

When it comes to Australia's negotiating style at Kyoto, the data sourced from the media proposes that power relations were important. Dessai et al. (2003) have demonstrated that environmental politics do represent an instance of a power struggle, especially when the Protocol negotiations collapsed at The Hague in 2000. There is ample evidence from the negotiations that Australia's negotiating tactics were based on an attempt to influence other parties, as Evans and Newnham (1998) suggest, this is to be expected from a country behaving according to realist doctrine.

Documents that were leaked in late November 1997 showed the Howard Government was going to withdraw from the Protocol bargaining process if their demands were not met (Christoff, 2005a; Firth, 2005, p. 309; Hamilton, 2000, p. 81). Australia was a part of the negotiating bloc, the Umbrella Group. This group formed because the constituent nations had similar interests. The group wanted the inclusion of flexibility mechanisms such as the use of carbon sinks (e.g. forests counting against emissions), emissions trading, and joint implementation (Oberthür & Ott, 1999).

Realists would assume an association like the Umbrella Group would try to extract as many concessions as possible during the Protocol negotiations, which is precisely what happened (Dessai et al., 2003). A group as powerful as this would have had a major influence on the outcome of the Protocol, in line with the realist views on using power relations to obtain favourable outcomes. All of the flexibility mechanisms that the Umbrella Group wanted included, were incorporated into the Kyoto accord (UNFCCC, 1997), as one would expect, from the powerful group's use of coercion.

### 6.7.3 Summary

There is some evidence in favour of the realist thesis regarding power politics. The two things to emerge from analysis of this topic are Australia's alliance with the US and its attitude at the Protocol negotiations. Both can be reasonably explained by

realist theory. Using a realist perspective, it is possible to suggest that Australia sided with the USA over its rejection of Kyoto because this improved its relations with the world's most dominant nation. Realist theory explains Australia joining the Umbrella Group and promoting its national interest. The use of coercion in negotiations is something realist thinkers would see as widespread.

## **6.8 Conclusion**

The outcomes for the themes analysed here are varied. For the themes of anarchy, cooperation, and international relations and the environment, there was not little evidence. For the themes of absolute versus relative gains, national interest and power politics there is evidence suggesting the Howard Government was acting in a way consistent with realist theory. Conversely, the presence of industry influence over the climate policy process suggests that the nation-state may not be the only important actor in international relations in this matter.

Analysis of the anarchy theme found some evidence that the Howard Government does not submit to the dictates of international rules and institutions. There was not sufficient evidence on whether ideology, morality, or a supranational authority had an influence on the government's actions.

The theme of cooperation raises the point that the Howard Government reacted quite differently to the rest of the world when confronted with the Kyoto Protocol. Other nations ratified that were under similar pressures of uncertainty and low participation with the Kyoto Protocol.

The realist claim that nations can make only relative not absolute gains is something the data provide evidence for. Issues of competition were evident in the Howard Government's decision-making. Realists would see this as confirmation of the self-interested nature of nation-states.

The theme most borne out in the data is the realist assertion that nations promote their national interest. Both data sets verified this claim. The recurring problem of explaining the Howard Government's reaction to the Kyoto Protocol when so many other countries did ratify is also perhaps best explained by reference to its promotion of Australia's national interest.

There was neither strong support for the claim that supranational forces heavily influenced the Howard Government's decision on Kyoto, nor for the claim that social forces played any noteworthy part. That the nation-state is the main actor in international relations is one realist theme that is not supported by the data presented, however, because the regular reference to business influence on the climate change process weakens a realist explanation.

There is a slight suggestion that the Howard Government leant towards acting according to the dictates of power politics, primarily in its alliance with the USA and its negotiating tactics at Kyoto. There was no evidence to indicate the use of power was on display in this matter, outside of these two situations.

The data analysis above has considered the realist argument in six separate parts, following the approach of this study. In the subsequent concluding chapter these pieces will be brought together to finally answer to what extent this thesis can claim to have shown whether realist theory explains the Howard Government's decision not to ratify the Kyoto Protocol.

## CHAPTER 7 - CONCLUSION

### 7.1 Introduction

The research question asks, “Does realist theory explain the Howard Government’s decision not to ratify the Kyoto Protocol?” Data gathered from political and media archives suggest that realist theory does offer an acceptable explanation. This conclusion will first discuss what the findings and analysis of the data are able to reveal. Second, lessons from the methodology used will be examined. In a third section, possible solutions to the Howard Government’s non-participation in the Kyoto accord will be discussed. Fourth, suggestions for future research surrounding the methodology used in this study and on the topic of participation in environmental agreements are offered. Finally, a short statement is made regarding the impacts on this study of the newly elected Rudd Government’s ratification of the Kyoto Protocol in December 2007.

### 7.2 Using realist theory to explain the Howard Government’s non-ratification

The Howard Government rejected the Kyoto Protocol even though it agreed in the Berlin Mandate that developing countries should not be bound by emissions targets in the first commitment period from 2008–2012 (Hamilton, 2004). One of the Howard Government’s main reasons for rejecting the Kyoto Protocol was that it wanted these countries bound by emissions targets. It therefore went back on its earlier Berlin Mandate commitment. Howard stated his government was rejecting Kyoto because, “the arrangements currently exclude - and are likely under present setting to continue to exclude - both developing countries and the United States, for us to ratify the protocol would cost us jobs and damage our industry” (Howard, 2002).

The UNFCCC’s charter, agreed to by the Howard Government, required countries to try and achieve the goal of avoiding harmful climate change (UN, 1992), yet at the Kyoto negotiations the Australian delegation put forward a number of policies that were clearly designed to be to Australia’s advantage, such as the inclusion of flexibility mechanisms, and the inclusion of the controversial land-clearing clause<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> The clause allows countries with high rates of land clearing in 1990 to consider that year a base level. Australia had extremely high levels of land clearing in 1990. This meant that Australia’s baseline was high compared to other countries, and its eventual emissions target was easier to achieve (Hamilton, 2001).

Realist thinkers would view this behaviour as a sign that the international system above the level of the nation-state is in anarchy. Countries do not adhere to the rules of international institutions such as the UNFCCC, so the Howard Government's actions would have come as no surprise to a realist.

In the data, there are numerous references to keeping Australia's competitive advantage over other nations in the region. This aggressive approach was also clear in the Howard Government's negotiations of the Protocol itself. Frequently in the data, it is apparent that the Howard Government valued economic stability over environmental concerns. Given the competitive nature of the world economy, the Howard Government's behaviour can be explained by reference to the realist contention that countries are only able to make gains relative to each other, not absolute gains. The way the Howard Government advocated keeping its competitive edge over regional rivals also lends support to the realist assertion that countries are inherently self-interested.

Realists consider that international cooperation is untrustworthy and short-lived. The Howard Government's refusal to cooperate with the Kyoto Protocol supports this belief, although the data does not contain a great deal of evidence that either supports or weakens the realist beliefs about cooperation.

A term often found in the data, especially in the data from political sources, is 'national interest'. The Howard Government emphasised many times a desire to pursue Australia's national interest. Promoting Australia's national interest was considered more important than both adhering to the spirit of the UNFCCC and being a good global citizen in environmental matters. Moreover, Australia's national interest was defined in such a way that precluded solving a long-term, complex issue such as climate change. Several times in the data sourced from politicians the Howard Government made it clear that the national interest is better served by increasing the strength of the economy rather than by combating climate change. A fixation with the short-term national interest is something well explained by realist theory.

Realists argue not only that countries promote their national interest, but also that these interests are defined in terms of power, and are achieved with the use of power. The first part of this claim is supported by the Howard Government's

preference for economic security rather than concern for the environment. The second part of the claim is supported, to a degree, by noticing the way the Australian delegation negotiated at Kyoto, and by how highly the Howard Government valued its alliance with the USA. The Howard delegation's negotiating tactics at the Kyoto conference, as seen from the data, were antagonistic and self-interested. The delegation used the threat of withdrawing from the negotiations to achieve a favourable outcome for Australia. Australia was allowed to increase its emissions by eight per cent during the first commitment period, as well as include emissions from land clearing into their 1990 emissions level baseline. The importance placed on Australia's alliance with the Americans also makes the case that the negotiators operated according to the principles of power politics. Allying oneself with a powerful nation is a common strategy to enhance one's level of security.

As noted in Chapter 2, realists believe that the nation-state is cohesive, rational, the proper unit of analysis in international relations theory, and the main actor on the international stage. Analysis of the data reveals nothing contradicting the notion that the nation-state is cohesive. There is a suggestion in the data and also from the work of Hamilton (2001) that the Howard Government was not being rational in its rejection of the Kyoto Protocol. The force of this point is blunted by the consideration that one cannot determine if a nation is trying to be rational based purely on outcomes. There is no evidence to suggest that either supranational or social forces influenced the Howard Government's Kyoto policy. On the other hand, there are data in Section 5.6.2 showing business and industry did influence the government's climate change policy. With such strong influence from non-government sources, it cannot be claimed that realist theory explains this aspect of Australia's climate policy.

A recurring theme across the analysis is the dissimilarities between the Howard Government's response to the Kyoto Protocol and that of other developed nations. With the same level of uncertainty surrounding climate change the Howard Government rejected the only global response to the problem, whereas all other developed nations except the USA ratified it. This may offer evidence in favour of the realist claim about nations promoting their national interest. The Howard Government's desire to pursue Australia's national interest has conflicted with a global interest – a stable climate.

In all but one respect, realist theory can explain the Howard Government's rejection of the Kyoto Protocol. It ignored the institutional rules of the UNFCCC because it viewed the international system as anarchic. It pulled out of the Kyoto process because it believed the agreement would hinder its competitive advantage over its regional neighbours. This reinforces the Howard Government's concern with promoting the national interest. Australia under Howard exhibited the use of coercive power with its negotiating style. It also showed its concern for security issues by the significance it placed on its alliance with the USA.

Overall, the data suggest realist theory does explain the Howard Government's decision to reject Kyoto. Based on the data analysed, the level of support for the realist thesis is not overwhelming, however, and one aspect of realist theory, the nation-state being the main actor in international relations, is undermined by the data.

### **7.3 Method**

This study examined an international relations theory with thematic analysis of texts. It used data from both political and media sources in its analysis, and it used qualitative research in the realm of international relations theory.

The examination of an international relations theory using thematic analysis has a lot of promise. It is interesting to note that very few studies in this area have been done using the actual words of the politicians involved. In order to discover the motivations of political leaders, examining their language seems an appropriate method.

Considering data from both political and media sources on the same topic was complicated. The purpose of using the two data sets was to obtain the views and motives of political actors revealed through their written and verbal communication. Gathering data from media sources was to obtain evidence that would comment on, and potentially corroborate or contradict what the politicians had stated. The use of two data sets was not an unqualified success. The mere existence of common vocabulary does not guarantee texts will discuss the same issue. However, the use of two very different data sets was an advantage in this case because it made sure

that the analysis was not informed only by public political discourse, which has a reputation for bias and unreliability.

Lastly, qualitative research in international relations is uncommon. The studies that are most similar to the current one all used a quantitative approach (see Recchia, 2002; Roberts, Parks and Vásquez, 2004; DeGarmo, 2005; Zahran, 2007). The results from the current study are different from the ones obtained by those authors. The four studies discussed in the literature review made quite limited conclusions but with a high degree of certainty. The conclusions of the current study are in many ways the opposite. Of the six realist contentions examined in this study, five are supported in the data and one is not. However, the interpretation of texts provides less certain inferences than, for example, economic regression tests. The two approaches are complementary. Qualitative interpretation is potentially able to provide general, contestable answers, while quantitative research may offer more certain conclusions on specialised aspects of a general problem.

#### **7.4 Solutions derived from realist theory**

To derive plans for action from an international relations theory, one must ask whether international relations, and realist theory in particular, is a problem-solving discipline. Laferrière and Stoett (1999) claim that international relations' core mission is still partly prescriptive. They consider that a successful international relations theory needs to be used to help improve world affairs. Kahler (1998) claimed that one could distinguish the comparative strength of the international relations frameworks of realism and idealism based on how well they could solve problems.

Williams (2005) thinks that realist theory's contribution to problem solving in the international realm is to maximise tolerance between parties in international politics. Carr (1946) always claimed that realist theory alone was not enough to solve problems. He felt that it merely analysed the world system and concluded that international political system is in a constant power struggle. He advocated the development of international morality in order to avoid this outcome.

Despite Carr's pessimism, realist theory can offer practical solutions to international crises. Realist theory acknowledges two important factors that exist in most



countries, rationalism, and nationalism (Williams, 2005, p. 182). These two factors, while common, are by no means always beneficial (Morgenthau, 1967). Nationalism leads to any number of the horrors seen in twentieth century Europe, while rationalism leaves us with the dilemma that reason is only instrumental, it is instead goals that promote action (Williams, 2005). By warning of these two concepts, realist theory helps political leaders to avoid the negative consequences of their presence.

If it is accepted that realist theory has explanatory power over the Howard Government's rejection of Kyoto, then the theory could be used to understand the factors that contribute to increased international participation in multilateral environmental agreements. The ability of international relations theories to provide solutions has previously been undermined, as stated by Richardson (2007, p. 26), "the problems [of international relations] have become largely global [but] the solutions have not changed accordingly."

The results of the analysis suggest that if realist theory explains the Howard Government's rejection of Kyoto, its explanatory power is limited to situations very similar to that of the Howard Government from 1998–2004. For a realist explanation of a country rejecting an international environment agreement to be appropriate, a number of the following factors would need to be present:

- A government that values economic concerns above environmental ones
- A strong executive, able to ignore public opinion and remain in power
- An electorate that did not hold environmental concerns higher than economic ones
- A strong, influential, industry base, especially if it includes high polluting industries such as mining and energy
- Strategic alliances with other countries also against the agreement

Realist theory forces us to accept the facts of the world and analyse their consequences. Realists believe in the strength of existing forces and believe that people must work with these forces, rather than trying to fight against them (Burchill, 1996). Morgenthau (1967, p. 9) supports this view: "The realist is persuaded that this transformation can be achieved only through workmanlike manipulation of the perennial forces that have shaped the past as they will the future."

Realist solutions hinge on slow change, using the same forces that currently exist. Given that one very important current force is the self-interest of countries, Keohane and Nye (1989, p. 235) point out that “effective strategies will have to appeal to the elite’s perception of their self-interests; appeals to altruism or to concepts of equity or global welfare are unlikely to be sufficient.”

Realists have a number of criteria for successful solutions. They must involve slow change, they must recognise existing power structures, and most importantly, they must use existing forces to make changes (Morgenthau, 1967). One of the most important insights realist theory has made is that in order to be able to change the world, people need to understand it realistically, rather than believing the world is a certain way when it is not (Carr, 1946). The ‘real’ in realist theory is a reminder that people must separate description and prescription. Political leaders must see the world as it really is before they can act upon it in any meaningful way.

In the case of the Howard Government’s rejection of Kyoto, these realist insights offer a method that may be useful in trying to encourage a reluctant nation to participate in an environmental agreement. Scholars must acknowledge the current perspectives of the government they are trying to sway. It is common in environmental scholarship in Australia to criticise the government’s attitudes, beliefs, and motivations, rather than trying to work with them (see, for example, Christoff, 2002, 2005a, 2007; Hamilton, 2001, 2004, 2006; Kinrade, 1998; McDonald, 2005).

While these authors may be correct in their criticism of the Howard administration, it does little to advance the situation. It is rare for a current government to accept the criticism of academics and act accordingly. Those wishing to change the government’s view could be better off acknowledging the biases of the government in question and attempting to work within these confines. This method can be seen as a kind of ad hominem<sup>6</sup> argument. Those pushing for environmental change may use a certain method to persuade authorities to take actions even if they do not believe the premises of the argument themselves.

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<sup>6</sup> An argument that uses premises not believed by the person making the argument, but believed by the person to whom the argument is being made to (Parkinson & Burke, 1988).

## **7.5 Future research**

Methodologically, the evaluation of international relations theories using political communication can be a fruitful exercise. Typically, international relations studies are performed using economic, security and other quantitative indicators. Interviews with political leaders could be an appropriate method to get close to the motivations of these important political actors. Likewise, the use of media texts to assess international relations theories could be a fitting method. International relations theories do not typically use data from media sources. The current study attempted this on a small scale and found analysing data sourced from the media was a productive enterprise. Interpretive studies are likely to be a fertile ground for enhancing the scope of things than can be understood using international relations theories.

An obvious focus of future research is a similar study on the factors that influenced the USA government's decision not to ratify the Kyoto Protocol. The current study has implications for the understanding of the non-ratification of the USA. One could explore whether the factors mentioned in the above section exist in the USA.

As for the subject matter of this research, given the number of pressing environmental problems the world is currently facing, any synthesis of international relations theory and environmental policy is going to be increasingly relevant. International relations theory has helped to explain many important issues in the past. For this branch of knowledge to continue to be relevant, it needs to include environmental concerns, as environmental problems are now both more pressing and more global.

## **7.6 The Rudd Government**

This study started with the fact that the Howard Government had not ratified the Kyoto Protocol. However, in December 2007, a few weeks after the Howard Government was defeated by the Australian Labor Party in the November 24 federal election, the Rudd Administration ratified the treaty.

The focus of this thesis on realist theory's ability to explain Australia's climate change policy remains valid despite the recent ratification by the new government. It

is likely that the Rudd Government's policy demonstrates that domestic politics plays a larger role in international affairs than the data from 1998–2004 suggest. During this time, the Howard administration had a monopoly on federal politics that silenced opposing views on climate change policy. Moreover, the Rudd Government's recent ratification may lessen the strength of the evidence in favour of seeing the international system as anarchic. The Rudd administration openly valued the institutional rules of the UNFCCC, and its desire to appear a good global citizen played a part in its decision to ratify (Rudd, 2007). The decision to ratify also demonstrated that public opinion does matter to international policy. Climate change was a significant issue in the 2007 Australian federal election and the Labor Party's pledge to ratify the Kyoto Protocol played a part in its victory (Frew, 2007). The change of heart does not argue against the claim that the Howard Government promoted Australia's national interest. It instead suggests the Rudd Government has a different definition of Australia's national interest.

The Rudd Government's ratification of the Kyoto Protocol does not offer evidence against the claims in this thesis. It merely changes Australia's domestic situation. Perhaps Australia, under Kevin Rudd, does not contain enough of the factors listed in Section 7.4 for this study's findings to apply.

## **7.7 Conclusion**

Realist theory can assist with explaining the Howard Government's refusal to sign Kyoto. The data gathered in this research give a broad level of support for a realist explanation. An important point to draw from this study is that international relations theories can be applied to very specific situations. They can offer analysis and understanding and potential solutions as well. The conclusions of this study are tentative, however, because interpretations of political and media commentary can be imprecise.

Respected economist Sir Nicholas Stern (2006) has stated that climate change is the biggest challenge facing the world at this time. Environmental issues, notably climate change, have reached a point that international relations theorists cannot avoid incorporating them into their analyses. Realist theory has a role in understanding the non-participation of countries in environmental agreements, particularly those in a similar situation to Australia from 1998–2004.

**APPENDIX 1 - SELECTED CHRONOLOGY**  
**INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ACTION**  
**AND THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT**

- 1988 IPCC established
- 1992 Earth Summit held in Rio de Janeiro  
UNFCCC established
- 1995 CoP (Conference of the Parties to the UNFCCC) (Berlin): Berlin Mandate – parties agree to the principles of ‘polluter pays’ and that there will be no developing country commitment in the first period
- 1996 CoP2 (Geneva): Agreed to work towards legally binding targets  
Howard Administration takes office in Australian federal election – Robert Hill made Environment Minister
- 1997 CoP3 (Kyoto): Kyoto Protocol negotiated – binding emissions targets set
- 1998 CoP4 (Buenos Aires): Made plans to solve outstanding Kyoto Protocol issues  
Howard Government elected for second term
- 1999 CoP5 (Bonn): Progress report on Kyoto Protocol negotiations
- 2000 CoP6 (The Hague): Difficult negotiations, many tried to exploit Kyoto Protocol loopholes
- 2001 USA withdraws from Kyoto Protocol process  
CoP7 (Marrakech): Many Kyoto Protocol negotiations finalised  
3<sup>rd</sup> IPCC report: declares global warming evidence undoubted  
Howard Government elected for third term – Environment Minister changes from Robert Hill to David Kemp
- 2002 Australia rejects Kyoto Protocol ratification
- 2005 Kyoto Protocol comes into force
- 2007 November: Federal election in Australia, Labor Government led by Rudd elected  
December: Rudd Government ratifies Kyoto Protocol
- 2008 First commitment period begins

## APPENDIX 2 - DATA REFERENCES

Analysis Code	Source	Title	Date	Author / Interviewer
AGE1	The Age / Sunday Age, Melbourne	Fear for La Trobe Valley over greenhouse targets	15/10/2000	Hopkins, P
AGE2	The Age / Sunday Age, Melbourne	Cloud hangs over eco-business	1/04/2002	Healy, G
AGE3	The Age / Sunday Age, Melbourne	History delivers Howard some heady moments	15/06/2002	Dodson, L
AGE4	The Age / Sunday Age, Melbourne	Kyoto signing could fetch income of \$800	21/06/2002	Myer, R
AGE5	The Age / Sunday Age, Melbourne	Australia's Environment	31/07/2002	Dickie, P and Brown, S
AGE6	The Age / Sunday Age, Melbourne	Falling off the map	17/08/2002	Forbes, M
AGE7	The Age / Sunday Age, Melbourne	Summit 'greenwash' may paint the world's future into a corner	31/08/2002	Peatling, S
AGE8	The Age / Sunday Age, Melbourne	How does Australia scrub up at the carbon sink?	21/09/2002	Myer, R and Hopkins, L
AGE9	The Age / Sunday Age, Melbourne	Greed	18/11/2002	Chessell, J
AGE10	The Age / Sunday Age, Melbourne	Where will it all end?	22/03/2003	Carney, S
AGE11	The Age / Sunday Age, Melbourne	Kyoto, the deal that went from win-win to lose-lose	17/01/2004	Guerrera, O
AGE12	The Age / Sunday Age, Melbourne	Trust extended by a year	12/05/2004	Guerrera, O
AGE13	The Age / Sunday Age, Melbourne	Taste for metal and coal leads to nasty case of excess gas	25/06/2004	Myer, R
AGE14	The Age / Sunday Age, Melbourne	Forecasters bridge bipartisan waters	12/07/2004	Gordon, J
AGE15	The Age / Sunday Age, Melbourne	David Kemp: a Liberal for all seasons	17/07/2004	Roskam, J
AGE16	The Age / Sunday Age, Melbourne	The Issues	30/08/2004	
AGE17	The Age / Sunday Age, Melbourne	Strength of economy lies behind election date	30/08/2004	
AGE18	The Age / Sunday Age, Melbourne	Russia shows us the way on Kyoto	2/10/2004	
JH1	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview	19/10/1998	Cordeaux, J
JH2	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of address to National Federation Conference	18/05/1999	
JH3	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of breakfast meeting with French business leaders	27/04/2000	
JH4	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of Brunei press conference	16/11/2000	
JH5	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of radio interview	6/12/2000	Murray, P
JH6	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview	26/03/2001	Donald, P
JH7	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview	30/03/2001	Faine, J
JH8	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview	3/04/2001	Uhlmann, C
JH9	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview, Perth	11/04/2001	
JH10	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview, Adelaide	20/04/2001	
JH11	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of radio interview	20/04/2001	Mitchell, N
JH12	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview	19/06/2001	McGrath, C
JH13	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview	11/07/2001	Pearce, C
JH14	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of press conference, Hotel Okura	3/08/2001	

<b>Analysis Code</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Author / Interviewer</b>
JH15	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of doorstep interview, White House	10/09/2001	
JH16	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview	25/10/2001	Knight, B
JH17	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech and Q&A, Raymond Terrace	6/11/2001	
JH18	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview, Tumbi Umbi	6/11/2001	
JH19	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of joint press conference with Helen Clark	15/02/2002	
JH20	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of press conference, Coolum	3/03/2002	
JH21	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of joint press conference with Gerhard Schroeder	2/07/2002	
JH22	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of joint press conference with Romano Prodi	10/07/2002	
JH23	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of press conference, Suva	15/08/2002	
JH24	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview, Forum Retreat, Fiji	16/08/2002	
JH25	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview, Forum Secretariat, Suva	17/08/2002	
JH26	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview	4/09/2002	Miller, J and Davie, R
JH27	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview	24/04/2003	Cordeaux, J
JH28	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview	30/05/2003	Mitchell, N
JH29	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview	4/06/2003	Laws, J
JH30	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview, Gladstone	12/06/2003	
JH31	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview	4/07/2003	Dix, S
JH32	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview, Adelaide	15/03/2004	
JH33	John Howard's Prime Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview, Sydney	26/07/2004	
DK1	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview, Climate action partnership announced between Australia and the United States	27/02/2002	
DK2	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, Address to the Ian Clunies Ross National Science and Technology Award Presentation Dinner	7/03/2002	
DK3	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, Australia's approach to climate change	15/07/2002	
DK4	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of press conference, Latest greenhouse data, World Summit on Sustainable Development delegation	18/08/2002	Cassidy, B
DK5	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview, World summit on sustainable development, response to 'In Reverse' report, Kyoto	19/08/2002	
DK6	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview, Subject: ozone, Montreal Protocol, Kyoto	17/09/2002	

Analysis Code	Source	Title	Date	Author / Interviewer
DK7	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview, Subject: Government-business climate change dialogue, Kyoto, WSSD	21/08/2002	
DK8	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview, Subject: WSSD, Kyoto	3/09/2002	Jones, T
DK9	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, WSSD from talk to action, Australia's plenary statement to the World Summit on Sustainable Development	4/09/2002	
DK10	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview, Subject: WSSD, Kyoto	5/09/2002	Clarke, P
DK11	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview, Subject: Iraq, WSSD, Kyoto Protocol, Plastic Bag Levy, Telstra, household environmental initiatives	8/09/2002	Turnbull, G
DK12	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview, Subject: Kyoto modeling	16/09/2002	
DK13	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview, Subject: Ozone, Kyoto	17/09/2002	
DK14	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview, Subject: Latest greenhouse gas emission figures released in the 2001 National Greenhouse Gas Inventory	18/09/2003	
DK15	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, address to the Eighth Conference of Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change	30/10/2002	
DK16	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Statement from the Minister for the Environment and Heritage, Dr David Kemp at the conclusion of COP 8 in New Delhi, India	1/11/2002	
DK17	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview, Subject: National environment consultative committee	13/11/2002	
DK18	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, Australia and Asia: Working towards sustainability	25/11/2002	
DK19	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview, Ethanol in petrol	17/12/2002	
DK20	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, Australia's approach to climate change	28/02/2003	
DK21	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, Implementation of the Johannesburg Summit outcomes - an Australian perspective	9/04/2003	
DK22	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, Sustainable energy	9/04/2003	
DK23	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, Hydrogen fuels	20/05/2003	
DK24	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, Minerals Council of Australia's Annual Industry Conference keynote address	3/06/2003	



<b>Analysis Code</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Author / Interviewer</b>
DK25	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview, Subject: New ozone legislation to reduce Australia's greenhouse emissions by up to 6 million tonnes of CO2 equivalent per annum	5/06/2003	
DK26	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, The environment - A taxing issue?	6/06/2003	
DK27	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, Speech to the Australian Resources and Energy 2003 National Conference	16/07/2003	
DK28	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, Speech to the Australian Electrical & Electronic Manufacturer's Association Conference	3/09/2003	
DK29	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, Australia's domestic climate change approach	9/12/2003	
DK30	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview, Green protection zones on North Queensland fisherman and issues relating to renewable energy	8/07/2004	
DK31	David Kemp's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of press conference, Latest greenhouse accounts	15/08/2002	
RH1	Robert Hill's Ministerial online archive	Transcript launch of National Greenhouse Strategy	26/11/1998	
RH2	Robert Hill's Ministerial online archive	Media release: New blueprint for greenhouse action	26/11/1998	
RH3	Robert Hill's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, Dorothy Peters Memorial address	26/10/1999	
RH4	Robert Hill's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, Environmental cringe? Why Australia's environmental achievements receive more recognition abroad than at home	10/02/2000	
RH5	Robert Hill's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, International Landcare 2000 Conference	3/03/2000	
RH6	Robert Hill's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, Accounting for our natural asset base	6/03/2000	
RH7	Robert Hill's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, to the Australian Financial Review's Third Annual Emissions Conference	30/03/2000	
RH8	Robert Hill's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, High level forum on greenhouse sinks	18/04/2000	
RH9	Robert Hill's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, Beyond Kyoto - Australia's efforts to combat global warming	25/04/2000	
RH10	Robert Hill's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, Australia's approach to global environmental issues	5/05/2000	

Analysis Code	Source	Title	Date	Author / Interviewer
RH11	Robert Hill's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, Warming to the challenge: The role of Australian business in combating global warming	5/05/2000	
RH12	Robert Hill's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, Everyday heroes - Australians on World Environment Day	5/06/2000	
RH13	Robert Hill's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, Growing a sustainable economy	22/06/2000	
RH14	Robert Hill's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, Opening address to the Insurance Council of Australia's Canberra Conference	10/08/2000	
RH15	Robert Hill's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, Perception and reality	18/10/2000	
RH16	Robert Hill's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, Address to the Sustainable Energy Industry Association Conference	1/11/2000	
RH17	Robert Hill's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, Working it out: Australia's approach to the Hague climate change conference	14/11/2000	
RH18	Robert Hill's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, Statement to the Sixth Conference of the Parties to the UNFCCC	21/11/2000	
RH19	Robert Hill's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, An address to the Australian Ecogeneration Association Conference	28/03/2001	
RH20	Robert Hill's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, Sustainability: The business case	10/04/2001	
RH21	Robert Hill's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, Address to the Pew Centre on Global Climate Change	17/04/2001	
RH22	Robert Hill's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, Opening statement to the 6th COP to the UNFCCC	19/07/2001	
RH23	Robert Hill's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of speech, Road to Rio+10 and beyond	17/09/2001	
SMH1	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	Hot Topic	14/07/2001	Miller, C
SMH2	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	Environmental failure, psychological success	25/07/2001	Miller, C
SMH3	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	Shame about PM's 'face saving' solution	3/09/2001	Summers, A
SMH4	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	The point is, PM, this is where we live	8/09/2001	Williams, L
SMH5	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	Beazley's confident pitch	1/11/2001	
SMH6	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	Greenhouse stakes	6/11/2001	
SMH7	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	Focus: Greenhouse review	2/05/2002	
SMH8	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	Not what's needed on pollution	2/03/2002	
SMH9	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	Bush appointed oil giant's candidate	16/05/2002	
SMH10	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	Japan joins global warming fight	5/07/2002	
SMH11	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	Quotes of the week	8/06/2002	

<b>Analysis Code</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Author / Interviewer</b>
SMH12	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	Fair-weather friend	15/06/2002	Allard, T
SMH13	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	Kyoto is more than warming	20/08/2002	
SMH14	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	Talking dirty	31/08/2002	Peatling, S
SMH15	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	Summit reaches two deals	2/09/2002	Peatling, S
SMH16	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	Australia in the cold over global warming	4/09/2002	Peatling, S
SMH17	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	Summiteers in the depths	7/09/2002	Peatling, S
SMH18	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	Focus: Hewson slams Howard over Kyoto	19/11/2002	
SMH19	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	Howard's support is paper-thin	17/03/2003	Manne, R
SMH20	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	Shop until the world drops? Not if we sell greener lifestyles as groovier	21/06/2003	Young, E
SMH21	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	An even more sunburnt country thanks to global warming	22/08/2003	Carr, B
SMH22	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	Lessons for Latham in that '70s show	6/01/2004	McGuinness, P
SMH23	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	Kyoto scorn paints a bleak future	13/01/2004	McDonald, M
SMH24	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	Tepid excuse for global warming	13/01/2004	
SMH25	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	Pub hero can do the job	8/01/2004	Moore, T
SMH26	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	No silver or bronze in fight for the Lodge	30/08/2004	Summers, A
SMH27	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	Brian Toohey Column	03/09/2003	Toohey, B
SMH28	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	The Sermon and the Soapbox	31/08/2003	Devine, M
SMH29	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	Crean's leadership on its last legs after defections	23/11/2003	Mitchell, A
SMH30	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	Leaders follow voters into greener pastures	30/05/2004	Grattan, M
SMH31	The Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney	Time to face the West's true enemy	06/06/2004	Brown, B
AFR1	The Australian Financial Review, National	The business backlash on greenhouse	2/10/1999	Taylor, L
AFR2	The Australian Financial Review, National	Herd around The Hill	29/09/2000	
AFR3	The Australian Financial Review, National	Global warming: the greens have the numbers	25/12/2000	Hordern, N
AFR4	The Australian Financial Review, National	Kyoto: Counting the costs	23/02/2002	Macken, J
AFR5	The Australian Financial Review, National	Heat and hot air on Kyoto	7/09/2002	Cleary, P
AFR6	The Australian Financial Review, National	Paying the price for Dirty business	28/09/2002	Macken, J
AFR7	The Australian Financial Review, National	Bush came but look Hu conquered	25/10/2003	Callick, R
AFR8	The Australian Financial Review, National	A short history of the Vulcans	28/04/2004	Walker, T
AFR9	The Australian Financial Review, National	Global warming back on the agenda	29/05/2004	Kitney, G
AFR10	The Australian Financial Review, National	King hit	4/09/2004	Crisp, L
AUS1	The Australian, National	Lees has to live with the foul-up	2/06/1999	Hamilton, C
AUS2	The Australian, National	Hot Air	20/11/1999	MacLeay, J
AUS3	The Australian, National	Money grows on trees	5/06/2000	Hodge, A
AUS4	The Australian, National	Greenhouse plan fails market test	9/06/2000	

Analysis Code	Source	Title	Date	Author / Interviewer
AUS5	The Australian, National	Motor sector shares blame for greenhouse gas blowout	13/07/2000	McDonald, N
AUS6	The Australian, National	Hazardous concession to greenies	1/08/2000	Wood, A
AUS7	The Australian, National	Pariah' warning on greenhouse failure	11/11/2000	Brook, S
AUS8	The Australian, National	Too warm for comfort	18/11/2000	Brook, S
AUS9	The Australian, National	Excise feud fuelled by hypocrisy	28/11/2000	Wood, A
AUS10	The Australian, National	Bonn's lack of protocol	28/07/2001	Kelly, P
AUS11	The Australian, National	Labor's Kyoto pledge is pure gesture	11/10/2001	
AUS12	The Australian, National	That warm feeling is fuzzy logic	16/10/2001	Wood, A
AUS13	The Australian, National	Diverted by sloganeering and faddism	30/10/2001	Wood, A
AUS14	The Australian, National	The Big Issue	3/11/2001	
AUS15	The Australian, National	All Australians should be part of way ahead	27/11/2001	
AUS16	The Australian, National	Climate deal puts Kyoto at risk	1/03/2002	Hodge, A
AUS17	The Australian, National	Stoush in the greenhouse	8/03/2002	Marris, S and Eccleston, R
AUS18	The Australian, National	Here is an agenda to benefit us all - Towards opportunity and prosperity: The agenda	6/04/2002	
AUS19	The Australian, National	Carbon blackmail doesn't lead to greener future	10/06/2002	Morgan, H
AUS20	The Australian, National	The Diary	11/07/2002	Meade, A
AUS21	The Australian, National	Solution we paid for in dollars, not sense	5/08/2002	Macphee, I
AUS22	The Australian, National	Summit is nothing but a hot-air fest	20/08/2002	Wood, A
AUS23	The Australian, National	So much talk to save the world	26/08/2002	Leake, J and Hodge, A
AUS24	The Australian, National	Kyoto still emission impossible	6/09/2002	
AUS25	The Australian, National	Dirty Duo left out in the cold	6/09/2002	Evans, R
AUS26	The Australian, National	What a waste	6/09/2002	Hodge, A
AUS27	The Australian, National	Defiant Kemp leads from world from behind	7/09/2002	Steketee, M
AUS28	The Australian, National	Little to gain from staying out of Kyoto	18/09/2002	Kelly, P
AUS29	The Australian, National	Voters see a true representative in Green	21/10/2002	Milne, G
AUS30	The Australian, National	Towards a fair, secure society	25/11/2002	Crean, S
AUS31	The Australian, National	Chest thumping backfires	14/02/2003	Costello, M
AUS32	The Australian, National	Firms sinking greenhouse effect	19/04/2003	
AUS33	The Australian, National	Clearance fire sale	1/11/2003	Hodge, A
AUS34	The Australian, National	True blues quietly adapt to greenie ways	25/11/2003	Brown, S
AUS35	The Australian, National	Tripped up by the old Capone	17/02/2004	Adams, P
AUS36	The Australian, National	No future in Kyoto Protocol	2/03/2004	Wood, A
AUS37	The Australian, National	Flaws of the crystal ball	13/03/2004	Pearson, C
AUS38	The Australian, National	America: the selfish state?	10/05/2004	Kerr, N
AUS39	The Australian, National	Both sides keenly court green vote	14/06/2004	Lewis, S
AUS40	The Australian, National	Extremist shade of Green	4/09/2004	Pearson, C
AUS41	The Australian, National	Fretful candidates feeling a bit Green	15/09/2004	Steketee, M

Analysis Code	Source	Title	Date	Author / Interviewer
AUS42	The Australian, National	Brown forsakes forests for poll ease	20/09/2004	Milne, G
CRM1	The Courier Mail / Sunday Mail, Brisbane	Can't see the good for the trees	1/11/2000	Schneiders, L
CRM2	The Courier Mail / Sunday Mail, Brisbane	Our green image receives a pruning	23/05/2001	
CRM3	The Courier Mail / Sunday Mail, Brisbane	Planet Earth put on hold	14/04/2001	Brunton, R
CRM4	The Courier Mail / Sunday Mail, Brisbane	Tax, trees and a lot of hot air	4/08/2001	Treadgold, T
CRM5	The Courier Mail / Sunday Mail, Brisbane	Another snub for Pacific forum	20/08/2001	
CRM6	The Courier Mail / Sunday Mail, Brisbane	Left in the cold by greenhouse treaty	10/07/2002	Craig, A
CRM7	The Courier Mail / Sunday Mail, Brisbane	Summit to set unrealistic targets	27/08/2002	
CRM8	The Courier Mail / Sunday Mail, Brisbane	Helpless to resist America the annoyingly beautiful	9/08/2003	Duffy, M
CRM9	The Courier Mail / Sunday Mail, Brisbane	Environment 'feels the squeeze'	13/05/2004	O'Malley, B
CRM10	The Courier Mail / Sunday Mail, Brisbane	Environment auction may bring good results	6/10/2004	Hundloe, T
CRM11	The Courier Mail / Sunday Mail, Brisbane	Heads in the clouds	26/08/2002	Charlton, P
AD1	Alexander Downer's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview, Subject: Solomon Islands peace monitoring team	11/06/2002	
AD2	Alexander Downer's Ministerial online archive	Media release: Global greenhouse challenge: The way ahead for Australia	15/08/2002	
AD3	Alexander Downer's Ministerial online archive	Transcript of interview, National Press Club questions and answers	15/07/2004	
DT1	The Daily Telegraph / Sunday Telegraph	Ford cooking with gas	21/07/2000	Martin, S
DT2	The Daily Telegraph / Sunday Telegraph	Are our greens good for us	31/02/2001	Maley, B
DT3	The Daily Telegraph / Sunday Telegraph	HSC Study Guide	07/06/2001	Walker, J
DT4	The Daily Telegraph / Sunday Telegraph	Kyoto deal a good win but at what cost	30/07/2001	Benson, S
DT5	The Daily Telegraph / Sunday Telegraph	Voicing contrary views of the left	07/04/2002	Akerman, P
DT6	The Daily Telegraph / Sunday Telegraph	Leo Schofield	29/09/2002	Schofield, L
DT7	The Daily Telegraph / Sunday Telegraph	Great Australian scapegoat hunt	23/01/2003	Farr, M
DT8	The Daily Telegraph / Sunday Telegraph	A voice of reason on the other side	18/05/2003	Akerman, P
DT9	The Daily Telegraph / Sunday Telegraph	The premier tells why water restrictions are necessary for the Sydney region	14/09/2003	Carr, B
DT10	The Daily Telegraph / Sunday Telegraph	Garrett rocks to Labor's tune, but...	13/07/2004	Price, M
DT11	The Daily Telegraph / Sunday Telegraph	The Debate	17/06/2004	Henry, D & Kemp, D
DT12	The Daily Telegraph / Sunday Telegraph	Beware of the Greens at bottom of the garden	13/08/2004	Farr, M
DT13	The Daily Telegraph / Sunday Telegraph	Turning up the heat	18/08/2004	Phelan, A

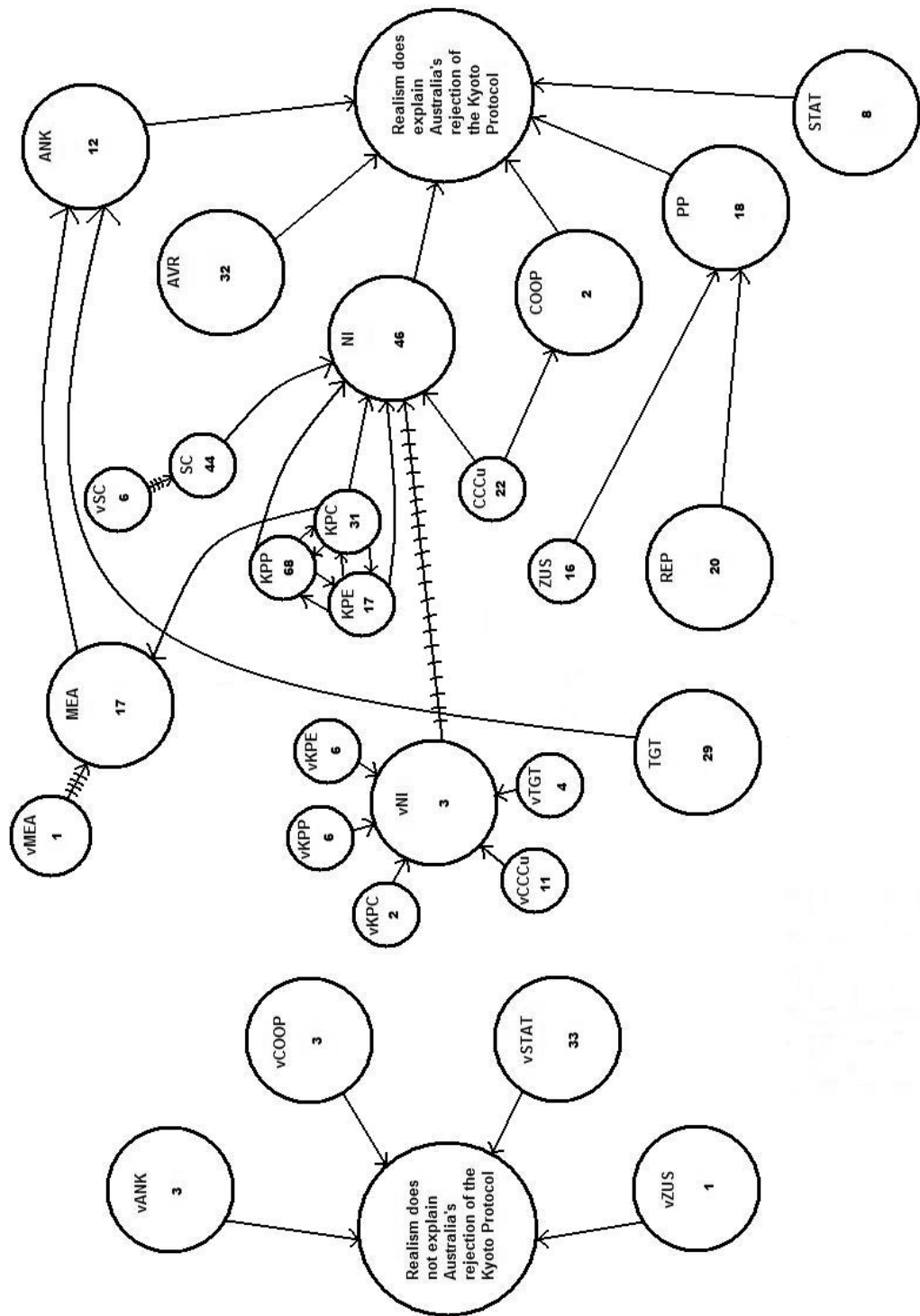
### APPENDIX 3 - FIRST ROUND CODES

CODE	Description
USoverEU	Australia favouring the USA over the EU
noUS	Australia stating they do not want to ratify the Kyoto Protocol because the USA is not joining
vsGHG	Australia committed to lowering greenhouse gases
KPBEC	Kyoto Protocol is bad economically
RNA	relative not absolute gains
UNT	evidence that the state is united
CCCu	climate change challenge - uncertainty
CCCe	climate change challenge - equity
CCCs	climate change challenge - scale
diff	differentiation clause in Kyoto Protocol
NI	national interest
CMP	evidence of competition
SC	Australia mentioning their "special circumstances"
CL	Australia worried about 'carbon leakage'
ACT	mention of Australian Government actions
NEG	discussion of Kyoto Protocol negotiations
NEGgZ	that the Kyoto Protocol negotiations were good for Australia
ZvsEU	Australia disagreeing in some way with the EU
EE	the weighing up of environmental versus economic concerns
ZUS	Australia / USA alliance
tgt	Australia meeting their target despite not ratifying the Kyoto Protocol
LDC	Australia rejecting the Kyoto Protocol because developing countries are not joining
US.LDC	USA stating they will not ratify because developing countries are not joining
proZ	in favour of the Australia position
vsZ	against the Australia position
proKP	in favour of ratifying the Kyoto Protocol
BIZ	evidence of business influence, especially on the Australian government
NOTKP	Mention of treaties other than the Kyoto Protocol – usually the Asia-Pacific climate pact
2L	evidence of a two-level game
ANK	evidence that the international system is anarchy
USNI	Suggestion that the USA is promoting its national interest
proBIZ	Australian Government being pro-business
REP	discussion of Australia reputation
vstgt	the idea that Australia aiming for its target while not ratifying is a bad idea
notgt	Australia stating they will not make the target
AC	mention of the Australia clause
RTN	evidence that states are rational
flex	mention of flexibility mechanisms in Kyoto Protocol
KPBo	Kyoto Protocol being bad for a reason not mentioned above
BIZproKP	Business stating that the Kyoto Protocol is a good thing
fKP	Discussion of what to do globally once Kyoto runs out in 2012
II	International interactions
LBR	Labor party stating they will ratify
PC	links between climate change policy and other types of policy

## APPENDIX 4 - SECOND ROUND CODES

CODE	First round codes it incorporates	Description	Theme	Explanation
ANK	II	Evidence that the international system is anarchic above the level of states. That there is no world government. Evidence from international interactions	ANK	
STAT	UNT, LBR, BIZproKP	State is the main actor in international relations, it is united, and the idea that the Australian Labor Party stating they will sign Kyoto has no affect on the government's decision	STAT	If state is united then the comprising parts are not acting independently. Opposition party policy not having any effect, and the sections of the business community that claimed it was a good idea are not influencing the government either
vSTAT	proBIZ, BIZ	Evidence of business influence on government		
NI	NEGgZ, USNI, EEc	Evidence Australia is promoting their national interest	NI	Negotiating to get a good outcome for one's own country is self-interested. Economic interests coming to the fore over environmental ones (selfish promotion of national interest because Australia would be free-riding on Kyoto Protocol benefits and valuing its own economic benefit over the environmental benefits of global participation)
PP		Power politics / <i>realpolitik</i> , evidence of power play between countries, or country wielding power, and not going for ideology etc.	PP	
COOP		Cooperation is instrumental / untrustworthy / short-lived	COOP	
AVR	RNA, CMP, CL	Evidence of zero-sum thinking. Only relative, not absolute gains possible	AVR	
ZUS	USoverEU, US.LDC, ZvsEU	Evidence of USA / Australia alliance. Australia allying itself with the USA as opposed to the EU	PP	It pays for a weaker country to ally itself with a stronger one. If USA claims no developing country involvement is bad it makes sense for Australia to agree
KPP	noUS, LDC, US.LDC	Kyoto Protocol flawed due to lack of participation		If USA claims no developing countries is bad, Australia is likely to agree
KPE	KPBec	Kyoto Protocol flawed due to economic burdens it creates		
KPC	KPBEnv	Kyoto Protocol flawed due to its effects on climate change not being big enough		
SC	flex, SC, AC, CCCe, diff, tech	Mention of flexibility mechanisms, Australia's 'special circumstances', and the "Australia clause"	NI	Australia thinks it is being treated unfairly in the Protocol but others view the equity issue surrounding Kyoto as being the opposite, i.e. it should be about priority for the worst off.
CAP	NOTKP	Climate Action Partnership, or any hint of taking action internationally on climate change outside of Kyoto Protocol	ANK	Shows Australia does not mind ignoring the UNFCCC's negotiating mechanisms
TGT	tgtvsKP	Australia stating they will meet their Kyoto Protocol target even though they will not ratify	ANK	Supports ANK idea because suggests Australia still wants to make the environmental commitment, only they wish to do it outside of the institution of the UNFCCC.
CCCu		uncertainty over climate change and / or the Kyoto Protocol	NI / COOP	Either Australia is being selfish over the uncertainty which has also influenced other countries, or it is simply against international environmental cooperation

APPENDIX 5 - LINKS BETWEEN THEMES AND RESEARCH QUESTION



Key

See Appendix 4 for an explanation of the abbreviations for each code

- Number → = number of instances code found in both data sets combined
- = One code offering support for another
- +++++ → = One code undermining another



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