

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE
POLSCI 768 / GLOBALST 725
Fall 2020, Term 1

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Course Description

This course provides students with an opportunity to investigate the global political economy of climate change. We begin by considering key issues such as theories about environmental issues, economists' neglect of climate change, liberalism and climate governance, and climate change 'myths'. Weeks 3 and 4 investigate how economists interpret the problem as one of market failure and propose a solution of carbon pricing. We then examine two large hurdles to addressing climate change – the problem of lock-in and the issue of overconsumption. The following two weeks explore how right and left wing politics intersect with climate change. Week 10 considers Indigenous Peoples' experience and reaction to climate change. This is followed by a brief overview of climate change politics in several key developing countries. The course concludes by probing the climate change issue in the Canadian context and possibilities for the future. The focus of the course is on how political and economic factors shape responses to climate change. No formal training in economics is required.

Course Objectives

By the end of the course students should be able to:

1. Develop a critical understanding of the interaction of political and economic factors on climate change.
2. Pursue one climate change topic in depth through a research paper.
3. Answer convincingly the following questions:
 - How has climate change become politicized and what are the implications of this?
 - What are the political obstacles to taking significant action on climate change?
 - What are the economics of climate change?

Required Materials and Texts

This course presumes you are familiar with the basic science of climate change. If you are not, you should read:

Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2018) 'Summary for Policy Makers' *Special Report: Warming of 1.5° C* available at:
<https://www.ipcc.ch/sr15/chapter/spm/>

In addition to weekly articles we will be reading large portions of two books which you may wish to acquire:

Mark Jaccard, *The Citizen's Guide to Climate Success: Overcoming myths that hinder progress* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020). **Free download.**
Nicolas Stern, *Why Are We Waiting?: The Logic, Urgency, and Promise of Tackling Climate Change* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2015).

Class Format

Because of the pandemic we have been forced to make this an online course. We will use Zoom to run weekly two hour seminars. The third hour I will be available for individual consultation.

Students will be assigned to lead the discussion for particular weeks. I will post a guide for the discussant's responsibility on Avenue. Prior to each seminar students will post on Avenue a one page summary document on the texts they have read. This document will contain:

1. A list of key concepts and terms found in the readings.
2. A summary of statement (four sentences maximum) of each author's main argument. This statement should be written in your own words as far as possible. It should not be borrowed directly from the text of the reading.
3. Three or four issues or questions in the readings that are important and merit some discussion and that you would like to be addressed in the seminar. Formulate these in the form of a question.

Ten summaries are required during the course and each one will be worth one mark.

Although online seminars can be awkward, students will be expected to be active participants in class discussions. This involves leading discussions, highlighting points from the readings, engaging with the arguments of the texts, offering criticism of what you have read and asking questions about the text. Talking for the sake of talking or making irrelevant points does not contribute to your participation grade.

Course Evaluation – Overview

- | | | |
|----------------------------|------|-------------------|
| 1. Seminar Participation | 30% | over the term |
| 2. Critical Review | 20%, | due Oct. 21, 2020 |
| 3. Research Paper Proposal | 5%, | due Nov. 4, 2020 |
| 4. Research Paper | 45%, | due Dec. 16, 2020 |

Course Evaluation – Details

Seminar Participation (30%), ongoing

The participation grade covers seminar attendance and participation. I will take notes on the seminar discussions. General seminar participation is out of 15. In addition, summary notes are graded as $10 \times 1 = 10$; leading a seminar discussion is marked out of 5.

Critical Review (20%), due Oct. 21, 2020

Students will write a critical review of Nicolas Stern's book. The review is due on October 21st. Class discussion and other readings should feed into your review. The review will evaluate the central arguments made in the book. It should be **no longer than 1,200 words**.

Research Paper Proposal (5%), due Nov 4th, 2020

This paper is **due in week eight, Nov. 4th**. It should be three pages long and include:

- primary research question
- explanation of how it fits into course
- topics that will be addressed
- questions that need to be answered
- preliminary bibliography

Research Paper (45%), due Dec. 16, 2020

The final research paper is **due on Dec. 16 which is one week after the final class**. The paper should be no longer than 4,000 words, excluding bibliography. It must be based upon your paper outline and material beyond the course readings.

Weekly Course Schedule and Required Readings

Week 1 (Sept. 16) Introduction

No readings

Week 2 (Sept. 23) Raising issues

Before we launch into the political economy of climate change it is useful to consider some of the issues we will be dealing with over the course. This week we will reflect on theoretical approaches to environmental change, the relationship between liberalism and environmental governance, the field of economics' lack of engagement with climate change and climate change myths.

Readings:

- Clapp, Jennifer, and Peter Dauvergne. 'Peril or Prosperity? Mapping Worldviews of Global Environmental Change.' *Paths to a Green World: The Political Economy of the Global Environment* 2nd edition (2011): 1-16.
- Steven Bernstein, 'Liberal Environmentalism and Global Environmental Governance' *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 2:3 (August 2002), pp. 1-16.
- Andrew J Oswald and Nicholas Stern (2019) '[Why does the economics of climate change matter so much, and why has the engagement of economists been so weak?](#)' *Royal Economic Society Newsletter* forthcoming.
- Mark Jaccard, "The Role of Myths in our Climate-Energy Challenge' *The Citizen's Guide to Climate Success: Overcoming myths that hinder progress* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020) 1-28.

Other Readings:

- Andreas Duit, Peter H. Feindt & James Meadowcroft (2016) 'Greening Leviathan: the rise of the environmental state?' *Environmental Politics*, Vol. 25:1 (2016), pp. 1-23.
- Stephen M. Gardiner, 'A Perfect Moral Storm: Climate Change, Intergenerational Ethics and the Problem of Moral Corruption,' *Environmental Values* Vol. 15:3 (August 2006), pp. 397-413.

- Stephan Lewandowsky, et.al, 'Science and the Public: Debate, Denial, and Skepticism' *Journal of Social and Political Psychology* Vol. 4:2 (January 2016), pp. 537-553.
- Rolf Lidskog and Göran Sundqvist, 'When Does Science Matter? International Relations Meets Science and Technology Studies, *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 15:1 (February 2015), pp.1-20.
- Marcel J. Dorsch and Christian Flachsland 'A Polycentric Approach to Global Climate Governance' *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 17:2 (May, 2017), pp. 45-64.
- Robert O. Keohane and David G. Victor, 'The Regime Complex for Climate Change' *Perspectives on Politics* Vol. 9:1 (March 2011), pp. 7-23.
- Razmig Keucheyan, 'Environmental Racism' *Nature is a Battlefield: Towards a Political Ecology* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016), pp.8-54.
- Thomas Hale, "All Hands on Deck": The Paris Agreement and Nonstate Climate Action' *Global Environmental Politics* Vol.16:3 (August, 2016), pp. 12-22.
- Thomas Bernauer, 'Climate Change Politics' *Annual Review of Political Science* Vol. 16 (2013), pp. 421-48.
- Hamish van der Ven, Steven Bernstein, and Matthew Hoffmann, 'Valuing the Contributions of Nonstate and Subnational Actors to Climate Governance' *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 17:1 (February 2017), pp. 1-20.
- Marcel Hanegraaff, 'Transnational Advocacy over Time: Business and NGO Mobilization at UN Climate Summits' *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 15:1 (March 2015), pp. 83-104.
- Hannah Hughes, 'Bourdieu and the IPCC's Symbolic Power' *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 15:4 (November, 2015), pp. 85-104.
- Peter J. Jacques and Claire Connolly Knox, 'Hurricanes and hegemony: A qualitative analysis of micro-level climate change denial discourses' *Environmental Politics* Vol. 25:5 (May 2016), pp. 831-852.
- Jeremiah Bohr 'The 'climatism' cartel: why climate change deniers oppose market-based mitigation policy' *Environmental Politics* Vol. 25:5, (March, 2016), pp. 812-830.
- Lisa Vanhala and Cecilie Hestbaek, Framing Climate Change Loss and Damage in UNFCCC Negotiations *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 16:2 (October, 2016), pp.111-129.

Week 3 (Sept. 30) Market Failure

Economists tend to view the issue of climate change as a market failure. Our task this week is to get a better understanding of their view and the types of solutions they propose. We will do this by sampling the work of two of the most prominent climate change economists Nicolas Stern and William Nordhaus.

Readings:

- Nicolas Stern, 'Policies for Dynamic Change and Transition: Lessons from Economic History and Economic Theory,' *Why Are We Waiting?: The Logic,*

Urgency and Promise of Tackling Climate Change (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2015), pp. 91-130.

- William Nordhaus 'Climate Change: The Ultimate Challenge for Economics' *American Economic Review* Vol. 109:6 (Jun 2019), pp. 1991-2014.

Other Readings:

- Terry Barker, 'The Economics of Avoiding Dangerous Climate Change' *Green Economy Reader* (Springer, Online, 2017), pp. 237-63.
- Nicholas Stern, *The Economics of Climate Change: The Stern Review* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2007).
- Robert S. Pindyck 'The Use and Misuse of Models for Climate Policy,' *Review of Environmental Economics and Policy* Vol. 11:1 (Winter 2017), pp. 100–114.
- Nicolas Stern, 'Economics: Current climate models are grossly misleading' *Nature* Vol. 530:7591 (2016), pp. 407–409.
- William Nordhaus, *The Climate Casino: Risk, Uncertainty and Economics for a Warming World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

Week 4 (Oct. 7) Carbon Pricing Politics

Economists tend to agree that the best way to deal with climate change is to put a price on carbon. The two primary tools are the carbon tax and cap and trade. While it is debatable whether pricing carbon is sufficient to deal with climate change, even this modest step has proved to be politically difficult to implement. This week we want to get a better understanding of the politics around carbon pricing.

Readings:

- Matthew Paterson, 'Who and what are carbon markets for? Politics and the development of climate policy' *Climate Policy* Vol. 12:1 (August 2011), pp. 82-97.
- Erik Haites (2018) 'Carbon taxes and greenhouse gas emissions trading systems: what have we learned?' *Climate Policy*, 18:8, 955-966
- Robert MacNeil, 'Death and Environmental Taxes: Why Market Environmentalism Fails in Liberal Market Economies' *Global Environmental Politics* Vol 16:1 (February 2016), pp. 21-37.
- Mark Jaccard, 'We must price carbon emissions', 'We can be Carbon Neutral' *The Citizen's Guide to Climate Success: Overcoming myths that hinder progress* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020), pp. 95-127, 165-182.

Other Readings:

- Joseph E. Aldy and Robert N. Stavins, 'The Promise and Problems of Pricing Carbon: Theory and Experience', *Journal of Environment & Development* Vol. 21:2 (2012), pp. 152–180.
- Jonas Meckling & Steffen Jenner, 'Varieties of market-based policy: Instrument choice in climate policy' *Environmental Politics* Vol. 25:5 (May, 2016), pp. 853-874.

- Easwaran Narassimhan, Kelly S. Gallagher, Stefan Koester & Julio Rivera Alejo (2018) Carbon pricing in practice: a review of existing emissions trading systems, *Climate Policy*, 18:8, 967-991,
- Denny Ellerman, Claudio Marcantonini and Aleksandar Zahlan, 'The European Union Emissions Trading System: Ten Years and Counting' *Review of Environmental Economics and Policy* Vol. 10:1 (Winter, 2016), pp.89-107.
- Katja Biedenkopf, Patrick Müller, Peter Slominski, and Jørgen Wettestad, 'A Global Turn to Greenhouse Gas Emissions Trading? Experiments, Actors, and Diffusion' *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 17:3 (August 2017), pp. 1-11.
- Romain Felli, 'Environment, not planning: the neoliberal depoliticisation of environmental policy by means of emissions trading' *Environmental Politics* Vol. 24:5 (June 2015), pp. 641-660.
- Razmig Keucheyan, 'Financializing Nature: Insuring Climatic Risk' *Nature is a Battlefield: Towards a Political Ecology* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016), pp. 55-103.

Week 5 (Oct. 14) Mid-term Recess, NO CLASS

Week 6 (Oct. 21) Lock in and Transition

It is extremely difficult to change human civilization's primary energy source. One of the concepts developed to capture the complexity of this task is 'carbon lock in'. This week we have a number of short readings that throw a light onto the problem.

Readings:

- Unruh, Gregory C. "Understanding Carbon Lock-in." *Energy Policy* Vol. 28:12 (2000), pp. 817-830.
- Unruh, Gregory C. "Escaping Carbon Lock-in." *Energy Policy* Vol. 30:4 (2002), pp. 317-325.
- Unruh, G. C. and J. Carrillo-Hermosilla. "Globalizing Carbon Lock-in." *Energy Policy* Vol. 34:10 (2006), pp.1185-1197.
- Vacla Smil. 'Examining Energy Transitions: A dozen insights based on performance' *Energy Research and Social Science* Vol. 22: 194-197.
- Thomas Spencer et.al., 'The 1.5°C target and coal sector transition: at the limits of societal feasibility' *Climate Policy* Vol. 18:3 (December 2017), pp. 335-351.
- Sean Sweeney and John Treat, 'Energy Transition: Are we winning?' *TUED Working Paper No. 9* (New York: Trade Unions for Energy Democracy, 2017). Skim.
- Mark Jaccard, 'Renewables have won' *The Citizen's Guide to Climate Success: Overcoming myths that hinder progress* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020), pp. 200-23.

Other Readings:

- S. Jacobsson and V. Lauber, 'The politics and policy of energy system transformation-explaining the German diffusion of renewable energy technology' *Energy Policy* Vol. 34:3 (February, 2006), pp. 256-276.
- Kacper Szulecki, 'Conceptualizing energy democracy' *Environmental Politics* Vol. 27:1 (2018), pp. 21-41.
- Christian Downie, 'Fighting for King Coal's Crown: Business Actors in the US Coal and Utility Industries' *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 17:1 (2017), pp. 21-39.
- Oksan Bayulgen & Jeffrey W. Ladewig 'Vetoing the future: political constraints and renewable energy' *Environmental Politics* Vol. 26:1, (2017), pp. 49-70.

Notes: Critical Review due

Week 7 (Oct. 28) Consumption

Some observers have argued that environmental problems cannot be seriously addressed until we examine consumption issues. Begin by reading what the International Energy Agency (IEA) has to say about present levels of CO₂ emissions in the energy sector. Then read a series of short book chapters about the issue of consumption and the environment.

Readings:

- IEA 2019. ['Emissions' Global Energy and CO2 Status Report](#) International Energy Agency.
- Thomans Princen, Michael Miniates, Ken Conca, eds., "Conclusion: to confront consumption" *Confronting Consumption* (MIT Press), pp. 317-328.
- Peter Dauvergne, "Conclusion: The Allure and Illusion of Riches" *Environmentalism of the Rich* (Cambridge; MIT Press, 2016), pp. 139-152.
- Peter Dauvergne, "An Unbalanced Global Political Economy" *The Shadows of Consumption: Consequences for the Global Environment* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2010), pp. 3-17.
- Mark Jaccard, 'We must change our behaviour' *The Citizen's Guide to Climate Success: Overcoming myths that hinder progress* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020), pp. 144-164.

Other Readings:

- E. C. Alfredsson, "Green Consumption no solution for climate change' *Energy* Vol 29:4 (2004), pp. 513-524.
- P.G. Harris and T. Lee, "Compliance with climate change agreements: the constraints of consumption" *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics* Vol. 17: (December 2017), pp. 779-794.

Week 8 (Nov. 4) Right Wing Politics

The last two decades has seen the centre of gravity in right wing politics in Western states shift to a more populist form. A key element of this populism has been an anti-environmentalist strain which denies the significance of climate change and is hostile to addressing the issue. The hostility extends to using traditionally conservative policy tools such as market instruments.

Readings:

- Lockwood, Matthew. "Right-wing populism and the climate change agenda: exploring the linkages" *Environmental Politics* Vol. 27:4 (2018), pp. 712-732.
- Huq, E., & Mochida, H. (2018). ['The Rise of Environmental Fascism and the Securitization of Climate Change'](#) *Projections*.
- Elizabeth Bomberg "Environmental politics in the Trump era: an early assessment" *Environmental Politics* Vol. 26:5 (May, 2017), pp. 956-963
- Laura Pulido, Tianna Bruno, Cristina Faiver-Serna & Cassandra Galentine, "Environmental Deregulation, Spectacular Racism, and White Nationalism in the Trump Era" *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* Vol. 109:2 (2019), pp. 520-532.
- Mark Jaccard, 'This fossil fuel project is essential' *The Citizen's Guide to Climate Success: Overcoming myths that hinder progress* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020), pp. 74-94.

Other Readings:

- James Everett Hein & J. Craig Jenkins, "Why does the United States lack a global warming policy? The corporate inner circle versus public interest sector elites" *Environmental Politics* Vol. 26:1 (October, 2016), pp. 97-117.
- Wanyun Shao, 'Weather, climate, politics, or God? Determinants of American public opinions toward global warming' *Environmental Politics* Vol. 26:1 (2017), pp. 71-96.
- Doug McAdam, "Social Movement Theory and the Prospect for Climate Change Activism in the United States" *Annual Review of Political Science* Vol. 20 (May 2017), pp. 189-208.
- Patrick J. Egan and Megan Mullin, "Climate Change: US Public Opinion" *Annual Review of Political Science* Vol. 20 (May 2017), pp. 209-227.

Notes: Research Paper Proposal due

Week 9 (Nov. 11) Left Wing Politics

Whereas right wing politics actively opposes attempts to deal with climate change, many on the left see climate change as an opportunity to transform the existing capitalist system.

Readings:

- Fred Magdoff and John Bellamy Foster, 'What Every Environmentalist needs to know about capitalism' *Monthly Review* 61/10 (March 2010): 1-30.

- Naomi Klein, 'One Way or Another Everything Changes' *This Changes Everything: Capitalism vs. The Climate* (Toronto: Vintage 2015), pp. 1-30.
- Giorgos Kallis, "In defence of degrowth' *Ecological Economics* 70 (2011) 873-80.
- Patricia E. (Ellie) Perkins, "Climate justice, commons, and degrowth" *Ecological Economics*, Vol. 160:C (2019), pp. 183-190.

Other Readings:

- Joan Martinez-Alier, naiPascual, Frank -Dominique Vivien, Edwin Zaccai, 'Sustainable Degrowth: Mapping the context, criticisms and future prospects of an emergent paradigm' *Ecological Economics* 69 (2010) 1741-7.
- Stig Ingebrigtsen, Ove Jakobsen, "Utopias and realism in ecological economics — Knowledge, understanding and improvisation" *Ecological Economics*, Vol. 84:C (2012), pp. 84-90.
- Blake Anderson and Michael M'Gonigle "Does ecological economics have a future?: Contradiction and reinvention in the age of climate change" *Ecological Economics* Vol. 84 (December, 2012), pp. 37-48.
- Armon Rezai, Lance Taylor, Reinhard Mechler, "Ecological macroeconomics: An application to climate change" *Ecological Economics*, Vol. 85:C (2013), pp. 69-76.
- S. Şerban Scriciu, Terry Barker, Frank Ackerman, "Pushing the boundaries of climate economics: critical issues to consider in climate policy analysis" *Ecological Economics* Vol. 85:C (2013), pp. 155-165.

Week 10 (Nov. 18) Indigenous Peoples and Climate Change

Indigenous people have been on the front lines of the battle against climate change. This week our task is to gain an understanding of the indigenous view of climate change and some of the struggles they are engaged in.

Readings:

- Kyle Whyte, 'Way Beyond the Lifeboat: An Indigenous Allegory of Climate Justice' in Debashish Munshi, Kum-Kum Bhavnani, John Foran, and Priya Kurian eds. *Climate Futures: Reimagining Global Climate Justice* (London: Zed Books, 2019).
- Julian Brave Noisecat, 'Slaying the Carbon-Consuming Colonial Hydra: Indigenous Contributions to Climate Action' *Development* Vol. 59:3-4 (2016), pp. 199-204.
- Anne Spice 'Fighting Invasive Infrastructure' *Environment and Society* 91 (1) (2018): 40-56.
- Todd A. Eisenstadt and Karleen Jones West 'Indigenous Belief Systems, Science, and Resource Extraction: Climate Change Attitudes in Ecuador' *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 17:1 (2017), pp. 40-58.

Other Readings:

- Kyle Whyte, 'Too late for indigenous climate justice: Ecological and relational tipping points.' *WIREs Clim Change*. 2020; 11, 1-7.
- Kyle Whyte "Settler Colonialism Ecology, and Environmental Injustice," *Environment and Society* 9 (1) (2018) 124-144.
- Gómez-Baggethun, E., E. Corbera, and V. Reyes-García, "Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Global Environmental Change: Research findings and policy implications" *Ecology and Society* Vol.18:4 (2013), pp.72.

Week 11 (Nov. 25) Developing World Climate Politics

Climate change poses a particular set of challenges and threats to developing countries. This week we are interested in discovering how climate change is playing out in some key developing countries and how it impacts their international position.

Readings:

- Timmons Roberts and Bradley C. Parks, 'Inequality and the global climate regime: breaking the north-south impasse' *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* Vol. 21:4 (2008), pp. 621-648.
- Aniruddh Mohan & Timon Wehnert, "Is India pulling its weight? India's nationally determined contribution and future energy plans in global climate policy" *Climate Policy* Vol. 19:3 (2019), pp. 275-282.
- Isabel Hilton & Oliver Kerr, 'The Paris Agreement: China's 'New Normal' role in international climate negotiations' *Climate Policy* Vol. 17:1 (2017), pp. 48-58.
- Patrick Bond, 'Who Wins From "Climate Apartheid"?: African Climate Justice Narratives About the Paris COP21' *New Politics* Vol. 15:4 (2016), pp. 83-90.
- Corinna Dengler, Lisa Marie Seebacher, 'What About the Global South? Towards a Feminist Decolonial Degrowth Approach,' *Ecological Economics* Vol. 157 (2019), pp. 246-252.

Other Readings:

- Beatriz Rodríguez-Labajos, Ivonne Yáñez, Patrick Bond, Lucie Greyl, Serah Munguti, Godwin Uyi Ojo, Winfridus Overbeek, 'Not So Natural an Alliance? Degrowth and Environmental Justice Movements in the Global South,' *Ecological Economics*, Volume 157, 2019, Pages 175-184.
- Kathryn Hochstetler and Genia Kostka 'Wind and Solar Power in Brazil and China: Interests, State–Business Relations, and Policy Outcomes' *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 15:3 (2015), p. 74-94.
- Alex Y. Lo and Michael Howes 'Power and Carbon Sovereignty in a Non-Traditional Capitalist State: Discourses of Carbon Trading in China' *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 15:1 (2015), p. 60-82.
- Leah C. Stokes, Amanda Giang, and Noelle E. Selin, 'Splitting the South: China and India's Divergence in International Environmental Negotiations' *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 16:4 (2016), p. 12-31.
- Ben Saul, 'The security risks of climate change displacement in Bangladesh' *Journal of Human Security* Vol. 8:2 (2012), p. 5-35.

- Rikhil R. Bhavnani, & Bethany Lacina, 'The effects of Weather-induced Migration on Sons of the Soil Riots in Indi' *World Politics*, Vol. 67:4 (October 2015), p. 760-794.

Week 12 (Dec. 2) Focus on Canada

Canadians like to portray themselves as good international citizens, but on the climate front their actions lag far behind their rhetoric. Canadians are amongst the worst emitters of carbon on a per capita basis. What explains Canada's lack of action on the climate change front?

Readings:

- Robert MacNeil & Matthew Paterson, "Trudeau's Canada and the challenge of decarbonisation" *Environmental Politics* Vol. 27:2 (2018), pp. 379-84.
- Eric Lachapelle and Simon Kiss "Opposition to carbon pricing and right wing populism: Ontario's 2018 general election" *Environmental Politics* Vol. 28:5 (2019), pp. 970-976.
- Brian Murray and Nicholas Rivers, "British Columbia's revenue-neutral carbon tax: A review of the latest "grand experiment" in environmental policy" *Energy Policy* Vol. 86:C (November 2015), pp. 674-683.
- Robert MacNeil, 'Is Canadian carbon pricing here to stay? The outlook after 14 elections' *Environmental Politics* 2020 Vol. 29, No2 pp. 354-9.
- Brendan Haley, "From Staples Trap to Carbon Trap: Canada's Peculiar form of carbon lock-in" *Studies in Political Economy* Vol. 88:1 (2011), pp. 97-132. (Skim)

Other Readings:

- Maciunas, S., & de Lassus Saint-Geniès, G. (2018). The Evolution of Canada's International and Domestic Climate Policy: From Divergence to Consistency? Available at: <https://www.cigionline.org/sites/default/files/documents/Reflections%20Series%20Paper%20no.21%20Maciunas.pdf>
- Shane Gunster and Robert J Neubauer 'Deligitimating extractivism the shifting politics of social liscence' *Environmental Politics* Vol. 28:4 (2019), pp. 707-726.
- Leah C. Stokes 'The politics of renewable energy policies: The case of feed-in tariffs in Ontario, Canada' *Energy Policy* Vol. 56 (May, 2013), pp. 490-500.

Week 13 (Dec. 9) Into the Future

What are the prospects for climate action following the Paris Agreement and into the near future?

Readings:

- Jen Iris Allan 'Dangerous Incrementalism of the Paris Agreement' *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 19:1 (2019), pp. 4-11.
- Peter Newell & Olivia Taylor (2020) Fiddling while the planet burns? COP25 in perspective, *Globalizations*, 17:4, 580-592

- McLaren, D., Markusson, N. The co-evolution of technological promises, modelling, policies and climate change targets. *Nature Climate Change*. **10**, 392–397 (2020).
- Axel Michaelowa, Myles Allen and Fu Sha, 'Policy instruments for limiting global temperature rise to 1.5°C – can humanity rise to the challenge?' *Climate Policy* Vol. 18:3 (2018), pp. 1-12.
- Mark Jaccard, 'All Countries will agree on Climate Fairness' and 'the Simple Path to success with our Climate-Energy Challenge' *The Citizen's Guide to Climate Success: Overcoming myths that hinder progress* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020), pp. 58-75, 239-65.

Other Readings:

- Mathieu Blondeel, Jeff Colgan and Thijs Van de Graff, "What Drives Norm Success? Evidence from Anti-Fossil Fuel Campaigns Global" *Environmental Politics* Vol. 19:4 (2019), pp. 63-84.
- Robert J. Brulle & Kari Marie Norgaard (2019) 'Avoiding cultural trauma: climate change and social inertia,' *Environmental Politics*, Vol. 28:5 (2019), pp. 886-908,
- Radoslav S. Dimitrov, "The Paris Agreement on Climate Change: Behind Closed Doors" *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 16:3 (2016), pp. 1-11.
- Thomas Hale, "All Hands on Deck": The Paris Agreement and Nonstate Climate Action" *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 16:3 (2016), pp. 12-22.
- Patrick Bond, "Who Wins From "Climate Apartheid"?: African Climate Justice Narratives About the Paris COP21" *New Politics* Vol. 15:4 (2016), pp. 83-90.
- Kathryn Harrison, "International Carbon Trade and Domestic Climate Politics" *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 15:3 (2015), pp. 27-48.

Notes: Research Paper due December 16

Other topics:

Climate change and ecofascism

Readings:

- Jordan Dyett and Cassidy Thomas, 'Overpopulation Discourse: Patriarchy, Racism, and the Specter of Ecofascism' *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology* Vol. 18 (2019):1-2 (January 2019).
- Jason, Wilson, '[Eco-fascism is undergoing a revival in the fetid culture of the extreme right](#)' *The Guardian* 19 March 2019.
- Rebeca Solnit, '[Why Climate Action is the Antithesis of White Supremacy](#)' *The Guardian* 19 March 2019.
- Graham Lawton, '[The rise of real eco-fascism](#)' *New Scientist* Vol. 243:3243 (August 2019), pp.24.
- Jeff Sparrow, '[El Paso shooting and the rise of eco-fascism](#)' *Eureka Street* Vol. 29:15 (August 2019).

- Marco Armiero, [‘Introduction: Fascism and nature’](#), *Modern Italy* Vol. 19:3 (2014), pp. 241-245.
- Daniel Aldana Cohen, [‘Stop Eco-Apartheid: The Left’s Challenge in Bolsonaro’s Brazil’](#) *Dissent* Vol. 66:1 (2019), pp. 23-31.
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Climate change and violent conflict:

- Mach, K.J., Kraan, C.M., Adger, W.N. *et al.* Climate as a risk factor for armed conflict. *Nature* **571**, 11 July 2019: 193–197 (2019). <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41586-019-1300-6>
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- Daniel Abrahams (2019) From discourse to policy: US policy communities’ perceptions of and approaches to climate change and security, *Conflict, Security & Development*, 19:4, 323-345,
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- Jan Selby & Clemens Hoffmann (2014) Rethinking Climate Change, Conflict and Security, *Geopolitics*, 19:4, 747-756
- Razmig Keucheyan, *Nature is a Battlefield: Towards a Political Ecology* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016), pp. 104-150.
- Ken Conca, Joe Thwaites, and Goueon Lee, ‘Climate Change and the UN Security Council: Bully Pulpit or Bull in a China Shop?’ *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 17:2 (2017), pp. 1-20.
- Peter F. Nardulli, Buddy Peyton, and Joseph Bajjalieh. ‘Climate Change and Civil Unrest: The Impact of Rapid-Onset Disasters’ *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol. 59.2 (2015), pp. 310-35.
- Dumaine, C., & Mintzer, I. (2015). ‘Confronting climate change and reframing security’ *SAIS Review of International Affairs* Vol. 35:1 (2015), pp. 5-16.
- Paul J. Smith, ‘Climate Change, Weak States and the "War on Terrorism" in South and Southeast Asia’ *Contemporary Southeast Asia* Vol. 29:2 (August 2007), pp. 264-285.
- Margaret Purdy and Leanne Smythe, ‘From Obscurity to Action’ *International Journal* Vol. 65:2 (2010), pp. 411-433.

Books of Interest

Thinking

- George Marshall, *Don't Even Think about it: Why our Brains are Wired to Ignore Climate Change* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014).
- Amitav Gosh, *The Great Derangement: Climate Change and the Unthinkable* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016).

History

- Andreas Malm, *Fossil Capitalism: the Rise of Steam Power and the Roots of Global Warming* (London: Verso, 2016).
- Brian Fagan, *The Great Warming* (Bloomsbury US, 2009).
- Anthony J. McMichael, *Climate Change and the Health of Nations: Famines, Fevers, and the Fate of Populations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

Violence

- Christian Parenti, *Tropic of Chaos; Climate Change and the New Geography of Violence* (New York: Nation Books, 2012).
- Gwynne Dyer, *Climate Wars: The Fight for Survival as the World Overheats* (Toronto: Vintage, 2009).

Morality

- Stephen M. Gardiner, *A Perfect Moral Storm: The Ethical Tragedy of Climate Change* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

Politics

- Michael E. Mann and Tom Toles, *The Madhouse Effect: How Climate Change Denial is Threatening Our Planet, Destroying our Politics and Driving Us Crazy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016).
- Michael E. Mann, *The Hockey Stick and the Climate Wars* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).
- Harriet Bulkely and Peter Newell *Governing Climate Change* 2nd Edition (London: Routledge 2016).

Environmentalism/Consumption

- Peter Dauvergne, *Environmentalism of the Rich* (Cambridge; MIT Press, 2016).
- Peter Dauvergne, *The Shadows of Consumption: Consequences for the Global Environment* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2010).

Capitalism

- Peter Newell and Matthew Paterson, *Climate Capitalism: Global Warming and the Transformation of the Global Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- Naomi Klien, *This Changes Everything Climate vs. Capitalism* (Knoph: Toronto, 2014).

North South

- Roberts, Tim and Bradley Parks, *A Climate of Injustice: Global Inequality, North-South Politics, and Climate Policy* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006).
- Patrick Bond, *Politics of Climate Justice: Paralysis Above, Movement Below* (Kwazulu-Natal: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2012).

Future

- Imre Szeman, *After Oil* (West Virginia University Press, 2016) available at: <http://afteroil.ca/resources-2/after-oil-book/>

Course Policies

Submission of Assignments

Written work must be submitted in the appropriate dropbox in the course Avenue to Learn shell.

Grades

Grades will be based on the McMaster University grading scale:

MARK	GRADE
90-100	A+
85-90	A
80-84	A-
77-79	B+
73-76	B
70-72	B-
69-0	F

Late Assignments

I expect all work to be handed in on time. Speak to me if you are likely to miss a deadline. Late work will be penalized,

Absences, Missed Work, Illness

Please inform me of any absences or problems with the course.

Faculty of Social Sciences E-mail Communication Policy

Effective September 1, 2010, it is the policy of the Faculty of Social Sciences that all e-mail communication sent from students to instructors (including TAs), and from students to staff, must originate from the student's own McMaster University e-mail account. This policy protects confidentiality and confirms the identity of the student. It is the student's responsibility to ensure that communication is sent to the university from a McMaster account. If an instructor becomes aware that a communication has come from an alternate address, the instructor may not reply at his or her discretion.

Academic Integrity

You are expected to exhibit honesty and use ethical behaviour in all aspects of the learning process. Academic credentials you earn are rooted in principles of honesty and academic integrity. **It is your responsibility to understand what constitutes academic dishonesty.**

Academic dishonesty is to knowingly act or fail to act in a way that results or could result in unearned academic credit or advantage. This behaviour can result in serious consequences, e.g. the grade of zero on an assignment, loss of credit with a notation on the transcript (notation reads: "Grade of F assigned for academic dishonesty"), and/or suspension or expulsion from the university. For information on the various types of academic dishonesty please refer to the [Academic Integrity Policy](https://secretariat.mcmaster.ca/university-policies-procedures-guidelines/), located at <https://secretariat.mcmaster.ca/university-policies-procedures-guidelines/>

The following illustrates only three forms of academic dishonesty:

- plagiarism, e.g. the submission of work that is not one's own or for which other credit has been obtained.
- improper collaboration in group work.
- copying or using unauthorized aids in tests and examinations.

Authenticity / Plagiarism Detection

Some courses may use a web-based service (Turnitin.com) to reveal authenticity and ownership of student submitted work. For courses using such software, students will be expected to submit their work electronically either directly to Turnitin.com or via an online learning platform (e.g. A2L, etc.) using plagiarism detection (a service supported by Turnitin.com) so it can be checked for academic dishonesty.

Students who do not wish their work to be submitted through the plagiarism detection software must inform the Instructor before the assignment is due. No penalty will be assigned to a student who does not submit work to the plagiarism detection software.

All submitted work is subject to normal verification that standards of academic integrity have been upheld (e.g., on-line search, other software, etc.). For more details about McMaster's use of Turnitin.com please go to www.mcmaster.ca/academicintegrity.

Courses with an Online Element

Some courses may use on-line elements (e.g. e-mail, Avenue to Learn (A2L), LearnLink, web pages, capa, Moodle, ThinkingCap, etc.). Students should be aware that, when they access the electronic components of a course using these elements, private information such as first and last names, user names for the McMaster e-mail accounts, and program affiliation may become apparent to all other students in the same course. The available information is dependent on the technology used. Continuation in a course that uses on-line elements will be deemed consent to this disclosure. If you have any questions or concerns about such disclosure please discuss this with the course instructor.

Online Proctoring

Some courses may use online proctoring software for tests and exams. This software may require students to turn on their video camera, present identification, monitor and record their computer activities, and/or lock/restrict their browser or other applications/software during tests or exams. This software may be required to be installed before the test/exam begins.

Conduct Expectations

As a McMaster student, you have the right to experience, and the responsibility to demonstrate, respectful and dignified interactions within all of our living, learning and working communities. These expectations are described in the [Code of Student Rights & Responsibilities](#) (the “Code”). All students share the responsibility of maintaining a positive environment for the academic and personal growth of all McMaster community members, **whether in person or online**.

It is essential that students be mindful of their interactions online, as the Code remains in effect in virtual learning environments. The Code applies to any interactions that adversely affect, disrupt, or interfere with reasonable participation in University activities. Student disruptions or behaviours that interfere with university functions on online platforms (e.g. use of Avenue 2 Learn, WebEx or Zoom for delivery), will be taken very seriously and will be investigated. Outcomes may include restriction or removal of the involved students’ access to these platforms.

Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities

Students with disabilities who require academic accommodation must contact [Student Accessibility Services](#) (SAS) at 905-525-9140 ext. 28652 or sas@mcmaster.ca to make arrangements with a Program Coordinator. For further information, consult McMaster University’s [Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities](#) policy.

Academic Accommodation for Religious, Indigenous or Spiritual Observances (RISO)

Students requiring academic accommodation based on religious, indigenous or spiritual observances should follow the procedures set out in the [RISO](#) policy. Students should submit their request to their Faculty Office **normally within 10 working days** of the beginning of term in which they anticipate a need for accommodation or to the Registrar’s Office prior to their examinations. Students should also contact their instructors as soon as possible to make alternative arrangements for classes, assignments, and tests.

Copyright and Recording

Students are advised that lectures, demonstrations, performances, and any other course material provided by an instructor include copyright protected works. The Copyright Act and copyright law protect every original literary, dramatic, musical and artistic work, **including lectures** by University instructors

The recording of lectures, tutorials, or other methods of instruction may occur during a course. Recording may be done by either the instructor for the purpose of authorized distribution, or by a student for the purpose of personal study. Students should be aware that their voice and/or image may be recorded by others during the class. Please speak with the instructor if this is a concern for you.

Extreme Circumstances

The University reserves the right to change the dates and deadlines for any or all courses in extreme circumstances (e.g., severe weather, labour disruptions, etc.). Changes will be communicated through regular McMaster communication channels, such as McMaster Daily News, A2L and/or McMaster email.

Course Modification

The instructor and university reserve the right to modify elements of the course during the term. The university may change the dates and deadlines for any or all courses in extreme circumstances. If either type of modification becomes necessary, reasonable notice and communication with the students will be given with explanation and the opportunity to comment on changes. It is the responsibility of the student to check his/her McMaster email and course websites weekly during the term and to note any changes.