

Climate Change and the Holy See

The development of climate policy within the Holy See between 1992 and 2015

Master thesis MSc International Public Management and Policy

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Summary

Between 1992 and 2015, the Holy See has changed their foreign policy on the anthropogenic causes of climate change. It is the aim of this thesis to explain why their ideas about climate change have changed.

The Holy See has changed their ideas about climate change on three different levels since 1992. In 2001 they changed their paradigm from theological to scientific, and because of this changed paradigm they accepted that climate change has anthropogenic causes. In 2007 they started to propose new policies to mitigate climate change. And in 2015, *Laudato Si'* was published. In this influential document the protection of the environment was included in the official teaching of the Roman Catholic Church.

In this thesis the question is asked: why did the environmental policy of the Holy See change? By using Causal Process Tracing a multi-level model of causation is created that explains why the Holy See changed their ideas about climate change in 2001, 2007 and 2015. Within this model the political science theory of discursive institutionalism explains that ideas changed through the interaction between actors.

Among the most important necessary conditions were the influence of regional bishops' conferences, the development of Catholic Social Teaching and the population control debate in the early 1990's. These conditions created openness for a discourse about climate ideas that resulted in a new worldview in 2015.

Abbreviations

CDF	Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith
CELAM	Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano
COP	Conference of Parties
CST	Catholic Social Teaching
DI	Discursive Institutionalism
HI	Historical Institutionalism
ICPD	International Conference on Population and Development
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NI	New Institutionalism
PCJP	Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace
UN	United Nations
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
USCCB	United States Conference of Catholic Bishops
RCC	Roman Catholic Church
RI	Rational Institutionalism
SI	Sociological Institutionalism
Vatican II	The Second Vatican Council
WCC	World Council of Churches

Chapter 1 – Introduction

Introduction to topic

Religious actors, like the Roman Catholic Church, had a major influence on international relations for centuries. But in the 20th century little attention has been paid to the role of religious actors in social science research. There are two main reasons. First, in the 20th century religion was viewed from the perspective of the secularization thesis. And according to the secularization thesis, the role of religion in society would eventually disappear. This devalued the relevance of religious actors. Second, the most influential theory in the field of International Relations was (neo)realism. And realist research focusses on states and security. The famous quote of Stalin describes the importance of the RCC in International Relations: “*The Pope! How many divisions has he?*” (Churchill, 1985: 1). Until the 19th century the Holy See had its own army and their own territory was known as the Papal State. This territory was officially limited to Vatican City with the Lateran Treaty in 1929, and their army was limited to the symbolic Swiss Guards. But after World War II the influence of the Holy See started to rise again with its support for democratization and critique of communism (Barbato, 2013).

But in the last decades, the attention to the phenomenon of religion in International Relations has grown. There are two reasons for this growing attention. First, the criticism of the traditional definition of the secularisation theory created possibilities for social scientists to research the phenomenon of religion in International Relations. The hypothesis of secularisation theory was that the influence of religion would disappear in society and politics. In the 1990’s it became clear that in Western societies, Christian churches were disappearing but that the influence of other religions and unorganized religion was growing. And outside the Western world, the influence of all kinds of religious organisations was growing. For example, in the (former) communist countries like Russia and China, organized religion is at an all-time high. In Russia, the Russian Orthodox Church has flourished after the collapse of communism. China is becoming the symbol of the growth of Christianity worldwide (Economist, 2016). Second, international political events that were undoubtedly strongly influenced by religion. There are many national and international examples in which religion was one of the distinct characteristics of the quarrelling parties. The most recent example is the influence of Daesh in the Middle East. They legitimize their conquest by stating that their interpretation of Islam is superior and that other religions should be destroyed. Another example are the Balkan Wars in the 1990’s. These wars were not only between ethnic groups but also between Catholics, Orthodox and Muslims in that region.

A more positive example of the influence of religion is the intervention from Pope John Paul II in the Beagle Channel Dispute between Chile and Argentina (Lindsley, 1987). These events cannot be analysed without the role of religion in these conflicts. In 2013 a working group of thirteen scholars wrote: *Religion and International Relations: A Primer for Research* (Desch and Philpott, 2013). In this paper three gaps in the existing literature are described. First, more research is needed on conceptual issues like on the definition of religion. Second, the impact of religion on political outcomes and third politics in religion or: “*Why do religious actors take on the politics that they do?*” (Desch and Philpott, 2013: 186). In this thesis I will answer the third question in the case of the Holy See and their climate change policies.

The Holy See is one of the oldest actors in International Relations and represents more than a billion Catholic believers. Their diplomatic service is no smaller than the diplomatic service of an average state. It has its own sovereign territory, the Vatican. It has official ties with most international organisations, such as the UN, EU, WTO, African Union and the Arab League.

And although the Holy See acts like a state in the international arena it differs from other states because all their foreign policies are about norms and beliefs. Therefore, the Holy See can be described as a normative actor. Since the Second Vatican Council they have become engaged in the promotion of several global causes like nuclear proliferation.

In the last decade the Holy See has become more and more outspoken about global climate change. In the 1990's the Holy See did not accept the scientific evidence that points to anthropogenic causes of climate change, they did support public policies that could limit these anthropogenic causes, and the environment was described as subordinate to the development of mankind (Martino, 1992).

Since then everything has changed. This has become clear in the encyclical *Laudato' Si* where Pope Francis advocates strong measures against climate change. These "marching orders for advocacy" (Vaughan, 2015) have created debate and controversy among conservative Catholic politicians worldwide. In the recent Paris Climate Conference they also took a leading role in convincing developing countries to support the conference outcomes (Borenstein, 2015; Holy See Joins Final Push, 2015).

The Catholic Church is a unique and important actor in the international arena but little research has been done on the development of foreign policy within the Catholic Church. One of the reasons is that the Catholic Church has limited amount of foreign interests compared with normal states. These interests do not change often because they are directly connected with the core beliefs of the Catholic Church. Since the Second Vatican Council only one change of policy is described: nuclear disarmament (Hanson, 1987). Therefore, it is important to describe what caused this policy change.

Research question and aim of thesis

The aim of this thesis is to explain why the Holy See has changed their climate policy by the construction of multi-level model of causation.

The main question of this thesis is:

Why did the environmental policy of the Holy See change?

A challenge in researching this case is that there are almost no previous studies that are connected to the Holy See or the development of climate policies in a normative agency. The most recent case study of policy change within the Holy See is more than 25 years old (Hanson, 1987). And this study about nuclear proliferation is not connected to political science theories. And because no one has studied the climate statements of the Holy See before this thesis it is not clear what has changed between 1992 and 2015.

In the second chapter the existing literature on foreign policies of the Holy See is reviewed. According to the existing literature there are two important causal factors that have explained foreign policies in the past. The first factor is the influence of regional bishops' conferences. The second factor is the restraining role of institutions. These factors lead to the conclusion that foreign policies of the Holy See are developed in an interactive conversation between peripheral actors and the Holy See itself.

I will connect this case study to political science theory in chapter three. This is important because previous research on policy change within the Holy See was only loosely connected to political science theory. In this chapter I come to the conclusion that discursive institutionalism is the most appropriate theory in explaining ideational changes within the Holy See. This theory is operationalized and applied to the historical factors from the second chapter in the conclusion of chapter three.

In the fourth chapter of this thesis the methods and research design are discussed. The Holy See is a unique actor and the change of climate policy is a unique event. Therefore, a method called Causal Process Tracing (CPT) is used to trace the possible causal factors that could explain the outcome. These causal factors are combined with the existing theory about discursive institutionalism in a multi-level model of causation.

In the fifth chapter I describe how the policy has changed between 1992 and 2015 by analysing different statements from Holy See officials and the different popes. In this chapter it becomes clear that the ideas about climate change have changed in three different episodes.

In chapter six till eight the three main the causal factors of the three main episodes are discussed. In chapter nine the findings of this thesis the expectations are compared with the results. And these findings are discussed to propose further research venues.

Relevance

Academic relevance

There is almost no literature that describes policy development in religious transnational actors like the RCC. Most scholars research religion as an independent variable. For example, the influence of evangelical Christianity on the foreign policy of the United States. There is a literature gap on research on religion as a dependent variable (Desch and Philpot, 2013).

Societal relevance

Climate change is a serious problem for many states and a global solution needs to be sought. Therefore, it is important to know why actors change their policy on climate change. The RCC is a very influential actor in the international arena because they represent more than a billion believers worldwide (Wikileaks, 2010; Neale, 1997). And the RCC is especially influential in some countries that have been critical of climate agreement like the United States and Poland. Their diplomatic influence became clear during the COP21 in Paris. Where they pushed for a new climate agreement (Borenstein, 2015).

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to find “*potentially important factors of influence*” (Blatter and Haverland, 2012) by reviewing the relevant literature. These ‘factors of influence’ explain why the Holy See changed their policy in other cases. But these ‘factors of influence’ are connected to the mechanisms that explain how the Holy See changes their foreign policies. The expectations from the literature are merged together with social science theory in the following chapter. Together they will provide an expected causal mechanism (Blatter and Haverland, 2012).

There is only a limited amount of literature on the development of foreign policies within the Holy See. And most publications are at least fifteen years old. The only recent article that touches the subject of this case study is a publication by Genovese (2015). This article is about “*the conditions under which religious leaders are more likely to speak politically*” (Genovese, 2015: 1). She comes to the conclusion that Pope Francis made his statements about climate change because of exogenous events. A short review of her article can be found in appendix 1, the conclusions are that the content of this article is not applicable to this thesis.

The other publications give a more general description of foreign policy change in the Holy See. These publications will be reviewed and at the end of chapter three the conclusions from the literature are merged in with the theoretical expectations

Foreign Policy of the Holy See

Most research on religion from an International Relations perspective uses religion as an independent variable (Snyder, 2011; Neale, 1998). There are very little contributions on religion as dependent variable. And because religions and even churches differ greatly it is of no use to compare Shia Islam with the Catholic Church from an IR perspective. The problem with comparing Shia Islam and the Catholic Church is that these two religions have developed themselves in different cultures thereby creating different symbols, different institutions and different interests. It is therefore very likely that the same causal factors give different outcomes. If for example, the hypothesis of Genovese is valid and universal, Shia Islam also would have made a statement against climate change around 2015.

Literature on the development of foreign policies of the Holy See can be divided into two categories. First, there are authors who analyse the Holy See as a state with different levels of analysis (Hehir, 2006; Byrnes, 2001; Hanson, 1987). And second, authors who analyse the policy of the Holy See by analysing the encyclicals and actions of the pope, without attention to other levels within the church. (Genovese, 2015; Barbato, 2013).

There are two reasons for this split. First, the RCC is not a single actor. It consists of many national and transnational networks. Within these transnational networks individual actors communicate in different languages. Although the formal influence of all these actors is very limited, their informal influence can be huge (Hehir, 2006). These different complicated networks make it very difficult to use a multilevel analysis (Ryall, 2001). The second reason is connected with the first one. Because it is so complicated to research the RCC in different levels it is

attractive to focus only on the formal policy maker. And officially there is only one person who decides on foreign policy, the pope himself. The Holy See represents the pope and its authority. So it makes sense to research the decisions of popes and the development of these decisions.

In this thesis, I will take the first position on RCC policy analysis because authors like Hehir and Byrnes do not deny that the pope has the final authority on foreign policy. But because of the informal influence from other actors it is very likely that the results will be flawed if only statements of the pope are analysed and no attention is given to other actors inside the RCC. For example, the pope works together with the Curia, or the government of the RCC in Rome. Members of the Curia can survive different popes and have a strong influence on the pope and the execution of policy through the Holy See.

Since the Second Vatican Council, 'national'¹ churches have actively influenced the policy of the Holy See. Two examples, the position of the Holy See on nuclear proliferation is strongly influenced by the United States bishops' conferences (Hanson, 1987). And another well-known example is the influence from CELAM on the position of the Holy See on the economic situation of the poor (Hehir, 2006).

The Catholic Church is seen as a more or less pluralist actor that needs to be researched as a whole because: "*the Holy See as a political actor and legal entity cannot, in reality, be separated from the complex web of national and transnational groups*" (Ryall, 2001:45-46).

I will review articles and books that use a multilevel analysis to explain foreign policy of the Holy See.

Within this field two topics are important. First, the influence of Rome versus the influence of other actors. Or in other words central decision making versus peripheral decision making. And second the influence of institutions on decision making.

Central versus Peripheral Actors

An important theme is the tense relation between the Holy See and the local churches. And the question is who has the most influence in developing new policies. Since the Vatican II, it is common for bishops to develop policies in regional conferences. And the main question in the literature is: who are responsible for new policies?

Research on foreign policy of the RCC started with an article by Vallier in 1971. In his article Vallier described the Catholic Church as a transnational actor that struggles with external competitors like, nation-states, communism and other Christian religions. And, with an increasing influence of local or peripheral actors. Although Vallier recognizes the increasing influence of other actors within the Catholic Church, he places this in the perspective of papal authority: "*Without a clear basis of authoritative decision making and the legitimacy of the papal center all actions break down*" (Vallier: 1971: 482).

¹ Officially there is no such thing as a national Catholic Church. But since the Second Vatican Council, churches in countries or regions have the possibility to organize themselves in national or regional bishops' conferences.

This papal center is not a democracy, there is one autocratic leader: the pope. The second most senior position is that of a cardinal. The cardinals are the ones who elect a new pope when the former died or resigned. All cardinals are created by a pope. It is not strange that the first study of Roman Catholic foreign policy focused on the power of the pope compared to the power of institutions outside of Rome (Vallier, 1971). But at the same time Vallier recognized the influence of Vatican II: “*one-way vertical communication - from top to bottom - is rapidly being eclipsed by both reverse and lateral patterns*” (Vallier, 1971: 484). But he interprets these changes as a “*major integrative problem*” (Vallier, 1971: 493) of the center. This means that, according to Vallier, the Holy See needs to find methods to unify the church in their policies and teachings because peripheral parts of the church are starting to develop their own ideas. And this is against the traditional teaching of the church.

Hanson in 1987, takes a different approach. Because of the decisions made during the Second Vatican Council, bishops and cardinals met more often during National Bishop Conferences and Global Synods and Conferences. This created the possibility to propose certain kinds of policy, for example on war and peace (Hanson, 1987).

In describing the policy process on arms control he stresses the influence of United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB) on the final position of the Holy See. “*The principal causality on arms control has been the influence of one national Catholic Church on another*” (Hanson, 1987: 321). In this chapter he described that national bishops and international Catholic peace organizations like Pax Christi created a new political position on nuclear weapons. Influential members of the Roman Curia, like Cardinal Ratzinger, tried to restrain this national influence but other bishops’ conferences throughout the world accepted the American position instead of the Curia’s position. In this case the periphery has the agenda function. But they also have an effect on implementation: “*in the Catholic Church as in all complex bureaucracies, the command of the leader does not guarantee effective policy implementation.*” (Hanson, 1987: 64).

Hehir was one of the American delegates to the Curia during the nuclear disarmament debate. As an insider and scholar he wrote several articles about Roman Catholic foreign policy. In 1990 he wrote about the papal *Ostpolitik* that it was influenced by the Third World Churches (Hehir, 1990). In 2006 he further criticized Vallier’s position, because he did not take into account the influence of Vatican II. He poses that the RCC must be studied on systemic, national and local levels. Because that: “*leads to a more dialectical, pluralistic and dynamic understanding of how transnational Catholicism functions*” (Hehir, 2006: 100). And as a fourth level of analysis he described the influence of the pope which effects the three other levels.

Ryall is even more focused on the “*real tensions between orders, secular clergy, the Curia and lay organisations*” (Ryall, 2001: 45). And Ryall predicts that these tensions will only increase as the church becomes more globalized (Ryall, 2001).

Peripheral actors have an important role because they are the ones who are connected with the billion members of the church. And they raise the money with which the Curia is funded. These groups within the church are well organized and often have a strong media presence (Hanson, 1987).

The tension between the periphery and Rome does not only explain how foreign policies are developed in the Holy See. It also explains why certain policies change. The Holy See and the local churches interdependent. Without the support of the local church the Holy See loses credibility there are norms are not shared with likeminded people. And in a worst case scenario it could lead to internal division and schisms. Therefore, ideas can only change through interaction or discourse between the periphery and the center.

Power of Institutions

A second theme of great importance in the literature is the power of institutions. Even if local bishops develop new policies, the Holy See can still block and counter these policies. Vallier described the reputation of the Holy see in three ways: rigid, dogmatic and bureaucratic (Vallier, 1971). Rigid, because the RCC is not afraid to take a policy position that is contrary to the position of other states. A good example is the Cairo Conference in which the RCC used all their diplomatic powers to influence the UN's statement on Women's rights (Neale, 1998). Connected is dogmatic, "*its moral laws and central doctrines are held as eternal verities, not open to debate, modification or change*" (Vallier, 1971: 484). And at last bureaucratic with its focus on formal rules and hierarchy, symbolized by the Roman Curia.

Vallier himself comments on this reputation that doctrinal progressive theologians and the influence of Vatican II are changing this reputation.

But later authors, like Hanson, describe the Curia in comparable way. "*All congregations in the Curia focus on some way on the orthodoxy of doctrine*" (Hanson, 1987: 67). And these institutions are hard to change because members of the Curia can hold the same positions for decades (Hanson, 1987).

But the Holy See is not only conservative in their doctrines. They are rigid institution with a critical attitude to institutional changes. This can be characterized with the influence of Pope Benedict XVI. Before he became pope in 2005 he was the Prefect of the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith (CDF) since 1981. As prefect he was the second most influential person in the Roman Catholic Church and a defender of conservative Catholic teachings (Hanson, 1987). Hehir stresses the restraining role of the Curia on policy change from national Catholic actors (Hehir, 2006). And in the case of arms control the Curia took effort in constraining the political actions from the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB) (Hanson, 1987). This rigid and doctrinally conservative attitude restrains the development of ideas in two ways. First, they are critical of new ideas because these ideas could threaten the orthodoxy of the church. And second, they are critical of actions that are initiated by regional bishops' conferences because it threatens the hierarchy of the RCC.

Conclusion

According to the existing literature there are two relevant discussions about policy development in the Holy See.

First, the growing influence of peripheral actors on international policies. Hanson (1987) and Hehir (2006) have shown that changed policies are often introduced by influential bishops' conferences. Second, although the influence peripheral actors have grown in the last decades the Holy See remains a conservative institution with the power to slow or block policy development.

Chapter 3 – Theoretical Framework

In the previous chapters it became clear that policy development in the Holy See takes place in discourse between peripheral actors like regional bishops' conferences and the Holy See. These interactions are complicated because of the rigid and conservative character of the Holy See in previous cases.

The purpose of this chapter is to formulate a theoretical framework to integrate this case study in the existing political science theories about policy development. The first part of this chapter shall the importance of this theoretical framework in connection with Causal Process Tracing is introduced. In the second part the different branches of New Institutionalism (NI) are discussed because they offer possible explanations of policy change. In the third part of this chapter the key concepts within this theory are operationalized. And in the last part of this chapter the conclusions of the first three chapters are combined in a predicted multi-level model of causation.

A multi-level model of causation

Although Causal Process Tracing has an inductive character that does not mean that this case study is separated from the existing social science theories. This case study is linked to these existing theories by creating a causal mechanism. Blatter and Haverland use causal mechanisms to “*link generic social mechanisms in a multi-level model of causation*” (Blatter and Haverland, 2012: 95). A causal mechanism connects empirical observations and predictions with social science theory. Blatter and Haverland connect the empirical observations with theory by using three different social mechanisms. The starting point is the situational mechanism in which the empirical predictions are described about the case. The situational mechanism is connected with the theoretical action formation mechanism. The action formation mechanism is a relevant social science theory about the behaviour of actors. In this chapter I shall propose that discourse institutionalism is the most appropriate theory to explain policy change within the context of the Holy See and climate change. The overall results depend on the transformational mechanism or the institutional context of the case (Blatter and Haverland, 2012).

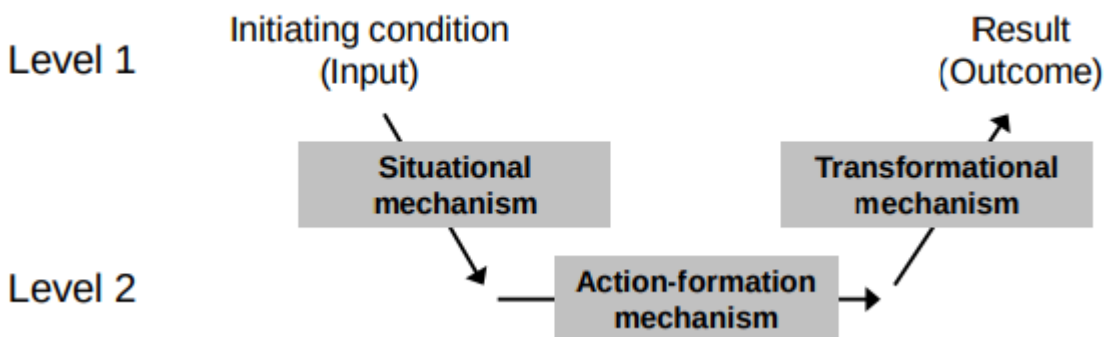


Figure 4.1 Different types of social mechanisms that together form a causal mechanism (Blatter and Haverland, 2012: 95).

In the previous chapter several empirical predictions are formulated that together form the predicted situational mechanism and transformational mechanism. In the first part of this chapter discourse institutionalism is proposed as the action formation mechanism. In the second part the

key concepts are defined that are used to analyse and describe this case and that are connected with discourse analysis.

In the last part of this chapter the predicted causal mechanism is proposed by connecting the literature review with discourse institutionalism.

New Institutionalism and Ideas

In previous chapters it became clear that there are three important concepts in the explanation of the Holy See's foreign policies. The Holy See itself is a normative actor, this means that their foreign policies are about the propagation of certain ideas and values. It is therefore important that ideas and the change of ideas fits in this theory. The second concept is actors; new ideas are formed in interaction with Catholic actors outside the Holy See like regional bishops' conferences. And the last concepts is about the importance of institutions,

There are numerous theories that explain the behaviour of the actors involved in foreign policy. The New Institutional theories cover the most important aspects of political science: actors, institutions and ideas. New Institutionalism consists of group of three loosely connected theories that share three core assumptions about policy outcomes. First, it is problematic to measure preferences. Second, combining individual preferences does not automatically lead to the collective decision, and third "*Much or all of political behavior and collective decision making is an artefact of the procedures used to make decisions*" (Immergut, 1998: 8). In summary it can be said the historical and social context have a large influence on political outcomes (Immergut, 1998).

But the three different branches have different origins and differ on several points. And besides that, they have a different opinion about the influence of ideas. Within sociological institutionalism the use of ideas is accepted but in the other the two is it is highly debated. The three differ on the definition of institutions, logic of action and the object of explanation (Schmidt, 2010; Immergut, 1998; Hall and Taylor, 1996). Theories that do not take the concept of ideas seriously are not appropriate for this case because the involved actors claim that their policies and actions are mostly influenced by ideas and beliefs. Therefore, only theories from the different branches of new institutionalism that use ideas as a variable are discussed.

To formulate expectations be using new institutionalist theories it is important to define what is explained. The three institutionalist theories differ in their object and logic of explanation. In reviewing the different positions, I use the Holy See as an example to explain the differences.

Rational Choice Institutionalism (RI) looks at rational actors who try to maximize their preferences. Within this approach, ideas only play a minor role. An exception is a book from Goldstein and Keohane in 1993, in this book ideas are integrated within RI as an intervening variable (Blyth, 1997). They use ideas to explain the preferences of rational acting actors. "*To understand the formation of preferences, we need to understand what ideas are available and how people choose among them*" (Goldstein and Keohane, 1993: 13).

Goldstein and Keohane describe three causal pathways in which ideas can influence individuals. But they do not describe how these ideas come into existence. They only describe the causal

mechanisms that show how ideas affect actors. Although Rational Choice Theory, on which RI is based, is a commonly used theory in political science it is problematic in this case because it is impossible to test the predictions of RI. Actors within RI have “a fixed set of preferences or tastes” and “behave entirely instrumentally so as to maximize the attainment of these preferences” (Hall and Taylor, 1996: 12). This ‘calculus approach’ (Taylor and Hall, 1996) is hard to apply in case of the Holy See. Preferences cannot be measured by the counting of votes or in other comparable way. And Catholic officials have often made a vow of poverty. This does not mean that they do not pursue their own preferences but because of the closed system of the Holy See it is not measurable in a RI way.

Historical Institutionalism (HI) explains policy outcomes by historical political rules and laws that support certain groups and constrain others. Actors only have power if they are recognized by the state. “*Historical institutionalists have been especially attentive to the way in which institutions distribute power unevenly across social groups.*” (Hall and Taylor, 1996: 9).

Therefore, ideas only have influence if they are adopted by powerful groups. HI does not give attention to the influence of ideas on these political rules themselves.

Within HI change can only be explained by the drift of unforeseen consequences. And there is little research on the change of ideas.

The third approach called Sociological Institutionalism (SI) explains policy outcomes by the influence of culture and norms and the influence of these institutions on social agents who are deeply influenced by their own context. This means that ideas and beliefs are a central variable in explaining policy outcomes. Actors support a certain kind of ideas and policies because these ideas are appropriate (Hall and Taylor, 1996). This approach does not pay enough attention to actors with diverging interests: “*it can miss the extent to which processes of institutional creation or reform entail a clash of power among actors with competing interests*” (Hall and Taylor, 1996: 21).

So all three approaches have their strengths and weaknesses but all three of them have two limitations. First, they do not explain how ideas about a certain policy could change. And second they need an exogenous crisis to explain rapid policy change.

Since the late 1990’s several authors like Campbell, Blyth and Schmidt have tried to integrate these three different approaches into a new approach that is more dynamic (Schmidt, 2010). This approach has many names like; discourse analysis (Hajer, 2003), discursive institutionalism (Campbell and Pedersen, 2001) and constructivist institutionalism (Hay, 2006). The most common term is discursive institutionalism (DI). DI acknowledges the key concepts of all three approaches, interests, historical institutions and ideas, but it defines these concepts in a more dynamic way. Interest are not only material but can also be altruistic, institutions do not only constrain actors but are also constructs of actors (Schmidt, 2008).

The most important element of DI is that ideas are not static but formed through interactive processes. In discourse between political actors and between political actors and the public new ideas can be formulated. DI is an appropriate theory for this case study because the ideas about global warming have changed through the interaction of actors. The discourse between the Holy

See and regional bishops' conferences is characterized by institutions that give the Holy See more power than the bishops' conferences.

The weakness of DI is that it is difficult to compare different cases because the concepts that it uses are too dynamic for direct comparison. This weakness is not relevant for this thesis because a unique case is described.

Operationalization of Concepts

There are four concepts in discursive institutionalism that need to be operationalized. These concepts are: actors, institutions, ideas and discourse.

Actors

Ideas do not change on their own, actors with their own interests are involved in the development of ideas. In chapter two the historical tension between regional actors and the Holy See is described. The preferences and influences of these actors explain how the ideas about climate change have changed but also why these ideas have changed.

In this thesis a distinction is made between three different actors; the Holy See, regional bishops' conferences and the pope.

The Holy See is analysed as a single actor because it acts to the outside world as an actor with a single opinion. The interests of the Holy See are to proclaim and protect the universal beliefs of the church.

The second actors are the regional bishops' conferences. Diocesan bishops are the senior leaders that stand in direct connection with the Roman Catholic believers. These bishops meet in regional conferences through which they express their ideas. Their interests are connected with the interests of the Catholic believers. So if their region suffers from climate change it gives a strong incentive to speak about the need for policy measure to limit global warming.

And the last actors are the popes. Between 1992 and 2015 there were three different popes, with different backgrounds and ideas. The Holy See is their see, but their interest can diverge from the interest of the Holy See as described before. This is especially true for Pope Francis, because he was a diocesan bishop before he became Pope Francis.

Institutions

The discourse between regional bishops' conferences and the Holy See is not a conversation between equals. The Holy See has the power; the bishops can only organize themselves according to the rules that are created by the Holy See. And if certain regions are accused of heterodox ideas than the Holy See has the influence to restrain the regional conference. This happened in the Netherlands, the Dutch Bishops' Conference was known for their progressive ideas (Hanson, 1987). After interventions of the Holy See the Dutch Bishops' Conference is today known for its conformity to the Holy See.

The discourse or conversation about climate change is regulated by several institutions. Institutions are the restraining influence of the Holy See on the policy discourse.

There are two important institutions about new doctrines or new ideas. First, they must be orthodox. This means that new ideas must fit within the existing doctrines of the RCC. Second, new ideas must be universal or catholic. This means that contextual theologies like feminist theology and liberation theology are not acceptable. These institutions are guarded by the Holy See.

Another institution is that the Holy See is a rigid or socially conservative organization. Although the Second Vatican Council created the possibility for regional bishops' conferences. The Holy See distrusted these conference for decades after the Second Vatican Council. Laudato Si' was the first encyclical that acknowledged the influence of these conferences on the teaching of the church.

Ideas

The Holy See is a normative actor in the international arena. The development of their foreign policies is the development of ideas. Because the development of policy is so closely related to the development of ideas it is very important to conceptualize these ideas.

Since the early 1990's many authors have tried to define and conceptualize ideas in different ways. Goldstein and Keohane describe three levels. First, worldviews that are about cosmology and ontology. Second, principled beliefs, these ethical views about what is right and wrong. And third, causal beliefs are the practical implications of the principled beliefs. (Goldstein and Keohane, 1993). Campbell proposed a definition in which he merged SI and HI definitions in one model:

	Concept and theories in the foreground of the policy debate	Underlying assumptions in the background of the policy debate
Cognitive level	<i>Programs</i> Ideas as elite policy prescriptions that help policymakers to chart a clear and specific course of policy action	<i>Paradigms</i> Ideas as elite assumptions that constrain the cognitive range of useful solutions available to policy makers
Normative level	<i>Frames</i> Ideas as symbols and concepts that help policy makers to legitimize policy solutions to the public	<i>Public Sentiments</i> Ideas as public assumptions that constrain the normative range of legitimate solutions available to policy makers

Tabel 4.1 Types of ideas and their effects on policy making (Campbell, 1998: 385).

Schmidt (2008) describes policy on three different levels:

1. Policy solutions (specific policies)
2. Paradigms and programs that underpin the policy ideas

3. Worldviews (or “deep core” (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993)

But she also makes a difference in a normative and cognitive type of policies. “*Cognitive ideas elucidate “what is and what to do,” whereas normative ideas indicate “what is good or bad about what is”*” (Schmidt, 2008: 306).

Within statements of the Holy See it is difficult to make the distinction between cognitive ideas and normative ideas because the Holy See is a normative actor. This means The Holy See itself claims that their ideas and policy proposals are only about ethics or normative ideas. Within the Roman Catholic Church it is controversial to be politically active. For priests it is even forbidden to pursue a political career. “*Clerics are forbidden to assume public offices which entail a participation in the exercise of civil power*” (Code of Canon Law, 1983). In the case of climate change the Holy See does not participate in the process of implementation of specific policies. Instead they use their stage to state which policies, paradigms and worldviews should guide other states in mitigation of global warming. In the 1990’s they have used their position within the UN to criticize the climate policies that involve birth control. And in the 2000’s they have started supporting policies that use financial incentives to decrease global warming.

Therefore, in thesis I will only describe the normative type of policies on the three different levels proposed by Schmidt (2008). This means that ideas can change on the level of worldviews, paradigms and policy solutions.

Worldview ideas are the official doctrine of the church as formulated in encyclicals and other authorized statements.

Paradigms are the hermeneutical glasses through which reality is perceived. Paradigms are both cognitive and normative. They interpret reality but this can only happen from normative ideas about reality.

Policy solutions are the applied ideas about what actors should do to change the current situation.

Discourse

The last important concept in this thesis is discourse. Discourse is conceptualized as the interaction between the actors about climate change ideas.

This interaction happens through conferences and meetings but the most important interaction is through public statements from regional bishops’ conferences.

Expectations

According to the literature and discursive institutionalism there is an interaction between actors that leads to new ideas. This conversation between actors is influenced by institutions that grant power to the Holy See.

The situational mechanism is that the Holy See is a rigid and doctrinal conservative organization that is critical of change proposed by the periphery. Change is possible but only if powerful peripheral organizations support that change.

A changed policy on climate change is only possible if the most powerful regional bishops' conferences support the new policy.

A changed policy on climate change is only possible if it does not form a threat for the existing worldview.

The action-formation mechanism that is used in this thesis is that policy actors are part of a discourse in which ideas have an influence on institutions and preferences. New ideas can change institutions and preferences of actors.

New ideas about the relation between human dignity and climate change made a changed policy acceptable for regional bishops' conferences.

The acceptance of new ideas about the relation between human dignity and climate change by many (powerful) regional bishops' conferences made a changed policy acceptable for the Holy See.

The transformational mechanism is that the Holy See is that only with the support of the pope change can take place.

The former combined with the election of Pope Francis created a new interest for climate change within the Holy See.

Chapter 4 – Research Design and Methods

Foreign policies can be studied in various ways dependent upon epistemological premises and the research goals of the study. In this chapter I will discuss the epistemological premises for this thesis and the research goals for this thesis. These goals and premises lead to a research design called Causal Process Tracing. The key concepts of CPT are described in the second part of this chapter. And in the last part the applied methods and key sources are described.

Haverland and Blatter discuss three different epistemological positions, positivism, constructivism and naturalism. There are major disagreements between researchers from these different standpoints but that does not mean that one is more true than the other. Different research goals match with different epistemological positions.

According to positivist or critical rationalists there is an objective reality and this objective reality can be studied by researchers in a way that corresponds with this objective reality. And although positivist social researchers agree that not all aspects can be observed *“they presume that it is possible to observe human behaviour and that formal logic helps us to draw descriptive and causal conclusions from these empirical observations”* (Blatter and Haverland, 2012: 10). Positivists have as research goal to test and develop theoretical claims. This position has little use for this thesis. There has been almost no research on policy development in religious transnational actors. Therefore, it is not possible to test different theoretical claims or build on existing claims. And besides that the Holy See and the RCC are known for their complex institutional design and their lack of information that is used by rationalist researchers like voting behaviour.

An opposite view of positivism is constructivism. There are many different interpretations of constructivism but they all share the view that reality is viewed by a subjective researcher. And that through research no objective or true knowledge can be created. They disagree on the amount of distortion between subject and researcher. Bevir and Rhodes explain their epistemological position as follows: *“Although we do not have access to pure facts that we can use to declare particular interpretations and narratives to be true or false, we can still hang on to the idea of objectivity... We judge one narrative better than another because it best meets such criteria as: accuracy, comprehensiveness, consistency and opening new avenues of inquiry”* (Bevir and Rhodes in Blatter and Haverland, 2012: 11). The relativist position has as its weakness that because of its relative foundations every contribution is also subjective and relative in some way.

Pragmatism is not as radical as positivist and constructivist positions. This approach is based upon the idea that there is an objective world that can be studied. But to study this world, researchers need to dig deeper to study underlying factors. But this knowledge does not lead to law like universal theories. This position is best suited for this foreign policy case study because it leads to comparable results of a complex phenomenon.

It also connects well to the research goal as described in chapter 1. I will analyse what caused the policy development of the Holy See on environmental policy. This Y-centered type of research applies best to a pragmatist epistemology (Blatter and Haverland, 2012).

The most common research design in foreign policy studies is a small-n case study. There are many reasons why most researchers use qualitative case studies. There are three reasons why a small-n qualitative method is chosen. First, a quantitative analysis of foreign policies with as purpose to develop a unified foreign policy theory was tried during the time of comparative foreign policy. A lot of effort and knowledge was put in this strategy but it did not lead to satisfying results, because the causal variables are too complex and contingent to quantify (Hudson, 2008).

In thesis I will use a single case study to trace the variables that caused the changed policy from the RCC on climate change. As discussed before, the RCC is a unique actor in the international arena and policy changes rarely take place. This why I choose for research design that is applicable to an Y-centered approach. Causal Process Tracing as described by Blatter and Haverland (2012) is an Y-centered approach that help to create a thick description of the policy process.

Causal Process Tracing

Causal Process Tracing is particularly useful in Y-centered research. Policy changes do not happen very often in the RCC, and when it happens it gives a unique chance to discover the multiple complex causes.

Causal Process Tracing is based upon the following assumptions.

1. *“A plurality of causal factors works together to create an outcome”* (Blatter and Haverland, 2012: 81)

In the coming chapters I will formulate possible causal factors that could have influenced the policy process. To say that one factor changed the policy process while the others didn't is an oversimplification of reality. By following this assumption reality and empirics become more important than theories. During the analysis of the different episode's new causal factors can be discovered and added to the existing factors.

2. *“Causality plays out in time and space”* (Blatter and Haverland, 2012: 81)

Within CPT it is much more important to recreate reality than to simplify reality in variables and values. Variables and values are important to compare one case with another, but researchers who use CPT do want to generalize their results to other cases. To generalize is often impossible because of the uniqueness of the case and its context.

With CPT it is possible to identify the different causal factors and to discover how these causal factors influenced each other and the policy process in time. Within CPT researchers look for combinations of factors that explain the outcome of a case. Or which causal conditions created this outcome? Often different factors need to be combined to come to the outcome of a case and a combination of factors that are depended upon each other of influence each other as causal configurations (Blatter and Haverland, 2012)

Case Selection

Within the CPT approach the most important criteria for case selection is accessibility because a lot of data is needed to make causal claims (Blatter and Haverland, 2012). Foreign policy change within the RCC does not happen very often. And it especially rare that a policy position from the Holy See leads to specific recommendations to other states. In the last years this happened in the case of the Holy See's policy on climate change. Leading up to the COP 21, or the United Nations Climate Change Conference in Paris, the pope and the Holy See three important developments took place. First, much more diplomatic attention was given to Climate Change Conferences since COP 15 in Copenhagen. Before COP 15, local nuncios, Holy See ambassadors, represented the Catholic Church. Since COP 15 the Holy See is represented by high ranking officials from the Curia (Heffern, 2009). Second, during COP21, the Holy See pressed for specific policy goals: "*The Holy See joined today the call to include the below 1.5C global warming goal in the final drive for a legally-binding climate change deal here*" (Holy See Joins Final Push, 2015). And at last, the Pope Francis published the encyclical² *Laudate Si* on the 18th of June 2015, the first encyclical about climate change.

Accessibility

One of the reasons why there is a limited amount of publications of RCC foreign policy is because the Curia is known for its lack of cooperation with researchers and journalists. This poses a threat for CPT because a lot of data is needed. Policy makers within the RCC are often older than policy makers in other states. Therefore, it is important to study a subject when these policy makers are still alive. This topic is more accessible than most other topics because in the last two years there were a lot of official publications, interviews and statements from Curia members about climate change. Next to that, the changed policy on climate change created controversy among conservative politicians worldwide (Vaughan, 2015). Because of the controversy more public statements about this topic were made, especially about *Laudato Si'*.

Method

Blatter and Haverland compare the research of CPT researcher with that of a detective. As a detective the researcher reconstructs "*the various steps that lead to an outcome*" (Blatter and Haverland, 2012: 106). He needs to look for qualitative and trustworthy evidence that is not receptive for other interpretations. The researcher needs to reconstruct the case in detail so that no important causes could be missed.

There are three empirical fundamentals of the CPT approach: comprehensive storylines, smoking guns and confessions.

The first empirical fundament is the comprehensive storyline. The policy process takes places in time and space. The researchers look for the structural factors and the timeline of the policy process. In this overview critical moments will appear and these critical moments are furthers

² An encyclical is the most authoritative common statement within the RCC. Other statement like 'ex cathedra' statements are more authoritative but are also extremely rare. While an encyclical is written once every two or three years, the last 'ex cathedra' statement was more than 50 years ago.

researched in the different chapters. In chapter five a comprehensive storyline is created by analysing the relevant statements from the Holy See. By using the other two empirical fundaments these critical moments are further investigated.

The smoking gun observations are empirical evidence for steps in the causal pathway. Smoking guns do not provide conclusive evidence but point in a certain direction. These directions are then investigated in search for more evidence. Smoking guns are often secondary statements about the case from newspapers and other media. Another example of a smoking gun is an information gap. Since 2000 the Holy See stopped referring to population control in their statements while this was an important topic in earlier statements. This information gap points to the influence of the population debate on the policy development. Confessions provide the motivations and ideas of the actors about their actions in the policy process. In this case study there are many 'confessions' because actors refer in their statements to causal factors. In the statements by Martino (2001) and Francis (2015b) there are many references and quotes from other sources. By explicitly referring to these influences they give a confession.

Sources

To reconstruct the storyline of climate policy I will only use primary sources from the Holy See. These sources can be split into three parts. First, statements, speeches from last three popes that involve climate change and are addressed to a foreign context. For example, *Laudato Si'* is addressed to all of humankind. Second, all statements from the Holy See about climate change during multilateral UN meetings. These meetings involve UNFCCC meetings, General Assembly speeches and several other meetings. And third, all relevant articles about climate change in *L'Osservatore Romano*. This newspaper can be seen as direct mouthpiece of the Holy See according to most scholars (Ryall, 2001; Hanson, 1987). I will only use the Italian version of *L'Osservatore Romano* because the Italian version is a daily newspaper while the English version is a weekly newspaper.

In the following chapters I will analyse the different episodes more in depth. The starting point for this analysis are the official statements as described before. Within the Holy See there is a tradition that these statements contain a bibliography with references and influences. These references make it possible to trace the influence on the writers of the statements. Common references are former Papal statements, statements by regional bishops' conferences, scientific reports etc.

In addition to these references I will use two additional sources. First, statements from Catholic NGO's and Bishops Conferences. Second, newspapers and online media with a Catholic identity. Because there are hundreds if not thousands of these sources I will only use the most accessible from the most relevant countries. Relevant countries are the countries in which National Bishops Conferences have issued statements about climate change. Additional media sources are the ones that have a global impact like ZENIT.

Other common sources in CPT research are interviews with policy makers and experts. In this thesis interviews are only used as anecdotes. There are two reasons why interviews are not used as evidence. First, although the Holy See acts like a state in the international arena it is

first a representative of the Roman Catholic Church. I have spoken with several experts and some officials and they were interested in a theological conversation instead of the political mechanisms. For example, when I asked someone: why Pope Francis was elected? He answered because the cardinals were guided by the Holy Spirit. I am not saying that this answer is not correct but it is not that useful in political science thesis. The guidance of the Holy Spirit is hard to conceptualize. The same is true for experts they focus on theological topics like the influence of Thomas Aquinas, 13th century theologian. Second, the Holy See has a reputation for being bureaucratic and secretive. The Holy See is a very small organization which huge ambitions.³ This means that most officials do not have time for interviews.

Reliability and Validity⁴

If a study is reliable it is repeatable. This means that if a study is repeated by another researcher the same results will appear. Reliability consists of three factors that together define if a study is reliable. The first factor is stability reliability, if this study is repeated in 10 years, will the results be the same. Second, representative reliability is about the subgroup that is used that provided the data for the research. If the same questions are asked to other subgroups, will the results be the same?

And last, equivalence reliability. If two interviewees with the same knowledge are asked the same questions will they answer in a comparable way.

The reliability of this study depends on the conceptualization of the IR theories and the stability of the sample group. The Holy See is known as a very stable and reliable group with very little personal changes.

Validity is about the possibility to draw scientific and causal conclusion from a study. There is an important distinction between internal validity and external validity. External validity in small n case studies is extremely difficult. The conclusions from the case study are not generalizable to other cases. This is especially through in the case of international religious actors. The conclusions about a policy process within the Holy See cannot be applied to the Shia Muslims because there too many differences. Internal validity is about causality within the study. The combination between causal-process tracing and congruence analysis makes it reasonable that conclusions drawn will display causal effects. The internal validity is strengthened by the conceptualization of the most important concepts like ideas, preferences and institutions.

³ The Holy See has less than 3000 officials while they maintain diplomatic relations with most states and international organizations. Besides that, those 3000 officials are also responsible for the governance of the Roman Catholic Church with more 1 billion members.

⁴ This section is copied from a PD1 paper, that I wrote, called research design. The original document was part of the preparatory phase of this thesis.

Chapter 5 – Changing Ideas

Introduction

In this chapter I will describe how the ideas about climate change have changed since 1992. These ideas analysed on three different levels: worldview, paradigm and policies. This chapter is necessary because the change of ideas on climate change have never been analysed from a political perspective before. During the analysis it became clear that the content changed three times and then remained stable for some years.

To analyse the proposed climate policies of the Holy See I will use different kind of sources although the main focus will be on public statements of the Holy See during UN meetings. Other documents that are used to describe the policy of the Holy See are authoritative documents like the Compendium on Social Doctrine (2005) and public statements of John Paul II, Benedict XVI and Francis. A very important statement by Francis is his encyclical *Laudato Si'*. Encyclicals are among the most influential statements within the Church but they are normally not addressed to non-believers. *Laudato Si'* breaks with this tradition because it is addressed to “*the whole human family*” because “*Everyone’s talent and involvement are needed*” (Francis, 2015b: 13).

The year 2015 was the year of the environment for the Roman Catholic Church. More statements were made about the environment than ever before and they used all their diplomatic soft power to influence the COP21 meeting in Paris. Even more important, Pope Francis incorporated ecology and the battle against anthropogenic global warming into the official teaching of the Church by publishing the encyclical *Laudato Si'*. In popular media this was all attributed to the personal work of Pope Francis.

And although no one shall deny that his personal efforts played an important role, it is an oversimplification of reality. Pope Francis has been called the Green Pope because of his work against climate change but his two predecessors have also been called the Green Pope because of their work against climate change and aggression against the environment (Agliardo, 2014; Benedict XVI, 2014).

In a theological sense the Roman Catholic Church has had a strong opinion about the environment for almost 2000 years. In all ages theologians have reflected upon the relations between man, creation and creator. But that does not mean that the Holy See has been involved in the public debate about solutions against global warming or climate change. Theologians who have analysed the theological debate start with the medieval theologians like Thomas Aquinas about 600 years ago (Schaefer, 2011). The Holy See became involved in the Environmental debate in 1972 when they participated in a Conference on the Environment (John Paul II, 1985). And between 1972 and 1992 Pope John Paul II and his predecessor Pope Paul VI made several statement to UN meetings about the environment. But to trace back the policy development from 2015 we only need to look until 1992 because in that year the UNFCCC was created and the environmental statements of the Holy See started to include global warming.

Policy Change

The Holy See started participating in the discussion on climate change in 1992 during the Rio Earth Summit. The baseline for foreign climate policy will be extracted from the statement made by Apostolic Nuncio Renato Martino to the Earth Summit.

1992 - 2001

In the early 1990's climate change became an important topic on the international agenda. The IPCC published its first synthesis of research on global warming in 1990. In this report they stated that: "*We are certain emissions resulting from human activities are substantially increasing the atmospheric concentrations of the greenhouse gases ... These increases will enhance the greenhouse effect, resulting on average in an additional warming of the Earth's surface*" (IPCC, 1990). To respond to this environmental crisis in 1992 during the Earth Summit in Rio the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change was signed. During the Earth Summit Apostolic Nuncio Martino addressed the parties. His speech needs to be interpreted within the theological framework created by Pope John Paul II in 1990 during the World Peace Day.

Worldview

The central doctrine of Catholic Social Teaching is human dignity. This means that the environment is only important in relation to the development of mankind. The relationship between mankind and the environment was the main theme of Pope John Paul II's speech during World Peace Day. In his speech he relates all kinds of environmental problems with social problems like war and poverty. According to Martino, the phenomenon of global warming is bad because it affects humanity in a negative way (Martino, 1992).

Paradigm

The paradigm during these years was that environmental problems are viewed from a theological perspective and not from a rational or scientific perspective. In these years, climate policies were evaluated by theological criteria and without the use of scientific arguments.

Martino states that climate policy always needs to be placed within the greater picture of human advancement because he wants: "***to place creation in the fullest way possible at the service of the human family.***" (Martino, 1992, bold in original).

In accordance with the worldview of the Holy See, two main criteria for climate policies are given: stewardship and solidarity. Human dignity is achieved when people live in solidarity with each other and if they are responsible stewards of the Earth. The problem behind environmental problems are too much consumption and waste. To fix this problem: "*the scandalous patterns of consumption and waste of all kinds of resources by a few must be corrected, in order to ensure justice and sustainable development to all, everywhere in the world.*" (Martino, 1992). He describes a tension between protecting the environment at the cost of the development of the developing countries and supporting

the developing countries at the cost of the environment. His proposed solution is for the rich to consume less so that the poor can pollute more without increasing overall pollution. And from other statements (Canuto, 1997; Marino, 2001) we know that this solution is achieved by creating awareness about consumption and the environment.

Policies

The only public policy that was discussed by Martino is the limitation on population growth. And he makes clear that population control is a kind of policy that the Holy See will always disagree on. *“What the Church opposes is the imposition of demographic policies and the promotion of methods for limiting births which are contrary to the objective moral order and to the liberty, dignity and conscience of the human being”* (Martino, 1992). According to supporters of population control this statement by Martino: *“intimidated most country delegations around the world”* (Guilfoyle, 1992).

In a later statement during a conference about outer space exploration another policy solution was proposed. When talking about climate change Canuto said: *“the fuel for today's revolution is not physical, it is not land or coal. It is information. Information is a public good and the only truly unlimited resource humanity possesses. Knowledge and hunger do not mix, because with full awareness, people cannot knowingly deny others food”* (Canuto, 1999).

In his speech he proposed that knowledge and education could solve climate change because if people know what the consequences of their actions are they will change their behaviour.

2001 - 2007

On the 28th of November 2001, Martino addressed the UN General Assembly when it discussed the preparations for the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg 2002. The title of his statement was “Environment and sustainable development: protecting of global climate for present and future generations of mankind”. In this statement no changes to place on the level of proposed policies and no changes took place in worldview.

But the paradigm of the Holy See changed from a theological paradigm to a scientific paradigm. The climate crisis was first evaluated from a scientific perspective and later the solutions were framed within Catholic Social Teaching.

In 1992 climate change was only shortly described and no attention was given to anthropogenic causes. In his 2001 statement, Martino fully embraces the conclusions of the IPCC that state that mankind is responsible for climate change.

Worldview

The worldview of the Holy See did not change during this episode. The worldview of the Holy See did not change in Martino's 2001 statement compared with his statement in

1992. After Martino explains the urgency of acting against climate change, he quotes Pope John Paul II: *“These are problems which have, at their roots, a profound ethical dimension, and which involve, therefore, the human person, the centre of creation, with those rights of freedom which derive from his dignity of being made in the image of God and with the duties which every person has towards the future generations”* (John Paul II in Martino, 2001). Mankind is still the center of creation and the problem of Global Warming is a problem because it threatens human dignity. Apostolic Nuncio to the UN Dewane states in 2003: *“true mitigation and adaption can be realized only when human beings are placed at the center of concerns for sustainable development”* (Dewane, 2003). In 2004 the Compendium of the Social Doctrine was published under supervision of Martino, after his work as apostolic nuncio to the UN he came president of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace. In the chapter about the environment it states that: *“As regards to the ecological question, the social doctrine of the Church reminds us that the goods of the earth were created by God to be used wisely by all”* (PCJP, 2004). Use of products or production methods that emit greenhouse gasses is one the goods of the earth in this context. It shows that the environment is subordinate to human progress.

Paradigm

2001 was a year of change because for the first time the conclusions of the IPCC were endorsed by the Holy See. In 2001 the IPCC published its third assessment report (IPCC, 2001). In this report they reaffirmed that global warming has anthropogenic causes and that global warming has tremendous consequences for our planet (IPCC, 2001).

In the 1990's the Holy See did not even refer to anthropogenic causes of climate change while Martino's statement in 2001 is based upon research by the IPCC. *“Indeed, “there is a new and stronger evidence that most of the warming observed over the last fifty years is attributed to human activities”* (Martino, 2001). And when he talks about the release of CO₂ he says in a negative sense: *“mankind itself had become a force of nature, so powerful as to be potentially capable of changing our world for centuries to come”* (Martino, 2001). Later statement by the Holy See also start with scientific conclusions instead of theological ones. Dewane, the successor of Martino, starts his statement during COP9 with *“Both scientifically and politically, it has been recognized that human activity is a significant factor in climate change. Further, human actions can play a crucial role in the mitigation of and adaption to climate change”* (Dewane, 2003).

These statement show that a paradigm shift took place before around 2001. The problem of climate change is no longer seen from a theological perspective but first from a scientific perspective. And after the scientific knowledge about climate change is described it is connected with the worldview of the centrality of the human person.

Policies

Although climate change is seen from a different perspective this new paradigm does not lead to other proposed policies. The only proposed policy is creating awareness and educating people about the consequences of our lifestyle. Because: *“knowledge is the*

only true inexhaustible resource that assures a sustainable environment and development and, Mr. Chairman, only knowledge, together with an ethical sense of our relationship with the environment, can help to guide our efforts today and for future generations.” (Martino, 2001).

One year later during World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, he expresses the same kind of solutions as in previous statements: *“what is needed is “education in ecological responsibility””* (Martino, 2002 quoting John Paul II, 1990).

Furthermore, it is striking that no attention is given to population control while this was one the main topics during the 1990’s.

It is also important to notice that while in 2005 Pope Benedict XVI was elected, the policy that was pursued by the Holy See did not change directly. In 2007, Migliore expressed the same view as in the years before Benedict XVI was elected. He stated that: *“to all that we must add national education schemes that will lead all of us without exception to approach our daily patterns of consumption and production in a very different way and to demand a similar change throughout construction, transport, businesses and other institutions”* (Migliore, 2007).

2007 - 2015

Worldview

The worldview of the Holy See did not change during this period. Measures against climate change are important because people are threatened by global warming. And especially the poor are vulnerable because many of them live in areas with an increased risk for drought or flooding. Pope Benedict XVI spoke about care for the environment during the 2010 World Day of Peace. He said: *“the environment must be seen as God’s gift to all people, and the use we make of it entails responsibility for all humanity”* (Benedict XVI, 2010).

Paradigm

In these years the Holy See followed the same paradigm as in the statements since 2001. In 2007, Parolin stated that *“the best scientific assessments available have established a link between human activity and climate change”* (Parolin, 2007: 2). The Holy See does not use IPCC findings in every statement and their new proposed policies are based upon comparable with proposed policies of the IPCC (2001).

And there is a will to act on this knowledge. This becomes in the changed interior policy of the Holy See on reducing their carbon footprint. In 2008 Apostolic Nuncio Migliore made an intervention during a debate in the UN General Assembly on climate change. In this statement he describes how the Holy See has reduced its carbon emissions in the Vatican City State. The Vatican became carbon neutral by using solar panels and investing in a tree-planting project in Hungary. This shows that the Holy See takes the

scientific publications about global warming serious and that they are willing to invest in solutions for global warming.

Policies

In the same year Parolin spoke to UN General Assembly about climate change and in his statement he proposed three different solutions to climate change. First, "*We must look at education, especially among the young, to change inbred, selfish attitudes towards consumption and exploitation of natural resources*" (Parolin, 2007: 2). Second, "*giving economic incentives and financial breaks for more environmentally friendly technologies*" (Parolin, 2007: 3). And third, "*codifying a new international consensus on climate change*" (Parolin, 2007: 3).

This statement differs from previous statements in a way that it proposes legal action against the problem of climate change. Education is an open-ended solution that forms no direct threat to critics of climate change. And for the UN it is impossible to implement a global education program to stop global warming. Economic incentives and legal regulations on the other hand can face a lot of criticism. In 2008, Migliore explained in more detail what kind of economic incentives could be used in stopping global warming. The economic measures consist of two parts. First, he asks highly industrialized countries to share their 'clean technologies' with the industrialized countries (Migliore, 2008). Because "*the pooling of resources makes initiatives of mitigation and adaption economically accessible to most, thus assisting those less equipped to pursue development while safeguarding the environment*" (Migliore, 2008). While this first part asks for global economic solidarity, the second part is more oriented towards consumption. He said: "*markets must be encouraged to patronize "green economics" and not sustain demand for goods whose very production causes environmental degradation*" (Migliore, 2008). This means that the Holy See proposes a governmental intervention which charges higher taxes on product that increase global warming. It is clear that this kind of solutions have a greater effect on companies and consumers compared to education.

The second new kind of policy that was proposed by the Holy See during this period was the construction of new legal framework with more judicial means. Migliore asks the UN General Assembly to provide: "*a global framework for concerted action to mitigate climate change and to adapt to its impacts*" (Migliore, 2008). And Pope Benedict XVI states that: "*the international community must intervene with the juridical means provided in the United Nations Charter and in other international instruments*" (Benedict XVI, 2008).

In 2009 during the widely discussed COP 15 meeting in Copenhagen, the Holy See again made statements about education, "green economics" and legal solutions (Migliore, 2009).

In 2010 and 2011 the Holy See was not as involved as in previous years. But since COP18 in Doha, the Holy See participated and contributed to every COP meeting. The

statements during the COP18 - COP21 meetings have the same message do not describe are not different from the previous statements.

2015

2015 was unique year with a lot of diplomatic activity by the Holy See. Pope Francis published *Laudato Si'*, the first encyclical about the environment. It is not necessary to analyse document outside of *Laudato Si'* because all these others statements must be seen from the new perspective of *Laudato Si'*. Every statement and every visit in 2015 that concerned climate change was about the content of *Laudato Si'*. In September 2015 Pope Francis spoke to the 70th Session of the General Assembly. In this statement he refers constantly to *Laudato Si'* and he does not add new information (Francis, 2015a).

Worldview

Laudato Si' is a ground-breaking document that creates a new Catholic worldview on the relation between mankind and the environment. Before *Laudato Si'* the environment was subordinate to human dignity. The consequence of this teaching is that the climate crisis is only relevant if it is harmful to men. And damaging the environment is not sinful if you're not harming humanity. It also means that local clergy do not need to teach about climate change because it is applied ethics, and if you're not facing the consequences of climate change it is not relevant. By declaring that care for the environment and the mitigation of climate change is official church teaching, the impact and support of diplomatic actions is increased.

The new teaching of the Holy See is that human dignity and care for the environment are interconnected. And that the environment has intrinsic value in the same way as men. Francis states that *"everything is interconnected, and that genuine care for our own lives and our relationships with nature is inseparable from fraternity, justice and faithfulness to other."* (Pope Francis, 2015b: 52). And: *"every act of cruelty towards any creature is "contrary to human dignity," we can hardly consider ourselves fully loving if we disregard any aspect of reality: peace, justice and the preservation of creation are three absolutely interconnected themes"* (Pope Francis, 2015b: 68).

Francis clearly connects human dignity with the environment but without subordinating the environment. Instead he states that our relationship with the environment is inseparable from our relation with other men.

"Every creature, particularly a living creature, has an intrinsic value" and "Any harm done to the environment, therefore, is harm done to humanity" (Francis, 2015a). In *Laudato Si'*, Francis fully endorses the conclusions of the IPCC on climate change and the emission of carbon dioxide is connected to harming of the environment (Francis, 2015b).

In *Laudato Si'* the environment became important in itself. The earth is described as our mother and sister. This presumes that there is equality between Earth and mankind. And the anthropogenic influences on our climate are a sin against creation (Francis, 2015b).

Paradigm

The paradigm of Laudato Si' is the same as the paradigm from previous years, scientific discoveries lead the way. The first part of chapter one described this paradigm perfectly: *“Theological and philosophical reflections on the situation of humanity and the world can sound tiresome and abstract, unless they are grounded in fresh analysis of our present situation, which is in many ways unprecedented in the history of humanity. So, before considering how faith brings new incentives and requirements with regard to the world of which we are a part, I will briefly turn to what is happening to our common home”* (Francis, 2015a).

So, before giving his theological opinion he has devoted the first chapter of this encyclical to the scientific description of the problem.

Policies

In Laudato Si', Pope Francis criticizes some kinds of behaviour and he asks people to change their lives. According to him *“there is no one path to a solution. This makes a variety of proposals possible, all capable of entering into dialogue with a view to developing comprehensive solutions.”* (Francis, 2015b: 43-44).

In Laudato Si' he analyses all kinds of policies that are discussed in the international arena, including population control. This broad range of policies are evaluated because: *“Given the scale of change, it is no longer possible to find a specific, discrete answer for each part of the problem. It is essential to seek comprehensive solutions which consider the interactions within natural systems themselves and with social systems”* (Francis, 2015b: 104).

There are no significant changes in these policies but he uses other words and examples.

He asks states and international organizations to establish: *“a legal framework which can set clear boundaries and ensure the protection of ecosystems has become indispensable”* (Francis, 2015b: 39).

And on an economic level he criticises the use of air conditionings and he want civil authorities to act upon climate change by supporting carbon neutral producers. Because: *“civil authorities have the right and duty to adopt clear and firm measures in support of small producers and differentiated production. To ensure economic freedom from which all can effectively benefit, restraints occasionally have to be imposed on those possessing greater resources and financial power”* (Francis, 2015b: 96)

In relation to population control he states: *“to blame population growth instead of extreme and selective on the part of some, is one way of refusing to face the issues”* (Francis, 2015b: 36).

Conclusion

Since 1992 there were three moments in which the ideas on global warming changed. In 2001 the Holy See adapted a new paradigm. They started to see the climate crisis through a scientific lens. And therefore they accepted the anthropogenic causes of climate change. Between 1992 and 2001 they used a more theological lens to explain the climate crisis. In 2007, new policies were adopted with a much more controversial character than the former call for education. Economic incentives and international law are pursued by the Holy See since 2007. In 2015 *Laudato Si'* was published, in this encyclical Pope Francis taught a new worldview in which care for the environment is as important as care for humanity.

Key year	Key texts	What changed?
2001	Martino (2001;2002)	Second level change of ideas: paradigm change. Anthropogenic climate change accepted.
2007	Parolin (2007), Migliore (2008)	First level ideational change: new public policies proposed. New public policies proposed: economical incentives and international law.
2015	<i>Laudato Si'</i> (2015)	Third level ideational change: worldview.

Chapter 6 – A New Paradigm

In this chapter, the first episode of the climate policy development will be analysed and discussed. According to discursive institutionalism it is expected to find traces of a dialogue between the Holy See and regional bishops' conferences. And though this interaction a change took place from a theological paradigm to a scientific paradigm.

The starting point for this analysis are the two statements by Apostolic Nuncio Renato Martino. The first statement was made during a preparatory meeting for the World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002. And the second statement was made during the World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002. In the first part of this chapter I will study these documents for possible causal factors. These documents provide 'confessions' because Martino refers directly to his motivations.

The possible causal factors that are found in the first part of this chapter will be the starting point for the second part of this chapter in which these causal factors will be studied in more detail. The only exception is population control. This is a 'smoking gun' because it was an important theme in earlier statements while no references are made to population control in these statements.

In the last part of this chapter the causal factors are combined in a causal framework that explains the influence of the different factors in this episode of the policy process.

As described in the previous chapter, in 2001 the Holy See started to use a more scientific paradigm instead of theological one. Because of this new paradigm the anthropogenic causes for climate change were accepted for the first time.

Martino's Statements to the Holy See (2001 and 2002)

In 2001 and 2002 Martino has made two statements in relation with the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg September 2002. The first statement was made in preparatory meeting in 2001, the second statement was made during the summit itself. The World Summit was an important conference because it was ten years after the Rio Earth Summit.

In his statement Martino refers to several influences on the Holy See's position. His first reference is to the IPCC. Although the Roman Catholic Church is often associated with a critical attitude towards scientific progress this is a common misconception. In cooperation with the Pontifical Academy of Science there is open minded view of scientific progress. For example, the Church endorses a scientific view on evolution (John Paul II, 1996). The IPCC was created by the United Nations to gather scientific research on climate change and to describe on which topics there is consensus.

The second reference is to a statement by the United States Catholic Bishops on climate change. This reference is important for two reasons. First, *Global Climate Change* was not the first statement by a regional bishop conference on climate change. There have been many other

statement on climate change and the environment since the late 1980's. For example, from the Catholic Bishops of the Philippines, the Dominican Episcopal Conference and the Southern African Catholics Bishops Conference. And there were statements by religious congregations like the Jesuits (Mosher and Whittington, 2015). It is therefore notable that a reference is made to this particular statement.

This reference is also important because the statement by the Holy See did not lead to public discussion and the direct influence of this statement in the United States was very limited (Russel, 2014; Agliardo, 2014).

So if the content was not new and the impact very limited why was it still cited? In older literature like Hanson (1987) the United States Bishops have a major influence on the foreign policies of the Holy See in the case of nuclear proliferation. In this episode it is possible that the United States Bishops had a similar influence.

The third reference is to a previous statement by John Paul II. In 1990 John Paul II spoke about protecting the environment during World Peace Day. This statement has become the fundament of all other Catholic statements on ecology and climate change. From Martino's statement in 1992 until *Laudato Si'*, all have been strongly influenced by this message from 1990. This statement by John Paul II is part of Catholic Social Teaching. Catholic Social Teaching are the collected statements about the relation between the Catholic Church and the world. These teachings play an important role in the development of foreign policies because they state what the church should teach on topics like war and poverty (PCJP, 2004). It is therefore important to evaluate the influence of Catholic Social Teaching on this new paradigm.

The 2002 statement by Martino was much shorter but it includes a reference to the: *Common Declaration on Environmental Ethics* by John Paul II and Bartholomew I⁵. Bartholomew I has been called the 'Green Patriarch' by Al Gore, then Vice President of the United States, in 1997 (Gore, 2009). Bartholomew I is seen as one of the most influential climate activists for more than twenty years (Brende, 2002). It is therefore possible that he had an influence on the position of the Holy See.

And the fourth influence is notable because these statements do not speak about it. In the 1990's every statement about the environment or climate change was used to propagate their position on population control. Every form of population control was criticized by describing it as unethical and against human dignity (Martino, 1992).

It is therefore notable that both statements do not speak about population control at all.

⁵ Bartholomew I is the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople and the spiritual leader of the Eastern Orthodox Church with about 300 million members. The Eastern Orthodox Churches are located in Eastern Europe, Russia and the Middle East. He governs the autonomous area Mount Athos in Greece.

Causal Factors

Causal Factor 1 – Broad Scientific Agreement on the Anthropogenic Causes of Climate Change

Martino refers to a broad scientific agreement on the anthropogenic causes of climate change:

“This force has brought about the greenhouse effect and the scientific community at large is now in broad agreement as to the implications of this man-enhanced phenomenon” (Martino, 2001: 1). And, *“there is a new and stronger evidence that most of the warming observed over the last fifty years is attributed to human activities”* (Martino, 2001: 1).

A logical consequence of this statement is that something changed in the scientific community that created a broad agreement between scientists. And because of this broad agreement between scientists, the Holy See embraces a new paradigm in which climate change is directly caused by mankind. In the paragraph about the broad agreement within the scientific community Martino refers to a document from the IPCC: ‘Climate Change 2001: The Scientific Basis’ (2001). Climate Change 2001 is the third assessment report of the IPCC in which they assess all research on climate change for a period of five years.

To assess this causal factors two questions need to be answered. First, how does the Holy See interact with scientific (climate) research? And second, does this ‘Climate Change 2001’ provide new information about the anthropogenic cause of climate change which could have influenced the Holy See?

Just like most other states, the Holy See has its own scientific organizations that advises them on new scientific research. The Pontifical Academy of Sciences was created in 1936, and although they are financed by the Holy See they have great independence. Members and other researchers are selected because of their knowledge on the subject instead of their religious or political background. The Pontifical Academy of Sciences has advised the Holy See on environmental problems since 1983 when they organized a study week on ‘Chemical events in the atmosphere and their impact on the environment’ (Marini-Bettolo, 1986). One of the participants was Roger Revelle one the most influential climate scientists, in his article he wrote that anthropogenic changes in the emission of carbon dioxide lead to a strong increase of temperatures on Earth (Revelle, 1986).

Between 1983 and 2001 the Pontifical Academy of Sciences and the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences have discussed this topic several times (Roston, 2015). In 1998 there was a study conference about the influence of greenhouse gas emission on the environment in cooperation with the World Climate Research Programme. One of the conclusion were that there are *“increasing anthropogenic influences on the climate”* (Bengtsson and Hammer, 2001: 1). So it is clear that the Pontifical Academy of Sciences acknowledged the anthropogenic causes of climate change for almost two decades before the statement by Martino.

What changed in the IPCC synthesis reports between 1990 and 2001? Was Climate Change 2001 that ground-breaking that it was more convincing than two decades of scientific reports on climate change from the Pontifical Academy?

The first IPCC synthesis report was published in 1990, in this report they speak of the influence of mankind on global warming but the conclusions are very cautiously formulated. The second

IPCC report published in 1996 spoke with more certainty about anthropogenic influences on global warming. While in 1990 it was acknowledged that mankind caused a rise in greenhouse gas emissions but they were uncertain how policies could help in the mitigation of global warming. The 2001 report reaffirmed the conclusions of the 1996 report with even greater certainty. Because of new models there is a consensus among climate scientists that global warming has strong anthropogenic causes especially because of the emission of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases (IPCC, 2001).

The Holy See would not have issued this statement if there was no consensus about the anthropogenic causes of climate change. But the Climate Change 2001 report was certainly not the only causal factor that explains this statement. The Holy See has worked together with climate scientists who were convinced that climate change has anthropogenic causes since the early 1980's, so this statement could have been made years before, if this was a sufficient condition.

Causal Factor 2 – The United States Conference of Catholic Bishops

One of the expectations formulated in chapter 3 is that regional bishops' conferences had an influence on the changed policy of the Holy See. In the case of nuclear proliferation, the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB) played a decisive role. And although regional bishops' conferences have no formal say at all, they represent large groups of Catholic believers. They are also the ones who collect most of the money to fund the Holy See and are connected with the theological seminaries in which new clergy are trained (Hanson, 1984). But at the same time it is known that the Holy See wants new doctrine to be universal applicable. When the Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano (CELAM) proposed liberation theology in the 1970's the Holy See condemned these statements because they were not globally acceptable (Hehir, 1990).

In 2001, Martino referred for the first time in a Holy See document to the direct influence of USCCB. He paraphrases part of the USCCB statement on climate change from 2001 (USCCB, 2001). When speaking of the problem of global warming he said: "*responses to such a phenomenon should reflect our interdependence and common responsibility for the present and the future of our planet, taking into account the important role that the virtue of prudence could play in addressing climate change. Prudence is intelligence applied to our actions through knowledge and wisdom and it is not merely a careful and safe approach to decisions, but rather a thoughtful and reasoned basis for taking or eluding action to attain a moral good and promote the achievement of common good*" (Martino, 2001: 1). In the context of the further document this statement says that if we act prudent we need to take action against global warming. Because even if the scientific data is not conclusive it is too risky to do nothing. It is therefore prudent to take action to mitigate climate change.

Two main questions need to be answered to assess the position of this causal factor. First, why does the Holy See refer to a regional document? And second, why this particular document?

Historically the Roman Catholic Church is centralized church in which the Holy See decides on every important matter. The Roman Catholic is the universal (catholic means universal) church governed from Rome (Roman) and the Holy See is the seat or chair of the bishop of Rome. Bishops were not allowed to organize themselves until the Second Vatican Council which took place from 1962 to 1965. Since this council, bishops have the right to organize themselves if they are part of the same region (John Paul II, 1982). But according the Code of Canon Law, bishops conferences are not allowed to develop ideas and policies outside the global mandate given by the Holy See (John Paul II, 1982). It is therefore interesting to read that the Holy See refers to a regional bishops' conference as an influence on their ideas. This could be explained by the fact that the influence of these regional conferences has grown since the 1960's (Hanson, 1984; Ryall, 2001).

So why did the Holy See refer to this particular document? The USCCB is one of the most influential conferences worldwide for three reasons. First, they are one the main financial sponsors of the Holy See. The United States are a large and rich country with a large Catholic minority. This makes it possible to contribute more to the Holy See than most other states. Second, the USCCB are based in Washington D.C. and they spend \$26 million each year on 'policy activities' (Alessi, 2011). In other words, they spend \$26 million on lobbying for public policies that they support. And last, the United States did not ratify the Kyoto Protocol. In the United States are large societal groups that deny that there are anthropogenic causes of climate change.

The reference to the USCCB is unique and their statement was only a few months before the Holy See changed their position. With the support of the USCCB they know that a large group of influential Catholics will support the new scientific paradigm. It is therefore very likely that this is a necessary condition for the paradigm change.

Causal Factor 3 – Catholic Social Teaching

The Roman Catholic Church is conservative in its convictions and it takes time for the Holy See to embrace new ideas. An important causal factor in the acceptance of the anthropogenic causes of climate change is the integration of ecology into Catholic Social Teaching. Catholic Social Teaching is the collection of statements and dogma's about how people should behave. It is about ethics and orthopraxis instead of what people should believe. The central theme in Catholic Social Teaching is the importance of human dignity. The Church believes that it should thrive to uphold the dignity of every person (PCJP, 2004). Three principles are important in upholding human dignity: "*solidarity, subsidiarity, and preferential option for the poor*" (Schaefer, 2011: 417). Solidarity means that: "*it is a firm and persevering determination to commit oneself to the common good; that is to say to the good of all and of each individual, because we are all really responsible for all*" (John Paul II, 1987). Subsidiarity is about the role civil society and the state. What individuals can do to help others should not be done by the state or other higher bodies (PCJP, 2004). Human dignity is shown by respecting property rights and the possibilities of individuals. And the last principle is about the preferential option for the poor. The Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church states that "*the poor, the marginalized and in*

all cases those whose living conditions interfere with their proper growth should be the focus of particular concern” (PCJP, 2004).

In his 1992 statement Martino connects environmental protection with the principle of solidarity. *“The earth’s resources and the means to their access must be wisely monitored and justly shared” (Martino, 1992).* This is mainly about solidarity between states because *“countries with as few as 5% of the population are responsible for more than one quarter of the principal greenhouse gas, while countries with up to quarter of the world population contribute as little as 5% of the same greenhouse gas” (Martino, 1992).* Martino uses the principles of Catholic Social Teaching in relation to solidarity between states. Rich countries have used more of the Earth’s resources so they must give poor countries a chance to develop themselves. Thereby Martino says the rich countries are responsible for the reducing of greenhouse gasses because poor countries need a chance to develop themselves. In the Compendium of Catholic Social Doctrine, Martino⁶ speaks of the world’s poorest countries: *“In such cases hunger and poverty make it virtually impossible to avoid an intense and excessive exploitation of the environment” (PCJP, 2004).*

Catholic Social Teaching is referred to in all of the Holy See’s statements but until 2007 always in relation with solidarity between rich and poor states. And the preference for the poor is interpreted as making exceptions for the poor in the search for acceptable policy solutions. It is therefore unlikely that Catholic Social Teaching had an impact on the paradigm change. It could even have had a negative effect because there is a risk that their policies against climate change create a greater inequality between states.

Causal Factor 4 – The Example of Patriarch Bartholomew I

Martino starts his statement during the World Summit on Sustainable Development with a quote from a joint statement between Pope John Paul II and Patriarch Bartholomew I: *“We are gathered here today in the spirit of peace for the good of all human beings and for the care of creation” (John Paul II and Bartholomew I in Martino, 2002).* In June 2002 Pope John Paul II and Patriarch Bartholomew I published a ‘Common declaration on environmental ethics’. One the ethical goals of this statement was *“to use science and technology in a full and constructive way” (John Paul II and Bartholomew I, 2002).*

Influences from other Christian churches on any policy of the Holy See was unthinkable before the Second Vatican Council. During this council the relation between the RCC and other churches was redefined. Before Vatican II, there was no orthodoxy or right belief outside the RCC. But Vatican II declared that *“many element of sanctification and of truth are found outside of its visible structure” (Paul VI, 1964).* The most formalized form of cooperation exists with the Eastern Orthodox Churches, and the leader of these churches is the Patriarch of Constantinople Bartholomew I. He represents about 300 million believers Russia, Greece and Eastern Europe. Bartholomew I is well known for his active participation in the debates about the environment and climate change.

⁶ Cardinal Renato Martino became the president of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace in 2002.

In 1997 just before the Kyoto Conference he stated the following: *“it is with this we call on the world’s leader to take action to halt the destructive changes to the global climate that are being caused by human activity”* (Bartholomew I, 1997). It refers to *“how we treat the earth and all of creation defines the relationship that each of us has with God”* (Bartholomew I, 1997). This statement goes much further than Catholic statements from the same period. According to Bartholomew I, causing global warming is sin against God in itself. And he fully accepts that climate change has anthropogenic causes.

But did Bartholomew I have an influence on the Holy See? He definitely had an influence on the ideas of some Catholic bishops. The Bishops of the Boston Province published a pastoral letter in 2000 quoting Bartholomew I and in their chapter about church teaching they quoted Bartholomew I (Bishops of the Boston Province, 2000). And his statement was also discussed in *Laudato Si’* (Francis, 2015b).

But the final influence on the change of views is probably limited. His influence could be explained in a way that he was one of the first major Christian leaders accepted the anthropogenic causes of climate change and thereby creating possibilities for other church leaders. But his common statement with Pope John Paul II remained vague in addressing global warming.

Causal Factor 5 – Population Control

One of the main policy solutions proposed by the IPCC in 1990 against global warming was the limiting the world’s population growth (IPCC, 1990). The Holy See was not amused, according to their view any form of population control goes against human dignity and free will. The main diplomatic cause of the Holy See during the 1990’s was not climate change but a crusade against population control. Martino explained the position of the Holy See in 1992 in connection with the protection of our environment: *“what the church opposes is the imposition of demographic policies and the promotion of methods for limiting births which are contrary to the objective moral order and to the liberty, dignity and conscience of the human being”* (Martino, 1992). And about the need for population control: *“it cannot be solved in an over-simplistic manner and many of the most alarming predictions have proven false and have been discredited by a number of recent studies”* (Martino, 1992).

The decisive victory against birth control was made during the 1994 UN-sponsored International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo. Neale has described the actions of the Holy See before this conference to influence the final results. The Holy See did not agree with the draft of the ‘Programme of Action’ and: *“five months prior to the conference, the Vatican embarked upon an unprecedented campaign in a final effort to market the moral visions of John Paul II”* (Neale, 1998: 110). The Holy See used all kinds of measures to influence the outcome like a private meeting between the pope and the secretary-general of the ICPD and a coalition with the regimes of Iran and Libya (Neal, 1998). And: *“Pope John Paul II continued to use every opportunity to publicly address audiences and denounce the conference and the draft Programme of Action, insisting that it was a ‘plot to destroy the family’ and represented the ‘snare of the devil’ that functioned to promote a ‘culture of death”* (Neale, 1998: 110).

That the Holy See was successful in eliminating population control as an international solution against global warming can be seen in many other documents. The international assistance for family planning has since 1995 dropped from \$723 million to \$338 million in 2007 (O'Sullivan, 2012). The NGO Sustainable Population Australia Inc. blames this on the actions of the Holy See during and before the ICPD 1994 conference (O'Sullivan, 2011). And even in 2009 the secretary-general of the UNFCCC declared that population control: *"takes you onto shaky ground morally"* (O'Sullivan, 2012: 3). Without the 'success' of the Holy See in 1994 population control could still have been a viable solution against the anthropogenic causes of climate change. If it was still a possible solution proposed by the IPCC than the Holy See would never have referred to their report. The Holy See would have had the same 'blocking' attitude as in the 1990's (Jalsevac, 2014).

The elimination of population control as an acceptable is therefore a necessary condition to open a discourse on climate change.

Conclusion

During this episode several causal factors were necessary to achieve the final outcome.

There were two necessary conditions before this paradigm change could happen. First the elimination of population control as a viable solution against global warming. Change was only possible because population control was no longer an acceptable solution in UN conferences. The second necessary condition was the statement by the USCCB in 2001. When the United States Bishops declared that scientific data defined the problem of the climate crisis, they showed the Holy See that the acceptance of the anthropogenic causes of climate change backed by one of the most important bishops' conferences. This interaction between the peripheral USCCB and the Holy See was a necessary interaction before the Holy See changed their ideas.

The influence of the IPCC and of Bartholomew I were contextual conditions that made the discourse on climate change possible. The IPCC had an important agenda function because their reports create a debate in the international arena. And Bartholomew I showed that senior church leaders could accept the scientific basis of climate change without falling into apostasy.

The influence of Catholic Social Teaching is ambiguous. Although every statement refers to Catholic Social Teaching and Martino 'confesses' that his statement is based on Catholic Social Teaching. But the influence of Catholic Social Teaching could even have been negative because their support for the poorest states was by definition more important than the environment.

Chapter 7 – New Policies

2007 was a remarkable year in the climate change policies of the Holy See. In this year two policy changes took place. First, the Holy See changed its interior policy towards climate change in Vatican City. During the summer of 2007 the Holy See presented a plan to make Vatican City the first climate neutral state. The second change was in their statements during international climate related events. Before 2007, the anthropogenic causes of climate change were accepted but the only solution proposed by the Holy See was changing the behaviour of individuals by educating them about equality and climate change. Since the summer of 2007 several other policies were proposed like creating economic incentives and creating legal frameworks to reduce emissions.

During the 2001 paradigm change there were many references to possible causal factors in official documents. These ‘confessions’ formed the basis of the previous chapter. The relevant document from 2007 do not contain any direct confessions in the form of references. The possible causal factors are so called ‘smoking guns’, notable events and statements that happened in relation with the 2007 policy changes. It is still possible to identify several possible causes because discursive institutionalism point towards other actors like the regional bishops’ conferences.

The first possible causal factor is the influence from two regional bishop conferences. In May 2007 the Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano (CELAM) met for their fifth general conference in Aparecida, Brazil. During this conference a lengthy statement was produced which spoke in clear words about the actions that need to be taken to limit global warming. Two factors made this statement important. First, the editor and chair of the final statement was cardinal Jorge Bergoglio who became Pope Francis in 2013. And second, Pope Benedict XVI imparted his apostolic blessing on the document, this means that he fully endorsed the conclusions of this statement.

The German Bishops Conference published ‘Climate Change: A Focal Point of Global, Intergenerational and Ecological Justice’ in September 2006. The German Bishops Conference is seen as one the most influential conferences because of their financial support and high ranking Holy See officials. This statement speaks in clear words about climate change and the actions that the Holy See and politicians should take against it.

These two statements are smoking guns because they were published by influential actors just before the change of policy. The Aparecida Document was even endorsed by Pope Benedict XVI himself.

The second causal factor is a controversial seminar organized by Cardinal Martino in April 2007. Martino became the prefect of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace in 2002. This council is responsible for Catholic Social Teaching. All kinds of environmental teaching are part of the social teaching of the RCC (PCJP, 2004) During this secretive seminar all kinds of experts were invited to explain their view on climate change. Attendees were influential climate critics, officials of the IPCC, members of the WCC and many others. Although no statements or conclusions were published it is clear that this seminar was influential. Different news outlets published on the outcomes and the influence of the speakers on Holy See officials. During this seminar there

was direct conversation between the representatives of regional bishops' conferences and members of the Holy See.

The third causal factor is the influence of the World Council of Churches. It is known that the World Council of Churches (WCC) was strongly represented at the Justice and Peace seminar discussed before. The WCC is the second largest church organisation representing more than 500 million Christians worldwide. The RCC has an observer status within the WCC but does not fully participate because of theological differences⁷. The WCC has a long history of writing statement of climate change and its history is comparable with that of its largest member the Eastern Orthodox Church that is discussed in the previous chapter.

The fourth causal factor is the influence of Catholic Social Teaching. In 2002, Cardinal Martino became the new president of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace. In 2004 he was responsible for the publication of the Compendium of the Social Doctrine. In this document Catholic Social Teaching is formalized and applied to ecology (PCJP, 2004). And the combination of new scientific data and the influence of the CST principle of the preferential option for the poor could have caused new policies.

Causal Factors

Causal Factor 1 – Aparecida and German Bishops Statement

In the previous chapter the USCCB had a strong influence on the change of paradigm in the Holy See. In the year before the Holy See changed their proposed policies two major statements were published by regional bishops' conferences. This two different statements were published in different contexts and are not directly related. The first statement by the German Bishops Conference was published in September 2006 and called: 'Der Klimawandel: Brennpunkt globaler intergenerationeller und ökologischer Gerechtigkeit: Ein Expertentext zur Herausforderung des globales Klimawandels' (Deutsche Bischofskonferenz, 2006). For practical reasons I will use the official English edition published in April 2007 (German Bishops' Conference, 2007).

Their statement concerning climate change and its consequences is addressed to "*those in positions of responsibility within the Church, as well as those who hold responsibility in government and politics*" (German Bishops' Conference, 2007: 9). This means that this statements is directly addressed to the responsible officials in the Holy See. The ideas in this statement are new in two different ways.

First, in this statement climate change is in a new way integrated into Catholic Social Teaching. "*Today, many tens of thousands of people already fall victim to climate change each year. The shortage of drinking water - a consequence of these changes - is developing into one of the*

⁷ The most important difference is that there is no agreement on how churches should be governed. While the RCC states that a church is only a church if it is governed by an episcopal system, within the WCC there is room for other interpretations like congregationalism and presbyterianism. These differences do not affect the topic of climate change.

prime causes of flight and military conflict” (German Bishops’ Conference, 2007: 5). Where Catholic Social Teaching before was used to remind the international community that the poor must be unburdened in policy proposals, in this statement climate change is described as an important causal factor that leads to poverty and war. And: *“At the same time, the poorer countries account for a much lesser amount of climate-damaging greenhouse gas emissions than the industrial nations do. These rich nations find it easier to adapt to the consequences of climate change. Hence, climate change is problem of global justice”* (German Bishops’ Conference, 2007: 6). By stating the climate change is caused by the rich industrial nations and is especially damaging for the poor and weak the problem is put into a new frame. The new method to help the poor and the weak is to use policies that limit climate change. In relation with this new view on Catholic Social Teaching, several new public policies were proposed. To limit the anthropogenic causes of climate change several international policies are proposed in this document. All policies must be seen from a context of global cooperation. Therefore: *“at global level, this calls for the position of the United Nations and its programmes to be strengthened, including, above all, the United Nations Environment Programme”* (German Bishops’ Conference, 2007: 40). So new policies must be embedded into international law. In this statement they propose several policies that could limit the anthropogenic causes of climate change. One of the policies that is also proposed in the 2007 statement by Parolin is the use of economic incentives. The German Bishops describe it as: *“price-based instruments, especially in the form of energy and climate taxes”* (German Bishops’ Conference, 2007: 48). This kind of policy is much more intrusive than education, because it will cost many companies a lot of money. And some states are still dependent upon fossil fuels like Poland (EurActiv, 2015).

So the German Bishops published a lengthy statement about a new interpretation of climate change and Catholic Social Teaching and the global policy measures that are needed to limit global warming, less than a year before the Holy See changed their policy on these topics.

Another regional organization that published a statement just before the change of policy was CELAM. CELAM is one of the most influential regional bishops’ conferences because they represent more than 40% of all Catholics (BBC, 2013). And CELAM is historically known for its development of new ideas that challenge church traditions like the development of base communities and the promotion of liberation theology. In June 2007 they published the Aparecida Document with the conclusions of their Fifth General Conference. This conference has much more authority than the conferences of the USCCB or the German Bishops. The general conferences of CELAM are always attended by the pope himself and the conclusions are strictly monitored by the Holy See because of their influence.

The Fifth General Conference was opened by Pope Benedict XVI and the final conclusions were authorized by Pope Benedict XVI so that they could influence future policies of the church (CELAM, 2007). This document discusses many topics and one of them is the environment and climate change. They apply the influences of climate change on South America and describe how global warming affects South America and Antarctica. This document does not specify public policies but connects climate change and the church’s preference for the poor. And they ask the Holy See to: *“decide on measures for social monitoring and control over the application of international environmental standards in our countries”* (CELAM, 2007: 145). The content of

the Aparecida document is not as specific and innovatory as the German statement but the political weight is much stronger.

Causal Factor 2 – Seminar on Climate Change and Development

In April 2007 a unique and secretive seminar took place in which the Holy See created a platform to discuss climate change. Among the participants were scientists, diplomats, high ranking clergy and representatives of other churches. Cardinal Martino the prefect of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace organized this conference after a request from the British minister Gordon Brown (Walker-Leigh, 2007). Journalists were excluded from this seminar and the statements and conclusions were not published. Because there are no official records or conclusions of the conference, all information about the conference is based on the interpretation of attendees.

But why was this seminar a possible causal factor in changing the policy of the Holy See?

First, there were about 80 attendees from 20 different countries and all of them represented the most influential individuals in their fields. The attendees can be divided into five groups. First, the Holy See officials responsible for the change in policy later in 2007.

Second, a large group of scientists. Among these scientists were members of the IPCC and large group high profile climate sceptics (Rue, 2007; Solomon, 2007).

Third, diplomats and politicians. The British environment minister made a statement, and among attendees were also environmental ministers of other influential states like France. (Rue, 2007).

Fourth, representatives of the World Council of Churches. And last, representatives from Catholic NGO's and diocesan bishops⁸ (Haers, 2007).

Second, in the opening of the conference Cardinal Martino stated that: *the purpose of the seminar was above all a listening exercise to gather information in order to help the Church in formulating an ethical and pastoral response to the matter of climate change*" (Flynn, 2007). All these experts were asked to speak about their knowledge on the topic of climate change so that the Holy See could formulate an ethical and pastoral response. Three months later the content of Holy See statements during international meetings changed.

What was discussed during the conference?

On the first day of the conference a debate took place between climate sceptics and scientists of the IPCC. According to attendees this debate was 'bitter' and 'heated' (Solomon, 2007) and "*one pastor needed to calm down a distraught participant in the corridor*" (Solomon, 2007). Both parties got the opportunity to explain their scientific point of view.

On the second day, ethical, theological and pastoral statement were made. This means that bishops and other religious leaders got the opportunity to explain their point of view. For example, the Tanzanian Archbishop Paul Ruzoka: "*drew dramatic pictures of climate change impacts already devastating the lives of rural Africans, with drought destroying harvests and livestock and drive desperate farmers into the festering slums*" (Walker-Leigh, 2007).

⁸ Diocesan bishops are the local leaders of the church. Diocesan bishops are organized in regional bishops' conferences.

After two days the participants still had diverging conclusions although the diocesan bishops with the leaders of the WCC called: *“for a papal encyclical on the environment and a common statement on Climate Change by church leaders. They said to draw on the Church’s social teaching to offer cogent ethical criteria”* (Rue, 2007). But also that Cardinal Martino was: *“reported to have been non-committal on the Vatican’s next steps, while confirming its deep concern with the ‘reality’ of climate change and the need to cope with its impacts”* (Walker-Leigh, 2007).

Although much remains unclear about this conference it looks like that it was one of the causal factors that changed the ideas of the Holy See. This conference was organized to provide new ideas for the Holy See about climate change. And one month after the conference the Holy See changed their ideas about climate change and the poor, and in the summer of 2007 they started to propose new policies.

Causal Factor 3 – World Council of Churches

The largest Christian organization outside the RCC is the World Council of Churches. This international organization is recognized by the United Nations as an INGO, and they participate in UN conferences with that status. In the WCC, different kinds of churches work together to create unity and to strive for a better world. They represent more than 500 million Christians worldwide. And while this organization started with churches from the west it has shifted in the last decades to the global south.

The WCC has been involved in the climate debate since the early 1990’s just like the Holy See. The difference is that the WCC developed their policies faster than the Holy See. In 2000 during the COP6 in The Hague they proposed the same policies as the Parolin in 2007. The actions of the WCC were also much more public. In September 2003 the General Secretary of the WCC Konrad Raiser published a letter to the president of the United States and the prime minister of Australia to ask them to reconsider their *“opposition to the Kyoto Protocol and to join the broader community of nations that is working collaboratively through this International Treaty to seriously tackle the threat posed by climate change”* (Raiser, 2003).

The RCC is not a member of the WCC but this does not mean that there is no contact or possibility of influence. In preparation for COP12 in Nairobi the WCC worked together with Caritas to prepare their statement. Caritas is the confederation of 165 Catholic development aid organizations, that are recognized by the Holy See. In their statement they stated: *“faith communities are addressing climate change because it is a spiritual and ethical issue of justice, equity, solidarity, sufficiency and sustainability. The situation is critical. We must all act now. We pray that you will demonstrate leadership in responding to the cry of the earth”* (Mugambi, 2006). And during the seminar on Climate Change and Development the WCC was represented by two senior officials. So there are opportunities to exchange ideas between these two organisations who share their vocabulary and values.

It is however unlikely that the WCC directly influenced the ideas of the Holy See because nothing special happened in 2007 compared to the years before. The Holy See knew that the WCC had more progressive ideas about climate change for at least seven years. But the idea that the WCC has lobbied for measures against global warming and they did not lose support

because of it could have shown that the Holy See did not need to be afraid for losing support because of climate change measures.

Causal Factor 4 – Catholic Social Teaching

In the previous chapter Catholic Social Teaching and climate change were combined in a way that asks for solidarity for poor countries and the protection of human dignity.

In 2005 the protection of the environment was officially incorporated into the Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church. The cardinal responsible for the content of this document is Cardinal Martino, the former apostolic nuncio to the United Nations. In this document no new policy solutions are given but there are signs of a growing awareness of the consequences of climate change for the poor: *“the present environmental crisis affects those who are poorest in a particular way, whether they live in those land subject to erosion and desertification, are involved in armed conflicts or subject to forced migration, or because they do not have the economic and technological means to protect themselves from other calamities”* (PCJP, 2004).

Two elements are interesting in this statement. First, this statements describes the consequences of climate change on the life of man. These consequences like desertification, erosion and armed conflict are already fully integrated into the social teaching of the church. Several encyclicals are published on war and on the preferential option for the poor. By combining these topics with the climate crisis he creates an opportunity to discuss climate change without being accused of ecocentrism and biocentrism (PCJP, 2004). The second element is the attention for the poorest. Since the development of liberation theology it became an important concept in Catholic Social Teaching to do everything possible and ethical to help the poorest people in this world. By explaining the climate change has disastrous consequences for the poor he applies the principle of the preferential option for the poor on climate change thereby making it part of Catholic Social Teaching.

In 2006 the German Bishops reaffirmed this position and they connected it further with the element of global justice (German Bishops’ Conference, 2007). The definition of justice according to the Compendium is: *“the constant and firm will to give their due to God and neighbour”* (PCJP, 2004) or in other words *“the decisive criteria of morality in the intersubjective and social sphere”* (PCJP, 2004). This means that man has a moral obligation to help the poor by limiting global warming.

In his statement to the UN in 2007 Apostolic Nuncio Migliore shifts even more from subsidiarity to the preferential option for the poor in his statement: *“the consequences of climate change are being felt not only in the environment, but in the entire socio-economic system and, as seen in the findings of numerous reports already available, they will impact first and foremost the poorest and weakest who, even if they are among the least responsible for global warming, are the most vulnerable because they have limited resources or live in areas at greater risk”* (Migliore, 2007).

This change of ideas in Catholic Social Teaching almost asks for more public policies to stop this ‘global injustice’. Parolin states that: *“we often hear in the halls of the United Nations of “the responsibility to protect”. The Holy See believes that applies also in the context of climate change”* (Parolin, 2007). And therefore asks for an *“effective and prompt political strategy”* (Parolin, 2007) with as solutions international law, economic incentives and education.

Conclusion

During this episode the discourse between peripheral actors and the Holy See had a strong influence on the outcomes.

The change of policies was caused by a chain of necessary causal conditions. The first necessary condition was the integration of ecology in Catholic Social Teaching. Because of the formal integration in the Compendium of Social Doctrine discourse could take place in regional bishops' conferences. The second necessary condition was the influence of German Bishops and CELAM, both statements were strongly influenced by the new ideas in Catholic Social Teaching and these ideas were applied to new policies and a call for action.

During the Seminar on Climate Change and Development the diocesan bishops were most outspoken in their call for papal encyclical. And these diocesan bishops, like Archbishop Ruzoka, apply the preferential option for the poor directly to the climate change debate. The purpose of this seminar was to advise the Holy See in their policy position and although no formal conclusions were published, it is notable that the policies of the Holy See changed a few months after the seminar.

The influence of the WCC can be defined as a contextual condition because without the influence of the WCC the policy change still would have happened. But they were part of the Seminar on Climate Change and Development and they have shown that large Christian organization can make explicit policy proposals without losing support.

Chapter 8 – New Worldview

In this chapter the last episode on the development of climate policy will be analysed. In the first part of this chapter *Laudato Si'* will be studied to describe the content and potential causal factors. In the second part of this chapter the individual causal factors will be assessed and the final part the causal factors be combined in a causal framework.

This content of this chapter is not about a changed policy content but about a changed worldview within the Holy See. The importance of this worldview change cannot be underestimated, diplomats of the United States have discussed the importance of the Holy See in the climate change debate and while they appreciated the lobbying effort of the Holy See for stricter policies, they said that the guidance of the pope is of greater importance, especially in Catholic countries (Wikileaks, 2010). The Holy See represents more than a billion believers worldwide. They represent 17.8% of the global population and that percentage is still growing (Esteves, 2016). Six months after *Laudato Si'* was published, Catholics in the United States were asked if the encyclical changed their view on climate change and one out of three has acknowledged that they changed their opinions because of *Laudato Si'* (Roewe, 2016). And according to the Cardinal Turkson, the current prefect of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, "*Laudato Si'* played a key role" in Paris climate negotiations (Roewe, 2016).

Laudato Si' by Pope Francis

Laudato Si' is 184 pages long document with a total number of 172 references. But this does not mean that all references are relevant in the search for causal factors. Because encyclicals become part of the official teaching of the RCC, the author places the encyclical within the context of former encyclicals and other statements from his predecessors and the Holy See. These statement together form Catholic Social Teaching, the first causal factor discussed in this chapter. The second causal factor is the influence of regional bishops' conferences. *Laudato Si'* is the first encyclical that refers to statements outside the Holy See and that makes these statements particularly relevant. The third causal factor is the influence of Pope Francis himself. He is the author of *Laudato Si'* and the Holy See's head of state. It is possible that he pushed for this encyclical and that his preferences caused a change of worldview in the RCC. And the last causal factor cannot be traced back to *Laudato Si'*, but from the media. In the Wikileaks documents a cable is found with inside information about the influence of other states on the Holy See.

Causal Factors

Causal Factor 1 – Catholic Social Teaching

In the introduction of his encyclical Pope Francis speaks about his message as: "*now added to the body of the Church's social teaching*" (Francis, 2015b: 13). This means that the whole encyclical must be read in the context of the Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church (PCJP, 2004). In the Compendium of the Social Doctrine there is clear order in which social problems are discussed. In the first three chapters human dignity and human rights are discussed. Man are created in the image of God and upholding the dignity of all man is an important task of the Church. In chapter four the principles of the social doctrine of the church

are discussed, these principles are solidarity, subsidiarity and the preferential option for the poor. In the second part of this document these principles are applied to different topics like family, economic life and the environment.

This means that in every aspect of life human dignity is the most important value. This position did not change in 2007 although it became clear that the only way to uphold human dignity is by mitigating the anthropogenic causes for climate change.

Francis takes this way of thinking one step further. He states that *“everything is interconnected, and that genuine care for our own lives and our relationships with nature is inseparable from fraternity, justice and faithfulness to other.”* (Francis, 2015b: 52). Human dignity is not the highest value anymore because human dignity is fully connected with care for the environment. We cannot strive for peace and justice if we do not protect the environment.

And he states that: *“every act of cruelty towards any creature is “contrary to human dignity,” we can hardly consider ourselves fully loving if we disregard any aspect of reality: peace, justice and the preservation of creation are three absolutely interconnected themes”* (Francis, 2015b: 68). In this statement he connects ‘cruelty towards any creature’ to human dignity. Therefore, hurting the environment is as bad as hurting human dignity.

And further: *“the human person grows more, matures more and is sanctified more to the extent that he or she enters into relationships, going out from themselves to live in communion with God, with others and with all creatures. In this way, they make their own trinitarian dynamism which God imprinted in them when they were created”* (Francis, 2015b: 175)

Before Laudato Si’ there were two values that incorporated all moral views of the Church. These were communion with God and communion with others. Francis adds communion with all creatures to these values thereby placing the care for the environment on the same level as the care for other man and the communion with God.

The development of care for the environment created the opportunity to change the Catholic worldview about the environment. Pope Francis integrates his new worldview in the concepts of the older worldview. This shows his dependence on the former paradigm. Catholic Social Teaching, as discussed in the previous chapters, is therefore a necessary condition.

Causal Factor 2 – Regional Bishops Conferences

One of the unique elements of Laudato Si’ that it refers not only to prior encyclicals and statements from popes but also to regional bishops’ conferences. All former encyclicals were based upon previous encyclicals and other statements and no references were made to regional conferences or clergy outside of the Holy See.

Laudato Si’ is characterized by an opposite approach, throughout the document Pope Francis refers to eighteen different regional bishops’ conferences with a total number of thirty references. Four conferences are of particular importance because. First the CELAM conference which published the Aparecida Document. Pope Francis was the editor of this document and he refers several times to this document in the encyclical. Second, the Bolivian conference because it is one the three statements after 2001 and because it is not from an influential country. Third, the

Mexican statement for the same reasons as the Bolivian statement. And last the statement by the bishops of the Patagonia-Comahue region. The other statements are discussed in the previous chapters or they are much older.

Pope Francis refers twice to the Aparecida Document and both times in the context of powerful transnational companies. *“It is remarkable how weak international political responses have been. The failure of global summits on the environment make it plain that our politics are subject to technology and finance. There are too many special interests, and economic interests easily end up trumping the common good and manipulating information so that their own plans will not be affected”* (Francis, 2015b: 40). He is worried about the influence of these companies because they can: *“undermine the sovereignty of individual nations. In fact, there are “proposals to internationalize the Amazon, which only serve the economic interests of transnational corporations”*” (CELAM 2007 in Francis, 2015b: 28). When he quotes the Aparecida Document for the second time he writes: *“the interests of economic groups which irrationally demolish sources of life should not prevail in dealing with natural resources”* (CELAM, 2007 in Francis, 2015b: 40). His experience from working in South America is that transnational companies have too much influence on the climate debate. These statements clearly reflect the South American struggle between the poor and the capitalists. And although the Holy See condemned the South American liberation theology⁹, the distrust of capitalist companies remains. Later in the encyclical he refers to a statement by the Mexican Bishops’ Conference *Jesucristo, vida y esperanza de los indigenas e campesinos* (Mexican Bishops Conference, 2008), this statement was written as a critique against NAFTA. In this document the Mexican Bishops criticize this agreement because it will lead to *“una dependencia economica que postrara a los campesinos y al pais en una esclavitud estructural”* (Mexican Bishops Conference, 2008). If we give companies a free pass they will create a structural slavery among the poor, they will use the environment for profit instead of protecting it (Bishops of Patagonia-Comahue in Francis, 2015b).

These statements frame the anthropogenic causes of climate change in a liberation theological perspective. Pope Francis is probably directly influenced by these statements because he was directly involved or he knew the people that wrote these statements.

The other statements show that the whole church is concerned about the climate change and the environment, he quotes statements from every continent and also statements from thirty years ago. This shows that this new teaching is globally relevant.

Causal Factor 3 – Pope Francis

Between 1992 and 2015, three different popes governed the Holy See. Their position in the Holy See is essential in integrating new ideas in the official teaching of the church, because only popes have the authority within the church to authorize new ideas. The pope is not only the religious leader of the RCC but he is also the head of state of the Holy See.

⁹ Liberation theology started in Latin America as a Marxist hermeneutic perspective in response to the oppression of the poor under certain regimes in Latin America. The first general conferences of CELAM supported liberation theology but it was later condemned by the Holy See. The influence of liberation theology that remained in the official teaching of the church is the principle of preference for the poor.

It is certain that Francis influenced *Laudato Si'* for three reasons. First, he is the official author and without his permission it would not have been published.

Second, in during the 2007 'Climate Change and Development' seminar there was a strong call for an encyclical about the environment. Benedict XVI prepared two new encyclicals between April 2007 and his resignation, but both of them did not address climate change. *Laudato Si'* is the first encyclical that is written under responsibility of Francis, this means that either Benedict XVI did not want to publish on the environment or that Francis had a stronger personal influence and motivation to write *Laudato Si'*. And the influence of *Laudato Si'* is also linked to Pope Francis because he took the name Francis as his new name after his election. Francis refers to St. Francis of Assisi the patron saint of the Environment (Francis, 2015b). The choice of his name was therefore a climate statement in itself.

But at the same time it is clear that Francis was not the only causal factor. Before he became a pope his name was Jorge Bergoglio and he was the Archbishop of Buenos Aires. During this time, he was known for his *"robust defense of the poor"* (Allen, 2013). And he *"chose to live in a simple apartment rather than the archbishop's palace, who gave up his chauffeured limousine in favor of taking the bus to work, and who cooked his own meals"* (Allen, 2013). There is no doubt that Bergoglio had a unique lifestyle, and that he thought in according with CST principle of the preferential option for the poor. But he was not involved in ecology, the environment or climate change before he became pope. He did not preach about it and was not known for his strong support of this topic (Allen, 2013). And his most famous work before he became Pope Francis, the Aparecida Document, was not nearly as outspoken as the statement by the German Bishops from the same time (2007).

The election of Pope Francis is a necessary condition because the former pope did not publish authoritative statements on this topic, but it is unclear by whom Pope Francis was influenced.

Causal Factor 4 – Diplomatic influence from other states

In the international arena it is very common that states influence each other on proposed policies. Because the Holy See had more ideational interests than economic or security interests it is very common for the Holy See to take a position regardless of the influence of great powers like the United States or Russia. But in the years before *Laudato Si'* was published it became clear that other states have tried to influence to position of the Holy See on climate change. In 2010 WikiLeaks published five messages about diplomatic contact between United States officials and Holy See officials about cooperation in climate negotiations. They describe contact between US officials and the most influential climate officials within the Holy See: dr. Paolo Conversi and Monsignor James Reinert. Conversi is the environmental official for the Holy See Secretariat of State, and Reinert is the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace expert on the environment. The first two messages are about preparations for the COP meeting in Copenhagen, and the last three messages are about further cooperation after the failure of Copenhagen. This confidential internal communication between US diplomats describes the cooperation between the Holy See and the US as follows: *"Conversi agreed to encourage other countries discreetly to associate themselves with Accord, as opportunities arise"* (Wikileaks, 2010) and *"Even more important than the Vatican's lobbying assistance, however, is the*

influence the Pope's guidance can have on public opinion in countries with large Catholic majorities and beyond" (Wikileaks, 2010).

But the information that the Holy See and the United States cooperate on the topic of climate change does not mean that the position of the Holy See was influenced by the United States. And even if there was an influence than it would have been limited because there was no pressure involved and it was a unique event according to the diplomat: *"Conversi's offer to support the U.S., even if discreetly, is significant because the Vatican is often reluctant to appear to compromise its independence and moral authority by associating itself with particular lobbying efforts"* (Wikileaks, 2010).

Other influences are the sponsoring of Vatican events on climate change like the Climate Seminar in 2007 by the United Kingdom and the conference on "the New Climate Economy" conference in May 2015 was organized by the Dutch embassy (Vatican Radio, 2015). This only proves that other states are interested in the climate position of the Holy See but there is no evidence that this diplomatic influence has changed the position of the Holy See.

Conclusion

In the previous episode, the discourse between actors lead to changed position of the Holy See. That conclusion is confirmed in *Laudato Si'*, because many references were made to peripheral actors. But these conversations did not lead to the incorporation of climate change into the official teaching of the RCC. The election of new pope, outside the Holy See, was necessary to publish an encyclical on the environment.

In 2015 the worldview of the Holy See was changed because of several causal factors that came together. Catholic Social Teaching provided the basis with preferential option for the poor and the need to help the poor by limiting the anthropogenic causes of climate change. Regional bishops' conferences from all around the world supported this view and the need for action against climate change. This created legitimization for this changed worldview. Because diocesan bishops need to implement CST it is important that they support this new worldview. It was clear the Benedict XVI did not see the urgency of an encyclical about climate change. His successor, Francis, directly made a statement by choosing the Francis. Although he was not a climate activist before, this changed during his governance.

Chapter 9 – Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis is to explain the causal factors that influenced the Holy See's climate policy. Thereby answering the question: why did the climate policy of the Holy See change?

Between 1992 and 2015 the ideas about climate policy changed three times. In 2001 a paradigm change took place. The climate crisis was no longer solemnly viewed from theological perspective but the main perspective became scientific.

In 2007, new public policies were proposed after the Holy See integrated climate change further into Catholic Social Teaching. In 2015, with the publication of *Laudato Si'*, the worldview of the Holy See changed. Care for the environment and the mitigation of climate change became an integral part of Catholic Social Teaching instead of just the application of human dignity.

Each episode is dependent upon the changes from the former episode. This means that Catholic Social Teaching has developed since 1992 and that every change in Catholic Social Teaching had positive feedback effect on later periods.

In three episodes a total number of eight different causal factors are described and evaluated. Three causal factors are reoccurring: Catholic Social Teaching, regional bishops' conferences and the influence of other Christian actors. The other five causal factors are specific for a specific episode.

The expected causal configuration is almost the same as the outcomes of this thesis.

The situational mechanism predicted that change is only possible if the most powerful regional bishops' conferences support that change. In the first two episodes the powerful regional conferences published statements only a year before the change of ideas within the Holy See. The other expectation was that a change of ideas is only possible if they do not form a threat of the existing ideas. This became most clear during the first episode when the problem of population control needed to be 'eliminated' before the paradigm of the Holy See changed.

The action-formation mechanism is that ideas have an influence on actors and their preferences. As expected from discursive institutionalism, the conversation between actors had a strong influence of the development of new ideas. An important theme in these conversations was Catholic Social Teaching and the concept of human dignity.

During the years the two most influential individuals in the Holy See, on climate change, have changed their preferences. Martino was involved in the Holy See's climate policies from 1992 until 2007. During this time two ideational changes took place. The other one is Pope Francis, during his time as archbishop of Buenos Aires he was not involved in the climate debate while he became very involved as pope.

During the last two episodes there was strong interaction between new scientific ideas and the development of Catholic Social Teaching.

The expected transformational mechanism was that a new pope was needed to formalize important changes. This is also very likely because the worldview changes only happened when Francis was elected as a new pope while the call for an encyclical already took place in 2007.

Limitations

This thesis has two limitations. One of the limitations is that because of the limited amount of time not all relevant sources are used. There are two important sources that were not used in this thesis.

Very important are interviews with Holy See officials, the people that were directly involved in the policy process. I have not used interviews because I did not have the possibility to invest in a network that is needed to gain access to these officials. In conversations with experts, dr. Jelle Creemers and dr. Sjaak de Boer, they proposed that investing time in an internship in Rome would probably lead to enough interview possibilities.

Another important source are the archives of the regional bishops' conferences. The official archive of the Holy See is called the Vatican Secret Archive, and as its official name already suggests it is difficult to access these archives. Documents are made available to the public after 75 years. The archives of regional bishops' conferences are much more open but the problem is that these archives are huge and located in different countries. To access the archives of the relevant bishops' conferences about five countries need to be visited.

A second limitation of this thesis is that I am not proficient in Italian, Spanish and Polish. A lot of content is written in these languages. The Roman Catholic Church is global institution and after the Second Vatican Council many local churches express themselves in their local language. Before the Second Vatican Council it was enough to learn Latin because that was the official language of the RCC. But in this case study, knowledge of Latin is not relevant but the knowledge of Italian, Spanish, French, English and Polish is important.

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Appendix 1 – Politics ex cathedra

This recent article by Federica Genovese is about *“the conditions under which religious leaders are more likely to speak politically”* (Genovese, 2015: 1). According to her theory *“religious authorities are more likely to issue political messages when secular institutions are unwilling or incapable to take clear political positions”* (Genovese, 2015: 1). She tests this hypothesis by analysing the political encyclicals of the different popes since Vatican II.

There are at least two flaws in her research design. First, she only uses encyclicals to test her theory. The presupposition of her research is that encyclicals are the only political statements by the Holy See. There are several examples of political statements by the Holy See outside encyclicals. One of them is the campaign by the Holy See in the 1990’s against population control (Neale, 1998). During this campaign they used all of their political power to influence the final statement of a United Nations conference on population growth. Another example, from Pope Francis, is that he chose the name Francis when he was elected. The name Francis refers to St. Francis of Assisi the patron saint of ecology. Because he was the first pope to choose the name Francis, it was a statement on ecology and poverty. The former Pope Benedict XVI, was the 16th pope that chose the name of St. Benedict thereby indicating that his pontificate was to be characterized by continuity.

A third example of why not only encyclicals are relevant is the case of nuclear proliferation. The Holy See and the last three popes became very political outspoken against nuclear proliferation without issuing an encyclical on it. Instead they ratified several international treaties on proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Second, while she does an excellent job in separating the political encyclicals from the spiritual encyclicals she does not explain the causal mechanism between an international political crisis and these political encyclicals. Therefore, the link between political methods and international political crisis remains unclear. And she does not clearly define international political crisis. This is problematic because it is common sense that political statements refer to relevant themes. It would be odd if a political statement is made against a topic that is not relevant anymore. In the case of the climate crisis, it is hard to define when the international political crisis on climate change started. Was it when the Kyoto Protocol was not ratified by some countries? Was it after UNFCCC COP meeting in Copenhagen? These relevant questions are not answered in her article.

Her conclusion is that policy change is caused by exogenous events. While this cannot be excluded, this article does not give decisive prove for such causes. And therefore the content of this article is not applicable to this thesis.