

POLI 4380 / 5380 Politics of Climate Change

Dalhousie University

3 credit hours

Fall 2022

Mondays, 2:35 p.m. – 5:25 p.m.

LSC C210

Instructor: Dr. Anders Hayden
Office Hours: Henry Hicks 358, Thursdays 2:30 to 3:30 p.m. or by appointment (please e-mail me to set up an in-person or online appointment outside of regular office hours). I will usually be available to talk after class as well.
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This syllabus is based on the assumption that it will be possible to hold in-person classes throughout the fall 2022 semester. If the Covid situation requires us to move the class online, there will be a weekly synchronous meeting during the scheduled class time on Mondays. If we have to move online, other changes to the syllabus may be necessary (e.g. to the attendance and participation grade).

All students are required to comply with health and safety requirements on campus, and should be considerate of others' health concerns. Non-compliance may be reported under the Code of Student Conduct.

Masks should be worn in classrooms and lecture halls in accordance with the University's COVID-19 procedures and protocols for Fall 2022. Masks can be removed *if* you are presenting to the class and can maintain a safe distance of 2m from others.

Course Description

This course examines the interactions between politics and climate change, including the emerging political responses that aim to limit greenhouse gas emissions and stabilize the climate as well as the impacts of a changing climate on political life. Among the key questions we will consider throughout the course: What are the key sources of disagreement in the political debate over how to respond to climate change? What does climate change mean for various political, social, and economic projects? What could be done politically to enable stronger responses to the challenge of climate change?

Topics include:

- the relationship between science and climate politics
- the controversial role of economic analysis in climate politics
- the emergence of a new climate capitalism that aims to link emissions reductions to economic expansion and business strategy
- proposals for alternatives that challenge an emphasis on economic growth, consumerism, and capitalist imperatives while emphasizing “climate justice”
- Canada’s climate record and reasons why climate change is a particularly difficult political challenge for this country

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- the potential and limits of climate politics at the personal level through lifestyle and behaviour change
- international climate negotiations and the key sources of conflict among nations
- the growing acknowledgement of climate change as a security issue
- geo-engineering as a potential climate response and its political implications

The course emphasizes the political and social aspects of climate change. We will draw on understandings from the natural sciences where necessary for an informed analysis of the issues, but a natural sciences background is not necessary to take the course.

Pre-Requisite

It is *highly recommended* that undergraduates take 3385 Politics of the Environment prior to this course.

Course Format

The course will combine seminar discussion with some interactive lecturing, along with student presentations and the occasional use of short videos.

Expectations and Grading

Attendance and Participation	20%
Weekly “QIPs”	20%
Presentation	20%
Research Paper	40%

For information on how your percentage grade will be converted into a letter grade and grade point, see Dalhousie’s grade scale and definitions:

https://www.dal.ca/campus_life/academic-support/grades-and-student-records/grade-scale-and-definitions.html

Attendance and Participation 20%

You are expected to attend *every* class, having completed the assigned readings before class. (We only meet once a week, so each time you miss a class, you miss almost 10 percent of the total class time.) Attendance and participation is particularly important since this is a seminar class.

That said, if you are feeling ill – particularly if you have Covid symptoms – you should not come to class. In that case, let me know by email and submit a Student Declaration of Absence form (https://www.dal.ca/campus_life/safety-respect/student-rights-and-responsibilities/academic-policies/student-absence.html) on brightspace within three days. You can still participate by contributing comments to the online discussion board for the week. See details at the end of this section.

You are expected to participate actively and respectfully in group discussions *without dominating the discussion*. A good participant also demonstrates knowledge of the assigned readings and asks probing questions to the instructor and to fellow students.

Students will be assigned a participation mark for each class in accordance with the following guidelines:

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Grade	Criteria
0	Absent (or physically present but not paying attention / distracted by technology)
1	Present, not disruptive. Tries to respond when called on but does not offer much. Demonstrates very infrequent involvement in discussion.
2	Demonstrates adequate preparation: knows basic case or reading facts, but does not show evidence of trying to interpret or analyze them. Offers straightforward information (e.g., straight from the case or reading), without elaboration or very infrequently (perhaps once a class). Does not offer to contribute to discussion, but contributes to a moderate degree when called on. Demonstrates sporadic involvement.
3	Demonstrates good preparation: knows case or reading facts well, has thought through implications of them. Offers interpretations and analysis of case material (more than just facts) to class. Contributes well to discussion in an ongoing way: responds to other students' points, thinks through own points, questions others in a constructive way, offers and supports suggestions that may be counter to the majority opinion. Demonstrates consistent ongoing involvement.
4	Demonstrates excellent preparation: has analyzed case exceptionally well, relating it to readings and other material (e.g., readings, course material, discussions, experiences, etc.). Offers analysis, synthesis, and evaluation of case material, e.g., puts together pieces of the discussion to develop new approaches that take the class further. Contributes in a very significant way to ongoing discussion: keeps analysis focused, responds very thoughtfully to other students' comments, contributes to the cooperative argument-building, suggests alternative ways of approaching material and helps class analyze which approaches are appropriate, etc. Demonstrates ongoing very active involvement.

Your overall attendance and participation grade will be based on the following formula:
Attendance (one point per day, maximum of 12) + (average participation grade out of 4 x 2) = maximum of 20.

Supplementary option – online discussion board: If you are not able to attend class for health or other legitimate reasons (please let me know about that by email), or if you would like to add extra comments or questions on the reading before or after class, you can do so on the weekly online discussion board. Posts should be approximately 75-100 words (although they can be longer) and be added *no more than five days after the class* in question has taken place. This should not be your main form of participation throughout the semester, but it can be used to add to your contributions in class.

Weekly “QIPs” 20%

Starting in week 2, *before the beginning* of class, you will submit a reflection on the week’s readings. The reflection will be 400-500 words in length for undergraduate students and 600-750 words for graduate students. The weekly **QIPs should be submitted on brightspace before the**

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beginning of the class in question since the goal is for you to reflect on the reading before class. However, you will have an opportunity to catch up on some late QIPs and submit *a maximum of four* after the due date – albeit with a substantial late penalty. Late QIPs can be submitted any time until December 9 with a late penalty of 15%, or 0.3 out of 2.

One possible model to follow in your reflection is to identify *at least* one Question (Q), Interesting or Important Point (I), and Problem (P) that you identified in the readings (or had with them)—hence the acronym QIP. However, if you find that model too constraining, you are not required to follow it, as long as you show that you have done the reading and reflected on it.

The main goal of the QIPs is to encourage you to think about the readings and the issues that you would like to discuss *before* coming to class. They also give the instructor an opportunity to identify any common questions or problems, which will then be discussed in class.

You will receive one point for each QIP you submit, up to a *maximum of 10*, over the semester. You will also receive an additional qualitative grade out of 10 on your QIPs throughout the semester. The qualitative grade will be based on three main grading categories: excellent (0.8 points), satisfactory (0.6 points), and less than satisfactory (0.3 to 0.5 points). Therefore if you submit a satisfactory QIP, you will receive $1 + 0.6 = 1.6$ points, equivalent to an A-minus grade. An excellent QIP will earn 1.8 points, equivalent to an A-plus, while a less than satisfactory QIP could earn 1.3 points, equivalent to a C. (In rare cases of particularly poor work, I reserve the right to give a lower grade.)

As you will see, the majority of the points are given for showing that you are doing the reading, understanding key themes, and reflecting thoughtfully upon them. If you do that *every week*, you will get a grade in the A-minus range on this component of the course. Higher grades may be assigned to QIPs that show strong insights, particularly thoughtful commentary on key themes that cut across the readings for the week—rather than focusing on secondary details or looking at the readings in isolation—or an ability to make relevant links to wider issues in debates over climate politics beyond those specifically addressed in the readings. Lower grades may be assigned to QIPs that do not illustrate an adequate effort in having completed the week’s readings or in identifying and commenting upon relevant themes.

Presentations 20%

Each student will make a *10 minute* presentation during the semester on a specific issue of their choice related to climate *politics*. (It should *not* be a presentation on climate *science*, or primarily about technical matters, although it can be about political or policy issues related to the science or technology.) Afterwards, the presenter will lead a class discussion based on questions that they have prepared in advance. Further details on the content of presentations will be posted on brightspace.

Presentations do not have to be related to the topic of the class for that day. Students are encouraged to use their presentation as an opportunity to develop ideas for their research papers. Guidelines indicating how the presentations are to be graded will be distributed on brightspace.

Research Paper 40%

Undergraduate students will write a paper of 4,000 words, while graduate student papers should be 6,000 to 8,000 words. Papers are due on the last day of class, December 6.

4 Some revision will be made to the readings for classes from September 26 onward.

In previous years, some students have left the work on their papers to the last minute and received a lower grade than they were capable of. If you see that you will have a very busy end-of-semester (e.g. with an honours thesis to complete), I suggest that you either aim to complete work on your paper well in advance of the deadline or you ask for an extension well in advance. I will consider requests for extensions if you plan ahead and ask by October 31.

A list of possible paper topics will be distributed on brightspace. You are also free to propose your own topic, subject to approval of the instructor. The main criterion is that it must be related to the *politics* of climate change.

You have the *option* of submitting a 1-2 page proposal, plus an initial bibliography, by October 24. You will not receive a grade for the proposal, but this is an opportunity to receive feedback as you develop your paper. This will also help to ensure that you begin work on your paper early in the semester and help avoid a last-minute rush.

Additional Information for Graduate Students

The requirements for graduate students are somewhat different from those for undergraduates. The number of and types of assignments are the same, but the expectations for these assignments are considerably higher:

1. In all assignments, graduate students are expected to show a deeper analytical ability when evaluating readings, to show familiarity with a wider variety of sources, and to illustrate greater sophistication of thought in both verbal and written forms.
2. The writing style for graduate students should illustrate greater sophistication, both in the construction of the argument and in the clarity of writing.
3. While all students are expected to be prepared for each seminar, graduate students are expected to be particularly able to identify and critically discuss key themes in the week's readings. Graduate students are expected to be particularly active in discussions.
4. At the graduate level, students should show greater understanding of the nuances of criticism, e.g. how to provide intellectually incisive criticism in a respectful and constructive manner.
5. Graduate students will be expected to write longer research papers and weekly "QIPs" (see details above). Graduate students may choose to tailor their research papers to their thesis work, but this should be discussed with the instructor in advance.

Late Penalties

Research papers received after the due date will be subject to a late penalty of 1% on the first day, an *additional* 2% on the second day, an *additional* 3% on the third day ... and an additional 5% on the fifth and every subsequent day, unless appropriate written documentation such as a doctor's note is provided. (For example, a paper submitted six days late will receive a penalty of 20%, i.e. 1+2+3+4+5+5%). Please plan your work well ahead of time to avoid late penalties. The late penalties are phased in gradually to give you some extra flexibility. For example, if you need one more day to finish your paper, you may decide it is worth taking the small penalty to have a little extra time, but the penalties increase substantially as the delay grows longer.

5 Some revision will be made to the readings for classes from September 26 onward.

See section on “Weekly ‘QIPs’” above for the specific late penalties for those assignments.

Plagiarism

All students need to be familiar with the norms surrounding plagiarism and academic integrity.

To ensure that you understand what plagiarism is, see:

https://www.dal.ca/dept/university_secretariat/academic-integrity/plagiarism-cheating.html.

I also suggest that you take the following online quiz: <https://www.bc.edu/bc-web/schools/mcas/departments/political-science/undergraduate/academic-integrity/academic-integrity-quiz.html>. You might find some surprises.

N.B. I have often had to report students for academic integrity violations. In some cases, the violations appeared to be unintentional as the students did not understand the rules for the proper citation of others’ work. Don’t let it happen to you—or me (it’s no fun for anybody).

The instructor may use plagiarism detection software to review assignments.

If you have any questions about academic integrity and plagiarism, please ask. Also see the University Statement on “Academic Integrity” in section B near the end of this syllabus.

Required Books

Hulme, Mike, ed. 2020. *Contemporary Climate Change Debates*. London: Earthscan. (Available through Dalhousie Bookstore).

Jaccard, Mark. 2020. *The Citizen’s Guide to Climate Success: Overcoming Myths That Hinder Progress*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. (Available online free of charge: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/citizens-guide-to-climate-success/49D99FBCBD6FCACD5F3D58A7ED80882D>).

WEEKLY THEMES AND READINGS

N.B. You can find the readings either in the required books or the course website on brightspace, unless otherwise indicated. Class schedule is subject to change.

Since the politics of climate change is evolving rapidly, the instructor may choose to replace some scheduled readings if relevant new readings become available. Any changes in assigned readings will be announced in class and on Brightspace.

In addition to the required readings, you will find some additional recommended reading in section B, starting on p. *, below. You might find the recommended reading useful if you want to look more deeply into a specific issue or write a research paper on the topic. There is also some “highly recommended” reading noted below, which is not required, but will likely be mentioned in class.

Week 1: September 12: Introduction

Required:

Cornell, Sarah E., and Aarti Gupta. 2020. “Is Climate Change the Most Important Challenge of Our Times?” Pp. 6–18 in *Contemporary Climate Change Debates: A Student Primer*, edited by M. Hulme. London: Earthscan.

6 Some revision will be made to the readings for classes from September 26 onward.

Jaccard, Mark. 2020. "The Role of Myths in Our Climate-Energy Challenge." Pp. 1-28 in *The Citizen's Guide to Climate Success: Overcoming Myths That Hinder Progress*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Stoddard, Isak et al. 2021. "Three Decades of Climate Mitigation: Why Haven't We Bent the Global Emissions Curve?" *Annual Review of Environment and Resources* 46:653–89.

Highly recommended:

UNEP. 2021. Foreword and Executive Summary, pp. xv-xxix, *The Heat is On: A World of Climate Promises Not Yet Delivered. Emissions Gap Report 2021*. Nairobi: United Nations Environment Programme. <https://wedocs.unep.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.11822/36990/EGR21.pdf>

Focus on the key points in bold and the big picture in the UNEP report; you can skim more technical details. You may want to refer to the glossary near beginning of the report for explanation of terms and abbreviations (e.g. NDCs).

Ripple, William J., Christopher Wolf, Thomas M. Newsome, Phoebe Barnard, and William R. Moomaw. 2020. "World Scientists' Warning of a Climate Emergency." *BioScience* 70(1):8–12.

Week 2: September 19: Science and Climate Politics

How wide is the scientific consensus on climate change? How important is the extent of consensus politically?

Why have some political actors continued to resist the findings of mainstream climate science?

Why is there such a wide gap between scientific understandings of climate change and public opinion about the state of the science? And between scientific understandings and the degree of political action?

What role have climate science "doubters" played in questioning/undermining the basis for political action on climate change?

What strategies could be effective in responding to climate science denial?

What different forms can climate science "denial" take? Is climate "delay" and unwillingness to take the strong action required in light of scientific findings the main form of denial today, even among those who claim to accept climate science?

Required:

Jaccard, Mark. 2020. "Climate Scientists Are Conspirators." Pp. 39-57 in *The Citizen's Guide to Climate Success: Overcoming Myths That Hinder Progress*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Dunlap, Riley E., and Robert J. Brulle. 2021. "Sources and Amplifiers of Climate Change Denial." Pp. 49–61 in *Research Handbook on Communicating Climate Change*, edited by D. C. Holmes and L. M. Richardson. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

Kahan, Dan. 2012. "Why we are poles apart on climate change." *Nature* 488(7411):255.

Cook, John and Warren Pearce. 2020. "Is emphasising consensus in climate science helpful for policymaking?" Pp. 127-144 in *Contemporary Climate Change Debates*, edited by M. Hulme. London: Earthscan.

Farrell, Justin, Kathryn McConnell, and Robert Brulle. 2019. "Evidence-Based Strategies to Combat Scientific Misinformation." *Nature Climate Change* 9(3):191–95.

7 Some revision will be made to the readings for classes from September 26 onward.

Lamb, William F., Giulio Mattioli, Sebastian Levi, J. Timmons Roberts, Stuart Capstick, Felix Creutzig, Jan C. Minx, Finn Müller-Hansen, Trevor Culhane, and Julia K. Steinberger. 2020. "Discourses of Climate Delay." *Global Sustainability* 3. doi: 10.1017/sus.2020.13.

Carroll, William K., Shannon Daub, and Shane Gunster. 2022. "Regime of Obstruction: Fossil Capitalism and the Many Facets of Climate Denial in Canada." Pp. 216–33 in *Handbook of Anti-Environmentalism*, edited by D. Tindall, M. C. J. Stoddart, and R. E. Dunlap. Edward Elgar.

Vowles, Kjell and Martin Hultman. 2021. "Dead White Men vs. Greta Thunberg: Nationalism, Misogyny, and Climate Change Denial in Swedish Far-Right Digital Media." *Australian Feminist Studies* 36(110):414–31.

Highly Recommended:

Allen, Summer. 2021. "Communicating about Climate Change: What's Politics Got to Do with It?" Portland State University. <https://www.pdx.edu/news/communicating-about-climate-change-whats-politics-got-do-it>

Krugman, Paul. 2018. "Climate Denial Was the Crucible for Trumpism." *The New York Times*, December 7. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/03/opinion/climate-denial-trump-gop.html>

Otto, Friederike E.L. and Greg Lusk. 2020. "Should individual extreme weather events be attributed to human agency?" Pp. 36–49 in *Contemporary Climate Change Debates*, edited by M. Hulme. London: Earthscan.

Van der Linden, Sander, Edward Maibach, and Anthony Leiserowitz. 2015. "Improving Public Engagement With Climate Change: Five 'Best Practice' Insights From Psychological Science." *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 10(6):758–63.

Week 3: September 26: Economics and Climate Politics

How do we determine how much effort to make to combat climate change? Is the economic tool of cost-benefit analysis the right way to decide?

Is strong action to address climate change a "win-win" scenario that also produces economic benefits?

Is it feasible to reconcile the continued pursuit of economic growth with stabilization of the climate?

Has economics made a valuable contribution to addressing the climate challenge or has it contributed to delay and insufficient action?

Required:

Hulme, Mike. 2009. Chapter 4, "The Endowment of Value." *Why We Disagree About Climate Change: Understanding Controversy, Inaction, and Opportunity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Stern, Nicholas. 2016. "Economics: Current Climate Models Are Grossly Misleading." *Nature News* 530(7591):407.

Global Commission on the Economy and Climate. 2018. *Unlocking the Inclusive Growth Story of the 21st Century: Accelerating Climate Action in Urgent Times*. Washington, D.C.: World Resources Institute. https://newclimateeconomy.report/2018/wp-content/uploads/sites/6/2018/12/NCE_2018Report_Full_FINAL.pdf. (Required: Pp. 10-16.)

8 Some revision will be made to the readings for classes from September 26 onward.

Hickel, Jason, and Giorgos Kallis. 2019. "Is Green Growth Possible?" *New Political Economy* 25:469–86.

Bernstein, Jared. 2019. "The Climate Crisis and the Failure of Economics." *Vox*, October 11. <https://www.vox.com/2019/10/11/20906786/climate-change-economics-price-signal-future-discounting>

Nunn, Ryan, Jimmy O'Donnell, Jay Shambaugh, Lawrence H. Goulder, Charles D. Kolstad, and Xianling Long. 2019. *Ten Facts about the Economics of Climate Change and Climate Policy*. The Hamilton Project and the Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research. https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/20191025_ES_THP_Environmental_Facts_FINAL.pdf. (Required: Pp. 7-16.)

Hickel, Jason. 2018. "The Nobel Prize for Climate Catastrophe." *Foreign Policy*, December 6. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/12/06/the-nobel-prize-for-climate-catastrophe/>

Highly Recommended:

Pisani-Ferry, Jean. 2021. *Climate Policy Is Macroeconomic Policy, and the Implications Will Be Significant*. Washington, D.C.: Peterson Institute for International Economics. <https://www.piie.com/system/files/documents/pb21-20.pdf>

Keen, Steve. 2020. "The Appallingly Bad Neoclassical Economics of Climate Change." *Globalizations* 0(0):1–29. doi: 10.1080/14747731.2020.1807856

Roos, Michael, and Franziska M. Hoffart. 2021. Pp. 83-91 in *Climate Economics: A Call for More Pluralism and Responsibility*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Week 4: October 3: Climate Capitalism, Ecological Modernization, & Green Growth (I)

How are some countries trying to link climate policy to economic strategy?

Does the carbon market offer a viable path to a low-carbon economy?

Should we look to the finance sector to be a key part of the political coalition for climate action?

Do the initial problems experienced with carbon markets suggest that other strategies should be at the centre of the response to climate change? Or are there signs that lessons have been learned to make carbon markets more effective?

Required:

Watch this short video from Canada's Ecofiscal Commission:

"Carbon pricing: How does a cap-and-trade system work?"

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bxs6ZrxLvHg>

Newell, Peter and Matthew Paterson. 2009. "The Politics of the Carbon Economy." Pp. 80-99 in *The Politics of Climate Change: A Survey*, edited by M. Boykoff. London: Routledge.

World Bank. 2022. Pp. 9-21 in *State and Trends of Carbon Pricing 2021*. Washington, D.C: World Bank.

<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/37455/9781464818950.pdf> (Pay attention to the distinction between carbon pricing in general and the specific forms it can take: emissions trading or a carbon tax).

9 Some revision will be made to the readings for classes from September 26 onward.

LIFE ETX. 2022. Pp. 4-24, 31-32 in *EU ETS 101: A Beginner's Guide to the EU's Emissions Trading System*. Brussels: LIFE ETX. https://carbonmarketwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/CMW_EU_ETS_101_guide.pdf

Sato, Misato, Timothy Laing, and Mike Hulme. 2020. "Are Carbon Markets the Best Way to Address Climate Change?" Pp. 83–95 in *Contemporary Climate Change Debates*, edited by M. Hulme. London: Earthscan.

Mathis, Will. 2021. "Ex-Enron Trader Discovers Greed Is Good—for the Environment." *Bloomberg*, August 4. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2021-08-04/carbon-pricing-how-a-market-could-help-with-climate-change>

Mildenberger, Matto and Leah C. Stokes. 2020. "The Trouble with Carbon Pricing." *Boston Review*, September 23. <https://bostonreview.net/science-nature-politics/leah-c-stokes-matto-mildenberger-trouble-carbon-pricing>

Highly recommended:

Stuart, Diana, Ryan Gunderson, and Brian Petersen. 2019. "Climate Change and the Polanyian Counter-Movement: Carbon Markets or Degrowth?" *New Political Economy* 24(1):89–102.

Carbon Market Watch. 2019. *Carbon Markets 101: The Ultimate Guide to Global Offsetting Mechanisms*. Carbon Market Watch.

Farand, Chloé, Maribel Ángel-Moreno, Léopold Salzenstein, and Malkowski. 2022. "Data Exclusive: The 'junk' Carbon Offsets Revived by the Glasgow Pact." *Climate Home News*, June 17. <https://www.climatechangenews.com/2022/06/17/data-exclusive-the-junk-carbon-offsets-revived-by-the-glasgow-pact/>

October 10: Thanksgiving, No Class

Week 5: October 17: Climate Capitalism, Ecological Modernization, & Green Growth (II)

How have leading industrial nations sought to link climate action to an industrial competitiveness and growth strategy?

What successes have these strategies achieved? What challenges and contradictions have they faced?

Do such strategies represent a model of climate action and leadership?

Required:

Jänicke, Martin. 2017. "Germany: Innovation and climate leadership." Pp. 254-269 in *The European Union in International Climate Change Politics: Still Taking a Lead?*, edited by R.K.W. Wurzel, J. Connelly, and D. Liefferink. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Haas, Tobias. 2021. "From Green Energy to the Green Car State? The Political Economy of Ecological Modernisation in Germany." *New Political Economy* 26(4):660-673.

Haas, Tobias, Jeremias Herberg, and David Löw-Beer. 2022. "From Carbon Democracy to Post-Fossil Capitalism? The German Coal Phase-out as a Crossroads of Sustainability Politics." *Sustainability: Science, Practice and Policy* 18(1):384–99.

Wiertz, Thilo, Lilith Kuhn, and Annika Mattissek. 2022. "A Turn to Geopolitics: How Russia's War against Ukraine Unsettles the German Energy Transition Discourse." <https://doi.org/10.31235/osf.io/8d6sp>

10 Some revision will be made to the readings for classes from September 26 onward.

Heggelund, Gørild M. 2021. “China’s Climate and Energy Policy: At a Turning Point?” *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics* 21(1):9–23.

Stalley, Phillip. 2021. “China’s Climate Change Record: Beijing Tends to Meet Its Targets, but Sets the Bar Too Low.” *The Conversation*, December 7. <https://theconversation.com/chinas-climate-change-record-beijing-tends-to-meet-its-targets-but-sets-the-bar-too-low-172138>

Olcott, Eleanor. 2022. “China Ramps up Coal Power to Boost Post-Lockdown Growth.” *Financial Times*, June 13. <https://www.ft.com/content/68bc7f20-e5f9-4532-bb0f-4820783de2c2>

Highly recommended:

Zimmer, Markus, and Bridgette Stegmann. 2022. *Back on the (Climate) Track: The Quest for Independence Powers Germany’s Energy Transition*. Allianz Trade. https://www.allianz-trade.com/content/dam/onemarketing/aztrade/allianz-trade_com/en_gl/erd/publications/the-watch/2022_07_13_Germany-Back-on-Climate-Track.pdf

Week 6: October 24: Alternatives to Climate Capitalism (I)

Are “climate capitalism” and “ecological modernization” the only politically viable options to achieve deep emissions cuts?

Do we need to question the growth economy, consumerism, capitalism?

Is a growth-oriented Green New Deal a more politically and economically viable project than degrowth? Or is there a need for a synthesis combining the two projects?

Do political movements focused on climate justice and resisting extractivism offer more hope for solutions than “climate capitalism?”

Required:

Alfredsson, Eva et al. 2018. “Why Achieving the Paris Agreement Requires Reduced Overall Consumption and Production.” *Sustainability: Science, Practice and Policy* 14(1):1–5.

Gough, Ian. 2017. “Recomposing Consumption: Defining Necessities for Sustainable and Equitable Well-Being.” *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society A* 375:20160379.

Gough, Ian. 2017. “Post-growth, redistribution, and wellbeing.” Pp. 171-193 in *Heat, Greed and Human Need: Climate Change, Capitalism and Sustainable Wellbeing*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

Pollin, Robert. 2019. “Advancing a Viable Global Climate Stabilization Project: Degrowth versus the Green New Deal.” *Review of Radical Political Economics* 51(2):311–19.

Schor, Juliet B. and Andrew K. Jorgenson. 2019. “Is It Too Late for Growth?” *Review of Radical Political Economics* 51(2):320–29.

Whyte, Kyle Powys. 2019. “Way Beyond the Lifeboat: An Indigenous Peoples’ Allegory of Climate Justice.” Pp. 12-20 in *Climate Futures: Re-imagining Global Climate Justice*, edited by K.-K. Bhavnani, J. Foran, P. A. Kurian, and D. Munshi. London: Zed Books.

Stephens, Jennie C. 2019. “Energy Democracy: Redistributing Power to the People Through Renewable Transformation.” *Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development* 61(2):4–13.

Highly recommended:

Hausknost, Daniel. 2020. "The Environmental State and the Glass Ceiling of Transformation." *Environmental Politics* 29(1):17–37.

Koch, Max. 2020. "The State in the Transformation to a Sustainable Postgrowth Economy." *Environmental Politics* 29(1):115–33.

Mastini, Riccardo, Giorgos Kallis, and Jason Hickel. 2021. "A Green New Deal without Growth?" *Ecological Economics* 179:106832.

Week 7: October 31: Alternatives to Climate Capitalism (II)

Required:

Klein, Naomi. 2011. "Capitalism vs. the Climate." *The Nation*, November 9. <https://www.thenation.com/article/capitalism-vs-climate/> (For a more detailed version of Klein's analysis, see *This Changes Everything* in "highly recommended" section.)

Aronoff, Kate, Alyssa Battistoni, Daniel Aldana Cohen, and Thea Riofrancos. 2019. *A Planet to Win: Why We Need a Green New Deal*. New York: Verso. (Required: Introduction, Chapters 2 and 4; Recommended: Chapter 3, Conclusion).

Jaccard, Mark. 2020. "We Must Abolish Capitalism." Pp. 224-238 in *The Citizen's Guide to Climate Success: Overcoming Myths That Hinder Progress*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. (This chapter was written in response to Naomi Klein's *This Changes Everything*, but you can consider the argument in relation to Aronoff et al. as well.)

If you'd like additional background on the contents of the Green New Deal, see:

The text of the US Green New Deal resolution: <https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-resolution/109/text>

Friedman, Lisa. 2019. "What Is the Green New Deal? A Climate Proposal, Explained." *New York Times*, February 21. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/21/climate/green-new-deal-questions-answers.html>

Highly recommended:

Klein, Naomi. 2014. Pp. 31-46, 86-95; 96-119; 120-152, 293-305, 367-387 in *This Changes Everything: Capitalism vs. the Climate*. Toronto: Knopf Canada.

November 7: Study Break, No Class

Week 8: November 14: Making it Personal: Climate Politics, Lifestyle, and Behaviour Change

What does a low-carbon lifestyle look like?

Is lifestyle and behaviour change a key element of climate politics, or a distraction from more important issues?

How much impact can individual change have without wider social and political change?

N.B. A short assignment, which involves calculating your carbon footprint and analyzing an action plan to reduce it, will be distributed the week before this class.

Required:

UNEP. 2020. Chapter 6, “Bridging the gap – the role of equitable low-carbon lifestyles.” *Emissions Gap Report 2020*. Nairobi: United Nations Environment Programme.
<https://www.unep.org/emissions-gap-report-2020>

Akenji, Lewis et al. 2021. *1.5-Degree Lifestyles: Towards a Fair Consumption Space for All*. Berlin: Hot or Cold Institute. Required pages: 12-19, 30-31, 59-62, 77, 79, 123-124.

Rust, Niki et al. 2020. “How to Transition to Reduced-Meat Diets That Benefit People and the Planet.” *Science of the Total Environment* 137208.

Jaccard, Mark. 2020. “We Must Change Our Behavior.” Pp. 144-164 in *The Citizen’s Guide to Climate Success: Overcoming Myths That Hinder Progress*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Lukacs, Martin. 2017. “Neoliberalism has conned us into fighting climate change as individuals.” *The Guardian*, July 17. <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/true-north/2017/jul/17/neoliberalism-has-conned-us-into-fighting-climate-change-as-individuals>

Maslin, Mark. 2021. Chapter 6, “Power of the Individual.” *How To Save Our Planet: The Facts*. Penguin.

Barros, Beatriz, and Richard Wilk. 2021. “Private Planes, Mansions and Superyachts: What Gives Billionaires like Musk and Abramovich Such a Massive Carbon Footprint.” *The Conversation*, February 16. <http://theconversation.com/private-planes-mansions-and-superyachts-what-gives-billionaires-like-musk-and-abramovich-such-a-massive-carbon-footprint-152514>

Highly recommended

Moberg, Karen R. et al. 2019. “Mobility, Food and Housing: Responsibility, Individual Consumption and Demand-Side Policies in European Deep Decarbonisation Pathways.” *Energy Efficiency* 12(2):497–519.

Maniates, Michael. 2001. “Individualization: Plant a Tree, Buy a Bike, Save the World?” *Global Environmental Politics* 1(3):31-52.

Week 9: November 21: Climate Politics in Canada

How has Canadian climate policy evolved in recent decades?

Why is climate change such a difficult challenge for Canada?

What forces could potentially enable Canada to take stronger climate action?

What types of political, economic, and social change are needed for Canada to achieve deep decarbonization?

Does strong action on climate change require a rethinking not only of Canada’s economy, but also its national identity as a country with abundant resources awaiting exploitation?

Should Canadian policy aim to support a transformation of the fossil-fuel sector or to wind it down?

Required:

Gabbatiss, Josh. 2019. “The Carbon Brief Profile: Canada.” *Carbon Brief*, October 8.
<https://www.carbonbrief.org/the-carbon-brief-profile-canada>

- MacNeil, Robert. 2020. "Is Canadian Carbon Pricing Here to Stay? The Outlook after 14 Elections." *Environmental Politics* 29(2):354–59.
- Dalby, Simon. 2019. "Canadian Geopolitical Culture: Climate Change and Sustainability." *The Canadian Geographer / Le Géographe Canadien* 63(1):100–111.
- A Shared Future Research Team. 2019. "'Decolonizing' Clean Energy Policy in Canada?" Yellowhead Institute. <https://yellowheadinstitute.org/2019/09/26/decolonizing-clean-energy-policy-in-canada/>.
- Business Council of Canada. 2021. *Clean Growth 3.0*. Ottawa: Business Council of Canada. <https://thebusinesscouncil.ca/app/uploads/2021/04/Clean-Growth-3.0.pdf> (Required: pp. 4-6, 12-18, 20-22).
- Carter, Angela V., and Truzaar Dordi. 2021. *Correcting Canada's "One Eye Shut" Climate Policy*. Victoria, BC: Cascade Institute. <https://cascadeinstitute.org/technical-paper/correcting-canadas-one-eye-shut-climate-policy/>
- Meadowcroft, James, and contributors. 2021. *Pathways to Net Zero: A Decision Support Tool*. Volume 3, Issue 1. Ottawa: Transition Accelerator. <https://transitionaccelerator.ca/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/2021-01-24-Pathways-to-Net-Zero-v9-4.pdf> (Required: pp. vi-x, 57-62).
- MacArthur, Julie L., Christina E. Hoicka, Heather Castleden, Runa Das, and Jenny Lieu. 2020. "Canada's Green New Deal: Forging the Socio-Political Foundations of Climate Resilient Infrastructure?" *Energy Research & Social Science* 65:101442.
- Highly recommended for background on historical evolution of Canadian climate policy*
- Macdonald, Douglas. 2020. "Historical Overview: Canadian Energy and Climate Policies." Pp. 63-89 in *Carbon Province, Hydro Province: The Challenge of Canadian Energy and Climate Federalism*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- MacNeil, Robert. 2019. "A Brief History of Canadian Climate Policy." Pp. 9-39 in *Thirty Years of Failure: Understanding Canadian Climate Policy*. Halifax: Fernwood.

Week 10: November 28: Governance of Climate Change (I): The Global Level

- What have been the key issues and sources of conflict among nations in global climate negotiations?
- What are the strengths and limits of the Paris climate agreement? What are its implications for climate action around the globe?
- Do we need to rethink the approach to global climate negotiations and expectations of what they can achieve?

Required:

- Chasek, Pamela S., David L. Downie, and Janet Welsh Brown. 2021. Pp. 102-116 in *Global Environmental Politics*. 8th ed. New York: Routledge.
- Cléménçon, Raymond. 2016. "The Two Sides of the Paris Climate Agreement: Dismal Failure or Historic Breakthrough?" *Journal of Environment and Development* 25(1):3-24.
- Allan, Jen Iris. 2019. "Dangerous Incrementalism of the Paris Agreement." *Global Environmental Politics* 19(1):4–11.

14 Some revision will be made to the readings for classes from September 26 onward.

Depledge, Joanna, Miguel Saldivia, and Cristina Peñasco. 2022. "Glass Half Full or Glass Half Empty?: The 2021 Glasgow Climate Conference." *Climate Policy* 22(2):147–57.

Stevenson, Hayley. 2021. "Reforming Global Climate Governance in an Age of Bullshit." *Globalizations* 18(1):86–102.

Jaccard, Mark. 2020. "All Countries Will Agree on Climate Fairness." Pp. 58-75 in *The Citizen's Guide to Climate Success: Overcoming Myths That Hinder Progress*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Highly recommended:

Milkoreit, Manjana. 2019. "The Paris Agreement on Climate Change—Made in USA?" *Perspectives on Politics* 17(4):1019–37.

Week 11: December 5: Governance of Climate Change (II): Alternative Visions

Do we need to rethink the approach to global climate negotiations and expectations of what they can achieve?

Should we continue to look toward states as the key actors in climate politics?

What roles can transnational networks and non-state actors play in accelerating climate action around the globe?

Does a polycentric approach help us understand and enhance climate governance?

Do forms of climate governance at the local and community level have the potential to fill the void left by inadequate action at the global and national levels?

Required:

Andonova, Liliana B. and Kim Coetzee. 2020. "Does successful emissions reduction lie in the hands of non-state rather than state actors?" Pp. 176-188 in *Contemporary Climate Change Debates*, edited by M. Hulme. London: Earthscan.

van der Heijden, Jeroen. 2018. "City and Subnational Governance: High Ambitions, Innovative Instruments and Polycentric Collaborations?" Pp. 81–96 in *Governing Climate Change: Polycentricity in Action?*, edited by A. Jordan, D. Huitema, H. van Asselt, and J. Forster. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Gilligan, Jonathan M. and Michael P. Vandenberg. 2020. "A Framework for Assessing the Impact of Private Climate Governance." *Energy Research & Social Science* 60:101400.

Litfin, Karen. 2020. "Localism, Sharing, and Care." Pp. 361–71 in *Routledge Handbook of Global Sustainability Governance*, edited by A. Kalfagianni, D. Fuchs, and A. Hayden. London: Routledge.

Bernstein, Steven and Matthew Hoffmann. 2019. "Climate Politics, Metaphors and the Fractal Carbon Trap." *Nature Climate Change* 9(12):919–25.

Harris, Paul G. and Kenneth Shockley. 2020. "Do rich people rather than rich countries bear the greatest responsibility for climate change?" Pp. 146-157 in *Contemporary Climate Change Debates*, edited by M. Hulme. London: Earthscan.

Highly Recommended:

Dorsch, Marcel J. and Christian Flachsland. 2017. "A Polycentric Approach to Global Climate Governance." *Global Environmental Politics* 17(2):45–64.

Week 12: December 6: Geo-Engineering Our Way Out of Crisis? And Concluding Thoughts

Since this class is scheduled only one day after the previous class, we will discuss in class whether to find an alternative date.

If political action to date has not been adequate to address climate change, do we need to consider risky geo-engineering solutions? Or do we need to re-double political efforts to cut emissions?

Concluding Discussion:

What does climate change mean for our wider political, social, economic, and personal projects? Do any particular approaches to climate politics that we have covered stand out as having the most promise?

Required:

Temple, James. 2019. "What Is Geoengineering—and Why Should You Care?" *MIT Technology Review*, August 19. <https://www.technologyreview.com/2019/08/09/615/what-is-geoengineering-and-why-should-you-care-climate-change-harvard/>

National Academy of Sciences. 2021. *Reflecting Sunlight: Recommendations for Solar Geoengineering Research and Research Governance (Highlights)*. Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences. <https://www.nap.edu/resource/25762/Reflecting%20Sunlight%204-Page.pdf>

Baskin, Jeremy. 2019. "Competing Imaginaries of Solar Geoengineering." Pp. 123-161 in *Geoengineering, the Anthropocene and the End of Nature*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Pasztor, Janos. 2017. "The Need for Governance of Climate Geoengineering." *Ethics & International Affairs* 31(4):419–30.

Long, Jane C. S., and Rose Cairns. 2020. "Is It Necessary to Research Solar Climate Engineering as a Possible Backstop Technology?" Pp. 109–22 in *Contemporary Climate Change Debates*, edited by M. Hulme. London: Earthscan.

Highly recommended:

Dyke, James, Robert Watson, and Wolfgang Knorr. 2021. "Climate Scientists: Concept of Net Zero Is a Dangerous Trap." *The Conversation*, April 22. <https://theconversation.com/climate-scientists-concept-of-net-zero-is-a-dangerous-trap-157368>

Keith, David and Andy Parker. 2015. "Will solar geoengineering help us manage the risks of climate change?" Pp. 76-92 in *Our world and us: How our environment and our societies will change*, edited by K. Barysch. Munich: Allianz SE.

Nicholson, Simon. 2017. "Reimagining Climate Engineering: The Politics of Tinkering with the Sky." Pp. 110–31 in *Reimagining Climate Change*, edited by P. Wapner and H. Elver. London: Earthscan.

Thiele, Leslie Paul. 2019. "Geoengineering and Sustainability." *Environmental Politics* 28(3):460–79.

Section B: Additional Recommended Reading

Week 1: Introduction: Additional Recommended Reading

Hulme, Mike. 2009. Pp. xxi-xxxiv and Chapter 1, “The Social Meanings of Climate,” especially pp. 18-33. *Why We Disagree About Climate Change: Understanding Controversy, Inaction, and Opportunity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

IPCC. 2018. *Global Warming of 1.5°C: Summary for Policymakers*. Geneva: Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. https://www.ipcc.ch/site/assets/uploads/sites/2/2018/07/SR15_SPM_High_Res.pdf

IPCC. 2021. “Summary for Policymakers.” in *Climate Change 2021: The Physical Science Basis. Contribution of Working Group I to the Sixth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*. Cambridge, UK: Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change.

https://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar6/wg1/downloads/report/IPCC_AR6_WGI_SPM.pdf

Rapley, Chris and Duncan Macmillan. 2014. “Climate change is not just about science – it’s about the future we want to create.” *The Observer*, November 22. <http://www.theguardian.com/science/2014/nov/22/-sp-climate-change-special-report>.

World Resources Institute. 2018. “8 Things You Need to Know About the IPCC 1.5°C Report.” October 7. <https://www.wri.org/blog/2018/10/8-things-you-need-know-about-ipcc-15-c-report>

Week 2: Science and Climate Politics: Additional Recommended Reading

Agius, Christine, Annika Bergman Rosamond, and Catarina Kinnvall. 2021. “Populism, Ontological Insecurity and Gendered Nationalism: Masculinity, Climate Denial and Covid-19.” *Politics, Religion & Ideology* 21(4):432–50.

Boulianne, Shelley, and Stephanie Belland. 2022. “Climate Denial in Canada and the United States.” *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue Canadienne de Sociologie* 59(3):369–94.

Boussalis, Constantine and Travis G. Coan. 2016. “Text-Mining the Signals of Climate Change Doubt.” *Global Environmental Change* 36:89–100.

Boykoff, Maxwell T. and Shawn K. Olson. 2013. “‘Wise Contrarians’: A Keystone Species in Contemporary Climate Science, Politics and Policy.” *Celebrity Studies* 4(3):276–291.

Boykoff, Maxwell T. and Jules M. Boykoff. 2004. “Balance as Bias: Global Warming and the US Prestige Press.” *Global Environmental Change* 14:125-136.

Carmichael, Jason T. and Robert J. Brulle. 2017. “Elite Cues, Media Coverage, and Public Concern: An Integrated Path Analysis of Public Opinion on Climate Change, 2001–2013.” *Environmental Politics* 26(2):232–52.

Cook, John et al. 2016. “Consensus on Consensus: A Synthesis of Consensus Estimates on Human-Caused Global Warming.” *Environmental Research Letters* 11(4):048002.

Responses to Cook et al 2016:

Pearce, Warren et al. 2017. “Beyond Counting Climate Consensus.” *Environmental Communication* 11(6):723–30.

Cook, John. 2017. “Response by Cook to ‘Beyond Counting Climate Consensus.’” *Environmental Communication* 11(6):733–35.

Cook, John. 2019. “Understanding and Countering Misinformation About Climate Change.” Pp. 281–306 in *Handbook of Research on Deception, Fake News, and Misinformation Online*, edited by I. E. Chiluiwa and S. A. Samoilenko. Hershey, PA: IGI Global.

Dunlap, Riley E. and Aaron M. McCright. 2015. “Challenging Climate Change: The Denial Countermovement.” Pp. 300–322 in *Climate Change and Society: Sociological Perspectives*, edited by R. E. Dunlap and R. J. Brulle. New York: Oxford University Press.

Dunlap, Riley E., Aaron M. McCright, and Jerrod H. Yarosh. 2016. “The Political Divide on Climate Change: Partisan Polarization Widens in the U.S.” *Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development* 58(5):4–23.

Garrard, Greg, Axel Goodbody, George B. Handley, and Stephanie Posthumus. 2019. *Climate Change Scepticism: A Transnational Ecocritical Analysis*. Bloomsbury.

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- Hamilton, Clive. 2010. "Why We Resist the Truth About Climate Change." http://clivehamilton.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/why_we_resist_the_truth_about_climate_change.pdf
- Hulme, Mike. 2009. Chapter 3, "The Performance of Science." *Why We Disagree About Climate Change: Understanding Controversy, Inaction, and Opportunity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Hultman, Martin, Anna Björk, and Tamya Viinikka. 2019. "The Far Right and Climate Change Denial." Pp. 121-135 in *The Far Right and the Environment: Politics, Discourse and Communication*, edited by B. Forchtner. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Klein, Naomi. 2014. Pp. 31-46 in *This Changes Everything: Capitalism vs. the Climate*. Toronto: Knopf Canada.
- Klein, Seth. 2020. Chapter 2, "What We're Up Against: The New Climate Denialism in Canada." *A Good War: Mobilizing Canada for the Climate Emergency*. Toronto: ECW Press.
- Kränge, Olve, Bjørn P. Kaltenborn, and Martin Hultman. 2019. "Cool Dudes in Norway: Climate Change Denial among Conservative Norwegian Men." *Environmental Sociology* 5(1):1-11.
- Kofman, Ava. 2018. "Bruno Latour, the Post-Truth Philosopher, Mounts a Defense of Science." *The New York Times Magazine*, October 25. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/25/magazine/bruno-latour-post-truth-philosopher-science.html>
- Lavelle, Marielle. 2017. "5 Shades of Climate Denial, All on Display in the Trump White House." *Inside Climate News*, June 9. <https://insideclimatenews.org/print/46337>
- Marshall, George. 2014. *Don't Even Think About It: Why Our Brains Are Wired to Ignore Climate Change*. New York: Bloomsbury.
- McCright, Aaron. M. and Riley E. Dunlap. 2010. "Anti-reflexivity: The American Conservative Movement's Success in Undermining Climate Science and Policy." *Theory, Culture & Society* 27(2-3):100-133.
- McCright, Aaron M. and Riley E. Dunlap. 2011. "Cool Dudes: The Denial of Climate Change among Conservative White Males in the United States." *Global Environmental Change* 21(4):1163-72.
- McCright, Aaron M., Meghan Charters, Katherine Dentzman, and Thomas Dietz. 2016. "Examining the Effectiveness of Climate Change Frames in the Face of a Climate Change Denial Counter-Frame." *Topics in Cognitive Science* 8(1):76-97.
- Oreskes, Naomi and Erik M. Conway. 2010. *Merchants of Doubt*. New York: Bloomsbury Press (especially ch. 6).
- Painter, James, and Teresa Ashe. 2012. "Cross-national comparison of the presence of climate scepticism in the print media in six countries, 2007-10." *Environmental Research Letters* 7(4):1-8.
- Powell, James Lawrence. 2015. "Climate Scientists Virtually Unanimous: Anthropogenic Global Warming Is True." *Bulletin of Science, Technology & Society* 35(5-6):121-124.
- Roberts, David. 2017. "Conservatives Probably Can't Be Persuaded on Climate Change. So Now What?" *Vox*, November 10. <https://www.vox.com/energy-and-environment/2017/11/10/16627256/conservatives-climate-change-persuasion>
- Sinatra, Gale, and Barbara Hofer. 2021. "What Can We Do About Science Denial, Doubt, and Resistance?" Pp. 161-84 in *Science Denial: Why It Happens and What to Do about It*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stern, Paul et al. 2016. "The challenge of climate-change neoskepticism." *Science* 353(6300):653-654.
- Suldovsky, Brianne, and Daniel Taylor-Rodríguez. 2021. "Epistemic Engagement: Examining Personal Epistemology and Engagement Preferences with Climate Change in Oregon." *Climatic Change* 166(3-4):48.
- University of Maryland. 2015. "UMD Study Finds Climate Change Debate Fueled by 'Echo Chambers'." *UMD Right Now*, May 27. <http://www.umdrightnow.umd.edu/news/umd-study-finds-climate-change-debate-fueled-echo-chambers>
- Union of Concerned Scientists. 2018. "Scientists Agree: Global Warming is Happening and Humans are the Primary Cause." Cambridge, MA: Union of Concerned Scientists. <https://www.ucsusa.org/resources/global-warming-happening-and-humans-are-primary-cause>
- Union of Concerned Scientists. 2015. "Climate Deception Dossiers: Internal Fossil Fuel Industry Memos Reveal Decades of Corporate Disinformation." Cambridge, MA: Union of Concerned Scientists. <http://www.ucsusa.org/sites/default/files/attach/2015/07/The-Climate-Deception-Dossiers.pdf>

Young, Nathan and Aline Coutinho. 2013. "Government, Anti-Reflexivity, and the Construction of Public Ignorance about Climate Change: Australia and Canada Compared." *Global Environmental Politics* 13(2):89–108.

Week 3: Economics and Climate Politics: Additional Recommended Reading

Ackerman, Frank. 2009. "Much less wrong: the Stern Review versus its critics." Pp. 82-96 in *Can We Afford the Future? The Economics of a Warming World*. London: Zed Books.

Anderson, Kevin. 2013. "Avoiding dangerous climate change demands de-growth strategies from wealthier nations." *Kevin Anderson (Blog)*, November 23. <http://kevinanderson.info/blog/avoiding-dangerous-climate-change-demands-de-growth-strategies-from-wealthier-nations/>

Anderson, Kevin, and Alice Bows. 2012. "A new paradigm for climate change." *Nature Climate Change* 2(9):639–640.

Baer, Paul. 2007. "The worth of an ice-sheet: A critique of the treatment of catastrophic impacts in the Stern Review." *EcoEquity*. <http://www.ecoequity.org/docs/WorthOfAnIceSheet.pdf>

Drewe, Stefan and Jeroen C. J. M. van den Bergh. 2017. "Scientists' Views on Economic Growth versus the Environment: A Questionnaire Survey among Economists and Non-Economists." *Global Environmental Change* 46(Supplement C):88–103.

Dryzek, Norgaard, and Schlosberg. Chapter 3, "The Costs of Inaction and the Limits of Economics" in *Climate Challenged Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fitzroy, Felix R. and Elissaios Papyrakis. 2016. Pp. 158-177, 185-187 in *An Introduction to Climate Change Economics and Policy*. 2nd edition. London: Routledge.

Gerlagh, Reyer, Roweno Heijmans, and Kozo Torasan Mayumi. 2020. "Can the Social Cost of Carbon Be Calculated?" Pp. 65–78 in *Contemporary Climate Change Debates: A Student Primer*, edited by M. Hulme. London: Earthscan.

Hayden, Anders. 2017. "Climate Change, Growth, and Sustainability." In *Handbook of Growth and Sustainability*, edited by P. Victor and B. Dolter. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

Howard, Peter and Derek Sylvan. 2015. Pp. 9-24 in *Expert Consensus on the Economics of Climate Change*. New York: Institute for Policy Integrity, New York School of Law. <http://policyintegrity.org/files/publications/ExpertConsensusReport.pdf>

Jackson, Tim. 2017. "The Myth of Decoupling." Pp. 84-102 in *Prosperity Without Growth: Foundations for the Economy of Tomorrow*. 2nd Edition. London: Routledge.

Krugman, Paul. 2013. "Gambling with Civilization." *New York Review of Books*, May 7. <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2013/nov/07/climate-change-gambling-civilization/>

Lockwood, Matthew. 2015. "Stern Review 2.0? The Report of the Global Commission on the Economy and Climate." *The Political Quarterly* 86(1):146-51.

Nordhaus, William. 2007. "Critical Assumptions in the Stern Review on Climate Change." *Science* 317(5835):201-202. nordhaus.econ.yale.edu/nordhaus_stern_science.pdf

Nordhaus, William. 2013. *The Climate Casino: Risk, Uncertainty, and Economics in a Warming World*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Roberts, David. 2015. "Climate Wonks Focus on Economics. They Need to Pay More Attention to Politics." *Vox*, May 8. <https://www.vox.com/2015/8/20/9179001/clean-energy-political-economy>

Roos, Michael, and Franziska M. Hoffart. 2021. *Climate Economics: A Call for More Pluralism and Responsibility*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Spash, Clive L. 2007. "The economics of climate change impacts à la Stern: Novel and nuanced or rhetorically restricted?" *Ecological Economics* 63(4):706-713.

Stern, Nicholas. 2007. *The Economics of Climate Change: The Stern Review*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Also available at: http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+http://www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/sternreview_index.htm).

Tol, Richard S.J. and Gary W. Yohe. 2006. "A Review of the Stern Review." *World Economics* 7(4):233-250.

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Wolf, Martin. 2012. "Living with Limits: Growth, Resources, and Climate Change." *Climate Policy* 12(6):772–83.

York, Richard, Brett Clark, and John Bellamy Foster. 2009. "Capitalism in Wonderland." *Monthly Review*, May. <http://www.monthlyreview.org/090501-york-clark-foster.php>

Week 4: Climate Capitalism, Ecological Modernization, & Green Growth (I): Additional Recommended Reading

- Ball, Jeffrey. 2018. "Why Carbon Pricing Isn't Working." *Foreign Affairs* 97(4): 134-146. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/world/2018-06-14/why-carbon-pricing-isnt-working>
- Bang, Guri, David G. Victor, and Steinar Andresen. 2017. "California's Cap-and-Trade System: Diffusion and Lessons." *Global Environmental Politics* 17(3):12–30.
- Branger, Frédéric, Oskar Lecuyer, and Philippe Quirion. 2015. "The European Union Emissions Trading Scheme: Should We Throw the Flagship out with the Bathwater?" *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change* 6(1):9–16.
- Böhm, Steffen, Maria Ceci Misoczky, and Sandra Moog. 2012. "Greening Capitalism? A Marxist Critique of Carbon Markets." *Organization Studies* 33(11):1617–38.
- Buen, Jørund. 2013. "CDM Criticisms: Don't Throw the Baby out with the Bathwater." Lysaker, Norway: Fridtjof Nansen Institute. <http://www.fni.no/doc&pdf/FNI-Climate-Policy-Perspectives-8.pdf>
- Carbon Market Watch. 2021. *A New Hope - Recommendations for the EU Emissions Trading System Review*. Carbon Market Watch. https://carbonmarketwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/A-New-Hope_recommendations-for-the-EU-ETS-review-2.pdf
- CEO. 2015. "EU emissions trading: 5 reasons to scrap the ETS." Brussels: Corporate Europe Observatory. <https://corporateeurope.org/environment/2015/10/eu-emissions-trading-5-reasons-scrap-ets>
- Childs, Mike. 2012. "Privatising the atmosphere: A solution or dangerous con?" *Ephemera* 12 (1/2):12-18. <http://www.ephemerajournal.org/sites/default/files/12-1childs.pdf>. See also other articles in special issue of journal *Ephemera* on the "Atmosphere Business": <http://www.ephemerajournal.org/issue/atmosphere-business>
- Dirix, Jo, Wouter Peeters, and Sigrid Sterckx. 2015. "Is the EU ETS a Just Climate Policy?" *New Political Economy* 20(5):702–24.
- Durban Group. 2004. "Climate Justice Now! The Durban Declaration on Carbon Trading." October 10. <http://www.carbontradewatch.org/durban/statementeng.pdf>
- Ellerman, A. Denny, Claudio Marcantonini, and Aleksandar Zaklan. 2016. "The European Union Emissions Trading System: Ten Years and Counting." *Review of Environmental Economics and Policy* 10(1):89–107.
- Ervine, Kate. 2018. Chapter 3, "Trading Carbon to Cool the World?" *Carbon*. Polity.
- Gulbrandsen, Lars H., Jørgen Wettestad, David G. Victor, and Arild Underdal. 2019. "The Political Roots of Divergence in Carbon Market Design: Implications for Linking." *Climate Policy* 19(4):427–38.
- Jevnaker, Torbjørg and Jørgen Wettestad. 2017. "Ratcheting Up Carbon Trade: The Politics of Reforming EU Emissions Trading." *Global Environmental Politics* 17(2):105–24.
- Klein, Naomi. 2014. Pp. 218-229, "Trading in Pollution" in *This Changes Everything: Capitalism vs. the Climate*. Toronto: Knopf Canada.
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Section C: University Statements

Territorial Acknowledgement:

The Dalhousie University Senate acknowledges that we are in Mi'kma'ki, the ancestral and unceded territory of the Mi'kmaq People and pays respect to the Indigenous knowledges held by the Mi'kmaq People, and to the wisdom of their Elders past and present. The Mi'kmaq People signed Peace and Friendship Treaties with the Crown, and section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982 recognizes and affirms Aboriginal and Treaty rights. We are all Treaty people.¹

¹ For more information about the purpose of territorial acknowledgements, or information about alternative territorial acknowledgements if your class is offered outside of Nova Scotia, please visit <https://native-land.ca/>.

The Dalhousie University Senate also acknowledges the histories, contributions, and legacies of African Nova Scotians, who have been here for over 400 years.

Internationalization

At Dalhousie, ‘thinking and acting globally’ enhances the quality and impact of education, supporting learning that is “interdisciplinary, cross-cultural, global in reach, and orientated toward solving problems that extend across national borders.” <https://www.dal.ca/about-dal/internationalization.html>

Academic Integrity

At Dalhousie University, we are guided in all of our work by the values of academic integrity: honesty, trust, fairness, responsibility and respect. As a student, you are required to demonstrate these values in all of the work you do. The University provides policies and procedures that every member of the university community is required to follow to ensure academic integrity. (Read more: http://www.dal.ca/dept/university_secretariat/academic-integrity.html)

Accessibility

The Student Accessibility Centre is Dalhousie's centre of expertise for matters related to student accessibility and accommodation. If there are aspects of the design, instruction, and/or experiences within this course (online or in-person) that result in barriers to your inclusion please contact:

- the Student Accessibility Centre (https://www.dal.ca/campus_life/academic-support/accessibility.html) for all courses offered by Dalhousie with the exception of Truro.
- the Student Success Centre in Truro for courses offered by the Faculty of Agriculture (<https://www.dal.ca/about-dal/agricultural-campus/student-success-centre.html>)

Your classrooms may contain accessible furniture and equipment. It is important that these items remain in place, undisturbed, so that students who require their use will be able to fully participate.

Conduct in the Classroom – Culture of Respect

Substantial and constructive dialogue on challenging issues is an important part of academic inquiry and exchange. It requires willingness to listen and tolerance of opposing points of view. Consideration of individual differences and alternative viewpoints is required of all class members, towards each other, towards instructors, and towards guest speakers. While expressions of differing perspectives are welcome and encouraged, the words and language used should remain within acceptable bounds of civility and respect.

Diversity and Inclusion – Culture of Respect

Every person at Dalhousie has a right to be respected and safe. We believe inclusiveness is fundamental to education. We stand for equality. Dalhousie is strengthened in our diversity. We are a respectful and inclusive community. We are committed to being a place where everyone feels welcome and supported, which is why our Strategic Direction prioritizes fostering a culture of diversity and inclusiveness (Strategic Priority 5.2). (Read more:

29 Some revision will be made to the readings for classes from September 26 onward.

<http://www.dal.ca/cultureofrespect.html>)

Student Code of Conduct

Everyone at Dalhousie is expected to treat others with dignity and respect. The Code of Student Conduct allows Dalhousie to take disciplinary action if students don't follow this community expectation. When appropriate, violations of the code can be resolved in a reasonable and informal manner—perhaps through a restorative justice process. If an informal resolution can't be reached, or would be inappropriate, procedures exist for formal dispute resolution. (Read more: https://www.dal.ca/dept/university_secretariat/policies/student-life/code-of-student-conduct.html)

Fair Dealing policy

The Dalhousie University Fair Dealing Policy provides guidance for the limited use of copyright protected material without the risk of infringement and without having to seek the permission of copyright owners. It is intended to provide a balance between the rights of creators and the rights of users at Dalhousie. (Read more: https://www.dal.ca/dept/university_secretariat/policies/academic/fair-dealing-policy-.html)

Originality Checking Software

The course instructor may use Dalhousie's approved originality checking software and Google to check the originality of any work submitted for credit, in accordance with the Student Submission of Assignments and Use of Originality Checking Software Policy. Students are free, without penalty of grade, to choose an alternative method of attesting to the authenticity of their work and must inform the instructor no later than the last day to add/drop classes of their intent to choose an alternate method. (Read more: https://www.dal.ca/dept/university_secretariat/policies/academic/student-submission-of-assignments-and-use-of-originality-checking-software-policy-.html)

Student Use of Course Materials

These course materials are designed for use as part of the POLI 3385 course at Dalhousie University and are the property of the instructor unless otherwise stated. Third party copyrighted materials (such as books, journal articles, music, videos, etc.) have either been licensed for use in this course or fall under an exception or limitation in Canadian Copyright law. Copying this course material for distribution (e.g. uploading to a commercial third-party website) may lead to a violation of Copyright law.

Section D: University Policies, Guidelines and Resources for Support

Dalhousie courses are governed by the academic rules and regulations set forth in the University Calendar and the Senate. (<https://academiccalendar.dal.ca/catalog/viewcatalog.aspx>)

Important student information, services and resources are available as follows:

University Policies and Programs

- Important Dates in the Academic Year (including add/drop dates)
http://www.dal.ca/academics/important_dates.html

30 Some revision will be made to the readings for classes from September 26 onward.

- Classroom Recording Protocol
https://www.dal.ca/dept/university_secretariat/policies/academic/classroom-recording-protocol.html
- Dalhousie Grading Practices Policy
https://www.dal.ca/dept/university_secretariat/policies/academic/grading-practices-policy.html
- Grade Appeal Process
https://www.dal.ca/campus_life/academic-support/grades-and-student-records/appealing-a-grade.html
- Sexualized Violence Policy
https://www.dal.ca/dept/university_secretariat/policies/health-and-safety/sexualized-violence-policy.html
- Scent-Free Program
<https://www.dal.ca/dept/safety/programs-services/occupational-safety/scent-free.html>

Learning and Support Resources

- General Academic Support – Advising
https://www.dal.ca/campus_life/academic-support/advising.html
- Student Health & Wellness Centre: https://www.dal.ca/campus_life/health-and-wellness.html
- On Track (helps you transition into university, and supports you through your first year at Dalhousie and beyond) https://www.dal.ca/campus_life/academic-support/On-track.html
- Indigenous Student Centre
https://www.dal.ca/campus_life/communities/indigenous.html See also:
Indigenous Connection: <https://www.dal.ca/about-dal/indigenous-connection.html>
- Elders-in-Residence (The Elders in Residence program provides students with access to First Nations elders for guidance, counsel and support. Visit the office in the Indigenous Student Centre or contact the program at elders@dal.ca or 902-494-6803.)
<https://cdn.dal.ca/content/dam/dalhousie/pdf/academics/UG/indigenous-studies/Elder-Protocol- July2018.pdf>
- Black Student Advising Centre
https://www.dal.ca/campus_life/communities/black-student-advising.html
- International Centre https://www.dal.ca/campus_life/international-centre.html
- South House Sexual and Gender Resource Centre <https://southhousehalifax.ca/about/>
- LGBTQ2SIA+ Collaborative - <https://www.dal.ca/dept/hres/education-campaigns/LGBTQ2SIA-collaborative.html>
- Dalhousie Libraries <http://libraries.dal.ca>
- Copyright Office <https://libraries.dal.ca/services/copyright-office.html>
- Dalhousie Student Advocacy Services <https://www.dsu.ca/dsas?rq=student%20advocacy>
- Dalhousie Ombudsperson https://www.dal.ca/campus_life/safety-respect/student-rights-and-responsibilities/where-to-get-help/ombudsperson.html
- Human Rights and Equity Services <https://www.dal.ca/dept/hres.html>
- Writing Centre https://www.dal.ca/campus_life/academic-support/writing-and-study-

31 Some revision will be made to the readings for classes from September 26 onward.

[skills.html](#)

- Study Skills/Tutoring
http://www.dal.ca/campus_life/academic-support/study-skills-and-tutoring.html

Safety

- Biosafety <http://www.dal.ca/dept/safety/programs-services/biosafety.html>
- Chemical Safety <https://www.dal.ca/dept/safety/programs-services/chemical-safety.html>
- Radiation Safety <http://www.dal.ca/dept/safety/programs-services/radiation-safety.html>
- Laser Safety <https://www.dal.ca/dept/safety/programs-services/radiation-safety/laser-safety.html>