# Proceedings of the Policy Studies Organization

New Series, No. 21



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The Proceedings appear four times a year as an adjunct to all of the PSO journals and are among the most widely distributed sources in the policy world. All Proceedings are permanently available online at bitly.com/psoproceedings. Material for the Proceedings, including syllabi, meeting and professional announcements, scholarships and fellowships should be sent to the Proceedings editor, Daniel Gutierrez at dgutierrezs@ipsonet.org

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#### From the PSO President

Education in a Real Crisis

Education is always in crisis, but these days it is a real crisis of larger proportions than usual. Many public universities are discovering that they are inadvertently becoming private universities as legislatures continue to slash budgets. Online education promises to make deeper and deeper inroads on conventional classrooms. There are lots of questions and few answers.

A response, certainly not the only one but a significant one, is to pay more attention to the quality of the product. In publishing syllabi that we think are "spot on," the Policy Studies Organization is urging thoughtful consideration of curriculum. We don't think enough attention is going into policy curriculum redesign.

Out of many syllabi, the following ones for one reason or another struck us as useful. They also suggest possibilities for team teaching where one class at one university twins with another elsewhere and the two professors have a semester long dialogue with the shared syllabus as a focal point and some joint class activities.

As another helpmate, all the articles from all the PSO journals are currently being topically indexed and the index posted on our website at <a href="www.ipsonet.org/">www.ipsonet.org/</a> Along with other helpful information that can be use din the classroom. Please take a look. And if you have a syllabus that would interest the teaching community, do send it to us for consideration.

Paul J. Rich pauljrich@gmail.com



PSO Proceedings, No. 21

# Syllabi

The following syllabi were sent to us per our invitation to share them in our journals. We received more and they will be published in future Proceedings. As we hope these documents will be of use to the teaching of policy studies and curriculum development, we would like to encourage professors to send us their material for consideration. Contributions can be sent to Daniel Gutierrez at dgutierrezs@ipsonet.org

#### **Contents**

- I. Immigration Policy
  Jennifer Byrne, James Madison University
- II. Comparative Political Parties and Electoral Systems
  William Crotty, Northeastern University
- III. Climate Change: Politics & Policy
  David Downie, Fairfield University
- IV. Environmental Politics and Policy
  Michael Kraft, University of Wisconsin-Green Bay
- V. American Public Policy
  James R. Simmons, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh

## **US Immigration Policy**

Dr. Jennifer Byrne James Madison University

## 1. Course Description

"Understand that America is God's crucible, the great Melting Pot where all the races of Europe are melting and reforming! Germans and Frenchmen, Irishmen and Englishmen, Jews and Russians-into the crucible with you all...God is making the American." –Israel Zangwill, 1908

These famous words come from a play entitled "The Melting Pot" written during the peak of the first great wave of immigration to the United States, where immigrants from predominantly European countries made their way to this country in the largest numbers in its history. The movement of people across borders remains an important topic of discussion not just in the United States, but all across the world. Zangwill's play addresses some very important issues that we still grapple with today such as what does it mean to be an American? How should immigrants be incorporated into American society? In this course we will examine how conceptions of national identity, nativism, and assimilation influence public opinion towards immigrants and shape immigration policy in the United States. This is a special topics course that focuses on immigration *politics* as much as immigration policy. The course is divided thematically into three sections:

#### I: History of US Immigration Policy

We will begin by examining what America "looks" like today, and what America might look like in the near future, paying special attention to the demographics of the Shenandoah Valley. We will then examine immigration attitudes and policy from the first settlers up until present day, ending with a section on comprehensive immigration reform. This will enable us to understand how policy shapes the composition, magnitude, and flow of immigrants coming to the US, and envision what immigration policies we might expect to see in the future.

#### II. US Refugee and Asylee Policy

In the second part of the course, we will turn our attention to a specific aspect of US immigration policy, focusing on refugees and asylees. We will discuss how US policy regarding refugees and asylees has changes in response to major world events such as the Cold War and 9/11. We will deepen our understanding of these issues by examining case studies of Liberian refugees in Ghana, the resettlement of the lost boys of Sudan to the US, and the role of asylum officers in

the US. This section of the course is meant to give you a snapshot of the large scope of refugee and asylee issues around the world, and how these are intertwined with refugee and asylee policy in the US.

#### III. American National Identity

Finally, we will examine the normative content of American national identity including which components of American identity matter when and for whom. We will pay close to the role that "identity politics" plays in conditioning attitudes towards immigrants and policies concerned with immigration. To conclude, we will examine the infamous "Hispanic Challenge" posed by Huntington and briefly evaluate how the new immigrants are assimilating into the US and becoming Americans.

#### 2. Course Objectives

At the conclusion of this course it is expected that you will be able to identify and evaluate the following:

- 1) the reasons that immigration is such a controversial topic in the US
- 2) the current demographics of immigrants coming to the US
- 3) the existence of racially-based and exclusionary immigration policies in US history
- 4) the influence of public opinion on US immigration policy
- 5) how US immigration policy shapes the composition, magnitude of flow of immigrants
- 6) how US refugee and asylee policy is shaped by the current political environment
- 7) the existence and potential solutions to protracted refugee situations in Africa
- 8) the procedures of the US asylum process and meaning of well-founded fear
- 9) the differing conceptions of national identity that are prominent in the US
- 10)the tenets of the Hispanic Challenge and whether the evidence supports its claims

#### 3. Course Materials

#### **Required Text:**

**Ong Hing, Bill.** *Defining America Through Immigration Policy.* University of Temple Press, 2009.

#### **Online Readings:**

For each session, there is a series of articles that you will be required to read. The readings are due *before* class begins on the session that they are assigned in the syllabus.

#### Films:

In this class, we will be viewing several documentaries and films, which will carry the same weight as the required readings. All of the dates of these showings are clearly marked on the syllabus. If you must be absent on the day of a film, then it is your responsibility to rent the film and view it at home. A viewing guide will be handed out prior to the start of each film. It will consist of questions designed to tap your basic understanding of the characters and the plot of the film, and a critical thinking questions, which are designed to have you think about the message of the film and what it says about immigration policy and/or immigrants. After the viewing of each film, we will hold a class discussion, using the viewing guide as the foundation for each discussion. However, when discussion takes place you are expected to go beyond simply rehashing the content of the film, and actively reflect, engage, and challenge the material presented by the filmmaker. There will be assigned readings that coincide with each film, and you must have thoroughly completed these in order to be fully successful in film discussions. Lack of participation in film discussions will result in a deduction in the final participation score, which is explained under course requirements. Below is a list of films that we may view:

- 1. The Latino Underground
- 2. Prisoners Among Us or Gangs of New York (excerpts)
- 3. Hearts Suspended
- 4. Citizen USA
- 5. Liberia: An Uncivil War
- 6. God Grew Tired of Us
- 7. Well-Founded Fear

#### 4. Course Requirements

#### **GRADING:**

#### Attendance and Participation: 10%

This is, for the most part, a very learner-centered class. This means that while there will be some use of lecture, much of the material will be conveyed through the use of discussions, activities, simulations, and films. Thus, your coming to class fully

prepared to discuss the readings and engage in the concepts presented in the readings will make this class as a whole, as well as your own individual performance, the most successful. I will be posting questions on specific readings and topics that will be discussed in class online each week. Part of your participation grade will be determined by your contribution to these organized discussions, as well as in-class simulations and group activities. I reserve the right to give pop quizzes if participation is not up to par, and these quizzes will be factored into your final score.

Attendance is a prerequisite. You will not get an A or B range score for simply showing up to class. In short, attendance to class meetings is required, not optional, and will not be rewarded. However, failure to attend classes may result in penalties to the final grade.

## Absence Policy:

You are allowed two personal absences for any reason. After that, I will deduct 2.5% from your final grade. For example, if you received a 90%, but you missed four classes during the semester, you will receive an 85%. If you are absent for more than five classes, you may automatically be dropped from the course, or receive a failing grade. You are allowed excused absences that do not count against your two personal absences, but you must provide written documentation that accounts for your absence. Sending an email to me saying that you are sick, but that is not backed up with written documentation, will be counted as a personal absence. If there is a prolonged illness, emergency, or trauma that results in your prolonged absence, you must go through the University Ombudsmen, and have this office contact me in order to arrange make-up work or the possibility of an incomplete, if the situation warrants this.

#### How to Effectively Participate in Class:

Your final participation score is based on how effectively you participate in class. Here, I would like to give you a few helpful hints on how you can participate successfully. Effective participation does not mean just sitting down and going through the reading, or worse, skimming through it. Reading is an active, interactive, and reflective process. To really understand an article, it is usually necessary to read through it very carefully, taking notes, then sit down and reflect about its content. This will enable you to discuss the article with others during our class session. Reading means to engage yourself with the ideas of the text, not just memorize words on a page to spit back for an exam. What are the text's strengths and weaknesses? If you were going to tell someone else about the author's main point, how would you explain it? What political arguments/analyses are found in this text? How does this reading fit in with the other readings assigned for a particular topic?

While I recognize that some of the readings are long and complex, if you think of the readings as stories about immigration, and think of the characters as the individuals

(either migrants or natives), groups of people, or countries. What experiences have major impacts on the characters? For example, when reading statistics on the changing demographics in the US, you can think of the people of the US, both immigrants and natives, as the characters. Then you might want to ask yourself, "What does this mean for US elections if there are more Latinos that immigrate to the US in the next 25 years? How does this affect the likelihood that comprehensive immigration reform will be passed and what the bill might look like? How does this affect the experience of being a Latino immigrant in the US?" You will find that even statistics have a larger meaning and tell a story about how immigration impacts the US, and this is what makes these readings interesting and informative!

Once you have completed the readings (and remember, engaged with the text!), you will be asked to participate in class discussion, activities, and simulations. You will have many chances in class to ask questions and to comment on the material being presented. Besides simply critiquing the readings, you may want to talk about an aspect of the readings (or a particular reading) that really caught your attention. Perhaps you think that author has an outrageous stance on the issue...perhaps you see the relevance of the article to current political events....or you learned something from the article (or were challenged to think about something you already knew in a different way)...these are the types of comments that are welcomed in class. Comments that are not welcome and will result in deductions from your participation score are comments that are off-topic, opinions that are not substantiated, and comments that are rude or offensive to the class. If you make a statement such as "I liked" or "I disagreed with", be sure to substantiate your opinion. It is ok not to like or agree with something, BUT be sure that you can talk about why you dislike or disagree with something in an informed manner.

#### Exams: Midterm = 35%, Final Exam = 35%

The exams will test you over your knowledge of readings and in-class material. You will be primarily tested over vocabulary, concepts, and specific policies regarding immigration in the US, but will also be required to write a comprehensive essay that critically examines US immigration policy and/or theories about immigration. The format of the exams will be: *short answer, short essay, and comprehensive essay*.

The first exam will take place **Session 16.** 

The second exam will take place **Session 29**.

#### **Course Reflection Papers 10%:**

A reflection paper is a written representation of your experiences in the course (both in and outside of the classroom), and the learning outcomes of this experience. In a reflection paper, you are asked to give a description of your experience, to determine you're a priori thoughts and expectations before your learning experience, changes in your beliefs, perceptions or abilities prior to the experience,

and future applications of your experience in the course. Reflection papers should be composed of personally insightful descriptions as well as concrete examples of learning, rather than broad or cliché statements. A reflection paper can be in response a single event or a series of events. You will write a reflection about the culmination of your experiences in the classroom, following a three-part framework where you will explore 1) What you know you know (KK), 2) What you know you do not know (KDK), and 3) What you did not know that you did not know (DKDK) about immigration. You will find more specific guidelines on Blackboard, as well as a grading rubric for this assignment. The reflection paper is due **Session 23.** 

#### **Asylum Memorandum 10%:**

This paper allows you to play the role of asylum officer. You will be presented with the facts of a case and with transcripts of including mock interviews and testimony. It will then be incumbent upon you to make a decision about whether the person in question should receive asylum or be deferred to an immigration judge. As this deals with a legal decision, you will need to practice your analytical, argumentative, and critical thinking skills; you are assessing information, and making a choice that you must defend in this memorandum. This means that you must have an argument that is sustained through evidence and reasoning. I am not looking for a correct answer, but rather how well you can make your case. Remember- assertions and opinions do NOT count as evidence. Beyond presenting evidence, you must determine whether the evidence available justifies the conclusions that you are drawing from it and you may find that you are often questioning and evaluating your evidence. This legal memorandum should have a clear argument about whether asylum should be granted or not, and an analysis of the evidence that led to this result. The legal memo is due **Session 26.** Be prepared to present your findings in class!!

#### 5. Course Schedule

#### Introduction to Immigration

Session 1: Why Study Immigration?

- (1) Introduction to Course
- (2) USA Today: Costa Rica
  - 2: Demographics in the Shenandoah Valley and Regional South
- (1) Zarrugh, Laura, "The Latinization of Immigrants in the Central Shenandoah Valley" **online**
- (2) Washington Post: "Immigrant Workers Vital in Virginia," **online**.

- (3) "The New Latino South: The Context and Consequences of Rapid Population Growth," published by the Pew Hispanic Center. **online**
- (4) DHS, "Estimates of the Unauthorized Immigrant Population Living in the US: 2010," **online**
- (5) Documentary: *The Latino Underground*

#### Demographics

- 3: National Distributions and Trends
- (1) Documentary: CSPAN- The Hispanic Population
- (2) The United States of Education- Changing Demographics in the United States and in America's Schools, **online.** 
  - 4: Changing Demographics in the US
- (1) "The New American Electorate: The Growing Political Power of Immigrants and Their Children," published by the Immigration Policy Center. **online**
- (2) Congressional Research Service: America's Changing Demographic Profile, **online.**
- (3) Brookings Research Institute: Economic and Demographic Trends in Washington DC, **online**.
- (4) National Journal, "Will Changing Demographics Make America More Conservative?" **online**.

#### History of US Immigration Policy

- 5: Immigration in a New World & Defining Immigration Policy after 1787
- (1) Ong Hing, Chs. 1,2
- (2) DHS, "The Foreign-Born Population 2010," online.
  - 6: US Immigration Policy I: Immigration Policy 1820-1952
- (1) Ong, Hing, Chs. 3-5

#### US Immigration Policy II: Immigration Policy 1965-Present

- 7: US Immigration Policy 1965-1986
- (1) Ong-Hing, Ch. 6 (pp. 93-103)
- (2) DHS, "US Legal Permanent Residents: 2010," online

- 8: Reforms of the 1990s
- (1) Ong-Hing, Ch. 6 (pp. 103-111)
- (2) Ong-Hing, Ch. 7

#### <u>US Immigration Policy III – Non-Permanent Residents</u>

- 9: Temporary Visas
- (1) "US Immigration Policy in Global Perspective", published by the Immigration Policy Center, **online**
- (2) Testimony, US Chamber of Congress, online.
- (3) Southern Poverty Law Center, "Close to Slavery," online.
  - 10: Documentary: *Hearts Suspended*
- (1) Alarcon, Rafael, "Migrants of the Information Age: Indian and Mexican Engineers and Regional Development of the Silicon Valley," **online**
- (2) Washington Post Article: Immigrant v. Native Labor Trends, online
- (3) Borjas, "The New Economics of Immigration," online

#### US Immigration Policy IV- Alienage and Naturalization

- 11: Citizenship: What is it- How do I get it?
- (1) DiSipio, Luis, Chs. 3, *The New Americans*, **online**
- (2) Perspectives on Politics, online
  - 12: Panel with local immigrants
- (1) Come with Prepared Questions for Our Panel!

#### US Immigration Policy V: Illegal Immigration and Immigration Reform

- 13: The Politics of Immigration Reform
- (1) Ong, Hing, Ch. 9
- (2) Camorata, "Shifting Tides in Illegal Immigration," **online**
- (3) Wolgin and Garcia, "Changes in Mexico Impact US Immigration Policy," online
- (4) Schildkraut, "Border Fences, Amnesty Guest Worker Programs, Oh My!" online

- 14: Guest speaker from ICE
- (1) Ten Key Enforcement Changes under the Obama Administration, online.
- (2) Come With Prepared Questions for Our Speaker!!

#### Illegal Immigration and Immigration Reform, Continued

- 15: Immigration Challenges at the State Level
- (1) Washington Post, "Summary of State Ballot Initiatives," online
- (2) CNN, "Judge Weighs Arizona Immigration Law," online

#### 16: MIDTERM EXAM

#### **US Refugee and Asylee Policy I: Introduction**

- 17: History and Trends
- (1) The Onion, "Outdoor Music Grounds Mistaken for a Refugee Camp," online
  - 18: Introduction to Refugees and Protracted Refugee Situations
- (1) Crisp, "No Solution in Sight: The Problem of Protracted Refugee Situations in Africa." **online**
- (2) Dick, "Responding to Protracted Refugee Situations: A Case Study of Liberian Refugees in Ghana," **online**
- (3) Forced Migration Review, "Local Integration in West Africa," online

#### Case Study of Liberian Refugees

- 19: The Story of War in Liberia
- (1) Documentary: Liberia: An Uncivil War
  - 20: Discussion of Documentary
- (1) Dolo, "Charting a New Course in Liberian Education Policy," **online**
- (2) Byrne, "Should I Stay or Should I Go? National Identity and Attitudes Toward Local Integration Among Liberian Refugees in Ghana," **online**.
- (3) Omata, "Struggling to Find Solutions: Liberian Refugees in Ghana," **online**.

#### Refugee Resettlement

- 21: The Lost Boys of Sudan
- (1) Goodman, Janice H. "Coping with Trauma and Hardship Among Unaccompanied Refugee Youths from Sudan," **online**
- (2) Documentary: God Grew Tired of US
  - 22: Discussion of Documentary

## US Refugee and Immigration Policy II: Political Asylum

- 23: Nuts and Bolts of the Asylum Process
- (1) Ong Hing, Ch. 12
- (2) Keith and Holmes, "A Rare Examination of Typically Unobservable Factors in US Asylum Decisions, " **online**
- (3) Documentary: Well-Founded Fear
  - 24: Discussion of Documentary

#### **Political Asylum Simulation**

- 25: Discussion of Documentary/Simulation
- 26: Catch-up Day- Asylum Memos Due Today!!

#### The Content of American National Identity

- 27: A Brief Inquiry into the Content of American National Identity
- (1) Roshwald, "Kindred Blood, Mingled Blood: Ethnic and Civic Frameworks of National Identity," **online**
- (2) Schildkraut, "Defining American Identity in the Twenty-First Century: How Much "There" is There?" **online** 
  - 28: The Hispanic Challenge
- (1) Huntington, S., "The Hispanic Challenge," **online**
- (2) Alba, "Mexican-American Political and Economic Incorporation," online
- (3) Galindo and Vigil, "Are Anti-Immigrant Sentiments Racist or Nativist? Does it make a difference?" **online (recommended only!)**

## **Comparative Political Parties and Electoral Systems**

William Crotty Northeastern University

#### 1. Course Introduction:

The course will introduce political parties and the electoral system in the United States and other established democratic countries on a comparative basis. The readings and class discussions will introduce students to the fundamental questions and approaches to the study of political parties and their role in, and contribution to, democratic societies. The course will also acquaint students with basic readings in the area. Areas of concern include the functions of parties in a political system, who they represent, how they mobilize voters and influence policy, leadership selection, party evolution over time, differences among parties, and how electoral arrangements affect political outcomes. The focus is on party systems in advanced industrial democracies.

## 2. Course requirements:

The course will include:

- Assigned readings for each class. Students are required to have done the readings prior to the class meetings and come prepared to discuss these.
- A midterm and a final exam the midterm will cover all class lectures and discussion and all assigned readings. The final exam will cover the entire course.
- Each student will be required to read a total of four articles of his/her selection from the <a href="Handbook of Party Politics">Handbook of Party Politics</a>, eds. R. Katz and W. Crotty, to write a brief synopsis and critique of two of the four articles by the midterm quiz and the last two by the final exam. Two of the written critiques will be passed in by the midterm and the final two by the last class session. The students will also report in class on the articles as scheduled by the instructor.

Class attendance is mandatory.

## 3. Required Readings:

- Alan Ware. Political Parties and Party Systems
- Russell J. Dalton, <u>Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in</u>
   <u>Advanced Industrialized democracies</u>, 5<sup>th</sup> edition, Washington DC CQ
   <u>Press</u>, 2008

<u>Handbook of Party Politics</u>, R. Katz & W. Crotty, eds. (London: Sage 2006).

#### **Recommended Readings:**

- <u>Handbook of Party Politics</u>, R. Katz & W. Crotty, eds. (London: Sage 2006).
- E. E. Schattschneider. <u>The Semi-Sovereign People</u>
- Arend Lijphart, <u>Electoral Systems and Party Systems</u>
- Russell J. Dalton and Martin Wattenberg, eds., Parties Without Partisans
- Larry Diamond and Richard Gunther, eds., <u>Political Parties and Democracy</u>.

#### 4. Course Schedule:

## **Session Topic and Assignment**

## 1 The Study of Comparative Political Parties

Course Organization and Objectives Review of Requirements Introduction to Assigned Readings

Required Readings: Ware, "Introduction" Dalton, Ch 1

Recommended:

Richard S. Katz, "Party in Democratic Theory", Katz and Crotty John Kenneth White, "What is a political party?", Katz and Crotty

S. Scarrow, "The Nineteenth-Century Origins...", Katz and Crotty

## 2 Parties, Ideology and Supporters

Required:

Ware, Chs. 1,2

Recommended:

F. Vassallo and C. Wilcox, "Party as Carrier of Ideas", Katz and Crotty

M. Hershey, "Political Parties as Mechanisms of Social Choice", Katz and Crotty

## 3 Party Organization and Non-Liberal Regimes

Required:

Ware, Chs. 3, 4

Recommended:

W. Crotty "Party Origin and Evolution in the United States", Katz and Crotty

K. Deschouwer, "Political Parties as Multi-Level Organizations", Katz and Crotty

## 4 Party Systems

Required:

Ware, Chs. 5, 6

Recommended:

S. Wolinetz, "Party Systems...", Katz and Crotty

J. Johnson, "Political Parties and Deliberative Democracy?", Katz and Crotty

## 5 Party Change and Non-Liberal States

Required:

Ware, Chs. 7, 8

Recommended:

P. Mair, "Party System Change", Katz and Crotty

## 6 Candidate Selection and Campaigns

Required Readings:

Ware, Ch s. 9, 10

Recommended:

R. Hazan and G. Rahat, "Candidate Selection....", Katz and Crotty

P. Norris, "Recruitment", Katz and Crotty

## 7 Party Voting and Party-in-Government

Required:

Ware, Chs. 11, 12

Recommended:

H. Keman, "Parties and Government....", Katz and Crotty

L. De Winter and P. Dumont, "Parties Into Government....", Katz and Crotty

## 8 Overseeing Party Systems / Midterm Quiz

Required:

Ware: "Conclusions"

Recommended:

V. Randall, "Political Parties Structure....", Katz and Crotty

T. Poguntke, "Political Parties and Other Organizations, " Katz and Crotty

There will be a one-hour quiz covering all materials in class and required readings followed by an in-class review of the quiz.

## 9 Mass Beliefs and Political Participation

Required:

Dalton, Chs. 2, 3

Recommended:

S. Mainwaring and M. Torcal, "Party System Institutionalization...", Katz and Crotty

A. Krouwel, "Party Models", Katz and Crotty

## 10 Who Participates and Political Orientations

Required:

Dalton, Chs. 4, 5

Recommended:

A. Ware, "American Exceptionalism", Katz and Crotty

N. Rae, "Exceptionalism in the United States", Katz and Crotty

J. Endersby et. al., "Electoral Mobilization", Katz and Crotty

## 11 Issues, Ideology and Elections

Required:

Dalton, Chs. 6, 7

Recommended:

E. Uslaner, "Political Parties and Social Capital...", Katz and Crotty

J. Hopkin, "Clientelism....", Katz and Crotty

D. Dulio, "Party Crashers?...,", Katz and Crotty

## 12 Social Context of Party Support and Partisanship

Required:

Dalton, Chs. 8, 9

Recommended:

H. Kitschelt, "Movement Parties", Katz and Crotty

P. Siavelis, "Party and Social Structure", Katz and Crotty

#### 13 Attitudes and Political Representation

Required:

Dalton, Chs. 10, 11

Recommended:

I. Budge, "Identifying Dimensions...", Katz and Crotty

P. Mair, "Cleavages", Katz and Crotty

# 14 Course Conclusion: Parties, Citizens and the Democratic Process

Review for Final Exam -- to cover all course materials, lectures, discussions, required readings and recommended readings read during semester

Required:

Dalton, Ch. 12

Recommended:

K. Lawson, "The International Role...", Katz and Crotty

H. Semetko, "Parties in the Media Age", Katz and Crotty

H. Margetts, "Cyber Parties", Katz and Crotty

#### **15** Final Exam

## 5. Recommended Readings

Richard Katz and William Crotty, eds., <u>Handbook on Party Politics</u>. London: Sage, 2007. (See books recommended in this volume to review)

Leon Epstein, <u>Political Parties in Western Democracies</u>. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967.

Russell Dalton, Scott Flanagan, and Paul Allen Beck, <u>Electoral Change in Advanced</u> Industrial Democracies.

Maurice Duverger, Political Parties.

Robert Harmel and Kenneth Janda, Parties and their Environments.

Samuel P. Huntington, <u>The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century</u>.

Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Richard Hofferbert, and Ian Budge, <u>Parties, Policies and</u> Democracy.

Joseph LaPalombra and Myron Weiner, Political Parties and Political Development.

Kay Lawson and Peter Merkl, <u>When Parties Fail: Emerging Alternative Organizations</u>.

Arend Lijphart, Patterns of Democracy.

Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan, Party Systems and Voter Alignments.

Sigmund Neumann, Modern Political Parties.

G. Bingham Powell Jr., Contemporary Democracies.

John Aldrich, <u>Why Parties? The Origin and Transformation of Political Parties in</u> America.

Stefano Bartolini, The Political Mobilization of the European Left.

Klaus von Beyme, 'Partei, Faktion," in Otto Brunner, et al., <u>Geschichtliche</u> Grundbegriffe.

Andrew Carstairs, A Short History of Electoral Systems in Western Europe.

Gary Cox, The Efficient Secret.

Anthony Downs, An Economic Theory of Democracy.

Jesse Macy, Party Organization and Machinery.

Robert Michels, Political Parties.

Moisei Ostrogorski, Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties.

Austin Ranney, The Doctrine of Responsible Party Government.

Giovanni Sartori, Parties and Party Systems.

Angus Campbell, Phillip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, <u>The American Voter</u>.

William Nesbit Chambers, <u>Political Parties in a New Nation: The American Experience 1776-1809</u>.

Richard Hofstadter, The Idea of a Party System.

Alexander Keyssar, <u>The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the</u> United States.

Everett Carll Ladd Jr., <u>American Political Parties: Social Change and Political Response</u>.

Warren E. Miller, Without Consent: Mass Party Linkages in Presidential Politics.

Warren E. Miller and M. Kent Jennings, <u>Parties in Transition: A Longitudinal Study of</u> Party Elites and Party Supporters.

John Kenneth White and Daniel M. Shea, <u>New Party Politics: From Jefferson and Hamilton to the Information Age</u>.

Gabriel Almond and James S. Coleman, The Politics of the Developing Areas.

American Political Science Association, Committee on Political Parties, <u>Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System: A Report.</u>

Jean Blondel, "Party Systems and Patterns of Government in Western Democracies", in Canadian Journal of Political Science, 1: 180-203.

Walter Dean Burnham, <u>Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics</u>. Gary W. Cox, <u>Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral</u> Systems.

V.O. Key Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation.

M. Laakso and R. Taagepera, "Effective number of parties: A measure with application to West Europe", Comparative Political Studies, 12: 3-27.

Jan-Erik Lane and Svante O. Ersson, <u>Politics and Society in Western Europe</u>.

Arend Lijphart, "Typologies of Political Systems", <u>Comparative Political Studies</u>, 1: 3-44.

Arend Lijphart, <u>The Politics of Accommodation: Pluralism and Democracy in the Netherlands</u>.

Arend Lijphart, Democracy in Plural Societies.

Arend Lijphart, "The relative salience of the socio-economic and religious issue dimensions: Coalition formation in ten western democracies, 1919-1979", European Journal of Political Research, 10: 201-11.

Scott P. Mainwaring, <u>Rethinking Party Systems in the Third Wave of</u> Democratization.

Peter Mair, "Party systems and structures of competition" in Lawrence LeDuc, Richard G. Niemi, and Pippa Norris, eds., <u>Comparing Democracies: Elections and Voting in Global Perspective</u>.

Peter Mair, "Comparing Party Systems" in Lawrence LeDuc, Richard G. Niemi, and Pippa Norris, eds., <u>Comparing Democracies 2: New Challenges in the Study of Elections and Voting</u>.

Bingham G. Powell, <u>Contemporary Democracies: Participation, Stability and Violence.</u>

Douglas Rae, The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws.

Douglas Rae and Michael Taylor, The Analysis of Political Cleavages.

Stein Rokkan, <u>Citizens</u>, <u>Elections</u>, <u>Parties</u>: <u>Approaches to the Comparative Study of</u> Political Development.

Giovanni Sartori, "European political parties: The case of Polarized pluralism", in Joseph LaPalombara and Myron Weiner, eds., <u>Political Parties and Political Development</u>.

Giovanni Sartori, Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis.

Alan Siaroff, <u>Comparative European Party Systems: An Analysis of Parliamentary</u> Elections since 1945.

James L. Sundquist, <u>Dynamics of the Party Systems: Alignment and Realignment of</u> Political Parties in the United States.

Rein Taagepera and Matthew Soberg Shugart, <u>Seats and Votes: The Effects and Determinants of Electoral Systems</u>.

Alan Ware, Political Parties and Party Systems.

Matthijs Bogaards, "Counting parties and identifying dominant party systems in Africa", European Journal of Political Research, 43(2): 173-97.

Giovanni Capoccia, "Anti-system parties: A conceptual reassessment", Journal of Theoretical Politics, 14(1): 9-35.

Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair, "Changing models of party organization and party democracy: The emergence of the cartel party", Party Politics, 1(1): 5-28.

Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair, "The ascendancy of the party in public office: Party organizational change in twentieth-century democracies", in Richard Gunther, Jose Ramon Montero and Juan J. Linz, eds., <u>Political Parties. Old Concepts and New Challenges</u>.

Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully, eds., <u>Building Democratic Institutions:</u> Party Systems in Latin America.

Peter Mair, "The autonomy of the political: The development of the Irish party system," Comparative Politics, 11(4): 445-65.

Peter Mair, Party System Change: Approaches and Interpretations.

Peter Mair, "In the aggregate: Mass electoral behaviour in Western Europe, 1950-2000", in Hans Keman, ed., <u>Comparative Democratic Politics</u>.

Peter Mair, "Political parties and democracy: What sort of future?", Central European Political Science Review, 4(13): 6-20.

Ian Budge and Hans Keman, <u>Parties and Democracy: Coalition Formation and Government Function in Twenty States</u>.

Michael Lewis-Beck, Economics and Elections: The Major Western Democracies.

Gerald M. Pomper, <u>Passions and Interests: Political Party Concepts of American Democracy.</u>

Thomas Ferguson, <u>Golden Rule: The Investment Theory of Party Competition and the Logic of Money-Driven Political Systems</u>.

Thomas Ferguson, <u>Right Turn: The Decline of the Democrats and the Future of</u> American Politics.

Martin P. Wattenberg, <u>The Rise of Candidate-Centered Politics</u>.

Joseph A. Schlesinger, Political Parties and Winning of Office.

Steven J. Rosenstone and John Mark Hansen, <u>Mobilization</u>, <u>Participation</u>, <u>and Democracy in America</u>.

Michael Laver and W. Ben Hunt, <u>Policy and Party Competition</u>.

S. M. Milkis, The President and the Parties.

M. Seligson and J. Booth, eds., Elections and Democracy in Central America Revisited.

- M. Weiner and E. Ozbudun, <u>Competitive Elections in Developing Countries</u>.
- D. Bennett, The Party of Fear.

Theodore Low, The End of the Republican Era.

B. Grofman and A. Lijphart, eds., Electoral Laws and Their Political Consequences.

## **Climate Change: Politics & Policy**

David Downie Fairfield University

#### 1. Course Overview

This course examines key political, policy, economic, and scientific issues surrounding global climate change. Topics include: the causes and impacts of climate change; the politics of climate science; policy-making under uncertainty; climate policy at the global, national, state and local levels; the politics of climate change in the United States and globally; technology and energy options; the economics of climate change; and ethical issues. Students will gain the ability to understand information regarding climate change and to analyze climate policy options at the global, national and local levels.

## 2. Course Requirements

THE POLITICS OF CLIMATE SCIENCE: BOOK & REPORT SUMMARY AND EVALUATION: 12 points (12% of the final grade). A summary and evaluation of the major arguments in both an assigned book OR an assigned report on the arguments of climate change skeptics. Details distributed separately. Due session 5.

**CLIMATE READING AND EVENT SUMMARY LOG:** 20 points (18% of the final grade). Due no later than Session 12. Details distributed separately.

**PAPER/PROJECT:** 30 points (30% of the final grade). A 10 page paper examining a specific issue related to climate change. If you pick a narrow topic, start soon, and have fun, then you will do well. These can be done individually or in groups of 2-3. Group papers must be longer and more detailed. All papers are due no later than Session 15. You MUST submit a topic to the instructor via email by Session 5 (or lose a point). Details at the end of syllabus.

**FINAL EXAM:** 33 points (33% of the final grade). The exam will include short answer, definition, multiple choice and 1-2 short essay questions. I will distribute a study guide 5 class sessions before the exam. Come to class, do the reading each week, study, and use the study guide and you can do very well on the exam.

**PARTICIPATION.** 5 points (5% of the final grade). Your participation represents an important component of the course. Do not be worried about speaking in class. We are here to learn from each other.

So talk, ask questions, express opinions and link material in the course to specialized knowledge you may have on particular subjects. Preparation, effort, and thoughtful, getting the book and paper topics to me on time (1 point) and useful participation in class discussions will yield a high participation grade. Activities that will yield a very low participation grade include being late, a pattern of unexcused absences, not being prepared, never participating in discussion, and texting, web surfing, snoring, emailing, arson, or similar activities doing class. No non-course electronic related activity during class. It is ok to bring coffee or other drinks to class but please clean up. Attendance is mandatory unless you notify me in advance or otherwise have an excusable absence. In other words, be professional or take another class.

#### **GRADING**

The assignments, paper, and exam total 101 points. 1 extra credit point is also available. 100-93 total points for the term will earn you an A. 92-90 points will earn an A-. 89-87 points a B+. 86-83 a B. 82-80 a B-. 79-77 points a C+. 76-73 a C. 72-70 a C-. 69-60 a D. Below 60 is an F.

#### 3. Course Materials:

- Pamela Chasek and David Downie. *Global Environmental Politics*, Fifth Edition (Westview Press, 2010) via online booksellers.
- Anthony Giddens. *The Politics of Climate Change*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Editions. Polity Press: 2011. ISBN: 978-0-7456-5515-4
- James Hoggan (with Richard Littlemore). *Climate Cover-Up: The Crusade to Deny Global Warming*. ISBN: 978-1-55365-485-8
- Other readings will be available on the internet. Students should sign up for the EESI weekly climate news email (http://www.eesi.org/ccn) Important for papers.

## 4. Course Topics, Assigned Readings And Discussion Questions

Syllabi are working documents and this one could change during the term. Readings marked with one or two \* are required. The \*\* designation relates to the log. Please note, the readings are not listed in order of importance but it can be helpful to read them in the order they appear. Near the start of most classes, I will preview, prioritize and sometimes shorten the readings for the following week. I do not expect you to read any non \* or \*\* readings. I

list these only to provide additional starting points for students interested in that topic. There is no perfect reading list and I welcome written suggestions for additions or subtractions. Readings are heavy during the first few weeks to build a common knowledge base and to provide many options for the reading summaries but become far lighter during the second half of the course when students are finishing their papers and preparing for final exams.

#### **5. Course Outline**

#### **Session 1: Course Overview**

#### **Climate Science Basics - Policy Relevant Scientific Knowledge**

#### **Discussions Questions/Issues:**

What do these terms mean: The Climate System, Carbon Cycle, Radiation Balance, Greenhouse Gases, Greenhouse Effect, Sinks, Global Warming, and Climate Change? How do we know the world is warming? What evidence exists? How do we know human activity is causing the warming? How do we know this warming will cause negative impacts? What are some of the arguments by climate change deniers? What are the responses?

- 2: (1) Climate Science Basics Continued
  - (2) The Impacts of Climate Change
- (3) Evaluating Major Science Arguments by Climate Skeptics Readings:
- \* The Discovery of Global Warming: Hyperlinked History of Climate Change Science, <a href="https://www.aip.org/history/climate/summary.htm">www.aip.org/history/climate/summary.htm</a>
- \* Downie, Brash and Vaughan, preface and pp. 1-24, \*\*42-69, 185-193, 197-203, 227 229, 230-231, and ch. 4 (chronology) this book is available via FFU library as a website and I will also email chapters to you as PDFS.
- \*\* Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, Forth Assessment Report (IPCC AR4): *Climate Change 2007: Synthesis Report*. Read the Introduction and Sections 1-3 in "The Summary for Policy Makers,"
  - http://www.ipcc.ch/publications\_and\_data/ar4/syr/en/spm.html.
- \*\* US Global Change Research Program, *Global Climate Change Impacts in the United States*,

  \*\* "Executive Summary," and \*\* "National Climate Change."\*\*

  <a href="http://www.globalchange.gov/publications/reports/scientific-assessments/us-impacts/download-the-report">http://www.globalchange.gov/publications/reports/scientific-assessments/us-impacts/download-the-report</a>
- \*\* Climate Change Addressing the Major Skeptic Arguments\*\*.

- Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, Forth Assessment Report (IPCC AR4), Working Group I Report: *Climate Change 2007: The Physical Science Basis,* "The Summary for Policy Makers," pp.1-18 and "Frequently Asked Questions," pp. 94-127. Available on IPCC website.
- Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, Forth Assessment Report (IPCC AR4), Working Group II Report: *Climate Change 2007: Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability,* "The Summary for Policy Makers," pp.1-24. Available on IPCC website, <a href="https://www.ipcc.ch">www.ipcc.ch</a>.
- Aneire Kahn, et al. "Climate Impacts in Bangladesh." *Environment*, Vol. 53, No. 5 (September/ October 2011), pp. 18-33.
- Gregory White. Climate Change and Migration: Security and Borders in a Warming World.

Oxford University Press, 2011

- UNEP/CMS News Release, 25 November 2011. "Protecting Migratory Animals in a Warming World UN Wildlife Conference Agrees on Ambitious Targets for Migratory Species Hit by Climate Change."
- Heidi Cullen. The Weather of the Future: Heat Waves, Extreme Storms, and Other Scenes from a Climate-Changed Planet.2010, QC903.C85 2010

Websites: www.CAMELclimatechange.org; <a href="http://www.climatescience.gov/">http://www.climatescience.gov/</a>;

http://www.teachingclimatelaw.org;

http://www.climatescience.gov/Library/scientific-assessment/;

http://www.climatescience.gov/Library/scientific-assessment/6-SA-FAQ-LO-RES.pdf;

http://www.climatescience.gov/Library/sap/sap4-3/final-report/default.htm;

http://www.iiasa.ac.at/Research/PCC/learn-conf/learning%20SI/index.html;

http://www.climatescience.gov/Library/sap/sap3-3/final-report/default.htm;

 $\underline{http://www.climate.noaa.gov/index.jsp?edu=literacy\&pg=/education/edu\_index.jsp}$ 

Sample of Online Video: Glaciers - <a href="http://dsc.discovery.com/videos/an-inconvenient-truth-glacier-comparison.html">http://dsc.discovery.com/videos/an-inconvenient-truth-glacier-comparison.html</a>; Alaska impacts -

http://news.discovery.com/videos/earth-signs-of-climate-change-in-alaska.html; Amazon - <a href="http://dsc.discovery.com/videos/global-warming-what-you-need-to-know-amazon-tipping-point.html">http://dsc.discovery.com/videos/global-warming-what-you-need-to-know-amazon-tipping-point.html</a>; polar bears -

http://dsc.discovery.com/videos/global-warming-what-you-need-to-know-polar-bear-signs.html; Hurricanes - http://planetgreen.discovery.com/videos/focus-earth-hurricanes-and-climate-change.html; reefs -

http://dsc.discovery.com/videos/global-warming-what-you-need-to-know-great-barrier-reef.html; glaciers - http://dsc.discovery.com/videos/global-warming-what-you-need-to-know-great-barrier-reef.html; glaciers and drinking water -

http://dsc.discovery.com/videos/global-warming-what-you-need-to-know-great-barrier-reef.html

**Discussions Questions/Issues:** What do these terms mean: The Climate System, Carbon Cycle, Radiation Balance, Greenhouse Gases, Greenhouse Effect, Sinks, Global Warming, and Climate Change? How do we know the world is warming? What evidence exists? How do we know human activity is causing the warming? How do we know this warming will cause negative impacts? What are some of the arguments by climate change deniers? What are the responses?

What will be the major types of impacts of climate change? Do we know when impacts will occur? Why should we care? What should we do? What are some specific expected potential impacts? What impacts have already started to occur? How will they impact human quality of life? What policy questions arise? How expensive will they be? Will they be more expensive than preventing them?

#### 3: GHG Emissions, Broad Policy Options, and Response Perspectives

- (1) Global, National, Individual and Comparative Greenhouse Gas Sources and Emissions.
- (2) How Much Do We Need To Reduce Emissions? Does Climate Science Provide Answers for Policymakers? IPCC Conclusions and Current National and International Goals and Characterizations of Cost Estimates
- (3) Mitigation or Adaptation.
- (4) Cost Perspectives
- (5) The Interaction of Climate Science and the Policy Arena: Policy Choices Under Uncertainty and the Precautionary Principle.

#### Readings:

- \* "List of countries by carbon dioxide emissions" (both 2008 totals and % and 2010 totals). http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\_of\_countries\_by\_carbon\_dioxide\_emissions#List\_of\_countries\_by\_2010\_emissions\_estimates
- \* Downie, Brash and Vaughan, pp. 5-10; 24-36; \*\*62-84; 179-180.
- \*\* short video: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z0Rv8wwiadQ&feature=fvw \*\*
- \* Chasek and Downie, pp. 30-50.
- \*\* Giddens, Chapters \*\*1 and \*\* 3.
- \* "Stern Review on the economics of climate change" www.direct.gov.uk/en/Nl1/Newsroom/DG\_064854
- \*\* Stern Review: The Economics of Climate Change, "Executive Summary." http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTINDONESIA/Resources/226271-1170911056314/3428109-1174614780539/SternReviewEng.pdf
- \* UNEP News Release, "Bridging the Emissions Gap to Meet 2-Degree Target Do-able: New UNEP Report Outlines Pathways to 2020 Able to Deliver Additional 6 to 11 Gigatonne Cuts Needed to Get World onto Safe Track." To be distributed.
- 2011 U.S. Greenhouse Gas Inventory Report, "Executive Summary" http://epa.gov/climatechange/emissions/usinventoryreport.html

Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, Forth Assessment Report (IPCC AR4), WG III Report: *Climate Change 2007: Mitigation of Climate Change,* "The Summary for Policy Makers," pp.1-24. Available on IPCC website, www.ipcc.ch.

**Discussions Questions/Issues:** What countries have the highest GHG emissions? What countries have the highest per-capita emissions? Why does this matter? What differences exist between the sources of emissions (energy, deforestation, etc) between countries? Why does this matter? What economic sectors produce GHG gas emissions? Does this vary across countries? Do we know enough about the causes and impacts of climate change to make policy? Do we know enough to take drastic measures to reduce GHG emissions? Can we act without perfect information? What is the precautionary principle? How does it relate to climate change? What goals have or should be set – long-term and short-term/? Why? What is the mitigation? Adaptation? Are they mutually exclusive policies? Which should we pursue and why? What does "Common but Differentiated Responsibilities" mean? What is the precautionary principle? What is the polluter pays principle? What is the central argument about the links between environment and security as discussed in Chasek and Downie (pp. 41-44, see bottom of p. 41)? How does this relate to climate change?

- 4: (1) Actors in Climate Policy and Politics
  - (2) Basic Information on Global Climate Policy and Politics
  - (3) Obstacles to Effective Global Climate Policy
  - (4) Do Other Issues Provide Clues to Overcome these Obstacles?

#### Readings:

\*\* Chasek and Downie, chs. \*\*1 (some pages previously assigned), \*\*2, \*\*3, \*\*4 and \*\*6. 
\*\* T. Dietz, E. Ostrom and P. Stern, "The Struggle to Govern the Commons" *Science*, 302, pp. 1907-1912.

Discussions Questions/Issues: Who are the main actors in global environmental politics? What roles do each play? How do they relate to climate change? What are the main elements of the ozone and climate regimes? Why was one successful and the others were not? What are the main categories of obstacles to effective international environmental policy? What are the main types of obstacles within each category? How does each potentially relate to climate change? What does "Common but Differentiated Responsibilities" mean? What is the precautionary principle? What is the polluter pays principle? What are some of the relations between trade and the environment and how do these relate to climate change? Can a country restrict certain types of imports to address a national or global environmental issue? What is globalization? Why does it matter for climate change – positively and negatively? What is the central argument about the links between environment and security as discussed in Chasek and Downie (pp. 41-44, see bottom of p. 41)? How does this relate to climate change?

#### 5: The Politics of Climate Science.

#### **Readings:**

- \* Giddens, pp. 21-32 and \*\*chapter 3.
- \* Climate Change Addressing the Major Skeptic Arguments\*\*
- \* James Hoggan, Climate Cover-Up: The Crusade to Deny Global Warming.
- \* Steven Kolmes, "Climate Change A Disinformation Campaign." *Environment,* Vol. 53, No. 4 (July/August 2011) pp, 33-37
- \* Sandra Marquart-Pyatt. et al. "Understanding Public Opinion on Climate Change." *Environment,* Vol. 53, No. 4 (July/August 2011) pp, 39-41
- \* Leo Hickman, *The Gaurdian*, "Leaked Heartland Institute documents pull back curtain on climate skepticism" <a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/blog/2012/feb/15/leaked-heartland-institute-documents-climate-scepticism">http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/blog/2012/feb/15/leaked-heartland-institute-documents-climate-scepticism</a>
- \* "Heartland Insider Exposes Institute's Budget and Strategy" See links to documents at bottom of Page: <a href="http://www.desmogblog.com/heartland-insider-exposes-institute-s-budget-and-strategy">http://www.desmogblog.com/heartland-insider-exposes-institute-s-budget-and-strategy</a>
- \* Climate Skepticism Reaching Classrooms, Los Angeles Times, January 16, 2012. http://articles.latimes.com/2012/jan/16/nation/la-na-climate-change-school-20120116
- US House of Representatives, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, "Committee Report: White House Engaged in Systematic Effort to Manipulate Climate Change Science," December 2007: http://oversight.house.gov/story.asp?ID=1653
- Raymond Bradley, *Global Warming and Political Intimidation: How Politicians Cracked Down on Scientists As the Earth Heated Up.* 
  - N. Oreskes and E. Conway, *Merchants of Doubt: How a Handful of Scientists Obscured the Truth on Issues from Tobacco Smoke to Global Warming.*
- James Hogan and Richard Littlemore, *Climate Cover-Up: The Crusade to Deny Global Warming.*
- McCright, Aaron M., and Riley E. Dunlap. 2011. "The Politicization of Climate Change and Polarization in the American Public's Views of Global Warming, 2001-2010." *The Sociological Quarterly* 52:155-194. Abstract: Using ten years of Gallup poll data (2001-2010), this article is among the most exhaustive examination of political polarization on climate change within the U.S. general public. We find both ideological polarization and party polarization on climate change beliefs and concern over this time period. We also find that political orientation (ideology and party) moderates the relationship between educational attainment and self-reported understanding on one side and climate change beliefs and concern on the other. That is, the effects of educational attainment and self-reported understanding on global warming beliefs and concern are positive for liberals and Democrats, but are attenuated or negative for conservatives and Republicans.

- Antonio, Robert J., and Robert J. Brulle. 2011. "The Unbearable Lightness of Politics: Climate Change Denial and Political Polarization." *The Sociological Quarterly* 52:195-202.
- Nagel, Joane. 2011. "Climate Change, Public Opinion, and the Military Security Complex." *The Sociological Quarterly* 52:203-210.
- Jenkins, J. Craig. 2011. "Democratic Politics and the Long March on Global Warming: Comments on McCright and Dunlap." *The Sociological Quarterly* 52:211-219.
- Aaron M. McCright and Riley E. Dunlap, "Anti-reflexivity: The American Conservative Movement's Success in Undermining Climate Science and Policy" Theory, Culture & Society March/May 2010 27: 100-133
- McCright, Aaron M., and Riley E. Dunlap. 2011. "Cool Dudes: The Denial of Climate Change among Conservative White Males in the United States." *Global Environmental Change* 21:1163-1172. Abstract: We examine whether conservative white males are more likely than are other adults in the U.S. general public to endorse climate change denial. We draw theoretical and analytical guidance from the identity-protective cognition thesis explaining the white male effect and from recent political psychology scholarship documenting the heightened system-justification tendencies of political conservatives. We utilize public opinion data from ten Gallup surveys from 2001 to 2010, focusing specifically on five indicators of climate change denial. We find that conservative white males are significantly more likely than are other Americans to endorse denialist views on all five items, and that these differences are even greater for those conservative white males who self-report understanding global warming very well. Furthermore, the results of our multivariate logistic regression models reveal that the conservative white male effect remains significant when controlling for the direct effects of political ideology, race, and gender as well as the effects of nine control variables. We thus conclude that the unique views of conservative white males contribute significantly to the high level of climate change denial in the United States.
- Andrew J. Hoffman. "Talking Past Each Other? Cultural Framing of Skeptical and Convinced Logics in the Climate Change Debate." Ross School of Business Working Paper No. 1154, February 2011 Social Sciences Research Network Electronic Paper Collection: http://ssrn.com/abstract=1768882
- Howard Friel. *The Lomborg Deception : Setting the Record Straight about Global Warming.* 2010.

Eric Pooley. The Climate War: True Believers, Power Brokers, and the Fight to Save the Earth.

**Discussions Questions/Issues:** What is the Central Argument of Each Reading? Does the reading adequately support the argument? Which 'skeptic argument' had you heard before the class started? Do you find the response convincing? Why do Americans differ so strongly about climate change? Can one be a "conservative" and support policy to reduce GHG emissions? Can one be a 'liberal' and support it?

#### 6: Introduction to Technology Options.

## **Readings:**

- \*\* Giddens, ch. 6.
- \*\* Robert Socolow, R.Hotinski, J. Greenblatt, and S. Pacala, "Solving the Climate Problem: Technologies Available to Curb CO2 Emissions," *Environment*, Vol. 46, No. 10 (December 2004), pp. 8-19, <a href="http://cmi.princeton.edu/wedges/pdfs/climate\_problem.pdf">http://cmi.princeton.edu/wedges/pdfs/climate\_problem.pdf</a>
- \* WRI, "Factsheet: Policy design for maximizing US wind energy jobs" (2 pages).
- \*\* Pew Center, "In Brief: Update on the 10-50 Solution: Progress Toward a Low-Carbon Future" <a href="http://www.c2es.org/docUploads/10-50-brief-update.pdf">http://www.c2es.org/docUploads/10-50-brief-update.pdf</a>
- \* T. Dietz, et al. "The Behavioral Wedge." Just the summary. <a href="http://behavioralwedge.msu.edu/">http://behavioralwedge.msu.edu/</a>
- \* "Climate Proposal Puts Practicality Ahead of Sacrifice." http://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/17/science/countering-climate-change-without-waiting-for-a-payoff.html?\_r=1&pagewanted=print
- \* Atkinson, Nordhaus, et al. Climate *Pragmatism: Innovation, Resilience and No Regrets,* overview at <a href="http://thebreakthrough.org/blog/Climate\_Pragmatism\_web.pdf">http://thebreakthrough.org/blog/Climate\_Pragmatism\_web.pdf</a>; If interested the entire 32 pp. report is at <a href="http://thebreakthrough.org/blog/2011/07/climate\_pragmatism\_innovation.shtml">http://thebreakthrough.org/blog/2011/07/climate\_pragmatism\_innovation.shtml</a>
- Earth Negotation Bulletin "Second Session of the Assembly of the International Renewable Energy Agency Summary and Analysis" *ENB* Vol. 30 No. 6 <a href="http://www.iisd.ca/download/pdf/enb3006e.pdf">http://www.iisd.ca/download/pdf/enb3006e.pdf</a>. Nothing of substance came out of meeting but there is now a new IO dedicated to renewable energy.
- McKinsey and Company, "The Economics of Solar Power,"
  - http://www.mckinsey.com/clientservice/ccsi/pdf/Economics\_of\_Solar.pdf
- McKinsey and Company, *The case for investing in energy productivity,* (Additional annual investments in energy productivity of \$170 billion through 2020 could cut global energy demand growth by at least half while generating average internal rates of return of 17 percent. Such outlays would also achieve significant energy savings and cuts in greenhouse gas emissions). http://www.mckinsey.com/mgi/publications/ (must sign in)
- Epstein et al. Healthy Solutions for the Low Carbon Economy: Guidelines for Investors, Insurers and Policy Makers.
  - http://chge.med.harvard.edu/programs/ccf/healthysolutions.html
- Peter Fox-Penner. *Smart Power: Climate Change, the Smart Grid, and the Future of Electric Utilities.* 2010, HD9685 .U5 F6144 2010b
- Burton Richter. *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors : Climate Change and Energy in the 21st Century.* 2010. QC903 .R53 2010
- Clean Energy Investment, Policymaker Summary.
  - www.iisd.org/pdf/2008/cei\_synthesis\_sum.pdf
- Company CO<sub>2</sub> Emission Targets:
  - www.pewclimate.org/companies\_leading\_the\_way\_belc/targets/

**Discussions Questions/Issues:** Why is energy technology so important to the climate change issue? What widely used current energy technologies need to be replaced or reengineered? What non- $CO_2$  emitting energy technologies are available now? Which ones should be pushed in which sectors? What are the cost and benefits, broadly defined (e.g. economic, environmental, human health, security, political, etc) of all the different existing  $CO_2$  and existing and potential non- $CO_2$  emitting energy technologies?

## 7: The Basics of International Climate Policy and Politics – IPCC, UNFCCC, Kyoto Protocol, Copenhagen Accord, Durban, and Beyond

## **Readings:**

- \*\* IPCC Brochure, "Understanding." vailable online:
  <a href="http://www.ipcc.ch/pdf/press/ipcc\_leaflets\_2010/ipcc-brochure\_understanding.pdf">http://www.ipcc.ch/pdf/press/ipcc\_leaflets\_2010/ipcc-brochure\_understanding.pdf</a>
- \* Downie, Brash and Vaughan, pp. 23-36, 69-84
- \*\* Chasek and Downie, \*\*ch. 4 (previously assigned), \*\*ch. 7 and ch. 8.
- \*\* Introduction and "A Brief Analysis of the UNFCCC and the Kyoto Protocol." Pp. 1-3, In Earth Negotiations Bulletin, "Summary of The Durban Climate Change Conference: 28 November 11 December 2011" to available www.iisd.ca/process/climate atm-fcccintro.html and

<u>www.iisd.ca/process/climate\_atm-fcccintro.html</u> and www.iisd.ca/process/climate\_atm-fcccintro.html

- \*\* Durban Negotiation Summary: "A Brief Analysis of COP 17 AND CMP 7," Pp. 29-31 In Earth Negotiations Bulletin, "Summary Of The Durban Climate Change Conference: 28 November 11 December 2011" available <a href="www.iisd.ca/process/climate\_atm-fcccintro.html">www.iisd.ca/process/climate\_atm-fcccintro.html</a> and <a href="www.iisd.ca/process/climate\_atm-fcccintro.html">www.iisd.ca/process/climate\_atm-fcccintro.html</a>
- \* UNEP Prelease, 11 December 2011: "Climate Talks End With Hope for a New More Comprehensive Legally-Binding Agreement." To be distributed
- \*\* Rafaeil Leal-Arcas, "Kyoto and the COPs: Lessons Learned and Looking Ahead." *Hague Yearbook of International Law*, Vol. 23, pp. 17-90, 2011 *This abstract only:* This article argues that the Kyoto Protocol to the 1992 Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) was doomed to fail because it systematically misunderstood the nature of climate change as a policy issue between 1985 and 2009. It explains why this is the case by analyzing the Kyoto Protocol's shortcomings and deficiencies. Moving the climate change agenda forward multilaterally among the 195 parties to the UNFCCC is proving to be a serious challenge. The lack of progress in UNFCCC negotiations in recent years, especially the failure to obtain an international agreement on emissions limitations targets and timetables by all major developed and developing country emitters, has led many to question whether the UNFCCC is, in fact, the best and most effective forum for mobilizing a global response to climate change. The current approach to negotiating a comprehensive, universal, and legally binding global agreement on climate change is unlikely to succeed. The near-disaster 2009 Conference of the Parties-15 in Copenhagen empirically demonstrated that the UN machinery is incapable of moving forward fast

enough to produce a global climate deal. Moreover, international climate policy, as it has been understood and practiced by many governments of the world under the Kyoto Protocol approach, has failed to produce any discernible real world reductions in emissions of greenhouse gases since the mid 1990s.

UNFCCC Secretariat, "The Kyoto Protocol"

http://unfccc.int/kyoto\_protocol/items/2830.php

IPCC website (ipcc.ch): "Organization", "Structure" and "History" all available via links on left side of http://www.ipcc.ch/organization/organization.shtml - Copenhagen Accord,

http://www.un.org/wcm/content/site/climatechange/lang/en/pid/5800

Summary of The Copenhagen Climate Change Conference, Earth Negotiation Bulletin, <a href="http://www.iisd.ca/vol12/enb12459e.html">http://www.iisd.ca/vol12/enb12459e.html</a> and photos, <a href="http://www.iisd.ca/climate/cop15/">http://www.iisd.ca/climate/cop15/</a>

Summary of The Cancun Climate Change Conf, Earth Neg. Bulletin, http://www.iisd.ca/vol12/enb12498e.html

**Discussions Questions/Issues:** What are the current terms of the UNFCCC and Kyoto Protocol? How and why were these treaties developed? What are their strengths and weaknesses? Does Kyoto expire? Why do many argue the world needs a new climate treaty? What happened in Copenhagen? What happens next? What is the current negotiation timeline? What are the major issues? What possible types of climate agreements might succeed the current Kyoto requirements? What are the various negotiation blocs? What happened at Copenhagen (2009) and Cancun (2010) negotiations? Which countries are crucial to the outcome of future negotiations? What are their positions? What do you think global policy should be?

# 8: Basic National Policies and Perspectives: China, EU, India, Japan, Russia and the USA. Readings

- \*\* Downie, Brash and Vaughan, \*\*Ch. 3.
- \*\* Terry Townshend, et al., "Legislating Climate Change on a National Level." *Environment*, Vol. 53, No. 5 (September/October 2011) pp, 5-16
- \* Elisabeth Rosenthal, "Where did Global Warming Go?" News Analysis (opinion) New York Times, October 15, 2011 <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/16/sunday-review/whatever-happened-to-global-warming.html?pagewanted=all">http://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/16/sunday-review/whatever-happened-to-global-warming.html?pagewanted=all</a>
- \*\* Executive Summary of "Testimony before the Subcommittee on Energy and Power: The Transformation of China's Energy System" (4 April 2011)

  <a href="http://www.wri.org/publication/testimony-transformation-of-chinas-energy-system">http://www.wri.org/publication/testimony-transformation-of-chinas-energy-system</a>

You only need to read summary. You can summarize this for the log but if you do you must summarize the entire testimony, available via the link on this page.

\*\* Antto Vihma, "Elephant in the Room: The New G77 and China Dynamics in Climate

- Talks." Briefing Paper 6, Finnish Institute of International Affairs, 26 May 2010. You only need to read summary on page 2. You can summarize this for the log but if you do you must summarize the entire short article, not just page 2
- \*\* R. Kempener, et al. "Energy Innovation Policy in Major Emerging Countries" Policy Brief, Energy Tech Innovation Project, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Univ. <a href="http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/20615">http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/20615</a> /energy innovation policy in major emerging countries.html
- \* European Union May Achieve a 30 Percent Reduction in Carbon Emissions. http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/01/18/us-eu-climate-target-idUSTRE80H19220120118
- \* China Facing Climate Change Risks.
  - http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia\_pacific/beijing-makes-rare-concession-on-pollution-measure/2012/01/19/gIQApsI6BQ\_story.html EU CO2 Trading Website:
  - http://ec.europa.eu/environment/climat/emission/index\_en.htm
- Tamura & Zusman, "The Politics of Climate Policy in China: Interests, Institutions and Ideas." enviroscope.iges.or.jp/modules/envirolib/upload/3429/attach/climate\_policy\_in\_china.pdf
- Song and Woo, eds. *China's Dilemma: Economic Growth, the Environment and Climate Chang.* 2008.
- Anna Korppoo, "The Russian Debate on Climate Doctrine: Emerging Issues on the Road to Copenhagen." Finnish Institute of International Affairs (FIIA), Helsinki, June 2009.
- Andrew Jordan et al (eds.). 2010. *Climate Change Policy in the European Union*. Cambridge U Press.
- Sebastian Oberthür and Marc Pallemaerts, eds., *The New Climate Policies of the European Union: Internal Legislation and Climate Diplomacy*, 2010.
- Kathryn Harrison & Lisa McIntosh Sundstrom, eds. *Global Commons, Domestic Decisions: The Comparative Politics of Climate Change.* MIT Press, 2010.
- Carlane Cinnamon. *Climate Change Law and Policy: EU and US Approaches*. Oxford Univ. Press, 2010.
- Andrew et al, eds. *Climate Change Policy in the European Union : Confronting the Dilemmas of Mitigation and Adaptation?* 2010, QC903.2 .E85 C55 2010.
- John Schmidt. 2008. "Why Europe Leads on Climate Change." Survival 50.4: 83-96.
- Paul G. Harris (ed.). 2007. Europe and Global Climate Change. Edward Elgar.
- Miranda Schreurs and Yves Tiberghien. "Multi-level Reinforcement: Explaining EU Leadership in Climate Change Mitigation." *Global Environmental Politics*, November 2007, pp. 19-46.

**Discussions Questions/Issues:** What is current climate policy in China, India, Russia, the EU, SIDs and OPEC countries? What is the energy policy? Do these policies make sense? What does the future hold? Should the world pursue a new comprehensive treaty? What are the central bits of information, or central arguments, in each of the last 5 required readings.

## 9 & 10: International Climate Policy and Politics in Detail: UNFCCC; Kyoto; 2009 Copenhagen, 2010 Cancun, 2011 Durban negotiations; Current and Future Options.

## **Readings:**

- \*\* Intro summary and "A Brief Analysis of the UNFCCC and the Kyoto Protocol" Pp. 1-3, In Earth Negotiations Bulletin, "Summary of The Durban Climate Change Conference: 28 November 11 December 2011" to be but also available <a href="www.iisd.ca/process/climate\_atm-fcccintro.html">www.iisd.ca/process/climate\_atm-fcccintro.html</a> and <a href="www.iisd.ca/process/climate\_atm-fcccintro.html">www.iisd.ca/process/climate\_atm-fcccintro.html</a> (previously assigned).
- \*\* Chasek and Downie, \*\*ch. 4, climate sections previously assigned.
- \*\* Daniel Bodansky, ""Whither the Kyoto Protocol? Durban and Beyond." Policy Brief: Harvard Project on Climate Agreements. August 2011. http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/Bodansky\_Viewpoint-Final.pdf.
- \*\* Radoslav S. Dimitrov, "Inside Copenhagen: The State of Climate Governance." Global Environmental Politics. Vol. 10, No. 2, ppl 18-24 (May 2010).
- \*\* Durban Negotiation Summary: "A Brief Analysis of COP 17 AND CMP 7," Pp. 29-31 In Earth Negotiations Bulletin, "Summary Of The Durban Climate Change Conference: 28 November 11 December 2011

  www.iisd.ca/process/climate\_atm-fcccintro.html and
  - www.iisd.ca/process/climate\_atm-fcccintro.html and www.iisd.ca/process/climate\_atm-fcccintro.html
- \*\* Sheila M. Olmstead and Robert Stavins."Three Key Elements of a Post-2012 International Climate Policy Architecture. Post-Kyoto International Climate Policy Architecture." Review of Environmental Economics and Policy. Vol. 6. Issue 1. Winter 2012. Pp. 65-85. Available via journal website:
  - http://reep.oxfordjournals.org/content/current
  - Abstract: This article describes three essential elements of an effective post-2012 international climate policy architecture: a framework to ensure that key industrialized and developing nations are involved in differentiated but meaningful ways, an emphasis on an extended time path for emissions targets, and the inclusion of flexible market-based policy instruments to keep costs down and facilitate international equity. This overall architecture is consistent with fundamental aspects of the science, economics, and politics of global climate change; addresses specific shortcomings of the Kyoto Protocol; and builds on the foundation of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.
- \* UNEP News Release, "Bridging the Emissions Gap to Meet 2-Degree Target Do-able: New UNEP Report Outlines Pathways to 2020 Able to Deliver Additional 6 to 11 Gigatonne Cuts Needed to Get World onto Safe Track."
- \*\* Press Release, WRI and UNEP. 'New Research Reveals Pathways for Action on Climate Change."
  - You only need to read the press release. You can summarize this for the log but if you do you must summarize the full report (article length). Full Report: <a href="http://www.wri.org/publication/building-the-climate-change-regime">http://www.wri.org/publication/building-the-climate-change-regime</a>

\* Eliminating Fossil Fuel Subsidies Could Provide Half of 2035 Reduction Targets. <a href="http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2012/jan/19/fossil-fuel-subsidies-carbon-target">http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2012/jan/19/fossil-fuel-subsidies-carbon-target</a>

\*\* Giddens, Chapters \*\*4, \*\*5, \*\*6, \*\*7, \*\*8, \*\*9.

WRI and UNEP: <u>Building the Climate Change Regime: Survey and Analysis of Approaches</u>, October 2011. <u>http://www.wri.org/publication/building-the-climate-change-regime</u>

Judith Layzer, "Climate Change - The Challenges of International Environmental Policymaking." Ch. 10 in *The Environmental Case*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition (Washington: CQ Press, 2012). Previously assigned.

UNFCCC Secretariat, "The Kyoto Protocol"

http://unfccc.int/kyoto\_protocol/items/2830.php

Copenhagen Accord,

http://www.un.org/wcm/content/site/climatechange/lang/en/pid/5800

Copenhagen Accord,

http://unfccc.int/files/meetings/cop\_15/application/pdf/cop15\_cph\_auv.pdf

Summary of The Copenhagen Climate Change Conference, Earth Negotiation Bulletin, <a href="http://www.iisd.ca/vol12/enb12459e.html">http://www.iisd.ca/vol12/enb12459e.html</a>

(photos <a href="http://www.iisd.ca/climate/cop15/">http://www.iisd.ca/climate/cop15/</a>)

Radoslav S. Dimitrov, "Inside UN Climate Change Negotiations: The Copenhagen Conference," Review of Policy Research, Volume 27, Number 6 (2010), pp. 795-221.

Robert Stavins, "What Hath Copenhagen Wrought. A Preliminary Assessment of the Copenhagen Agreements" Harvard Working Paper, Dec 2009.

http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/analysis/stavins/?p=464

Robert Stavins, "What Happened (and Why): An Assessment of the Cancun Agreements" Harvard University Working Paper

http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/analysis/stavins/?p=876

J. Roljer, et al. Analysis of the Copenhagen Accord." *Environonmental Research Letters*, 5(2010), 9pp.

Abstract: "This analysis of the Copenhagen Accord evaluates emission reduction pledges by individual countries against the Accord's climate-related objectives. Probabilistic estimates of the climatic consequences for a set of resulting multi-gas scenarios over the 21st century are calculated with a reduced complexity climate model, yielding global temperature increase and atmospheric CO2 and CO2-equivalent concentrations. Provisions for banked surplus emission allowances and credits from land use, land-use change and forestry are assessed and are shown to have the potential to lead to significant deterioration of the ambition levels implied by the pledges in 2020. This analysis demonstrates that the Copenhagen Accord and the pledges made under it represent a set of dissonant ambitions. The ambition level of the current pledges for 2020 and the lack of commonly agreed goals for 2050 place in peril the Accord's own ambition: to limit global warming to below 2 °C, and even more so for 1.5 °C, which is referenced in the Accord in association with potentially strengthening the long-term temperature goal in 2015. Due to the limited level of ambition by 2020, the ability to limit emissions afterwards to pathways

Daniel Bodansky, "The International Climate Change Regime: The Road from

Copenhagen"Policy Brief, Harvard Project on International Climate Agreements, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School. October

2010. <a href="http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/20437/">http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/20437/</a>

international\_climate\_change\_regime.html

Summary of The Cancun Climate Change Conference, Earth Negotiation
Bulletin, http://www.iisd.ca/vol12/enb12498e.html

Summary of the Cancún Agreements by the Pew Center on Global Climate Change: <a href="http://www.pewclimate.org/docUploads/cancun-climate-conference-cop16-summary.pdf">http://www.pewclimate.org/docUploads/cancun-climate-conference-cop16-summary.pdf</a>

Climate Group Post-Cancún

Analysis: <a href="http://www.theclimategroup.org/assets/files/Post-Cancun-Analysis\_1.pdf">http://www.theclimategroup.org/assets/files/Post-Cancun-Analysis\_1.pdf</a> Large Collection of Articles on 2010 Cancun Climate Negotiations:

http://triplecrisis.com/climate-change-negotiations-a-collection-of-post-cancunanalyses/

Press Release: "IPCC Strengthens Processes and Procedures at 32nd Plenary Session" Rafaeil Leal-Arcas, "Kyoto and the COPs - Lessons Learned and Looking Ahead." *Hague Yearbook of International Law*, Vol. 23, pp. 17-90, 2011.

## 11, 12, & 13: US National Climate Policy, Politics and Options

#### **LOG DUE Session 12.**

#### Readings:

- \* Readings TBA.
- \* Downie, Brash and Vaughan, pp. 24-30, 69-78.
- \*\* Giddens, pp. 21-32, 55-59, \*\*4, \*\*5, \*\*6, and \*\* 9 (all previously assigned).
- \*\* Dunlea, et al., "America's Climate Choices." *Environment*, Vol. 53, No. 2 (March/April 2011) pp, 20-32.
- \*\* WRI Factsheet, "US Climate Action in 2009-2010." September 2010.
- \*\* WRI, Reducing Greenhouse Gas Emissions in the United States Using Existing Federal Authorities and State Action, July 2010, Summary of Key Finding Section, pp. 2-7 in the "Executive Summary,"

http://pdf.wri.org/reducing ghgs using existing federal authorities and state actio n\_summary.pdf - print and bring this subsection. The entire report can be found via: http://www.wri.org/publication/reducing-ghg-emissions-using-existing-federal-authorities-and-state-action

- \*\* "U.S. CO2 emissions to stay below 2005 levels as coal use shrinks." <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/01/24/">http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/01/24/</a> us-carbon-idUSTRE80N0G220120124
- \*\* Judith Layzer, "Climate Change The Challenges of International Environmental Policymaking." Ch. 10 in her book, *The Environmental Case*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed (Washington: CQ Press, 2012).

- \* Elisabeth Rosenthal, "Where did Global Warming Go?" News Analysis (opinion), *New York Times*,
  - \* October 15, 2011 <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/16/sunday-review/whatever-happened-to-global-warming.html?pagewanted=all">http://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/16/sunday-review/whatever-happened-to-global-warming.html?pagewanted=all</a> (previously assigned)
- \*\* Robert Socolow, R.Hotinski, J. Greenblatt, and S. Pacala, "Solving the Climate Problem: Technologies
  - Available to Curb CO2 Emissions," *Environment*, Vol. 46, No. 10 (December 2004), pp. 8-19: <a href="http://cmi.princeton.edu/wedges/pdfs/climate\_problem.pdf">http://cmi.princeton.edu/wedges/pdfs/climate\_problem.pdf</a>.
- \* Robert Semple, Jr. "Oil and Gas Had Help. Why Not Renewables?" Opinion, New York Times, October 15, 2011, <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/16/opinion/sunday/oil-and-gas-had-help-why-not-renewables.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/16/opinion/sunday/oil-and-gas-had-help-why-not-renewables.html</a>
- \*WRI, "Factsheet: Policy design for maximizing US wind energy jobs" (2 pages).
- \*\* Pew Center, "In Brief: Update on the 10-50 Solution: Progress Toward a Low-Carbon Future" http://www.c2es.org/docUploads/10-50-brief-update.pdf
- \* "Increased Number of Americans Think..." http://www.gallup.com/poll/116590/increasednumber-think-global-warming-exaggerated.aspx
- \* *The Onion*, "Report: Global Warming Issue From 2 Or 3 Years Ago May Still Be Problem." <a href="http://www.theonion.com/articles/report-global-warming-issue-from-2-or-3-years-ago,18431/?utm">http://www.theonion.com/articles/report-global-warming-issue-from-2-or-3-years-ago,18431/?utm</a> source=recentnews
- \* BELC Company Emission Reduction Targets: http://www.pewclimate.org/companies\_leading\_the\_way\_belc/targets/
- \* GROCC Joint Statement: www.earth.columbia.edu/grocc/grocc4\_statement.html
- \* US CAP website: Members, Policy Statement, and Call for Action sections, www.us-cap.org.
- US EPA, *Inventory of US Greenhouse Gas Emissions and Sinks: 1990-2009.* Executive-Summary. April 2011
- U.S. Energy Information Adm., *Annual Energy Outlook 2012*, http://www.eia.gov/forecasts/aeo/er/
- Andrew Hoffman, *Getting Ahead of the Curve: Corporate Strategies That Address Climate Change*. <a href="http://www.pewclimate.org/global-warming-in-depth/all">http://www.pewclimate.org/global-warming-in-depth/all</a> reports/corporate strategies
- US House of Representatives, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, "Committee Report: White House Engaged in Systematic Effort to Manipulate Climate Change Science," December 2007: <a href="http://oversight.house.gov/story.asp?ID=1653">http://oversight.house.gov/story.asp?ID=1653</a>
- US Global Change Research Program, *Global Climate Change Impacts in the United States*, http://www.globalchange.gov/publications/reports/scientific-assessments/us-impacts/download-the-report
- National Council for Science and the Environment. *The Climate Solutions Consensus: What We Know and What to Do about It* . 2010, QC903 .B56 2010.
- Barry G. Rabe, Editor. *Greenhouse Governance: Addressing Climate Change in America*. 2010.

- Paul Wapner. Living Through the End of Nature: The Future of American Environmentalism. 2010.
- McCright, Aaron M., and Riley E. Dunlap. 2011. "The Politicization of Climate Change and Polarization in the American Public's Views of Global Warming, 2001-2010." *The Sociological Quarterly* 52:155-194.
- McCright, Aaron M., and Riley E. Dunlap. 2011. "Cool Dudes: The Denial of Climate Change among Conservative White Males in the United States." *Global Environmental Change* 21:1163-1172.
- Antonio, Robert J., and Robert J. Brulle. 2011. "The Unbearable Lightness of Politics: Climate Change Denial and Political Polarization." *The Sociological Quarterly* 52:195-202.
- Nagel, Joane. 2011. "Climate Change, Public Opinion, and the Military Security Complex." *The Sociological Quarterly* 52:203-210.
- Jenkins, J. Craig. 2011. "Democratic Politics and the Long March on Global Warming: Comments on McCright and Dunlap." *The Sociological Quarterly* 52:211-219.
- Aaron M. McCright and Riley E. Dunlap, "Anti-reflexivity: The American Conservative Movement's Success in Undermining Climate Science and Policy" Theory, Culture & Society March/May 2010 27: 100-133.

**Discussions Questions/Issues:** What is current climate policy in the USA? What is the energy policy? What is its history? Do these policies make sense? Why or why not? What is the focus of the climate bills in Congress? Do they make sense? What should the USA do on climate and energy? Why? What are the central bits of information, or central arguments, in each required reading.

# **14: US Policy: States, Cities, Universities, Individuals Readings:**

- \* CT State action: "An Act Concerning CT Global Warming Solutions." http://www.cga.ct.gov/2008/ACT/PA/2008PA-00098-R00HB-05600-PA.htm
- \* Pew Center US Climate Policy Maps: <a href="http://www.pewclimate.org/what\_s-being-done/in\_the\_states/state\_action\_maps.cfm">http://www.pewclimate.org/what\_s-being\_done/in\_the\_states/state\_action\_maps.cfm</a>
- \* Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative Cuts 67 Million Carbon Allowances. New York Times story: <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/27/nyregion/in-greenhouse-gas-initiative-many-unsold-allowances.html?">http://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/27/nyregion/in-greenhouse-gas-initiative-many-unsold-allowances.html?</a>\_r=2&ref=nyregion
- \* American College & University Presidents Climate Commitment and materials on its homepage: <a href="www.presidentsclimatecommitment.org/html/solutions\_">www.presidentsclimatecommitment.org/html/solutions\_</a> academics.php
- \* T. Dietz, et al. "The Behavioral Wedge." Just the summary. http://behavioralwedge.msu.edu/
- \* Carbon Footprint Reduction, <a href="http://www.carbonfootprint.com/minimisecfp.html">http://www.carbonfootprint.com/minimisecfp.html</a>. Carbon Footprint Calculator: <a href="http://www.carbonfootprint.com/calculator.aspx">http://www.carbonfootprint.com/minimisecfp.html</a>.
- \* Readings TBA

RGGI Website (especially About RGGI Section): http://www.rggi.org/. The Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative, or RGGI, is a cooperative effort by Northeastern and Mid-Atlantic states to reduce carbon dioxide emissions. Central to this initiative is the implementation of a multi-state cap-and-trade program with a market-based emissions trading system that requires electric power generators to reduce carbon dioxide emissions.

US Mayors Climate Protection Center website:

http://www.usmayors.org/climateprotection/

Degrees that Matter: Climate Change and the University

- L. David, Stop Global Warming: The Solution Is You! Golden, CO: Fulcrum, 2006.
- D. De Rothschild, *The Live Earth Global Warming Survival Handbook: Essential Skills To Stop Climate Change.* New York: Rodale Books, 2007.
- C. Goodall, How to Live a Low-Carbon Life. London: Earthscan, 2007.
- J. Isham, and S. Waage. *Ignition: What You Can Do to Fight Global Warming and Spark a Movement*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2007.
- G. Keller, D. Jenks, and J. Papasan. Green Your Home, New York: McGraw Hill, 2008.
- J. Langholz and K. Turner, You Can Prevent Global Warming (and save money), 2003 Dave Real, Climate Change Begins at Home, Macmillan, 2006.
- E. Rogers, and T.M. Kostigen. *The Green Book: The Everyday Guide to Saving the Planet One Simple Step at a Time*. New York, Three Rivers Press, 2007.

**Discussions Questions/Issues:** What are some of the key regional and state climate policies? Do they make sense? Why or why not? What are the goals of the CT climate policy plan? How will these goals be achieved? Should states and cities have climate policies? Can they make a difference? What are some of the key campus initiatives related to climate change? Should universities have climate policies? Can they make a difference? What can individuals do to reduce their GHG emissions? What suggestions do you find compelling? Silly? What statistics back up the calls for individual action? What policies can be enacted to make such action easier or more likely? Can individual action make a difference?

# **15: Climate Ethics and Policy. Papers Due. Readings:**

- \*\* Chasek and Downie, readings on Precautionary Principle and Common But Differentiated Responsibility, in Ch. 1.
- \*\* Brown et al, "White Paper on the Ethical Dimensions of Climate Change," pp. TBA http://rockethics.psu.edu/climate/whitepaper/edcc-whitepaper.pdf
- \* Pope statements on climate change, e.g.
  - http://weblogs.baltimoresun.com/news/faith/2009/12/benedict\_climate\_chang
  - <a href="http://www.vatican.va/holy\_father/benedict\_xvi/messages/peace/documents/h">http://www.vatican.va/holy\_father/benedict\_xvi/messages/peace/documents/h</a> f ben-xvi mes 20091208 xliii-world-day-peace en.html
  - http://www.radiovaticana.org/en1/articolo.asp?c=541410

- <a href="http://faithandenvironment.wordpress.com/2012/01/11/pope-benedict-xvi-on-education-and-climate-change/">http://faithandenvironment.wordpress.com/2012/01/11/pope-benedict-xvi-on-education-and-climate-change/</a>
- \* "A Spiritual Declaration on Climate Change," Interfaith Climate Change Network, 4 Dec. 2005, viewed 30 May 2006. <a href="http://www.interfaithdeclaration.org/">http://www.interfaithdeclaration.org/</a>
- \* Catholic Climate Covenant Website: <a href="http://catholicclimatecovenant.org/catholic-teachings/vatican-messages/">http://catholicclimatecovenant.org/catholic-teachings/vatican-messages/</a>
- \* short video: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z0Rv8wwiadQ&feature=fvw
- "Climate Wrongs and Human Rights," Oxfam International:

http://www.oxfam.org.uk/resources/policy/climate\_change/bp117\_climatewrongs.html

William Antholis and Strobe Talbott. *Fast Forward : Ethics and Politics in the Age of Global Warming.* 2010. QC981.8 .G56 A57 2010

Paul Wapner. Living Through the End of Nature : The Future of American Environmentalism. 2010, GE197 .W37 2010

S. Vanderheiden, Atmospheric Justice: A Political Theory of Climate Change, Oxford, 2008.

Paul Harris, World Ethics and Climate Change: From International to Global Justice. Edinburgh University Press: Nov 2009

J. Timmons Roberts and Bradley C. Parks, *A Climate of Injustice: Global inequality, North South politics, and Climate Policy*. MIT Press, 2006.

Mearns et al. eds. *The Social Dimensions of Climate Change: Equity and Vulnerability in a Warming World.* 2010, HM861 .S62 2010

Matthias Ruth and Maria Eugenia Ibarrarán, Eds. *Distributional Impacts of Climate Change and Disasters : Concepts and Cases.* 2009, QC981.8 .C5 D57 2009

Statement of the Evangelical Climate Initiative,"

www.christiansandclimate.org/statement.

For press report see: <a href="http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/04/21/AR2006042101573.html">http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/04/21/AR2006042101573.html</a>.

National Conference of Catholic Bishops, "Global Climate Change: A Plea for Dialogue, Prudence, and the Common Good," 15 June 2001.

United Church of Christ Statement on Global Climate Change.

Roberts & Parks, "Environmental and Ecological Justice," in Bestsill, Hochesteltler & Stevis, eds, *International Environmental Politics*.

Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO), "Changing the Climate: Why Women's Perspectives Matter," 2007. <a href="www.wedo.org/library.aspx?ResourceID=180">www.wedo.org/library.aspx?ResourceID=180</a> Simple Living for the Environment Is for Suckers,

 $\frac{http://www.utne.com/Environment/Simple-Living-for-the-Environment-Is-for-Suckers.aspx$ 

Websites: http://rockethics.psu.edu/climate/; http://climateethics.org

**Discussions Questions/Issues:** Are ethical issues relevant to climate change? Is religion relevant to climate change? Do GHG emission patters – past, present and future – raise ethical issues? Are they different when one considers different time frames? Can policy reflect ethical concerns for decisions made years ago without the knowledge we

have today? Do the expected patterns of climate impacts raise ethical issues? Do these relate to expected impacts on the poorest and most vulnerable around the world? Species extinctions? Patterns of responsibility? Are there intergenerational ethical issues? Are there gender issues? Do ethical issues exist for individuals in relation to climate change? For corporations? Why have some religious leaders or groups issued statements on climate change? Are such statements or actions appropriate? What impact do they have? How would you explain, in 1 minute, what we know about the causes and consequences climate change? What do you believe this knowledge justifies as priorities for climate policy at the global, national, and local level? How would you explain, in 2 minutes, what actions that an individual concerned about climate change should take, and why? What discussion questions should be added to this syllabus?

**FINAL EXAM** 

## **Environmental Politics and Policy**

Michael Kraft University of Wisconsin-Green Bay

## 1. Course Description

This course surveys environmental politics and policy, primarily in the United States. We will examine the nature and scope of environmental, energy, and natural resource problems; contrasting perspectives on their severity and policy implications; the goals and strategies of the environmental community and its opponents; public opinion on the environment; scientific, economic, political, and institutional forces that shape policymaking and implementation; approaches to environmental policy analysis; and selected issues in environmental policy both within the U.S. and globally. In addition to the core readings, a series of three short papers allows each student to focus on the issues of greatest personal concern.

#### 2. Texts

Norman J. Vig and Michael E. Kraft, eds., <u>Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century</u>, 7<sup>th</sup> ed. (2010).

Worldwatch Institute, <u>State of the World 2008</u> (2008).

Michael E. Kraft, Environmental Policy and Politics, 5th ed. (2011).

The first of these books is a collection I have co-edited with Norman Vig, and it includes 18 different authors and 16 chapters. This edition was published in late summer 2009 and is therefore still fairly current. The second book is an annual report from the Worldwatch Institute that offers assessments of global environmental conditions and policy recommendations by authors associated with the institute. We are using the 2008 version because its content fits the course better than the volumes for 2009 and 2010.

The last book is my own short text, in an edition released in spring 2010, and it is written to reflect the way I teach this course. It is intended to provide a basic description of environmental policies, issues, and political institutions and processes over the past four decades. Note that it is available at a greatly reduced price as an e-book.

References to additional works are included in each section below as a bibliography. There is no expectation that these will be read. However, some of them may serve as helpful sources for the papers. An extensive list of environmental policy Web sites is appended to the syllabus as well.

## 3. Requirements:

Course requirements include a midterm exam final exam and three short (4-5 pages, double spaced, each) papers on issues in environmental policy or politics. Guidelines for the papers, including suggested topics, will be distributed in class. The papers will be due at roughly equal intervals during the semester. The exams will consist of a combination of short-answer and essay questions and study guides will be handed out at least a week before each. Class attendance is required and active participation in discussions and class exercises is expected.

Course grades will be determined approximately as follows:

Midterm examination	20%
Final examination	20%
Papers	45%
Class participation	15%

Note: attendance and participation in class will affect the course grade, and repeated absences will have more of an effect than indicated by the 15% figure.

#### 4. Course Outline

#### **ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS AND POLITICS**

Session 1. Introduction

- 2. Kraft, Environmental Policy and Politics, Chap. 1, 1-24.
- 3. Michael Kraft and Norman Vig, "Environmental Policy over Four Decades: Achievements and New Directions," in Vig and Kraft, <u>Environmental Policy</u>, 1-26.

#### References:

Walter A. Rosenbaum, Environmental Politics and Policy, 8th edition (2011).

Kate O'Neill, The Environment and International Relations (2009).

Richard J. Lazarus, The Making of Environmental Law (2004).

Daniel A. Mazmanian and Michael E. Kraft, eds., Toward Sustainable Communities:

Transition and Transformations in Environmental Policy (2nd ed., 2009).

## JUDGING THE STATE OF THE ENVIRONMENT

- 4. Kraft, <u>EPP</u>, Chap. 2, 25-55.
- 5. Gary Gardner and Thomas Prugh, "Seeding the Sustainable Economy," in State of the World 2008, 1-17.

The  $6^{th}$  session will be devoted largely to small group discussion of the seven major environmental issues addressed in EPP, Chap. 2, with reports back to the class on Feb. 9. We will set up the groups on Feb. 2.

7. Small group reports on environmental problems, aiming for 5-10 minutes for each group. Any not finished on this session will be made session 8.

#### References:

James Gustave Speth, <u>Red Sky at Morning: America and the Crisis of the Global</u> <u>Environment</u> (2004) and <u>The Bridge at the Edge of the World: Capitalism, the Environment, and Crossing from Crisis to Sustainability</u> (2008).

World Resources Institute, <u>World Resources</u> (biennial, and a treasure trove of reliable data on global conditions and trends).

Lester R. Brown, Plan B 4.0: Mobilizing to Save Civilization (2009).

# ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY IN AN URBAN CONTEXT: ETHICAL AND CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES

8. Robert C. Paehlke, "Sustainable Development and Urban Life in North America," in Vig and Kraft, 244-264.

Erik Assadourian, "Engaging Communities for a Sustainable World" (151-165) or Tim Jackson, "The Challenge of Sustainable Lifestyles" (45-60) in State of the World 2008.

#### References:

Kent E. Portney, <u>Taking Sustainable Cities Seriously: Economic Development, the Environment, and Quality of Life in American Cities</u> (2003). Second edition coming in 2012. Robert C. Paehlke, <u>Democracy's Dilemma: Environment, Social Equity, and the Global Economy</u> (2004).

William Ophuls and A. Stephen Boyan, Jr., <u>Ecology and the Politics of Scarcity Revisited</u> (1992).

Paul Hawken, Amory Lovins, & L. Hunter Lovins, <u>Natural Capitalism: Creating the Next</u> Industrial Revolution (2000).

#### POLICYMAKING PROCESSES AND THE ENVIRONMENT

#### THE POLICY CYCLE AND THE EVOLUTION OF ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY

- 9. Kraft, <u>EPP</u>, Chap. 3, 56-84.
- 10. Kraft, EPP, Chap. 4, 85-110.
- 11. Deborah Lynn Guber and Christopher J. Bosso, "Past the Tipping Point? Public Discourse and the Role of the Environmental Movement in a Post-Bush Era," in Vig and Kraft, 51-74.

## First paper due session 11.

#### References:

Richard N.L. Andrews, <u>Managing the Environment, Managing Ourselves: A History of American Environmental Policy</u> (2nd ed. 2006), an extensive history, from the colonial period to the present.

Robert J. Duffy, <u>The Green Agenda in American Politics: New Strategies for the Twenty-First Century</u> (2003).

Christopher J. Bosso, Environment, Inc.: From Grassroots to Beltway (2005).

Deborah Lynn Guber, <u>The Grassroots of a Green Revolution: Polling America on the Environment</u> (2003).

Eric R.A.N. Smith, Energy, the Environment, and Public Opinion (2002).

Michael Kraft and Sheldon Kamieniecki, eds., <u>Business and Environmental Policy:</u> <u>Corporate Interests in the American Political System</u> (2007).

#### GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS AND POLICYMAKING

- 12. Norman Vig, "Presidential Powers and Environment Policy," in Vig and Kraft, 75-98.
- 13. Michael Kraft, "Environmental Policy in Congress," in Vig and Kraft, 99-124.
- 14. Rosemary O'Leary, "Environmental Policy in the Courts," in Vig and Kraft, 125-146.
- 15. Midterm Examination

## References:

Christopher McGrory Klyza and David J. Sousa, <u>American Environmental Policy</u>, <u>1990-</u>2006: Beyond Gridlock (2008).

James P. Lester, ed., Environmental Politics and Policy, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (1995).

Glen Sussman, Byron W. Daynes, and Jonathan P. West, <u>American Politics and the</u> Environment (2002).

Judith A. Layzer, <u>The Environmental Case: Translating Values into Policy</u>, 3rd ed. (2012). Rosemary O'Leary, <u>Environmental Change: Federal Courts and the EPA</u> (1993).

### **ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION POLICY AND POLITICS**

- 16. Kraft, <u>EPP</u>, Chap. 5, 111-158.
- 17. Walter Rosenbaum, "Science, Politics, and Policy at the EPA," in Vig and Kraft, 147-170.
- 18. Sheila M. Olmstead, "Applying Market Principles to Environmental Policy," in Vig and Kraft, 197-219.
- 19. Barry Rabe, "Racing to the Top, the Bottom, or the Middle of the Pack? The Evolving State Government Role in Environmental Protection," in Vig and Kraft, 27-50.

#### References:

Marc Allen Eisner, <u>Governing the Environment: The Transformation of Environmental</u> Regulation (2007).

National Academy of Public Administration, <u>Environment.gov: Transforming Environmental Protection for the 21st Century</u> (2000), available at www.napawash.org). Paul Portney and Robert N. Stavins, eds., <u>Public Policies for Environmental Protection</u>, 2nd ed. (2000).

## **ENERGY POLICIES AND ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY**

20. Kraft, EPP, Chap. 6, 159-173.

Christopher Flavin, "Building a Low-Carbon Economy" (75-90) or Hilary French and Zoe Chafe, "Improving Carbon Markets" (91-106), in <u>State of the World 2008</u>.

#### References:

Joseph F. C. DiMento and Pamela Doughman, eds., <u>Climate Change: What It Means for Us, Our Children, and Our Grandchildren</u> (2007).

Henrik Selin and Stacy D. VanDeveer, eds., <u>Changing Climates in North American Politics:</u> <u>Institutions, Policymaking, and Multilevel Governance</u> (2009).

Kathryn Harrison and Lisa McIntosh Sundstrom, eds., <u>Global Commons, Domestic Decisions: The Comparative Politics of Climate Change</u> (2010).

Barry Rabe, <u>Statehouse and Greenhouse</u>: <u>The Emerging Politics of American Climate</u> <u>Change Policy</u> (2004), and <u>Greenhouse Governance</u>: <u>Addressing Climate Change in America</u> (2010, Brookings study):

www.brookings.edu/press/Books/2010/greenhousegovernance.aspx.

Robert J. Duffy, Nuclear Politics in America (1997).

### **NATURAL RESOURCE POLICIES**

21. Kraft, <u>EPP</u>, Chap. 6, 173-204. We will also see a film, "A Snowmobile for George," on environmental deregulation in the Bush administration and its consequences.

## 2nd paper due session 21

22. Mark Lubell and Brian Segee, "Conflict and Cooperation in Natural Resource Management," in Vig and Kraft, 171-196.

Ger Bergkamp and Claudia Sadoff, "Water in a Sustainable Economy" (107-122) or Ricardo Bayon, "Banking on Biodiversity" (123-137), in <u>State of the</u> World 2008.

#### References:

J. N. Clark and D. McCool, <u>Staking Out the Terrain: Power Differentials Among Natural Resource Management Agencies</u>, 2nd ed. (1996).

William R. Lowry, <u>Repairing Paradise: The Restoration of Nature in America's National Parks</u> (2009).

Judith A. Layzer, <u>Natural Experiments: Ecosystem-Based Management and the Environment</u> (Fall 2008).

Charles Davis, ed., <u>Western Public Lands and Environmental Politics</u>, 2nd ed. (2001). Paul Sabatier, et al., eds., <u>Swimming Upstream: Collaborative Approaches to Watershed</u> Management (2005).

#### **EVALUATING ENVIRONMENTAL AND RESOURCE POLICIES**

- 23. Kraft, EPP, Chap. 7, 205-240.
- 24. Daniel Press and Daniel A. Mazmanian, "Toward Sustainable Production: Finding Workable Strategies for Government and Industry," in Vig and Kraft, 220-243.

John Talberth, "A New Bottom Line for Progress" (18-31), L. Hunter Lovins, "Rethinking Production" (32-44); or Bill Baue, "Investing for Sustainability," in State of the World 2008 (180-195).

#### References:

Peter Kareiva, et al., <u>Natural Capital: Theory and Practice of Mapping Ecosystem Services</u> (2011).

Michael E. Kraft, Mark Stephan, and Troy D. Abel, <u>Coming Clean: Information Disclosure</u> and <u>Environmental Performance</u> (2011)

Daniel Fiorino, The New Environmental Regulation (2006).

Robert F. Durant, Daniel J. Fiorino, and Rosemary O'Leary, eds., <u>Environmental Governance</u> Reconsidered: Challenges, Choices, and Opportunities (2004).

Daniel C. Esty and Andrew S. Winston, <u>Green to Gold: How Smart Companies Use</u> <u>Environmental Strategy to Innovate, Create Value, and Build Competitive Advantage</u> (2006) Cary Coglianese and Jennifer Nash, eds., <u>Leveraging the Private Sector: Management-Based Strategies for Improving Environmental Performance</u> (2006).

# TOWARD SUSTAINABILITY: LINKING DOMESTIC AND GLOBAL ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS AND POLICY:

25. Kraft, EPP, Chap. 8, 241-271.

Henrik Selin and Stacy D. VanDeveer, "Global Climate Change: Kyoto and Beyond," in Vig and Kraft, 265-285.

26. Richard A. Matthew, "Environmental Security," in Vig and Kraft, 327-348.

Mark Halle, "New Approaches to Trade Governance," in <u>State of the World</u> 2008, 196-209.

#### References:

Pamela S. Chasek, David L. Downie, and Janet Welsh Brown, <u>Global Environmental Politics</u>, 5th edition (2010).

Regina S. Axelrod, Stacy D. VanDeveer, and David Leonard Downie, eds., <u>The Global Environment: Institutions, Law, and Policy</u>, 3rd ed. (2010).

Paul F. Steinberg, <u>Environmental Leadership in Developing Countries: Transnational Relations and Biodiversity Policy in Costa Rica and Bolivia</u> (2001).

Norman J. Vig and Michael G. Faure, eds., <u>Green Giants? Environmental Policies of the United States and the European Union</u> (2004).

### POPULATION, ENVIRONMENT, AND DEVELOPMENT

- 27. Richard Tobin, "Environment, Population, and the Developing World," in Vig and Kraft, 286-307.
- 28. Elizabeth Economy, "China: The Great Leap Backward?" in Vig and Kraft, 308-326.

Brian Halweil and Danielle Nierenberg, "Meat and Seafood: The Global Diet's Most Costly Ingredients" (61-74), Jonathan Rowe, "The Parallel Economy of the Commons" (138-150), or Jason Calder, "Mobilizing Human Energy" (166-179), in <u>State of the World 2008</u>.

## Third paper due session 28.

#### THE FUTURE OF ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY AND POLITICS

29. Norman Vig and Michael Kraft, "Conclusion: Toward Sustainable Development?" in Vig and Kraft, 349-368.

#### References:

President's Council on Sustainable Development, <u>Sustainable America: A New Consensus</u> (1996).

World Commission on Environment and Development, <u>Our Common Future</u> (1987). Lester R. Brown, <u>Plan B 3.0: Mobilizing to Save Civilization</u> (2008) and <u>World on the Edge:</u> How to Prevent Environmental and Economic Collapse (2011).

Thomas L. Friedman, <u>Hot, Flat and Crowded: Why We Need a Green Revolution—and How</u> it Can Renew America (2009).

#### **FINAL EXAM**

#### SELECTED ENVIRONMENTAL WEB SITES

### **General Sites on Public Policy or Environment**

http://thomas.loc.gov/ (Library of Congress's Thomas search engines for locating key congressional documents. It is one of the most comprehensive public site for legislative searches).

www.usa.gov/ (portal for all U.S. federal government sites).

www.gao.gov/ (U.S. Government Accountability Office, a treasure trove of reports on government agencies and programs, esp. evaluation studies of environmental programs).

<u>www.epa.gov</u> (United States Environmental Protection Agency, with many specialized pages).

www.whitehouse.gov/ceq (Council on Environmental Quality).

http://www.wisconsin.gov/state/index.html (portal for Wisconsin government)

<u>www.dnr.wi.gov/environmentprotect/</u> (DNR site for environmental programs)

www.dnr.state.wi.us/NaturalResources.html (DNR site for natural resources programs)

http://dnr.wi.gov/water/basin/lowerfox/. DNR site dedicated to Fox River cleanup program.

#### **Environmental Research and Data Collections**

http://www.ncseonline.org/ (National Council for Science and the Environment). Useful site with new National Library for the Environment, links to Congressional Research Service studies on environmental issues and more).

www.rff.org (Resources for the Future--economic policy analyses and information).

<u>www.worldwatch.org/</u> (Worldwatch Institute site, with list of Worldwatch papers and other publications).

<u>www.wri.org/wri/</u> (World Resources Institute site, with useful links to studies and international environmental and governmental organizations).

<u>www.scorecard.org/</u> (A long-standing, though now dated, site for extensive environmental data by city or zip code—hazardous air emissions, chemical releases from manufacturing, hazardous waste, drinking water, etc. Can also see TRI data at <u>www.epa.gov/tri/</u>).

<u>www.unfpa.org</u> (United Nations Population Fund, population information; latest projections, studies, official statements, country profiles). See also <u>www.census.gov</u> (U.S. Census Bureau population data and projections).

## **Environmental Organizations and Advocacy Groups**

<u>www.webdirectory.com/</u> (environmental organization Web directory and search engine for diverse environmental topics).

www.edf.org/(Environmental Defense Fund home page).

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www.audubon.org/ (Audubon Society).
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http://nature.org/ (The Nature Conservancy).

www.tws.org (Wilderness Society).

www.defenders.org (Defenders of Wildlife).

www.nwf.org (National Wildlife Federation).

www.iwla.org/ (Izaak Walton League of America).

www.sierraclub.org (Sierra Club).

www.earthfirstnews.com/ (Earth First!).

www.greenpeace.org (Greenpeace International).

www.elfpressoffice.org/. (Earth Liberation Front)

www.populationconnection.org/ (Population Connection, formerly Zero Population Growth. Extensive information on population growth in the U.S. and worldwide, updates on population related news and legislation).

www.lcv.org (League of Conservation Voters--environmental voting records and information on congressional actions).

http://www.conservationvoters.org/Public/. Wisconsin League of Conservation Voters.

www.nrdc.org (Natural Resources Defense Council--news and information on public policy issues).

<u>www.greatlakes.org</u> (Alliance for the Great Lakes, covering water quality, toxic releases, land use, and related issues that affect Lake Michigan Basin).

www.cwac.net/index.html (Clean Water Action Council of NE Wisconsin).

<u>www.secondnature.org/</u> (Second Nature site, devoted to education for sustainability, with good links to other sites).

<u>www.ucsusa.org/</u>(Union of Concerned Scientists. An excellent site for environmental policy links).

http://www.pewclimate.org/. One of the leading sites for news and policy developments related to climate change.

## **Industry Groups and Conservative Think Tanks**

www.uschamber.com/(U.S. Chamber of Commerce)

www.nam.org/(National Association of Manufacturers)

<u>www.nfib.com/</u>(National Federation of Independent Businesses)

www.heritage.org/(Heritage Foundation)

www.cato.org/(Cato Institute)

www.cei.org/(Competitive Enterprise Institute)

#### **Environmental News Sites**

http://www.earthportal.org/news/. A diversified environmental news site that is affiliated with the Earth Portal, the Encyclopedia of Earth, and EarthForum.

www.gristmagazine.com (an online environmental newsmagazine, with a satirical twist).

www.envirolink.org (Environmental Library Search).

www.enn.com (Environmental News Network --current news and links).

http://www.nytimes.com/pages/science/earth/index.html (New York Times environment page)

#### **Environmental Education and Careers**

www.starfish.org (Sustainability and Environmental Education--resources, bibliographies, courses).

<u>www.ecojobs.com/</u> (Environmental Careers Opportunities, Inc.--internships and jobs in environmental field).

<u>www.webdirectory.com/Employment/</u> (comprehensive site for environmental employment information and posting of resumes).

## **Sustainability Sites**

http://www.aashe.org/index.php. Association for the Advancement of Sustainability in Higher Education.

<u>www.naturalstep.org/</u> (The Natural Step site, with principles of sustainability for corporations and others, related to Paul Hawken's book <u>The Ecology of Commerce</u>).

<u>www.sustainable.org/</u> (Sustainable Communities Network. Good information on sustainability tools and references, with many links to other sites and extensive bibliographies for subjects such as water, biodiversity, energy, governing, business, etc.).

<u>www.sustainablemeasures.com/</u>(excellent site for sustainability indicators).

http://asje.info/. Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment.

www.myfootprint.org/ (Center for Sustainable Economy, ecological footprint quiz)

<u>www.footprintnetwork.org</u> (Global Footprint Network, dedicated to advancing the science of sustainability. Produces fascinating information about the ecological footprint that humans have on the planet, and many ways to calculate that impact).

## **American Public Policy**

James R. Simmons
University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh

## **1. Course Description**

This course will examine the way in which the priorities of American politics are determined. Its primary themes will be organized around the question raised by political scientist Harold Lasswell many years ago: "Who gets what, when and how?" In order to attempt to answer this question, we will study the structure and processes of American national politics with the intent of assessing how decisions are made and public policy is formed. Having done this, we will turn to the general patterns in the distribution of social rewards (services, money and so on) and burdens (taxes, regulations and the like) in American life in order to understand the role that government and politics play in determining the shape of these distributions.

## **General Education Objectives**

- To contribute to the liberal education of students by clarifying the manifold ways government influences the quality of their lives and shapes their opportunities for self-realization.
- To prepare students for active citizenship by providing them with essential knowledge about social processes and engaging them in public issues.
- To provide a rigorous intellectual environment in which students develop analytical skills and the capacity to clearly articulate ideas and arguments.

### **Course Objectives**

From the specific course perspective, these are the elements that I expect you to master:

- Understand and explain the major political and governing institutions of the United States and their role in the development, implementation, and evaluation of public policy.
- Have an understanding of the major elements to be considered in policy analysis and its role in public policy and be able to communicate this.

- Understand the major public policy problems discussed in class (see syllabus) and the alternatives that have been proposed to deal with these problems.
- Analyze different alternatives to solutions and how they might address the public policy problems. This includes an understanding of the major arguments in support of, and in opposition to, the alternatives.

## 2. Required Readings

Cochran, Mayer, Carr & Cayer. <u>American Public Policy</u>. Hird.& Reese, <u>Controversies in American Public Policy</u>.

## 3. Course Outline

Topics-	Readings-		
Weeks	Cochran	Hird	
1) Introduction- Issues	ch.1	preface	
2) Intergovernmental Relations	2	6	
3) Government and Business	3	1	
4) Economy and Public Finance	4	7	
5) Energy and Environment	5	5	
6) Crime and Social Justice	6	12, 13	
7) Mid-Term Examination	Review rea	Review readings.	

Topics- Readings-

Weeks	Cochran	Hird
8) Welfare and Inequality	7	3, 9
9) Health Care Services	8	10
10) Public Education System	9	2
11) Legal and Social Equality	10	11
12) Immigration Policy	11	6
13) Public Morality	12	8
14) Final Examination	13	

Roughly one week will be devoted to each of the topics and readings but changes in course assignments may be necessary.

## **4. Course Requirements**

- 1) Two Examinations (50%) Exams may include multiple-choice questions, identification, short answers and an essay. Exam dates will be announced in class.
- 2) Discussion (20%) Participation in class discussions on controversies over policy alternatives. Students will be asked to be the primary participants in at least two policy debates during the semester.
- 3) Term Paper (30%) Any reasonable topic covering a public policy issue related to this course from one of the ten listed choices. Topics should be cleared with the instructor and utilize a standard form of research methodology and stylistic format.

## **5. Paper Project Choices**

- 1) Explore a single Federal Agency and related Public Opinion Data that impinge on the agency's functions.
- 2) Examine Congressional Information Centers OR The State of the Union (or State) Address and Agenda Setting.
- 3) Study a single Think Tank and then decipher the Think Tank's information and methods of influence.
- 4) Find Information on a specific Policy Issue and discuss the competing ideological positions on this policy question.
- 5) Assess a Policy Alternative and Risk and Making Decisions.
- 6) Evaluating Economic Data and perform a Budget Deficit Simulation.
- 7) Interpret Health Care Statistics and examine Prescription Drug Coverage under Medicare.
- 8) Understand the underlying social and political causes of Poverty.
- 9) Examine Higher Education Data and use these Statistics in an attempt to determine Education Quality.
- 10) Explain how to Interpret Policy Studies as a discipline.



The PSO offices at 1527 New Hampshire Avenue were constructed in 1882 and for many years were the home of the family of United States President James Garfield. A cordial welcome awaits visitors.