

V3212y: Environmental Politics

Course description: The political setting in which environmental policymaking occurs. The course will focus on policymaking in the United States at the national and state levels, with some comparative examples. Topics include the role of the president, Congress and the courts; impact of federalism; pollution control and iron triangle politics; fossil fuel and alternative energy subsidy and regulatory politics; climate change and issue networks, and transnational environmental issues and the negotiation of international policy regimes.

Learning Objectives: (a) understanding of resources used by political actors to substitute interests for either economically or scientifically defined environmental policy; (b) developing research skills to understand the role of political actors in a specific environmental policy domain; (c) preparing a research memorandum to a political actor to influence a specific environmental policy, and through this exercise (d) demonstrating understanding about the political factors that shape environmental policymaking.

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 satisfies Part C, Decision-making Foundation, in the Environmental Policy major. (Columbia students): This course satisfies course requirements for Columbia College and General Studies students. (Consult your departmental representative on major requirements.)

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 12-18 pages (300 words per page), on assigned topics based on readings and lectures. The final paper (12-18 pages) will involve political analysis for a “client” (an environmental policy organization or trade group) and will involve one of the policy areas studied in the course. It will require additional readings developed in consultation with the instructor. The first take-home essays counts for 25 percent of the grade, the second take-home for 50 percent, and the final paper counts for 25 percent.

Class discussion: does not count toward the grade. As this is a large lecture class, you should restrict yourself to one or two questions per lecture to allow for wide participation.

Special Accommodations: Students in need of special accommodations involving health or learning disabilities should see me during office hours or by appointment.

Course Readings: The textbooks are Norman Vig and Michael Kraft, ed. *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century* Washington DC: CQ Press 2009 (eighth edition 2013), or the seventh edition 2009; Walter A. Rosenbaum, *Environmental Politics and Policy*, 8th Edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2011, or the seventh edition, 2008. Readings are available at the Barnard and Butler reserve rooms and some may be available at Book Culture. They are widely available at on-line sites. Some will be distributed via e-mail. Some chapters will be on my office door (408 Lehman Hall, Barnard Library).

Contact Information: Office Hours: Mon 3:00 – 4: 00, Wed. 6:00 – 7:00 at 408 Lehman Hall and by appointment. E-mail: rpious@barnard.edu. (Do not leave messages on my office telephone as I check it very infrequently.)

Topics and Readings (due on date indicated)

I. The Institutions of Governance

January 23 Political Power and its Relationship to Environmental Policymaking

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* Ch. 1: Environmental Policy Over Four Decades (seventh or eighth edition).

Jane A. Leggett, "Climate Change: Conceptual Approaches and Policy Tools," Congressional Research Service, August 29, 2011. (e-mail to class)

January 28 Corporatism, Private Power and Interest Groups

Norman Vig and Michael Kraft, ed. *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century* Press and Mazmanian, Ch. 10: Toward Sustainable Production (seventh or eighth edition).

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. 3: Business, Elections and the Environment. ch. 6: Businesses and the Environment: Influencing Agency Policymaking. E-Book

"Lewis Powell Memorandum to Chamber of Commerce" (e-mail to class)

Heinz Center and Ceres, "Resilient Coasts: a Blueprint for Action" (e-mail to class)

January 30 Federalism and Decentralization

Norman Vig and Michael Kraft, ed. *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century* Washington DC CQ Press 2005, Barry Rabe, ch. 2: Racing to the Top . . . " (seventh or eighth edition)

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. 10: Business Influence in State-Level Environmental Policy. E-Book

February 4 Presidential Politics

Norman Vig and Michael Kraft, ed. *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century* Norman Vig, Ch. 4: Presidential Power and Environmental Policy (seventh or eighth edition)

Walter Rosenbaum, *Environmental Politics and Policy*, Ch 3: Making Policy: Institutions pp. 65-73.

Tarla Rai Peterson, ed., *Green talk in the White House: The rhetorical Presidency Encounters Ecology*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004. Ch. 6: The (Re)Making of the Environmental President: Clinton/Gore and the Rhetoric of U.S. Environmental Politics, 1992-1996. Lehman GE 180 G75 2004. (Multiple copies will be placed on my office door, 408 Lehman Hall, Barnard Library building).

Byron Danes and Glen Sussman, *White House Politics and the Environment*, Conclusion: Comparing the Modern Presidents' Environmental Policies. (Access by going to Amazon.com. Go to "table of contents" in the "Look Inside" on far left side of web page. Then click on "Conclusion": almost all pages from the conclusion of the book are available as a preview.)

February 6 Congressional Politics

Norman Vig and Michael Kraft, ed. *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century*
Michael E. Kraft, Ch. 5: Environmental Policy in Congress (seventh or eighth edition).

Walter Rosenbaum, *Environmental Politics and Policy*, Ch 3: Making Policy: Institutions pp. 74-81

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. 5: Congress and Clean Air Policy (pp. 127-134) E-Book

First Midterm Essay Handed Out February 6, Covering Part I, Due February 18

February 11 Judicial Decision-making

Norman Vig and Michael Kraft, ed. *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century*
Rosemary O’Leary, Ch.6 “Environmental Policy in the Courts.” (seventh or eighth edition).

Walter Rosenbaum, *Environmental Politics and Policy*, Ch 3: Making Policy: Institutions pp. 97 - 108

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. 8: Business and Environmental Policy in the Federal Courts. E-Book

February 13 Citizen Participation

(required reading, but no lecture on this topic. Instead, continuation of Judicial Decision-making lecture)

Norman Vig and Michael Kraft, ed., *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century*,
Deborah Lynn Gruber, ch. 3: Past the Tipping Point? (seventh edition) or “ch. 3: High Hopes and Bitter Disappointment?” (eighth edition)

Matthew Nisbet, “Climate Change Advocacy” pp. 1 – 56. (e-mail to class)

II. Public Lands and Waters: Distributive Politics

First Midterm Covering Part I Due February 18 (papers are due via e-mail by 11 pm)

February 18 Public Lands

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

Norman Vig and Michael Kraft, ed., *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century*,
Mark Lubell and Brian Segee: ch 8: Conflict and Cooperation in Natural Resource Management” (eighth edition).

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. Lehman GE 185.U6 W47 1997. (Multiple copies will be placed on my office door, 408 Lehman Hall, Barnard Library building).

Ross Gorte, et. al., “*Federal Land Ownership: Overview and Data*” Congressional Research Service, February 8, 2012. (e-mail to class)

Adam Vann, “Energy Projects on Federal Lands: Leasing and Authorization” Congressional Research Service,” February 1, 2012. (e-mail to class)

February 20 National Parks and Forests

Norman Vig and Michael Kraft, ed., *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century*, Mark Lubell and Brian Segee: ch 8: Conflict and Cooperation in Natural Resource Management” (eighth edition).

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. (Multiple copies will be placed on my office door, 408 Lehman Hall, Barnard Library building).

February 25 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 2: Wetlands in the United States; Chapter 3: Wetlands Protection and Section 404. Lehman QH 76.G285 2000 ((Multiple copies will be placed on my office door, 408 Lehman Hall, Barnard Library building).

III. Pollution Control: Hard and Soft Regulatory Politics

February 27: 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. Lehman HD 205 .M36 1999

March 4: Industrial Waterway Pollution

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

Robert Esworthy, *Federal Pollution Control Laws: How are they Enforced?* Congressional Research Service, July 7, 2012 (e-mailed to class)

March 6 Industrial and Auto 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).

Norman Vig and Michael Kraft, ed., *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century*, Walter Rosenbaum, ch. 7: Science, Politics and Policy at the EPA (eighth edition)

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. 5: Congress and Clean Air Policy (pp. 134-139). E-Book

“Poisoned Place” National Public Radio data and chart, available at:
<http://www.npr.org/news/graphics/2011/10/toxic-air/#4.00/46.21/-86.76>

March 11-13: Big Coal, Strip Mining and Ash

Denise Scheberle. *Federalism and Environmental Policy*. Georgetown University Press, 2004. Lehman HC110.E5 5387 2004 Ch. 6 High Stakes, Small Wins, and Big Coal in the Surface Mining Program. (Multiple copies will be placed on my office door, 408 Lehman Hall, Barnard Library building).

Claudia Copeland, “*Mountaintop Mining: Background on Current Controversies*” Congressional Research Service, August 1, 2012. (e-mailed to class)

March 25-27: Big Oil: Pipelines and Offshore Drilling

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

Paul Parfomak, et. al., “*Keystone XL Pipeline Project: Key Issues*,” Congressional Research Service, May 9, 2012 (e-mail to class)

April 1-3: Natural Gas and Fracking

Mary Tiemann, “*Hydraulic Fracturing and Safe Drinking Water Act Issues*” Congressional Research Service, July 12, 2012. (e-mail to class)

“What the Frack?” *Scientific American* 2011 (e-mail to class)

Christopher Bateman, “A Colossal Fracking Mess,” *Vanity Fair* (e-mail to class)

<http://www.northernoil.com/drilling.php> (video showing fracking techniques)

Individual meetings scheduled for April 2,4,5 to discuss researching final papers.

April 8-10: Nuclear Power, Safety and Waste Disposal

Walter Rosenbaum, *Environmental Politics and Policy*. Ch. 8: Energy: Nuclear Dreams, Black Gold, and Vanishing Crude., pp. 260-272

Robert J. Duffy, *Nuclear Politics in America*, pp. 20-38, 103-122, 152-174, 213-233, Lehman Library, HD9698.U5 D76 1997 (Multiple copies will be placed on my office door, 408 Lehman Hall, Barnard Library building).

April 10 Second Midterm Covering II, III Handed Out, Due April 22

April 15: Solar Power and Fabrication Issues

Richard Campbell, “*China and the United States – a Comparison of Green Energy Programs and Policies*” Congressional Research Service, June 14, 2010 (e-mail to class)

Christopher Simon, *Alternative Energy: Political Economic and Social Feasibility*, Rowman and Littlefield, 2007. Ch. 5. Business HD 9502 U52 S344 2007 (Multiple copies will be placed on my office door, 408 Lehman Hall, Barnard Library building).

April 17: Wind Power

U.S. Department of Energy, "A National Offshore Wind Strategy: Creating an Offshore Wind Energy Industry in the United States, February 2011" (e-mail to class)

Christopher Simon, *Alternative Energy: Political Economic and Social Feasibility*, Rowman and Littlefield, 2007. Ch. 6. Business HD 9502 U52 S344 2007 (Multiple copies will be placed on my office door, 408 Lehman Hall, Barnard Library building).

April 22: Energy Conservation

Dianne Rahm, *Climate Change Policy in the United States* (McFarland, 2010), Ch. 8: Energy Efficiency, Conservation, Demand-Side Management, and Other Solutions (Multiple copies will be placed on my office door, 408 Lehman Hall, Barnard Library building).

Second Midterm Due April 24 (Papers are due via e-mail, 11 pm)

IV. Climate Change Politics

April 24, 29, May 1 - 6 Domestic and International Climate Change Politics

Norman Vig and Michael Kraft, ed. *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century* Washington DC CQ Press 2009, Ch. 12: Global Climate Change: Kyoto and Beyond (seventh edition) or ch. 12: Global Climate Change: Beyond Kyoto (eighth edition)

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

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. 4: Deep Freeze: How Business Has Shaped the Global Warming Debate in Congress. E-Book

Dianne Rahm, *Climate Change Politics in the United States*. (Jefferson: McFarland and Co., 2009) QC903.2U6R342010 Geoscience. (Copies of chapters assigned will be available at 408 Lehman Hall, Barnard Library Building)

Jane Leggett, Nicole Carter, "Rio +20: The United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development, June 2012," Congressional Research Service, June 18, 2012. (e-mail to class)

Google "New York Times What Could Disappear" for interactive maps on the impact of global warming and sea rise on major American cities in the next three centuries.

May 9 Final Course Assignment: Political Analysis for "Client Organization" Due

Papers should be e-mailed to rpious@barnard.edu by 11:00 pm on May 9. After the May 7 deadline, late papers are penalized 1 point per hour, up to five points per 24-hour cycle.

COURSE APPENDICES

Appendix A: Historical Background

(These are optional readings. You might find one or more useful to give you perspective on the policy area you choose to work on.)

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, 2010. 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.

Appendix C: Useful Websites

(These websites may provide information about environmental policies. Since they deal with policy and not politics, they are a starting point for the research and analysis you will be doing on the politics of environmental policymaking.)

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. Sign up to receive email newsletters about the latest research in the topic areas that are of interest to you.

EPA: Cleaning Up Our Land, Water and Air [pdf]

<http://www.epa.gov/cleanup/>

The Environmental Protection Agency has been cleaning up the nation's land, water and air for four decades, and there's still much work to be done. This homepage provides information about cleanups around the country, what citizens can do to help, and the EPA's long-term stewardship programs. On the homepage, visitors can use a clickable map to learn about cleanup information by EPA region or program. Moving on, visitors can also read about available cleanup grants and funding opportunities in different communities. The site also contains a glossary of EPA terms, and helpful cleanup publications, such as newsletters, "FedFacs" newsletters, and waste management documents that cover Native American reservations. The site is rounded out by an "Other Publications" area that covers brownfields and the latest work on Superfund sites.

Historical Oil Spill Information

http://response.restoration.noaa.gov/link_linktopic.php?RECORD_KEY%28linktopics%29=linktopic_id&linktopic_id%28linktopics%29=2

The Office of Response and Restoration (OR&R) is a part of NOAA's National Ocean Service, and provides scientific support to contain and manage ocean spills. This portion of their website contains information on historical oil spills, and provides visitors with links to dozens of oil spills that go back more than forty years, charts and graphs of statistics on the "number and location of oil spills, the amount of oil spilled, and the causes of the spills", and OR&R's photo database, which covers oil and chemical spills. The photo database, found at the bottom of the page, contains approximately 4,300 total photographs and can be browsed via the following thematic collections: "Coastal Restoration", "Regional Coastal Restoration" and "Spill Incidents". Clicking on a spill will provide visitors with Incident Response Documents, such as "Behavior of Oil", "Shoreline Types Impacted", and "Countermeasures/Mitigation", which includes applying dispersant, shoreline cleanup and skimming operations. The Behavior of Oil document includes details on who first reported the spill, what type of oil it is, the size of the slick and which direction it is headed. [KMG]

National Resources Inventory Map Room

<http://www.nrcs.usda.gov/technical/NRI/maps/>

The Natural Resources Conservation Service provides a range of documents and materials to stakeholders from the private sector, government agencies, journalists, and scholars. One of their projects is the National Resources Inventory (NRI), which produces maps and charts based on their surveys. On this site, visitors can look over these documents, which are divided into eleven different themes, including "Soil Erosion", "Wetlands", and "Land Capability". Each thematic area contains several dozen maps, and a brief description of what each map illustrates. Much of the data is static, and derived from historical data from the late 20th century, but that doesn't detract from their relevance or usability. The site is rounded out by a "Help" area, and information on some of their other resources.

Columbia Earth Institute

Center for Research on Environmental Decisions

<http://www.cred.columbia.edu/>

Appendix D: U.S. Government Agencies

Council on Environmental Quality

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/eop/ceq/>

Environmental Protection Agency

<http://www.epa.gov>

National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration

Environmental Information Services

www.esdim.noaa.gov

National Institute for Global Environmental Change

nigec.ucdavis.edu

US Global Change Research Program (CCSP)

<http://www.usgcrp.gov/usgcrp/default.php>

Appendix E: Films

Earth Days

Directed by Robert Stone

Earth Days looks back to the dawn and development of the modern environmental movement—from its post-war rustlings in the 1950s and the 1962 publication of Rachel Carson's incendiary bestseller *Silent Spring*, to the first wildly successful Earth Day celebration in 1970 and the subsequent firestorm of political action. This film is both a meditation on man's complex relationship with nature and an engaging history of the revolutionary achievements—and missed opportunities—of groundbreaking eco-activism.

Trailer: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QsdKxew6FM8>

Burning the Future: Coal in America

Directed by David Novack

Burning the Future: Coal in America examines the conflict between the coal industry and residents of West Virginia. Faced with toxic ground water and the obliteration of 1.4 million acres of mountains, the residents launch a fight to arouse the nation's help in protecting their mountains, saving their families, and preserving their way of life. But with every new coal-fired power plant proposed, their fight becomes harder.

Trailer: http://www.burningthefuture.org/page.asp?s=burningthefuture&content_id=14092

The Greening of Southie

Directed by Ian Cheney

The Greening of Southie is a feature documentary about Boston's first residential green building, and the men and women who set out to construct it. From wheatboard cabinetry to recycled steel, bamboo flooring to dual-flush toilets, The Macallen Building is something different—a leader in the emerging field of environmentally friendly design. But green building has its challenges, and the jobsite has its skeptics. And when things start to go wrong, a young developer has to keep the project from unraveling.

Trailer: <http://vimeo.com/3125436>

Appendix F: Reference Sources

Conservation Directory.

Washington, D.C. National Wildlife Federation, 1973-
S 920 .C64 - Butler
Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Environmental Change.
GE 10 .E536 2001g - Lehman Reference

Environmental Encyclopedia. 3rd ed. 2 vols.

There are several other encyclopedias in this same call number range in the Lehman Reference collection.

GE 10 .E58 2003g - Lehman Reference

Environmental Sustainability Index

Provides a measure of overall progress towards environmental sustainability, developed for 142 countries. The ESI permits cross-national comparisons of environmental progress in a systematic and quantitative fashion.

Guide to Sustainable Development and Environmental Policy.

HC 79 .E5 G85 2001 - Lehman Reference

Brief definitions and descriptions of issues, concepts, and terms.

International Encyclopedia of Environmental Politics.

GE 170 .I55 2002 - Lehman Reference

Kemp, David D.

The Environment Dictionary.

London ; New York : Routledge, 1998.

GE 10 .K45 1998 - Lehman Reference

The National Environmental Directory

A directory of more than 13,000 organizations in the United States concerned with environmental issues and environmental education.

The State of the Nation's Ecosystems

Includes sections on: National, Coasts and Oceans, Farmlands, Forests, Fresh Waters, Grasslands & Shrublands, Urban & Suburban Areas. Produced by the Heinz Center for Science, Economics and the Environment.

World Directory of Environmental Organizations. 6th ed.

SD 920 .W67 2001g - Lehman Reference

Appendix G: Our Future Earth?



