

# ULC230 Climate Politics

Spring 2025

Co-convened by Dr. Edouard Morena & Dr. Eda Ayaydin

Assessment:	Podcast (40%)	
Description:	Since 2015 and the adoption of the Paris Climate Agreement, global climate policy is widely understood as a process that transcends the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). It is no longer primarily aimed at producing and enforcing binding reduction targets for states but builds on a flexible 'pledge and review' system of voluntary commitments by state and non-state actors alike. Taken together, these changes have been described as a shift away from a 'regulatory' and towards a 'catalytic and facilitative model' of global governance. They also signal the emergence of a 'hybrid multilateralism' where, in addition to governments, non-state actors – NGOs, cities, think-tanks, businesses, foundations are set to play a more proactive role in the international climate debate.  In a first instance, the module will provide students with an introduction to climate politics (Weeks 1). Over the course of the following weeks, we will offer "deep dives" into three climate-related topics: Arctic politics (Weeks 2, 3, 4 & 5), climate justice (Weeks 7 & 8) and cities (Weeks 9, 10, 11	
	& 12)	
Outline		

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WEEK 1	Introduction to climate politics (Dr. Edouard Morena)
WEEK 2	Arctic geopolitics (Eda Ayaydin)
WEEK 3	Governance and actors: Arctic council (Eda Ayaydin)
WEEK 4	Science diplomacy (Eda Ayaydin)
WEEK 5	Non-Arctic interest (Eda Ayaydin)
WEEK 6	READING WEEK
WEEK 7	Climate justice – Part 1 (Anabella Rosemberg)
WEEK 8	Climate justice – Part 2 (Anabella Rosemberg)
WEEK 9	Cities in international climate politics (Dr. Edouard Morena)
WEEK 10	Paris and the climate crisis (Dr. Edouard Morena)
WEEK 11	Green gentrification (Dr. Edouard Morena)
WEEK 12	Case study – The Paris Olympics (Dr. Edouard Morena)
WEEK 1	Introduction to alimate politics (Dr. Edouard Marona)

#### **WEEK 1** Introduction to climate politics (Dr. Edouard Morena)

This session will provide students with a general overview of the module, introducing key objectives, ideas and concepts. We will also discuss the science of climate change. Who is responsible? What are the effects of climate change? Who is most impacted?

## Required reading:

• Cornell, Sarah & Aarti Gupta (2020), 'Is climate change the most important challenge of our times?', in Hulme, Mike (ed.), *Contemporary Climate Change Debates: A Student Primer*, London: Routledge, pp.6-20

#### **Recommended:**

- Bernauer, Thomas (2013), 'Climate change politics', *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol.16, pp.421-448
- Bulkeley, Harriet and Peter Newell (2010), 'Governing climate change: a brief history', in Bulkeley, Harriet and Peter Newell, *Governing Climate Change*, London: Routledge, pp.17-34
- Agrawala, Shardul (1998), 'Context and early origins of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change', *Climatic Change*, 39, pp. 605–620, <a href="https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1005315532386">https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1005315532386</a>
- Agrawala, Shardul (1999), 'Early science-policy interactions in climate change: lessons from the Advisory Group on Greenhouse Gases', *Global Environmental Change*, 9(2), pp.157-169, https://doi.org/10.1016/S0959-3780(99)00003-5

• Bäckstrand, Karin, Jonathan W.Kuyper, Björn-Ola Linnér, and Eva Lövbrand (2017), 'Non-state actors in global climate governance: from Copenhagen to Paris and beyond', in *Environmental PoliticsI*, 26(4), pp. 561-579, https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2017.1327485

## WEEK 2 Arctic geopolitics (Dr. Eda Ayaydin)

We will explore the sovereignty issues pertaining to the Arctic region hydrocarbon resources and shipping routes, alongside a comparative analysis of diverse discourses and perceptions held by both Arctic and non-Arctic stakeholders. Furthermore, we will engage in a discussion pertaining to one of the central debates in the Arctic; the question of cooperation and conflict.

## **Essential Reading:**

• Elana Wilson Rowe (2021), 'Ecosystemic politics: Analyzing the consequences of speaking for adjacent nature on the global stage', *Political Geography*, Volume 91.

# **Further Reading:**

• Frédéric Lasserre (2012), Geopolitics and Shipping Development in the Arctic, Ocean Yearbook, Brill.

# WEEK 3 Governance and actors: Arctic council (Dr. Eda Ayaydin)

This session will center on fundamental concepts of governance and its various types. We will specifically focus on environmental governance, ocean governance, and indigenous governance.

# **Essential Reading:**

• Stokke, Olav Schram (2023), 'Climate Change and Institutional Resilience in Arctic Environmental Governance', *Politics and Governance*, https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.7369

## **Further reading:**

 Raspotnik, Andreas & Adam Stępień (2023), 'The European Union's polar ambitions: regional geo-policies yet limited geo-strategic vision', *Journal of European Integration*, 45(8), pp.1181-1197.

## WEEK 4 Science diplomacy (Dr. Eda Ayaydin)

Exploring the role of science as a political actor, we will conduct an analysis within the context of the Arctic Council's science-based politics in the era of climate change. Additionally, we will examine how states utilize and instrumentalize science to advance their interests.

#### **Essential Reading:**

 Wood-Donnelly, Corinne & Marianne Pascale Bartels (2022), 'Science diplomacy in the Arctic: Contributions of the USGS to policy discourse and impact on governance', *Polar Record*, Vol.58, <a href="https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247422000134">https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247422000134</a>

## **Further Reading:**

• Guteney, Maxim & Alexander Sergunin (2022), 'Russia's Arctic Science Diplomacy: Theory and Practice', *International Organisations Research Journal*, 17(3), pp.155-174

#### WEEK 5 Non-Arctic interests (Dr. Eda Ayaydin)

In the discourse surrounding Arctic and non-Arctic states/actors, we will delve into geoepistemological critiques. Initially, our attention will be directed towards bifurcations that have arisen within the field of International Relations, such as Western versus non-Western perspectives and national versus international considerations. Subsequently, we will shift our focus to the Arctic and non-Arctic divide, with a specific emphasis on empirical cases like China's interest in the Arctic. As we analyze these actors, we will also explore the monopolies of knowledge within the defined boundaries of the discipline of International Politics.

# **Essential reading:**

• Volpe, Marco (2023), 'High seas triggering Arctic security? An analysis of Chinese domestic discourse on the Central Arctic Ocean', *Arctic Yearbook*.

# **Further reading:**

 Barkawi, Tarak, Christopher Murray & Ayse Zarakol (2023), 'The United Nations of IR: power, knowledge, and empire in Global IR debates', *International Theory*, 15(3), pp.445-461.

#### Required reading:

- Aykut, Stefan, Edouard Morena & Jean Foyer (2021), "Incantatory" governance: global climate politics' performative turn and its wider significance for global politics', in *International Politics*, Vol.58, pp.519-540
- Okereke, Chukwumerije (2010), 'Climate justice and the international regime', in *WIREs Climate Change*, Vol. 1, pp.462-474

#### **Further reading:**

- Huber, Matthew T. (2020), 'Ecology at the point of production: climate change and class struggle', *Polygraph*, August, pp.23-43
- Stevis, Dimitris and Romain Felli (2015), 'Global labour unions and just transition to a green economy', in *International Environmental Agreements*, 15, pp.29–43, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10784-014-9266-1
- Aronoff, Kate, Alyssa Battistoni, Daniel Aldana Cohen and Thea Riofrancos (2019), *A Planet to Win: Why we need a Green New Deal*, London: Verso
- Klein Naomi (2019), On Fire: The Burning Case for a Green New Deal, Allen Lane
- Morena, Edouard, Dunja Krause and Dimitris Stevis (2020), Just Transitions: Social Justice in the Shift Towards a Low-Carbon World, London: Pluto

#### WEEK 6 READING WEEK

# WEEK 7 Climate justice (Anabella Rosemberg) – Part 1

#### Required reading:

- Aykut, Stefan, Edouard Morena & Jean Foyer (2021), "Incantatory" governance: global climate politics' performative turn and its wider significance for global politics', in *International Politics*, Vol.58, pp.519-540
- Okereke, Chukwumerije (2010), 'Climate justice and the international regime', in *WIREs Climate Change*, Vol. 1, pp.462-474

## **Further reading:**

- Huber, Matthew T. (2020), 'Ecology at the point of production: climate change and class struggle', *Polygraph*, August, pp.23-43
- Stevis, Dimitris and Romain Felli (2015), 'Global labour unions and just transition to a green economy', in *International Environmental Agreements*, 15, pp.29–43, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10784-014-9266-1
- Aronoff, Kate, Alyssa Battistoni, Daniel Aldana Cohen and Thea Riofrancos (2019), *A Planet to Win: Why we need a Green New Deal*, London: Verso
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- Morena, Edouard, Dunja Krause and Dimitris Stevis (2020), Just Transitions: Social Justice in the Shift Towards a Low-Carbon World, London: Pluto

# WEEK 8 The example of a concept in dispute: Just Transition (Anabella Rosemberg) – Part 2

#### Required reading:

- Stevis, Dimitris, Edouard Morena & Dunja Krause (2020), 'Introduction: The genealogy and contemporary politics of just transitions', in *Just Transitions: Social Justice in the Shift Towards a Low Carbon World*, London: Pluto, pp.1-31
- Newell, Peter & Dustin Mulvaney (2013), 'The political economy of the "just transition", in *The Geographical Journal*, doi:10.1111/geoj.12008

# WEEK 9 Cities in international climate politics (Dr. Edouard Morena)

During this session we will focus on how cities contribute to and are impacted by climate change. We will also look at their particular role in international climate politics.

# **Essential reading:**

- Bulkeley, Harriet, Laura Tozer & Emma Lecavalier (2021), 'Climate changed urbanism?', in Lancione, Michele & Colin McFarlane (eds.), *Global Urbanism: Knowledge, Power and the City*, London: Routledge, pp.203-210
- Johnson, Craig A. (2018), 'Introduction', *The Power of Cities in Global Climate Politics*, London: Palgrave, pp.1-23

## **Further reading:**

- Bulkeley, Harriet (2013), Cities and Climate Change, London: Routledge
- Pellow, David (2006), "Transnational alliances and global politics: new geographies of urban environmental justice struggles", in Heynen, Nik, Maria Kaika, and Erik Swyngedouw (eds.), *In the Nature of Cities: Urban Political Ecology and the Politics of Urban Metabolism*, Routledge, pp.216-233.
- Bulkeley, Harriet and Michele Betsill (2005), "Rethinking Sustainable Cities: Multilevel Governance and the 'Urban' Politics of Climate Change", in *Environmental Politics*, 14(1), pp.42-63.

# WEEK 10 Paris and the climate crisis (Dr. Edouard Morena)

This session will focus on the Paris City Council's recent efforts to both adapt the city to the climate crisis and reduce its carbon footprint. We will discuss the various measures put in place and reflect on what a 'low-carbon Paris' could look like.

#### **Essential reading:**

- Paris Climate Action Plan (2020), https://cdn.paris.fr/paris/2020/11/23/a10afc931be2124e21e39a1624132724.pdf
- Barichella, A. (2023). 'Cities as Focal Points: Multilevel Climate Governance Between Paris and the *Île-de-France*'. In: Can Cities, States and Regions Save Our Planet?. Energy,

Climate and the Environment. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-33936-3">https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-33936-3</a> 8

### **Recommended reading:**

- Lindsey Meeks (2023), 'Promising a Greener Paris: Anne Hidalgo's Framing of Environmental Issues in Her Mayoral Campaigns', *Environmental Communication*, 17(6), pp.550-565, DOI: 10.1080/17524032.2023.2226356
- Torp, Jeanne (2021), 'Going Green: A comparative analysis of green urbanism in Paris and Shanghai', *Honors Theses*, 1918. https://egrove.olemiss.edu/hon\_thesis/1918
- Rutherford, Jonathan (2018), 'Seeking effective infrastructures of decarbonization in Paris:
   Material politics of socio-technical change', in Luque-Ayala, Andrés, Simon Marvin &
   Harriet Bulkeley (eds.), Rethinking Urban Transitions: Politics in the Low Carbon City,
   London: Routledge

## **WEEK 11** Green gentrification (Dr. Edouard Morena)

In this class, we will focus on the concept of green/environmental gentrification and begin to explore the ways in which it manifests itself in Paris.

# **Essential reading:**

 Pearsall, Hamil (2018), 'New directions in urban environmental/green gentrification research', in Lees, Loretta (ed.), *Handbook of Gentrification Studies*, Edward Elgar, pp.329-345

#### **Recommended reading:**

- Rice, Jennifer L., Daniel Aldana Cohen, Joshua Long and Jason R. Jurjevich (2019),
   'Contradictions of the climate-friendly city: new perspectives on eco-gentrification and housing justice', in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, DOI: 10.1111/1468-2427.12740
- Aldana Cohen, Daniel (2016), "Petro Gotham, People's Gotham", in Solnit, R. nd J. Jelly-Shapiro (eds.), *Nonstop Metropolis: A New York Atlas*, University of California Press, pp.46-55.
- Anguelovski, Isabelle & James J.T. Connolly (eds.) (2022), *The Green City and Social Injustice: 21 Tales from North America and Europe*, London: Routledge
- Anguelovski, Isabelle (2017), "Retracted: Urban Greening as the Ultimate Urban Environmental Justice Tragedy?", in *Planning Theory*, 16(1).
- Checker, Melissa (2011), "Wiped Out by the 'Greenwave': Environmental Gentrification and the Paradoxical Politics of Urban Sustainability," in *City & Society*, 23(2).
- Clerval, Anne (2013), Paris sans le peuple, La Découverte.
- Hodson, Mike, and Simon Marvin (2010), "Urbanism in the Anthropocene: Ecological Urbanism or Premium Ecological Enclaves?", in *City*, 14(3), pp. 298-313.
- Wacksmuth, David, Daniel Aldana Cohen, and Hillary Angelo (2016), "Expand the frontiers of urban sustainability", in *Nature*, 536, pp.391-393.

#### WEEK 12 Case study – The Paris Olympics (Dr. Edouard Morena)

Dörr, Max (2023). 'Paris Olympics for Saint-Denis? Between enthusiasm and uncertainty: diverging local perceptions on large-scale urban renewal in the Pleyel neighbourhood', Master Thesis, <a href="https://su.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1769107/FULLTEXT01.pdf">https://su.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1769107/FULLTEXT01.pdf</a><a href="https://due-parsons.github.io/methods3-fall2018/projects/mapping-gentrification-risk-in-the-grand-paris/">https://due-parsons.github.io/methods3-fall2018/projects/mapping-gentrification-risk-in-the-grand-paris/</a>