

Krogh Seminar

Spring 2022

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Class: Monday 3:30-6

Office hours: please schedule at (or use barcode below)

<https://calendar.google.com/calendar/selfsched?sstoken=UUdYVVF6YkU2dnZqfGRlZmF1bHR8ODAxZTQ2YjE4YzdmZjY4ODI4Y2EzOTJmMWVlOWRlYWQ>



Course Description

Students in the Krogh seminar examine a major issue in international affairs and work on an independent research project related to that issue. This year's theme centers on the politics, law, and economics of climate change. We will collectively study how climate change intersects with many of the other issues we study in SFS such as trade, capitalism, democracy, human rights, conflict and migration. Students will then individually or in small groups produce research that focuses on a specific aspect of this broader theme or a specific country. No prior in-depth knowledge of climate change issues is required. Students who successfully complete the Krogh seminar will receive a Krogh medal upon graduation.

We will start the course by reviewing the basic science of climate change and the global governance structures that are in place. The next three weeks cover political economy questions: can markets be created that price carbon emissions? How is trade affected by climate and how does trade affect climate? And, more radically, does the world have to end its commitment to capitalism to tackle climate change? We will then cover issues of democracy and justice. Is democracy equipped to tackle climate change? Is litigation an effective strategy to force governments to act? How do global redistributive justice issues affect climate governance? Finally, the last three weeks cover security issues; such as the politics of natural resources, conflict, migration, and great power politics.

In the second half of the course, each student will work on an independent research paper that explores how a country (or a small group of countries) is experiencing (some aspect) of these challenges. This paper can build on the data analyzed in class but can also bring in new (qualitative or quantitative) data or focus on a specific topic. So, the paper can bring multiple challenges together from the perspective of a single country (or small group of countries) and/or focus on a single issue.

Most classes will start with a brief lecture that ties together the week's themes. We will then discuss the readings and broader issues raised by the lecture. The second part of each class will consist of data and group work. We will learn how to make some basic data visualizations using the software Tableau. In the first half of the semester, there will be two small group assignments, each ending with a short group presentation. In the last part of the semester, students will work on their own projects in consultation with the professor.

The main goals of this class are that you learn:

- Understand how climate change interacts with a broad array of issues in international affairs.
- Get up to speed on contemporary debates about climate change
- Develop a functional understanding of Tableau and learn how to make good visualizations of data;
- Read, discuss, research, write. You will learn how to do independent research using data.

Course Requirements

Grading is based on three components:

- Class participation (25%). This is a seminar, not a lecture course. Your contribution is essential. You are expected to come to class and to be prepared to discuss the week's readings. In a small seminar like this, it is immediately obvious if you have not read or thought about the readings. Take notes from the readings. These will help you participate in seminar discussions. Class participation is graded not just on the frequency or volume of comments but also on how thoughtful those contributions are and evidence that the readings were considered.
- Group projects (10%). There will be two small group projects in which you work collaboratively on how a specific country is affected by the issues discussed in the economics and rights/democracy portions of the class. You can work on these projects during class.
- Final paper (65%): Each student will complete a final research project. There are three stages: a 1-2 page research proposal (due March 28), a presentation (5%), and a final

paper/project delivery (60%). The final deliverable will be a research paper of around 20-25 pages (double spaced). Details will be discussed in class.

Professor Commitments

The COVID-19 pandemic has, among others, created a challenging learning environment for all of us. I am committed to being:

- Accessible: You can always sign up for my office hours, which will be scheduled regularly and conducted hybrid (your choice to attend on-line or in-person).
- Flexible: if you face obstacles in completing the work or attending class, let me know with as much advance notice as possible and I will do my best to accommodate your needs. I may adjust the mode of instruction or requirements as the semester moves along depending on how well certain activities are working.
- Responsive: I'll respond to your emails as promptly as possible and I am open to feedback as the semester is moving along.

I am confident we will overcome the challenges of the remote environment at the start of the semester and that we will have an engaging semester while achieving our learning objectives for the course.

General Policies

You need to provide adequate citations for the articles/books/internet resources you use in an essay. Your citations should be in a consistent style. If you are uncertain about exactly how to do this, there are many online guides that may help (e.g.: <http://www.liu.edu/cwis/cwp/library/workshop/citation.htm> (Links to an external site.)). It is time well spent to learn how to properly reference secondary literature and primary sources as it increases the professional appearance of your essays.

Please familiarize yourself with Georgetown's honor system. Write in your own words! Plagiarism includes cutting and pasting chunks of text from internet sources. Even if you change a few words, it's still plagiarism. For more detailed information, see <http://researchguides.dml.georgetown.edu/content.php?pid=305653&sid=4666346> (Links to an external site.) and especially here: <http://guides.sfsq.georgetown.edu/c.php?g=40484&p=257322> (Links to an external site.)

Readings

These readings are subject to changes. I will regularly add short articles or explainers and I may replace articles. Many of the readings are general overview articles that will discuss research on specific

countries or policies that may be relevant for your paper. Most weeks have three or four longer articles and some shorter newspaper articles or summaries of research.

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January 12th: Introduction

Mark Maslin *Climate Change: A very short introduction (background reading, ignore chapter on politics)*.

Further reading (not required): [IPCC summary for policymakers](#).

January 17: MLK day

January 24: Global Governance

Keohane, Robert O., and David G. Victor. "[Cooperation and discord in global climate policy.](#)" ([Links to an external site.](#)) *Nature Climate Change* 6, no. 6 (2016): 570-575.

Jen Iris Allan (2019), "[Dangerous Incrementalism of the Paris Agreement](#)," *Global Environmental Politics* 19:1

Busby, Joshua and Johannes Urpelainen. 2020. "[Following the Leaders? How to Restore Progress in Global Climate Governance](#)." *Global Environmental Politics*. 99-121.

Short explainers:

"The COP26 explained:" <https://www.ft.com/video/141ad2e5-35e9-4cf9-8cbc-34c304aa08d5>

"COP26: what is in the Glasgow Climate Pact" (*Financial Times*)

"COP26 deal offers relief for rich nations but vulnerable fear 'death sentence'" (*Financial Times*)

Jessica F. Green and Thomas Hale, "[New 'net zero' standards could transform the climate — unless they're derailed](#)," October 4, 2021.

January 31: Carbon Pricing

Stavins, Robert N. "[Carbon Taxes vs. Cap and Trade: Theory and Practice](#)." *Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Project on Climate Agreements* (2019). (page 1-30)

Parry, Ian, Simon Black, and Nate Vernon. "[Still Not Getting Energy Prices Right: A Global and Country Update of Fossil Fuel Subsidies](#)." *IMF Working Papers* 236 (2021). (Browse Executive summary)

Ross, Michael L., Chad Hazlett, and Paasha Mahdavi. 2017. "[Global Progress and Backsliding on Gasoline Taxes and Subsidies](#)." *Nature Energy* 2(1): 16201

Shorter articles:

Matto Mildemberger and Leah Stokes (2020), "[The Trouble with Carbon Pricing](#)," *Boston Review*, September 24

"Record EU carbon price boosts clean fuel economics" *Financial Times*

February 7: Green Industrial Policy and Trade

Bentley Allan, Joanna I. Lewis, Thomas Oatley; [Green Industrial Policy and the Global Transformation of Climate Politics](#). *Global Environmental Politics* 2021; 21 (4): 1–19.

Joanna I. Lewis; [Green Industrial Policy After Paris: Renewable Energy Policy Measures and Climate Goals](#). *Global Environmental Politics* 2021; 21 (4): 42–63.

Kono, Daniel Yuichi. "[The Politics of Trade and Climate Change](#)." In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. 2019.

Nordhaus, William. "[The climate club](#)." *Foreign Affairs* (2020).

Falkner, R., Nasiritousi, N., & Reischl, G. (2021). [Climate clubs: politically feasible and desirable?](#). *Climate Policy*, 1-8.

February 14: Capitalism, the Green New Deal, and Eco-Socialism

This is a collection of shorter articles and viewpoints

[Limits to private climate change mitigation](#), *Dalya Elmalt, Deniz Igan, Divya Kirti VoxEU*

Kate Aronow "[WITH A GREEN NEW DEAL, HERE'S WHAT THE WORLD COULD LOOK LIKE FOR THE NEXT GENERATION](#)" *The Intercept*

[Debating the Green New Deal](#), New York Times

Gustafson, Abel, et al. "[The development of partisan polarization over the Green New Deal.](#)" *Nature Climate Change* 9.12 (2019): 940-944.

"The Green New Deal and the case for a radical economic reboot" Financial Times

Fong, Benjamin. 2017. [The Climate Crisis? It's Capitalism, Stupid](#)

Huber, Matt, 2018. [Five Principles of a Socialist Climate Politics](#)

"The odd couple: how Germany's Greens embraced business" The Financial Times

Tooze, Adam. "Why Central Banks Need to Step Up on Global Warming." *Foreign Policy*.
<https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/07/20/why-central-banks-need-to-step-up-on-global-warming/>

February 22: Democracy

Daniel Lindvall "[Democracy and the Challenge of Climate Change](#)" (p.26-46)

Mittiga, Ross. "[Political Legitimacy, Authoritarianism, and Climate Change.](#)" *American Political Science Review* (2021): 1-14.

Shahar, Dan Coby. "[Rejecting eco-authoritarianism, again.](#)" *Environmental Values* 24, no. 3 (2015): 345-366.

Short pieces:

- Jennifer Hochschild and Katherine Levine Einstein, "[No, we're not arguing from the same facts. How can democracies make good decisions if citizens are misinformed?](#)" July 21, 2015.
- Leanne Giordano, Hilary Boudet and Chad Zanoocco, "[This year's extreme fires and floods may change what Americans think about climate change, our research finds,](#)" August 19, 2021.
- Steven Kull, "[What climate policies would Americans support?,](#)" November 4, 2021.

February 28: Human rights

Schlosberg, David, and Lisette B. Collins. "[From environmental to climate justice: climate change and the discourse of environmental justice.](#)" *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change* 5, no. 3 (2014): 359-374.

Savaresi, Annalisa and Setzer, Joana, Mapping the Whole of the Moon: An Analysis of the Role of Human Rights in Climate Litigation (February 18, 2021). Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3787963> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3787963>

Fisher, Dana R., and Sohana Nasrin. "[Climate activism and its effects.](#)" *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change* 12, no. 1 (2021): e683.

Shorter articles:

[Chile Writes Its Constitution, Confronting Climate Change](#) . *The New York Times*

Worland, Justin. 2020. "Why the Larger Climate Movement Is Finally Embracing the Fight Against Environmental Racism." *Time*. <https://time.com/5864704/environmental-racism-climate-change/> (July 22, 2020).

"Dutch court orders Shell to accelerate emissions cuts" *Financial Times* "Constitutional court strikes down German climate law" *Financial Times*

Jacqueline D. Lau, Danika Kleiber, Sarah Lawless & Philippa J. Cohen ["4 assumptions about gender that distort how we think about climate change \(and 3 ways to do better\)"](#)

March 7: Spring Break

March 14: Global Justice

Okereke, Chukwumerije. "[Equity and justice in polycentric climate governance.](#)" *GOVERNING CLIMATE CHANGE* (2018): 320.

Rajamani, Lavanya, Louise Jeffery, Niklas Höhne, Frederic Hans, Alyssa Glass, Gaurav Ganti, and Andreas Geiges. "[National 'fair shares' in reducing greenhouse gas emissions within the principled framework of international environmental law.](#)" *Climate Policy* 21, no. 8 (2021): 983-1004.

Maria-Therese Gustafsson, Almut Schilling-Vacaflor; [Indigenous Peoples and Multiscalar Environmental Governance: The Opening and Closure of Participatory Spaces](#). *Global Environmental Politics* 2021; doi: https://doi.org/10.1162/glep_a_00642

Shorter readings:

- [Unequal gains: Assessing the aggregate and spatial economic impact of global warming](#)
José-Luis Cruz, Esteban Rossi-Hansberg
- Su, Y. (2020) [UN Ruling on Climate Refugees Could be Gamechanger for Climate Action](#). The Conversation. 28 January 2020
- Laurie Parsons [Carbon colonialism must be challenged if we want to make climate progress](#)

March 21: Resource Politics

Colgan, Jeff D., Jessica F. Green, and Thomas N. Hale. "[Asset revaluation and the existential politics of climate change.](#)" *International Organization* 75, no. 2 (2021): 586-610.

Hannah Breetz, Matto Mildenerger and Leah Stokes (2018), "[The political logics of clean energy transitions.](#)" *Business and Politics* 20 (4)

Vormedal, Irja, Lars H. Gulbrandsen, and Jon Birger Skjærseth. 2020. "[Big Oil and Climate Regulation: Business as Usual or a Changing Business?](#)" *Global Environmental Politics* 10(Y): 1–23.

Shorter articles:

Brad Handler, Katie Auth, and Morgan D. Bazilian, "[Phasing out coal plants worldwide won't be easy. There four approaches could help.](#)" December 2, 2021.

[Battling for Bolivia's Lithium That's Vital to Electric Cars](#) the *New York Times*.

Jessica Green, Jennifer Hadden, Thomas Hale and Paasha Mahdavi, "[Oil companies aren't actually going green — but some are heading there faster than others.](#)" September 18, 2020.

March 28: Peer review session for research proposals

April 4: Migration and Conflict

Von Uexkull, Nina, and Halvard Buhaug. "[Security implications of climate change: A decade of scientific progress.](#)" *Journal of Peace Research* 58, no. 1 (2021): 3-17.

Abel, Guy J., Michael Brottrager, Jesus Crespo Cuaresma, and Raya Muttarak. "[Climate, conflict and forced migration.](#)" *Global environmental change* 54 (2019): 239-249.

Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, Elise Pizzi, [Natural Disasters, Forced Migration, and Conflict: The Importance of Government Policy Responses](#), *International Studies Review*, Volume 23, Issue 3, September 2021, Pages 580–604,

Short articles:

[Climate migration frightens... climate poverty is frightening!](#) *Michał Burzynski, Christoph Deuster, Frédéric Docquier, Jaime de Melo, VoxEU*

[The Great Climate Migration Has Begun](#) - The New York Times

April 11: Great Power Politics

Busby, Joshua. "[Warming world: why climate change matters more than anything else.](#)" *Foreign Aff.* 97 (2018): 49.

John Helveston and Jonas Nahm. 2019. "[China's key role in scaling low-carbon energy technologies.](#)" *Science* 366 (6467): 794-796.

Østhagen, Andreas. [*The New Geopolitics of the Arctic: Russia, China, and the EU*](#). Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies, 2019.

Shorter articles:

Chazan, Yigal. "[China Rushes to Dominate Global Supply of Lithium.](#)" *The Diplomat* 23 (2019).

["Why the World Worries About Russia's Nord Stream 2 Pipeline"](#)

Roselyn Hsueh, "[Why is China suddenly leading the climate change effort? It's a business decision,](#)" June 23, 2017.

April 18: Easter Monday

April 25: Presentations

May 2: Presentations