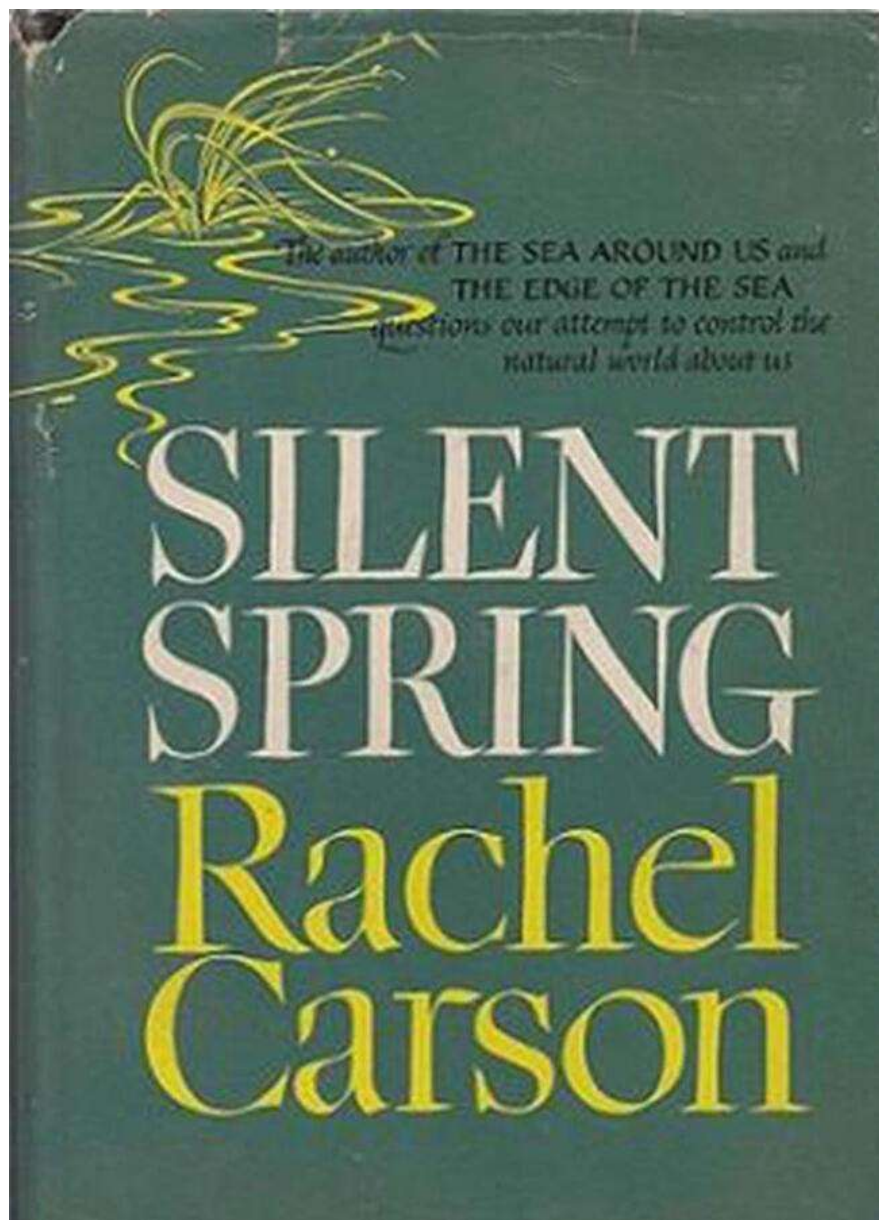


Science, democracy and regulatory capture

Andrea Saltelli

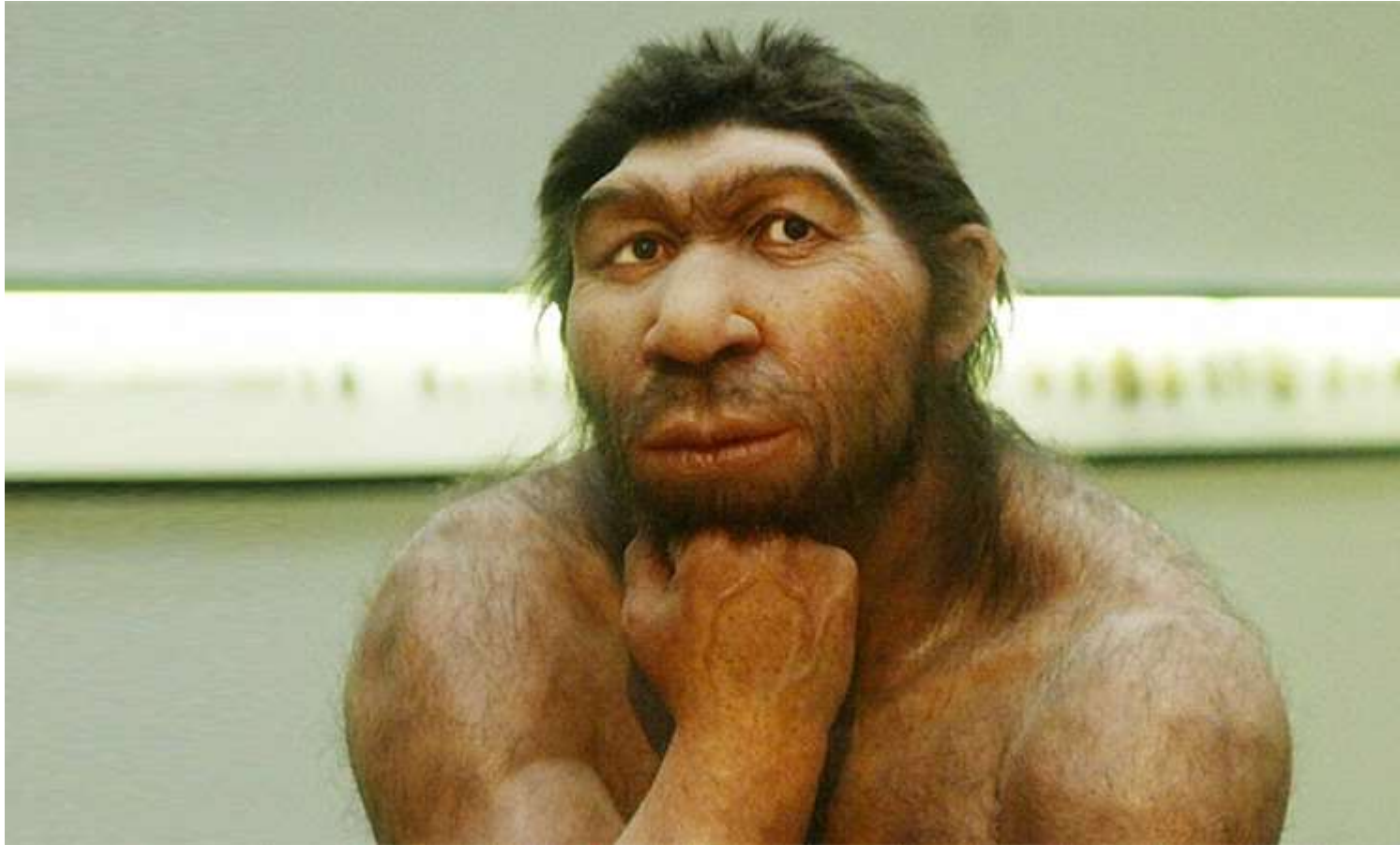


Associazione italiana per la promozione della scienza aperta
VII convegno annuale: programma
Scienza aperta e società democratiche
20 ottobre 2022
Sede centrale CNR, piazzale Aldo Moro, 7 – Roma

“... the Neanderthal age of
biology and philosophy,
when it was supposed that
nature exists for the
convenience of man”
(1962)



Are we past this age of Neanderthal?



Are we past this age of Neanderthal? If not, why?



Futures
Available online 26 October 2021
In Press, Journal Pre-proof



Science, the endless frontier of
regulatory capture

Andrea Saltelli ^{a,*,} Dorothy J. Dankel ^{b,c,} Monica Di Fiore ^{d,} Nina Holland ^{e,} Martin Pigeon ^e

... a form of corporate penetration which is based on a strategic use of the image and legitimacy of science

...cases where lobbyists present themselves as upholders of the values of the evidence-based policy, and interested in the methodological and ethical aspect of science for policy

An epistemic ladder for regulatory capture

- Epistemic. Invalidating the inference or the methods
- Institutional. Delegitimising and/or 'colonising' institutions
- Political. Promoting a worldview where the very idea of regulation is undesirable

Science, the endless frontier of
regulatory capture



The ineluctability of regulatory capture cuts across schools of economic thought: public interest theory and regulatory capture theory



Arthur Cecil Pigou
1877 –1959

George J. Stigler
1911 –1991



Regulation in the public interest theory is seen as a need originating from market failure – hence the need for regulatory intervention



Arthur Cecil Pigou
1877 –1959

Regulation in regulatory capture theory is seen as a result of particular interests which are favoured by it

“regulation is acquired by the industry and is designed and operated primarily for its benefit”

George J. Stigler
1911 –1991



Beryl L. Crowe: a regulatory capture cycle

- An agency is created as a result of a period of social alarm
- Eventually, interest groups take control
- In the final phase, even the staff of the agency comes from the interest groups it should regulate

**The Tragedy of the
Commons Revisited**

28 November 1969, Volume 166, Number 3909

SCIENCE

A more recent concept: **regulatory capitalism**, the new global world order where the importance of rules as a source of power has increased in scope



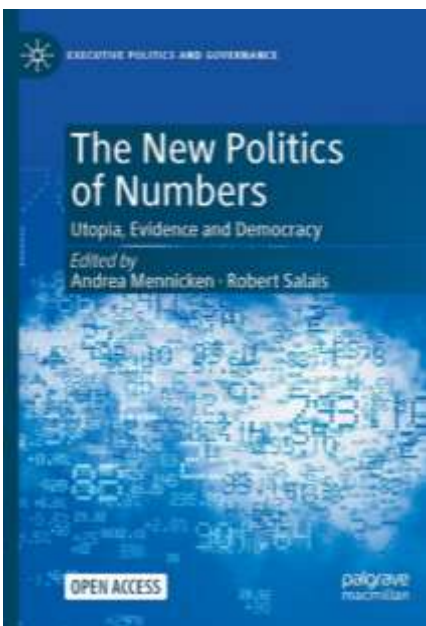
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Regulatory capitalism

Optimistic view: allowing a more balanced approach to the distribution of power and resources in favour of the global poor (Levi-Faur, David [Editor of Regulation and Governance]. 2005. “The Global Diffusion of Regulatory Capitalism.” The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 598 (1): 12–32.)

Pessimistic view: act of the tragedy of commodification, made possible by a subservient and commodified science (Draho, Peter. 2020. “Responsive Science.” Annual Review of Law and Social Science 16 (1): annurev-lawsocsci-040220-065454.)

Standards as an
instrument for the
commodification of norms

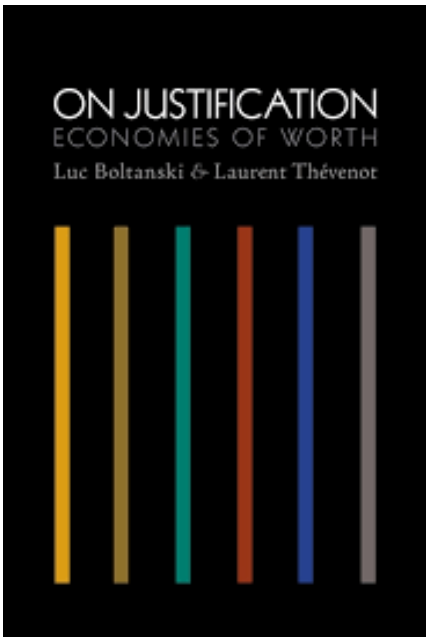


A New Calculable Global World
in the Making: Governing Through
Transnational Certification Standards

Laurent Thévenot

critical public debates between
conceptions of the common good

individual consumers' choices
between certified market goods



Cognitive capture?

“regulators may come to view the world the way firms do, not because they have been captured through incentives, but because they have been convinced”

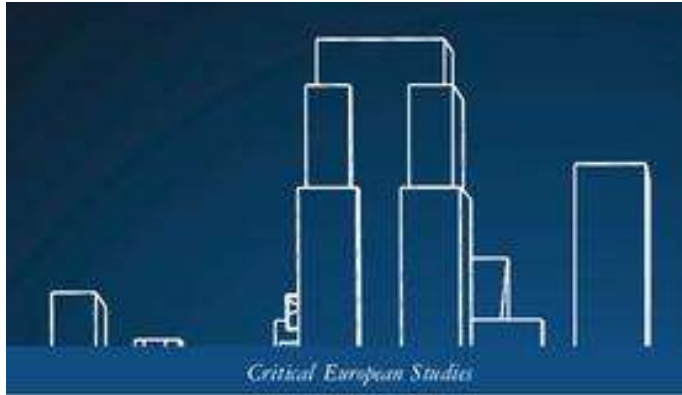
(Dal Bó, Ernesto. 2006. “REGULATORY CAPTURE: A REVIEW.” Oxford Review of Economic Policy 22: 203–25)

P. Mirowski, “Hell Is Truth Seen Too Late,” Bound. 2, vol. 46, no. 1, pp. 1–53, Feb. 2019.

What has science to
do with all that?

Power asymmetries in the framing of issues:
those who have the deepest pockets marshal
the best [foremost 'scientific'] evidence

Sylvain Laurens

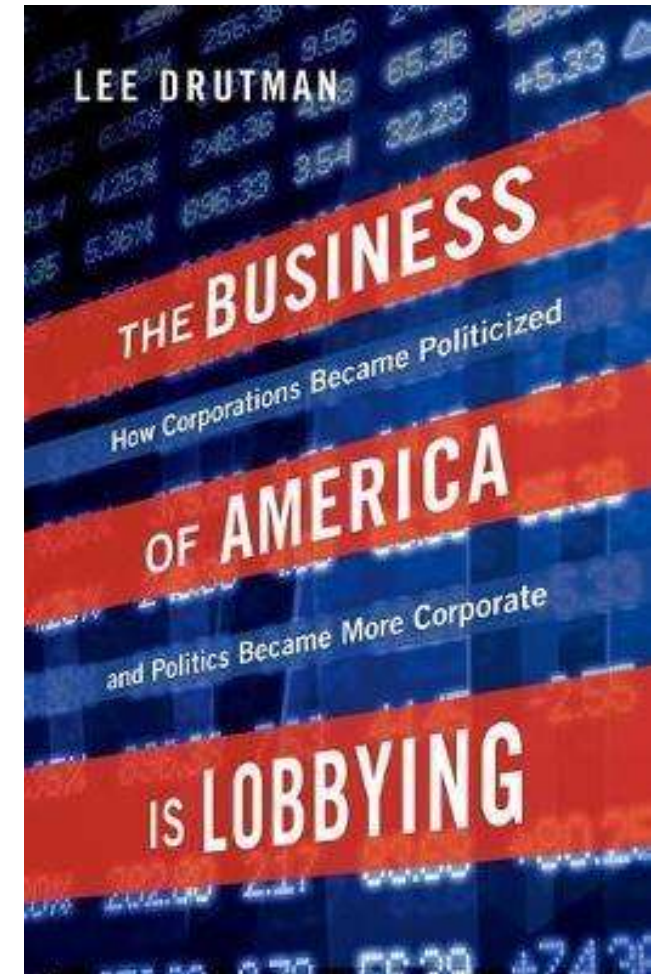


LOBBYISTS AND BUREAUCRATS IN BRUSSELS CAPITALISM'S BROKERS

Sylvain Laurens



Lee Drutman

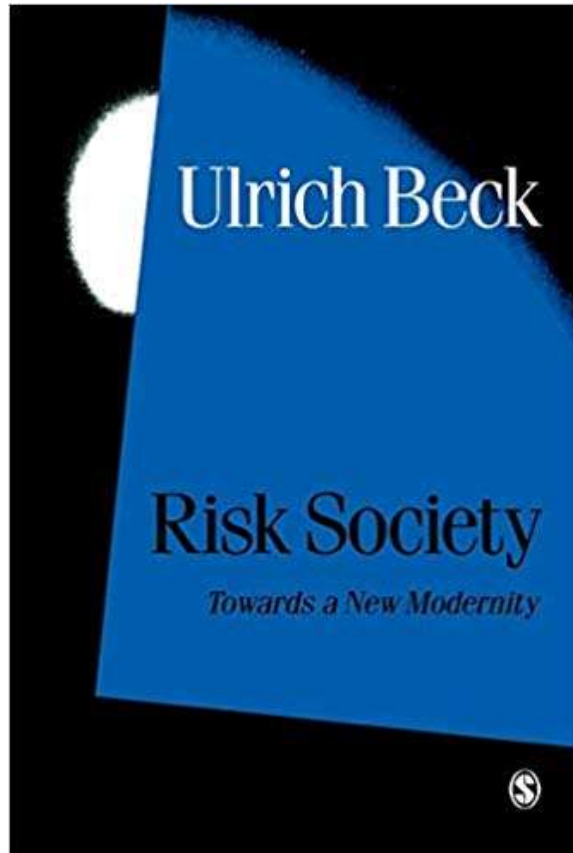


For both Laurens and Drutman a salient aspect of this power is lobbyists' access to more and better disseminated knowledge/science

“They have the data”



Science as a self-service shop for financially well-endowed customers in need of arguments
(Beck 1992)

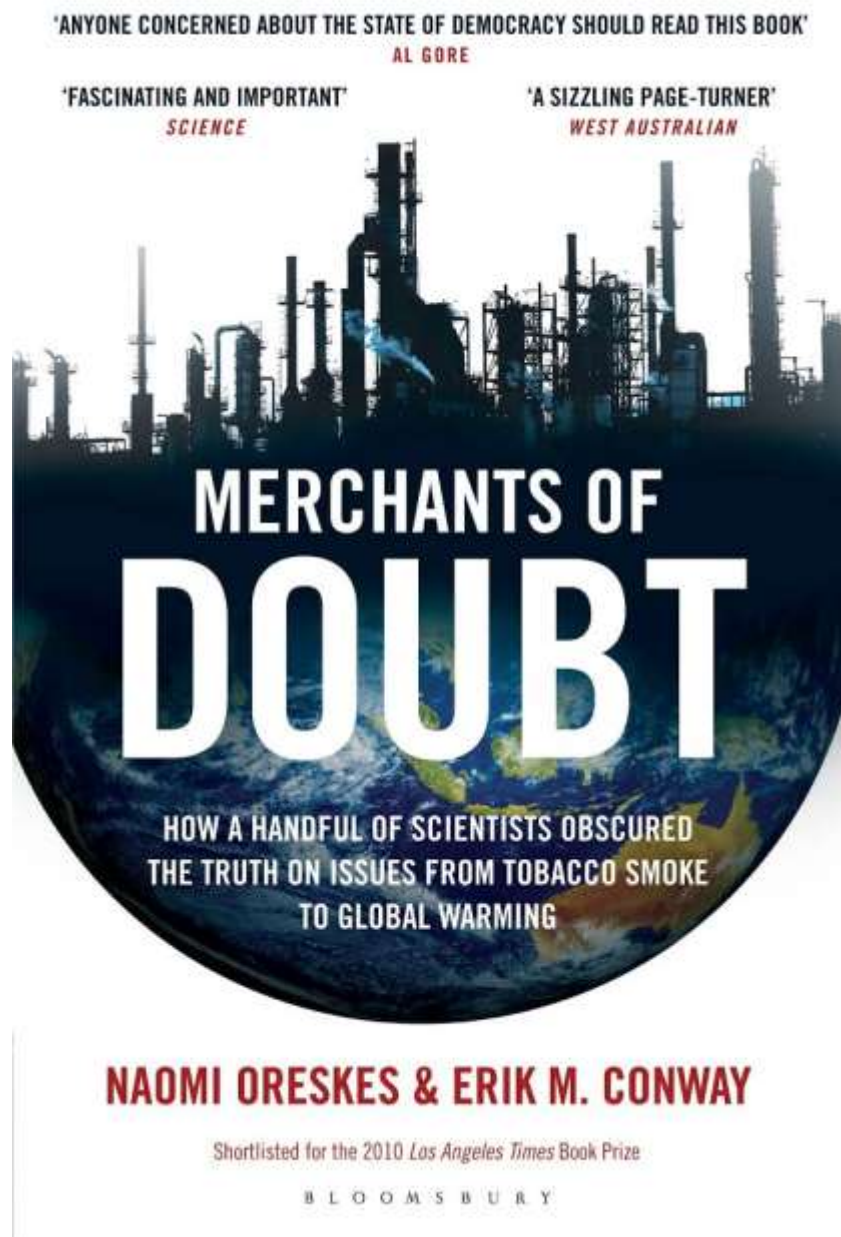


1992 (1986)



Ulrich Beck
(1944 –2015)

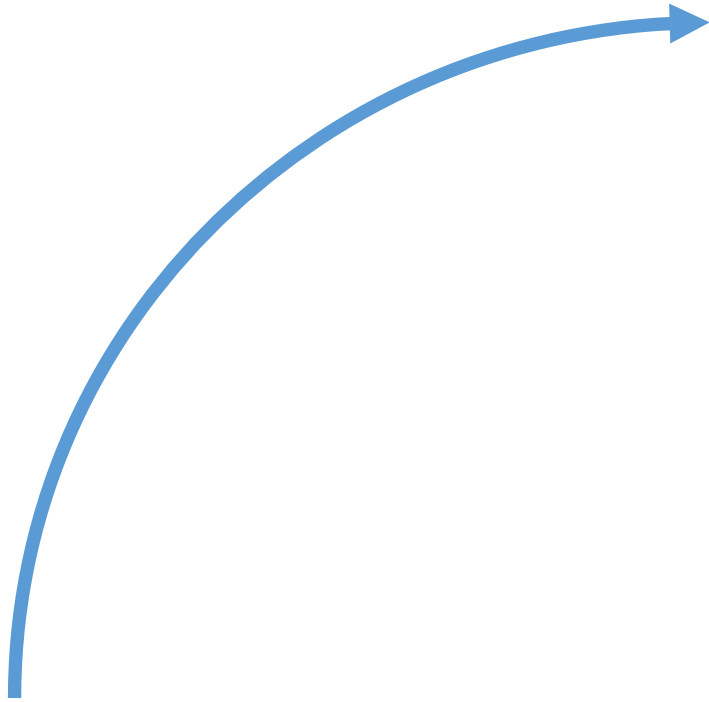
From doubt to
domination



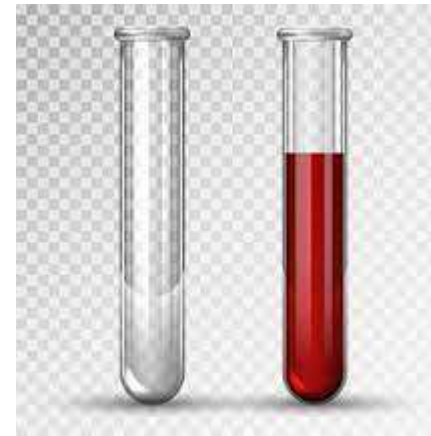
Naomi Oreskes and Erik M. Conway

Corporate's 'sound science'
and 'good epidemiology'
against 'junk science'

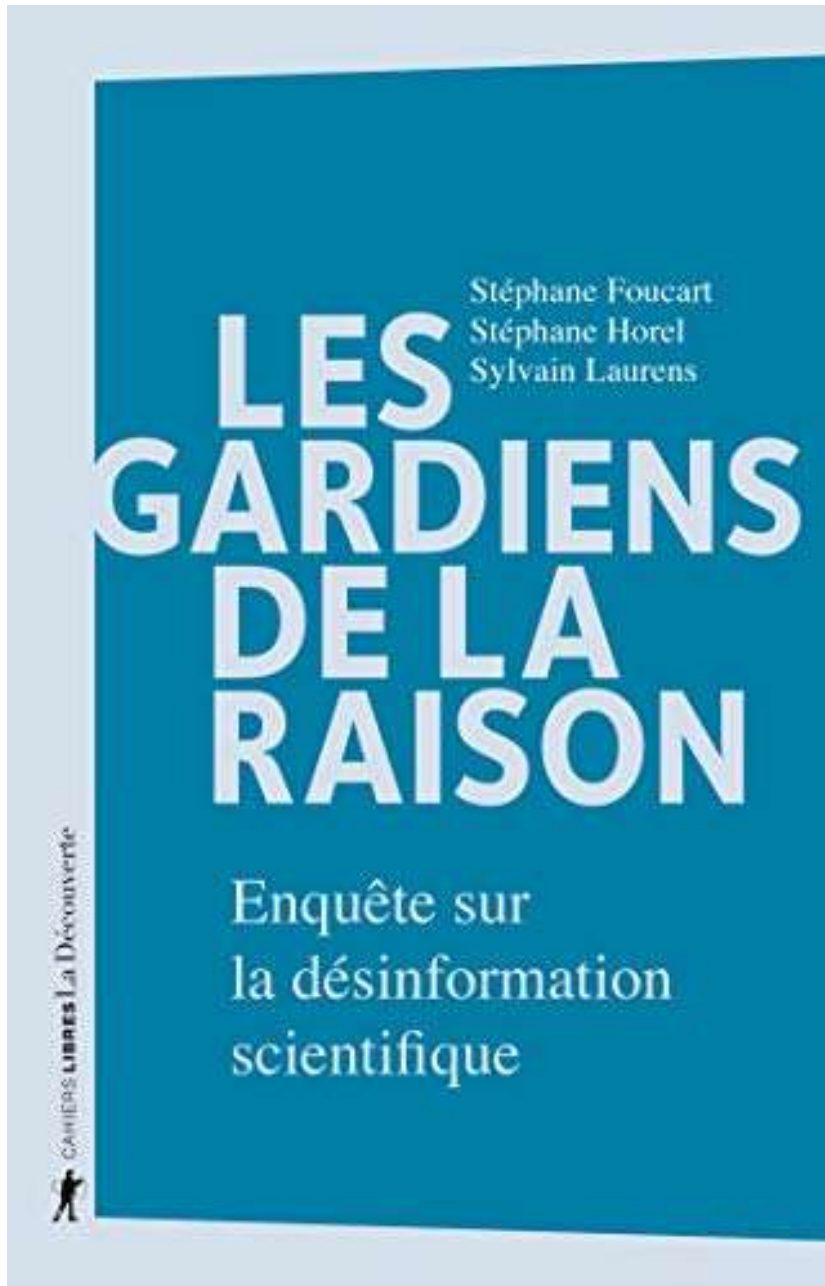
Guardians of sound science



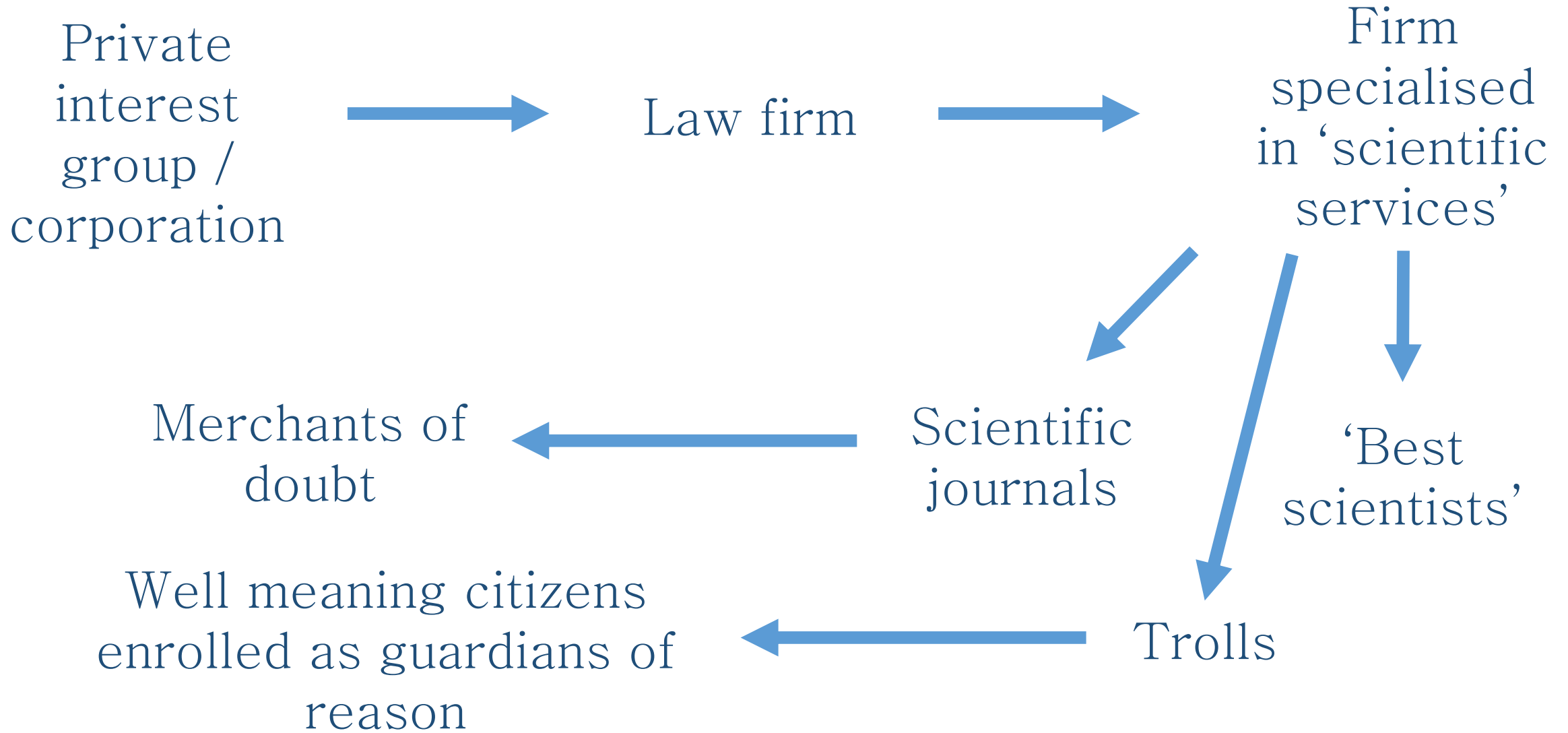
Guardians of reason



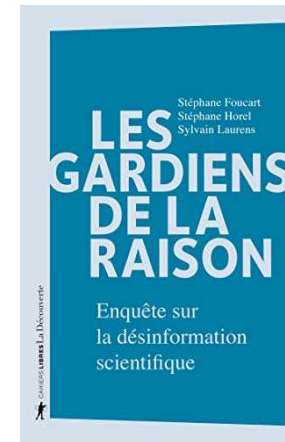
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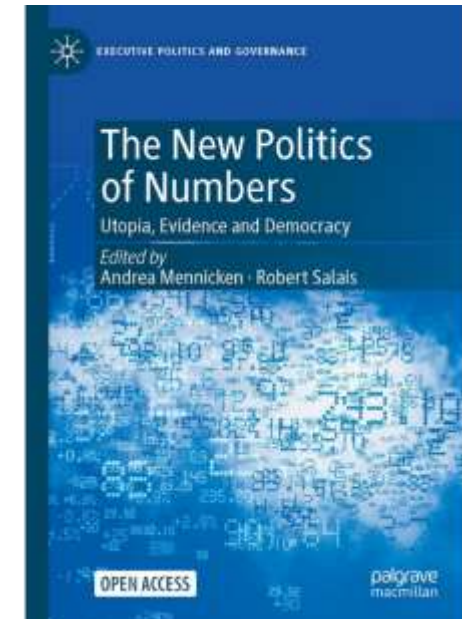
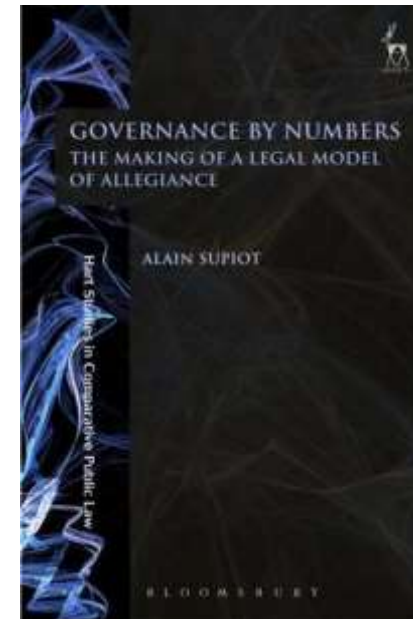
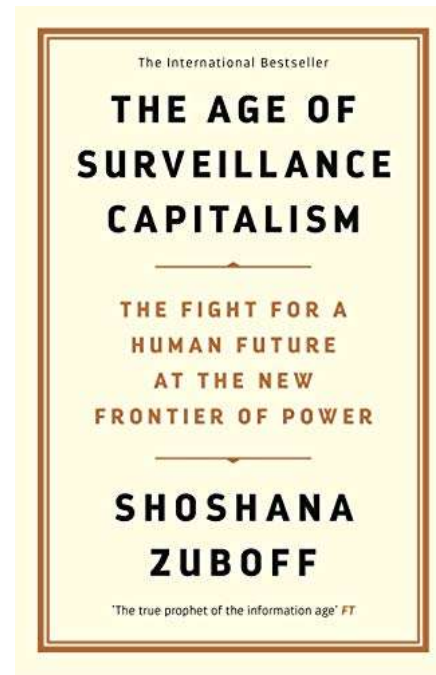
An army of self-proclaimed ‘fact checkers’ becomes mobilized in the defence of a neoliberal and conservative credo, posing as victims of an assault on science perpetrated by the purported enemies of reason



Strategies so *rapides et inédites*

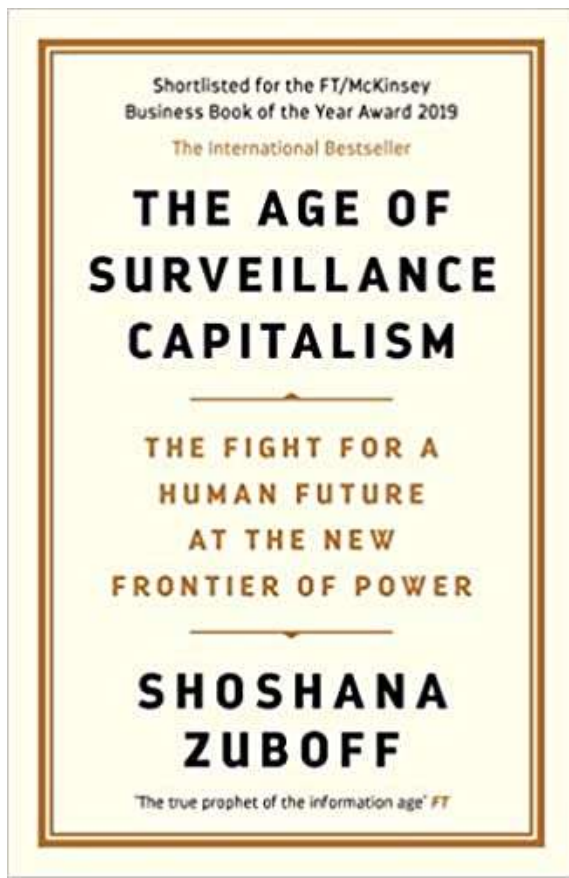


New powerful instruments such as the use of AI and algorithms in combination with cognitive psychology and the new social media to influence the behaviour of consumers / voters

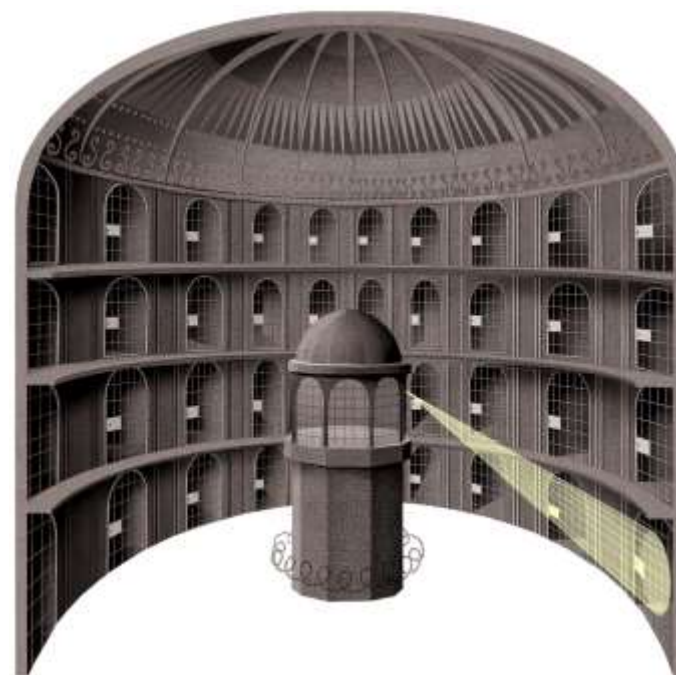
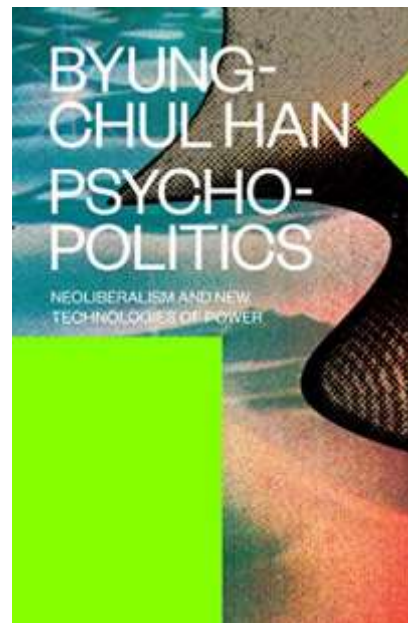




The surveillance is voluntarily accepted



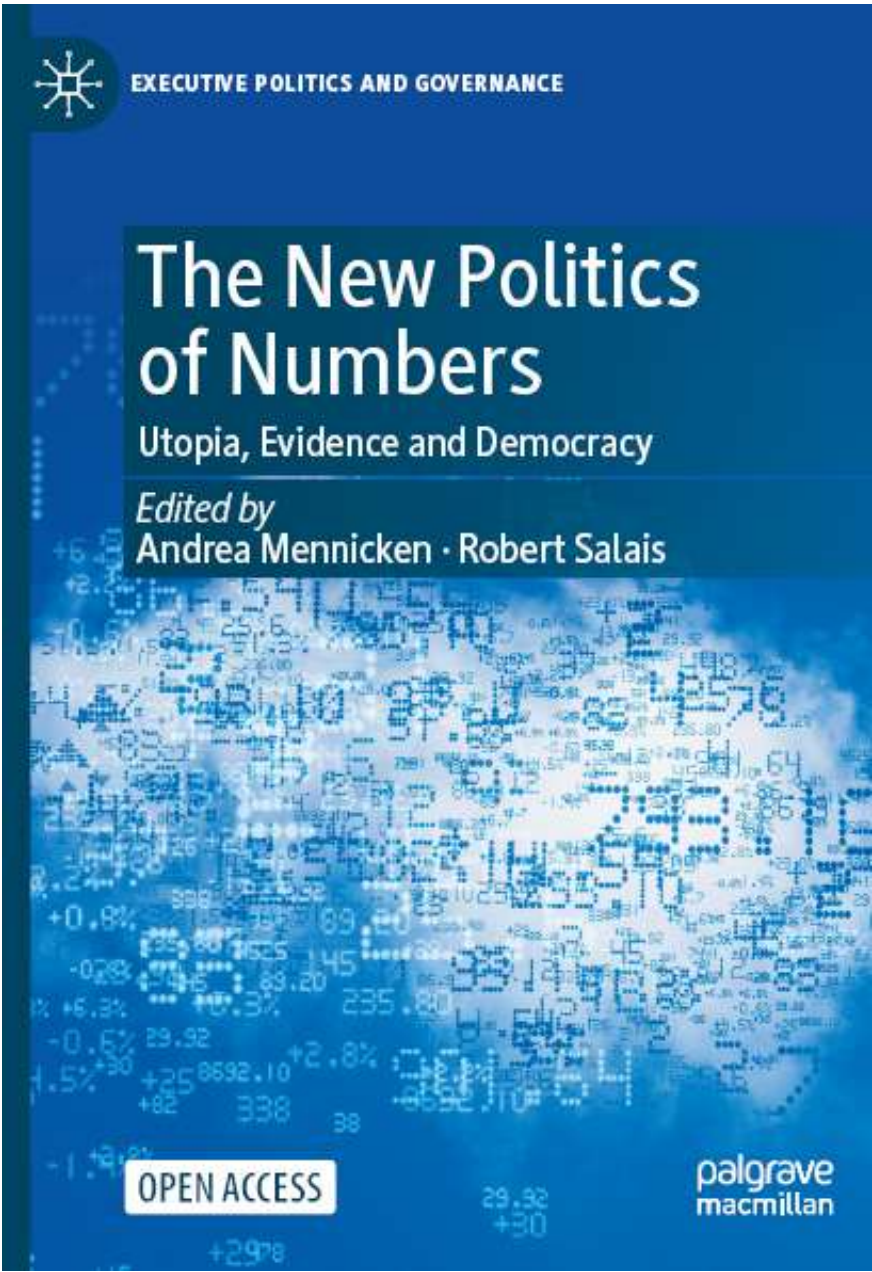
Byung Chul Han 'virtual panopticon'



Quantification and democracy

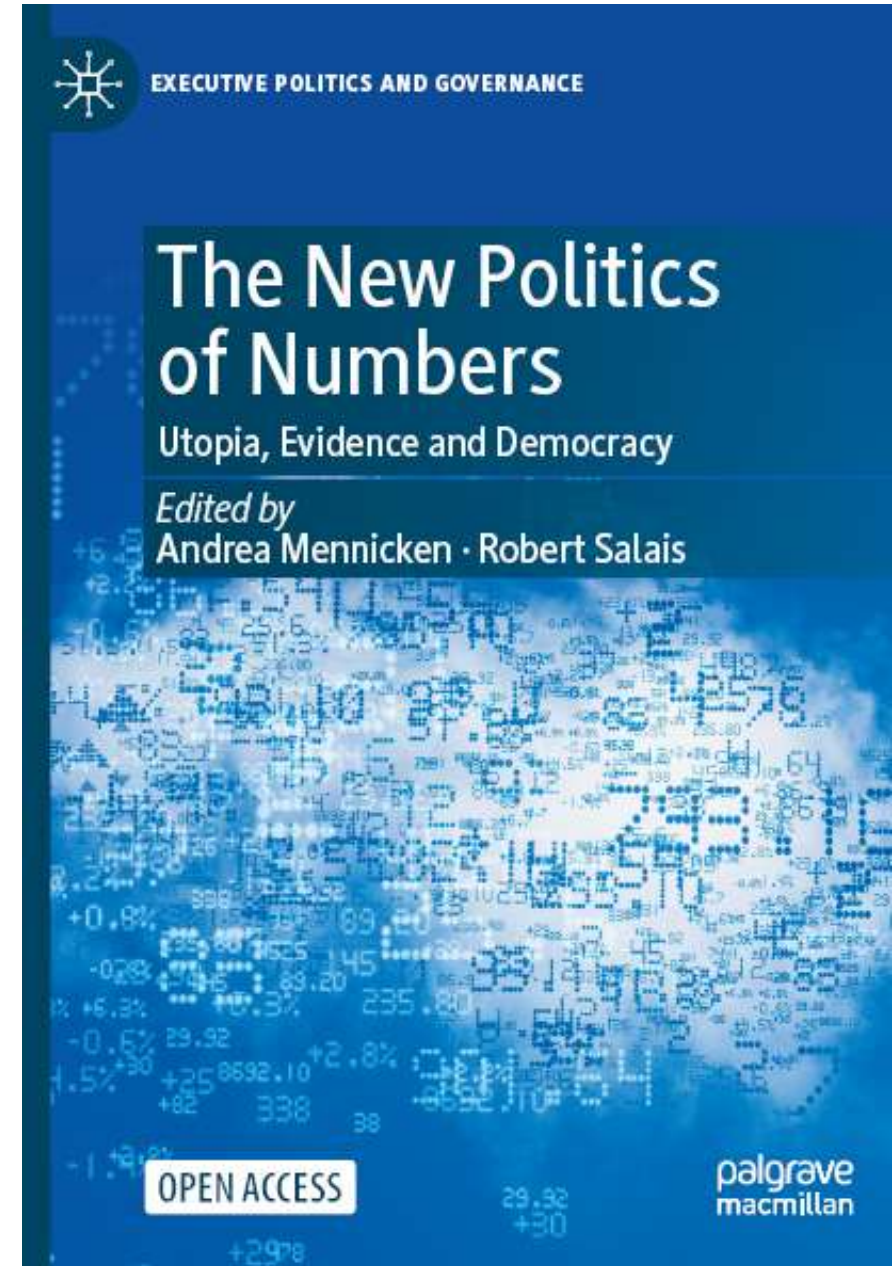
Evidence based policy	Statistics (creating things that hold together for the solution of practical problems)
Policy based evidence	Governance driven quantification (a reversal of the statistical pyramid)

CHAPTER 12, “La donnée n’est pas un
donné”: Statistics, Quantification and
Democratic Choice, *Robert Salais*



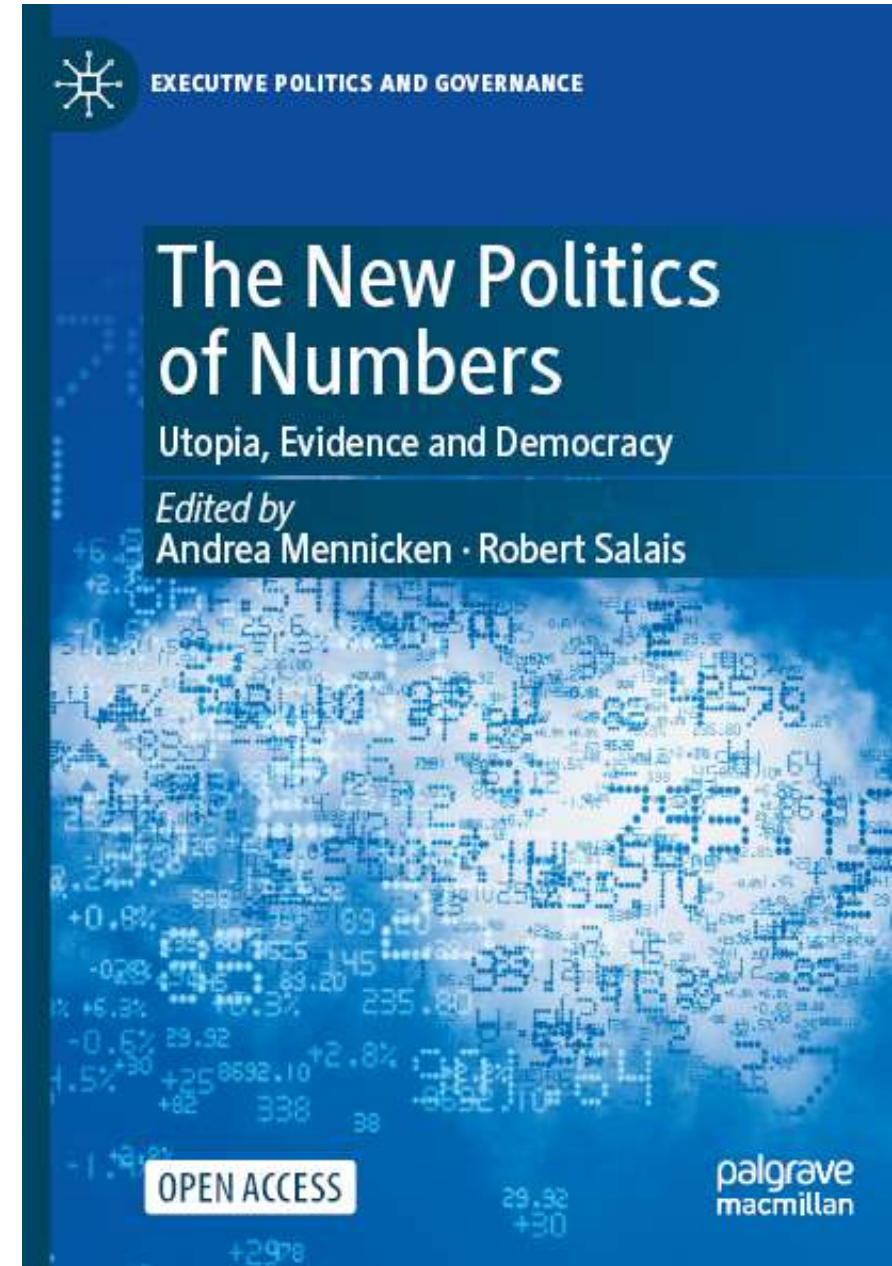
Governance driven
quantification is based on
pretended objectivity
(neutrality), reductionism and
justificationism that contribute
to a loss of democratic agency
(a-democracy)

CHAPTER 12, “La donnée n’est pas un donné”: Statistics,
Quantification and Democratic Choice, *Robert Salais*



Contesting unjust/unfair governance arrangement is impossible without producing alternative constructions of evidence – that requires muscles not easily available to the lay citizen

CHAPTER 12, “La donnée n’est pas un donné”: Statistics, Quantification and Democratic Choice, *Robert Salais*



Why ethics of quantification is needed now

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South African Research Chair in Industrial
Development, University of Johannesburg, South
Africa

Wolfgang Drechsler

Tallinn University of Technology, Estonia;
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Davis Center at Harvard University, United States

Jayati Ghosh

University of Massachusetts Amherst, United
States;
UCL Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose

Rainer Kattel

UCL Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose

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Tallinn University of Technology, Estonia;
UCL Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose

Andy Stirling

Science Policy Research Unit, University of
Sussex

Ting Xu

School of Law at the University of Essex



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WORKING PAPER
WP 2021/05



... our world is structured by numbers, visible and invisible, where truth is conveyed and reality constructed

Numbers are seductive, performative, confer to their masters' epistemic power and legitimacy

Governing the modern state, or even contesting it, without numbers is impossible

Numbers are the prevalent means to express value in our societies
... Access & production of numbers reflect and reinforce power imbalances



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Public Purpose**

WORKING PAPER
WP 2021/05

Harm from ‘wrong numbers’

- Medical research
- Higher education
- Governance of science
- Finance
- International organizations
 - FAO
 - World Bank
 - OECD ...

**The Undoing of Doing
Business**

Project Syndicate



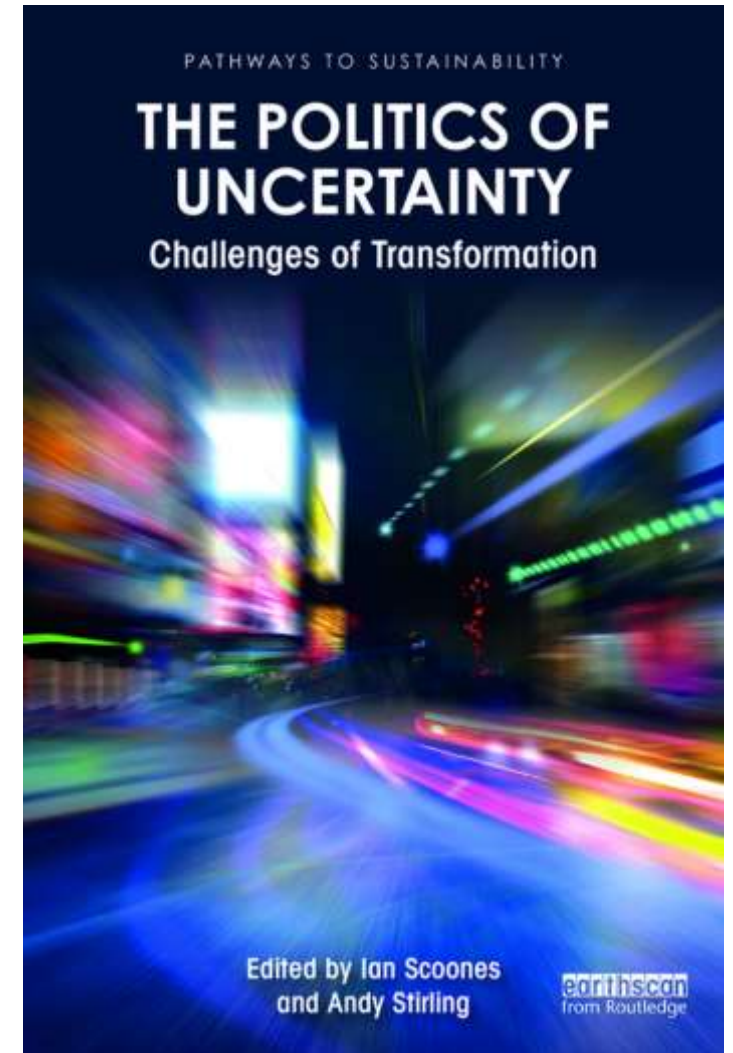
‘Trendy’ methods may also harm

- Randomized control trials misused to suggest more general conclusions that may not be valid
- Statistical/econometric techniques designed to promote particular policy conclusions reflecting researchers’ biases



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WORKING PAPER
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Futures

Volume 91, August 2017, Pages 5-11



What is science's crisis really about?

Andrea Saltelli ^{a, b, c, d}, Silvio Funtowicz ^a

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Environmental Science & Policy

Volume 106, April 2020, Pages 87-98



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Andrea Saltelli ^{a, b, c, d}, Lorenzo Benini ^e, Silvio Funtowicz ^a, Mario Giampietro ^{d, e}, Matthias Kaiser ^a, Erik Reinert ^{a, f}, Jeroen P. van der Sluijs ^{a, g, h}



Futures

Volume 104, December 2018, Pages 85-90



Why science's crisis should not become a political battling ground

Andrea Saltelli ^d



Futures

Volume 115, January 2020, 102491



Technoscience, policy and the new media. Nexus or vortex?

Andrea Saltelli ^{a, b, c, d}, Paul-Marie Boulanger ^{e, f}

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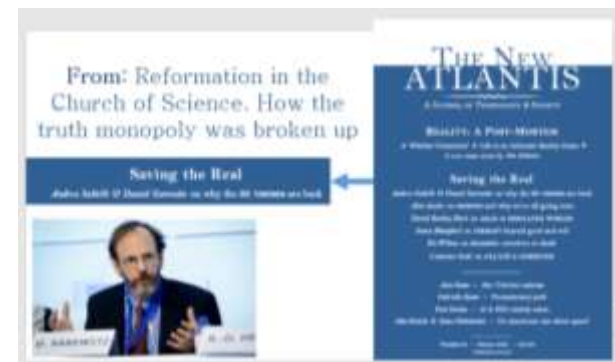
Futures

Volume 135, January 2022, 102860



Science, the endless frontier of regulatory capture

Andrea Saltelli ^{a, b, c, d}, Dorothy J. Dankel ^{b, e}, Monica Di Fiore ^d, Nina Holland ^e, Martin Pigeon ^e



From: Reformation in the Church of Science. How the truth monopoly was broken up

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Andrea Saltelli & Daniel Sarewitz on why the 95 THESES are back



<https://www.thenewatlantis.com/publications/reformation-in-the-church-of-science>

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NUMBER 68 — SPRING 2022 — \$10.00

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The End



@andreasaltelli

Readings

Saltelli, Andrea, Dorothy J. Dankel, Monica Di Fiore, Nina Holland, and Martin Pigeon, “Science, the Endless Frontier of Regulatory Capture.” *Futures*, 135 (2022) 102860.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.futures.2021.102860>.

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