

POLS 739 International Environmental Politics

Fall 2023

Th 3:00 – 5:50 PM

Instructor: Dr. Iasmin Goes (she/her)

Email: iasmin.goes@colostate.edu

Course Description and Objectives

Among scientists, there is an overwhelming consensus that human activity has a negative impact on the environment: global warming, soil erosion, biodiversity loss, poor air quality, and undrinkable water are all human-induced problems. So why are these problems politicized, and why is it so difficult to tackle them at the global level? In this course, we will discuss how state and non-state actors negotiate multilateral agreements, regimes, or other forms of cooperation to protect the environment. We will examine the competing interests of the Global North and the Global South; the potential trade-off between environmental protection and economic development; the challenge of taking climate action in democracies, which rely on deliberation and compromise; the effect of carbon taxes and emissions trading; and the extent to which public opinion on climate change, international agreements, and free trade shapes environmental policy.

There isn't always a single correct answer to the questions we will discuss. The goal of the course is to develop analytical tools that help you think like a social scientist: together, we will evaluate the validity of competing answers and discuss what evidence we would need to see in order to gain confidence in one answer and reject others. You are welcome — even encouraged — to disagree with the answers proposed by the assigned readings. If this is the case, you should be able to formulate an evidence-based counter-argument that convinces your colleagues to reject alternative explanations. This analytical exercise will help you prepare for a career in settings where there are no clear-cut answers, such as consulting, research, finance, or public policy.

Readings

We will cover two journal professional articles each week, all available on Canvas. You should carefully complete the readings in advance to enable a productive discussion.

Assignments

Participation (25%) Preparing for the classes, engaging in discussion, and maintaining a respectful scholarly atmosphere is a requirement for this class, which is why this grade evaluates the *frequency* and *quality* of contributions. What you get out of this class depends on the active participation and input of everyone.

Discussion Questions (15%) Beginning on Week 3, you will post at least *two* discussion questions on Canvas by Thursday 10 AM every week. These questions, which should be related to the readings of the week, can situate the readings within a broader literature, build ties to other readings, or discuss the implications for real-world problems. Together, we will discuss all submitted questions during class. You can take up

to two *non-consecutive* weeks off: you can refrain from submitting questions for up to two *non-consecutive* weeks of your choice, without penalty.

Analytical Papers (20%) Twice during the semester, you will write a 3-5 page analytical essay addressing a question pertinent to a reading discussed in class. The first batch of questions will be handed out on Week 7 (Thursday, October 5), and the first analytical essay will be due on Week 8 (Thursday, October 12). The second batch of questions will be handed out on Week 12 (Thursday, November 9), and the second analytical essay will be due on Week 13 (Thursday, November 16). These are not research papers in the sense that they require original empirical research. Rather, they are “thought exercises” — they aim to help you synthesize the material and place it within a larger context of international relations scholarship. The goal of doing so is to generate ideas for future research. Think about how the research we have been discussing addresses questions in the field or real-world events. Each analytical paper will be worth 10% of the grade.

Theory and Research Design Paper (40%) The main assignment of the class will be a 15-20 page paper that will (a) identify a research question; (b) explain why it is important to study; (c) discuss, using existing literature, why the question has not been previously answered sufficiently; (d) develop a theory, first by defining key concepts, then stating premises, and finally by establishing observable implications (hypotheses); (e) plan an approach to gather data (qualitative, quantitative, experimental, case-based, historical, etc.) and conduct analysis that could adjudicate between the aforementioned theory and other explanations. The paper is due on Tuesday, December 12 at 11:59 PM.

Course Policies

Communication The most reliable way to get in touch with me is via email. You should expect a response within 48 business hours.

Academic Honesty and Integrity This course will adhere to the CSU Academic Integrity Policy as found on the Student’ Responsibilities page of the [CSU General Catalog](#) and in the [Student Conduct Code](#). At a minimum, violations will result in a grading penalty in this course and a report to the Office of Student Resolution Center.

Accommodations Your experience in this class is important to me. If you require any accommodation, let me know ahead of time what would be helpful so that we can plan together for you to succeed. You do not need to share private information with me, but you must provide verifiable documentation to the [Office of Student Case Management](#) or [Student Disability Center](#). For religious accommodations, please complete the [Religious Accommodation Request Form](#). Please provide verifiable documentation *to them* (not to me!) ahead of time and ensure that they forward me this information *at least one week* prior to the assignment for which accommodations are required. I cannot make adjustments after the fact.

Late Assignments I will accept no late assignments. Exceptions are granted only if the [Office of Student Case Management](#) is able to provide documentation of a health emergency or other life emergency. If you experience an emergency, please contact Student Case Management, which will then contact me.

Grievances If you are unhappy with your grade on an assignment, please wait 48 hours after the assignment is returned before contacting me. This provides the opportunity to let the initial emotions subside and think more clearly about the issue at hand. After 48 hours, you can contact me with a written explanation of why you feel your grade should be different. “I worked hard” is not a good explanation; I can only grade the quality of the work that you give to me! Based on this petition, I will decide whether to re-grade your assignment. However, be advised that your grade may move upwards or downwards.

Additional Resources and Policies

Check out this link or QR code for policies relevant to your courses and resources to help with various challenges you may encounter: <https://col.st/2FA2g>
This includes information about technical support, universal design for learning/accommodation of needs, undocumented student support, etc.



Course Outline

Week 1: Introduction

- Jessica Green and Thomas Hale. 2017. “Reversing the Marginalization of Global Environmental Politics in International Relations: An Opportunity for the Discipline.” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 50(2): 473–79.
- Jamie Druckman, Toby Bolsen, and Fay Lomax Cook. 2015. “Citizens’, Scientists’, and Policy Advisors’ Beliefs about Global Warming.” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 658(1): 271-295.
- Robert O. Keohane, Melissa Lane, and Michael Oppenheimer. 2014. “The Ethics of Scientific Communication Under Uncertainty.” *Politics, Philosophy & Economics* 13(4): 343–368.

Week 2: No Class

Week 3: Democracy and the Environment

- Michèle B. Bättig and Thomas Bernauer. 2009. “National Institutions and Global Public Goods: Are Democracies More Cooperative in Climate Change Policy?” *International Organization* 63(2): 281–308.
- Bruce Gilley. 2012. “Authoritarian Environmentalism and China’s Response to Climate Change.” *Environmental Politics* 21(2): 287-307.
- **Recommended:** Eric Neumayer. 2002. “Do Democracies Exhibit Stronger International Environmental Commitment? A Cross-Country Analysis.” *Journal of Peace Research* 39(2): 139–64.
- **Recommended:** Marina Povitkina. 2018. “The Limits of Democracy in Tackling Climate Change.” *Environmental Politics* 27(3) 411-432.
- **Recommended:** Jared Finnegan. 2022. “Institutions, Climate Change, and the Foundations of Long-Term Policymaking.” *Comparative Political Studies* 55(7): 1198–1235.

Week 4: International Organizations

- Thomas Bernauer. 2013. “Climate Change Politics.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 16: 421–48.
- Richard Clark and Noah Zucker. 2023. “Climate Cascades: IOs and the Prioritization of Climate Action.” *American Journal of Political Science* early view.
- **Recommended:** Lisa Marie Dellmuth, Maria-Therese Gustafsson, and Ece Kural. 2020. “Global Adaptation Governance: Explaining the Governance Responses of International Organizations to New Issue Linkages.” *Environmental Science & Policy* 114: 204–215.

Week 5: Public Opinion — International Agreements

- Dustin Tingley and Michael Tomz. 2022. “The Effects of Naming and Shaming on Public Support for Compliance with International Agreements: An Experimental Analysis of the Paris Agreement.” *International Organization* 76: 445–68.

- Michael M. Bechtel and Kenneth Scheve. 2013. “Mass Support for Global Climate Agreements Depends on Institutional Design.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 110(34) :13763–13768.
- **Recommended:** Dustin Tingley and Michael Tomz. 2014. “Conditional Cooperation and Climate Change.” *Comparative Political Studies* 47(3): 344–368.
- **Recommended:** Michael M. Bechtel, Federica Genovese, and Kenneth Scheve. 2019. “Interests, Norms and Support for the Provision of Global Public Goods: The Case of Climate Co-Operation.” *British Journal of Political Science* 49(4): 1333–1355.

Week 6: Transnational and Non-Governmental Organizations

- Liliana Andonova, Thomas N. Hale, and Charles B. Roger. 2017. “National Policy and Transnational Governance of Climate Change: Substitutes or Complements?” *International Studies Quarterly* 61(2):253–68.
- David Humphreys. 2004. “Redefining the Issues: NGO Influence on International Forest Negotiations.” *Global Environmental Politics* 4(2): 51–74.
- **Recommended:** Thomas Dörfler and Mirko Heinzl. 2023. “Greening Global Governance: INGO Secretariats and Environmental Mainstreaming of IOs, 1950 to 2017.” *Review of International Organizations* 18(1): 117–43.
- **Recommended:** Susan Park. 2005. “How Transnational Environmental Advocacy Networks Socialize International Financial Institutions: A Case Study of the International Finance Corporation.” *Global Environmental Politics* 5(4): 95–119.

Week 7: Firms

- Amanda Kennard. 2020. “The Enemy of My Enemy: When Firms Support Climate Change Regulation.” *International Organization* 74(2): 187–221.
- Federica Genovese and Endre Tvinnereim. 2019. “Who Opposes Climate Regulation? Business Preferences for the European Emission Trading Scheme.” *Review of International Organizations* 14(3): 511-542.
- **Recommended:** Philipp Krueger, Zacharias Sautner, and Laura T. Starks. 2020. “The Importance of Climate Risks for Institutional Investors.” *Review of Financial Studies* 33(3): 1067–1111.
- **Recommended:** Tannis Thorlaksona, Joann F. de Zegherb, and Eric F. Lambinc. 2018. “Companies’ Contribution to Sustainability through Global Supply Chains.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 115(9): 2072–77.
- **Recommended:** Jared Cory, Michael Lerner, and Iain Osgood. 2021. “Supply Chain Linkages and the Extended Carbon Coalition.” *American Journal of Political Science* 65(1): 69–87.

Thursday, October 5: Questions distributed for the first analytical essay

Week 8: Public Opinion — Climate Change

- Leonardo Baccini and Lucas Leemann. 2021. “Do Natural Disasters Help the Environment? How Voters Respond and What That Means.” *Political Science Research and Methods* 9(3): 468–484.
- Chad Hazlett and Matto Mildemberger. 2020. “Wildfire Exposure Increases Pro-Environment Voting within Democratic but Not Republican Areas.” *American Political Science Review* 114(4): 1359–1365.
- **Recommended:** Patrick J. Egan and Megan Mullin. 2017. “Climate Change: US Public Opinion.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 20: 209–227.
- **Recommended:** Parrish Bergquist and Christopher Warshaw. 2019. “Does Global Warming Increase Public Concern about Climate Change?” *Journal of Politics* 81(2): 686–691.

Thursday, October 12: First analytical essay due

Week 9: Gender and the Environment

- Rachel Brulé. 2023. “Climate Shocks and Gendered Political Transformation: How Crises Alter Women’s Political Representation.” *Politics & Gender* (forthcoming).

- Richard Clark, Roza Khoban, and Noah Zucker. 2023. “Breadwinner Backlash: The Gendered Effects of Industrial Decline.” *Working Paper*.
- **Recommended:** Sarah Bush and Amanda Clayton. 2023. “Facing Change: Gender and Climate Change Attitudes Worldwide.” *American Political Science Review* 117(2): 591–608.

Week 10: Trade

- Brian Copeland and M. Scott Taylor. 2004. “Trade, Growth and the Environment.” *Journal of Economic Literature* 42(1): 7–71.
- Michaël Aklin. 2016. “Re-Exploring the Trade and Environment Nexus Through the Diffusion of Pollution.” *Environmental and Resource Economics* 64(4): 663–82.
- **Recommended:** Thomas Wiedmann and Manfred Lenzen. 2018. “Environmental and Social Footprints of International Trade.” *Nature Geoscience* 11(5): 314–321.
- **Recommended:** Keiichiro Kanemoto, Daniel Moran, Manfred Lenzen, and Arne Geschke 2014. “International Trade Undermines National Emission Reduction Targets: New Evidence from Air Pollution.” *Global Environmental Change* 24(1): 52–59.

Week 11: Public Opinion — Trade

- Lukas Rudolph, Franziska Quöß, Romain Buchs, and Thomas Bernauer. 2023. “Environmental Concern Leads to Trade Skepticism on the Political Left and Right.” *International Studies Quarterly* 66(5): 1-12.
- Thomas Bernauer and Quynh Nguyen. 2015. “Free Trade and/or Environmental Protection?” *Global Environmental Politics* 15(4): 105–29.
- **Recommended:** Michael M. Bechtel, Thomas Bernauer, and Reto Meyer. 2012. “The Green Side of Protectionism: Environmental Concerns and Three Facets of Trade Policy Preferences.” *Review of International Political Economy* 19(5): 837–66.

Week 12: Fossil Fuels — The Resource Curse

- Pedro C. Vicente. 2010. “Does Oil Corrupt? Evidence from a Natural Experiment in West Africa.” *Journal of Development Economics* 92: 28–38.
- Ellis Goldberg, Erik Wibbels, and Eric Mvukiyehe. 2008. “Lessons from Strange Cases: Democracy, Development, and the Resource Curse in the U.S. States.” *Comparative Political Studies* 41(4/5): 477-514.
- **Recommended:** Michael L. Ross. 2015. “What Have We Learned about the Resource Curse?” *Annual Review of Political Science* 18(1): 239-259.

Thursday, November 9: Questions distributed for the first analytical essay

Week 13: Fossil Fuels — Taxes and Subsidies

- Cesar Martinez-Alvarez, Chad Hazlett, Paasha Mahdavi, and Michael Ross. 2022. “Political Leadership Has Limited Impact on Fossil Fuel Taxes and Subsidies.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*. 119(47): 1-8.
- Patrick Bayer and Michaël Aklin. 2020. “The European Union Emissions Trading System Reduced CO2 Emissions despite Low Prices.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 117(16): 8804-8812.
- **Recommended:** Paasha Mahdavi, Cesar Martinez-Alvarez, and Michael Ross. 2022. “Why Do Governments Tax or Subsidize Fossil Fuels?” *Journal of Politics* 84(4): 2123-2139.
- **Recommended:** Benjamin K. Sovacool. 2017. “Reviewing, Reforming, and Rethinking Global Energy Subsidies: Towards a Political Economy Research Agenda.” *Ecological Economics* 135: 150–163.
- **Recommended:** David Klenert, Linus Mattauch, Emmanuel Combet, Ottmar Edenhofer, Cameron Hepburn, Ryan Rafaty, and Nicholas Stern. 2018. “Making Carbon Pricing Work for Citizens.” *Nature Climate Change* 8: 669–677.

Thursday, November 16: Second analytical essay due

Week 14: Thanksgiving Break

Week 15: Energy Transition and Decarbonization

- Jessica Green, Jennifer Hadden, Thomas Hale, and Paasha Mahdavi. 2022. “Transition, Hedge, or Resist? Understanding Political and Economic Behavior toward Decarbonization in the Oil and Gas Industry.” *Review of International Political Economy* 29(6): 2036–2063.
- Greg Muttitt and Sivan Kartha. 2020. “Equity, Climate Justice and Fossil Fuel Extraction: Principles for a Managed Phase Out.” *Climate Policy* 20(8): 1024–1042.
- **Recommended:** Jeff D. Colgan and Miriam Hinthorn. 2023. “International Energy Politics in an Age of Climate Change.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 26: 79–96.
- **Recommended:** William D. Nordhaus. 2017. “Revisiting the Social Cost of Carbon.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 114: 1518–1523.
- **Recommended:** Geoff Evans and Liam Phelan. 2016. “Transition to a Post-Carbon Society: Linking Environmental Justice and Just Transition Discourses.” *Energy Policy* 99: 329–339.

Week 16: Deforestation

- Luke Sanford. 2023. “Democratization, Elections, and Public Goods: The Evidence from Deforestation.” *American Journal of Political Science* 67(3): 748–763.
 - Kathryn Baragwanatha and Ella Bayi. 2020. “Collective Property Rights Reduce Deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 117(34): 20495–20502.
 - **Recommended:** Jonah Busch and Kalifi Ferretti-Gallon. 2017. “What Drives Deforestation and What Stops It? A Meta-Analysis.” *Review of Environmental Economics and Policy* 11(1): 3–23.
-

Other Interesting Articles

Background

- Nancy L. Harris et al. 2021. “Global Maps of Twenty-First Century Forest Carbon Fluxes.” *Nature Climate Change* 11(3): 234–40.
- Maria Waldinger. 2022. “The Economic Effects of Long-Term Climate Change: Evidence from the Little Ice Age.” *Journal of Political Economy* 130(9): 2275–2314
- Michaël Aklin and Matto Mildemberger. 2020. “Prisoners of the Wrong Dilemma: Why Distributive Conflict, Not Collective Action, Characterizes the Politics of Climate Change.” *Global Environmental Politics* 20(4): 4–27.
- Peter Newell. 2008. “The Political Economy of Global Environmental Governance.” *Review of International Studies* 34(3): 507–29.

Climate Change

- Adam Sobel. 2021. “Usable Climate Science Is Adaptation Science.” *Climatic Change* 166(8): 1–11.

Deforestation and Forest Transition

- Alexander S. Antonarakis, Lucia Pacca, and Andreas Antoniadis. 2022. “The Effect of Financial Crises on Deforestation: A Global and Regional Panel Data Analysis.” *Sustainability Science* 17(3): 1037–57.
- Edward B. Barbier, Joanne C. Burgess, and Alan Grainger. 2010. “The Forest Transition: Towards a More Comprehensive Theoretical Framework.” *Land Use Policy* 27(2): 98–107.
- Edward B. Barbier, Philippe Delacote, and Julien Wolfersberger. 2017. “The Economic Analysis of the Forest Transition: A Review.” *Journal of Forest Economics* 27: 10–17.
- Edward B. Barbier and Anteneh Tesfaw. 2015. “Explaining Forest Transitions: The Role of Governance.” *Ecological Economics* 119: 252–61.

- Jos Barlow et al. 2016. “Anthropogenic Disturbance in Tropical Forests Can Double Biodiversity Loss From Deforestation.” *Nature* 535(7610): 144–47.

International Organizations

- Gus Greenstein. 2022. “The Influence of Alternative Development Finance on the World Bank’s Safeguards Regime.” *Global Environmental Politics* 22(3): 171–93.
- Tamar Gutner. 2005. “Explaining the Gaps between Mandate and Performance: Agency Theory and World Bank Environmental Reform.” *Global Environmental Politics* 5(2): 10–37.
- Adel Daoud, Bernhard Reinsberg, Alexander E. Kentikelenis, Thomas H. Stubbs, and Lawrence P. King. 2019. “The International Monetary Fund’s Interventions in Food and Agriculture: An Analysis of Loans and Conditions.” *Food Policy* 83: 204–18.
- Robert Falkner. 2016. “The Paris Agreement and the New Logic of International Climate Politics.” *International Affairs* 92(5): 1107–1125.
- Scott Barrett. 2003. *Environment and Statecraft: The Strategy of Environmental Treaty-Making*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Mark T. Buntaine and Bradley C Parks. 2013. “When Do Environmentally Focused Assistance Projects Achieve Their Objectives? Evidence from World Bank Post-Project Evaluations.” *Global Environmental Politics* 13(2): 65–88.
- John M. Shandra, Eric Shircliff, and Bruce London. 2011. “The International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and Structural Adjustment: A Cross-National Analysis of Forest Loss.” *Social Science Research* 40(1): 210–25.

Public Opinion and Beliefs

- Sabrina B. Arias and Christopher W. Blair. 2022. “Changing Tides: Public Attitudes on Climate Migration.” *Journal of Politics* 84(1): 560–567.
- David M. Konisky, Llewelyn Hughes and Charles H. Kaylor. 2016. “Extreme Weather Events and Climate Change Concern.” *Climatic Change* 134: 533–547.
- Patrick Bayer and Federica Genovese. 2020. “Beliefs About Consequences from Climate Action Under Weak Climate Institutions: Sectors, Home Bias, and International Embeddedness.” *Global Environmental Politics* 20(4): 28–50.

Biodiversity

- Steven N. Panfil and Celia A. Harvey. 2016. “REDD+ and Biodiversity Conservation: A Review of the Biodiversity Goals, Monitoring Methods, and Impacts of 80 REDD+ Projects.” *Conservation Letters* 9(2): 143–50.

Trade

- Werner Antweiler, Edgar G. Hertwich, and Glen P. Peters. 2001. “Is Free Trade Good for the Environment?” *American Economic Review* 91(4): 877–908.
- Brian Copeland and M. Scott Taylor. 2004. “Trade, Growth and the Environment.” *Journal of Economic Literature* 42(1): 7–71.
- Andrew A. Jorgenson and James Rice. 2005. “Structural Dynamics of International Trade and Material Consumption: A Cross-National Study of the Ecological Footprints of Less-Developed Countries.” *Journal of World-Systems Research* 11(1): 57–77.