

College of the Holy Cross
Political Science 286
Comparative Environmental Policy

Loren Cass

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Office Hours: Monday & Wednesday 9:30 to 11:00; Tuesday 3:30 to 5:00. (These are my official office hours. However, I am on campus every day, and you are welcome to call for an appointment or stop into my office.)

This course emphasizes the comparative study of the domestic and international environmental policies of advanced industrial states with an emphasis on the United States, Germany, and the United Kingdom. The key questions under study are: 1) How do differences across countries in political institutions, political culture, regulatory style, and economic structure influence domestic and foreign environmental policies? We will focus in particular on how environmentalism emerged across countries and how science is introduced and interpreted in the policy process. 2) What impact do these differences have on the ability of states to achieve cooperative solutions to common environmental problems? 3) What influence do international environmental interactions have on domestic environmental policy?

The course is designed for undergraduate students with basic knowledge of comparative and American politics. The course should be of interest to political science students studying comparative politics, international relations, American politics, or public policy. The course also provides an introduction to environmental policy for Environmental Studies majors and concentrators. Students with a general interest in environmental affairs and approaches to achieving international cooperation should also find this course to be of value.

Format: The course is divided into four parts. **Part I** (2 weeks) provides an introduction to the study of environmental policy. **Part II** (8 weeks) provides an overview of American, British, and German environmental policies. The primary emphasis is on the effects of differences in political institutions, political culture, regulatory styles, and economic structures on policy solutions to similar domestic and transnational environmental threats. Students will then utilize the framework applied to the US, UK, and Germany to evaluate the forces shaping environmental policy in Canada, Italy, Australia, and Japan. **Part III** (2 weeks) analyzes transnational environmental issues. The focus is on the impact of domestic politics, international institutions, science, and considerations of national power and interests on the ability of states to achieve cooperative solutions to common environmental threats. **Part IV** (2 weeks) provides a case study of the international and domestic politics of climate change, including a "mock climate negotiating session". Class members will negotiate on behalf of a country of their choosing. The "delegates" will be presented with a "negotiating text" consisting of a series of alternative policy proposals. They will then seek to reach common agreement on a single text based on the ability of individual states to agree to components of the proposed agreement.

Prerequisites: POLS-102, "Introduction to Comparative Politics," is a prerequisite for this course. The prerequisite will be waived for Environmental Studies students—provided that each student agrees to fulfill the following requirements. There are approximately 45 pages of material on electronic reserve in a folder entitled "Comparative Politics Review". All students who have not completed POLS-102 will be required to read the packet and to participate in one class meetings outside of normal class time. All other students are encouraged to attend, but it is not required.

Requirements: Grades for this class will be assigned on a points basis. There are 1000 points possible during the semester. The total points possible for each component of the grade are listed below in parentheses.

1. Participation (100 points): Class discussion is a central component of this class. Students are expected to attend class regularly (no more than 1 unexcused absence), to have completed assigned readings, and be willing and able to contribute to class discussion.

Participation will also be gauged by a number of ungraded “quizzes” to be administered at the instructor’s discretion. The “quiz” will ask the class members to write briefly and in general terms about some aspect of the assigned readings. The quiz will not count toward the participation grade – unless the class member is unable to demonstrate a general familiarity with the readings (10 points will be deducted from the Participation grade per “failed” quiz).

Each student will begin the semester with a 'B' (86 points) for participation. Regular class attendance and demonstration of preparation for and participation in class discussion are required to raise the grade to an 'A'. Failure to fulfill the participation requirements will lower the grade.

2. Mid-term Exam (300 points): The midterm examination will be comprised of a set of identifications, a set of short answer questions, and at least one essay question. There will be a review session scheduled outside of the normal class period for interested students.
3. Policy Analysis Paper (150 points): The policy analysis will entail a 10-12 page paper. Each student will select two countries or two American states or cities and an environmental issue that has been addressed through the policy processes of the countries/states/cities. The student's research should clearly identify the public policy origins of the environmental problem. The focus of the analysis should be the policy response to the issue. Some of the questions to be addressed include: Who defined the problem and the potential policy options? What actors were most important in shaping the policy response and why? How do you explain any differences or similarities in policy responses? I will provide you with more detailed information during the second week of class. The policy analysis is due by **November 13th**. I encourage each student to provide me with early drafts of their paper. I will read drafts presented to me up until **November 1st** and provide comments for revision.
4. Climate Negotiation Session (150 points): Students will be expected to prepare a 5 to 7 page country position paper for the negotiating session to be held during the final week of class. The statement should include a written summary of national objectives and concerns in the negotiating session. Students will be graded both on the written assignment (100 points) and on their degree of success in the negotiations (50 points). A copy of the statement will be due on the first day of the negotiations.
5. Final Exam (300 points): The final exam is cumulative and will be administered during the final exam period. It will be comprised of a set of identifications, a set of short answer questions, and at least one essay question. There will be a review session scheduled outside of the normal class period for interested students.

Book Purchases:

Uday Desai, ed., *Environmental Politics and Policy in Industrialized Countries* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002) ISBN: 0-262-54137-8.

Winston Harrington, Richard D. Morgenster, and Thomas Sterner, eds. *Choosing Environmental Policy: Comparing Instruments and Outcomes in the United States and Europe* (Washington, DC: Resources for the Future, 2004) ISBN: 1-891853-88-0.

Book Purchases (continued):

John S. Dryzek, et. al., *Green States and Social Movements: Environmentalism in the United States, United Kingdom, Germany, and Norway* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) ISBN: 0-19-924903-2.

Mark Maslin, *Global Warming: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) ISBN: 0-19-284097-5.

Part I: A COMPARATIVE OVERVIEW OF DOMESTIC ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY

Introduction: Understanding Environmental Threats to Modern Society and a Framework for Analyzing National Responses

8/30, Class 1: Introduction

- 📖 UNEP, *Global Environmental Outlook 3: Past, Present, and Future Perspectives* (New York: Earthscan Publications for UNEP, 2002), pp. xx-xxv.
- 📖 Bjørn Lomborg, *The Skeptical Environmentalist: Measuring the Real State of the World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 3-11.

9/4, Class 2: A Brief Introduction to the Philosophy and History of Environmental Policy

- 📖 Review the Worldwatch Institute's "Environmental Milestones Timeline" <http://www.worldwatch.org/features/timeline/timeline.htm>
- 📖 Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962), 1-3, xi-xiv.
- 📖 Neil Carter, *The Politics of the Environment: Ideas, Activism, Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 13-39
- 📖 Timothy O'Riordan, "Frameworks for Choice: Core Beliefs and the Environment," *Environment* vol. 37, no. 8 (October 1995), pp. 4-9, (skim pages 25-29).

- 👉 O'Riordan Table, "Basic Environmental Ideologies." Read the O'Riordan article and review the table. Where do you fit within the table of ideologies? Be prepared to discuss your views in class.

9/6, Class 3: Studying Comparative Environmental Policy

- ❖ Desai, Chapter 1, pp. 1-20.
- ❖ Dryzek, et. al., Chapter 1, pp. 1-19.
- 📖 Sonja Boehmer-Christiansen and Jim Skea, *Acid Politics: Environmental and Energy Policies in Britain and Germany* (New York: Belhaven Press, 1991), "Chapter 4: Society, Culture and Environment," pp. 57-71.

- 👉 "A Model of Forces Shaping the National Environmental Policy Process"

Part II: Industrial Country Environmental Policy

The Rise of Environmentalism in Western Democracies

9/11, Class 4: Origins of the Environmental Movement and Democratic Responses

- ❖ Dryzek, et. al., chapters 2, 3, & 4, pp. 20-102. Skim sections related to Norway.

9/13, Class 5: The Green Movement and Ecological Modernization

- ❖ Dryzek, et. al., chapters 6 & 7, pp. 131-191. Skim sections related to Norway.

American Environmental Policy

9/18 – 9/20, Classes 6-7: Introduction to American Environmental Policy

- ❖ Michael E. Kraft and Norman Vig, "Environmental Policy from the 1970s to the Twenty-First Century" in Norman J. Vig and Michael E. Kraft, eds., *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century*, 6th ed. (CQ Press, 2006), pp. 1-29.
- ❖ Desai, chapter 2, pp. 29 – 65.
- 📖 Marc K. Landy, "The New Politics of Environmental Policy," in Marc K. Landy and Martin A. Levin, eds., *The New Politics of Public Policy* (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), pp. 207-227.

9/25, Class 8: Environmental Science and the Regulatory Process

- 📖 Stephen Bocking, *Nature's Experts: Science, Politics, and the Environment* (Rutgers University Press, 2004), pp. 16-44.
- 📖 Claudia Jauß, "The United States Rule by Virtue of Competition" in Richard Münch, ed. *Democracy at Work: A Comparative Sociology of Environmental Regulation in the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and the United States* (Praeger, 2001), pp. 129-152.
- 📖 David Michaels and Celeste Monforton, "Manufacturing Uncertainty: Contested Science and the Protection of the Public's Health and Environment," *American Journal of Public Health* 95:S1 (2005), pp. 39-48.

British Environmental Policy

9/27 – 10/2, Classes 9-10: British Environmental Policy

- 📖 Devra Davis, *When Smoke Ran Like Water: Tales of Environmental Deception and the Battle against Pollution* (Basic Books: 2002), pp. 31-54.
- ❖ Desai, Chapter 4, pp. 121-148.
- 📖 Markus Kurth, "United Kingdom: Rule by Virtue of Convention and Consultation," in Richard Münch, ed. *Democracy at Work: A Comparative Sociology of Environmental Regulation in the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and the United States* (London: Praeger, 2001), pp. 47-71.
- 📖 Andrew Jordan, et. al., "Policy Innovation or 'Muddling Through'? 'New' Environmental Policy Instruments in the United Kingdom," *Environmental Politics* Vol. 12, No. 1 (Spring 2003), pp. 179-197.

German Environmental Policy

10/4 – 10/11, Classes 11-12: German Environmental Policy

- ❖ Desai, Chapter 5, pp. 149-193.
- 📖 Rudiger K.W. Wurzel, et. al., "From High Regulatory State to Social and Ecological Market Economy? 'New' Environmental Policy Instruments in Germany," *Environmental Politics* Vol. 12, No. 1 (Spring 2003), pp. 115-133.
- 📖 Carsten Stark, "Germany: Rule by Virtue of Knowledge" in Richard Münch, ed. *Democracy at Work: A Comparative Sociology of Environmental Regulation in the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and the United States* (London: Praeger, 2001), pp. 103-128.

National Variation in Environmental Policy

10/16, Class 13: Explaining National Variation in Environmental Policy – Canada, Italy, & Australia

- ❖ Desai, Chapters 3, 6, & 7, pp. 71 – 114, 203 – 240, & 249 - 285.

10/18, Class 14: Explaining National Variation in Environmental Policy – Japan & Conclusions

- ❖ Desai, Chapters 8 & 9, pp. 295 – 344 & 357 - 380.

10/23, Class 15: Mid-Term Exam

- 🕒 **Mid-Term Examination Administered During Class**

Comparing Regulatory Approaches in Europe and America

10/25, Class 16: Command and Control vs. Market Based Environmental Policy

- 📖 A. Myrick Freeman, "Economics, Incentives, and Environmental Policy" in Norman J. Vig and Michael E. Kraft, eds., *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century*, 6th ed. (CQ Press, 2006), pp. 193-212.
- 📖 Richard N.L. Andrews, "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*, 6th ed. (CQ Press, 2006), pp. 215-226 (skim pp. 227-234).
- ❖ Harrington, Morgenstern, and Sterner: Chapter 1, pp. 1-17.

10/30, Class 17: Regulating SO₂ and NO_x Emissions

- ❖ Harrington, Morgenstern, and Sterner: Chapters 2-3, pp. 23-66; Chapters 5-6, pp. 117-157.

11/1, Class 18: Regulating Lead in Gasoline & CFC Emissions

- ❖ Harrington, Morgenstern, and Sterner: Chapters 8-9, pp. 175-205.
- 📖 John Russell and Erik Millstone, "The Reduction of Lead Emissions in the UK," in Martin Janicke and Helmut Weidner, eds., *Successful Environmental Policy: A Critical Evaluation of 24 Cases* (1995), pp. 223-244.
- ❖ Harrington, Morgenstern, and Sterner: Chapter 7, pp. 158-173.
- 🕒 **Last Day to Submit Draft Policy Memos for Comment**

11/6, Class 19: Regulating Trichloroethylene & Lessons from Case Studies

- ❖ Harrington, Morgenstern, and Sterner: Chapters 10-12, pp. 206-270.

Part IV: Approaches to the Study of International Environmental Cooperation

11/8 – 11/15, Classes 20-22: Introduction to International Environmental Policy

- 🕒 **Class 21 (November 13th): Policy Paper Due**

- 📖 Gareth Porter and Janet Welsh Brown, *Global Environmental Politics*, 2nd Ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996), Chapter 1, pp. 13-30.

Epistemic Communities:

- 📖 Peter M. Haas, *Saving the Mediterranean: The Politics of International Environmental Cooperation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), pp. 52-63.
- 📖 S. A. Boehmer-Christiansen, "Britain and the International Panel on Climate Change: The Impacts of Scientific Advice on Global Warming Part 1: Integrated Policy Analysis and the Global Dimension," *Environmental Politics* vol. 4, no. 1 (Spring 1995), pp. 1-18.

International Institutions:

- 📖 Oran Young, *International Governance: Protecting the Environment in a Stateless Society* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 12-19 & 26-32.
- 📖 Robert O. Keohane, et. al., "The Effectiveness of International Environmental Institutions," in Peter M. Haas, et. al., eds., *Institutions for the Earth: Sources of Effective International Environmental Protection* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1993), pp. 3-26.
- 📖 "The Effects of International Institutions on the Ability of States to Achieve Cooperation".

Interest/Power-Based Theories:

- 📖 Detlef Sprinz and Tapani Vaahtoranta, "The Interest-Based Explanation of International Environmental Policy," *International Organization* vol. 48, no. 1 (Winter 1994), pp. 77-105.
- 📖 Kenneth A. Oye and James H. Maxwell, "Self-Interest and Environmental Management," in Robert O. Keohane and Elinor Ostrom, eds., *Local Commons and Global Interdependence: Heterogeneity and Cooperation in Two Domains* (London: Sage Publications, 1995), pp. 191-221.

Part IV: Negotiating Climate Change

11/20, Class 23: The Science of Climate Change

- ❖ Maslin, Chapters 1 – 2 & 4 – 7, pp. 4 – 35 & 43 – 117.

11/27, Class 24: The Politics of Climate Change & Review of Negotiating Text

- ❖ Maslin, Chapter 8, pp. 118 – 133.
- 📖 Loren R. Cass, "Measuring the Domestic Salience of International Environmental Norms: Climate Change Norms in American, German, and British Climate Policy Debates" in Mary Pettenger, ed. *The Social Construction of Climate Change* (Ashgate Publishing, forthcoming).
- 📖 "Consolidated Negotiating Text for the First and Only Meeting of the Holy Cross Working Group to Complete the Kyoto Protocol"

Class 25 (meeting outside of normal class time)

📌 **Country Position Paper Due**

- 📖 Read the negotiating text and prepare your country's national position on the [bracketed] alternative policies within the text. Be prepared to present, explain, and defend your country's position to other national delegations. Your country's position paper is due at class-time.

12/4, Class 26: Negotiation "Debriefing" & Current Status of Global Climate Negotiations

- ❖ Maslin, Chapters 9 – 10, pp. 134 – 150.
- ❖ Additional Reading to Be Announced

📌 **Final Exam: Thursday, December 14th at 2:30**