

Global Climate Politics and Policy

ENV 1003
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Welcome to university in the age of COVID

Below you will find all the standard details about the class, but before that, some important things to think about.

- 1) **This is a changing situation which will require flexibility, patience and kindness.**
- 2) **Communication will be essential to the success of the course. If you have concerns or issues, please let me know, and I will address any issues as quickly and as best I can.**
- 3) **Your physical and mental health take priority over all else. Take care of yourself, and each other.**

Course Description

Though we tend to treat it as a technological or economic issue, climate change is fundamentally a political problem. This course provides much needed political science theory for understanding why we must consider the politics of climate change if we are to make progress on decarbonization.

This course will examine the political economy of climate change at the international and domestic levels. We will investigate four questions: 1) What are the different ways of conceptualizing the climate change “problem”? 2) How is climate change currently governed internationally? 3) What are the main policies to govern the climate? 4) How can industrial policy and global trade reform help promote rapid decarbonization?

This course will be student driven. This means you should come prepared: not just having completed the readings, but with some questions or responses to them. This is your opportunity to shape the direction of the discussions we have – take advantage!

Course Format and Delivery

Per the university’s rules, this course will be online through the end of January. *All classes will be synchronous and conducted via Zoom.* All classes will be recorded, **though since this is a seminar, I strongly recommend that you attend the synchronous classes.** It is yet unclear whether the rest of the semester will be conducted in person; this is very much a TBA situation. I will try to keep you informed in a timely manner about any changes to the format.

Learning Objectives

By the end of the semester you should:

- (1) Understand how different conceptualizations of the climate change problem shape the politics and policies that arise from them.
- (2) Understand the current international approach to governing climate change, including the functioning of international carbon markets, and be able to assess its strengths and weaknesses.

- (3) Understand the basic contours of domestic climate policies of major emitters.
- (4) Identify policies and institutions at the international level that could provide leverage on decarbonization by building political coalitions that benefit from aggressive climate change policy.

Course Requirements and Assignments

For a full description of the assignments, see “Assignments” document in Quercus.

There will be five assignments for the class.

1) Term Paper (*DUE 8 APRIL*): 30%

There are two possible routes for the term paper. You may choose any topic related to *global* climate politics, OR you can write about the creation and/or implementation of two specific policies: carbon pricing or net zero. There will be more information on this in the “Assignments” sheet, which is forthcoming.

If you choose to write on a topic *not* related to carbon pricing or net zero, you must be sure that the paper is about *global* climate politics. Thus, it should not be about Canadian or Indonesian or Brazilian climate policy, *unless you specifically tie this to the Paris process*.

The paper should be between 3500-4000 words, and a **preliminary topic is due no later than 1 Feb.**

2) Rough draft of paper: 15% (*DUE 20 MAR*)

You will prepare a rough draft of your term paper to share with a pre-assigned group from whom you will receive substantive and editorial comments. Your draft should contain a rough sense of the argument, and provide a good chunk of the evidence you will be using to support that argument. If you provide less material, your peer comments will be less useful. Your mark is based on the quality of the comments you provide to your peers in addition to the draft you supply. *Suggested length: 1500 words*

3) Participation: 15%.

- a. In such a small class, if I do not know your name and what you have contributed to the seminar by the end of the course, this part of your grade will suffer. You should plan to speak up at least once per class meeting to maintain a B+ mark or higher in this category. This means: asking for more information, asking for clarifications, and making comments, but also referring to the reading and making connections, offering analysis, etc. This can also be done in the chat (see following point).
- b. **Chat moderator.** I recognize that some people are more comfortable speaking in class than others, and that this may be especially true for a class conducted online. As such, students will have the option of volunteering to moderate the chat as part of your participation grade. **This is optional.** For those of you who choose to have this be part of your participation grade, it will count for 1/3 of the grade – i.e. 5%. A good chat moderator will: pose questions, offer comments and summarize key points made in the chat at designated times during the class session. We will assign these at the beginning

of the course. In some instances, you will split the class session with another student, to ensure that everyone gets a slot.

4) Video summary and critique: 20%

Each of you will be responsible for reading, summarizing and critiquing **two articles** that we read. In order to cut down on Zoom fatigue and to encourage you to be concise, these will be **video summaries with PowerPoint**. In 3-5 minutes, you should:

- Summarize the key arguments of the paper (1-2 slides)
- Where applicable, summarize the key evidence used in support of the arguments (1 slide)
- Provide 1-2 critiques of the paper. (1 slide). Critiques can include (but are not limited to): things that are missing from the paper, over- or under- emphasis of certain issues or ideas, failure to take into account other perspectives (perhaps ones that we have already examined), or

Your summary should be uploaded by 7PM Monday before class in the Video Summaries discussion on the Discussions link in Quercus. **Please also upload your PowerPoint into the Assignments page.**

Also: Make sure you read the “Tips for a good powerpoint presentation” on Quercus.

5) Think piece: 20% (DUE NO LATER THAN 8 APRIL)

Write a 1000 word essay that answers the following question: What is the most promising avenue for tackling climate change? Obviously, there is no right answer to this question. The idea of this assignment is to pick an avenue for political progress that you feel is promising, and elaborate on *why* and *how* it could be successful in generating change. You must refer to a minimum of three readings in your response. This is not meant to be a final exam, so you may complete this any time during the semester.

Week 1: Introduction (11 Jan)

- Questions:
 - o What are your responses to [this piece](#) in the *New York Times* about climate change?
 - o What are the key things that you already know about climate change?
 - o What do you want to learn about climate change? What questions do you have?

Week 2: Climate science, the distribution of impacts and climate justice (18 Jan)

- Maslin, Mark. *Climate Change: A Very Short Introduction*. Chaps 1, 4 and 5 **UofT-e, LRL**
- IPCC, Sixth Assessment Report, Working Group I, [Summary for Policymakers](#), pp. 4-15.
- Okereke, Chukwumerije. 2018. "Equity and Justice in Polycentric Climate Governance." In Jordan et al., *Governing Climate Change: Polycentricity in Action?* Cambridge University Press. **UofT-e, Quercus**

Week 3: From Rio to Glasgow: A History of Global Climate politics (25 Jan)

- Green, Jessica F. 2022. "Climate Change Governance: Past, Present and (hopefully) Future." In Michael Barnett, Jon Pevehouse and Kal Raustiala eds. *Global Governance in a World of Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. **Available [here](#)** (you will need to log in through U of T)
- Victor, David G. 2011. *Global Warming Gridlock: Creating More Effective Strategies for Protecting the Planet*, Chapter 1. **UofT-e, LRL**
- Allan, Jen Iris, Charles B Roger, Thomas N Hale, Steven Bernstein, Yves Tiberghien, and Richard Balme. 2021. Making the Paris Agreement: Historical Processes and the Drivers of Institutional Design. *Political Studies*. **UofT-e, LRL**
 - o Skim these brief descriptions of what was decided at the most recent COP26 at Glasgow ([here](#) and [here](#))

Week 4: The basics of global climate politics (1 Feb)

Is climate change a market failure? A collective action problem? Something else? What are the different lenses for understanding the political problem of climate change, and how do they condition the perceived solutions?

- Unruh, Gregory C. 2000. Understanding carbon lock-in. *Energy Policy* 28 (12): 817–830. **UofT-e, LRL**
- Ostrom, Elinor. 2010. Polycentric systems for coping with collective action and global environmental change. *Global Environmental Change* 20 (4): 550–557. **UofT-e, LRL**
- Colgan, Jeff D., Jessica F. Green, and Thomas N. Hale. 2021. Asset Revaluation and the Existential Politics of Climate Change. *International Organization* 75 (2): 586–610. **UofT-e, LRL**
- Hale, Thomas. 2020. Catalytic Cooperation. *Global Environmental Politics* 20 (4): 73–98.
- Sabel, Charles and David Victor. [How to Fix the Climate](#), *Boston Review*
- Nordaus, William. 2020. [The Climate Club: How to Fix a Failing Global Effort](#). *Foreign Affairs*. May/June. (Also available on Quercus, if you're paywalled)

Week 5: The basics of domestic climate politics (8 Feb)

What explains variation in domestic climate policies, and across sectors within states? How does global trade impact these preferences and policies?

- Kennard, Amanda. 2020. The Enemy of My Enemy: When Firms Support Climate Change Regulation. *International Organization* 74 (2): 187–221. **UofT-e, LRL**

- Aklin, Michaël, and Matto Mildenerger. 2020. Prisoners of the Wrong Dilemma: Why Distributive Conflict, Not Collective Action, Characterizes the Politics of Climate Change. *Global Environmental Politics* 20 (4): 4–27. **UofT-e, LRL**
- Genovese, Federica, and Endre Tvinnereim. 2019. Who opposes climate regulation? Business preferences for the European emission trading scheme. *The Review of International Organizations* 14 (3): 511–542. **UofT-e, LRL**
- Dubash, Navroz K. 2021. Varieties of climate governance: the emergence and functioning of climate institutions. *Environmental Politics* 30(sup 1): 1–25. **UofT-e, LRL**

Week 6: Leaders and Laggards – What Explains Variation? (15 Feb)

CHOOSE ONE COUNTRY TO READ ABOUT. However, everyone should look at entries in [Climate Action Tracker](#) for EU, Canada, US, India, China. **AND**, everyone should read:

- Meckling, Jonas, and Jonas Nahm. 2021. Strategic State Capacity: How States Counter Opposition to Climate Policy. *Comparative Political Studies*. Doi: 00104140211024308. **UofT-e, LRL**
- Dubash, Navroz K., Aditya Valiathan Pillai, Christian Flachslund, Kathryn Harrison, Kathryn Hochstetler, Matthew Lockwood, Robert MacNeil, et al. 2021. National climate institutions complement targets and policies. *Science*. American Association for the Advancement of Science. Available at <<https://www.science.org/doi/abs/10.1126/science.abm1157>>. **Also available on Quercus**

EU

- Debelke, Jos and Peter Vis. 2019. [Toward a Climate Neutral Europe](#). London: Routledge. Chapter 1 (pp. 1-20). **UofT-e**
- von Homeyer, Ingmar, Sebastian Oberthür, and Andrew J. Jordan. 2021. EU climate and energy governance in times of crisis: towards a new agenda. *Journal of European Public Policy* 28 (7): 959–979. **UofT-e**

CHINA

- Nahm, Jonas and Johannes Urpelainen. 2021. The Enemy Within: Green Industrial Policy and Stranded Assets in China’s Power Sector. Forthcoming in *Global Environmental Politics*. Available on [SSRN](#)
- Teng, Fei, and Pu Wang. 2021. The evolution of climate governance in China: drivers, features, and effectiveness. *Environmental Politics* 30 (sup1). Routledge: 141–161. **UofT-e, LRL**

CANADA

- Skim the timeline of [The Evolution of Canada’s International and Domestic Climate Policy](#) (pp 2-12)
- Harrison, Kathryn. 2020. Political Institutions and Supply-Side Climate Politics: Lessons from Coal Ports in Canada and the United States. *Global Environmental Politics* 20 (4): 51–72.
- MacNeil, Robert. 2021. On the Immorality and Futility of Canadian Climate Policy under Trudeau. *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 32 (4). Routledge: 111–129.

Week 7: READING WEEK, NO CLASS (22 Feb)

Week 8: Policies, Part 1: Carbon Pricing (1 Mar)

- Rabe, Barry G. 2018. *Can We Price Carbon?* Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, Chaps 1 and 7. **Uoft-e, LRL**
- Mildenberger, Matto. 2020. *Carbon Captured: How Business and Labor Control Climate Politics*. Cambridge, Massachusetts ; London, England: The MIT Press, Chap 2. **Uoft-e, LRL**
- Aldy, Joseph E., and Robert N. Stavins. 2012. The Promise and Problems of Pricing Carbon: Theory and Experience. *The Journal of Environment & Development* 21 (2). SAGE Publications Inc: **Read pps 152-162** (You need not read the summaries about the performance of various carbon pricing schemes, as these are now way out of date) **Uoft-e, LRL**
- Green, Jessica F. 2021. Does carbon pricing reduce emissions? A review of ex-post analyses. *Environmental Research Letters*. Available at <http://iopscience.iop.org/article/10.1088/1748-9326/abdae9>.
Recommended:
- Vormedal, Irja, Lars H. Gulbrandsen, and Jon Birger Skjærseth. 2020. Big Oil and Climate Regulation: Business as Usual or a Changing Business? *Global Environmental Politics* 20 (4): 143–166. **Uoft-e, LRL**

Week 9: Policies, Part 2: Net Zero (8 Mar)

- Green, Jessica F. and Raul Salas Reyes. 2022. The History of Net Zero. Unpublished manuscript. **Quercus**
- Rogelj, Joeri, Oliver Geden, Annette Cowie, and Andy Reisinger. 2021. [Net-zero emissions targets are vague: three ways to fix](#). *Nature* 591 (7850): 365–368.
- Fankhauser, Sam, Stephen M. Smith, Myles Allen, Kaya Axelsson, Thomas Hale, Cameron Hepburn, J. Michael Kendall, et al. 2021. The meaning of net zero and how to get it right. *Nature Climate Change*: 1–7. **Uoft-e, LRL**
- Temple, James and Lisa Song. 2021. [The climate solution actually adding millions of tons of CO2 into the atmosphere](#). *MIT Technology Review*.
- Read excerpts from [this interview](#) with my colleague and net-zero guru Tom Hale, and the [Taking Stock](#) report by Oxford which the interview discusses.

Week 10: WORK WEEK (15 Mar)

Week 11: INGOs and civil society (15 Mar)

- Allan, Jen. 2021. *The New Climate Activism: NGO Authority and Participation in Climate Change Governance*. Toronto ; Buffalo ; London: University of Toronto Press. Chaps 1,4 and 5
- Hadden, Jennifer. 2015. *Networks in Contention: The Divisive Politics of Climate Change*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 3. **Uoft-e, LRL**
- Ehrenreich, Barbara and John Ehrenreich. 1977. [“The Professional Managerial Class”](#) *Radical America* 11(2): 7-32.
- Malm, Andreas. 2021. [“The Moral Case for Destroying Fossil Fuel Infrastructure”](#) *The Guardian*.
- Green, Jessica. 2022. The Climate Establishment. Unpublished Manuscript. **Quercus**

Week 12: Policies part 3: Green New Deal and Industrial Policy (29 March)

- Allan, Bentley, Joanna I. Lewis, and Thomas Oatley. 2021. Green Industrial Policy and the Global Transformation of Climate Politics. *Global Environmental Politics* 21 (4): 1–19. **Uoft-e**
- Lewis, Joanna I. 2021. Green Industrial Policy After Paris: Renewable Energy Policy Measures and Climate Goals. *Global Environmental Politics* 21 (4): 42–63. **Uoft-e, LRL**

- Meckling, Jonas. 2021. Making Industrial Policy Work for Decarbonization. *Global Environmental Politics* 21 (4): 134–147. **UofT-e, LRL**
- Meckling, Jonas, and Bentley B. Allan. 2020. The evolution of ideas in global climate policy. *Nature Climate Change* 10 (5): 434–438. **UofT-e, LRL**

Week 13: Review and conclusion (5 Apr)