

Global Environmental Politics (POLS0023)

First Term, 2025

(15 credits/ 4 US Credits/ 7.5 ECTS credits)

(10 hours of lectures, 10 hours of seminars)

Instructor: Carlos Felipe Balcázar

Time and location: TBD

Office hours: TBD (book here)

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Course Description:

This course is an introductory but thorough examination of the major themes and issues in the study of Global Environmental Politics. We will study the multiple threats that climate change poses for social and political stability, and the challenges that it poses for international cooperation. In particular, we will explore how can we create domestic coalitions in support of climate policy, and how can countries achieve international cooperation regarding climate change despite its diffuse impacts. We will ask and seek answers to questions such as: What are the incentives of key social and political actors to support or oppose environmental policy and regulation? What are the challenges and opportunities to promote international cooperation in climate-change-related policy and regulation?

The course is divided into four sections. The first part of the module will present the key theories and concepts underlying the challenges for cooperation, for collective action and the problem of redistributive conflict, which undergird the core issues for promoting climate change regulation. The second part of the module inquires about the role of domestic audiences in generating state-level support for climate change regulation, delineating important strategic incentives that can promote or forestall regulation. The third part focuses on the problems that climate change poses for political instability, and the public policy problems and options that emerge from these issues. Finally, the fourth part explores processes of international environmental governance, such as policy formulation, designing and negotiating multilateral environmental regimes, and implementing and enforcing international environmental law and policy. We will be using recent issues and debates in global environmental politics to illustrate the inter-connectedness of the social, economic and political dimensions regarding environmental challenges to further understanding.

By the end of the course, students will be able to:

- Describe global environmental problems.
- Identify key actors involved in global environmental politics.
- Apply broader theories of International Relations to questions of environmental politics.
- Explain the politics of environmental policy outcomes.
- Formulate theoretically and empirically informed global environmental policy analysis.

Course Format:

The course will be taught through a weekly one-hour lecture and a weekly one-hour seminar. Attendance is compulsory at all lectures and seminars for which students are timetabled. Attendance will be monitored, and no student will be entered for assessment unless they have. Lectures are intended to map a field, are more general in nature, and will introduce you to some of the key questions and findings that you might expect to engage with. Seminars are intended to enable more intensive, in-depth discussion of particular questions, and to combine different forms of learning—including but not limited to student short presentations, group work, simulations, and applied research exercises. I will assume that you are familiar with the “essential readings” set for each topic and that you have attended the lecture.

Students are expected to prepare for and actively participate in seminar discussions. Students must contribute to creating an inclusive learning environment; please use a civil and respectful language and be mindful of others’ feelings.

Students are welcome to come and see me during our regular feedback and consultation hours, which will be posted on the course Moodle page (excluding Reading Week). Appointments at other times may be possible but need to be arranged in advance by email.

Course Requirements:

The course is assessed by two pieces of work:

- Essay – 1,000 words (40%): Due 19 March 2024.
- Policy brief – 2,000 words (60%): Due 22 April 2024.

The first is a 1,000 word essay (40%) response to a specific question, while the second is a 2,000 policy brief (60%). Detailed guidelines and the actual essay questions can be found on the Moodle page of this course.

Please note, all coursework submission for this module is electronic (i.e. no hard copies need be submitted). Please follow the submission guidelines provided on Moodle. Late penalties do apply, and the University also has a very strict policy on word limits which are based on the Turnitin word count. For more information on essay submissions, word counts and referencing requirements, please consult the essay information folder on the module Moodle page.

You are strongly encouraged to discuss your essays with me during office hours prior to final submission. Please be aware, though, that there are only a limited number of appointments each week, so students are restricted to one meeting only to discuss the essay. (And don't leave it to the last minute to book a session as I may not be able to see you!)

Academic Integrity

Plagiarism and cheating will be severely penalized – this includes using Generative Pre-trained Transformers such as chatGPT. Students should be familiar with the University's policies on academic integrity, disciplinary action and extenuating circumstances. Citations strengthen your work, as you can show that your argument is supported by area experts. The instructor is happy to address any questions in that regard.

Diversity, Equity, Inclusion, & Accessibility

I am committed to making this course a safe and open learning environment for all students, regardless of background, race, ethnicity, country of origin, gender identity, sexual orientation, abilities, or religion. Students are expected to treat each other with respect at all times, and should expect the same from me.

I. Introduction

Week 1. Introduction: Cooperation

Keohane, R. O. (1984). *After hegemony: Cooperation and discord in the world political economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1-6.

Chasek, P. S. (2018). *Global environmental politics*. Routledge. Chapter 1.

Harris, P. G. et al. (2014). *Routledge handbook of global environmental politics*. Number s 31. Routledge New York. Chapter 1.

Optional readings:

Ruggie, J. G. (1982). International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order. *International Organization*, 36(2):2.

Rogowski, R. (1987). Political cleavages and changing exposure to trade. *American Political Science Review*, 81(4):1121–1137.

Gourevitch, P. (1978). The second image reversed: the international sources of domestic politics. *International organization*, 32(4):881–912.

Busby, J. (2018). Warming world: why climate change matters more than anything else. *Foreign Aff.*, 97:49.

Week 2. The problem: Collective action and/or distributive conflict

Ostrom, E. (1990). *Governing the commons: The evolution of institutions for collective action*. Cambridge University Press, Chapters 1-3.

Aklin, M. and Mildemberger, M. (2020). Prisoners of the wrong dilemma: Why distributive conflict, not collective action, characterizes the politics of climate change. *Global Environmental Politics*, 20(4):4–26.

Optional readings:

Tingley, D. and Tomz, M. (2014). Conditional cooperation and climate change. *Comparative Political Studies*, 47(3):344–368 .

Nordhaus, W. (2015). Climate clubs: Overcoming free-riding in international climate policy. *American Economic Review*, 105(4):1339–1370.

Dolšák, N. and Prakash, A. (2022). Three faces of climate justice. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 25:283–301.

Colgan, J. D. and Hinthorn, M. (2023). International energy politics in an age of climate change. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 26.

II. Domestic Audiences and Support for Climate Change Regulation

Week 3. Creating support from domestic audiences: voters

Gaikwad, N., Genovese, F., and Tingley, D. (2022). Creating climate coalitions: mass preferences for compensating vulnerability in the world’s two largest democracies. *American Political Science Review*, 116(4):1165–1183.

Gazmararian, A. F. and Tingley, D. (2023). *Uncertain Futures: How to Unlock the Climate Impasse*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.

Bechtel, M. M. and Scheve, K. F. (2013). Mass support for global climate agreements depends on institutional design. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 110(34):13763–13768.

Optional readings:

Aklin, M. and Urpelainen, J. (2018). *Renewables: The politics of a global energy transition*. MIT Press. Chapters 1-3.

Kennard, A. (2021). My Brother’s Keeper: Other-regarding preferences and concern for global climate change. *The Review of International Organizations*, 16(2):345–376.

Tingley, D. and Tomz, M. (2022). The effects of naming and shaming on public support for compliance with international agreements: an experimental analysis of the paris agreement. *International Organization*, 76(2):445–468.

Finnegan, J. J. (2022). Institutions, climate change, and the foundations of long-term policymaking. *Comparative Political Studies*, 55(7):1198–1235.

Week 4. Creating support from domestic audiences: firms

Malhotra, N., Monin, B., and Tomz, M. (2019). Does private regulation preempt public regulation? *American Political Science Review*, 113(1):19–37.

Kennard, A. (2020). The enemy of my enemy: when firms support climate change regulation. *International Organization*, 74(2):187–221

Mildenberger, M. (2020). *Carbon captured: how business and labor control climate politics*. MIT Press. Chapters 1, 2, 6 and 7.

Optional readings:

Genovese, F. and Tvinnereim, E. (2019). Who opposes climate regulation? business preferences for the european emission trading scheme. *The Review of International Organizations*, 14:511–542

Aklin, M. and Urpelainen, J. (2018). *Renewables: The politics of a global energy transition*. MIT Press. Chapters 1-3.

Kolcava, D. (2023). Greenwashing and public demand for government regulation. *Journal of Public Policy*, 43(1):179–198.

Lerner, M. and Osgood, I. (2023). Across the boards: Explaining firm support for climate policy. *British Journal of Political Science*, 53(3):934–957.

III. Climate Change and Political Instability

Week 5. Climate change and migration

Bhavnani, R. R. and Lacina, B. (2015). The Effects of Weather-Induced Migration on Sons of the Soil Riots in India. *World Politics*, 67(4):760–794

McLeman, R. (2019). International migration and climate adaptation in an era of hardening borders. *Nature Climate Change*, 9(12):911–918

Benveniste, H., Oppenheimer, M., and Fleurbaey, M. (2020). Effect of Border Policy on Exposure and Vulnerability to Climate Change. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 117(43):26692–26702.

Optional readings:

Black, R., Bennett, S. R., Thomas, S. M., and Beddington, J. R. (2011). Climate change: Migration as adaptation. *Nature*, 478(7370):447–449

Doyle, T. and Chaturvedi, S. (2012). Climate Refugees and Security: Conceptualizations, Categories, and Contestations. In *The Oxford Handbook of Climate Change and Society*, pages 278–291

Bettini, G., Nash, S. L., and Gioli, G. (2017). One step forward, two steps back? the fading contours of (in) justice in competing discourses on climate migration. *The Geographical Journal*, 183(4):348–358

Rigaud, K. K., De Sherbinin, A., Jones, B., Bergmann, J., Clement, V., Ober, K., Schewe, J., Adamo, S., McCusker, B., Heuser, S., et al. (2018). Groundswell: Preparing for internal climate migration

Clement, V., Rigaud, K. K., De Sherbinin, A., Jones, B., Adamo, S., Schewe, J., Sadiq, N., and Shabahat, E. (2021). *Groundswell part 2: Acting on internal climate migration*. World Bank.

Week 6. Climate change and conflict

Koubi, V. (2019). Climate change and conflict. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 22:343–360.

Burke, M., Ferguson, J., Hsiang, S. M., and Miguel, E. (2024). New evidence on the economics of climate and conflict. Technical report, National Bureau of Economic Research.

Mertz, O., Mbow, C., Reenberg, A., and et al. (2018). the Intersection of Global Fragility and Climate Risks. *International Journal of Environmental Studies*, 52(6):209–222.

Optional readings:

Tir, J. and Stinnett, D. (2012). Weathering Climate Change: Can Institutions Mitigate International Water Conflict? *Journal of Peace Research*, 49(1):211–225.

Burke, M., Hsiang, S. M., and Miguel, E. (2015). Climate and Conflict. *Annual Review of Economics*, 7(1):577–617.

Mach, K. J., Kraan, C. M., Adger, W. N., Buhaug, H., Burke, M., Fearon, J. D., Field, C. B., Hendrix, C. S., Maystadt, J. F., O’Loughlin, J., Roessler, P., Scheffran, J., Schultz, K. A., and von Uexkull, N. (2019). Climate as a risk factor for armed conflict. *Nature*, 571(7764):193–197.

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

Von Uexkull, N. and Buhaug, H. (2021). Security implications of climate change: A decade of scientific progress.

Week 7. Climate change and political mobilization

Achen, C. and Bartels, L. (2018). Blind Retrospection: Electoral Responses to Droughts, Floods, and Shark Attacks. In *Democracy for Realists*, pages 116–145. Princeton University Press

Balcazar, C. F. and Kennard, A. (2023). Climate Change and Political Mobilization: Theory and Evidence from India. *SSRN Electronic Journal*.

Optional readings:

Egan, P. J. and Mullin, M. (2012). Turning personal experience into political attitudes: The effect of local weather on Americans' perceptions about global warming. *Journal of Politics*, 74(3):796–809.

Detges, A. (2017). Droughts, state-citizen relations and support for political violence in Sub-Saharan Africa: A micro-level analysis. *Political Geography*, 61:88–98.

Ashworth, S., Bueno de Mesquita, E., and Friedenberg, A. (2018). Learning about voter rationality. *American Journal of Political Science*, 62(1):37–54.

Baysan, C., Burke, M., González, F., Hsiang, S., and Miguel, E. (2019). Non-economic factors in violence: Evidence from organized crime, suicides and climate in Mexico. *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*, 168:434–452.

II. Global Governance in regards to Climate Change

Week 8. Climate Change and Governance

Abbott, K. W., Green, J. F., and Keohane, R. O. (2016). Organizational Ecology and Institutional Change in Global Governance. *International Organization*, 70(2):247–277

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

Lin, J. (2018). *Governing climate change: Global cities and transnational lawmaking*. Cambridge University Press.

Optional readings:

Keohane, R. O. and Victor, D. G. (2011). The regime complex for climate change. *Perspectives on politics*, 9(1):7–23

Keohane, R. O. and Victor, D. G. (2016). Cooperation and discord in global climate policy. *Nature Climate Change*, 6(6):570–575

Harris, P. G. et al. (2014). *Routledge handbook of global environmental politics*. Number s 31. Routledge New York. Chapter 3 and 4.

Chasek, P. S. (2018). *Global environmental politics*. Routledge. Chapter 7.

Week 9. Designing Agreements on Climate Change Regulation

Victor, D. G. (2011). *Global warming gridlock: Creating more effective strategies for protecting the planet*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK. Chapters 2.

McAllister, J. H. and Schnakenberg, K. E. (2022). Designing the optimal international climate agreement with variability in commitments. *International Organization*, 76(2):469–486.

Optional readings:

Axelrod, G. (1985). Robert, and Robert O. Keohane “Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions, 38:1

Victor, D. G. (2011). *Global warming gridlock: Creating more effective strategies for protecting the planet*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK. Chapters 3-6.

Weisbach, D. A., Kortum, S., Wang, M., and Yao, Y. (2023). Trade, leakage, and the design of a carbon tax. *Environmental and Energy Policy and the Economy*, 4(1):43–90

Underdal, A. (2017). Climate change and international relations (after kyoto). *Annual Review of Political Science*, 20:169–188.

Week 10. Transnational social movements & climate change

Ciplet, D. (2014). Contesting climate injustice: Transnational advocacy network struggles for rights in un climate politics. *Global Environmental Politics*, 14(4):75–96.

McAdam, D. (2017). Social movement theory and the prospects for climate change activism in the united states. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 20:189–208

Hale, T. (2020). Transnational actors and transnational governance in global environmental politics. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 23:203–220.

Optional readings:

Tarrow, G. and Sidney, G. (2012). *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Introduction, Chapters 1; 5-7; 9 and 12.

Andonova, L. B., Betsill, M. M., and Bulkeley, H. (2009). Transnational climate governance. *Global environmental politics*, 9(2):52–73

Bulkeley, H., Andonova, L. B., Betsill, M. M., Compagnon, D., Hale, T., Hoffmann, M. J., Newell, P., Paterson, M., Roger, C., and VanDeveer, S. D. (2014). *Transnational climate change governance*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-3.

Hadden, J. and Jasny, L. (2019). The power of peers: How transnational advocacy networks shape ngo strategies on climate change. *British Journal of Political Science*, 49(2):637–659.