Perspectives on:
"*The Politics of Climate Change*"

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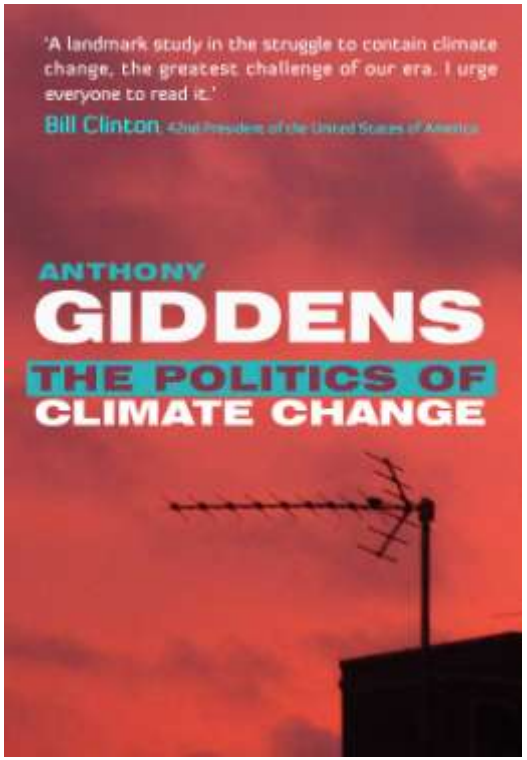

1. ALAN PETERSEN

THE POLITICS OF GIDDENS

- From abstract theorist to public intellectual/politician
- Enduring concerns with modernity, structure/agency, risk ('risk society'), and identity
- Architect of politics of the 'third way'
- Published in the midst of Global Financial Crisis and before Copenhagen Summit and challenges to some IPCC findings

Strengths

- Puts *politics* of climate change on the agenda
- Identifies some of the key issues needing attention: the need for a multi-sectoral, multilateral approach, the issue of energy security
- Highlights concrete ways in which the state may intervene in this field
- Provides an informative overview of global and geopolitical issues and policies (e.g. tax) bearing on carbon markets, emissions control, and adaptation

Weaknesses/gaps

- Over-reliance on 'the market' to solve problems
- No challenge to 'growth', models of development, capitalist mode of production
- Too much faith in 'the state' as planner/mitigator
- No discussion of how to develop civil society and citizen engagement in political decision-making (civil society equated with NGO activism)
- Too much faith in science and technology; no discussion about how to engender public involvement in technological decision making
- Says little about the significance of the car and the role of public transport and urban planning in reducing carbon emissions
- The role of the media in agenda setting and public communication efforts ignored

CLAIMS EXAGGERATED, SAYS UK CHIEF

Be truthful on climate: science boss

BEN WEBSTER
MATTHEW FRANKLIN

THE impact of global warming has been exaggerated by some scientists and there is an urgent need for more honest disclosure of the uncertainty of predictions about the rate of climate change, according to the British government's chief scientific adviser.

John Beddington said climate scientists should be less hostile to sceptics who questioned man-made global warming. He condemned scientists who refused to publish the data underpinning their reports.

Australia's chief scientist, Penny Sackett, told *The Australian* last night she shared Professor Beddington's concerns.

Professor Sackett said climate change was a scientific reality but there was a need for absolute openness and rigour in the presentation of evidence, including recognition of which aspects of climate change science were imprecise and required further research.

Professor Beddington said public confidence in climate science would be improved if there were more openness about its uncertainties, even if that meant admitting that sceptics had been right on some hotly disputed issues.

He said: "I don't think it's healthy to dismiss proper scepticism. Science grows and improves in the light of criticism. There is a fundamental uncertainty about climate change prediction that can't be changed."

He said the false claim in the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change's 2007 report that the glaciers would disappear by 2035 had exposed a wider problem with the way some evidence was presented.

"Certain unqualified statements have been unfortunate. We have a problem in communicating uncertainty. There's definitely an issue there. If there wasn't, there wouldn't be the level of scepticism.

"All of these predictions have to be caveated by saying, 'There's a level of uncertainty about that'."

Professor Beddington said particular caution was needed when communicating predictions about climate change made with the help of computer models. "It's unchallengeable that CO_2 traps heat and warms the Earth and that burning fossil fuels shoves billions of tonnes of CO_2 into the atmosphere. But where you can get challenges is on the speed of change.

"When you get into large-scale climate modelling, there are quite substantial uncertainties. On the rate of change and the local effects, there are uncertainties both in terms of empirical evidence and the climate models themselves."

He said it was wrong for scientists to refuse to disclose their data to their critics: "I think, wherever possible, we should try to ensure there is openness and that source material is available for the whole scientific community."

He added: "There is a danger that people can manipulate the data, but the benefits from being open far outweigh that danger."

Professor Sackett said there was no real dispute within the scientific community about the reality of climate change but she wanted non-scientists to have greater access to the evidence to help inform the necessary public debate about crafting policy responses to the problem.

"The public must be provided with the best possible advice," Professor Sackett said.

"It must have available to it some understanding or the ability to develop an understanding

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COMMENTARY PI2
EDITORIAL PI3

Power from the ground up

Around the country, small groups of ordinary but passionate people are banding together, lest they succumb to despair, to force action on global warming.

By MICHAEL GREEN

"In the history of social movements in Australia, you can't find a parallel."

It's power to the people as self-help groups fight climate change

PETER MUMBO

THE cracked bed of Ballarat's Lake Wendouree is a sorry place for the birth of one of Victoria's leading climate change groups. Tired boat ramps lead down to dusty dirt, weeds and straggly scrub sprouting through a few stagnant puddles.

Years of drought and water restrictions have reduced this site of the Melbourne Olympics rowing and canoeing to a dried mud pit.

On these dry banks in late 2006, the climate change group Ballarat Renewable Energy and Zero Emissions, or Breaze, was formed with 40 members.

Two years later, its membership has passed 1100.

It has been given $102,000 by the State Government, to share Victoria's many budding climate change groups how to grow and prosper.

Community action has been crucial to combating climate change along this stretch of central Victoria.

Breaze's strength is in its numbers, which help it buy renewable energy systems in bulk at significant discounts. Members have already received solar hot water systems at no cost, plus $200 for the price of installation. Next, the group has installed more than 100 solar roof panel systems under a bulk discount.

Meredith Alexander had solar roof panels installed on her Ballarat house this month, saving more than $1000 on the estimated cost of about $12,500.

Ms Alexander, who hopes to have solar hot water installed next year, said her one-kilowatt system powered about one-third of her electricity needs. "I want my children to have a world to live in, and they won't if we keep squandering resources at this rate," she said.

"If you do it on your own, it can be difficult to afford, but when you've got this collective buying power, it is possible."

A similar bulk-buy model in Castlemaine, run by the Mount Alexander Sustainability Group, has helped install more than 70 discounted solar roof panel systems. In Bendigo — where the office of Federal Labor MP Steve Gibbons was this month plastered with posters protesting against the size of the Government's 5 per cent carbon emissions reduction target — the Strathdoloaye & Districts Community Enterprise group has orders for about 200 systems.

Breaze's acting executive officer, Lisa Kendal, said there was a wave of local interest in helping combat global climate change. "People are desperate to do something, and this is a very tangible thing they can do," she said.

The group is already coaching other climate change groups in projects such as installing bulk-buy solar roof panels at local schools. Breaze is also developing a project for buying locally produced food in bulk, to help reduce prices and packaging, as well as carbon emissions created by shipping food long distances.

Ms Kendal criticised the Federal Government's recent decision to scrap the $4000 solar roof panel rebate, saying it penalised low and middle-income earners. Under the new "solar credits" scheme, householders installing solar panels will receive five renewable energy certificates, instead of one, for each megawatt hour of electricity they create. But in Victoria, where solar roof panels produce less energy than in northern Australia, the rebate on a 1.5-kilowatt system could drop to about $5500.

"The Government's sending a message that it's not prepared to make that leap into the future of renewable energy in a big way. It's penalising people who are most committed to making a difference," Ms Kendal said.

"We have quite a big untapped market in Ballarat, but this will hugely slow what we're doing.

"We're going to struggle to promote the benefits financially to people."

"People are desperate to do something, and this is a very tangible thing they can do." LISA KENDAL, Breaze chief

Meredith Alexander, a member of the Breaze renewable energy group, recently had solar energy panels installed on the roof of her Ballarat home. PICTURE: SIMON O'DWYER

What the blazers – no beige Benaud?

JOHN ELDER

SOME things at Channel Nine do quicker than others. Like Mike Munro, for example – retired in October without a decent send-off, the sort Munro himself was famous for.

At least a few journos had the obligatory "how do you feel?" interview with Munro – and now there's talk of him coming back to the on Seven.

But less celebrated and so less mourned is an even more beloved Nine fixture: Richie Benaud's cream-coloured blazer. The man who makes music from inanimates has been wearing a navy-blue jacket while doing his cricket commentary for two seasons now – and not once has the fate of his old cream jacket been mentioned.

By the way, "cream" was how the pundits described the jacket. Some might have judged it more as a loose colour. Which leads to the obvious question: have there been whispers that the old blazer was "tanned"?

Not at all, protests Benaud. "There were no whisperings and, if I wanted to, I could have a beige jacket made," he says, insisting oddly that he prefers his darker shade. "I am very pleased with the current style of navy jackets with pastel-coloured shirts and bright ties . . . I haven't worn a cream jacket over the last couple of years since Channel Nine stopped using those *Wide World of Sport*s logos on the jacket pockets."

Even so, our query got the legendary commentator reminiscing – in a way that he might have done if Channel Nine had seen fit to give the cream jacket a farewell special with Roy Martin – sorry, Tracy Grimshaw.

"The first light-coloured jacket was grey. It happened during the first year of World Series Cricket in 1977 when we were covering a match at Football Park in Adelaide.

"Mr (Kerry) Packer phoned David Hill, the producer, and said he would prefer the presenter doing the lunchtime, teatime and evening highlights to be in a jacket colour different from the other commentators. Grey it was, and then

Presentation to Monash Sustainability Institute

Wednesday March 24, 2010

Bob Birrell
Centre for Population and Urban Research
Monash University

Table 1 Treasury assumptions for the calculation of the reference case level of greenhouse gasses in 2020		
	2000	2020
Population (million)	**19.1**	**25.2 (1)**
GDP per capita ($)	**44,532 (2)**	**61,403 (3)**
GDP ($billion)	**853 (4)**	**1,547 (5)**
Greenhouse emissions per $GDP (Kg)	**0.64 (6)**	**0.5 (7)**
Emissions (tons CO2e)	**551 (8)**	**774 (9)**
Per capita emissions (tons CO2e)	**28.8**	**30.7**
(1) CPUR projection based on Treasury's assumption that Australia's population reaches 33 million by 2050		
(2) ABS, Australian National Accounts: National income, expenditures and product, 5206.0, June 2009, Table 1		
(3) CPUR calculation based on Treasury assumption that GDP grows at 1.4% per annum		
(4) GDP per capita by population		
(5) GDP per capita by population		
(6) Greenhouse emissions divided by GDP		
(7) Treasury		
(8) Australian Greenhouse Office, National Greenhouse Gas Inventory, 2005		
(9) CPUR calculation		

Table 2 Estimated CO2e emissions growth under Federal Treasury reference case scenario 2006 to 2051

	2006	2011	2021	2031	2041	2051
Population (1)	20,697,880	22,051,039	25,156,012	28,327,749	31,313,852	34,166,490
GDP $million (2)	970,635	1,138,077	1,508,613	1,956,219	2,529,899	3,233,368
Kg CO2e emissions per $ GDP (3)	0.61	0.57	0.49	0.43	0.37	0.32
National emissions (tonnes) (4)	592,087,133	646,972,830	744,837,218	838,822,920	942,160,935	1,045,793,971
Emissions per capita (tonnes) (5)	28.6	29.3	29.6	29.6	30.1	30.6
GDP per capita ($000) (6)	46.90	51.61	59.97	69.06	80.79	95

Sources:

(1) Approximation of population growth assumptions in reference scenario, Australia's Low Pollution Future, the Economics of Climate Change Mitigation (ALPF), Dept of Treasury and Dept of Climate Change, 2008

(2) Approximation of GDP growth assumptions in reference scenario, ALPF, Dept of Treasury and Dept of Climate Change, 2008

(3) These rates are derived from Chart 3.24 ALPF, 2008

(4) Product of GDP and emissions per capita

(5) National CO2e emissions divided by population

(6) GDP divided by population

How much of the national greenhouse gas emissions growth under the Treasury reference case scenario is due to immigration?

Estimated Population, Gross Domestic Product and National Carbon dioxide Equivalent emissions growth 2006 to 2051, with zero net overseas migration										
	2006	2011	2016	2021	2026	2031	2036	2041	2046	2051
Population	**20,697,880**	**21,430,507**	**21,978,764**	**22,483,325**	**22,936,344**	**23,317,619**	**23,606,642**	**23,798,010**	**23,898,381**	**23,922,198**
GDP $million @ 2006-07 prices	970,635	1,099,122	1,209,392	1,321,168	1,433,894	1,551,375	1,676,316	1,813,668	1,963,190	2,125,099
Kg CO2e emissions per $ GDP	0.61	0.57	0.53	0.49	0.46	0.43	0.40	0.37	0.35	0.32
National emissions (tonnes)	**592,087,133**	**624,827,603**	**640,716,607**	**652,291,284**	**659,758,597**	**665,226,414**	**669,873,956**	**675,428,845**	**681,347,729**	**687,337,601**
Emissions per capita (tonnes)	28.6	29.2	29.2	29.0	28.8	28.5	28.4	28.4	28.5	28.7
GDP per capita ($000)	46.895	51,288	55,025	58,762	62,516	66,532	71,010	76,211	82,147	88,834
Sources: As in Table 7, but with zero net overseas migration assumption applied and GDP calculation adjusted accordingly										

Of the 13.5 million population growth under the Treasury reference case assumptions, 10.2 million (76%) is due to immigration over that period.

With zero net migration, other things being equal, national emissions by 2051 reach 687.3 million tonnes of CO2e, rather than 1045.8 million tonnes.

3. Ray Ison

- **'Framing' my remarks**
  - My preference for understanding Climate Change Adaptation (CCA) as a co-evolutionary dynamic
- **Reactions to Giddens**

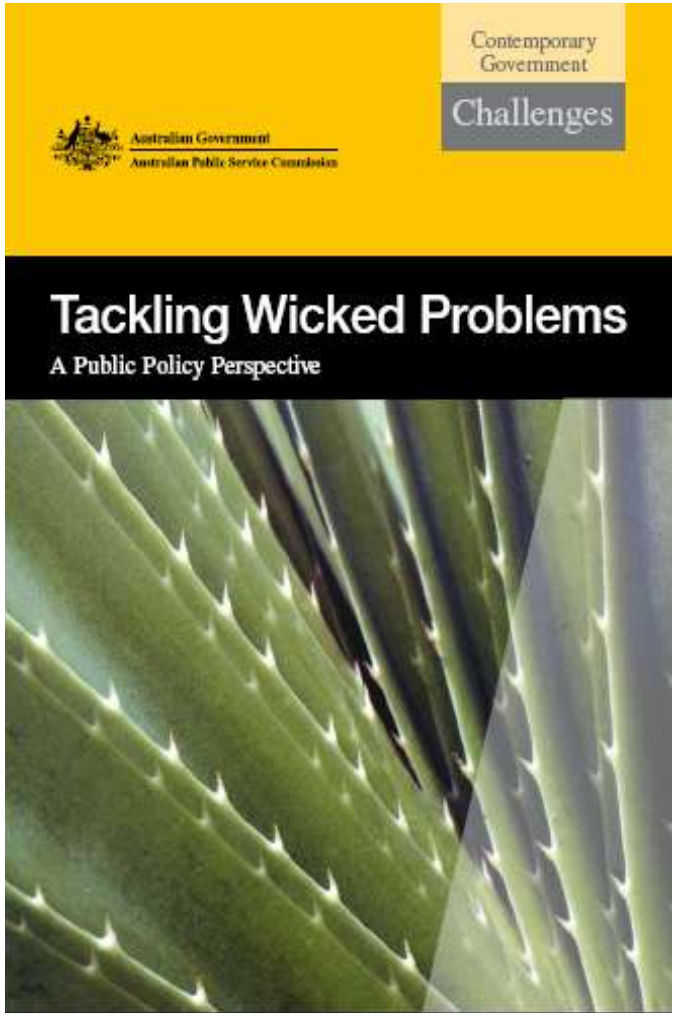
- **We are in the wrong conversation?**

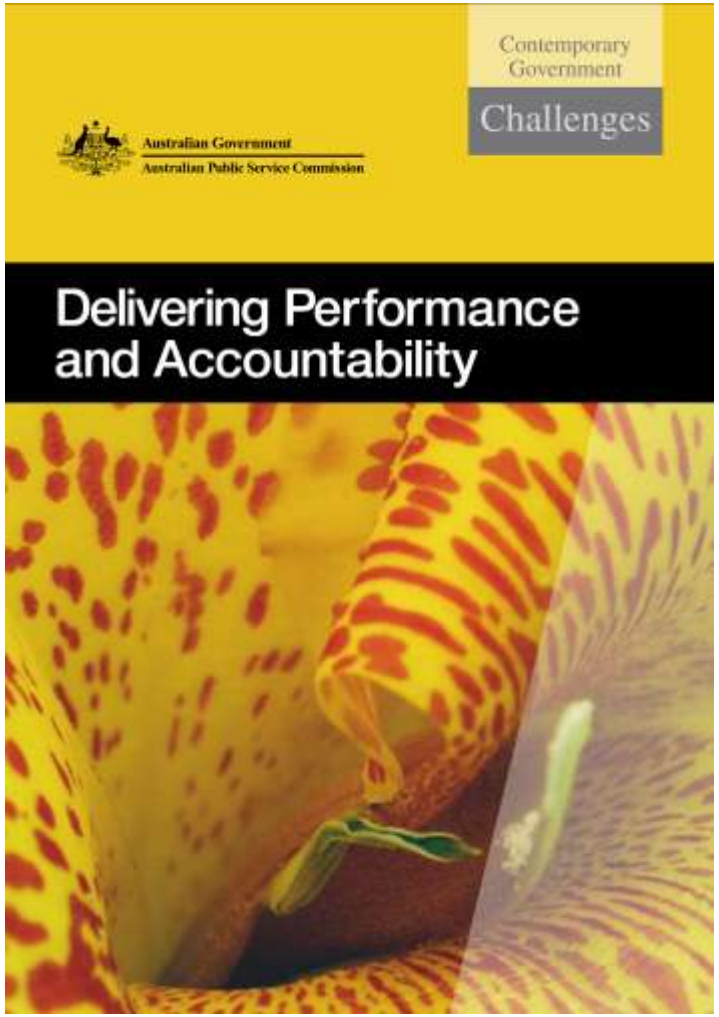
Metaphors for ‘adaptation’

- **There are three different understandings :**
  - adaptation as ‘fitting into’ as when doing a jigsaw
    - *adaptation to…*
  - adaptation as comfortable shoes
    - *adaptation with …*
    - i.e. adaptation as co-evolution
  - questions of purpose
    - *adaptation for ….*

Reactions to Giddens

- **'We have no politics of climate change' (p.4)**
  - equally we have no praxis (particularly systemic praxis) of climate change
  - his limited focus on praxis and his rejection of the precautionary principle have consequences
- **The long-term thinking needed to counter CC has to operate against a backdrop of uncertainty…(p. 7)**
  - Yes…but like many others he seeks to reduce uncertainty to risk


Contemporary Government
Challenges
Australian Government
Australian Public Service Commission
Tackling Wicked Problems
A Public Policy Perspective

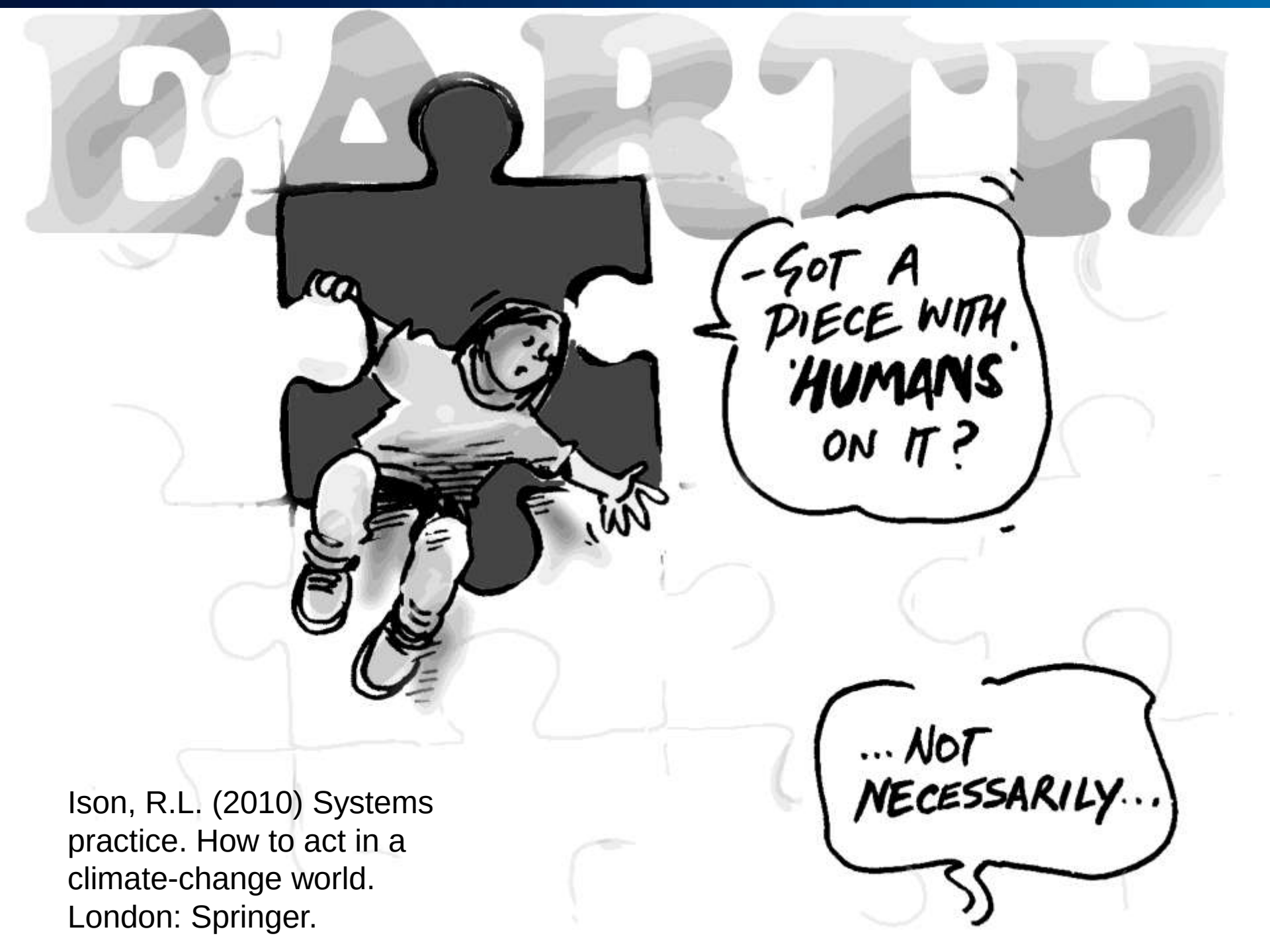

Contemporary Government
Challenges
Australian Government
Australian Public Service Commission
Delivering Performance and Accountability

Reactions to Giddens

- **'To develop a politics of climate change new concepts are needed' (p. 8)**
  - Yes – but are we even in the right conversation?
  - The 'state as facilitator or enabler' is a desirable way to go but is the state structured' to do this?
- **'Economic growth elevates emissions; what is the point of making a fetish of growth if ..it diminishes rather than promotes welfare?'**
  - The GFC opened up a conversational space for moving to something different – but nothing appears to be happening

Reactions to Giddens

- **'Governments should have more ambitious aims alongside targets' (p.11)**
  - Yes – targets distort. Cap and trade seems dead in the water (China and India)
  - 'Carbon taxes are the way to go' (p.12)
- **'We must ..disavow any remaining forms of mystical reverence for nature, including the more limited versions which shift the centre of values away from human beings to the earth itself – tackling global arming has nothing to do with saving the earth, which will survive whatever we do. Living in harmony with the earth, respecting the earth, respecting nature – these ideas all fall into the same category' (p. 56)**
  - reveals a particular worldview – utilitarianism?
  - we need to have conversations at the level of worldview



Ison, R.L. (2010) Systems practice. How to act in a climate-change world. London: Springer.

We are in the wrong conversation(s)?

- **Gidden's arguments support the need for a new conversation about ***systemic and adaptive governance***
  - Long-term thinking; holistic approaches
  - Ringen, S. 2009. The Economic Consequences of Mr. Brown. How a Strong Government Was Defeated by a Weak System of Governance. Oxford, Bardwell Press.
- **CCA and CCM are fostering an emotion of fear. We need to change the conversation to foster an emotion of hope. I suggest 'transformation to a post carbon-society'.**
  - My claims are based on the concepts of 'structural determinism' and emotional dynamics