Fall 2022

Department of Political Science, Concordia University POLI 486 Advanced Seminar in International Relations

International Climate Politics

Instructor: Prof. Sam Rowan

Email: sam.rowan@concordia.ca

Place: Hall Building (HB), 12th floor, room 1226

Time: Thursdays 14:45-17:30

Mode of delivery: In-person

Office hours: Tuesdays 3:30-5:00pm, or by appointment

Course webpage: https://moodle.concordia.ca/moodle/course/view.php?id=148566

First version of syllabus: August 31, 2022 This version of syllabus: August 31, 2022 Latest version of syllabus: Link to Moodle

MODE OF DELIVERY

This course will be held <u>in person</u>. Students are required and expected to attend class. Students are required and expected to follow the University's guidance on public health. Attendance and participation in class are required and count toward much of your final grade. In the event that the public health situation deteriorates, the course may be switched to remote delivery.

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This is an upper-level undergraduate seminar course in international climate politics. Seminars involve reading, analyzing, and discussing academic literature. Active student participation in critical. Together, we will explore the concepts and perspectives that animate global political debates on climate change. Why is global climate change happening? What can be done to address it? How does international cooperation work, and why is it difficult to achieve? How are national governments and other actors mobilizing to govern climate change?

WHY TAKE THIS COURSE?

- Many challenges in contemporary politics spill across national borders and require global cooperation, but this is difficult to achieve. We will examine why.
- Studying climate politics as a student in a prosperous, carbon-intensive liberal democracy that plays an influential role in global politics will invite you to reflect about your place in the world
- This course will introduce you to the social sciences of climate change.
 By understanding how social scientists approach analytical questions, you will learn skills and modes of reasoning that will help you navigate your courses, careers, and future decisions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Students who take this course will be able to:

- Understand the actors and institutions that govern global climate change
- Synthesize why effective climate cooperation has been difficult to achieve
- Compare and critique different proposals for reforming climate cooperation
- Develop skills in oral and written argumentation and analysis
- Generate an original analysis of a question in international climate politics

COURSE OUTLINE

Session	Date	Topic		
1	09/08	What's at stake in climate politics?		
	09/15	Class cancelled		
2	09/22	Climate ethics		
3	09/29	Global collective action		
4	10/06	International environmental cooperation		
5	10/13	The United Nations climate architecture		
6	10/20	Making climate policy binding		
7	10/27	Climate great powers		
8	11/03	The global south		
9	11/10	Transnational climate governance		
10	11/17	Solar geoengineering		
11	11/24	How should we design climate governance?		
12	12/01	Review		

ASSIGNMENTS AND GRADING

Assignment	Weight	Due
Seminar participation Reading group participation Collective reading exercises Comprehension quizzes	15% 10% 10% 5%	Continuous, in seminar Thursdays before class, 2:00pm Wednesdays before class, 5:00pm October 5, November 10, in seminar
Midterm essay Analytical essay Final research paper	15% 15% 30%	October 24, 12:00pm Monday after class, 12:00pm, once December 15, 12:00pm

SEMINAR PARTICIPATION

In this synchronous seminar, participation is the top priority. You must read each week's readings in order to participate effectively. I will moderate discussion to ensure that everyone has a chance to participate. Participation grades will be awarded based on your thoughtfulness and engagement with the readings. The course will involve in-class exercises to ensure everyone has the ability to participate.

READING GROUP PARTICIPATION

Seminars are an opportunity to explore ideas in-depth. To this end, we will structure some of class discussion as group work. I will divide the class into reading groups of roughly six students. Over the semester, each student will rotate through five roles designed to engage with different aspects of an assigned reading within their group. Before class, students will prepare a short reading group prep sheet for their role that week. These prep sheets will be submitted each week on Moodle.

These are the five roles (outlined in more detail at the end of the syllabus):

- 1. Discussion leader: facilitates group discussion, calls on other students to contribute from their role
- 2. Theory master: summarizes key argument
- 3. Evidence supporter: explains the empirical part of the paper that supports the argument
- 4. Devil's advocate: raises motivated objections to the paper
- 5. Creative connector: links the paper to broader topics, current events, other readings, etc.

In the reading list below, the reading for each week's reading group exercise is highlighted with a dagger (†). Some weeks have no reading group exercise. I will not count your weakest prep sheet toward your final grade.

COLLECTIVE READING EXERCISES

We will be using Perusall (www.perusall.com) to read articles collectively. Perusall is a platform to connect with the ideas in a text and with your peers before class. Specifically, you annotate a document with questions, comments, and answers while reading.

In the reading list below, one reading per week has been highlighted with an asterisk (*) indicating that it has been uploaded to Perusall for you to read and annotate before class. You are still expected to complete each reading in your own time, but only this one reading is assigned for annotations. Some weeks have no annotated readings.

Annotations are due before class. Each annotated reading exercise is automatically

graded for the quality and quantity of your contributions. You are required to make at least 5 annotations for full credit. I will review your grade each week and provide feedback. You first assignment will not count toward your evaluation, neither will your lowest grade.

Instructions for accessing the Perusall course page are available on Moodle. Please note that Perusall is third-party software not licensed by the University. If you do not consent for any of your personal information to be revealed using this technology, please contact me and we can arrange alternative arrangements, such as using a pseudonym.

COMPREHENSION QUIZZES

I will administer two short quizzes during the semester to gauge your understanding of key concepts. Preparation for the quizzes requires you to complete the readings to date and review your notes from seminar.

MIDTERM ESSAY

The midterm assessment will consist of an essay responding to a set question. The midterm essay will not require extra research and instead evaluate students' comprehension of the readings and discussions to date. The essay topic will be provided during seminar. Essays will be 1,500 words.

Critical response essays will:

- Contextualize the essay question in light of the course's topics
- Highlight the question's theoretical and empirical implications
- Provide an informed and critical answer that gives voice to different opinions

ANALYTICAL FSSAY

You will write one analytical essay during the term responding to one of the guiding questions for the week that are listed on the syllabus. Your essay will draw upon the required readings from that week, and may use outside sources, as you see fit. Your essay will be 1,500 words and is <u>due on the Monday after that week's class</u>. Students will sign up for essay topics in week 3.

Analytical essays will:

- Contextualize the week's essay question and explain why it matters
- Develop an original answer to the question, drawing on the readings from that week
- Justify the argument with further theorizing or empirical examples
- Suggest avenues for further inquiry into the topic

FINAL RESEARCH PAPER

The final research paper allows you to conduct research into the issue you identify as the most interesting. I will provide a selection of research questions as prompts that you may choose to adopt or we can discuss an alternative research question independently. You may draw on relevant course materials, but this is a research paper: the papers should be based on your discovery, synthesis and analysis of relevant academic literature beyond our course materials. The final research paper will be 3,500 words.

Final research papers will:

- Include a brief introduction outlining the research question, its broader context and the argument you will develop to answer it
- Demonstrate awareness of the existing scholarly literature that either supports or opposes your argument
- Draw on empirical information to support your argument

FORMAL REQUIREMENTS COMMON ACROSS WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS

All reviews, essays, and papers must conform to the following requirements:

- Written work should be submitted via Moodle as a PDF document (.pdf), with your name
- All written work must be original. Work submitted for evaluation must not be, or have been, submitted for other courses
- You must provide citations to all references, quotations, and uses of evidence. Any opinions that are not your own ideas must be referenced. It's completely normal to draw on the ideas of others, but you must acknowledge their intellectual contributions!
- Any scholarly referencing system is acceptable, provided that you are consistent
- Use a standard typeface in 12 point font with double-spaced type
- Use 2.5cm margins and include page numbers
- Late work is penalized by 10%, but will not be graded if submitted more than
 week late
- Special arrangements will be made based on, for example, disabilities and religious observances. Please contact me at the beginning of term to arrange these

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE STATEMENT ON PLAGIARISM

The Department of Political Science has zero tolerance for plagiarism.

In simple words: Do not copy, paraphrase, or translate anything from anywhere without saying where you obtained it.

1. What is plagiarism? The University defines plagiarism as "the presentation

of the work of another person, in whatever form, as one's own or without proper acknowledgement" (Concordia Undergraduate Calendar 2022/2023, section 17.10.3). Plagiarism is an academic offence governed by the Code of Conduct (Academic). To find out more about how to avoid plagiarism, see the Concordia University Student Success Centre at:

https://www.concordia.ca/students/success.html.

- 2. What are the consequences of getting caught? Students caught plagiarizing are subject to one or more of the following sanctions: (a) a written reprimand; (b) a piece of work be re-submitted; (c) a grade of zero for the piece of work in question; (d) a grade reduction for the course; (e) a failing grade for the course; (f) a failing grade and ineligibility for a supplemental examination or any other evaluative exercise for the course; (g) the obligation to take and pass courses of up to twenty-four (24) credits in addition to the total number of credits required for the student's program as specified by the [Dean or Academic Hearing Panel]. If the student is registered as an Independent student, the sanction will be imposed only if he or she applies and is accepted into a program; (h) suspension for a period not to exceed six (6) academic terms. Suspensions shall entail the withdrawal of all University privileges, including the right to enter and be on University premises; (i) expulsion from the University. Expulsion entails the permanent termination of all University privileges. In the case of a student who has already graduated, the only two available sanctions are (i) a notation on the student's academic record that he or she has been found guilty of academic misconduct; or (ii) a recommendation to Senate for the revocation of the degree obtained (Concordia Undergraduate Calendar 2022/2023, section 17.10.3).
- 3. For complete regulations and resources on avoiding plagiarism, see:
- Political Science Department's "Resources on Avoiding Plagiarism": https://www.concordia.ca/artsci/polisci/student-life/students.html#plagiarism
- Concordia University's Academic Integrity resources: http://www.concordia.ca/conduct/academic-integrity

INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY

Content belonging to instructors shared in online courses, including, but not limited to, online lectures, course notes, and video recordings of classes remain the intellectual property of the faculty member. It may not be distributed, published or broadcast, in whole or in part, without the express permission of the faculty member. Students are also forbidden to use their own means of recording any elements of an online class or lecture without express permission of the instructor. Any unauthorized sharing of course content may constitute a breach of the Academic Code of Conduct and/or the Code of Rights and Responsibilities.

CHANGES TO THE SYLLABUS

I reserve the right to amend the schedule of meetings and assignments listed in this syllabus as might become necessary based on events throughout the semester. Any changes to the syllabus will be announced and students will receive an amended syllabus in writing. Copies of the most up to date syllabus can be found on the course website on Moodle.

READINGS

It is your responsibility to access the readings through the Concordia University Library system at: https://library.concordia.ca. Many readings are academic journal articles that you can access easily using the Sofia Discovery tool by searching for their title and logging in with your Concordia credentials. I will place book chapters on electronic course reserves, which you can access through Moodle. Some other readings are online resources (newspaper articles, YouTube videos, podcasts, websites, etc.) and the links are provided in the reading list.

This course has no required books. You are not expected to have a strong background in climate politics or climate science before coming to class.

SCHEDULE AND READINGS

SESSION 1. WHAT'S AT STAKE IN CLIMATE POLITICS?

What is global climate change? What are greenhouse gas emissions, and where do they come from? What are the expected impacts of climate change on natural, economic and social systems? How is climate change nested within a broader ecological crisis?

- Hannah Ritchie and Max Roser (2017). "Carbon dioxide and greenhouse gas emissions". Our World in Data. URL: https://ourworldindata.org/co2-andother-greenhouse-gas-emissions
- David Victor (2011). Global Warming Gridlock: Creating More Effective Strategies for Protecting the Planet. Cambridge University Press, chap. 2
- Jason Bordoff and Megan O'Sullivan (2022). "Green upheaval: The new geopolitics of energy". Foreign Affairs 101.1

SESSION 2. CLIMATE ETHICS

How do different concepts of ethics animate climate politics? How can these ethical perspectives inform actual climate politics?

- * Stephen Gardiner (2006). "A perfect moral storm: Climate change, intergenerational ethics and the problem of moral corruption". *Environmental Values* 15.3, pp. 397-413. DOI: 10.3197/096327106778226293
- † Paul Baer et al. (2009). "The greenhouse development rights framework:

Drawing attention to inequality within nations in the global climate policy debate". *Development and Change* 40.6, pp. 1121-1138. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-7660.2009.01614.x

- Matthew Rendall (2021). "Public debt and intergenerational ethics: How to fund a green 'Apollo program'?" Climate Policy 21.7, pp. 976-982. DOI: 10.1080/14693062.2021.1935679
- Anna Kaijser and Annica Kronsell (2014). "Climate change through the lens of intersectionality". Environmental Politics 23.3, pp. 417-433. DOI: 10.1080/09644016.2013.835203

SESSION 3. GLOBAL COLLECTIVE ACTION

What is different about decision-making when outcomes are interdependent rather than independent? How does the structure of the international system affect the ability of states to cooperate?

- * Todd Sandler (2004). Global Collective Action. Cambridge University Press, chap. 2
- Adam Jaffe, Richard Newell, and Robert Stavins (2005). "A tale of two market failures: Technology and environmental policy". *Ecological Economics* 54.2-3, pp. 164-174. DOI: 10.1016/j.ecolecon.2004.12.027
- † Elinor Ostrom (2010). "Polycentric systems for coping with collective action and global environmental change". *Global Environmental Change* 20.4, pp. 550-557. DOI: 10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2010.07.004

SESSION 4. INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL COOPERATION

Has global governance of environmental issues become more difficult since the 1990s? How should international institutions be designed to enable effective cooperation?

- * Thomas Hale, David Held, and Kevin Young (2013). *Gridlock: Why Global Cooperation is Failing when We Need It Most*. Polity Press, chap. 1
- † Ronald Mitchell and Patricia Keilbach (2001). "Situation structure and institutional design: Reciprocity, coercion, and exchange". *International Organization* 55.4, pp. 891–917. DOI: 10.1162/002081801317193637
- Alexander Thompson (2006). "Management under anarchy: The international politics of climate change". Climatic Change 78.1, pp. 7-29. DOI: 10.1007/ \$10584-006-9090-X

SESSION 5. THE UNITED NATIONS CLIMATE ARCHITECTURE

How and why is the Paris Agreement designed differently from the Kyoto Protocol? Will the Paris Agreement's ratchet mechanism work?

* Jen Iris Allan et al. (2021). "Making the Paris agreement: Historical processes and the drivers of institutional design". *Political Studies*, pp. 1-21. DOI: 10.1177/00323217211049294

- Caroline Fehl (2011). Living with a Reluctant Hegemon: Explaining European Responses to US Unilateralism. Oxford University Press, chap. 6
- Radoslav S. Dimitrov (2010). "Inside UN climate change negotiations: The Copenhagen conference". Review of Policy Research 27.6, pp. 795-821. DOI: 10.1111/j.1541-1338.2010.00472.X
- † Noah D. Sachs (2020). "The Paris Agreement in the 2020s: Breakdown or breakup?" *Ecology Law Quarterly* 46.3, pp. 865-909. URL: https://www.ecologylawquarterly.org/print/the-paris-agreement-in-the-2020s-breakdown-or-breakup/
- Zeke Hausfather and Piers Forster (2021). "Do COP26 promises keep global warming below 2°C?". Carbon Brief. URL: www.carbonbrief.org/analysis-docop26-promises-keep-global-warming-below-2c/

SESSION 6. MAKING CLIMATE POLICY BINDING

What is the enforcement problem in international climate politics? What does it mean for international law to be "binding"? What strategies exist to make promises more credible?

- * William Nordhaus (2020). "The climate club: How to fix a failing global effort". Foreign Affairs 99.3, pp. 10-17
- † Xinyuan Dai (2010). "Global regime and national change". Climate Policy 10.6, pp. 622-637. DOI: 10.3763/cpol.2010.0146
- Daniel Bodansky (2016). "The legal character of the Paris Agreement". Review of European, Comparative & International Environmental Law 25.2, pp. 142– 150. DOI: 10.1111/reel.12154

SESSION 7. CLIMATE GREAT POWERS

Are international agreements stronger or weaker with the participation of the United States? Do the United States and China have common interests in climate governance?

- Skim: Anthony Brenton (2013). "'Great powers' in climate politics". Climate Policy 13.5, pp. 541-546. DOI: 10.1080/14693062.2013.774632
- * Jon Birger Skjærseth, Guri Bang, and Miranda A Schreurs (2013). "Explaining growing climate policy differences between the European Union and the United States". Global Environmental Politics 13.4, pp. 61-80. DOI: 10.1162/GLEP_a 00198
- † Manjana Milkoreit (2019). "The Paris Agreement on Climate Change—Made in USA?". Perspectives on Politics 17.4, pp. 1019-1037. DOI: 10.1017/S1537592719000951
- Shunji Cui (2018). "China-US climate cooperation: Creating a new model of major-country relations?" Asian Perspective 42.2, pp. 239-263. DOI: 10.1353/apr.2018.0010

SESSION 8. THE GLOBAL SOUTH

What are the interests of developing countries in climate governance, and how well have they been represented in climate treaties?

- * Andrew Hurrell and Sandeep Sengupta (2012). "Emerging powers, North-South relations and global climate politics". *International Affairs* 88.3, pp. 463-484. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-2346.2012.01084.x
- t Inés de Águeda Corneloup and Arthur PJ Mol (2014). "Small island developing states and international climate change negotiations: The power of moral 'leadership'". International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics 14.3, pp. 281–297. DOI: 10.1007/s10784-013-9227-0
- Harald Fuhr (2021). "The rise of the Global South and the rise in carbon emissions". Third World Quarterly 42.11, pp. 2724-2746. DOI: 10.1080/ 01436597.2021.1954901

SESSION 9. TRANSNATIONAL CLIMATE GOVERNANCE

What contributions have transnational actors made to climate governance?

- Matthew Hoffmann (2011). Climate Governance at the Crossroads: Experimenting with a Global Response after Kyoto. Oxford University Press, chap. 1
- † Liliana Andonova, Thomas Hale, and Charles Roger (2017). "National policy and transnational governance of climate change: Substitutes or complements?" *International Studies Quarterly* 61.2, pp. 253-268. DOI: 10.1093/isq/sqx014
- * Jen Iris Allan and Jennifer Hadden (2017). "Exploring the framing power of NGOs in global climate politics". *Environmental Politics* 26.4, pp. 600-620. DOI: 10.1080/09644016.2017.1319017

SESSION 10. SOLAR GEOENGINEERING

Should we dim the sun? Can geoengineering be governed to prevent it from undercutting progress on climate mitigation?

- * David Keith (2021). "What's the least bad way to cool the planet?" The New York Times. 3 October 2021, Sunday Review, p. 3. URL: https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/01/opinion/climate-change-geoengineering.html
- Oliver Geden and Susanne Dröge (2019). "The Anticipatory Governance of Solar Radiation Management". International Institutions and Global Governance Program, Council on Foreign Relations. 2 July 2019. URL: https://www.cfr. org/report/anticipatory-governance-solar-radiation-management
- † Frank Biermann et al. (2022). "Solar geoengineering: The case for an international non-use agreement". Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change 13.3, e754. DOI: 10.1002/wcc.754
- †₂ Jesse Reynolds (2021). "Is solar geoengineering ungovernable? A critical assessment of governance challenges identified by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change". Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change 12.2,

e690

SESSION 11. HOW ELSE COULD WE DESIGN CLIMATE GOVERNANCE?

Should climate governance aim for a unified governance instrument, or several different instruments? What should the balance be between "demand-side" and "supply-side" approaches to global climate governance? Does the distributive politics critique imply that international cooperation is unimportant?

- * Robert Keohane and David Victor (2011). "The regime complex for climate change". Perspectives on Politics 9.1, pp. 7-23. DOI: 10.1017/S1537592710004068
- † Ronald B. Mitchell and Charli Carpenter (2019). "Norms for the earth: changing the climate on "climate change". Journal of Global Security Studies 4.4, pp. 413-429. DOI: 10.1093/jogss/ogz006
- Harro van Asselt and Peter Newell (2022). "Pathways to an international agreement to leave fossil fuels in the Ground". Global Environmental Politics, pp. 1-20. DOI: 10.1162/glep_a_00674
- Michael Aklin and Matto Mildenberger (2020). "Prisoners of the wrong dilemma: Why distributive conflict, not collective action, characterizes the politics of climate change". Global Environmental Politics 20.4, pp. 4-27. DOI: 10.1162/glep a 00578

SESSION 12. REVIEW

- * William F. Lamb et al. (2020). "Discourses of climate delay". Global Sustainability 3, e17. DOI: 10.1017/sus.2020.13
- Geoffrey Supran and Naomi Oreskes (2017). "Assessing ExxonMobil's climate change communications (1977-2014)". Environmental Research Letters 12.8, p. 084019. DOI: 10.1088/1748-9326/aa815f
- Angela Pohlmann et al. (2021). "It's not enough to be right! The climate crisis, power, and the climate movement". GAIA-Ecological Perspectives for Science and Society 30.4, pp. 231-236. DOI: 10.14512/gaia.30.4.5

READING GROUPS ROLES

Discussion leader Your job is to develop at least three possible discussion questions that you can discuss in groups to help everyone understand the main points of the assigned reading. Don't worry about the small details. Your task is to help people talk over the big ideas in the reading and to share reactions to the text. One way to get started is to think about what the debates are in a particular week—across the readings—and how this paper fits into those debates. Be prepared with your own brief answers to your questions. You will also be responsible for chairing group discussion, including moving the other students through their roles. You will need to turn in at least three discussion questions with your own brief answers.

Theory master Your job is to locate the key argument and concepts in the paper. How would you re-state the author's argument in your own words? What are the argument's empirical implications? What would we need to see in the world to know if the argument was correct? You might also select any passages that are particularly well written, or might be controversial or contradictory with other reading or other information learned in class. You will need to turn in a re-statement of the key argument per reading and at least one key passage from the text that elaborates it, as well as an explanation of why you think the passage is important.

Evidence supporter Your job is to lay out the author's case for why their argument is valid. Building on the paper's theoretical argument, what are its observable implications? What pieces of evidence does the author use to support it? What is the research design? What is the variation they're trying to explain, and what variation in some other variable are they relying on to do the explaining? You will need to turn in a summary of the research design and how the key variables are operationalized in the analysis. Use the tools you've learned in your research design classes to make the case for this research design.

Devil's advocate Your job is to challenge the ideas in the article by developing a list of critical, thoughtful questions and arguments that might be raised by critics of the authors or by those with different points of view. You will need to turn in at least two challenging questions or arguments, including a brief explanation of why you are making this critique.

Creative connector Your job is to help everyone make connections to other important ideas, both to ideas from this class and also to other political ideas. You may make connections to other readings for that week, from other weeks, to other classes, movies, memes, or other experiences. You will need to turn in at least two connections, including a summary of the connections and discussion questions to help others make the connections themselves.