

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

1. with Stephen M. Smith, Richard Black, Kate Cullen, Byron Fay, John Lang & Saba Mahmood (2022) Assessing the rapidly-emerging landscape of net zero targets, *Climate Policy*, 22:1, 18-29, DOI: [10.1080/14693062.2021.2013155](https://doi.org/10.1080/14693062.2021.2013155)
2. with Fankhauser, S., Smith, S.M., Allen, M. *et al.* The meaning of net zero and how to get it right. *Nat. Clim. Chang.* **12**, 15–21 (2022). <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41558-021-01245-w>
3. with Paasha Mahdvi *et al.* 2021. "[Using Earnings Calls to Understand the Political Behavior of Major Polluters.](#)" *Global Environmental Politics*. Forthcoming.
4. With Rafael Goldszmidt *et al.* "Protective Behaviors Against COVID-19 by Individual Vaccination Status in 12 Countries During the Pandemic". *JAMA Netw Open*. 2021;4(10):e2131137. doi:10.1001/jamanetworkopen.2021.31137
5. with Jen Allan *et al.* "Making the Paris Agreement: Historical Processes and the Drivers of Institutional Design." *Political Studies*. October 2021. doi:[10.1177/00323217211049294](https://doi.org/10.1177/00323217211049294)
6. with Jessica Green *et al.* (2021). "Transition, hedge, or resist? Understanding political and economic behavior toward decarbonization in the oil and gas industry," *Review of International Political Economy*, DOI: [10.1080/09692290.2021.1946708](https://doi.org/10.1080/09692290.2021.1946708)
7. with Anna Petherick *et al.* "[A worldwide assessment of changes in adherence to COVID-19 protective behaviours and hypothesized pandemic fatigue.](#)" *Nat Hum Behav* **5**, 1145–1160 (2021). <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41562-021-01181-x>

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8. Hale et al. (2021) Government responses and COVID-19 deaths: Global evidence across multiple pandemic waves. PLOS ONE 16(7): e0253116. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0253116>
9. with Angela Breuggemann et al. 2021. "Changes in the incidence of invasive disease due to *Streptococcus pneumoniae*, *Haemophilus influenzae*, and *Neisseria meningitidis* during the COVID-19 pandemic in 26 countries and territories in the Invasive Respiratory Infection Surveillance Initiative: a prospective analysis of surveillance data." *Lancet Digital Health*. Volume 3 Issue 6. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S2589-7500\(21\)00077-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/S2589-7500(21)00077-7)
10. Hale et al. 2021. "A global panel database of pandemic policies (Oxford COVID-19 Government Response Tracker)." *Nat Hum Behav* 5, 529–538 (2021). <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41562-021-01079-8>
11. With Sander Chan et al. (2021), Climate Ambition and Sustainable Development for a New Decade: A Catalytic Framework. *Glob. Policy*, 12: 245-259. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1758-5899.12932>
12. with Jeffery Colgan and Jessica Green (2021). "Asset Revaluation and the Existential Politics of Climate Change." *International Organization*, 75(2), 586-610. doi:10.1017/S0020818320000296
13. Hale et al. (2021) Sub- and non-state climate action: a framework to assess progress, implementation and impact, *Climate Policy*, 21:3, 406-20, DOI: [10.1080/14693062.2020.1828796](https://doi.org/10.1080/14693062.2020.1828796)
14. "Catalytic Cooperation," *Global Environmental Politics*, 2020. Vol. 20, No. 4, pp. 73-98.
15. 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)
16. 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.
17. "Transnational Actors and Transnational Governance in Environmental Politics," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol 23, 2020.
18. with Doyne Farmer, Cameron Hepburn, et al., "[Sensitive intervention points in the post-carbon transition](#)," *Science*, 12 April 2019, 132-134.
19. 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
20. with Angel Hsu et al., "A Research Roadmap for Quantifying Non-State and Subnational Climate Action." *Nature: Climate Change*. 9, pp. 11–17 (2019)
21. with Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, "Could global democracy satisfy diverse policy values? An empirical analysis," *Journal of Politics*, 81, no. 1 (January 2019): 112-126.

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22. with David Held, "Breaking the Cycle of Gridlock," *Global Policy*, Volume 9, Number 1 (February 2018): 129-137.
23. 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.
24. 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.
25. with Charles Roger and Liliana Andonova, "The Comparative Politics of Transnational Climate Governance," *International Interactions*, 43:1, pp. 1-25, 2017.
26. "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.
27. "'All Hands on Deck': The Paris Agreement and Nonstate Climate Action." *Global Environmental Politics*, Vol. 16, No. 3, 2016.
28. 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.
29. 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.
30. 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.
31. with Charles Roger, "Orchestration and Transnational Climate Governance," *Review of International Organizations*, Vol. 9, Issue 1, 2014.
32. with David Held and Kevin Young, "Gridlock: From Self-reinforcing Interdependence to Second Order Cooperation Problems," *Global Policy*, Vol. 4 Issue 3, 2013.
33. with David Held, "Gridlock and Innovation in Global Governance: The Partial Transnational Solution," *Global Policy*, Vol. 3, Issue 2, 2012.
34. "The de Facto Free Trade Area in East Asia," *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 18, No. 3, 2011.
35. "Transparency, Accountability, and Global Governance," *Global Governance* Vol. 14, January-March 2008.

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36. 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

1. with David Held, *Beyond Gridlock* (Polity, 2017).
2. *Between Interests and Law: The politics of transnational commercial arbitration* (Cambridge University Press, 2015).
3. with Harriet Bulkeley et al., *Transnational Climate Change Governance* (Cambridge University Press, 2014).
4. 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

1. 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).
2. with David Held, *Handbook of Transnational Governance Innovation* (Cambridge: Polity, 2011).

BOOK CHAPTERS

1. 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).
2. with Charles Roger, "China and Transnational Climate Governance," in Scott Kennedy, Ed., *The Dragon's Learning Curve* (Routledge: 2017).
3. "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).
4. with Anne-Marie Slaughter, "International Relations, Principal Theories," in Rudiger Wolfrum, Ed., *Max Planck Encyclopedia of Public International Law* (Oxford University Press: 2013).
5. with Anne-Marie Slaughter, "Transgovernmental Networks," in Mark Bevir, Ed., *The Handbook of Governance* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publishing, 2010).
6. 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).

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7. 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).
8. 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).
9. with Anne-Marie Slaughter, "A Covenant to Make Global Governance Work," in David Held, Ed., *Debating Globalization* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005).

SELECTED OTHER PUBLICATIONS

1. with Chuyu Liu and Johannes Urpelainen, "[Supply and demand for clean power in the Belt and Road: Comparing the Political Economy of Pakistan and Indonesia](#)," ISEP-SAIS, January 2022.
2. "[Governing Net Zero: The Conveyor Belt](#)," *Blavatnik School of Government Policy Brief*, November 29, 2021.
3. with Calder Tsuyuki-Tomlinson, Andrew Higham, and Poorti Sapatnekar, "[A vision for the global climate action ecosystem](#)," *Future of Climate Cooperation*, November 2021.
4. with Andreas Klasen, Norman Ebner, Bianca Krämer, Anastasia Kantzelis, "[Towards net zero export credit: Current approaches and next steps](#)," Blavatnik School of Government Working Paper, July 26, 2021.
5. With Richard Black et al. (2021). [Taking Stock: A global assessment of net zero targets](#), Energy & Climate Intelligence Unit and Oxford Net Zero.
6. with Kate Cullen et al., (2021). [Leveling up net zero climate leadership in the United States](#). Smith School Working Paper 21-01.
7. with Emily Jones et al, "[Governance to support a global green deal](#)," *Future of Climate Cooperation – Blavatnik School of Government*, December 2020.
8. with Andreas Klasen et al, "Working towards a commitment to net zero," *Berne Union Annual Yearbook 2020*. Berne, 2020.
9. 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.
10. with Allen et. al, "[The Oxford Principles for Net Zero Aligned Carbon Offsetting](#)," Oxford Net Zero, September 2020.
11. Testimony to UK Parliament. "[What should the Government's priorities be at the COP 26 UN climate summit?](#)" July 7, 2020.

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12. [“An immune system for the body politic: Using social science to control COVID-19.”](#) Campaign for Social Science. 8 July 2020.
13. Thomas Hale, Chuyu Liu, and Johannes Urpelainen. 2020. [Belt and Road Decision-making in China and Recipient Countries: How and To What Extent Does Sustainability Matter?](#) ISEP, BSG, and ClimateWorks Foundation.
14. [“We really may have just 11 years to save the climate,”](#) *Oxford Government Review*, November 2019.
15. [“Can the UK rise to the global leadership challenge on climate?,”](#) *Insidetrack*, 9 July 2019.
16. with Jeffrey Colgan and Jessica Green, [“The Existential Politics of Climate Change,”](#) *Global Policy*, 21 February 2019.
17. “The Role of Sub-state and Nonstate Actors in International Climate Processes,” Chatham House Research Paper, November 2018
18. with David Held, “Why is the anti-global backlash happening now?” *World Economic Forum Agenda*. November 29, 2017.
19. with David Held, “The world is in economic, political and environmental gridlock – here’s why,” *The Conversation*, November 8, 2017.
20. “Beyond Gridlock in World Politics,” *OpenDemocracy*, October 13, 2017
21. “After Trump, the Groundswell of Global Climate Action is ever more Central to the Climate Regime.” *Global Policy*. November 22, 2016.
22. 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.
23. 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.
24. “Trade and investment finance after Paris: Navigating the transition to universal low carbon energy.” *Blavatnik School Policy Brief*. March 2016.
25. 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.
26. 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.
27. 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.
28. with Peter Ogden. “Subsidy Phase-out and Reform Catalyst Bonds.” Center for American Progress policy brief. June 2014.

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29. with Kenneth W. Abbott. "Orchestrating Global Solution Networks: A Guide for Organizational Entrepreneurs." Global Solutions Networks project. May 2014.
30. Reprinted in *Innovations: Technology, Governance, Globalization*, Winter-Spring 2014, Vol. 9, No. 1-2, Pages 195-212.
31. 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.
32. with Max Harris. "Country-to-Country Review under the Next Climate Treaty: Lessons from Other Intergovernmental Review Processes." BSG Policy Memo, February 2014.
33. with David Held, "City Limits," *RSA Journal*, Fall 2013.
34. "How the UNFCCC Can Drive Climate Ambition in Advance of a Treaty: Record, Review, Reinforce, Recruit." Blavatnik School of Government Policy Brief. October 2013.
35. with David Held and Kevin Young, "European and Global Gridlock," *E!Sharp*, July, 2013.
36. "A Climate Coalition of the Willing," *The Washington Quarterly*, February, 2011.
37. Reprinted in *Annual Editions: World Politics*, Robert Weiner, ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2012).
38. with Georg Kell and Anne-Marie Slaughter, "Silent Reform through the Global Compact," *U.N. Chronicle*, Volume 44, No. 1, 2007.
39. with Anne-Marie Slaughter, "Transparency: Possibilities and Limitations," *Fletcher Forum on International Affairs* (Winter 2006).

BOOK REVIEWS

1. *The Ebb and Flow of Global Governance: Intergovernmentalism versus Nongovernmentalism in World Politics*. By Alexandru Grigorescu, and *The Origins of Informality: Why the Legal Foundations of Global Governance Are Shifting, and Why It Matters*. By Charles B. Roger. *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol 8 No 4, December 2020.
2. *Regulating the polluters: markets and strategies for protecting the global environment*. Alexander Ovodenko. *International Affairs* 94: 2, 2018
3. *The Continent of International Law: Explaining Agreement Design*. Barbara Koremenos. *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol 15, No. 1, March 2017, pp. 295-6.
4. *Networks in Contention: The Divisive Politics of Climate Change*, Jennifer Hadden. *International Political Reviews*, 3, pp. 84-93, 2015.
5. *First of the Year 2009*, edited by Benj DeMott, *Democratiya*, Spring, 2009
6. *The Cultural Contradictions of Democracy: Political Thought since 9/11*, by John Brenkman. *Democratiya*, Spring 2008.

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7. with Anne-Marie Slaughter, "Hardt and Negri's *Multitude*: the Worst of Both Worlds", *openDemocracy*, May 26, 2005

COMMENTARY

1. with Richard Black, "[The end of the beginning of net zero](#)," *BusinessGreen*, November 4, 2021.
2. with Jessica Green, "[New 'net zero' standards could transform the climate — unless they're derailed](#)," *Monkey Cage / Washington Post*. October 4, 2021.
3. [Our Common Agenda – Governing the Future?](#) *Global Policy*. September 10, 2021.
4. with Richard Black and Steve Smith. [Net zero: despite the greenwash, it's vital for tackling climate change](#). *The Conversation*. May 10, 2021.
5. with Harro van Asselt et al, "[Realizing the Promise of Paris: Three Ways of Strengthening Non-State and Subnational Climate Action](#)," *Global Policy*, December 11, 2020.
6. "[The Paris agreement survived the Trump administration. What happens now?](#)" *The Monkey Cage – Washington Post*. December 11, 2020.
7. "[The "contact budget": a climate metaphor to make sense of COVID-19 restrictions](#)," *Blavatnik School Blog*, 29 October, 2020.
8. 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.
9. 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
10. "[Cooperation is key to fighting a pandemic – that's why I helped create a global coronavirus tracker](#)," *The Independent*, 13 March 2020
11. 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
12. "[Five tough questions to ask about reaching net zero climate targets](#)" *The Independent*, 13 March 2020
13. "UK and Holyrood must unite to lead the way on climate," *The Times* (Scotland), 10 February 2020
14. "UN climate talks must include cities, businesses or risk irrelevance," *Climate Home*, 10 October 2019
15. "[Who should be 2019's Climate Champion?](#)" *Climate Home*, 11 January 2019.
16. "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

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17. "The Paris Agreement will survive President Trump," *Climate Home*, November 9, 2016.
18. "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.
19. 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.
20. [with Bruce Au, "China Can Support Local Government Action on Climate Change," *Oriental Morning Post* (Shanghai), November 26, 2010.]
21. reprinted in English as "How to Break the Climate Change Stalemate," *China Daily*, November 30, 2010.
22. with Tobias Leipprand, "Climate Diplomacy Needs a Revolution," *European Voice*, September 30, 2010.
23. with Scott Moore, "A Coalition of the Willing for the Climate," *China Dialogue*, June 1, 2010.
24. "Obama and the Deepening of Democracy," *Democratija*, Winter 2008
25. "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)

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Woodrow Wilson Thesis Prize (2004)

Van der Velde Award for Policy Research (2002)

Shapiro Prize for Academic Excellence (2001)

SELECTED GRANTS

Principal investigator, Net Zero Tracker, 2021.

Principal investigator, Oxford COVID-19 Government Response Tracker, 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.

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

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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