

ON LINE INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM

Credibility of scientific expertise and decision-making

New challenges for health risk governance in a changing world



FRAMING SESSION

Not just the facts: A political theory of trust in expertise

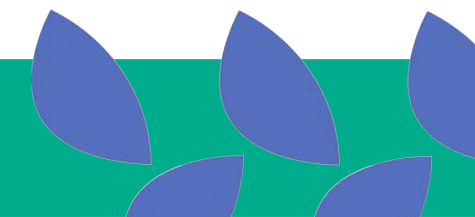
Sheila Jasanoff (Harvard Kennedy School)

20th January 2021

universcience

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sciences
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Tracking The Spread Of The Coronavirus Globally

Data as of Jan. 18

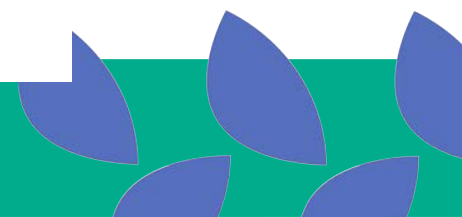
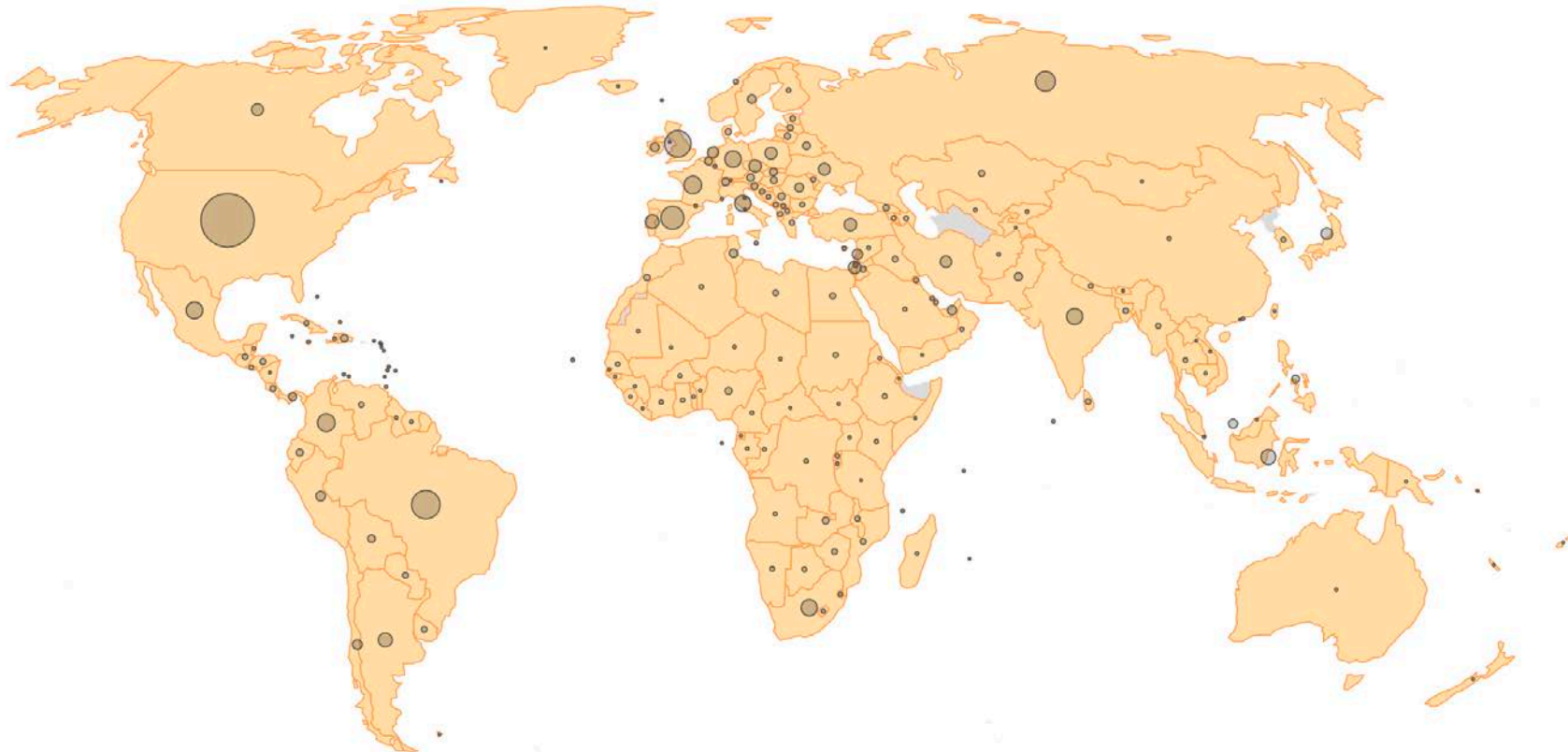
NEW CASES

NEW CASES PER 100K

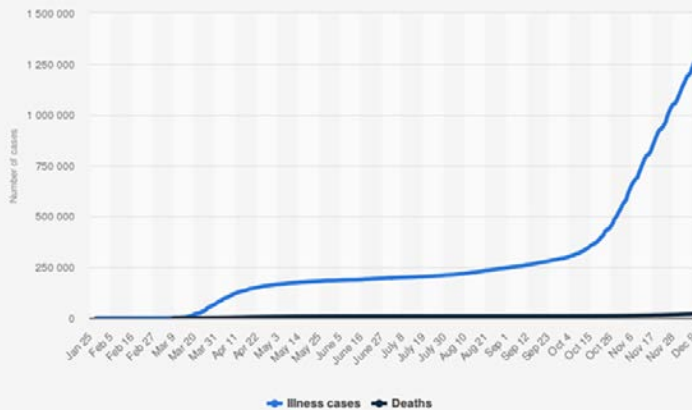
TOTAL CASES

TOTAL CASES PER 100K

New cases in past week

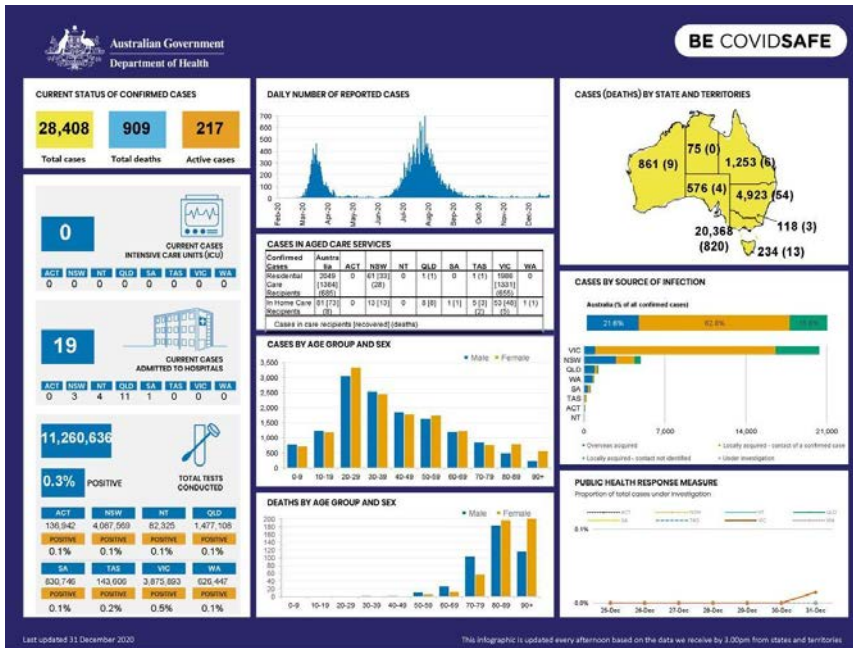


Coronavirus (COVID-19) illness cases and deaths in Germany since January 2020



Source: Johns Hopkins University © Statista 2020

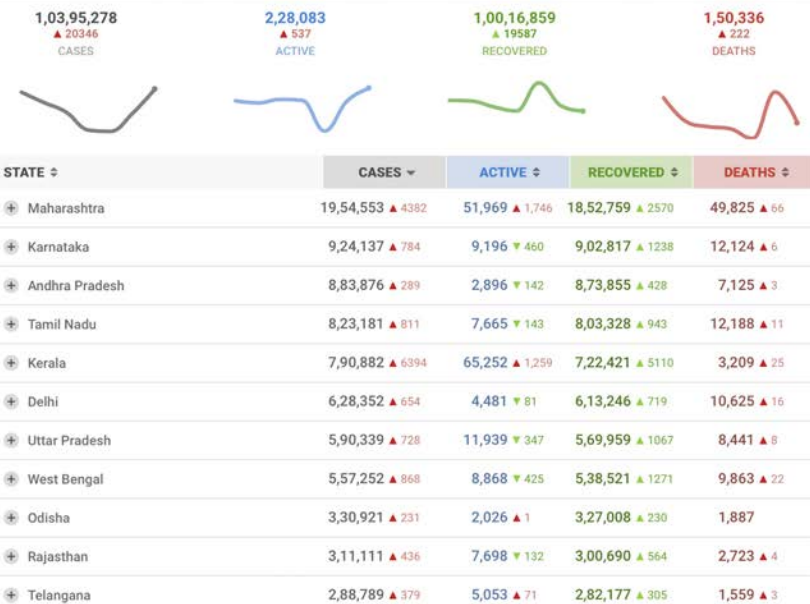
Additional Information: Germany: as of December 9, 2020



Last updated 31 December 2020

This infographic is updated every afternoon based on the data we receive by 3:00pm from states and territories

INDIA

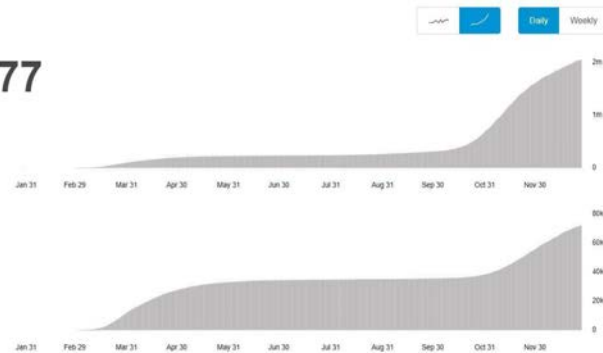


Italy Situation

2,056,277 confirmed cases

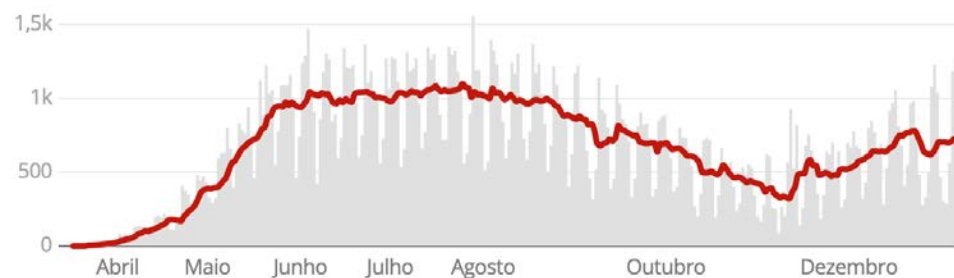
72,370 deaths

Source: World Health Organization



Mortes por Covid-19 confirmadas por dia

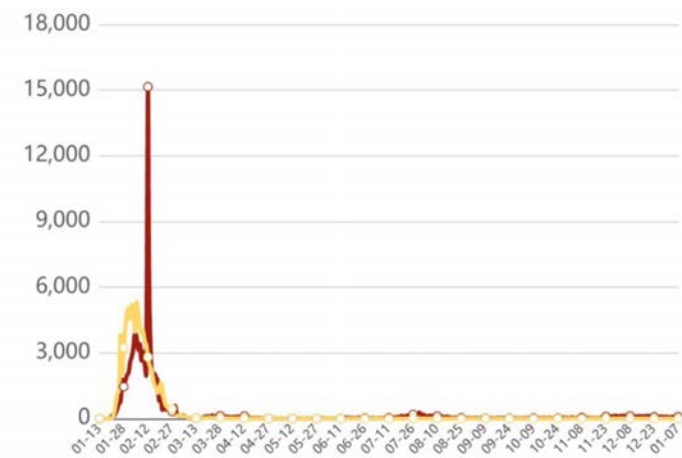
Total de mortes por dia em barras



Fonte: Consórcio de veículos de imprensa a partir de dados da secretarias estaduais de saúde

确诊 疑似

单击图例可切换展示



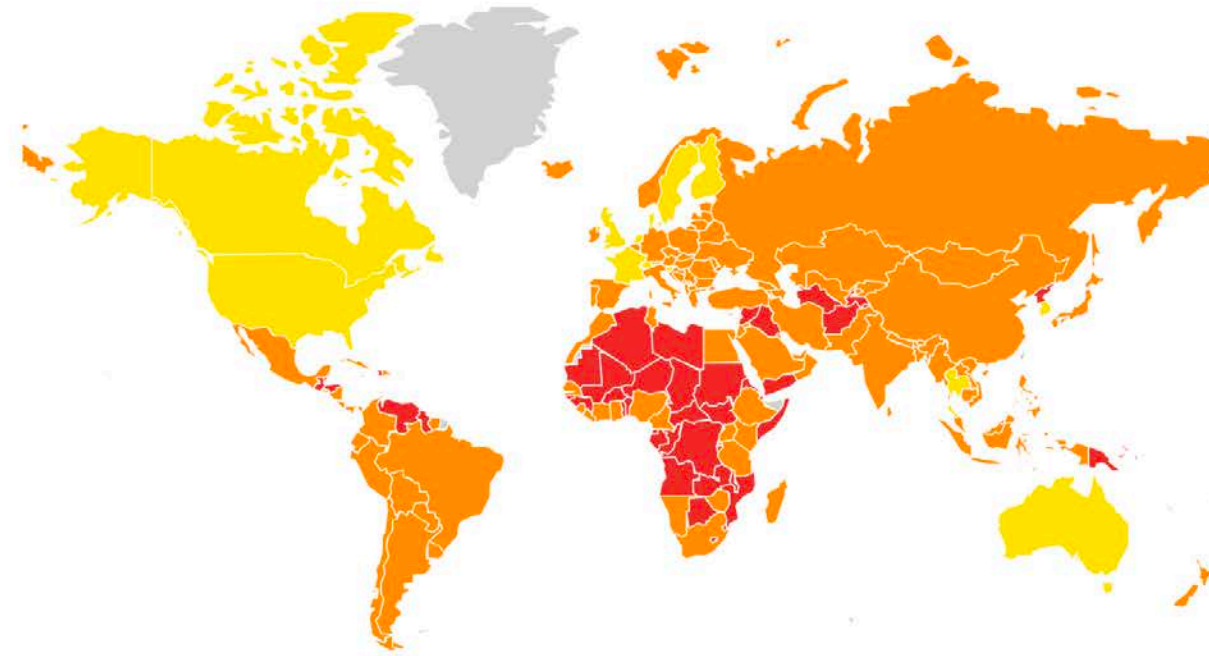
INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM – Framing session – 20th January 2021
 Sheila Jasanoff (Harvard Kennedy School)

GHS Index Map

View scores by index category ?

- Overall
- Prevent
- Detect
- Respond
- Health
- Norms
- Risk

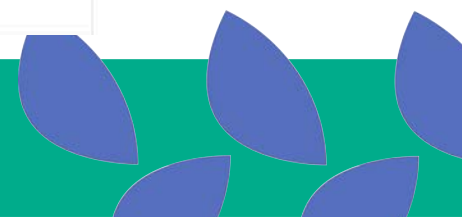
Find A Country



Key

- Most Prepared
- More Prepared
- Least Prepared

Select a country to see Overall Score/Rank and access a full country page.

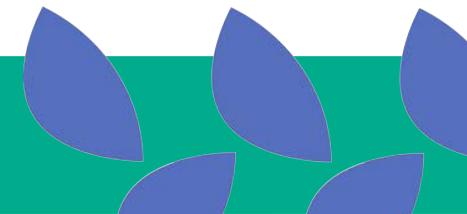




President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr. honored the victims of the coronavirus pandemic on Tuesday, the day before his inauguration. Doug Mills/The New York Times



A field of flags on the National Mall represents the thousands of Americans who would normally attend the inauguration. Todd Heister/The New York Times



Toward a Political Theory of Expertise

Key question for
Democracy

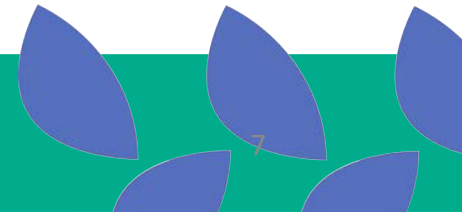
Why should the
few be empowered
to *rule* for the many?

Key question for
Modernity

Why should the
few be empowered
to *know* for the many?

Parallel Constitutions?

- Questions of political delegation
 - Explicit
 - Is power being exercised?
 - Which powers are authorized?
 - What are their limits?
 - How do we know them?
 - Who can challenge?
 - By what processes?
 - Represented. By whom
- Questions of epistemic delegation
 - Implicit
 - Power | Knowledge
 - A world without borders – ideally!
 - Epistemic subsidiarity
 - Futures and imaginaries
 - Constructing expertise
 - Ethics and responsibility – to whom?



Constitutional Role of Science and Expertise

Science provides common baseline for
accountability

But science enters politics as expertise

Experts govern by appeals to science

Under a tacit constitutional compact

Ordinarily defined at the level of the nation
state

Quality and Virtue in Science

- R.K. Merton's **norms of science** - the *CUDOS* framework:
 - **C**ommunalism: science is held in common
 - **U**niversalism: science is independent of place of production
 - **D**isinterestedness: science is free of interests
 - **O**rganized Skepticism: science is questioned by peers

Objectivity is a political instrument

- George H.W. Bush, 1990
- ***Science, like any field of endeavor, relies on freedom of inquiry; and one of the hallmarks of that freedom is objectivity.***
- *Now more than ever, on issues ranging from climate change to AIDS research to genetic engineering to food additives, government relies on the impartial perspective of science for guidance. And as the frontiers of knowledge are increasingly distant from the understanding of the many, it is ever more important that we can turn to the few for sound, straightforward advice.*



Cracks in the Compact

Speaking “Truthiness” to Power

- Stephen Colbert lampooned American politics under President George W. Bush as a “no fact zone”
- Frank Rich, *New York Times*, November 5, 2006:
- In retrospect, **the defining moment of the 2006 campaign** may well have been back in April, when Mr. Colbert appeared at the White House Correspondents’ Association dinner. Call it a cultural primary.”

Definition: Wikipedia

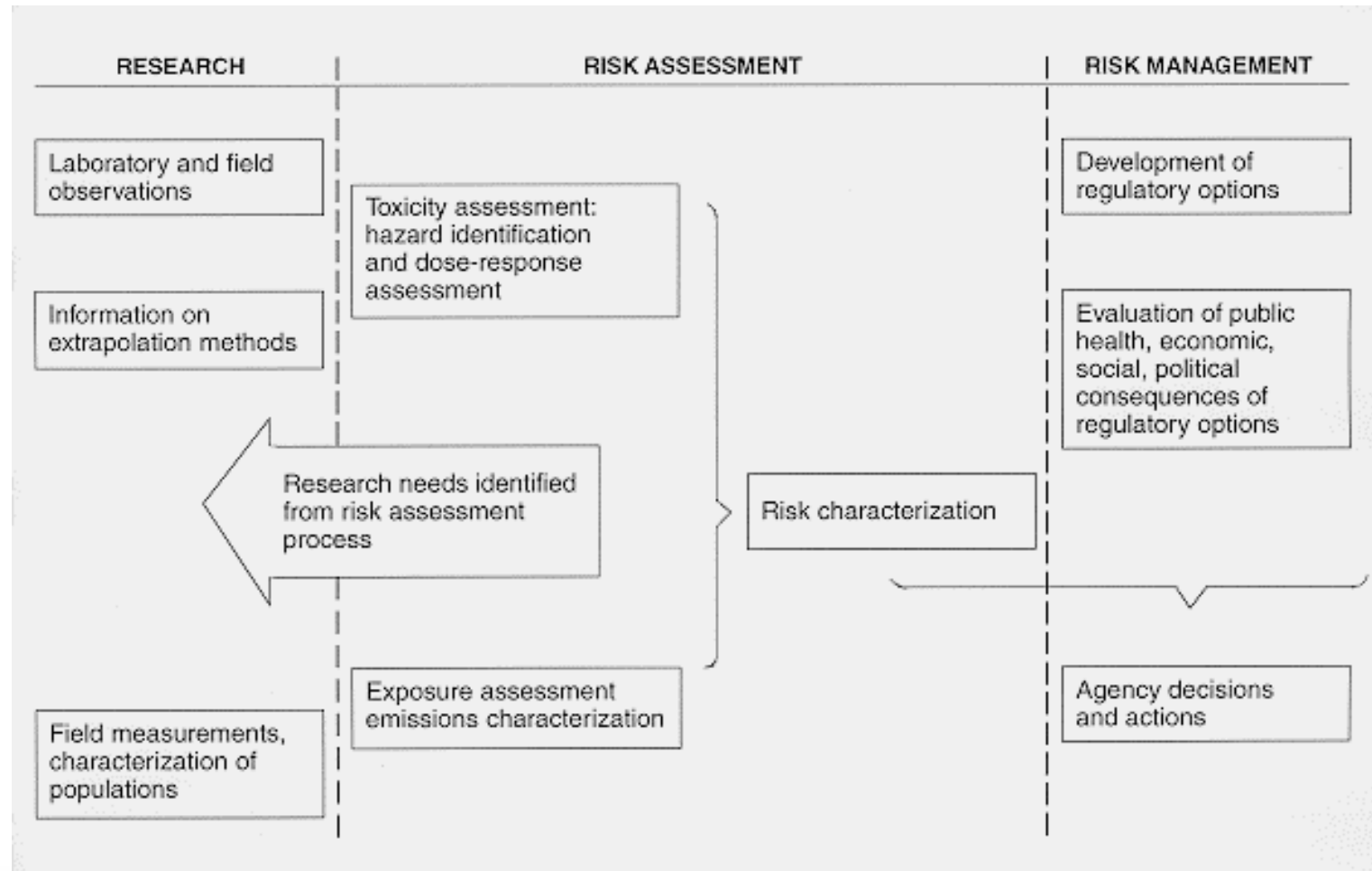
- **“Truthiness** is a quality characterizing a ‘truth’ that a person making an argument or assertion claims to know intuitively ‘the gut’ or because it ‘feels right’ without regard to evidence, logic, intellectual examination, or facts.”
- In other words, “truthiness” is a gut assessment of the truth value of propositions.

The Challenge of Mode 2

- Knowledge is increasingly produced in contexts of application, i.e., *all* science is ‘applied’ science.
- Science is increasingly transdisciplinary, i.e., it draws on and integrates elements from many fields.
- Knowledge is generated in a wide variety of sites, not just universities and industry, but also in research centers, consultancies, and think-tanks.
- Scientists are aware of the societal implications of their work.
- Publics are conscious of the ways in which science and technology affect their interests and values.

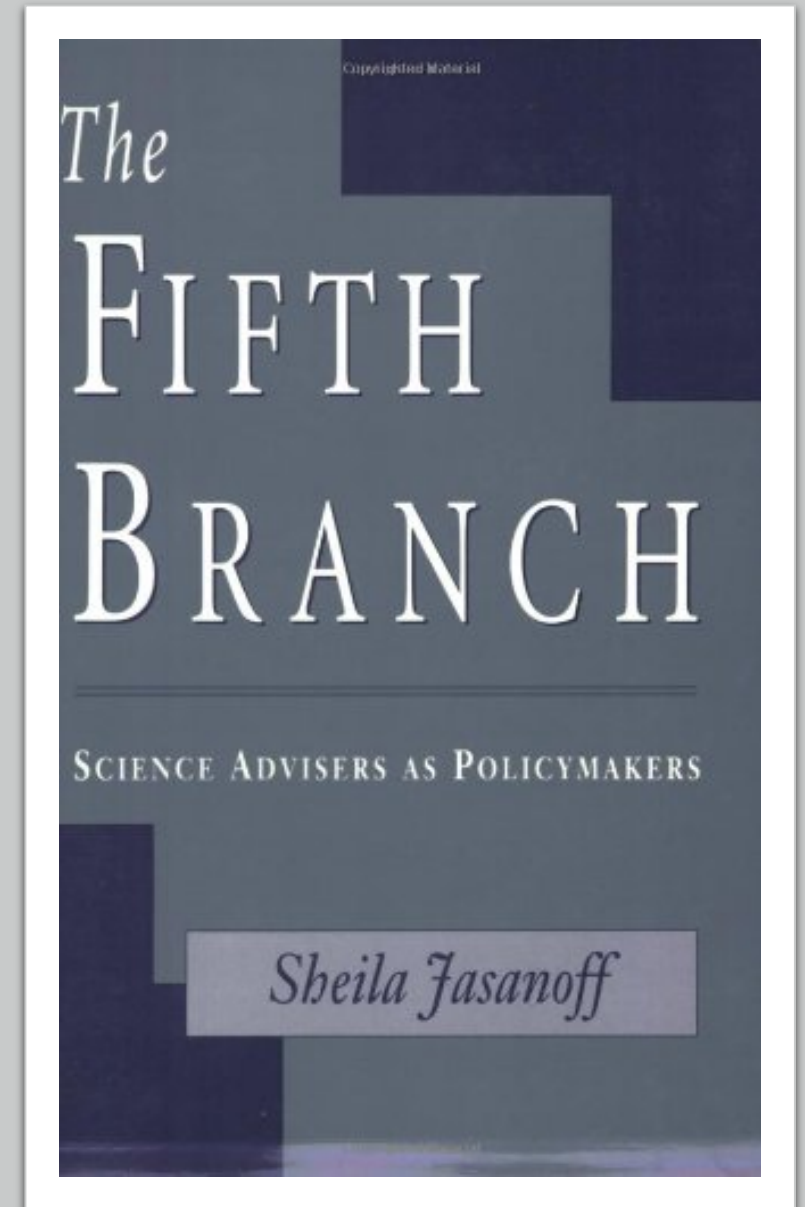
A separatist strategy:

US National Research Council “Red Book” Model of Risk Analysis (1983)



A non-linear approach:

- If we abandon “truth,” what’s left?
 - Only “truthiness”?
- One answer (USA): *The Fifth Branch*
 - Seek “serviceable truths”
 - Legitimated as “science” through boundary work
- Revisiting *The Fifth Branch* as apparatus of public reason in an era
 - Of global Mode 2 knowledge production
 - Of increasing knowledge about the constructed nature of facts



Regulatory science: An epistemic-political hybrid

Table 4.1. Regulatory science and research science.

	Regulatory science	Research science
Goals	“Truths” relevant to policy	“Truths” of originality and significance
Institutions	Government Industry	Universities
Products	Studies and data analyses, often unpublished	Published papers
Incentives	Compliance with legal requirements	Professional recognition and advancement
Time-frame	Statutory timetables Political pressure	Open-ended
Options	Acceptance of evidence Rejection of evidence	Acceptance of evidence Rejection of evidence Waiting for more data
Accountability Institutions	Congress Courts Media	Professional peers
Procedures	Audits and site visits Regulatory peer review Judicial review Legislative oversight	Peer review, formal and informal
Standards	Absence of fraud or misrepresentation Conformity to approved protocols and agency guidelines Legal tests of sufficiency (e.g., substantial evidence, preponderance of the evidence)	Absence of fraud or misrepresentation Conformity to methods accepted by peer scientists Statistical significance

**Why value facts?
In democratic
societies, we value
facts that sustain
associated normative
and social
orders**

The (Undervalued) Analytic-Deliberative Model

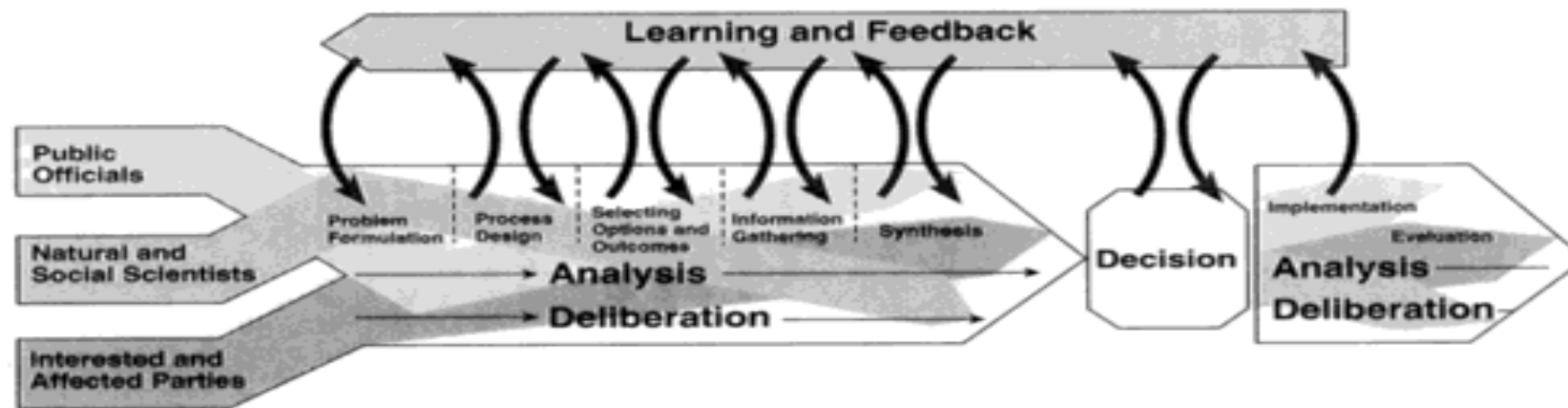
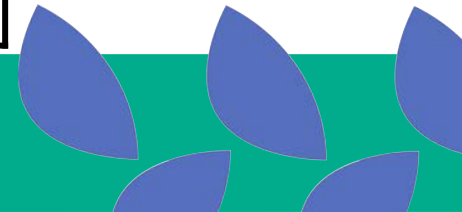


FIGURE 1-2. A schematic representation of the risk decision process.

Public Knowledge and Civic Epistemologies

	<u><i>US</i></u>	<u><i>UK</i></u>	<u><i>Germany</i></u>
Public knowledge-making	Pluralist, interest-based	Embodied , service-based	Corporatist, institution-based
Public Accountability	Assumptions of distrust Legal	Assumptions of trust Relational	Assumptions of trust Role-based
Demonstration (practices)	Socio-technical experiments	Empirical science	Expert rationality
Objectivity (styles)	Numerical; reasoned	Negotiated	Negotiated; reasoned
Expertise (preferred modes)	Formal methods	Experience	Training, skills, experience



National Constructions of Expert Legitimacy: Three “Bodies” of Expertise

	United States	United Kingdom	Germany
Bodies of knowledge	Formal (“sound”) science	Empirical common knowledge	Collectively reasoned knowledge
Embodied experts	Technically most qualified experts	Experienced “safe hands”	Authorized institutional representatives
Advisory bodies	Pluralistic, interested, but fairly balanced (<i>stakeholder</i>)	Members capable of discerning the public good (<i>civil service</i>)	Representative and inclusive of all relevant views (<i>public sphere</i>)

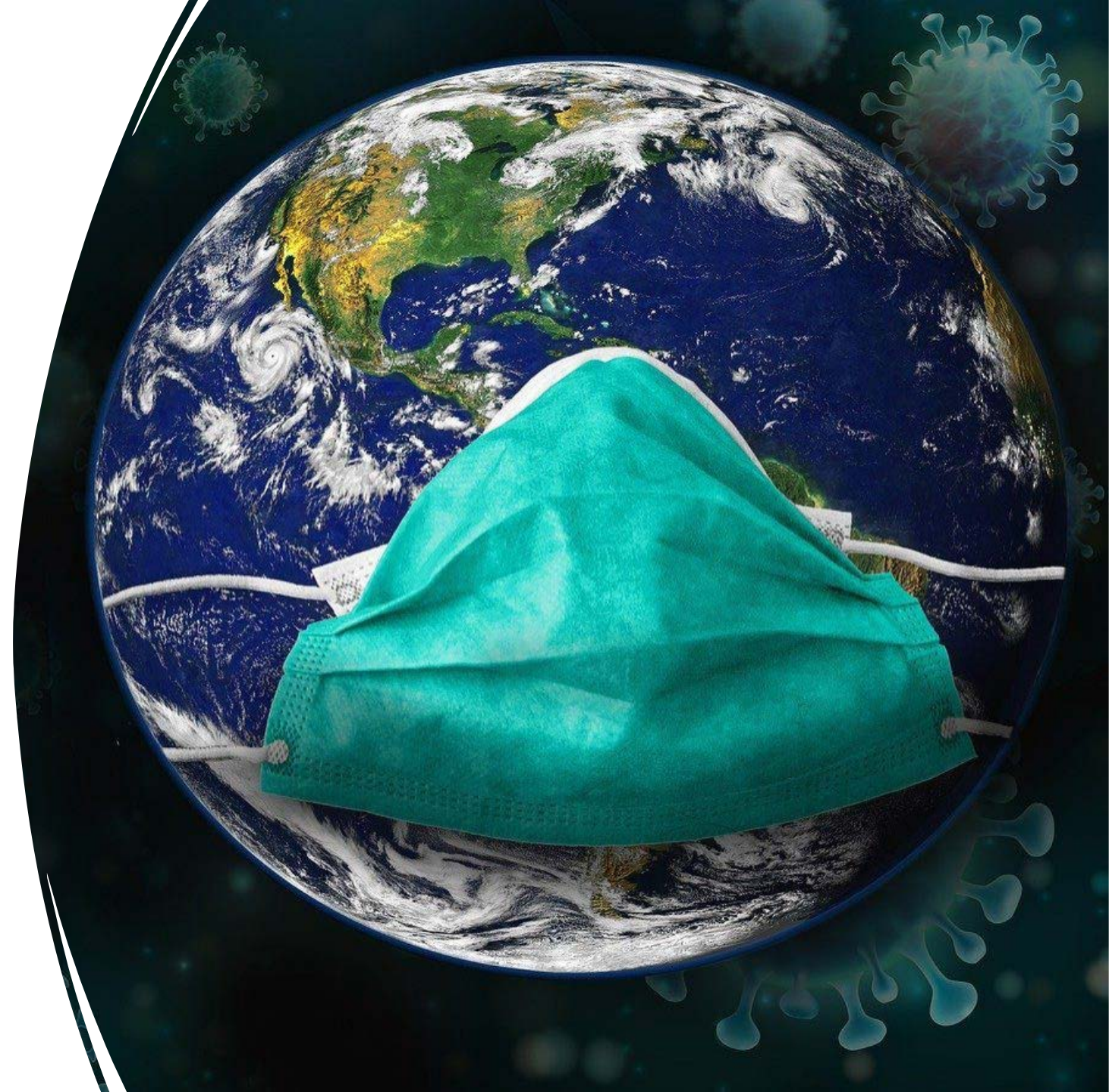
Virtuous Reason: Normative Foundations of Expertise

	Nature of Objectivity	Normative Commitments	Administrative Practices
Bodies of knowledge (United States)	View from nowhere (transcendental)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Open access to information • Transparency • Public comment and criticism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Freedom of Information • Public comment • Legal challenge and review
Embodied experts (United Kingdom)	View from everywhere (empirical, observational)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Issue-specific experience • Dedication to the public good • Balanced judgment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nominations from the public • Principles of public life • Conflict of interest rules
Advisory bodies (Germany)	View from everywhere (reasoned)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inclusion of all relevant voices • Willingness to accommodate reasons of others 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Representation of relevant institutional voices • Appointment of substitute members

Cascade of Deference

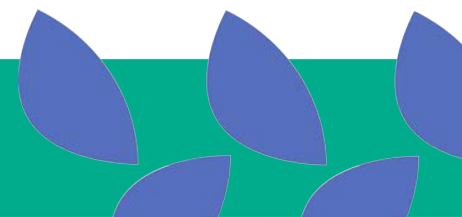
- SCIENCE *FOR* ACTION is not only about epistemic issues, nor about “getting the science right” *before* moving to normative decisions.
- A Cascade of Deference
 - **OBJECTIVITY**
 - Constructed within diverse traditions of authorizing expertise
 - **CONSENSUS**
 - Rests on prior assumptions of legitimate politics and policy
 - **PRECAUTION**
 - Has roots everywhere and respects fact-value hybridity
 - **SUBSIDIARITY**
 - Is warranted when costs of impinging on liberty and autonomy outweigh risks of non-cooperation

Health risk governance in a “post” everything world





A constitutional convention for the 21st century?



Grand Challenges for Expertise

- Institutional devolution
 - Resurgent national constitutions of knowledge | power
 - Expanded time horizons (irreversible interventions, new virus strains)
 - Heightened populism (increasing citizen expertise)
 - Frayed gatekeeping (publication by Tweet)
 - Recalibrated morality (whose responsibility, what stewardship?)
- Political implications and consequences
 - Asking the right questions
 - Revisiting representation
 - Re-theorizing reason

Thank you!

