

Political Science (POL 338)
Environmental Politics

Davidson College

Spring 2013

Class Times: Tuesday and Thursday, 3:05 pm – 4:20 pm

Class Location: Chambers 3155

Professor Graham Bullock

Department of Political Science

Department of Environmental Studies

Office Hours: Tues. and Wed., 4:30 – 5:30 pm, Thurs. 10 – 11 am and by appointment

Office Location: 2262 Chambers

Office Phone: 704-894-2314

Email: [grbullock@davidson.edu](mailto:grbullock@ davidson.edu)

This course has no pre-requisites, and may be counted as a course satisfying the Social Sciences Distribution Requirement, the Environmental Social Sciences course required for Environmental Studies majors, and the American Politics or International Politics course required for Political Science majors

Course Overview

This class takes a problem-based approach to the politics of the environment. We will use a series of environmental cases to highlight the political challenges associated with solving environmental problems, and will discuss a range of concepts and strategies that may be helpful in understanding and overcoming those challenges. We will look at the history of environmental politics, both domestically and internationally, and the range of stakeholders and interest groups that have played important roles in the evolution of environmental policy. We will cover endangered species, climate change, energy, pollution, and other environmental issues, and each student will write two policy memos that analyze an issue of particular interest to them. The paper will also include a discussion of potential ways to make progress on the issue in question, given its particular political context.

Course Objectives

The goals of this course relate to five general areas of learning:

- ***Social Science:*** To enable students to understand how one of the social sciences seeks to understand and explain human cognition and behavior and the structures of human societies and institutions.
- ***Political Science:*** To expose students to some of the theories and empirical research from the field of political science that can help explain political dynamics and outcomes.
- ***Environmental Politics:*** To provide students with a sophisticated understanding of the institutions, value systems, narratives, and policymaking processes that relate to environmental politics.

- **Analytical Skills:** To improve students' skills in understanding and assessing a wide range of political concepts and theories, and applying them to specific policy contexts.
- **Personal Empowerment:** To empower students to think critically about their own political values and positions, take thoughtful political positions, make informed political choices, and to positively, strategically, and successfully engage in the politics of the environment – as citizens, advocates, and leaders.

I have designed this syllabus to help us accomplish these goals. I aim for our classes to be engaging and well-organized, our lectures, discussions, and group activities to be focused and productive, and our texts to be informative and thought-provoking. Our assignments will also help us meet these objectives, and assess our progress towards them. I will therefore work to provide constructive feedback and fair grades on them in a timely manner (my goal is to have them back to you within two weeks of submission). I will be available for help outside of class in office hours every week for anyone with questions about the material covered in the course.

Course Structure and Format

The course is structured into eight units:

- **Unit I - Introduction:** The course begins with two weeks of readings and discussion related to the scope, history, and landscape of environmental politics. This component of the course will introduce us to the major themes, concepts and actors that we will be investigating in more depth throughout the semester.
- **Unit II - The Politics of Pollution:** This unit will provide an overview of pollution controversies, with particular attention to toxic waste, risk assessment, environmental justice, and the relationship between business operating procedures and environmental politics. Cases will center on the Love Canal controversy, the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative, and the Freeport gold mine in Indonesia.
- **Unit III - The Politics of Nature:** In this unit, we will look at the political debates around land management, endangered species and property rights. We will also examine the moral positions embedded in these debates, and consider how they are framed using different historical and ethical narratives. Cases will focus on the wise use movement and the spotted owl issue.
- **Unit IV - The Politics of Energy:** In this unit, our focus will be on the politics of energy production, energy security, lobbying by energy and environmental interest groups, and actions taken by sub-national governments (e.g. US states). Cases will analyze the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR), the California Global Warming Solutions Act, and several mini-cases relating to nuclear power, fracking, tar sands, and solar power.
- **Unit V - The Politics of Water:** This unit will investigate the contestation and collaboration found in water resource controversies, and discuss the problem of the “tragedy of the commons” from the perspectives of collective action and common pool resources. Cases will focus on the provision of clean water in 19th century and early 20th England, the efforts to clean-up the Chesapeake Bay, and the fights over Coca-Cola’s use of water in India.
- **Unit VI - The Politics of the Atmosphere:** We will shift our attention in this unit to the skies, and the controversies around air pollution. Our case will be on the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990, which will allow us to explore the idea and utility of “market-based” governance strategies, such as cap and trade programs.
- **Unit VII - The Politics of the Global Commons:** Environmental politics becomes more challenging as they extend across national boundaries, and we will seek to understand these challenges in this unit. We’ll look at one case (the Montreal Protocol) that is regarded as very successful, another (the Kyoto Protocol) that is generally regarded as much less successful, and

another (protection of marine life) that has its share of both successes and failures. We will pay close attention to the strengths and weaknesses of state-based global governance, and the relationship between trade and the environment.

- **Unit VIII - Summary and Synthesis:** In this final unit, we will summarize and synthesize what we have learned about environmental politics over the course of the semester. We will also go over the Final Exam and fill out evaluations for the course.

Course Requirements (Assignments and Grading)

The assignments for this course are designed to help students accomplish the course's learning objectives. They include the following activities:

- **Participation (10%):** This course is designed for active student involvement and participation. For each day's class, I expect students to complete the assigned reading and to come to class prepared to discuss that reading. Students will be assigned to Reading Teams that will be expected to meet weekly to discuss the readings before class. At the end of the course, students will be asked to evaluate their peers' participation in their Reading Teams. Participation grades will also be based on your preparation for class, your careful attention to assigned readings, the quality of your contributions, your respect for the ideas and remarks of others in the class, the relevance of your remarks, and your overall level of participation (both active and passive) in the classroom. I may call on individual students to introduce the cases we cover and discuss their key points and insights in class. Students should also keep track of current events related to environmental politics and be prepared to discuss them as they relate to the themes and issues we discuss in class.
- **Mid-Term Review (15%):** A Mid-Term Review covering Part I, II and III of the course will be held on Thursday, February 28. It will be an in-class review with several short answer questions and identifications.
- **Response Papers (20%):** Students will write five short one-page response papers (single-spaced) for one of the cases we discuss, one of the course's thematic readings, and two of the speakers in the Spring 2013 Environmental Speaker Series (or others if they are approved by Dr. Bullock), and one environmentally-themed movie (a list of approved movies will be circulated). The response papers should analyze and interpret the themes and messages of the material rather than just summarize them. Response papers to readings are due at the beginning of the class that it will be discussed, and the speaker response papers are due within one week of the talk. The movie response paper is due the week after Spring break – in class on Thursday, March 21.
- **Policy Memos (25%):** Each student will write two 2-page policy memos (single-spaced, one inch margins, 11 point font). The policy memos will address two environmental issues of interest to the student. The first policy memo is due on Tuesday, February 12 at 5 pm and the second policy memo is due on Thursday, April 11 at 5 pm.
- **Final Exam (30%):** A Final Exam will be held during the Exam period that will be both a review of concepts and information covered over the course of the semester as well as an assessment of students' ability to apply those concepts to new situations. It will include a mix of identifications, short answer questions, and essays that cover all of the material in the course.

Course Attendance and Assignment Extensions

We will be covering new topics and issues every day. Attendance is therefore required and will be monitored daily. You are also expected to respect your classmates and your professor by arriving for class on time and remaining until the end. You may have two unexcused absences during the semester; thereafter, I will deduct two points from your course grade for every unexcused absence. Excused

absences are only granted for serious personal illness or injury, family emergency, or authorized college activity, and generally require documentation from college officials. Changes in deadlines will be approved only upon evidence of similarly extenuating circumstances. It is your responsibility to request an excused absence or an extension as soon as you possibly can, and preferably at the beginning of the semester.

Honor Code and Academic Integrity

As a student at Davidson College, you are expected to uphold the highest standards of academic integrity and to follow the Honor Code throughout the course. Any violation of that code will be dealt with as stipulated. If you have any questions about documentation, what constitutes plagiarism, or any other Honor Code-related questions, please seek guidance right away. In general, academic dishonesty is defined as cheating, plagiarism, unauthorized collaboration, falsifying academic records, and any other act designed to avoid participating honestly in the learning process. Academic dishonesty also includes, but is not limited to, providing false or misleading information to receive an assignment extension or test postponement, or the submission of essentially the same written assignment for two different courses without prior permission of faculty members.

Course Texts

Two texts are required for the course, and are available at the campus bookstore:

1. Vaughn, Jacqueline. 2011. *Environmental Politics*, 6th Edition, Boston, MA: Wadsworth Publishing.
2. Layzer, Judith. 2012. *The Environmental Case*, 3rd Edition, Washington, DC: CQ Press.

Course Website, Materials and Emails

Additional readings that are not from these two books will be posted on the Moodle course website. Please visit the course website regularly for information about the course. The web site can be accessed at moodle.davidson.edu. Emails about course updates and assignments will be sent either through Moodle or the course email list, so it is imperative that you check your Davidson email regularly.

Technology in the Classroom

When in lecture or in section please turn off your cell phones, MP3 players, and other mobile devices. Since it is our mutual responsibility to create a productive learning environment while we are in the classroom, notebook computers may not be used during class. There have been numerous studies showing that computers distract both the students using them and students around them (similar to second-hand smoke). These studies also indicate that they can result in a lack of learning and lower grades for those that they distract.

More importantly, they also create a physical barrier between students, the professor, and the rest of the class. This hinders the productive discussions and engagement that enables deeper learning and skill formation and is the hallmark of a liberal arts education. While I recognize many students may prefer to take notes using their computers because “they type faster than they write,” the object of note-taking is not quantity but quality. Especially in the social sciences where the skills of analysis and interpretation are essential, the key to constructive note-taking is critically processing and prioritizing the information being received, not just copying it down verbatim.

Therefore students are encouraged to take notes in paper notebooks and to practice critical note-taking skills in the process. Tablets that lie flat on the desk are allowed, but should only be used for note-taking, not surfing the web or checking your email (turn off your wireless connection during class). After class, you are also encouraged to take a few minutes to review, revise, and even re-write your notes, and you can use a computer to do so. Your learning and analytical skills will be greatly improved as a result.

That is not say that technology cannot be effectively used in the classroom to facilitate our learning objectives – it can and we will do so throughout the semester. I will often use Powerpoint slides to summarize important points, and will distribute them via Moodle after class. I will make use of audio and video materials where relevant and appropriate, including some online materials. And we may make occasional use of TurningPoint’s clicker technology to conduct instant polls in class. But it will be intentional and directed use of technology, not ad hoc and distracting.

Often there will be questions of fact or contention that come up in class that we will be tempted to look up on the spot to resolve or to make a point. As rewarding as this can be in everyday life, it is usually a distraction in the classroom setting. We still want to know, however, the answers to the questions that come up, so we will also have designated “Fact Checkers” who will be “on call” for each class and asked to post the answers (or links to discussions of them) on Moodle, where the discussion can continue in the Forum section. This will be a part of your participation grade.

Current Events

As we will be applying the concepts and ideas from the course to current events in environmental politics, students are expected to read the news daily and stay up on what is going on in the world. The New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Washington Post, and PBS NewsHour are acceptable outlets of both national and international information, and can be accessed easily online. Discount subscriptions for students to the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal are available via their websites. Each week we will have a weekly round-up of relevant current events, and how they relate to what we are learning in class.

Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

Full accommodations are the legal right of students with learning and physical disabilities. If you are a student with a learning disability documented by Davidson College who might need accommodations, please identify yourself to me within the first week or two of class, so that I can learn from you as early as possible how to best work with your learning style. If I do not hear directly from you I will presume you are not seeking any accommodations.

Course Outline, Readings and Deadlines

The number of pages of reading are shown in parentheses for each day and reading. Page totals per day range from 26 to 58 pages, with the average of around 38 pages.

Note: I reserve the right to make modifications to this outline if in my judgment the flow of the course will be best served by such adjustments.

PART I: AN INTRODUCTION TO ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS

Tuesday, 1/15: The Scope of Environmental Politics

Mini-case handed out in class.

Thursday, 1/17: The History of Environmental Politics (45)

Vaughn, Jacqueline. 2011. "Introduction" and "A Historical Framework for Environmental Protection" in *Environmental Politics*, p. 1-29 (29).

McNeill, J.R. 2001. "Prologue: Peculiarities of a Prodigal Century" in *Something New Under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World*, p. 3-19 (16). [Available on Moodle](#)

Tuesday, 1/22: The Landscape of Environmental Politics (43)

Vaughn, Jacqueline. 2011. "Participants in the Environmental Debate" in *Environmental Politics*, p. 31-58 (27).

Layzer, Judith. 2012. "A Policymaking Framework: Defining Problems and Portraying Solutions in US Environmental Politics" in *The Environmental Case*, p. 1-16 (16).

Thursday, 1/24: The Governance of Environmental Politics (46)

Vaughn, Jacqueline. 2011. "The Political Process" in *Environmental Politics*, p. 60-99 (40).

Layzer, Judith. 2012. "A Policymaking Framework: Defining Problems and Portraying Solutions in US Environmental Politics" in *The Environmental Case*, p. 17-22 (6).

PART III: THE POLITICS OF POLLUTION

Tuesday, 1/29: Pollution Politics (42)

Stradling, D., & Thorsheim, P. (1999). The Smoke of Great Cities: British and American Efforts to Control Air Pollution, 1860-1914. *Environmental History*, 4(1), 6-31 (18).

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3985326>

Layzer, Judith. 2012. "The Nation Tackles Pollution" in *The Environmental Case*, p. 28-51 (24).

Thursday, 1/31: Case: Health and the Environment (40)

CASE: Layzer, Judith. 2012. "Love Canal: Hazardous Waste and the Politics of Fear" in *The Environmental Case*, p. 56-78 (22).

Rosenbaum, Walter. 2011. "Common Policy Challenges: Risk Assessment and Environmental Justice" in *Environmental Politics and Policy* (8th Edition), p. 128-146 (18). [Available on Moodle](#)

Tuesday, 2/5: Case: Justice and the Environment (32)

CASE: Layzer, Judith. 2012. "Community Activism and Environmental Justice: The Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative" in *The Environmental Case*, p. 83-105 (22).
Rosenbaum, Walter. 2011. "Common Policy Challenges: Risk Assessment and Environmental Justice" in *Environmental Politics and Policy* (6th Edition), p. 147-156 (10). [Available on Moodle](#)

Thursday, 2/7: Case: Business Operations and the Environment (28)

Perlez, Jane and Raymond Bonner. 2005. "Below a Mountain of Gold, A River of Waste." *New York Times*, Dec. 27, 2005 (8).
Roberts, Jane. 2011. "Environmental Policy Making in Organizations" in *Environmental Policy*, p. 124-144 (20). [Available on Moodle](#)

PART II: THE POLITICS OF NATURE

Tuesday, 2/12: Land Politics (58)

Vaughn, Jacqueline. 2011. "The Lands Debate" in *Environmental Politics*, p. 100-128 (29).
William Cronon. 1992. "A Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative," *The Journal of American History* 78(4), p. 1347-1376 (29). [Available on Moodle](#)

➔ *First Policy Memo Due at 5 pm*

Thursday, 2/14: Case: Property Rights and the Environment (41)

CASE: Layzer, Judith. 2012. "Backlash: Wise Use, Property Rights, and Anti-Environmental Activism in the 1990s" in *The Environmental Case*, p. 383-408 (25).
Opie, John. 1987. "Land and Liberty, Individual Rights, and the Constitution" in *The Law of the Land: Two Hundred Years of American Farmland Policy*, pages 18-31 (13). [Available on Moodle](#)
McEvoy, Thom. 2001. "Private Property Rights: A Look at Its History and Future." *Farming, The Journal of Northeast Agriculture*, Volume 4, Number 12 (December), p. 45-47 (3). [Available on Moodle](#)

Tuesday, 2/19: Case: Mountaintop Mining (30)

Leutze, Jay Erskine. 2012. *Stand Up That Mountain: The Battle to Save One Small Community in the Wilderness Along the Appalachian Trail*. Scribner, p. 2-23. [Available on Moodle](#)
Palmer, M. A. et al. 2010. "Mountaintop Mining Consequences." *Science* 327(5962): 148-149 (2).

Thursday, 2/21: Biodiversity Politics (52)

Vaughn, Jacqueline. 2011. "Endangered Species and Biodiversity" in *Environmental Politics*, p. 242-276 (34).
Merchant, Carolyn. 1992. "Environmental Ethics and Political Conflict" in *Radical Ecology*, p. 63-81 (18). [Available on Moodle](#)

Tuesday, 2/26: Case: The Northern Spotted Owl (28)

CASE: Layzer, Judith. 2012. "Jobs versus the Environment: Saving the Northern Spotted Owl" in *The Environmental Case*, p. 174-202 (28).

Thursday, 2/28: Comparing the Politics of Nature and Pollution

→ *In-Class Mid-Term Review*

March 2-10: SPRING BREAK

PART IV: THE POLITICS OF ENERGY

Tuesday, 3/12: Energy Politics (41)

Vaughn, Jacqueline. 2011. "The Politics of Energy" in *Environmental Politics*, p. 162-188 (27).
Kiker, Gregory A. et al. 2005. "Application of multicriteria decision analysis in environmental decision making." *Integrated Environmental Assessment and Management* 1(2): 95–108 (13).

Thursday, 3/15: Case: Energy Security and the Environment (33)

CASE: Layzer, Judith. 2012. "Oil versus Wilderness in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge" in *The Environmental Case*, p. 109-134 (25).
Sovacool, B. K. (2012). Energy security: challenges and needs. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Energy and Environment*, 1(1), 51–59 (8).

Tuesday, 3/19: Case: Lobbying and the Environment (~40)

Kraft, Michael and Sheldon Kamieniecki. 2007. "Analyzing the Role of Business in Environmental Policy" in *Business and Environmental Policy*, p. 3-24 (21). [Available on Moodle](#)
MINI-CASE: Onishi, Norimitsu, and Martin Fackler. 2011. "Utility Reform Eluding Japan After Nuclear Plant Disaster." *The New York Times*, Nov. 17.
MINI-CASE: Seelye, Katharine Q. 2011. "Hydraulic Fracturing Brings Money, and Problems, to Pennsylvania." *The New York Times*, October 14.
MINI-CASE: Mufson, Steven. 2011. "Keystone delay unlikely to stall giant oil companies." *The Washington Post*, November 11 AND McKibben, Bill. 2012. "Armed With Naïvete." *Huffington Post*, Jan. 12.
MINI-CASE: Stephens, Joe, and Carol D. Leonnig. 2012. "Solyndra: Politics infused Obama energy programs." *The Washington Post*, December 25.

Thursday, 3/21: Case: Sub-National Governments and the Environment (40)

Miller, Norman. 2009. "The Burgeoning Role of State and Local Governments" in *Environmental Politics: Stakeholders, Interests, and Policymaking*, p. 59-73 (14). [Available on Moodle](#)
Zhang, Z. (2012). Effective environmental protection in the context of government decentralization. *International Economics and Economic Policy*, 9(1), 53–78 (26).

→ *Movie Response Paper Due*

PART V: THE POLITICS OF WATER

Tuesday, 3/26: Water Politics (27)

Vaughn, Jacqueline. 2011. "The Politics of Water" in *Environmental Politics*, p. 189-215 (27).

Tuesday, 3/28: Cities and the Environment (42)

CASE: Taylor, Vanessa and Frank Trentmann. 2011. "Liquid Politics: Water and the Politics of Everyday Life in the Modern City," *Past and Present*, Volume 211, Issue 1, p. 199-241 (42).

Tuesday, 4/2: EASTER BREAK

Thursday, 4/4: Case: Contestation, Collaboration and the Environment (India) (37)

Schwartz, David T. 2010. *Consuming Choices: Ethics in a Global Consumer Age*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. Chapter 1, 1-20 (20). [Available on Moodle](#)

CASE: Hills, Jonathan and Richard Welford. 2005. "Case Study: Coca-Cola and Water in India," *Corporate Social Responsibility and Environmental Management*, 12, p. 168-177 (11).

CASE: Burnett, Margaret and Richard Welford. 2005. "Case Study: Coca-Cola and Water in India," *Corporate Social Responsibility and Environmental Management*, 12, p. 298-304 (6).

Tuesday, 4/9: Case: Contestation, Collaboration and the Environment (US) (~45)

CASE: Layzer, Judith. 2012. "Ecosystem-Based Management in the Chesapeake Bay" in *The Environmental Case*, p. 447-478 (31).

Dietz, Thomas, Elinor Ostrom, and Paul C. Stern. 2003. The Struggle to Govern the Commons. *Science* 302, no. 5652 (December 12): 1907-1912. (5)

PART VI: THE POLITICS OF THE ATMOSPHERE

Thursday, 4/11: Air Quality Politics (26)

Vaughn, Jacqueline. 2011. "Air Quality: Pollution and Solutions" in *Environmental Politics*, p. 216-241 (26).

➔ *Policy Memo II Due at 5 pm*

Tuesday, 4/16: Case: Markets and the Environment (27)

CASE: Layzer, Judith. 2012. "Market-Based Solutions: Acid Rain and the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990" in *The Environmental Case*, p. 414-441 (27)

PART VII: THE POLITICS OF THE GLOBAL COMMONS

Thursday, 4/18: Ozone Politics (52)

Vaughn, Jacqueline. 2011. "The Global Commons" in *Environmental Politics*, p. 277-280, 293-298 (9).
UNEP. 2007. *Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer 2007: A Success in the*

Making, p. 1-12 (12).

O'Neill, Kate. 2009. "State-Led Global Environmental Governance: International Cooperation and Regime Formation" in *The Environment and International Relations*. Cambridge University Press, p. 71-102. (31) [Available on Moodle](#)

Tuesday, 4/23: Case: Climate Change Politics (45)

Vaughn, Jacqueline. 2011. "The Global Commons" in *Environmental Politics*, p. 280-293 (14).

CASE: Layzer, Judith. 2012. "Climate Change: The Challenges of International Environmental Policymaking" in *The Environmental Case*, p. 270-300 (31).

Thursday, 4/25: Case: Trade and the Environment (46)

CASE: Layzer, Judith. 2012. "Trade Versus the Environment: Dolphins, Turtles, and Global Economic Expansion" in *The Environmental Case*, p. 348-377 (30).

Vogel, David. 2003. "International Trade and Environmental Regulation" in *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the 21st Century*, p. 371-387 (16). [Available on Moodle](#)

PART VIII: SUMMARY AND SYNTHESIS

Tuesday, 4/30: Summary and Synthesis (8)

Layzer, Judith. 2012. "Conclusions: Politics, Values, and Environmental Policy Change" in *The Environmental Case*. p. 556-564 (8).

FINAL EXAMINATION DURING EXAM PERIOD