Destroying Nature to Save It and other Economic Fallacies of the Green Transition by Clive L. Spash Chair of Public Policy & Governance

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Outline

- 1. Economic Mainstreaming of Social Ecological Crises
- 2. Financialisation of Nature: How to Make Profit from Crisis
- 3. The Geopolitics of Energy Transition
- 4. An Alternative Agenda and Alternative Strategy
- 5. Conclusions

Part I Economic Mainstreaming of Social Ecological Crises

Competition, Green Growth and the Race for Leadership

"Make no mistake: A new world order is emerging. The race for leadership has already begun. For the winners, the rewards are clear: Innovation and investment in clean energy technology will stimulate green growth; it will create jobs; it will bring greater energy independence and national security."

Josef Ackermann, CEO of Deutsche Bank Green Growth: the Role of Financial Institutions. Global Metro Summit: Delivering the next Economy, Chicago, 8 December 2010

Seeking "sustainable competitiveness". "This report identifies three main areas for action to **reignite sustainable growth**."

- (i) closing the innovation gap with the US and China;
- (ii) seeing **global decarbonisation as a growth opportunity** for EU industry, but beware China is a competitor;
- (iii) increasing security (i.e. military spending) and reducing dependencies.

"digitalise and decarbonise the economy and increase our defence capacity"

Report by Mario Draghi former European Central Bank President Sept. 2024





Protect Economic Growth and Increasing Financial Returns





Better Growth Better Climate: The New Climate Economy Report. Washington, D.C.: The Global Commission on the Economy and Climate, 2014.

A Political Elite 2 majors; 5 ex-heads of state, 13 financers and bankers; 4 leaders of international organisations (World Bank, IEA, OECD, ITUC)

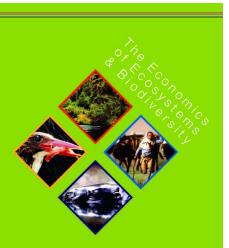
An Economic Elite "The Economic Advisory Panel" 9 professors (economist or Nobel prize winners) 6 other economic/finance experts; 1 Lord Stern. (13 men)

"In the long term, if climate change is not tackled, growth itself will be at risk." (p.9)

'The Economics of Ecosystems and Biodiversity: Mainstreaming the Economics of Nature TEEB UNEP, 2010

Show politicians how to get economic growth from ecosystems

"investment in natural capital can create and safeguard jobs and underpin economic development, as well as **secure untapped economic opportunities** from natural processes and genetic resources." "pro-biodiversity investment the logical choice" (TEEB 2010 p.10)



IAINSTREAMING THE ECONOMICS OF NATUR A SYNTHESIS OF THE APPROACH, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF TEE

Part II Financialisation of Nature: How to make Profit from Crises

Coalition for Private Investment in Conservation (CPIC) est. Sept 2016





CPIC Statement of intent 2017

"In order to sustain humanity's future on earth, substantial **investment in natural capital** is urgently needed"

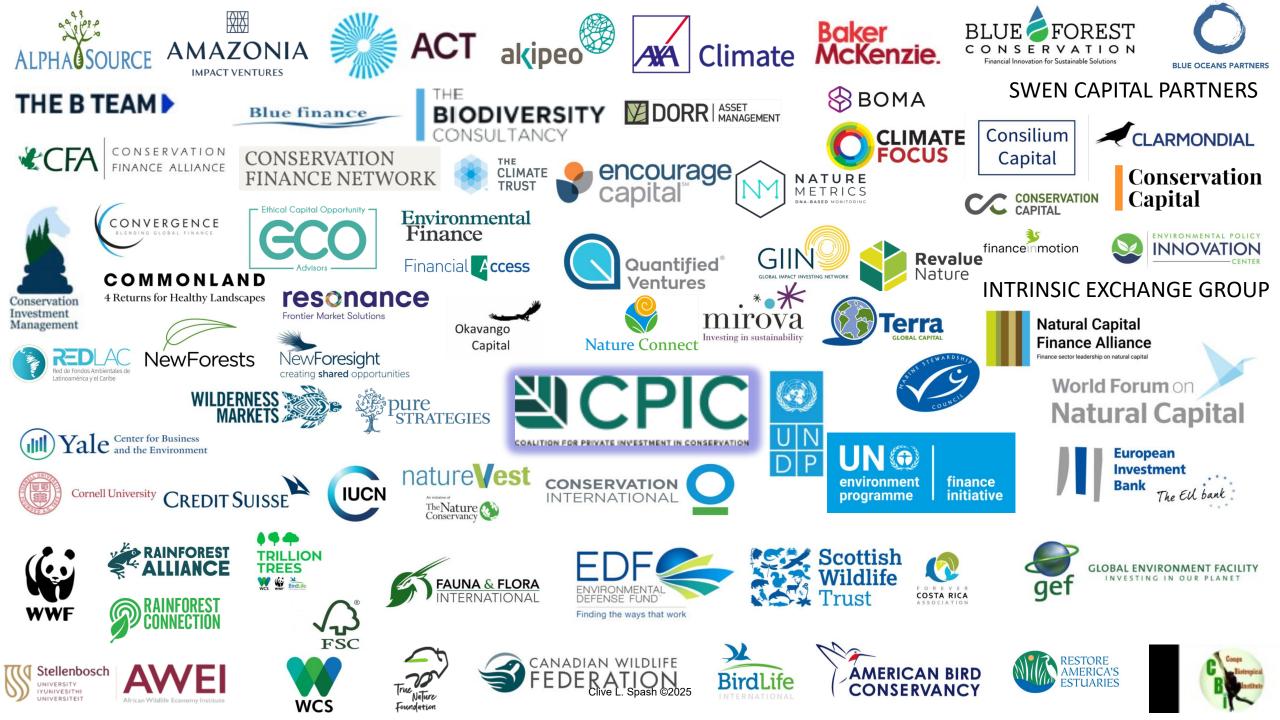
In order to deliver the volume of investment needed to address the scale of conservation challenges, [...] delivering at-scale financial returns for investors, will be necessary,

"Therefore, in order to fill this financing gap, a concerted, systematic effort focused on creating investment products that provide a conservation and financial bottom line is necessary."

Policy Proposals to Increase Financial Business

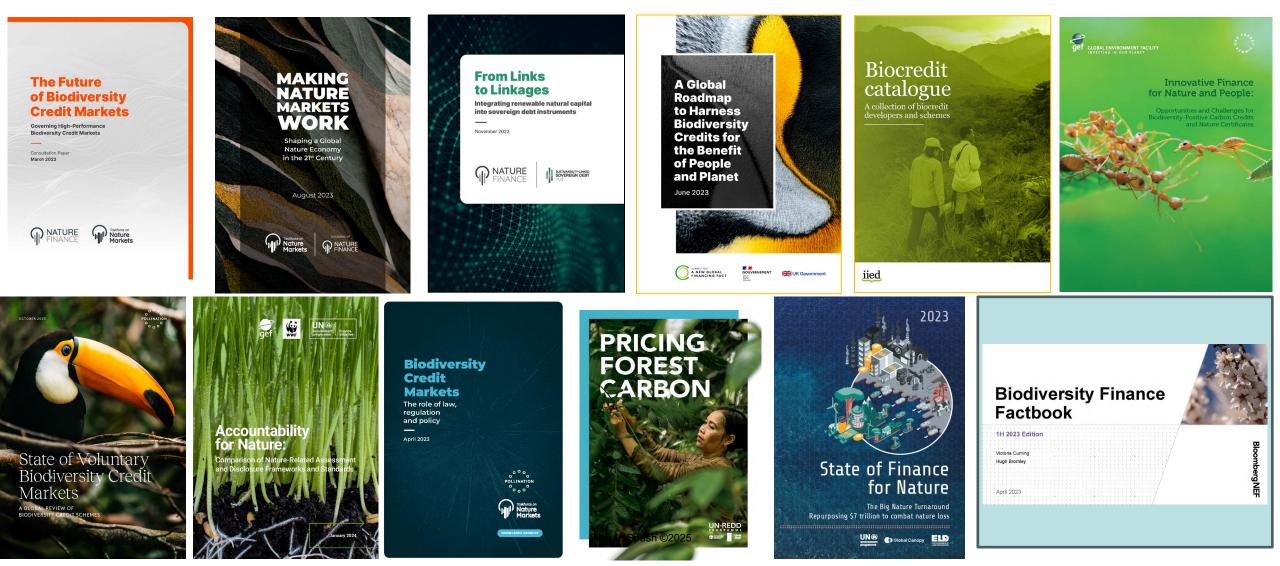
Financing Nature: Closing the global biodiversity financing gap. The Paulson Institute, The Nature Conservancy, and the Cornell Atkinson Center for Sustainability. 2020

2019 estimate vs 2030 claimed potential (US\$ billions/yr)	Average Proposed Increase	
Nature-Based Solutions and Carbon Markets	in Financial Flows	
From US\$ 0.8–1.4 to US\$ 24.9–40.0 billion/yr	2850%	
Biodiversity Offsets		
From US\$ 6.3–9.2 to US\$ 162.0–168.0 billion/yr	2029%	
Green Financial Products		
From: US\$ 3.8–6.3 to US\$ 30.9–92.5 billion/yr	1122%	
Natural Infrastructure		
From US\$ 26.9 to US\$ 104.7–138.6 billion/yr	352%	
Sustainable Supply Chains		
From US\$ 5.5–8.2 to US\$ 12.3–18.7 billion/yr	124%	
Official Development Assistance (ODA)	12-770	
From US\$ 4.0–9.7 to US\$ 8.0–19.4 billion/yr	100%	
Domestic Budgets and Tax Policy		
From US\$ 74.6–77.7 to US\$ 103.0–155.4 billion/yr	70%	
	 Nature-Based Solutions and Carbon Markets From US\$ 0.8–1.4 to US\$ 24.9–40.0 billion/yr Biodiversity Offsets From US\$ 6.3–9.2 to US\$ 162.0–168.0 billion/yr Green Financial Products From: US\$ 3.8–6.3 to US\$ 30.9–92.5 billion/yr Natural Infrastructure From US\$ 26.9 to US\$ 104.7–138.6 billion/yr Sustainable Supply Chains From US\$ 5.5–8.2 to US\$ 12.3–18.7 billion/yr Official Development Assistance (ODA) From US\$ 4.0–9.7 to US\$ 8.0–19.4 billion/yr Domestic Budgets and Tax Policy 	



2023-2024 A Year of Advocacy for Financialisation of Nature

UNEP Climate Finance Unit "**embedding nature and climate incentives in trade agreements**, and by actively developing and **supporting businesses** that put nature, climate and equitable benefit sharing at the heart of **economic growth** in the 21st century."



Trading and Offsetting: Financiers Creating Markets at Scale

Create harm by emitting pollution, mining, building on green sites, eradicating habitat

Equate harm to good legitimise another action as if equivalent to the harm e.g. planting a tree to sequester carbon, conserve a species

Create a Market Trade legalise the right to create harm if money is paid

Markets are built on creating equivalence (commensuration)

- If ecosystems or species are unique they cannot be traded for others
- Scaling up markets requires expanding equivalence

Markets assume instrumental functionality

- Values relate to a general function (e.g. an ecosystem service)
- Denies values concerned with the particular (e.g. having a sense of place or loving a specific tree or location)
- It means species can be lost and a function maintained e.g. are whales or trees better for carbon sequestration?

Changing Ecological Concepts and Values into Economic

Nature as Capital

Nature is of value if it provides a financial return. The higher the return on investment the more valuable is Nature. For example, slow reproduction means whales and old growth forests are a bad investment.

Ecosystems as Service Providers

Focus on economic and social values of ecosystems—to the detriment of the idea that humans have an ethical responsibility towards Nature—irrespective of its value to humans.

Narrow definitions of instrumental values that can be translated into money, substituted and traded off

'New' Conservation

- Instrumental value, Nature as resource
- Moral action → anthropocentric consequentialist, doing what has the 'best' outcome for humans
- Central concern: financial returns, growth, corporate profits
- No absolute protection, all is in comparison with other goals and subject to financial re-evaluation
- Land is to be managed allowing for development, resource extraction and ecosystem (re)construction (Nature as human artefact)
- Neoliberalism is implicitly accepted along with market institutions, e.g., offsetting, banking
- Policy approach: corporate responsibility & market mechanisms

'Good News' for Business, Financiers and Capitalist Elites

"The good news is that policymakers don't have to choose between protecting nature on one hand, and promoting economic growth on the other. In fact, more business leaders are already choosing to save money, reduce risk, and attract capital by going green."



MICHAEL BLOOMBERG

businessman, politician, former NY major and stock trader

\$106.2Billion Forbes real time net worth as of 15th June 2024, #15 in the world

Business as usual

Gaining private property rights over resources Creating opportunities to continue environmentally destructive 'development' projects Using financial instruments to capture the surplus and to accumulate money **Obtaining the legal right and economic authority to trade ecosystems functions and nonhumans as assets that are only valued if they give a financial rate of return**

Bloomberg's endorsement of "Financing Nature: Closings"tmes Biodiversity Financing Gap" Deutz et al. (2020 p.4)

Part III The Geopolitics of Energy Transition

Critical Raw Materials

Critical Raw Materials: Ensuring secure and sustainable supply chains for EU's green and digital future. Brussels, 16 March 2023

The global market for net-zero technologies is set to triple by 2030

- Batteries for electric vehicles forecast to drive-up demand for lithium 17 times by 2050
- China supplies Europe with 97% lithium (von der Leyen 30 March 2023)

"This Act will bring us closer to our climate ambitions. [...] It's in our mutual interest to ramp up production..."

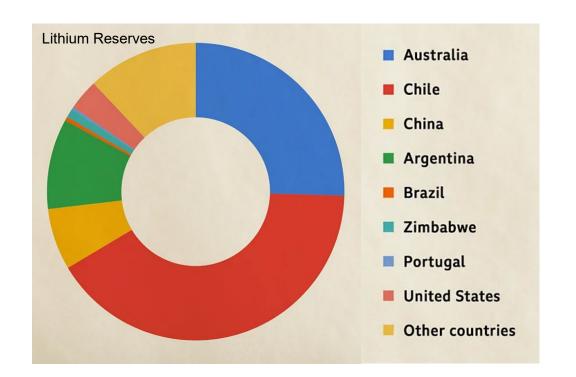
(von der Leyen 16 March 2023)



Wind turbines, photovoltaic power systems, electric vehicles and digital technologies require a range of resources. zinc, molybdenum, aluminium, chromium, iron, lead, silver, nickel, rare earths and critical minerals such as indium, gallium, germanium, selenium. Batteries alone require cobalt, copper, nickel and lithium.

However the report recognises that "The EU will never be self-sufficient in supplying such raw materials".

Green Energy: Lithium Extractivism



South American Lithium Triangle: 53% of reserves are in the High Andean salt flats and wetland ecosystem between Argentina, Bolivia and Chile, where many Indigenous communities live.

S. America 1 tonne lithium requires 2.9 tonnes CO₂ and 1.9 million litres of water

Ramping-up Production

▲ Albemarle®

Australia largest mine, and largest in the world, accounting for 20% of global production in 2021 received permission to double the site's size in 2019.

In Australia 1 tonne lithium creates 9 tonnes CO₂



Powering the European Green Transition



Ursula von der Leven President of EC meets President of Chile Gabriel Boric firming up green economy trade agreements on lithium and 'green' hydrogen 14th June 2023

EU-Chile Advanced [Trade] Framework Agreement deepens the trade and investment relationship

"The more we grow, the more we can redistribute [...]. A green economy can help to make the world a better place" President Gabriel Boric. (translation by Nina Schlosser 2024)

Dominant actors: Ministry of Mining, State economic development agency *Corfo*, and international corporations SQM and Albermarle earning billions Albemarle[®]





German chancellor Olaf Scholz shakes hands with Serbian president Aleksandar Vučić after signing an EU supply deal at the Serbian Critical Raw Materials Summit in Belgrade, Serbia, 19 July 2024. (Bloomberg)

Lithium in Serbia: 'sustainable' raw materials, battery value chains, and electric vehicles. Greenwashing corporate extractivism while sacrificing environmentalist fighting a right-wing authoritarianism allied with Rio Tinto. German Greens prioritise EVs and securing Serbia's lithium with Rio Tinto before China or Russia. **RioTinto**

"The development paradigm pushing for a new wave of extractivism and greenwashing **neo-imperialism** has to change."

(Predrag Momčilović 2024)

Corporate Energy Transition

Energy transition as a potential for wealth accumulation and geopolitical dominance.

Corporate environmentalism and the "technocratic-capitalist narrative".

Within this framework, the issue is controlling access to energy, materials and technologies.

Green Colonialism associated with transnational corporations, which in the name of Green Transition **reproduce the domination over nature and populations**.

Maristella Svampa "Decarbonization Consensus and Green Colonialism" Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (CONICET), and Universidad Nacional de la Plata, Argentina. Presentation Vienna 10 June 2024. THE GEOPOLITICS OF GREEN COLONIALISM

EDITED BY MIRIAM LANG, MARY ANN MANAHAN AND BRENO BRINGEL

> Global Justice and Ecosocial Transitions





Manifesto from the Peoples of the South: FOR AN ECOSOCIAL ENERGY TRANSITION



Part IV An Alternative Agenda, and Alternative Strategy

Materials Critical for What and for Whom?

"Without CRMs most sections of society would not be able to function, as they are found in many everyday appliances and in **products essential to the economy of every member state**."

Council of the European Union 12 September 2024



Examples include:

- electric vehicles = lithium, cobalt and nickel
- building and flying aeroplanes = magnesium and scandium
- wind turbines = boron
- vibrating technology in phones = tungsten





https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/infographics/critical-raw-materials/

Technology in Social Ecological & Economic Relations



Technology is not neutral socially, ecologically or economically Why do we 'need' these technologies? What legitimises a technology?

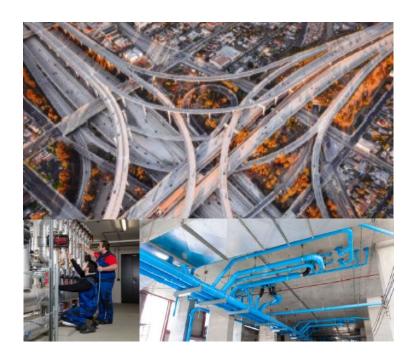
The role of technology in shaping relationships:

- Social and Individual
- Social & Political
- Human and Non-human
- Economic: Social Provisioning and Reproduction



Infrastructure Provision: Technical vs. Social Structure

infrastructures is typically considered as the physical, and material with a concern for high tech and hard engineered structures.



Infrastructure as social or public space is still conceptualised in terms of hard engineered facilities (e.g. community centres, libraries) or constructed physical spaces.



Social infrastructure needs to be understood in terms of providing community and relations of care with others and how this is reproduced via paid and unpaid work. Supporting a care economy.



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Social & Political Relations

Current Tech

Expert & elitist Science & tech serves a minority Estranged from culture Eradication of local cultures Technocracy Centralised Top-down Serves capital & military Innovation motivated by profit & war Limited by finance

Alternative	
Lay & inclusive	
Science & tech serves all	
Integrated with culture	
Preservation of local cultures	
Democracy	
Decentralised	
Bottom-up	
Serves people & community	
Innovation motivated by needs	
Limited by law and ethics	

Technology empowers specific economic actors. Current technology supports a specific and narrow range of economic systems and social relations. This denies the potentiality for alternative social-ecological economies.

Relationship to Nature

Current Tech	Alternative
Ecologically dangerous	Ecologically benign
Heavily polluting	Aligned with sink capacity
Artificial systems	Natural systems
Estrangement from Nature	Integration with Nature
Destruction of non-human life	Respect for non-human life
Human domination	Harmony

The current policy debates and approach of economics are also heavily biased in their treatment of Nature

- → Capital approach
- \rightarrow Ecosystem as productive service providers
- \rightarrow Commodification
- \rightarrow Offsetting
- \rightarrow Financialisation

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A Variety of Utopian Positions

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Dominant

Capitalism Neoliberalism Welfare economy Sustainable development Bio & Hi tech Green growth

Based on a capital accumulating system, cost shifting, individualism, high tech.

Alternative

Communitarianism Eco-socialism Care economy Post development Appropriate tech Degrowth

Based on scientific understanding of biophysical and social reality, community, appropriate tech., eco-social ethics

Scientific or Concrete Utopia

Conclusions!

Economies as Alternative Provisioning Systems

Technology transforms relationships with respect to others both human and non-human.

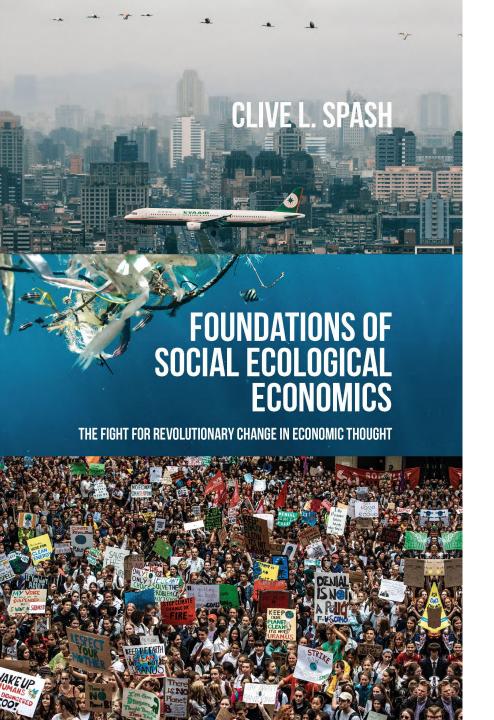
Social-ecological crises & systemic transformation. What is called "the economy" is a specific form of system that entails destructive relationships between economies, society and biophysical reality.

Materialist and technical fixes (e.g., bio-economies, Green economies) entail a specific set of social relations that can be recognised as perpetuating social and ecological crises.

There is no singular economy even within market capitalism, there is variety, but more than this there are both **actual** alternative means of social provisioning and the **potential** for more.

We need radically different thinking to establish social-ecological transformation and to recognise the full potentiality of alternative social provisioning systems

Social provisioning to meet human needs within an ethical framework of care and justice for others, both human and non-human.



The End! Thank You

Danke Schön

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