

## THOMAS NATHAN HALE

### CURRENT POSITION

*Oxford University, Blavatnik School of Government*  
Associate Professor of Public Policy (Global Public Policy), 2014 to present  
Fellow, St. Antony's College

### PREVIOUS POSITIONS

*Oxford University, Blavatnik School of Government*  
Postdoctoral Research Fellow (2012-2014)

### EDUCATION

*Princeton University*  
Ph.D. in POLITICS (INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS), November 2012  
Dissertation: "The Rule of Law in the Global Economy"  
M.A. in POLITICS, June 2009

*London School of Economics and Political Science*  
M.Sc. in GLOBAL POLITICS, September 2007, distinction

*Princeton University, Princeton School of Public and International Affairs*  
A.B. in PUBLIC POLICY, June 2004, highest honors, Phi Beta Kappa

### REFEREED JOURNAL ARTICLES

with Jeffry Colgan and Jessica Green. "Asset Revaluation and the Existential Politics of Climate Change." *International Organization*. Forthcoming.

Hale et al. (2020). "Sub- and non-state climate action: a framework to assess progress, implementation and impact," *Climate Policy*, DOI: [10.1080/14693062.2020.1828796](https://doi.org/10.1080/14693062.2020.1828796)

"Catalytic Cooperation," *Global Environmental Politics*, Vol. 20, No. 4, pp. 73-98.

with Lui, et al. (2020) "Correcting course: the emission reduction potential of international cooperative initiatives," *Climate Policy*, DOI: [10.1080/14693062.2020.1806021](https://doi.org/10.1080/14693062.2020.1806021)

with Kuramochi et al. "[Beyond national climate action: the impact of region, city, and business commitments on global greenhouse gas emissions.](#)" *Climate Policy*, Vol 20, No. 3 (2020) pp. 275-291.

"Transnational Actors and Transnational Governance in Environmental Politics," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol 23, 2020.

with Doyne Farmer, Cameron Hepburn, et al., "[Sensitive intervention points in the post-carbon transition](#)," *Science*, 12 April 2019, 132-134.

with Sander Chan, Idil Boran, Harro van Asselt, et al., "Promises and risks of nonstate action in climate and sustainability governance," *WIREs Climate Change* 2019. doi: 10.1002/wcc.572

with Angel Hsu et al., "A Research Roadmap for Quantifying Non-State and Subnational Climate Action." *Nature: Climate Change*. **9**, pp. 11–17 (2019)

## THOMAS NATHAN HALE

with Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, "Could global democracy satisfy diverse policy values? An empirical analysis," *Journal of Politics*, 81, no. 1 (January 2019): 112-126.

with Jessica Green, "Reversing the Marginalization of Global Environmental Politics in International Relations: An Opportunity for the Discipline," *PS: Political Science and Politics*, Vol 50, No. 2, pp 473-9, 2017.

with Charles Roger and Liliana Andonova, "National Policy and Transnational Governance of Climate Change: Substitutes or Complements?," *International Studies Quarterly*, Volume 61, Issue 2, June 2017, Pages 253–268.

with Charles Roger and Liliana Andonova, "The Comparative Politics of Transnational Climate Governance," *International Interactions*, 43:1, pp. 1-25, 2017.

"International Sources of Political Order in the People's Republic of China: A Lacuna in the Fukuyama Framework." *Journal of Chinese Governance*, Vol 1, No 3, pp 427-440, 2016.

"All Hands on Deck': The Paris Agreement and Nonstate Climate Action." *Global Environmental Politics*, Vol. 16, No. 3, 2016.

with Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, "Are Europeans ready for a more democratic European Union? New evidence on preference heterogeneity, polarisation and crosscuttingness," *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume 55, Issue 2, pages 225–245, 2016.

The Rule of Law in the Global Economy: Explaining Intergovernmental Backing for Private Commercial Tribunals," *European Journal of International Relations*. Vol. 21(3) 483–512, 2015.

with Johannes Urpelainen, "When and How Can Unilateral Policies Promote the International Diffusion of Environmental Policies and Clean Technology?" *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, vol. 27, no. 2, 177-205, 2015.

with Charles Roger, "Orchestration and Transnational Climate Governance," *Review of International Organizations*, Vol. 9, Issue 1, 2014.

with David Held and Kevin Young, "Gridlock: From Self-reinforcing Interdependence to Second Order Cooperation Problems," *Global Policy*, Vol. 4 Issue 3, 2013.

with David Held, "Gridlock and Innovation in Global Governance: The Partial Transnational Solution," *Global Policy*, Vol. 3, Issue 2, 2012.

"The de Facto Free Trade Area in East Asia," *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 18, No. 3, 2011.

"Transparency, Accountability, and Global Governance," *Global Governance* Vol. 14, January-March 2008.

with Denise Mauzerall, "Thinking Globally and Acting Locally: Can the Johannesburg Partnerships Coordinate Action on Sustainable Development?" *J. of Environment and Development* (Sept. 2004)

**BOOKS**

with David Held, *Beyond Gridlock* (Polity, 2017).

## THOMAS NATHAN HALE

*Between Interests and Law: The politics of transnational commercial arbitration* (Cambridge University Press, 2015).

with Harriet Bulkeley et al., *Transnational Climate Change Governance* (Cambridge University Press, 2014).

with David Held and Kevin Young, *Gridlock: Why International Cooperation is Failing when It's Needed Most* (Cambridge: Polity, 2013).

**EDITED VOLUMES AND SPECIAL ISSUES**

with Liliana Andonova, *Domestic Politics and Transnational Climate Governance*, Special Issue, *International Interactions*, 43:1, 2017.

Republished as: *The Comparative Politics of Transnational Climate Governance* (London: Routledge, 2018).

with David Held, *Handbook of Transnational Governance Innovation* (Cambridge: Polity, 2011).

**BOOK CHAPTERS**

with Harriet Bulkeley, Michele Betsill, Daniel Compagnon, Thomas Hale, Matthew Hoffmann, Peter Newell, and Matthew Paterson, "Transnational Governance: Charting New Directions Post-Paris," in Andrew Jordan et al., Eds, *Governing Climate Change: Polycentricity in Action?* (Cambridge: 2018).

with Charles Roger, "China and Transnational Climate Governance," in Scott Kennedy, Ed., *The Dragon's Learning Curve* (Routledge: 2017).

"What is the Effect of Transnational Commercial Arbitration on Trade?," in Walter Mattli and Thomas Dietz, Eds., *International Arbitration and Global Governance: Contending Theories and Evidence* (Oxford University Press, 2014).

with Anne-Marie Slaughter, "International Relations, Principal Theories," in Rudiger Wolfrom, Ed., *Max Planck Encyclopedia of Public International Law* (Oxford University Press: 2013).

with Anne-Marie Slaughter, "Transgovernmental Networks," in Mark Bevir, Ed., *The Handbook of Governance* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publishing, 2010).

with Anne-Marie Slaughter, "Transgovernmental Networks and Multilevel Governance," in Enderlein, Henrik, Sonja Wälti, and Michael Zürn (Eds.): *Handbook on Multi-Level Governance* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2010).

with Anne-Marie Slaughter, "Transgovernmental Networks and Emerging Powers," in Alan S. Alexandroff and Andrew F. Cooper, Eds., *Rising States; Rising Institutions: Challenges for Global Governance*, (Washington: Brookings Press, 2010).

with Anne-Marie Slaughter, "Calling All Patriots: the Cosmopolitan Appeal of Americanism," in *Cultural Transformations*, Henrietta L. Moore and David Held, Eds. (Oneworld Press, October 2007).

## THOMAS NATHAN HALE

with Anne-Marie Slaughter, “A Covenant to Make Global Governance Work,” in David Held, Ed., *Debating Globalization* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005).

### SELECTED CONFERENCE PAPERS AND PRESENTATIONS

“Catalytic Cooperation”

- American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Boston, September 1-3, 2018

“Under what conditions does international review alter national policy? Refining Concepts and Building Theory”

- American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, September 1-3, 2016
- Political Economy of International Organizations, Zurich, January 2017

with Liliana Andonova and Charles Roger, “Diffusion or Domestic Politics? Explaining Global Patterns of Participation in Transnational Climate Governance”

- IX Annual Global Administrative Law Conference, Viterbo, Italy, June 13-14, 2013
- Annual Meeting of the Academic Council on the United Nations System, Lund, Sweden, June 17-19, 2013.

“Privatization, Expertise, and the Accountability of Governance beyond the State: Evidence from Private Arbitral Tribunals,” International Studies Association Annual Meeting, April 3-6, 2013, San Francisco

with Charles Roger, “Domestic Politics and Transnational Climate Governance: A Research Agenda,” Earth Systems Governance conference, Tokyo, January 28-31, 2013.

“Gridlock: Why Multilateralism Is Failing when We Need It Most,” WTO Public Forum, Geneva, September 25, 2012.

“Sources of the Rule of Law in the Global Economy”

- American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, Chicago. August 2013.
- Political Economy of International Organizations conference, Mannheim and Heidelberg, February 6-9, 2013
- International Studies Association Annual Meeting, San Diego, April 1-4, 2012. (WINNER: Lawrence Finkelstein Award for best paper on international organization presented by a PhD student).

with Charles Roger, “China and Transnational Climate Governance”

- Conference on China and Global Governance, Research Center for Chinese Politics and Business, Indiana University, Bloomington, March 22-24, 2012.
- International Studies Association Annual Meeting, San Diego, April 1-4, 2012.
- Bridges Dialogue, International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development, Geneva, September 2012.

“No Global Governance, No Democracy,” Global Demos Conference, London School of Economics, July 1-2, 2011.

with Charles Rogers, “Orchestration and Transnational Climate Governance”

- European Consortium of Political Research Joint Session, St. Gallen, Switzerland, April 13-17, 2011

## THOMAS NATHAN HALE

- European University Institute, December 16-17, 2011.

“The de Facto Free Trade Area in Asia,” Third Annual Conference on the Political Economy of International Organizations, Georgetown, Washington D.C., January 28-30, 2010.

“‘Info-courts’ and the Accountability of International Organizations: Evidence from the World Bank Inspection Panel,” IV Global Administrative Law Seminar, Viterbo, Italy, June 13-14, 2008

**SELECTED OTHER PUBLICATIONS**

with Nathan Hultman, “[‘All in’ climate diplomacy: How a Biden-Harris administration can leverage city, state, business, and community climate action](#),” *The Brookings Institution*, November 20, 2020.

with Allen et. al, “[The Oxford Principles for Net Zero Aligned Carbon Offsetting](#),” Oxford Net Zero, September 2020.

“[An immune system for the body politic: Using social science to control COVID-19](#),” Campaign for Social Science. 8 July 2020.

“[We really may have just 11 years to save the climate](#),” *Oxford Government Review*, November 2019.

“[Can the UK rise to the global leadership challenge on climate?](#),” *Insidetrack*, 9 July 2019.

with Jeffrey Colgan and Jessica Green, “[The Existential Politics of Climate Change](#),” *Global Policy*, 21 February 2019.

“The Role of Sub-state and Nonstate Actors in International Climate Processes,” Chatham House Research Paper, November 2018

with David Held, “Why is the anti-global backlash happening now?” *World Economic Forum Agenda*. November 29, 2017.

with David Held, “The world is in economic, political and environmental gridlock – here’s why,” *The Conversation*, November 8, 2017.

“Beyond Gridlock in World Politics,” *OpenDemocracy*, October 13, 2017

“After Trump, the Groundswell of Global Climate Action is ever more Central to the Climate Regime.” *Global Policy*. November 22, 2016.

with Harro van Asselt et al. “Maximizing the Potential of the Paris Agreement: Effective Review of Action and Support in a Bottom-up Regime.” *Discussion Brief*. May 2016.

with Harro van Asselt. “How non-state actors can contribute to more effective review processes under the Paris Agreement.” *Stockholm Environment Institute Policy Brief*. May 2016.

“Trade and investment finance after Paris: Navigating the transition to universal low carbon energy.” *Blavatnik School Policy Brief*. March 2016.

with Sangjung Ha and Peter Ogden. “Climate Finance in and between Developing Countries: An Opportunity to Build on,” *Global Policy*, Vol 7, No. 2, pp. 102-8.

## THOMAS NATHAN HALE

with Sander Chan et al., “Reinvigorating International Climate Policy: A Comprehensive Framework for Effective Nonstate Action,” *Global Policy*, Vol 6., Issue 4, pp. 466-473.

with Peter Ogden. "Investing in reform: A new bond could beat our addiction to fossil fuel subsidies." *Juncture*. Volume 21, Issue 2, pages 169–171, Autumn 2014.

with Peter Ogden. “Subsidy Phase-out and Reform Catalyst Bonds.” Center for American Progress policy brief. June 2014.

with Kenneth W. Abbott. “Orchestrating Global Solution Networks: A Guide for Organizational Entrepreneurs.” Global Solutions Networks project. May 2014.  
Reprinted in *Innovations: Technology, Governance, Globalization*, Winter-Spring 2014, Vol. 9, No. 1-2, Pages 195-212.

with Louis Chambers. "Design considerations for a registry of sub- and non-state actions in the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change." BSG Policy Memo, February 2014.

with Max Harris. "Country-to-Country Review under the Next Climate Treaty: Lessons from Other Intergovernmental Review Processes." BSG Policy Memo, February 2014.

with David Held, “City Limits,” *RSA Journal*, Fall 2013.

“How the UNFCCC Can Drive Climate Ambition in Advance of a Treaty: Record, Review, Reinforce, Recruit.” Blavatnik School of Government Policy Brief. October 2013.

with David Held and Kevin Young, “European and Global Gridlock,” *E!Sharp*, July, 2013.

“A Climate Coalition of the Willing,” *The Washington Quarterly*, February, 2011.  
Reprinted in *Annual Editions: World Politics*, Robert Weiner, ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2012).

with Georg Kell and Anne-Marie Slaughter, “Silent Reform through the Global Compact,” *U.N. Chronicle*, Volume 44, No. 1, 2007.

with Anne-Marie Slaughter, “Transparency: Possibilities and Limitations,” *Fletcher Forum on International Affairs* (Winter 2006).

**BOOK REVIEWS**

*Regulating the polluters: markets and strategies for protecting the global environment.*  
Alexander Ovodenko. *International Affairs* 94: 2, 2018

*The Continent of International Law: Explaining Agreement Design.* Barbara Koremenos.  
*Perspectives on Politics*, Vol 15, No. 1, March 2017, pp. 295-6.

*Networks in Contention: The Divisive Politics of Climate Change*, Jennifer Hadden.  
*International Political Reviews*, 3, pp. 84-93, 2015.

*First of the Year 2009*, edited by Benj DeMott, *Democratija*, Spring, 2009

*The Cultural Contradictions of Democracy: Political Thought since 9/11*, by John Brenkman.  
*Democratija*, Spring 2008.

## THOMAS NATHAN HALE

with Anne-Marie Slaughter, “Hardt and Negri’s *Multitude*: the Worst of Both Worlds”, *openDemocracy*, May 26, 2005

### COMMENTARY

[“The ‘contact budget’: a climate metaphor to make sense of COVID-19 restrictions,”](#) *Blavatnik School Blog*, 29 October, 2020.

with Green et al., [“Oil companies aren’t actually going green — but some are heading there faster than others.”](#) *The Monkey Cage*, 18 September 2020.

with Chuyu Liu and Johannes Urpelainen, [“Building back better requires a new approach to China’s Belt and Road Initiative,”](#) ISEP Blog, 25 May 2020

[“Cooperation is key to fighting a pandemic – that’s why I helped create a global coronavirus tracker,”](#) *The Independent*, 13 March 2020

with Carolyn Deere-Birkbeck and Emily Jones, [“To Advance Trade and Climate Goals, ‘Global Britain’ Must Link Them,”](#) Chatham House Expert Commentary, 19 March 2020

[“Five tough questions to ask about reaching net zero climate targets”](#) *The Independent*, 13 March 2020

“UK and Holyrood must unite to lead the way on climate,” *The Times* (Scotland), 10 February 2020

“UN climate talks must include cities, businesses or risk irrelevance,” *Climate Home*, 10 October 2019

[“Who should be 2019’s Climate Champion?”](#) *Climate Home*, 11 January 2019.

"Donald Trump is sacrificing the future of the planet on the altar of his own ego - but it could backfire", *New Statesman*, June 2, 2017

“The Paris Agreement will survive President Trump,” *Climate Home*, November 9, 2016.

“Understanding China’s Domestic Agenda Can End UN Gridlock”  
(“[读懂中国才能打破气候谈判僵局](#)”) *China Dialogue*, July 7, 2013.

区天伦与 托马斯·霍尔, “中国可支持地方政府的气候变化举措,” *东方早报* (上海), 2010.11.26.

[with Bruce Au, “China Can Support Local Government Action on Climate Change,” *Oriental Morning Post* (Shanghai), November 26, 2010.]

reprinted in English as “How to Break the Climate Change Stalemate,” *China Daily*, November 30, 2010.

with Tobias Leipprand, “Climate Diplomacy Needs a Revolution,” *European Voice*, September 30, 2010.

with Scott Moore, “A Coalition of the Willing for the Climate,” *China Dialogue*, June 1, 2010.

## THOMAS NATHAN HALE

“Obama and the Deepening of Democracy,” *Democratija*, Winter 2008

“Globalising Freedom,” *openDemocracy*, March 15, 2005

### SELECTED AWARDS, FELLOWSHIPS, VISITING POSITIONS

Fellow, World Economic Forum Global Future Council on Geopolitics, 2018-2019, 2019-2020, 2020-2021

Non-resident fellow, Initiative for Sustainable Energy Policy, Johns Hopkins SAIS, 2017-present

Non-resident fellow, Colorado School of Mines, 2017-present

Fellow, World Economic Forum Global Future Council on International Governance, Public-Private Cooperation and Sustainable Development, 2016-2018

Harold and Margaret Sprout Award (runner up) for best book in global environmental politics, International Studies Association (2015)

Lawrence A. Finkelstein Award for best paper on international organization presented by a PhD student at the International Studies Association Conference (2012)

Global Governance Scholarship, Research Center for Chinese Politics and Business (2010)

Visiting fellow, LSE Global Governance, London School of Economics (2010-11)

Fellow, Global Governance 2020 (2009-2011)

Visiting student, Graduate School, Università degli Studi di Milano (summer 2009)

Lynde and Harry Bradley Research Program Fellowship (2008-2009)

Woodrow Wilson Thesis Prize (2004)

Van der Velde Award for Policy Research (2002)

Shapiro Prize for Academic Excellence (2001)

### SELECTED GRANTS

Principal investigator, Oxford COVID-19 Government Response Tracker, Blavatnik Family Foundation, 2020-2021.

COP26 Fellowship. “From “Groundswell” to “All of Society”: How local governments, business, and civil society can contribute to the implementation phase of the Paris Agreement.” UK Research and Innovation, 2020-2021.

Principal investigator, “Greening the Belt and Road Initiative,” ClimateWorks Foundation, 2018-2020

Principal investigator, “Strengthening Non-state Climate Action in the Global South,” Europe and Global Challenges Fund, 2017-2020.



## THOMAS NATHAN HALE

Co-investigator, “Sensitive Intervention Points in the Transition to the Post-Carbon Society,” Oxford Martin School, 2017-2020.

### ACADEMIC SERVICE

Editorial Board, *Global Environmental Politics*, 2020-present

Executive Committee, Global Economic Governance Programme, Oxford University, 2015-present

External Examiner, Masters of Public Affairs, London School of Economics, 2016-2020

Convener, International political economy research seminar, 2012-2017

Disciplinary Committee, St Antony’s College, 2016-present

Director of Chinese Engagement, Blavatnik School of Government, University of Oxford, 2017-present

*Global Policy Journal*, Editorial Board, 2013-present

Curator, World Economic Forum Global Governance Transformation Map, 2017-present

Curator, World Economic Forum Geopolitics Transformation Map, 2019-present.

Blavatnik School of Government Examination Board, 2014-2016

Oxford University Social Sciences Divisional Scholarships Panel, 2015-2017

### PUBLIC SERVICE

Chair, Expert Peer Review Group, Race to Zero campaign (UNFCCC)

Member, Expert Advisory Group to the UK Government International Comparators Joint Unit (COVID-19), 2020-present

Founder, Galvanizing the Groundswell of Climate Actions, 2014- present

Member, Strategic Committee for the Mohammed VI Prize for the Climate and Sustainable Development (Government of Morocco), 2018 - present

Mission2020, Advisory Board, 2017 – 2020.

The Partnering Initiative, Board member, 2018 - present

CommonCause, Board member, 2012-2015

### LANGUAGES

Fluent written and spoken Spanish

Advanced written and spoken Mandarin

Competent French reading and comprehension

Competent Italian reading and comprehension

## THOMAS NATHAN HALE

### ACADEMIC REFERENCES

Robert Keohane (dissertation advisor)  
Princeton University  
[rkeohane@princeton.edu](mailto:rkeohane@princeton.edu)  
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Helen Milner  
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