

Class Info:

Political Science 111

**SYLLABUS
(Version Date 10/30/22)**

The Politics of Climate Change
Fall 2022/Mon + Wed @ 130-250pm, Littlefield 107

Faculty:

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Teaching Assistant:

Emily Russell
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Section times: Monday 4:30-5:20 pm and Wednesday 11:30 am-12:20 pm
Section location: Encina West 108
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Course Description:

There are many encouraging indications that governments around the world are taking the human causes of global warming and the consequences of extreme weather more seriously. However, progress is very uneven across time and space and seems likely at this point to fall short of reducing emissions to 1.5 °C below pre-industrial levels. To get there, emissions need to fall by 45% by 2030 and global carbon neutrality needs to be achieved by 2050. Scientists have charted various techno-economic pathways to these ambitious goals. While there are technical hurdles (e.g., battery storage and green hydrogen) that still need to be solved, the most serious challenges appear to be political, behavioral, and institutional.

In this course, we focus on how different governmental systems are responding to the climate change problem both individually and collectively. The political problem is necessarily international because it requires nations to cooperate with one another without any central

sovereign power. The challenge is also comparative because the agents—be they governments, corporations, or NGOs—that must carry out these essential tasks of decarbonization and adaptation to extreme weather events vary across regime types (i.e., democracies vs. autocracies), different types of democracies (e.g., EU vs. the US), and regions within the same country.

The goal of this course is to understand more clearly how political challenges at local, national, and international levels shape climate policies and to ascertain what we have learned so far about why some countries or regions have made more progress than others in meeting the Paris Agreement Goals. We focus on three specific national governments: the US, the EU, and China. The US and EU are both organized as federal structures that blend supra-national with national policies. China is more centralized and authoritative in structure, but localities have been active in experimenting with different climate policy possibilities since about a decade ago. Does this difference affect the level of climate change progress these entities achieve or the strategies they pursue?

Academic Accommodations

Students who may need an academic accommodation based on the impact of a disability should initiate the request with the Office of Accessible Education (OAE). Professional staff will evaluate the request with required documentation, recommend reasonable accommodations, and prepare an Accommodation Letter for faculty dated in the current quarter in which the request is being made. Students should contact the OAE as soon as possible since timely notice is needed to coordinate accommodations. The OAE is located at 563 Salvatierra Walk (phone: 723-1066, URL: <http://oae.stanford.edu>).

Your Well-Being During COVID-19

While the COVID-19 situation has improved enough for students to return to campus, we understand that the pandemic is on-going. It may produce unexpected challenges that interfere with your ability to complete class assignments or attend lecture/section. We are more than willing to make accommodations to help you catch up with course material or complete your assignments if COVID-19 related difficulties arise.

With that in mind, please do not attend lecture or section if you are experiencing any symptoms of COVID-19 or have tested positive for the coronavirus. Your health and the health of the community are more important than any missed class session. We expect you to follow the university's health and safety protocols, and to wear masks indoors when required by the university, county, or state.

Required Course Materials

Most required readings will be made available for download or viewing from Canvass. We have provided links to some of these readings in the syllabus, but please consult canvass if any of the links are broken. There is one book to purchase:

Can Democracy Handle Climate Change? by Daniel J. Forino. *John Wiley and Sons*, 2018.

Course Requirements

Before the first week of class, please sign up for one of the available sections on Canvas. Section attendance is *mandatory*—if you need to miss section for any reason, please contact your TA *before* section so that she/he can help you arrange an alternative way to fulfill your section participation requirement.

The final grade will be based on:

Class and Section Attendance and Participation (20%): Students are expected to respond to periodic polls as part of their class participation.

**Note that you are permitted two absences from lecture with no penalty if you email the TA (eruss@stanford.edu) ahead of time.*

First Paper (25%): covering the materials by the end of the lecture (October 24)

Second Paper (25%): covering the materials by the end of the lecture (November 30)

Final Exam (30%): Open book. Covering the entire quarter.

The amount of reading in this class varies from week to week. Some weeks you will only have to read a handful of newspaper articles—in others, we will ask you to read multiple articles from academic journals. With that in mind, we encourage you check the reading list further ahead than the night before class to ensure that you have sufficient time to complete the material. As a general rule, journal articles will take the longest to read thoroughly, while newspaper articles can usually be read fairly quickly.

When it comes to quantitative journal articles, we hope you will try to read them in their entirety. However, we also understand that you will sometimes be unfamiliar with the empirical techniques the authors use. If that happens, do not worry—we do not expect you to be experts in every statistical technique you encounter. Do not spend too much time spinning your wheels over complicated statistics; focus on answering the following questions: (1) what question are the authors trying to answer? (2) What do the authors hypothesize the answer to be? (3) What reasons do the authors have for proposing this hypothesis? (4) Do the analyses the authors perform support their hypotheses? (5) What are the implications of the outcome for our understanding of American Politics?

Course Structure:

Date	Topic	Lead
Monday, September 26	Introduction + Why is Global Warming So Hard to Solve?	Cain/Kennard/Shen
Wednesday, September 28	A Social History of Climate Science	Kennard
Monday, October 3	Thirty Years of Climate Bargaining	Kennard
Wednesday, October 5	Theories of International Cooperation	Cain
Monday, October 10	Trends in US Climate Policy	Cain
Wednesday, October 12	US Political Design + Institutions	Cain
Monday, October 17	Core Instruments of Climate Policy	Cain
Wednesday, October 19	Waxman-Markey: A Case Study in Climate Policy	Kennard
Monday, October 24	Special Topics: Trade Offs; Technological Gaps, Capacity; NIMBYism	Cain
Wednesday, October 26	Climate Policy in India	Chaturvedi
Monday, October 31	Climate Policy in the European Union: Emissions Trading + Renewables	Kennard
Wednesday, November 2	The European Union + the Politics of Climate Finance	Kennard
Monday, November 7	Wildfire and Mediterranean Climates	Cain
Wednesday, November 9	The Politics of Deforestation/ Climate Policy in Australia	Russell
Monday, November 14	China's Environmental Governance: Actors, Institutions, and the War on Air Pollution	Shen
Wednesday, November 16	Climate Change Mitigation in China: Part I	Shen
Monday, November 21	Thanksgiving Recess	-
Wednesday, November 23	Thanksgiving Recess	-
Monday, November 28	Climate Change Mitigation in China: Part II	Shen
Wednesday, November 30	Climate Change Adaptation in China	Shen
Monday, December 5	Living with Climate Change: Conflict and Contentious Politics	Kennard
Wednesday, December 7	Innovation	Kennard

PART I: INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

(9/26) Introduction: Why is Global Warming so Hard to Solve?

(9/28) A Social History of Climate Science

- “The Wicked Problem of Climate Change with Andrew Revkin.” Why Is This Happening? The Chris Hayes Podcast. August 14, 2018.
- Victor, David. Global Warming Gridlock: Creating More Effective Strategies for Protecting the Planet. Ch 2.

(10/3) Thirty Years of Climate Bargaining

- “Inside the Paris Climate Agreement.” The Negotiators Podcast. October 12, 2021.
- Victor, David. Global Warming Gridlock: Creating More Effective Strategies for Protecting the Planet. Ch 7.

(10/5) Theories of International Cooperation

PART II: CLIMATE POLICY IN THE UNITED STATES

(10/10) Trends in US Climate Policy

- *US Emissions Surged in 2021*, Ariel Gans. https://insideclimatenews.org/news/10012022/us-emissions-surged-in-2021-heres-why-in-six-charts/?gclid=Cj0KCQjw0JiXBhCFARIsAOSAKqDMXBwtX7zIgl1e04earod8LfRnmKS WpBWWAeugcgwblHJxC9DOmHGYaAnenEALw_wcB
- *Sources of Greenhouse Gas Emissions*. <https://www.epa.gov/ghgemissions/sources-greenhouse-gas-emissions>

(10/12) US Political Design and Institutions

- *Can Democracy Handle Climate Change*, Daniel Fiorino (purchase)

(10/17) Core Instruments of Climate Policy

- Pros and Cons of a Carbon Tax <https://yaleclimateconnections.org/2016/07/pros-and-cons-of-a-carbon-tax-key-issues/>
- Five Decades in the Making: Why it Took Congress so Long to act on Climate. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/07/climate/senate-climate-law.html>

(10/19) Waxman-Markey: A Case Study in Climate Policy

- “The Single Best Guide to Decarbonization I’ve Heard.” The Ezra Klein Show. September 20, 2022.
- Mildenberger, Matto. Captured Carbon: How Business and Labour Control Climate Politics, Ch 5.

(10/24) Politics, Trade-Offs, and Other Obstacles

- Facilitating Transmission Expansion to Support Efficient Decarbonization, Paul Joskow. <https://cepr.mit.edu/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/2021-009.pdf>
- Climate Change: US Public Opinion, Patrick Egan and Megan Mullin. https://sites.duke.edu/mullin/files/2018/08/EganMullin_ARPS-1.pdf

(10/26) Special Session: Climate Policy in India with Eeshan Chaturvedi

PART III: CLIMATE POLICY IN EUROPE

(10/31) Climate Policy in the European Union: Emissions Trading + Renewables

- “On the EU climate law and a higher emission reduction target.” Planet A podcast, episode 9, with Svenja Schulze. October 29, 2020. <https://podcasts.apple.com/dk/podcast/svenja-schulze-on-eu-climate-law-higher-emission-reduction/id1521997920?i=1000496623868>
- European Environment Agency. Trends and Projections in Europe 2022. EEA Report No 10/2022. <https://www.eea.europa.eu/publications/trends-and-projections-in-europe-2022>

(11/2) European Union as Climate Leader + the Politics of Climate Finance

- “Who Pays to Fix Climate Change?” The Real Story, BBC World Service podcast. November 5, 2021. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/w3ct1ht9>

- Tooze, Adam. "Welcome to the Final Battle for the Climate." *Foreign Policy* 17.10 (2020): 2020. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/10/17/great-power-competition-climate-china-europe-japan/>

(11/7) Wildfire and Mediterranean Climates

- *Extreme Weather Politics*, Bruce Cain, manuscript, Chapters 1 and 3. <https://theconversation.com/wildfires-are-raging-in-the-mediterranean-what-can-we-learn-81121>

(11/9) The Politics of Deforestation (Part I) + Climate Policy in Australia (Part II)

- Wildlife Policing: The Reign of Criminalization in Forests of Madhya Pradesh, by the *Criminal Justice and Police Accountability Project*
- Lal, Apoorva, Saad Gulzar, and Ben Pasquale. "Representation and Forest Conservation: Evidence from India's Scheduled Areas." (2021).

PART IV: CLIMATE POLICY IN CHINA

(11/14) China's Environmental Governance: Actors, Institutions, and the War on Air Pollution

Puzzles: Who are the major central and local actors in China's environmental policy-making? What are their respective interests and incentives? How about environmental policy implementation? What lessons does China's war on air pollution provide for its ongoing and future efforts to combat climate change?

Required reading:

- Shen, S. V. (2022). *The Political Regulation Wave: A Case of How Local Incentives Systematically Shape Air Quality in China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Open access: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009103664>. Read chapters 1-3.

Recommended reading:

- The rest of the book.
- Shen, S. V. (2021). "Local Actions Central to Achieving Carbon-Neutrality Goal in China." *FifteenEightyFour*. <https://www.cambridgeblog.org/2021/10/local-actions-central-to-achieving-carbon-neutrality-goal-in-china/>.

(11/16) Climate Change Mitigation in China: Part I

Puzzles: Why did China start caring about combatting climate change when that seemed to be pitted against its strong interest in economic development? How are climate policies made and implemented in China? Why did (some) localities in China become interested in taking action on climate mitigation?

Required reading:

- Qi, Y., and Wu, T. (2013). “The politics of climate change in China.” *WIREs Climate Change* 4: 301-313.

Recommended reading:

- Liu, J. (2021). “Analysis: Nine key moments that changed China’s mind about climate change.” *Carbon Brief*. <https://www.carbonbrief.org/analysis-nine-key-moments-that-changed-chinas-mind-about-climate-change/>.

(11/28) Climate Change Mitigation in China: Part II

Puzzles: What has been done to limit carbon emissions in China? What are the opportunities and challenges for China to further decarbonize its economy? What are the political and institutional constraints?

Required reading:

- The State Council Information Office of the People’s Republic of China (2021). *Responding to Climate Change: China’s Policies and Actions*.
- Shen, S. V. (2021). *Accelerating Decarbonization in China and the United States and Promoting Bilateral Collaboration on Climate Change*. Stanford, CA: Precourt Institute for Energy. https://energy.stanford.edu/sites/g/files/sbiybj9971/f/us-china_roundtable_report.pdf. Read the executive summary (pg. 1-2).

Recommended reading:

- The rest of the report.
- Shen, S. V., Cain, B. E., and Hui, I. (2019). “Public Receptivity in China towards Wind Energy Generators: A Survey Experimental Approach.” *Energy Policy*, 129, 619–627.

(11/30) Climate Change Adaptation in China

Puzzles: What has been done in China to adapt to the consequences of climate change? Why did (some) localities in China become interested in taking action on climate adaptation? What are the political and institutional constraints?

Required reading:

- [Pending for English translation] Ministry of Ecology and Environment of the People's Republic of China (2022). *National Strategy on Climate Adaptation 2035*.

PART V: IMPLICATIONS + CONCLUSION

(12/5) Conflict and Contentious Politics

- Klare, Michael. All Hell Breaking Loose: The Pentagon's Perspective on Climate Change.
- Busby, Joshua. States and Nature: The Effects of Climate Change on Security.

(12/7) Innovation

- Victor, David. Global Warming Gridlock: Creating More Effective Strategies for Protecting the Planet. Ch 5.
- Gates, Bill. How to Avoid a Climate Disaster: The Solutions We Have and the Breakthroughs We Need. Ch 10.