POL61001 Global Politics of Climate Change 2021-22

Level: MA
Credit Value: 30
Semester Taught: Two

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Description

This module explores the politics of global anthropogenic climate change, one of the central challenges – perhaps the single greatest challenge – of our age. Combining theoretical, case study and normative analysis, the module considers the nature and causes of climate change; global, national and local attempts to limit and mitigate it; its current and projected future impacts; and the possibilities of climate change adaptation. Topics discussed will range from the UN climate regime to Extinction Rebellion, from the origins of our global fossil fuel economy to the politics of renewables, and from 'climate refugees' to the political economy of carbon offsetting.

Objectives

This module aims to equip students with a comprehensive understanding of the global politics of climate change. It will draw on perspectives from politics and international relations, political ecology and related fields, and include engagement with issues and case studies at a range of scales. The module is intended to help students develop the critical analytical skills necessary to effectively analyse the global politics of climate change, and to critically evaluate strategies for mitigating and adapting to it. By the end of the module, students should be able to:

- Demonstrate a good understanding of the global politics of climate change;
- Draw comparatively on case studies and evidence at a range of sites and scales;
- Critically interrogate a range of strategies and policies for mitigating and adapting to climate change; and
- Demonstrate appropriate transferable skills by showing evidence of critical analytical and evaluative skills.

Organisation
The module will involve ten x 2 hour seminars, starting on the week of 7 February with the final seminar on week of 2 May. The structure of the module is detailed below, with dates given for each seminar.

Teaching and learning methods
This module takes a student-centred approach to learning. For seminars, this means that, while the convenor will help structure discussions and activities, you should be prepared to contribute fully to them, and should feel free to suggest different directions and issues for consideration. For seminars, the preparation required will vary by topic: guidance is provided below for each of them. In general terms, though, for each topic you will be expected a) to read some or all of the core readings (whichever is stated in the week by week guidance); b) read and if necessary find and select any further readings; c) reflect on the questions provided for each topic; and d) come prepared with your own notes on the pieces you have read, as well as answers to at least some of the above questions.

Prior to and in preparation for each seminar, please refer to the detailed week-by-week guidance below. Please note that most of the core readings will be available through Leganto. Some however will not: for those, you will just need to follow the link given in the handbook. Further readings have not been uploaded onto Leganto, but should all be available through the library (or in case of open access reports, on the web).

Requirements

- Attendance at all seminars and active participation in seminar discussions
- Completion of required reading in advance of the seminars
- Completion and submission of one short essay (1500 words maximum)
- Completion and submission of one long essay (3500 words maximum)

Assessment

- Short essay, 1500 words (30%). Submission deadline: 12:00 noon on 21 March 2022
- Long essay, 3500 words (70%): Submission deadline: 12:00 noon on 7 June 2021

Short essay

For the short essay you should undertake either:

- A review and critical analysis of the current national climate action plan of a country of your choosing (this can be any country except the UK, US or China – as these will be discussed in week 7); or
- A critical analysis of a media story (or stories) relating to climate change.

Full guidance will be provided in the first few weeks of the module on requirements for the short essay.

Long essay

For the long essay you should answer one of the following questions:

1. Why and in what ways does climate change matter?
2. Are ‘emergency’ framings of climate change scientifically accurate? Are they helpful?
3. Given that climate change is a consequence of capitalist development, does this not also suggest that capitalism can’t be part of the answer?
4. What is a 'just transition'?
5. What difference has neoliberalism made to international action on climate change?
6. Is climate change likely to cause a new era of mass migration?
7. What are the conflict and security implications of climate change?
8. Is the Paris agreement working?
9. Is the Paris agreement's carbon markets facility likely to more support mitigation - or greenwashing?
10. Is carbon pricing the key to reducing emissions?
11. What explains climate denialism?
12. Are the tactics of contemporary climate activists well-judged?
13. Is the concept of 'net zero' a help or hindrance to climate mitigation?
14. How are fossil fuels going to be kept in the ground?
15. Should climate science speak truth to power?
16. In what ways is climate change a) raced or b) gendered?
17. What does the recent history of international cooperation on climate change reveal about the character and structure of contemporary world politics?
18. Are we on the cusp of a new era of climate change-related ‘green grabbing’?
19. Is geoengineering a sensible ‘Plan B’ for addressing climate change?
20. Should major greenhouse gas emitters have to pay reparations for climate change impacts?

Assessment Criteria

Work of a distinction standard (69.5+) can be described as excellent. It shows:

- A high degree of analytical skill in answering the question
- An excellent critical understanding of the relevant literature

- Evidence of wide reading around the question
- The ability to develop a clear, well structured and logical answer to the question
- The ability to write according to the rules of standard English

Work of a merit standard (60-69.5) can be described as very good. It shows to differing degrees:

- Very good degree of analytical skill in answering a particular question
- Very good critical understanding of the relevant literature
- Evidence of varied reading beyond the question
- The ability to develop a well-structured and logical answer to the question
- The ability to write according to the rules of standard English

Work of a pass standard (50-59.5) can be described as competent or good. It shows to differing degrees:

- A substantial degree of analytical skill in answering a particular question
- A clear knowledge and understanding of the relevant literature
- Evidence of reading beyond the core literature
- The ability to write according to the rules of standard English
- The ability to develop a clear, well-structured and logical answer to the question

Work of a fail standard (1-49) shows weaknesses such as:

- A poor understanding of the relevant subject
- A poor knowledge and understanding of the relevant literature
- Poor organisation of the argument in terms of structure and logic
- An inability to write according to the rules of standard English

Study Hours

For a 30-credit module about 18 hours per week of private study are normally expected (for guidance on study techniques see the MA handbook).

General Regulations

Students should refer to the Politics Student Handbook for guidance on essay writing and other academic skills, for details of the marking criteria, and rules governing the submission of assessed work and attendance. Please note that students are required to perform satisfactorily in all components of assessment before credits can be awarded for a module.

Feedback, advice and module evaluation

You can receive feedback and advice on your assessed work throughout the module. All essays are returned with detailed comments. The module tutor will have dedicated office hours each week, and can provide support and information concerning the preparation of assessed work and feedback on completed coursework. Specifically, the tutor can read and offer feedback on a one-page plan of your long essay. Please note that we cannot read or comment on draft essays.

Books, Journals, and Websites

Books:

The following textbooks and general interest books include lots of useful stuff relevant to this module. These may be useful for background reading, but students are not expected to purchase any of them. Some of them are on climate change specifically, while others are on environmental or energy politics more broadly but nonetheless will include lots on, or relevant to understanding, climate change.

Michelle Betsill et al, eds. (2014), *Advances in International Environmental Politics*, 2nd edn. (London" Palgrave).

Harriet Bulkeley and Peter Newell (2015), *Governing Climate Change*, 2nd edn. (London: Routledge).

Simon Dalby (2009), *Security and Environmental Change* (Cambridge: Polity).

Simon Dalby (2020), *Anthropocene Geopolitics: Globalization, Security, Sustainability* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press).

Carl Death (2014), *Critical Environmental Politics* (London: Routledge).

Andrew Dessler and Edward Parson (2019), *The Science and Politics of Climate Change*, 3rd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

John Bellamy Foster et al (2010), *The Ecological Rift: Capitalism's War on the Earth* (New York: Monthly Review Press).

McKenzie Funk (2014), *Windfall: The Booming Business of Global Warming* (New York: Penguin).

Anthony Giddens (2011), *The Politics of Climate Change*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge; Polity).

David Harvey (1996), *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference* (Oxford: Blackwell).

Mike Hulme (2009), *Why We Disagree About Climate Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Mike Hulme (2017), *Weathered: Cultures of Climate* (London: Sage).

Mike Hulme, ed. (2020), *Contemporary Climate Change Debates: A Student Primer* (London: Routledge).

Simon Lewis and Mark Maslin (2018), *The Human Planet: How We Created the Anthropocene* (London: Penguin).

Andreas Malm (2018), *The Progress of This Storm: Nature and Society in a Warming World* (London: Verso).

Mark Maslin (2014), *Climate Change: A Very Short Introduction*, 3rd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Jason Moore (2015), *Capitalism in the Web of Life: Ecology and the Accumulation of Capital* (London: Verso).

Rob Nixon (2011), *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor* (Harvard: Harvard University Press).

Roderick Neumann (2005), *Making Political Ecology* (London: Hodder).

Peter Newell (2020), *Global Green Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Shannon O'Lear (2018), *Environmental Geopolitics* (Lanhan: Rowman and Littlefield).

Richard Peet et al, eds. (2011), *Global Political Ecology* (London: Routledge).

Nancy Lee Peluso and Michael Watts, eds. (2001), *Violent Environments* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press).

Paul Robbins (2019), *Political Ecology: A Critical Introduction*, 3rd edn. (Oxford: Blackwell).

Ian Scoones et al, eds. (2015), *The Politics of Green Transformations* (London: Routledge).

Hayley Stevenson (2017), *Global Environmental Politics: Problems, Policy and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Journals:

Academic journals which may be particularly useful for you include:

Climate and Development
Climate Policy
Climatic Change
Environmental Politics
Geoforum
Geopolitics
Global Environmental Change
Global Environmental Politics
Journal of Political Ecology
Nature
Nature Climate Change
Political Geography

WIREs Climate Change

Please note that when doing independent research, you will typically have to look well beyond the Politics and IR journals that you may be used to.

Websites:

There are numerous websites and organisations specializing on climate change, for example:

Carbon Brief: https://www.carbonbrief.org/
Climate Action Tracker: https://climateactiontracker.org/
Climate Home News: https://www.climatechangenews.com/
Climate Watch: https://www.climatewatchdata.org/
Inside Climate News: https://insideclimatenews.org/
IPCC: https://www.ipcc.ch/
UK Committee on Climate Change: https://www.theccc.org.uk/

… Plus general mainstream media sources, international organisations, and environmental media and campaigning groups are all valuable sources of information and interpretations.

Podcasts:

Climate Diplomacy: https://climate-diplomacy.org/magazine/cooperation/climate-diplomacy-podcast
The Sweaty Penguin: https://thesweatypenguin.com/
BBC Green Thinking: https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p07zg0r2

Module Structure

Week	Week of	Seminar Topic
1	07/02/22	Introduction and climate change basics
2	14/02/22	Global carbon histories
3	21/02/22	The international climate regime
4	28/02/22	Revolution or reform?
5	07/03/22	Impacts, vulnerability, adaptation, migration
6	14/03/22	Data, science and politics
7	21/03/22	Comparative national mitigation politics
8	28/03/22	The political economy of transition: markets, finance, taxation, subsidies
9	25/04/22	Society and climate change: attitudes, practices, mobilisation
10	02/05/22	The political and security implications of climate change

Module schedule and reading list

Week 1: Introduction and climate change basics

This first seminar will introduce the main themes of the module, consider some of the main issues and questions at stake in studying them, and also go through some of the scientific basics of climate change. We will start by overviewing the module's objectives, organisation, teaching and learning methods, and assessment requirements. And then, with this done, we will turn to two main sets of questions:

Framing questions

- Definitions: What is 'climate change'? What are the different ways that it can be defined, labelled and framed? What does it mean to study the 'politics' of climate change? And what does it mean to study the 'global' politics of climate change?
- Significance: Why does climate change matter? On what ethical or political grounds does it matter? How much does it matter? Does climate change matter more than other environmental issues? Who does it matter for? Is climate change already an 'emergency' and, if so, in what sense or why?
- Epistemology: How can we know about the global politics of climate change? Who speaks for climate change? Which disciplines do we need to use or engage with to understand their politics? What methods should we use? What media might we trust? How do we distinguish truth from falsehood, reality from ideology, and fact from value? Or is all knowledge of climate change essentially relative, and socially and politically constructed?

Climate change basics

- Which human activities are the main contributors to climate change?
- Which countries are the main contributors to climate change?
- By how much have global temperatures increased so far, and by how much are they likely to rise by 2050?

Preparation

There are no core readings for this seminar. Instead, please just come prepared to discuss the above questions. While you will not be expected to have answers to each of these questions (there are a lot of them!), you should come prepared to contribute to discussion on both sets of questions. To this end, you should do whatever wider reading you consider necessary. This may be reading of textbooks, or academic articles, or of media stories or social media posts - this is your choice. You should come prepared with your own notes on the pieces you have read.

Week 2: Global carbon histories

In week 2, we reflect on the historical causes of the climate crisis. We do this basically for two reasons: because it is interesting in and of itself; and because it provides clues regarding our failure, till now, to address it. We will consider a number of different historical accounts of the social and political – or what political ecologists would call 'socio-ecological' – roots of our carbon-based civilisation and climate change. These accounts differ in terms of when and where they locate the roots and rise of climate change, and the global failure to address it, and they also differ in their theoretical, political and disciplinary premises. Engaging with these histories thus also provides a way of thinking anew about what Foucault called 'the history of the present', and of evaluating different approaches to understanding it.

Questions

- Why, according to Malm, did British capitalism turn to coal during the mid-nineteenth century? What, in his view, were the advantages of coal? And even if he is right on this, are his insights transferable to other and more recent contexts?
- Is Ghosh right that, if it were not for European imperialism, climate change would have unfolded very differently?
- What, according to Mitchell, are the essential differences between 'coal politics' and 'oil politics'? What is 'carbon democracy'? Might this explain why a transition away from fossil fuels is proving so difficult?
- Is the climate crisis what Klein calls 'an epic case of bad timing'? 'Bad timing' between what? Is this 'bad timing' accidental? And is Klein right to place so much emphasis on neo-liberalism as the cause of the global failure to address climate change?
- And last: what are the key points of convergence and divergence between these interpretations?

Preparation

For the seminar please read and come prepared to discuss all four core readings below. Use the questions above to guide your reading (the first four questions each relate to one of the texts). You should come prepared with your own notes on the pieces you have read, as well as answers to at least some of the above questions. No further reading is necessary for this seminar (indeed I recognise this may be difficult given the volume and density of these core readings) but in case you find time I provide just a few starters for possible further readings below.

Core readings

Andreas Malm (2013), 'The origins of fossil capital: from water to steam in the British cotton industry', *Historical Materialism*, Vol. 21, No. 1, pp. 15-68.

Amitav Ghosh (2016), *The Great Derangement: Climate Change and the Unthinkable* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), part 2.

Timothy Mitchell (2009), ‘Carbon democracy’, *Economy and Society*, Vol. 38, No. 3, pp. 399-432.

Naomi Klein (2014), *This Changes Everything: Capitalism Versus the Climate* (New York: Simon and Schuster), introduction.

Further readings

On Barak (2020), *Powering Empire: How Coal Made the Middle East and Sparked Global Carbonisation* (Oakland: University of California Press).

Dipesh Chakrabarty (2009), ‘The climate of history: four theses’, *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 35, No. 2, pp. 197-222.

Paul Crutzen (2006), ‘The anthropocene’, in E. Ehlers and T. Krafft (eds.), *Earth System Science in the Anthropocene* (Berlin: Springer), pp. 13-18.

Cara New Daggett (2019), *The Birth of Energy: Fossil Fuels, Thermodynamics and the Politics of Work* (Durham: Duke University Press).

Mike Davis (2002), *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World* (London: Verso).

John Bellamy Foster et al (2010), *The Ecological Rift: Capitalism’s War on the Earth* (New York: Monthly Review Press).

Tim Di Muzio (2015), *Carbon Capitalism: Energy, Social Reproduction and World Order* (London: Rowman and Littlefield).

Dale Jamieson (2014), *Reason in a Dark Time: Why the Struggle Against Climate Change Failed – and What it Means for Our Future* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Simon Lewis and Mark Maslin (2015), ‘Defining the Anthropocene’, *Nature*, Vol. 519, pp. 171-80.

Simon Lewis and Mark Maslin (2018), *The Human Planet: How We Created the Anthropocene* (London: Penguin).

Andreas Malm (2016), *Fossil Capital: The Rise of Steam Power and the Roots of Global Warming* (London: Verso).

Timothy Mitchell (2011), *Carbon Democracy: Political Power in the Age of Oil* (London: Verso).

Jason Moore (2015), *Capitalism in the Web of Life: Ecology and the Accumulation of Capital* (London: Verso).

William Ruddiman (2005), *Plows, Plagues and Petroleum: How Humans Took Control of Climate* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

Week 3: The international climate regime

Having raced through some theoretical and historical contexts, in week 3 we dive straight into contemporary climate change politics, starting at the international level. The aims of the seminar will be threefold: (1) to develop a basic descriptive understanding of the 2015 Paris agreement on climate change, including by analysing the Paris agreement text; (2) to develop a similar understanding of what was achieved (and what not achieved) at the 26th Conference of the Parties (COP26) held in Glasgow in November 2021; and (3) to consider what ambitions, interests, assumptions and power relations underpinned the Paris and Glasgow agreements, and that underpin the UN climate regime as a whole. We will not consider alternatives to the Paris framework: we come to these in week 4.

Questions

- On the Paris agreement: What are the main elements of the Paris agreement? What does it require state parties to do? How does it differ from the 1997 Kyoto Protocol? What are its theoretical and other premises/assumptions about international cooperation, and about climate change?
- On what was agreed at COP26: In what respects does the Glasgow Climate Pact represent an advance over the 2015 Paris Agreement? How substantive or meaningful are the various pledges made at and in the run-up to COP26? Do these pledges suggest that the Paris Agreement is working?
- What are the main power relations that underpin and explain the current international climate regime?
- What are the strengths of this regime? What are its shortcomings?

Preparation

For the seminar please read a) the Paris agreement; b) the Glasgow Climate Pact; c) Carbon Brief's summary of what was agreed at Glasgow; and d) any additional contextualising material (either from the further readings or elsewhere) that helps you to understand Paris, Glasgow, and/or the international climate regime more broadly.

You should come prepared with your own notes on the pieces you have read, as well as answers to at least some of the above questions.

Core readings

UNFCCC (2015), Adoption of the Paris Agreement, Report No. FCCC/CP/2015/L.9/Rev.1 (12 December), **not available through Leganto** but at: http://unfccc.int/resource/docs/2015/cop21/eng/l09r01.pdf. Please note that the actual text of Agreement starts on p. 21 of this document.

Glasgow Climate Pact (13 November 2021), **not available through Leganto** but at: https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/resource/cma3_auv_2_cover%20decision.pdf

'COP26: key outcomes agreed at the UN climate talks in Glasgow', *Carbon Brief* (15 November 2021), **not available through Leganto** but at: https://www.carbonbrief.org/cop26-key-outcomes-agreed-at-the-un-climate-talks-in-glasgow

Further readings

Jen Iris Allan (2021), 'Making the Paris Agreement: historical processes and drivers of institutional design;', *Political Studies* (online first).

Harriet Bulkeley et al. (2014), *Transnational Climate Change Governance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

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

'COP26: key outcomes for food, forests, land use and nature in Glasgow', *Carbon Brief* (17 November 2021), available at: https://www.carbonbrief.org/cop26-key-outcomes-for-food-forests-land-use-and-nature-in-glasgow

Robert Falkner (2005), 'American hegemony and the global environment', *International Studies Review*, Vol. 7, No. 4, pp. 585–99.

Robert Keohane and David Victor (2011), 'The regime complex for climate change', *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 7-23

Robert Keohane and David Victor (2016), 'Cooperation and discord in global climate policy', *Nature Climate Change*, Vol. 6, pp. 570–5.

Taedong Lee and Chris Koski (2015), 'Multilevel governance and urban climate change mitigation', *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Vol. 33, No. 6, pp. 1501-17.

Jonathan Pickering et al. (2018), 'The impact of the US retreat from the Paris agreement: Kyoto revisited?', *Climate Policy*, Vol. 18, No. 7, pp. 818-27.

J. Timmons Roberts and Bradley C. Parks (2007), *A Climate of Injustice: Global Inequality, North-South Politics, and Climate Policy* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press).

J. Timmons Roberts (2011), 'Multipolarity and the new world (dis)order: US hegemonic decline and the transformation of the global climate regime', *Global Environmental Change*, Vol. 21, No. 3, pp. 776-84.

Jan Selby (2019), 'The Trump presidency, climate change, and the prospect of a disorderly energy transition', *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 3, pp. 471-90.

UK Climate Change Committee, *COP26: Key Outcomes and Next Steps for the UK* (December 2021), available at: https://www.theccc.org.uk/publication/cop26-key-outcomes-and-next-steps-for-the-uk/

Week 4: Revolution or reform?

The aim of this session is to explore, in broad terms, whether the current international approach to tackling climate change, as explored in week 3, is adequate or not. We will examine readings from a variety of perspectives - some reformist, which argue that climate change can be addressed through incremental reforms, and others revolutionary, which argue that much more fundamental economic and/or political transformations are required. Subsequent sessions will then examine issues raised by these interpretation in greater depth.

Questions

- How do eco-modernists think we should address climate change? Are they right? What are the limitations or flaws in eco-modernist thinking?
- Are existing state commitments out of line with the internationally agreed Paris objectives? If so, does this means that 'developed country parties', in particular, need to considerably expand their mitigation efforts, as Anderson and colleagues argue?
- Will a 'supply-side' climate regime ultimately be needed, to ensure that fossil fuels are kept in the ground? Do Newell and Simms suggest a workable model for such a regime?
- How can feminist and especially eco-feminist analyses help us understand what is needed to prevent dangerous levels of climate change?
- Alternatively, is some form of Leninist response required to tackle climate change, as Malm argues?
- And more broadly, will the challenge of climate change demand and produce entirely new approaches to, and forms of, politics and economy? Does climate change require a ‘transformation of the political’, as Mann and Wainwright argue? Does it necessitate ‘degrowth’, as Kallis, Hickel and others argue? And overall: is the existing climate change regime likely to be adequate to preventing dangerous climate change?

Preparation

For the seminar please read any 3 of the 5 core readings below, and come prepared with your own notes on those pieces that you have read, as well as answers to those questions above that relate to them. If you want and are able to read more than this - including any of the further readings below, or other readings that you find - that would be great; it is however not required or expected.

Core readings

J. Asafu-Adjaye et al (2015), *An Ecomodernist Manifesto* (Oakland: Breakthrough Institute), **not available through Leganto** but at: http://www.ecomodernism.org/manifesto-english

Kevin Anderson et al (2020), 'A factor of two: how the mitigation plans of "climate progressive" nations fall far short of Paris-compliant pathways', *Climate Policy*, Vol. 20, No. 10, pp. 1290-1304.

Peter Newell and Andrew Simms (2020), ‘Towards a fossil fuel non-proliferation treaty’, *Climate Policy*, Vol. 20, No. 8, pp. 1043-54.

Greta Gaard (2015), 'Ecofeminism and climate change', *Women's International Studies Forum*, Vol. 49, pp. 20-33.

Andreas Malm (2020), *Corona, Climate, Chronic Emergency: War Communism in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Verso), ch. 3.

Further readings

A Fair Shares Phase Out: A Civil Society Equity Review on an Equitable Global Phase Out of Fossil Fuels (November 2021), available at: http://civilsocietyreview.org/report2021/

Elizabeth Allen et al (2019), ‘Women’s leadership in renewable transformation, energy justice and energy democracy: redistributing power’, *Energy Research and Social Science*, Vol. 57.

Edward Barbier (2010), *A Global Green New Deal: Rethinking the Economic Recovery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Edward Barbier (2010), 'How is the global green new deal going?' *Nature*, Vol. 464, pp. 832-3.

Aaron Bastani (2019), *Fully Automated Luxury Communism* (London: Verso).

Oliver Belcher et al (2020), ‘Hidden carbon costs of “everywhere war”: logistics, geopolitical ecology, and the carbon boot-print of the US military’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 45, No. 1, pp. 65-80.

Felix Creutzig et al, 'Demand side solutions to climate change mitigation consistent with high levels of well-being', *Nature Climate Change* (2021).

Clive Hamilton (2016), 'The theodicy of the "good Anthropocene", *Environmental Humanities*, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 233-38.

Giorgos Kallis (2019), *Limits: Why Malthus was Wrong and Why Environmentalists Should Care* (Stanford: Stanford University Press).

Giorgos Kallis et al (2020), *The Case for Degrowth* (London: Wiley).

Giorgos Kallis and Sam Bliss (2019), 'Post-environmentalism: origins and evolution of a strange idea', *Journal of Political Ecology*, Vol. 26. No. 1.

Bruno Latour, 'Fifty shades of green' (2015), *Environmental Humanities*, Vol. 7, pp. 219-25.

Bjorn Lomberg (2020), *False Alarm: How Climate Change Panic Costs us Trillions, Hurts the Poor, and Fails to Fix the Planet* (New York: Basic), ch. 1.

Christophe McGlade and Paul Ekins (2014), 'Un-burnable oil: an examination of oil resource utilisation in a decarbonised energy system', *Energy Policy*, Vol. 64, pp. 102–12.

Andreas Malm (2021), *How to Blow up a Pipeline: Learning to Fight in a World on Fire* (London: Verso)

Geoff Mann and Joel Wainwright (2013), 'Climate Leviathan', *Antipode*, Vol. 45, No. 1, pp. 1-22.

Geoff Mann and Joel Wainwright (2018), *Climate Leviathan: A Political Theory of Our Planetary Future* (London: Verso).

Peter Newell (2021), *Power Shift: The Global Political Economy of Energy Transitions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Patricia E. Perkins (2019), 'Climate justice, commons, and degrowth', *Ecological Economics*, Vol. 160, pp 183-90.

Michael Shellenberger (2020), *Apocalypse Never: Why Environmental Alarmism Hurts Us All* (New York: Harper Collins).

Isak Stoddard et al (2021), 'Three decades of climate mitigation: why haven't we bent the global emissions curve?' *Annual Review of Environment and Resources*, Vol. 46, pp. 653-89.

Stockholm Environment Institute et al (2021), *The Production Gap: The Discrepancy between Countries' Planned Fossil Fuel Production and Global Production Levels Consistent with Limiting Warming to 1.5^{O}C or 2^{O}C*, available at: https://productiongap.org/

UNEP (2021), *Emissions Gap Report 2021* (Nairobi: UNEP), available at: https://www.unep.org/resources/emissions-gap-report-2021

Week 5: Impacts, vulnerability, adaptation, migration

Weeks 5 and 6 will consider two issues that are crucial to evaluating whether incremental or revolutionary change is needed to prevent dangerous levels of climate change: the question of the relationship between science and politics (week 6) and, before that (week 5), the evidence on climate change's existing and projected future impacts. Put simply, we need to know how serious climate change is - and what sort of threats it poses, to whom and by when - as part of evaluating whether extremely rapid decarbonisation is needed or not. To this end, in this seminar we will consider four interrelated things: the projected environmental, economic and social impacts of climate change; social vulnerability to climate change; peoples' ability to adapt to climate change impacts; and, if they are unable to adapt (or to adapt 'in place') the potential migration and displacement consequences of climate change.

There is a huge literature on each of these topics, only a tiny fraction of which is listed in the further readings. In order to make the topic manageable, we will focus on two key issues: heat impacts and migration. The first two of the core readings listed below focus on heat, the latter two on migration – and in each case the core readings illustrate very different approaches to the issue at hand. The further readings include both other interpretations of heat impacts and climate-related migration, and broader consideration of impacts, vulnerability and adaptation.

<u>Questions</u>

- By how much is the Earth likely to heat up in the coming decades? How severe will the increase in extreme heat events be? What are the likely mortality consequences? Who is most vulnerable to extreme heat events, and why? Are there ways of adapting to extreme heat? Do modelling studies provide a sensible guide to the likely future social and mortality consequences of extreme heat?
- Are the long-term environmental changes resulting from climate change likely to cause large-scale migration, and maybe even ‘climate refugees’? Why? Are certain parts of the world likely to become ‘unliveable’? Is the methodology used in the World Bank’s *Groundswell* reports convincing? Is large-scale ‘in-place adaptation’ – making migration unnecessary – a feasible alternative? And what are the implications of Paprocki’s analysis of ‘anticipatory ruination’ in Bangladesh?
- How vulnerable are people and their communities to climate change? What determines vulnerability? Do resilience and adaptative capacities have to be built, and if so do this require external support and intervention, or are they inherent qualities of communities and societies? How great are the dangers of maladaptation?

<u>Preparation</u>

For the seminar please read all 4 of the core readings above and come prepared with your own notes on them and questions above. If you want and are able to read more than this - including any of the further readings below, or other readings that you find - that would be great; it is however not required or expected.

Core readings

Eun-Soon Im (2017), ‘Deadly heat waves projected in the densely populated agricultural regions of South Asia’, *Science Advances*, Vol. 3, No. 8.

Elspeth Oppermann et al (2018), 'Beyond threshold approaches to extreme heat: repositioning adaptation as everyday practice', *Weather, Climate and Society*, Vol. 10, No. 4, pp. 885-98.

Viviane Clement et al (2021), *Groundswell Part II: Acting on Internal Climate Migration* (World Bank), overview (pp. xix-xxxi). The report is **not available through Leganto** but at: https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/36248

Kasia Paprocki (2019), 'All that is solid melts into the bay: anticipatory ruination and climate change adaptation', *Antipode*, Vol. 51, No. 1, pp. 295-315.

Further readings

Neil Adger (2006), ‘Vulnerability’, *Global Environmental Change*, Vol. 16, No. 3, pp. 268-81.

Andrew Baldwin (2013), ‘Racialisation and the figure of the climate-change migrant’, *Environment and Planning A*, Vol. 45, No. 6, pp. 1474-90.

Jon Barnett (2020), ‘Global environmental change II: political economies of vulnerability to climate change’, *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 44, No. 6, pp. 1172-84.

Giovanni Bettini (2013), ‘Climate barbarians at the gate? A critique of apocalyptic narratives on “climate refugees”’, *Geoforum*, Vol. 45, pp. 63-72.

Richard Black et al (2011), ‘Migration as adaptation’, *Nature*, Vol. 478, pp. 447-9.

Katrina Brown (2015), *Resilience, Development and Global Change* (London: Routledge).

Siri Eriksen et al (2015), ‘Reframing adaptation: the political nature of climate change adaptation’, *Global Environmental Change*, Vol. 35, pp. 523-33.

Siri Eriksen et al (2021), 'Adaptation interventions and their effect on vulnerability in developing countries: help, hindrance or irrelevance?' *World Development*, Vol. 141, 105383.

Carol Farbotko and Heather Lazrus (2012), ‘The first climate refugees? Contesting global narratives of climate change in Tuvalu’, *Global Environmental Change*, Vol. 22, No. 2, pp. 382-90.

James Ford et al (2018), ‘Vulnerability and its discontents: the past, present, and future of climate change vulnerability research’, *Climatic Change*, Vol. 151, pp. 189-203.

Giuseppe Formetta and Luc Feyen (2019), 'Empirical evidence of declining global vulnerability to climate-related hazards', *Global Environmental Change*, Vol. 57.

Hans-Martin Füssel et al, (2006), 'Climate change vulnerability assessments: an evolution of conceptual thinking', *Climatic Change*, Vol. 75, pp. 301-29.

Global Commission on Adaptation, *Adapt Now: A Global Call for Leadership on Climate Resilience* (2019), available at: https://gca.org/reports/adapt-now-a-global-call-for-leadership-on-climate-resilience/

Stephen Grant et al (2015), 'Climatization: a critical perspective on framing disasters as climate change events', *Climate Risk Management*, Vol. 10, pp. 27-34.

Bethany Haalboom and David Natcher (2012), 'The power and peril of "vulnerability": approaching community labels with caution in climate change research', *Arctic*, Vol. 65, No. 3, pp. 319-27.

Betsy Hartmann (2010), 'Rethinking climate refugees and climate conflict: rhetoric, reality, and the politics of policy discourse', *Journal of International Development*, Vol. 22, No. 2, pp. 233-46.

Zeke Hausfather and Glen Peters (2020), 'Emissions – the "business as usual" story is misleading', *Nature*, Vol. 577, pp. 618-20.

Debra Javeline (2014), 'The most important topic political scientists are not studying: adapting to climate change', *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 12, No. 2, pp. 420-34.

Abrahm Lustgarten (2020), 'The great climate migration', *New York Times* (23 July).

A.K. Magnan et al (2016), 'Addressing the risk of maladaptation to climate change', *WIREs Climate Change*, Vol. 7, No. 5, pp. 646-65.

C. Mora et al (2017), 'Global risk of deadly heat', *Nature Climate Change*, Vol. 7, pp. 501-6.

Jeremy S. Pal and Elfatih A. B. Eltahir (2016), 'Future temperature in southwest Asia projected to exceed a threshold for human adaptability', *Nature Climate Change*, Vol. 6, pp. 197-200.

Kasia Paprocki (2018), 'Threatening dystopias: development and adaptation regimes in Bangladesh', *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, Vol. 108, No. 4, pp. 955-73.

Colin Raymond et al (2020), 'The emergence of heat and humidity too severe for human tolerance', *Science Advances*, Vol. 6, No. 9.

Rafael Reuvney (2007), 'Climate change-induced migration and violent conflict', *Political Geography*, Vol. 26, No. 6, pp. 656-73.

Kanta Rigaud et al (2018), *Groundswell: Preparing for Internal Climate Migration* (World Bank), available at: https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/29461

Daniela Schofield and Femke Gubbels (2019), 'Informing notions of climate change adaptation: a case study of everyday gendered realities of climate change adaptation in an informal settlement in Dar es Salaam', *Environment and Urbanization*, Vol. 31, No. 1, pp. 93-114.

Jan Selby and Gabrielle Daoust (2021), *Rapid Evidence Assessment on the Impacts of Climate Change on Migration Patterns* (London: UK Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office), available at: https://www.gov.uk/research-for-development-outputs/rapid-evidence-assessment-on-the-impacts-of-climate-change-on-migration-patterns

Erik Swyngedouw (2013), 'Apocalypse now! Fear and doomsday pleasures', *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, Vol. 24, No. 1, pp. 9-18.

David Wallace-Wells (2017), 'The uninhabitable earth', *New York Magazine* (July).

Sophie Webber (2016), 'Climate change adaptation as a growing development priority: towards critical adaptation scholarship', *Geography Compass*, Vol. 10, No. 10, pp. 401-13.

Chi Xu et al (2020), 'Future of the human climate niche', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, Vol. 117, No. 21, pp. 11350-55.

Week 6: Data, science and politics

One of the issues that will (hopefully) have emerged in the previous seminar relates to the very different emphases and interpretations suggested by different bodies of knowledge – by the fact that modelling and ethnographic studies tend to understand climate impacts and vulnerabilities very differently. This in turn raises broader questions of epistemology and method, which are what we turn to in week 6. Specifically, the seminar will consider the relationship between science (or data/evidence/knowledge) on the one hand, and politics (policy processes/interests/values) on the other.

Questions

- How should we understand the relations between science and policy, both generally and within global climate politics specifically? Should climate science be politically neutral, and a politics-free zone, or should it be politically-driven and value-laden? Are Shackley and Wynne right that climate science and climate policy are necessarily co-constitutive? Are they right in their critique of GCMs?
- Are dominant forms of climate knowledge shaped by, and reflective of, social, political and economic hierarchies – whether hierarchies of economic development, or of race, class, or gender? Is Agarwal and Narain's critique of standard emissions accounting convincing? If so, what are the implications?
- What issues are raised by the further readings you have examined? Do they suggest that science (and scientists) should have the answers? And if they suggest that more and better knowledge, data or evidence is needed, then what form should this take?

Preparation

For the seminar please read the 2 core readings below, plus at least one of the further readings. The core readings are selected as classic (and quite different) reflections on climate change science-politics relations, hence they are rather dated; the further readings by contrast are all more recent. Please come prepared with your own notes on the pieces that you have read (especially on the further readings – I will be looking for people to introduce and summarise them for others), as well as answers to those questions above that relate to them.

Core readings

Simon Shackley et al (1998), 'Uncertainty, complexity and concepts of good science in climate change modelling: are GCMs the best tools?' *Climatic Change*, 38, pp. 159-205.

Anil Agarwal and Sunita Narain (1991), *Global Warming in an Unequal World: A Case of Environmental Colonialism* (New Delhi: Centre for Science and the Environment), **not available through Leganto** but at: https://cdn.cseindia.org/userfiles/GlobalWarming%20Book.pdf

Further readings

Bentley Allan (2017), ‘Producing the climate: states, scientists, and the constitution of global governance objects’, *International Organization*, Vol. 71, No. 1, pp. 131-62.

Ritodhi Chakraborty and Pasang Yangjee Sherpa (2021), 'From climate adaptation to climate justice: critical reflections on the IPCC and Himalayan climate knowledges', *Climatic Change*, Vol. 167.

Gabrielle Daoust and Jan Selby (2022), ‘Understanding the politics of climate security policy discourse: the case of the Lake Chad basin’, *Geopolitics* (forthcoming).

David Demeritt (2001), ‘The construction of global warming and the politics of science’, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 91, No. 2, pp. 307-37.

Benjamin Franta (2021), ‘Weaponizing economics: Big Oil, economic consultants, and climate policy delay’, *Environmental Politics* (online first).

Amitav Ghosh (2016), *The Great Derangement: Climate Change and the Unthinkable* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), part 1.

Stephen Grant et al (2015), ‘Climatization: a critical perspective on framing disasters as climate change events’, *Climate Risk Management*, Vol. 10, pp. 27-34.

Zeke Hausfather and Glen Peters (2020), ‘Emissions – the “business as usual” story is misleading’, *Nature*, Vol. 577, pp. 618-20.

Jason Hickel et al (2021), 'Urgent need for post-growth climate mitigation scenarios', *Nature Energy*, Vol. 6, pp. 766-68.

E. Houzer and Ian Scoones (2021), *Are Livestock Always Bad for the Planet? Rethinking the Protein Transition and Climate Change Debate* (Brighton: PASTRES), available at: https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/20.500.12413/16839/Climate-livestock_full_report_%28EN%29_web.pdf?sequence=5&isAllowed=y

Hannah Hughes and Matthew Paterson (2017), ‘Narrowing the climate field: the symbolic power of authors in the IPCC’s assessment of mitigation’, *Review of Policy Research*, Vol. 34, No. 6, pp. 744-66.

Mike Hulme (2009), *Why We Disagree About Climate Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Mike Hulme (2011), ‘Reducing the future to climate: a story of climate determinism and reductionism’, *Osiris*, Vol. 26, No. 1, pp. 245-66.

Mike Hulme (2017), *Weathered: Cultures of Climate* (London: Sage).

Steve Keen (2021), 'The appallingly bad neoclassical economics of climate change', *Globalizations*, Vol. 18, No. 7, pp. 1149-77.

Myanna Lahsen (2008), 'Experiences of modernity in the greenhouse: a cultural analysis of the physicist "trio" supporting the backlash against global warming', *Global Environmental Change*, Vol. 18, pp. 204-19.

Chris Paul Methmann (2010), '"Climate protection" as empty signifier: a discourse theoretical perspective on climate mainstreaming in world politics', *Millennium*, Vol. 39, No. 2, pp. 345-72.

Chris Mooney et al (2021), 'Countries' climate pledges built on flawed data, Post investigation finds', *Washington Post* (7 November), available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/climate-environment/interactive/2021/greenhouse-gas-emissions-pledges-data/

Naomi Oreskes (2007), 'The scientific consensus on climate change: how do we know we're not wrong?' in Joseph F. C. Dimento and Pamela Doughman (eds.), *Climate Change: What It Means for Us, Our Children, and Our Grandchildren* (Cambridge, Mass.: MI Press), pp. 65-99.

Naomi Oreskes and Declan Conway (2010), *Merchants of Doubt: How a Handful of Scientists Obscured the Truth on Issues from Tobacco Smoke to Global Warming* (London: Bloomsbury), ch. 6.

Roger Pielke and Justin Ritchie (2021), 'Distorting the view of our climate future: the misuse and abuse of climate pathways and scenarios', *Energy Research and Social Science*, Vol. 72.

Samuel Randalls (2010), 'History of the 2°C climate target', *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change*, Vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 598-605.

Jan Selby (2020), 'On blaming climate change for the Syrian civil war', *Middle East Report*, No. 296.

Michael Shellenberger (2020), *Apocalypse Never: Why Environmental Alarmism Hurts Us All* (New York: Harper Collins), ch. 1.

Week 7: Comparative national mitigation politics

In week 7 we will consider the national mitigation politics and policies of specific countries. Many of you will already have written on national mitigation policies for your short essays. Here we will do similarly, but in relation to three countries that you've been asked not to write on: the UK, US and China. The reason for our focus on these countries is simple: on the one hand because you are studying in the UK (and so as to cater for those with particular interests in British politics); and on the other because the US and China are the two largest emitters of greenhouse gases, and are easily the two most important states as far as limiting climate change is concerned.

Questions

The following range of questions are worth considering for each country:

- By how much, and in what areas/sectors, has it managed to reduce (or limit) emissions so far?
- How, comparatively speaking, would you rate its record of emissions reduction?
- What political, social, economic, legal or other factors explain this pattern of emissions reduction, and its relative success?
- What are its future emissions reduction targets/objectives?
- What legal/institutional arrangements have been put in place to meet these targets/objectives?
- Even more important, what policy decisions have been taken, and which of these are being implemented?
- Is there a gap between targets and policies/implementation?
- How political/socially divisive are the country's emissions reduction objectives and policies?
- Is there a gap between emissions reduction objectives/policies on the one hand, and fossil fuel production on the other?

Preparation

No core or further readings are set for this seminar. Instead, you will need to do your own independent research for it. Please do reading on any two of our focus countries: the UK, US and China. You should do whatever reading you consider necessary to be able to contribute on the above questions. Please come prepared with your own notes on your two focus countries, to discuss the questions above in relation to them, and to share details of any sources that you've found particularly useful.

It is completely your choice what resources to use on your focus countries. You should consider using academic articles, and media and social media reports and commentary. In addition, the following may be particularly useful:
UNFCCC Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs):
https://www4.unfccc.int/sites/NDCStaging/Pages/All.aspx
Climate Action Tracker: https://climateactiontracker.org/

Week 8: The political economy of transition: markets, finance, taxation, subsidies

Market, financial and trading instruments are central to contemporary climate mitigation strategies. In week 8 we delve into some of the most important of them, as well as into some of the political-economic factors impeding transition. Specifically we will consider offsetting, carbon pricing, tax reform, and fossil fuel subsidy reform, and through that broader political economy questions of corporate interests and motivations, state-market relations, and equity. There are large literatures on each of these themes, and given this we will focus in this seminar mainly on recent works on each of them. We will consider both the economic and technical rationales for each instrument, and their politics or political economy, including the political obstacles to their implementation and their potential impacts (questions of 'just transition').

Questions

- Offsetting: What is it? How does it work? How is it regulated? Has offsetting made any meaningful contributions to emissions reduction? Could it do so in future? Is offsetting, as Watt argues, 'a fantasy'?
- Carbon pricing: What is carbon pricing? How is it meant to work? What is its record in practice? Could sustained increases in the price of carbon drive rapid energy transition?
- Tax reform: What would reforming tax systems to support emissions reductions involve? Is this practical and realisable? Why has climate policy not yet been integrated into tax policies?
- Fossil fuel subsidy reform: What are fossil fuel subsidies? What are their impacts on the production and consumption of fossil fuels? How would reducing them affect carbon emissions? What are the main obstacles to fossil fuel subsidy reform?
- Broader political economy questions: Can the needed transition away from fossil fuels be left to the market? What should the role of the state be, in driving or governing this transition? Given the existence of a multiplicity of states, how should this be managed internationally? And what are the equity implications of strategies such as offsetting, carbon pricing, tax reform, and fossil fuel subsidy reform? Are they helpful or hindrances to a 'just transition'?

Preparation

For the seminar please read at least three of the four core readings below, and come prepared with your own notes on them, as well as answers to the questions above.

Core readings

Robert Watt (2021), 'The fantasy of carbon offsetting', *Environmental Politics*, Vol. 30, No. 7, pp. 1069-88.

Jessica Green (2021), 'Beyond carbon pricing: tax reform is climate policy', *Global Policy*, Vol. 12, No. 3, pp. 372-9.

Jakob Skovgaard and Harro van Asselt (2019), ‘The politics of fossil fuel subsidies and their reform: implications for climate change mitigation’, *WIRES Climate Change*, Vol. 10, No. 4.

Keston Perry (2020), ‘For politics, people or the planet? The political economy of fossil fuel reform, energy dependence and climate policy in Haiti’, *Energy Research and Social Science*, Vol. 63.

Further readings

Gavin Bridge et al (2020), ‘Pluralizing and problematizing carbon finance’, *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 44, No. 4, pp. 724-42.

Robert Brulle (2018), ‘The climate lobby: a sectoral analysis of lobbying spending on climate change in the USA, 2000 to 2016’, *Climatic Change*, Vol. 149, pp. 289-303.

Connor Cavanagh and Tor Benjaminsen (2014), ‘Virtual nature, violent accumulation: the “spectacular failure” of carbon offsetting at a Ugandan national park’, *Geoforum*, Vol. 56, pp. 55-65.

Brett Christophers (2021), ‘Fossilised capital: price and profit in the energy transition’, *New Political Economy*, Vol. 27, No. 1, pp. 146-59.

Brett Christophers (2021), ‘The end of carbon capitalism (as we knew it)’, *Critical Historical Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 2.

Alexander Dunlap and James Fairhead (2014), ‘The militarisation and marketisation of nature: an alternative lens to “climate conflict”’, *Geopolitics*, Vol. 19, No. 4, pp. 937-61.

Robert Fletcher (2012), 'Capitalizing on chaos: climate change and disaster capitalism', *Ephemera*, Vol. 12, No. 1/2, pp. 97-112.

McKenzie Funk (2014), *Windfall: The Booming Business of Global Warming* (New York: Penguin).

Jessica Green (2021), ‘Does carbon pricing reduce emissions? A review of ex-post analyses’, *Environmental Research Letters*, Vol. 16.

Jessica Green (2021), ‘Follow the money: how reforming tax and trade rules can fight climate change’, *Foreign Affairs* (12 November).

Jessica Green et al (2021), ‘Transition, hedge or resist? Understanding political and economic behavior towards decarbonisation in the oil and gas industry’, *Review of International Political Economy*, online first.

Yoon-Hee Ha and John Byrne (2019), ‘The rise and fall of green growth: Korea’s energy sector experiment and its lessons for sustainable energy policy’, *WIRESs Energy and Environment*, Vol. 8, No. 4.

Jessica Jewell et al (2018), ‘Limited emission reductions from fuel subsidy removal except in energy-exporting regions’, *Nature*, Vol. 554, pp. 229-33.

Erick Lachapelle et al, ‘The political economy of decarbonisation: from green energy “race” to green “division of labour”’, *New Political Economy*, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 311-27.

Larry Lohmann (2005), ‘Marketing and making carbon dumps: commodification, calculation and counterfactuals in climate change mitigation’ *Science as Culture*, Vol. 14, No. 3, pp. 203-35.

Peter Newell (2021), *Power Shift: The Global Political Economy of Energy Transitions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Peter Newell and Matthew Paterson (2010), *Climate Capitalism: Global Warming and the Transformation of the Global Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Matthew Paterson (2012), ‘Who and what are carbon markets for? Politics and the development of climate policy’, *Climate Policy*, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 82-97.

Jun Rentschler and Morgan Bazilian (2017), ‘Reforming fossil fuel subsidies: drivers, barriers and the state of progress’, *Climate Policy*, Vol. 17, No. 7, pp. 891-914.

Daniel Rosenbloom and Adrian Rinscheid (2020), ‘Deliberate decline: an emerging frontier for the study and practice of decarbonisation’, *WIREs Climate Change*, Vol. 11, No. 6.

Diana Stuart et al (2017), ‘Climate change and the Polanyian counter-movement: carbon markets or degrowth?’ *New Political Economy*, Vol. 29, No. 1, pp. 89-102.

Irja Vormedal et al (2020), ‘Big oil and climate regulation: business as usual or a changing business?’ *Global Environmental Politics*, Vol. 20, No. 4, pp. 143-66.

Week 9: Society and climate change: attitudes, practices, mobilisation

Topic 9 of the module considers social attitudes, practices and activism relating to climate change. We focus on three main issues: the politics of individual attitudes and choices, and their relationships with behaviour; the social profile of climate denialism; and the politics of climate activism.

Questions

- Attitudes, choices, behaviour: To what extent can people choose to reduce their climate impacts? Do attitudes to climate change make a significant difference to climate-related behaviour? Is 'climate hypocrisy' a problem? Is a focus on 'the ABC', as Shove calls it, an obstacle to serious climate change policy?
- What is the social profile of climate scepticism (or denial)? Is the pattern identified by McCright and Dunlap specific to the US, or common across societies? What accounts for this pattern? Does it point to deeper structural affinities between far-right politics and fossil capitalism, as Malm and colleagues argue? Are changes in far-right engagement with climate change leading to a rise of eco-fascism?
- Has the upsurge in climate activism since 2018 been successful? What have been the main tactics and strategies used, and have these been appropriate? What has been the social profile of groups like Extinction Rebellion? What next for climate activism?

Preparation

For the seminar please read the core readings below, and come prepared with your own notes on them, as well as answers to the questions above. In addition, to help us have a broader discussion about both climate denialism and climate activism, you should try to do some broader reading on these themes. The further readings below include some works which are quite short media and social media commentaries – if you are pressed for time (and even if not) these may be a good place to start.

Core readings

Elizabeth Shove (2010), 'Beyond the ABC: climate change policies and theories of social change', *Environment and Planning A*, Vol. 42, No. 6, pp. 1273-85.

Aaron McCright and Riley Dunlap (2011), 'Cool dudes: the denial of climate change among conservative white males in the United States', *Global Environmental Change*, Vol. 21, No. 4, pp. 1163-72.

Carl Cassegard and Hakan Thorn (2018), 'Toward a postapocalyptic environmentalism: responses to loss and visions of the future in climate activism', *Environment and Planning E*, Vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 561-78.

Further readings

Peter Beinart (2019), 'White nationalists discover the environment', *The Atlantic* (5 August).

Karen Bell and Gnisha Bevan (2021), 'Beyond inclusion? Perceptions of the extent to which Extinction Rebellion speaks to, and for, Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) and working-class communities', *Local Environment*, Vol. 26, No. 10, pp. 1205-20.

Counterpoint (2021), *Green Wedge: Mapping Dissent Against Climate Policy in Europe*, available at: https://counterpoint.uk.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/Green_Wedge_Counterpoint_OSEPI.pdf

Maria Darwish (2021), 'Nature, masculinities, care, and the far-right', in P.M. Pulé and M. Hultman (eds.), *Men, Masculinities, and Earth: Contending with the (m)Anthropocene* (Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 183-206.

Alex Evans (2021), 'Let's make climate a culture war!' *LargerUS* (28 September).

Joost de Moor et al (2020), 'New kids on the block: taking stock of the recent cycle of climate activism', *Social Movement Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 5, pp. 619-25.

Dana Fisher and Sohana Nasrin (2021), 'Climate activism and its effects', *WIREs Climate Change*, Vol. 12, No. 1.

Shane Gunster et al (2018), 'Climate hypocrisies: a comparative study of news discourse', *Environmental Communication*, Vol. 12, No. 6, pp. 773-93.

Shane Gunster et al (2018), '"Why don't you act like you believe it?" Competing visions of climate hypocrisy', *Frontiers in Communication*, Vol. 3.

Johnathan Guy and Sam Zucher (2021), 'What the Sunrise Movement could do better', *Jacobin* (23 August).

Betsy Hartmann (2020), 'The ecofascists', *Columbia Journalism Review* (Spring).

Yuko Heath and Robert Gifford (2006), 'Free-market ideology and environmental degradation: the case of belief in climate change', *Environment and Behavior*, Vol. 38, No. 1, pp. 48–71.

Robert Huber et al, 'Is populism a challenge to European energy and climate policy? Empirical evidence across varieties of populism', *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 28, No. 7, pp. 998-1017.

Peter Jacques et al (2008), 'The organisation of denial: Conservative think tanks and environmental scepticism', *Environmental Politics*, Vol. 17, No. 3, pp. 349-85.

Joakim Kulin et al (2021), 'Nationalist ideology, rightwing populism, and public views about climate change in Europe', *Environmental Politics*, Vol. 30, No. 7, pp. 1111-34.

Matthew Lockwood (2018), 'Right-wing populism and the climate change agenda: exploring the linkages', *Environmental Politics*, Vol. 27, No. 4, pp. 712-32.

Andreas Malm (2021), *How to Blow up a Pipeline: Learning to Fight in a World on Fire* (London: Verso).

Andreas Malm and the Zetkin Collective (2021), *White Skin, Black Fuel: On the Danger of Fossil Fascism* (London: Verso).

Oliver Milman (2021), 'Climate denial is waning on the right. What's replacing it might be just as scary', *The Guardian* (21 November).

Saffron O'Neill and Sophie Nicholson-Cole (2009), '"Fear won't do it": promoting positive engagement with climate change through visual and iconic representations', *Science Communication,* Vol. 30, No. 3, pp. 355-79.

Matthew Paterson (2021), *In Search of Climate Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Rupert Read (2021), *What Next on Climate? The Need for a New Moderate Flank*, available at: https://systems-souls-society.com/what-next-on-climate-the-need-for-a-moderate-flank/

Tom Smiles and Gareth Edwards (2021), 'How does Extinction Rebellion engage with climate justice? A case study of XR Norwich', *Local Environment*, Vol. 26, No. 12, pp. 1445-60.

Joe Turner and Dan Bailey (2021), '"Ecobordering": casting immigration control as environmental protection', *Environmental Politics* (online first).

Week 10: The political and security implications of climate change

This concluding seminar will address the conflict, security and more broadly political implications of climate change. We consider this for two reasons. On the one hand, it will allow us to reflect on and bring in insights from the rest of the module. And on the other hand, the question of the conflict, security and political or geopolitical implications of climate change is an important – and much written-on – topic in its own right. Most of the discussion of it focuses on possible linkages between increasingly frequent and severe climatic shocks, or long-term climatic changes, and political instability, especially in the global South; some see such links as clear, while others are quite sceptical. Beyond this, there is a growing body of work on the security and political implications of the various responses to climate change, including climate adaptation, renewables technologies, geoengineering and decarbonisation. In this seminar we will briefly review all of these issues.

Questions

- What do Schwartz and Randall view as the security implications of climate change? What assumptions inform and guide their scenario? Is it realistic? If not, where do they go wrong?
- What does Hartmann mean by a 'Malthusian anticipatory regime for Africa'? How would you characterise her approach, and what are her assumptions? Are they realistic, and if not, why not?
- More broadly, are environmental changes attributable to climate change already affecting patterns of violence, conflict and instability? How might it do so in future? Through what processes or causal pathways is climate change likely to cause conflict? Does it make sense to think of climate change as a 'threat multiplier'? Is climate change a national and international security issue? Is the 'securitisation' of climate change sensible or not? In what ways, if at all, is 'climate conflict' discourse politically problematic?
- Turning to responses to climate change, what does the example of Bolivia suggest about the possible political and conflict implications of the rise of renewables and green technologies?
- Are Mann and Wainright right that tackling climate change may require and lead to the rise of entirely new forms of politics worldwide? Which of their possible climate futures is more likely?

Preparation

For the seminar please read the 4 core readings below, and come prepared with your notes on them as well as answers to those questions above.

Core readings

Peter Schwartz and Doug Randall (2003), *An Abrupt Climate Change Scenario and its Implications for United States National Security* (Pasadena: California Institute of Technology).

Betsy Hartmann (2014), 'Converging on disaster: climate security and the Malthusian anticipatory regime for Africa', *Geopolitics*, Vol. 19, No. 4, pp. 757-83.

Daniela Sanchez-Lopez (2019), ‘Sustainable governance of strategic minerals: post-neoliberalism and lithium in Bolivia’, *Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development*, Vol. 61, No. 1, pp. 18-30.

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