The International Politics of Climate Change

Friday, 11:45–13:15 Room C 421

Federica Genovese Chair of International Politics Department of Politics and Management D-78457 Konstanz

Email: federica.genovese@uni-konstanz.de http://www.polver.uni-konstanz.de/gschneider/mitarbeiter/federica-genovese/ Office: D227 Office hours: upon appointment or right after class

Course description

<u>Content</u>: The course explores the politics of climate change cooperation. It provides background to the concepts and perspectives employed within the international political debates on climate change. In addition, it introduces the basic research tools that will help students understand and describe such a complex political phenomenon as climate change decision-making. The first part of the course focuses on the nature, history and structure of the international policy-making that addresses the problem of greenhouse gas emission. The second part narrows down and analyzes the framework for negotiation under the United Nations Convention for Climate Change, where the interests and positions invoked by climate change are most evident.

<u>Goals</u>: The goals of the course are three: (1) to familiarize students with the most current academic knowledge on climate change governance; (2) to systematically examine international climate policy and politics with the lenses of relevant international relations theory and explanatory models; and (3) to critically identify the role of the actors involved in climate change policy-making, in particular at the UN climate negotiations. More generally, the students will learn how to orientate themselves through topical peer-reviewed literature, how to structure oral presentations, and how to compose position and research papers. Participants are required to read ahead of the lecture and participate in the in-class discussion, as informed active thinking will highly boost their outcome in the class.

Course Requirements

Participation - A number of texts is assigned to each lecture: covering the required readings is mandatory and should be done before each session. The course will also involve in-class exercises that will be integrated in the final evaluations. The instructor will take note of frequent participation, discussions and preparation to in-class activity.

In-class Presentation - Each student is required to prepare a ten- to fifteenminute presentation of a pre-assigned mandatory reading listed in this syllabus. You are strongly encouraged to see the instructor to discuss your presentation at least a week before it is due.

Response Essay - The mid-term will consist of a written assignment where students will be asked to respond to one of two questions formulated around the themes of the course so far. Each student will be asked to (a) describe the background of the topic raised by the question, (b) point to the relevance of the question (i.e. its theoretical and empirical implications), and (c) provide an informed and critical answer that gives voice to different opinions on the topic. This will be a 6-page (1500 words ca., double-spaced, + references) paper that requires no extra research, but that will rather evaluate the student's understanding of what was covered in the lectures and readings. More information will be provided in class on Session 8.

Position Research Paper - Each student is required to prepare a 10–page (2500 words ca., double-spaced, + references) analytical study of the climate change policy positions and political interests of a country she/he will be assigned by the instructor. The students will need to provide links between the readings covered in the course and the contingent features (vulnerability, adaptability, and of course the climate change political scenario) of such country. In addition, the student will need to tie this study to the UN climate change negotiations analyzed in class. The essay will require individual research and relies on the careful investigation of secondary academic literature. More information will be provided in the last session, when the respective countries will be assigned.

FINAL GRADE: Participation + Presentation (20%) + Response Essay (35%) + Position Research Paper (45%)

Timetable

No.	Date	Торіс
1.	10/26/2012	Introduction
		Causes, impacts and current debates
2.	11/02/2012	IR and Climate Change I
		Realism and hegemony
3.	11/09/2012	IR and Climate Change II
		Liberalism and liberal institutionalism
4.	11/16/2012	IR and Climate Change III
		Complexes and regime theory
5.	11/23/2012	Political Ideology and Climate Change
		Risk, perceptions and cost-benefit analysis
6.	11/30/2012	Political Interests and Climate Change
		Materialism, Malthusianism, and the Epistemic Commu-
		nity
7.	12/07/2012	Climate Change Policy-making Issues I
		Carbon regulation and market instruments
8.	12/14/2012	Climate Change Policy-making Issues II
	Essay assigned	The changing climate policy agenda
9.	01/11/2013	International Climate Negotiations: the 'why'
		International organizations
10.	01/18/2013	International Climate Negotiations: the 'who'
		States, domestic preferences and international positions
11.	01/25/2013	International Climate Negotiations: the strategies
		Agenda-setting and climate diplomacy
12.	02/01/2013	International Climate Negotiations: the outcomes
		The implications of decision-making
13.	02/08/2013	Further investigation
		On data, methods and analysis
14.	02/15/2013	Conclusion and Wrap up
	Paper assigned	Future debates and outlook

 $\label{eq:readings} \begin{array}{l} \textbf{Readings} \\ (* = \mathrm{mandatory\ readings}) \end{array}$

1.	10/26/2012	Introduction	
		Causes, impacts and current debates	
* Ste	view Report on retrieved: 28 A	Summary of Conclusions". Executive summary. Stern Re- the Economics of Climate Change. HM Treasury. Last pril 2011. http://www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/d/CLOSED_ ve_summary.pdf	
Gidd	able at http:/	The Politics of Climate Change: Reviews. <i>Pub- earch</i> , 16:64-67 (<i>Policy Network Paper</i> version avail- /www.fcampalans.cat/images/noticias/The_politics_ ange_Anthony_Giddens(2).pdf)	
The		11. Climate Change: Durban and everything that mat- eved: 27 March 2012. http://www.economist.com/node/	
2.	11/02/2012	IR and Climate Change I	
		Realism and hegemony	
* Ot		gang, and W. Rie. 2008. The Bali Roadmap: New Horizons ate Policy. <i>Climate Policy</i> , 8(1):91-95.	
* Pa		Post-Hegemonic Climate Politics? British Journal of Poli- tional Relations, 11(1): 140-158.	
* Vez		C. 2009 The Climate Change Regime Post-Kyoto: Why Com- rtant and How to Achieve it. <i>Global Environmental Politics</i> ,	
Ochs	mate policy rela straint: Evasior	D. 2008. 'Europa riding the hegemon? Transatlantic cli- tions', in D. B. Bobrow and W.Keller (eds), <i>Hegemony Con-</i> <i>a, Modification, and Resistance to American Foreign Policy</i> <i>a</i> : University of Pittsburgh Press), 144-166.	
Sche	Schelling, T. C. 1997. The cost of combating global warminig. <i>Foreign Affairs</i> , 76(6).		
Vezi	Vezirgiannidou, S-E. 2008. The Kyoto Agreement and the Pursuit of Relative Gains. Environmental Politics 17(1): 40-56.		

3.	11/09/2012	IR and Climate Change II
		Liberalism and liberal institutionalism
	 * Bernstein, S. 2002. Liberal Environmentalism and Global Environmental Governance. Global Environmental Politics, 2(3): 1-16. * Victor, D. G. 2006. Towards Effective International Cooperation on Climate Change: Numbers, Interests and Institutions. Global Environmental Poli- 	
 tics 6(3): 90-103. Hovi, J., T. Skodvin and S. Andresen. 2003. The Persistence of the Kyoto Protocol: Why Annex I Countries Move on Without the United States. <i>Global Environmental Politics</i>, 3(4): 1-23. 		
4.	11/16/2012	IR and Climate Change III Complexes and regime theory
* Bodansky, D. 2001. The History of the Global Climate Regime. Chapter 2 in Luterbacher, U and Sprinz, D. F. (2001) Interna- tional Relations and Global Climate Change. MIT Press, pp. 24- 40 (http://graduateinstitute.ch/webdav/site/iheid/shared/iheid/ 800/luterbacher/luterbacherchapter2102.pdf)		
* Keohane, R. O. and D. G.Victor. 2010. The Regime Complex for Climate Change. Discussion Paper 2010-33. Harvard Project on International Cli- mate Agreements.		
* Vogler, J. 2003. Taking Institutions Seriously: How Regime Analysis can be Relevant to Multilevel Environmental Governance. <i>Global Environmental</i> <i>Politics</i> , 3(2): 25-39.		
Okereke, C. and H. Bulkeley. 2009. Conceptualizing Climate Governance Beyond the International Regime. <i>Global Environmental Politics</i> , 9(1): 58-78		

5. 11/23/2012 Political Ideology and Climate Change Risk, perception and cost-benefit analysis		
* Barnett, J. 2007. The Geopolitics of Climate Change. Geography Compass, 1: 1361-1375.		
* Dessai, S., Adger, J. N., Hulme, M, Turnpenny, J., Koehler, J. and Warren, K. 2004 Defining and Experiencing Dangerous Climate Change. <i>Climatic Change</i> 64: 11-25.		
* Harrison, K. and McIntosh Sundstrom, L. 2007. The Comparative Politics of Climate Change. <i>Global Environmental Politics</i> 7(4):1-18.		
Harrison, K. 2007. The Road not Taken: Climate Change Policy in Canada and the United States. <i>Global Environmental Politics</i> , 7(4):92-117		
Leiserowitz, A. 2006. Climate Change Risk Perception and Policy Preferences: The Role of Affect, Imagery, and Values. <i>Climatic Change</i> , 77(1-2):45-72.		
Shum, R. Y. 2011. Effects of Economic Recession and Local Weather on Climate Change Attitudes. <i>Climate Policy</i> 12(1):38-49.		
6. 11/30/2012 Political Interests and Climate Change Materialism, Malthusianism, and the Epistemic Community		
* Carpenter, C. 2001. Businesses, Green Groups and The Media: The Role of Non-Governmental Organizations in the Climate Change Debate. Inter- national Affairs, 77(2):313-328. http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/ default/files/public/InternationalAffairs/2001/inta194.pdf		
* Fredriksson, P. G., Neumayer, E., Damania, R. and Gates, S. 2005. Environ- mentalism, Democracy, and Pollution Control. Journal of Environmental Economics and Management, 49(2):343-365		
* Newell, P. 2008. Civil Society, Corporate Accountability and the Politics of Climate Change. <i>Global Environmental Politics</i> , 8(3):122-153.		
Asproudis, E. 2011. Revisiting environmental groups and members' behaviour: budget, size and (im)pure altruism. <i>Environmental Economics and Policy</i> <i>Studies</i> , 13(2):139-156.		
Gough, C. and Shackley, S. 2001. The Respectable Politics of Climate Change: The Epistemic Communities and NGOs. International Affairs, 77(2): 329- 346.		
Levy, D. L. and Egan, D. (2003), A Neo-Gramscian Approach to Corporate Political Strategy: Conflict and Accommodation in the Climate Change Negotiations. <i>Journal of Management Studies</i> , 40: 803-829.		
McCright, A. M. and R. E. Dunlap. 2003. Defeating Kyoto: The Conservative Movement's Impact on U.S. Climate Change Policy. Social Problems, 50(3), pp. 348-373.		

7.	12/07/2012Climate Change Policy-making Issues ICarbon regulation and market instruments	
* 0		
	ubb, M. 1995. Seeking Fair Weather: Ethics and the International Debate on Climate Change. <i>International Affairs</i> , 71(3): 463-496.	
* Ott, H. E. 2001. Climate Change: An Important Foreign Policy Issue. Inter- national Affairs, 77(2): 277-296.		
* Stavins, R. N. 1997. Policy Instruments for Climate Change: How Can Na- tional Governments Address a Global Problem. University of Chicago Legal Forum: 293-329.		
	ringer, C. 2003. The Kyoto Protocol: A Review and Perspectives. Oxford Review of Economic Policy, 19(3): 451-466.	
8.	12/14/2012Climate Change Policy-making Issues IIEssay assignedThe changing climate policy agenda	
	chaelowa, A. and Michaelowa, K. 2007. Climate or development: is ODA diverted from its original purpose? <i>Climatic Change</i> , 84(1): 5-21.	
	ama, A., Huq, S. and Sokona, Y. 2003. Climate negotiations beyond Kyoto: developing countries concerns and interests. <i>Climate Policy</i> , 3:221-231.	
	eck, C. and Scholz, S. M. 2006. The role of forests in global climate change: whence we come and where we go. <i>International Affairs</i> , 82(5): 861-879.	
	ll, M. M. and Bulkeley, H. 2006. Cities and the Multilevel Governance of Global Climate Change. <i>Global Governance</i> , 12(2):141-159.	
Betsill, M. and Hoffmann, M. J. 2011. The Contours of 'Cap and Trade': The Evolution of Emissions Trading Systems for Greenhouse Gases. <i>Review of</i> <i>Policy Research</i> , 28: 83-106.		
Brewer, T. L. 2008. Climate change technology transfer: a new paradigm and policy agenda. <i>Climate Policy</i> , 8(5):516-526.		

9. 01/11/2013 International Climate Negotiations: the 'why' International organizations		
* Barrett, S. Montreal v. Kyoto: International Cooperation and the Global Environment. In Global Public Goods: International Cooperation in the 21st Century edited by Kaul, I. Grunberg, I. and Stern, M. A. Pages 192-219. UNDP Publisher. http://web.undp.org/globalpublicgoods/TheBook/ globalpublicgoods.pdf		
* Sebenius, J. K. 1991. Designing negotiations towards a new regime: The case of global warming. <i>International Security</i> , 15(4):110-148.		
* Thompson, A. 2006. Management Under Anarchy: The International Politics of Climate Change. <i>Climatic Change</i> , 78(1):7-29.		
Thompson, A.: 2005, Rational design in motion: Uncertainty and flexibility in the global climate regime. European Journal of International Relations, 16(2): 269-296.		
10.01/18/2013International Climate Negotiations: the 'who'States, domestic preferences and international positions		
* Andresen, S. and Agrawala, S. 2002. Leaders, pushers and laggards in the making of the climate regime. <i>Global Environmental Change</i> , 12(1): 41-51.		
* Sprinz, D. F. and Weiss, M.: 2001, 'Domestic politics and global climate policy,' in Luterbacher, U. and Sprinz, D. F. (eds.), <i>International Relations and</i> <i>Global Climate Change</i> , MIT Press, Cambridge, Pages 67-94.		
Cass, L. 2005. Norm Entrapment and Preference Change: The Evolution of the European Union Position on International Emissions Trading. <i>Global Environmental Politics</i> , 5(2):38-60.		
Biermann, F and Dingwerth, K. 2004. Global Environmental Change and the Nation State. <i>Global Environmental Politics</i> , 4(1): 1-22.		
> *In-class exercise 1*: please go to the page http://unfccc.int/ documentation/submissions_from_parties/items/5901.php, type-search "Im- plications of the inclusion of reforestation of lands with forest in exhaustion", and download the 2011 national position submissions of Brazil, China and Ethiopia.		

	01/25/2013	International Climate Negotiations: the strategies	
		Agenda-setting and climate diplomacy	
* De	* Depledge, J. 2008. Striving for No: Saudi Arabia in the Climate Change Regime. Global Environmental Politics, 8(4):9-35.		
* Dir	* Dimitrov, R. S. 2010. Inside Copenhagen: The State of Climate Governance. Global Environmental Politics, 10(2): 18-24.		
* Ho	· · ·	lvin, T. 2008. Which Way to U.S. Climate Cooperation? versus a U.SBased Agreement, <i>Review of Policy Research</i> ,	
* Jir	* Jinnah, S. 2011. Climate Change Bandwagoning: The Impacts of Strategic Linkages on Regime Design, Maintenance, and Death. <i>Global Environmen-</i> tal Politics, 11(3):1-9.		
Betz	Betzold, C. 2010. Borrowing Power to Influence International Negotiations: AO- SIS in the Climate Change Regime, 1990-1997. <i>Politics</i> , 30(3): 131-148.		
Lang	Lange, A., Loeschelb, A, Vogt, C. and Zieglerd, A. 2010. On the self-interested use of equity in international climate negotiations. <i>European Economic</i> <i>Review</i> , 54(3):359D375.		
Vogle	Vogler, J. and Bretherton, C. 2006. The European Union as a Protagonist to the United States on Climate Change. International Studies Perspectives, 7: 1-22.		
12.	02/01/2013	International Climate Negotiations: the outcomes The implications of decision-making	
* Ba	rrett S and St		
	in International	tavins, R. 2003. Increasing Participation and Compliance I Climate Change Agreements. <i>International Environmental</i> <i>politics, Law and Economics</i> , 3(4):349-376.	
* Ho	in International Agreements: Pervi, J., Sprinz, D mate Policy: T	l Climate Change Agreements. International Environmental	
	in International Agreements: Po vi, J., Sprinz, D mate Policy: T Global Environ sa, S., Gullberg international cl	 Climate Change Agreements. International Environmental oblitics, Law and Economics, 3(4):349-376. P. F. and Underdal, A. 2009. Implementing Long-Term Clime Inconsistency, Domestic Politics, International Anarchy. <i>mental Politics</i>, 9(3):20-39. g. A. T. and Heggelund, G. 2008. The Group of 77 in the limate negotiations: recent developments and future directional Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Eco- 	
* Ka	in International Agreements: Per vi, J., Sprinz, D mate Policy: Tr Global Environ sa, S., Gullberg international cl tions. International nomics, 8(2):11 her, R., Stephan	 Climate Change Agreements. International Environmental oblitics, Law and Economics, 3(4):349-376. P. F. and Underdal, A. 2009. Implementing Long-Term Clime Inconsistency, Domestic Politics, International Anarchy. <i>mental Politics</i>, 9(3):20-39. g. A. T. and Heggelund, G. 2008. The Group of 77 in the limate negotiations: recent developments and future directional Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Eco- 	

13.	02/08/2013	Further investigation	
		On data, methods and analysis	
	* Odell J.S. 2002. Creating Data on International Negotiation Strategies, Alter- natives and Outcomes. International Negotiation, 7(1): 39-52.		
* Sj	mental Regime Science Review	<pre>und Helm, C. 1999. The Effect of Global Environ- es: A Measurement Concept. International Political p, 20(4):359-369 (http://www.uni-potsdam.de/u/sprinz/ elm_1999_IPSR.pdf)</pre>	
Hop	Hopmman P.T. 2002 Negotiating Data: Reflections on the Qualitative and Quan- titative Analysis of Negotiation Processes. International Negotiation, 7(1): 67-85.		
Sprinz, D. F., and Wolinsky-Nahmias, Y. Eds. 2004. Models, Numbers, and Cases: Methods for Studying International Relations. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. http://www.uni-potsdam.de/u/sprinz/ doc/mnc_intro.pdf			
14.	02/15/2013	Conclusion and Wrap up	
	Paper assigned	Future debates and outlook	
Gupta, J. 2010. A history of international climate change policy. Wiley Inter- disciplinary Reviews: Climate Change, 1(5): 636D653.			