

PSC 6900 Global Politics of Climate Change
Wednesdays, 4 – 5:50 pm
Driscoll 221

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office hours: Wednesday, 1:45 – 3:45 pm or by appointment. I encourage students to visit early and often.

This senior seminar is designed to introduce students to central questions around the politics of climate change by approaching the issue from both a comparative politics and an international relations analytic perspective. This is not a course about the science of climate change, as it is a political science course. We will take the scientific consensus as a given, both its conclusions and the timelines provided by the most recent science. But we acknowledge human society has a number of choices as to how much it wishes to try to mitigate the impacts of climate change or to live with the consequences of the changing climate. These choices are constrained by the science itself, our level of understanding of the science, and by economics, but the choices themselves are political. How much mitigation and adaptation will be done, who will do it and who will pay for it are all political choices. They are choices being made in both domestic policy and in the international arena.

To study them we will first look at the issues and some basic conceptual tools for studying environmental politics. We'll then use a comparative politics lens to look at some key nations involved in climate politics. We'll look both at major emitters, and at countries likely to be most severely affected. In the final part of the course, we will bring all of this together to think about how these countries and other institutional players (such as business and NGOs) operate in the international arena. What has happened thus far? What can we expect?

This is a seminar course, so the expectation is that all students will be actively involved in weekly discussions (through postings on blackboard, through presentations of the material, and through regular participation in the weekly discussions), and will produce a final paper addressing one well-defined question related to climate change politics. The question can relate to a single country, a group of countries or to the international system and it should be well-defined and addressable within the confines of a semester.

Grading breakdown:

Class participation	10%
Class presentations (5 – 8 minutes analyzing the readings)	15%
Weekly bulletin board posts (1-3 well-written analytic paragraphs by 12 noon each Wednesday)	15%
Paper proposal (title, 1 paragraph abstract, list of sources)	10%
Paper literature review (5 pages)	10%
Paper evidence/variables discussion (4 pages)	10%
Final paper (15 pages)	30%

Weekly Discussion Board Posting: Each week you are required to post a discussion comment or question based on the reading by 9 pm on the Tuesday night before class. Your comment or question should be in paragraph form (so in other words, if it is a question, you explain the basis for your question and your analysis of the readings that triggers the question). The post is intended to help stimulate our discussion. So, write it to your fellow classmates. It should be one to two paragraphs in length. This is not a summary, and it should not be filled with generalities (such as that it was interesting). It should be your best analysis of the reading for the week and the questions and ideas it triggered for you.

Weekly Presentations on the Readings: Each week 2-3 students will present short analytic comments on the readings to start out our discussion. These should be specific to the reading and designed to elicit comment and interest from your classmates. The best approach is to present a point of view (based on solid analysis) that instigates debate among the class. You should coordinate with the other person(s) presenting to divide the work so you are not repeating yourselves. The best approach is to read first and then divide by theme.

January 16	Introduction and overview – the Climate Crisis and our tasks Reading for next week: 1. IPCC Oct. 2018 report (Summary for policy makers) 2. Carbon brief interactive on the IPCC report 3. Garret Hardin, “Tragedy of the Commons,” <i>Science</i> (Vol. 162, No. 3859, 1968): pp. 1243-1248. 4. R. H. Coase, “The Problem of Social Cost,” <i>Journal of Law & Economics</i> (Vol. 3, Oct. 1960): pp. 1-44. 5. Youtube video on Coase Theorem: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=00HPak2RL1Q
January 23	The Tragedy of the Commons and the challenge of regulation Readings for this week: 1. Paul Krugman, “Environmental Economics 101: Overcoming Market Failures,” <i>Global Environmental Politics, From Person to Planet</i> , Nicholson and Wapner, eds., pages 164 – 172. 2. RN Stavins, “What Can We Learn from the Grand Policy Experiment? Lessons from SO2 Allowance Trading” the <i>Journal of Economic Perspectives</i> , Vol. 12, No. 3, 1998, pp. 69-88. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2647033 3. Kelly Sims Gallagher and Xiaowei Xuan, <i>Titans of Climate</i> , Ch. 4, National Target Setting pages 84-87; Ch. 5 Target Implementation, pages 105-107. 4. Robert Keohane, “The Global Politics of Climate Change: Challenge for Political Science,” PS, January 2015.
January 24	Department of Geography and Environment Spring Colloquium, Mendel 154, 5:30 pm
January 30	Policy Regulatory Options: Traditional Views, Command and Control and Cap and Trade Cap and Trade Simulation Exercise Paper Topic Proposal Due at 12 noon
	Readings for this week:

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Watch Eleanor Ostrom Lecture “Collective Action and the Commons: What Have We Learned?” http://www.cornell.edu/video/elinor-ostrom-collective-action-and-the-commons 2. T. Dietz, E Ostrom, PC Stern, “The Struggle to Govern the Commons,” <i>Science</i>, 12 Dec. 2003, Vol. 302, Issue 5652, pp. 1907-1912. http://science.sciencemag.org/content/302/5652/1907.full 3. Richard Benedick, <i>Ozone Diplomacy, New Directions in Safeguarding the Planet</i>, Harvard, 1991. Chapter 1, pages 1 - 8. 4. Watch <i>The History of Climate Governance</i> and <i>The Pillars of Climate Governance</i> at http://enb.iisd.org/paris-knowledge-bridge/. Each video is 15 minutes long.
February 6	<p>Collective Action Basics of Climate Governance</p>
	<p>Reading for next week:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Theda Skocpol, “Naming the Crisis,” January 2013. 2. Ryan Lizza, “As the World Burns,” <i>The New Yorker</i>, 10/11/2010. (<i>Don’t get bogged down in the details on this – key thing is the flavor of the politicking.</i>) 3. Anthony Leiserowitz on the public's perception of climate change - MIT Climate CoLab conference https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KJUNyb4RoA8 4. Ansolabehere and Konisky, <i>Cheap and Clean</i>, MIT, 2014. Chapters 3 and 6, pages 41-67 and 125-152 5. Kelly Sims Gallagher and Xiaowei Xuan, <i>Titans of Climate</i>, US Policy Environment, pages 23 – 28, 107 – 123 Titans of the Climate : Explaining Policy Process in the United States and China
February 13	<p>Country 1: The United States Literature Review, minimum 5 pages, due at 12 noon</p>
	<p>Reading for next week:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Kelly Sims Gallagher and Xiaowei Xuan, <i>Titans of Climate</i>, Chinese Policy Environment, pages 28 – 36. Public Perception of the other Country and Climate Change, pages 38- 40. Chinese Structures and Formats for Policymaking, pages 46 – 54, National Target Setting, pages 102-104. Chinese Implementation pages 123 – 132. 2. Chai Jing, “Under the Dome,” on line video 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T6X2uwlQGQM 3. Optional: Alex Wang, “Climate Change Policy and Law in China,” Published in <i>Oxford Handbook of International Climate Change Law</i> (edited by Cinnamon P. Carlarne, Kevin R. Gray, and Richard Tarasofsky, Oxford Univ. Press, 2016)

February 20	Country 2: China
	<p>Readings for next week:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Navroz Dubash, et al, "India and Climate Change: Evolving Ideas and Increasing Policy Engagement," Annual Review of Environment and Resources, August 1, 2018. 2. Thomas Bernauer and Robert Gampfer, "How robust is public support for <i>unilateral</i> climate policy?" Environmental Science & Policy Volume 54, December 2015, Pages 316-330. 3. Anne Zimmer, et al, "What motivates Vietnam to strive for a low-carbon economy? — On the drivers of climate policy in a developing country," <i>Energy for Sustainable Development</i>, Volume 24, February 2015, pages 19-32. 4. Optional: Aaron Atteridge, et al, "Climate Policy in India: What Shapes International, National and State Policy?" <i>Ambio</i>, February 2012, Vol. 41, pages 68 -77. 5. Optional: Ankur Chaudhary, et al, "Who shapes climate action in India? Insights from the Wind and Solar Energy Sectors," IDS, 2014. Sections 2.1, 2.4, 3.3, 4.3, and all of 5.
February 21	Department of Geography and Environment Spring Colloquium, Mendel 154, 5:30 pm
February 27	Country 3 and 4: India and Vietnam
March 4-11	Spring Break
	<p>Readings for this week:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tim Wheeler and Joachim von Braun, "Climate Change Impacts on Global Food Security," <i>Science</i> 341 (6145), 508-513, 2013. 2. Bishop and Payne, "Climate Change and the Future of Caribbean Development," <i>Journal of Development Studies</i>, Vol. 48, No. 10, 1536–1553, October 2012. 3. Carola Betzold, et al, "AOSIS in the UNFCCC negotiations: from unity to fragmentation?" <i>Climate Policy</i> 12 (2012) 591–613. 4. Optional: W. Neil Adger, "Social Capital, Collective Action, and Adaptation to Climate Change," <i>Economic Geography</i>, 2003. 79:4, pages 387-404. 5. Optional: Stacy-ann Robinson, "Climate Change Adaptation trends in small island developing states," <i>Mitigation and Adaptation Strategies for Global Change</i>; Dordrecht Vol. 22, Iss. 4, (Apr 2017): 669-691. DOI:10.1007/s11027-015-9693-5
March 13	Countries 5: Vulnerable countries and small island states
March 14	Department of Geography and Environment Spring Colloquium, Mendel 154, 5:30 pm
March 19	Evidence/Data Discussion, minimum 4 pages, due on blackboard and sent to review partners by 12 noon

	You will be assigned review partners. As soon as you complete your draft you are to e-mail these to your review partners. You have no reading assigned for this week, but instead you need to finish your draft by the night before, then share it with your partners. You need to read your partners' drafts before coming into class that day.
March 20	In class peer editing
	<p>Readings for this week:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Nils Petter Gleditsch, "Whither the Weather? Climate change and Security," <i>Journal of Peace Research</i> 49(1): 3–9, 2012. 2. Joshua S. Goldstein, "Climate Change as a Global Security Issue," <i>Journal of Global Security Studies</i>, 2016, doi: 10.1093/jogss/ogv010 3. Nils Petter Gleditsch, Ragnhild Nordas, "Conflicting Messages? The IPCC on conflict and human security," <i>Political Geography</i>, Vol 43, November 2014, pages 82 – 90. 4. Jan Selby, et al, "Climate change the the Syrian civil war revisited," <i>Political Geography</i>, 60 (2017), pages 232 – 244.
March 27	Climate and Security
	<p>Readings for this week:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Paris Agreement 2. Johannes Urpelainen & Thijs Van de Graaf, "United States non-cooperation and the Paris agreement," <i>Climate Policy</i>, 2017, 18:7, 839-851. 3. <i>Bodansky</i>, Dan 2015, "Reflections on the Paris Conference." Available at http://opiniojuris.org/2015/12/15/reflections-on-the-paris-conference/ 4. Center for Climate and Energy Solutions, "Outcomes Of The U.N. Climate Change Conference In Paris," December 2015. 5. Optional: Sanwal, Mukul, "Reflection on the climate negotiations: a Southern perspective," <i>Climate Policy</i>, Vol. 9, No. 3: 330-333.
March 28	Department of Geography and Environment Spring Colloquium, Mendel 154, 5:30 pm
April 3	Climate Negotiations: What was achieved at Paris?
	<p>Readings for this week</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Jonathan Kuyper, "Non-state actors in hybrid global climate governance: justice, legitimacy, and effectiveness in a post-Paris era," <i>WIREs Clim Change</i> 2018, 9:e497. doi: 10.1002/wcc.497 2. Jessica Green, "Order out of Chaos: Public and Private Rules for Managing Carbon," <i>Global Environmental Politics</i> 13:2, May 2013, doi:10.1162/GLEP a 00164

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Lewellyn Hughes and Johannes Urpalainen, “Interests, institutions, and climate policy: Explaining the choice of policy instruments for the energy sector,” Environmental Science & Policy Volume 54, December 2015, Pages 52-63. 4. Meckling, et al, 2015, “Winning coalitions for climate policy,” <i>Science</i>, 349(6253), 1170–1171. 5. Optional: Louise van Schaik and Simon Schuntz, “Explaining EU Activism and Impact in Global Climate Politics: Is the Union a Norm- or Interest-Driven Actor?” <i>JCMS 2012 Volume 50. Number 1. pp. 169–186</i> 6. Optional: Julie Ayling & Neil Gunningham (2015): Non-state governance and climate policy: the fossil fuel divestment movement, <i>Climate Policy</i>, DOI: 10.1080/14693062.2015.1094729 7. Optional: Sander Chan, et al, 2015, “Reinvigorating International Climate Policy: A Comprehensive Framework for Effective Nonstate Action,” <i>Global Policy Volume 6 . Issue 4 . November 2015, pages 466-472.</i> 8. Optional: Harald Fuhr, et al, “The role of cities in multi-level climate governance: local climate policies and the 1.5° C target,” <i>Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability</i> 2018, 30:1–6
April 10	Interest Groups and Global Governance
April 16	<p>Draft submitted to blackboard and sent to review partners by 5 pm</p> <p>You must send at least 5 pages of your paper to your partner by 5 pm. This can be introduction/conclusion/results section/theory section or a significant reworking of your data or lit review sections. It must be new work for your peers to advise you on.</p>
April 17	In class peer editing
	<p>Reading for this week:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Katowice Texts 2. Kenneth Abbott, “Strengthening the Transnational Regime Complex for Climate Change,” <i>Transnational Environmental Law</i>, 3:1 (2014), pp. 57–88, 2013. 3. Robert Keohane and David Victor, “Cooperation and discord in global climate policy,” <i>Nature Climate Change</i>, 2016, pages 1-6. 4. Fiona Harvey, “What was agreed at COP24 in Poland and why did it take so long?” <i>The Guardian</i>, December 2018. 5. Levin and Tirpak, “2018, A Year of Extremes,” WRI, 2018.
April 24	<p>International Dynamics: Where to from here?</p> <p>Also: Earth Day Keynote, Driscoll Auditorium, 6 pm</p>
April 29	Final Paper Due, 15 pages minimum, 5 pm

May 1 (no class, deemed a Monday)	
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Course Policies:

- **Office of Disabilities (ODS) and Learning Support Services (LSS):**

It is the policy of Villanova to make reasonable academic accommodations for qualified individuals with disabilities. Go to the Learning Support Services website (<http://learningsupportservices.villanova.edu>) for registration guidelines and instructions. For physical access or temporarily disabling conditions, please contact the Office of Disability Services at 610-519-4095 or email Stephen.mcwilliams@villanova.edu. Registration is needed in order to receive accommodations.

- **Academic Integrity**

All students are expected to uphold Villanova's Academic Integrity Policy and Code. Any incident of academic dishonesty will be reported to the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences for disciplinary action. For the College's statement on Academic Integrity, you should consult the *Enchiridion*. You may view the university's Academic Integrity Policy and Code, as well as other useful information related to writing papers, at the Academic Integrity Gateway web site: <http://library.villanova.edu/Help/AcademicIntegrity>

- **Absences for Religious Holidays**

Villanova University makes every reasonable effort to allow members of the community to observe their religious holidays, consistent with the University's obligations, responsibilities, and policies. Students who expect to miss a class or assignment due to the observance of a religious holiday should discuss the matter with their professors as soon as possible, normally at least two weeks in advance. Absence from classes or examinations for religious reasons does not relieve students from responsibility for any part of the course work required during the absence.

<https://www1.villanova.edu/villanova/provost/resources/student/policies/religiousholidays.html>

- **Absences for other reasons**

This is a seminar class, and thus you are expected to attend every session of the course. If you must miss the class for an excused reason, you should submit your short discussion (1-3 paragraphs) on blackboard as part of the general course discussion and then submit an expanded version (4 double-spaced pages) analyzing the week's readings by 5 pm Friday of the same week.

- **Attendance and class participation**

Your attendance and active participation is required. You are responsible for any work that you miss if you must miss class for any reason.

- **Late assignment submissions**

You are responsible for submitting all assignments on time. The course is designed to be both collaborative and cumulative. The bulletin board posts and class presentations are intended to benefit the entire class. The paper is designed in cumulative elements to help you produce top quality work. You will lose 5 points a day for any late assignment.

- **Grading Appeals:**

We all make mistakes, so if you find a simple arithmetical error – if I’ve added up the points incorrectly – please just bring it to my attention and I’ll fix it. If you dispute the nature of a grade – if you want the content reevaluated, then you need to explain the nature of your concern. Please submit a one page written appeal by e-mail within one week of receiving your grade, detailing the content-based issues you found with the original grading and why in specific detail you believe your assignment deserved a different grade. Please refer directly to the requirements in the rubric and detail how your assignment met those standards.

- **Communication**

Please check your e-mail regularly. I will send out messages and information from time to time. E-mail is also the best way for you to reach me. I look at student e-mails at some point during the day, every day. So you can expect an e-mail response from me within 24 hours. You may hear sooner, but you should not expect it. For assignments where you want feedback or have questions, please make sure you start your preparation well in advance so you have time to ask questions and seek the feedback you need. If by some chance you don’t hear from me in 24 hours, assume the e-mail somehow went in the spam box and please write again.

- **Extra Credit**

The Department of Geography and the Environment sponsors a spring colloquium series as well as an annual Earth Day lecture that it would be valuable for you to attend. For each lecture you attend and send me a one-page (double spaced) reaction comment on what you learned you will receive 2 extra points on your participation grade.

Department of Geography and the Environment Spring Colloquium Series

Thursdays at 5:30pm in Mendel 154

Date	Topic	Speaker
Jan 24	<i>“Criminal Investigation of Environmental Violations”</i>	James Lorah, Special Agent, Criminal Investigations Division, Environmental Protection Agency (ret.)
Feb 21	<i>“Corporate Concentration and Air Pollution Governance in China”</i>	Deborah Seligsohn, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Villanova University
Mar 14	<i>“The Green Amendment, Securing our Right to a Healthy Environment”</i>	Maya van Rossum, Delaware Riverkeeper
Mar 28	<i>“Temporal dynamics of urban forests: Transitions in tree cover and legacies of past events”</i>	Lara Roman, Research Ecologist, U.S. Department of Agriculture

Villanova University Earth Day Keynote Address

Wednesday April 24 at 6:00pm in the Driscoll Auditorium

“The impact of climate change on human health”

Dr. John Balbus, Senior Advisor at the National Institute of Environmental Health Science at the National Institutes of Health (NIH)

Dr. Balbus is a nationally recognized specialist on understanding the impacts of climate change on human health. Dr. Balbus' background combines training and experience in clinical medicine with expertise in epidemiology, toxicology, and risk sciences.