

Accomplishing Climate Governance

This book provides a new approach to thinking about the politics and geographies of climate governance. It argues that in order to understand the nature and potential of the range of new responses to climate change emerging at multiple scales, we need to examine how governance is accomplished – how it is undertaken, practised and contested. Through a range of case studies drawn from communities, corporations and local government, the book examines how climate change comes to be governed and made to matter as an issue with which diverse publics should be concerned. It concludes that rather than seeking the solution to climate change once and for all, we need to engage with the ways in which we can channel our intentions to ameliorate the climate problem to more progressive ends. The book will be of interest to researchers, advanced students and policy makers across the social sciences.

HARRIET BULKELEY is a professor in the Department of Geography, Durham University. Her research focuses on the processes and politics of environmental governance. Her recent books include Governing Climate Change (2010); Cities and Low Carbon Transitions (2011); Cities and Climate Change (2013); Governing the Climate: New Approaches to Rationality, Power and Politics (2014); Transnational Climate Governance (2014); and An Urban Politics of Climate Change (2015). She was awarded a Philip Leverhulme Prize in 2007 for her 'outstanding contribution' to geographical research and an Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) Climate Change Leadership Fellowship in 2008 for her innovative work on cities and climate change. She has been an editor for the journal Environment and Planning C since 2008. She is currently involved in researching the politics and practice of smart grids in the United Kingdom, low carbon transitions in southern Africa, and continuing work on urban responses to climate change through the JPI Urban and ESRC project Governing Urban Sustainability Transitions. Harriet has undertaken commissioned research for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, Friends of the Earth, UN-Habitat and the World Bank. In 2014, she was awarded the King Carl XVI Gustaf's Professorship in Environmental Science and a visiting professorship at Lund University, Sweden.





ACCOMPLISHING CLIMATE GOVERNANCE

Harriet Bulkeley

Durham University





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107038653

© Harriet Bulkeley 2016

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2016

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data Bulkeley, Harriet, 1972–

Accomplishing climate governance / Harriet Bulkeley, Durham University.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-03865-3 (Hardback: alk. paper)

 Climatic changes–Government policy–International cooperation. I. Title. QC903.B49 2016

363.738'74561-dc23 2015014002

ISBN 978-1-107-03865-3 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



For Jane and Rip Bulkeley
Who taught me that life is worth fighting for



... as small and quiet and unimportant as our fighting may look, perhaps we might all work together ... and break out of the prisons of our own making. Perhaps we might be able to keep this fierce and beautiful world of ours as free *for all of us* as it seemed to be on that blue afternoon of my childhood.

Cressida Cowell (2005: 238) *How to Speak Dragonese*, Hodder Childrens Books, emphasis in the original



Contents

	Acknowledgements	page ix
1	Climate Problematics	1
	Introduction	1
	Governing the Globe?	4
	Towards Global Governance	4
	Accomplishing Governance	8
	New Politics, New Geographies?	14
	Outline	19
2	Charting Climate Change Governance in the United Kingdom	24
	Introduction	24
	The Shifting Terrain of National Climate Policy in the United	
	Kingdom: From Environment to Energy and Economy	26
	Making Climate Change a Corporate Concern	35
	Climate Change from the Bottom Up? Local and Community	
	Responses in the United Kingdom	41
	Cases in Accomplishing Climate Governance	48
3	Practising Authority	54
	Introduction	54
	Consenting to Climate Governance	58
	Community Compliance?	60
	Creating Consensus	65
	Better Together? HSBC and the Climate Partnership	66
	Blurring the Boundaries: Generating Climate Consensus in Londo	n 69
	Conclusion	72
4	Bringing Climate Change to Order	75
	Introduction	75
	Assembling Intervention	77
	Summoning Micro-Hydro in Hexham	80
	Building Climate Business at Tesco	84
		vii
		7 11



V111	Contents	
	Comprehending Climate Change	89
	Delimiting London's Low Carbon Zones	92
	Configuring Climate Champions	95
	Conclusions	99
5	Climate Government Articulated	102
	Introduction	102
	Making Climate Change Count	104
	Performing Calculation and Carbon	105
	Installing Wind Power in Berwick-upon-Tweed	108
	Making Things the Same?	114
	Coming into Agreement	114
	Every Little Bit Helps: Bringing Zero Carbon into Tesco	117
	Conclusions	125
6	Assembling Climate Publics	128
	Introduction	128
	Making Things Public	131
	Making the Private into Publics	132
	Matters that Concern	135
	From Climate Controversies to Climate Care	138
	Hexham River Hydro and Its Discontents	139
	Made in Brixton: Climate Care	145
	Conclusions	150
7	Conclusion	153
	Introduction	153
	Beyond the Climate Problem	156
	More Than the Sum of the Parts	160
	A Matter of Concord	163
	Climate Resolve?	166
I	References	169
	Index	185



Acknowledgements

The idea for this book began, though I did not know it at the time, two decades ago. In the spring of 1995, I was finishing my undergraduate geography degree and hoping for funding to start my graduate studies in the autumn. Applying to the United Kingdom's Social Science Research Council for a project to examine Australia's climate politics across multiple scales, I argued for its relevance to the United Kingdom, where, whilst not so controversial, governing climate change was going to be challenging. They were not so convinced. A decade later, having secured funding for the Ph.D. project and subsequent work exploring how cities were responding to climate change, the question of the United Kingdom's climate governance reemerged. Now that we were beginning to make the argument that the governing of climate change was not confined to the international arena, what were we to make of it appearing everywhere? From celebrities to mayors, supermarkets to petrol chains, climate change appeared to be making the running. What did this mean? How could we understand it? And what were the implications for the social science of climate change?

It was with these questions in mind that I initially approached the Royal Geographical Society with the Institute of British Geographers with a small pilot project examining the transnational politics of climate change. In 2007, I was awarded a Philip Leverhulme Prize by the Leverhulme Trust, through which I continued to develop this work. I am enormously grateful to the Trust for its support, which enabled the empirical work and conceptual thinking to progress incrementally from 2008 to 2012 as I iteratively explored the terrain of the new politics and new geographies of climate change in the United Kingdom without the sense of an impending deadline and a defined list of necessary outputs. During this time, Andrea Armstrong (Durham University) and Sara Fuller (Macquarie

ix



Acknowledgements

University) worked with me on the project. They conducted interviews, read material, wrote reports and provided a good deal of insight into the projects that they encountered. I would like to express my sincere thanks for their excellent work and good humour throughout this process. The book simply would not have been possible without their input. The last part of the project, writing the book, has been a similarly drawn-out process. It has taken place in between a number of other projects that have competed for time and attention. Matt Lloyd and Holly Turner at Cambridge University Press have been both encouraging and firmly patient during this time, and I would like to express my thanks to them for bearing with me. Over the final year of writing the book, I was partly based at Lund University, supported by the award of the seventeenth King Carl XVI Gustaf's Professorship in Environmental Science and a visiting professorship. This award allowed the final ideas for the book to develop and for the manuscript to come to fruition, and I would like to thank the Swedish Academy of Sciences and HRH King Carl XVI Gustaf for providing this wonderful opportunity.

Whilst this book is ostensibly the work of a single author, it is of course a truism that there is no such thing. Given the lengthy period over which the ideas developed here have gestated, it is perhaps little surprise that they have been provoked and influenced by my encounters with many good friends and colleagues. I would especially like to mention, at the Department of Geography, Durham University, Louise Amoore, Ben Anderson, Gavin Bridge, Nicky Gregson, Cheryl McEwan, Colin McFarlane, Joe Painter, Marcus Power and Simon Marvin, and further afield John Allen, Andrew Barry, JoAnn Carmin, Andrew Jordan, Diana Liverman, Susan Owens, Heike Schroeder, Matt Watson and the members of the Leverhulme International Network on Transnational Climate Change Governance for the time and energy they have spent discussing ideas with me over the years. During this period, I have worked closely with a number of collaborators who have given me much more support than I can ever acknowledge fully. The work here, though they might not recognise it as such, has been very much influenced by Michele Betsill, Vanesa Castan Broto, Robyn Dowling, Gareth Edwards, Matthew Hoffmann, Heather Lovell, Pauline McGuirk, Pete Newell, Matthew Paterson and Gareth Powells, and I would like to thank them for sharing their thoughts, critiques and friendship. I am also grateful to Heather Lovell and Johannes Stripple for reading parts of the manuscript and ensuring that

© in this web service Cambridge University Press

www.cambridge.org



Acknowledgements

хi

I was on the right tracks. It is not a coincidence that many of the formative stages of the work presented here took place in Lund. It was through engaging with Johannes' Ph.D. work that I first started to formulate my ideas around authorisation as practice. Through the COST Action on Transforming Global Environmental Governance, we were able to organise and assemble one of the first gatherings of social scientists concerned with developing more critical theoretical perspectives on questions of climate change at a workshop in Lund in 2011. The outline of this book was sketched one early June morning with the sun coming through the windows waiting for the workshop to start in the White House in the centre of Lund. Through the ongoing work on the collection that came from that workshop and our subsequent collaboration under the King Carl XVI Gustaf's professorship, Johannes has provided both the inspiration and the grounding without which this book would have been neither as developed in its argument nor as much fun to write.

Almost always last on the pages of acknowledgements, but never on a day-to-day basis, are my family. This book is dedicated to my parents, to whom my immeasurable debt becomes ever more apparent as both they and I grow older. At home in Durham, Pete, Elodie and Thea – who are now growing up rather used to the idea of a book in the house – live with ideas as my constant distraction whilst continuing to remind me of all of the more important distractions that life has to offer. Their love, patience and enduring interest, manifest in drawing my attention to the very small and the very big questions in life, enable me to accomplish everything I do.