

# Comparative and International Environmental Politics

Fall 2019 Syllabus

Prof. Matto Mildenberger  
mildenberger(at)polsci.ucsb.edu  
Office: Ellison Hall 3706  
Office hours: Thursdays 10:30 - 12:00, or by appointment.  
Class meeting time: Mondays 2:00 - 4:50, Ellison 3814.

## 1 Course Description

In this seminar, we will explore the global and comparative political economy of the environment. We will review an established literature on the environment in IR, and an emerging literature on the environment in comparative politics. Throughout, the seminar will emphasize critical reflection on the methods used by political science to study the environment. We will contrast existing theoretical approaches to the study of the environment with traditional IR and CP perspectives. Topics will include: public goods theory, collective action theory, international environmental negotiations, environmental scarcity and conflict, the role of international and domestic institutions in environmental policymaking, environmental interest groups, environmental policymaking in non-democracies, and comparative environmental behavior. Special attention will be paid to the political economy of climate change. Students who are not specializing in environmental politics will still find the seminar an opportunity for focused study of the interplay between domestic and international politics in a single issue domain.

As a graduate seminar, this course will also focus on research design, critically examining the standards of inference that have been used in environmental politics research. In both class discussion and written assignment, students will be expected to think critically about the ways in which environmental politics scholarship contributes to and engages core disciplinary debates.

## 2 Course and Contact Information

The syllabus, assignments, and other handouts will be all available from the course GauchoSpace site.

The best way to contact me is either to come to my office hours or to send me an e-mail.

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.

### 3 Requirements

- Six response papers (10% each): 60%.
- Take-Home Final: 15%.
- Research Topic Proposal 10%
- Class participation: 15%

#### Response papers

This course places an emphasis on response papers. Every student is responsible for preparing six response papers (1-2 pages single spaced each) by the end of Week 9. A response paper contrasts at least 2 of the week's readings, pointing to theoretical and empirical points of convergence and divergence. It comments on the quality of the inferences made by the readings, and suggests places where the literature could be methodologically or theoretically improved. A response paper only *briefly* summarizes the readings (no more than one paragraph doing this!). Instead, it should be a critical commentary on research design and results: what are the study's independent and dependent variables? What is the inferential strategy used by the author? What are the theoretical assumptions that motivate the work? Are they justified? What do the results of one study suggest about the inference and assumptions that motivate the other study? What are the causal mechanisms underlying the research argument? Do the authors provide sufficient evidence to justify their claims? What are the weaknesses of their arguments? How might these weaknesses be addressed? What other literatures could be brought into dialog with these readings?

Students are responsible for sending me their response papers, in an anonymized form, no later than 5:00pm on Sunday. I will post these response papers to our Gauchospace site, and all students are expected to have read their peers' work before class.

#### Take-Home Final

A 24-hour open-book final will test your ability to critically engage with theory, methods, and assumptions. For this final you will read a research article that I provide and write a 1000 word mock peer review of this article.

We will discuss how to prepare a peer review in class.

#### Research Proposal

During the second half of the quarter, you will focus on developing a research project. A 2-3 page research proposal will be due on the last day of class. This proposal should 1) identify a clear empirical puzzle and 2) propose a research strategy for solving this puzzle.

A puzzle is an empirical fact or observation that cannot be easily explained by existing theories. Why did carbon taxes pass in Denmark but not Germany in the mid-1990s? Why have India and China's international environmental commitments diverged over the past half decade? Why is agriculture included in New Zealand's emissions trading scheme, but not in Australia's? To identify a puzzle, you should read broadly about a topic that interests you, both in the academic literature and in the popular press. You will quickly run into patterns that you cannot easily explain. Since this is a course grounded in CP and IR literatures, your puzzle should have a clear cross-national or international component. Not

all research questions are puzzles. A research question of the form “What is the role of international NGOs in shaping domestic climate policies” is *not* a puzzle. It is simply a theoretical question. Your term paper must be animated by a compelling puzzle.

Once you have identified your puzzle, you should articulate a research strategy to solve the puzzle. This strategy will include a review of relevant theory and literatures that speak to your puzzle, a research design to causally identify a puzzle answer, a data collection strategy that makes your research design tractable, and a preliminary plan for how you will analyze this data. Your paper proposal should identify a target journal, where your research paper could ideally be published once completed. You are welcome to come speak with me about choosing a topic and puzzle.

## 4 Required Reading Materials

Readings will be available for download through the UCSB library system or will be posted to Gauchospace.

While book chapters will be posted to Gauchospace, the following full books will not. Used copies of these books are available for reasonable prices on Amazon and other internet book sellers. If you plan ahead, you should be able to acquire copies through the library or through inter-library loans. Students with a long-term interest in environmental politics will benefit from adding these books to their personal research libraries.

Readings with a \* beside them are higher priority.

- Scott Barrett. 2006. *Environment and Statecraft*. Columbus, OH: Ohio University Press.
- Matthew Crenson. 1971. *The Unpolitics of Air Pollution*. Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins Press.
- John Dryzek et al. 2003. *Green States and Social Movements: Environmentalism in the United States, United Kingdom, Germany & Norway*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Maarten Hajer. 1997. *The Politics of Environmental Discourse*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Thomas Homer-Dixon. 1999. *Environmental Scarcity and Violent Conflict*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Elinor Ostrom. 1990. *Governing the Commons*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Lyle Scruggs. 2003. *Sustaining Abundance*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Young
- David Victor. 2011. *Global Warming Gridlock: Creating More Effective Strategies for Protecting the Planet*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Oran Young. 2002. *The Institutional Dimensions of Environmental Change: Fit, Interplay, and Scale*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

## 5 Seminar Reading Schedule

### Week 1: Comparative and International Perspectives on the Environment

- \* Lyle Scruggs. 2003. *Sustaining Abundance: Environmental Performance in Industrial Democracies*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Paul Steinberg and Stacy VanDeveer. 2012. "Bridging archipelagos: Connecting comparative politics and environmental politics." Chapter 2 in Paul Steinberg and Stacy VanDeveer, eds. *Comparative Environmental Politics: Theory, Practice, Prospects*.

### Week 2: Environment and Violence

- \* Thomas Homer-Dixon. 1999. *Environment, Scarcity, and Violence*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- \* Daniel Deudney. "Environmental Security: A Critique?" Chapter 8 in Daniel Deudney and Richard Matthew, eds. *Contested Grounds: Security and Conflict in the New Environmental Politics*., pp 187-223.
- \* Betsy Hartmann. "Will the Circle Be Unbroken? A Critique of the Project on Environment, Population and Security." Chapter 2 in Nancy Peluso and Michael Watts, eds., *Violent Environments*. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2001), pp. 39-62.
- Tobias Ide. "Why do conflicts over scarce renewable resources turn violent? A qualitative comparative analysis." *Global Environmental Change*. 33: 61-70.
- \* David Zhang et al. 2011. "The causality analysis of climate change and large-scale human crisis." *PNAS*. 108(42): 17296-17301.
- \* Halvard Buhaug. 2010. "Climate not to blame for African civil wars." *PNAS*.
- Nils Peter Gleditsch. 2012. "Whither the weather? Climate change and conflict." *Journal of Peace Research*. 49(1): 3-9.
- \* Solomon Hsiang, Kyle Meng, and Mark Cane. 2011. "Civil conflicts are associated with the global climate." *Nature*. 476: 438-441.
- \* Solomon Hsiang and Kyle Meng. 2014. "Reconciling disagreement over climate-conflict results in Africa." *PNAS*. 111(6): 2100-2103.
- Peter Gleick. 2014. "Water, drought, climate change, and conflict in Syria." *Weather, Climate and Society*. 6(3): 331-340.

### Week 3: International Environmental Regimes

- \* Scott Barrett. 2006. *Environment and Statecraft*. Columbus, OH: Ohio University Press.
- \* Excerpts from Manjana Milkoreit. 2019. *Mindmade Politics*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

- \* David Victor. 2011. *Global Warming Gridlock: Creating More Effective Strategies for Protecting the Planet*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Oran Young. 2001. "Inferences and indices: Evaluating the effectiveness of international environmental regimes." *Global Environmental Politics*. 1:1, 99-121.
- \* Jon Hovi, Detlef Sprinz, and Arild Underdal. 2003. "The Oslo-Potsdam solution to measuring regime effectiveness: Critique, response and the road ahead." *Global Environmental Politics*. 3:3, 74-93.
- \* Oran Young. 2003. "Determining regime effectiveness: A commentary on the Oslo-Potsdam solution." *Global Environmental Politics*. 3:3, 97-104.
- \* Jon Hovi, Detlef Sprinz, and Arild Underdal. 2003. "Regime effectiveness and the Oslo-Potsdam solution: A rejoinder to Oran Young," *Global Environmental Politics*. 3:3, 105-107.
- Ronald B. Mitchell. 2010. "Negotiating solutions to international environmental problems." Chapter 5 in *International Politics and the Environment*. London: Sage Publications

#### **Week 4: Global Environmental Governance**

- \* Haas PM. 1992. "Introduction: Epistemic communities and international policy coordination" *International Organization* 46:1-35.
- Oran Young. 2002. *The Institutional Dimensions of Environmental Change: Fit, Interplay, and Scale*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Paul Wapner. 1995. "Politics beyond the state: Environmental activism and world civic politics." *World Politics* 47(3): 311-340.
- \* Benjamin Cashore, Graeme Auld, and Deanna Newsom. 2003. *Governing Through Markets: Forest Certification and the Emergence of Non-State Authority*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Michelle Betsill and Harriet Bulkeley. 2006. "Cities and the multilevel governance of global climate change." *Global Governance*. 12(2): 141-159.
- Adil Najam. 2003. "The case against a new international environmental organization." *Global Governance*. 9: 367-384.
- Matthew Paterson, David Humphreys, and Lloyd Pettiford. 2003. "Conceptualizing global environmental governance: From interstate regimes to counter-hegemonic struggles." *Global Environmental Politics*. 3(2): 1-10.

#### **Week 5: Environment and Institutions**

- \* Matthew Crenson. 1971. *The Unpolitics of Air Pollution*. Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins Press.
- \* Elinor Ostrom. 1990. *Governing the Commons*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- Wallace Oates and Paul Portney. 2003. “The political economy of environmental policy.” Chapter 8 in KG Maler and JR Vincent, eds. *The Handbook of Environmental Economics*. Elsevier, pp. 325-354.
- \* David Vogel. 1993. “Representing diffuse interests in environmental policymaking.” In: R. Kent Weaver and Bert Rockman (eds.) *Do Institutions Matter?*. 237-271.
- \* Philip Lipsky. 2020. *The Institutional Politics of Energy and Climate Change*. Introduction to book manuscript.
- \* Finegan, Jared. 2019. “Institutions, climate change, and the foundations of long-term policymaking.” Grantham Institute Working Paper.
- Janne Hukinen. 1995. “Corporatism as an impediment to ecological sustenance: the case of Finnish waste management.” *Ecological Economics*. 15(1): 59-75.
- 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.
- Michele Battig and Thomas Bernauer. “National institutions and global public goods: Are democracies more cooperative in climate change policy?” *International Organization*. 63(2): 281-308.

## Week 6: The Role of Ideology

- Steven Bernstein. 2001. *The Compromise of Liberal Environmentalism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- \* Maarten Hajer. 1997. *The Politics of Environmental Discourse*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- \* Kari Norgaard. 2011. *Living in Denial: Climate Change, Emotions, and Everyday Life*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Bruce Tranter and Kate Booth. 2015. “Scepticism in a changing climate: A cross-national study.” *Global Environmental Change*. 33: 154-164.
- \* James Scott. 1998. “Nature and space.” Chapter 1 in *Seeing Like a State*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Sheila Jasanoff. 2000. “Technological risk and cultures of rationality.” Chapter 4 in *Incorporating Science, Economics and Sociology in Developing Sanitary and Phytosanitary Standards in International Trade: Proceedings of a Conference*. Washington, DC: National Research Council. 65-84.

## Week 7: Environmental Politics in Advanced Industrial Democracies

- \* Matto Mildemberger. 2020. *Carbon Captured: How Business and Labor Control Climate Politics*. Excerpts.
- \* O’Neill, Kate. 2000. *Waste Trading among Rich Nations: Building a New Theory of Environmental Regulation*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

- Anne Gullberg. 2008. “Lobbying friends and foes in climate policy: The case of business and environmental interest groups in the European Union.” *Energy Policy*. 36(8): 2964-2972.
- Kathryn Harrison. 2010. “The comparative politics of carbon taxation.” *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*. 6: 507-529.
- Carsten Daugbjerg and Anders Branth Pedersen. “New policy ideas and old policy networks: Implementing green taxation in Scandinavia.” *Journal of Public Policy*. 24(2): 219-249.
- Lennart Lundqvist. 1980. *The Hare and the Tortoise: Clean Air Policies in the United States and Sweden*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- \* David Vogel. 2003. “The hare and the tortoise revisited : The new politics of consumer and environmental regulation in Europe.” *British Journal of Political Science*. 33(4): 557-580.
- \* Johannes Urpelainen and Llewelyn Hughes. 2016. “Interests, institutions, and climate Policy: Explaining the choice of policy instruments for the energy sector.” Forthcoming in *Environmental Science and Policy*.

## **Week 8: Environmental Politics in Emerging Economies and Authoritarian Systems**

- \* Kathryn Hochstetler, Kathryn Sikkink and Margaret E. Keck. 2007. *Greening Brazil: Environmental Activism in State and Society*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Michael Aklin and Johannes Urpelainen. 2014. “The global spread of environmental ministries: Domestic-international interactions.” *International Studies Quarterly*. 58(4): 764-780.
- Paul Steinberg. 2010. “Comparative environmental politics: Beyond an enclave approach?” *Review of Policy Research*. 27(1): 95-101.
- \* Paul Steinberg. 2003. “Understanding policy change in developing countries: The spheres of influence framework.” *Global Environmental Politics*. 3(1): 11-32.
- \* Weinthal, Erika. 2002. *State Making and Environmental Cooperation: Linking Domestic and International Politics in Central Asia*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Elizabeth Economy. 2010. *The River Runs Black: The Environmental Challenge to China's Future*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Books.
- Bruce Gilley. 2012. “Authoritarian environmentalism and China’s response to climate change.” *Environmental Politics*. 21(2): 287-307.
- \* Shiran Shen. 2019. “The political pollution cycle”. Working paper
- \* Kale, Sunila, Dubash, Navroz, and Bharvirkar, Ranjit. 2018. “Introduction: A framework for mapping power.” in *Mapping Power: The Political Economy of Electricity in India's States*. Oxford University Press.

## Week 9: Comparative Origins of Environmental Movements

- \* Excerpt from Dominick, Raymond. 1992. *The Environmental Movement in Germany*. Indiana University.
- \* Charles Clossmann. "Legalizing a *Volksgemeinschaft*: Nazi Germany's Reich Nature Protection Law of 1935. in: *How Green Were the Nazis? Nature, Environment and Nation in the Third Reich*. FJ Bruggemeier, M Cioc and T Zeller, eds. Columbus, OH: Ohio University Press. pp 18-42.
- Frank Uekotter. "Polycentrism in full swing: Air pollution control in Nazi Germany." in: *How Green Were the Nazis? Nature, Environment and Nation in the Third Reich*. FJ Bruggemeier, M Cioc and T Zeller, eds. Columbus, OH: Ohio University Press. pp 101-128.
- Thomas Dunlap. *Nature and the English Diaspora*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- \* Miranda Schreurs. 2002. "The birth if environmental movements and programs." Chapter 2 in: *Environmental Politics in Japan, Germany, and the United States*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- \* Excerpts from Sterling Evans. 1999. *The Green Republic: A Conservation History of Costa Rica* Austin: University of Texas Press.

## Week 10: Environmental Advocacy and Mobilization

- \*John Dryzek et al. 2003. *Green States and Social Movements: Environmentalism in the United States, United Kingdom, Germany & Norway*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Corell, E., and M. Betsill. 2001. "A Comparative Look at NGO Influence in International Environmental Negotiations: Desertification and Climate Change?" *Global Environmental Politics* 1(4):86-107.
- \*Miranda Schreurs . 2002. "The institutionalization of environmental movements." 3 in: *Environmental Politics in Japan, Germany, and the United States*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Kate O'Neill. 2012. "The comparative study of environmental movements." Chapter 5 in Paul Steinberg and Stacy VanDeveer, eds. *Comparative Environmental Politics: Theory, Practice, Prospects*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. pp 115-142.
- \* Excerpt from Simonian, Lane. 1995. *Defending the Land of the Jaguar*. University of Texas Austin.