Bachelor's project

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EU's Response to Climate Change

A Qualitative Comparative Analysis of the Paris Agreement and the European Green Deal

Bachelor's project in European Studies
Supervisor: Tobias Etzold
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Abstract

This paper sets out to investigate the correlation between the Paris Agreement and the European Green Deal. The theme for this project regards EU climate policy and the prospects the EU presents around combatting climate change, thus presenting the research question: *To what extent can the European Green Deal assist the EU in reaching its goals set out in the Paris Agreement of 2015?* Through a qualitative comparative analysis, the Paris Agreement and the European Green Deal will be accounted for and their content analyzed. The articles of the Paris Agreement as well as some main points from the European Green Deal, are presented and compared in order to find a significant correlation that may explain the Green Deal's applicability to reach the goals of the Paris Agreement. The conclusion shows that the action-specific nature of the European Green Deal provides measures that assists the EU towards becoming climate neutral in the future. However, the Green Deal comes forth as a limited and vague action plan that lacks drastic change and will thus be subject to criticism.

Sammendrag

Denne oppgaven har som formål å undersøke korrelasjonen mellom Parisavtalen og the European Green Deal. Tema for oppgaven er EUs klimapolitikk og prospektene EU presenterer for å bekjempe klimaendringer, dermed anføres følgende problemstilling: *I hvilken grad kan the European Green Deal hjelpe EU med å nå de gitte målene i Parisavtalen av 2015?* Gjennom en kvalitativ komparativ analyse vil både Parisavtalen og the Green Deal bli gjort rede for, etterfulgt av en deduktiv dokumentanalyse. Parisavtalens artikler samt utdrag fra Green Deal presenteres og sammenlignes med formål om å finne en betydelig korrelasjon for å forklare Green Deals innvirkning på EU og hvorvidt de dermed kan nå sine mål. Konklusjonen vil vise at den handlings-spesifikke naturen av Green Deal tilbyr tiltak som til en viss grad kan bidra til at EU en gang i fremtiden vil oppnå klimanøytralitet. Til tross for dette fremtrer Green Deal som en begrenset og vag handlingsplan, mangelfull for drastiske endringer, og blir dermed subjekt for kritikk.

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List of Abbreviations

GHG	Greenhouse gas
C	Celsius
EU	European Union
UN	United Nations
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
EEC	European Economic Community
OLP	Ordinary legislative procedure
REACH	Regulation, evaluation, authorization and restriction of chemicals in the single market
VAT	Value-added tax
COP21	Conference of the parties, session 21
NDC	Nationally determined contribution
NECP	National energy and climate plan
GDP	Gross domestic product
EIB	European Investment Bank
ISDS	Investor state dispute settlement
WTO	World Trade Organization
CBAM	Carbon border adjustment mechanism

1. Introduction

With rising awareness of the disastrous effects of radical climate change, nations from all over the world have attempted a number of times to create agreements with the right amount of commitment and ambition in order to cooperate towards reduction of greenhouse gas (GHG) emission. For example, the Kyoto protocol of 1997 presented binding targets alongside timetables and deadlines in order to reduce emissions. The Kyoto protocol was the first major climate agreement, and its structure has since been used as support when negotiating new international agreements. The Copenhagen Agreement of 2009 finalized its predecessor, the Bali action plan of 2007, while also introducing the goal of limiting temperature rise to below 2° Celsius (C). It was followed by the Cancun Agreement of 2010, in which indispensable components of the Copenhagen Agreement were formalized (C2ES, n.d.). Still, no international agreement has reached the amount of praise and attention as we see with regards to the Paris Agreement of 2015.

The Paris Agreement is an international agreement based on commitment to limit climate change and the influence modern society has on the climate. The Agreement is based on political action and commitment for all 195 signatories (UNTC, 2021). The Paris Agreement consists of multiple main points: ideally, the signatories will achieve climate neutrality, meaning that the countries do not produce more emissions than they can capture or remove. Further, the global temperature should not rise with more than 2° C, preferably no more than 1.5° C compared to pre-industrial levels by 2050, while the countries also commit to cutting GHG emissions. Economical differences are paid attention to, accentuating the need for developed countries to assist developing countries in reaching their goals, thus giving them the opportunity to adapt to climate change (Dimitrov, 2016, p. 7). In order to reach the goals of the Paris Agreement, there is a consensus around the prerequisite of international cooperation, which involves sharing knowledge, experience, funding and technology.

Even after the implementation of the Paris Agreement, there is still room for improvement. Energy poverty and sustainable growth are issues that have been raised but there is a need for extensive funding to all applicable sectors, preferably provided through investment plans. The EU aims to be world leading in terms of environmental action, and with a new Commission as of December 2019, the EU presented a new plan, namely the European Green Deal.

The European Green Deal is a growth strategy presented in a communication by the European Commission, led by Commission President Ursula von der Leyen, with aims to tackle environment-related issues. The Green Deal is denoted as a response to these issues, with prospects of no net GHG emissions by 2050 and a modern and resource-efficient Europe (European Commission, N.d.). The communication provided by the European Commission states that the Green Deal is an "initial road-map of the key policies and measures needed to achieve the European Green Deal" (European Commission, 2019, p. 2). The communication also states the Green Deal's importance to the EU in order to implement the United Nations (UN) 2030 agenda and its sustainable development goals (UN, n.d). The Green Deal aims to supply clean energy to sectors such as the economy, infrastructure, food production, taxation and social benefits (European Commission, 2019, p. 3). The Commission also suggested to amend the

climate law, while revising all climate-relevant instruments, exemplified with the Emissions trading system (European Commission, 2019, p. 4).

Based on the foundation laid down by the Paris Agreement, followed by the measures in the Green Deal, it is interesting to see how the Agreement and the Deal correlate. This thesis sets out to analyze the content of the Paris Agreement and the European Green Deal. Through a qualitative content analysis, I will provide a comparative inquiry of the two documents. The thesis aims to investigate the correlation between the Paris Agreement and the European Green Deal, posing the research question: *to what extent can the European Green Deal assist the European Union in reaching its climate goals set out in the Paris Agreement of 2015?* With regards to limitations of the paper, the paper will dismiss the predecessors of the Paris Agreement, and rather focus on a timeframe following 2015 up to today, thus including the adoption of the Green Deal and subsequent developments.

Research has been conducted on the Paris agreement and the Green Deal prior to this thesis. Preceding analyses of both documents have presented analyses on behalf of the respective Agreement, disregarding the documents in relation to each other. Therefore, this paper will contribute to the research by providing a comparative analysis of the two documents in light of one another. A literature review will be provided continuously as the literature is applied in the conceptual framework, the empirical background as well as in the discussion.

Chapter 2 introduces the methodology of the research, which, as already stated, will be a qualitative comparative analysis. In chapter 3, the conceptual framework will be accounted for, introducing the concepts of EU policy-making and coordination (Selin & VanDeever, 2015) and of circular economy (Stahel, 2016). Chapter 4 includes the empirical background, based on primary sources in form of the original document of the Paris Agreement retrieved from the UN (2015) and the Green Deal retrieved from the European Commission (2019). Chapter 4 will therefore highlight the content for each of the documents accompanied by secondary sources in form of definitions and explanations by the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). This section will thus provide the foundation for chapter 5, namely the analysis and discussion, in which the documents will be compared with respect to key similarities and differences, where findings will be discussed in light of the conceptual and empirical framework. The conclusion will show that the European Green Deal provides specific measures that will help the EU achieve climate neutrality in the long run, however, in a limited way, as the Deal is largely criticized for its vague nature and its lack of drastic change.

2. Methodology

This paper will investigate the extent to which the European Green Deal can assist the EU in reaching the goals set out in the Paris Agreement. Based on the research question and the two main documents that have been presented, the paper will provide a qualitative comparative document study. Primarily, similarities will be addressed, accompanied by significant differences in order to provide a valid comparative analysis. Both units of analysis comprise of commitments to resolve the climate crisis, by providing solutions and substantial changes to policies, regulations and protective measures, thus the units are eligible for comparison. It will be taken into account that the Green Deal consists of implementation tools with respect to the Paris Agreement. Therefore, it will be expected that the Green Deal references the Paris Agreement, while the Deal also propose further actions that need to be taken in order to reach the goals that were agreed upon in Paris, 2015. The design of this paper will be deductive, using the conceptual and empirical framework to analyze the documents. By comparing these two documents, this paper aims to shed light on the evolvement of the perception of the climate crisis and its influence on EU environmental policy.

3. Conceptual Framework

Understanding EU environmental policy coordination and decision-making is a premise to understand the process behind creating the Paris Agreement and the European Green Deal. Circular economy is a phenomenon frequently mentioned in the Green Deal, with substantial connections to the economic references in the Paris Agreement. Thus, in order to properly analyze the two documents, clear definitions of environmental policy coordination and decision-making, as well as circular economy are needed. Professor Henrik Selin at the Boston University and Professor Stacy D. VanDeever at the University of New Hampshire were authors of the article "EU Environmental Policy Making and Implementation: Changing Processes and Mixed Outcomes" (2015), which will be used accordingly to affirm the policy coordination and history of the environmental policy-making process in the EU, with support from Helen Wallace and Christine Reh (2015). Subsequently, Walter R. Stahel will provide an explanation of the phenomenon and a comment on circular economy and its benefits, retrieved from the journal *Nature* (2016), with additional support from Sébastien Sauvé, Sophie Bernard and Pamela Sloan (2016).

3.1 EU Environmental Policy Coordination and Decision-Making

The EU is considered one of the most politically, economically and legally authoritative organizations at the international arena (Selin & VanDeever, 2015, p. 2). The legislative process today may be considered as complex and is a result of being redefined continuously since the establishment of the European Economic community (EEC) in 1957 with the signing of the Rome Treaty. Today, the legislative and decision-making process involves all EU bodies as well as the opportunity for member states and individuals to express their opinion.

The list of relevant actors involved when creating environmental policies are comprehensive, but the five EU bodies are regarded the most influential and actively involved: the European Commission, the European Council, the Council of the European Union (the Council), the European Parliament and the Court of Justice of the European Union (the Court) (Selin & VanDeever, 2015, p. 4-5). The member states are actively involved in the European Council, where national state leaders meet and formulate the political agenda of the EU. The national links to the European Council provides a

foundation for national policies to influence EU policy, most prominent in the economic and financial sector (Wallace & Reh, 2015 p. 87). In terms of environmental policy, the European Council create collective targets with respect to GHG emissions, reductions and renewable energy expansions (Selin & VanDeever, 2015, p. 5). The member states also promote a "common ground on regional issues" in the Council (Selin & VanDeever, 2015, p. 6), in which national line ministers negotiate based on national interests on the topic, rotating the presidency of the Council in periods of six months (Wallace, et. Al, 2015, p. 82).

The Commission has the sole right to propose new legislation, as well as initiating sanctions towards member states who do not meet their EU law obligations. The Commission is composed of one representative from each member state, one of which is the president, followed by a first vice president, who is the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. An additional five vice presidents are in charge of broader issues, while the remainder of the commissioners supervise issue-specific portfolios in different departments (Wallace, et. Al, 2015, p. 75-77). The Parliament is the main EU body in which the citizens of the EU promote their interests, as the Parliament is the only EU body directly elected by the European people. The Parliament is organized in political groups, with elections held every five years, and they are included in the ordinary legislative procedure (OLP) alongside the Council. The Court constitutes the judicial branch of the EU and provide a legal basis for EU environmental policy-making, ensuring the applicability with the EU-treaties (Selin & VanDeever, 2015, p. 6).

With regards to implementation of legislation, there is a division between primary legislation, involving the treaties, and secondary legislation, which concerns specific laws. The secondary legislation can be implemented through regulations, directives or decisions. Regulations include a joint deadline for the given rules to be followed such as the REACH regulation (registration, evaluation, authorization and restriction of chemicals) of 2007 (Selin & VanDeever, 2015, p. 8). Directives may have different deadlines based on national conditions, such as with air pollution laws (Selin & VanDeever, 2015, p. 8). Decisions are binding and individuals or authorities are expected to act upon the issue actively, for example the reporting and sharing of pollution data (Selin & VanDeever, 2015, p. 8).

Non-state actors, such as industry and interest-organizations are represented in the policy-making procedure through the lobbying groups. The Commission offers financial support to environmental advocacy groups in its stakeholder consultations, and there is a consensus among European business groups that regional environmental policy-making is an issue that should be acted upon in the higher levels of the EU (Selin & VanDeever, 2015, p. 7). The 2011 European Citizens' initiative law allows individuals to petition the commission to propose new legislation, one criterion for this being one million signatories from at least one quarter of the member states. Additionally, the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union provides an opportunity for individuals to petition the Parliament to address specific topics such as environmental issues (Selin & VanDeever, 2015, p. 7).

Enlargements have proven to be an efficient mechanism with a major effect on EU policy. Different priorities between northern and southern member states in the 1970's and 1980's may illustrate, as the former advocated for high environmental and human

health standards, compared to the latter who focused on economic growth through investment and trade. A compromise was reached in the Single European Act of 1986:

> *Starting in 1993 with clear legal provisions for adopting environmental laws and setting up structural funds with financial resources to support development and infrastructure projects in less affluent member states (Selin & VanDeever, 2015, p. 12).*

The 1995 enlargement with Austria, Sweden and Finland shifted political balance in the EU, and resulted in a broader consensus for stricter environmental policies. The inclusion of central and eastern European countries in 2004, 2007 and 2013, welcomed states who had suffered severely in terms of ecological damage under a communist regime, resulted in an expansion of cohesion policy set out to assist the new member states in the transition to EU policy, so all EU member states would be included and equal in terms of policy implementation (Selin & VanDeever, 2015, p. 12).

This exemplifies the intricate and complex nature of policy-making at an EU level, with its great number of EU bodies and non-state actors. One can expect the action-oriented nature of the Green Deal to include supranational, regional and local incentives, while providing a common ground for the environment-related developments to take place. The Green Deal is presented in a communication from the European Commission, and based on an extensive negotiating process, all significant actors in the executive, legislative and judicial sectors have been involved in order for the Green Deal to be applicable to all relevant sectors.

3.2 Circular Economy

There are three kinds of industrial economy: linear, performance and circular. The differing classifications of industrial economy each provide an economical foundation for business models, with contrasting definitions of ownership and liability. Linear economy is the type most commonly used around the world today (Sauvé, Bernard & Sloan, 2016), where natural resources are utilized to produce base materials and products for the market. When the product is bought, the buyer obtains ownership and the liability for risks. The owner must then decide whether to recycle, reuse or discard the product upon excessive wear and tear. Stahel (2016, p. 436) describes this process as "fashion, emotion and progress". The linear economy provides a basis for less scarcity, but also overuse of resources, as the companies provide high volumes of cheaper and desired products (Stahel, 2016, p. 436).

Performance economy involves selling goods, and even molecules, as "services through rent, lease and share business models" (Stahel, 2016, p. 436). This way, the manufacturer will continuously hold ownership of the product, as well as the liability of risk. This economy focuses on solutions rather than products, as it makes its profits from sufficiency, as for example in waste prevention (Stahel, 2016, p. 436).

Stahel (2016, p. 437) points to the main aim of a functional and environmental economy as being the ability to recycle atoms. This technology is already available with respect to some metals, but it has not been developed to the extent that it closes the loop from production to recovery. Furthermore, Stahel suggests that the ecological impact, cost and benefit of products must be assessed by economists, environmental- and material scientists (Stahel, 2016, p. 437). Additionally, punishing activities that are not desired by the society raise the idea of taxing consumption of non-renewable resources. Thus,

Stahel (2016, p. 438) address the value-added tax (VAT), which is deserved by value-added activities, but not reusing, repairing and remanufacturing.

Circular economy aims to reprocess goods and materials while generating jobs, opportunities, saving energy and reducing resource consumption and waste (Sauvé, et. Al, 2016). Stahel (2016, p. 436) illustrates with a glass bottle, as it is both faster and cheaper to clean the bottle and reuse it, rather that recycling the glass or producing a new bottle with new resources. In order for these solutions to be applicable, the services must be available. In practice, "The goods of today become the resources of tomorrow at yesterday's prices" (Stahel, 2016, p. 437). In line with sustainable development, circular economy may thus be regarded as the optimal industrial economy, granted its focus on a closed loop of production and consumption (Sauvé, et. Al, 2016), accepting the certainty that resources are not infinite.

4. Empirical Framework

To this point, the paper has established the methodology as well as conceptual framework that will assist in answering the research question. In this chapter, the empirical background will be provided based on the primary documents of the Paris Agreement and the Green Deal, respectively.

4.1 Paris Agreement

The Conference of the Parties held their 21st session (COP21) from November 30th to December 11th in 2015 (UNFCCC, n.d.(a)). The summit resulted in 195 signatories, and the Agreement entered into force in November 2016 (UNFCCC, n.d (c)). To this day the Agreement has been ratified by 191 of the parties (UNFCCC, n.d (b)), including all EU member states after then-commission President Jean Claude Juncker urged the Union to ratify the Agreement in his state of the Union speech in 2016 (Juncker, 2016). The remainder of the signatories yet to ratify the Agreement consists of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Libya, Eritrea and Yemen. Additionally, countries such as Syria and Nicaragua have been accessioned to the Paris Agreement (UNTC, 2021). The Agreement was negotiated in order to continue the efforts set out in the Kyoto protocol of 1997, while complementing the protocol with contemporary solutions and actions towards a sustainable low-carbon future through a legally binding commitment (Bodansky, 2016). The Paris Agreement consists of 29 articles, providing aims in which the parties conform to through implementing relevant legislation and measures.

Efforts and Goals

Article 2 summarize the purpose of the Agreement while stating the global goal of keeping temperature rise well below 2° C. Article 3 states that the efforts needed in order to achieve climate neutrality are being accounted for in articles 4,7,10, 11 and 13. Article 4 includes the nationally determined contributions (NDCs) (§2), which are plans prepared by each party in order to fulfill the purpose of the Paris Agreement, with respect to responsibility, capability and circumstances (§3). Furthermore, article 4 states the obligation that developed countries possess in terms of supporting developing countries in their process, thus providing developing countries the prerequisite to elevate their ambitions. Article 7 establishes "the global goal on adaption of enhancing adaptive capacity, strengthening resilience and reducing vulnerability to climate change (…) [while] contributing to sustainable development" (§1). Article 10 asserts the importance of technological development "in order to improve resilience to climate change and

reduce greenhouse gas emissions" (§1), which also includes increased cooperation between parties in terms of knowledge, progress and technology transfer (§2). Article 11 asserts the need for capacity-building and support to developing countries to enhance their capacity, and article 13 establish the transparency framework (§1). This way, implementation shall proceed in a "facilitative, non-intrusive, non-punitive manner, respectful of national sovereignty" (§3).

Mechanisms
The prospect of positive incentives for efforts related to emission mitigation in forestry is stated in article 5, while article 6 supports the voluntary action of reviewing and raising ambitions set out in the NDCs. Article 8 establishes the Warsaw international Mechanism in order to provide cooperation and support in case of risk and loss, for example extreme weather. Article 10 also establish the technology mechanism, consisting of the Conference of the Parties as the governance, the technology executive committee and an implementation arm of advisory boards and networks (TT:CLEAR, n.d). In article 14, the Conference of the Parties agrees to periodically evaluate the collective progress towards the global goal (§1), with the first stock take set for 2023 and every five years following (§2), in order to continuously update and enhance the NDCs (§3). Article 15 facilitates implementation, through a mechanism of which experts provide a committee (§1, §2).

Article 16 indicate that the parties of the convention who choose not to be parties of the Agreement will act as observers (§2), and article 18 allows the observers to participate as such in the proceedings of sessions of the subsidiary bodies (§2). Article 17 establish the secretariat (§1), and article 26 establish the Depositary of the Agreement, namely the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Implementation and Organization
Article 9 asserts the mobilization of climate finance and the importance of managing public funds with regard to the environment. Article 12 stresses the importance of developing "climate change education, training, public awareness, public participation and public access to information".

With respect to organizational proceedings, article 20 provides a window in which the Agreement is open for signing, followed by article 21 asserting a timeline in which the Agreement will enter into force. Article 23 asserts the procedure and validity of prospective annexes added to the Agreement (§2), followed by article 25 in which the quantity of votes per party of the Agreement is agreed upon (§1). Lastly, article 28 declares the regulations of withdrawing from the Agreement (§1), complete with the timespan and comprising of a withdrawal from both the convention and the Agreement (§3).

4.2 European Green Deal

The European Green Deal was introduced by the new European Commission that took office in late 2019, led by Commission President Ursula von der Leyen, as an action plan set out to "make the EU's economy sustainable" (European Commission, n.d.). The Green Deal proposes solutions to overcome the growing threat of environmental degradation while promoting a sustainable growth strategy. The EU aims to achieve the goals of the Paris Agreement by implementing the measures of the Green Deal. The Commission affirms EU's position in the world as being an ambitious leading figure with

regards to environmental, climate and energy policies (European Commission, 2019, p. 20). The communication also states the importance of the Paris Agreement, especially concerning the EU as a party continuously implementing measures and reaching its goals.

Efforts and Goals

Clean energy supply is one of the major objectives of the Green Deal, as it affects "the economy, industry, production, consumption, infrastructure, transport, food and agriculture, construction, taxation and social benefits" (European Commission, 2019, p. 3). In order to achieve this, the protection and restoration of natural ecosystems needs a surge in value. The communication states the EU's wishes to increase EU climate ambitions for 2030 and 2050 through a long-term strategy with a proposed "climate law" set for March 2020. This will effectively imbed the climate neutrality goal of 2050 in legislation, while ensuring a correlation between the EU policies and applicable sectors (Sikora, 2020, p. 683). Furthermore, the EU intends to increase offshore wind production, along with integration of renewables across sectors in order to achieve decarbonization while keeping costs low (European Commission, 2019, p. 5).

In line with the Regulation on the Governance of the Energy Union and Climate Action, member states develop National Energy and Climate Plans (NECPs). The plans are based on ambitions and contributions towards EU targets. The Commission assess the plans, and either approve or raise ambitions in order to increase the climate ambitions of 2030. The next update of the NECPs is set for 2023 (European Commission, 2019, p. 5). Furthermore, the Farm to Fork strategy is introduced, involving a sustainable food policy which includes all stages in the food chain, and aims to assist farmers and fisheries to tackle their issues regarding climate change. A revision of the common agricultural and common fisheries policies will set aside at least 40% of the common agricultural policy's budget and 30% of the Maritime Fisheries Fund towards climate action (European Commission, 2019, p. 12).

Economy

The EU provides over 40% of the public climate finance of the world and aims to continue coordination in order to bridge the funding gap through private finance. In addition to this, the Commission propose to allocate 25% of the Neighborhood, Development and International Cooperation Instrument-budget to climate-related issues (European Commission, 2019, p. 22).

A circular economy action plan sets out to modernize the EU economy. In order to stimulate the development of climate neutral and circular products, a "sustainable products" policy will support circular design based on common methodology and principles. The idea of reduce and reuse before recycling will also foster new business models and reduce the environmentally harmful products present in the EU market, with emphasis on producer liability. Energy intensive industries, such as steel, chemicals and cement are indispensable to the EU in terms of the key value chains, yet the decarbonization procedure will remain applicable in order to phase out environmentally harmful industries, aiming towards circular principles of reuse with respect to these products as well (European Commission, 2019, p. 7).

The sustainable Europe Investment Plan allocates the necessary funding needed in order to achieve the current 2030 climate and energy targets. The Commission has calculated

a necessary €260 billion, roughly 1.5% of 2018 gross domestic product (GDP) (European commission, 2019, p. 15). Additionally, the European Investment Bank (EIB) will double its climate target of 25% to 50%, effectively becoming "Europe's climate bank" (European Commission, 2019, p. 16).

Mechanisms and Implementation

The European Climate Pact is an initiative from the European Commission that sets out to engage the public in climate action (European Commission, 2019, p. 23). The pact "offers a space for everyone to share information, debate and act on the climate crisis" (European Commission, 2020). It was proposed in order to 1) accelerate information sharing, inspiration and stimulate a public understanding of climate change and the threat and influence it poses, as well as how to combat it, 2) provide both a digital and physical arena for the public to express their opinions, ideas, as well as provide a foundation for cooperation at the individual and collective level through fixed climate action goals, and 3) facilitate grassroot initiatives on climate change and how to protect the environment. Citizens dialogues provide the commission with information that helps the EU empower regional and local communities, as they intend to expand the cohesion policy in the urban dimension to accommodate "opportunities to develop sustainable urban development strategies" (European Commission, 2019, p. 23).

Some European households are not able to afford clean energy supply and thus fall into the category of "energy poverty". This will be settled through financing schemes in order to renovate the houses which consequently will reduce energy bills and help the environment (European Commission, 2019, p. 6). Lastly, innovative technologies for infrastructure and industry will be valued, as it assists the Union in its entirety to reach the goals of the Paris Agreement. Ideas regarding smart grids, hydrogen networks, carbon capture and storage and energy storage are assets that need to be further developed to remain fit for purpose and climate resilient (European Commission, 2019, p. 6).

5. Analysis and Discussion

In light of the conceptual framework and the empirical background, this chapter aims to analyze and compare the Paris Agreement and the Green Deal with consideration to prominent similarities and differences in terms of their content. The comparative analysis will thus provide a better understanding of the uniqueness of each document, while also enhancing their correlation to one another.

5.1 Key findings: Similarities and Differences

Policy

With respect to the research question, the analysis finds that a great number of similarities, as well as some differences, can be drawn attention to. The analysis is based on the Green Deal acting as an implementation tool to the Paris Agreement, thus an extension of the initial matters of the Paris Agreement. Therefore, a number of references to the Paris Agreement are found in the Green Deal, as the revisions of policies are justified by the goals of the Paris Agreement. By the means of this, the Green Deal states its mission to be an implementation tool with respect to the Paris Agreement (European Commission, 2019, p. 2).

Most importantly, there is a continuous reference to the idea of becoming climate neutral by 2050 through extensive international cooperation, both in the Paris Agreement and the European Green Deal. This target is correlated with the temperature goal in relation to 1990-temperature levels, consequently keeping the rise of global temperature below 2° C with respect to 1990-levels.

Mechanisms

Further, one can look at the NDCs, presented in Paris, and their similarity to the NECPs that member states of the EU produce with respect to the Green Deal. In 2023 the NDCs and the NECPs will be revised. The NDCs of Paris will be updated in order to ensure a collective fulfillment of the Agreement (Tolliver, Keeley & Managi, 2021). The NECPs take into account the EU member states ambitions towards a climate neutral Europe by 2050, and thus receive feedback from the European Commission. Continuous revision is stated for both the NDCs and NECPs, effectively confirming every party's commitment towards climate neutrality.

The idea of sharing information, knowledge and technology is prominent in both documents. Article 10 of the Paris Agreement specifically states the importance of developing and sharing technology "in order to improve resilience to climate change and to reduce greenhouse gas emissions" (§1). Similarly, the Green Deal initiates the climate pact to engage the public, while also stating that innovative technologies and infrastructure are valued and essential in order for the EU to reach its collective 2030 and 2050 goals (European Commission, 2019, p. 6).

Economy

The economic aspect is prominent in both the Agreement and the Deal, with regards to a sustainable economy. The Green Deal asserts a codependence between climate neutrality and circular economy (European Commission, 2019, p. 6), thus emphasizing the role of circular economy as a mechanism towards economic growth and a tool required to achieve climate neutrality. Article 9 in the Paris Agreement asserts a mobilization of climate finance, as well as managing public funds with respect to the environment. The Green Deal raises a similar issue, referring to the EU contributions of public climate funds to 40%, highlighting the need for coordination in order to bridge the gap with private finance (European Commission, 2019, p. 22).

Article 4 of the Paris Agreement refers to the obligation of developed countries to assist developing countries in their processes. This is a helpful hand for developing countries and their prerequisite to elevate ambitions, in line with the upcoming revisions of NDCs. Similarly, the Commission has calculated a necessary €260 billion in order to fulfill the Sustainable Europe Investment Plan, allocated towards EU climate targets (European Commission, 2019, p. 25). Furthermore, the Green Deal affirms funding to battle energy poverty in the Union, making it feasible for private households to renovate old houses and thus reduce their energy bills.

Thus, we see similarities in the policy coordination, the planning process and the economical aspect of both the Paris Agreement and the Green Deal. Both Agreements commit thoroughly to achieving the 2030 and 2050 climate goals. Further, the need for extensive planning is prominent in both agreements, which we see in terms of the NDCs, the NECPs, and the sharing and development of technology and knowledge. Lastly, the economy is addressed by both agreements, with a consensus around the need for

extensive funding, and bridging the funding gaps with the help of both the EIB and the private sector.

Key Differences
Although not as extensive as similarities, some key differences were found with regards to establishing mechanisms. The Paris Agreement provided a number of mechanisms related to technological advances, economic subsidies, committees of experts, as well as an international mechanism to provide support in case of significant loss due to climate change (art. 8, 10, 15, respectively). With regards to the Green Deal, one can say there were some mechanisms established, but they were presented as actions and instruments already applied in practice. We do however see a difference in magnitude, with the Paris Agreement being an international agreement, as well as being somewhat grounded in voluntary cooperation. The Green Deal, however, is an action-plan that member states in the EU must conform to in order to not be sanctioned by the Commission.

Through the analysis it becomes clear that there is a lack of specific actions in the Paris Agreement. Such references are more frequently found in the Green Deal. The Green Deal is already defined as an action plan, but based on the comprehensiveness of the Paris Agreement, it could be expected to include of more specific measures that are necessary in order to achieve the given goals. Thus, the Green Deal presents specified actions, while also raising ambitions in line with both the 2030 and 2050 GHG emission goals. The Paris Agreement presents ideas and a common commitment to relieve the risks of inevitable climate change, without specifying explicitly how this should be done.

5.2 Criticism of the Paris Agreement and the European Green Deal

Radoslav S. Dimitrov (2016) provides an analysis with insight into the negotiations in Paris from behind closed doors. Dimitrov (2016, p. 1) initially praise the COP21 for their creation of a climate agreement despite "irreconcilable differences". The article elaborates on the difficulties of achieving such an agreement, due to disagreements around the legally binding status of the Agreement, as well as a dispute on the long-term goal, whether it should be 1.5° or 2° C (Dimitrov, 2016, p. 4). Still, some of the major breakthroughs can be acclaimed to the number of secret negotiations in private rooms between parties (Dimitrov, 2016, p. 6). Further, the form of the Paris Agreement is regarded as complex and experimental, for example through its legally binding construction involving both mandatory and voluntary provisions, as well as the double threshold for entry into force reflecting the standards of the Kyoto protocol (Dimitrov, 2016, p. 8). The EU was praised by the certainty that their argumentation during negotiations contained data and facts, while building on the unilateral policies already existing in Europe, and thus "persuaded policymakers in other countries" (Dimitrov, 2016, p. 9).

Vanessa Buth (2020) explains how the Green Deal "as currently constituted is not enough" because the Green Deal merely provides "a new growth strategy". In her article, Buth stress the contradictory logic of the Deal, exemplified with the EU Investor Dispute Treaty. The investor state dispute settlement (ISDS) mechanism allows for businesses to contest governments in court, given that there have been unanticipated policy changes with an effect on profits for the business. A number of EU countries have already experienced this, and thus, Buth characterize parts of the Green Deal as "[Being] watered down already due to threats by the US government to sue the EU using the

[World Trade Organization's (WTO)] dispute settlement mechanism" (Buth, 2020). Further, the EIB have been questioned regarding their ability to tackle fraud and corruption, as they were found to continue funding of projects that were under investigation for fraud (Buth, 2020). Buth questions the seriousness of the Commission, as their main priority appears to lie with economic growth. This is not considered a sustainable approach, as the solution requires a drastic change in lifestyle while economic growth also seems irreconcilable with lower emissions.

> *Ultimately what is needed is organizational structures that enable opinion- and decision-formation amongst civil society to facilitate a humane lifestyle in harmony with nature. (Buth, 2020).*

Daniela Huber (2020) is critical to the anthropogenic worldview of the Green Deal. The issue that the future "is a limitless horizon of growth" is raised, and in relation to the Green Deal, Huber (2020, p. 6) continues to criticize the Deal as "it works on the assumption that limitless growth is possible". The Deal also keeps the EU borders drawn, something that the climate crisis does not acknowledge. The EU must reimagine the Deal in light of the EU being "a part of a larger regional and global community", actively referring to the Green Deal, and the EU's perception of being a world leader, as they propose carbon tax across EU borders and focusing on EU efforts and ambitions (European Commission, 2019, p. 20).

A recent study was presented by the European Council on Foreign Relations (Dennison, Loss, Söderström, 2021) conducted in January and February of 2021 which aims to highlight the climate policy in each member state. Susi Dennison, Rafael Loss and Jenny Söderström published this policy brief in April of 2021, summarizing the study and boiling it down to a few points. First, the overall commitment to the Green Deal is impeccable, yet there are internal disparities regarding implementation. Second, there is a disagreement on carbon border taxes, referred to as CBAM (Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism), and subsequently the problems that may follow the mechanism; growing energy dependence on Russia and China (Dennison, et. Al, 2021, p. 7), the EU being perceived as protectionist and thus damaging the EUs reputation in to free trade (Dennison, et. Al, 2021, p. 10), as well as the specifics of the mechanism, namely calculating carbon footprints while being compliant with rules set by the WTO (Dennison, et. Al, 2021, p. 10). Further, the article proposes a focus on the civil society and the private sector in order to close the capacity gap related to a lack of access to green transition funding (Dennison, et. Al, 2021, p. 13). Additionally, there is a socio-economic concern around the out-phasing of carbon-intensive industries, which may result in unemployment, higher costs of energy and a decline in overall living standards (Dennison, et. Al, 2021, p. 5).

5.3 Discussion

Policy

There is substantial support for the Green Deal as being a well-designed and structured implementation tool to the Paris Agreement. The Green Deal provides measures that consequently should lead to emission mitigation, limiting global temperature rise, and economic growth. However, these measures are presented in light of a framework set by the Paris Agreement, and thus the idea of sharing the burden may not be applicable with the growth strategy of the Green Deal. The disparities that were drawn attention to are justifies by the differentiated contexts and purposes of the two documents.

The Paris Agreement and the Green Deal both bases themselves in international cooperation, which is relevant to the concept of policy coordination and decision making. The EU presents themselves as a world leader with respect to environmental action in the communication by the Commission, pointing to the Paris Agreement and their achievements thus far (European Commission, 2016). The Agreement continuously refer to the parties as an entity, making sure that their common obligation to produce a framework will apply to each individual party.

In line with policy coordination, we may also consider the EU and its delegates as initiators for the Paris Agreement and their achievement of gaining a number of breakthroughs in the negotiation process (Dimitrov, 2016, p. 8-9). Thus, we see the EU bringing their experience and tactics from their own supranational organization into the negotiation process of the Paris Agreement. In addition to this, member states were signatories on behalf of themselves, therefore taking their own responsibility and making commitments to reach the common goals. The Green Deal also went through an extensive negotiation process, however, as an action plan with ample proposals for future measures, the Green Deal comes with a great responsibility of exerting efforts with a profile presented on behalf of the member states.

Both the Paris Agreement and the European Green Deal hold an accredited legal status. The Paris Agreement has even been praised for its legally binding nature by its signatories (Bodansky, 2016). Although the negotiations of the Paris Agreement comprised of differentiated opinions around the legal nature of the Agreement, the signatories eventually came to terms with the necessity of such an obligation. The Green Deal includes several legal revisions, as we see with the proposition of a European climate law, pointing to the importance of revising and strengthening the legal framework in the EU in order to ensure environmental protection, global competitiveness, and overall health of the public (European Commission, 2019, p. 15). This shows that the Green Deal provides EU legislators with an arena to impose policy changes on the member states in order for the EU to reach its goals. However, the validity and not least the implementation of such changes greatly depends on whether differentiation between member states will be taken into account, as well as how the policies are defined, being regulations, directives or decisions.

Mechanisms

The Green Deal establishes mechanisms, but to a reduced extent compared to what we see in the Paris Agreement. For example, the Green Deal asserts that offshore wind production will be increased, and there will be better integration of renewables across sectors. Further, the primary industries of fishing and agriculture will receive financial aid to tackle relevant issues regarding climate change, as well as an investing in renovation of old houses and affordable clean energy for the public and the industries. There is an issue with the timeline of all these mechanisms. As Vanessa Buth states in her article (2020), "the more moderate we act, the more effort will be needed to try and contain global warming to an average 1.5 degrees – if that's still possible". The Green Deal portray itself to be modest, and therefore not near realistic enough about the inevitable impact of climate change.

Economy

One can see the essence of the local and regional levels of the EU and their contributions to the European economy. The Green Deal highlight sustainable products, stimulating

development in support of the circular economy design (Schroeder, Anggraeni & Weber, 2018, p. 79). On the one hand, the Green Deal asserts the need for innovative ideas and technologies, based on renewable energy sources. On the other hand, the Deal affirms the older industries, namely coal, gas and chemicals, as indispensable, and therefore it may take longer time to phase out these industries. At the same time, the EU pushes for decarbonization of industries that are not as carbon intensive as the older industries. The commitment of the EU may therefore be questioned, as it appears that socio-economic concerns as well as implications in the form of the ISDS may not have been considered properly with consideration to the goal of climate neutrality.

Of the signatories that have yet to ratify the Agreement, Turkey and Iran step forth as major emitters to that are in the group. Turkey, with a growing population and a steady economic growth, has an electricity production that relies on 79.2% non-renewable resources (Ozcan, 2016, p.833). Additionally, Iran is in the top ten GHG emitters in the world, due to their "energy-intensive economic growth" (Ghadaksaz & Saboohi, 2020, p.1). Therefore, if these countries had ratified the Agreement and actively pursued climate neutrality, the minor percentage the group represents could have a considerable impact on the worldwide emission data.

In summary, both agreements take base in international cooperation, a phenomenon the EU is familiar with through its history in policy coordination on behalf of, and alongside, member states. The Paris Agreement was largely an EU initiative and took place in France, thus providing the EU with a prerequisite for European standards in the policy coordination. In terms of mechanisms, we see a continued incentive for exploring and adopting renewable resources, such as offshore wind, in favor of non-renewable resources. However, the old energy intensive industries are still regarded as highly valuable, and thus have not received a timeline for out-phasing. There is a consensus on the need for extensive funding, which the EU takes one step further by involving the EIB. Sustainable products and innovative business ideas are at the core for the new economy model in the EU, mirroring aspects from the circular economy model. The ratification-status of the Paris Agreement shows us that the countries who have yet to ratify the Agreement of Paris have an opportunity to continue with an unsustainable route of non-renewables in energy production, and thus limiting the signatories' ambitions in the global context.

Lastly, The Green Deal has been subject to scrutiny. The Paris Agreement has received praise for its complex construction, as well as its ability to put national differences aside for a common cause. The Green Deal, however, has been deemed "not enough". The Deal appears to be cautious and in lack of drastic change. Loopholes such as the ISDS allows businesses to contest governments if there is a substantial decline in profits, thus limiting governmental action in terms of policy-making. Finally, the anthropogenic worldview is not compatible with sustainable development, as much as CBAM is incompatible with changes in the climate that naturally dismiss national borders. Thus, one may deem both the Paris Agreement and the Green Deal measures as being modest and limited, especially in terms of the lack in drastic change.

6. Summary and Conclusion

This paper set out to investigate to what extent the European Green Deal can assist the EU in reaching its goals set out in the Paris Agreement. Through a qualitative comparative methodology and document studies, the analysis found a great number of similarities between the documents, hence finding that the Green Deal complements the Paris Agreement extensively. In addition to this, the nature of the Green Deal provides an action plan with mechanisms, policy changes, industrial reforms and an increase in EU funding. Thus, the Green Deal provides a road map to further enhance the EU's capability towards reaching its goals set out in the Paris Agreement and towards the collective goal of limiting global temperature increase to 2° C above pre-industrial levels. The analysis finds that the European Green Deal provides the EU with a number of measures that may result in a climate neutral Europe, but the Green Deal should also be considered a limited and largely criticized extension of the Paris Agreement.

The analysis has shown that there is a contemporary interest at the European level to limit climate change and the risks that follow. Similarities between the documents include the NDCs of the Paris Agreement and the NECPs of the Green Deal. Further, idea and technology sharing are prominent in both agreements, as well as the obligation of developed countries to assist developing countries in their process towards climate neutrality. Last, but not least, the economical aspect is heavily considered in both agreements, yet perhaps more prominent in the Green Deal, as it presents itself as a growth strategy of the Union as well as emphasizing a transition to circular economy. Peculiar differences involve the establishment of mechanisms, while the most essential difference is the descriptive nature of the Paris Agreement compared to the action-oriented structure of the Green Deal. Both agreements hold a comprehensive legal status, as they apply to countries, non-governmental organizations and intergovernmental organizations. The Paris Agreement have been subject to scrutiny, in this case referring to Dimitrov (2016) and his analysis of the negotiations behind closed doors. Similarly, Buth (2020) and Huber (2020) criticize the Green Deal and its lack of putting forward substantial means as well as drastic changes that would consequently lead to a climate neutral Europe, which is supported by the study presented by the European Council on Foreign Relations (2021).

With regards to future research, this paper may contribute through its document analysis of the Paris Agreement and the European Green Deal based on its investigative nature, and in finding significant correlation between the Agreement and the Deal. The paper may offer a deeper understanding of the association between an international legally binding Agreement, and thus the production of a Deal that sets out to guarantee implementation of the measures set out in the initial Agreement.

The scope of this paper is limited. The paper provides a narrow analysis of the research question, with the word limit being an obvious restricting factor. If there had been no such restrictions, the paper could have investigated further the mechanisms in action. The conceptual framework and the literature provide a narrow outset for the analysis, which thus could have produced other results if these limitations were disregarded. Furthermore, the limitations dismiss any predecessors of the Paris Agreement, merely focusing on the process after November 2015 to today.

Further research should pay special attention to the individual level and perhaps the influence European citizens have with regards to influencing the climate policies set by the EU. Furthermore, the process of implementing an international Agreement and thus producing an equally comprehensive, internal Deal in order to implement the original Agreement, is perhaps a phenomenon that occurs regularly at the higher levels of international polity. This process would be interesting to further investigate, in light of increasing globalization, while also preserving the differentiated nature between countries and supranational organizations.

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