

# The UK, Paris & climate change

## *Laggard or Leader?*

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# Fragility of our place on space-ship Earth

*Coming to terms with our new world vision (1960s -)*



## ... a climate message from the Pope

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*... the alliance of **technology and economics** ends up side-lining anything unrelated to its immediate interests.*

## ... a climate message from the Pope

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*... the alliance of technology and economics ends up side-lining anything unrelated to its immediate interests. ... whereas any **genuine** attempt to introduce change is viewed as a nuisance based on **romantic illusions***

So what is the  
mitigation challenge?



# The Paris Agreement establishes our commitments



United Nations



Framework Convention on  
Climate Change

FCCC/CP/2015/L.9/Rev.1

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Original: English

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## Conference of the Parties

Twenty-first session

Paris, 30 November to 11 December 2015

Agenda item 4(b)

Durban Platform for Enhanced Action (decision 1/CP.17)

Adoption of a protocol, another legal instrument, or an  
agreed outcome with legal force under the Convention  
applicable to all Parties

## ADOPTION OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT

### Proposal by the President

### Draft decision -/CP.21

*The Conference of the Parties,*

*Recalling decision 1/CP.17 on the establishment of the Ad Hoc Working Group on  
the Durban Platform for Enhanced Action,*

*Also recalling Articles 2, 3 and 4 of the Convention,*

*Further recalling relevant decisions of the Conference of the Parties, including  
decisions 1/CP.16, 2/CP.18, 1/CP.19 and 1/CP.20,*

# The Paris Agreement establishes our commitments

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i.e. ... to take action to:

*... hold the increase in global average temperature to  
well below 2°C above pre-industrial levels and pursue  
efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5°C*

*... to undertake rapid reductions in accordance with best science  
... on the basis of equity,*

*To whom* are our commitments made?

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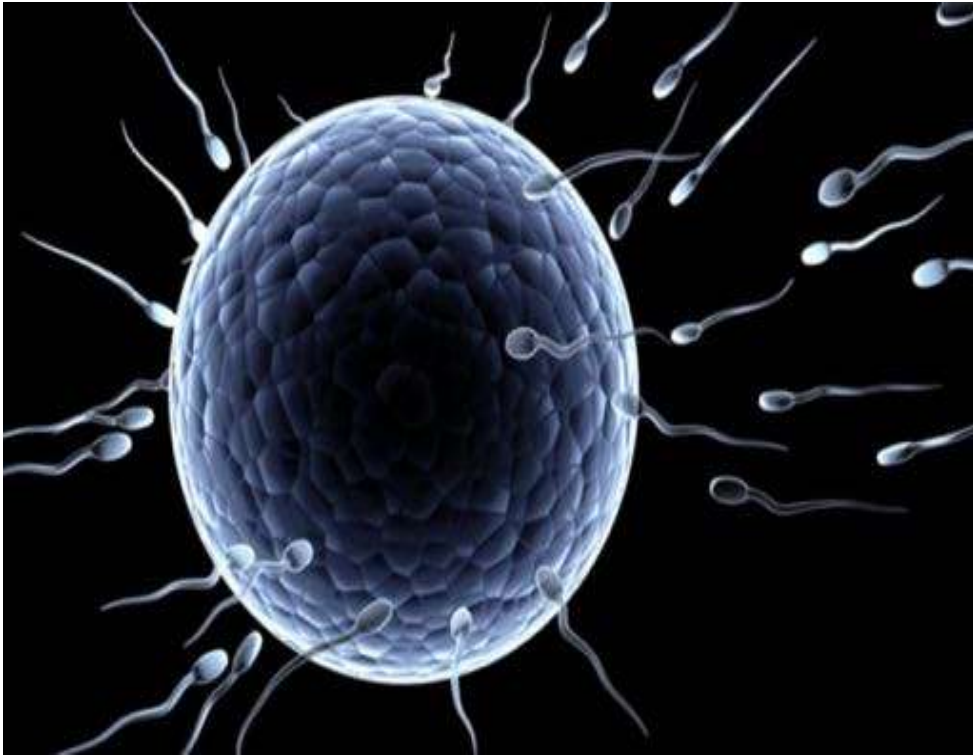




To the poor living in climatically  
vulnerable regions *now*



To our own wealthier children  
*tomorrow*



To future generations



Even to us now

*(migration & breakdown of Schengen)*





To other species & ecosystems  
now & over millennia

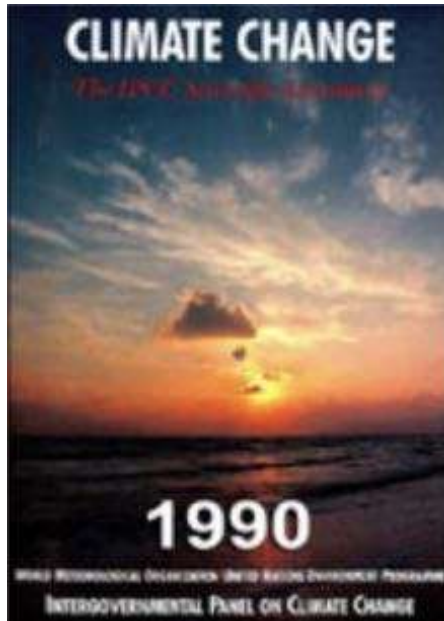


To our own unique home

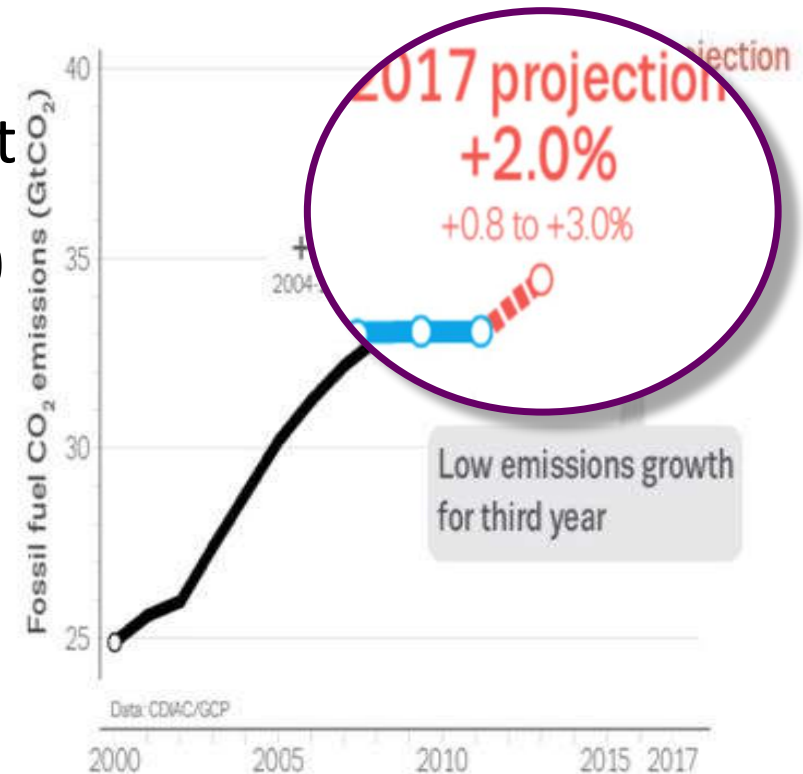
Responding to the  
mitigation challenge?



# Humility as a starting point for hope & action



- 1990: first IPCC report
- 2016: CO<sub>2</sub> 60% >1990
- 2017: CO<sub>2</sub> still rising
- Up by around 2%



*Despite optimistic rhetoric, we've delivered  
27 years of abject failure in terms of reducing total emissions*

# Thus far ... *litany of technocratic frauds*

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- Offsetting ... paying a poor person to diet for us
- Clean development mechanism (CDM) ... state sanctioned offsetting
- Emissions trading (EUETS) ... so many permits the €tCO<sub>2</sub> stays low
- Negative emission technologies ... at huge planetary scale
- Geo-engineering ... a sticking plaster on gangrene

***... we have not seriously tried real mitigation!***

Even in the UK total CO<sub>2</sub> remains high - *little change since 1990*

*(inc. aviation & shipping, imports & exports)*

Real mitigation:  
*take home issues to consider*



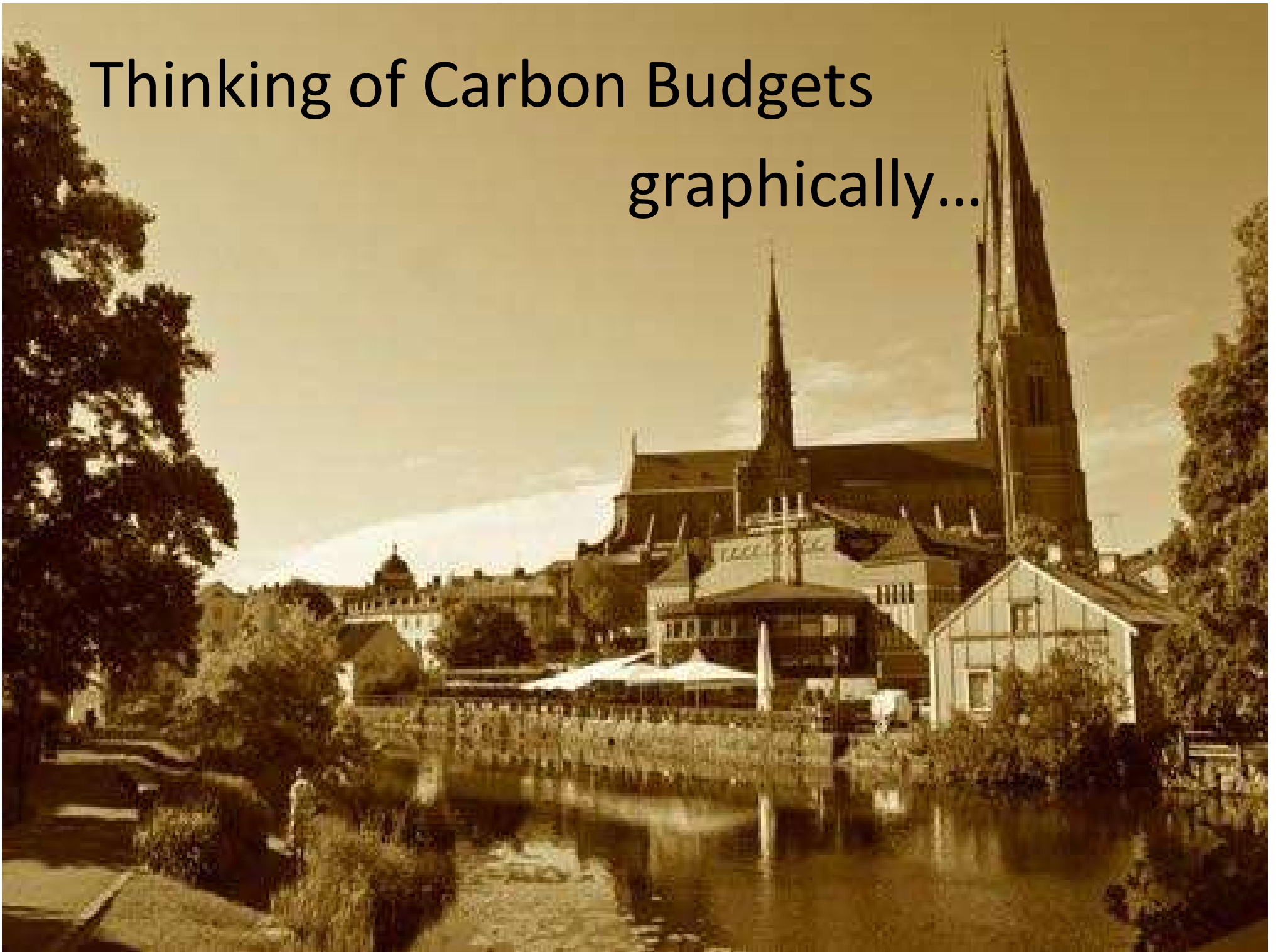
# Take home issues to consider

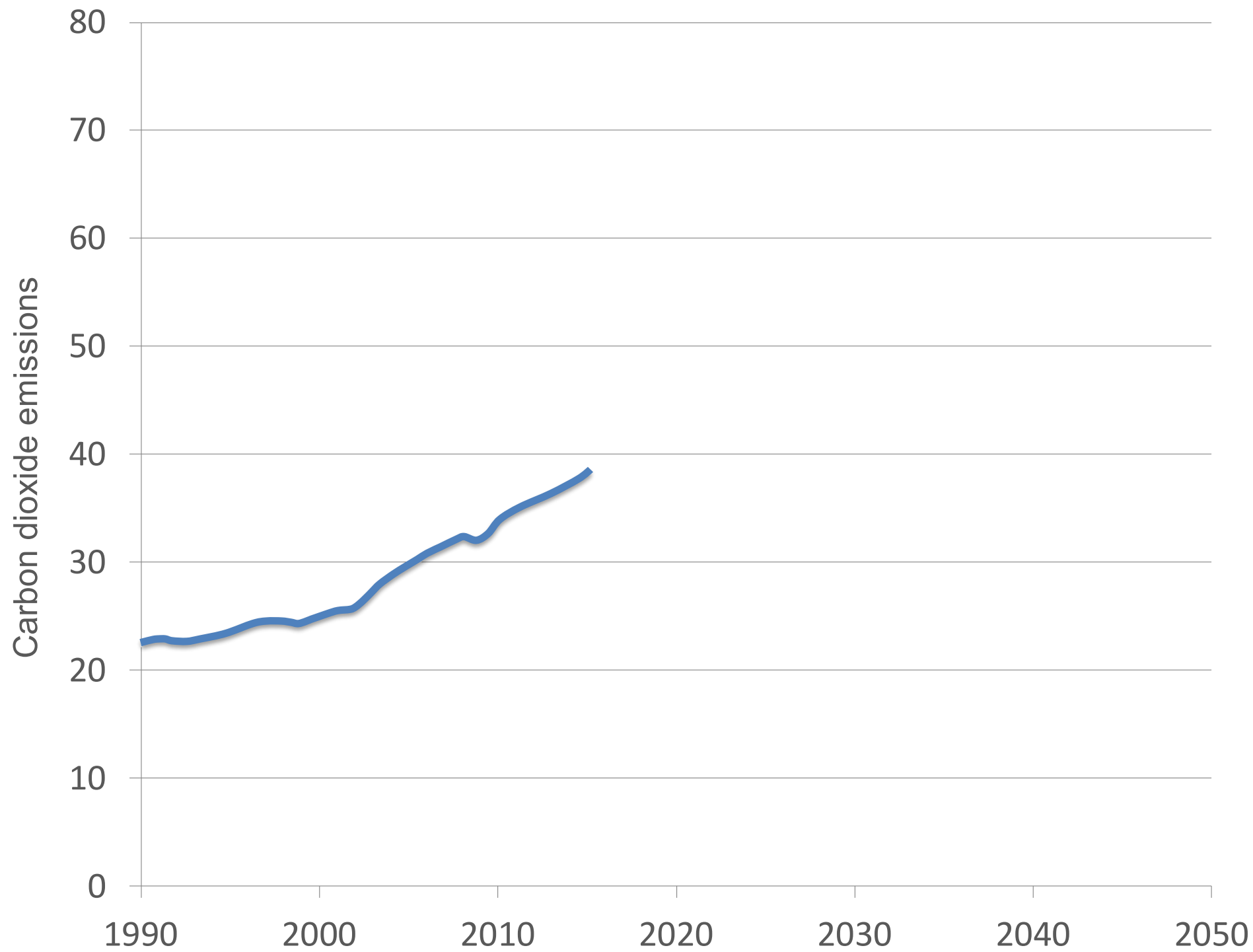
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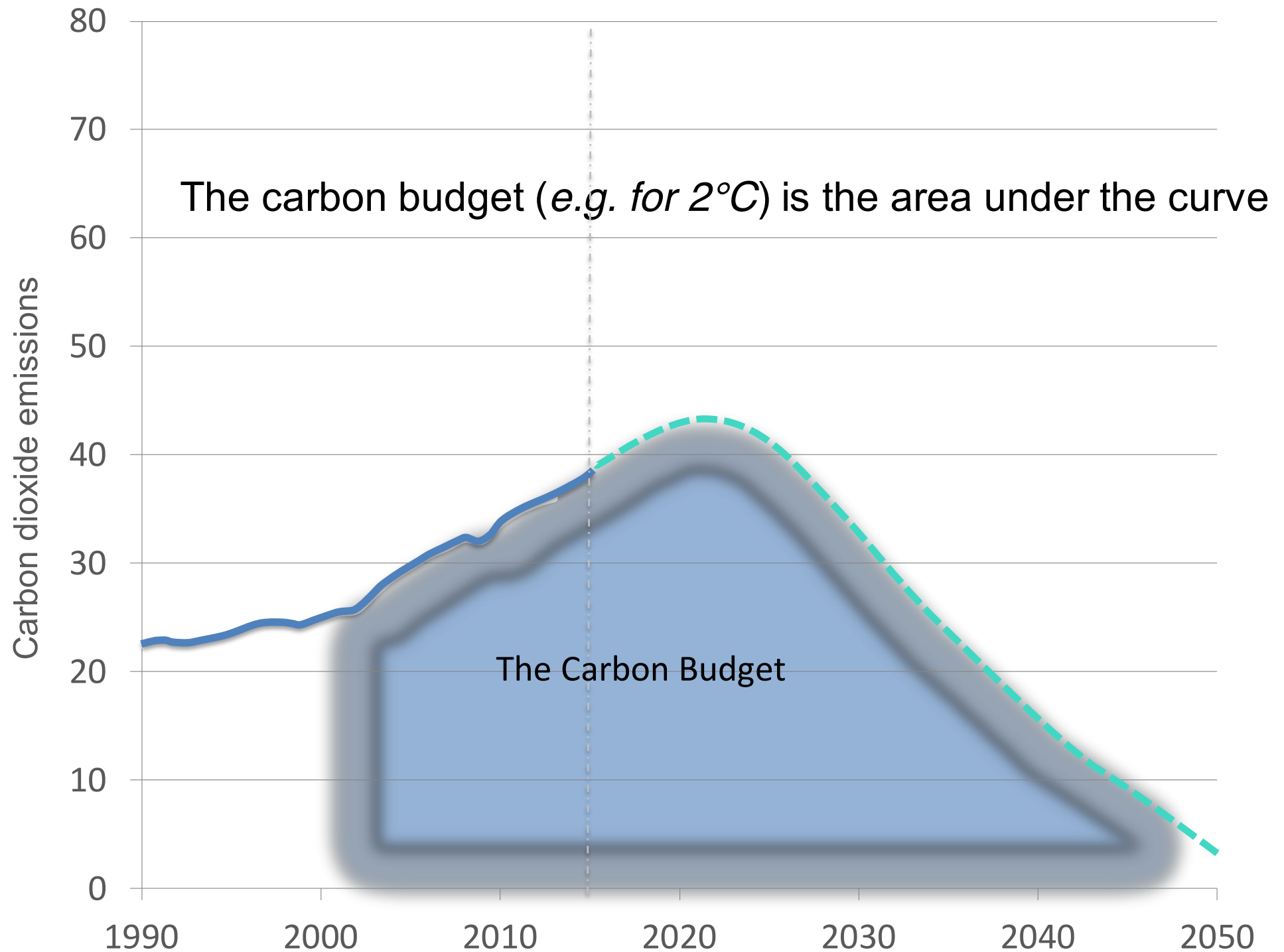
- The Paris commitments are **far more challenging** than most scientists & politicians are prepared to admit
- **Real mitigation** is still possible for 2°C - *just*
- **Long term** targets have no scientific basis (*e.g. 2030, 50, etc.*)
- It's total emissions - **Carbon Budgets** - that matter

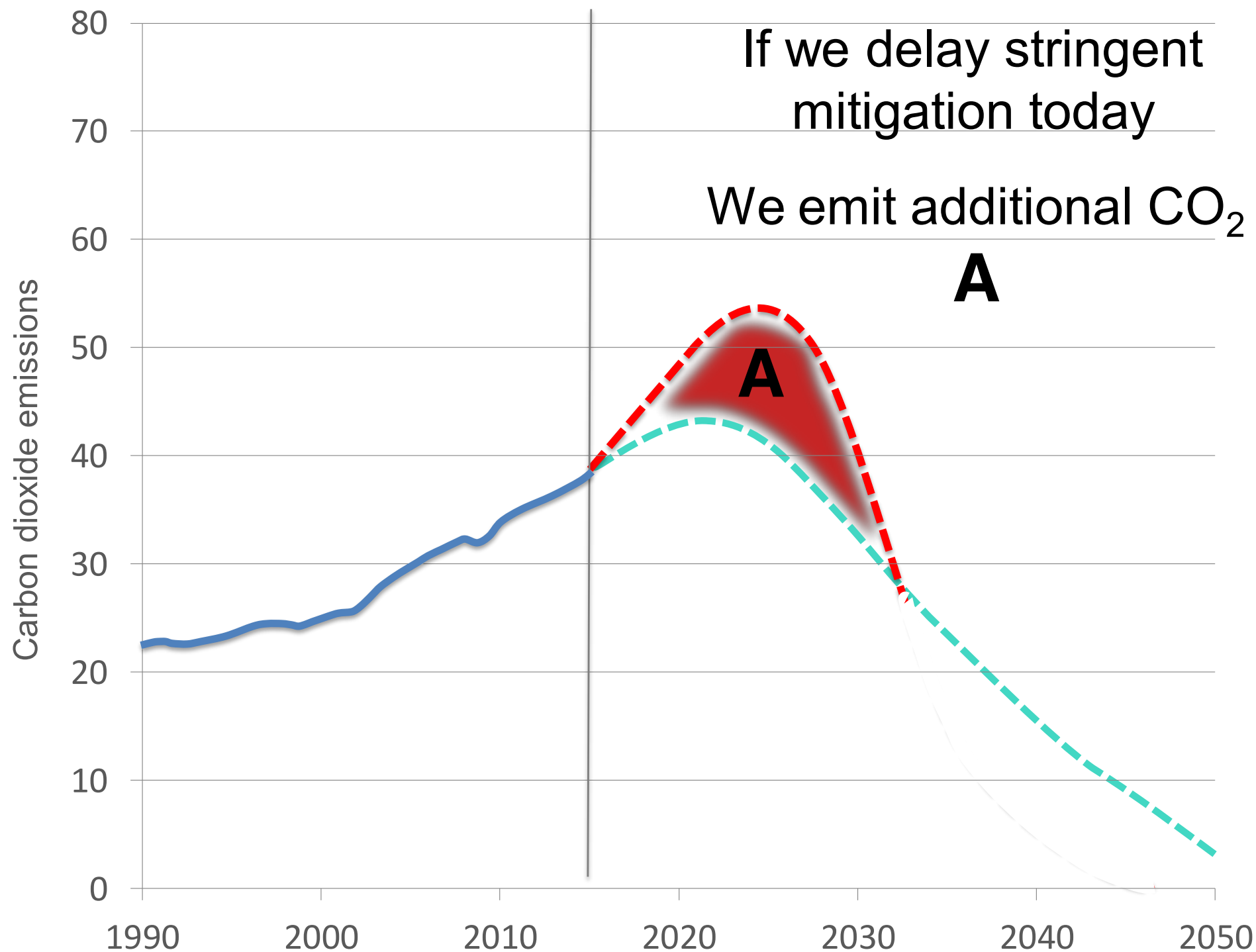


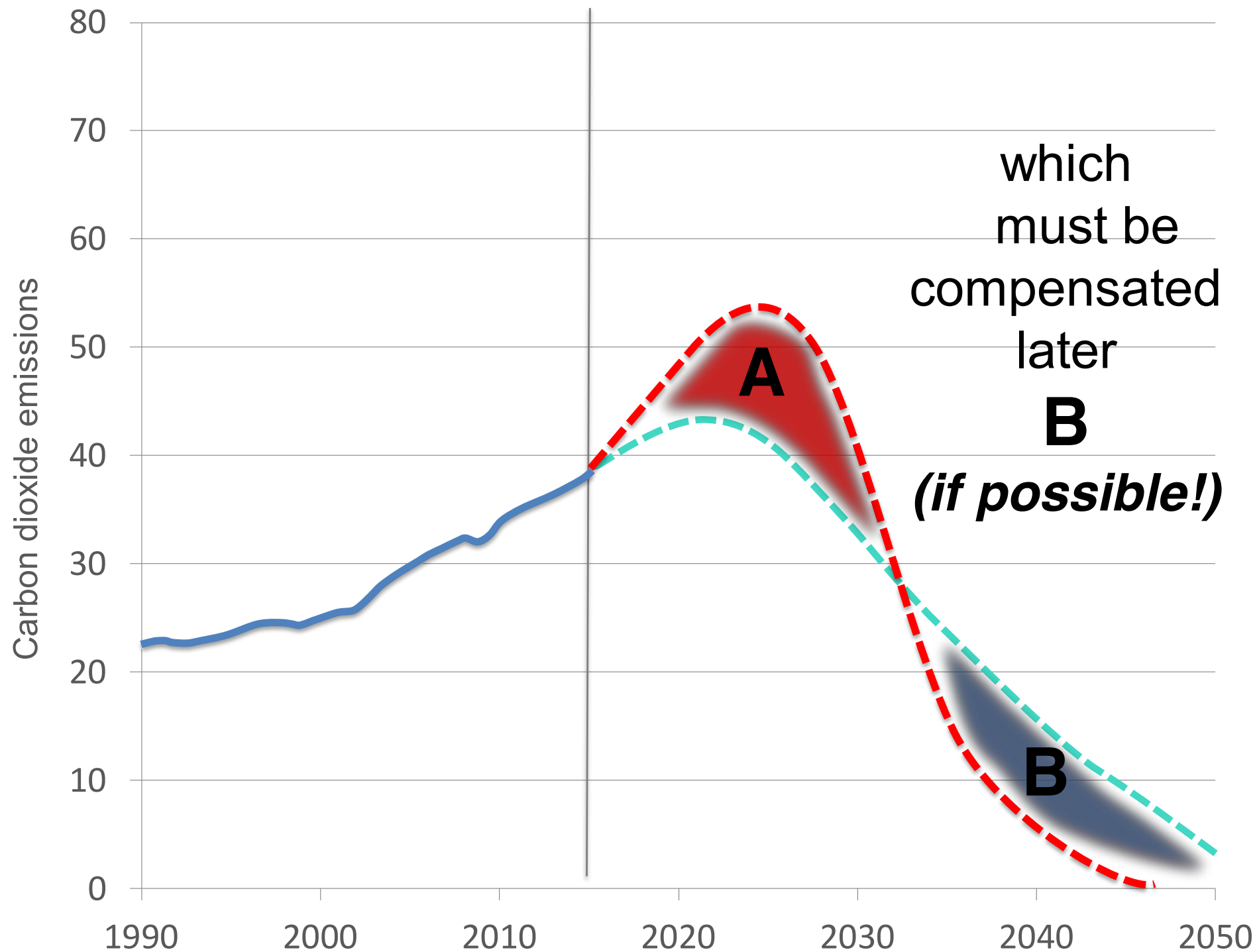
# Thinking of Carbon Budgets graphically...

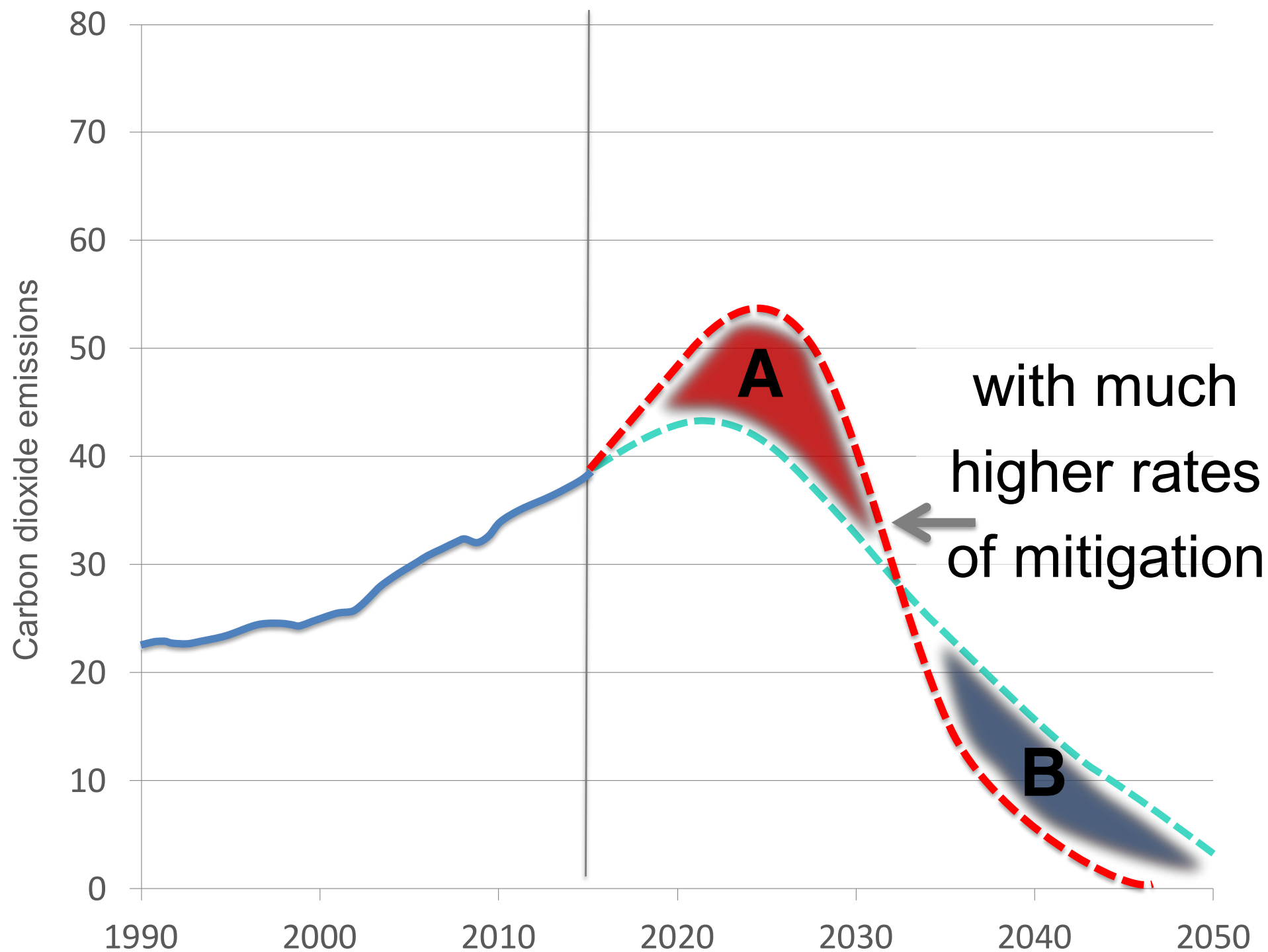












# Returning to the Paris Agreement



# My pre-Paris provocation

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*In developing 2°C emission scenarios, we've applied questionable assumptions and fine-tuned our analysis to align with political & economic sensibilities.*

- Universities, NGOs, etc. have been **co-opted** by near-term **power**
- & typically **fear** questioning the dominant **neo-liberal** model

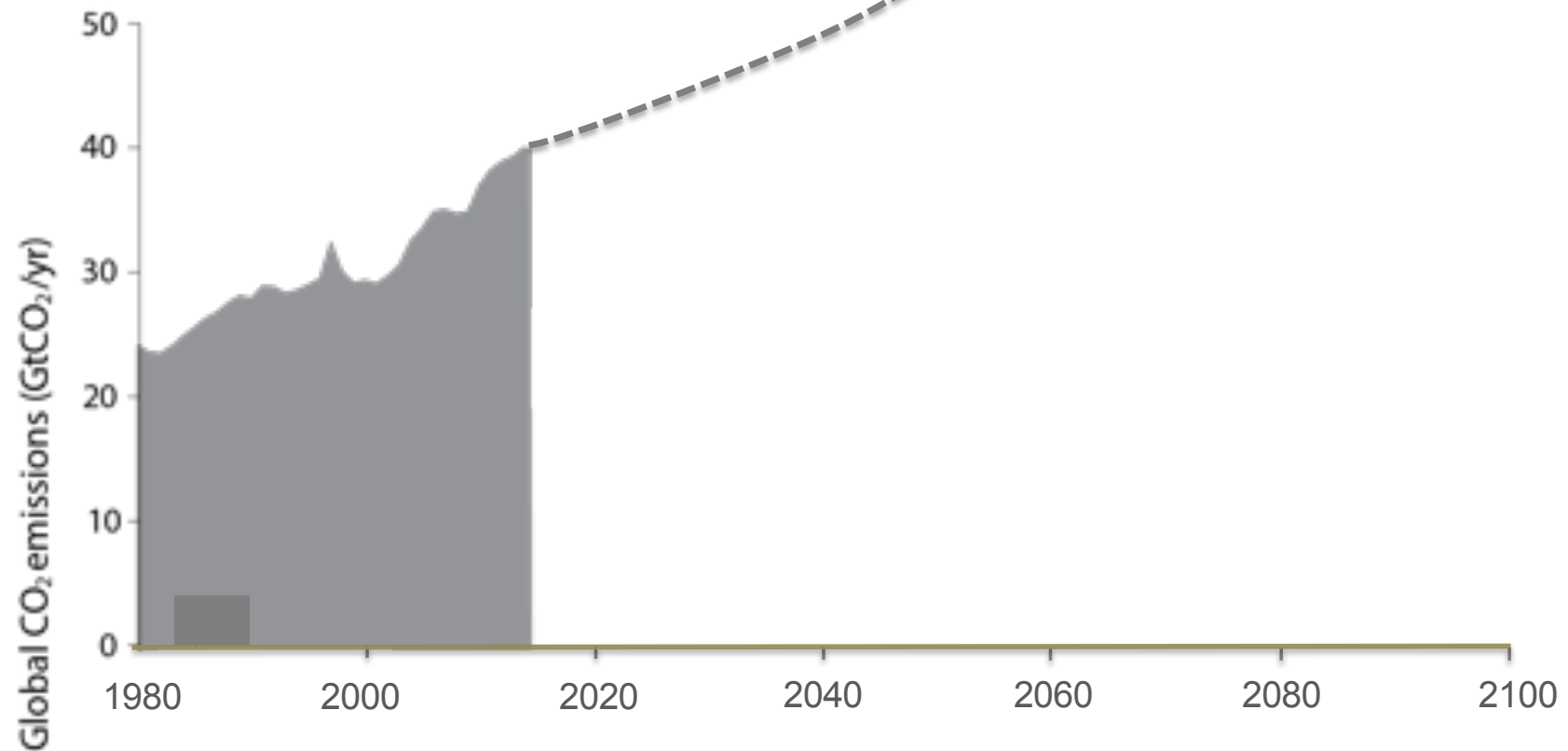


# Quantifying the mitigation challenge

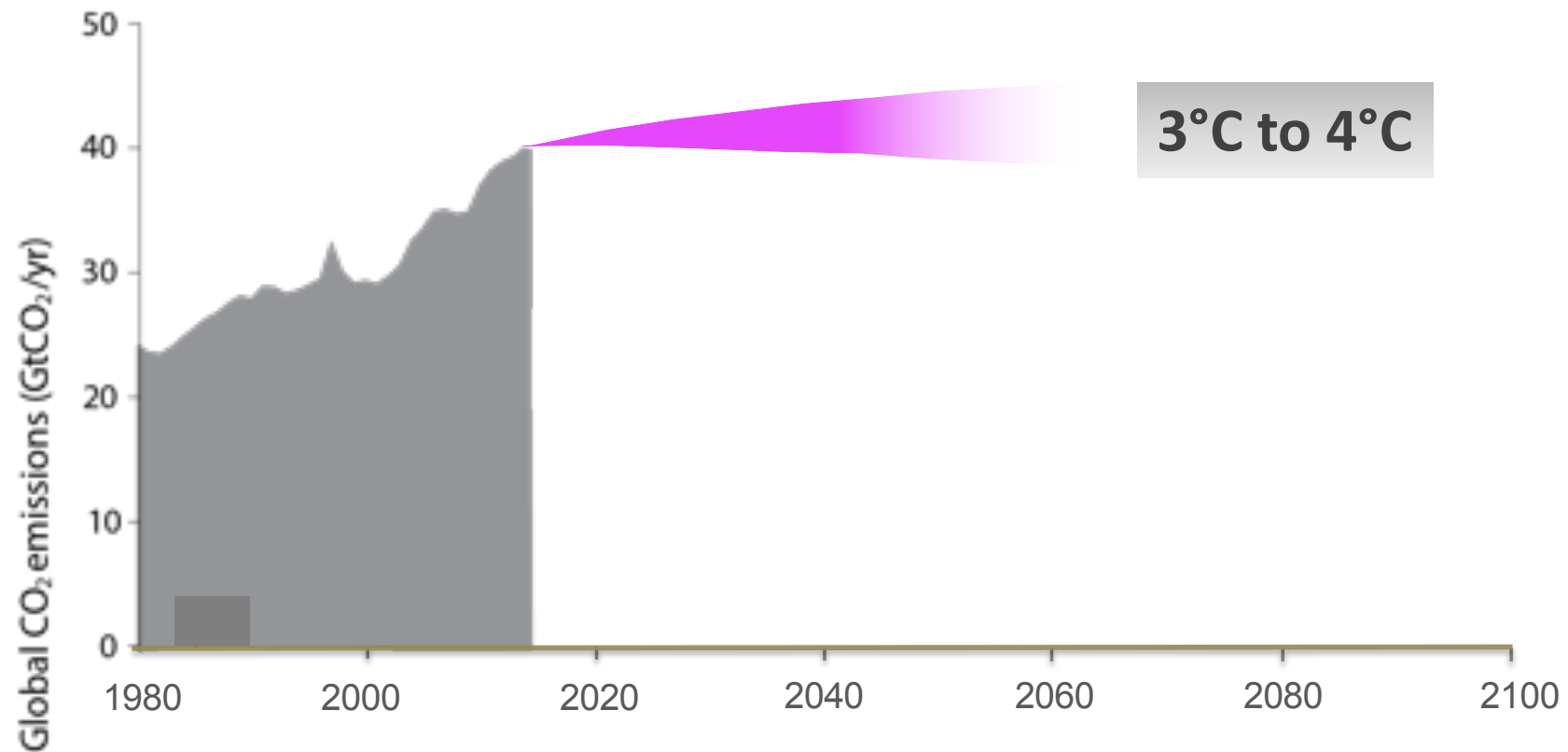


**Before Paris ...**

**4°C to 6°C**

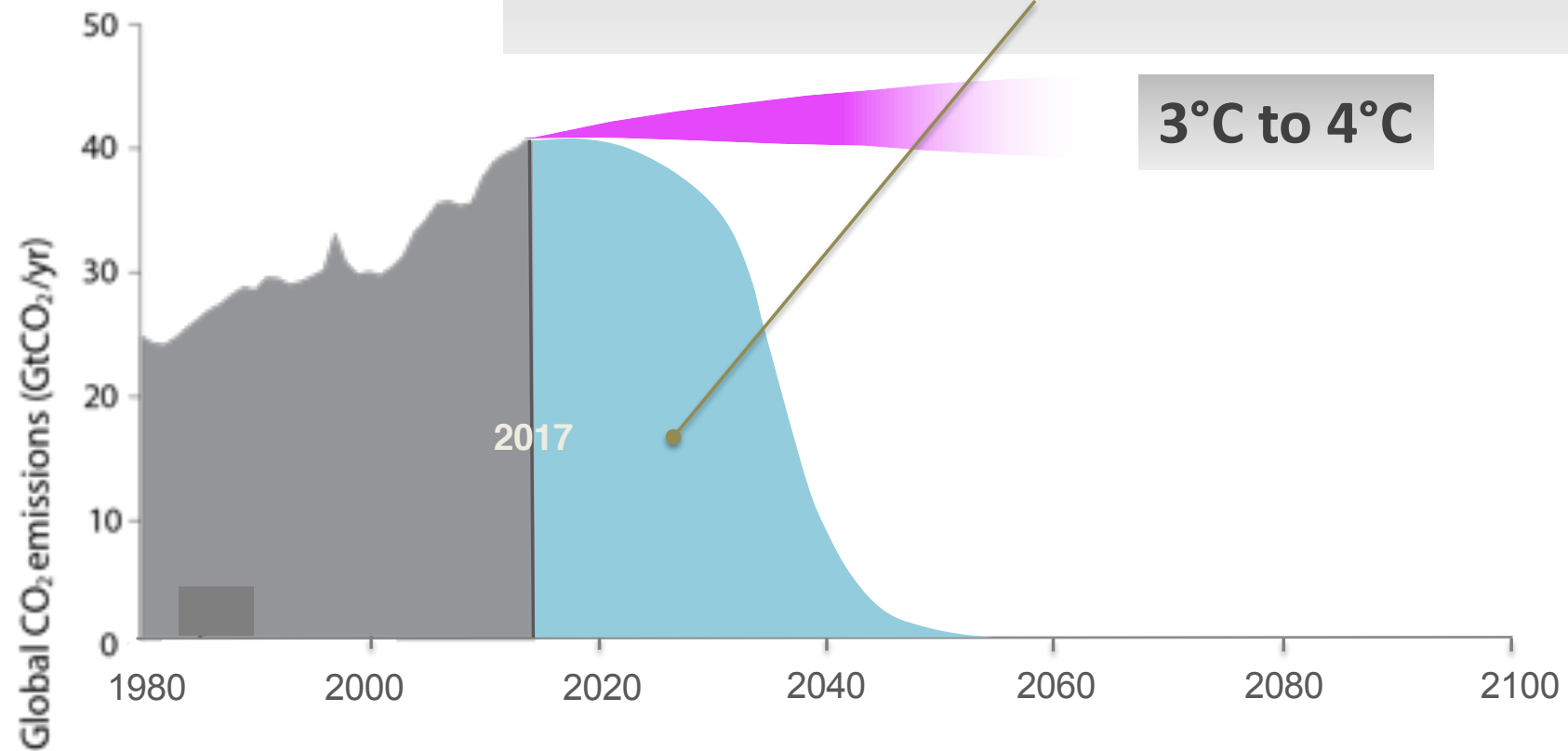


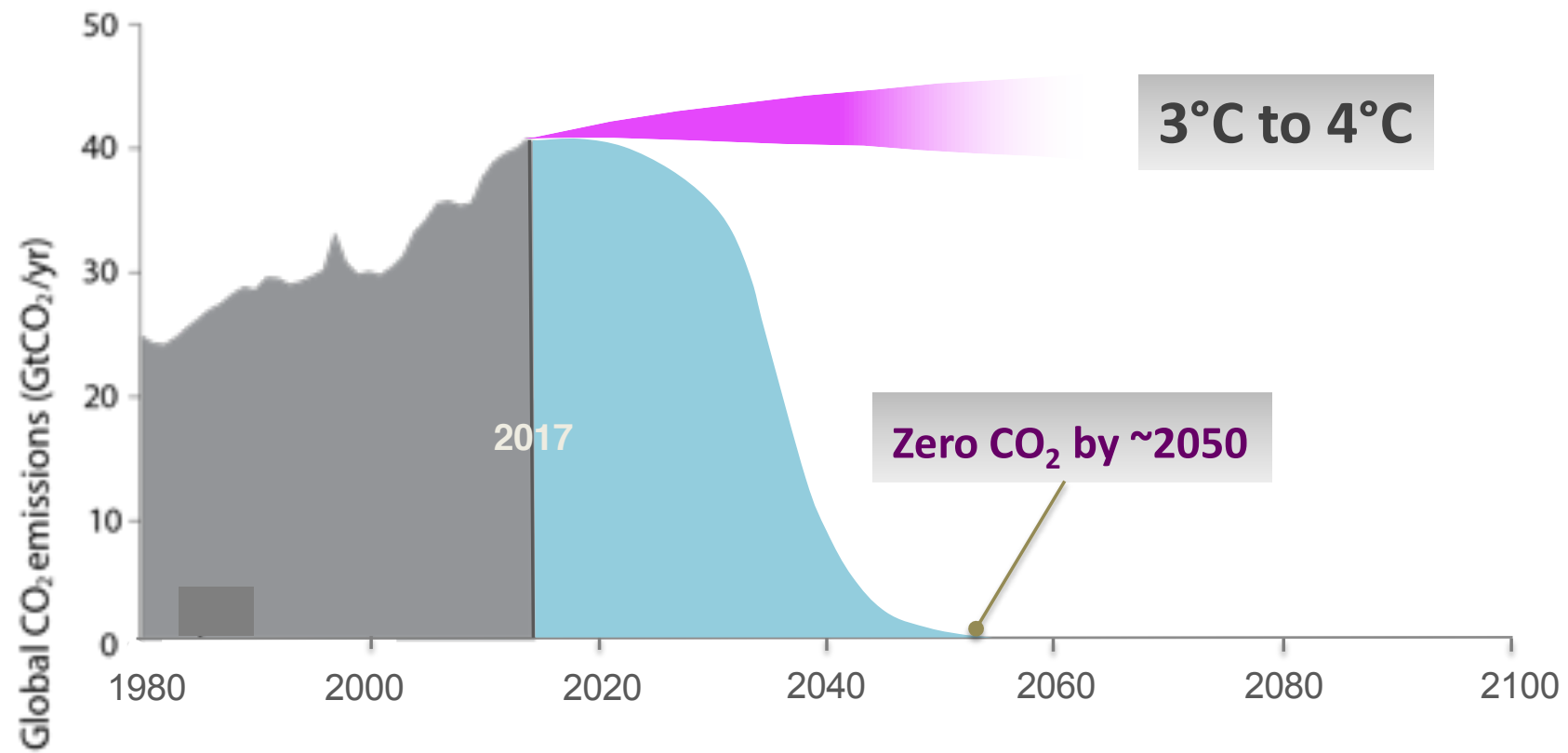
**With Paris  
... national pledges add up to...**



And to stay “*well below 2°C*”

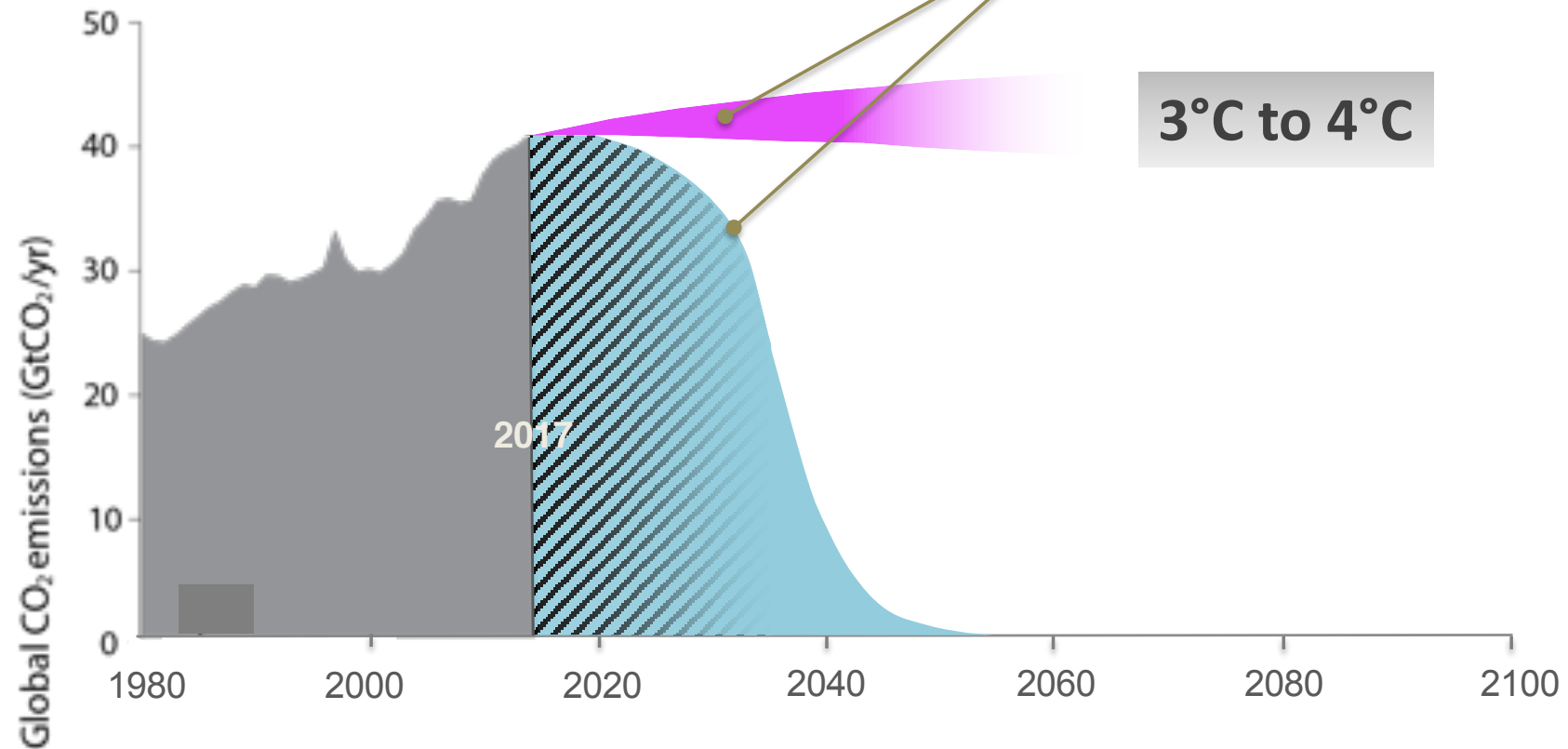
- the carbon budget remaining from 2017 is:
- approx. **800 billion tonnes CO<sub>2</sub>** (i.e. 800GtCO<sub>2</sub>)





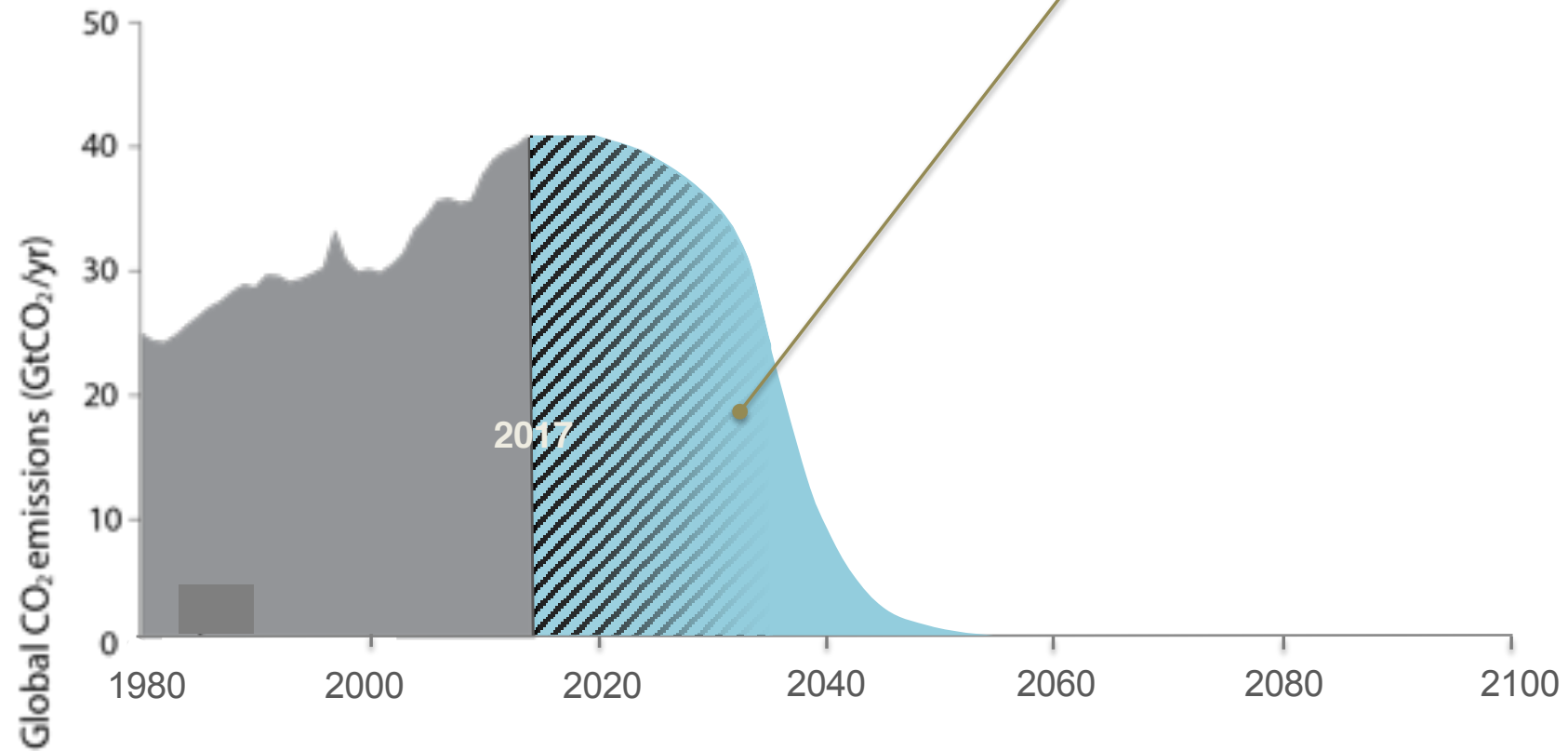
*A “romantic illusion”?*

To move rapidly from current to 2°C pathways, requires  
**Immediate & deep cuts in ENERGY DEMAND**



## Zero CO<sub>2</sub> ENERGY SUPPLY is a pre-requisite of 2°C

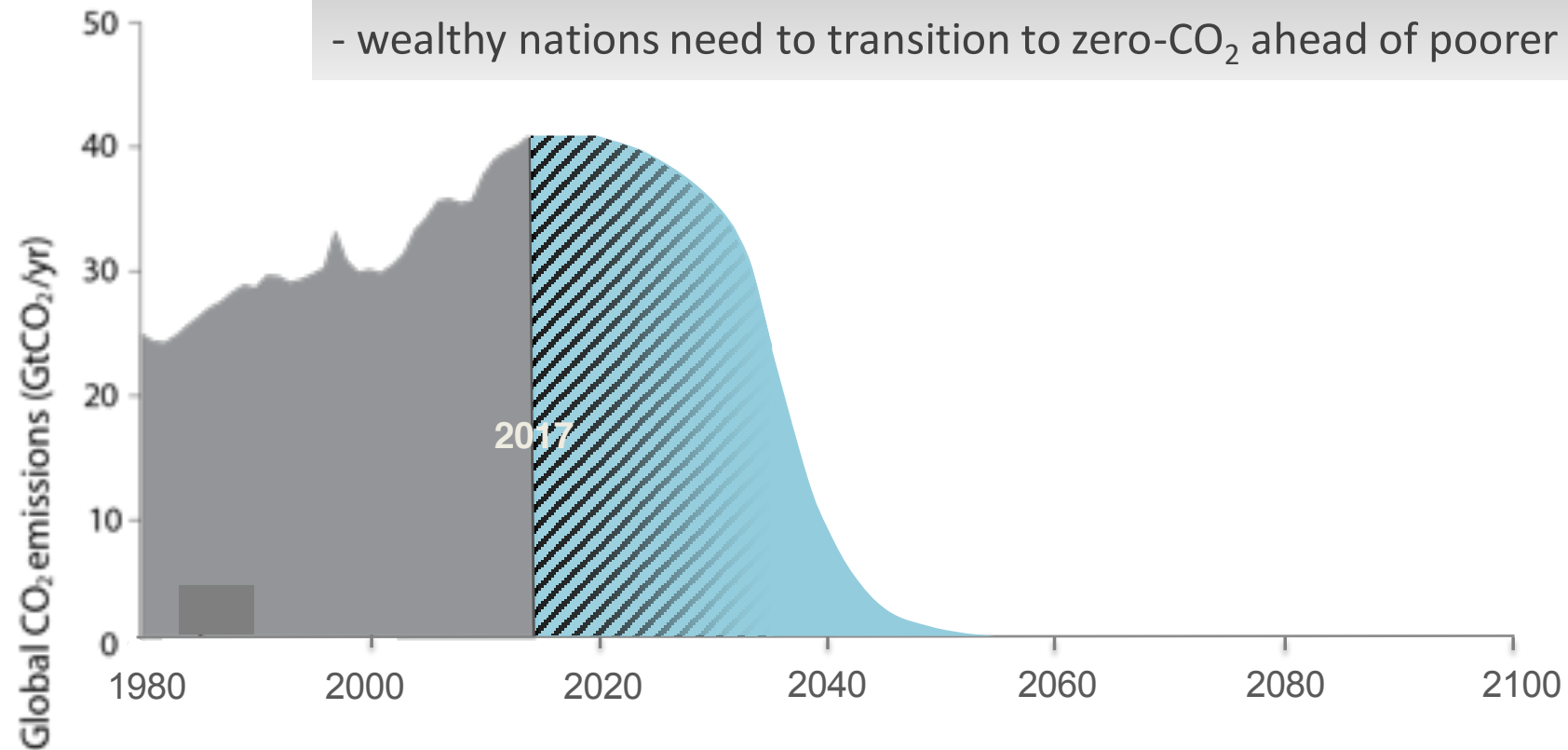
- *with planning & construction starting now*
- *& delivering in 1 to 3 decades*



*Another  
“romantic illusion”?*

**But Paris also has an important EQUITY dimension**

- wealthy nations need to transition to zero-CO<sub>2</sub> ahead of poorer nations





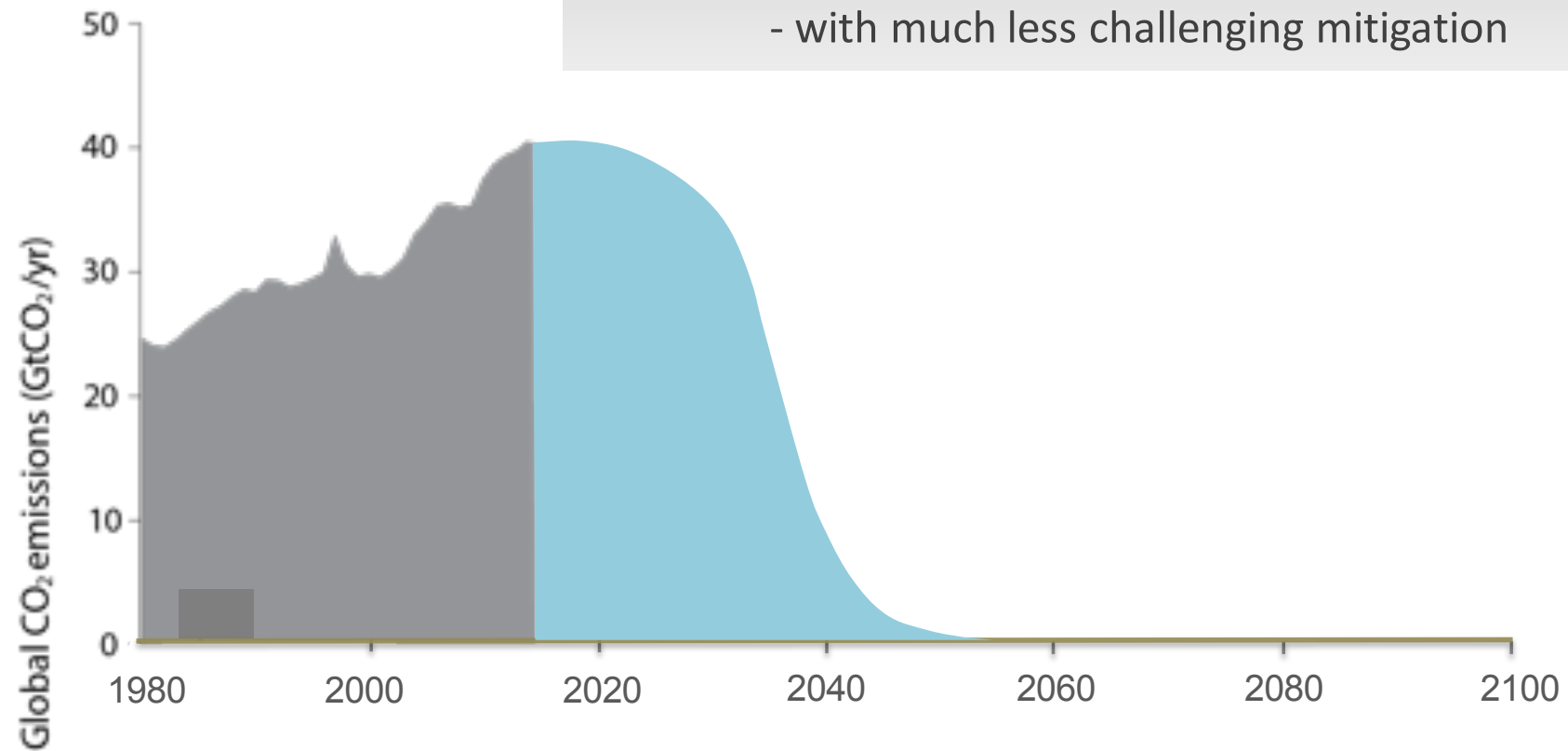
# How can this fit with the Paris euphoria?

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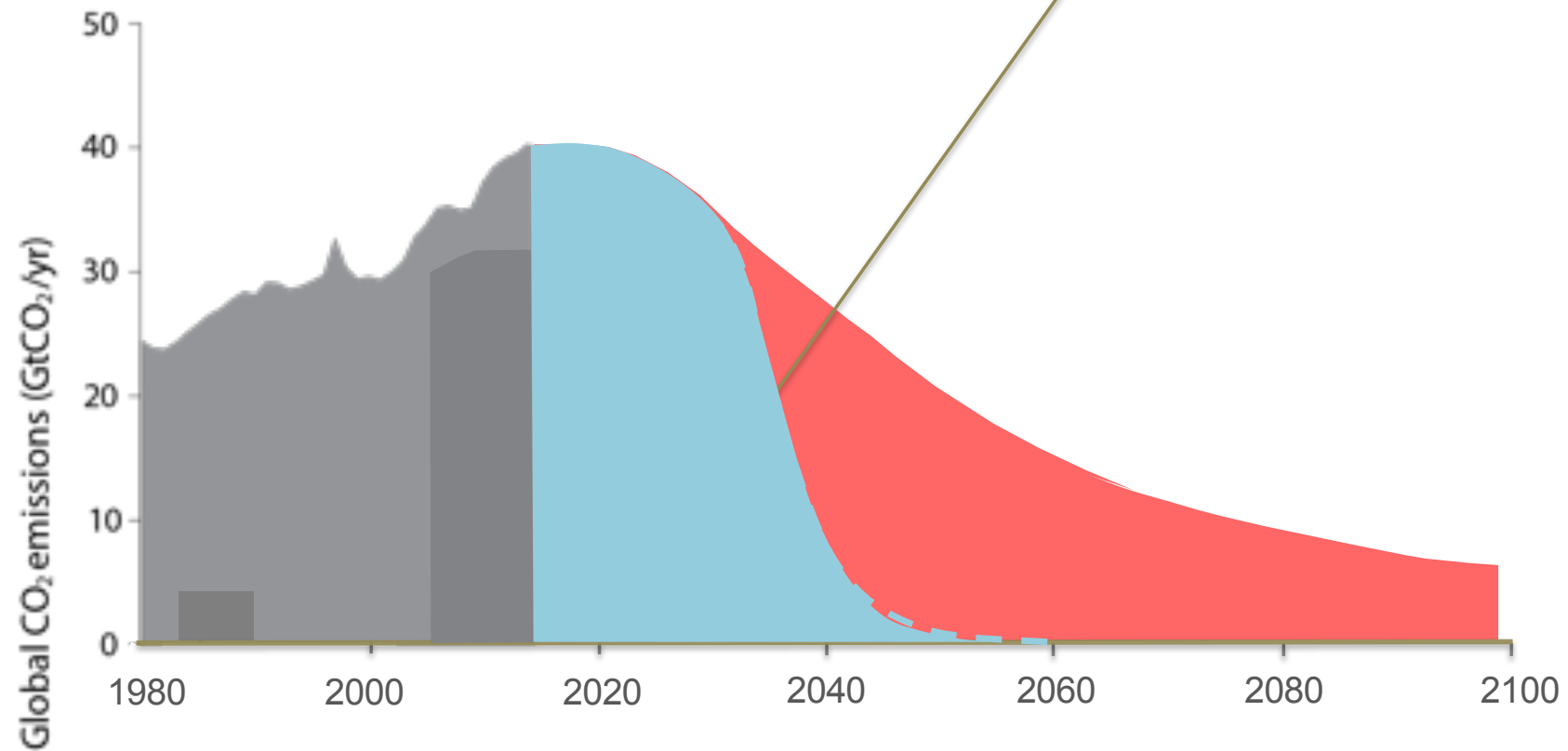
**... because policymakers have received a different story**

- their advice is dominated by modellers (IAM)
- who use much bigger 2°C carbon budgets
- with much less challenging mitigation



**Modelled** emissions are nearer **1600 GtCO<sub>2</sub>**

*i.e. 2x the IPCC's carbon budget for a likely chance of 2°C*



So for a “likely” chance of 2°C

- IPCC **science** suggests around **800GtCO<sub>2</sub>** from 2017
- IPCC economic **modellers** typically use **~1600GtCO<sub>2</sub>** from 2017

**... how  
make**

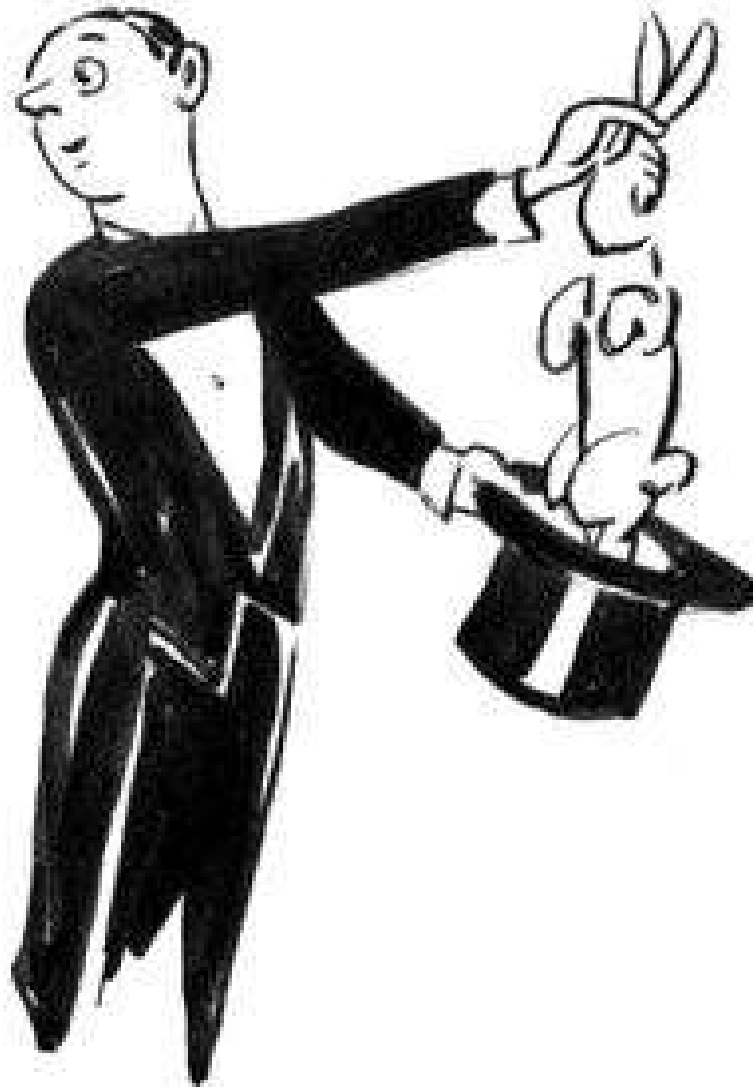
**can this**

**sense?**



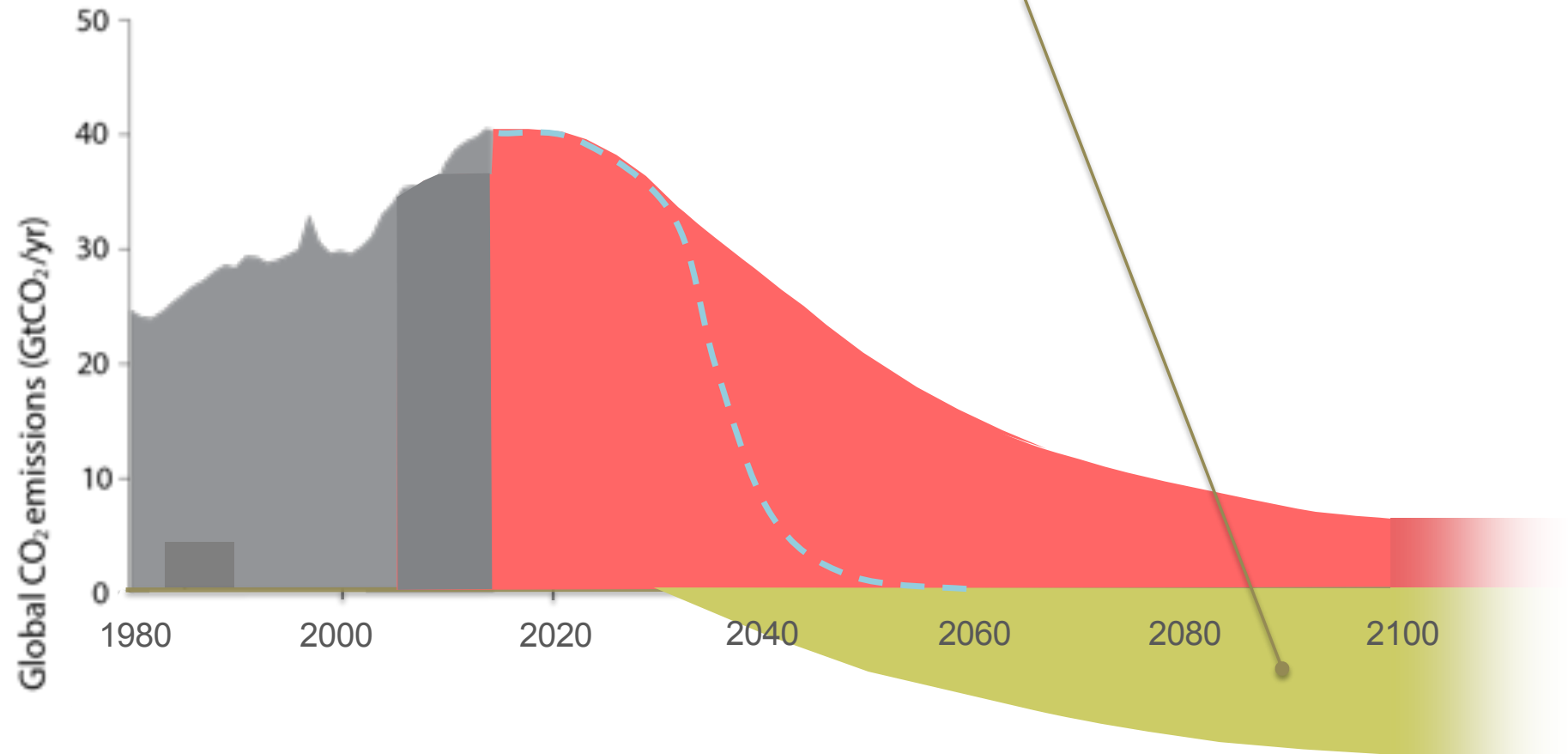
... by pulling a rabbit from the magician's hat

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models conjour up “**Negative Emission Technologies**” (NETs)

- to suck **100s billions tonnes of CO<sub>2</sub>** directly from the atmosphere
- they & emissions continue after the end of the century



*The 'NET' that dominates the models is ...*

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***BECCS – biomass energy with carbon capture & storage:***

*Grow trees/plants*

*they absorb CO<sub>2</sub> through photosynthesis*

*burn biomass in powerstations*

*capture the CO<sub>2</sub> from the chimney*

*~liquefy the CO<sub>2</sub> & pump it underground*

*store for many 1000s of years*



*The 'NET' that dominates the models is ...*

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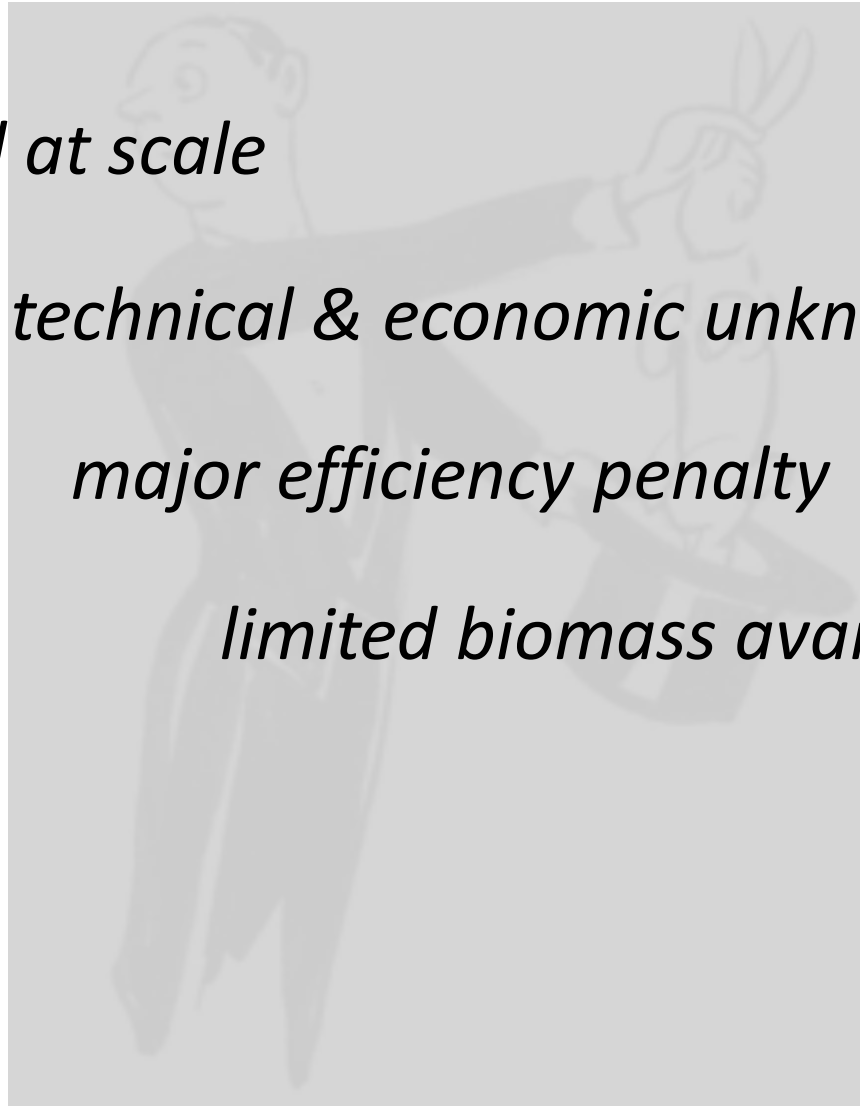
***BECCS – biomass energy with carbon capture & storage:***

*Never worked at scale*

*huge technical & economic unknowns*

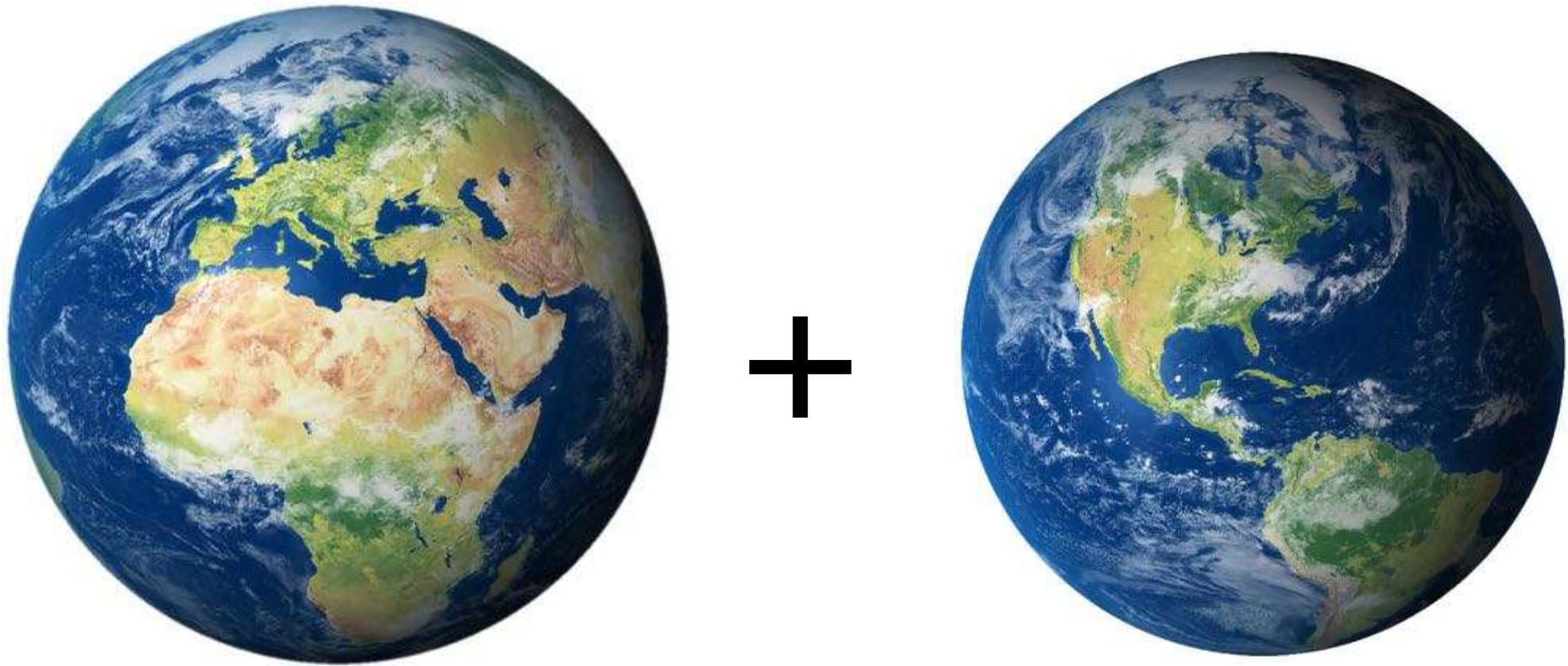
*major efficiency penalty*

*limited biomass availability (fuel or food?)*



... or the equivalent of adding another biosphere!

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oceans & plants absorb  $\sim 20 \text{ GtCO}_2/\text{yr}$   
*i.e.  $\sim 1/2$  of what we emit*

BECCS assumed to absorb  $10\text{-}20 \text{ GtCO}_2/\text{yr}$   
*i.e. up to another planet's worth of biosphere*

# So Paris, some Academics & Politicians ...

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- **rather than focus on urgent & deep mitigation now**  
*... with challenging political & economic repercussions*
- **prefer to rely on non-existent negative emission technologies**  
*... to suck huge quantities of CO<sub>2</sub> from the air in the future*  
*... supporting ongoing fossil-fuel use to 2100 & beyond*  
*... & masking how 2°C demands major social change*

# My position on NETs

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- Support a well funded Research, Development & (potential) Deployment
- But develop mitigation scenarios & strategies assuming no NETs

*If we pursue 'real' mitigation for 2°C*

*and NETs do prove successful at huge global scale*

***then 1.5°C may be possible – theoretically***

*If we rely on NETs for 2°C*

*and they prove not to be viable at huge scale*

***then we lock in 3° to 5°C***

Major reliance on NETs for 2°C mitigation is a “**moral hazard**” par excellence

*without NETs*

...what are our Paris commitments?



# Headline mitigation message for **non-OECD**

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To

- Peak CO<sub>2</sub> by early 2020s
- Ramp up mitigation to 10% p.a. by early 2040s
- **~fully** decarbonised energy during **2050s**

# Headline mitigation message for **OECD**

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To

- mitigate at **>10% p.a.** starting now
- **~60%** reduction in CO<sub>2</sub> by **2025**
- **~fully** decarbonised energy by around **2035-40**

# Headline mitigation message for the UK

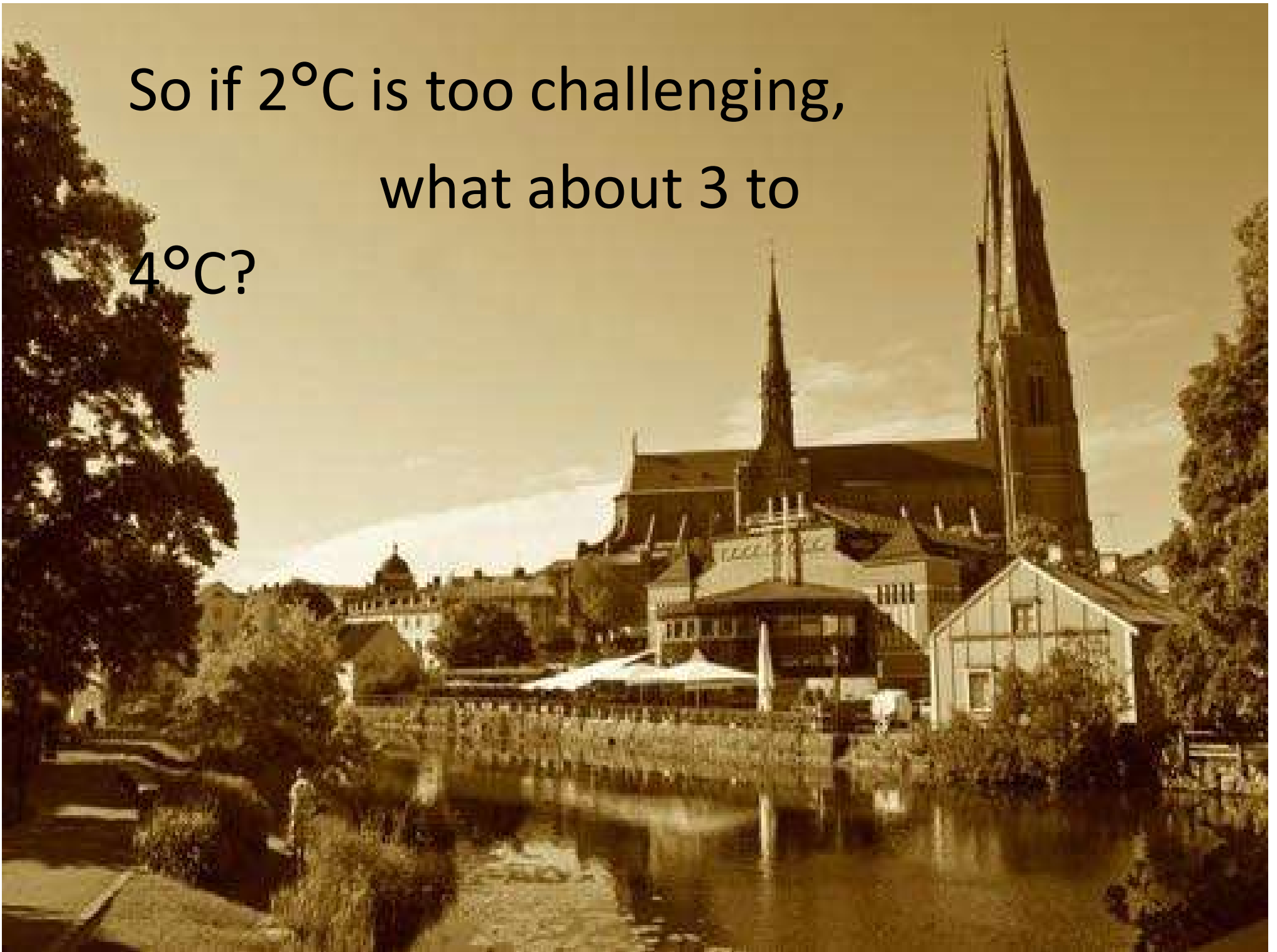
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To

- mitigate at **>13% p.a.** starting now
- **~75%** reduction in CO<sub>2</sub> by **2025**
- **~fully** decarbonised energy by around **2035**



So if 2°C is too challenging,  
what about 3 to  
4°C?



# Global impacts: 4°C

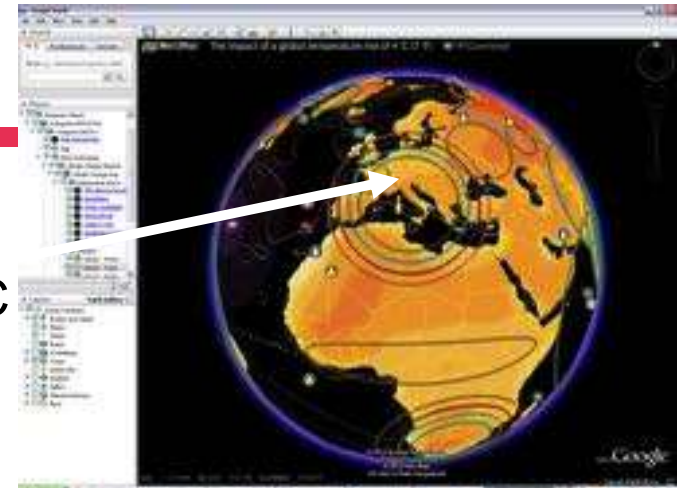
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Hottest days

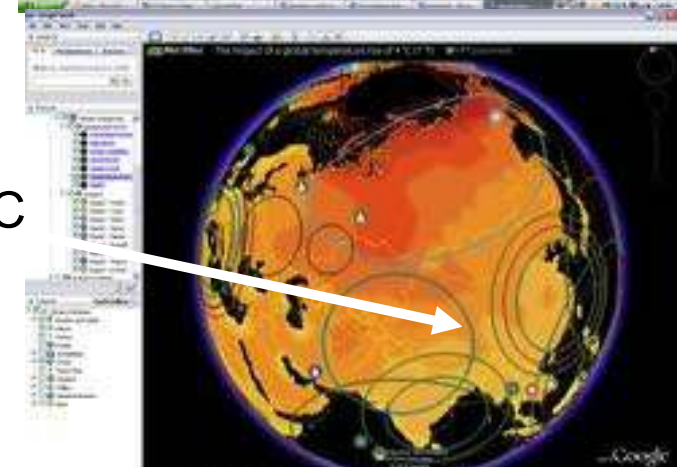


Prolonged & more severe heatwaves  
(*6 to 12°C hotter*)

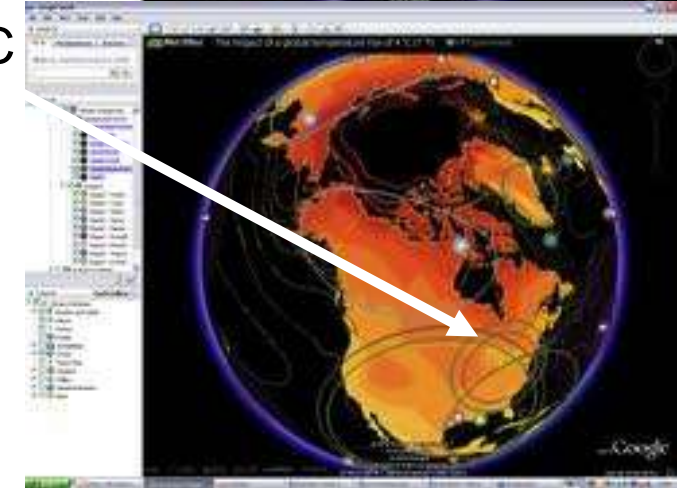
+8°C



+6°C



+10-12°C

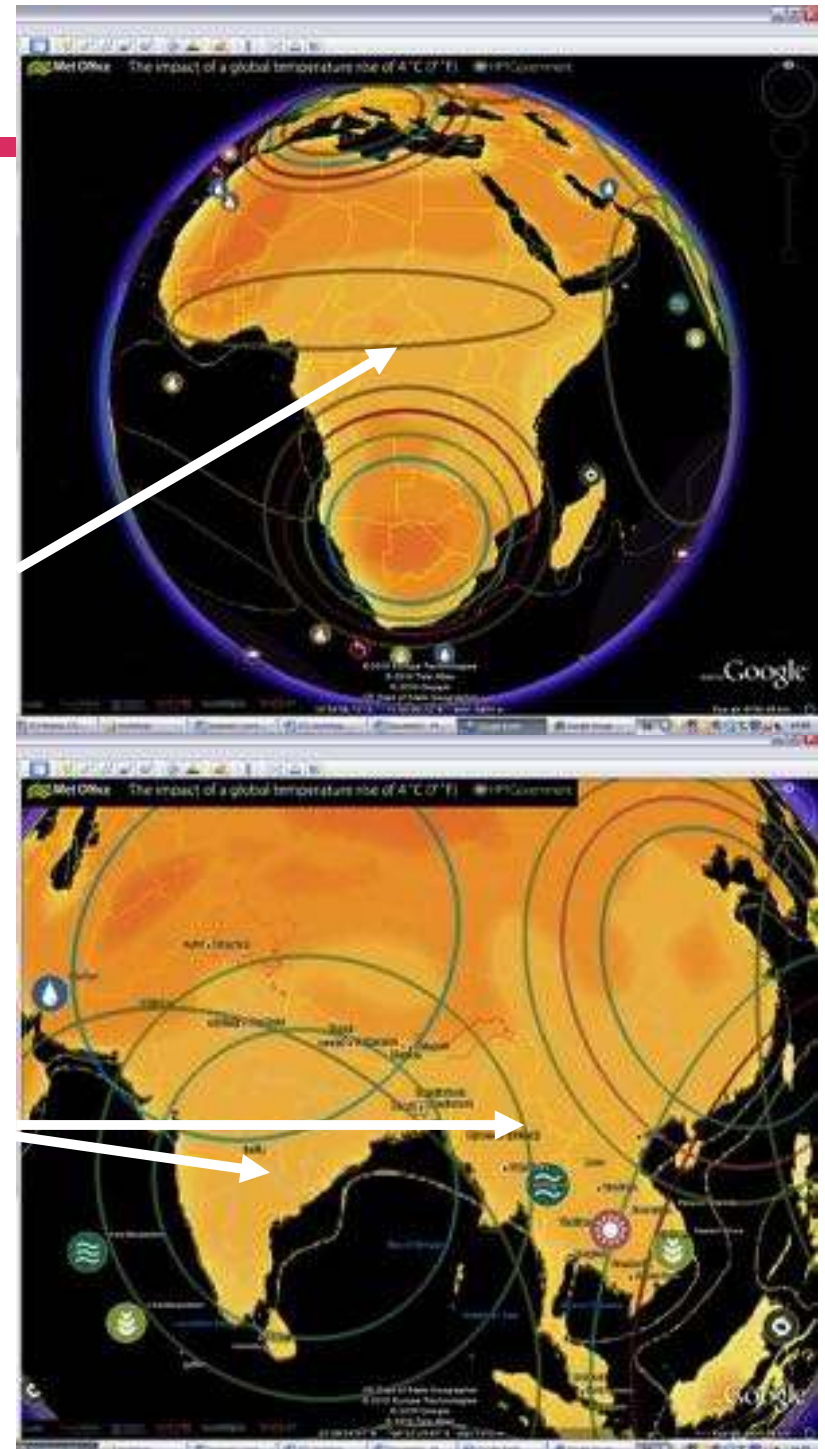


# Global impacts: 4°C

## Food crops



**30-40%** reduction in maize, wheat & rice yields in low latitudes.



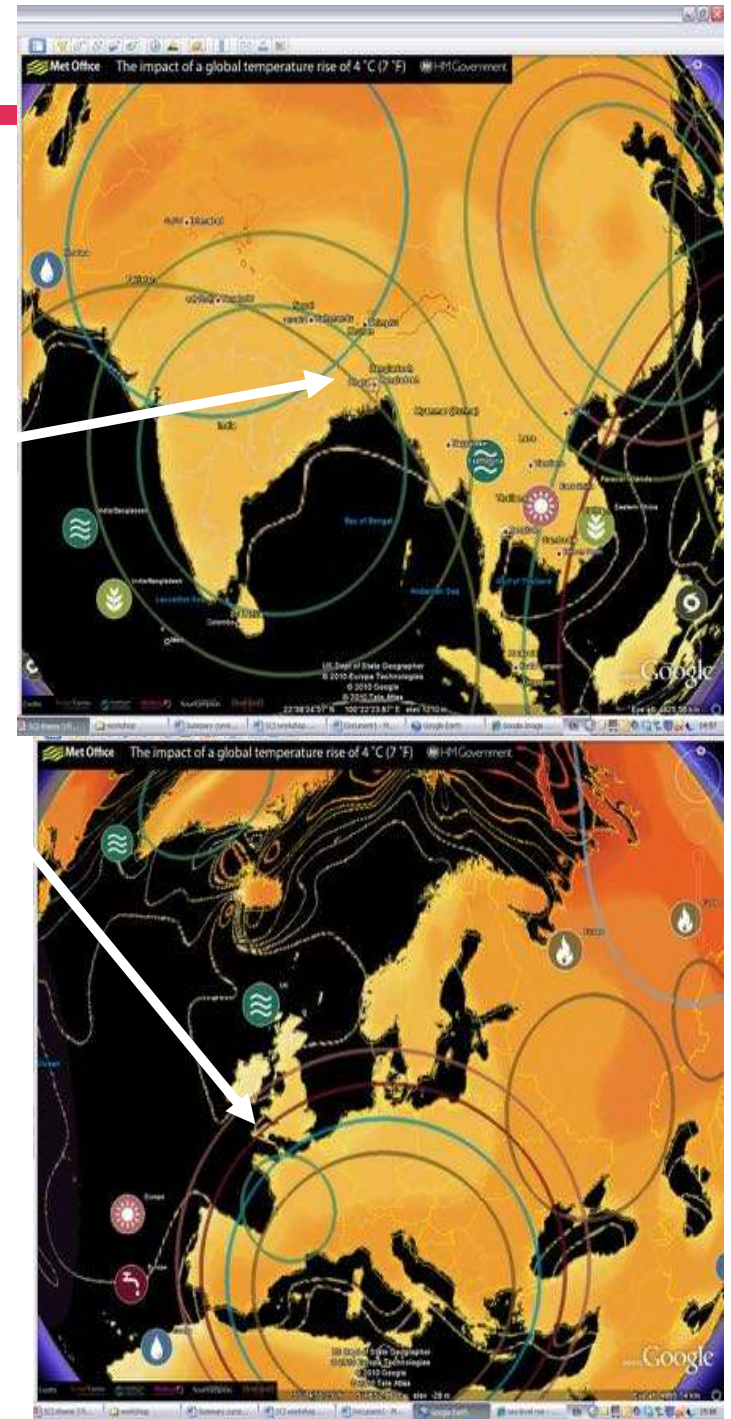


# Global impacts: 4°C

## Sea level rise



**50-150cm** rise,  
higher in low latitudes



# **There is a widespread view that 4°C is...**

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- Incompatible with an organised global community
- Beyond 'adaptation'
- Devastating to eco-systems
- Highly unlikely to be stable ('tipping points')

... consequently ...

**4° C should be avoided at 'all' costs**

Is 2°C it still a viable goal?



# Hypothesis: yes ... *just*

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- **Technology**
  - Demand: near term options
  - Supply: decadal timeframe
- **Equity**: immediate & near-term

# **SUPPLY:** low-CO<sub>2</sub> *electricity*

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***Tidal***

***Wave***

***Biomass***  
***(CCS ?)***





## SUPPLY: low-CO<sub>2</sub> *energy*

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- But, electricity is typically 20% of final energy demand
- So also need a massive programme of electrification

# **DEMAND:** opportunities for near-term mitigation

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- Establish stringent efficiency standards
- Tighten year on year
- Providing long-term & dynamic market signal

**Industrialised/wealthy nations:**

*(NB: accompanying policies to address issues of rebound are essential)*

# Beyond technology

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But:

Technology (supply & demand) alone cannot deliver on the Paris budgets  
*(i.e. “alliance of technology and economics” is insufficient)*

Need deep changes in *what we do, how we do it & how often we do it*  
*(i.e. “romantic illusions” are now critical )*

**Equity:**

CO<sub>2</sub> asymmetry & mitigation



# **EQUITY: extreme emission asymmetry**

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~50% of global CO<sub>2</sub> comes from ~10% of the population

# **EQUITY: extreme emission asymmetry**

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... if the top 10% of global emitters

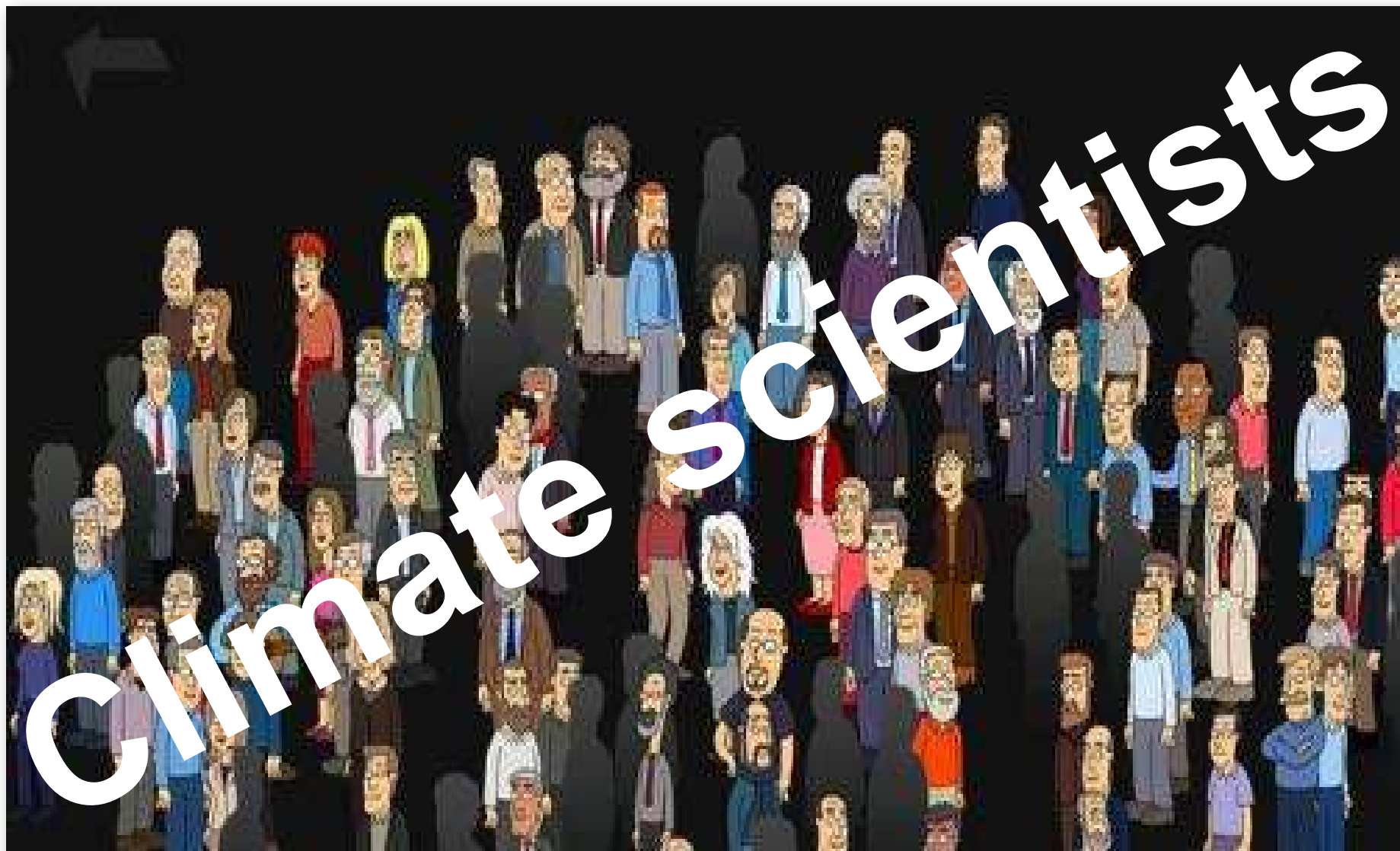
were to reduce their carbon footprint

to the level of a typical EU citizen

*Global CO<sub>2</sub> emissions would be cut ~33%*

So, who is in this key 10% group?

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So, who is in this key 10% group?

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So, who is in this key 10% group?

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So, who is in this key 10% group?

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So, who is in this key 10% group?



So, who is in this key 10% group?

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# **EQUITY:** frames a new agenda for mitigation

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- Most of the 7.5 billion have little scope to reduce emissions
- There is huge asymmetry in responsibility
- Rapid & near-term reduction in CO<sub>2</sub> from top 10% of emitters
- Real opportunity for leading by example
- And thereby catalysing system-change (*governments & society*)

# Climate Change demands System Change

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Interpreting Paris through the **logic of carbon budgets** begs fundamental questions of our **norms & paradigms**

- *Marshall-style transition in supply technologies*
- *rapid penetration of most efficient end-use technologies*
- *profound shift in behaviour & practices*
- *development of economic models fit for purpose*
- *serious consideration of inter/intra generational equity*
- *major reparation (not aid!) for poorer nations*

# Climate Change demands System Change

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Interpreting Paris through the **logic of carbon budgets** begs fundamental questions of our **norms & paradigms**

*... starting now ...*



... we've a long way to go

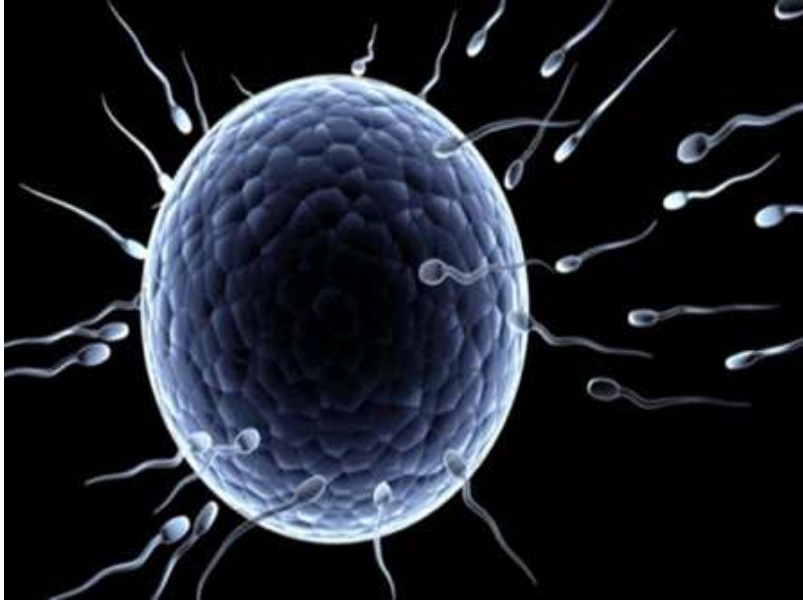
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... we've a long way to go

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... we've a long way to go

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... but we know where to find the solutions

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*& they're not in an utopian “alliance of technology & economics”*

*... but hidden in the Pope's “romantic illusions”*



So what of the UK & Manchester?



# What this may mean for UK Energy DEMAND

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- Retrofit existing buildings
- All new buildings to be passive-house standard
- Max CO<sub>2</sub> standard for all new cars/electrification  
*(e.g. 100gCO<sub>2</sub>/km; tighten 8% pa.)*
- Policies to drive behavioural change by hi-energy users  
*(progressive metering tariffs, frequent flier levy, PCA)*

***i.e. power down energy demand by 40-70% in 10-15 years***

# What this may mean for UK Energy SUPPLY

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- Major electrification programme (htg, transport, etc)
- Much higher rated interconnectors
- Roll out smart grid/intelligent metering/community energy
- Sustainably exploit renewable & v. low CO<sub>2</sub> energy
- Indigenous biomass/biogas/P2G for intermittency/base load

# What this may mean for UK Energy POLICY

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- Rapid *retirement* of all hydrocarbon assets
- CCS investment for cement/steel
- Moratorium on airport expansion
- Major programme of public transport
- Hi-speed rail connections into continental Europe
- Long term investment cycles (*i.e. a low discount rate <3.5%*)

# Our ultimate choice is between ...

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A short-term *realpolitik*

*or*

A sustainable long-term *real-climate*



# Manchester: laggard or leader?

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- Climate commitments based on clear & fair carbon budgets
- Do not exclude 'difficult to decarbonise' sectors
- Explicitly Informed by *science* and *equity*
- Use territorial CO<sub>2</sub> but be guided by *consumption-based* data
- 'Real' mitigation – *not* highly speculative *NETs, Offsets*, etc.
- Complement mitigation with *increased support of global south*
- Put Manchester at the heart of a new decarbonised revolution

and a message of hope to finish ...

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*“at every level the greatest obstacle to transforming the world is that we lack the **clarity** and **imagination** to conceive that it could be different.”*

*Robert Unger*

# Thanks for listening

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