

# The International Politics of Climate Change

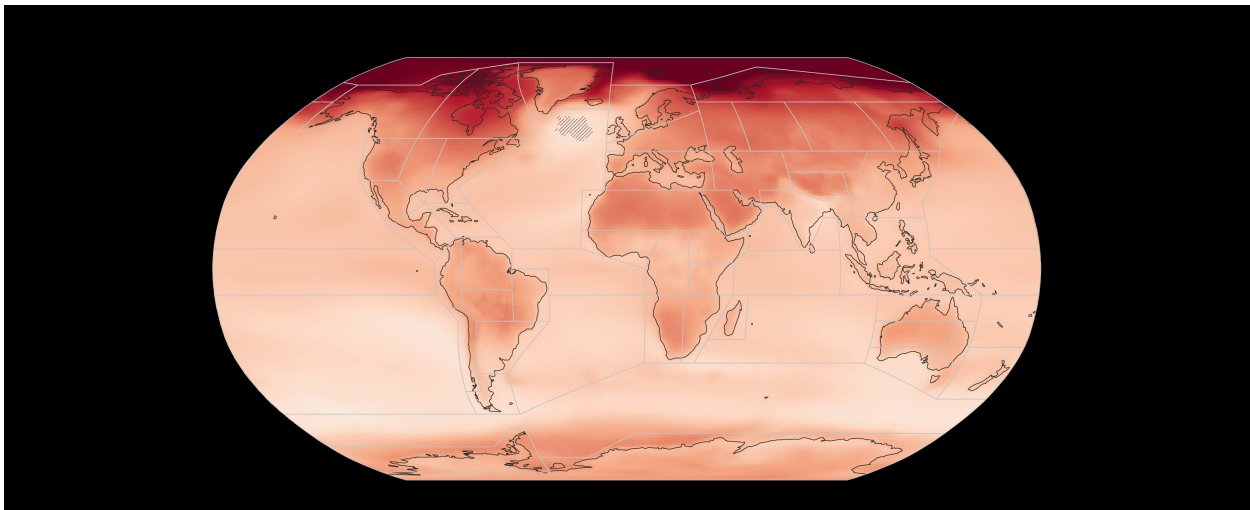
Political Science G8836  
Spring 2022

Meets in IAB 1302  
Wednesdays 6:10-8:00pm

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Office Hours:  
Mondays 4:30-5:30 & Wednesdays 3:30-4:30  
In person in IAB 1329 or on Zoom



## Course Description

Climate change presents arguably the biggest threat to humanity in recorded history. It has the potential to change international politics in unprecedented ways. It also represents a global problem for which both mitigation and adaptation require international cooperation. Yet the study of climate change in the field of international relations remains underdeveloped relative to other topics in IR, and certainly relative to the enormity of the stakes.

This advanced graduate colloquium (seminar format) will explore existing literatures and emerging research agendas on climate change in the field of international relations. We will draw also on literatures and research in other subfields and other disciplines as this topic is inherently interdisciplinary.

## Goals and Objectives

A primary goal of this course will be to develop research questions and encourage innovative theorizing and rigorous research on the international politics of climate change. Students will come away from the course with an understanding of the state of current research on climate change in international relations, and of gaps in that research that might inform their future work in this field. Students will develop skills necessary for critically assessing existing research, formulating productive research questions, presenting research in progress, and giving constructive feedback on peers' research.

## Audience and Prerequisites

This course is intended primarily for graduate students in Political Science, but may be of interest to students in other fields as well.

The course assumes some familiarity with theories and literatures of international relations. If you have not taken, or are not currently taking, the International Relations Field Survey (Pols G6801) please talk to me about whether this course is appropriate.

## Course Requirements

### Preparation for and Participation in Discussion

We are all expected to come to class ready to discuss the week's readings and to engage in class conversation actively, critically (of the readings), and respectfully (of each other).

This is a relatively new topic of interest for me. I will be structuring and guiding our discussion, but will not lecture – we will be learning and exploring this material together collaboratively.

Participation consists of: contributions to our weekly conversations, “1 minute papers” reflecting on the material at the end of class, and your comments, including as designated discussant, on each others' research projects (see below). [weight 20% of the grade – see on ungrading below].

### Memo

Once during the semester you will prepare a short memo (2-4 pages double-spaced) briefly outlining the major themes of the week, raising questions for discussion in class, and suggesting 1 or 2 potential research questions on the session's topic. These memos are due by [5pm] the Monday before the relevant class so that everyone has a chance to read them before we meet. [10%].

### Interactive Map Assignment

In week 3, there is a short assignment [10%] using one of the interactive climate change projection maps.

### Research Project

The major assignment for the course is a research project on a topic related to international

politics and climate. There are two options:

- 1) An article-length, (near)publishable-quality, original research paper. (10-12,000 words)
- 2) A research prospectus for a larger, dissertation-sized, research project. (12 pages, following Department of Political Science guidelines for a dissertation prospectus: <https://polisci.columbia.edu/content/phd-requirements>)

You will each have the opportunity to present your research project to the class, and to receive feedback on it from the rest of us, during the last few weeks of the semester. You will each serve as discussant on one of your classmate's presentations.

- A brief (ungraded) statement of your proposed research topic/question is due in Week 6, on February 26.
- Presentations in Weeks 12/13-15\* (April 6/13 through 27) [20%].
- The final paper/prospectus is due **Wednesday May 11** [40%].

\*The number of weeks dedicated to presentations will depend on enrollment in the class. If we need more weeks for presentations we will drop one of the sessions listed below. If we need fewer, we will expand coverage of one or more sessions. Which sessions we expand or drop will depend on your interests.

## Course Policies

### Academic Integrity

Students are expected to be aware of and follow Columbia's policies on academic integrity and responsible conduct of research, available here:

<https://gsas.columbia.edu/student-guide/research/academic-integrity-and-responsible-conduct-research>

These include but are not limited to policies:

- on plagiarism and proper citation (a good reminder from Iman Europe that plagiarism is theft is here: <https://twitter.com/ImanEurope/status/1417120007121563648> )
- barring submission of the same paper to more than one class
- prohibiting falsification or fabrication of research results
- requiring ethical conduct, including IRB approval, for research with human subjects

### Respect in the Classroom

Students who are not familiar with the University's policies on gender-based misconduct and sexual respect should take a few minutes to review them here:

[sexualrespect.columbia.edu/university-policy](https://sexualrespect.columbia.edu/university-policy)

I am personally committed to efforts to undermine the structures within our society, including within academia, that contribute to systemic racism and patriarchy. These include problematic patterns of conversation (interruptions, "mansplaining," women or BIPOC students having their voices ignored until a man or white person repeats their point, etc.). **Please be mindful in class**

**discussions of the “space” you are taking up** – if you tend to dominate the conversation, please step back to make space for others’ voices. Conversely, if you tend to be more reticent, please push yourself to speak up so that all can learn from your perspective. Please feel free to come talk to me if you would like to work on strategies for participating in class discussions.

I endeavor to maintain an open, inclusive, anti-racist, and mutually respectful atmosphere in the classroom. **However, I know that I can do better in this regard, and welcome feedback from students on how I can best live up to that commitment in my teaching. If you see something, please say something.** I have set up a "stop, start, continue" [form](#) to collect feedback. Please enter a comment (anonymous or otherwise) at anytime.

### Disabilities and Health or Family Care Issues

If you are a student with a disability and have an DS-certified Accommodation Letter please contact me to discuss your accommodation needs. If you believe that you might have a disability that requires accommodation, please contact Disability Services, and then let me know. More information can be found at [health.columbia.edu/content/disability-services](http://health.columbia.edu/content/disability-services).

I am happy to work with you to make this course as accessible as possible.

If you have unanticipated health or family issues, due to the ongoing Covid pandemic or otherwise, please be in touch with me as soon as possible so that we can work out reasonable accommodations. I can be flexible, but only if I know something is going on at the time.

### Policies on Late Assignments and Incompletes

Under normal circumstances, late assignments are penalized 1/3 grade per day late, and incompletes are not granted. However, if you encounter health or family emergencies, please be in touch with me as soon as possible to discuss accommodations. Please note that it is harder to grant extensions for some assignments than others. If you will not be able to complete an assigned memo on time, please try to swap assignments with a classmate so that we have memos to guide our class discussions in the relevant week. Similarly, please be mindful of getting work to the class and your discussant prior to your presentation to enable all of us to give you the most constructive feedback.

### Electronic Devices in the Classroom

Research suggests that students using electronic devices & laptops in the classroom retain information at a lower rate than those who do not.<sup>1</sup> There is also research showing that taking notes by hand leads to a higher rate of comprehension than taking notes on a device.<sup>2</sup> When everyone is looking at their laptops, even for course related material, discussion suffers. On the other hand, many of us (myself included) use devices to read and mark up scholarly work.

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<sup>1</sup><http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/answer-sheet/wp/2014/09/25/why-a-leading-professor-of-new-media-just-banned-technology-use-in-class/>

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.scientificamerican.com/article/a-learning-secret-don-t-take-notes-with-a-laptop/>

My expectation is that you use laptops or electronic devices only as e-readers, or (occasionally) to look up something directly relevant to class, and that you will take notes by hand (unless you have a compelling reason to do otherwise, in which case please let me know). You are grown-ups, and your education at Columbia is precious to you (I hope), so I will (mostly) leave responsible use of electronics to the honor system. If the use of electronics becomes a problem (distracting others, dampening the level of participation and engagement), I may sometimes “cold call” on students, and/or ask for “lids down” during discussion – so please bring old-fashioned writing implements (paper & pen) to class.

### Towards Ungrading

I don't much like grades, and I don't like grading. I assume you are here to learn not simply to get a good grade. Grades and pressure to get a good one can get in the way of learning. For an introduction to “ungrading,” see: <https://www.jessestommel.com/ungrading-an-introduction/>

On the other hand, Columbia is set up for graded courses, and many students may want or need letter grades for purposes beyond the course (e.g., applications to jobs or graduate school). We will have a brief discussion in the first class on pros and cons of traditional grading, and of some alternatives, including partial self-assessment and peer-assessment.

### Content Warning

Climate change is an inherently disturbing topic. Many of our readings and discussions may be, indeed should be, terrifying.

## Books Available for Purchase

Most of our readings are articles, and all readings are available online through CourseWorks. However, if you prefer hard copies of the books that we read substantial chunks of, I have ordered copies of the following from Book Culture on 112<sup>th</sup> St.:

Kolbert, Elizabeth. 2015. *Field Notes from a Catastrophe: Man, Nature, and Climate Change*. New York London Oxford New Delhi Sydney: Bloomsbury. [we read 2 chapters]. ISBN: 978-1-62040-988-6. <https://www.bookculture.com/book/9781620409886>

Axelrod, Robert. 1984. *The Evolution of Cooperation*. Basic Books. [we read 6 chapters] ISBN: 0-465-02121-2 (either revised or original edition is fine) <https://www.bookculture.com/book/9780465005642>

Ostrom, Elinor. 1990. *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. The Political Economy of Institutions and Decisions. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press. [we read 3 chapters, about ½ the book] ISBN 978-0-521-40599-7 <https://www.bookculture.com/book/9781107569782>

O'Neill, Kate. 2017. *The Environment and International Relations*. Second edition. Themes in International Relations. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press. [no assigned reading from this textbook, but you may find it useful for reference.] ISBN 978-1-107-67171-3 <https://www.bookculture.com/book/9781107671713>

Another good textbook resource is:

Mitchell, Ronald B. 2010. *International Politics and the Environment*. Sage Series on the Foundations of International Relations. Los Angeles: Sage.

## Recommended Resources

Podcasts:

A Matter of Degrees

[www.degreespod.com/](http://www.degreespod.com/)

How To Save a Planet

[gimletmedia.com/shows/howtosaveaplanet](http://gimletmedia.com/shows/howtosaveaplanet)

The Energy Transition Show

[podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-energy-transition-show-with-chris-nelder/id1042713378](https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-energy-transition-show-with-chris-nelder/id1042713378)

## Class Schedule

Week	Date	Topic	Due Dates/Notes
1	1/19	Introduction	Virtual
2	1/26	Primer: the Science of Climate Change	Virtual Guest: Gisela Winkler
3	2/2	Global Variation in Impacts, Adaptation, & Vulnerability	Map Assignment
4	2/9	Global Climate (In)Justice	
5	2/16	International Cooperation: Obstacles & Prospects	
6	2/23	Environmental Regimes & Treaties	Research Topic Statements Possible Guest: Scott Barrett
7	3/2	International Political Economy of Climate Change	Guest: Nikhar Gaikwad
8	3/9	Climate and Security	
9		Spring Break	
10	3/23	Climate Change and Migration	Guest: Alex de Sherbinin
11	3/30	Transnational Social Movements	[Materials for week 12 presentations?]
12	4/6	Presentations or Optional Topic	Materials for week 13 presentations
13	4/13	Presentations	Materials for week 14 presentations
14	4/20	Presentations	Materials for week 15 presentations
15	4/27	Presentations	
Finals	5/11		Final Research Project

### Possible Optional Topics (or others suggested by you):

- World Climate Simulation: <https://www.climateinteractive.org/programs/world-climate>
- Regime Type and the Comparative Politics of Climate Policy
- Climate Policy Making
- Climate Change and the Future of IR

**NB: Readings Listed Below are Subject to Change**

## **Week 1. January 19 Introduction**

Overview of course material and policies

Introductions

### Required Reading

- Busby, Joshua. 2018. “Warming World: Why Climate Change Matters More Than Anything Else.” *Foreign Affairs*, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2018-06-14/warming-world>
- IPCC Report: *Global Warming of 1.5°C*, 2018. <https://www.ipcc.ch/sr15/>  
Please read the “Headline Statements” (2pp) and skim the Summary for Policy Makers (22pp)

### Recommended Reading

Wallace-Wells, David. 2019. *The Uninhabitable Earth: Life after Warming*. First edition. New York: Tim Duggan Books. Available as pdf:

<https://www.crisrieder.org/thejourney/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/The-Uninhabitable-Earth-David-Wallace-Wells.pdf>

Kolbert, Elizabeth. 2014. *The Sixth Extinction: An Unnatural History*. First edition. New York: Henry Holt and Company.



## Week 2. January 26. Primer on the Science of Climate Change

What do social scientists need to know about the natural science of climate change?

Guest Appearance:

Prof. Gisela Winkler, Lamont-Doherty Earth Observatory, Dept of Earth and Environmental Sciences

### Required Reading

- IPCC Report: *Climate Change 2021 The Physical Science Basis: Summary for Policy Makers*
- Cheng et al., 2017 “Taking the Pulse of the Planet” *Eos*.
- Kolbert, Elizabeth. 2015. *Field Notes from a Catastrophe: Man, Nature, and Climate Change*. New York London Oxford New Delhi Sydney: Bloomsbury. Chapters 1 & 2.
- Sobel, Adam H. 2021. “Usable Climate Science Is Adaptation Science.” *Climatic Change* 166 (1–2): 8.

### Further Reading & Resources

Mutter, John C. 2020. *Climate Change Science: A Primer for Sustainable Development*. Columbia University Earth Institute Sustainability Primers. New York: Columbia University Press.

David Archer’s Lecture Series on the physical science of global Warming is available at <http://forecast.uchicago.edu/lectures.html>

Solomon, Susan, Gian-Kasper Plattner, Reto Knutti, and Pierre Friedlingstein. 2009. “Irreversible Climate Change Due to Carbon Dioxide Emissions.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 106 (6): 1704–9. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.0812721106>  
(Classic, short, and highly cited paper about the irreversibility of human-caused climate change)

Sherwood, S. C., and M. Huber. 2010. “An Adaptability Limit to Climate Change Due to Heat Stress.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 107 (21): 9552–55. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.0913352107>.  
(On the limits to human adaptability to extreme heat, or why unmitigated climate change will make the planet literally unlivable)

Hansen, J., M. Sato, and R. Ruedy. 2012. “Perception of Climate Change.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 109 (37): E2415–23. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1205276109>.  
(On climate change and the probability of extreme weather events)

Lenton, T. M., H. Held, E. Kriegler, J. W. Hall, W. Lucht, S. Rahmstorf, and H. J. Schellnhuber. 2008. “Tipping Elements in the Earth’s Climate System.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 105 (6): 1786–93. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.0705414105>.  
(Classic paper on tipping points in climate change)

Lenton, Timothy M., and Juan-Carlos Ciscar. 2013. “Integrating Tipping Points into Climate Impact Assessments.” *Climatic Change* 117 (3): 585–97. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10584-012-0572-8>.

(On the need to incorporate tipping points into economic models of climate change)

Steffen, Will, Johan Rockström, Katherine Richardson, Timothy M. Lenton, Carl Folke, Diana Liverman, Colin P. Summerhayes, et al. 2018. "Trajectories of the Earth System in the Anthropocene." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 115 (33): 8252–59.

(On the risks of irreversible tipping and the need for a Stabilized Earth trajectory to avoid it)

Archer, David, Edwin Kite, and Greg Lusk. 2020. "The Ultimate Cost of Carbon." *Climatic Change* 162 (4): 2069–86. [On cost of carbon over a million-year timescale]

Paul Edwards' Talk "Code Red for Humanity": The IPCC Sixth Assessment Report on Climate Change – Process, Results, and Policy Implications. CISAC October 12, 2021 Recording online:

<https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/events/double-or-nothing-climate-futures-and-ipcc-assessment-process>

### Week 3. February 2. Global Variation in Impacts, Adaptation, & Vulnerability

What do we know, and not know, about how the impacts of climate change on individual states or regions will vary around the globe?

#### Interactive Map Assignment Due

- Gasparini, Antonio, et al. 2017. “Projections of Temperature-Related Excess Mortality under Climate Change Scenarios.” *The Lancet Planetary Health* 1 (9): e360–67.
- Schleussner, Carl-Friedrich, Delphine Deryng, Sarah D’haen, William Hare, Tabea Lissner, Mouhamed Ly, Alexander Nauels, et al. 2018. “1.5°C Hotspots: Climate Hazards, Vulnerabilities, and Impacts.” *Annual Review of Environment and Resources* 43 (1): 135–63.
- Lesk, Corey, Ethan Coffel, Jonathan Winter, Deepak Ray, Jakob Zscheischler, Sonia I. Seneviratne, and Radley Horton. 2021. “Stronger Temperature–Moisture Couplings Exacerbate the Impact of Climate Warming on Global Crop Yields.” *Nature Food* 2 (9): 683–91.
- Howard, Peter. 2014. *Omitted Damages: What’s Missing From the Social Cost of Carbon*. Joint Report of the Environmental Defense Fund, Institute for Policy Integrity, and NRDC. [https://policyintegrity.org/files/publications/Omitted\\_Damages\\_Whats\\_Missing\\_From\\_the\\_Social\\_Cost\\_of\\_Carbon.pdf](https://policyintegrity.org/files/publications/Omitted_Damages_Whats_Missing_From_the_Social_Cost_of_Carbon.pdf)
- Explore global effects of various climate change scenarios: play around with
  - the IPCC WGI Interactive Atlas <https://interactive-atlas.ipcc.ch/>
  - the Sea Level Projection Tool <https://sealevel.nasa.gov/ipcc-ar6-sea-level-projection-tool>
  - the Climate Impact Map <https://impactlab.org/map> (toggle to global map)

#### Further Reading & Resources

IPCC Working Group II Report: Impacts, Adaptation, & Vulnerability. Summary for Policy Makers. [Due out in mid February 2022]

“Linking global to regional climate change” IPCC Report: *Climate Change 2021 The Physical Science Basis*. Chapter 10. Linking Global to Regional Climate Change

<https://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar6/wg1/#FullReport>

[Very dense, skim to get a sense of the science around regional predictions]

Eckstein, David, Künzel, Vera, and Schäfer, Laura. 2021. “Global Climate Risk Index 2021.” Germanwatch.

[https://germanwatch.org/sites/default/files/Global%20Climate%20Risk%20Index%202021\\_2.pdf](https://germanwatch.org/sites/default/files/Global%20Climate%20Risk%20Index%202021_2.pdf).

[report on climate change related damages, by country, in past year, past decade etc.]

Hsiang, Solomon, Robert Kopp, Amir Jina, James Rising, Michael Delgado, Shashank Mohan, D. J. Rasmussen, et al. 2017. “Estimating Economic Damage from Climate Change in the United States.” *Science* 356 (6345): 1362–69. [estimates damages just for the US, but focuses on inequity across regions]

## Week 4. February 9. Global Climate (In)Justice

Inequalities in responsibility for and vulnerability to climate change. Who should pay whom for what?

NB: There are a lot of readings this week, but most of them are quite short.

- Klinsky, Sonja, Timmons Roberts, Saleemul Huq, Chukwumerije Okereke, Peter Newell, Peter Dauvergne, Karen O'Brien, et al. 2017. "Why Equity Is Fundamental in Climate Change Policy Research." *Global Environmental Change* 44 (May): 170–73.
- Lane, Melissa. 2016. "Political Theory on Climate Change." *Annual Review of Political Science* 19 (1): 107–23. [Focus on pp.111-113 on justice, skim the rest]
- Táíwò, Olúfẹ́mi. June 6, 2020. "Cops, Climate, COVID: Why There Is Only One Crisis." *The Appeal*. <https://theappeal.org/cops-climate-covid-why-there-is-only-one-crisis/>
- Gonzalez, Carmen. 2020. "Racial Capitalism, Climate Justice, and Climate Displacement." *Oñati Socio-Legal Series* 11 (1): 108–47.
- Popovich, Nadja and Brad Plumer. 2021. Who Has the Most Historical Responsibility for Climate Change? *The New York Times*. Nov 12.
- Grasso, Marco, and Katia Vladimirova. 2020. "A Moral Analysis of Carbon Majors' Role in Climate Change." *Environmental Values* 29 (2): 175–95. [Just skim this]
- Mildemberger, Matto. 2019 "The Tragedy of the Tragedy of the Commons." *Scientific American Blog Network*. April 23.
- Gilman, Nils. 2020. "The Coming Avocado Politics." *The Breakthrough Institute*. 2020. <https://thebreakthrough.org/journal/no-12-winter-2020/avocado-politics>.
- Page, Edward A, and Clare Heyward. 2017. "Compensating for Climate Change Loss and Damage." *Political Studies* 65 (2): 356–72. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321716647401>.
- Gaikwad, Nikhar, Federica Genovese, and Dustin Tingley. 2020. "Creating Climate Coalitions: Mass Preferences for Compensating Vulnerability in the World's Two Largest Democracies." *SSRN Electronic Journal*.
- Sengupta, Somini. 2021. "Calls for Climate Reparations Reach Boiling Point in Glasgow Talks." *The New York Times* November 11.
- Kotlikoff, Laurence, Felix Kubler, Andrey Polbin, and Simon Scheidegger. 2021 "Economists Have Needlessly Produced a Climate War." *VoxEU* October 27. [for a very different take on compensation]

### Further Reading

Pulido, Laura. 2018. "Racism and the Anthropocene." *In Future Remains: A Cabinet of Curiosities for the Anthropocene*, edited by Mittman, Gregg, Armiero, Marco, and Emmett, Robert S., 13. U Chicago.

- Burkett, Maxine. 2009. "Climate Reparations." *Melbourne Journal of International Law* 10.
- Cibralic, Beba and Olúf' mí O. Táíwò,. October 10, 2020. "The Case for Climate Reparations." Foreign Policy (blog).  
<https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/10/10/case-for-climate-reparations-crisis-migration-refugees-inequality/>.
- Mitchell, Ronald B, and Charli Carpenter. 2019. "Norms for the Earth: Changing the Climate on 'Climate Change.'" *Journal of Global Security Studies* 4 (4): 413–29.
- Johnson, Ayana Elizabeth, and Katharine K Wilkinson. 2021. *All We Can Save: Truth, Courage, & Solutions for the Climate Crisis*. (Also available as an audio book)
- Harlan, S. et al. 2015. Climate justice and inequality. In *Climate Change and Society: Sociological Perspectives*. Dunlap and Brulle, eds, p. 127-163.
- Stevenson, Hayley, and John S. Dryzek. "The discursive democratisation of global climate governance." *Environmental Politics* 21, no. 2 (2012): 189-210.
- Paul Wapner (1997) *Environmental Ethics and Global Governance: Engaging the International Liberal Tradition*. *Global Governance*. 3(2), 213–231
- Pulido, Laura. 2017. "Geographies of Race and Ethnicity II: Environmental Racism, Racial Capitalism and State-Sanctioned Violence." *Progress in Human Geography* 41 (4): 524–33.
- Cooke, Maeve. 2020. "Ethics and Politics in the Anthropocene." *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 46 (10): 1167–81.
- Hourdequin, Marion. 2021. "Environmental Ethics: The State of the Question." *The Southern Journal of Philosophy* 59 (3): 270–308. <https://doi.org/10.1111/sjp.12436>.
- Schlosberg, David, and David Carruthers. 2010. "Indigenous Struggles, Environmental Justice, and Community Capabilities." *Global Environmental Politics* 10 (4): 12–35.
- Fruh, Kyle. 2021. "Climate Change Driven Displacement and Justice: The Role of Reparations in Advance." *Essays in Philosophy* 22 (1/2): 102–21. <https://doi.org/10.5840/eip20211292>.
- Kotlikoff, Laurence, Felix Kubler, Andrey Polbin, and Simon Scheidegger. 2021 "Can Today's and Tomorrow's World Uniformly Gain from Carbon Taxation?" Working Paper [One of the research articles on which Kotlikoff et al's blog is based. See also writeup of this idea in NYT:  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/01/opinion/stopping-climate-change.html?smid=url-share>
- Riofrancos, Thea. 2021. "The Rush to 'Go Electric' Comes with a Hidden Cost: Destructive Lithium Mining." *The Guardian*. June 14.  
<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2021/jun/14/electric-cost-lithium-mining-decarbonation-salt-flats-chile>

## Week 5. February 16. International Cooperation: Obstacles & Prospects

What does IR theory tell us about the obstacles to and prospects for cooperation on climate?

NB: There is a lot of reading for this week – for IR students, much of it should be a review

- Axelrod, Robert. 1984. *The Evolution of Cooperation*. Basic Books. Chapters 1-3, 7-9
  - Oye, Kenneth A. 1985. “Explaining Cooperation Under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies.” *World Politics* 38 (1): 1–24.\*
  - Axelrod, Robert, and Robert O. Keohane. 1985. “Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions.” *World Politics* 38 (1): 226–54.\*
- \*Reprinted in Oye, Kenneth ed. *Cooperation Under Anarchy* (Princeton University Press, 1986). & Axelrod & Keohane “Achieving Cooperation Under Anarchy”
- Jervis, Robert “Realism, Game Theory and Cooperation,” *World Politics* 40:3 (April 1988), pp. 317-349.
  - Hardin, Garrett. 1968. “The Tragedy of the Commons.” *Science* 162 (3859): 1243–48.
  - Ostrom, Elinor. 1990. *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action. The Political Economy of Institutions and Decisions*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-2 (pp.1-57).
  - Aklin, Michaël, and Matto Mildemberger. 2020. “Prisoners of the Wrong Dilemma: Why Distributive Conflict, Not Collective Action, Characterizes the Politics of Climate Change.” *Global Environmental Politics* 20 (4): 4–27.
  - Keohane, Robert O., and David G. Victor. 2016. “Cooperation and Discord in Global Climate Policy.” *Nature Climate Change* 6 (6): 570–75.
  - Underdal, Arild. 2017. “Climate Change and International Relations (After Kyoto).” *Annual Review of Political Science* 20 (1): 169–88.

### Further Reading

Peter M. Haas (2004) “Addressing the Global Governance Deficit.” *Global Environmental Politics*. 4(4), 1–15.

Tingley, Dustin, and Michael Tomz. "Conditional cooperation and climate change." *Comparative Political Studies* 47, no. 3 (2014): 344-368.

Bechtel, M. M., Genovese, F., and Scheve, K. F., 2018. “Interests, norms, and support for the provision of global public goods: The case of climate cooperation.” *British Journal of Political Science* 49(4), pp. 1333-1355.

Dalton, R., 2005. “The greening of the globe? Cross-national levels of environmental group membership.” *Environmental Politics* 14(4), pp. 441-459.

Falkner, R. (2016). The Paris Agreement and the new logic of international climate politics. *International Affairs*, 92(5): 1107-1125.

Michele Betsill, "International Climate Change Policy: Complex Multilevel Governance" in Regina Axelrod et al. (eds.) *The Global Environment: Institutions, Law, and Policy*, (4th ed.) (CQ Press: 2015) pp. 234-258.

Bulkeley, Harriet; Newell, Peter (2015): *Governing Climate Change*. 2nd Edition. London/New York: Routledge.

Stripple, Johannes; Bulkeley, Harriet (Eds.) (2014): *Governing the Climate. New Approaches to Rationality, Power and Politics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Gupta, Joyeeta (2014). *The History of Global Climate Governance*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Terhalle, Maximilian; Depledge, Joanna (2013): Great-Power Politics, Order Transition, and Climate Governance: Insights From International Relations Theory. *Climate Policy* 13 (5), 572-588.

Blondeel, Mathieu, Jeff Colgan, and Thijs Van de Graaf. 2019. "What Drives Norm Success? Evidence from Anti-Fossil Fuel Campaigns." *Global Environmental Politics* 19(4): 63-84.

Allan, Bentley B. 2017. "Producing the Climate: States, Scientists, and the Constitution of Global Governance Objects." *International Organization* 71(1): 131-162.

Steven Bernstein (2002) *Liberal Environmentalism and Global Environmental Governance*. *Global Environmental Politics*. 2(3), 1-16

Chan, Gabriel, Robert Stavins, and Zou Ji. 2018. "International Climate Change Policy." *Annual Review of Resource Economics* 10 (1): 335-60. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-resource-100517-023321>

## Week 6. February 23. Environmental Regimes & Treaties

Possible Guest Appearance: Scott Barrett (via Zoom)

- Ostrom, Elinor. 1990. *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action. The Political Economy of Institutions and Decisions*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 3 (pp.58-102)
- Keohane, Robert O., and David G. Victor. 2011. "The Regime Complex for Climate Change." *Perspectives on Politics* 9 (1): 7–23.
- Barrett, Scott. 2005. *Environment and Statecraft*. Oxford University Press. Chapters 14-15.
- McAllister, Jordan H., and Keith E. Schnakenberg. 2021. "Designing the Optimal International Climate Agreement with Variability in Commitments." *International Organization*, September, 1–18.
- Mitchell, Ronald B., Liliana B. Andonova, Mark Axelrod, Jörg Balsiger, Thomas Bernauer, Jessica F. Green, James Hollway, Rakhyun E. Kim, and Jean-Frédéric Morin. 2020. "What We Know (and Could Know) About International Environmental Agreements." *Global Environmental Politics* 20 (1): 103–21.
- Mitchell, Ronald B. 2021 "Compliance Theory" in *Oxford Handbook of International Environmental Law*. Editors: Lavanya Rajamani and Jacqueline Peel. Oxford University Press. pp. 889-905.
- Falkner, Robert. 2016. "The Paris Agreement and the New Logic of International Climate Politics." *International Affairs* 92 (5): 1107–25.
- Bernauer, Thomas, Anna Kalbhenn, Vally Koubi, and Gabriele Spilker. 2013. "Is There a 'Depth versus Participation' Dilemma in International Cooperation?" *The Review of International Organizations* 8 (4): 477–97.

### Further Reading

Rest of: Barrett, Scott. 2005. *Environment and Statecraft*. Oxford University Press. [available online at <https://oxford.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.1093/0199286094.001.0001/acprof-9780199286096>]

Maizland, Lindsay. 2021. "Global Climate Agreements: Successes and Failures." Council on Foreign Relations Backgrounder.  
[https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/paris-global-climate-change-agreements?utm\\_source=academic&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_campaign=CFRAcademicBulletin19Oct2021&utm\\_term=AcademicBulletin](https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/paris-global-climate-change-agreements?utm_source=academic&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=CFRAcademicBulletin19Oct2021&utm_term=AcademicBulletin)

Coen, David, Julia Kreienkamp, and Tom Pegram. 2020. *Global Climate Governance*. 1st ed. Cambridge University Press.

Biermann, Frank, Philipp Pattberg, Harro Van Asselt, and Fariborz Zelli. "The fragmentation of global



governance architectures: A framework for analysis." *Global Environmental Politics* 9, no. 4 (2009): 14-40.

Adil Najam. 2003. "The case against a new international environmental organization." *Global Governance*. 9: 367-384.

Oran Young. 2001. "Inferences and indices: Evaluating the effectiveness of international environmental regimes." *Global Environmental Politics*. 1:1, 99-121.

Abbott, Kenneth W., Jessica F. Green, and Robert O. Keohane. "Organizational ecology and institutional change in global governance." *International Organization* (2016): 247-277.

Keohane, Robert O., and Michael Oppenheimer. "Paris: Beyond the climate dead end through pledge and review?." *Politics and Governance* 4, no. 3 (2016): 142-151.

Argues that the Paris Agreement is designed to create a "two-level game" logic that connects domestic politics with international interactions

Oran Young. 2002. *The Institutional Dimensions of Environmental Change: Fit, Interplay, and Scale*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Abbott, Kenneth W. (2012): *The Transnational Regime Complex for Climate Change*. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy* 30 (4), 571-590.

Graham, Erin R., and Alexandria Serdaru. "Power, Control, and the Logic of Substitution in Institutional Design: The Case of International Climate Finance." *International Organization* 74, no. 4 (2020): 671-706.

Steffen Bauer (2006) *Does Bureaucracy Really Matter? The Authority of Intergovernmental Treaty Secretariats in Global Environmental Politics*. *Global Environmental Politics*. 6(1), 23-49

Jacquet, Jennifer. 2016. *On role of Shame in Paris agreement and climate change generally* eg *Commentary in Nature Climate Change* (vol 6, pp.643ff) and 2017. *Guilt and Shame in U.S. Climate Change Communication*. Vol. 1. Oxford University Press.

Helm, Carsten, and Detlef Sprinz. 2000. "Measuring the Effectiveness of International Environmental Regimes." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44 (5): 630-52. [a bit out of date, but develops and applies a measure of effectiveness]

Tingley, Dustin, and Michael Tomz. 2021. "The Effects of Naming and Shaming on Public Support for Compliance with International Agreements: An Experimental Analysis of the Paris Agreement." *International Organization*, September, 1-24.

## Week 7. March 2. International Political Economy of Climate Change

Guest Appearance: Prof. Nikhar Gaikwad, Dept. of Political Science

- 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.
- Bechtel, Michael M., and Kenneth F. Scheve. 2013. "Mass Support for Global Climate Agreements Depends on Institutional Design." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*
- Kennard, Amanda. 2020. "The Enemy of My Enemy: When Firms Support Climate Change Regulation." *International Organization* 74 (2): 187–221.
- Sprinz, Detlef, and Tapani Vahtoranta. 1994. "The Interest-Based Explanation of International Environmental Policy." *International Organization* 48 (1): 77–105.

### Further Reading

Prakash, Aseem, and Matthew Potoski. 2005. "Green clubs and voluntary governance: ISO 14001 and firms' regulatory compliance" *American Journal of Political Science*

Malhotra, Monin, and Tomz. 2019. "Does Private Regulation Preempt Public Regulation?" *APSR* 113(1):19-37 (not on Jenny's list)

Thomas Bernauer and Quynh Nguyen. 2015. "Free Trade and/or Environmental Protection?" *Global Environmental Politics*

Vogel, David. 1997. "Trading up and governing across: transnational governance and environmental protection" *Journal of European Public Policy*

Federica Genovese and Endre Tvinnereim. 2019. "Who Opposes Climate Regulation? Business Preferences for the European Emission Trading Scheme" *The Review of International Organizations*

Matto Mildenberger. 2020. *Carbon Captured: How Business and Labor Control Climate Politics* MIT Press

Alessandro Del Ponte et al. 2017. "Passing It Along: Experiments on Creating the Negative Externalities of Climate Change". *Journal of Politics*

Haas, Peter M. 1992. "Banning Chlorofluorocarbons: Epistemic Community Efforts to Protect Stratospheric Ozone." *International Organization* 43 (Summer): 377-403.

## Week 8. March 9. Climate & Security

- Homer-Dixon, Thomas F. 1991. "On the Threshold: Environmental Changes as Causes of Acute Conflict." *International Security* 16 (2): 76. [A bit out of date, but a classic on this topic]
- Burke, Marshall, Solomon M Hsiang, and Edward Miguel. 2015. "Climate and Conflict." *Annual Review of Economics* 7 (1): 577–617.
- Buhaug, H., Nordkvelle, J., Bernauer, T., Bohmelt, T., Brzoska, M., Busby, J. W., Ciccone, A., Fjelde, H., Gartzke, E., Gleditsch, N. P., Goldstone, J. A., Hegre, H., Holtermann, H., Koubi, V., Link, J. S., Link, P. M., Lujala, P., O’Loughlin, J., Raleigh, C., Scheffran, J., Schilling, J., Smith, T. G., Theisen, O. M., Tol, R. S., Urdal, H., and von Uexkull, N. (2014). One effect to rule them all? A comment on climate and conflict. *Climatic Change*, 127(3-4): 391-397.
- Schultz, Kenneth A., and Justin S. Mankin. 2019. "Is Temperature Exogenous? The Impact of Civil Conflict on the Instrumental Climate Record in Sub Saharan Africa." *American Journal of Political Science* 63 (4): 723–39. [Skim this]
- Mach, Katharine J., W. Neil Adger, Halvard Buhaug, Marshall Burke, James D. Fearon, Christopher B. Field, Cullen S. Hendrix, et al. 2020. "Directions for Research on Climate and Conflict." *Earth’s Future* 8 (7).
- Koubi, Vally. 2019. "Climate Change and Conflict." *Annual Review of Political Science* 22 (1): 343–60.
- Daoudy, Marwa. 2021. "Rethinking the Climate–Conflict Nexus: A Human – Environmental – Climate Security Approach." *Global Environmental Politics*, June, 1–22.

See also work on climate migration and conflict in week 10

### Further Reading

Levy, M. A. (1995). Is the Environment a National Security Issue? *International Security*, 20(2):35–62.

Hsiang, Solomon M., Marshall Burke, and Edward Miguel. 2013. "Quantifying the Influence of Climate on Human Conflict." *Science* 341 (6151): 1235367.

Buhaug, Halvard. "Climate not to blame for African civil wars." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 107, no. 38 (2010): 16477-16482.

For more on the Buhaug et al vs Burke, Hsiang et al debate:  
<http://www.g-feed.com/2014/10/one-effect-to-rule-them-all-our-reply.html>

Buhaug, Halvard. 2015. "Climate–Conflict Research: Some Reflections on the Way Forward." *WIREs Climate Change* 6 (3): 269–75. <https://doi.org/10.1002/wcc.336>.

Uexkull, Nina von, et al. 2016. "Civil conflict sensitivity to growing-season drought." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 113 (44): 12391–12396.

Allan, Bentley B. 2017. "Second Only to Nuclear War: Science and the Making of Existential Threat in Global Climate Governance." *International Studies Quarterly* 61 (4): 809–20.

Harari, Mariaflavia, and Eliana La Ferrara. 2018. "Conflict, Climate, and Cells: A Disaggregated Analysis." *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 100 (4): 594–608.

Theisen, Ole Magnus, Helge Holtermann, and Halvard Buhaug. "Climate wars? Assessing the claim that drought breeds conflict." *International Security* 36, no. 3 (2012): 79-106.

Nils Peter Gleditsch. 2012. "Whither the weather? Climate change and conflict." *Journal of Peace Research*. 49(1): 3-9.

Hsiang, Solomon M., Marshall Burke, and Edward Miguel. 2013. "Quantifying the Influence of Climate on Human Conflict." *Science* 341 (6151): 1235367.

Deudney, Daniel. "Environmental Security: A Critique?" Chapter 8 in Daniel Deudney and Richard Matthew, eds. *Contested Grounds: Security and Conflict in the New Environmental Politics.*, pp 187-223.

Solomon Hsiang, Kyle Meng, and Mark Cane. 2011. "Civil conflicts are associated with the global climate." *Nature*. 476: 438-441.

Thomas Homer-Dixon. 1999. *Environment, Scarcity, and Violence*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Burke, Marshall B., Edward Miguel, Shanker Satyanath, John A. Dykema, and David B. Lobell. "Warming increases the risk of civil war in Africa." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 106, no. 49 (2009): 20670-20674.

Raleigh, Clionadh, and Dominic Kniveton. "Come rain or shine: An analysis of conflict and climate variability in East Africa." *Journal of Peace Research* 49, no. 1 (2012): 51-64.

Nardulli, Peter F., Buddy Peyton, and Joseph Bajjalieh. "Climate change and civil unrest: the impact of rapid-onset disasters." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59, no. 2 (2015): 310-335.

Busby, Joshua. 2021. *States and Nature: The Effects of Climate Change on Security* Book ms. University of Texas-Austin.

Gleditsch, N.P. & R. Nordås (2009) "Climate Change and Conflict: A Critical Overview" (with Nils Petter Gleditsch). *Die Friedens-Warte: Journal of International Peace and Organization*, Special Issue on Climate Change and Armed Conflict 84(2): 11–28.

Linke, Andrew M., Frank D. W. Witmer, John O'Loughlin, J. Terrence McCabe, and Jaroslav Tir. 2018. "Drought, Local Institutional Contexts, and Support for Violence in Kenya." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62 (7): 1544–78.

Busby, J. W. (2018). The State of the Field in Climate and Security. (Duck of Minerva blog: <https://www.duckofminerva.com/2018/03/the-state-of-the-field-in-climate-and-security.html>) or the more academic piece: <http://sites.utexas.edu/busby/files/2020/02/BusbyTakingStock.pdf>

Detges, Adrien. 2016. "Local conditions of drought-related violence in sub-Saharan Africa: The role of

road and water infrastructures”. *Journal of Peace Research* 53 (5): 696–710.

Dube, O., and J. F. Vargas. 2013. “Commodity Price Shocks and Civil Conflict: Evidence from Colombia”. *The Review of Economic Studies* 80 (4): 1384–1421.

Fetzer, Thiemo. 2019. “Can Workfare Programs Moderate Conflict? Evidence from India”. Coventry.

Jones, Benjamin T, Eleonora Mattiacci, and Bear F Braumoeller. 2017. “Food scarcity and state vulnerability: Unpacking the link between climate variability and violent unrest”. *Journal of Peace Research* 54 (3): 335–350.

Kaplan, R. D. (1994). *The Coming Anarchy: how scarcity, crime, overpopulation and disease are rapidly destroying the social fabric of our planet*. *The Atlantic*, 273(2):44–76.

Kelley, C. P., S. Mohtadi, M. A. Cane, R. Seager, and Y. Kushnir (2015). Climate change in the Fertile Crescent and implications of the recent Syrian drought. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 112(11), 3241–3246.

Kelley, C., Mohtadi, S., Cane, M., Seager, R., & Kushnir, Y. (2017). Commentary on the Syria case: Climate as a contributing factor. *Political Geography*, 60(1), 245-247.

Mach, K. J., W. N. Adger, H. Buhaug, M. Burke, J. D. Fearon, C. B. Field, C. S. Hendrix, C. M. Kraan, J. Maystadt, J. O’Loughlin, P. Roessler, J. Scheffran, K. A. Schultz, and N. Uexkull (2020, jul). Directions for Research on Climate and Conflict. *Earth’s Future* 8 (7).

Mach, K. J., C. M. Kraan, W. Neil Adger, H. Buhaug, M. Burke, J. D. Fearon, C. B. Field, C. S. Hendrix, J.-F. Maystadt, J. O’loughlin, P. Roessler, J. Scheffran, K. A. Schultz, and N. Von Uexkull (2019). Climate as a risk factor for armed conflict. *Nature* 571, 193–197.

Miguel, E., S. Satyanath, and E. Sergenti (2004). Economic Shocks and Civil Conflict: An Instrumental Variables Approach. *Journal of Political Economy* 112 (4).

Bhavnani, R. R., & Lacina, B. (2015). The effects of weather-induced migration on sons of the soil riots in India. *World Politics*, 67, 760.

Week 9. Spring Break

## Week 10. March 23. Climate Change and Migration

Guest Appearance: Alex de Sherbinin, Center for International Earth Science Information Network (CEISIN), and Columbia Climate School

- de Sherbinin, A. 2020. Climate Impacts as Drivers of Migration. Migration Information Source. Journal of the Migration Policy Institute, 23 October 2020.  
<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/climate-impacts-drivers-migration>
- Boas, Ingrid, Carol Farbotko, Helen Adams, Harald Sterly, Simon Bush, Kees van der Geest, Hanne Wiegel, et al. 2019. “Climate Migration Myths.” *Nature Climate Change* 9 (12): 901–3.
- McLeman, Robert. 2019. “International Migration and Climate Adaptation in an Era of Hardening Borders.” *Nature Climate Change* 9 (12): 911–18.
- Blake, Jonathan S., Aaron Clark-Ginsberg, and Jay Balagna. 2021. “Addressing Climate Migration: A Review of National Policy Approaches.” RAND Corporation.  
<https://www.rand.org/pubs/perspectives/PEA1085-1.html>.
- Koubi, Vally, Tobias Böhmelt, Gabriele Spilker, and Lena Schaffer. 2018. “The Determinants of Environmental Migrants’ Conflict Perception.” *International Organization* 72 (4): 905–36.
- Bettini, Giovanni, Sarah Louise Nash, and Giovanna Gioli. 2017. “One Step Forward, Two Steps Back? The Fading Contours of (in)Justice in Competing Discourses on Climate Migration.” *The Geographical Journal* 183 (4): 348–58.
- Hoffmann, Roman, Anna Dimitrova, Raya Muttarak, Jesus Crespo Cuaresma, and Jonas Peisker. 2020. “A Meta-Analysis of Country-Level Studies on Environmental Change and Migration.” *Nature Climate Change* 10 (10): 904–12. [this is short but dense: skim to get a sense of the research]
- Horton, Radley M., Alex de Sherbinin, David Wrathall, and Michael Oppenheimer. 2021. “Assessing Human Habitability and Migration.” *Science* 372 (6548): 1279–83. [on top-down vs bottom-up modeling of climate migration: skim]

### Further Reading

See also readings on migration/conflict nexus in Climate and Security week.

Stojanov, Robert, Sarah Rosengaertner, Alex de Sherbinin, and Raphael Nawrotzki. 2021. “Climate Mobility and Development Cooperation.” *Population and Environment* 43 (2): 209–31.

Doyle, T and S. Chaturvedi. 2011. Climate refugees and security: conceptualizations, categories, and contestations. In *The Oxford Handbook of Climate Change and Society*, p. 278-291. [critical theory take on the concept of “climate refugee”]

Gonzalez, C. G. (2020). Climate Change, Race, and Migration. *Journal of Law and Political Economy*, 1, 109-146.

For more readings and resources, see also Alex de Sherbinin’s “Climate Mobility” Syllabus for more citations and resources.

## Week 11. March 30. Transnational Social Movements & Climate Change

- Tarrow, Sidney G. 1998. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. 2nd ed. Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics. Cambridge [England] ; New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 5 “Acting Contentiously” pp. 95-118.
- Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press. Chapters 1 “Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Politics” and 4 “Environmental Advocacy Networks.” pp. 1-38, 121-123.
- Chenoweth, Erica, and Maria J. Stephan. 2008. “Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict.” *International Security* 33 (1): 7–44.
- Hadden, Jennifer, and Lorien Jasny. 2019. “The Power of Peers: How Transnational Advocacy Networks Shape NGO Strategies on Climate Change.” *British Journal of Political Science* 49 (2): 637–59.
- Cipler, David. 2014. “Contesting Climate Injustice: Transnational Advocacy Network Struggles for Rights in UN Climate Politics.” *Global Environmental Politics* 14 (4): 75–96.
- Aronowsky, Leah. 2021. “The Limits of Climate Change Litigation.” *The New York Review of Books* November 3, 2021.  
<https://www.nybooks.com/daily/2021/11/03/the-limits-of-climate-change-litigation/>
- Edwards, P., & Arnon, D. 2019. Violence on Many Sides: Framing Effects on Protest and Support for Repression. *British Journal of Political Science*, 1-19.
- Brown, Joseph M. 2021. “Civil Disobedience, Sabotage, and Violence in US Environmental Activism.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Environmental Politics*, edited by Jeannie Sowers, Stacy D. VanDeveer, and Erika Weinthal. Oxford University

### Further Reading

Chenoweth, Erica, and Maria J. Stephan. 2011. *Why Civil Resistance Works*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Chenoweth, Erica. 2021. *Civil Resistance: What Everyone Needs to Know*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Jennifer Hadden and Sarah Sunn Bush, “What’s Different about the Environment? Environmental NGOs in Comparative Perspective.” 2021. *Environmental Politics*. 30(1-2): 202-223. (Part of “Trajectories in Environmental Politics: 30th Anniversary Special Issue.”)



Hadden, Jennifer. 2014. "Explaining Variation in Transnational Climate Change Activism: The Role of Inter-Movement Spillover." *Global Environmental Politics* 14 (2): 7–25.

McAdam, Doug. 2017. "Social Movement Theory and the Prospects for Climate Change Activism in the United States." *Annual Review of Political Science* 20 (1): 189–208.

[why so little grassroots activism on climate in US – still true?]

Weeks 12 Research Presentations or Optional Topic  
[see below for optional topics, or I am open to other suggestions]

Weeks 13 - 15 Research Presentations  
Schedule TBD

Final Research Assignment Due Wednesday May 11

## Optional Topics

[to add if we need fewer weeks for presentations]:

### Regime Type and the Comparative Politics of Climate Policy

(How) Does the Type of Government affect Climate Policy?

- Neumayer, Eric. 2002. "Do Democracies Exhibit Stronger International Environmental Commitment? A Cross-Country Analysis." *Journal of Peace Research* 39 (2): 139–64.
- Bättig, Michèle B., and Thomas Bernauer. 2009. "National Institutions and Global Public Goods: Are Democracies More Cooperative in Climate Change Policy?" *International Organization* 63 (2): 281–308.
- Stein, Jana von. 2020. "Democracy, Autocracy, and Everything in Between: How Domestic Institutions Affect Environmental Protection." *British Journal of Political Science*, December, 1–19.
- Peterson, Lauri. 2021. "Silver Lining to Extreme Weather Events? Democracy and Climate Change Mitigation." *Global Environmental Politics* 21 (1): 23–53.
- Gilley, Bruce. 2012. "Authoritarian Environmentalism and China's Response to Climate Change." *Environmental Politics* 21 (2): 287–307.
- Böhmelt, Tobias. 2021. "Populism and Environmental Performance." *Global Environmental Politics* 21 (3): 97–123.
- Dolšák, Nives, and Aseem Prakash. 2018. "The Politics of Climate Change Adaptation." *Annual Review of Environment and Resources* 43 (1): 317–41.
- Sarah Bush & Amanda Clayton's working paper: Facing Change: Identity and Cross National Responses to Climate Change [on gender and climate change concern]

[and other papers from ROK's "Comparative Politics of Climate Change Policy" project:  
<https://www.balzan.org/en/prizewinners/robert-keohane/research-project-keohane>]

[chapters from Oxford Handbook of Comparative Environmental Politics

DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780197515037.001.0001 (Not yet out, but some online at

<https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780197515037.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780197515037>)

## Further Reading

See Jenny Xiao's reading lists

Payne, Rodger A. "Freedom and the environment." *Journal of Democracy* 6, no. 3 (1995): 41-55.

Bayer, Patrick, and Johannes Urpelainen. "It is all about political incentives: democracy and the renewable feed-in tariff." *The Journal of Politics* 78, no. 2 (2016): 603-619.

Congleton, Roger D. "Political institutions and pollution control." *The Review of Economics and Statistics* (1992): 412-421.

Li, Quan, and Rafael Reuveny. "Democracy and environmental degradation." *International Studies Quarterly* 50, no. 4 (2006): 935-956.

Bernauer, Thomas, Tobias Böhmelt, and Vally Koubi. "Is there a democracy–civil society paradox in global environmental governance?." *Global Environmental Politics* 13, no. 1 (2013): 88-107.

Povitkina, Marina. "The limits of democracy in tackling climate change." *Environmental Politics* 27, no. 3 (2018): 411-432.

Bernauer, Thomas, and Patrick M. Kuhn. "Is there an environmental version of the Kantian peace? Insights from water pollution in Europe." *European Journal of International Relations* 16, no. 1 (2010): 77-102.

Cass, Loren R. *Failures of American and European Climate Policy, The: International Norms, Domestic Politics, and Unachievable Commitments*. SUNY Press, 2012.

Gleditsch, Nils Petter, and Bjorn Otto Sverdrup. 2003. *Democracy and the Environment*. In *Human Security and the Environment: International Comparisons*, edited by Edward A. Page, and Michael Redclift, 45-70. Cheltenham, England: Edward Elgar.

Von Stein, Jana. "The international law and politics of climate change: Ratification of the United Nations Framework Convention and the Kyoto Protocol." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52, no. 2 (2008): 243-268.

Midlarsky, Manus I. "Democracy and the environment: an empirical assessment." *Journal of Peace Research* 35, no. 3 (1998): 341-361.

## Climate Change Policy

See Jenny Xiao's reading list

Cullenward & Victor *Making Climate Policy Work* Wiley 2021

ISBN: 978-1-509-54180-5

## Climate Change & the Future of IR

David Cipler, et al. *Power in a Warming World: The Global Politics of Climate Change and the Remaking of Environmental Inequality*. The MIT Press, 2015.

Lieven, Anatol. 2021. *Climate Change and the Nation State: The Case for Nationalism in a Warming World*. 1st ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

Fazal, Tanisha and V. Page Fortna “Climate Change and Power in International Relations” Working Paper. [If it exists yet]