

V3212: Environmental Politics

Course description: The political setting in which environmental policymaking occurs. The course will focus on grassroots and top-down policymaking in the United States with some comparative examples. Topics include the conservation movement and national agenda politics, pollution control and iron triangle politics, alternative energy policy and subsidy politics, climate change and issue networks, and transnational environmental issues and the negotiation of international policy regimes.

Degree and Major Requirements (Barnard students): This course satisfies the general education requirement for social analysis, the American Politics subfield course for the Political Science Major, and the overall course requirements for the major or minor in Political Science. It may be used for Part C, Decision-making Foundation, in the Environmental Policy major (consult chair of Environmental Science at Barnard).

Prerequisites: None. Some knowledge of American politics and government (i.e. prior high school or college coursework or equivalent) is recommended but not required.

Requirements: attendance at all classes and completion of two take-home essays and a final research paper. Each essay will be approximately 10-12 printed pages (300 words per page), on assigned topics based on readings and lectures. The final paper (10-12 pages) will involve political analysis for a “client” (an environmental policy organization) and will involve one of the policy areas studied in the course. It will require additional readings developed in consultation with the instructor. Each take-home essay counts for 30 percent of the grade, and the final paper counts for 30 percent. An in-class presentation of political strategy recommendations in the final research paper counts for 10 percent. Class discussion is encouraged but does not count toward the grade. (Students in need of special accommodations involving health or learning disabilities should see me during office hours or by appointment.)

Course Readings: All readings listed below are required unless designated “optional.” The textbooks are Norman Vig and Michael Kraft, ed. *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century* Washington DC: CQ Press 2009; Walter A. Rosenbaum, *Environmental politics and policy*. 7th Edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2007. Readings are available at the Barnard and SIPA reserve rooms and Book Culture.

Contact Information: Office Hours: Wednesday 4-6, 408 Lehman Hall (Barnard Library Building). E-mail: rpious@barnard.edu.

Topics and Readings (Readings due on date indicated)

I. Models of Governance

January 20 Overview: Politics and Processes of Governance

Walter Rosenbaum, *Environmental Politics and Policy*, Ch 2: Making Policy: The Process.

Norman Vig and Michael Kraft, ed. *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century* Washington DC CQ Press 2005, Ch. 1: Environmental Policy From the 1970s to the Twenty-First Century

January 25 Corporatism, Private Power and Interest Groups

Norman Vig and Michael Kraft, ed. *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century* Washington DC CQ Press 2005, Daniel Press and David Mazmanian, ch. 12; The Greening of Industry

Optional: Michael E. Kraft and Sheldon Kamieniecki, eds. *Business and environmental policy : corporate interests in the American political system*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2007.

Lehman JK467 B744 2007, Ch. 1: Analyzing the Role of Business in Environmental Policy; ch. 3: Business, Elections and the Environment. E-Book

January 27 Federalism and Decentralization

Norman Vig and Michael Kraft, ed. *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century* Washington DC CQ Press 2005 Ch. 2 Barry Rabe, Power to the States: The Promise and Pitfalls of Decentralization.

Optional: Denise Scheberle. *Federalism and Environmental Policy*. Georgetown University Press, 2004. Lehman HC110.E5 5387 2004 Ch. 1: Environmental Federalism and Federal-State Working Relationships; Ch. 6 High Stakes, Small Wins, and Big Coal in the Surface Mining Program.

February 1 Presidential Politics

Norman Vig and Michael Kraft, ed. *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century* Washington DC CQ Press 2005. Norman Vig, Presidential Leadership and the Environment.

Optional: Tarla Rai Peterson, ed., *Green talk in the White House: The rhetorical Presidency Encounters Ecology*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004. Introduction: Environmental Communication Meets Presidential Rhetoric; Ch. 6: The (Re)Making of the Environmental President: Clinton/Gore and the Rhetoric of U.S. Environmental Politics, 1992-1996; Chapter 10: Global Gridlock: The American Presidency and the Framing of International Environmentalism, 1988-2000. Lehman GE 180 G75 2004

February 3 Congressional Politics

Norman Vig and Michael Kraft, ed. *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century* Washington DC CQ Press 2005, Michael E. Kraft, Environmental Policy in Congress.

Optional: Matthew J. Lindstrom & Zachary A. Smith. *National Environmental policy act: judicial misconstruction, legislative indifference & executive neglect*. College Station : Texas A&M University Press, 2001. Chapter 2: NEPA's Political and Social Origins; Chapter 3: NEPA's Legislative History. Barnard GE 180 L55 2001

First Midterm Essay Handed Out Covering Part I, Due February 15

February 8 Judicial Decisionmaking

Norman Vig and Michael Kraft, ed. *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century* Washington DC CQ Press 2005. Rosemary O'Leary, "Environmental Policy in the Courts."

Optional: Matthew J. Lindstrom & Zachary A. Smith. *National Environmental policy act : judicial misconstruction, legislative indifference & executive neglect*. College Station : Texas A&M University Press, 2001. Chapter 6: The Courts and Environmental Policy: NEPA's Judicial Downsizing. Barnard GE 180 L55 2001

February 10 Citizen Participation

Norman Vig and Michael Kraft, ed., *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century*, Washington DC CQ Press, 2005, Christopher Bosso and Deborah Lynn Gruber, "Maintaining Presence."

Optional: Thomas C. Beierle and Jerry Cayford. *Democracy in practice: public participation in environmental decisions*. Washington, DC : Resources for the future, 2002. Ch. 4: The Context of Public Participation; ch. 5: The Process of Public Participation; ch. 7: Designing Public Participation Processes. Lehman GE 180. B45 2002

II. Conservation and Environmental Protection: Prerogative Power, Iron Triangles and Issue Networks

First Midterm Covering Part I Due February 15

February 15 National Parks and Forests
(Do the readings for this class after handing in the first midterm)

Norman Vig and Michael Kraft, ed., *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century*, Washington DC CQ Press, 2005 William R. Lowry, Ch. 14 Return to Traditional Priorities in Natural Resource Policies

Optional: Tomas Koontz. *Federalism in the Forest*. Georgetown University Press, 2002. Chapter 3: State Agency Strengths: Timber, Profits and Revenue Sharing; Chapter 4: Federal Agency Strength: Environmental Protection; Chapter 5: Federal Agency Strength: Citizen Participation in the Policy Process.

February 17 Public Lands

Walter Rosenbaum, *Environmental Politics and Policy*, Ch. 9: 635 Million Acres of Politics: The Battle for Public Lands.

Optional: Charles Davis, ed. *Western public lands and environmental politics*. Boulder, Colo. : Westview Press, 1997. Chapter 3: The Federal Four: Change and Continuity in the Bureau of Land Management, Fish and Wildlife Service, Forest Service, and National Park Service, 1970-2000; Chapter 5: Politics and Public Rangeland Policy. Lehman GE 185.U6 W47 1997

February 22 Dams and Rivers

William Lowry, *Dam Politics: Restoring America's Rivers*. Georgetown University Press, 2003. Chapter 2: Testing the Waters; Chapter 3: Launching the Trip. Also choose any other chapter dealing with a specific river. Lehman TC 556 L69 2003

February 24 Wetlands

Ronald Keith Gaddie and James L. Regens. *Regulating wetlands protection: environmental federalism and the States*. Albany : State University of New York Press, 2000. Chapter 1: Wetlands, Federalism and the Implementation Problem; Chapter 2: Wetlands in the United States; Chapter 3: Wetlands Protection and Section 404; Chapter 7: Wetlands Regulations and Implementation Problems. Lehman QH 76.G285 2000

March 1: Hazardous and Toxic Wastes

Walter Rosenbaum, *Environmental Politics and Policy*. Ch. 7: A Regulatory Thicket: Toxic and Hazardous Substances.

Optional: Dianne Rahm, ed. *Toxic waste and environmental policy in the 21st century*, chs. 1,2. Lehman TD 1040 T687 2002

Optional: Gregory McAvoy. *Controlling Technocracy: Citizen Rationality and the NIMBY Syndrome*. Georgetown University Press, 1999. Chapter 3: The Strategic State: Hazardous Waste Siting Through Inducements and Persuasion; chapter 4: State Officials and Citizens: The Siting Deadlock." Lehman HD 205 .M36 1999

III. Pollution Control: Regulatory Politics

March 3 Industrial Air Pollution

Walter Rosenbaum, *Environmental Politics and Policy*. ch. 5: More Choice; Ch. 6: Command and Control: Air and Water Pollution (pp. 174-195 on air pollution).

March 8: Industrial Waterway Pollution

Walter Rosenbaum, *Environmental Politics and Policy*. Ch. 6: Command and Control: Air and Water Pollution (pp. 196-213 on water pollution).

Norman Vig and Michael Kraft, ed., *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century*, Washington DC CQ Press, 2005, Richard N.L. Andrews, Ch. 10: Risk-Based Decision Making: Policy, Science and Politics

Optional: Paul Charles Milazzo *Unlikely environmentalists: Congress and clean water, 1945-1972* Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 2006. Chapter 7: The Strange Career of the Corps of Engineers; Chapter 8: Drafting the Clean Water Act; Chapter 9: Defending the Clean Water Act. Offsite GE 180.M55 2006

IV. Energy: Subsidy Politics

March 10: Oil and Natural Gas

Walter Rosenbaum, *Environmental Politics and Policy*. Ch. 8: Energy: Nuclear Dreams, Black Gold, and Vanishing Crude.

March 22 Second Midterm Covering II, III, and IV Handed Out, Due April 7

March 22 Big Coal

Jeff Goodell, *Big Coal*. Houghton Mifflin, 2006 (on regulating power plants)
Ch. 2 Coal Colonies; Ch. 8 Reversal of Fortune; Ch. 9 The Coal Rush

March 24 Alternative Energy Sources

Christopher Simon. *Alternative Energy: Political, Economic and Social Feasibility*. Rowman and Littlefield, 2007. Chs. 4,5,6. Business HD 9502 U52 S344 2007

March 29 Energy Conservation

Gill Owen. *Public purpose or private benefit?: the politics of energy conservation*. Manchester University Press. 1999. Chs. 2, 7 Business TJ163.3 093 1999

March 31 The Environment and Job Creation

No readings for this class.

V. Climate Change Politics: Negotiating International Policy Regimes

April 5 Domestic Climate Change Politics

Norman Vig and Michael Kraft, ed. *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century* Washington DC CQ Press 2005, Lamont C. Hempel, ch. 13: Climate Policy on the Installment Plan

Second Midterm Exam Due April 7

(Do April 7 readings afterwards)

April 7 U.S. Foreign Policy

Walter Rosenbaum, *Environmental Politics and Policy*, ch. 10: United States and Climate Diplomacy

Michael A. Levi, "Copenhagen's Inconvenient Truth" *Foreign Policy*, September/October 2009, pp. 92-104

April 12 Business and Global Governance

David L. Levy and Peter J. Newell, eds. *The Business of global environmental governance*. Cambridge, Mass. : MIT Press, 2005. Ch 4: Business and the Evolution of the Climate Regime: The Evolution of Corporate Strategies Lehman HC 79.E5 B8664 2005

April 14 International Institutions

Regina S. Axelrod, David Leonard Downie, Norman J. Vig. *Global environment : institutions, law, and policy*. Washington, D.C. : CQ Press, 2005. Lehman HC 110.E5 H327 2001g

Chapter 1: Introduction: Governing the International Environment

Chapter 4: Global Environmental Policy: Governance Through Regimes

Chapter 6: Global Climate Change Policy: Making Progress or Spinning Wheels?

April 19, 21, 26, 28, May 3. Class Presentations.

May 6 Political Analysis for "Client Organization" Due

(Papers should be e-mailed to rpious@barnard.edu by 11:00 pm. Hard copies should be placed under the door, 408 Lehman Hall (Barnard Library) as of May 11. After the May 5 deadline, late papers are penalized 1 point per hour, up to five points per 24-hour cycle.

Useful Websites:

Policy Archive <https://www.policyarchive.org/>

Sponsored by the Center for Governmental Studies (CGS) and the Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI) Library, the Policy Archive site brings together thousands of full text documents, reports, videos, and multimedia material generated by these various think tanks and institutions. Use topic quick links, which include everything from agriculture to technology.

Appendix A: Historical Background

Consult any or all of these works for background on the history of policymaking in the area you choose for your third paper.

Michael J. Lacey, ed. *Government and environmental politics: essays on historical developments since World War Two*. Washington, DC : Woodrow Wilson Center Press ; Baltimore, MD : Johns Hopkins University Press ; 1991. Barnard HC110.E5G686 1991.

Richard N.L. Andrews, *Managing the environment, managing ourselves: a history of American environmental policy*. New Haven : Yale University Press, 2006. Butler Reserves GE180.A53 2006.

Robert Gottlieb. *Forcing the spring: the transformation of the American environmental movement*. Washington, DC : Island Press, c2005. Barnard GE180.G68 1993.

Christopher McGrory Klyza . *American environmental policy, 1990-2006: beyond gridlock*. David J. Sousa. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2008. Lehman GE180.K59 2008.

Samuel P. Hays, *History of environmental politics since 1945*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000. Barnard GE180.H392 2000.

Benjamin Kline. *First along the river : a brief history of the U.S. environmental movement*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007. Lehman GE195.K578 2007.

Appendix B: Perspectives on our Continent

William H. MacLeish, *The Day Before America*, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1991.

Charles C. Mann. 1491: New Revelations of the Americas Before Columbus. New York: Vintage Books, 2006.

Alan Weisman, *The World Without Us*. New York: St. Martins Press, 2007.