

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE

Term1, Fall 2018

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Contents

Course Description.....	3
Course Objectives.....	3
Required Materials and Texts	3
Class Format.....	4
Course Evaluation – Overview	4
Course Evaluation – Details	4
Seminar Participation (30%)	4
Critical Review (20%), due October 23, 2018.....	4
Research Paper Proposal (5%), due November 6, 2018.....	5
Research Paper (45%), due December 18, 2018.....	5
Weekly Course Schedule and Required Readings	5
Week 1 (Sept 11) Introduction	5
Week 2 (Sept 18) Conceptualizing Climate Governance.....	5
Week 3 (Sept 25) Science, Politics and Climate Change	6
Week 4 (Oct 2) Climate Change Economics	6
Week 5 (Oct 8) Fall mid-term recess, NO CLASS	7
Week 6 (Oct 16) Doughnut Economics.....	7
Week 7 (Oct 23) Pricing and Taxing Carbon	7
Week 8 (Oct 30) US Climate Politics	8
Week 9 (Nov 6) Spiritual Beliefs, Indigenous Peoples and Climate Change	9
Week 10 (Nov 13) Infrastructure Politics	9
Week 11 (Nov 20) Developing World Climate Politics	10
Week 12 (Nov 27) Violent Conflict and Climate Change	11
Week 13 (Dec 4) Paris Agreement and Beyond	11
Week 14 (Anytime) Books of Interest	12
Course Policies	13

Submission of Assignments.....	13
Grades.....	13
Late Assignments	13
Absences, Missed Work, Illness	13
Avenue to Learn	14
University Policies	14
Academic Integrity Statement.....	14
Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities.....	14
Faculty of Social Sciences E-mail Communication Policy	14
Course Modification.....	15

Course Description

This course provides students with an opportunity to investigate the global political economy of climate change. Key topics include conceptualizing climate governance, science and politics, climate change economics, pricing and taxing carbon, US and developing world climate politics, climate change infrastructure struggles, spiritual beliefs and climate politics, climate change and violence, and beyond the Paris Agreement. The focus will be on how political and economic factors shape responses to climate change.

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, 'Summary of Policy Makers' [Climate Change 2013: the Physical Science Basis](#) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

In addition to weekly readings listed by week, you are required to read three books:

Razmig Keucheyan, *Nature is a Battlefield: Towards a Political Ecology* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016).

Nicolas Stern, *Why Are We Waiting?: The Logic, Urgency, and Promise of Tackling Climate Change* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2015).

Kate Raworth, *Doughnut Economics: Seven Ways to Think Like a 21st-Century Economist* (Vermont: Chelsea Green Publishing, 2017).

Class Format

Students will be assigned to lead a discussion of particular weeks.

All students will be expected to come to class with a one page 'summary notes' document on the texts they have read. This document will contain:

1. A list of key concepts and terms.
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.

Summaries will be handed in at the end of class.

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%
2. Critical Review – 20%, due October 23, 2018
3. Research Paper Proposal – 5%, November 6, 2018
4. Research Paper – 45%, December 18, 2018

Course Evaluation – Details

Seminar Participation (30%)

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

Critical Review (20%), due October 23, 2018

Students will write a critical review of one of the two books they have read for the class. The review is due on **October 23rd**, one week after the second book has been discussed in class. Class discussion should feed into your review. The review will evaluate the central arguments made in the chosen book. It should be **no longer than 1,500 words**.

Research Paper Proposal (5%), due November 6, 2018

This paper is **due in class in week nine, November 6th**. 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 December 18, 2018

The final research paper is **due two weeks after the final class, December 18th**. 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 11) Introduction

Topic: Introduction

Readings: No readings

Week 2 (Sept 18) Conceptualizing Climate Governance

Topic: We begin our readings by considering the ways in which people conceptualize climate governance. What are the key actors and how should we think about their interaction?

Readings:

- Marcel J. Dorsch and Christian Flachslund 'A Polycentric Approach to Global Climate Governance' *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 17:2 (May, 2017), p. 45-64.
- Steven Bernstein, 'Liberal Environmentalism and Global Environmental Governance' *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 2:3 (August, 2002), p. 1-16.
- Stephen M. Gardiner, 'A Perfect Moral Storm: Climate Change, Intergenerational Ethics and the Problem of Moral Corruption,' *Environmental Values* Vol. 15:3 (August 2006), p. 397-413.
- Razmig Keucheyan, 'Environmental Racism' *Nature is a Battlefield: Towards a Political Ecology* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016), p.8-54.

Other Readings:

- Robert O. Keohane and David G. Victor, 'The Regime Complex for Climate Change' *Perspectives on Politics* Vol. 9:1 (March, 2011), p. 7-23.

- Thomas Hale, "All Hands on Deck": The Paris Agreement and Nonstate Climate Action' *Global Environmental Politics* Vol.16:3 (August, 2016), p. 12-22.
- Thomas Bernauer, 'Climate Change Politics' *Annual Review of Political Science* Vol. 16 (2013), p. 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), p. 1-20.
- Marcel Hanegraaff, 'Transnational Advocacy over Time: Business and NGO Mobilization at UN Climate Summits' *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 15:1 (March, 2015), p. 83-104.

Week 3 (Sept 25) Science, Politics and Climate Change

Topic: A remarkable aspect of climate change is the degree to which climate science has become politicized. This week we want to understand why and how this has happened.

Readings:

- Rolf Lidskog and Göran Sundqvist, 'When Does Science Matter? International Relations Meets Science and Technology Studies, *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 15:1 (February, 2015), p.1-20.
- Hannah Hughes, 'Bourdieu and the IPCC's Symbolic Power' *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 15:4 (November, 2015), p. 85-104.
- Stephan Lewandowsky, et.al, 'Science and the Public: Debate, Denial, and Skepticism' *Journal of Social and Political Psychology* Vol. 4:2 (January, 2016), p. 537-553.
- 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), p. 831-852.
- Jeremiah Bohr 'The 'climatism' cartel: why climate change deniers oppose market-based mitigation policy' *Environmental Politics* Vol. 25:5, (March, 2016), p. 812-830.

Other Readings:

- Lisa Vanhala and Cecilie Hestbaek, Framing Climate Change Loss and Damage in UNFCCC Negotiations *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 16:2 (October, 2016), p.111-129.

Week 4 (Oct 2) Climate Change Economics

Topic: This week we turn our attention to one of the most prominent economists who sees climate change as an immediate and immense threat to humanity. Nicolas Stern is presently chair of the Grantham Research Institute on Climate and the Environment at the LSE. He was formerly Chief Economist at the World

Bank and Permanent Secretary of HM Treasury (UK). His 2006 government report *The Economics of Climate Change* was a landmark call to action. However, it was criticized for its modification of key economic approaches (discounting the future) by economists such as Yale's William Nordhaus. Our goal in reading Stern's more recent book is to determine what he sees as the key economic issues surrounding climate change.

Readings:

- Nicolas Stern, *Why Are We Waiting?: The Logic, Urgency and Promise of Tackling Climate Change* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2015).

Other Readings:

- Terry Barker, 'The Economics of Avoiding Dangerous Climate Change' *Green Economy Reader* (Springer, Online, 2017), pp. 237-63.
- William Nordhaus, *The Climate Casino: Risk, Uncertainty and Economics for a Warming World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).
- Nicholas Stern, *The Economics of Climate Change: The Stern Review* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2007).

Week 5 (Oct 8) Fall mid-term recess, NO CLASS

Week 6 (Oct 16) Doughnut Economics

Topic: Kate Raworth is a senior visiting research associate at Oxford University's Environmental Change Institute. She is a former co-editor of the UNDP *Human Development Report* and was the Senior Researcher at Oxfam for a decade. Raworth's policy work has led her to question the assumptions of mainstream economics, leading to the publication of *Doughnut Economics*. This week we will be considering the critique of economic approaches from an environmentalist perspective.

Readings:

- Kate Raworth, *Doughnut Economics: Seven Ways to Think Like a 21st Century Economist* (Vermont: Chelsea Green Publishing, 2017).

Week 7 (Oct 23) Pricing and Taxing Carbon

Topic: Economists tend to agree that the best way to deal with climate change is to put a price on carbon. However, the mechanics and politics of pricing carbon are far from clear.

Readings:

- Matthew Paterson, 'Who and what are carbon markets for? Politics and the development of climate policy' *Climate Policy* Vol.12:1 (August, 2011), p.82-97.
- Robert MacNeil, 'Death and Environmental Taxes: Why Market Environmentalism Fails in Liberal Market Economies' *Global Environmental Politics* Vol 16:1 (February, 2016), p. 21-37.
- 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 (November, 2015), p. 674-683.
- Jonas Meckling & Steffen Jenner, 'Varieties of market-based policy: Instrument choice in climate policy' *Environmental Politics* Vol. 25:5 (May,2016), p. 853-874.
- Razmig Keucheyan, 'Financializing Nature: Insuring Climatic Risk' *Nature is a Battlefield: Towards a Political Ecology* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016), p. 55-103.

Other Readings:

- 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), p.89-107.
- Katja Biedenkopf, Patrick Müller, Peter Slominski, and Jørgen Wettstad, 'A Global Turn to Greenhouse Gas Emissions Trading? Experiments, Actors, and Diffusion' *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 17:3 (August, 2017), p. 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), p. 641-660.

Note: Critical Review due in class.

Week 8 (Oct 30) US Climate Politics

Topic: With the election of US President Donald Trump, the US stands alone as the only country to not support the Paris Agreement on climate change. What accounts for the distinctive nature of climate change politics in the country that is the second largest emitter of CO₂ in 2017 and has historically been the largest emitter?

Readings:

- Elizabeth Bomberg 'Environmental politics in the Trump era: an early assessment' *Environmental Politics* Vol. 26:5 (May, 2017), p. 956-963.
- 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), p. 97-117.
- Doug McAdam, 'Social Movement Theory and the Prospect for Climate Change Activism in the United States' *Annual Review of Political Science* Vol. 20 (2017), p. 189-208.

- Wanyun Shao, 'Weather, climate, politics, or God? Determinants of American public opinions toward global warming' *Environmental Politics* Vol. 26:1 (2017), p. 71-96.

Other Readings:

- Patrick J. Egan and Megan Mullin, 'Climate Change: US Public Opinion' *Annual Review of Political Science* Vol. 30 (2017), p. 209-227.

Week 9 (Nov 6) Spiritual Beliefs, Indigenous Peoples and Climate Change

Topic: Economists tend to agree that the best way to deal with climate change is to put a price on carbon. However, the mechanics and politics of pricing carbon are far from clear.

Readings:

- Julian Brave Noisecat, 'Slaying the Carbon-Consuming Colonial Hydra: Indigenous Contributions to Climate Action' *Development* Vol. 59:3-4 (2016), p. 199-204.
- 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), p. 40-58.
- Michael Lowy, 'Laudato Si – the Pope's Anti-Systemic Encyclical' *Monthly Review* Vol. 67:7 (2015), p. 50-4.
- E. Keith Smith, Lynn M. Hempel and Kelsea MacIlroy, 'What's 'evangelical' got to do with it? Disentangling the impact of evangelical Protestantism on environmental outcomes' *Environmental Politics* Vol 27:2 (2018), p. 292-319. | Pages 1-28 | Published online: 02 Oct 2017
- Stephen Chaudoin, D.T. Smith, & J. Urpelainen, 'American evangelicals and domestic versus international climate policy.' *The Review of International Organizations* Vol. 9:4 (December, 2014), p. 441-469.

Notes: Research Paper Proposal due in class.

Week 10 (Nov 13) Infrastructure Politics

Topic: At the level of particular industries a fierce fight is being waged between fossil fuel and renewable energy sectors for the future shape of national and global economies. What are the contours of this struggle?

Readings:

- Kacper Szulecki, 'Conceptualizing energy democracy' *Environmental Politics* Vol. 27:1 (2018), p. 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), p. 21-39.
- 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), p. 256-276.
- 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), p. 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).

Other Readings:

- Leah C. Stokes 'The politics of renewable energy policies: The case of feed-in tariffs in Ontario, Canada' *Energy Policy* Vol. 56 (May, 2013), p. 490-500.
- Oksan Bayulgen & Jeffrey W. Ladewig 'Vetoing the future: political constraints and renewable energy' *Environmental Politics* Vol. 26:1, (2017), p. 49-70.

Week 11 (Nov 20) Developing World Climate Politics

Topic: 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), p. 621-648.
- 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.
- 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.

Other Readings:

- 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 (Nov 27) Violent Conflict and Climate Change

Topic: Some see climate change as increasing the level of violent conflict within and between states. Is this a justified fear and what might be done about it?

Readings:

- Razmig Keucheyan, *Nature is a Battlefield: Towards a Political Ecology* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016), p. 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), p. 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), p. 310-35.
- Dumaine, C., & Mintzer, I. (2015). 'Confronting climate change and reframing security' *SAIS Review of International Affairs* Vol. 35:1 (2015), p. 5-16.

Other Readings:

- 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), p. 264-285.
- Margaret Purdy and Leanne Smythe, 'From Obscurity to Action' *International Journal* Vol. 65:2 (2010), p. 411-433.

Week 13 (Dec 4) Paris Agreement and Beyond

Topic: We conclude the course by reflecting upon the 2015 Paris Agreement and its implications for the future.

Readings:

- Radoslav S. Dimitrov, 'The Paris Agreement on Climate Change: Behind Closed Doors' *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 16:3 (2016), p. 1-11.
- Thomas Hale, "'All Hands on Deck": The Paris Agreement and Nonstate Climate Action' *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 16:3 (2016), p. 12-22.
- Patrick Bond, 'Who Wins From "Climate Apartheid"? African Climate Justice Narratives About the Paris COP21' *New Politics* Vol. 15:4 (2016), p. 83-90.
- 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), p. 1-12.
- Robert MacNeil & Matthew Paterson, 'Trudeau's Canada and the challenge of decarbonisation,' *Environmental Politics* Vol. 27:2 (2018), p. 379-84.

Other Readings:

- Isabel Hilton & Oliver Kerr, 'The Paris Agreement: China's 'New Normal' role in international climate negotiations' *Climate Policy* Vol. 17:1 (2017), p. 48-58.
- Kathryn Harrison, 'International Carbon Trade and Domestic Climate Politics' *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 15:3 (2015), p. 27-48.

Notes: Research Paper due December 18

Week 14 (Anytime) 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](http://afteroil.ca/resources-2/after-oil-book/) (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 hard copy in class and cannot be accepted electronically or by fax.

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.

Avenue to Learn

In this course we will be using Avenue to Learn. Students should be aware that, when they access the electronic components of this course, 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 this course will be deemed consent to this disclosure. If you have any questions or concerns about such disclosure please discuss this with the course instructor.

University Policies

Academic Integrity Statement

You are expected to exhibit honesty and use ethical behavior in all aspects of the learning process. Academic credentials you earn are rooted in principles of honesty and academic integrity.

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 behavior 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.

It is your responsibility to understand what constitutes academic dishonesty. For information on the various types of academic dishonesty please refer to the [Academic Integrity Policy](#).

The following illustrates only three forms of academic dishonesty:

1. Plagiarism, e.g. the submission of work that is not one's own or for which credit has been obtained.
2. Improper collaboration in group work.
3. Copying or using unauthorized aids in tests and examinations.

Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities

Students who require academic accommodation must contact Student Accessibility Services (SAS) to make arrangements with a Program Coordinator. Academic accommodations must be arranged for each term of study. Student Accessibility Services can be contacted by phone 905-525-9140 ext. 28652 or e-mail sas@mcmaster.ca. For further information, consult McMaster University's Policy for [Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities](#).

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.

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.