

Politics of Climate Change and South Asia (MA Seminar) Summer Semester 2018

Venue: SAI/SR 03

Tuesday 1400 Hrs – 1600Hrs

Department of political science / Politische Wissenschaft- South Asia Institute Heidelberg

University Instructor:

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Please Email to seek an appointment

This seminar examines the politics of climate change at the global and domestic level with specific focus on South Asia. Climate change has devastating impact on the South Asian countries making them vulnerable to rising temperatures, floods, hindering economic growth and intensifying poverty. Additionally, the region faces a paradox: of developmental needs and growth imperatives versus policy adaptation and mitigation around climate change. In this context these countries have to strike a judicious balance between the global and domestic imperatives. The South Asian countries have a unique positioning in the global governance architecture (such as the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change-IPCC) that collectively deliberates on the adaptation and mitigation challenges in order to construct a global agreement on climate change. The seminar aims to understand the politics behind the policy positioning of the South Asian nations and how these countries engage with the climate negotiations at the global level. Can these countries align together? How, why and when do the policy positions depart or converge? Can we entangle the web of global and domestic imperatives? Exploring these questions will explain the continuities and change in the global climate change discourse.

Learning Outcomes

On completion of this course the students will be able to

1. Gain knowledge on climate change
2. Understand the global and domestic climate change discourse
3. Comprehend international relations theories on global institutions and governance
4. Will get orientation towards comparative and international politics
5. Will be able to link the theoretical concepts to the empirical material

Prerequisite

No prior knowledge is required. However, students taking this course need commitment to the area while being rooted in the discipline of social science. Some amount of sensitivity to the issues covered in this seminar will enrich the discussions.

Organization

I have arranged this seminar at two levels- concepts and cases. Each week will engage with the theoretical concepts. This will be followed by discussions on the cases. We will apply our understanding of the concepts to understand the politics and related

issues of climate change. I will initiate the core sessions of this seminar. These core sessions are mentioned in the course outline provided below.

Apart from these core sessions students are expected to make a 15-minutes presentation based on the readings followed by class discussion. Students can choose their presentation slots according to their interests. **These slots will be assigned on the principle of first come first serve, so, please inform me of your preferred presentation slot at the earliest.**

Presentations can take shape of a debate as well as a reflection on the readings. Presenters will provide some leading questions to initiate the discussions. Please send in your lead questions at least two days prior to your presentation day. Presentations and class discussions can be a good starting point to initiate thinking about the paper which I will expect by the end of this semester.

The essential readings will be uploaded on Moodle. It is necessary for the students to engage with the essential readings to meaningfully participate in this class. I will happily recommend additional readings (beyond the supplementary readings).

The Moodle password for this course is: Climate19

Note*: Students who desire a “Schein” must register on Moodle by the second week after the lecture begins.

Assessment

I will evaluate students on the basis of: 1. Final Term Paper; 2. Book review and 3. Presentation and Participation

Final Term paper (50%): Students are expected to write a term paper on a topic of their choice by the end of this seminar. Term papers are to be 5000 -6000 words in length (3000- 4000 words for BA students) including footnotes and references. Term papers are due by 30 September 2019.

Book Review (30%): Students will review a book from the reading list which will be provided by me. Students are also free to choose a book of their own choice. Please note that the books chosen should be relevant to the subject covered in this course. Students will take my prior approval before choosing the book for reviewing. Book reviews are to be 1000-1200 words in length.

Class Presentation, Participation and Attendance (20%): Evaluation will be based on student’s engagement with the topic and demonstrated understanding of the assigned readings. Since, this is a seminar style class, discussions and engagement with the topic assigned will be appreciated. Based on the readings (and perhaps beyond) it is also encouraged to think deeply about the issues assigned each week.

For those enrolled for grades attendance is compulsory.

Students are expected to attend the seminar regularly and are encouraged to actively participate in the discussions. They will be evaluated on the basis of their preparation

for this seminar. **It is pertinent for the students to come prepared in the class which necessitates engagement with the essential readings provided in the course outline.**

Week 1 April 23: Introduction

This is an introductory session where background and context will be provided to the course. This session is important for students, as it will introduce the context, meaning of the key terms, broader arguments made in the readings. Prior to starting the discussions on specific topics, this session will familiarize the students with the state of the art. Students should also express their expectations from this module and can discuss the content and orientation of the topics covered, clarify the teaching and learning arrangements. To familiarize themselves with the area studies and topic of this course students are advised to look at the following core reading:

Bulkeley, H., & Newell, P. (2015). *Governing climate change*. Routledge.

Mark Maslin: *Climate Change: A Very Short Introduction*

Week 2 April 30: International Regimes (The Regime complex)

This session will discuss the emerging global regime around the climate change related issues. This will enable us to unpack the complex world of global governance and its linkages with the climate related issues. Platforms of global governance are also a hot bed where national stance on climate change are articulated, negotiated or accommodated.

Essential Readings

Keohane, R. O., & Victor, D. G. (2011). The regime complex for climate change. *Perspectives on politics*, 9(1), 7-23.

Abbott, K. W. (2012). The transnational regime complex for climate change. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, 30(4), 571-590.

Supplementary Readings

Rosendal, G. K. (2001). Impacts of overlapping international regimes: the case of biodiversity. *Global Governance*, 7(1), 95-117.

Drezner, D. W. (2009). The power and peril of international regime complexity. *Perspectives on politics*, 7(1), 65-70.

Week 3 May 7: Structural Conflict

A sharp north-south divide marked the initial climate change discourse, what Krasner (1985) termed as the “structural Conflict”. In this session will trace the transitions that have occurred around the climate related issues globally. We will examine questions around the kinds of issues raised, the nature of the divide, the differences in the discourse and its long term impact on the climate change discourse. What role did the South Asian countries play in this foundational phase.

Essential Readings

Krasner, S. D. (1985). *Structural conflict: The third world against global liberalism*. Univ of California Press. (Read Introduction :3-31;Part II (IX) The Global Commons and the conclusion : 227-266)

Hurrell, A., & Sengupta, S. (2012). Emerging powers, North–South relations and global climate politics. *International Affairs*, 88(3), 463-484.

Supplementary Readings

Therien, J. P. (1999). Beyond the North-South divide: the two tales of world poverty. *Third World Quarterly*, 20(4), 723-742.

Week 4 May 14: Case studies

In this session we will apply these concepts to the cases. What is the connection between the early stance that the countries of South Asia adopted within the north-south divide and the structural conflict discussed in the previous session.

Essential Readings

Indira Gandhi Prime Minister of India’s Speech 1972 , Stockholm Conference on Man and Environment

Divided South Asia at cop 21. Available <https://www.thethirdpole.net/en/2015/12/01/a-divided-south-asia-at-cop21/>

Najam, A., Huq, S., & Sokona, Y. (2003). Climate negotiations beyond Kyoto: developing countries concerns and interests. *Climate Policy*, 3(3), 221-231.

Week 5 May 21 : Embedded Liberalism

From the structural conflict phase we see a gradual movement towards a deeper and a more structured engagement with the global governance regime around climate change. This is what Ruggie (1982) calls embedded liberalism- dictated by the legitimate social purpose of the state. This session will trace the transitions that have occurred

around the climate related issues globally. Especially related to South Asia we will unpack the shifts.

Essential Readings

Ruggie, J. G. (1982). International regimes, transactions, and change: embedded liberalism in the postwar economic order. *International organization*, 36(2), 379-415.

Nooruddin, I., & Rudra, N. (2014). Are developing countries really defying the embedded liberalism compact?. *World Politics*, 66(4), 603-640.

Supplementary Readings

McGee, J., & Steffek, J. (2016). The Copenhagen turn in global climate governance and the contentious history of differentiation in international law. *Journal of Environmental Law*, 28(1), 37-63.

Hays, J. C., Ehrlich, S. D., & Peinhardt, C. (2005). Government spending and public support for trade in the OECD: An empirical test of the embedded liberalism thesis. *International Organization*, 59(2), 473-494.

Case Studies

Week 6 May 28 : Cases

In this session we will apply the embedded liberal stance to the position that some south asian countries have taken in the Climate negotiations.

Essential Readings

Rahul Mukherji and Himanshu Jha. India and Bangladesh in Climate Change Negotiations: From Structural Conflict to Embedded Liberalism. (Unpublished Manuscript)

Najam, A. (2005). Developing countries and global environmental governance: From contestation to participation to engagement. *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, 5(3), 303-321.

Hasan, T., & Parvez, M. S. (2015). Climate Change Negotiations and the Achievements of Developing Countries with Reference from Bangladesh. *International Journal of Business and Social Research*, 5(5), 94-102.

Week 7 June 4: Epistemic community/networks

Epistemic network is a network of knowledge professionals with recognised expertise and competence in a particular domain or issue area. What is the role of this network in the climate change discourse? What impact did they have on the changing politics of climate change? This session will take up an examination of this network in relation to climate change. For example, we will trace the historical trajectory and the process of

the report preparation and writing of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC).

Essential Readings

Haas, P. M. (1992). Introduction: epistemic communities and international policy coordination. *International organization*, 46(1), 1-35.

Haas, P. M. (1992). Banning chlorofluorocarbons: epistemic community efforts to protect stratospheric ozone. *International organization*, 46(1), 187-224.

Week 8 June 11: Cases

The epistemic network of scientists, policy makers, activists and academia played a significant role in shaping the climate discourse at both the global and the local level. Using the epistemic network lens in this session we will explore some of these cases in relation to the developing countries of South Asia.

Essential Readings

Agarwal, A., & Narain, S. (1991). Global warming in an unequal world: A case of environmental colonialism. In *Global warming in an unequal world: a case of environmental colonialism*. Centre for Science and Environment.

Gupta, H., Kohli, R. K., & Ahluwalia, A. S. (2015). Mapping 'consistency' in India's climate change position: Dynamics and dilemmas of science diplomacy. *Ambio*, 44(6), 592–599. doi:10.1007/s13280-014-0609-5

Hulme, M., & Mahony, M. (2010). Climate change: What do we know about the IPCC?. *Progress in Physical Geography*, 34(5), 705-718. (Epistemic Community)

Supplementary Reading

Haas, E. B. (1980). Why collaborate? Issue-linkage and international regimes. *World Politics*, 32(3), 357-405.

Week 9 June 18: Foreign policy

The Conference of Parties (CoP) is an arena, which has deep linkages with the foreign policy of the states- this entails negotiations, agreements, disputes and diplomacy. In this session we will discuss the multilateralism and the related politics in the context of climate talks at the international level.

Essential Readings

Keohane, R. O. (1998). International institutions: Can interdependence work?. *Foreign policy*, 82-194.

Dimitrov, R. S. (2010). Inside UN climate change negotiations: The Copenhagen conference. *Review of policy research*, 27(6), 795-821.

Supplementary Readings

Ott, H. E. (2001). Climate change: an important foreign policy issue. *International Affairs*, 77(2), 277-296.

Benedick, R. E. (1986). The environment on the foreign policy agenda. *Ecology LQ*, 13, 171.

Week 10 June 25: Cases

Essential Readings

Plagemann, J., & Prys-Hansen, M. (2018). 'Responsibility', change, and rising powers' role conceptions: comparing Indian foreign policy roles in global climate change negotiations and maritime security. *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*.

Ourbak, T., & Magnan, A. K. (2018). The Paris Agreement and climate change negotiations: Small Islands, big players. *Regional environmental change*, 18(8), 2201-2207.

Hsu, A., Moffat, A. S., Weinfurter, A. J., & Schwartz, J. D. (2015). Towards a new climate diplomacy. *Nature Climate Change*, 5(6), 501.

Week 11 July 2 : Norm diffusion and global- local linkages

As we have discussed in week 2 climate change framework is a criss cross of interrelated regimes. Regimes are often driven by norms . How do these norms diffuse from the global to the local and often vice versa? Are the states just passive receivers of these norms or adapt it locally? Countries often project a stance externally but at the same time they are driven by the domestic imperatives. The domestic politics, debates and discourse help provide a holistic picture to the emerging politics of climate change.

Essential Readings

Finnemore, M., & Sikkink, K. (1998). International norm dynamics and political change. *International organization*, 52(4), 887-917.

Rothe, D. (2009). Just Adaptation? How the Diffusion of Norms in the Global Climate Regime Affects International Climate Politics. *Intergenerational Justice Review*, (3).

Bang, G., & Underdal, A. (Eds.). (2015). *The Domestic Politics of Global Climate Change: Key Actors in International Climate Cooperation*. Edward Elgar Publishing. (Read Chap 5)

Supplementary Reading

Broadbent, J. (2013). Asian societies and climate change: The variable diffusion of global norms. *Globality Studies Journal*, (32).

Week 12 July 9: Cases

Dubash, N. K. (2013). The politics of climate change in India: narratives of equity and cobenefits. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change*, 4(3), 191-201.

Vij, S., Biesbroek, R., Groot, A., & Termeer, K. (2018). Changing climate policy paradigms in Bangladesh and Nepal. *Environmental science & policy*, 81, 77-85.

Gough, C., & Shackley, S. (2001). The respectable politics of climate change: the epistemic communities and NGOs. *International Affairs*, 77(2), 329-346.

Week 13 July 16: Advocacy and NGO networks- world outside the formal talks

An environment exists outside the realm of the states consisting of advocacy groups, civil society organizations, scientists - who are always nuancing and often shaping the discourse around climate change globally and at the domestic level.

Essential Readings

Keck, M. E., & Sikkink, K. (2014). *Activists beyond borders: Advocacy networks in international politics*. Cornell University Press. (Read Introduction: 1-38; Chapter 4 121-164)

Allan, J. I., & Hadden, J. (2017). Exploring the framing power of NGOs in global climate politics. *Environmental Politics*, 26(4), 600-620.

Supplementary Readings

Stone, D. (2002). Introduction: global knowledge and advocacy networks. *Global networks*, 2(1), 1-12.

Betsill, M. (2002). Environmental NGOs meet the sovereign state: The Kyoto protocol negotiations on global climate change. *Colo. J. Int'l Env'tl. L. & Pol'y*, 13, 49.

Week 14 July 23: Cases and Wrapping up

Giese, L. J. (2017). The Role of NGOs in International Climate Governance: A Case Study of Indian NGOs.

Fisher, S. (2012). Policy storylines in Indian climate politics: opening new political spaces?. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, 30(1), 109-127.

Hadden, J., & Jasny, L. (2017). The power of peers: How transnational advocacy networks shape NGO strategies on climate change. *British Journal of Political Science*, 1-23.