Science and Politics in Ozone and Climate

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Symposium for the 30th anniversary of the Montreal Protocol Paris, 19-20 September 2017 Reiner Grundmann

Transnationale Umweltpolitik zum Schutz der Ozonschicht

> USA und Deutschland im Vergleich

> > Campus

Transnational Environmental Policy Reconstructing ozone

Reiner Grundmann

Routledge Studies in Science, Technology and Society





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Overview

- Similarities between both cases
- Differences between both cases
- Linear model of science policy relation
- Tame and wicked problems
- Political options
- Conclusions

Ozone and climate: similar

- CFCs and GHGs (esp. CO₂) have a long lifetime
 - Accumulate in the atmosphere
 - Delay in action makes problem worse in the future
- CFCs and GHGs are emitted locally but diffuse globally
 - Problem is global in nature
 - Solution needs to be global
- Lobby groups resist regulation
- Scientists play an active role
 - They have alerted us to the problem
- Science assessments have been unified



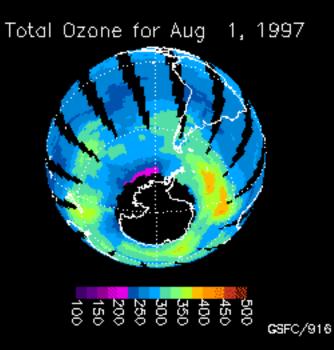


Ozone and climate: different

- CFCs were industrially produced
- CFCs were main causes of ozone depletion
- CFCs were a small part of economic activity
- '5 chemical firms in 4 countries dominated global CFC production' (Falkner 2008)
- Substitutes for different applications were becoming available at low cost

- many GHGs occur also naturally
- There are other climate drivers than GHGs
- GHGs are part of society's infrastructure
- Every country is part of the carbon cycle
- The cost of decarbonization is high, esp. if climate sensitivity is high

Ozone and climate: different





How climate change triggers earthquakes, tsunamis and volcanoes

Global warming may not only be causing more destructive hurricanes, it could also be shaking the ground beneath our feet



FOOD

What does obesity have to do with climate change? Plenty, say some scientists

By Tom Laskawy on Dec 12, 2012

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After a year filled with superstorms, droughts, floods, and wildfires, there's little doubt that climate change is having a dramatic impact on our lives. But it also threatens to cause more subtle impacts on our health. And we're just starting to get a handle on what they might be. The latest? It looks like





MIGRANTS

How Climate Change is Behind the Surge of Migrants to Europe

Linear model?

- Unified assessments as key to success?
- Science 'speaking with one voice'
- Science in the 'driving seat'?
- The role of unique crisis signal
 - The 'ozone hole'
- The role of pragmatic solutions and technical innovation
 - Spray can ban
 - ODS free fridge
- Change in political and economic constellations
 - USA, Europe "level playing field"
 - CFC producers changed in 1986

- Despite the IPCC, dissonant voices have not disappeared
- Political options are central:
 - Science can set agenda, but does not design policy
- Too may crisis signals, no shock surprises
- ...??...
 - No-regret policies?
- After stalemate in Kyoto and Copenhagen
 - Paris agreement
 - BRICS (and USA?) crucial: rising future emissions in the former

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Climate change as a wicked social problem

Reiner Grundmann

Nature Geoscience **9**, 562–563 (2016) ∣ doi:10.1038/ngeo2780 Published online 29 July 2016

Tame and wicked problems

Tame: Solving an equation; achieving checkmate in five moves *Wicked:* Success criteria are inherently political and subject to change

Crime, education, health policies Scientific consensus is not needed to advise policy. Steps are taken incrementally and pragmatically. No solution available, but better or worse ways of managing it



Tame and wicked problems

- Ozone is a tame problem
- Ozone has an obvious 'stopping point' ('solution')
 - →Going back to a world without CFC emissions
 - → Banning a class of industrial chemicals

- Climate change is a wicked problem
- What counts as 'solution' and 'progress' is inherently political and changes over time
 - Reduction but not elimination of GHGs
 - Addressing all climate drivers and their impacts -- locally, regionally, globally

Political options

Ozone:

- 1. Do nothing (adapt to ozone loss)
- 2. Ban CFCs



harm the ozone layer. "

In 1990 the Technology and Economic Assessment Panel was established as the technology and economics advisory body to the Montreal Protocol Parties. The Technology and Economic Assessment Panel (TEAP) provides, at the request of Parties, technical information related to the alternative technologies that have been investigated and employed to make it possible to virtually eliminate use of Ozone Depleting Substances (such as CFCs and Halons), that harm the ozone layer. The TEAP is also tasked by the Parties every year to assess and evaluate various technical issues including evaluating nominations for essential use exemptions for CFCs and halons, and nominations for critical use exemptions for methyl bromide. TEAP's annual reports are a basis

Climate:

- 1. rolling out nuclear power plants across the globe;
- 2. switching all energy supply to solar, wind or biofuels;
- 3. taxing carbon (or energy) with low or high rates;
- 4. implementing emission trading systems;
- 5. developing carbon capture and storage;
- 6. developing new zero carbon energy systems;
- 7. taking adaptation more seriously;
- 8. developing geo-engineering projects;
- 9. adopting vegetarian or vegan diets and lifestyles;
- 10. restricting population growth;
- 11. abolishing capitalism;
- 12. abolishing democracy.

Conclusion

Success of Montreal Protocol was the result of many interacting factors during a window of opportunity created by the ozone hole crisis

Change of industry position

Change of Europe's position

Indications that ozone hole was caused by CFCs

'Banning' and 'phasing out' ODS was technically possible and politically feasible

With climate change we are facing a different kind of problem

Architecture of top down regulation (Kyoto) proved ineffective

Paris is a recognition of this fact