

DEMOCRATIC ENGAGEMENT AND CLIMATE CHANGE

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AALBORG UNIVERSITY
COPENHAGEN

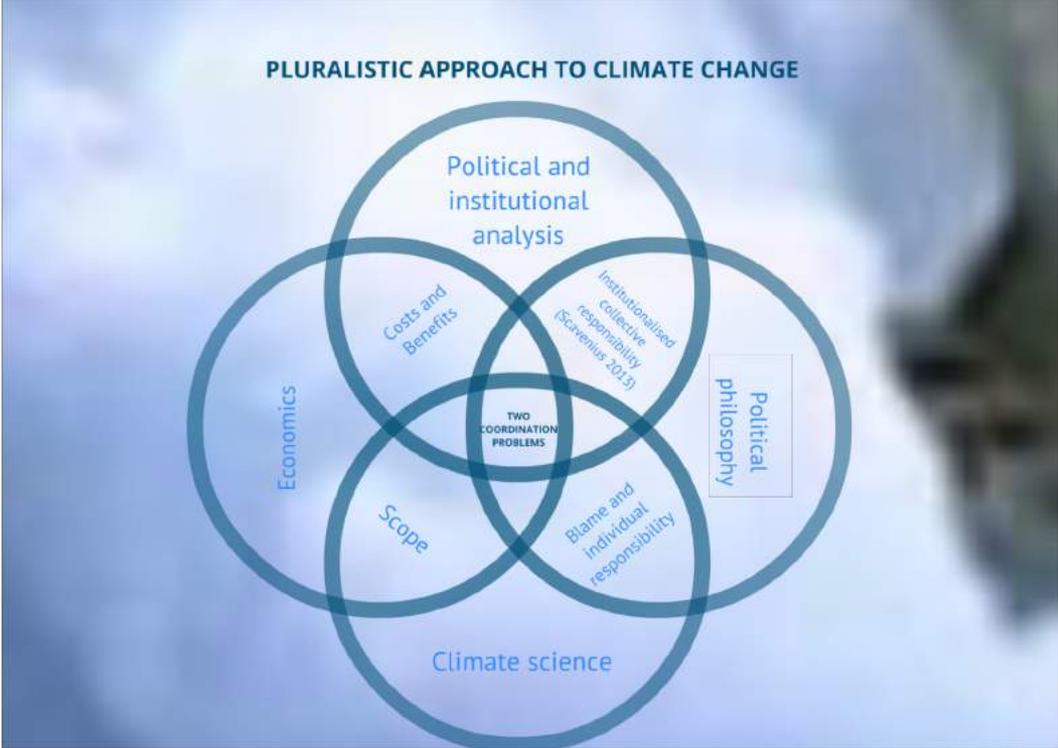
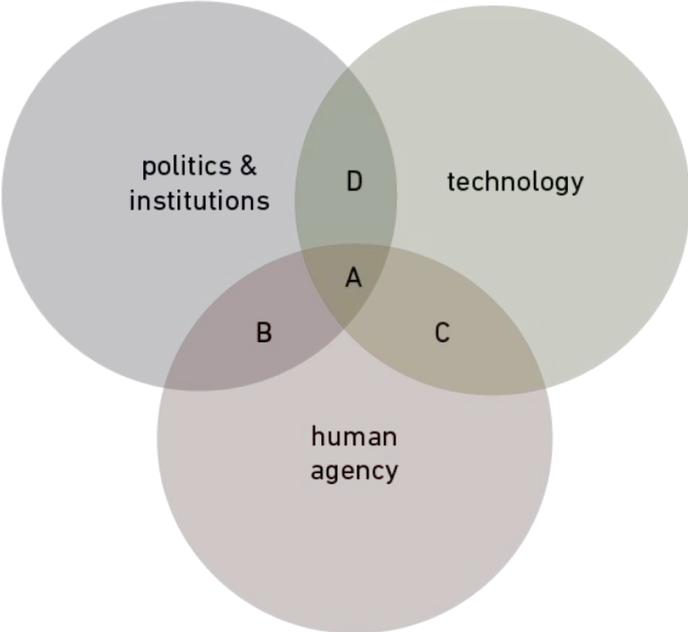
CARBON POLLUTION & DEMOCRACY ENGAGEMENT

THERESA SCAVENIUS



INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH

PROBLEM: **LACK OF INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY**



Three points:

- From *tragedy of the commons* to *tragedy of the few*
- From individual responsibility to collective and political responsibility
- Vicious circle problems



The tragedy of the few I

- Rational-choice theory
 - climate change is an *incentive problem* (cf. the tragedy of the commons).
- Non-reductionist institutional theory
 - climate change is problem of bad resource management.
- Examples:
 - The domination by multinational corporations of the global distribution, access and consumption of natural resources.
 - 90 corporations are estimated to be responsible for 63 percent of all cumulative worldwide emissions (Heede 2014).
 - This domination is partly facilitated by (democratic) policies, such as subsidies. For example, IMF estimates that a change of subsidy policy from the brown to the green technologies would alone decrease CO2 emissions with 13 percent (IMF 2013).



The tragedy of the few II

- Climate change and carbon emissions are not the result of
 - the rational behaviour of individual polluters
 - but of industrial concentration and the few's control of resource subtraction, consumption and pollution (Desombre & Barkin 2011, Shearman & Smith 2008).
- The problem of *free access* versus *limited access* (Ostrom et al 1994, Schlager et al 1994, Sagoff 2008).
- A *wicked* problem versus a manageable resource problem (Prins & Rayner 2007, Obama 2013).



The tragedy of the few III

- Moral premises underlying the justification of democracies > human rights to life, health and subsistence (Caney 2010).
- A normatively significant choice of climate politics is to manage the **access** to resources in a way that guarantee that few agents are not capable of overusing their fair share by advanced technological equipment.
- Privileged right to subtract and use resources > they own or have a license to the land. Thus, they use, subtract, pollute and deplete resources in the air, soil and water – although they do not have full ownership (Kaul & Mendoza 2005, Ostrom 2003, Sagoff 2008).



The tragedy of the few III

- Thus, climate politics is a question of how to manage the access to natural resources.
- Access to resources is not a question of incentive structures but one of how to *distribute* access and how to *regulate* the use of resources.
- Regulation and bans are known from air pollution, etc.
- Climate change is an issue of **carbon pollution** where CO2 emissions pollute the air to which people have a human right (Attfield 1999, Richardson 2013).



Moral responsibility I

- *To whom (among those who can) it is fair to assign moral responsibility for carbon pollution?*
- Non-reductionist institutionalism > lower and higher level of agency
- Democratic institutions > *democratic citizens and occupants of institutionalised roles* (S. Miller 2010).
- Two fact-sensitive normative criteria for concrete ought-assignments:
 - those who cannot be morally excused (negative boundary)
 - those to whom we positively have reasons to assign responsibility (positive boundary)



Moral responsibility II

- *Backward-looking responsibility* (van de Poel 2011)
 - **Individual** and **joint** responsibility focuses on intentions, judgements, duties and causal track-record.
- *Forward-looking responsibility* (D. Miller 2007, Vanderheiden 2011)
 - **Collective** responsibility focuses on consequences, remedial responsibility, potential ought-assignments to agents that are fit and to which it is fair to assign remedial responsibility for climate change.
- Collective responsibility > agents who occupy an *institutionalised role*.
- Not as private persons (that would be individual responsibility) but in their property of representing an institutionalised role (e.g. politicians, public servants, scientists, etc.) (Fahlquist 2009, S. Miller 2010)



Individual, joint & collective responsibility

- Citizens in democracies can be morally excused for their contributions to climate change which are due to **unintended omissions related to “innocent” daily activities** caused by lack of climate-friendly **infrastructure**
- **Example:** *the public infrastructure-deprived society.*
 - *Peter lives in a country without public transportation. Schools, supermarkets, housing and offices are remotely placed – under the assumption that people have cars. Thus, in order to lower his ecological footprints, Peter would be required to move to another location with a climate-friendly infrastructure.*
- Citizens are **jointly** responsible for pushing for better climate-friendly infrastructure – if they have sufficient knowledge through free education, free media, free public deliberation and transparent policy processes.
- **Collective** responsibility for solving the problems related to the tragedy of the few and lack of green infrastructure



Vicious circle

1. Policies (market-based or proactionary policies) are implemented, manipulating consumers' economic incentives and/or moral inclinations.
 - Erosion of institutional capacity (Fukuyama 2004)
 - Systematic problem-solving gap (Scharpf 2006, Plant 2009)
 - Over-developed global economy but underdeveloped global polity (Higgott & Erman 2010)
2. These policies risk lowering the social and political capacity to process other problems related to climate change.
3. The declining institutional capacity of democracies will support the critiques of the failures of democratic institutions, and thereby increasing the likelihood of further radical anti-democratic climate initiatives.
4. The result is that this (1-3) increases the necessity for tougher anti-democratic and authoritarian interventions.

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Vicious circle II

- Vicious circle problem:
 - political challenge is addressed with a wrong policy instrument
 - which aggravates the situation if the correlation between problem and solution is **spurious** and wrongly conceptualised.
- The lack of incentives and the lack of climate action may be caused by a *third explanatory variable*:
 - the policy design and the deterioration of political capacity
- In the vicious circle, the democratic mismanagement becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. The democratic institutions will gradually get worse in being able to address the societal problems related to climate change.



Collective responsibility

- To conclude, occupants of institutionalised roles in democratic societies are collectively responsible for
 - not sustaining the capacity of democratic institutions
 - the democratic control over climate politics
 - not stopping the vicious circles
 - democratic citizens people's possibility of acting morally in regard to climate change.



Conclusion

- Shift from individual to **collective responsibility** for capacity, infrastructure and political legitimate control.
- Shift from the tragedy of the commons only to **the tragedy of the few**
- Shift from rational-choice focus to **non-reductionist institutionalism** by re-considering methodologically embedded theories about moral agency
- Shift of **meta-theoretical assumptions** about how facts and norms relate.
- Climate ethics should not push now for more ambitious and radical solutions but take a step back and re-consider the underlying methodological assumptions, concepts of moral agency, problem understandings of climate change and – thus to whom we find it fair to assign responsibility.



Thank you for your attention!



Citizen participation in climate decision making

The WWViews example

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FONDEN TEKNOLOGI RÅDET

DANISH BOARD OF TECHNOLOGY FOUNDATION

Presentation outline

1. Rationale
2. Methods
3. Example: World Wide Views
4. What difference does it make?



Why public engagement?

Ideological and instrumental arguments

- Democratic legitimacy
- Richer democracy
- Prioritizing public value and the common good
- Building trust
- Innovative (co-creation and collective intelligence)
- Avoiding unintended consequences (anticipation)
- Public acceptance and ownership



Definitions

Public engagement/participation

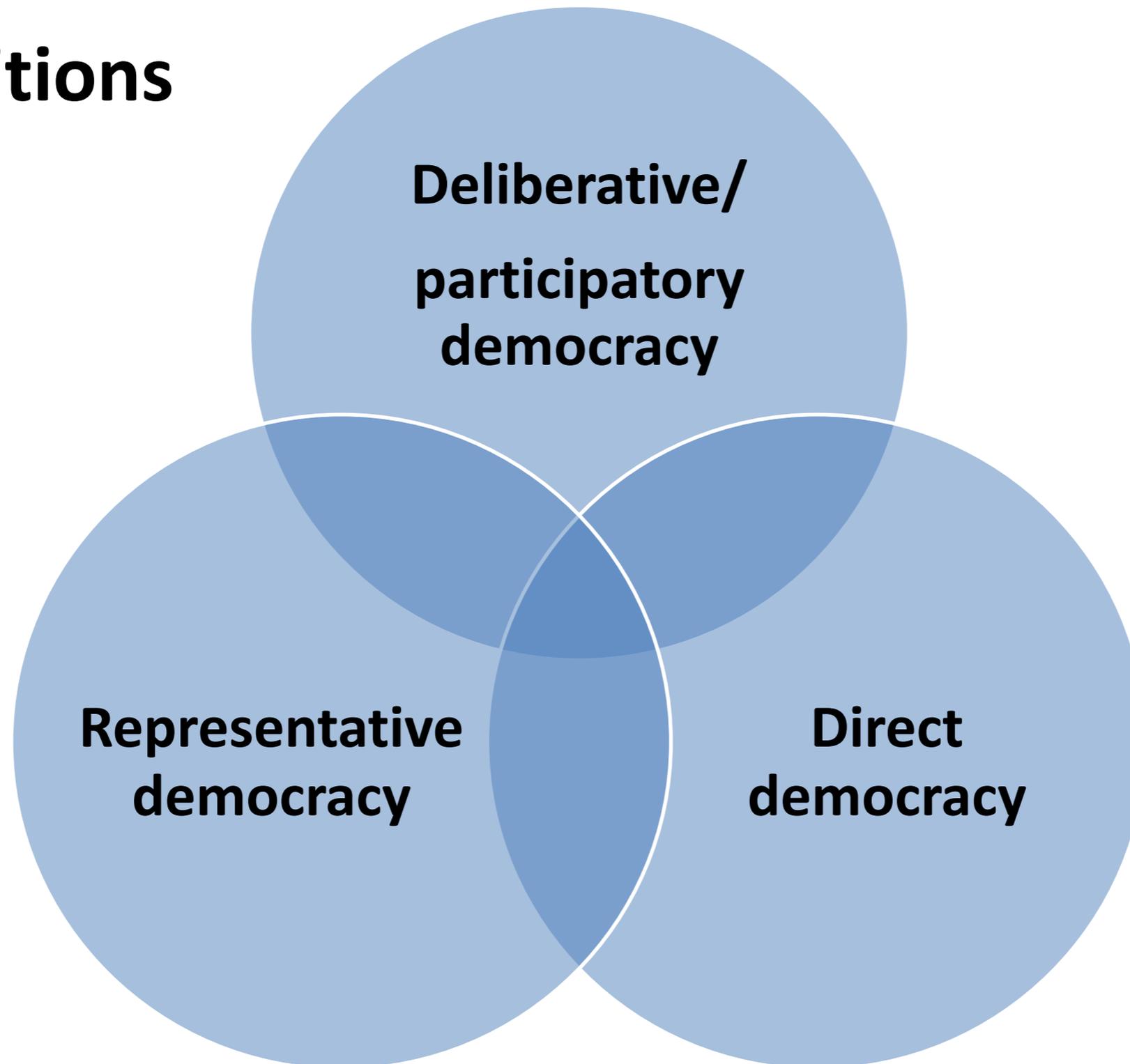
- Stakeholder participation
- Citizen participation

Who's who?

- Stakeholders =
 - Anyone with a stake in decisions to be made
 - Organised groups with vested interests
- Citizens = LAY citizens
 - Civil Society is something else



Definitions



Another definition

Public participation is an intervention in a decision making process.

- From upstream to downstream



Citizen participation methods



Vision

Proposal

Hearing

Decision

Implementation

Examples:

| | | | | |
|----------|----------------------|----------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| CIVISTI | Consensus Conference | WWViews | Citizen Initiative Review | Participatory Budgeting |
| CIMULACT | Scenario Workshop | Citizen Summit | Planning Cell | |



The methods are there

Well tested all over the world.

A tool for selecting engagement methods in R&I (Engage2020)



<http://actioncatalogue.eu>





Three World Wide Views citizen consultations

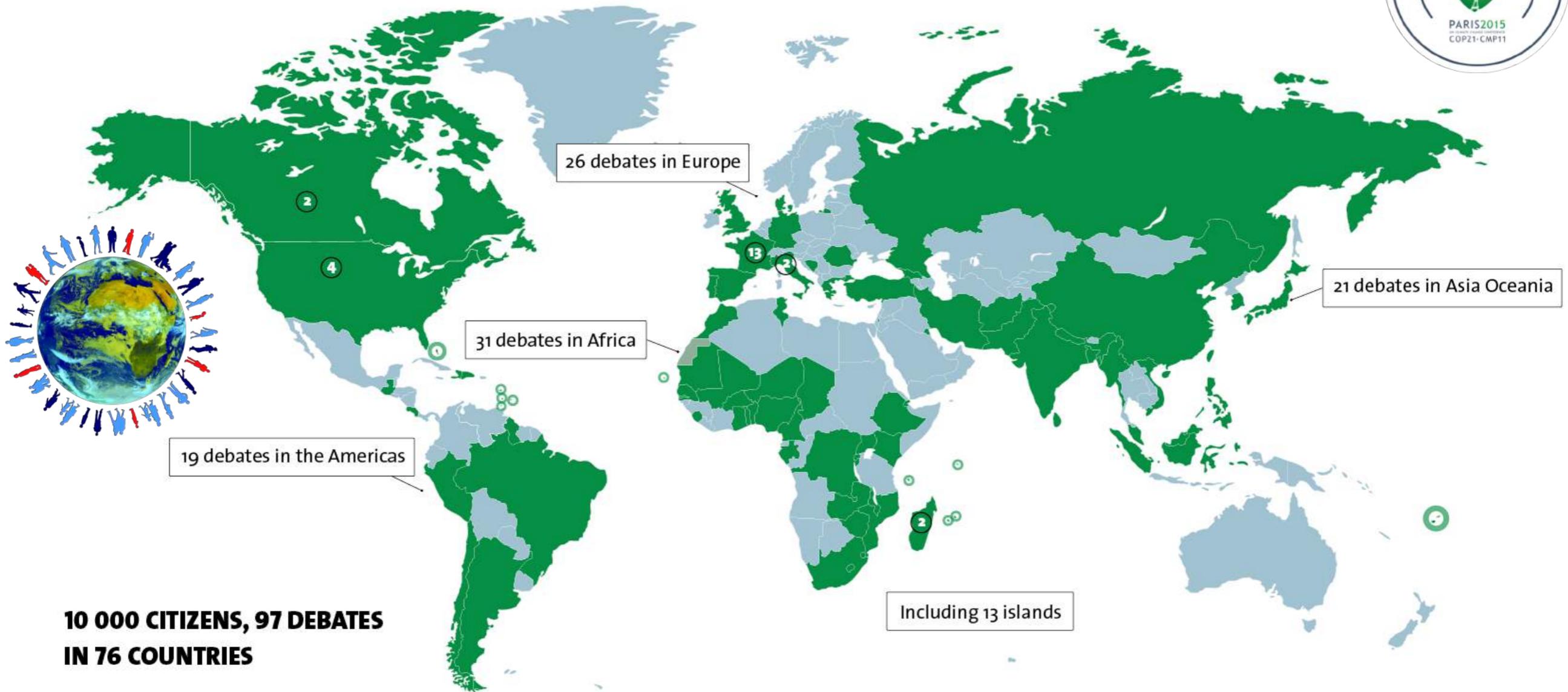
- **World Wide Views on Global Warming (2009)** - 36 countries; 4,000 citizens
 - Lead-up to COP15 in Copenhagen
- **World Wide Views on Biodiversity (2012)** – 25 countries; 3,000 citizens
 - Lead-up to COP11 in Hyderabad
- **World Wide Views on Climate and Energy (2015)** – 76 countries; 10,000 citizens
 - Lead-up to COP21 in Paris





WORLD WIDE VIEWS ON

Climate and Energy #WWViews



**10 000 CITIZENS, 97 DEBATES
IN 76 COUNTRIES**

COUNTRIES PARTICIPATING IN WORLD WIDE
VIEWS ON CLIMATE AND ENERGY

- AFGHANISTAN
- ARGENTINA
- BAHAMAS
- BANGLADESH
- BARBADOS
- BENIN
- BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA
- BRAZIL
- BURKINA FASO
- BURUNDI
- CAMEROON
- CANADA
- COTE D'IVOIRE
- CHAD
- CHILE
- CHINA
- COMOROS
- COSTA RICA
- DENMARK
- DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
- DR CONGO
- ETHIOPIA
- FIJI
- FRANCE
- GABON
- GAMBIA
- GEORGIA
- GERMANY
- GHANA
- GREECE
- GRENADA
- GUATEMALA
- GUYANA
- HAITI
- INDIA
- INDONESIA
- IRAN
- ITALY
- JAPAN
- KENYA
- KUWAIT
- MADAGASCAR
- MALAYSIA
- MALI
- MAURITANIA
- MAURITIUS
- MOROCCO
- MOZAMBIQUE
- MYANMAR
- NEPAL
- NIGER
- NIGERIA
- PAKISTAN
- PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES
- PERU
- PHILIPPINES
- PORTUGAL
- ROMANIA
- RUSSIA
- RWANDA
- SAINT LUCIA
- SENEGAL
- SEYCHELLES
- SOUTH AFRICA
- SOUTH KOREA
- SPAIN
- SRI LANKA
- TOGO
- TUNISIA
- TURKEY
- UGANDA
- UK - SCOTLAND
- USA
- VIETNAM
- ZAMBIA
- ZIMBABWE



WORLD WIDE VIEWS ON Climate and Energy #WWViews



- Lay citizens – demographic diversity
- Informed deliberations – booklet and videos



PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES



NIGER



PAKISTAN



SOUTH KOREA



SANTA LUCIA



VIETNAM



CHINA



MOZAMBIQUE



PHILIPPINES



FRANCE



United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change





WORLD WIDE VIEWS ON

Climate and Energy #WWViews

UN기후변화협상에 관한 세계시민회의 World Wide Views on Climate and Energy in Korea

WORLD WIDE VIEWS ON Climate and Energy

원만한 토론을 위한 참가자 유의사항

- 1. 모든 참가자는 2시간 30분 동안의 토론에 적극적으로 참여하십시오.
- 2. 토론, 의견, 지식, 자원을 통해 더 나은 해결책을 생각해 내십시오. 토론은 자유롭고 평등하게 이루어져야 합니다.
- 3. 모든 참가자는 발언을 할 때 정중하고 논리적인 태도를 유지하십시오.
- 4. 모든 참가자는 발언을 할 때 정중하고 논리적인 태도를 유지하십시오.
- 5. 모든 참가자는 발언을 할 때 정중하고 논리적인 태도를 유지하십시오.
- 6. 모든 참가자는 발언을 할 때 정중하고 논리적인 태도를 유지하십시오.
- 7. 모든 참가자는 발언을 할 때 정중하고 논리적인 태도를 유지하십시오.
- 8. 모든 참가자는 발언을 할 때 정중하고 논리적인 태도를 유지하십시오.
- 9. 모든 참가자는 발언을 할 때 정중하고 논리적인 태도를 유지하십시오.
- 10. 모든 참가자는 발언을 할 때 정중하고 논리적인 태도를 유지하십시오.

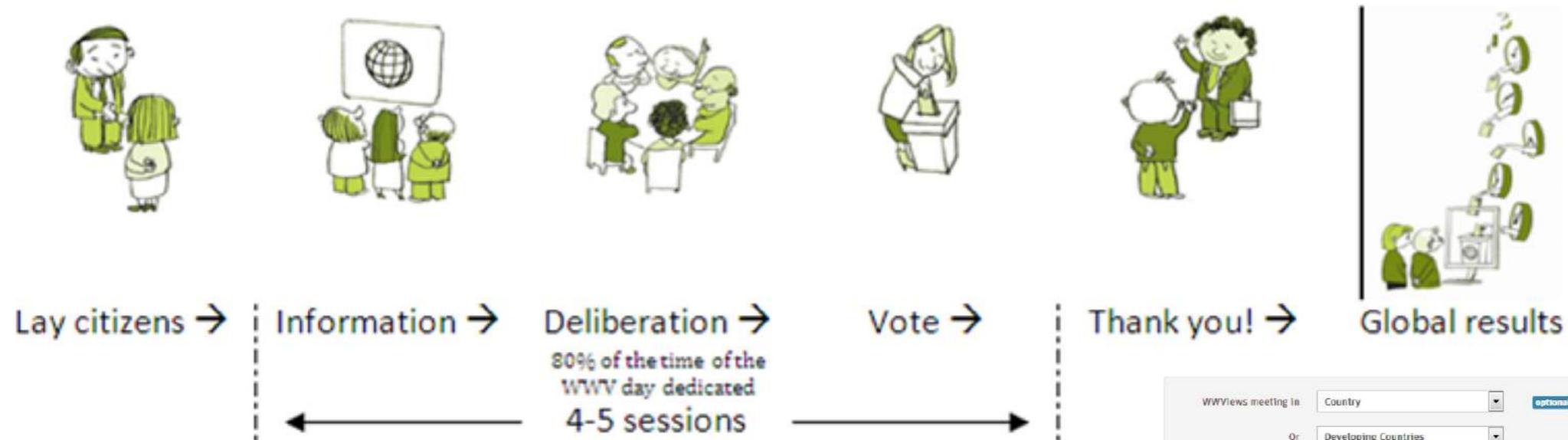




WORLD WIDE VIEWS ON

Climate and Energy #WWViews

Same procedure in all participating countries



WWViews meeting in: Compare with:

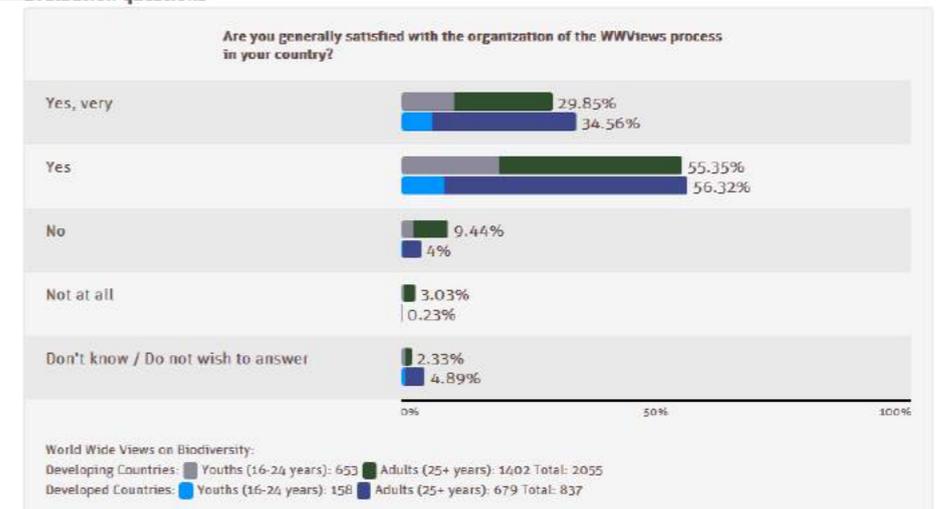
Or: Or:

Select: Select language:

Five thematic sessions :

- Importance of tackling climate change
- Tools to tackle climate change
- UN negotiations and national commitments
- Fairness and distribution of efforts
- Making and keeping climate promises

Evaluation questions





WORLD WIDE VIEWS ON Climate and Energy #WWViews

WORLD WIDE VIEWS ON
Climate and Energy

THE PROJECT METHOD PRESS ▾

RESULTS

Should you wish to download a copy of the questions posed to the citizens, they can be downloaded here.

The composition of each group you can select when viewing the results, is described in more detail here.

Please be aware that the WWViews results listed are still preliminary, since we are still collecting data. You can help us to improve the results by submitting them.

WWViews meeting in: Compare with:

Or by group: Or by group:

Select Language:

- Centre-Val de Loire
- Franche-Comte
- Grenoble Métropole
- Guadeloupe
- Ile-de-France
- Martinique
- Nord-Pas de Calais
- Normandie
- Poitou-Charentes
- Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur
- Réunion
- Rhone Alpes
- Gabon
- Gambia
- Georgia
- Germany**
- Ghana
- Greece
- Grenada
- Guatemala

RESULTS REPORT

ASIA AFRICA NORTH AMERICA SOUTH AMERICA EUROPE

World Wide Views on Climate and Energy
FROM THE WORLD'S CITIZENS TO THE CLIMATE AND ENERGY POLICYMAKERS AND STAKEHOLDERS

10 000 CITIZENS, 97 DEBATES IN 76 COUNTRIES

Labels: PARIS2015 (COP21), PARIS2015 (COP21)

Logos: PARIS2015, endp, TEKNOLOGI RÅDET, United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

<http://climateandenergy.wwviews.org/results/>



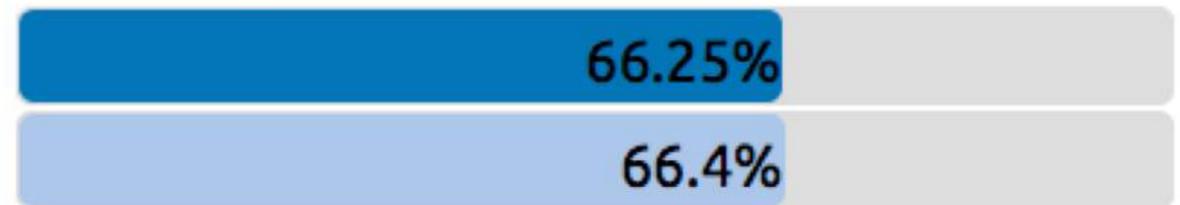


2. For you, measures to fight climate change:

a. Are mostly a threat to our quality of life



b. Are mostly an opportunity to improve our quality of life



c. Will not impact our quality of life



d. Don't know / Do not wish to answer



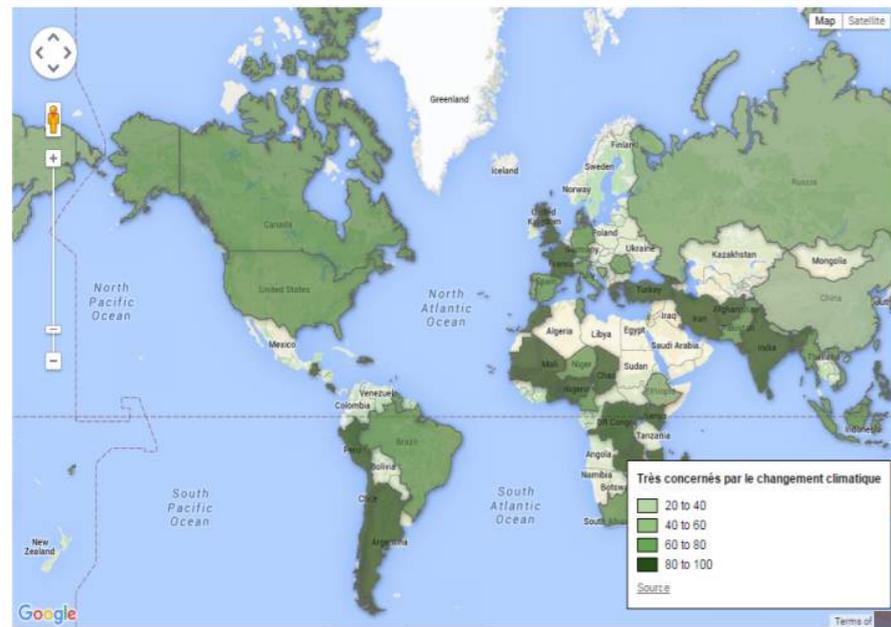
The whole world 
Low-income economies (\$1,045 or less) 





WORLD WIDE VIEWS ON Climate and Energy #WWViews

Plus de 78% des citoyens du monde "très concernés" par le changement climatique



Bjørn Bedsted and 2 others Retweeted
Deutsche TopTweet @DeTopTweet · Jun 10
#WWViews: Toptweet... dvr.it/B9CNXF #toptweet

4 3



Impact?

UNFCCC Spokesperson and Director of Communications and Outreach, Nick Nuttall, about the impact of WWViews on Climate and Energy:

“The results were indeed useful, because in 2015 we were making efforts to engage with new sections of society beyond governments to achieve a supportive environment in the run up to Paris, to achieve a supportive environment that would give governments the confidence to do the right thing. The supportive input from citizens through WWViews – together with input from cities, investors and many more – was part of the reason why we got a good outcome in Paris”.



The role of citizen participation in the deliberative system around decision making

- New knowledge
- Clarification of policy options and stakeholder positions
- Increased legitimacy (less discontent with political system)
- Increased quality of policy debate



Why do it?

1. Democratic and fair
2. No transition without democracy?



What to do as a researcher? – 3 role models

1. Combator of knowledge deficit
2. Activist
3. **Facilitator of a societal dialogue and public engagement**





Citizens want to participate

6. In your opinion, who should primarily be responsible for tackling climate change?

Note that the total amount of all answers can be higher than 100%, since participants could choose two answer option for this question.



The whole world 

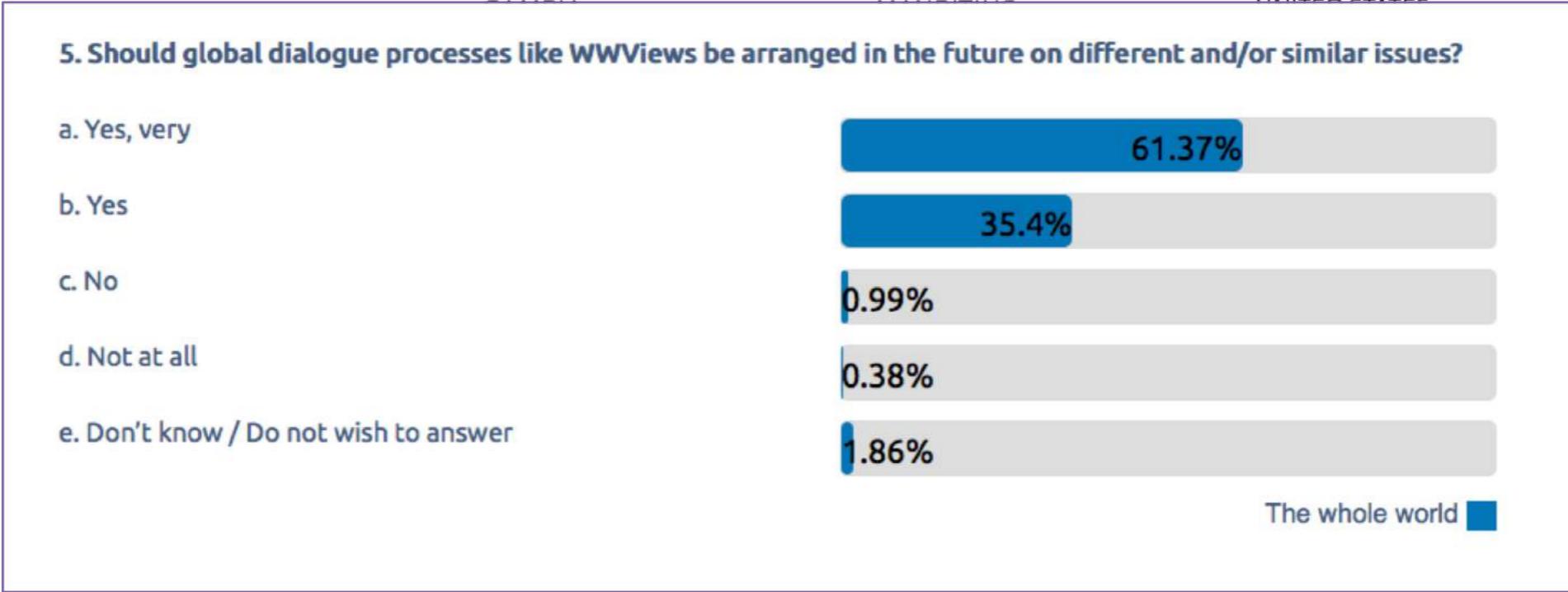




Citizens want to participate



SENEGAL



United Nations
Framework Convention on
Climate Change





The WWViews method

| Previous applications | Future applications? |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| WWViews on Global Warming | Climate NDC's |
| Danish health care system | Oceans |
| WWViews on Biodiversity | Implementation of SDG's |
| French Energy Transition | Geoengineering |
| EWViews on Sustainable Consumption | Trade regulations |
| WWViews on Climate and Energy | Industry 4.0 |
| ENGIE – internal process | EU policies in the making |

