The Politics and Policy of the Global Environment

Prof. Green Office hours: M 10-noon

Fall 2013 Mather 315 POSC 388 / ESTD 388 Email: jfg38

Note: I reserve the right to change the readings

Course Overview and Goals

In the last decade, environmental problems have moved to the forefront of political debates. States are currently locked in a contentious – and incredibly important – negotiation about how to slow climate change, and to prepare for its adverse effects. This course examines the law, politics and policy surrounding global environmental challenges such as climate change. The course aims to provide a broad overview of the key concepts, actors, debates and issues in global environmental politics. It aims to illustrate the complexities of addressing environmental problems – from the proliferation of global institutions and international actors, to the absence of central enforcement mechanisms.

The course has six parts. First, we examine the causes of environmental degradation and examine competing views on the gravity of the problem. Second, we examine the actors and institutions of global environmental politics, to understand how environmental problems are created, law is made, and policy is implemented. In short, we ask, "who solves global environmental problems and how?" We then turn to understanding the conditions under which environmental lawmaking is successful, and the role of science in that process. Fifth, we look at linkages between environmental issues and economic globalization. In the final section of the course, we apply the tools and concepts to the problem of climate change.

This will be a challenging, but rewarding course. The readings can be divided into three different categories – primary documents, textbooks and scholarly articles. Primary documents include websites, multilateral environmental agreements, and policy reports. These documents may appear abstract at first, but they are meant to give you a sense of how environmental politics is actually *done*. Reading primary documents helps show what types of end products emerge from political processes. The textbooks are intended to paint a broad picture of the issues and topics we will examine in the course. Finally, the scholarly articles will help you understand the nuance and complexities of each of the topics we examine. Don't be overwhelmed; we will work through the arguments together.

By the end of the semester, you should:

- Be able to identify the major actors in global environmental politics and their roles:
- Understand different types of legal, market and informal policy mechanisms for addressing environmental problems;
- Be able to explain the political challenges to international cooperation on transboundary environmental problems;

• Locate and use independent evidence to explain the nature of those challenges.

Course Requirements

Readings. You are expected to complete *all* of the readings for *every* class. Classes will be a mix of lecture and discussion. You are expected to participate in discussions, and this will be **significant** part of your final grade (see below). Simply sitting in the class sessions will not earn you full marks on participation; coming to class with questions and comments will. You should try to complete all of the readings by Tuesday.

There will be two textbooks for the course:

Ken Conca and Geoffrey Dabelko, eds. 2010. *Green Planet Blues: Four Decades of Global Environmental Politics*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press. 4rd Edition. (Referred to as Conca in the syllabus). **Please make sure you get the 4rd edition; earlier ones have very different contents.**

Kate O'Neill. 2009. *The Environment and International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The other readings will either be posted on Blackboard (indicated as **on BB** in the syllabus), or you will have to find them using the KSL website. All articles are electronically available. This is to get you comfortable with using the website to find sources.

Exams. There will be a mid-term in class on **OCTOBER 17th.** This will cover basic concepts and readings in the course to date. There will be a final take home exam due on **DECEMBER 17th.**

Commentaries. There are four written assignments during the course of the semester. These are due to me electronically on the day of class *before class meets*. The goal of these is to get you thinking about the readings and the issues we will be discussing that day in class.

Research paper. You will also be required to write a 15-20 page double-spaced page research paper on an environmental problem and the political and legal responses to it. You are encouraged to examine issues not discussed in the course, though this is not a requirement. The paper should clearly pose a question about international environmental politics. Using both the concepts discussed in the class, *as well as independent evidence*, it should try to answer the question and build a persuasive argument for your view. You should reference *scholarly writings*, but may also use contemporary journalistic sources. Please consult the *Chicago Manual of Style* for examples of citation systems. You will be evaluated on the quality of the argument, its logical consistency as well as evidence presented. Style counts too: If I have difficulty understanding your prose, I will certainly struggle to understand the argument. I encourage you to proofread your papers carefully,

and consider trading papers with classmates for proofreading purposes. Before each interim due date (see below), we will devote some time in class to your questions.

To avoid leaving the paper to the end of the term, there will be several interim assignments and deadlines. You will primarily be graded on turning them in promptly. I will give you feedback and comments at each stage.

- 1. Research topic and preliminary bibliography. You will submit a topic, a research question, and between five and ten scholarly sources that you have used in formulating the topic. Grading will be based on whether such an abstract is submitted. **Due 20 Sept.**
- 2. Annotated bibliography. This is a list of 10 scholarly sources that you will use in the paper, along with a summary of the main ideas and arguments. **Due 11 Oct.**
- 3. Basic argument. You will submit a 1-2 page summary of the research question, and the basic argument and sub-arguments you will make to answer that question. Grading will be based primarily on prompt submission, but the soundness and clarity of the argument and sub-arguments will also be evaluated. **Due 7 Nov.**
- 4. The final paper is due 9 Dec. No exceptions.

Legal

- 1. **All deadlines are final**. For each day an assignment is late, a half grade will be deducted. This means if an A- paper is one day late, it will be a B+. If a B paper is two days late, it will be a C. THE ONLY exception to this rule is if you have a note from the Dean. Unless you have a note from the Dean, no extensions will be granted.
- 2. Please read the policy on academic honesty and plagiarism. (http://www.case.edu/provost/ugstudies/acintegrity.htm). Academic dishonesty (plagiarism, cheating on examinations, etc.) is a serious offense that can result in loss of credit, suspension, and possibly expulsion from the university. All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be reported to the Dean of Undergraduate Studies.
 - a. If you have questions or concerns about what constitutes academic dishonesty, please feel free to ask me.
- 3. An unexcused absence for an exam will result in a failing grade for that exam.
- 4. I reserve the right to consider extraordinary or unforeseen circumstances on a case-by-case basis.
- 5. Re-grade requests for exams will be honored only if accompanied by a comprehensive written explanation of why you deserve a higher grade. Note that if accepted, a request for re-grading may result in the raising *or lowering* of your grade.

Other Class Policies

- 1. Please save paper; submit everything to me electronically VIA EMAIL. Your name and POSC 388 should be in the title of the email.
- 2. Please turn off your cell phones.
- 3. Unless you have permission from ESS, laptops are not permitted.

- 4. Graduate students will have additional assignments to be worked out with me during the course of the semester.
- 5. During the semester I am prepared to meet by appointment with any and all students enrolled in this course. I would like especially to meet with students with disabilities who are registered with the Coordinator of Disability Services (368-5230) and who may need individual arrangements.

Week 1: Introduction

27 Aug: Introduction 29 Aug: NO CLASS

Week 2: What's the problem?

3 Sept: What's the environmental problem?

- Conca and Dabelko, pp. 15-37
- Simon, Julian, *The Ultimate Resource* 2. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Accessible at http://www.juliansimon.com/writings/Ultimate_Resource/TCONCLUS.txt.
- Speth, James Gustave. 2005. *Red sky at morning*. Yale University Press, Chap 6. **ON BB.**
- Bjorn Lomborg, *The Skeptical Environmentalist*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Excerpts, Chaps 1-2. **ON BB.**

Commentary #1: Calculate your environmental footprint:

https://jshare.johnshopkins.edu/aignato2/public_html/ecological%20footprint%20calculat or.pdf. Describe the major sources of your environmental impacts and two ways that would cut down on these. What is the feasibility and cost of taking these actions? (1 page max, due electronically by class on 3 September)

5 Sept: What's the political problem?

- O'Neill, Introduction and Chapter 1.
- Conca and Dabelko, pp. 38-44.
- Ostrom, Elinor. 1990. Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chap 1. On BB.

Week 3: International Environmental Law

10 Sept: States and Regime Formation

- O'Neill, Chapter 4
- Barrett, Scott. 2003. *Environment and Statecraft*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Chapter 8. **On BB.**

12 Sept: Regime Design

• Abbott, Kenneth et al. 2000. "The Concept of Legalization." *International Organization* 54(3): 401-419.

Week 4: IGOs and Non-state actors in GEP

17 September: IGOs and the UN system

- Conca, pp. 143-60
- O'Neill, pp. 53-57
- Bauer, Steffen. 2006. Does Bureaucracy Really Matter? The Authority of Intergovernmental Treaty Secretariats in Global Environmental Politics. Global Environmental Politics 6 (1): 23–49.
- Peruse one of the following websites; be prepared to list two to three activities / responsibilities of that organization in class:
 - o http://www.unep.org/
 - o http://www.thegef.org/gef/
 - o http://www.unfccc.int
 - o http://www.undp.org
 - o http://www.un.org/esa/dsd/dsd/dsd index.shtml

19 September: Business

- O'Neill, Chapter 3 (for 19, 24 and 26 September)
- Pulver, Simone. 2007. "Making Sense of Corporate Environmentalism." *Organization & Environment* 20(1): 44-83.
- Haufler, Virginia. 2010. Disclosure as Governance: The Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative and Resource Management in the Developing World. *Global Environmental Politics* 10 (3): 53–73.

PAPER TOPIC DUE Friday, 20 September, 11.59PM via email

Week 5: Non-state actors in GEP (2)

24 September: Civil Society

- Conca and Dabelko, pp. 106-115
- Raustiala, Kal. 1997. "States, NGOs and International Environmental Institutions." *International Studies Quarterly* 41: 719-740.
- Wapner, Paul. 1995. "Politics Beyond the State: Environmental Activism and World Civic Politics." *World Politics* 47(3): 311-340

26 September: Science and policymaking

- O'Neill, pp. 95-101 (re-read)
- Haas, Peter. "Do Regimes Matter? Epistemic Communities and Mediterranean Pollution Control." *International Organization* 43(3): 377-403.
- Dimitrov, Radoslav. 2003. "Knowledge, Power, and Interests in Environmental Regime Formation." *International Studies Quarterly* 47: 123-50.

Week 6: Regime effectiveness and Compliance

1 Oct: Success and Failures – Case Studies [each student will be responsible for one of the articles below]

- Victor, David. 2001. The Collapse of the Kyoto Protocol and the Struggle to Slow Global Warming. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chap 1 (On BB)
- Dimitrov, Radoslav. 2002. "Confronting Nonregimes: Science and International Coral Reef Policy." *The Journal of Environment & Development* 11(1): 53 -78.
- Levy, Marc A. 1995. "European Acid Rain: The Power of Tote-Board Diplomacy". In Peter Haas et. al. eds. *Institutions for the Earth*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. **On BB.**
- Barrett, Scott. 2003. *Environment and Statecraft*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 2, "The North Pacific Fur Seal Treaty". **On BB.**
- Other case studies as interests dictate

<u>Commentary #2</u>: Describe the key goals of the agreement assigned to you, and explain what elements contributed to its success or failure (2 page max, due electronically by class on 1 Oct).

3 Oct: Evaluating effectiveness

• O'Neill, Chapter 5.

Week7: Environment and Economic Governance

8 October: Environment and Sustainable Development.

- Conca and Dabelko 207-246
 - Rio Declaration on Environment and Development (available at http://www.unep.org/Documents.Multilingual/Default.asp?documentid=78)

10 October: Globalization and the environment

• O'Neill, Chapter 6

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY DUE Friday, 11 October, 11.59 via email

Week 8: Work week / Midterm

15 October: paper discussions and midterm review

17 October: Midterm (in class)

Week 9: Science and Risk

22 October: Fall break, NO CLASS

24 October: Food safety and the Precautionary Principle Precautionary principle

- Vogel, David. *The Politics of Precaution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Chapter 3. **On BB.**
- http://www.theguardian.com/science/political-science/2013/jul/08/precautionary-principle-science-policy
- http://www.theguardian.com/science/political-science/2013/jul/10/beyond-precautionary-principle

http://www.theguardian.com/science/political-science/2013/jul/09/precautionary-principle-blunt-instrument

Week 10: Private authority: What is it and how does it work?

29 October: What is it and why is it happening?

- O'Neill, pp. 167-182
- Green, Jessica F. *Rethinking Private Authority*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Introduction. *On BB*
- 31 October: How well does it work?
 - O'Neill, pp. 183-195
 - Kalfagianni, Agni, and Philipp Pattberg. 2013. Global fisheries governance beyond the State: unraveling the effectiveness of the Marine Stewardship Council. *Journal of Environmental Studies and Sciences* 3 (2): 184–193.
 - Conca, Ken, Thomas Princen, and Michael F. Maniates. 2001. Confronting Consumption. *Global Environmental Politics* 1 (3): 1–10.

Commentary #3: Does private authority provide a useful solution to the compliance challenges of international environmental law? Why or why not? (2 pages max, due by class on 31 October).

Week 11: Climate Change

5 November: Is Climate Change really happening?

- Oreskes, Naomi. "The Scientific Consensus on Climate Change: How do we know we're not wrong?" In Jospeh DiMento and Pamela Doughman, eds. Climate Change: What it means for us, our children and our grandchildren. Cambridge: MIT Press. On BB.
- "The Skeptical Layman's Guide to Anthropogenic Global Warming". Read pp. 2-15 and ONE additional chapter among Chaps 4-7. Available at http://www.coyoteblog.com/Skeptics Guide to Anthropogenic Global Warmingv1.0.pdf
- Kuhn, Thomas. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. Chaps 1-2. **On Blackboard.**

See http://climatedesk.org/category/climate-desk-live/ on Michael Mann and the hockey stick

7 November: The Intergovernmental Story

- Read "The Berlin Mandate", which is Decision 1/CP.1 and can be found at http://unfccc.int/resource/docs/cop1/07a01.pdf.
- Yamin, Farhana, ed. 2005. Climate change and carbon markets: a handbook of emission reduction mechanisms. London: Earthscan. Pps. 1-10. **On BB**
- Victor, David. *Global Warming Gridlock*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1. **On BB.**

Week 12: Climate Policy

12 November: Trade or tax?

- International Emissions Trading Association, Cap and Trade basics: http://www.ieta.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&catid=54%3A 3-minute-briefing&id=205%3Acap-&-trade-basics=&Itemid=135
- International Emissions Trading Association, Why trading is better than a tax: http://www.ieta.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&catid=54%3A3-minute-briefing&id=207%3Awhy-emissions-trading-is-more-effective-than-a-carbon-tax&Itemid=135.
- Cooper, Richard. "The Case for Charges on GHG Emissions" in Joseph Aldy and Richard Stavins, *Post-Kyoto international climate policy: implementing architectures for agreement.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 5. **On BB.**
- Gernot Wagner, Jessica F. Green and Thomas Sterner. "The Politics of Market Linkage" Working paper. **On BB.**

14 November: NO CLASS

WEEK 13: Climate (3): Energy

19 November:

- US Energy Information Administration, *Energy Outlook 2013*. Preface and pp. 1-22. Available at http://www.eia.gov/forecasts/ieo/pdf/0484%282013%29.pdf
- Pacala, S., and R. Socolow. 2004. Stabilization Wedges: Solving the Climate Problem for the Next 50 Years with Current Technologies. *Science* 305 (5686): 968–972.
- Kammen, Daniel M. 2006. The Rise of Renewable Energy. *Scientific American* 295 (3): 84–93
- 21 November: Fracking. Guest Lecture by Beverly Saylor and Julie Bloxon, Department of Earth, Environmental and Planetary Sciences.
 - http://www2.epa.gov/hydraulicfracturing
 - Other readings TBA

Week 14: Technological fixes?

26 November: Can technology save us?

- Robert Socolow, Roberta Hotinski, Jeffery B. Greenblatt and Stephen Pacala. 2004. Solving the Climate Problem: Technologies available to curb CO₂ emissions. *Environment* 46(10): 8-19.
- David Victor et. al. 2009. "The Geoengineering Option" Foreign Affairs.
 March/April. Accessible at http://iis-db.stanford.edu/pubs/22456/The Geoengineering Option.pdf.
- Herzog, Howard J. 2011. "Scaling up carbon dioxide capture and storage: From megatons to gigatons." *Energy Economics* 33: 597-604.

Commentary #4: Which technology/ies do you think hold the most promise for dealing with climate change, and why? (2 page max, due electronically by class on 26 Nov)

28 November: NO CLASS (Thanksgiving)

Week 15: Seeking Sustainability

- 3 December: What can YOU do about it?
 - Wagner, Gernot. But Will the Planet Notice? On BB
 - Bernstein, Steven. 2002. "Liberal Environmentalism and Global Environmental Governance." *Global Environmental Politics* 2(3): 1-16.
- 5 December: Are we doomed?
 - Peruse the website "Welcome to the Anthropocene" http://www.anthropocene.info/en/home.

Final paper due 9 December, 11.59PM via email