RIO DE JANEIRO STATE UNIVERSITY (UERJ) INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STUDIES (IESP) CLIMATE CHANGE DENIAL, DEMOCRATIC CRISIS AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Online on Tuesdays (9-12.30 am) Professor: Carlos R. S. Milani

Abstract:

In the late 1980s, scientists gathered under the IPCC (International Panel on Climate Change) produced a wide-range consensus on the high probability of anthropogenic contributions to the phenomenon of climate change. Since then, climate conventions and protocols have been signed, national policies have been defined, policy commitments have been made, energy transition scenarios have been outlined, civil society organizations and climate activism networks have spread across national and transnational public spheres; however, obstruction politics dynamics and networks against the recognition of climate change as a social, economic and political problem have grown stronger from the local to the global levels. Politics of obstruction takes on several forms of expressions: denialism, skepticism, postponement ("politics of delay"), dissemination of fake news, obscurantism and policies to delegitimize scientific methods, etc. In this course, the different expressions of this politics of obstruction will be studied, with an emphasis on the USA, the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Brazil and some countries in the South (India, Mexico, South Africa and Turkey). The course will focus on relationships between politics of obstruction and the crisis of democracy, on the relevance of the climate debate in emerging authoritarianisms, the tensions between climate science and public policies, as well as the modus operandi and the capabilities of such climate obstruction actors in foreign policy agendas of some states and in multilateral climate negotiations. Finally, this course will discuss how the Anthropocene and Capitalocene crises are related to the current critical conjuncture that affects liberal democracies and the hegemonic dispute between the USA and China in the reconstruction of the global order.

Classes will be organized around 7 major themes, namely:

- Theme 1: History of climate change, anthropocene and capitalocene;
- Theme 2: Scientific action in the field of climate change and the interdisciplinary challenge;
- Theme 3: Relations between science and public policies in the climate field;
- Theme 4: Climate obstruction politics, actors and modus operandi;
- Theme 5: Climate denial and crises of/in democracy;
- Theme 6: Climate denial, "negative externalities" and regulatory policies;

Whenever possible, international experts in the field will be invited to introduce a topic, especially those who are members of the Climate Social Science Network, coordinated by Brown University (USA). Confirmed presence: Ruth McKie (United Kingdom) and Timmons Robert (USA).

Bibliography:

Aykut, Stefan C. & Dahan, Amy. Gouverner le climat ? 20 ans de négociations internationals. Paris: Les Presses de Sciences Po, 2015 (Chapters: "Le régime climatique onusien, expertise, gouvernance, arènes"; "Un schism avec le reel" & "Pour un autre ordre de gouvernementalité").

Beau, Rémi & Larrère, Catgerine (orgs.). *Penser l'Anthropocène*. Paris: Les Presses de Sciences Po, 2018 (Chapters: Cochet, Yves. L'anthropocène change-t-il la pensée politique? & Pierre Charbonnier: L'ambition démocratique à l'âge de l'anthropocène).

Chakrabarty, Dipesh (2015) *The human condition in the Anthropocene: Tanner Lectures on Human Values*, Yale University. https://tannerlectures.utah.edu/Chakrabarty%20manuscript.pdf.

Chernilo, Daniel (2017) "The question of the human in the Anthropocene debate", *European Journal of Social Theory*, vol. 20, pp. 44-60.

Demeritt, David (2001) "The construction of global warming and the politics of science", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 91, pp. 307-37.

Dryzek, John; Norgaard, Richard & Schlosberg, David (2011) *The Oxford Handbook of Climate Change and Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (Chapters: "The Physical Sciences and Climate Politics", "Organized Climate Change Denial", "Climate Denial: Emotion, Psychology, Culture and Political Economy", "The role of religious activism").

Dunlap, Riley (2013) Climate Change Skepticism and Denial: an Introduction. *American Behavioral Scientist*, v. 57, n. 6, pp. 691-698.

Ferreira, Leila; Barbi, Fabiana & Barbieri, Mariana (2020), orgs. *Dimensões humanas das mudanças climáticas no Sul Global*. Curitiba/S. Paulo: CRV & FAPESP.

Goodin, Robert (1994) "Selling environmental indulgences", *Kyklos: International Review for Social Sciences*, vol. 47, pp. 573-96.

Grundmann, Reiner (2012) "The legacy of Climategate: revitalizing or undermining climate science and policy?", *Climate Change*, vol. 3, pp. 289-295.

Guillemot, Hélène (2017). The necessary and inaccessible 1.5C objective: a turning point in the relations between climate science and politics? IN: Globalising the Climate: COP21 and the Climatisation of Global Debates (Londres: EarthScan/Routledge), pp. 39-56.

Hulme, Mike (2009) Why We Disagree About Climate Change: Understanding

Controversy, Inaction, and Opportunity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Chapters 1, 3-7 and 9).

Keohane, Robert O. (2015) "The global politics of climate change: Challenge for political science", *Political Science and Politics*, vol. 48, pp. 19-26.

Keohane, Robert O. & Colgan, Jeff D. The Liberal Order Is Rigged: Fix It Now or Watch It Wither. *Foreign Affairs*. May/June 2017.

Lahsen, Myanna (2015) "Digging Deeper into the Why: Cultural Dimensions of Climate Change Skepticism Among Scientists", in Barnes, Jessica e Dove, Michael R. (orgs.), Climate Cultures: Anthropological Perspectives on Climate Change. New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press.

Latour, Bruno (2020). *Onde aterrar? Como se orientar politicamente no Antropoceno*. Rio de Janeiro: Bazar do Tempo.

Maslin, Mark (2014) *Climate Change: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapters: 3 (Evidence for climate change) and 7 (Politics of climate change).

McKie, Ruth E. (2019) Climate Change Counter Movement Neutralization Techniques: A Typology to Examine the Climate Change Counter Movement. *Sociological Inquiry*, v. 89, n. 2, pp. 288-316.

Miguel, Jean. Negacionismo climático no Brasil. *COLETIVA*, Dossiê 27, Crise climática, 2020.

Norgaard, Kari M. Living in Denial, Climate Change, Emotions and Everyday Life. Cambridge (MA.): MIT Press, 2011.

Oreskes, Naomi & Conway, Erik M. (2019). *Merchants of Doubt*. New York: Bloomsbury Pub.

Pielke Jr., Roger A. (2007). *The Honest Broker. Making Sense of Science in Policy and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Price-Smith, Andrew T. (2009) *Contagion and Chaos: Disease, Ecology, and National Security in the Era of Globalization*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press (Chapters 1, 3, 4, 7, 8 and conclusão).

Roberts, J. Timmons (2011) "Multipolarity and the new world (dis)order: US hegemonic decline and the fragmentation of the global climate regime". Global Environmental Change, v.21, n. 3, pp.776-784.

Shue, Henry (2010) "Deadly Delays, Saving Opportunities: Creating a More Dangerous World?", in: Gardner, Stephen et al. (orgs.). *Climate Ethics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 146-162.

Stehr, Nico & Machin, Amanda (2020). Society and Climate. Transformations and Challenges. Cingapura: World Scientific (Chapters 2: "Climate as Scientific Object", 5: "Climate as Public Perception", and 6: "Climate as Policy Issue").

Taleb, Nassim Nicholas (2019). *A lógica do cisne negro. O impacto do altamente improvável.* Rio de Janeiro: Editora Best Seller.

Turner, Stephen (2001) "What is the problem with experts?", Social Studies of Science, vol. 31, pp. 123-49.

Victor, David G. (2011). *Global Warming Gridlock*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wright, Christopher & Nyberg, Daniel (2015) Climate Change, Capitalism and

Corporations: Processes of Creative Self-Destruction. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zaccai, Edwin; Gemenne, F. & Decroly, J.-Michel (2012). *Controverses climatiques, sciences et politiques*. Paris: Les Presses de Sciences Po.

Zaleha, Bernard D. & Szasz, Andrew (2015) "Why conservative Christians don't believe in climate change", *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, vol. 71, pp. 19–30.