



Analysing COP26, Glasgow through a socio-cultural perspective - An Observational Analysis

Anshuman Gupta

Member of Delegation

Indian Youth Climate Network (IYCN)

COP26, Glasgow



Abstract

This paper aims to assess and analyse COP26, Glasgow - the 2021 United Nations Climate Change Conference, more colloquially referred to as the 26th Conference of Parties (COP), through a socio-cultural perspective. The paper analyses socio-cultural themes, institutions, concepts, and theories identified through observations documented by the author as a product of their participation in the conference in the capacity of an observer from a Global South country.

Abstract	1
Introduction	3
Rationale	3
Background	3
Socio-cultural framework	6
Discussion & Analysis	7
Social Exclusion	7
Logistical Challenges and institutional failures	7
Indigenous people	8
Space	11
Restricted spaces	11
Accessibility challenges and preferential treatment	12
Restricting space, suppressing voices	13
Power	13
The hegemony of the fossil fuel industry at COP26	14
The hegemony of Global North countries at COP26 and their outcomes	15
Gender	17
Collectivism & Counter-hegemony	18
Conclusion	21
Bibliography	21
Additional Information	27

Introduction

Rationale

I had the privilege and opportunity to attend COP26, Glasgow, in the capacity of an Observer under the UNFCCC partly funded by the School of Habitat Studies, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai as a member of the delegation from the Indian Youth Climate Network. I attended COP26 to track negotiations and document COP26 from different perspectives. To document the COP, I conducted several interviews and discussions, participated in protests and spoke to stakeholders across strata to understand other social, gender, and geopolitical issues highlighted at COP. In addition, some of my observations were based on first-hand accounts of myself and other youth groups that had a history of facing exclusion from the COP process. As a result, I chose to look at my COP experience through a socio-cultural lens and understand the different themes and institutions during the conference. I will be using the data I collected and observations I made to highlight broader themes highlighted from my understanding and experiences.

Background

Climate change is a global externality and is a significant threat to global stability, and poses a multi-faceted set of threats and challenges (Nordhaus & William, 2019). As a result of an effort to combat them and face social, cultural, and political barriers to change (Chambers, 2021). Another impact of climate change is it can reinforce and aggravate existing crises and problems in society, such as poverty, lack of education, pandemics, military and geopolitical conflicts, sea-level rise etc. The scale of impact varies depending on the magnitude of the current crisis in the region.

Referring to the vulnerabilities, not all countries are equally at-risk of adverse effects and associated impacts. Vulnerability to climate change and its associated impacts depends on several factors, such as socio-economic conditions, adaptive capacity, geographical location, and development, among others (Kelly & Adger, 2000). In addition to that, not all countries are equally responsible for worsening the climate crisis. For example, affluent countries have contributed more to climate change than developing and poorer countries when we factor in the historic emissions. Thus, whether we talk about mitigating the climate crisis or adapting

to its impact, there is a need for a collective front against the common externality of climate change and its associated impacts.

United Nations Framework on Climate Change (UNFCCC) is an international treaty introduced at the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in 1992 and came to force in 1994. The UNFCCC was a framework for international cooperation on climate change by limiting the average global temperature due to climate change through joint mitigation efforts and coping with the impacts (UNFCCC). It was one of the first successful intergovernmental efforts to address climate change collectively, and currently, 197 member countries are party to the convention (*ibid*). By 1995, negotiations between countries were officially launched, starting with the adoption of the Kyoto Protocol adopted in 1997 and came into force in 2005 with 192 member countries party to the protocol (Böhringer, 2003).

The Conference of Parties (COP) then was established as a supreme body of the convention and the association of all the countries that are part of it. The primary function of COP is to review the national communications and invention inventories submitted by member countries in the form of Nationally Determined Contributions or NDCs. In addition to that, it is also a forum where legal instruments are up for negotiations and decisions are taken to promote effective implementation of the convention that includes administrative and institutional agreements and arrangements (UNFCCC).

There have been several historic agreements at COP, which is hosted annually with an ever-increasing number of participations from heads of state, researchers, environmentalists, and NGOs, among others, since its inception. The UNFCCC and COPs have served as intergovernmental institutions with their framework, structure, guidelines, and process. In addition to that, each year, COP is chaired by a Presidency which rotates between five UN-recognized regions, namely, Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, Central and Eastern Europe and Western Europe and Others. The presidency rotates between countries belonging to these regions to make it inclusive and provide voices to all member states regardless of their development status (*ibid*). However, the fact that COPs have been annually taking place in regions in Global North as compared to Global South corresponds to the idea that the global climate discourse has primarily been dominated by the interests and hegemony of affluent nations from the global north. This can further be understood by charting the priorities or agendas set at various COPs.

The focus on Mitigation for the longest time, whereas other priorities that correspond to developing or small island development states (SIDS), such as Adaptation and Loss & Damage, had not been mentioned until the COPs took place in the last few years. Even the joint declarations or outcomes from COPs have catered mainly for the interests of developed and affluent countries. Similarly, reports on climate change and its impacts by affiliated institutions such as United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) have been accused of bias toward global north countries. Several notable personalities in the field from the global south have spoken about the same, including Bangladeshi Scientist Dr Saleemul Huq, Dr Thiagarajan Jayaraman, Senior Fellow, MS Swaminathan Research Foundation, among others.

COPs have primarily been a forum for negotiations by governments around the world. However, with increasing interest from all stakeholders and mainstreaming of climate change, we witnessed a huge surge in participation from other stakeholders, including researchers, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Activists, and Students, among others ([DowntoEarth, 2022](#)). Although the participation has more or less been exclusionary with key negotiations happening between bureaucrats of respective countries, there have been tremendous efforts to improve stakeholder participation by involving NGOs and activists in consultation at the country level and several talks and meetings are conducted at the COP level to make participation more inclusive.

Despite the efforts, COP and other multilateral forums are structurally exclusive platforms despite the possibility of benefiting greatly from a more inclusive and co-produced approach as climate change in its entirety is a multi-faceted problem which requires efforts from all stakeholders to tackle. Some of the notable examples of exclusivity at COP include huge protests breaking out at the end of COP25, Madrid, with the representation of several sections of society, including the indigenous people, who presented their frustration, anger, and disappointment over the slow-moving wheels of the COP process by taking to the streets resulting in huge uproars around the world ([BBC, 2019](#)).

This paper focuses on the most recent COP26 held in Glasgow, the United Kingdom, after a two-year hiatus due to the coronavirus pandemic. COP26, Glasgow was one of the most anticipated COP ever due to several prevailing reasons, including adjusting the climate discourse in the post-pandemic scenario, submission of Nationally Determined Communication (NDC), a 100-billion-dollar fund for adaptation, Loss & Damage, and the

latest findings presented by Sixth Assessment report by IPCC ([The Third Pole, 2021](#)). In addition to that, the COP Presidency was with the United Kingdom, and they had advertised COP26, Glasgow, to be the ‘Most Inclusive COP ever’ ([Human Rights Pulse, 2021](#)).

This paper looks at inclusivity in a broader concept of COP26, Glasgow. It is based on primary observations, interviews, documentation, and conversations by the author with several stakeholders across NGOs, governments, researchers, and activists, among others. It further analyses key themes at COP26, Glasgow, from a socio-cultural perspective while identifying key events and first-person accounts of events at the conference. The paper primarily focuses on power dynamics, space, gender, and social exclusion themes observed at the conference and look at it through accounts and example of Youth and Indigenous people as stakeholders.

Socio-cultural framework

The paper analyses the global climate discourse and intergovernmental conferences particularly COP26, Glasgow, from a socio-cultural perspective. The paper is based on observations made by the author due to his participation at the latest intergovernmental conference, COP26, which took place in Glasgow. It identifies the key United Nations Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the COP Presidency for the year, that is, The United Kingdom, as two major institutions for this paper. Apart from that, based on the context of the section, individual governments and media houses are seen as institutions and stakeholders or actors within the context of this paper. Other stakeholders identified in this paper include NGOs, activists, the general public, and countries vulnerable to climate change, with most of them being developing, poor or SIDS countries. The paper has further identified five themes: Power, Gender, Space, Social Exclusion, and Collectivism, and provides observation and literature-based analysis across the aforementioned themes. The paper analyses the relationship between stakeholders and institutions observed at COP26, Glasgow, and global climate discourse. Lastly, the paper also accounts for several counter-hegemonic instances or efforts to counter the hegemony through collectivism and participation.

Discussion & Analysis



Image Source: [Anshuman Gupta, 2022](#)

We begin the analysis of our observations by first stating macro-observations at an institutional level. COP26, Glasgow took place when covid cases were rising in the UK. As a result, the travel guidelines to enter the UK changed quite frequently, and vaccine mandates and quarantining at own expense added to barriers. In addition to that, the UK had a travel entry policy that discriminated between countries from specific regions based on risk status and vaccine rates in those respective countries. Many poor and developing countries, regardless of their at-risk status, were featured on the red list, while most developed countries were on the green list, which raised questions about the distinction's rationale ([AP News, 2021](#)). In addition, visa services and consulates of the UK were not functional or were working with significant delays in developing and poor nations, which added to the woes of participants from respective countries ([Reuters, 2021](#)).

Social Exclusion

Logistical Challenges and institutional failures

COP26, Glasgow received the participation of over 40,000 individuals, of which more than 50% were observers ([UN](#)). Observers included people from various NGOs, activist networks,

constituency bodies, and similar organisations, making it a diverse and culturally rich congregation of people from over 150 countries. However, thousands of participants and representatives from across the world faced several problems in reaching the venue from their respective countries. Several representatives from countries did not send their delegations or had limited presence at the COP due to travel restrictions. Coincidentally, most of them belong to the poor, developing or SIDS group of countries (Euronews, 2021). When it came to observers, the situation was even worse due to the aforementioned conditions and the high cost of travel, making it even more difficult for observers from poor and developing countries to participate (The Guardian, 2021). The troubles were amplified further due to the high cost of accommodation in Glasgow due to the conference (The Wire, 2021).

However, as the conference came near, a lot of steps were taken by the institutional authorities, primary the UK Presidency, to accommodate such logistical challenges and ensure reducing the barriers to entry through several stages, which include excluding quarantine and on-arrival PCR test requirements and further facilitating vaccination drives for participants who come from countries with vaccine shortages (Bloomberg, 2021) (AP News, 2021). However, several of these relaxations came a bit too late as they impacted participation from poor and developing countries, especially observers. As a result, COP26, Glasgow, was accused of being one of the ‘whitest COP ever’ by several media organisations and other NGOs, highlighting the lack of participation from countries in the global south (DW, 2021) (The Guardian, 2021) (Independent, 2021).

Indigenous people



Source: Anshuman Gupta, 2022



Source: [Anshuman Gupta, 2022](#)

Indigenous people have found it difficult to have appropriate representation at COP26. Their movement has primarily been based on exclusion from the decision-making tables and key consultations regarding concerns related to nature and biodiversity and climate change's impact on it. Several instances of exclusion include the expulsion of key Indigenous leaders from negotiation tables. In addition, certain levels of exclusion were observed during protests as well. Indigenous people had found it essentially difficult to get space and representation at both the institutional level and within the activism network ([The Guardian, 2021](#)) ([Euronews, 2021](#)).

Tibet - A tale of exclusion



Source: [Anshuman Gupta, 2022](#)

An example of social exclusion from COP26 or the UN platform as a whole is the exclusion of Tibet and denying them the right to self-determination or representation at any level. China is the second-largest economic power in the world with a permanent seat at the UN and, as a result, holds a significant pull in the UN process. We found several instances of social exclusion upon speaking to several activists, social workers, and members of the Tibetan Government in exile.

- i) No registered participant or observer organisation were allowed to hold any event, conference or talks within the COP26 venue under the Tibetan banner or any issue related to Tibet which can fall within the ambit of self-determination of Tibetans as an independent community or group.
- ii) Global science community lacks substantial data on the melting rate of glaciers in Tibet which is referred to as ‘The Third Pole’ as the ice sheets in the region contain the most amount of freshwater outside the polar regions. The region is crucial to South-East Asian countries as it supplies water to over 1.35 billion people. The lack of substantial data is due to China’s tightening control of any activities by independent organisations or researchers in the region. China also maintains tight controls on the data released on panels like IPCC, among others. Despite the urgency of the climate crisis in the Tibetan and its possible impacts on the adjoining countries, there have been close to zero public discussions either by COP or countries in the region due to fear of deteriorating trade relations since China is a major economic power and one of the most crucial members of global value chains.
- iii) Some people we interacted with unofficially also disclosed that they had been approached by members of the Chinese delegation regarding their activities and demonstrations with the Tibet cause.
- iv) Tibetan observers present at the COP26 have found it challenging to get their accreditations for registering their organisations with the UNFCCC if their organisation focuses on Tibetan issues of self-determination. As a result, their participation in COP has been through accreditation from other organisations.

Space

Despite the claims of ‘the most inclusive COP ever’, the space where the conference took place was exclusionary. First of all, the conference venue was demarcated into two zones, Blue Zone, where all key negotiations, talks, events, and conferences were held and were only accessible to registered participants, including Observers, Party Delegates and registered media organisations. All the other participants, youth groups, events, etc., were given space in the Green Zone, separated through physical distance by placing barricades and charting longer routes despite being part of the same venue. A distance that ideally would take 5 minutes was turned into a stretched 15-20 minutes of walking. Although bus services by the organisers were available, the very idea of maximising the physical distance between two different social groups through venue design could be seen as an attempt to segregate the two groups and exclude the Green Zone from media attention and make accessibility difficult. Coincidentally most youth-driven activities, social movements, talks, and events which were more open to public participation and demonstrations were constituted in the Green Zone (Euronews, 2021).

Restricted spaces

Main COP26 sites in Glasgow



Source: [Get Ready Glasgow](#), backreferenced from BBC

Even inside the Blue Zone, the movement of observers was primarily restricted, especially during the Ministerial Summit during the first two days of the conference. Conference

guidelines were constantly changing, and further restrictions were imposed, blocking observers, particularly those from the global south, from accessing or attending negotiations (Scidev, 2021). Several conference venues restricted everyone except party delegates which runs contrary to inclusiveness. In addition, heavy police and security deployment both inside and outside of the Blue Zone restricted demonstrations of any kind (CNBC, 2021).

Accessibility challenges and preferential treatment



Image Source: [Anshuman Gupta, 2022](#)

Another issue at COP26 was the poor management at entry points. Participants had to wait for two or more hours to make it into the venue. Coupled with cold and often rains, delays were more prominent during the Ministerial Summit when security and entry arrangements were more stringent. The delays impacted observers primarily as special entries were created for party delegates and other influential personnel. It essentially left observer organisations at the bottom of priorities when it came to facilitating accessibility due to preferential treatment given based on influence or the individual (The Scotsman, 2021). One of the most infamous events was the chaos created at entry points due to the entry of American actor Leonardo DiCaprio at COP26, Glasgow (BBC, 2021). On one end, it was a positive event as it brought a lot of focus and media attention to happenings at COP26, while on the other end, it showed preferential treatment at an event that claims to be inclusive of them all.

Restricting space, suppressing voices



Image Source: [Anshuman Gupta, 2022](#)

Another key issue was the lack of space for activists and other demonstrators at and around the venue. Police regiments from all across the UK were brought into the city of Glasgow to provide security. There was a visible cultural difference between Scottish and British police and how they treated protesters and activists. Every protest and demonstration was carried out, and the police followed containment tactics to contain those protests. However, most protests were peaceful, with very few instances of vandalism occurring throughout the conference. However, the heavy deployment did deter the level of public involvement with such movements ([The Guardian, 2021](#)) ([BBC, 2021](#)).

Power

Perhaps the most central theme observed at the COP was in the context of power dynamics and how it shaped outcomes. From an observational perspective, several instances with skewed power dynamics were visible. This section looks at some of the most notable examples of uneven power dynamics and the existence of hegemony in the climate discourse.

The hegemony of the fossil fuel industry at COP26

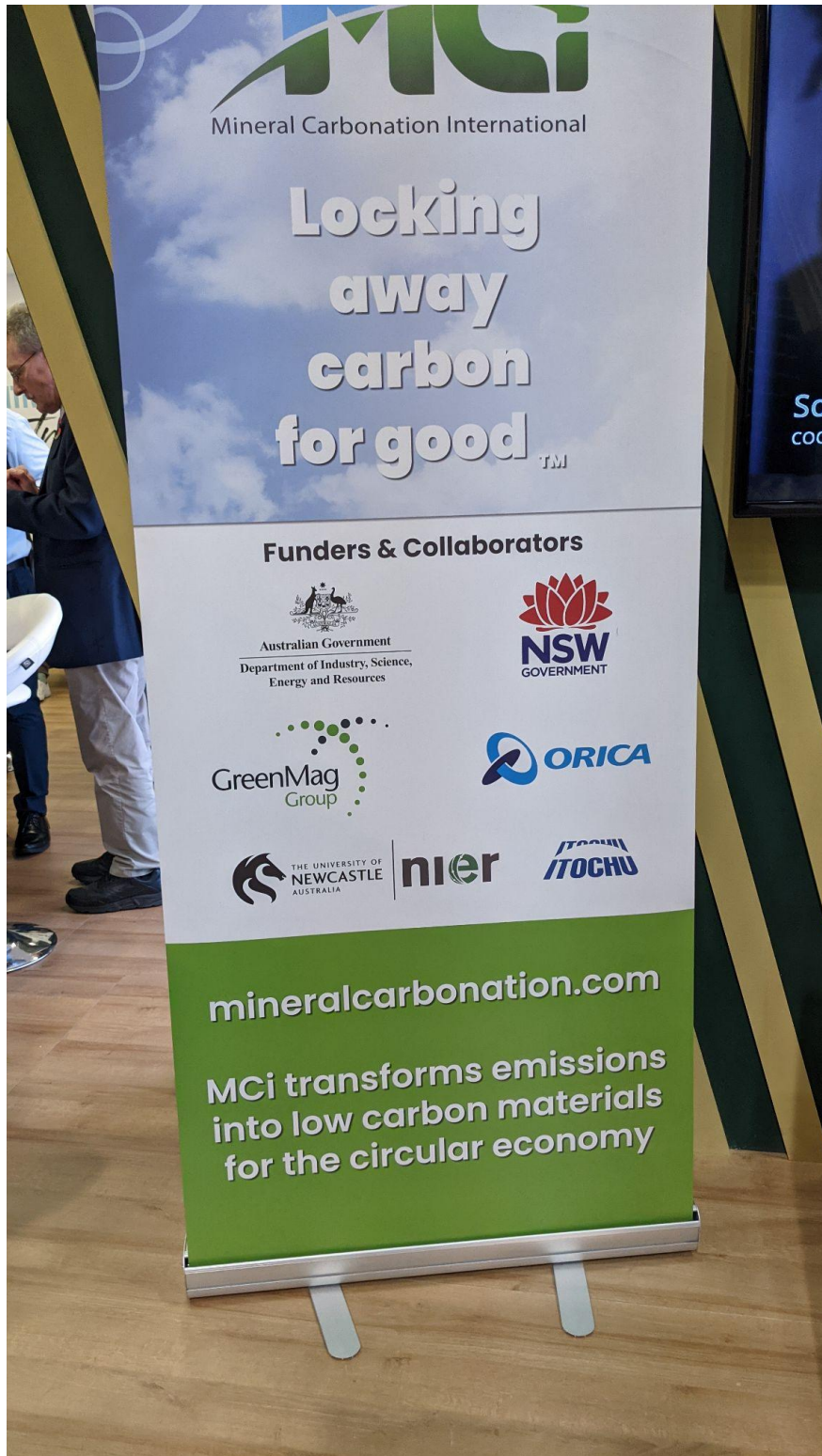


Image Source: Anshuman Gupta, 2022

It's no big secret that global climate discourse has been dominated by narratives set by the fossil fuel industry. They have been called out for it in the last decade, but their hegemony over such multilateral events hasn't reduced. At COP26, the fossil fuel industry had the largest cumulative representation through participation in the number of delegates present from the industry (BBC, 2022). The hegemony of the fossil fuel industry over the COP process has also been held responsible by several environmentalists and experts for 25 years of climate talks not turning into meaningful action or global cooperation. One look at the country pavilions was enough to notice that several country pavilions were merely fronts for either fossil fuel giants or mining companies. Some notable examples include pavilions of major energy-producing nations like Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Russia, United Arab Emirates, which had sponsorships and partnerships with oil giants and mining companies like Gazprom, BP, and Rio Tinto. They were given ample platforms at several events at COP to shift the narrative and greenwashing (NPR, 2021). Energy exporting countries largely tried to dodge the negative limelight by structuring their entire pavilion towards clever, clean energy solutions rather than addressing their current role in aggravating the climate crisis (ibid).

The hegemony of Global North countries at COP26 and their outcomes

Referring to the discussion earlier on how a few affluent countries dominate global climate discourse from the global North, COP26 was no exception. When we look at the history of COP and its outcomes, it's pretty evident how the narrative built by the affluent nations on climate discourse has dominated other poor and developing countries. Some of the examples include,

- i) Affluent countries such as the US, UK, Germany, and France have pushed back against the introduction of historical emissions in carbon budgeting for nations to make the current carbon budget more equitable for other developing and poor countries. Developing and poor countries have contributed the least to the climate crisis when we look at historic emissions starting from 1850 instead 1990 as compared to the affluent ones. In most multilateral forums, affluent countries have ensured that conversations about Climate Equity and Historic Emissions stay inside conference halls and speeches but do not reach declarations or outcomes at COPs, and COP26 was no exception (BBC, 2021) (Friedrich and Damassa, 2014).

- ii) Loss & Damage finance, which talks about financial reparation for permanent loss and repairable damage caused by climate change, was one of the most contested issues at COP26, Glasgow. In the context of global climate negotiations, developing and SIDS countries have demanded the inclusion of the Loss & Damage mechanism under Climate Finance for all the damages they have incurred due to climate change despite contributing to it the least. The issue has been contested strongly by affluent nations, most notably by the US since COP16, Cancun. It led to the development of the Warsaw Mechanism for Loss & Damage by resistance from developing & SIDS countries but hasn't led to a tangible outcome ([Gewirtzman, 2018](#)). At COP26, the demand for setting up a Loss & Damage Facility faced fierce resistance from affluent countries, notably the US. As a result of strong resistance, the issue of Loss & Damage in the Climate Finance framework is still in discussion but has not been finalised ([BBC, 2021](#)) ([Schalatek and Roberts, 2021](#)) ([Huq & De Souza, 2016](#)) ([DownToEarth, 2021](#)) ([Clark, 2011](#)).

- iii) Glasgow Climate Pact, which was the outcome of COP26, Glasgow includes the term 'Fossil Fuel', indicating a big victory of environmentalists battling the hegemony of the fossil fuel industry over global climate discourse. However, severe pressure from both high fossil fuel exporting and consuming countries whose economies are entangled with fossil fuel pushed for replacing 'fossil fuel phase-out' with 'fossil fuel phase-down' in the final text of the declaration. Although, the reasons for advocating for language change were different for different countries. The development of poor and developing countries relies on cheap coal, which has led to millions being lifted out of poverty. While affluent and energy-producing countries pushed for the change due to their greed and over-reliance on cheap energy ([BBC, 2021](#)) ([Wion, 2021](#)).

- iv) The global north dominates the global perception of climate change due to its media hegemony. As a result, India and China have been excessively targeted at every multilateral forum, particularly COPs. China and India are currently two of the largest emitters of carbon dioxide. It was evident during the Indian prime minister's address about India's net-zero ambition as the most prominent media houses relentlessly named and shamed India for lacklustre net-zero ambitions.

This comes even though the US is still the second-largest emitter of Carbon dioxide, and the US's per capita energy consumption is much higher at 15.52 tons compared to China's 7.38 tons and India's 1.91 tons. In addition to that, India and China account for 2.44% and 9% of total historical emissions compared to the US's share of 28.8% ([The Guardian, 2011](#)) ([Bloomberg, 2021](#)).

Gender



Image Source: [Anshuman Gupta, 2022](#)

Global climate governance has primarily been male-dominated, which resonates with other similar institutions of governance. Women have been left out of key positions of responsibility in the COP process. COP26 was no exception to this exclusion with a lack of noticeable female leadership as 10 out of 12 key positions in the UK Presidency for COP26 were held by men. The country delegations were also male-dominated, with very few chief negotiators of countries being women. The overall gender ratio of the conference was essentially tilted towards men. There were several exceptions, such as key activist movements and protests being championed by women leadership and certain countries with equal if not better gender ratios than the rest ([UNFCCC, 2021](#)) ([Forbes, 2021](#)).

Collectivism & Counter-hegemony

Despite the challenges, exclusion, and barriers to entry, several episodes of collectivism and counter-hegemonic movements led to just outcomes or fair participation from a moral and inclusive point of view. Some of the most notable instances include,



Image Source: [Anshuman Gupta, 2022](#)

- i) Developing countries counter fierce resistance on the issues of Loss & Damage, Adaptation Fund, and Climate Emergency by joining forces on such issues during negotiations and otherwise. Most notably, developing countries led the movement to restart the discussion on Loss & Damage spearheaded by Bangladesh. It chairs the Climate Vulnerability Forum (CVF), a group of over 50 vulnerable countries. In addition, SIDS and other developing countries kept on persistent pressure on developed countries first to fulfil their 100-billion dollars commitment to them and demanded raising funds for adaptation which is also scientifically backed and suggested. The revived discussion on climate crisis, loss & damage, and evasion of responsibility by developed countries in both news media as well as negotiation rooms can be considered a minor victory for developing countries; however, until such measures make it to the actual agreement, it would still not be a complete victory (CVF, 2021) (OECD, 2021) (Reuters, 2021) (UN, 2021).



Image Source: [Anshuman Gupta, 2022](#)

- ii) An example of collectivism can be seen in the case of youth groups and other organisations fighting for climate justice and inclusion of stakeholders at cop26. Youth groups, activists, and other observer organisations collectively challenged several exclusionary measures taken at an institutional level through protests, demonstrations, blockades, and activism. Several UNFCCC constituency bodies, including the children and youth constituency (YOUNGO), Environmental NGOs (ENGO), women and gender constituency (WGC), Research and Independent NGOs constituency (RINGO), Indigenous people constituency (IPO), came together and challenged such exclusionary measures within the institution as well. As a result, we had a more inclusive COP. Several exclusionary and restrictive measures put in place by the presidency were either overturned or significantly altered to ensure more just and inclusive participation of all stakeholders.



Image Source: [Anshuman Gupta, 2022](#)

- iii) Youth groups and activists challenged even the media hegemony through vibrant protests across the city, which led to key issues related to climate justice and equity being covered by the media. Vibrant protests throughout the city were a means to garner enough global spotlight on issues that would otherwise have been brushed under the carpet, which led to tangible coverage of the key issues ([DownToEarth, 2021](#)) ([Al Jazeera, 2021](#)).



Image Source: [Anshuman Gupta, 2022](#)

- iv) Indigenous communities and observer groups challenged the power dynamics through a flurry of protests and disruptions inside the Blue Zone of the COP26 venue in response to their exclusion from key negotiations (UN, 2021).

Conclusion

The paper finds a widening gap between institutions and stakeholders across institutions and key themes discussed in the article. Based on observed and inferred accounts of stakeholders at the conference, it can be concluded that affluent nations have dominated every intergovernmental forum and platform for decades and continue to hold massive pull when it comes to the global climate discourse. In extension to that, fossil fuel companies continue to influence key outcomes of COP along with several fossil fuel producing countries. Developing, poor, SIDS countries have been highly disappointed with the outcomes of COP26 as key discussions around historical responsibility, Loss & Damage, and did not see any tangible progress. However, such stakeholders have greatly benefited from a collective approach to tackle such deadlocks in negotiations, with notable examples like Bangladesh's effort to bind developing nations together to bolster the conversation on Loss & Damage and reparation for climate change impacts. Apart from that, observers and activists have significantly benefited from taking a collective approach to demand space and representation and key discussions with decision-makers. They have mainly successfully challenged institutional hegemony through collective participation across geographical and ideological lines. Lastly, we can also include that collective approaches work when challenging institutional hegemony. However, there is an urgent need to address the issue of inclusivity if we are serious about tackling the global climate crisis.

Bibliography

1. Nordhaus, William. 2019. "Climate Change: The Ultimate Challenge for Economics." *American Economic Review*, 109 (6): 1991-2014., DOI: 10.1257/aer.109.6.1991
2. Chambers, J., Wyborn, C., & Ryan, M. (2021). Six modes of co-production for sustainability. *Nature Sustainability*, 4, 983-996.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1038/s41893-021-00755-x>

3. Huq, S., Ayers, J. 2007, Critical list: the 100 nations most vulnerable to climate change, *Sustainable Development Opinion Papers*, International Institute for Environment and Development
4. Kelly, P.M., Adger, W.N. Theory and Practice in Assessing Vulnerability to Climate Change and Facilitating Adaptation. *Climatic Change* 47, 325–352 (2000).
<https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1005627828199>
5. History of the Convention, United Nations Climate Change, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved from
<https://unfccc.int/process/the-convention/history-of-the-convention#eq-1>
6. Christoph Böhringer, The Kyoto Protocol: A Review and Perspectives, *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, Volume 19, Issue 3, September 2003, Pages 451–466,
<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxrep/19.3.451>
7. Conference of Parties, United Nations Climate Change, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved from
<https://unfccc.int/process/bodies/supreme-bodies/conference-of-the-parties-cop>
8. Climate Change, DowntoEarth, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved from
<https://www.downtoearth.org.in/climate-change/coplist>
9. McGrath, M., 2019, December 12, *Climate change: Anger as protesters barred from UN talks*, BBC Science, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved from
<https://www.bbc.com/news/science-environment-50752126>
10. Bello, D. L., 2021, October 21, *What is COP26, and why is it so important?*, The Third Pole, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved from
<https://www.thethirdpole.net/en/climate/cop26-explained/>
11. Reinstein, 2021, November 16, *How 'The Most Inclusive' COP Became The Most Exclusive COP*, Human Rights Pulse, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at
<https://www.humanrightspulse.com/mastercontentblog/how-the-most-inclusive-cop-became-the-most-exclusive-cop#:~:text=In%20May%202021%2C%20the%20UK.attending%20this%20year's%20climate%20conference.>
12. Anna, C., Kirka, D., Saaliq, S., 2021, September 22, *Anger, confusion spread over UK's new COVID travel rules*, AP News, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at
<https://apnews.com/article/lifestyle-africa-health-travel-europe-8d0c76b6ff09d2698f25eb01bfbd1a10>
13. Ruiz, B. I., Moore, H., Grün, G., 2021, November 3, *COP26: 'One of the whitest' climate conferences in years, say environmentalists*, DW, accessed on 07/05/2022,

retrieved at

<https://www.dw.com/en/cop26-climate-conference-glasgow-delegates-representation-global-south/a-59708405>

14. COP26: Together for our planet, Climate Action, United Nations, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://www.un.org/en/climatechange/cop26>
15. Ferrer, M., 2021, November 3, *COP26: Who is being left out of the climate conversation?*, Euronews, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://www.euronews.com/green/2021/11/01/the-missing-voices-of-cop26-who-is-being-left-out-of-the-climate-conversation>
16. Bryant, M., 2021, October 5, *Cop26: fears smaller nations will be priced out of hosting pavilions*, The Guardian, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2021/oct/05/cop26-fears-smaller-nations-will-be-priced-out-of-hosting-pavilions>
17. Abnett, K., Volcovici, V., Daigle, K., Osmond, E., 2021, October 21, *Activists Battle High Costs, Travel Curbs to Get to COP26 in Glasgow*, The Wire, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://science.thewire.in/external-affairs/world/activists-battle-high-costs-travel-curbs-to-get-to-cop26-in-glasgow/>
18. Wade, W., 2021, September 24, *U.K. Eases Covid Travel Rules for COP26 Climate Conference*, Bloomberg, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2021-09-23/u-k-eases-covid-travel-rules-for-cop26-climate-conference>
19. Kirka, D., 2021, August 10, *UK vows maximum attendance at COP-26 summit as COVID lingers*, AP News, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://apnews.com/article/lifestyle-health-travel-summits-coronavirus-pandemic-f281c84aa0541acc29ae1b37e9400f4e>
20. Steffen, S., Niranjana, A., 2021, November 3, *COP26: 'One of the whitest' climate conferences in years, say environmentalists*, DW, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://www.dw.com/en/cop26-climate-conference-glasgow-delegates-representation-global-south/a-59708405>
21. Taylor, M., 2021, October 30, *Cop26 will be whitest and most privileged ever, warn campaigners*, The Guardian, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2021/oct/30/cop26-will-be-whitest-and-most-privileged-ever-warn-campaigners>

22. Abbott, D., 2021, November 8, *Cop26 will be the whitest and most privileged ever – it should be a source of great shame to everyone*, Independent, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://www.independent.co.uk/climate-change/opinion/cop26-whitest-most-privilege-d-climate-crisis-b1953546.html>
23. Broom, F., 2021, November 4, *Global South observers 'blocked from COP26 negotiations'*, SciDevNet, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://www.scidev.net/global/news/global-south-observers-blocked-from-cop26-negotiations/>
24. Meredith, S., 2021, November 5, *COP26 sharply criticized as the 'most exclusionary' climate summit ever*, CNBC, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://www.cnbc.com/2021/11/05/cop26-sharply-criticized-as-the-most-exclusionary-climate-summit-ever.html>
25. Newsdesk, 2021, November 2, *Leonardo DiCaprio brings star power to Glasgow for COP26*, BBC, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://www.bbc.com/news/entertainment-arts-59139279>
26. Amos, I., 2021, November 1, *COP26: Delegates endure long wait as massive queues form at Glasgow conference site*, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://www.scotsman.com/news/environment/cop26-delegates-endure-long-wait-as-massive-queues-form-at-glasgow-conference-site-3440620>
27. Brooks, L., 2021 October 7, *Cop26 activists fear influx of English officers endangers 'friendly' policing*, The Guardian, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2021/oct/07/cop26-activists-fear-influx-english-police-mar-friendly-approach-protest>
28. News Desk, 2021. November 14, *Cop26: Why were there so few arrests at climate protests?*, BBC, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-59235091>
29. McGrath, M., 2021, November 8, *COP26: Fossil fuel industry has largest delegation at climate summit*, BBC, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://www.bbc.com/news/science-environment-59199484>
30. Langfitt, F., 2021, November 12, *The fossil fuel industry turned out in force at COP26. So did climate activists*, NPR, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://www.npr.org/2021/11/12/1055030272/fossil-fuel-cop26-climate-change-glasgow>

31. Khadka, N. S., 2021, November 8, *COP26: Rich countries 'pushing back' on paying for climate loss*, BBC, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://www.bbc.com/news/science-environment-59206814>
32. Friedrich, J., Damassa, T., 2024, May 21, *The History of Carbon Dioxide Emissions*, World Resource Institute, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://www.wri.org/insights/history-carbon-dioxide-emissions>
33. Schalatek, L., Roberts, E., 2021, December 12, *Deferred not defeated: the outcome on Loss and Damage finance at COP26 and next steps*, Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://us.boell.org/en/2021/12/16/deferred-not-defeated-outcome-loss-and-damage-finance-cop26-and-next-steps#:~:text=In%20the%20early%20days%20of,funding%20specifically%20for%20that%20purpose>
34. Huq, S., De Souza, R. M., 2016, *Climate Compensation: How Loss and Damage Fared in the Paris Agreement*, New Security Brief, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://www.newsecuritybeat.org/2016/01/loss-damage-fared-paris-agreement/#:~:text=A%20work%20program%20on%20loss,18%20in%20Doha%20in%202012>
35. Jonathan Gewirtzman, Sujay Natson, Julie-Anne Richards, Victoria Hoffmeister, Alexis Durand, Romain Weikmans, Saleemul Huq & J. Timmons Roberts, 2018, *Financing loss and damage: reviewing options under the Warsaw International Mechanism*, *Climate Policy*, 18:8, 1076-1086, DOI: 10.1080/14693062.2018.1450724
36. Basu, J., 2021, December 1, *CoP26: Not on official agenda but Loss & Damage comeback gives hope, say experts*, DownToEarth, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://www.downtoearth.org.in/news/climate-change/cop26-not-on-official-agenda-but-loss-damage-comeback-gives-hope-say-experts-80467>
37. Clark, D., 2011, April 11, *Which nations are most responsible for climate change?*, *The Guardian*, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2011/apr/21/countries-responsible-climate-change>
38. News Desk, 2021, November 15, *COP26: US, China promoted 'coal phase down' concept. Then why is India getting disproportionate blame for it?*, *Wion*, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at

- <https://www.wionews.com/world/cop26-us-china-promoted-coal-phase-down-concept-then-why-is-india-getting-disproportionate-blame-for-it-429295>
39. Rowlatt, J., Gerken, T., 2021, October 21, COP26: Document leak reveals nations lobbying to change key climate report, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://www.bbc.com/news/science-environment-58982445>
 40. Agency, 2021, November 21, '*Not a solution itself*': India questions net zero targets ahead of Cop26, The Guardian, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/oct/28/not-a-solution-itself-india-questions-net-zero-targets-ahead-of-cop26>
 41. Rathi, A., Chaudhary, A., 2022, March 19, The Poorest Super-Emitter Needs a Different Path to Net-Zero, Bloomberg, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2022-03-19/how-india-gets-to-net-zero>
 42. Chiu, B., 2021, October 31, COP26: Why Are Women Still Missing At The Top Climate Table, Forbes, accessed on 07/05/2021, retrieved at <https://www.forbes.com/sites/bonniechiu/2021/10/30/cop26-why-are-women-still-missing-at-the-top-climate-table/?sh=35235e6d519d>
 43. News, 2021, October 12, Overrepresentation of Men in UN Climate Process Persists, Climate Change, UNFCCC, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://unfccc.int/news/overrepresentation-of-men-in-un-climate-process-persists>
 44. Lakhani, N., 2021, November 8, Cop26 legitimacy questioned as groups excluded from crucial talks, The Guardian, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2021/nov/08/cop26-legitimacy-questioned-as-groups-excluded-from-crucial-talks>
 45. Huq, S., 2021, August 9, Why COP26 failed to address loss and damage from climate change, OECD, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://oecd-development-matters.org/2022/01/25/why-cop26-failed-to-address-loss-and-damage-from-climate-change/>
 46. News Desk, 2021, November 2, Vulnerable Nations Demand Climate Emergency Pact from COP26, Climate Vulnerability Forum, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://thecvf.org/our-voice/news/press-releases/vulnerable-nations-demand-climate-emergency-pact-from-cop26>
 47. Basu, J., 2021, November 7, CoP26: Activists protest global leaders' dilly-dally, demand climate justice now, DownToEarth, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at

<https://www.downtoearth.org.in/news/climate-change/cop26-activists-protest-global-leaders-dilly-dally-demand-climate-justice-now-80075>

48. News Desk, 2021, 2021, November 5, Youth activists protest against climate inaction at COP26, Al Jazeera, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/11/5/youth-activists-protest-against-climate-inaction-at-cop26>
49. Goering, L., 2021, November 2, Bangladeshi veteran of UN climate talks fears COP26 will fail the world's poorest, Reuters, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-climate-un-bangladesh-politics-idUSKBN2HM31W>
50. Grace Barret, 2021, November 6, COP26: Indigenous peoples, protests, and a call to end the war on nature, United Nations, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://news.un.org/en/story/2021/11/1105102>
51. Sokhin, 2021, November 8, A matter of life or death: At COP26, vulnerable countries tell developed nations it's time to keep their promise on climate finance, United Nations, accessed on 07/05/2022, retrieved at <https://news.un.org/en/story/2021/11/1105222>

Additional Information

All media presented in the paper have been clicked by the author during his visit to COP26, Glasgow as an observer with the Indian Youth Climate Network. The information provided in the paper is based on observations, discussions and interviews with several stakeholders at the conference. For additional information on data and resources, please refer to Indian Youth Climate Network YouTube Page:

1. COP26 Explainer Series - IYCN at COP26, Glasgow: Link - <https://youtube.com/playlist?list=PLk0ALyRG1xw5fbbFp1zdZpKjExtBFJcP3>
2. COP26 Expert Series - IYCN at COP26, Glasgow: Link - <https://youtube.com/playlist?list=PLk0ALyRG1xw5fbbFp1zdZpKjExtBFJcP3>