

POL S 177, Comparative Environmental Politics
Lecture: MTWR, 11:00am – 12:05pm
Zoom Meeting ID: 820 1968 3824 (password: ps177lect!)
Department of Political Science
University of California, Santa Barbara
Summer Session B 2021

Professor: Patrick Hunnicutt (patrickhunnicutt@ucsb.edu)
Office Hours: T 12:30 – 2:00pm; or, by appointment
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Course Description

Many of the most serious environmental challenges facing humanity today are global in scope. Issues like climate change, long-range air pollution, biodiversity loss, ocean acidification, water shortages, ozone layer depletion, overfishing and deforestation all transcend borders. Addressing these environmental threats will involve different regions and governments working together. Yet, many efforts to coordinate global environmental policies remain stunted. For instance, twenty years of global climate negotiations have produced few successes; carbon pollution continues to be dumped into the global atmosphere by countries around the world.

How can we understand differences between countries in the timing and content of their environmental policies? Why have well-resourced environmental advocacy movements emerged in some countries? Why do environmentalists in others face threats to their life? Why do business interests have a stronger say on environmental policymaking in some countries as opposed to others? How does this change policy outcomes? Why do cities located in the same area have wildly different air pollution standards? These are all questions asked by comparative environmental politics researchers.

This course will explore the political dimension of environmental policy action and inaction. Our explicit focus will be understanding differences between countries in their domestic politics of the environment. However, we will also use this understanding to shed light on the international politics of the environment. We will discuss how domestic political conditions serve as a critical building block for international environmental negotiations. We will explore how ideas, interests, and institutions shape national environmental politics. We will evaluate whether current political incentives are sufficient to solve such serious environmental threats as dangerous, human-caused climate change.

The course is divided into two parts. The first section will introduce students to the diverse theoretical perspectives used by political scientists to understand the politics of the environment. The second section will explore what comparative politics specifically can teach us about cross-national differences in environmental politics. By the end of this course, you will have a sophisticated understanding of how domestic political conflict across the world shapes the ability

of the United States and all other countries to manage regional and global environmental risks. During lectures, we will pay particular attention to climate change; however, we will also discuss hazardous waste management, deforestation, chemicals pollution, energy policy, water conservation and biodiversity loss.

The course has a waitlist for students who have not been able to enroll to date. Students on the waitlist should fill out the online learning environment survey as confirmation that they are still interested in taking the course. If additional spaces become available, accommodation may be made for students who can demonstrate high priority need.

Course Policies

Course Materials and Contact Information

The syllabus, assignments, and other handouts will all be available from the course Gauchospace site. My lecture slides largely consist of images and figures in support of lecture content; they do not summarize the important points from lecture in any systematic way. As a result, watching lecture videos and taking good notes while doing so are the keys to success in this class.

There are no required books or course readers for this class. Instead, readings will be available for download through the UCSB library system or will be posted to the class Gauchospace website. Any assigned video or interactive content is freely available at the indicated links.

The best way to contact me is either to attend my office hours or to send me an e-mail. I will respond within twenty-four hours to e-mails that I receive during business hours on Mondays through Thursdays. I will try to answer e-mails received prior to mid- afternoon on Friday by 5:00 p.m. but may not manage to respond until Monday.

Requirements & Evaluation

Your course grade will be a function of one set of lecture notes (5%), three response papers (20% your highest scoring paper, 15% for remaining two papers), one take-home final exam (30%), and participation (15%). Each component is described below:

1. **Practice Lecture Notes:** Taking effective lecture notes is key to success in this course. Good lecture notes touch on key concepts and debates we discuss during lecture, and also provide some relevant empirical examples that we cover. They do not need to be verbatim transcripts of lecture. On August 4, we will be discussing theories of collective action in class. Your first assignment is simply to upload a digital copy of your lecture notes to Gauchospace (either as a word document or a scan of handwritten notes) no later than midnight on August 11. Your TAs will then be able to provide general feedback on your notes.
2. **Response Papers:** three response paper prompts will be released on August 3, August 10, and August 17. Each response paper must be uploaded no later than 11:59pm on August 18, August 30, and September 7, respectively. Generally, response papers consist of 500-750 words reflecting certain aspects of the course's readings and lecture materials (full details provided on individual prompts). These will not require any outside research.
3. **Take-home Final:** A take-home final exam will be posted to Gauchospace by 5pm on September 8. The final will be due to Gauchospace by 11:59pm on September 11. The

exam format will be similar to the response papers but may involve additional final specific readings. Additional details will be provided in class. Exams submitted after 11:59pm on September 11 will receive a 0.

4. **Participation:** in lieu of discussion sections, participation will be graded as follows:
- There will be “live” lectures held on every day of the course, save the following dates: August 10, August 24, September 1, and September 6. You can receive full participation points for these live session in two ways.
 - Attend the live sessions, answering Zoom polls when applicable.
 - Watch recordings of these live sessions and answer applicable Zoom polls on a Gauchospace forum. Zoom poll responses must be uploaded within one week of the “live” lecture date.
 - On August 10, August 24, and September 1, a pre-recorded “review” lecture will be posted to Gauchospace. These review lectures will cover material that is directly related to the response paper. You can receive full participation points for these review lectures simply by watching them within a week of their posting date.
 - Zoom poll responses posted to Gauchospace more than a week after the corresponding lecture’s posting date will receive a 0.

All assignments are to be submitted on Gauchospace as a Word document. Please do not submit PDFs, as it makes it difficult for the instructor to provide you with constructive feedback.

Unless otherwise specified, assignments turned in after the listed time and date will be considered late and will lose on half-grade per day. This means an assignment that would have been an A+ if turned in on time would receive an A if turned in one day late, an A- if turned in two days late, a B+ if turned in three days late, and a B if turned in four days late. Assignments will receive a grade of 0 if turned in more than four days late. (Not worth it!) Any requests for extensions as a result of minor or major emergencies should be directed to the course TA in advance of the deadline, and will require documentation. Extension requests received after the deadline will not be considered.

Requests for re-grades should be directed to Prof. Hunnicutt within two weeks of an assignment’s due date. Please note that re-grades can result in your initial grade remaining the same, increasing, or decreasing.

Lecture and Reading Schedule

Lecture and readings may be subject to change, all announced at least one week in advance, and posted to Gauchospace on schedule. Lecture recording will be posted to Gauchospace immediately following the conclusion of live lecture. Readings will be posted by the end of the day each Friday for the following week. You should complete each week’s readings before attending section. I have tried to include a mix of audio, visual, and text-based class readings to keep things as dynamic as possible given the online course format.

As engagement with the readings will also be important for the course’s written assignments, I would encourage you to take basic notes as you go along. A tentative reading list is included below.

Lecture 1 (8/2): Introduction and Course Overview

- A Matter of Degrees Episode 1: “Give up your climate guilt”. Available online at: <https://www.degreespod.com/episodes/episode-01>
- Pew Research Center. “Many globally are as concerned about climate change as about the spread of infectious diseases.” Available online at: <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/10/16/many-globally-are-as-concerned-about-climate-change-as-about-the-s>

Lecture 2 (8/3): Environmental Problems as Political Problems

- Paul Steinberg and Stacy VanDeveer. 2012. “Comparative environmental politics in a global world.” Chapter 1 in Paul Steinberg and Stacy VanDeveer, eds. *Comparative Environmental Politics: Theory, Practice, Prospects*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. pp 3-28.

Lecture 3 (8/4): Environmental Politics as a Collective Action Problem

- Lecture delivered by Elinor Ostrom at Cornell University on 17 September 2009. “Collective Action and the Commons: What Have We Learned?” Available to watch online at: <http://www.cornell.edu/video/elinor-ostrom-collective-action-and-the-commons>
- Garrett Hardin. 1969. “The tragedy of the commons.” *Science*. 162(3859): 1243- 1248.
- Matto Mildenerger. “The tragedy of the Tragedy of the Commons.” *Scientific American* April 23, 2019.
- Southern Poverty Law Center. “Garrett Hardin.” Available online at: <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/garrett-hardin>

Lecture 4 (8/5): Environmental Politics as Distributive Conflict

- Sara Jerving, Katie Jennings, Masako Hirsch and Susanne Rust. 2015. “What Exxon knew about the Earth’s melting Arctic.” *LA Times* October 9; Katie Jennings, Dino Grandoni and Susanne Rust. 2015. “How Exxon went from leader to skeptic on climate change research.” *LA Times* October 23; Amy Lieberman and Susanne Rust. 2015. “Big Oil braced for global warming while it fought regulations.” *LA Times* December 31.
- Australian Broadcasting Corporation. 2006. “The Greenhouse Mafia.” Documentary available to watch online (apologies for poor quality): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MV05ZXFb6Y4>

Lecture 5 (8/9): Environmental Politics as Ideational Conflict

- James Scott. 1998. “Nature and space.” Chapter 1 in *Seeing Like a State*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Planet Money Episode 508: “A bet on the future of humanity”. Available online at: TBD

Lecture 6 (8/10): Environmental Problems as Political Problems, Review

- No readings; see Gauchospace for pre-recorded review lecture.

Lecture 7 (8/11): Power and Problem Definitions, part 1

- Sharon Harlan, David Pellow and J. Timmons Robert with Shannon Bell, William Holt and Joane Nagel. 2015. “Climate justice and inequality.” Chapter 5 in Riley Dunlap and Robert Brulle, eds. *Climate Change and Society*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- How to Save a Planet podcast episode. “Black lives matter and the climate.” Available online at: <https://gimletmedia.com/shows/howtosaveaplanet/39habgl>
- Tessum et al. 2019. “Inequity in consumption of goods and services adds to racial–ethnic disparities in air pollution exposure.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*
- Gaventa, J. (1982). *Power and powerlessness: Quiescence and rebellion in an Appalachian valley*. University of Illinois Press. (SKIM pp. 1-20)

Lecture 8 (8/12): Power and Problem Definitions, part 2

- Shares readings with previous lecture.

Lectures 9 (8/16): Comparative Origins of Environmentalism

- Miranda Schreurs. 2002. “The birth of environmental movements and programs.” Chapters 2 in *Environmental Politics in Japan, Germany, and the United States*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Nikayla Jefferson. 2019. “I saw what climate change hell looks like. Now I’m joining the Global Climate Strike. You should too.” *LA Times* 18 September.

Lecture 10 (8/17): Environmental Movements Across Countries

- John Dryzek et al. 2003. “Patterns of movement inclusion and exclusion in the four countries.” Chapter 2 in John Dryzek et al. *Green States and Social Movements: Environmentalism in the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany and Norway*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Three short online videos about the Pacific Climate Warriors group:
 - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vqixK_V1DS8
 - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QS193BRhDIY>
 - <https://vimeo.com/109360466>

Lecture 11 (8/18): Institutions and the Environment: Presidential v. Parliamentary Systems

- David Vogel. 1993. “Representing diffuse interests in environmental policymaking.” in R. Kent Weaver and Bert Rockman, eds. *Do Institutions Matter? Government Capabilities in the United States and Abroad*, pp 237-271.

Lecture 12 (8/19): Institutions and the Environment: Corporatism, Green Parties, and Pluralism

- Eric Nuemayer. 2003. “Are left-wing party strength and corporatism good for the environment? Evidence from panel analysis of air pollution in OECD countries.” *Ecological Economics*. 45(2): 203-220.

Lecture 13 (8/23): Comparative Origins of Environmentalism, Review

- No readings; see Gauchospace for pre-recorded review lecture.

Lecture 14 (8/24): Environmental Politics in Emerging Economies

- Leah Stokes, Amanda Giang, and Noelle Selin. 2016. “Splitting the South: Explaining China and India’s divergence in international environmental negotiations.” *Global Environmental Politics*.

Lecture 15 (8/25): Environmental Politics in Authoritarian Countries

- *Under the Dome*, a documentary film by Chinese journalist Chai Jing. Available to watch online with subtitles at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T6X2uwlQGQM>

Lecture 16 (8/26): Comparative Waste Policy

- John Wargo. 2009. *Green Intelligence: Creating Environments that Protect Human Health*. (excerpts from)
- Watch the documentary by Slawomir Grunberg. “Chelyabinsk: The Most Contaminated Spot on the Planet.” Available online at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LYmGCIg9O6Y>

Lecture 17 (8/30): Critical Environmental Justice

- The Jefferson Drill Documentary (25 minutes): <https://vimeo.com/133564846>
- Rob Nixon on “Slow Violence” (10 minutes): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z9bMuDp4Epg&ab_channel=DemocracyNow%21
- Pellow, D. N. (2017). *What is critical environmental justice?* John Wiley & Sons. (Chapter 1)

Lecture 18 (8/31): Comparative Energy Policy

- Johannes Urpelainen and Llewelyn Hughes. 2020. “Interests, institutions, and climate Policy: Explaining the choice of policy instruments for the energy sector.” *Environmental Science and Policy*.

Lecture 19 (9/1): Comparative Environmental Policy, Review

- No readings; see Gauchospace for pre-recorded review lecture.

Lecture 20 (9/2): The Resource Curse

- Michael Ross. 2015. “What Have We Learned about the Resource Curse?” *Annual Review of Political Science* 18: 239-259.

Lecture 21 (9/7): The Future of Environmental Politics/Review

- No readings!

Lecture 22 (9/8): The Environment and Violence

- Thomas Homer-Dixon. 1994. “Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict: Evidence from Cases.” *Environmental Security*. 19(1): 5-40.

Lecture 23 (9/9): Violence Against Environmentalists

- Global Witness. 2020. *Defending tomorrow: The climate crisis and threats against land and environmental defenders* London, UK.
- Susie Cagle. 2019. “‘Protesters as terrorists’: growing number of states turn anti- pipeline activism into a crime.” *The Guardian*

- Nathalie Butt et al. 2019. “The supply chain of violence.” *Nature Sustainability*.

Writing and formatting guidelines

Format

- * Response papers and the take-home final should be double-spaced and in 12-point type. Please make sure to number pages.
- * Page limits are firm; we will not read beyond the assigned length.
- * Use a common style format (i.e. APA, MLA, Chicago), in text citations (e.g. “(Author, Year)”) and a list of references at the end of the paper for all cited work. References do NOT count towards your page limit.

Style

Write for your reader and make your writing lively and interesting. That means:

- * Short, simple sentences are always better than long, complicated ones.
- * In nearly every case, the active voice is preferable to the passive voice.
- * Direct, concrete statements are better than vague, indirect statements.
- * Make your writing specific – who are 'they' and what are 'these'?
- * Write for an audience that consists of educated generalists who are unfamiliar with the topic, not for your TA or your professors. Along those lines, avoid jargon.
- * Take the time to write an outline and a draft in advance, so you have time to revise and edit. When you're editing, try reading your essay out loud. Eliminate unnecessary words.
- * Make your topic (first) sentences and your thesis to be as strong as possible. Your topic sentences are particularly important in your opening paragraph and conclusion. Put these sentences into the active voice. Write your thesis, and then edit it. And then edit it again. *Avoid dramatic writing and overuse of metaphors. Instead, provide evidence for your arguments (and cite it).
- * We strongly encourage you to use the CLAS Writing Lab and Writing Drop-In if needed.

Other

- * Submit your problem sets, memos and final paper via Gauchospace, and please submit a Word document, not a pdf.
- * Late problem sets/memos/papers lose one half-grade per day, zero after 4 days. We grant extensions only in documented emergencies and with advance notification.
- * Finally, be vigilant about plagiarism, as it is an extremely serious offense and quite easy to avoid. Whether you are quoting another author, or simply paraphrasing her ideas, you must cite the source. There are no exceptions, so when in doubt, cite the source. For guidance see: <http://judicialaffairs.sa.ucsb.edu/PDF/academicintegflyer.pdf>

Plagiarism and academic honesty.

UCSB defines plagiarism as “the use of another’s idea or words without proper attribution or credit.” It is a serious academic offense. For all assignments, and particularly problem sets, **you must on your own put the answer to the questions down on paper in your own words.** Plagiarism and other types of academic dishonesty will be reported to the Student Judicial Affairs Office for disciplinary action and will result in an automatic fail. If you are not sure what constitutes plagiarism, ask us! Also ask us for help if you’re struggling before you resort to such desperate measures.

Campus Resources

Disabled Students Program

Students with disabilities may request academic accommodations for exams online through the UCSB **Disabled Students Program** at <http://dsp.sa.ucsb.edu/>. Please make your requests for exam accommodations through the online system as early in the quarter as possible to ensure proper arrangement.

Managing your Health, Wellness and Stress

Undergrad courses are challenging. You're much more likely to understand the ideas and coding if you are eating well, sleeping well and taking care of your health and wellness. Keep in mind there are a lot of resources on campus that you can and should use! Everyone at UCSB wants you to succeed, so please use these resources when you need them. There is a food bank on campus for students who need extra support to get healthy food: <https://foodbank.as.ucsb.edu/>. There is also a counseling service on campus, CAPS: <http://caps.sa.ucsb.edu/>. Some reasons you might use CAPS include personal concerns such as stress, anxiety, relationships, depression, cultural differences, all of which interfere with your ability to succeed and thrive. There is also a sexual violence support center: <http://sexualviolence.ucsb.edu/>. Seek out help when you need it and support your fellow students' health and wellness if they need help.

Zero Tolerance for Hate Incidents

Diversity is our strength and UCSB is a welcoming place for everyone. Hateful actions based on race, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, citizenship status, age, or disability are not acceptable. In the event that a hate crime or incident does occur, please report it. Reports may be made anonymously. <http://judicialaffairs.sa.ucsb.edu/hate.aspx>.