# PS98T: The Politics of Climate Change Mitigation

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Office Hours: Tuesday and Thursday 1-2pm

Spring 2021

# Seminar Description

Climate change is one of the most pressing challenges facing the world in the 21st century. There is a consensus among scientists about the causes of this phenomenon: the emission of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gas from electricity generation, transportation, industry, and agriculture. Yet, these are the same drivers of economic growth and, therefore, poverty alleviation globally. For many years the cornerstone of climate policy was striking a balance between economic development and the protection of the planet. However, nowadays it is much clearer that the world's future welfare depends heavily on the extent to which we address climate change: instead of being a limit to future development, the mitigation of climate change is a necessary condition for it.

Climate change policy has a very clear end goal: societies need to reduce how much energy they consume to produce goods and services, and employ less carbon-intensive technologies to generate that energy. Although renewables, energy storage, and efficiency technologies have become universally cheaper and commonplace, the world is still far from effectively deploying them at the scale necessary to reduce the negative effects of global warming.

If we have a very accurate scientific explanation of this problem and the technological means to address it, why are we still lagging far behind? In this course, we will study one of the most powerful reasons behind this gridlock: politics, including public opinion, institutions, interest groups, and leaders.

The main question we will address is, why the governments of the world have accomplished so little progress towards reducing carbon emissions? That is, what explains the enormous variation in global commitments to address climate change and in their success to meet such pledges?

We will study the political and institutional factors that determine climate change mitigation policy at the national and subnational levels, including public opinion, interest groups, and political parties. Hence, we will focus on how to address the causes of climate change (mitigation) rather than how to respond to its effects (adaptation). Moreover, we will center on energy production and consumption and leave land use and land use change (two powerful drivers of global warming) aside.

Although we will approach this global challenge mainly through the lenses of political science, we will incorporate insights and lessons from a wide array of disciplines ranging from economics to

environmental science and anthropology.

# Seminar Objectives

By the end of this seminar, you will be able to:

- 1. Understand the basics of climate change mitigation policy and politics.
- 2. Identify the different causes and likely effects of climate change.
- 3. Evaluate the different dimensions of climate change mitigation policy, including its environmental, economic, and ethical implications.
- 4. Analyze the political dimension of climate change mitigation policies, from the point of view of public opinion, political parties, and interest groups.
- 5. Be familiar with broad debates in political science regarding climate change, as well as the general research approaches and methodologies in the field.
- 6. Develop your critical thinking skills related to climate change solutions.
- 7. Integrate theoretical insights and empirical evidence as key components of applied research.

# Seminar Policies

#### Structure

Instruction at UCLA during the 2021 Spring Quarter will be remote. Each day of the seminar has a different objective. The lecture for the week will be on Tuesdays. I will post the presentation slides and the readings on Mondays in the CCLE website. On Thursdays, we will have our discussion of the readings and lecture. Starting from week 2 and ending in week 9, two students will be in charge of leading the discussion (more on this below).

### Classroom Integrity

Climate change has become a contentious topic in the world. During this seminar, we will analyze important policy questions, which have far-reaching relevance. In contrast to climate science, there is no consensus about the best way to address this issue politically. Different points of view are welcome to the class. However, remember to always be mindful and respectful of the other members of the seminar. Any form of aggression or discrimination is strictly forbidden.

#### Online Etiquette

We will use the *Zoom* platform for our meetings. This entails some adjustments from the instructor and the students. In order to keep an enabling, safe, and productive environment, please keep in mind the following recommendations.

• If you have not done so, please download the *Zoom* desktop app through your UCLA account. This will improve the Internet connection and also enhance the security of our meetings.

- Once you have an account, please access the online classroom using the credentials I included in this syllabus. Do not share these credentials with anyone else outside of our class.
- Once you are online, please turn off your microphone and turn your camera on. If this is not possible, or if you would like not use the camera, this is completely fine.
- Please be sure to write your name in the participants list. Please avoid using nicknames or other words such as the device from which you are joining the meeting.
- If you have a question, please raise your hand using the corresponding button in the *Zoom* app or write your question in the chat box.
- Please refrain from using other applications while we are on the synchronous component of the course. This will help to create a more enabling learning environment.
- It is strictly forbidden to record the meetings using any device, as well as taking screenshots, without the instructor's approval.
- You cannot distribute any of the materials from the course outside of the class. If you do so, you may infringe UCLA copyright policy. Please familiarize yourself with these guidelines.
- My goal as the instructor of this class is to ensure that everyone has the best possible learning experience, given the circumstances. This includes creating an inclusive environment for everyone. Therefore, there will be a zero tolerance policy to any discriminatory language, comments, or behavior, with no excuses.

#### Office Hours

Office hours are an excellent opportunity to discuss topics related to the class and clarify questions you may have about the material. For this quarter, my office hours are on Tuesdays and Thursdays 1:00pm to 2:00pm. Please use the following link to schedule an appointment: https://calendly.com/cbmartinez-1/ps-98t-office-hours

If these times do not work for you, please let me know and we can schedule an appointment at a different time.

# Contacting the Instructor

The main way of communication between you and the instructor is via email. Please use the following email address: cbmartinez@ucla.edu. I will try to respond to your inquiries within 24 hours of your message. If your inquiry takes more than three lines, please consider an appointment during office hours (especially if the question is about the content of the course instead of logistics).

Please add the line "PS98T" to the subject of your email

#### Grade Appeals

If you disagree with a grade you received in the course, please write a short memo (300 words) describing why is this the case. Send me this document via email within 48 hours of receiving your grade. Please keep in mind that I can increase your grade, but also decrease it or keep it the same.

# Late Assignments

I will reduce your grade by 20% for every 24 hours of delay in your assignment's submission for the quizzes, mid-term, and final essay. If you have any emergency that does not allow you to complete the assignment, please let me know BEFORE the corresponding deadline so I can assess further options.

### Readings

All readings will be available in the CCLE website for the class.

### **Academic Integrity**

Honesty is one of the key foundations of the academic enterprise and your stay at UCLA. Therefore, plagiarism is strictly forbidden for all of your assignments.

Please note that you will submit your work via the Turnitin platform, that detects similarities between your text and other submissions. If you engage in academic dishonesty, I am required to report the incident to the Dean of Students; the sanctions could be very severe. As I cannot comprehensively cover all of these instances, please familiarize yourself with the different forms of plagiarism, as you may engage inadvertently in one of them. To do so, I strongly encourage you to read the following resources:

- Plagiarism and Student Copyright: https://www.registrar.ucla.edu/Registration-Classes/ Enrollment-Policies/Class-Policies/Plagiarism-and-Student-Copyright
- UCLA Student Code: https://www.deanofstudents.ucla.edu/studentconductcode

# Student Resources

- Economic Crisis Response Team: if you are experience financial difficulties during the crisis, please visit the following website for further information: https://www.studentincrisis.ucla.edu/Economic-Crisis-Response
- Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS): https://www.counseling.ucla.edu/
- UCLA Title IX Office: https://www.sexualharassment.ucla.edu/
- Accommodations and Accessibility: UCLA policy aims to provide all students with equal learning opportunities. The Center for Accessible Education ensures that students with disabilities have full access to these learning opportunities. Please check the CAE website for more information: https://www.cae.ucla.edu/students.

#### Statement on Title IX

Title IX prohibits any form of discrimination and sexual harassment. Students who have experienced such behavior can receive confidential support at the CARE Advocacy Office for Sexual and Gender-Based Violence (310-206-2465). Please remember that you can always report sexual violence or harrassment directly to UCLA's Title IX Coordinator, at 2241 Murphy Hall. Professors and TAs are required under the UC Policy on Sexual Violence and Sexual Harassment to report any event to the Title IX Coordinator.

# Grading

There are three main components to your grade:

- 1. 35%: participation in class. As mentioned before, active student engagement with the material is essential. Your participation grade is broken down in two components. First, each student will be the leading discussant of the readings during one session. To do so, you will prepare two questions motivated by the corresponding readings. Think about what was surprising, interesting, or unclear about the material. This is 15% of the final grade.
  - The other 20% corresponds to active participation in the rest of the sessions. Your contributions should demonstrate critical engagement with the contents of the readings and other materials for the week.
- 2. **35%:** research policy paper written assignment of 10 pages. More details below.
- 3. 30%: 3 final project progress reports. These correspond to three intermediate components of the final assignment. See more details below. For each of these three intermediate reports, I will give you specific feedback to move on with the project. To get full credit for them, you need to send me, along with your assignment, one paragraph (250 words) explaining whether you incorporated the feedback and in what specific areas.

# Final Project

The main assignment of this course is an **applied policy research paper** that provides an assessment and possible solutions to a climate change issue. Global warming requires massive investments in technology, infrastructure, and employment creation, as well as substantial changes in existing regulations and laws. To achieve these goals, nonetheless, it is necessary to keep in mind the political obstacles that ambitious plans may face and how to address them.

Your goal is to apply the analytical tools of the class to frame the problem, propose broad routes of action, and analyze the political feasibility of your options. The challenge is to advance a policy route that is ambitious enough to be meaningful, yet politically grounded so it is feasible.

To do so, you will think about the problems from the perspective of a particular "client", which could be a global NGO, a local legislator, or a foreign minister. As we will discuss at length, the preferences and interests of particular actors shape the ambition and details of climate policy.

Your final written assignment should address the following four questions

- 1. What is the status quo of this policy issue and who benefits/does not benefit from it?
- 2. What are the policy options available and what have other governments in the world done to address this issue? What are the advantages and disadvantages of those options?
- 3. Are these options politically feasible? What are the potential coalitions that may benefit from them? And the opposing groups?
- 4. Finally, how could you mobilize the supporting coalition?

Each of these questions is linked to a particular deliverable, which are the intermediate progress reports (30% of your grade).

# Definition of the Problem (Intermediate Deliverable at the End of Week 3) — Two Pages Total

The starting point of the assignment consists in framing the issue and defining the status quo. This requires research on why the current situation is the way it is, what is the historical background, and who is affected and benefitted by it. The main goal of this component of the project is to have a clear diagnosis of the problem. This will allow you to select more effective alternatives that address the roots of the problem.

# Selection of Policy Options (Intermediate Deliverable at the End of Week 5) — Two Pages Total

After the definition of the problem, the next step is to think about two alternatives to the status quo, that address the causes you previously identified. To do so, you will investigate what other countries, states, cities, or jurisdictions have done or are doing in this policy area. Select two options and analyze the advantages and disadvantages of each using a couple of key criteria. These criteria can include economic efficiency, fairness, or environmental consequences of the policy.

# Political Analysis of the Alternative (Intermediate Deliverable at the End of Week 7) — Four Pages Total

The third component of the project is the most important: the political analysis of the alternatives. For each one of the policy options you chose, think about which stakeholders would be involved if this policy is actually discussed. What is the general stance of public opinion in this matter? Will the implementation of your policy affect issues that citizens consider highly salient? What interest groups would be affected? What coalitions will experience benefits from this proposal? Your analysis should, therefore, include a brief discussion about public opinion, interest groups, and political parties related to your issue.

# Implementation Plan — Two Pages Total

The last component of your report consists in a roadmap for implementation. After you discuss the political feasibility of your proposal, think about what governments in the past and other countries have done to make things happen. Most environmental policies tend to generate strong opposition from affected groups, but this has not stopped policy-makers from making progress. Please be sure to discuss what specific actions (political campaigns, coalition-building, etc) you think are the best suited to implement your proposal.

The final project should be no longer than 10 pages total, without including references or footnotes.

Important note: the Definition of the Problem, Selection of Policy Options and the Political Analysis of the Alternatives are intermediate assignments that have a separate weight on your grade; as mentioned above, you should submit each of these by the end of weeks 3, 5, and 7. Each of these intermediate reports will represent 10% of your grade. After each, I will provide some feedback that you can incorporate in the final version of the report, which represents 35% of your total grade. Hence, the final report consists in the four revised building blocks plus the implementation plan. In total, the writing load for this class will be 10 pages.

#### Research Resources

Here are some resources to get you started in your assignment:

#### Policy Analysis Framework

1. Charles M. Cameron, "Political Analysis Toolkit", availaible online: https://scholar.princeton.edu/ccameron/political-analysis-toolkit

### Climate Change Policies

- 1. CAIT Climate Explorer, available online: http://cait.wri.org/
- 2. Climate Change Laws of the World, available online: https://climate-laws.org/]
- 3. Climate Action Tracker, available online at: https://climateactiontracker.org/countries/
- 4. Our World in Data, available online at: https://ourworldindata.org/

### List of Topics

You can choose among any of the following eight prompts. I strongly prefer you do not change topics in the middle of the quarter. If you have to do it, keep in mind that you will need to prepare the three intermediate reports and final assignment for the new project.

Please read these carefully and let me know by Tuesday, April 6th, which one do you choose.

#### Renewable Energy in Germany

Since 2003, the federal government of Germany committed to increase the share of renewable energies into the country's power mix. This major strategy, known as the "Energiewende", made Germany an international leader in clean energy. However, this policy has not resulted in lower carbon emissions; indeed, the country has higher carbon pollution than in the past. Moreover, due to political pressure, the government committed to phase-out the existing fleet of coal-based power plants, in addition to the current ban on nuclear energy. Your goal with this assignment is to advise the Federal Ministry of Economic Affairs and Energy about the best policy path to ensure the accessibility, affordability, sustainablity, and security of the German electricity sector. Keep in mind that all the technologies to generate electricity (solar, coal, gas, oil, nuclear, hydro) are still on the table and, therefore, you can propose any mix you prefer.

#### Emissions from the Transportation Sector in California

California is usually considered a climate leader in the world. However, although the carbon intensity of the power sector has decreased substantially, transportation is still the main contributor of emissions in the state. Considering that California cannot meet its emissions reductions targets without cleaning the transportation sector, the governor of California has instructed you to prepare a statewide transportation plan for the California Air Resources Board - the state's key climate change regulator under AB 197. Your plan should address reliance on oil as the main fuel for vehicles, infrastructure, urban and regional mobility, equitable access, and affordability.

#### Access to Electricity in India

The economy of India has dramatically expanded over the last few decades. Moreover, the country will become the most populated nation in the world by 2030. Bringing energy to its citizens and firms is already a major challenge, which will become more difficult in the future. Even though the rates of electrification have increased substantially, there are still millions of citizens who lack power. Dozens of millions of others do not have enough electricity to satisfy their daily needs, and firms suffer from constant blackouts in the largest cities. Moreover, pollution has become one of the leading public health problems in the country—and coal-based energy remains a key source of pollutant substances. Your task is to prepare an electricity sector roadmap for the Ministry of Energy of India. The main question you should address is how to bring reliable and sustainable power to more than one billion citizens. Keep in mind the trade-offs between different power generation technologies.

#### Just Energy Transitions in the Coal Sector of Colombia

Across the world, the coal-mining industry is one of the leading opponents to climate action. For many communities, the extraction of coal is a key source of income and their main livelihood; therefore, the transition to clean energy represents a serious economic threat. In this essay, you will advise the Colombian Ministry of the Economy to implement a strategy to offset the losses of the coal mining workers in the country. Think about how the implementation of the renewable energy goals of the country affects the employment perspectives of the coal regions and how these communities can leverage on this potential to create new sources of employment and livelihoods.

#### Implementing a Carbon Tax in Washington State

In November 2016, Washington state became the first jurisdiction in the United States to put a carbon pricing initiative on the ballot. The measure did not gain enough popular support, and the electorate in the state rejected it with wide margins. In 2018, governor Inslee re-introduced the initiative; it was widely believed that reframing the policy as revenue neutral and its strong emphasis on local employment would make it more attractive to citizens. However, it did not happen. According to media sources, the oil industry spent substantial amounts of money on lobbying and media, which complicated the job of environmental activists. Your task is to propose a new climate communications strategy to the office of the governor of Washington state. Given what we know about the 2016 and 2018 initiatives, how can the government of the state build an electoral winning coalition that support this decisive climate policy?

#### Sustainable Mining Practices for the Energy Transition

The transition to renewable energy will require of substantial amounts of natural resources, including key minerals and metals (such as cadmium, lithium, and others). Across the world, the mining industry is usually associated with environmental and social degradation in the communities where it operates. However, for many of these communities, access to revenues from mining is one of the best alternatives to promote economic development. How can we promote a balance between protection of the environment and extraction of natural resources? Your job will be to advise the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative on how to improve the accountability of mining firms that extract minerals and metals related to the global energy transition.

# Phasing Out Fossil Fuel Subsidies in Indonesia

Subsidies on gasoline consumption reach more than 1 trillion dollars. Besides their environmental costs (gasoline use is one of the main drivers of climate change), they have profound consequences for the public budgets of many governments around the world. However, the elimination of gasoline subsidies is politically dangerous, as the examples of Ecuador, Myanmar, Sudan, and Iran demonstrate. In many of these countries, low-income citizens devote a larger share of their budgets to transportation and, therefore, the cost of more expensive gasoline is usually concentrated in smaller sectors. Your job is to advise the Ministry of Economy of Indonesia to devise a plan to phase out fossil fuel subsidies. Think about the sectors most benefitted by the current status quo and the policy alternatives to offset their losses.

# Weekly Schedule and Reading List

# Week 1: The Basics of Climate Change

During the first week of the course, we will cover some basic concepts and terminology about climate change, as well as its main drivers (in terms of the contributions of specific economic sectors). These will be the foundation of the rest of the seminar.

#### Required Readings

- 1. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), "Climate Change 2014 Synthesis Report. Contribution of Working Groups I, II, and III to the Fifth Assessment Report of the IPCC", Geneva, Switzerland, pages 44-49 and 99-102, available at https://ar5-syr.ipcc.ch/ipcc/ipcc/resources/pdf/IPCC\_SynthesisReport.pdf
- 2. Katharine Hayhoe, "How to Talk about Climate Change" in Ayana Elizabeth Johnson and Katharine Wilkinson (eds.), All We Can Save: Truth, Courage, and Solutions for the Climate Crisis, One World, New York, 2020, pp. 105-111.
- 3. Williams, J.H., B. Haley, R. Jones (2015). "Policy implications of deep decarbonization in the United States." Nov 17, 2015, pp. 8-33.

# Week 2: Geophysical, Ecosystem, Economic, and Societal Impacts of Climate Change

During the second week of the seminar, we will discuss the consequences of global warming in both economic and societal terms. We will see how, although the range of the effects depends mostly on the climate scenarios, regardless of the models there will be substantial disruptions to societies.

#### Required Readings

- 1. Ryan Nunn, Jimmy O'Donnell, Jay Shambaugh, Lawrence H. Goulder, Charles D. Kolstad, and Xianling Long, "Ten facts about the economics of climate change and climate policy", Report by The Hamilton Project and the Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research, October 2019.
- 2. Solomon Hsiang et al., "Estimating economic damage from climate change in the United States", *Science*, 30, June 2017, pp. 1362-1369.
- 3. Vally Koubi, "Climate Change and Conflict", Annual Review of Political Science, vol. 22, 2019, pp. 343-360.
- 4. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), "Climate Change 2014 Synthesis Report. Contribution of Working Groups I, II, and III to the Fifth Assessment Report of the IPCC", Geneva, Switzerland, pages 49-54 and 56-74, available at https://ar5-syr.ipcc.ch/ipcc/ipcc/resources/pdf/IPCC\_SynthesisReport.pdf

# Week 3: Policies to Address Climate Change

During the third week of the seminar, we will talk about the wide range of policy options to address climate change. The main question guiding our discussion in these sessions is what have governments done to address climate change? As we saw before, the diversity of sectors involved in the problem implies that there are many different solutions that could be implemented to reduce emissions.

#### Required Materials

- 1. Kenneth Gillingham and James H. Stock, "The Cost of Reducing Greenhouse Gas Emissions", Journal of Economic Perspectives, Vol. 32, 4—Fall 2018—Pages 53–72.
- 2. Chris Bataille, Céline Guivarch, Stephane Hallegatte, Joeri Rogelj and Henri Waisman, "Carbon prices across countries", *Nature Climate Change*, July 30 2018, pp. 648-650.
- 3. "2035: An Electric Number", Episode 3 of the podcast "A Matter of Degrees", hosted by Leah Stokes and Katharine Wilkinson, available online at: https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/a-matter-of-degrees/id1534829787

## Week 4: Approaches to Study Climate Politics

The first three weeks of the seminar were focused on understanding the scientific and economic basis of climate change, including its causes, likely effects, and policy tools that governments can implement to address it. The rest of the course will center on the politics behind those solutions, from the perspective of public opinion, interest groups, political parties, and state bureaucracies.

In this week, we will discuss how scholars in political science have studied the politics of climate change, specifically in terms of public opinion, democratic accountability, political parties, and interest groups. Moreover, we will analyze two different ways to understand climate politics: climate change as a collective action problem and climate change as a distributive problem.

#### Required Readings

- 1. Michaël Aklin and Matto Mildenberger, "Prisoners of the Wrong Dilemma: Why Distributive Conflict, Not Collective Action, Characterizes the Politics of Climate Change", *Global Environmental Politics*, 2020, vol. 20, issue 4, pp. 4–27.
- Matto Mildenberger, Carbon Captured: How Business and Labor Control Climate Politics, MIT Press 2020, pp. 39-64.
- 3. Jeff D. Colgan, Jessica F. Green, Thomas N. Hale, "Asset Revaluation and the Existential Politics of Climate Change", *International Organization*, pp. 1-25.

#### **Optional Readings:**

- 1. Patrick Egan and Megan Mullin (2017), "Climate Change: US Public Opinion," American Political Science Review, 20:209-227.
- 2. Jessica Green and Graeme Auld, Unbundling the Regime Complex: The Effects of Private Authority, Transnational Environmental Law, 6:2 (2017), pp. 259–284.

# Week 5: Political Challenges and Opportunities to Decarbonize the Transportation Sector

Emissions from the transportation sector account for approximately 14% of the world's emissions of greenhouse gas. This week we will analyze the political opportunities and challenges to decrease emissions from this sector, particularly through the expansion of electric vehicles. From the electric vehicles' users perspectives, we will discuss the role of governments to promote innovation and the adoption of new technologies. We will also analyze how the global demand for commodities employed to manufacture electric vehicles have created social and environmental externalities in mining regions.

#### Required Readings

- 1. Jonas Meckling and Jonas Nahm, "When do states disrupt industries? Electric cars and the politics of innovation", *Review of International Political Economy*, vol. 25, issue 4, 2018, pp. 505-529.
- 2. Leah Stokes and Hanna L. Breetz, "Politics in the U.S. energy transition: Case studies of solar, wind, biofuels and electric vehicles policy", *Energy Policy*, Volume 113, February 2018, Pages 76-86.
- 3. Éléonore Lèbre, Martin Stringer, Kamila Svobodova et al., "The social and environmental complexities of extracting energy transition metals", *Nature Communications*, 2020, 11.

# Week 6: The Political Economy of Electricity

Access to affordable and reliable electricity is essential to sustaining the living standards of the world's populations. However, for most of the past century, the expansion of electricity has prioritized generation from cheap and secure sources like coal. Over the last few decades, renewable energy has become ubiquitous and cheap; nonetheless, there are still important political obstacles to the deployment of solar and wind power across the world. This week we will discuss the political economy of electricity demand and generation.

#### Required Materials

- 1. Michael Aklin and Johannes Urpelainen, Renewables: The Politics of a Global Transition, MIT Press, 2018, pp.3-15.
- 2. Patrick Bayer and Johannes Urpelainen, "It Is All about Political Incentives: Democracy and Renewable Feed-in Tariff", *The Journal of Politics*, vol. 78, number 2, 2016, pp. 603-619.
- 3. Leah Stokes, Short Circuiting Policy: Interest Groups and the Battle Over Clean Energy and Climate Policy in the American States, virtual book launch video, available on Youtube, 72 minutes.
- 4. Johannes Urpelainen, Escaping the Energy Poverty Trap: When and How Governments Power the Lives of the Poor, book presentation by the author, Initiative for Sustainable Energy Development, Johns Hopkins University SAIS, 52 minutes, available online at: https://saisisep.org/isepevents/on-the-records

# Week 7: The Fossil Fuels Industry and Climate Change Part 1

This will be the first of two weeks centered on the role of the oil industry in climate politics, specifically in developed countries. We will start the discussion with an overview of the historical responsibility of major oil companies and their rise as some of the largest corporations in the world. Then, we will delve into their climate communications' strategy, which has had important consequences for the climate movement. Finally, we will discuss some of the challenges for the transition to more sustainable forms of transportation.

#### Required Materials

- 1. Peter C. Frumhoff, Richard Heede, and Naomi Oreskes, "The climate responsibilities of industrial carbon producers", *Climatic Change*, vol. 132, issue 2, 2015, pp. 157-171.
- 2. Naomi Oreskes and Erik M. Conway, Merchants of Doubt: How a Handful of Scientists Obscured the Truth on Issues from Tobacco Smoke to Global Warming, chapter 6. "Denial of Global Warming", pp. 169-216.
- 3. "Trump's Fossil Fuel Bailout", Episode 4 of the podcast "A Matter of Degrees", hosted by Leah Stokes and Katharine Wilkinson, available online at: https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/amatter-of-degrees/id1534829787

# Week 8: The Fossil Fuels Industry and Climate Change (Part 2)

In this week, we will discuss the role of oil wealth in the developing world. Most of the oil reserves in the planet are located in Asia, Africa, and Latin America; a long-standing strand of research in political science has studied how access to oil riches affects the political development of nations and, in the process, makes it more difficult to transition to cleaner sources of energy.

### Required Materials

- 1. Michael Ross, The Oil Curse: How Petroleum Wealth Shapes the Development of Nations, Princeton University Press, 2012, pp. 223-253.
- 2. Gabriela Inchauste and David Victor, *The Political Economy of Energy Subsidy Reform*, Directions in Development Public Sector Governance, The World Bank Group, 2017, pp. 1-38.
- 3. Carter Squires, Kelsey Landau, and Robin J. Lewis, "Uncommon ground: The impact of natural resource corruption on indigenous peoples", The Brookings Institution, August 7th 2020, available online.
- 4. Paasha Mahdavi, "The Politics of Oil Nationalizations and Implications for the Energy Transition", webinar hosted by the Initiative for Sustainable Energy Development, Johns Hopkins Uni-versity SAIS, 57 minutes, available online at: https://sais-isep.org/isepevents/onthe-records

### Week 9: Urbanization and Housing

In this week, we will discuss the role of a major historical process associated with the emission of pollutants into the atmosphere: urbanization. We will discuss the role of cities as major carbon emitters, but also as key centers of innovation and climate action, on issues like public transportation, affordable housing, and sustainable urban design. In addition, we will study the intersection between social justice, housing, and climate change.

#### Required Readings

- 1. David Wachsmuth, Daniel Aldana Cohen and Hillary Angelo, "Expand the frontiers of urban sustainability", *Nature*, August 23, 2016, pp. 391-393.
- 2. Daniel Kammen, "Housing Policy is Climate Policy", The New York Times, March 25, 2019.
- 3. "Paths to (and from) climate gentrification" Parts 1 and 2, in *In This Climate*, podcast hosted by Indiana University, February 7th and 17th 2020, available on Spotify.
- 4. "Transportation for Communities and a Healthy Planet", in *Climate Conversations*, podcasted hosted by the MIT, December 2017, available online at: https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/climate-conversations-a-climate-change-podcast/id1265791892?mt=2

### Week 10: The Ethics of Climate Change Mitigation

Throughout the quarter, we have analyzed the political dynamics behind carbon emissions across different sectors. As we have seen, the distribution of costs is a key component of any climate policy: who should pay to address global warming? This question has been at the core of the debate on climate change in both international negotiations and domestic settings.

In the last week of the quarter we will tackle this puzzle. First, we will discuss issues of historical versus current responsibility (pertaining mostly to how the responsibility for climate change is distributed across countries). Second, we will talk about individual versus collective climate responsibility (mostly centered on domestic politics).

## Required Readings

- 1. Singer, Peter. "Ethics and Climate Change: A Commentary on MacCracken, Toman and Gardiner." *Environmental Values* 15, no. 3 (2006), 415-422.
- 2. Ting Wei et al., "Developed and developing world responsibilities for historical climate change and CO2 mitigation", PNAS, August 7, 2012, 109, 32, 12911-12915.
- 3. "Give Up Your Climate Guilt", Episode 1 of the podcast "A Matter of Degrees", hosted by Leah Stokes and Katharine Wilkinson, available online at: https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/a-matter-of-degrees/id1534829787