

OIELSY17 - Global Climate Politics: Comparative EU-US Perspectives

Professor: Arnault Barichella
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Department: International affairs
Semester: 2

Course level: L3 Undergraduate
Domain: Political Sciences
Teaching language: English
Number of in-class hours: 33
Number of course sessions: 10 + Exam
ECTS: 6

Course description and objectives

The Paris Agreement, reached on 12 December 2015, represents the first comprehensive global climate agreement. The treaty contains many positive provisions that aim to build a new architecture for the global climate regime under the aegis of the UNFCCC. This course will offer students an in-depth analysis of the main provisions contained in the Paris Agreement and the new climate regime it ushers in.

The EU has always been a leader on environmental issues, both from a domestic and a foreign policy perspective, enacting some of the most far-reaching climate and renewable energy policies in the world. EU climate and energy legislation is also supplemented by extensive policies at the national level. The course will examine both internal EU policies and external relations in the field of climate change. This will include a particular focus on the new European Green Deal, other internal EU climate and energy policies, as well as how the EU negotiates within the UNFCCC. By contrast, climate politics in United States have been more volatile. While President Obama sought to launch a number of federal climate initiatives, the Republican Party has consistently demonstrated scepticism towards climate science, with President Trump taking the decision to withdraw the US from the Paris Agreement. While Joe Biden's election as President has opened the door to America's return within the Paris Accord, his administration still faces a number of obstacles and domestic opposition for an ambitious federal climate agenda.

As a result, non-state and sub-national actors around the world including cities, states, the private sector and civil society, have a key role to play in compensating for inadequacies at the national level. For instance, parts of the US such as California and New York, as well as cities such as Paris, have become world leaders in enacting climate policies at the local level. Hence, this course will examine the emerging framework of multi-level and polycentric governance, including the role of non-state and sub-national actors as building blocks within the climate regime. Energy and climate policies in the EU will be compared with those in the US and in other countries such as China in order to highlight differences in approach, as well as contrasting perspectives on the future of the global climate regime.

Prerequisites

None.

Learning outcomes

- 1) Students will acquire a detailed understanding of the history and processes involved in UN climate negotiations, including the Paris Agreement and the architecture of the new global climate regime.
- 2) Students will learn about the main institutions, actors and processes relating to climate and energy politics in Europe, both at the EU and the national level.

3) Students will develop their knowledge about the equivalent situation in the United States, at the national level under Obama and Biden, as well as at the sub-national level under Trump (through a multi-level framework). This will include a nuanced understanding of polycentric governance and the role of non-state actors as building blocks within the global climate regime.

4) Students will acquire valuable comparative insights through contrasting transatlantic EU/US perspectives, as well as comparisons with other major GHG emitters such as China.

5) Students will have the opportunity to demonstrate and apply this knowledge during a live simulation of the COP 26 during the final class of the semester. Each student will be able to choose their role in advance.

6) Beyond factual knowledge, this class will help students acquire valuable comparative analytical skills, as well as oral debating skills through their own presentations and participation in organized in-class discussions/simulations.

Assignments and grading

One or two required readings for most sessions, which will be uploaded on Moodle. Optional readings will also be suggested. Students will need to submit a final term paper (2000 words, 50% of the final grade) where they will choose their topic from a proposed list of 11 subjects, based on the material covered in class. Students will have the option of also preparing an oral presentation in a group on a subject of their choosing (15-20 minutes, 40% of the final grade), in relation to the material covered in class. Oral presentations will take place at the beginning of every class. Students who are unable or choose not to prepare an oral presentation will also have the option of writing a second term paper instead (in that case, each term paper will count for 45% of the final grade). The remaining 10% is a participation grade, which takes into account not only participation in class, but also attendance and punctuality.

The passing grade for a course is 10/20.

Class participation: Active class participation – this is what makes classes lively and instructive. Come on time and prepared. Class participation is based on quality of comments, not quantity.

Exam policy: In the exam, students will not be allowed to bring any document (except if allowed by the lecturer). Unexcused absences from exams or failure to submit cases will result in zero grades in the calculation of numerical averages. Exams are collected at the end of examination periods.

Course structure

| Session | Topic |
|---------|---|
| 1 | Introduction to the course and history of the international environmental regime, with the main institutions, actors and concepts |
| 2 | The Paris Agreement and the architecture of the new global climate regime under the aegis of the UNFCCC |
| 3 | Internal EU climate and energy policies, including interaction with national member state policies |
| 4 | EU diplomacy and leadership in the global climate regime, with a network of international partnerships |
| 5 | History of environmental policies in the US, with the main institutions, actors and processes involved |
| 6 | Contrasting perspectives between Obama and Trump on climate and energy issues, including domestic and foreign policy |

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| 7 | Multi-level governance and the role of sub-national actors in US climate politics, including under Trump and beyond |
| 8 | Polycentric governance and the role of non-state actors as building blocks within the global climate regime |
| 9 | Climate issues in the 2020 US Presidential election, with prospects for climate politics under the Biden administration |
| 10 | Rising superpower: climate and energy issues in China, including domestic and foreign policy |
| 11 | In-class simulation of the latest COP26, with students choosing their roles in advance |

Bibliography

Week 1:

Suggested reading:

Gupta J. (2014), *The History of Global Climate Governance*, Cambridge University Press.

Luterbacher U. et al. (2018), *Global Climate Policy: Actors, Concepts, and Enduring Challenges*, MIT Press.

Week 2:

Required reading:

Savaresi A. (2016), *The Paris Agreement: a new beginning?*, Journal of Energy & Natural Resources Law, 34:1, 16-26.

Suggested reading:

Klein D. et al. (2017), *The Paris Agreement on Climate Change: Analysis and Commentary*, Oxford University Press.

Popovski V. (2018), *The Implementation of the Paris Agreement on Climate Change* (Law, Ethics and Governance), Routledge.

Salawitch R. J., Canty T. P. and Hope A. P. (2017), *Paris Climate Agreement: Beacon of Hope*, Springer.

Week 3:

Required reading:

Wurzel R. K. W. et al. (2019), *The European Council, the Council and the Member States: changing environmental leadership dynamics in the European Union*, Environmental Politics, 28:2, 248-270.

Suggested reading:

Jänicke M. and Wurzel R. K. W. (2019), *Leadership and lesson-drawing in the European Union's multilevel climate governance system*, Environmental Politics, 28:1, 22-42.

Langlet D. and Mahmoudi S. (2016), *EU Environmental Law and Policy*, Oxford University Press.

Skjærseth J. B. et al. (2016), *Linking EU Climate and Energy Policies: Decision-Making, Implementation and Reform* (New Horizons in Environmental Politics Series), Edward Elgar Publishing.

Week 4:

Required reading:

Parker C. F. et al. (2017), *Assessing the European Union's global climate change leadership: from Copenhagen to the Paris Agreement*, Journal of European Integration, 39:2, 239-252.

Suggested reading:

Afonis S. (2018), *The European Union in International Climate Change Negotiations* (Routledge Studies in Environmental Policy), Routledge.

Minas S. and Ntousas V. (2019), *EU Climate Diplomacy: Politics, Law and Negotiations* (Routledge Advances in Climate Change Research), Routledge.

Week 5:

Required reading:

- Kraft M. E. (2000), *U.S. Environmental Policy and Politics: From the 1960s to the 1990s*, Journal of Political History, Vol. 12, No. 1.
Lisowski M. (2002), *Playing the Two-level Game: US President Bush's Decision to Repudiate the Kyoto Protocol*, Environmental Politics, 11:4, 101-119.

Suggested reading:

- Burch J. R. (2016), *Climate Change and American Policy: Key Documents, 1979-2015*, McFarland & Co Inc.
Hays S. P. (2008), *Beauty, Health and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955-1985* (Studies in Environment and History), Cambridge University Press.
Hays S. P. (2000), *A History of Environmental Politics Since 1945*, University of Pittsburgh Press.
Mast J. C. (2018), *Climate Change Politics and Policies in America* [2 volumes]: *Historical and Modern Documents in Context*, Greenwood Press.

Week 6:

Required reading:

- Bailey C. J. (2019), *Assessing President Obama's climate change record*, Environmental Politics, 28:5, 847-865.
Jotzo F. et al. (2018), *US and international climate policy under President Trump*, Climate Policy, 18:7, 813-817.

Suggested reading:

- Anderson S. et al. (2017), *The America First energy policy of the Trump Administration*, Journal of Energy & Natural Resources Law, 35:3, 221-270.
Parker C. F. and Karlsson C. (2018), *The UN climate change negotiations and the role of the United States: assessing American leadership from Copenhagen to Paris*, Environmental Politics, 27:3.
Urpelainen J. and de Graaf T. V. (2018), *United States non-cooperation and the Paris agreement*, Climate Policy, 18:7, 839-851.

Week 7:

Required reading:

- Barichella A. (2018), *Multi-actor, multi-level governance for the transatlantic climate and energy dialogue*, Sciences Po Law Review, n°14 – pp. 71-85.

Suggested reading:

- Bomberg E. (2017), *Environmental politics in the Trump era: an early assessment*, Environmental Politics, 26:5, 956-963.
Hughes S. et al. (2017), *Climate Change in Cities: Innovations in Multi-Level Governance* (The Urban Book Series), Springer.

Week 8:

Required reading:

- Bäckstrand K. et al. (2017), *Non-state actors in global climate governance: from Copenhagen to Paris and beyond*, Environmental Politics, 26:4, 561-579.

Suggested reading:

- Bulkeley et al. (2018), *Transnational Climate Change Governance*, Cambridge University Press.
Hickmann T. (2016), *Rethinking authority in global climate governance: How transnational climate initiatives relate to the international regime*, Routledge.
Wurzel R. K. W. et al. (2019), *Pioneers, leaders and followers in multilevel and polycentric climate governance*, Environmental Politics, 28:1, 1-21.

Week 9:

Required reading:

- Barichella A. (2019), *The Battle Heats Up: Climate Issues in the 2020 US Presidential Election*, Éditoriaux de l'Ifri (Édito Énergie), Institut français des relations internationales - Ifri.
Barichella A. (2021), *US Climate Politics under Biden: Is the Clean Energy Revolution Under Way?*, Éditoriaux de l'Ifri (Édito Énergie), Ifri.

Week 10:

Required reading:

Kostka G. & Zhang C. (2018), *Tightening the grip: environmental governance under Xi Jinping*, *Environmental Politics*, 27:5, 769-781.

Suggested reading:

Gallagher K. S. and Xuan X. (2019), *Titans of the Climate: Explaining Policy Process in the United States and China*, The MIT Press.

Hu A. (2020), *China: Tackle the Challenge of Global Climate Change* (China Perspectives), Routledge.

Li Y. (2020), *China Goes Green: Coercive Environmentalism for a Troubled Planet*, Polity.

Lecturer's biography

Arnault Barichella is a pos-doctoral researcher in the social sciences at the MSH Paris-Saclay. He defended his PhD in 2022 at the Centre for European Studies in Sciences Po Paris under the supervision of Dr. Colin Hay. His research focuses on multi-level governance and a comparative analysis of climate and energy policies in Europe and the United States. This includes the role of cities and sub-national actors in the climate regime, and their interactions with national and global authorities. His interest in environmental issues is linked to his professional experience at UNESCO and UNEP in preparation for the COP21, as well as his work as a parliamentary assistant at the French Senate. Arnault received his undergraduate degree from Oxford University (BA History 2008-11) and his masters in European Affairs from Sciences Po Paris (2012-14). He was also a Visiting Fellow at Harvard University for the 2018-19 academic year, affiliated with the Department of Government.

In parallel to his doctoral research, Arnault has published a number of articles and papers on topics relating to his doctoral thesis, including at the Robert Schuman Foundation, the Jacques Delors Institute, as well as the French Institute of International Relations (IFRI). Since the year 2020, Arnault has been teaching a class at Sciences Po Paris on 'Global Climate Politics', which he also began teaching at the Université Paris-Dauphine in the Fall 2022. The seminar features a live simulation of COP negotiations, with students playing the roles of international, State and civil society actors.

Moodle

This course is on Moodle: Lectures provided by the professor with detailed PowerPoint Presentations, which will be uploaded on Moodle at the end of each session. All required readings can also be downloaded from Moodle. Likewise, the final term paper will have to be uploaded on a Moodle platform.

Academic integrity

Be aware of the rules in Université Paris Dauphine about plagiarism and cheating during exams. All work turned in for this course must be your own work, or that of your own group. Working as part of a group implies that you are an active participant and fully contributed to the output produced by that group.