

## **Global Climate Politics and Policy**

ENV 1003

Prof. Jessica Green

[jf.green@utoronto.ca](mailto:jf.green@utoronto.ca)

### **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) Health and wellness are different now. Please think of others; if you are sick, please mask and/or consider not attending class.**
- 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 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 (at the international, national or sub-national levels) or one sector of a **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 February 15<sup>th</sup> via Quercus**.

#### **2) Rough draft of paper: 15% (DUE 18 March)**

You will prepare a proto-rough draft of your term paper to share with a pre-assigned group from whom you will receive substantive and editorial comments. You should get your draft to your colleagues by 10 March, so they can provide comments in class on the 12<sup>th</sup>. The actual rough draft, which you will submit to me via Quercus by 18 March, 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 by the 10th, 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 12 Mar and 5 Apr)**

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, I am evaluating participation in two ways this year.

First, you will be evaluated on the feedback that you give to your peers on their rough drafts. This will be in the form of written comments submitted on Quercus. These comments should offer **constructive criticism** of your colleagues’ work: what made sense to you, what didn’t, what directions you think the paper should go in, things to read, ideas to engage with, etc.

Second, by April 5, you will submit a 1-2 page reflection about your engagement in this course. 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.
- Note: This is not an exercise in talking about course material, but rather, how you **engaged** with that material.

**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 10 Apr*)

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](mailto: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 Friday 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 (9 Jan)

- Questions:
  - o What are your responses to [this piece](#) in the *New York Times* about climate change?
  - o What are your responses to the Rebecca Solnit piece in the *Washington Post* (see Quercus, readings module)?
  - 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? (16 Jan)

- 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*. (Recommended, not required)
- 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.

### Week 3: From Rio to Glasgow: A History of Global Climate politics (23 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](#)**
- Victor, David G. 2011. *Global Warming Gridlock: Creating More Effective Strategies for Protecting the Planet*, Chapter 1, pps 1-18 **ONLY**. **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. **UofT-e**

### Week 4: Domestic Climate Politics: States and Firms (30 Jan)

- Meckling, Jonas, Phillip Y. Lipsky, Jared J. Finnegan, and Florence Metz. 2022. Why nations lead or lag in energy transitions. *Science* 378 (6615). American Association for the Advancement of Science: 31–33.

- Vormedal, Irja, and Jonas Meckling. 2023. How foes become allies: the shifting role of business in climate politics. *Policy Sciences*. Available at <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11077-023-09517-2>. **UofT-e, LRL**
- Breetz, Hanna, Matto Mildemberger, and Leah Stokes. 2018. The political logics of clean energy transitions. *Business and Politics* 20 (4): 492–522. **UofT-e, LRL**
- Grumbach, Jacob M. 2015. Polluting industries as climate protagonists: cap and trade and the problem of business preferences. *Business and Politics* 17 (4): 633–659. **UofT-e, LRL**

#### Week 5: **Carbon Pricing, Compliance Markets** (6 Feb)

- Skim [this primer](#) on carbon pricing from the Union of Concerned Scientists
- World Bank. 2023. [State and Trends of Carbon Pricing](#). Read Executive Summary and Introduction and peruse the rest of the report, paying particular attention to the figures and graphs.
- 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. **UofT-e**
- 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>.
- Raymond, Leigh. 2020. Carbon pricing and economic populism: the case of Ontario. *Climate Policy* 20 (9): 1127–1140. **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** (13 Feb)

*Primer on Carbon Accounting* (read this first!)

Gillenwater, Michael. 2023. [What is GHG Accounting?](#) And [Furnishing Definitions](#).

*Article 6: Basic provisions and issues.*

- WRI. 2019. [What you need to know about Article 6 of the Paris Agreement](#). (Read up to discussion about COP25)
- 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. 2023. The [False Promise of Carbon Offsets](#). *Foreign Affairs*
- Greenfield, Patrick. [The New Scramble for Africa](#). *The Guardian*, 30 Nov 2023
- Have a quick glance at this [CORSIA list](#) of eligible offsets

*Recommended* (Both are very quick / enjoyable!)

- [Untangling Climate Finance podcast](#), Interview with Verra CEO, David Antonioli
- Blake, Heidi. [The Great Cash for Carbon Hustle](#). *New Yorker Magazine*. 16 October 2023.

Week 7: READING WEEK NO CLASS (20 Feb)

Week 8: **Net Zero** (27 Feb)

- Net Zero Tracker, [Net Zero Stocktake 2023](#). Read Executive Summary, and Sections 3-5.
- 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**
- Buck, Holly Jean, Wim Carton, Jens Friis Lund, and Nils Markusson. 2023. Why residual emissions matter right now. *Nature Climate Change* 13 (4): 351–358. **UofT-e, LRL**
- Read [Apple’s 2023 Environment report](#) – just the section on climate change (you can just click on it in the introduction). **Please be prepared to discuss this document 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.**

Week 9: **NGOs and climate governance** (5 Mar)

- Allan, Jen. 2021. *The New Climate Activism: NGO Authority and Participation in Climate Change Governance*. Toronto ; Buffalo ; London: University of Toronto Press. Chapter 5.
- Hadden, Jennifer. 2015. *Networks in Contention: The Divisive Politics of Climate Change*. Cambridge University Press. Chaps 3-4. **UofT-e, LRL**
- Green, Jessica. 2024. The Climate Establishment. Unpublished Manuscript. **Quercus**

Week 10: **WORK WEEK** (12 Mar)



- 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 11: Green industrial policy (19 Mar)**

- O'Neill, Kate. 2017. *The Environment and International Relations*. Pp. 153-164. **READ THIS FIRST. UofT-e. Make sure it's the 2017 edition**
- Allan, Bentley, Joanna I. Lewis, and Thomas Oatley. 2021. Green Industrial Policy and the Global Transformation of Climate Politics. *Global Environmental Politics* 21 (4). The MIT Press: 1–19.
- 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**
- 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: Are we screwed? (26 Mar).**

- I am travelling to Detroit the morning of 26 March, and thus, class will be conducted by Zoom, pending my finalizing travel arrangements.
- We Did It! First read the context for this U of T project [here](#). Then read the Note from the Editors, The People of Net Zero Canada, Thirsty, and The Tragic Resilience of Humanity. Link [here](#).
- Johnson, Ayana and Kendra Wilkinson. 2020. *All We Can Save*. NY: One World. **UofT-e**
- Read:
  - Beyond Coal
  - Collards are Just as Good as Kale
  - For those who would govern
  - At the Intersections
  - Community is our Best Chance
  - **Anything else that looks interesting!**

**Week 13: Review + Students' choice (2 Apr)**

- 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.