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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

**Mexico and climate change in the international context according to political
agendas**

Master's Thesis

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Declaration of Authorship

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Prague ... 27 July 2021

Marjhory Melissa Iturbe Perez

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Abstract

This thesis is focused on the climate change agendas of the last three presidents of Mexico in the international context, especially at the G-20 summit. The analysis leads to the agreements and summits where Mexico has taken more relevance, and consequently, the Mexican government has implemented national policies according to each government agenda priority. In addition, this paper highlights the proposals during the last year of Calderon's administration, in which his political agenda is aligned with climate change as a priority. Furthermore, the transition of power from a conservative to a centrist party, which was President Peña Nieto. His government focused on economic development and energy reform. Finally, the first year of the government of AMLO, the current president-elect of Mexico. For the first time governing a social democratic party such as Morena. He is faced with a government with no desire to make progress on climate change and international participation. During the analysis, a current setback for Mexico with the elected government on climate change is found, wherein its agenda renewable energies are not a priority for the administration and therefore a null interest in the G-20 commitments.

Keywords

political agenda, climate change, multilateral , climate policy, Felipe Calderon, Peña Nieto, AMLO, commitments, political discourse, international agreements, cooperation, G20 summit.

Abbreviations

G20	Group of twenty
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Conference Climate Change
MORENA	National Regeneration Movement
SRE	Minister of Foreign Affairs
COP	Conference of Parties
PA	Paris Agreement
GHG	Greenhouse gas
UN	United Nations
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
PND	National Development Plan
GLCC	General Climate Change Law
NSCC	National Climate Change System
SPCC	Special Program for Climate Change
PEMEX	Petroleos Mexicanos
AMLO	Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador
EPN	Enrique Peña Nieto
4T	Fourth Transformation
SENER	Ministry of Energy
CFE	Federal Electricity Commission

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1. Introduction

Over the years, climate change has been a priority concern for several world powers and developing countries. As a result, international forums have been the arena for voicing their conflicts and mutual interests in addressing the climate crisis.

Fossil fuels have been a significant source of economic growth and development. In addition, they are significant contributors to the adverse effects posed by climate change. These competing perspectives are highlighted in juxtaposed policy responses. At the same time, some countries develop legislation and participate in international agreements that strive to mitigate the effects of climate change. They may simultaneously implement policies that promote short-term production and development through the use of fossil fuels, innovating for climate welfare.

As for this represents Mexico, this country is characterized by its active participation in actions aimed at climate change. It is one of the major players in treaties such as the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, the Kyoto Protocol and one of the most active members of Latin America in the G20 summit.

For the last three governments of Mexico from 2012 to 2019, it has been a challenge in the national context. Due to the framing of policies and programs to strengthen the country's position in the international context. On the other hand, Mexico has recently conducted reforms in the energy sector. Such policies have triggered uncertainty in attracting foreign investment and employment opportunities and institutional improvement on the part of governments, and reinforcing Mexico's multilateral stance before the G20 has been a tremendous financial and cooperative support to implement commitments in the domestic sector.

Thus, it could be assumed that the environmental rhetoric and promotion of clean and renewable energy would be congruent with the climate change actions that have taken place in Mexico. In contrast, a vital target of the new set of energy laws focuses on improving and increasing oil and natural gas extraction and consumption.

This thesis focuses on analyzing the tension between the approaches observed throughout the past and current federal administrations in the climate agenda at the international level, the

main forum being the contributions at the G20 summit. In addition, the focus of Mexico's role in the main agreements and summits. Thus, that has led to its actions as a multilateral country of proposals and commitments.

Furthermore, mitigation was an essential part of Mexico's foreign policy agenda during the administration of former President Felipe Calderon in his last year in office in 2012. In comparison, the Peña Nieto government, during 2012-2018, recently liberalized the oil sector while gradually grappling with an inherited climate policy. However, dithering with the energy reform, which favored greater consumption of fossil fuels, the administration resulted in a diminished role in the international climate change context. Despite that, this was not surprising due to shifting priorities in the policy agenda aligned with the political party in power, international concerns, and the political context of each administration.

1.2 Overview

In this research, I highlight the G20 summit as one of the significant forums involved in climate change. Mexico has become known for its commitment to the domestic agenda to undertake the implementation of climate policy. On the other hand, I support this analysis under the agenda-setting theory with one of the principal authors, John W. Kingdon. He states that agenda-setting starts from a problem that the government has to face by setting it as a priority for social welfare.

Two main research questions will be answered in this study: Whether Mexico was a multilateral leader approaching climate change within the cooperation of the G20 summit? Furthermore, Following the climate agendas of the last three governments, Mexico is improving in addressing climate change in both the international and national context?. Mexico has been outstanding in its international commitment and cooperation through its agreements on the climate forefront. Nevertheless, these agreements have been critical tools for governments to implement and prioritize the matter in the political agenda for the six-year term.

My goal will be to establish a rationale that demonstrates the multilateral leadership that Mexico has played on the climate change front. In the three different governments, Mexico's role

in the international context was dispensed with different priorities in the political agenda of each president. As an essential point for this analysis under 2019 for the president-elect in Mexico, Lopez Obrador, I present the political agenda of climate change in response to the hypothesis of whether or not Mexico's role in the international context in its commitments and agreements to climate change as well as national climate policy is regressing

1.3 Structure

The thesis is structured as follows. First, chapter one, which refers to the literature review and theoretical background in which I focus the role of the "Group of Twenty," or better known as G20, in addressing climate change, which goes parallel to international agreements and cooperation, is a theoretical matter. Then, through annual meetings, the main priorities of the host country on the agenda and that of the members are discussed.

In addition, Mexico's international perspective on climate change, its most relevant performance, and contributions in the international arena. On the other hand, John W. Kingdon explains the development of the public agenda in a multi-stream model (Kingdon J. W., 1995). The agenda-setting analysis is established as the transformation of teams with governmental priorities politically as areas; health, economy, social welfare, and climate change. Bearing in mind that attention goes in tandem with the interests of each president, both institutions and individuals set priorities for actions.

Moreover, agenda-setting is a process that involves dedicated competition, in which concerns and alternatives win or lose the attention of the government and society at all stages. (Capella, 2017). I will define the methodology and explain the empirical approach that I will use to answer the research questions. This is understudies of the author Kirton in the analysis of the political discourse lies in the critical and analytical framework according to the priorities of the Mexican governments in their political agendas to implement the climate proposals under the various agreements established in the international summits. (Kirton J. J., 1999) As well as reports, scholarly articles, and books that support the agenda-setting theory, which underpins the political discourse of the three presidents in Mexico from 2012 to 2019, it allows me to compare climate

policy during each administration. The method to be used in this research will be comparative in order to conclude from particular facts through observation and case studies as well as the study of commitments and proposals collected from the different G20 summits where, following the national interests of each government, they adhere to international agreements to address climate change.

The third chapter, will serve as the main analysis where I conduct my research using the given methodology. In this chapter, I will present and analyze the information that will be used to answer the aforementioned research questions. First, I will provide a brief history of the G20 summit and the bilateral relationship between Mexico and the G20. Detailing Mexico's participation in the summits according to the agenda of the annual summit. As a priority, the Los Cabos summit in which Mexico hosted in 2012, under the administration of Felipe Calderon, has been the most significant in the agenda of his administration as the first matter to be discussed was climate change. In addition, Calderon's proposals and commitments highlighted Mexico's role as a multilateral leader on climate change.

However, I have to mention that this process would not occur without international cooperation and international agreements. Therefore, I refer to the most binding climate change agreements for Mexico. The Kyoto Protocol, the Paris Agreement, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), and the Conference of the Parties (COP). Therefore, the role of Mexico in the national agreements, under the political agenda of the presidents ongoing and implementation of climate policies. Finally, to conclude the chapter, by answering the research question demonstrating Mexico's leadership on climate change as a multilateral G20 country and active participation to address climate change using the methodology mentioned above.

In the fourth chapter, I will explain the empirical approach to take into account the agenda-setting theory that stipulates that in the government agenda, the aims of the problem are prioritized based on the priorities of each government. Therefore, I will conduct a comparative analysis of the political agendas on climate change of the three governments in Mexico from 2012 to 2019. The different parties established from their political campaign discourse priorities in the agenda for their administration. In this analysis, I consider the last year of Felipe Calderon and his

contribution to the G20 summit in 2012. First, however, I mention his commitments in both international and domestic contexts. Consequently, the shift in power from the PAN under Felipe Calderon to the PRI under Enrique Peña Nieto. Peña Nieto introduced an agenda more geared towards economic development and the role he played under his foreign policy. Afterward, I discuss the transition of power, highlighting that for the first time in Mexico's political history, a social-democracy party enters power; MORENA under Lopez Obrador, the president-elect in Mexico. He cited his priorities in his climate change foreign policy agenda and his policies implemented in 2019.

Lastly, I conclude with a critical agenda-setting theoretical analysis of Mexico's role in the international arena as a multilateral country committed to climate change and policy recommendations for the improvement of Mexico's climate policy.

2. Literature Review and Agenda-Setting Theory

This review will analyze multilateral leadership on climate change, highlighting one of the most compelling summits on the subject, the G20. The primary sources I am willing to require for the analysis remain in the official documents of the G20 summits for instance “Los Cabos Summit”, the official annual reports of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for each administration terms, and international organizations such as United Nations of climate change which Mexico had ratified. (SRE, 2012). In addition, the secondary sources, which are the newspapers, books, and literature of the principal author Kingdon for the agenda-setting theory and academic journals. (Kingdon J. , 1995)

Mexico has made both international and national contributions. However, the political agenda of Mexico's presidents from 2012 to 2019 is an essential priority for developing policies and proposals to address the climate crisis. International agreements play an essential role for domestic initiatives in Mexico and international cooperation with G20 members or other agreements.

I primarily refer to the author's Kingdon, Pralle, multiple streams model (MSM) (Pralle, 2006). The agenda-setting theory explores strategies for facing climate change on agendas and moves up to the list of policy priorities. Therefore, a descriptive examination of climate change and the policy actors will elaborate on which environmental problems should be raised and kept crucial on public and governmental decision agendas. (Kingdon, 1995).

To enforce the conducted research, data of the Mexican climate change policies and G20 summit's strategies within the members an international agreements will be presented. I will refer to the climate change transition statements used by the previous presidents in Mexico, such as the Mexican proposals. (Presidencia de la Republica, 2014). The primary sources for the difference among administrations lie in the annual documents of the annual reports issued by SRE specifically the presidential which informed precisely the climate goals and commitments. (Kirton J. , 2012). In order to respond to the research questions, this analysis focus as well in the books on the background of the G20 summit and the multilateralism definition. (CFR, 2019) . Additionally, the academic journals by the author Blanca Torres, Marcela Franzoni which are crucial for highlighting the climate change agreements, commitments, and the political perspective in addressing climate change in Mexico and the international forums. (Torres B. , 2013).

2.2 The role of G20 in addressing climate change

Since 2008, the G20 been addressing climate change in various ways; in the summit partake the countries that bear historical and projected commitment for the impacts of their emissions. Despite that the G20 is an informal gathering comprised of twenty of the world's largest economies formed in 1999.(Goyal and Kukreja, no date a, p. 20) The G20, made up of leaders of the G8 nations, on the other hand, in 2005 it arose after the United Kingdom invited the leaders of the five leading emerging economies in the world; Brazil, China, India, Mexico, and South Africa, to participate in the Expanded Dialogue of the G8 Summit, that is, the dialogue to establish positions and initiatives on relevant issues on a global scale. Such as the world economy, sustainable development, and climate change which resulted in a group of 13. (G20, 2014)

Almost ten years later, in 2008, the invitation of leaders, attending by the president of the U.S, George W. Bush, with the aim to coordinate actions as a response to the crisis, impacting the world economy. The Group began a new stage that involved finance ministers and central bank governors, and the Heads of State of the member countries. As a result, each government terms includes at least one summit of leaders and one of finance ministers and central bank governors.

Therefore, G20 conceived a bloc bringing together the most important industrialized and developing countries with economic and financial status to pressing global issues and stability. (Brem, 2011) . Every year the G20 summit meeting discusses economic and financial matters, aside from coordinating policy on mutual interests. To highlight, the G20 summit is not a permanent institution. Instead, its leadership rotates every year based on its members; each decision is made by consensus and implementation, which depends on the political agenda of the members.

Moreover, the G20 summits are international media events that attract the attention of economic, political, and social agents; they open up expectations, guide public and private actors' behavior, and contributed to the management of the economic crisis that the world has experienced. Nevertheless, at the same time, there are meetings which facilitate the convergence of speeches and visions these are aimed at appeasing the markets instability and predicting plausible political coincidences, dissipating from the treats of a global crisis (Smith, 2011).

Addressing the climate change in the G20 summit, the ambition and its compliance over the years has become one of the most critical matters based on the members agenda. Thus, members of the G20 have been the world's largest emitters, responsible for greenhouse gas emissions, and represent 85% of global GDP. The G20's responsibility is to address emissions reduction and climate finance, although member responsibilities vary according to cumulative emission levels. Thus, exercising different obligations under the United Nations Convention on Climate Change. The members of the G20 commit to addressing and adapting to climate change,

playing an essential role in fulfilling the commitments of the Paris Agreement¹ to prevent the global temperature from rising above 1.5 °C (UNCC, 2019).

The G20 leaders are well-positioned elaborate growth efforts when it comes to climate change. Climate change is now one of the leading international threats (along with terrorism and cyberattacks), which is why support has grown enormously. It is in the economic interest of the G20 members to prevent economic losses or climatic impacts. Moreover, a more ambitious action improves health and generate around 65 million more jobs worldwide by 2030.

On the other hand, the G20 is organized around two streams: Finance and Sherpas. The finance branch is headed by the Finance Ministers and the Governors of the Central Banks of the G20. The Ministry of Finance and Public Credit and the Bank of Mexico are the institutions representative for Mexico's participation in this field. (SRE, 2012) . Discussed the topics are of a financial nature, such as regulation and supervision, the reform of the international financial architecture, investment in infrastructure, financial inclusion, and the coordination of macroeconomic and monetary policies and the implementation of structural reforms.

For their part, the Sherpas are the leaders' representatives who should conduct the preparatory work for the Summit meetings. During the process, the Sherpas identify possible agreements and results on the non-financial topics on the Group's agenda, such as employment, trade, energy, and development. In coordination with the finance channel, the Sherpas are also responsible for negotiating the draft Declaration compliance by leaders implement at each Group Summit. In Mexico's case, the Sherpa's channel is the Ministry of Foreign Relation's responsibility. The Sherpa of Mexico before the G20 is the Undersecretary of Foreign Relations.

2.3 Climate change as foreign perspective of Mexico

Since 2011, one of the main emerging economies to be a member of the G20 was Mexico. The impact of climate change on Mexico has been affective in the mainstreaming for the central point

¹ The Paris Agreement is a legally binding international treaty on climate change. It was adopted by 196 Parties at COP 21 in Paris, on 12 December 2015. Its goal is to limit global warming to well below 2, preferably to 1.5 degrees Celsius and countries aim to reach global peaking of greenhouse gas emissions as soon as possible to achieve a climate neutral world by mid-century.

the policies that have slightly changed during the years according to the government's main interests. Mexico's foreign perspective is committed to climate change, as evidenced by mitigation actions and policy adaptation for change. Mexico has agreed to the parties' participation, including the G20, to keep the global average atmospheric temperature below 2 °C.

After 2000, Mexico published three national climate change strategies and in 2009 adopted its first specific climate change program. Indeed, Mexico has submitted five national communications with their respective greenhouse gas inventories to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. Mexico has been an active member in international efforts to face climate change, helping to advance, supporting climate change in the past, promoting international negotiations under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and through the relevant forums such as the G20. Thus, it became the first developing country to present a determined contribution to the national that led to the Paris Agreement's adoption. Mexico became the first emerging oil-producing economy to adopt climate legislation in 2012. One of the perspectives of the G20 based on their results for each member, according to the Climate Change Performance Index (CCPI).

Mexico has managed to reduce the relatively low consumption of energy per capita in the recent years. International experts attribute an excellent score to Mexico's international scenario performance, emphasizing on the government's proactive role in international negotiations and its participation in various regional and international agreements. However, this positive image is not fully matched by climate policy at the national level, in which experts only classify Mexico's performance as moderate. G20 emphasizes that Mexico's emission targets are not ambitious enough and that they lack implementation. However, since its entry, it has remained optimistic about the climate change crisis; in the long term, the Mexican government has had significant changes, which denote the results before the G20 summit.

2.4 Theoretical Background

It is essential to address the theoretical background behind the climate change crisis, the international summits such as G20. Does the G20 summit integrate the importance of facing

climate change in the world to address why this group is in charge of the main problems currently facing the members of the group and the world. The summit is where any members could bring ideas, financial investments, and technology to develop the world's crisis. Climate change has been a challenge even though developing countries impact economies, societies, ecosystems, and so forth. The annual G20 meetings take place in either of the twenty member states and are in compliance with the previously agreed terms. Their purpose is to arrange a successful way to reach the goals, connected to monetary and fiscal policies. It should be noted that seven international observer organizations also participate in the forum: United Nations (UN), International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, Financial Stability Board (FSB), International Labor Organization (ILO), World Trade Organization (WTO) and World Health Organization (WHO). (Bradford, 2011)

Due to the research, the main question lies in how ; Whether Mexico was a multilateral leader approaching climate change within the cooperation of the G20 summit? Furthermore, Following the climate agendas of the last three governments, Mexico is improving in addressing climate change in both the international and national context?. The agenda-setting theory highlights an important point within a call for the policymakers with the influence of the decision-making process to address the international forum's the main matters, for instance, at the G20 summit the climate change for Mexico. (Kingdon J., Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies, 2003)

Mexico is approaching the climate crisis in progress through the proposals before the G20 summits, thereby making it a participant with global responsibility. For Hedley Bull proposes the idea of international society, the existence of norms and institutions that states share. The states are aware that there are particular common interests and values, they are conceived bound by rules that govern their relations, and they work to create and defend institutions such as international law, diplomacy, and international organizations. (Bull, 2002)

Multilateralism, based on international law and diplomacy, can be seen as an illustration of international society's existence as it requires states to behave according to certain norms and respect international institutions. (Ibid, 2008). On the other hand, the author Robert Keohane has

defined multilateralism as the practice of coordinating national policies in groups of three or more states through ad hoc arrangements or institutions. (Robert O. Keohane, 1990). Diebold argued that multilateralism is not the number of participating countries but the type of links established between them; what distinguishes multilateralism is that relations between states are ordered according to certain principles. (John Gerard Ruggie, 1992)

Hence, multilateral institutions are designed to solve problems that require the state's collaboration, for which rules and rights are determined. The international organization monitors and manages those rules, reducing uncertainty and costs for its members. (Keohane, 2008) . To develop words, multilateralism and multilateral organizations make the behavior of states predictable, which is necessary for the political calculations of each of them.

It is in this uncertain environment that Mexico defends multilateralism as the best alternative to solve common problems; it creates norms, principles, and practices that become international regimes, aims to moderate the unilateral action of states and is deeply democratic since it allows small, medium and large states to act and meet. In this way, multilateral practice is the instrument par excellence of countries like Mexico, interested in promoting a world of norms, legal and political certainty (Chávez, 2019).

Furthermore, Mexican governments established policies and regulations to face national climate change due to specific proposals of the G20 summit. From the perspective of political views, they substantially impact the course of the climate change policy over the years due to each government's interests for Mexico to succeed in the agreements signed. Although Mexico has implemented and developed various domestic policies and objectives to address the climate crisis, such as reducing greenhouse gas emissions (GHG) and climate-resilient society, it transitions towards low carbon. These policies react to global efforts for the climate crisis; Mexico needs to renew clean energies to improve its health and welfare. (Godinez, 2014). Mexico is an active actor in the diplomatic context concerning climate change matters during 2012 with president Felipe Calderon. It demonstrated commitment and compliance to discuss approaches to tackle the climate crisis and announced that Mexico was ready to reduce greenhouse gas emissions (GHG) by 30% in 2020 through setting up a program to reduce carbon dioxide hence reach long-term plans with

G20 cooperation members. Climate change policy would become a cornerstone of Mexico's foreign policy, such as addressing the agenda-setting for the governments. (Reuters, 2016). To better address climate policy, an issue that has become relevant due to the consequences it has brought with it, at the G20 summits it has been an essential issue on the agenda. It is explicitly conspired with the agenda-setting theory in climate change for Mexico.

To start with, the authors Cobbs and Ross defined the word agenda as a "general set of political controversies to be considered at any time within the range of legitimate concerns that have political attention." (Cobb R. W., 1972). They point out the distinction between systematic public agenda (the society or informal agenda), institutional agenda (the state or the formal agenda), and finally media agenda (the media agenda). The systematic agenda consists of all the issues on which political members commonly perceive as deserving the public's attention that involve matters of the jurisdiction of existing governmental authority. (Cobb R. W., 1971)

John W. Kingdon explains the development of the public agenda in a multi-stream model (Kingdon J. W., 1995). The agenda-setting analysis is established as the transformation of teams with governmental priorities politically as areas; health, economy, social welfare, and climate change. Considering that attention goes hand in hand with each president's interests, both institutions and individuals set priorities for action. Setting agendas is a process that involves dedicated competition, in which problems and alternatives win or lose the attention of government and society at all times. (Capella, 2017)

One of the authors, Zahariadis, describes the relevance of the agenda studies as possible gaps between government and society priorities and the agenda's study by making visible a comprehensive set of actors and institutions. With this, the understanding of decisions and political choices for a formal definition of actions gets expanded. (Zahariadis, 2016).

The authors Cobb and Ross presented an agenda-setting model giving three initiation patterns: first, it lies in society reaching the public agenda, systematic and institutional agenda. In this case, the groups seek the attention of policymakers to move conflicts to the institutional agenda. The second explanation concerns the agenda's construction, occurring in the government's

opposite direction to the citizenry. In this model, decision-makers try to transfer an issue from the institutional agenda to the system to pursue public support to place it on the systematic agenda. The third model explains how the problems are original within the government, seek to spread the public matters. Sometimes there is no interest in bringing them to public debate even when encouraged by influential groups, this can happen for technical or political reasons, but the initiation model excludes public participation. (Cobb R. W., 1976)

In the 1990s, agenda-setting was remodeled with the emergence of theoretical approaches that no longer aimed to understand the complex relationships between institutional and systemic agendas. (Baumgartner F. R., 2014) These new models redirected efforts to research teams that moved through the institutional agenda. According to authors John Kingdon and Baumgartner and Jones, they advanced theoretically and empirically in the study of policy change. (Baumgartner, 2006)

Furthermore, in the model, Kingdon attempts to explain this section of the policy process subject to academic criticism, testing, and reformulation. The author highlights the matters are related to the governmental agenda at any given time, considering not only decision-makers with the state but also individuals and groups related to them. One of the multi-stream approaches lies in its ability to provide an environmental analytical structure that allows the inclusion of theoretical and practical models in the agenda-setting process studies. That is why the applications to address agenda-setting using the multiple stream model include climate change in a national and international context. Kingdon's conceptualization consists of three streams for the agenda-setting process: problems and political.

As a result, one of these can create an opportunity for a policy window. (Cobb, 1983). According to Kingdon's analysis, points out the agendas' changes from time to time, thereby proposing an explanatory model around three streams. Therefore they are; policy stream, problems stream, and the political stream. This model aims to analyze the pre-decisional stages of the policy procedure. Thus, through examining the three streams connected by an entrepreneur's public policy, which plays an important role when making changes possible, the veins of opportunity (Howlett, 2003).

However, the policy can be changed when the three main streams can come together and encourage each other. A successful political window consists of how political actors have framed solutions and conflicts to build a specific idea. (Pralle, 2009) This idea passes and gains traction, moving to another stage of the political process; however, the opportunity to act is lost when attention shifts. As supported by Kingdon, agenda-setting suggests a somewhat different set of questions based on different assumptions. Policymakers inquire why some policy issues appear on government agendas while others are relatively neglected. (Goyal and Kukreja, undated b).

Scholars have identified some agenda-setting assumptions in democratic political systems. The governmental agenda refers to issues essential to citizens, consisting of issues in dispute with governmental institutions, such as executive agendas. Non-governmental institutions, such as the media, have agendas that affect public and governmental agendas (Hilgartner, 1988). In addition, it should be considered that issues on or off the agenda occupy points on a continuum in which some are more salient and prioritized. Consequently, agenda-setting assumes that the most salient issues are likely to move into the decision-making agendas of government institutions. They are expected to direct more effort and resources to address global problems such as climate change than to less critical ones, although policy change is not guaranteed even when a topic is essential.

Therefore, author Pralle describes the features of the equilibrium model to explain how climate change policy can remain high on the decision agendas of the public, government, and institutions. (Pralle S. B., 2009) This highlights the flow within institutional policy subsystems, linking periods of policy change with policy windows. The author's terms are based on the integration of policies for governments to face the problems and follow the flows to impact climate change successfully. In the case of Mexico, international proposals to address global issues such as climate change encourage its members and the world to engage with its domestic policies. It is due to the setting up of dialogues with emerging and developed countries seeking a new paradigm in international cooperation, best known today at the G20 summit. This framework should feed the solutions to climate change as a must in the political agenda of each member. (Rochefort, 2016)

2.5 Methodology

2. 5.1 Research Design & Methodology

The methodology used in this work is through the qualitative method, carrying out a research methodology that will analyze the participation of climate change for Mexico before the summit of the G20. Furthermore, the compliance and measures of International Climate change agreements in Mexico within the previous governments contrasting the strategies applied to meet the proposed goals. (John J Kirton, 2014)

Due to this turn, the political discourse analysis resides in the critical and analytical framework according to the priorities of the Mexican governments in their political agendas to implement the climate proposals under the various agreements established in the international summits. The political discourse is used for a vision for the administration according to the proposals in the campaign. During the first year, it is usually expected to see the first results and the implementation of new policies or initiatives on a relevant issue. More precisely, climate change has been a priority for certain governments and not so much for others.

Consequently, international agreements have been adhering to address the problem as raised by the allies, bringing effects within the cooperation of the members. The method to be used in this research is the inductive method used to be able to conclude from particular facts through observation and case studies as well as the study of data collected from the different G20 summits where according to the interests of each government adhere to international agreements to address climate change. (Costa, 2012) On the other hand, analyzing and describing the climate change measures and laws in Mexico and the impact of the G20 summits, essential facts are highlighted, and multilateral cooperation as a country needs to face the climate crisis. According to the political agenda of each president of Mexico during the years 2012 to 2019, the national report will establish the strategies and implementation of public policies.

The present research design will establish the discursive analysis of previous reports due to Mexican climate policy by two presidents in power during their six-year term and G20 allies to address the challenge of renewable energies affecting fuels that use expensive and polluting energy health of society. The current position adopted by each government depends on political legacies,

parties in power, balances of power, personal views of policymakers, and the interests and abilities of lobbyists. In addition, these policies contemplate the analysis of the outline of the effects of climate policies on the welfare of critical national stakeholders or the impact of national data. (Naylor, 2012). On the other hand, during Mexico's participation in the G20, I will lay out the bilateral relations between the two derived from the previous reports of the members under the most significant studies of the summits and analysis. In addition, the common interests shared with members, mainly to compare them in some summits that distinctive have intervened to comply with the agreements established in the G20 each year.

On the other member, a domestic climate change strategy represents the medium-term vision. It considers the various policies and contributions to the G20 in Mexico, such as international cooperation and domestic actors. (Politico, 2018) I would point out the implementations of domestic climate change, the statements of previous presidents in Mexico that develop climate policies and are implemented under the international agreement regarding the cooperation of the G20 members. Additionally, the relationship within the US has been vital for the primary development for clean energies, investment in technologies for the ecological improvement of the state, which makes the country competitive for foreign investment from its main allies and climate actors.

As the primary research factor according to the agenda-setting theory that will apply, the climate change crisis has been a subject studied in-depth in different countries, becoming a governmental issue for emerging countries, that is, on the political agenda of each country as an essential issue for environmental and energy improvement as well as social welfare. Supporting the theory of Kingdon, who mentions the set of issues that are up for governmental discussion such as institutions and summits of climate crisis worldwide, these can affect the public and governmental agenda. (Kingdon J. , 1995) Despite keeping climate change at the forefront of governmental agendas turns attention not only to politicians, institutions, and agreements worried about the long-term impacts this can bring for non-actions.

In short, the theory buildout will shape the priority issue that is not displaced by economic, social, and political developments. (IMF, 2015) The author Cobbs mentions that once the problem is identified, their move on governmental and institutional agendas is strategically framed. In other

words, a feasible solution is attached in which policymakers perceive a fundamental problem in a public way. When political conditions are susceptible to change, a policy window opens, taking advantage of agreements, institutions, and international cooperation to promote government action.

In addition, through the G20 summit and international agreements, the main target of pursuing efforts to address the climate crisis within international cooperation is the inclusion of the main objective. (Rajat Kathuria, 2019) On the other hand, some international actors play an essential value in the agreements between members with purposes at a given time, which drive countries such as Mexico to achieve a domestic strategy in line with international commitments. During the years 2012-2019, Mexican presidents brought the climate change crisis to the political agenda to modify, add and implement climate change policies with social welfare. (Garcia, 2012)

Moreover, leadership as a multilateral country to address domestic climate policy on its welfare will be analyzed the climate policy agenda in 2019 of the new president in Mexico, Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador. The opposite for the improvement of climate change, without the international effort to develop a clean environment, adopting domestic strategies, modifying policies before his administration, addresses in observation the future of what has already been signed in the agreements that Mexico assumes. On the other hand, the consequences of Mexico for going backward on climate change since, with the new incoming government and the change of power, international participation will not be a priority according to AMLO's political discourse in 2019. I acknowledge that the present analysis requires a subjective assessment comparing previous proposals within the current Mexican government. I will rely on the opinions of academics, government proposals, institutions, and the G20 to make an accurate political analysis for the vision of climate change in Mexico.

3. Analysis

3.2 Bilateral relationship between Mexico and G20

A brief background of the group of the twenty or well known as G20, is an international forum that brings together heads of state and government, finance ministers, and central bank presidents

of the world's nineteen most significant economies additionally Mexico. In addition, to their economic weight, members of G20 also do so for their strategic work at the global or regional level. (Wouters, 2012). In this sense, the G20 is currently one of the informal forums for the discussion of the most salient issues on the international agenda and the search for consensus between the large industrialized countries, the middle powers, and the countries emerging for the adoption of public policies that respond to global problems.

When the 2008 international economic and financial crisis hit, it became clear that the advanced economies would not be able to cope without the support of the emerging countries. That same year, U.S. President George W. Bush decided to convene for the first time the heads of state or government of the G20 countries (a mechanism that previously met only at the ministerial level) and offer major developing economies a seat at the table of significant decisions as full members. It should be noted that during this earlier period, several observers felt that the G20 would supplant the G8 as the coordinating mechanism among the countries "that matter." (Smith, 2011)

Although the Washington summit was held in November 2008. The international economic crisis that erupted that year was the deepest since 1929. The coordinated response of the world's largest economies cushioned the crisis and mitigated its effects, although the recovery of the international economy to date has been sluggish, fragile, and unstable. (Smith, 2011)

In fact, the challenges that Mexican economy has faced during the last years have been crucial, which sums up a need to consolidate a durable exit from the strong recession in 2009. The international crisis has severely damaged three basic income and growth sources: manufacturing exports, tourism, and emigrated workers' remittances. Oil exports, which are another fundamental source of income, are decisive in fiscal matters and face restrictions due to the drop in production associated with this strategic sector's structural investment deficit. In summary, the prospects for resuming growth in Mexico today are strongly linked to the vigor and durability of the global economic recovery, especially in the United States. This circumstance is projected in various ways in the international actions of the government in economic matters. (IPN, 2016)

Mexico inherited the presidency of the G20 in December 2011. The country's participation in the summit since it was created at the level of finance ministers and central bank governors and the exercise of its presidency in 2003 had forged a good reputation. Furthermore, Mexico's coordination role in the dialogue between the then G8² and the G5³ strengthened the country's credentials as a conciliatory and constructive actor. (Kirton, 1999). Likewise, Mexico had organized a meeting of Sherpas in 2010, in which the working methods of G20 were discussed, and issues such as whether or not to expand the number of members of the group and the rotation of its presidency were discussed. The President of Mexico's participation at the summits was constant, and the country's positions on the different topics on the agenda, including the reform of international financial institutions, financial regulation, and the fight against protectionism, were balanced and favorable to consensus. Over the years there were presidents who locate the economy well above with environmental concerns claiming for long-term actions, there are others seeking to move towards renewable sources and domestic sustainable actions.

3.3 Mexico's participation in the G20 summit

Mexico's membership in the G20 is strategic as it becomes a recognition of the economy's weight within the global economic system. Through its participation in the G20, Mexico is a member of the most crucial decision-making process in the international coordination of macroeconomic and monetary policies that currently exist to reduce the risks faced by the world economy and prevent crises from occurring. Likewise, the G20 opens privileged spaces for dialogue to promote issues of interest to Mexico, such as economic growth, sustainable development, free trade, energy efficiency, food security, the fight against corruption, and the mitigation of climate change. Mexico has played an active and responsible role in this group. (Kim, 2012)

² According to John Kirton (1999), the G8 has other peculiarities that have been with it from the beginning, these being: its composition, its rarity, and its bureaucratic independence. The first element refers to the fact that the Group of Eight has been made up of the most powerful nations, economically speaking, and that, therefore, they have sufficient resources to exercise leadership in terms of the stability of the economic system. Although these nations' cooperation and leadership in stabilizing the economic system has been partly successful, it has also been the cause of much criticism, precisely because the G8 is thought of as an exclusive group, arguing that it is only one institution whose defect is the lack of representativeness. The G8 are conformed by Russia, Canada, Italy, France, UK, Japan, United States, and Germany.

³ The group of five or G5, whose objective is to promote dialogue between developing and developed countries that make up the G8, to establish positions and initiatives on relevant issues on a global scale, such as the world economy sustainable development, and climate change, among other issues. The members are Brazil, China, India, Mexico, and South Africa.

Mexico's contribution to the G20 has been active and cooperative, through the summit, it provides the opportunity to deepen Mexico's interaction with countries that have common interests, as well as with those that share concerns related to economic growth, poverty, climate change, greenhouse gas emissions among others. (Pachauri, 2014).

Mexico sought to express through the forum the problems it went through during 2012. Thus, a solid basis for initiating a fruitful discussion in the preliminary process towards the summit. In addition, to guide it towards the search for agreements and concrete commitments and attention to the new challenges for policy coordination imposed by the global economic framework in 2012. Therefore, the central themes of the G20 agenda are of global interest; the Mexican government has proposed the adoption of the "green fund" that examines and offers viable responses to the necessity of financial instruments that support efforts to combat and mitigate the effects of climate change. (Malan, 2011).

As the G20 is an informal forum for consultation without an administrative structure or its headquarters, it operates on a complex network of dialogue and communication between different instances and government levels of the 19 members. On the other hand, the highest authority is the leader, who provides the political capital and impetus to the negotiations during the summits. It should be noted that the G20 organizes its agenda in two channels: the finance channel, which in Mexico is headed by the Ministry of Finance and Public Credit (SHCP), and the Sherpa⁴ channel, the responsibility of the Ministry of Foreign Relations (SRE)⁵.

3.3.1 2012 G20, Los Cabos Summit

The seventh summit of the G20, was held in los Cabos, Mexico; under the leadership of president Felipe Calderon who was from the National action party (PAN). Consequently, Mexico's vision for the leaders was evident to reiterate the commitment to address climate change. As a matter of fact, it stresses out the need to structurally transform economies towards an environmentally friendly pattern in the medium term. (Exteriores, 2012) . Mexico has proposed

⁴ Sherpas are the collective decision-making body for the planning and supervising the preparatory process for the group's substantive agenda. They also provide political guidance, agree on work practices, and are responsible for resolving institutional issues of the negotiation and final declaration of the leaders.

⁵ SRE, "Presentación: Diálogo con la Sociedad Civil en el marco de la Cumbre de Líderes del G20."

the adoption and promotion of the Green Climate Fund. The agenda proposed by the Mexican government regarding climate change and the drafting up a work program welcomed the results of the 17th Conference of Parties (COP), held in Durban, as well as the global concern for food equity and mitigation of the prices of raw materials. and promotion of sustainable development.

Consequently, green growth and climate change, promoting climate finance, begin to occupy permanent space on the Group's agenda. Besides this, it sought to follow up on stable issues from the G20 agenda, such as financial regulation, the reform of international financial institutions, employment, development, among others.

This summit explicitly addressed climate change and sustainability issues and set the course for subsequent summits and commitments. Periodically, the G20 presidencies announce their priorities, allowing flexibility if more specific targets are not achieved and allowing for significant announcements when leaders' summits are held. The 2012 Summit established "inclusive green growth" as a priority area for the G20 development agenda. One of the first products of this decision was the Green Invest platform launched in 2013, with Germany's initial contributions. The platform's objective is to promote policy dialogue, leadership, and public-private initiatives with and for developing countries to advance the mobilization and integration of green finance in the context of broader sustainable development goals. (CEPAL, 2017)

In the final Declaration, the G20 encouraged the exploration of effective mechanisms to mobilize public and private funds for inclusive green growth investments in developing countries through the Dialogue Platform on Inclusive Green Investments announced at this summit. The members also welcomed the B20's Green Growth Action Alliance, created at the World Economic Forum and held in Mexico by the B20 in 2012 to encourage private growth. (CEPAL, 2017)

At this Summit, the Group welcomed the report on clean energy technologies and energy efficiency; G20 Clean Energy, and Energy Efficiency Deployment and Policy Progress prepared by the International Energy Agency and Clean Energy and Energy Efficiency Working Group, (CEEWG) of the G20, recognized the efforts of the G20 countries to encourage investment in these technologies through an exchange of national experiences concerning the challenges for technological deployment. (ICM, 2019)

The Group reaffirmed its commitment to streamline and abolish them in the medium term on fossil fuel subsidies. The government of Mexico, President Calderon, asked finance ministers to report back to the next Summit on progress made and to seek options for a voluntary peer review process for G20 members at their next meeting. He also opened dialogue on fossil fuel subsidies with other groups already engaged in this work, such as Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC).

Mexico promoted green growth as a "flagship" issue that would characterize Calderon's presidency. Hence, it played a valuable role as host of the conference of the parties to the United Nations framework convention on climate change (COP16) in Cancun, which was seen as a potential boost to "green issues" on the G20 agenda.

During the summit, Calderon sought to cooperate with members of the G20, establishing in Mexico the Climate Finance Study Group ⁷ (SGCF) which has been supported by the Global Environmental Facility (GEF) and Green Finance Study Group Mexico in 2012. (China, 2016) It was re-launched in China in 2016 as Green Finance Study Group, and its objective was to find ways to mobilize effectively financial resources under the UNFCCC. Additionally, to improve the collaboration, dialogue and cooperation climate funds, formed by China; as a member of the G20 seeks to develop ways to scale up green financing.

In sum, Mexico set a priority agenda that reflected its interests and made its diagnosis of the challenges of the international economy and the issues that the G20 should address. It also built and released a work plan at the onset of the Calderón administration, which helped to clarify its purposes and the means to achieve them (OECD, 2015). The results of the Los Cabos summit were significant. The Los Cabos action plan included concrete commitments to coordinate macroeconomic policies and help strengthen the recovery of the global economy. Mexico would

⁶ It is agreed that the global temperature should not exceed 2 degrees Celsius for the first time officially by the United Nations. COP 16 in Cancun will be remembered as a relative success. Mainly due to the strong commitment of the highest representative of the Mexican Government, President Felipe Calderón, who was present and very active during the two weeks of the meeting, but above all due to the skill and tenacity - widely recognized by all countries

⁷ Study Group on Climate Finance, was established by G20 Ministers of Finance; which mainstream climate finance get into a consideration sustainable development and mobilization of climate finance.

have acquired political capital within the G20 that it could and should continue to leverage to help address these challenges such as climate. (Los Cabos, 2012).

Due to the diverse institutions regulating climate change within the different purposes for countries to tailor a specific coalition. In addition, climate change commitments made subsequently involve multilateral cooperation within the G20 summit members and global organizations, such as agreements for the commitments on climate change. The G20 has claimed to be a policy coordination forum for economically significant states and transnational actors, supporting the United Nations Framework Convention (UNFCCC), the Paris Agreement, the Kyoto Protocol, and the various Conferences of the Parties (COPs). In addition, the G20 changed its configuration. It integrated the leaders of the member countries, broadened its agenda, and committed to facing the threats of climate change, based on every day but distinguished responsibilities, framing its actions within the global efforts to combat the phenomenon in the context of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

Therefore, the following G20 summits were crucial for climate developments, including climate finance, in addition to progress on actions to migrate towards inclusive green growth. In particular, the significant development was the dissemination and implementation of non-prescriptive and voluntary toolkit strategies for inclusive green growth policies in the context of sustainable development, including a workshop with developing countries and the launch of the Inclusive Green Investment Dialogue Platform⁸. (Platform, 2013)

At the Saint Petersburg Summit in Russia in 2013, the commitment to rationalize and phase out ineffective fossil fuel subsidies in the medium term was reiterated. The final communiqué highlighted the efforts made by some members of the G20 in this regard. On this issue, well into the Russian presidency, the G20 finance ministers announced the development of a framework for voluntary peer reviews to rationalize and eliminate inefficient fossil fuel subsidies that stimulate excessive consumption, responding to the request made in this matter by the Mexican presidency in 2012.

⁸ The report was created to inform of a public-private G20 dialogue platform in order to increase commercial and financial investments to mobilize private capital, for green growth investments in developing countries such as Mexico and expand them to involve institutional investors for the improvement of practices.

3.4 Climate change for Mexico at the international agreements

3.4.1 Kyoto Protocol

Mexico's commitment to combat the environmental crisis lies in demonstrating challenges and opportunities. Mexico has sought to maintain ties and adhere to multilateral organizations and informal forums in cooperation with developing countries. One of the agreements with great adversity and a long duration of negotiations has been the Kyoto Protocol. (Hill, 2016)

The Kyoto Protocol was created to reduce greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions that cause global warming. It is an instrument to implement what was agreed in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. It was originally adopted in 1997 in Kyoto, Japan, but did not enter vigor until 2005. The eighteenth Conference of the Parties on Climate Change COP¹⁸ ratified the second term of the Kyoto Protocol from January 2013 to December 2020. (Depledge, 2013)

The protocol has achieved:

- The subscribing governments established laws and policies to fulfill their environmental commitments.
- The companies took the environment into account when making investment decisions.
- Encouraged the creation of the carbon market, the purpose of which is to reduce emissions at the lowest cost. (SEMARNAT, 2016)

On the other hand, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change was signed by the Government of Mexico in 1992 and ratified by the United Nations in 1993. The

⁹ The 2012 UN Climate Change Conference, COP 18/CMP 8 (the 18th Conference of Parties to the UNFCCC, plus the 8th session of the Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting of the Parties to the Kyoto Protocol), will take place in Qatar, Doha. (UNFCCC, Decision on the host of COP 18/CMP 8, 2012)

protocol entered into force on February 16, 2005, for the nations that ratified it. Among them Mexico, which did so in 2000. (UNFCCC, 1998)

In addition to the mitigation commitments of developed countries, the Kyoto Protocol promotes developing countries' sustainable development. Mexico ranks fifth worldwide in the development of CDM (Clean Development Mechanism)¹⁰ projects in methane recovery, renewable energy, energy efficiency, industrial processes, and waste management, among others. (SEMARNAT, 2016)

As part of the international effort to approach the climate change, the Paris Agreement on Climate Change was approved during COP21 in Paris, France. This agreement entered into force in November 2016 and is, without a doubt, the most crucial voluntary commitment that has been made in recent years in the area of Climate Change, which will replace the Kyoto Protocol, which concludes its second period of commitments in the year 2020. (Earth.org, 2020)

3.5 The importance of Paris Agreement to Mexico

Mexico is an active diplomatic actor to address climate change, vigorously participating in various international agreements to combat the environmental crisis. During the exit of the former president Felipe Calderon in 2012 and the president-elect's entry in 2012-2018, Enrique Peña Nieto. For instance, in the Conference of the Parties (COP18) in Doha, negotiations, agreements, and commitments were established, such as the Kyoto Protocol, Paris agreement, Green Climate Fund, and where Mexico had participated and cooperation in the international context within extended-term plans (Ecología-SEMARNAT, 2016).

Mexico joined the agreement approved in Paris on Climate Change after a five-year negotiation process at COP 16¹¹ in Cancun. (Change, 2010) Hence, the Paris Agreement on

¹⁰ The Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), specified in Article 12 of the Kyoto Protocol, allows an industrialized country with an emission, reduction, or emission-limitation commitment under the Kyoto Protocol to implement an emission-reduction project in developing countries (Mechanism, 2012)

¹¹ Sixteenth session of the Conference of the Parties (COP 16), 2010 in Cancun, Mexico

Climate Change was adopted by acclamation in a session headed by the President of France, François Hollande, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Ban Ki-Moon, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, and President of COP 21¹², Laurent Fabius. (UNCC, COP 21, 2015)

First, the Paris Agreement's brief background establishes a global framework to evade dangerous climate change by safekeeping global warming well below 2 ° C and continuing efforts to limit it to 1.5 ° C. It lies on the strengthen countries capacity to cope with the effects of climate change and support them in their efforts. (Ellis J., 2017) .The Paris Agreement is leading global and legally binding agreement on climate crisis, adopted at the Paris Climate Conference (COP21) in 2015.

Mexico showed its leadership in Paris; it played a role that was recognized for its constructive spirit, helping as a facilitator in the negotiations and boosting ambition in the financing, mitigation, and adaptation goals. Mexico actively participated in the negotiations on the deadlines for submitting action reports and increased ambition on the mechanism responsible for monitoring compliance with the Paris agreement. Undoubtedly, the scope of this agreement will directly impact the transition to a low-carbon global economy that, in addition to preserving the environment, promotes sustainable development for society. (UNFCCC, Mexico's Climate Change Mid-Century Strategy , 2018)

One benefit of Mexico's participation in the Paris Agreement (PA) assisted to the reduction of greenhouse gas (GHG)¹³ emissions and the fulfillment of the global goal, which requires global participation, even with more ambitious targets. (EPA, 2018) It is estimated that with 100% compliance with the current commitments, the global temperature could rise to 3.3 ° C in 2100, well above 2 ° C. Therefore, the reaffirmation of the commitment of all participants is essential if climate change impact will have on the world and especially in Mexico. (INECC, 2014)

¹² The twenty-first session of the Conference of the Parties (COP) and the eleventh session of the Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting of the Kyoto Protocol in Paris, France 2015

¹³ Greenhouse gases (GHG): Gases that keep heat in the atmosphere, such as carbon dioxide (CO₂), methane (CH₄), and nitrous oxide (N₂O). (EPA, 2018)

However, the impact on global warming is not the only result of Mexico's participation in the PA. Many political and economic elements must be considered to assess the importance of Mexican participation, for example: (SRE, Mexico joins in approving landmark climate accord in Paris., 2015). Mexico has maintained a position to reduce its GHG emissions, and any change would generate international disapproval since it would be inconsistent with the long-term strategy proposed so far. (GHG, 2015)

1. Given that NAFTA's renegotiation with the U.S, Mexico's leading trading partner, is in the process of adjustment, including climate terms, it is essential to maintain a stable relationship with the other trading partners. It is crucial to consider that after the U.S, the main trading partners are Canada, China, Germany, Japan, and South Korea and have ratified their commitment to the PA. (Interactive, 2017)
2. Germany is one of the leading countries that have ratified their commitment to the PA, and after the statements of the US government, it has shown interest in approaching Mexico to talk about economic cooperation. This country is the European Union's leading economy and has 2,000 companies in Mexico, which generate more than 150 thousand direct jobs. (Chretien, 2020)
3. For Mexico, German investment in projects that reduce GHG emissions represents a significant economic opportunity; This is the case of renewable energies, where there is a greater possibility of generating resources. (CLEW, 2021)

3.6 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and Mexico's multilateral cooperation

Mexico has been member of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) since it was signed nearly 20 years ago and has assumed its commitments in this multilateral forum with great seriousness and responsibility. This is evident through the strengthening of its capacity to face climate change increasingly determining concrete actions to adapt to its impacts and mitigating greenhouse gas emissions.

Mexico signed the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in 1992, and that same year it was unanimously approved by the Senate of the Congress of the Union. The Convention was ratified before the UN in 1993 and entered into force in 1994, establishing a framework of action whose ultimate objective is on achieve stabilization of greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that prevents dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system. That level should be achieved within a reasonable time frame to allow ecosystems to adapt naturally to climate change, ensure that food production is not threatened, and allow economic development to continue sustainably. Through this act of approval, the Mexican government; made its consent on the international level to comply with the guidelines established in this instrument. (SEMARNAT, 2015)

The signatory Parties to the Convention are bound by general commitments to respond to climate change. Therefore, they agreed to formulate, implement and periodically update national climate change programs; cooperate in preparations for adaptation to the impacts of climate change. Besides, to compile national inventories of greenhouse gas emissions and submit regular reports on the steps they are taking to implement the UNFCCC. (COP, 2019)

As part of the UNFCCC agreements, it was established that the Conference of the Parties (COP) will be held annually, a meeting at which negotiations are carried out to advance towards fulfilling the objectives of the UNFCCC. The first COP was held in 1995 in Berlin, Germany, and since then, Mexico participates actively and regularly. (COP, 2019)

The government of Enrique Peña Nieto had to participate in six Conferences of the Parties of the UNFCCC (COP) that are held annually as well as in numerous negotiation sessions, workshops, and activities that take place between them and lay the foundations for what would be its performance at COP24 that was held in 2018. In the first participation of the Peña Nieto government, at COP18 in 2012, a cycle that started in 2007 was closed in which it had been negotiated in two tracks and established one, the Durban Platform for Enhanced Action, with two lines of work. (INECC, Contexto Internacional en materia de Cambio Climático, 2018)

One of these lines would be to negotiate an agreement under the Convention, "applicable to all parties", an agreement that should have legal force and be adopted at COP21, to be held in Paris in 2015. A second line should focus on increasing what the "ambition", the scope of mitigation actions to be carried out before and after 2020. (INECC, 2015). The ultimate objective was to keep the increase in planetary temperature towards the end of the century below 2 ° C concerning pre-industrial levels. However, according to experts, the most recent scientific research indicated the need for the temperature to stay below 1.5 ° C unfortunately this goal could not be achieved with the sum of the actions carried out until 2011 and the reduction commitments. (Brum, 2016)

The emissions that had been made up to them by the members of the Convention, especially those countries included in Annex 1 of the Kyoto Protocol. This difference is defined as the "emissions gap or ambition gap." In the following years, an attempt was made to find ways to eliminate this gap, but the differences between the member countries of the Convention deepened regarding the two objectives (an increase of 2 ° C or 1.5 ° C). The way to achieve them and on whom should the necessary efforts fall. (INECC, Mexico informs to UN its climate change mitigation and adaptation commitments for the 2020-2030 period, 2016)

In other words, between 2012 and 2018, the past's substantive differences emerged in repetitive ways during negotiations. Besides several new ones, both were concerning the two aspects of the climate mitigation and adaptation regime and the instrumental areas of technology-financing and capacity building. Without trying discuss each of the differences in position, it will mention some of the most important to explain the depth of the disagreements in the following paragraphs. (Mexico, 2019)

3.7 Most relevant adhesions of Mexico in the Conference of the Parties (COP)

Mexico's leading participation in addressing climate change was during the COP20 in Lima, Peru and in 2014, in the presentation of the Declaration of the Presidents of the Pacific Alliance on Climate Change. Then-president of Mexico, Enrique Peña Nieto, defined the commitment of Mexico is firm and growing. Affirming that Mexico was one of the first countries

in the development of energy reform moving towards renewable energy and natural gas as well as imposing carbon taxes. (Hill, 2016)

Furthermore, at COP21, in 2015, Mexico became the first country widely promoted both nationally and abroad in the development of presenting its Predicted Nationally Determined Contributions (INDC). The INDC target is to reduce GHG emissions by up to 22% by 2030, with a peak emissions year in 2026. (NDC, 2019)

The Mexican government stated that GHGs could rise by up to 36% provided that a global agreement is reached that includes international carbon prices, technical cooperation, technology transfer, and access to low-cost financial resources. The government assures the ambitious position presented by Mexico, which would change its production and consumption patterns. (SEMARNAT N., 2019)

Consequently, the U.S. government, led in 2015 by President Obama, stated that Mexico's INDC was "ambitious and backed by strong and unconditional policy commitments." (House, 2016). In addition, the U.S. vision was to establish bilateral cooperation on climate change and low-carbon development. Consequently, both Presidents Obama and Peña announced developing energy and appliance standards to advance climate and clean energy policy work. (Presidency, 2016)

3.8 Climate change for Mexico at the national agreements

During the Calderón administration from 2006 to 2012, climate change policy and actions took off on the government agenda. Thus, to strengthen Mexico's relations in the international arena -issuing development plans-, the environmental impacts of the oil industry were reduced while strengthening renewable energy activities, which was classified as an area of opportunity. (Calderón, 2014)

During the government of Felipe Calderón, the National Development Plan (PND) was issued in 2012. Expectations to stop and reverse the unfavorable Hydrocarbon Revolution were

reserved as a critical element to boost the nation's development. (Deputies, 2008) Thus, to ensure quality and competitively priced energy for consumers, contributions were made in renewable energy, hydrocarbons, electricity, energy efficiency, hydraulic, and housing construction.

The NDP emphasized environmental sustainability and its cross-cutting nature among divergent public policies. The emphasis on medium-term policies was noted, stating that environmental sustainability should become a mandatory criterion for investments and policies. The NDP would refer to Mexico's development in the international context as a mediator between developed and developing countries. (Estados, 2016)

In Felipe Calderon's administration in 2012, the General Climate Change Law (GLCC) was issued. This law defined the mitigation and adaptation duties on levels such as national, regional, and local. (Sosa-Núñez, 2015). With this, policy instruments were carried out such as the National Climate Change Policy, the Special Climate Change Program, and related programs at the local and the National Climate Change System (NSCC). With this Law, the Mexican government become the second country to develop a policy instrument and reinforce the country's position as a responsible global actor. (República, 2014)

The transition of Mexico's administration in 2012 led to changes in foreign policy, with climate change no longer prioritizing the government's agenda. However, it is essential to preserve Mexico's role in international summits and organizations and cooperation agreements with developed countries. Then-President Peña Nieto leveraged Mexico's role as a climate champion to make future climate change contributions in 2016. At the beginning of Peña Nieto's administration, the Undersecretariat Commission on Climate Change was created in 2013. (Economist, 2016). It was regarded as the guiding instrument for climate policy, establishing objectives that include assessing and evaluating national and international actions.

In addition, for the period 2014-2018, the Special Climate Change Program (PECC) was issued to move towards a competitive, sustainable, resilient, and low-carbon economy. (DOF, 2014). This program includes proposals to reduce emissions from various sectors such as transportation, oil,

and gas. The SPCC encourages the transition to more minor carbon-intensive energy sources and renewable energies. (Leds, 2015)

In 2015, at COP 21 in Paris, the INDC (Intended Nationally Determined Contribution) was announced. Furthermore, the proposals included generating 35% of what the Mexican government considers clean energy, renewable sources, efficient plants combined with heat. The energy as well as thermoelectric plants with carbon capture and storage by 2024, this achieves a potential of 43% by 2030, another ambitious goal that was considered a target to reduce black carbon emissions by 51% by 2030 (Gobierno de la República, 2016).

3.9 Mexico and climate change as a multilateral country

According to the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), Mexico is the first country to commit to a crucial adaptation to climate change plan, encouraging countries to follow suit. Mexico is distinguished as a multilateral country that promotes agreements and participation in climate change summits. It has also been accepted within a broader system as a source of stability that its development can acquire international cooperation addressing the climate crisis for social, economic, and environmental well-being. (Izquierdo, 2017)

As multilateralism has been evolving to search for greater functionality, it could be considered both an opportunity and a challenge. Mexico has sought to participate in multilateral bodies and informal forums to build developed and developing country agreements. (Tago, 2010). Mexico's commitment to multilateralism has been profound and without limits. For this reason, it is willing to invest diplomatic efforts to engage the members in dialogue, for example, at the G20 summit in Los Cabos, Mexico, in 2012. This summit would mean the end of the negotiation process on climate change within the UN framework. In doing so, Mexico has shown the way to multilateral dependence. Mexico has been considered a global leader in climate change policy. It was one of the first G20 countries and the first developing economy to pass a climate change law in 2012. Thus, it was also one of the first countries to submit a Nationally Determined Contribution (NDC) under the Paris Agreement framework in 2015. The climate change law was later updated in 2018 to align domestic policies with Mexico's international agreements.

The Paris Agreement on Climate Change, adopted by 195 countries in 2015, which entered into force on November 4, 2016, is an essential instrument available to face the threat of climate change¹⁴. The process that led to its negotiation, signature, and ratification began in Cancun, Mexico, in 2010, during the celebration of the 16th Conference of the Parties of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP16-UNFCCC)¹⁵.

During COP16, the Cancun Agreements were adopted, which established a set of institutions in the financing, mitigation, adaptation, and technology (such as the Green Climate Fund). Under the leadership of Mexico, various obstacles that had hindered other COPs were overcome, among which the interpretation of the consensus rule stands out as the support of the majority and not as absolute unanimity. Besides the negotiation process of the international treaty on climate change was redirected. (Torres, 2013)

Although Mexico faces a shifting and uncertain international scenario, the climate regime and the actions established are irreversible¹⁶. Despite the withdrawal of the U.S. from this historic agreement, Mexico and other countries, including China and members of the European Union, will continue to push the Paris Agreement to achieve its full implementation and strengthening. Investment in new energy sources, available scientific information, and the support of most countries and other actors, such as civil society, academia, and the private sector, will allow the momentum achieved and the commitments made to continue in the future. (Leds, 2015)

¹⁴ It was adopted on December 12, 2015, in Paris, France, during the twenty-first Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP21).

¹⁵ After the failure of the first attempt at COP15 (Copenhagen, 2009) and after restoring confidence in the process at COP16 (Cancun, 2010), the negotiation of the new instrument was relaunched at COP17 (Durban, South Africa, 2011) and was carried out in the Ad Hoc Working Group of the Durban Platform for Strengthened Action (ADP). The leadership exercised by Mexico during COP16 was decisive, as it redirected efforts and strengthened the United Nations Framework Convention for Climate Change (UNFCCC). From that moment, for more than five years, a new regime was negotiated within the framework of the UNFCCC to replace the one established with the Kyoto Protocol.

¹⁶ At COP22, held in 2016, in Marrakech, Morocco, the political commitment of States to multilateral efforts against climate change was reiterated. The agreed decisions were procedural and postponed the definition of actions to implement the Paris Agreement, which will be discussed in November 2017 during COP23. This was due to the opposition of the new United States government.

For Mexico, after the G20 summit in Los Cabos and its proactive participation resulted in an attractive opportunity turned into a complicated challenge, the government of Felipe Calderón made rebuilding the multilateral system a priority on the agenda. During 2011, Mexican diplomats held regional, bilateral, and multilateral preliminary meetings. Mexico has made strategic points with developing and emerging powers on climate change. However, it is open to international standard-setting, which has gained ground in the environmental arena to be a creditable player, as was the proposal before the G20 "green fund." (ICC, 2012). Therefore, Mexico's commitment to multilateralism and willingness to invest in diplomatic efforts are conducive to bringing global interests among developed countries. During the G20 summits, especially in "Los Cabos" 2012, Mexico showed itself as a responsible and committed country searching for global multilateral solutions. The country found a way to reaffirm its traditional foreign policy preferences. (Godinez, 2014)

On the other hand, one of the most pressing issues in environmental policy is the loss of biodiversity. Significant advances in the knowledge of the universe lead to the conclusion that it is the only planet that can be inhabited, so human beings are obliged to take all possible actions to preserve life on Earth. Furthermore, one of the significant global challenges in disaster risk reduction is the economic and social losses it causes. Without a doubt, phenomena such as hurricanes and droughts have been accentuated by climate change.

Nevertheless, it also underlines that this situation does not necessarily guarantee an early agreement and that, if it is achieved, it could be insufficient in the medium term given the increase in emissions from countries that are not in the G20. Furthermore, the effects of resorting to this type of shortcut in terms of the negative impact on inclusive multilateral organizations and the future development of international law. The absence or insufficiency of this is emphasized, leading to the absolute predominance of the strongest. (Stacey Feldman, 2012)

4. National climate change comparing international context according to political agenda

4.2 Last year of Felipe Calderon administration in 2012 approaching the climate change in Mexico in contrast to international context

Like any other country, Mexico's foreign policy agendas are a function of the vision and needs of the federal government. Some of the policies are implemented under the administrations, as in the "Estrada Doctrine"¹⁷. The stepping stone was climate change in terms of "priority" by the administration of President Felipe Calderon, who adheres to the National Action Party (PAN). Calderon was eager to build and preserve an international climate change regime and act as a moderator between developed and developing countries. Proof of this was that he set an ambitious national target on pollution reduction. Further, the president focused on innovating energy efficiency to compete in the international market and bring in foreign resources.

According to the theory of political discourse by, the Calderon administration had as a priority in the political agenda. It was established as the leading world scenario to lead Mexico to active participation in the environment during the six-year term. Mexico increased its presence in world forums, which indicated a greater reach of the country in international issues such as climate change.

Facing climate change in Mexico is an excellent opportunity to transform the country in the face of future challenges. Climate change has become one of the priority issues in public opinion and on the scientific and political agendas worldwide. The fight against climate change for Mexico is fundamental since it means the opportunity to change production and consumption policies through sustainable development. Socio-economic conditions such as poverty and inequalities, the fragility of natural ecosystems, and geographic and climatic characteristics make Mexico extremely vulnerable to climate change. (Programa Especial de Cambio Climático 2009-2012). For this reason, climate change demands urgent, multidisciplinary, holistic, and transversal attention that must consider all sectors of the population and levels of government. Additionally, it is necessary to address this problem from a territorial approach.

Mexico has been an active and prominent participant in the international concert to understand and characterize the phenomenon of climate change and take action and formulate policies and the institutional framework for its attention. Mexico is one of the signatories of the United Nations

¹⁷ The Estrada Doctrine establish that foreign governments should not judge rather positively or negatively

Framework Convention on Climate Change in 1992, hosted the Conference of the Parties to the Convention in 2010, and the second country to establish specific legislation on climate change in 2012. (SEMARNAT, Estrategia Nacional de Cambio Climático, 2013) Likewise, it was the first to deliver its Predicted and Determined Contributions at the National level for the signing of the Paris Agreement in 2015, as well as to include both mitigation and adaptation in what currently refers to the Nationally Determined Contribution

Mexico took advantage of the G20 Presidency in 2012, to be held in Los Cabos, to give greater importance to the issue of climate change and the so-called "green growth," issues that in one way or another had already been present in Group meetings held in South Korea and France in the previous two years. This decision by the Mexican president had clear limits from the beginning. Both other governments and officials of the Mexican financial sector expressed opposition or doubts about the convenience of giving the issue a higher priority on the Summit's agenda. Despite this, it was given importance in the meeting, and the Mexican president arrived at the meeting with a General Law on Climate Change. Mexico's participation in the meeting was highlighted by promoting agreements and consensus on global environmental protection. (Torres B. , 2013). In several circles, it was stated that President Calderón had a personal interest in the environmental issue. The improvement of the internal and external situation, as well as Calderón's interest in the issue, allowed Mexico to broaden its scope of action in these matters.

The fact, although already published, was due to take effect two months before the Calderón government ended. It was praised abroad with some skepticism from Mexican observers about its future beyond the six-year term.

During 2012, Mexico addressed significant challenges of climate change, showing itself as a multilateral leader to the members of the G20. With the entry into force of the General Climate Change Law (LGCC) in the Calderon administration. This Law that places Mexico as one of the first to have a Law on the matter together with the United Kingdom. The LGCC aims to establish a legal framework that regulates public policies for adaptation and mitigation to climate change and promotes the transition towards a competitive economy with low carbon emissions. (Carin, 2012)

In addition, the LGCC determines the scope and content of the national climate change policy, defines the obligations of the State authorities and the powers of the three levels of government, and establishes the necessary institutional mechanisms to address this challenge. (Exteriores S. d., 2012) Following the Law, the federation is in charge of formulating and conducting the national climate change policy under clearly defined principles, among which social co-responsibility stands out properly.

National climate change policy, one of Mexico's greatest strengths. Mexico's great strength in addressing climate change is its institutional arrangement. Among the guiding principles of the LGCC are the co-responsibility between government and society, the sustainable use of resources, and the conservation of ecosystems. In addition, the adoption of responsible patterns of production and consumption; and the design of comprehensive and cross-cutting public policies between the different levels of government and the social and private sectors. (Stavins, 2012)

To achieve the objectives outlined in the law, several federal agencies will be created, including the National Institute of Ecology and Climate Change (INECC). (INECC, 2014) The newly formed agencies will have the task of developing a comprehensive national mitigation and adaptation policy, developing an information system of climate change indicators, and elaborating the national inventory of GHG emissions. To achieve these objectives, they will collaborate directly with the Ministries of Environment, Interior, Agriculture, Energy, Health, Social Development, and the National Council of Science and Technology head. During Felipe Calderon's six-year term (2006-2012), he was a strong voice for the environment, included as a priority in his political agenda, making his presence felt at international summits and ratifying climate change agreements.

According to Calderon's last year, Mexico is committed to reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 30% by 2020 and 50% by 2050. This law, which has been part of the efforts that have made Mexico an international leader in environmental protection, government agencies will be required to use renewable energy. (Nicholas Stern, 2013). The arrival of Felipe Calderón to the presidency of Mexico in 2006 brought significant changes in foreign policy. In particular, climate change, becoming more present in the international arena. Calderon's administration achieved the

resumption of diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level, which had been interrupted during Fox's six-year term. (PEF, 2009)

The administration also shows that Mexico began to have a more dynamic foreign policy when domestic conditions improved in the last years of the six-year term. Consequently, it made it possible to increase the presence of Mexico on the international stage and obtain several diplomatic achievements, such as Mexico's presidency of the G20 in 2012, the hosting of the COP16 in 2010, among others. (Alamán, 2018)

A theoretical lesson from PAN governments is that the outcome of presidential elections impacts foreign policy. Calderón was able to project a more far-reaching foreign policy from the second half of his six-year term. Calderón had a very narrow result regarding votes, which represented a limitation for his foreign policy. In 2012, Enrique Peña Nieto came in with a wider margin than Felipe Calderón. There was no political polarization or crisis of democratic legitimacy. Nor does the new PRI president have such an unfavorable international environment as Calderón did. In this sense, there are conditions for Peña Nieto to design a more dynamic foreign policy for the first years of his six-year term, which would be an opportunity.

4.3 The transition of power of Peña Nieto from 2012-2018 based on his political agenda

In the six-year term of Enrique Peña Nieto (2012-2018). First, the change of party in power, with the resurgence of the PRI after twelve years, produced natural expectations of possible changes in the conduct of foreign relations. Then, the approval of the "Pact for Mexico," which implemented structural reforms, promised to invigorate the Mexican economy and promote growth. In that sense, the foreign policy had its main aim to propagate Mexico's image globally, an image of a reliable country for investments, with free trade and responsible. Pact for Mexico, a political agreement with which the structural reforms were born. It was also signed by the then presidents of the PAN, Gustavo Madero; of the PRI, Cristina Díaz, and Jesús Zambrano, of the PRD, was Peña's achievement with ongoing proposals. (John M Ackerman, 2015)

President Peña Nieto's policy speech outlined five proposals that will guide his administration and his actions. The fourth is to lead Mexico to prosper by taking advantage of its natural resources sustainably. In comparison, he cited the fifth proposal, Mexico as an active player with global responsibility. Following the two main proposals, he established four foreign policy objectives. 1. to strengthen Mexico's presence in the international context; 2. to expand international cooperation; 3. to look after Mexico's interests abroad; and 4. to promote culture, history, natural art, and economic value worldwide. (Pellicer, 2013)

Under Enrique Peña Nieto, the PRI, which had ruled the country for 71 years, returned to the presidency in 2012, with the promise of renewing and reforming the country. In his assumption of power, Enrique Peña Nieto defined as the aim of his foreign policy the consolidation of Mexico's position in the world. (Flores, 2019)

4.3.1 Domestic strategy for Climate Change

During Mr. Calderon's term, the General Law on Climate Change (GLCC)¹⁸ came into force. Considering UNFCCC provisions, the law developed the institutional capacity and political strategies for Mexico's front line and the diverse effects. In this sense, several policy instruments were developed: the National System for Climate Change which assists in establishing the NSCC, as well as the Special Program for Climate Change (SPCC), the National Policy for Climate Change (NPCC)¹⁹, among some related programs. ((SINACC), 2018)

The NSCC establishes targets, analyses, and evaluations of actions in the national and international context²⁰. (GLCC, 2012). As a long-term aim, it should seek sustainable growth and promote energy and the reasonable use of natural resources. In addition, Mexico's goal is to be a responsible global actor and strengthen its position with collective actions in international

¹⁸ In 2012 was Publisher (Camara de Diputados del H. Congreso de la Union, 2012)

¹⁹ (National System for Climate Change) -NSCC, aimed at promoting synergies to jointly address the country's vulnerability and risks and setting priority actions for mitigation and adaptation to climate change.

²⁰ Article 7, of the GLCC- Section XXIII- Formulate, conduct and publish, with the participation of society, the National Strategy, the Program and the contributions determined at national level, as well as carry out their implementation, follow-up and evaluation.

cooperation. Although the NSCC does not define specific activities or identify the actors accountable for strengthening international cooperation and leadership in climate change

Eight courses of action were taken to define the actions: (a) contribute to global relations in the United Nations (UN) context; (b) implement and promote additional efforts for UNFCCC; (c) promote bilateral cooperation in the South; (d) maintain an active international presence in climate change negotiations; (e) increase Mexico's ambition in mitigation and adaptation commitments. (f) promote and identify sources of funding; (g) capitalize on the three Rio conventions and build a more powerful impact; and (h) consistently position Mexico in national climate change efforts. The rationale behind these targets lies in the partnership strategies of accessing funds and preservation. (SEMARNAT, Estrategia Nacional del Cambio Climatico, ENCC , VISION 10-20-40, 2013)

On the other hand, the NSCC is viewed as a player in accelerating the transition to clean and renewable energy. It is incumbent upon this effort to increase the use of renewable energy and promote the substitution of fossil fuels. Therefore, the state's role as the owner of the energy companies should be to transition from oil and gas to various alternatives such as solar sources, nuclear, hydroelectric, and geothermal. This harnessing leads to developing strategies, programs, and projects to mitigate and adapt to climate change. In addition to promoting the efficient use of fossil fuels while the shift to renewable energies is being made. Despite the political, accounting, and economic instruments and competitive performances in the international markets, it formulates climate policies. (Gobierno de la Republica, 2013b)

Peña, in his speech, pledged that Mexico would make efforts to reach a global agreement in an expedited manner. Furthermore, it will lead to applying a tax on greenhouse gas emissions, especially in developing countries. The President also called for the creation of the National Climate Change System. (Economista, EPN instala Comisión Intersecretarial de Cambio Climático, 2013)

The National Development Plan 2012-2018 features the foreign policy of the period as a "Mexico with global responsibility," having as its primary objective to expand and strengthen the

country's presence in the world." It would be a strategy that seeks to consolidate the country as an emerging power, employing its presence in multilateral international forums and its wide range of free trade agreements. Thus, the country can consolidate itself as an interlocutor of the South and the North in the American continent.

The main idea of the National Development Plan is that economic growth cannot be separated from the environmental and social spheres. It is about seeking a way to grow without degrading the environment and opening up opportunities for greater well-being for all. The aim is to move towards a low-carbon economy, to shift the country's "industrial metabolism." In addition, to reduce the dependence on fossil fuels and consume more renewable energies, reconsider the country's water management. Water should be a resource to promote sustainable development and stop being a threat to the health and life of Mexicans. Finally, to stop the loss of biodiversity, highlighting that Mexico is the fourth most biologically diverse country on the planet, hence the ethical responsibility to stop the destruction of ecosystems and deforestation. In addition to improving waste management by strengthening and expanding the infrastructure to collect, separate, and recycle waste.

On the other hand, relations with Latin America are also a bridge for Mexico's increased presence in Asia. In accordance with Mariano Turzi (2014), the Pacific Alliance is a project of internationalization of the member countries, rather than the strengthening of the cooperation process as well as the G20 summit.

In one of the relevant meetings between Enrique Peña Nieto (EPN) and Xi Jinping at APEC in November 2014, several bilateral agreements were announced, among them for energy cooperation. Due to the opening of the sector in Mexico and the great Chinese investment capacity, there is considerable interest in advancing such projects. On this occasion, agreements were announced between Chinese companies and Petroleos Mexicanos (PEMEX). In December 2016, China acquired properties in the Gulf of Mexico, where it will extract Deepwater crude oil in the maritime border with the U.S. This shows that, apart from trade difficulties, there is room for greater bilateral cooperation in the energy area. (Franzoni, 2014)

Following EPN's political agenda, he established that his Administration is willing to promote an inclusive Green Growth; that is to say, to achieve a growth of broad social benefit, sustained and also environmentally balanced.

This implies greater effectiveness in addressing climate change, being bolder in reducing greenhouse gas emissions, protecting our natural resources, and achieving genuinely sustainable, sustained, and sustainable development. One of the priorities on the agenda is to move to a low-carbon economy. In other words, to avoid industrial and economic development by minimizing pollution, which is a source of harm to the health of Mexicans. Likewise, to reconsider the country's water management, halt biodiversity loss, and improve waste disposal. (Presidencia de la Republica, 2014)

The use of hydrocarbons in Mexico as a source of energy has been a dispute for years; however, it is believed that it can be ended.

In contrast, state-owned oil production has accounted for most public revenues, leading to a certain level of resistance to climate change mitigation that has grown in Mexico. Consequently, the move to expand exploitation and exploration activities is essential in Mexico, yet the infrastructure is not in place for increased private sector participation, which has been attractive for years. (Merodio, 2014)

4.3.2 Mexico's climate policy highlights main pillars during the EPN administration

- Energy reform and climate change policy

The Pena Nieto administration is pursuing an opportunity with the energy reform, taking advantage of Mexico's resources sustainably. They believe that the country can become a global oil power, and they hope that the reform will stimulate economic and social development, such as reducing gas, electricity, utilities, and food prices. It is creating half a million jobs and increasing

income levels during this administration. ²¹ To succeed, it would imply an uptake of 75% of the production capacity in the long term. It is increasing oil and natural gas production capacity. (Energy Information Administration, 2014)

In line with these laws, using the most innovative technology for sustainable extraction will be encouraged. As part of the energy reform, the National Agency for Industrial Security and Environmental Protection of the Hydrocarbons Sector (NAISEPHS) was created. In addition, renewable energies are also considered a significant investment in the country. In which solar and wind development play an essential role in the country's energy activities.

In the second annual report of activities, one of its goals included encouraging green growth that can preserve Mexico's natural heritage. Specifically, climate change referred to focus on strengthening domestic policies. In this matter, the development of the Special Program for Climate Change (SPCC) for the period of (2012-2018) was presented as an achievement. As a result, it is argued that increased hydrocarbon production will have a consequence on the new laws implemented. In an attempt to forecast this implication in the context of climate change, projections for 2015, 2039, 2075 and 2099 will be made. The obscure projections of the effects of climate change leave the question of why it is not directly linked to SPCC and the new energy laws. (Presidencia de la Republica, 2014)

In line with positive climate change benchmarks, for instance, public spending has been set aside to invest in adaptation and mitigation effects on climate change. The EPN administration promoted energy-efficient electronic credits for homeownership, better known as green mortgages, for the indigenous communities. In addition, 20 research projects were developed to raise awareness of climate change and various environmental impact assessments. These were voluntary actions in Nationally Appropriate Mitigation Actions (NAMA's), Clean Development Mechanisms (CDM's), and finally, various CO2 reduction and waste management initiatives. (Presidency, 2016)

²¹ The production of oil is expected to raise from 2.5 million barrels per day to 3mbpd. On the other hand, natural gas production is estimated to increase from 5,700 million standard cubic per day to 8,000 mmscfd- (Presidencia de la Republica, 2014) (Presidencia de la Republica, 2014)

4.3.3 EPN and the foreign policy

In contrast, under the EPN administration, in the international context, he attended the 18th Conference of the Parties to the UNFCCC (COP 18). The held in Doha, Qatar, at the end of 2012, an amendment to the Kyoto Protocol was approved. The Protocol formalizes the entry into force of the second commitment period, and progress was made on the Platform for Action. This Platform aims to achieve a protocol, another instrument, or an agreed outcome with legal force by 2015, to be implemented from 2020 at the latest. (B, 2013)

Alongside these processes, Nationally Appropriate Mitigation Actions (NAMAs) are being promoted for developing countries, with the possibility of being supported and facilitated by technology and international financing. These actions aim to contribute to meeting the voluntary emission reduction targets set by developing countries.

The efficacy of the agreements reached the multilateral level is affected by the lack of commitment of some countries to reduce emissions and develop sufficient resources for the implementation of adaptation measures. In this scenario, bilateral cooperation actions and emerging carbon markets are taking shape and gaining value. The European Union, countries such as Australia, Japan, and New Zealand, and several states in the United States of America and provinces in Canada have created emissions markets that promote mitigation actions based on emission caps and trading measures. These markets minimize the cost of GHG reductions, promote the creation of new capacities, and strengthening Measurement, Reporting, and Verification systems. (Programa Especial de cambio climatico , 2014-2018)

President Enrique Peña Nieto has expressed on many occasions how much of a priority it is for his government to address this global phenomenon. On the other hand, since 2013, Mexico's Congress has approved a carbon tax on fossil fuels. (Presidencia de la Republica, 2014) The measure will trigger clean-tech business opportunities and involve the private sector and consumers in the struggle against climate change. This proposal, known as the Carbon Pricing Panel, was proposed by the President of the World Bank, Jim Yong Kim, and the International Monetary Fund to develop actions towards establishing an effective carbon price. (EPN, 2015)

This commitment has been made evident with actions such as signing the Paris Agreement and the constant exhortation that has led Mexico to several forums to comply with the goals established in the pact, increase financing, and increase climate ambition. (IMCO, 2016)

During his administration, he stressed the leadership that Mexico has achieved through the actions undertaken within the national territory, ranging from the reform made to the General Law on Climate Change to incorporate the goals and commitments adopted in the Paris Agreement. In addition, to the investment in clean energy, achieving the highest growth of a country in this area and reaching an installed capacity of 30 percent, four points more than it had in 2012. (Franzoni, 2018)

Mexico not only set an example by being the first emerging economy to present its Nationally Determined Contributions, which have voluntary commitments to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. It also reported a reduction of 70 million tons of carbon dioxide emissions between 2013 and 2018. On the other hand, the Energy Reform has allowed 30% of the energy matrix to come from renewable energies. All this was recognized at the UN General Assembly. (Major Economics Forum on energy and climate, 2014)

4.3.4 EPN's role during the G20 Summit

- Mexico's participation in the Antalya Summit in 2015

During the workshops, President Peña Nieto stressed Mexico's support for the 2030 Agenda and pointed out that the 17 goals and 169 targets represent a critical guide for all countries.

On the other hand, the President emphasized that climate change and its effects force us to reconsider production and consumption processes. He also highlighted that, despite emitting only 1.4% of the world's greenhouse gases, Mexico is vulnerable to the meteorological phenomena caused by climate change. In this sense, the President referred to Mexico's efforts in the face of

climate change, such as the approval of the General Law on Climate Change and the development of a National Climate Change Strategy, as well as the "green" approach of the structural reforms achieved, particularly the energy reform. The President also recalled that Mexico was the first developing country to submit its Intended Nationally Determined Contribution to the UN. (SRE, Contribución de México a la gobernanza mundial. Participación de México en el G20, 2018)

Finally, President Peña cited that the availability of more and better sources of energy and the adoption of more efficient technologies on energy matters. Additionally, the adoption of more efficient and sustainable energy sources is essential for the development of the Mexican economy.

- Mexico's participation in the Hangzhou Summit, China 2016

President EPN at the Summit was dedicated to discussing other matters impacting the global economy, such as climate change, international migration and the refugee crisis, the combat against financing for terrorism, and global health challenges. In addition, president Peña Nieto referred to climate change mitigation and adaptation as priority issues in Mexico's sustainable development strategy.

He also acknowledged that the Paris Agreement is the most important achievement of the international community in terms of climate change and pointed out that it represents a unique opportunity to act and avoid the worst consequences of global warming. In this context, the President pointed out that it is necessary to update the contributions foreseen and determined at the national level and establish ambitious commitments to keep the increase in global temperature below 2 degrees Celsius. (Pellicer, 2019)

- Mexico's participation in the Hamburg Summit, Germany 2017

The President highlighted energy, climate, and sustainable development issues. Mexico pointed out that the G20 countries contribute three-quarters of global greenhouse gas emissions and, consequently, have a great responsibility in combating climate change. In this regard, the President reaffirmed Mexico's commitment to implementing the Paris Agreement and called on

the other G20 members to undertake actions to mitigate climate change, as this is an obligation to future generations and being economically viable because they promote energy efficiency. In terms of development, the President pointed out that the G20 must continue to be an example in fulfilling the Sustainable Development Goals, whose implementation Mexico has assumed as a State commitment (SRE, 2018).

4.4 Comparative among Felipe Calderon and Peña Nieto of their international commitments to address climate change

The Calderon administration promoted Mexico as a pioneer in climate change and the environment. In addition, it committed to reducing GHG emissions based on the year 2000 by 30% by 2020 and 50% by 2050. It was highlighting the commitment to cooperation, adding it in the text of the GLCC. On the other hand, Mexico chaired the UNFCCC COP16 and the VI Conference of the Parties to the Kyoto Protocol in Cancun, 2010²². (SEMARNAT I. N., 2014)

In contrast, the Peña Nieto administration developed a strategy to make PEMEX more highly competitive in the international context. One of the goals involved increasing oil and gas production. Despite contradicting the main aim of climate change: the reduction of GHG emissions. On the other hand, the economic outlook drives the foreign policy context, which continues to unfold. In particular, it focuses on trade relations and reciprocal investments under a technocratic maneuver positioning Mexico, attracting economic benefits from energy reforms at the expense of climate commitments. (Presidencia de la Republica, 2014)

Indeed, policy instruments exist to guide climate change policy which should be addressed at the national level. However, it has been left out of the foreign policy agenda and therefore out of the climate change agenda as each administration reveals its priorities on the political agenda and foreign policy.

²² The COP 15 in Copenhagen, December 2009, former by the President Felipe Calderon announced Mexico's commitments to such reductions , as well the financing and technology transfer.

Climate change should remain on the political agenda for three fundamental reasons. First, climate change has become one of the significant challenges of the 21st century, an irreversible phenomenon with exponentially catastrophic effects. Second, there are monetary implications of skipping this energy and foreign policy reform. (Romm, 2014) .Despite having many critical co-benefits, climate action must provide for high-level impacts on climate change. Finally, to do otherwise would represent Mexico as an inconsistent actor that does not respect its international commitments. The direction of Mexico's climate change policy is worrisome. The relationship between the new energy reform set and the NSCC is omitted. (Presidency, 2016) Both policy instruments take into consideration environmental policy, highlighting various aspects. The NSCC represents the commitment to commit to a global effort within an international context so far featured by various forums and conferences. It creates momentum to address the current climate change policy and its presence in foreign policy. (Institute, 2016)

4.5 Regression or openness to climate change in the international and national context with AMLO in 2019

4.5.1 Transition of power from PRI to Morena

The election of Andrés Manuel López Obrador in Mexico was a significant political transition. After almost eighty years of governments of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (1929-2000 and 2012- 2018) and the National Action Party (2000-2012), the National Regeneration Movement (Movimiento de Regeneración Nacional), well known as MORENA, a party created only in 2013 and with a more center-left political-ideological orientation, comes to the Executive. AMLO is not a new figure in national politics. He began his career in the PRI, was head of government of the Federal District for the Party of the Democratic Revolution, and had already competed twice for the presidency in 2006 and 2012. (Dresser, 2019)

The victory of Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador (AMLO), who obtained 53% of the votes. Consequently, can be attributed mainly to the discredit of the three traditional parties in Mexico. As well as the urgency of the population for a political change in the country. Apart from the fact that it was a polarized election and that some economic sectors resisted AMLO, his victory was

promptly recognized by his adversaries and by representatives of foreign governments. (Zavala, 2019)

AMLO's rise to power in Mexico leads to a series of changes in the Mexican political system both domestically and internationally. However, the implications of the change in the medium and long term are so far unclear. Domestically, the so-called fourth transformation is being proposed, with reforms and drastic changes than previous PRI and PAN governments. However, in the international arena, the scenario is not one of transformation but of an apparent return to the traditional principles of Mexican foreign policy enshrined in the Constitution. (Franzoni, 2018)

It should be noted that the Mexican Constitution certainly provides general principles that should guide Mexico's international action, but it cannot be classified as a government plan or program in international matters. It is somewhat due to the lack of operational concepts and concrete strategies on international issues that it can be deduced that there is a vacuum in the international policy of the new Mexican government. President AMLO's assertion that "the best foreign policy is the domestic one." (AMLO, 2019)

The foreign policy proposals are presented in a significantly more generic manner and without innovations than previous governments. It should be noted that AMLO's lack of interest in the international has a vital personal component. During his administration since December 2018, the president has not left Mexico and stated that he would not engage in "political tourism" during his administration because he has "many things to do inside the country." Hence this contrasts sharply with the two previous presidents, who maintained a robust international agenda and presence from the beginning of their administrations. In contrast, López Obrador has opted to delegate his international presence, for instance, attendance at the G20 summit in June 2019 in Japan, to his Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Marcelo Ebrard Casaubón. (SRE A. , 2019-2020)

A brief description of the political administration, to understand the foreign policy and domestic for the following decisions under the AMLO's agenda-setting. First, the term "Fourth Transformation" (4T) refers to AMLO's government's vision. He aims to place his six-year term at the level of three other critical moments in Mexico's history: the Independence (1810), the

Reform (1857), and the Revolution (1910). As happened in these historical events, AMLO wants his administration to achieve a profound change for the country, which will only be achieved in a peaceful matter. (Monroy, 2020). From AMLO's perspective, the 4T means a new democratic political system with a social dimension, guided by several criteria, such as the separation of politics from the economy, the construction of a government that represents everyone (rich and poor), and not only the hegemonic group that he refers to as "the mafia of power," as has been the case up to now. (Salinas, 2019) .

Furthermore, the fight against corruption is the central axis of the new government's policy, under the popular perception of Mexicans who have been wronged for 36 years by the neoliberal governments.

4.5.2 Domestic climate change strategies in accordance AMLO's agenda in 2019

On the other hand, for the 2018-2024 administration, in the political discourse presented by AMLO, he stressed some thematic axes based on mitigation and adaptation to climate change.

1. Strengthening Mexico's policies at the international level to combat climate change.
2. Raising awareness on climate change mitigation.
3. Adoption of alternative technologies (SEGOB, 2019)

- **The energy Reform in accordance AMLO's agenda in 2019**

Under AMLO's administration, one of the domestic agendas of the fourth transformation is the Energy Reform, which has been controversial due to the national and international repercussions. AMLO's government considers it a priority to regain state control over the electricity sector as it is strategic. (Nava, 2021)

The Electricity Industry Law was approved in the Mexican Senate. Unfortunately, the electricity generation policy published by the Ministry of Energy (SENER) accelerates climate change. It goes against Mexico's national and international commitments to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and closes the way to renewable energies. In addition, several organizations warn that it offers an alternative to the unacceptable burning of fuel oil to generate electricity. (Pulver, 2019)

According to environmental experts such as Jorge Villarreal from the Mexican Climate Initiative (ICM), warned that the Reliability, Security, Continuity and Quality Policy of the National Electric System implies severe environmental risks. The current government's climate policy has severe implications in several aspects. He can predict that the climate aims of reaching zero emissions by 2050 will not be met in the environment. (Sweeney, 2021)

To stressed that Mexico made an international commitment, which later became law, to generate 35% of its electricity from renewable sources by 2024. Consequently, this target is impossible to achieve since fossil energies are favored to produce electricity, and the way is closed to renewable energies under the pretext that they are unstable. (Franzoni, 2018). In addition, burning fuel oil, as proposed, will have severe impacts on people's health, especially for those living in areas adjacent to thermoelectric plants and the metropolitan area of Mexico City, as well as other densely populated basins.

Last but not least, there are economic implications since generating electricity with fuel oil is more expensive than with wind or photovoltaic energy. Increased costs will foreseeably result in higher electricity rates or taxes without ruling out cuts in priority areas such as health and education. (Sandoval, 2019)

4.6 Refining of fuels agenda priorities under AMLO's administration

Domestic refining will undoubtedly be another priority of AMLO's administration to avoid international dependence. As a result, Mexico will import less gasoline, with an increase in domestic refining of fuels. First, about the Pemex refinery being built in Dos Bocas, Tabasco. The major problem is that Pemex refineries have steadily increased their greenhouse gas emissions since 2015. Likewise, Pemex has increased sulfur oxide emissions which are harmful to health and cause breathing illnesses. In addition, AMLO refers to modernize hydroelectric plants and rejects wind energy. Consequently, this would avoid the need to build new facilities. (Barboza, 2020)

Currently, gas and coal generate almost 60% of the world's electricity. However, during AMLO's six-year term, the Federal Electricity Commission (CFE) has been criticized for using highly polluting energy sources such as coal. In addition, the Tula thermoelectric plant has exceeded pollution limits for several years by burning fuel oil. In the international context, this continues to place Mexico far behind the members of the G20, for instance.

4.6.1 Impact in the international context of the Energy Reform

On the other hand, this new policy and also the Program for the Development of the National Electric System 2019-2033, seem to be focused on "settling accounts" with the Energy Reform of the previous government and makes the development of renewable energy sources impossible, with the consequent drop in direct foreign investments, as already denounced by the Canadian and European Union ambassadors in Mexico. (Morena, 2018-2024)

Due to these changes in the market rules, a conflict has arisen between the Mexican government and the affected private companies, mainly those from North America. Since AMLO's initiative became known, the dissatisfaction of the affected companies has been palpable, both inside and outside Mexico. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce warned that the reform represented a breach of the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (T-MEC). The free trade agreement bans governments from favoring state-owned companies. (AMLO S. P., 2019)

"Such drastic changes would open the door for the reestablishment of a monopoly in the electricity sector and, we believe, would directly contravene Mexico's commitments in the T-MEC," said the agency's vice president for the Americas Neil Herrington. (Staff, 2021)

Furthermore, this is the first time that the President has linked energy policy, which has been guided towards strengthening the state-owned companies Pemex and CFE, which base their business on hydrocarbons with environmental care. Climate change had not been included as a member of his many discourses, and in the regulatory amendments, he has instructed to overturn many of the principles of the energy reform.

To date, measures to mitigate damage to the environment have been based on the Sembrando Vida program, which seeks to increase productivity in rural areas, focusing on sustainability and regional development. Recently, the Mexican President spoke of joining the U.S. government in this effort to stem the wave of migration from Central America. (AMLO S. P., 2019)

4.7 Mexico's participation at the G20 Osaka Summit, Japan 2019 under AMLO's administration

According to the priorities of AMLO's administration, it is highlighted in the agenda-setting for the G-20 summit in Osaka. The summit will focus on economic growth and the reduction of inequalities, infrastructure, and quality healthcare; global problems such as climate change and the dumping of plastics into the oceans; the digital economy; and the challenges of aging societies.

President Andrés Manuel López Obrador announced that he would not attend the summit in Osaka and justified that he does not want to participate in the direct trade confrontation between the United States and China. The meeting will be attended by Marcelo Ebrard, Mexico's Foreign Minister, and Carlos Urzúa, Mexico's Secretary of Finance and Public Credit. (Campos, 2019)

Foreign Minister Ebrard underscored the top priority given by the Mexican Government, AMLO, to reducing poverty and inequality and eradicating corruption. He referred to the relevance of the international agenda of inclusion and explained the correlation between this agenda and the Comprehensive Development Plan for Central America. He encouraged the members of the G20 to support or join the regional initiative. (SRE C. d., 2019)

The foreign minister attended the second plenary session, dedicated to climate change and environmental protection, and the parallel event convened by Japan to promote gender equity and women's economic empowerment. He held a conference with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Taro Kono, in which they discussed bilateral economic relations, academic, scientific, and technological cooperation, and regional issues of mutual interest. (SRE C. d., 2019)

Mexico did not have as active an agenda as the rest of the attendees at the summit of the 20 most influential economies on the planet because only heads of state and government are allowed to attend important meetings. Secretary Ebrard did face questions from the representatives of the other influential economies of the planet on how they have managed to deteriorate the country's growth expectations in such a short period. Although the Ministry of Foreign Affairs itself boasts on its website that the G20 is the main forum for macroeconomic policy coordination among the 20 most essential economies globally, including the perspectives of both developed and emerging economies, President López Obrador decided not to be present.

Mexico will be the only country in the group with second-level representatives, with no possibility of actual interaction with world leaders. Mexico will lose many opportunities due to this very personal refusal of President López Obrador not to interact with the other G20 leaders. In line with AMLO's agenda at the 2019 G20 summit, he noted that the top priority for Mexico is poverty reduction and inequality and eradicating corruption. Mexico expressed its commitment to multilateralism and the strengthening of a rules-based international order.

In the view of the author, Kingdon, of the agenda-setting theory. He argued that institutions are essential to address climate change as well as the shift in climate policy. For years, previous administrations defended Mexico's multilateral stance through domestic organisms and policies for international commitment. AMLO's administration focused on social programs from the first year of government, such as "Sembrando vidas" (Sowing lives). In addition to social programs and modifying the energy reform of EPN's six-year term. From the beginning, he has been opposed to international travel, so for the G-20 in 2019, the lack of interest of the president-elect in Mexico, AMLO, was not very acceptable.

Finally, specific actions of the current president place the country far from the fight towards climate change and show that the environment is not a relevant issue for this government. The reduction of resources allocated for mitigation and adaptation to the effects of climate change by 36 percent compared to 2018 radically contravenes the fight against climate change and the commitments of the Paris Agreement that he has ratified. (Pellicer, 2019)

Experts believe the setback and uncertainty for Mexico in the coming years since this new energy reform and the lack of interest in the commitments to combat climate change could have repercussions on international agreements such as the Paris Agreement or the COP of each year, with the fourth transformation. (Pellicer, 2019)

4.8 Differences of the Mexican administrations according their political agendas

Agenda setting is an essential instrument for any government to address a specific matter. Nevertheless, unfortunately, climate change was sidelined from the list of priorities for some administrations—a different foreign policy approach with a new government where the economic focus also takes a different direction. (Kingdon J. , 2003)

	Calderon administration	Peña Nieto administration	Lopez Obrador administration
Time period party affiliation	2006-2012 PAN-conservative	2012-2018 PRI-centrist	2018-2024 MORENA-social democracy
Foreign Policy Priority	Climate change	Economic Development	Social development and inequalities
Perspectives and performance on climate change	Participation at G20 summit at Los Cabos, UNFCCC, COP's and other summits and conferences	Global cooperation to protect the environment (through free trade agreements)	Participation at G20 summit in 2019
Facts to address climate change	Climate change; -Economic infrastructure -Ecological sustainability -Mitigation capacity -Energy supply	Energy; - Encourage social and economic growth - Reduce gas, electricity, utilities and food prices	

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Strategy to offset negative advertising - Further market instruments to liberalize the oil sector 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Create half a million jobs during his administration -Raise income levels to become a world oil power 	
Mexico's target at international context	Climate change pace-setter, active and committing actor, conciliator among developed and developing countries.		
Mexico's development at domestic context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Policy: GLCC and the National Climate Change System - Accelerate the transition to renewable energies - Substitution of fossil fuels 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Amend constitutional reform and secondary laws to update the energy sector. - Expanding exploration and exploitation activities. -Limited efforts to promote renewable energies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Policy of Energy reform in order towards strengthening the state-owned companies Pemex and CFE - Raising awareness on climate change mitigation -Creation of social programs "Sembrando vidas" for Center America

Table 1. Differences among administrations

During the Calderon administration, Mexico was actively participating in negotiations to improve the climate change regime. On international issues, it was the host in 2012 of the G20, where the main topic to address was climate change actions as a focus of attention. Also, to mediate among developed and developing countries. No less important, the actions were taken during the six-year term that resulted in Mexico's leadership in the national and international arena with the GLCC law.

In contrast, with the centrist PRI government under EPN, energy policy was the priority, focusing on the increase of fossil fuel and production and consumption. This address undermines previous work on climate change combat, despite consistently claiming the opposite. Moreover, EPN's foreign policy approach bears in mind that climate policy formulation is conditioned on economic and energy growth. (Torres B. , 2016)

The renewal of the government led by Peña Nieto and driven by the PRI political party brought about a change in foreign policy direction from that of his predecessor, Calderon. However, what stands out was a president from a conservative party, PAN, who was an enthusiastic advocate of climate change, unlike the PRI government, which is of centrist origin approaching economic development.

In contrast, Peña Nieto's priority was economic growth, but climate change was not at the top of his agenda compared to Calderon. However, he was active in several forums such as the G20, giving contributions to the change to renewable energies and following up on the Paris Agreement, which remained only in negotiations without ratifying the agreement in the last administration. On the other hand, both governments demonstrated Mexico's leadership and commitment to the climate crisis and the management under the concerns and agendas of their government.

The transition of power from PRI, a centrist government, to Morena, a social democratic party led by AMLO, focused on poverty, inequalities, social programs, and the most critical matter of eradicating corruption. Consequently, lacking any slightest interest in the international context to follow up on the previous administration's climate change. It gave a setback both economically and politically, with adversities in the international agreements due to the lack of interest in Mexico's participation in summits such as the G20 in 2019. Comparing Lopez Obrador's political stance with previous governments, he stood out in his first year in office as a populist government intending to make internal foreign policy, which is what the current president calls it—backtracking on agreements that for years and in conjunction with international cooperation was adequate with time. For Obrador, climate change is not a relevant matter that should be prioritized in his agenda during his administration. (Klotz, 2015)

On the other hand, so far, AMLO's aim to boost the participation of CFE and Pemex in the energy market has been totally at odds with the path towards the reduction of economic dependence on hydrocarbons that most developed and some developing countries have begun. Furthermore, although the Mexican government's discourse on energy policy shows signs of change, the actions taken so far are contrary. AMLO does not know climate change in his agenda priorities in the international context. During his political speech, there is no confirmation of Mexico's commitment to the Paris Agreement, and there is a lack of evidence of a well-articulated climate policy. Moreover, Mexico's lack of ambition in its new NDC targets and backtracking on support for renewable energy has put the country's emissions on a worrying upward path.

The decision to favor fossil fuel generation over renewable energy puts Mexico on a path that is even more inconsistent with the steps it needs to take to reach the Paris Agreement's 1.5°C limits. The organization, which measures the actions taken by countries to reach the Paris Agreement targets, has rated as "insufficient" the measures taken by the Mexican government to combat climate change. (Greenpeace, 2020)

In addition, the federal administration has defended the construction of the Dos Bocas refinery in Tabasco, when most of the major oil companies have decided to modify their strategy to include renewable energy-related businesses in their portfolios. In its quest to strengthen the Federal Electricity Commission (CFE), the Mexican government has modified regulations to leave wind and solar power plants mainly operated by private companies to the back of the queue. Although the Mexican government's discourse on energy policy shows signs of change, the actions adopted so far are entirely contrary to this.

5. Conclusions

Mexico and climate change have been a challenge for governments that have proven to be sufficiently active in the international arena. Such participation defines it as a government committed and involved in addressing the global problem. Therefore, the significant forum for climate change highlighted in this analysis is the G20 summit.

The present analysis concludes by analyzing two research questions; whether Mexico was a multilateral leader addressing climate change within the G20 summit cooperation? Furthermore, following the climate agendas of the last three governments, is Mexico improving in addressing climate change in international and national contexts?.

This research aims to be analyzed under the agenda-setting theory by the author John W. Kingdon, which develops a multi-stream model based on establishing governmental priorities in the context of climate change. The theory supports the research since it is based on governmental priorities among the actors how decisions are made to reach summits and adhesions to agreements. In the case of practice, the policymakers encourage them to rethink the problem, prioritize it and adapt it to the agenda by the climate actors within both national and international contexts.

To answer the first research question, the primary aim was to demonstrate Mexico's multilateral leadership in addressing climate change as a member of the G20, which I concluded as being a multilateral leader on climate change from two clear standpoints. First, under the government of Felipe Calderon in 2012, Mexico hosted the G20 summit in Los Cabos. The proposals presented by Calderon, according to the agenda, were to address the adoption and promotion of the "green climate fund," referring to climate finance on the way to climate change in addition to the commitment to GHG greenhouse gas reduction and seeking cooperation among the G20 members, which gave a guideline to implement this matter in the subsequent agendas of the summits. Mexico stood out in the government of Felipe Calderon for its National Development Plan (PND), which expectations to stop and reverse the unfavorable Hydrocarbon Revolution were reserved as a critical element to boost the nation's development. (Deputies, 2008). Thus, contributions were made to ensure quality and competitively priced energy for consumers in renewable energy, hydrocarbons, electricity, energy efficiency, hydraulic, and housing construction.

Additionally, in Felipe Calderon's administration in 2012, the General Climate Change Law (GLCC) was issued. The Law defined the mitigation and adaptation duties on levels such as national, regional, and local. The Mexican government becomes the second country to develop a

policy instrument and reinforce the country's position as a responsible global actor. (República, 2014).

On the other hand, the second reason was the active role of the Peña Nieto administration in the several agreements and negotiations regarding climate change. In the Peña Nieto administration, the agreements of relevance to climate change, the Kyoto Protocol promotes the sustainable development of developing countries. Mexico ranks fifth worldwide in developing CDM (Clean Development Mechanism) projects in methane recovery, renewable energies, energy efficiency, industrial processes, and waste management, among others. (SEMARNAT, 2016).

Nevertheless, Mexico showed leadership in Paris; it played a role recognized for its constructive spirit, helping as a facilitator in the negotiations and driving ambition in finance, mitigation, and adaptation goals. Mexico has maintained a position of reducing its GHG emissions. (GEI, 2015). Finally, Mexico's outstanding participation in addressing climate change was during the COP20 in Lima, Peru, in 2014. Enrique Peña Nieto defined the commitment of Mexico as firm and growing. Affirming that Mexico was one of the first countries to develop energy reform, moving towards renewable energy and natural gas, and imposing carbon taxes (Hill, 2016). Furthermore, at COP21, in 2015, Mexico became the first country widely promoted both nationally and abroad in the development of presenting its Predicted Nationally Determined Contributions (INDC).

This concludes the response to demonstrate the leadership during the government of Felipe Calderon at the G20 summit on climate change, highlighting the commitment to climate policy. In addition, the Peña Nieto administration maintained the multilateral leadership with international agreements that were mirrored in the domestic climate policy with international cooperation.

Furthermore, regarding the question of addressing climate change agendas, is Mexico progressing or regressing in addressing climate change? I referred to the most outstanding climate policy in the three governments and the international context. After a detailed analysis, I concluded that Felipe Calderon, Mexico was active in international negotiations to improve the climate change regime, which was a priority in the political agenda for the PAN political party. In the search for international prestige both in Latin America and as a member of the G20, Mexico

strengthened its position as a leading mediator between developed and developing countries. However, it should be stressed that actions are necessary, reflected in the domestic climate change policy.

On the other hand, with the shift in power from PAN to PRI after twelve years, Peña Nieto maintained priorities in his political agenda. Peña Nieto's foreign policy influenced by the PRI's partisan politics caused a change of climate change from his predecessor Felipe Calderon. This contradicts the political parties as the conservative party is generally linked to a more pro-business approach, while the center party typically has a friendly environmental policy perspective.

Peña Nieto aligned his agenda with economic development by actively participating in the G20, maintaining cooperation among members for climate change projects in Mexico. In addition, he ratified one of the most influential agreements to address climate change; the Paris Agreement, which for Mexico brought with it a carbon tax, particularly for businesses.

Meanwhile, the international commitments were the guideline for the Energy Reform promoted by EPN. Hence, climate change would be directed more towards renewable energies, with oil production, which would increase income. The result would then be the intensified release of air pollutants and GHGs. Its national climate policy was aimed at energy change, committing itself through programs and plans such as the National Development Plan. The aim is to move towards a low-carbon economy, growing economically and at the same time improving the national climate change, keeping Mexico's position active in the international context. Therefore, I conclude that the Peña Nieto government had an interest and commitment to stay on the path of tackling climate change.

Addressing the second question deeply, I conclude that Mexico on climate change will currently have a setback with President Lopez Obrador. For the simple reasons that the measures taken since the previous government with Peña Nieto to reduce Greenhouse Gas (GHG) emissions are being wholly erased to make way for highly polluting energies. This contravenes the commitments already adopted in the Paris Agreement. Furthermore, López Obrador has favored

the extraction and burning of fossil fuels, claiming to obtain energy sovereignty and not depending on imported gasoline -especially from the U.S.- over alternatives such as renewable energies.

Nevertheless, it slowed down the progress of the 2013 energy reform that opened the hydrocarbon and electricity markets to private capital to favor state-owned companies like CFE and Petróleos Mexicanos. In contrast, not all is bad during AMLO's 2019 administration; he had a breakthrough in green bonds, instruments to obtain exclusive financing for sustainable construction, clean transportation, water, waste management, and agriculture. Despite Mexican inconsistencies, they are progressing slowly and could contribute to economic recovery in the medium term.

The recommendations under the agenda-setting theory on climate change policy in Mexico state to strengthen the domestic climate policy as Mexico submits agreements in forums established in the medium and long term with funding in between. In addition, Mexico needs leadership in international cooperation; I believe that investment in clean energy, wind, and hydro would attract foreign investment and economic flow. Implementing taxes on fines for companies for littering or CO₂ pollution would be a suggestion that Mexico needs. The focus on clean energy is crucial to the president-elect's political agenda as it sets Mexico up to be a major player in attracting pooled investment from G20 members and reducing costs for local consumers.

A profitable strategy for Mexico, the scope derived from the energy reform and the commitments adopted by Mexico in the Paris Agreement and the SDGs, particularly those contributing to the transition to a sustainable, resilient, and low-carbon national development.

Through a climate policy focused on renewable, plastic-free energy, tackling the pollution that has become a severe problem for some states in Mexico, harming human health and the seas and highways. Betting on the transformation of sustainable development, Mexico would be a highly competitive country with a policy aimed at climate change considering the agreements signed in the international context. Finally, engage in adaptation policies involving education and awareness programs with the people to learn to identify their vulnerabilities and reduce them. With climate change, Mexico needs climate education, from recycling waste to knowing about implementing sanctions and fines for companies that pollute the environment.

Mexico has time to turn the corner and align its economic policy with much-needed climate policy. The current administration is in a position where it has a historic and unique responsibility for the climate decisions that will be made. I believe that the most successful time to address climate change in Mexico was during the administration of Felipe Calderon. He made it a priority in his agenda to become a leader for the G20 summit and Latin America, with his performance in strengthening the climate policy system. (UNAM, 2021). However, it is worth highlighting that Peña Nieto, although climate change was not a priority in his political agenda, was active in the international arena, committing to the shift to renewable energies, lowering CO2 emissions, and more. As a result, Mexico was steering a steady course with solid, slow, but sure policies.

Conversely, with Lopez Obrador, Mexico is going backward in its active role in the G20 summit due to the president's lack of commitment. To sum up, it is a question mark for the country as it repercussions national and international climate change policy. Furthermore, the limits of free competition increase speculation by the current energy reform and is a significant obstacle to private investment in the sector and the development of renewable energies. (Sheldahl, 2021)

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