Global climate change policy has been evolving rapidly, with a continued interest in engaging developing countries on climate change mitigation. These efforts have produced a dizzying array of policy instruments and related programmes (and acronyms) including the CDM, REDD+, NAMAs, INDCs, GCF and NACZ. While political scientists have proven adept at tracking the evolution at the transnational level, insufficient attention has been paid to implementation on the ground. This paper presents detailed historical analysis of the effectiveness in Tanzania, Uganda and Moldova of the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) under the Kyoto Protocol as well as more recent efforts to reduce deforestation (REDD+), national mitigation actions (NAMAs) and national climate action plans (INDCs).

I first propose that the shift from the CDM to REDD+ and NAMAs is indicative of a new consensus about how to engage with developing countries from liberal environmentalism to what I call developmental environmentalism. This shift has taken place over roughly the twenty-year period between the adoption of the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement, with the 2008 financial crises and subsequent 2009 Copenhagen Accord being key watershed moments. Indeed, one of the more tangible manifestations of this shift has been in terms of the design of different climate finance instruments: the CDM being representative of liberal environmentalism while REDD+ and NAMAs are indicative of the shift to developmental environmentalism.

Nonetheless, despite this shift in global environmental policy paradigms and the whirl of activity at the global level, the implementation and effectiveness of climate policy diverges in consistent and predictable manner according to what I refer to as state development policy paradigms. The most interesting finding is that policy implementation has consistently been more effective in Uganda and Moldova than in Tanzania, despite similar state capacity between the two African countries. This leads to the conclusion that ideas about economic development predispose certain states to be more able to act effectively on climate finance, despite considerable evolution in climate finance instruments at the global level as a result of a shift in thinking about how to engage developing countries on low-carbon development.