

**Workshop studying transnational mega-events**

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**06.07.2015**

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

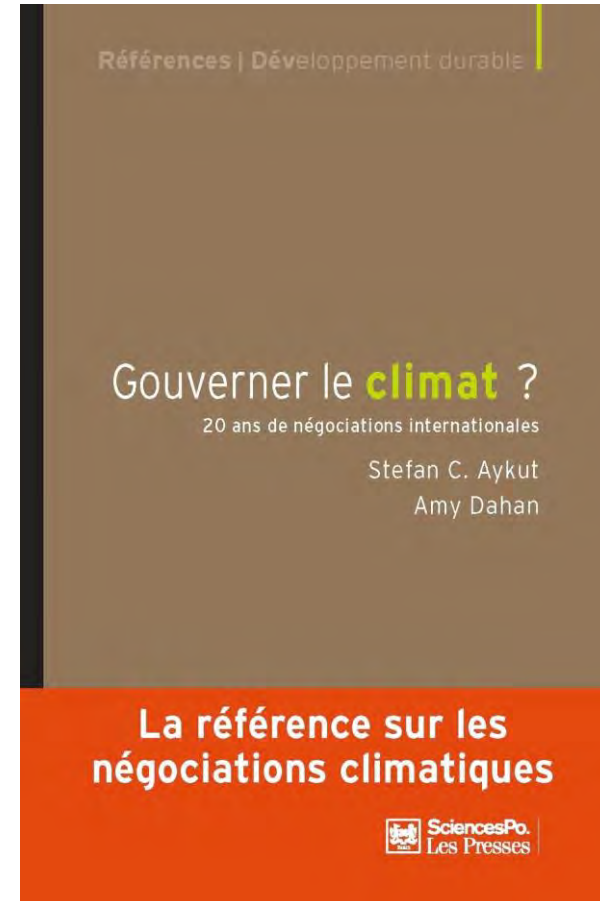
***Stefan Aykut, LISIS***

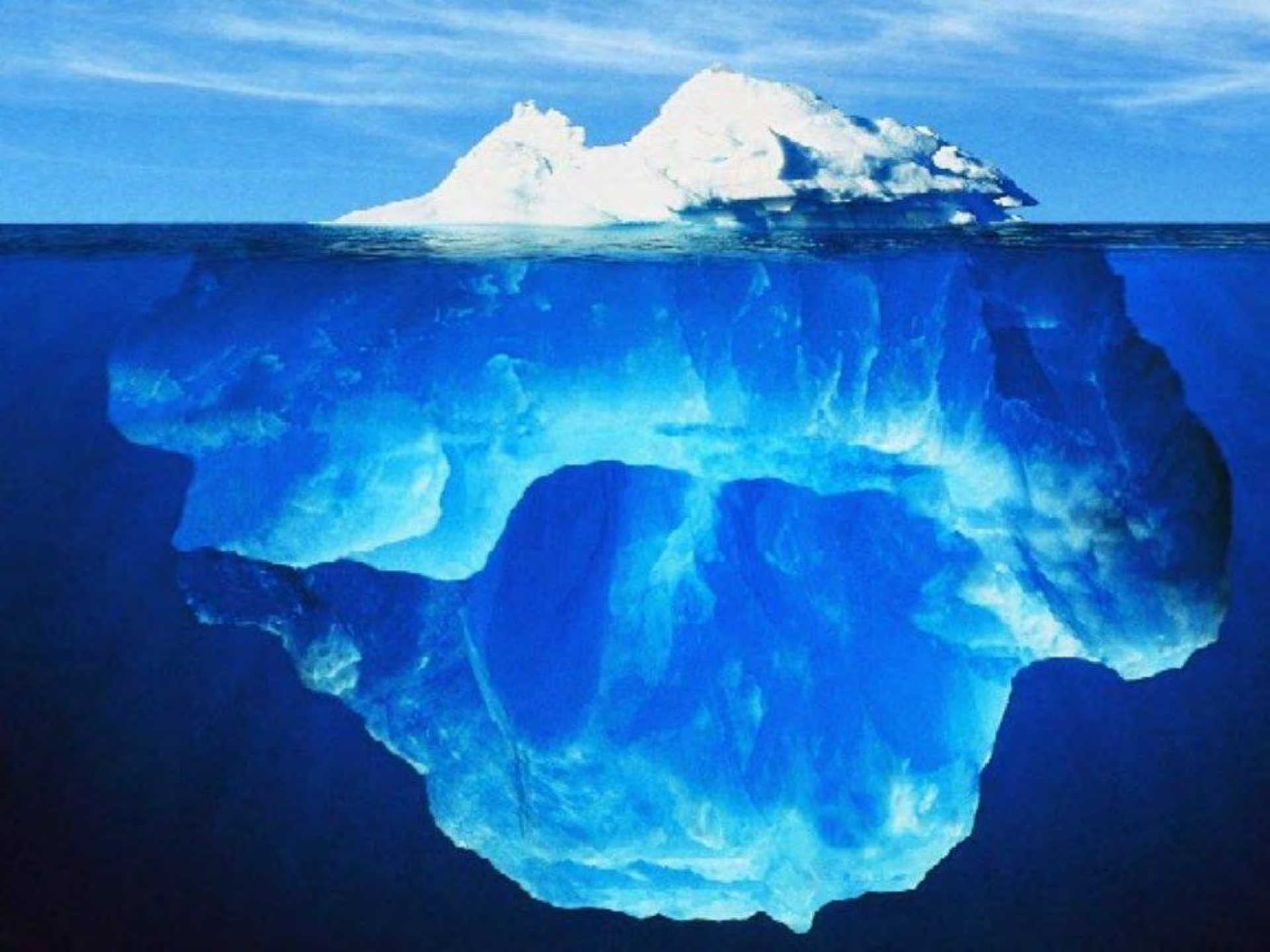
***Amy Dahan, Koyré / CNRS***

***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

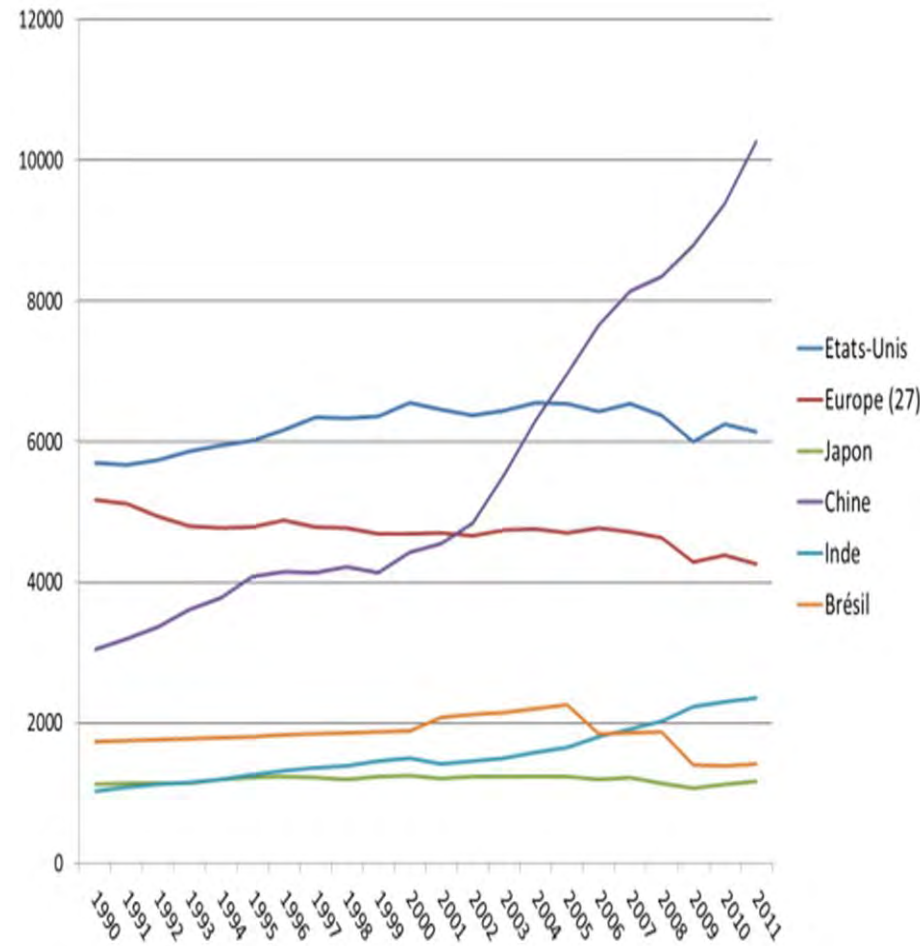
## The framing of UN climate governance

- **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**