The iceberg, the elephant and the forest – taking a wider look on climate governance

*Stefan Aykut, LISIS*

*Amy Dahan, Koyré / CNRS*

*Gouverner le Climat ? 20 années de négociations internationales*
Preliminary remarks

- Recent turn: analyzing climate governance « beyond » or « outside » the climate regime
- Different analytical perspectives in this literature, different recommendations for research + policy
- Climate governance as a ‘reality schism’
- Necessity of a new order of governmentality... and recent developments
- Implications for studying climate summits
Connected geographies

• ‘Internalist’ accounts: linear model of science-policy relations / state-centered / centrality of the UN arena
• Regime complex (Keohane / Victor), regime interplay (Young…) and fragmentation (Zelli, Biermann, etc.)
• Transnational climate governance (Bulkeley, Compagnon, etc.) and the ‘global climate governance landscape’
• Central questions: conflict and coordination, ‘delegation’ and ‘orchestration’, linkage
• Problems: focus on ‘management’, little attention to structural causes
Pachyderms

• Opening the black-box of the state, questioning the state-market separation
• ‘Carbon lock-in’ (Unruh) and ‘historical blocs’ (Levy+Newell)
• ‘Bringing the material back in’ (Fisher): from ideology to geographies of resource distribution
• Mitchell: resources and social and political order (national and international)
• ‘Decarbonization’ as a profoundly political project
• Problems: little propositions for ways to move forward, to exploit contradictions, etc.
Forestry

• Norms and knowledge in the regime literature: factors for coherence and fragmentation
• ‘Climate governmentality’ (Stripple, Backstrand etc.): extending to the scale of social processes and practices
• From the linear model to ‘co-production’ of social and political orders: studying scientific framings (e.g.: globality, focalization of GHG, ...)
• Studying the ‘rules of the game’, larger common patterns that determine how actors conceive of their preferences
• Problems: how to assess governance failure / success?
Climate governance as a ‘reality schism’

• *Longue durée*

• From Toronto to Copenhagen: Growing gap between UN climate negotiations and wider realities of the world

• ‘One World’ versus economic competition, geopolitics of energy, re-militarization of international relations

• Immobility versus acceleration

• Expertise and politics: Top-down versus bottom-up
Deeper causes I
The framing of UN climate governance

• Pollution paradigm: climate change = ozone and acid rain?
• Linear model of expertise
• Economic paradigm: one treaty, one price, one market
• Globalism (infrastructural, scientific, political …)
• (Reflexive) social science marginalized
• Climate as an environmental problem: separation from trade regime, development, finance …
Deeper causes II

Geopolitical developments

• Deeper implications of Byrd-Hagel and US retreat not taken into account (internalization of the schism)
• Financial crisis and new geopolitics of energy
• Acceleration: China and the separation developed / industrialized (Bali!)
• Result: regime obese and compartmentalized
Toward a ‘new order of governmentality’

• From management to re-politicization

• Global Governance: decompartmentalizing the climate (‘fire-walls’), accepting polycentric and multi-level architectures

• Economics: ‘materializing’ climate policies

• Society: Territorializing climate change

• Expertise: a new paradigm for science-policy relations?
A ‘paradigm shift’?

• Bottom-up architecture: positive evolution or pure Realpolitik?
• ‘Agenda of solutions’ and Paris-Lime Plan of Action
• Integration of non-state actors – accountability and legitimacy?

Implications for research:

• Analyzing climate governance in UN negotiations?
• How do UN negotiations relate to:
  - The wider governance landscape?
  - Other regimes?
  - National policy-making and sustainability transitions?
- Reduction vs. persistence of elements of the schism
  - Fossil fuel infrastructures vs. distant + radical objectives
  - Role of science: 2C, negative emissions, etc. vs bottom-up