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Going Forward by Looking Backwards on the Environmental Kuznets Curve: an Analysis of CFCs, CO2 and the Montreal and Kyoto Protocols

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Keywords: Environmental Kuznets Curve, Montreal Protocol, Kyoto Protocol JEL Classification: Q5, Q50, Q58

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Abstract

The success of the Montreal Protocol in comparison to the stagnation seen in negotiations surrounding the Kyoto Protocol highlights the importance of a supportive industry group, pre-existing legislation and commitment by a lead nation, affordable and available substitutes, as well as acceptance of the underlying scientific explanation of the link between emissions and a key detrimental impact. The focus on these contrasting intergovernmental agreements within this paper is driven, in part, by the intention to establish that successful emission reductions tend to be associated with a concerted policy effort rather than the level of per capita income. This is in contrast to the concept of the Environmental Kuznets Curve (EKC) which contends that a significant negative relationship exists between high levels of national income and per capita emissions. While a nation's level of development and national income are likely to be linked to an ability to make structural changes and/or the implementation of environmental policy, this paper finds no evidence of an EKC consistent quadratic relationship between income and CFC emissions once key considerations, such as biased estimations and policy effort, have been accounted for.

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1 Introduction

The Montreal Protocol is an intergovernmental agreement that has been deemed to be a success and has been associated with the phase out of a range of ozone-depleting substances. In contrast, the concept of the Environmental Kuznets Curve (EKC) infers that emission reductions may be associated with the level of per capita income rather than a concerted policy effort. This disparity has motivated the author to perform a review of whether the success of the Montreal Protocol is evidence that an induced policy response is behind observations of an EKC consistent relationship for CFCs. The concept of the Environmental Kuznets Curve contends that a significant quadratic relationship exists between high levels of national income and per capita emissions. Stern (2004) defines the EKC as "a hypothesized relationship between various indicators of environmental degradation and income per capita." (Stern, 2004: 1419) And while the level of development and national income are likely to be linked to an ability to make structural changes and/or implement environmental policy, as a prelude to the results of the paper it should be noted that this paper finds no evidence of an EKC consistent negative quadratic relationship between income and CFC emissions once key considerations, such as biased estimations and policy effort, have been accounted for.

1.1 Background on the EKC

The body of literature on the existence of an EKC relationship is an interesting one, especially in light of its original observation being sourced from a paper with no direct intention of examining whether levels of GDP have a direct relationship with environmental quality. In Grossman and Krueger (1991) the focus was on the question of whether reductions in trade barriers would improve or harm environmental quality. Accordingly the paper was titled 'Environmental Impacts of a North American Free Trade Agreement'. The subsequent

discussion within their paper revolves around concerns that a pollution-haven¹ may occur with the (then) impending introduction of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). It was expected that "industry groups in the United States will demand less stringent pollution controls in order to preserve their international competitiveness, so that environmental standards will tend toward the lowest common denominator" (Grossman and Krueger, 1991: 2).

With these foundations, it may be concluded that the EKC relationship has been stumbled upon and then subsequently interpreted and estimated before a theoretical basis could be established. Indeed, the original paper by Grossman and Krueger noted that their "findings must remain tentative until better data became available" (Grossman and Krueger, 1991: 36). Within their follow up paper, 'Economic Growth and the Environment', Grossman and Krueger (1995) emphasise that any subsequent process leading to improved environmental conditions was not automatic. And while their paper does note that technological substitution and structural transformation are in principal important, "a review of the available evidence on instances of pollution abatement suggests that the strongest link between income and pollution in fact is via an induced policy response" (Grossman and Krueger, 1995: 372). It is on this basis that skeptism concerning the validity of the EKC relationship should occur; as while there may be a correlation between a country's level of development and their level of environmental quality, the factors driving such a trend are by no means assured. In addition, substitution effects and changes to an economy's structure or preference changes towards

¹ The pollution haven hypothesis has been described as being the situation where increased demand for environmental quality, "assumed to rise with increased income levels, does not lead to a shift to a cleaner production process in the country where the demand is generated, but rather to a movement of the production process to a location outside of the country" (Rothman, D. (1998):186).

environmental quality that may trigger this correlation are sure to be diverse and highlight the need for analysis that caters for the conditions surrounding these changes.

1.2 CFC reductions as an induced policy response

If indeed the underlying EKC relationship is due to an 'induced policy response', as noted by Grossman and Krueger (1995), then an examination of the existence of an EKC relationship between income and emissions related to the consumption of Chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) is of interest. The Montreal Protocol is a notable intergovernmental agreement and has been deemed successful in reducing harm to the environment from an externality with transboundary implications. The success of the Montreal Protocol is an important factor that underlies the justification of the analysis and it should be noted that as early as 2001 the treaty process for addressing ozone depletion was found to have "fundamentally changed the way certain industries conduct their business, already creating in some countries a complete phase-out of certain classes of chemicals." (DeSombre, 2001: 49) In addition, a report by the US Environmental Protection Agency notes that "the ozone layer has not grown thinner since 1998 over most of the world, and it appears to be recovering because of reduced emissions of ozone-depleting substances." (US EPA, 2007: 5) It also notes that "the Antarctic ozone is projected to return to pre-1980 levels by 2060 to 2075." (US EPA, 2007: 5) In comparison to the Kyoto Protocol, the Montreal Protocol has been ratified by all UN recognised nations.

The reasons for the success of the Montreal Protocol are of interest to both environmental economists and policy makers. And while the success of the Montreal Protocol presents a case where emissions have been reduced by a concerted policy effort, auxiliary explanations for the success of the policy intervention are important. A comparison to the case of the

Kyoto Protocol highlights the importance of: a supportive industry group, pre-existing legislation and commitment by a lead nation, affordable and available substitutes for polluting devices, as well as acceptance of the underlying scientific explanation of the link between emissions and a key detrimental impact.

1.3 CFCs and the EKC

Focusing on CFCs and the Montreal Protocol allows for a simultaneous investigation on whether an EKC consistent relationship exists and whether this relationship may alternatively be explained as an induced policy response related to an intergovernmental agreement that utilises targets that differ based on income (or the level of development). However, while the EKC relationship has been extensively researched, the relationship between GDP and CFCs has been scarcely analysed. For example, Mason and Swanson (2003) noted that to their knowledge only three papers had studied the issue of CFCs and an EKC relationship. In 1997, Cole et al. intended to extend the previous empirical analyses of the EKC relationship by reviewing a wider range of environmental indicators, including CFCs. Using crosssectional analysis of data from 1986 and 1990 it was found that the adoption of the Montreal Protocol changed the growth profile of CFCs between these two years. This observation was accompanied by the statement that this result illustrated "the importance of multilateral action for a global air pollutant and tends to confirm that, without such a policy initiative, global air pollutants will increase monotonically with income" (Cole, et al. 1997: 412). Having established this result for CFCs, Cole et al. (1997) proceeded to reinforce the view of Grossman and Krueger (1995) that while some developed countries have 'grown out of' some pollution problems, "there is nothing inevitable about the relationship between per

capita income and environmental quality, as encapsulated in the EKC fitted to historical data" (Cole, et al. 1997: 412).

The conclusion that CFC emissions in the absence of the Montreal Protocol would continue to grow over the foreseeable future due to an excessively high EKC turning point was reinforced by Mason and Swanson (2003). Using an unbalanced panel of CFC production data from 1976 to 1988, Mason and Swanson (2003) find no evidence of an EKC consistent relationship using the traditional functional form specification and an excessively high turning point once a one period lag of CFC production is introduced into the model to allow for serial correlation. While the analysis of Mason and Swanson (2003) does overcome some of the issues from previous analyses (such as utilising cross-sectional data), the period involved limits the analysis to an examination of the impacts of ratification at that point in time. Subsequently the paper also forecasts the eventual impact of the Montreal Protocol using the targets set before the introduction of the Beijing Amendments.

The time span of data is not the only data issue that can be identified within appraisals of the Montreal Protocol. Upon appraising the widely cited article by Murdoch and Sandler (1997), which reviews reductions in emissions and whether they are associated with non-cooperative Nash behaviour or cooperative behavior, Wagner (2009) notes that the use of imputed data by Murdoch & Sandler (1997) leads to a spurious result. Specifically Wagner (2009) states that "the qualitative and quantitative evidence that MS present to support their view relies on largely imputed data from the World Resources Institute … which overstate emission reductions and appear to induce a spurious positive correlation between income and CFC cutbacks" (Wagner, 2009: 192).

With these past papers in mind, the usefulness of the dataset released by The Secretariat for the Vienna Convention and the Montreal Protocol for the period 1992 to 2008 is evident, ² as it coincides with the first stage of the Montreal targets and covers the period of the Beijing amendments, including the period within which the maximum amount of reductions for all signatories was determined. It is on this basis that this paper will review the existence of an EKC consistent relationship and the impacts of the Montreal Protocol targets using a balanced CFC consumption dataset for the 67 countries within section 3.

Before commencing, it should be noted that recent research utilising the dataset released by the Secretariat for the Vienna Convention and the Montreal Protocol has been conducted. Kleemann and Abdulai (2013) do not find an EKC consistent relationship using this data and relate this finding to the actions surrounding the Montreal Protocol. Consistent with this, the paper notes that "CFC consumption is a good example of effective international pressure." (Kleemann and Abdulai, 2013: 199) However, the analysis within this paper is still important as heteroscedasticity and serial correlation, as well as the issue of policy specific factors, is simultaneously accounted for.

The structure of the paper is as follows. After a brief discussion of some of the concerns over the EKC relationship's 'econometric foundations' in the introduction to section 2, the estimation outline is specified in sub-section 2.1. Section 3 contains the empirical results of the paper. The results of the estimations reviewing an EKC consistent relationship will be

² These data have been sourced from the UNEP's GEO Data Portal which provides data compiled by a large range of original data providers. These data can be accessed via the Data Portal (<u>http://geodata.grid.unep.ch</u>) and is cited with respect to the source (UNEP, The GEO Data Portal).

reviewed in sub-section 3.1. With the aim of focusing on the issue of policy success and quantifiable emissions reductions related to policy targets, sub-section 3.2 will focus on whether the emission reduction targets of the Montreal Protocol are attributable to the rate of CFC reductions that occurred. A discussion of the importance of these is conducted in section 4. After a review of the importance of a viable substitute for CFCs in the form of hydrofluorocarbons (HCFCs) in sub-section 4.1, sub-section 4.2 will discuss additional factors that have led to the success of the Montreal Protocol. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2 Econometric Foundations of the EKC and the Estimation Outline

From humble beginnings the EKC relationship has sparked a large debate that has captured the imagination, praise and scorn of many. It proved so topical that within about a year of appearing within the literature, the relationship was included within the World Development Report published by the World Bank in 1992. Differing results across different pollutants and datasets meant that as early as 1994 the discussion of the EKC relationship had extended to focus on reasons why these discrepancies may exist. It is with this that the literature started to review wider considerations related to the existence of the EKC relationship. In 2005, Nahman and Antrobus (2005) described the literature as one being divided between optimists, who strongly support the EKC and interpret it as validating a strategy of growth before all else (or much else), and critics, who suggest that methodological flaws are the reason for the relationship being found and that much more caution is needed when interpreting results showing an EKC consistent relationship (Nahman and Antrobus, 2005: 105). As the EKC relationship has attracted increasing criticism based on the lack of rigidity in much of the econometric underpinning, this review will focus upon the existence of an EKC with respect to policy implementation, while aiming to conduct a sound methodological/econometric analysis.

There has been a substantial literature focusing on the econometric basis of the EKC relationship and while this paper will aim to review this relationship using a solid econometric/methodological foundation, it is by no means a complete econometric review of the EKC. The intention of this paper is to establish whether an EKC consistent relationship exists for a pollutant where persistent decreases have been noted or whether other factors prevail (such as policy initiatives, intergovernmental agreements/targets, or unobserved

country specific factors). An increase in studies using econometric methodologies to test the EKC relationship was noted by Stern (2004) and he notes that while "the EKC is an essentially empirical phenomenon ... most of the EKC literature is econometrically weak" (Stern, 2004: 1420). Stern (2004) is critical of the nature of many past studies which look for significant coefficient estimates without paying attention to the statistical properties of the data used. The importance of reviewing the existence of the EKC using a robust empirical methodology is highlighted within the statement that "one of the main purposes of doing econometrics is to test which apparent relationships, or "stylised facts", are valid and which are spurious correlations" (Stern, 2004: 1420).

Concerns over the methodology applied within reviews of the EKC are not new, as the limitation of a reduced functional form specification led Grossman and Krueger (1995) to acknowledge that the functional form does not "even investigate the means by which income changes influence environmental outcomes" (Grossman and Krueger, 1995: 371). In 1997, Panayotou discussed the implications of using a simple reduced-form approach (which is not coupled to a lengthy theoretical justification) by comparing it to a 'black box'. This term is especially relevant to the present discussion of the EKC relationship in that this comparison reflects the view that such an approach "hides more than it reveals since income level is used as a catch-all surrogate variable for all the changes that take place with economic development" (Panayotou, 1997: 466). Taking wider considerations into account is important, as an explanation of an appropriate EKC relationship is likely to be complex with a large multitude of underlying factors depending upon the pollutant, the countries included within the sample and the period reviewed.

An additional concern with the interpretation of the EKC relationship is that any level of economic activity implies the use/extraction of resources. This resource use/extraction is not consistent with a functional form allowing the dependant variable to decrease to zero without some transfer between pollutants. Indeed, the first law of thermodynamics means that some waste is inevitable and as a result it should be enquired where this waste could be going. Ultimately, this brings us back to the original Grossman and Krueger (1991) paper, as the transfer of pollution or polluting industries to less developed countries (i.e. the pollution haven hypothesis) has become an explanation for the EKC relationship being found (refer to Cole (2004)).

Indeed Stern was not the first to notice that the lack of explanatory power within substantial EKC studies meant that "explanations for the coefficient estimates are given ex-post, i.e., they are forced upon the regression results but remain untested" (de Bruyn, 1997: 487). In other words, the formulation of theory after estimation has not been rare and this is typically a treacherous foundation for any given relationship. Empirical estimations need a theoretical base otherwise the risk of running a spurious regression is quite high, except in cases where the econometric analysis is particularly strong. As a result, there is an increasingly common consensus that EKC analysis within the literature is not robust, is based purely on prior assumptions and has actually missed some of the basic steps that should occur before estimation can begin. In support of this sentiment it has been suggested that within many of the analyses "choice of the quadratic estimates and their interpretation of these as inverted-U's would therefore seem to derive more from their prior judgement as to plausibility than from the econometric results, which are indeterminate" (Ekins, 2000: 190).

Amongst the work focusing on the econometric validity of the EKC is the review of Perman and Stern (2003) who in focusing on panel cointegration³ found that the evidence for the EKC relationship is questionable. Amongst the work applying unit root testing and adjustment for cointegration is Day & Grafton (2003) that also finds little evidence of an EKC relationship. Decomposition analysis has also been applied within the literature in applications such as Stern (2002) where the issue of income is said not to matter and that there is an overbearing "importance of globally shared, emissions-specific technical change and total factor productivity growth in individual countries in reducing emissions" (Stern, 2002: 217). Also using decomposition analysis and regression based on SO2 emission reductions, de Bruyen (1997) found that "the downward sloping part of the EKC can be better explained by reference to environmental policy than to structural change" (de Bruyen, 1997: 499). More recently, Bernard et al. (2014) focused on the estimation of tipping-points using parametric inference and their results cast further doubt on the existence of an EKC relationship related to Sulphur and CO2.

2.1 **Estimation Outline**

Following the standard functional form discussed within the EKC literature⁴, this analysis will begin with a review of whether such an EKC consistent relationship is present using the datasets complied. Moving from the standard EKC specification applied to CFCs (equation 1), the review will then examine whether any EKC consistent relationship found is robust enough to persist upon introducing key variables expected to explain the level and trend of CFC consumption during the sample period. Starting with the level of HCFC consumption

³ Panel cointegration considers the degree of heterogeneity across the 'n' dimension of a sample.

⁴ The standard EKC regression model is commonly specified as: $\ln(\frac{E}{p})_{it} = \alpha_i + \gamma_t + \beta_1 \ln(\frac{GDP}{p})_{it} + \beta_2 \ln(\frac{GDP}{p})_{it}^2 + \varepsilon_{it}$, with the turning point income specified as: $\tau = \exp(-\frac{\beta_1}{2\beta_2})$ and statistical significance of β_2 implying that a EKC exists.

(eq. 2), as HCFC gases are a commonly identified substitute for CFC gases, this paper will then focus on the impacts of the Montreal Protocol's targets for CFC consumption/production reduction (eq. 3), and allow for the few countries within the sample which have hesitated in ratifying the Protocol (eq. 4). Equation 3 and 4 also contain a Non Article5 time trend variable which allows for the distinction of differences based on both the level of emissions and the change in emissions for these countries overtime.

$$lnCFCpc_{it} = \alpha_i + \beta_1 lnGDPpc_{it} + \beta_2 lnGDPpc_{it}^2 + \beta_3 TimeTrend_t + \mu_{it}$$
(1)

$$lnCFCpc_{it} = \alpha_i + \beta_1 lnGDPpc_{it} + \beta_2 lnGDPpc_{it}^2 + \beta_3 TimeTrend_t + \beta_4 lnHCFCpc_{it} + \mu_{it}$$
(2)

 $lnCFCpc_{it} = \alpha_i + \beta_1 lnGDPpc_{it} + \beta_2 lnGDPpc_{it}^2 + \beta_3 TimeTrend_t + \beta_4 lnHCFCpc_{it} + \beta_5 NonArticle5_i + \beta_6 NonA5TimeT_{it} + \mu_{it}$ (3)

$$lnCFCpc_{it} = \alpha_{i} + \beta_{1}lnGDPpc_{it} + \beta_{2}lnGDPpc_{it}^{2} + \beta_{3}TimeTrend_{t} + \beta_{4}lnHCFCpc_{it} + \beta_{5}NonArticle5_{i} + \beta_{6}NonA5TimeT_{it} + \beta_{7}NoOzoneTre_{it} + \mu_{it}$$

$$(4)$$

All of the equation specifications in this chapter (which are based on the same basic function specified in equation 1) will be estimated using data from the Secretariat for the Vienna Convention and the Montreal Protocol. Table A1 within the appendix lists the countries included within the sample and also denote those belonging to the Non-Article 5 grouping. Dealing with growth paths of countries with differing levels of development implies that the inclusion of a diverse mix of countries within the analysis is important. Indeed, some past research has investigated the EKC using panels of data with only a few countries and some have even been limited to OECD countries. This is concerning as the results are often interpreted as having direct applicability to non-OECD countries. In the case of CFCs, only 12 of the 67 countries are labelled as Non-Article 5 countries and there is a notable representation of non-OECD countries. The mix of countries is important as apart from levels

of development, these distinctions also reflect differing levels of policy prescriptions and targets.

3 Empirical Analysis

The aim of this paper is to review the robustness of any EKC consistent result found for the standard functional form (eq. 1) by introducing variables expected to remove any missing variable bias, while adjusting for heteroscedasticity and serial correlation. It is with this that diagnostic tests to confirm whether heteroscedasticity and serial correlation are present have been run on the fixed effect and random effect estimations. As expected, due to the nature of panel data, as well as the nature of the variables, both heteroscedasticity and serial correlation are relation are found for CFCs. Fixed and random effects regression analysis will be applied as it is consistent with the reduced form specification of the EKC and the requirement to allow for unobserved country specific effects. Within the analysis, the fixed effects and random effects estimates will be adjusted for heteroscedasticity and serial correlation on separate incidences (refer to Tables 1 and 2, respectively), with feasible GLS being applied to examine the impact of allowing for both issues simultaneously (refer to Table 3).

3.1 Estimation Results – CFCs and EKC

Within the heteroscedasticity robust (het robust) fixed effect and random effect estimation (fe/re) results shown in table 1 there is some evidence of an EKC consistent relationship for the fixed effect results that were computed for the specification presented in equation 1 and 2. However, upon including the Montreal Protocol target variables specified in equation 3 (Non-Article 5 and Non-A5 Time Trend) this EKC relationship is replaced with significant evidence of a policy induced decline in CFCs by Non-Article 5 countries above the decreases

occurring over time by all of the countries in the sample. These results show that an overall decrease in the consumption of CFC gases during the time period is also based on exogenous factors within individual countries⁵. Non-Article 5 countries had significantly higher levels of per capita CFC emissions, which decreased by approximately 0.8% per year during the relevant phase out period.

It should be noted that the targets implemented by the Montreal Protocol mandate both the production and consumption of CFCs. Upon interpreting the results, it needs to be remembered that they apply to the consumption of CFC gases and hence will include the consumption of CFCs from imported goods by the respective Non-Article 5 and Article 5 countries. This is beneficial as any review of the production of CFC gases would need to consider concerns of 'pollution havens' and the export of emissions which has been noted as a potential factor behind results showing an EKC consistent relationship (refer to Cole (2004)). In light of these considerations, the results shown within this paper allow for factors that impact upon end user emissions as the consumption of CFCs has been calculated by taking national production of CFCs, adding imports, and subtracting exports, destroyed quantities and feedstock uses of individual CFCs. Upon allowing for autoregressive order one AR(1) disturbances, the results in table 1 are largely replicated within table 2 with similar policy results shown. The estimates show an EKC consistent relationship being replaced by a statistically significant decrease in CFC consumption within Non-Article 5 countries of approximately 0.4% or 0.7% per year depending upon whether fixed effects or random effects are applied.

⁵ Indeed a negative trend is expected as action on reducing CFC consumption has existed since the banning of nonessential aerosols in the USA, Canada, Norway and Sweden in 1978 (Auffhamer et al (2005): 379).

While allowances have been made for heteroscedasticity (het) and serial correlation (AR) separately, both of these factors can be simultaneously accounted for by using feasible generalised least squares (FGLS). Allowing for heteroscedasticity and an AR(1) process, the results from these FGLS estimations are shown in table 3. It should be noted that these results do not have the fixed/random effect model specification applied, so specification bias with respect to the usual EKC specification is potentially present. Of interest within these FGLS results is a comparison of the het adjusted estimates (table 1) with the het/AR adjusted estimates (table 3) as they mainly tend to differ in relation to the statistical significance of the coefficient estimates. The discrepancy reflected is consistent with an observation made by Wooldridge (2008) while discussing the simultaneous occurrence of both heteroscedasticity and serial correlation. Wooldridge (2008) notes that "much of the time serial correlation is viewed as the most important problem, because it usually has a larger impact on standard errors and the efficiency of estimators than does heteroscedasticity" (Wooldridge, 2008: 440). Focusing on the results, the policy variables show a significant decrease in CFC consumption within Non-Article 5 countries of approximately 0.7% or 0.8% per year depending on whether het and AR have been controlled for simultaneously. However, within these results there is no significant difference between the level of consumption of Non-Article 5 and Article 5 countries. An EKC consistent result is also not found for the FGLS het and AR adjusted results, casting doubt on the relationship's validity with respect to CFCs with and without the impact of the Montreal Protocol.

	lgCFCpc – FE	lgCFCpc – RE	lgCFCpc – FE	lgCFCpc – RE	lgCFCpc - FE	lgCFCpc – RE	lgCFCpc - FE	lgCFCpc – RE
Constant	-48.785	-22.893**	-36.260	-15.175	22.748	-7.350	31.186	-7.729
	(34.30)	(9.88)	(31.23)	(9.95)	(28.35)	(6.62)	(26.85)	(6.71)
lgGDPpc	5.983	1.433	4.800	1.089	-4.069	-1.153	-5.903	-1.143
	(5.73)	(1.93)	(5.41)	(1.95)	(4.74)	(1.21)	(4.42)	(1.23)
lgGDPpcsq	-0.260	-0.069	-0.213	-0.061	0.071	0.063	0.157	0.063
	(0.26)	(0.09)	(0.25)	(0.09)	(0.21)	(0.06)	(0.19)	(0.06)
Time Trend	-0.528***	-0.516***	-0.566***	-0.551***	-0.308***	-0.416***	-0.330***	-0.423***
	(0.09)	(0.06)	(0.09)	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.05)	(0.08)	(0.05)
lgHCFCpc			0.229***	0.211***	0.146**	0.147**	0.142**	0.147**
			(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.08)
Non-Article5					-	-0.764	-	-0.475
					-	(1.12)	-	(1.18)
Non-A5 TimeT					-0.818***	-0.791***	-0.805***	-0.784***
					(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.10)
Ozone Tre.							1.877**	0.596
							(0.84)	(0.57)
n	1139	1139	1139	1139	1139	1139	1139	1139
i	67	67	67	67	67	67	67	67
R ²	0.13	0.19	0.14	0.18	0.16	0.49	0.17	0.49
χ_1^2 6		1654.20***		1707.57***		553.93***		541.88***
Equation	(3	.1)	(3	.2)	(3	.3)	(3	.4)

Table 1 – CFC per capita – Fixed/Random Effects (1992-2008)

P Value: *** - 1% ** - 5% * - 10%

Note: The variables included within this regression are as follows: Dependent variable – CFC per capita – Amount of CFC emissions per capita, Independent variables – Constant – Intercept, IGDPpc – log of GDP per capita, IGDPpcsq – log of GDP per capita squared, Time Trend – time trend for 1992-2008, IgHCFCpc – log of HCFC emissions per capita, Non-Article 5 – Dummy variable for Non-Article 5 countries, Non-A5 TimeT – Time trend for Non-Article 5 countries only, Ozone Tre. – Ratified an Ozone Treaty (zero until year of ratification).

⁶ Breusch and Pagan Lagrangian multiplier test for random effects – null hypothesis: Var(ai) = 0 (random effects inappropriate).

	lgCFCpc – FE	lgCFCpc – RE	lgCFCpc – FE	lgCFCpc – RE	lgCFCpc - FE	lgCFCpc – RE	lgCFCpc - FE	lgCFCpc – RE
Constant	-21.769**	-17.229**	-20.734**	-15.342*	-6.285	-10.694*	-3.775	-11.037**
	(9.61)	(7.99)	(9.72)	(8.08)	(10.92)	(5.69)	(11.07)	(5.72)
lgGDPpc	4.174	0.371	4.084	0.350	1.175	-0.923	0.694	-0.883
	(5.45)	(1.473)	(5.40)	(1.48)	(5.02)	(1.04)	(5.06)	(1.04)
lgGDPpcsq	-0.303	-0.020	-0.298	-0.021	-0.162	0.055	-0.142	0.05
	(0.26)	(0.07)	(0.26)	(0.07)	(0.23)	(0.05)	(0.23)	(0.05)
Time Trend	-0.656***	-0.573***	-0.657***	-0.584***	-0.548***	-0.463***	-0.546***	-0.467***
	(0.11)	(0.04)	(0.11)	(0.04)	(0.10)	(0.04)	(0.10)	(0.04)
lgHCFCpc			0.034	0.063**	0.035	0.067**	0.037	0.067**
			(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Non-Article5					-	-0.462	-	-0.322
					-	(1.17)	-	(1.19)
Non-A5 TimeT					-0.386***	-0.726***	-0.390***	-0.721***
					(0.14)	(0.10)	(0.14)	(0.10)
Ozone Tre.							0.547	0.314
							(0.97)	(0.51)
n	1072	1139	1072	1139	1072	1139	1072	1139
i	67	67	67	67	67	67	67	67
R ²	0.07	0.19	0.07	0.19	0.13	0.49	0.13	0.49
χ_3^2 7		18.31***		21.09***		31.00***		31.02***
Equation	(3	.1)	(3	.2)	(3	.3)	(3	.4)

Table 2 – CFC per capita – Fixed/Random Effects with AR(1) disturbances (1992/1993-2008)

P Value: *** - 1% ** - 5% * - 10%

Note: The variables included within this regression are as follows: Dependent variable – CFC per capita – Amount of CFC emissions per capita, Independent variables – Constant – Intercept, IGDPpc – log of GDP per capita, IGDPpcsq – log of GDP per capita squared, Time Trend – time trend for 1992-2008, IgHCFCpc – log of HCFC emissions per capita, Non-Article5 – Dummy variable for Non-Article 5 countries, Non-A5 TimeT – Time trend for Non-Article 5 countries only, Ozone Tre. – Ratified an Ozone Treaty (zero until year of ratification).

⁷ Hausman specification test – null hypothesis: the individual effects are uncorrelated with the other regressors in the model.

		het adjus	ted results			het and AR(1)	and AR(1) adjusted results	
	lgCFCpc	lgCFCpc	lgCFCpc	lgCFCpc	lgCFCpc	lgCFCpc	lgCFCpc	lgCFCpc
Constant	-14.967***	-13.951***	-8.413***	-8.475***	-14.233***	-19.630***	-11.599*	-11.793*
	(0.65)	(1.24)	(1.72)	(1.85)	(3.26)	(7.89)	(6.74)	(6.75)
lgGDPpc	-0.056	-0.055	-1.278***	-1.293***	-0.414	0.812	-1.380	-1.564
	(0.13)	(0.24)	(0.36)	(0.36)	(0.60)	(1.57)	(1.36)	(1.37)
lgGDPpcsq	-0.002	-0.004	0.073***	0.075***	0.009	-0.041	0.083	0.099
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Time Trend	-0.516***	-0.510***	-0.388***	-0.386***	-0.536***	-0.564***	-0.467***	-0.492***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.07)	(0.04)	(0.07)	(0.07)
lgHCFCpc		0.040***	0.109***	0.106***		0.016	-0.005	-0.002
		(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)		(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Non-Article5			-0.250	-0.392			0.793	0.972
			(0.47)	(0.48)			(1.10)	(1.06)
Non-A5 TimeT			-0.824***	-0.831***			-0.661***	-0.659***
			(0.04)	(0.04)			(0.09)	(0.09)
Ozone Tre.				-0.119				1.284**
				(0.28)				(0.63)
Ν	1139	1139	1139	1139	1139	1139	1139	1139
Ι	67	67	67	67	67	67	67	67
χ^2_3	2494.82***	3544.56***	10036.80***	9765.14***	66.59***	241.37***	633.51***	674.50***
Equation	(3	.1)	(3	.2)	(3	.3)	(3	.4)

Table 3 – CFC per capita – FGLS with het and AR(1) adjustments (1992-2008)

P Value: *** - 1% ** - 5% * - 10%

Note: The variables included within this regression are as follows: Dependent variable – CFC per capita – Amount of CFC emissions per capita, Independent variables – Constant – Intercept, IGDPpc – log of GDP per capita, IGDPpcsq – log of GDP per capita squared, Time Trend – time trend for 1992-2008, IgHCFCpc – log of HCFC emissions per capita, Non-Article5 – Dummy variable for Non-Article 5 countries, Non-A5 TimeT – Time trend for Non-Article 5 countries only, Ozone Tre. – Ratified an Ozone Treaty (zero until year of ratification)

3.2 Estimation Results – Emission Reductions and Policy

Having established that there is little to no evidence of an EKC consistent relationship within the CFC dataset employed in sub-section 3.1, the analysis will now further develop the discussion on whether emission reductions can be directly linked to the targets of the Montreal Protocol. Within sub-section 3.1 policy impacts were incorporated into the analysis at an aggregate level. In this section there is a concerted effort to disentangle the specific policy target periods and define the stages within which emission reductions were to be met. Table 4 shows the results from a modified analysis which applies the three regression methods applied within section 3.1 to the equation specification shown in equation 5. The major modification is the removal of the Article 5 related variables specified in equation 3 and their replacement with dummy variables representing the timing of the different levels of legislated emission targets. The timing of the targets can be seen in Figure 1.

 $lnCFCpc_{it} = \alpha_{i} + \beta_{1}lnGDPpc_{it} + \beta_{2}lnGDPpc_{it}^{2} + \beta_{3}TimeTrend_{t} + \beta_{4}lnHCFCpc_{it} + \beta_{8}NonA5_{75\%}RT_{it} + \beta_{9}NonA5_{100\%}RT_{it} + \beta_{10}NonA5_{Post}RT_{it} + \beta_{11}A5_{Base_{it}} + \beta_{12}A5_{Freeze_{it}} + \beta_{13}A5_{50\%}RT_{it} + \beta_{14}A5_{85\%}RT_{it} + \beta_{15}A5_{100\%}RT_{it} + \mu_{it}$ (5)

Table 4 shows that for the Non-Article 5 countries the stages of having a 75% and 100% reduction target in CFC emissions (denoted in equation 5 as NonA5_75% RT_{it} , and NonA5_100% RT_{it}) are significant and that there is a notable trend of emissions reductions above that associated with the time trend. However, while the amounts of reductions for the Non-Article 5 target phases are statistically significant, the overall time trend is still related to a significant decrease in emissions. The largest amount of emission reductions that are related to the timing of the targets occurs when the Montreal

Protocol stipulated that there should be no allowable CFC emissions (as represented by a significant reduction in the *Non-A5 – Post* variable).

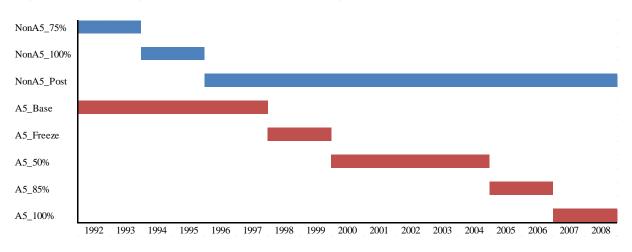


Figure 1 – Timing of Montreal Protocol Target Phases

A significant time trend irrespective of statistically significant target phase variables for Non-Article 5 countries is consistent with claims that notable emission reductions were already occurring independent of the Montreal protocol. A pre-existing tendency for reductions is reflected in a consistently significant and negative relationship with the time trend associated with decreases in per capita emissions of between 0.5% and 0.6% per annum from 1992 to 2008. The different stages of the Non-Article 5 targets are associated with greater emission reductions per year, with reductions of approximately 3% per annum during the 75% and 100% phase out periods followed by an 8.5% reduction per annum when CFCs were completely prohibited. These results can be interpreted as the following: notable reductions in CFCs within Non-Article 5 countries can directly be associated with the period that the Montreal protocol was in force, but emission decreases were not solely related to the timing of the reduction targets. In addition, the lack of emission reductions that occurred in Article 5 countries show that decreases in less developed countries were not associated with the stipulated reductions set by the Montreal targets.

This result implies that the success of the Montreal protocol is partly associated with preexisting industrial factors; as reflected in a significant and decreasing trend in CFCs when the target phases have been accounted for. With respect to Article 5 countries, the results show that a positive relation between the target phases and CFC use persisted throughout the initial phases of the Montreal targets, these being above the overall CFC decline estimated to have occurred across all countries and associated with the time trend. The rationale for separating targets based on Article 5 was intended to allow less developed nations more time to adjust to the policy and these results show that this was utilized by these nations. With respect to the non-Article 5 specific variables, the results show that decreases in CFCs were associated with both the overall time trend and the specific targets set. Note that the current data only reaches the penultimate target period for Article 5 countries and the success of reductions towards zero usage of CFCs cannot be determined using this data.

Table 4 – CFC p	er capita – Pol	licy Focus (1992	2-2008)			
	FE	RE	FE - AR(1)	RE - AR(1)	FGLS het	FGLS het
						AR(1)
Constant	8.065	-9.335*	-19.167*	-11.867**	-7.330***	-9.348**
	(17.32)	(5.42)	(11.12)	(5.73)	(1.69)	(4.31)
lgGDPpc	-2.059	-0.578	2.489	-0.549	-1.194***	-1.590*
	(2.70)	(0.98)	(4.75)	(1.04)	(0.34)	(0.92)
lgGDPpcsq	0.019	0.037	-0.167	0.038	0.070***	0.104**
	(0.11)	(0.04)	(0.22)	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.05)
Time Trend	-0.436***	-0.494***	-0.675***	-0.539***	-0.491***	-0.585***
	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.10)	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.04)
lgHCFCpc	0.184***	0.185***	0.051	0.088^{***}	0.137***	0.052***
	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Non-A5 – 75%	-	-0.484	-	-1.538	-1.036**	-3.014***
	-	(1.10)	-	(1.16)	(0.49)	(0.97)
Non-A5 - 100%	-0.668	-0.995	0.448	-2.401**	-1.086**	-2.814***
	(1.00)	(1.08)	(1.16)	(1.08)	(0.50)	(0.87)
Non-A5 – Post	-9.086***	-9.379***	-4.342***	-8.532***	-9.849***	-8.486***
	(0.85)	(0.86)	(1.57)	(0.90)	(0.32)	(0.72)
A5 – Base	0.956	-0.053	-0.307	0.109	-0.825**	0.375
	(0.70)	(0.53)	(0.99)	(0.59)	(0.36)	(0.66)
A5 – Freeze	2.402***	1.347**	0.595	0.810	0.354	1.057
	(0.79)	(0.62)	(1.04)	(0.64)	(0.44)	(0.71)
A5 - 50%	3.188***	2.237***	1.844*	1.794***	1.167***	1.900***
	(0.72)	(0.53)	(1.02)	(0.61)	(0.37)	(0.74)
A5 - 85%	2.931***	1.914***	2.163**	1.663**	1.387***	2.86***
	(0.82)	(0.65)	(1.12)	(0.72)	(0.46)	(0.83)
A5 - 100%	-0.147	-1.256**	0.533	-0.408	-2.042***	0.829
	(0.85)	(0.68)	(1.19)	(0.79)	(0.47)	(0.89)
n	1139	1139	1072	1139	1139	1139
i	67	67	67	67	67	67
R ²	0.27	0.52	0.26	0.51		
χ^2_3		646.43***				
Hausman		9.87		34.51***		
Wald Chi ²					4238.49***	788.02***

 Table 4 – CFC per capita – Policy Focus (1992-2008)

P Value: *** - 1% ** - 5% * - 10% Note: The variables included within this regression are as follows: Dependent variable – CFC per capita – Amount of CFC emissions per capita, Independent variables – Constant – Intercept, IGDPpc – log of GDP per capita, IGDPpcsq – log of GDP per capita squared, Time Trend – time trend for 1992-2008, IgHCFCpc – log of HCFC emissions per capita, Non-A5 – 75% - Dummy variable for Non-Article 5 countries during the period within which there was a 75% reduction target, Non-A5 – 100% - Dummy variable for Non-Article 5 countries during the period within which there was a 100% reduction target, Non-A5 – Post - Dummy variable for Non-Article 5 countries during the period within which there were no CFC emissions allowed, A5 – Base - Dummy variable for Article 5 countries during the period within which there were no targets, A5 – Freeze - Dummy variable for Non-Article 5 countries during the period within which emissions were to show no growth, A5 – 50%/85%/100% - Dummy variable for Non-Article 5 countries during the period within which there was a 50%/85%/100% reduction target.

4 Discussion

Having reviewed whether an EKC relationship exists for CFCs and the relevance of the timing of the Montreal policy targets, some crucial issues need to be highlighted. The first is the importance of a viable substitute as section 3 confirmed that HCFC consumption is related to CFC use and that HCFCs have been widely employed (refer to sub-section 4.2). The second are the auxiliary explanations for the success of the Montreal Protocol and to highlight these details the discussion focuses on a comparison to the Kyoto Protocol (refer to sub-section 4.2).

4.1 The importance of substitutes

In addition to the pollution haven hypothesis that was discussed in the introduction, the new toxins explanation is also of interest to a review of the existence of an EKC relationship and the relationship between CFCs and HCFCs. The new toxins scenario notes that as some pollutants are dealt with, other pollutants emerge and that this may result in overall environmental quality stability, rather than reduction. In others words, "while some traditional pollutants might have an inverted U-shape curve, the new pollutants that are replacing them do not" (Stern, 2004: 1428). Indeed whilst the Montreal Protocol is often described as a success, the reduction in CFC emissions can also be seen as a rare, but fortunate case where a direct substitute for the pollutant was available.

DeSombre (2001) described the substitutability between inputs and the existence of gases such as HCFCs as a 'happy coincidence'. DeSombre also notes that within the United States there was substantial support from industry for the Montreal Protocol and there was evidence of petitioning by major CFC manufacturers (such as DuPont) for the ratification of the Montreal Protocol. Indeed the manufacturers that "were creating substitute chemicals would benefit from international regulation and the increased overseas demand for their new products it would bring" (DeSombre, 2001: 57). In addition, CFCs were produced by a relatively small number of manufacturers who could be effectively monitored and were often the producer of both the substitute (HCFCs) and the 'targeted' problematic gas (CFCs). The US EPA (2007) also notes that by the time the Montreal Protocol had been signed, SC Johnson and DuPont had committed to abandoning CFCs in their products within the US market. Unfortunately, similar examples are not typical in relation to the case of CO2 emissions from fossil fuels as there is a high dependency on such resources and significant barriers to direct substitution.

A factor that reinforces the new toxins explanation is that for many pollutants, measurement and the creation of datasets tends to follow health concerns or the actual implementation of environmental policy. This is true of many datasets, including the one used to source data for the current analysis based on CFCs. It has also been noted that a commonly used database, GEMS - which was used in the original Grossman and Krueger (1991) paper, has focused "on a few 'criteria' pollutants, so-designated because legal statutes have required regulators to specify their damaging characteristics" (Dasgupta, et al. 2002: 150-151). Within the EKC literature itself, there are many and broad classes of emissions that have not been focused upon, especially in the case of toxic pollutants which often cause death, disease or birth defects. Further to this it has been contended by Dasgupta, Laplante, Wang and Wheeler (2002) that "industrial countries surely must consider the daunting possibility that they are not actually making progress against pollution as their incomes rise, but instead are reducing only a few measured and well-known pollutants while facing new and potentially greater environmental concerns" (Dasgupta, et al. 2002: 149).

4.2 Montreal in comparison to Kyoto

The scant attention given to ozone depleting substances within the EKC literature may be related to the existence and relative success of the Montreal Protocol. With CFC levels having been seen to decrease across developed nations, "by most accounts, the treaty process for addressing ozone depletion is an unqualified success" (DeSombre, 2001: 49). And while the level of ratification and policy action related to the Montreal Protocol has been supposed to have had an impact on the reduction of CFCs, DeSombre (2001) notes that the members of the industry producing ozone-depleting substances (ODS) and market forces have played a valuable role. The qualification here is that some of the market forces underlying a reduction in CFCs are seen to have occurred "as a direct result of the way the Protocol process is structured, and others because of serendipity in the way the industry has made or used ozone depleting substances" (DeSombre, 2001: 57). Further explaining this contention, DeSombre notes that "due to what is in part a happy coincidence, and in part well-developed regulatory incentives, some of the main ODS-producing industries were the main innovators of the substitutes used to replace them" (DeSombre, 2001: 57). This differs substantially to the policy process and the debate surrounding the Kyoto Protocol and the control of CO2 emissions.

Indeed, reduced emissions and policy success are not the only differences between the Montreal and Kyoto protocols, as ratification levels and industry support have substantially differed with climate science being scrutinized and debated. While the identification of climate change and its cause has been a subject of debate, by the time that the Montreal Protocol was introduced, the scientists whom advanced the theory behind the CFC explanation for ozone depletion had already been awarded the Nobel Prize in Chemistry for

their work (refer to Molina & Rowland (1974) for the paper). As a result, the risks associated with ozone depletion and their relation to CFC gases was deemed credible and of direct concern to industrialised nations. This broader context is one of the contributing factors of the success of the Montreal Protocol and the support it received from industrialised nations. In contrast, the discussion of the collapse of the climate change negotiations in The Hague in December 2000 within Grubb and Yamin (2001) provides some of the issues that have surrounded the level of ratification of the Kyoto Protocol. In describing "the Protocol's critics from all shades of the political spectrum" (Grubb and Yamin, 2001: 262), Grubb and Yamin (2001) list the respective critics as follows.

These critics include the dwindling band of scientific sceptics who claim that the scientific evidence base is still too weak to justify international action; the predominantly Northern-based economic and industrial critics who claim that industrialized countries' Kyoto targets are too strong, and that international efforts should focus on a fundamental rewriting of the Protocol to weaken these targets and/or extend them to developing countries; and idealists who believe that (the) targets are too weak to be worthwhile (Grubb and Yamin, 2001: 262).

Indeed, based on the rate of ratification and reductions of CFCs many have concluded that the Montreal Protocol and its predecessor (the Vienna Convention) are the most effective international agreements in existence. While Figure 2 shows the level of Montreal ratification to be high, upon comparing it to the Kyoto Protocol (using the data compiled by The Secretariat for the Vienna Convention and the Montreal Protocol as well as the United Nations Framework on Climate Change) it can be confirmed that both Protocols had a similar overall level of ratification in 2004. And while the overall level of ratification is important,

the profile of the member countries must also be considered. In contrast to the Montreal Protocol, the United States did not ratify the Kyoto Protocol and this directly led to a nervous wait for the agreement to become legally binding due to the requirement for 55 countries accounting for at least 55% of 1990 carbon dioxide emissions to ratify before the Protocol could enter into force. With the receipt of the Russian Federation's instrument of ratification on November 18 2004, the Executive Secretary of the Climate Change Secretariat stated that "a period of uncertainty has closed. Climate change is ready to take its place again at the top of the global agenda" (UNFCCC, 2004).

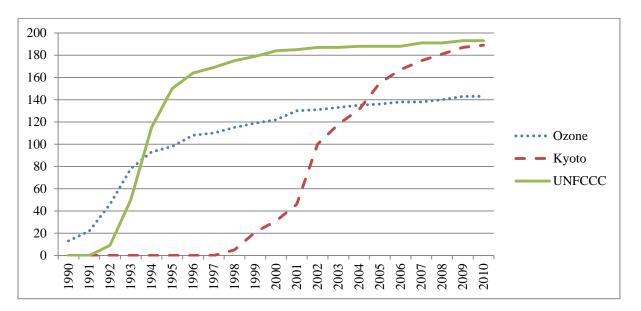


Figure 2 - Level of Adoption of Intergovernmental Agreements (n = 237)

Focusing on the difficulties of intergovernment agreements and concerns over ratification there is academic debate about whether any international environmental agreement can have a 'real' impact in light of free riding and a lack of penalties/enforcement. Barrett (1990) notes that with no world authority able to intervene and enforce the targets/standards set, "there are strong incentives for government not to co-operate, or to defect from an agreement should one be reached" (Barrett, 1990: 69). This focus on individual parties following their own selfinterest leads to the reason why "the core problem in the first period allocations (apart from the US withdrawal) concerned allocations to the EITs (Economies in Transition) that have proved excessive" (Grubb, 2003: 186). The unexpected/unaccounted for fall of the USSR led to a situation where there was an excess of permits and hence a hypothetical Kyoto carbon price was expected to fall close to zero. Indeed, Grubb (2003) notes that projections of the carbon price since 2001 have plummeted upon the introduction of three factors, these being: "the withdrawal of the US, by far the largest source of potential 'demand' in the system; revision of Russian energy projections which greatly increased their projected allowance surplus; and the subsequent Bonn/Marrakech deal on carbon sinks" (Grubb, 2003: 160).

5 Conclusion

From the humble beginnings of a review of the 'Environmental Impacts of a North American Free Trade Agreement', the Environmental Kuznets Curve (EKC) relationship has been the source of a plethora of papers. In recent times this literature has increasingly become critical of the EKC, especially with respect to the fragility and limitations of being based on a reduced functional form. Indeed, the literature has noted many alternate explanations for a reduced form relationship between GDP per capita and per capita emissions. For CFCs within the current sample (1992-2008) there is a significant policy induced negative A significantly different level of CFC consumption between Article 5 and Non-Article 5 countries persists with no indication of an EKC consistent relationship between GDP per capita and CFCs once this policy impact and estimation bias has been allowed for. The confirmation of this result is important as CFCs have had little attention within the EKC literature even though notable progress has been made on reducing the pollutant. For the majority of previous cases where such a relationship has been focused upon the data underpinning the analysis has found to be insufficient. Using the dataset of the Secretariat for the Vienna Convention and the Montreal Protocol has also allowed for a review on whether reductions in CFCs can be attributed to the timing and the levels set within the Montreal Protocol.

Results within section 3 show that significant decreases in CFC consumption occurred within the Non-Article 5 targets. Hence a significant negative decline in CFC consumption between 1992 and 2008 is consistent with the specific timing of the targets of the Montreal Protocol for Non-Article 5 countries. Irrespective of this, the time trend is still significant and has a negative relationship with CFCs that points to the importance of the auxiliary explanations for the success of the Montreal Protocol. Emission reductions occurred during the reduction phases but were not solely linked to the phases specified within the Montreal Protocol. The auxiliary explanations for the success of the policy intervention have been found to be the existence of a supportive industry group, pre-existing legislation and commitment in the United States, affordable and available substitutes, as well as acceptance of the underlying scientific (and Nobel Prize winning) explanation of the link between CFCs and ozone depletion.

Having reviewed the literature on the EKC and conducted my own analysis I believe that significant doubt has been cast on the existence of an EKC consistent relationship for CFCs and the concept of the EKC as a whole. From this I conclude that future work should focus on the effectiveness of induced policy responses, rather than focusing upon the limited cases where a EKC consistent relationship may be found to exist. The auxiliary explanations for the success of the Montreal Protocol also imply that emission reductions from policies enacted by countries with high levels of income are not inevitable. Indeed, policy design and the context surrounding a given environmental issue will be important factors related to policy success.

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Appendix

Table A1 – CFC per capita – Count	ies within Sample (1992-2008) n = 67
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Antigua and Barbuda El Salvador		Mali	Saudi Arabia
Argentina	Gambia	Mexico	Seychelles
Australia*	Ghana	Nepal	Sierra Leone
Bangladesh	Guatemala	New Zealand*	Solomon Islands
Belarus*	Guinea	Nicaragua	South Africa
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Cameroon	Indonesia	Pakistan	Trinidad and Tobago
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Dominican Republic	Kenya	Republic of Korea	Uruguay
Ecuador	Kyrgyzstan	Russian Federation*	Venezuela
	Malawi	Rwanda	
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* denotes Non-Article 5 countries (n = 12)

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