

# **Confidence, Credibility and Authority in Climate Sciences and Politics**

-----

**20- 21 November 2014**

## **The Climate Governance: a schism of reality**

-----

***Amy Dahan, CNRS, Centre Alexandre Koyré,  
Paris - France***

***Equipe “CC et Biosphère: Expertises, Futurs et Politiques ”***

# Introduction

- **From where does this notion of Schism come ?**
- **Growing gap between the external world and the climate governance**
- **Growing gap between governance and its slowness and the inexorable degradation of the climate**
- **We want to explore the schism and its deep cause**
  - **inside the climate governance**
  - **and outside**

# Historical Overview (1)

- **1970's-1988:** the climate emerged as global problem
- Concerns about the changes in climate were first restrained to a few number of scientists
- They have been relayed above all by international institutions of the UN system
- American expertise always balanced scientific diagnosis with other issues, economic (costs, energy) and societal (adaptation, migration)
- CC has never been in US principally an environmental concern

# Historical Overview (2)

- **1992-2001 : Hopes and first fractures**
- **Rio Summit : Enormous success of multilateral environmentalism in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Bloc**
- **But at the geopolitical level, tensions (first Iraq war)**
- **The neo-conservatism current won the internal battle in US  
New Alliance of US with the countries of the Golf**
- **Senate infamous 1998 Byrd-Hagel Resolution**
- **10 years later: the US had withdrawn of the Kyoto Protocol  
and the process was on the edge of collapse**

# The framing of the “climate regime” from Toronto to Copenhagen

- A global ‘Pollution Problem’ on the model of the Ozone problem solved by the Montreal Protocol
- Political Process and Scientific Expertise : separated but closely linked. Science tells us that...
- An entirely top-down construction looking for a global treatise assuming the burden sharing
- Shift between developed countries and developing countries, and shift also about solutions concerning these countries
- Social sciences (except economics) were marginalized

# Historical Overview (3)

- **2002-2009: The Constitution of the Schism**
- **The Kyoto Protocol came into force without the US, a hard won victory for European Union**
- **Internalization of the Schism: the two-track negotiation**
- **The importance of Emergent Countries : mainly ignored**
- **Activism of the G-77 . Rise of Adaptation : the COP 13 of B**
- **Peak of legitimacy of IPCC (Nobel Prize in 2007) and rise of contestation of climate sciences (merchants of doubts, official skepticism in republican circles...)**
- **2008: major financial crisis**
- **2009 Copenhagen Conference : a new geopolitical order ( US – China)**

# Accelerations of the 2000's

- **The World Globalization:**

Large expansion of the western development model based on fossil fuels

- **The meteoric rise of the Chinese economy**

China became the largest emitter in 2006

- **Fukushima accident (2011) accelerated a sequence of major upheavals in the world energy landscape**

Abandon of nuclear energy and the *Energiewende* in Germany (Switzerland, Italy..); shale gas in US, Canada..; Revival of American cheap coal export ...

Rise of technologies of renewable energies in China, Germany, India: independent of the global governance

# Blockages of the Climate Regime

The climate governance interferes with at least three other “regimes”, but climate negotiations are carefully separated from these three regimes:

- **Energy (Role of I.E.A, torn between the environmental imperative and the drive to ensure a continuous supply of oil to the world economy )**
- **International Trade (The WTO does not distinguish between polluting and non- polluting activities, and favors the former)**
- **Development (i.e. the subsidies of the World Bank for fossil fuels plants)**

The climate regime establishes **“firewalls”** between climate and other questions



# Reducing the Schism is vital

**At least several conditions are needed**

- **giving autonomy to science and to politics**
- **acknowledging the issues and interests underlying the three readings of the climate problem : geopolitical, economic and environmental**
- **Identifying their contradictions to face them**

**The Climate Governance cannot remain only global It has to be polycentric and multi-scalar**

**We need a new order of government**

# Lessons coming from political failures and events and from social sciences

The climate challenge:

- is not only global but also local and multi-scalar.
- The convergent critics coming from social scientists (Hulme, Jasanoff, Beck etc.) showed that it doesn't belong to pollution problems
- We have to face to the crucial question of articulating different scales of governance

**Furthermore:**

- the notion of *climate policies*,
- the *environment* category (cf U.Beck)  
need to be redefined and rethought.
- A new Social Contract is maybe necessary ?