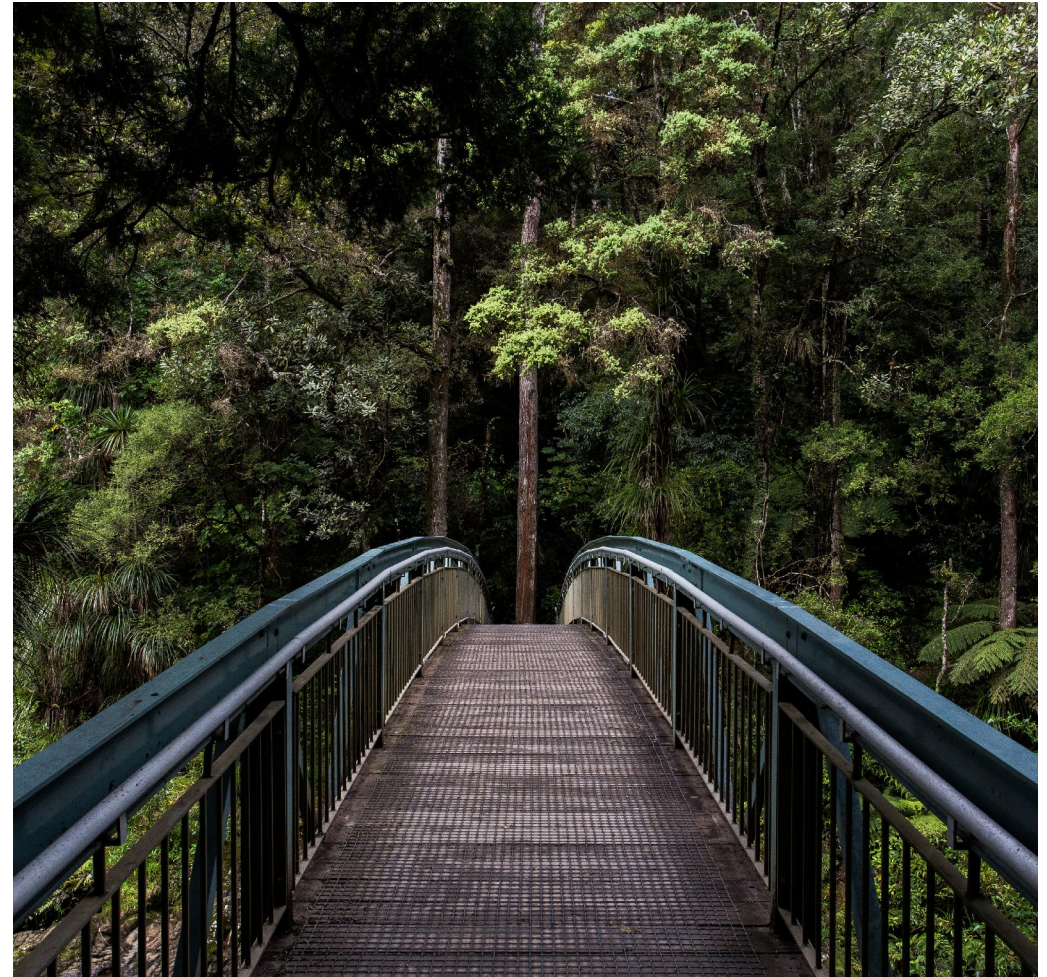




Utrecht University

Tackling Climate Change and Inequality Together: Problems, Policies and Politics

A workshop hosted by Utrecht University, 16–17 February 2021





Utrecht University

There has been growing recognition in recent years of the multiple linkages between socioeconomic inequalities and rising greenhouse gas emissions. At the same time, there has been a shift in climate policy paradigms on the political left in the United States and in some parts of Europe away from a narrow, “carbon-centric” approach, toward “Green New Deal” (**GND**)-style integrative policy programmes. The latter combine state-led investments in decarbonisation and resilience with progressive socioeconomic reforms. This shift corresponds to a change in political strategy on the left: away from striking compromise bargains with the centre-right and accommodating carbon-intensive industrial interests, and toward mobilising a broad-based coalition of voters and progressive organisations around a transformative vision. The COVID-19 pandemic has brought underlying inequalities and vulnerabilities into focus, while also creating a need for expansionary fiscal policy in the months and years ahead, presenting an opportunity for a “just and green recovery”.

This workshop brings together leading academics, public officials and campaigners from across the Atlantic to discuss these linkages, focusing on three themes: linked *problems* (how do socioeconomic inequalities drive rising greenhouse gas emissions and undermine collective climate action?); linked policy *solutions* (how can GND-style policy programmes respond to these linked problems? What is the role for public expenditure, regulation, and taxation? What opportunities arise from COVID-19 recovery efforts?); and the advantages and challenges of political strategies built around such responses. Related to the workshop, an Utrecht University Public Lecture will be delivered by Professor Julia Steinberger from 20:00–21:30 CET on Tuesday 16 February (see page 5, below).

The workshop will be hosted by Professor Ingrid Robeyns and Dr Fergus Green of the Fair Limits Project of Utrecht University, Netherlands. The Fair Limits Project explores the idea of upper limits to individual wealth and to individual and aggregate ecological resource consumption, as means to their more equitable distribution. This workshop has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant Agreement No. 726153).

Day 1: Tuesday 16 February 2021

Time		Session Theme	Speakers
CET	US EST		
13:15–13:30	7:15–7:30	Welcome	Fergus Green
13:30–15:00	7:30–9:00	Income, consumption and inequality	Juliet Schor , “The ‘other’ inequality-climate link: how domestic inequality drives carbon emissions” Ian Gough , “Floors require Ceilings: Meeting basic needs within planetary constraints requires income and consumption ceilings”
15:00–15:15	9:00–9:15	<i>Break</i>	
15:15–16:45	9:15–10:45	Capital	Ann Pettifor , “Public expenditure programmes in a Green New Deal” William Lazonick , “Corporations, Climate and Inequality”
16:45–17:00	10:45–11:00	<i>Break</i>	
17:00–18:00	11:00–12:00	US Practitioners’ Panel: Mobilising for a Green New Deal: Insights from the US	Kate Aronoff; Colette Pichon Battle; Tamara Toles O’Laughlin <i>Chair: Colin Hickey</i>
18:00–19:00	12:00–13:00	<i>Long Break</i>	
19:00–19:45	13:00–13:45	Foreign and trade policy	Thea Riofrancos , “Green Technology Supply Chains and a Planetary Just Transition”
19:45–20:00	13:45–14:00	<i>Break</i>	
20:00–21:30	14:00–15:30	Utrecht University Public lecture	Julia Steinberger , “How We Got Addicted to Cars” * * Note this event is organised by Studium Generale and will be live-streamed here . See page 5, below, for more information.

Day 2: Wednesday 17 February 2021

Time		Session Theme	Speakers
CET	US EST		
11:00–12:30	(5:00–6:30)	European Practitioners' Panel: Prospects for Green New Deals in Europe* <i>*Obviously there's no expectation our American colleagues will join this one!</i>	Hans Bruyninckx; Bas Eickhout MEP; Rebekka Popp; Dimitri Zenghelis <i>Chair: Maarten Hajer</i>
12:30–13:15	(6:30–7:15)	<i>Long Break</i>	
13:15–14:45	7:15–8:45	Enacting Green New Deals: comparative politics and law	Fergus Green , "The comparative politics of green new deals" Ewan McGaughey , "Enacting a Green Recovery in European Law"
14:45–15:00	8:45–9:00	<i>Break</i>	
15:00–16:55	9:00–10:55	Labour	Alyssa Battistoni , "Labor and the Green New Deal" Pavlina Tcherneva , "The Job Guarantee: The most crucial component of the Green New Deal" Noel Healy , "The Green New Deal: From Just Transitions to Great Transformations"
16:55–17:00	10:55–11:00	Closing Remarks	Ingrid Robeyns

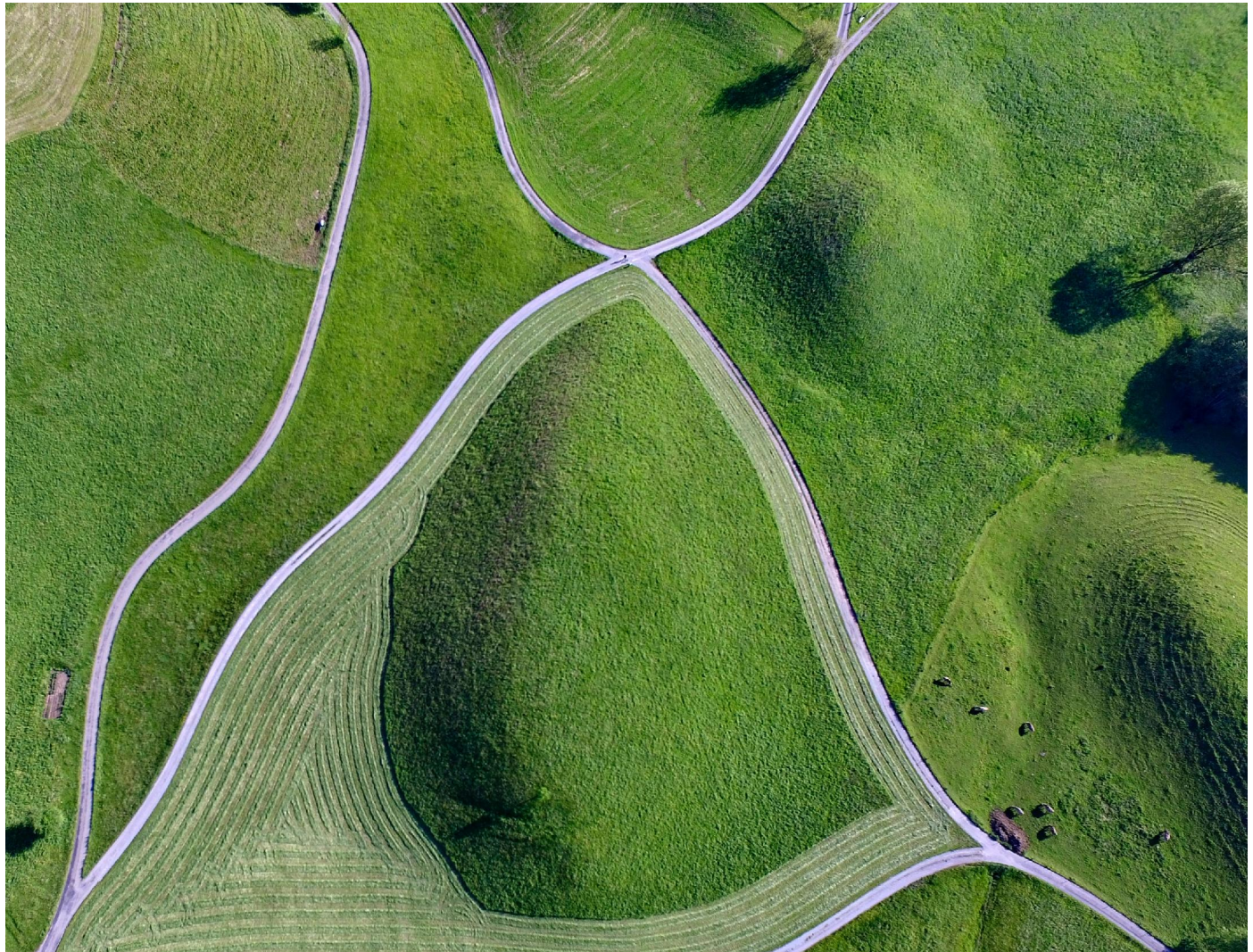
Public Lecture: “How We Got Addicted to Cars”

Associated with our workshop, Utrecht University's *Studium Generale* will host an online [Public Lecture](#) by Professor Julia Steinberger, entitled “How We Got Addicted to Cars”.

We know that the cars we drive consume a large portion of energy, create carbon lock-in and are therefore harmful for our environment. Still, we use them almost every day. By discussing the history of the car industry and other socio-political factors, ecological economist Prof. Julia Steinberger (University of Lausanne) demonstrates how we have become so car-dependent, and why it is so difficult to move away from this dependency.

Registration is **not** required for this event. The Livestream will be available from both of the following links:

- <https://www.sg.uu.nl/agenda/2021/how-we-got-addicted-cars>
- <https://www.youtube.com/user/StudiumGeneraleUU>



Speaker bios

Kate Aronoff

Kate Aronoff is a staff writer at *The New Republic* covering climate and energy, as well as the author of *Overheated: How Capitalism Broke The Planet—and How We Fight Back*. She is the co-author of *A Planet To Win: Why We Need A Green New Deal*, and co-editor of *We Own The Future: Democratic Socialism, American Style*.

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Talk title: (US Practitioners' Panel)

Alyssa Battistoni

Alyssa Battistoni is a political theorist and Environmental Fellow at the Harvard University Center for the Environment. She is the co-author of *A Planet to Win: Why We Need a Green New Deal*.

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Talk title: Labor and the Green New Deal

Hans Bruyninckx

Dr Hans Bruyninckx became the Executive Director of the European Environment Agency on 1 June 2013. In 1996 he completed a PhD in international environmental politics at Colorado State University and from 2010 headed the HIVA Research Institute in Leuven which specialises in policy research. Over the last 20 years, he has conducted research in more than a dozen countries, in areas including environmental politics, climate change, and sustainable development.

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Talk title: (European Practitioners' Panel)

Bas Eickhout MEP

Bas Eickhout has been a member of the European Parliament since 2009, and is delegation leader of the Dutch Greens in the Parliament. He is a member of the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Food Safety and a substitute member of the Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs and the Committee on Budgetary Control. He is also a member of the Delegation for relations with the People's Republic of China and a substitute member of the Delegation for relations with the United States. He studied Chemistry and Environmental Science at the Radboud University in Nijmegen and previously worked as a researcher at the Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency.

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Talk title: (European Practitioners' Panel)

Speaker bios

Ian Gough

Ian Gough is Visiting Professor in CASE (Centre for the Analysis of Social Exclusion) and Associate of the Grantham Research Institute on Climate Change and the Environment, both at the London School of Economics. His latest book titled *Heat, Greed and Human Need: Climate Change, Capitalism and Sustainable Wellbeing*, was published in October 2017. He is now researching a set of related issues, including universal basic services, maximum income, a consumption ceiling, and inessential versus essential work.

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Talk title: Floors require Ceilings: Meeting basic needs within planetary constraints requires income and consumption ceilings

Noel Healy

Noel Healy is an Associate Professor in the Geography and Sustainability Department at Salem State University. He works on the intersection between rapid climate mitigation, fossil fuel politics, just transitions and climate equity. He is a contributing author for the IPCC 6th Assessment Report and on the editorial board for *Energy Research & Social Science*.

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Talk title: The Green New Deal: From Just Transitions to Great Transformations

Fergus Green

Fergus Green researches the ethics, politics and governance of climate change and energy transitions. He is currently a Postdoctoral Researcher on the Fair Limits Project at Utrecht University, and will take up a research position in environmental politics at the Grantham Research Institute on Climate Change & the Environment at the LSE in May 2021. He is currently writing a book entitled *Just Reform: A Normative Theory of Legal Transitions*, which builds on his PhD research at the LSE.

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Talk title: The Comparative Politics of Green New Deals

William Lazonick

William Lazonick, professor of economics emeritus at University of Massachusetts, is co-founder and president of the Academic-Industry Research Network, a 501(c)(3) non-profit research organization, based in Cambridge, Massachusetts. He is an Open Society Fellow and a Canadian Institute for Advanced Research Fellow. Over the past decade, the Institute for New Economic Thinking has funded a number of his research projects.

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Institute for New Economic Thinking:

<https://www.ineteconomics.org/research/experts/wlazonick>

Harvard Business Review: <https://hbr.org/search?term=william+lazonick>

Talk title: Corporations, Climate, and Inequality

Speaker bios

Ewan McGaughey

Dr Ewan McGaughey is a reader in law at King's College, London and a research associate at the Centre for Business Research, University of Cambridge. He specialises in enterprise law, including environmental, social and governance issues in our economic constitution. He has contributed to the Green New Deal for Europe, drafted a Green Recovery Act for the UK, and has co-authored political platforms for parties in the UK general election of 2019 and the US presidential elections of 2020. He wants social justice on a living planet.

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Model *Green Recovery Act* (UK): <https://osf.io/preprints/lawarxiv/w57xb/>

Talk title: Enacting a Green Recovery in European Law

Colette Pichon Battle

As founder and Executive Director, Colette Pichon Battle, leads the Gulf Coast Center for Law & Policy in the development of programming focused on Equitable Disaster Recovery, Global Migration, Community Economic Development, Climate Justice and Energy Democracy. In addition to developing advocacy initiatives that intersect with race, systems of power and ecology, Colette manages GCCLP's legal services in immigration law and disaster law. Colette is a 2019 Obama Fellow, a 2018 recipient of an Honorary Doctorate from Kenyon College, a 2016 White House Champion of Change for Climate Equity, a 2015 Echoing Green Climate Fellow and a recipient of awards from the State of Louisiana and the American Bar Association for her work in disaster recovery and climate equity.

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Talk title: (US Practitioners' Panel)

Ann Pettifor

Ann Pettifor is a political economist, author and public speaker. She is the author of *The Case for the Green New Deal* (Verso, 2019) and *The Production of Money* (Verso, 2017). Ann is Director of PRIME (Policy Research in Macroeconomics), a network of economists that promote Keynes' monetary theory and policies, and that focus on the role of the finance sector in the economy.

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Talk title: Public expenditure programmes in a Green New Deal

Rebekka Popp

Rebekka Popp is a Policy Advisor in E3G's Berlin office. Through her work, she aims to strengthen the role of Just Transition in EU legislation and in political processes in Germany and Central and Eastern European countries. Next to Just Transition, her areas of expertise include coal phase out and the political economy of climate action in Central and Eastern Europe.

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Talk title: (European Practitioners' Panel)

Speaker bios

Thea Riofrancos

Thea Riofrancos is an assistant professor of political science at Providence College, an Andrew Carnegie Fellow (2020-2022), and a Radcliffe Institute Fellow (2020-2021). Her research focuses on resource extraction, renewable energy, climate change, green technology, social movements, and the left in Latin America. These themes are explored in her book, *Resource Radicals: From Petro-Nationalism to Post-Extractivism in Ecuador* (Duke University Press, 2020) and her co-authored book, *A Planet to Win: Why We Need a Green New Deal* (Verso Books, 2019).

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Talk title: Green Technology Supply Chains and a Planetary Just Transition

Julia Steinberger

Professor Julia Steinberger researches and teaches in the interdisciplinary areas of Ecological Economics and Industrial Ecology. Her research examines the connections between resource use (energy and materials, greenhouse gas emissions) and societal performance (economic activity and human wellbeing).

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Talk title: How We Got Addicted to Cars (Public Lecture – see page 5)

Juliet Schor

Juliet Schor is Professor of Sociology at Boston College. Her most recent book is *After the Gig: how the sharing economy got hijacked and how to win it back* (U of California Press, September 2020). Her current research topics include the gig economy and the future of work, time use, and the drivers of carbon emissions.

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Talk title: The “other” inequality-climate link: how domestic inequality drives carbon emissions.

Pavlina Tcherneva

Pavlina R. Tcherneva is the Director of the Economic Democracy Initiative at the Open Society University Network, an Associate Professor of Economics at Bard College, and a Research Scholar at the Levy Economics Institute. She is also a founding member of Democratizing Work, a global campaign for transforming the conditions of work in the transition to a green economy. Tcherneva specializes in modern monetary theory and macroeconomic stabilization policy. She is the author of *The Case for a Job Guarantee* (2020) and the co-editor of *Full Employment and Price Stability: the Macroeconomic Vision of William S Vickrey* (2004).

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Talk title: The Job Guarantee: The most crucial component of the Green New Deal

Speaker bios

Tamara Toles O'Laughlin

Tamara Toles O'Laughlin is an environmental advocate focused on people and planet. Her niche in environmental work is developing capacity building programs and creating multimedia campaigns to dismantle privilege and increase opportunities for vulnerable populations to access health air, clean energy, and a toxic free economy at the local, regional and national level.

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Talk title: (US Practitioners' Panel)

Dimitri Zenghelis

Dimitri Zenghelis is a founder of the Wealth Economy Project at the Bennett Institute, University of Cambridge and is a Senior Visiting Fellow at the London School of Economics. He was until recently Head of Policy at the Grantham Research Institute at the LSE and Acting Chief Economist for the Global Commission on the Economy and Climate. Previously, he headed the Stern Review Team at the Office of Climate Change, London, and was a lead author on the Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change, commissioned by the then Chancellor Gordon Brown. Before working on climate change, Dimitri was Head of Economic Forecasting at HM Treasury. He advises governments, financial institutions and international organisations (including the UN, World Bank and regional development banks, the Mayor of London and the UK Committee on Climate Change among others) on macroeconomics, sustainable growth, climate change and innovation.

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Talk title: (European Practitioners' Panel)

Participant bios

Lina Brand Correa

Dr Lina Brand Correa is a Research Fellow working at the intersection between energy use, wellbeing and climate change. In particular, she explores the possibility space for decoupling the benefits that economies and societies get from energy systems from their environmental impacts (especially those related to greenhouse gas emissions and thus climate change).

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Colin Hickey

Colin Hickey is a postdoctoral researcher on the Fair Limits project at Utrecht University. He received his Ph.D. from Georgetown University and works on broad issues in moral and political philosophy, with particular focus on climate ethics, global justice, and bioethics.

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Katharina Keil

Katharina Keil is a doctoral researcher who works at the intersection between ecological economics and political economy. For her PhD-thesis, she inquires into systemic barriers to social-ecological sustainability in the German automotive industry and possible leverage points for transformation.

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Maarten Hajer

Maarten Hajer is distinguished professor of Urban Futures and Director of the Urban Futures Studio at Utrecht University. Maarten is also the Scientific Director of the university-wide strategic theme 'Sustainability' and the lead author of its new program, "Pathways to Sustainability". Previously he was professor of Public Policy at the University of Amsterdam (1998-2015) and Director-General of the PBL - Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency (2008-2015).

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Elena Hofferberth

Elena Hofferberth is doing her PhD in economics, looking at the macroeconomic and political economy underpinnings of a social-ecological transformation. She explores new economic approaches, including Degrowth, Post-Growth and the Green New Deal. To exchange and collaborate, she is part of several research networks, including the international Post-Growth Economics Network, and the Scientific Working Group on Sustainable Money.

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James Patterson

James Patterson is an assistant professor at the Copernicus Institute of Sustainable Development, Utrecht University, who works on the institutional and policy dynamics of climate change governance at national and subnational scales. Particular areas of focus include institutional change, policy-society relations, sustainability transformations, and cities.

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Participant bios

Elke Pirgmaier

Elke Pirgmaier, PhD, is a political economist and ecological economist studying how capital prevents "living well within limits" and what role researchers play in the planetary struggle towards freedom.

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Ingrid Robeyns

Ingrid Robeyns holds the chair in Ethics of Institutions at the Ethics Institute of Utrecht University. She was trained as an economist and a philosopher, and received her PhD from Cambridge University. Her research and teaching focusses on theories of justice, the ethics of institutions, and applied social ethics/political philosophy on a wide variety of topics. In 2017, she published *Wellbeing, Freedom and Social Justice: The Capability Approach Re-examined*, a comprehensive account of the capability approach which was published open access. She served as the first director of the Dutch Research School of Philosophy (OZSW) and as President of the Human Development and Capability Association (HDCA). Currently, she is directing the Fair Limits project, for which she obtained an ERC Consolidators grant in 2017.

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