

Global Climate Politics and Policy

ENV 1003
Prof. Jessica Green
jf.green@utoronto.ca

Bahen Centre, Room 2179
40 St. George Street
Tuesdays 2-4PM

Office Hours, Wednesdays, 2-4 PM (*Please sign up on Quercus!*)
Office: Sid Smith, Room 3031 (3rd floor)

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

This course will be taught in person, though of course, this is subject to change with COVID.

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 10 December): 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 **governmental** net zero plans. More information on the paper is detailed in the “Assignments” sheet, on Quercus.

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** (ungraded) **is due no later than 1 Oct.**

2) Rough draft of paper: 15% (DUE 15 November)

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%. (DUE 6 Dec)

I have always found grading participation to be both somewhat arbitrary and biased towards those who feel more comfortable speaking in class – even when I adjust expectations for different types of personalities and participation. As such, this year, I’m trying something new: **you will grade your own participation.**

On the last day of class (or before, if you wish), you will submit a 1-2 page memo with a grade for yourself and a justification for that grade. In this memo, you will reflect on:

- how you learned most effectively for this class,
- what barriers you faced
- what ways you enjoy and do not enjoy engaging with the course material and discussions in the class
- what insights about your process of learning you will take to other parts of your education.

In most cases, I will defer to your grade, though as the instructor, I reserve the right to amend the grade as I see fit.

4) Video summary and critique (2): 20% (various due dates, depending on sign up)

Each of you will be responsible for reading, summarizing and critiquing **two articles** that we read. In order 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).

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 12 DEC)

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.

Deadlines and late penalties

All deadlines are final. For each day an assignment is late, there will be a 3% reduction in your grade. I may make exceptions under extenuating circumstances, such as illness or family emergency. However, these will require documentation, which is to complete the ACORN self-declaration and send me a screen shot as confirmation. If there are other issues that you think may affect your ability to turn in assignments on time, I suggest you contact me *as early as possible*. I am **not** inclined to give extensions to those who ask the night before.

Accessibility

Students who require special arrangements should contact the Student Accessibility Services at (416) 978 8060. Their email is accessibility.services@utoronto.ca. Some students find that they must wait to contact and secure approval from Accessibility Services: in these cases, **you should still contact me in advance**, to let me know you might require accommodations for assignments.

Email and communication

I will hold weekly electronic office hours on Wednesday from 2-4PM, and I will be very glad to meet with you at those times to discuss readings, lectures, assignments, essays, and more. **You must sign up for office hours using the course calendar on Quercus.** There will be a link in Quercus to zoom for the meeting.

I have also listed my email address in the contact information at the start of the syllabus; however, please consider several things when reaching out to me by email:

- **Please check (and double-check) that the answer to your query is not in the syllabus before you contact me with questions.**
- You are expected to write from your University of Toronto email account. If you write from another email account (Hotmail, Gmail, Yahoo, etc.), I might not answer;
- I generally use email to address simple yes/no questions and to make arrangements about logistics; if you have any substantive concerns, please come to my office hours;
- I will do my best to respond to your messages, but please don't expect a rapid response. I will not be responding daily to emails about the class and will not check my email on evenings and weekends. As such, please plan ahead if you need to reach out to me.
- If you write to request an extension or accommodation the night before an assignment is due, I am unlikely to accommodate your needs or offer assistance.

Legal

Please read the policy on [academic integrity](#). Academic dishonesty is a serious offense that can result in loss of credit, suspension, and possibly expulsion from the university. *All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be reported to the Department.*

If you have questions about what constitutes plagiarism, please consult [this page](#) from the Writing center. You can also make an appointment with me to discuss.

Plagiarism includes:

- copying sentences or fragments from any source without quotes and references
- not citing a source used in your papers
- citing internet information without proper citation
- presenting someone else's work as your own
- *inadvertently* copying verbatim from any source.

Policy on Children and Childcare (adapted from Prof. Guy Grossman, University of Pennsylvania)

- Babies are welcome in class as often as is necessary to support breastfeeding.
- For older children, minor illnesses and unforeseen disruptions in childcare often put parents in the position of having to choose between missing class to stay home with a child and leaving them with someone you or the child doesn't feel comfortable with. While this is not meant to be a long-term childcare solution, occasionally, bringing a child to class in order to cover gaps in care is perfectly acceptable.
- I ask that all students work with me to create a welcoming environment that is respectful of all forms of diversity including diversity in parenting status.
- Finally, I understand that often the largest barrier to completing your courses once you become a parent is fatigue. The struggles of balancing school and childcare are exhausting!! I hope that you will feel comfortable disclosing your student-parent status to me, so that I may be able to accommodate any special needs that arise.

SCHEDULE OF CLASSES

Week 1: Introduction (13 Sept)

- 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: What is the *political* climate problem? (20 Sept)

- 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.

Recommended:

- IPCC, Sixth Assessment Report, Working Group I, [Summary for Policymakers](#), pp. 4-15.
 - o For a useful corollary: Oreskes, Naomi. 2021. [“IPCC, You’ve Made Your Point: Humans Are a Primary Cause of Climate Change”](#) *Scientific American*

Week 3: From Rio to Glasgow: A History of Global Climate politics (27 Sept)

- 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](#)**
- 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](#))
- Allan, Jen Iris. 2019. Dangerous Incrementalism of the Paris Agreement. *Global Environmental Politics* 19 (1): 4–11.
- 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 4: Domestic Climate Politics: States and Firms (4 Oct)

- Meckling, Jonas, and Jonas Nahm. 2021. Strategic State Capacity: How States Counter Opposition to Climate Policy. *Comparative Political Studies*. Doi: 00104140211024308. **UofT-e**
- 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.

- 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.

Week 5: Carbon Pricing, Compliance Markets (11 Oct)

- World Bank. 2022. *State and Trends of Carbon Pricing*. Read Executive Summary and peruse the rest of the report as you wish.
- Paterson, Matthew. 2012. Who and what are carbon markets for? Politics and the development of climate policy. *Climate Policy* 12 (1). Taylor & Francis: 82–97.
- Rabe, Barry G. 2018. *Can We Price Carbon?* Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, Chaps 1 and 7. **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>.
- Mildenerger, Matto. 2020. *Carbon Captured: How Business and Labor Control Climate Politics*. pp. 1-5 and Chap 6. **Uoft-e, LRL**

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 6: Carbon Pricing, Voluntary Markets & UNFCCC (18 Oct)

Article 6 (please read these in order!)

- WRI. 2019. [What you need to know about Article 6 of the Paris Agreement](#).
- IISD. 2021. [The Paris Agreement’s New Article 6 Rules](#).
- Carbon Market Watch. 2021. [Deciphering Article 6 of the Paris Agreement](#).

Recommended

- <https://www.carbonbrief.org/in-depth-q-and-a-how-article-6-carbon-markets-could-make-or-break-the-paris-agreement/>

The Voluntary Market

- Ecosystem Marketplace. 2022. *State of the Voluntary Carbon Market*. (Skim) **Quercus**.
- Cullenward, Danny, and David G. Victor. 2020. *Making Climate Policy Work*. UK: Polity. Chapter 5. **Uoft-e**
- Kreibich, Nicolas, and Lukas Hermwille. 2021. Caught in between: credibility and feasibility of the voluntary carbon market post-2020. *Climate Policy* 21 (7). Taylor & Francis: 939–957. **Uoft-e**
- Green, Jessica F. 2016. [“The World is About to get Tough on Aviation Emissions”](#) *Washington Post*
- Have a quick glance at this [CORSIA list](#) of eligible offsets

Week 7: Net Zero (25 Oct)

- Carbon Plan, [Unpacking Ton-Year Accounting](#)
- Net Zero Tracker, [Net Zero Stocktake 2022](#). Read Executive Summary, and Sections 3-7.
- 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**
- Read ONE of the following net zero plans. **Please be prepared to discuss these in class. In particular you should look for: the goals of the plan, the key policies or actions, strengths and weaknesses, and what’s missing.**
 - [City of Toronto](#). Read Executive Summary, Section 3.1 & 4.1-4.3, and others as you wish.
 - [Apple](#) (just the section on Climate Change, pp. 10-27) and watch this [short video](#)
 - [BP](#)

Week 8: WORK WEEK (1 Nov)

- We will meet in groups (that I will assign according to topic) to discuss papers; you may also meet individually with me that day.

Week 9: READING WEEK (8 Nov)

Week 10: NGOs and climate governance (15 Nov)

- Allan, Jen. 2021. *The New Climate Activism: NGO Authority and Participation in Climate Change Governance*. Toronto ; Buffalo ; London: University of Toronto Press. Chaps 1 (pp. 1-11 ONLY), 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.
- Green, Jessica. 2022. The Climate Establishment. Unpublished Manuscript. **Quercus**

Week 11: Green industrial policy (22 Nov)

- O’Neill, Kate. 2008. *The Environment and International Relations*. Pp. 140-144. **READ THIS FIRST. 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**.
- Aronoff, Kate. 2022. [“Made-in-America Electric Cars: Good in Theory but a Complicated Mess in Practice.”](#) *The Nation*
- Nahm, Jonas, Joanna I. Lewis and Bentley Allan. 2022. [“Can the U.S. fight climate change — and shift industrial policy?”](#) *Washington Post*
- Jonas Nahm, Scot Miller, and Johannes Urpelainen. 2022. [G20’s US\\$14-trillion economic stimulus reneges on emissions pledges](#). *Nature* 603, 28-32.
- Goldthau, Andreas and Kirsten Westphal et. al. [“How the energy transition will reshape geopolitics,”](#) *Nature*. 569, pp. 29-31.

Week 12: JFG Work in Progress (29 Nov)

- Get a sneak peek at my new book, and critique the prof!
- Readings TBA.

Week 13: Review + Students' choice (6 Dec)

- I will provide a basic overview of the course, and answer any questions
- We will also cover a topic of your choice, based on a group decision made in Week 11.