



Dr. Jennifer Hadden  
Jhadden1@umd.edu

## Introduction to Environmental Politics

GVPT 273  
University of Maryland / Spring 2012

Lecture Times: T & TH 12:30-1:20  
Lecture Location: Tydings 2109

Office: Chincoteague 3117H  
Phone: 301-405-1770  
Office Hours: T 2:30-4:00

### Course Overview

Environmental protection is an issue at every political level: from local to national to global. In this course we will explore the nature and scope of environmental, energy, public land and natural resource problems. The goal of this course is to help you gain a critical understanding of how environmental policy is made, and how it can be improved. We will ask: What are the long-term scientific, social, and political drivers of environmental degradation? How do different political and economic interests contend for influence and exert power in the realm of environmental policy-making? What kinds of rules work best to deal with environmental problems? This course will focus on the politics of the US by way of comparison with other developed and developing countries. We will pay particular attention to the multi-level nature of environmental policy-making, and will examine the interaction between political processes in sub-national, national and international arenas.

### Prerequisites

There are no prerequisites for this course. This course serves as a complement and useful introduction to GPVT 306, Global Environmental Politics.

### Course Sections

This course has three discussion sections. You are required to attend your section. The discussion sections will be led by Mark Shirk, PhD Candidate in the Department of Government and Politics.

- Friday, 9-9:50am, JMP 1202
- Friday, 10-10:50am, JMP 1109
- Friday 11-11:50, JMP 1109

## Course Texts

*Books:* The following book will be used extensively in the course, and is available for purchase at the Bookstore. If ordering online, please pay particular attention that you get the most recent edition, as the latest version is substantially revised. A copy will also be held on reserve at the library.

- John S. Dryzek and David Schlosberg (eds.). 2009. *Debating the Earth: The Environmental Politics Reader*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, ISBN 978-0-19-927629-5.

*Articles:* A variety of articles will be posted for this course on the Blackboard website.

## Course Requirements

*Attendance and Participation:* I expect students to attend every class, and may take attendance. If you have an emergency or medical problem and must be absent, please notify your TA in advance. It is also your responsibility to inform your TA in advance if you will be absent in order to attend religious observances. We expect you to arrive on time and stay until class ends. Repeated absences will result in grade penalties. We expect students to show up ready to discuss the readings assigned for lecture and discussion sections. Effective participation consists of making thoughtful comments and asking good questions, as well as actively engaging with classroom debates.

If you are going to miss class on an exam day or when a paper is due and would like your absence to be excused, you are required to email your TA regarding your absence in advance of the class and bring documentation to support your excused absence on the day you return. The University absence policy (one sick absence without a health center note) does not apply to days where we have scheduled papers or exams.

*Blackboard:* We will be using the Blackboard website every week. The site is available at: [www.elms.umd.edu](http://www.elms.umd.edu). You must make sure you are enrolled in our course - please let me know if you have any problems. I will be posting documents, schedule revisions, and other important information on blackboard.

*Papers, Quizzes and Exams:* You will be required to complete two in-class exams. The first exam will be held March 8<sup>th</sup>, and the second will be on May 10<sup>th</sup>. Exams may only be rescheduled due to a personal emergency, serious illness or three exams scheduled on the same day. You will also need to complete a few smaller writing tasks throughout the course of the semester. We may also periodically give in-class quizzes on the assigned reading material, at our discretion.

*Office Hours and Email:* I will be holding office hours Tuesdays 2:30-4pm. If you are having difficulty with the course or need to discuss particular assignments or accommodations you might require, I am happy to meet with you during this time. You can sign up for my office hours online at: [www.tungle.me/JenniferHadden](http://www.tungle.me/JenniferHadden). You will need to sign up at least 24 hours in advance. I am also happy to reply to questions via email: [jhadden1@umd.edu](mailto:jhadden1@umd.edu).

Mark Shirk will also be holding office hours Tuesdays 11:30-12:30, and Thursdays 1:30-2:30. His office is 5105 Tydings Hall. You can also reach him via email at: [mshirk@umd.edu](mailto:mshirk@umd.edu).

## Assignments and Grading

*Assignments:* This course has three main assignments:

- Exam 1: There will be a mid-term exam held in class on March 8<sup>th</sup>. The exam will cover key concepts, terms and debates from the first half of the course. You will also be asked to answer a brief essay question. The exam will be closed book, and you will not be allowed to use your notes or other materials.
- Short Papers: You will be asked to complete several short papers on topics related to topics and cases we have studied in class. I will circulate information about these assignments and my expectations well in advance of their due date.
- Exam 2: There will be a second exam held in class on May 10<sup>th</sup>. The exam will have two parts. The first part will cover the key concepts, terms and debates from the second half of the course. The second part will ask you to write answers to essay questions that address themes of the course as a whole. The exam will be closed book, and you will not be allowed to use your notes or other materials.

*Participation:* We will use the following criteria to assign participation grades:

- A = Highly effective participant: insightful questions/comments, clearly does the reading, clearly attends lecture and thinks about the material.
- B = Consistent participant: thoughtful questions/comments, clearly does the reading, clearly attends lecture and thinks about the material.
- C = Occasional participant: regularly attends section, sporadic involvement in discussions, comments often based more on personal opinion than analysis of class material.
- D = Observer: regularly attends section but does not get involved in discussions.
- F = Occasional observer: sporadic attendance, no participation.

*Grade Breakdown:* Your grade will be a combination of your scores on these assignments as well as your course participation:

- 25% Exam 1
- 25% Writing Assignments, Quizzes and Exercises
- 35% Exam 2
- 15% Participation

*Late Work:* For written assignments we will subtract one letter grade per day (24 hours) that the paper is late. All assignments are due at the beginning of class, and should be submitted via the electronic drop box on Blackboard. Classroom quizzes or exercises cannot be made up.

*Format for Papers:* All papers must be typed, with the exception of work that we do in class. Papers should be formatted in 12 point Times New Roman font, double-spaced, with one inch margins on all sides. Your name, the date, and the assignment name should appear on the first page in the top left corner. Subsequent pages should have your last name and page number in the top right corner.

*Plagiarism:* Plagiarism is a serious offense at UMD, and can be ground for dismissal from the university. Plagiarism constitutes knowingly misrepresenting someone else's work as your own. This does not just apply to things like buying a paper off the internet; knowingly appropriating another author's quotes or ideas can also qualify as plagiarism. The University's plagiarism policy can be found on the web site of the Office of Student Conduct at: <http://www.inform.umd.edu/jpo/>. Please familiarize yourself with this policy, and ask any questions you may have in advance of submitting your work. Professors are required to bring all cases of suspected plagiarism to the attention of the OSC. Penalties include automatic course failure and an explanatory note on the student's transcript indicating that he or she has violated the rules of academic integrity.

*Grade Appeals:* Any request for a grade review must be submitted in writing along with the original assignment. You should first present your appeal to your TA, who will re-grade the paper (e.g. the grade may go up or down). If the appeal is not resolved at this level, you may then resubmit the assignment to me with a written explanation, and I will re-grade it.

## **Other Issues**

*Classroom Behavior:* As always, I expect that everyone in our class will be treated with dignity. I will not accept disruptive or disrespectful behavior. Cell phones must be turned off before class, and food is not allowed. Drinks are ok, as long as they do not become a distraction. In class, laptop computers may be used, but email, chat and other programs that might disrupt your learning or that of those around you must be disabled.

*Disabilities:* In compliance with UMD policy and equal access laws, I am available to discuss appropriate academic accommodations that you may require as a student with a disability. If you have a documented disability or feel that you need an assessment, you should contact Disability Support Services (0126 Shoemaker Hall). The rules for eligibility may be reviewed on the DSS web site: [http://www.counseling.umd.edu/DSS/receiving\\_serv.html](http://www.counseling.umd.edu/DSS/receiving_serv.html). Each semester, students with documented disabilities should apply to DSS for accommodation request forms, which you can provide to your professors as proof of your eligibility for accommodations.

## Overview Course Calendar

<b>The Environmental Problem</b>	
January 26	Course Overview
Jan 31/Feb 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Environmental Trends: Is There a Problem?</li> <li>Visions of Sustainability</li> </ul>
Feb 7/9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sustainable Development: A Contest Concept</li> <li>Theories of Environmental Policy-Making</li> </ul>
<b>Green Politics in Comparative Perspective</b>	
Feb 14/16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The Environmental Movement I: Currents of Reform</li> <li>The Environmental Movement II: Radicalization</li> </ul>
Feb 21/23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The Death of Environmentalism?</li> <li>Media and Science: Guest Lecture, Union of Concerned Scientists</li> </ul>
Feb 28/Mar 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Interest Groups, Green Parties, and Elections</li> <li>Public Opinion</li> </ul>
Mar 6/8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Anti-Environmentalism</li> </ul> <p><b>EXAM 1</b></p>
<b>Comparative Environmental Policy-Making</b>	
Mar 13/15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Approaches: Command and Control Regulation</li> <li>Approaches: Market-Based Solutions</li> </ul>
Mar 20/22	<b>SPRING BREAK</b>
Mar 27/29	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Principles: Risk and Precaution</li> <li>Principles: Justice</li> </ul>
Apr 3/6	<p><b>NO CLASS 4/3</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Processes: USA</li> </ul>
Apr 10/12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Processes: Canada, Germany, Japan</li> <li>Processes: Brazil, China, India</li> </ul>
Apr 17/19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Case: Genetically Modified Organisms</li> <li>Globalization and the Environment : Guest Lecture, Mark Shirk</li> </ul>
<b>Implementation of Environmental Policy</b>	
Apr 24/26	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Implementation : Community-Based Solutions</li> <li>Implementation : Federalism and Decentralization</li> </ul>
May 1/3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Case: Climate and Energy Policy in USA</li> <li>Case: Climate and Energy Policy in EU</li> </ul>
May 8/10	<p>Course Summary and Review</p> <p><b>EXAM 2</b></p>

## Readings and Assignments

### Week 1-3: The Environmental Problem

**Jan 26** Course Overview

**Jan 31** Environmental Trends: Is There a Problem?

- Brown, Lester. "A Planet Under Stress." In D&S.
- Lomborg, Bjorn. "The Truth About the Environment." In D&S.
- Burke, Tom. "Ten Pinches of Salt: A Reply to Bjorn Lomborg." In D&S.

**Feb 2** Visions of Sustainability

- Hawken, Paul, Amory Lovins and L. Hunter Lovins. "The Next Industrial Revolution." In D&S.
- Griswold, Eliza. 2011. "The Fracturing of Pennsylvania." *New York Times*.

Recommended

- Barry, John. "Ecological Modernization." In D&S.

**Feb 7** Sustainable Development: A Contested Concept

- Carruthers, David. "From Opposition to Orthodoxy: The Remaking of Sustainable Development." In D&S.
- *The Economist: Special Report on Forests*. 2010. "Seeing the Wood," "Money Can Grow on Trees," and "The Long Road to Sustainability."

Recommended

- Meadowcroft, James. "Sustainable Development: A New(ish) Idea for a New Century?" In D&S.

**Feb 9** Theories of Environmental Policy-Making

- Andolino, Jessica R. and Charles H. Blake. 2001. "Theories of Policy-Making." And "Environmental Policy." In Andolino and Blake (eds.) *Comparing Public Policies*. Washington DC: CQ Press, p. 31-46 and p. 354-359.

### Week 4-7: Green Politics in Comparative Perspective

**Feb 14** The Environmental Movement I: Currents of Reform

- Carter, Neil. 2007. "Environmental Groups." In *The Politics of the Environment*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Applebome, Peter. 2012. "Drilling Critics Face a Divide Over the Goal of Their Fight." *New York Times*.

Recommended

- Wapner, Paul. "Politics Beyond the State: Environmental Activism and World Civic Politics." In D&S.

**Feb 16** The Environmental Movement II: Radicalization

**Film Screening: Marshall Curry, *If a Tree Falls: A Story of the Earth Liberation Front* (2011)**

**Note: Class will run for 85 minutes**

- Naess, Arne. "The Shallow and the Deep, Long-Range Ecology Movement: A Summary." In D&S.
- Foreman, Dave. "Putting the Earth First." In D&S.
- Barcott, Bruce. "From Tree-Hugger to Terrorist." in *New York Times Sunday Magazine* (2002).

**Feb 21** The Death of Environmentalism?

- Shellenberger, Michael and Ted Nordhaus. 2005. "The Death of Environmentalism: Global Warming Politics in a Post-Environmental World." Available at: [http://thebreakthrough.org/PDF/Death\\_of\\_Environmentalism.pdf](http://thebreakthrough.org/PDF/Death_of_Environmentalism.pdf) (read only p. 1-25).
- Riley, Dunlap. 2006. "Show Us the Data: The Questionable Empirical Foundations of 'The Death of Environmentalism.'" *Organization and the Environment* 19(1): 88-102 (read only 88-95).

**Feb 23** Media and Science

**Guest Speaker: Aaron Huertas, Press Secretary, The Union of Concerned Scientists**

- Hamilton, Clive. 2010. "Why We Resist the Truth About Climate Change." *Climate Controversies: Science and Politics*.
- Huertas, Aaron. 2011. "Having Only One Loud Minority Makes the Climate Change Debate Lopsided and Dangerous." From his blog: <http://aaronhuertas.com/2011/12/motivated-minority-climate-change-debates-lopsided-and-dangerous/>.

**Feb 28** Green Parties, Interest Groups and Elections

- Poguntke, Thomas. "Green Parties in National Governments: From Protest to Acquiescence?" In D&S.
- The League of Conservation Voters. 2010. "Environmental Facebook": <http://www.lcv.org/elections/environmental-facebook/> and "Dirty Dozen": <http://www.lcv.org/elections/dirty-dozen/>.
- Hari, Johann. 2010. "The Wrong Kind of Green." *The Nation*.

**Mar 1** Public Opinion

- Inglehart, Ronald. 1995. "Public Support for Environmental Protection: Objective Problems and Subjective Values in 43 Societies." *PS*, Vol. 28, No. 1: p. 57-71.
- Timothy O'Riordan. 1995. "Frameworks for Choice: Core Beliefs and the Environment." *Environment* Vol. 37, No. 8: pp. 4-9, (skim pages 25-29).

**Mar 6** Anti-Environmentalism

- Layzer, Judith. 2002. "Backlash: Wise Use, Property Rights and the Anti-Environmental Movement." In Judith Layzer, *The Environmental Case*. Washington: CQ Press, p. 238-263.
- Mayer, Jane. 2010. "Covert Operations." *The New Yorker*.

Recommended

- Mooney, Chris. 2005. "Some Like It Hot." *Mother Jones* Vol. 30, p. 36-49.

**Mar 8** Exam 1

I highly recommend that you review the study strategies suggested by Dr. Steven Chew, available here: <http://www.samford.edu/how-to-study/>.

Week 8-14: Comparative Environmental Policy-Making

**Mar 13** Approaches: Command and Control

- Rosenbaum, Walter A. 2011. "Command and Control in Action: Air and Water Pollution Regulation." *Environmental Politics and Policy*. Washington: CQ Press, p. 195-237.
- Duhigg, Chris. 2009. "Toxic Water Series." *The New York Times*.

Recommended

- Bartlett, Robert V. "Rationality and the Logic of the National Environmental Policy Act." In D&S.
- Lee, Kai N. "Appraising Adaptive Management." In D&S.

**Mar 15** Approaches: Market-Based Solutions

- Stavins, Robert and Bradley Whitehead. "Market-Based Environmental Policies." In D&S.
- Goodin, Robert E. "Selling Environmental Indulgences." In D&S.
- Yale Environment 360. 2009. "Putting a Price on Carbon: An Emissions Cap or a Tax?" Available at: <http://www.e360.yale.edu/content/feature.msp?id=2148>.

Recommended

- Anderson, Terry L. and Donald R. Leal. "Rethinking the Way We Think." In D&S.
- Layzer, Judith. 2002. "Market-based Solutions: Acid Rain and the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990." In Judith Layzer, *The Environmental Case*. Washington: CQ Press, p. 264-288.

**Mar 20/22: SPRING BREAK**

**Mar 27** Principles: Risk and Precaution

- Andrews, Richard N.L. 2006. "Risk-Based Decision Making: Policy, Science, and Politics" In Norman J. Vig and Michael E. Kraft (eds.) *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century*. CQ Press: p. 215-226 (skim pp. 227-234).
- Sullivan, Robert. 2011. "A Slight Chance of Meltdown." *New York Magazine*.

Recommended

- O'Brien, Mary. "Goal: Replace Risk Assessment with Alternatives Assessment." In D&S.

**Mar 29** Principles: Justice

- Bullard, Robert D. "Environmental Justice in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century." In D&S.



- First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit. "Principles of Environmental Justice." In D&S.
- Brown, Patricia Leigh. 2011. "On the Edge of Paradise." *California Watch*.

Recommended

- Krauss, Celine. "Women of Color on the Front Line." In D&S.

**Apr 3 No Class**

**Apr 6** Processes: USA

- Michael E. Kraft and Norman J. Vig. 2010. "Environmental Policy from the 1970s to 2000." In Michael Kraft and Norman Vig (eds.) *Environmental Policy*. Washington D.C.: CQ Press, pp. 1-31.
- Ophuls, William P. with A. Stephen Boyan, Jr. "The American Political Economy II: The Non-Politics of Laissez Faire." In D&S.

**Apr 10** Processes: Canada, Germany, Japan

- Schreurs, Miranda A. 2003. "Divergent Paths: Environmental Policy in Germany, the United States, and Japan," *Environment* Vol. 45, No. 8: 8-17.
- Rabe, Barry and William R. Lowry. 1999. "Comparative Analyses of Canadian and American Environmental Policy." *Policy Studies Journal*, Vol. 27, No. 2: 263-266.

**Apr 12** Processes: China, Brazil, India

- Tobin, Richard J. 2010. "Environment, Population and the Developing World." In Michael Kraft and Norman Vig (eds.) *Environmental Policy*. Washington D.C.: CQ Press, pp. 286-307.
- Lewis, Joanna and Kelly Sims Gallagher. 2011. "Energy and Environment in China: Achievements and Enduring Challenges." In Axelrod, Vandever, and Downie (eds.) *The Global Environment: Institutions, Law and Policy*. Washington: CQ Press (read only p. 259-279).
- *New York Times Special Report: China*. 2007. "Choking on Growth."

**Apr 17** Case: Genetically Modified Organisms

- Lynch, Diahanna and David Vogel. 2001. "The Regulation of GMOs in Europe and the United States: A Case-Study of Contemporary European Regulatory Politics." Council on Foreign Relations, Available at: <http://www.cfr.org/genetically-modified-organisms/regulation-gmos-europe-united-states-case-study-contemporary-european-regulatory-politics/p8688>.

Recommended

- Coleman, Gerald D and Sean McDonagh. 2005. "Debate: Is Genetic Engineering the Answer to Human Hunger?" In Thomas Easton (ed.) *Taking Sides: Clashing Views on Environmental Issues*. New York: McGraw Hill.

**Apr 19** Environment and Globalization

- Shiva, Vandana. "Poverty and Globalization." In D&S.

- Biermann, Frank and Klaus Dingwerth. "Global Environmental Change and the Nation State," *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 4 No. 1: 1-22.

Week 15-17: Implementation of Environmental Policy

**Apr 24** Implementation: Community-Based Solutions

- Sabel, Charles, Archon Fung and Bradley Karkkainen. "Beyond Backyard Environmentalism: How Communities are Quietly Refashioning Environmental Regulation." In D&S.
- Guha, Ramachandra. "The Environmentalism of the Poor." In D&S.

**Apr 26** Implementation: Federalism and Decentralization

- Rabe, Barry. 1999. "Federalism and Entrepreneurship: Explaining American and Canadian Innovation in Pollution Prevention and Regulatory Integration." *Policy Studies Journal* Vol. 27, No. 2: 288-306.
- ICLEI – Local Governments for Sustainability. 2011. "Local Solutions to Global Challenges." Available at: [http://www.iclei.org/fileadmin/user\\_upload/documents/Global/About\\_ICLEI/brochures/ICLEI-intro-2009.pdf](http://www.iclei.org/fileadmin/user_upload/documents/Global/About_ICLEI/brochures/ICLEI-intro-2009.pdf).

**May 1** Case: Climate and Energy Policy in the USA

**Guest Speaker: Darren Springer, Senior Policy Advisor – Energy and Environment, Office of U.S. Senator Bernie Sanders**

- Lizza, Ryan. 2010. "As the World Burns." *The New Yorker*.
- Goodell, Jeff. 2011. "Is the Keystone Pipeline Really Dead?" *Rolling Stone*.

**May 3** Case: Climate and Energy Policy in the EU

- Axelrod, Regina S., Miranda A. Schreurs, and Norman J. Vig. 2011. "Environmental Policy-Making in the European Union." In Axelrod, Vandeever, and Downie (eds.) *The Global Environment: Institutions, Law and Policy*. Washington: CQ Press, p. 213-235.
- European Commission. 2010. "Citizen Summary: Climate and Energy Package." Available at: [http://ec.europa.eu/clima/policies/package/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/clima/policies/package/index_en.htm).
- Euractiv.com. 2012. "European Emissions Trading Scheme." Read "Summary," "Issues," and "Positions." Available at: <http://www.euractiv.com/climate-change/eu-emissions-trading-scheme/article-133629>.

**May 8** Course Summary

- Beck, Ulrich. "Politics of Risk Society." In D&S.
- Dobson, Andrew. "Ecological Citizenship." In D&S.

**May 10** Exam 2