



AARHUS  
BSS

INSTITUT FOR STATSKUNDSKAB  
AARHUS UNIVERSITET



## COMPARATIVE CLIMATE POLITICS

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Spring 2025

Contact: mz[at]ps.au.dk

Time: Thursday, 09:00–12:00

Location: 1330-024

Grade: 100% on examination

Examination: Take-home assignment

Deadline: June 04, 2025

### 1 Introduction

“Climate change is the greatest challenge of our time,” said Thomas F. Stocker, co-chairman of the Fifth Assessment Report of the IPCC Working Group I, in 2013. More than ten years on, its existential threat to us is only growing: Heatwaves that kill the vulnerable, wildfires that destroy homes, floods that displace communities ...

But there still is no popular consensus about how to deal with it. How is public opinion on climate policy divided and what does this division mean politically? Meanwhile, climate policy picks “winners” and “losers” between different places and firms. How do such distributive effects shape the behaviors of relevant actors in climate politics? Despite all the gridlock, however, climate action seemingly has gained a bit of political momentum here and there. What happened?

Overall, with these questions in mind, we will see the following features of this seminar. First, we will focus on varied political actors, including individuals, firms, national governments, and international organizations. Second, this seminar theoretically connects to many courses students (may) have taken during their bachelor’s program, such as political behavior and public policy. Third, as the seminar title indicates, we will learn something new from different contexts, including those outside of Western Europe. Fourth, the course materials cover many advanced quantitative methods such as natural experiment, survey experiment, time-series cross-sectional regression, and text analysis.

### 2 Participation

Students must have taken 80% of the classes to have the eligibility for taking the examination and must notify the lecturer of any absence in advance.

This seminar expects students to read all the assigned readings before each class, to readily contribute to the plenary discussion, and to actively engage in exercises and presentations. Details for the three group presentations (in Weeks 05, 07, and 09) as well as the final presentation (in Weeks 13 and 14) will be made clear in due course.

Students should behave kindly and cooperatively towards their classmates and make their comments on one another's contributions constructive.

### 3 Examination

In the end, students will submit a results-free research paper as their take-home assignment – done individually or in a group up to 3 people. Specifically, students will motivate and identify a research question related to climate politics, make argument(s), develop hypothesis/hypotheses, and come up with a sound quantitative research design (be it observational or experimental) that can test the hypothesis/hypotheses appropriately. In a nutshell, the assignment differs from a complete research paper by not involving actual data collection and analysis. The lecturer will provide more guidance for this assignment in Week 04 and will give feedback on each individual assignment in Week 10.

The assignment can have a maximum of 42,000 characters – and 63,000 or 84,000 characters in the case of joint work by two or three people, respectively – including blanks, footnotes, tables, and figures but excluding front page, references, and appendices. The assignment can follow any mainstream style and format as long as it sticks to one throughout.

The deadline is **June 04, 2025** at noon, and the platform for submission is WISEflow.

### 4 Learning Outcomes

After having participated actively in the seminar, students will be able to:

- Demonstrate familiarity with recent research on comparative climate politics, including the arguments and some relevant factual, case-specific knowledge,
- Critically engage with the climate politics literature,
- Identify the stakeholders and explain how they matter in real-world climate politics,
- Come up with ideas to make climate policies in the real world more politically feasible,
- Propose meaningful, yet realistic research questions on climate politics,
- Develop sound quantitative research designs that can empirically answer their research questions appropriately,
- Communicate climate politics research effectively and professionally.

### 5 Contents

Students of a 10-ECTS MA seminar should normally read 1,200 pages. The readings listed below have around 670 formally published pages while students are expected to also look through the online appendix for essential details whenever necessary (equivalent to around 200 pages). Students will in addition read around 80 pages for the two group presentations. The remaining 250 pages go for the take-home assignment which should have a number of references beyond this syllabus.

Among the 33 readings listed below, 19 of them have a female authorship and 13 of them have a female first author, is solo-authored by female, or have an all-female authorship.

**Week 01 Introduction****Feb 06**

- Mildenberger, Matto. 2015. “Chapter 1: Climate policy action in the face of global inaction.” In *Fiddling while the world burns: The double representation of carbon polluters in comparative climate policymaking*. Yale University ProQuest Dissertations & Theses. <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/fiddling-while-world-burns-double-representation/docview/1767229990/se-2>: 11–27 (excluding Chapter 1.3)
- Gazmararian, Alexander F., and Helen V. Milner. 202x. “Political cleavages and changing exposure to global warming.” Forthcoming in *Comparative Political Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00104140241283014> (35 pages)

**Week 02 Public opinion on domestic climate policy****Feb 13**

- Gazmararian, Alexander F. 202x. “Valuing the future: Changing time horizons and policy preferences.” Forthcoming in *Political Behavior*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-024-09965-3> (20 pages)
- Schaffer, Lena Maria. 2024. “Who’s afraid of more ambitious climate policy? How distributional implications shape policy support and compensatory preferences.” *Environmental Politics* 33 (4): 567–590
- Fairbrother, Malcolm, Ingemar Johansson Sevä, and Joakim Kulin. 2019. “Political trust and the relationship between climate change beliefs and support for fossil fuel taxes: Evidence from a survey of 23 European countries.” *Global Environmental Change* 59:102003 (15 pages)
- Zucker, Noah. 202x. “Identity, industry, and perceptions of climate futures.” Forthcoming in *The Journal of Politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1086/732992>: 1–35

**Week 03 Public opinion on international climate policy****Feb 20**

- Bechtel, Michael M., Federica Genovese, and Kenneth F. 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
- Gaikwad, Nikhar, Federica Genovese, and Dustin Tingley. 202x. “Climate action from abroad: Assessing mass support for cross-border climate transfers.” Forthcoming in *International Organization*. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4470596>: 1–34.
- Arias, Sabrina B., and Christopher W. Blair. 2022. “Changing tides: Public attitudes on climate migration.” *The Journal of Politics* 84 (1): 560–567

**Week 04 Results-free paper as take-home assignment: Guidance****Feb 27**

The materials listed within this subsection just help to clarify the scope of, and provide templates to, results-free papers and are thus not counted as readings.

- Results-free paper with observational research design – Jankowski, Michael, Robert A. Huber, and Carsten Wegscheider. 2021. “Explaining populist attitudes: The impact of issue specific discontent and representation.” Registered on the OSF: <https://osf.io/x7ukb>
- Complete paper formally published later based on the above – Huber, Robert A., Michael Jankowski,

- and Carsten Wegscheider. 2023. "Explaining populist attitudes: The impact of policy discontent and representation." *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 64 (1): 133–154
- Results-free paper with experimental research design – Shalaby, Marwa, Alexandra Blackman, and Carolyn Barnett. 2023. "Gender stereotypes in autocracies: Experimental evidence from Morocco." Registered on the OSF: <https://osf.io/7k4sq>
  - Complete paper formally published later based on the above – Barnett, Carolyn, Alexandra Blackman, and Marwa Shalaby. 202x. "Gender stereotypes in autocracies: Experimental evidence from Morocco." Forthcoming in *The Journal of Politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1086/733000>

**Week 05 The electoral consequences of climate policy** Mar 06

- Stokes, Leah Cardamore. 2016. "Electoral backlash against climate policy: A natural experiment on retrospective voting and local resistance to public policy." *American Journal of Political Science* 60 (4): 958–974
- *Group presentation I: Discovering relevant research yourselves*

**Week 06 Electoral incentives in climate policymaking** Mar 13

- Kono, Daniel Yuichi. 2020. "Compensating for the climate: Unemployment insurance and climate change votes." *Political Studies* 68 (1): 167–186
- Finnegan, Jared J. 2023. "Changing prices in a changing climate: Electoral competition and fossil fuel taxation." *Comparative Political Studies* 56 (8): 1257–1290
- Mangonnet, Jorge, Jacob Kopas, and Johannes Urpelainen. 2022. "Playing politics with environmental protection: The political economy of designating protected areas." *The Journal of Politics* 84 (3): 1453–1468
- Sanford, Luke. 2023. "Democratization, elections, and public goods: The evidence from deforestation." *American Journal of Political Science* 67 (3): 748–763

**Week 07 Climate politics in international organizations** Mar 20

- Genovese, Federica, Richard J. McAlexander, and Johannes Urpelainen. 2023. "Institutional roots of international alliances: Party groupings and position similarity at global climate negotiations." *The Review of International Organizations* 18 (2): 329–359
- Arias, Sabrina B. 2022. "Who securitizes? Climate change discourse in the United Nations." *International Studies Quarterly* 66 (2): sqac020 (13 pages)
- Clark, Richard, and Noah Zucker. 2024. "Climate cascades: IOs and the prioritization of climate action." *American Journal of Political Science* 68 (4): 1299–1314
- *Group exercise: Abstract writing*

**Week 08 Corporate actors in climate politics** Mar 27

- Cory, Jared, Michael Lerner, and Iain Osgood. 2021. "Supply chain linkages and the extended carbon coalition." *American Journal of Political Science* 65 (1): 69–87

- Vormedal, Irja, and Jonas Meckling. 2024. “How foes become allies: The shifting role of business in climate politics.” *Policy Sciences* 57 (1): 101–124
- Stokes, Leah Cardamore. 2020. “Chapter 2: When new policies fail to create a new politics.” In *Short circuiting policy: Interest groups and the battle over clean energy and climate policy in the American States*, 35–67. Oxford University Press. Available at <https://doi-org.ez.statsbiblioteket.dk/10.1093/oso/9780190074258.001.0001>
- Kennard, Amanda. 2020. “The enemy of my enemy: When firms support climate change regulation.” *International Organization* 74 (2): 187–221

**Week 09 Gender in climate politics****Apr 03**

- Mavisakalyan, Astghik, and Yashar Tarverdi. 2019. “Gender and climate change: Do female parliamentarians make difference?” *European Journal of Political Economy* 56:151–164
- Bush, Sarah Sunn, and Amanda Clayton. 2023. “Facing change: Gender and climate change attitudes worldwide.” *American Political Science Review* 117 (2): 591–608
- *Group presentation II: Mini research on the gendered attitudinal/behavioral gap regarding climate policy*

**Week 10 Individual feedback on take-home assignment****Apr 10****Easter holidays – No class****Week 11 Attitudinal/behavioral change I****Apr 24**

- Egan, Patrick J., and Megan Mullin. 2012. “Turning personal experience into political attitudes: The effect of local weather on Americans’ perceptions about global warming.” *The Journal of Politics* 74 (3): 796–809
- Bergquist, Parrish, and Christopher Warshaw. 2019. “Does global warming increase public concern about climate change?” *The Journal of Politics* 81 (2): 686–691
- Hazlett, Chad, and Matto Mildenberger. 2020. “Wildfire exposure increases pro-environment voting within Democratic but not Republican areas.” *American Political Science Review* 114 (4): 1359–1365
- Hilbig, Hanno, and Sascha Riaz. 2024. “Natural disasters and Green Party support.” *The Journal of Politics* 86 (1): 241–256

**Week 12 Attitudinal/behavioral change II****May 01**

- Barrie, Christopher, Thomas G. Fleming, and Sam S. Rowan. 2024. “Does protest influence political speech? Evidence from UK climate protest, 2017–2019.” *British Journal of Political Science* 54 (2): 456–473
- de Kleer, Dirck, Simon van Teutem, and Catherine E. de Vries. 2024. “Public support for pro-climate and counter-climate protests.” OSF Preprints. Last edited November 23, 2024 (version 3).

<https://doi.org/10.31219/osf.io/z7uvt>: 3–46

- Bergquist, Parrish, et al. 2023. “The politics of intersecting crises: The effect of the COVID-19 pandemic on climate policy preferences.” *British Journal of Political Science* 53 (2): 707–716
- Pereira, Miguel M, et al. 2025. “Encouraging politicians to act on climate: A field experiment with local officials in six countries.” *American Journal of Political Science* 69 (1): 148–163

**Week 13 Student presentation of “results-free” paper I**

**May 08**

**Week 14 Student presentation of “results-free” paper II**

**May 15**