

**Prof. Paul Steinberg**  
**Political Studies 114**  
**Harvey Mudd College**  
**Office hours by appointment (Parsons 1280)**

**Mon/Wed 11:00-12:15**  
**Room: Shanahan 2440**  
**Spring 2015**

## **COMPARATIVE ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS**

This course examines one of the most remarkable political developments of the past century: the rise, within a single generation, of environmental concern and associated social movements and public policies in far-flung societies around the globe. What was once the preoccupation of small numbers of citizens in wealthy countries has become a major global trend inspiring political action from Rio to Budapest, Hong Kong, Lagos, and Tehran.

This affords us several opportunities. First, we will switch from the wide-angle lens of "Saving the Planet" – symbolized by the image of Earth seen from outer space – to take a closer look at the political challenges faced by environmental advocates in diverse domestic settings. Specific topics include comparative political systems, policymaking styles, changes in values, environmental movements, state-society relations, authoritarian regimes, democratization, resource conflicts, decentralization, policy reform, gender analysis, and European unification. We will also use the environment as a window into broader themes in comparative politics – the subfield of political science that compares domestic politics around the world. Students will learn how to work more effectively in foreign settings by assessing the political context in which technological and policy innovations are applied. Finally, the subject allows us to study one of the leading edges of environmental research as it unfolds, lending insight into the practice of professional research.

### **Required Texts**

Paul F. Steinberg and Stacy D. VanDeveer (eds.), *Comparative Environmental Politics: Theory, Practice, and Prospects*, MIT Press, 2012.

Paul F. Steinberg, *Environmental Leadership in Developing Countries: Transnational Relations and Biodiversity Policy in Costa Rica and Bolivia*, MIT Press, 2001.

Judith Shapiro, *China's Environmental Challenges*, Polity Press, 2012.

All other readings are available in a course reading packet that can be purchased in class.

## **Course Requirements**

Quiz	10 %
News updates	10 %
Active class participation	10 %
Midterm	25 %
Research Project	
10-12 page paper	30 %
5-7 minute oral presentation	15 %
Extra credit: student panels	

## **Course goals**

By the end of the semester, you should:

- Have a working knowledge of a repertoire of concepts from comparative politics and related fields that will help you to make sense of the fast-changing swirl of events and proper nouns that fill the international news.
- Be able to describe at length how national responses to environmental problems are shaped by domestic political contexts (institutions, cultures, histories, social actors) and by international influences.
- Understand the importance of peer-reviewed research for illuminating complex social issues and demonstrate an ability to access and incorporate the research literature into your own analysis.

## **How to get a good grade in this course**

- Complete all of the readings and take notes on them, writing a summary paragraph or two that include some details (specific dates, names, or events) from each reading. What is the central argument or key concept? How do these findings matter for the future of our planet? This note-taking exercise will help you to study for the midterm.
- Show up on time and take notes in every class. If you miss class, immediately get notes and announcements from a classmate (not the professor!). Contribute regularly to discussions.
- Midterm responses should be detailed rather than general; should draw extensively on readings and lectures; and should pertain to the specific questions asked.
- Your final paper should be well researched, making extensive use of peer-reviewed sources. Plan on writing at least three drafts and solicit feedback from peers or tutors.
- Follow the guidelines in the handout on oral presentations and practice your talk in advance.

## Introduction and Course Overview

### Jan 21 Wednesday

#### Readings:

Steinberg and VanDeveer, Chapter 1: Comparative Environmental Politics: An Introduction, in *Comparative Environmental Politics*.

## Greening the Nation-State

### Jan 26 Monday

#### Readings:

James Meadowcroft, *Greening the State?*, in *Comparative Environmental Politics*.

Paul F. Steinberg, A Planet of Nations, from *Who Rules the Earth? How Social Rules Shape Our Planet and Our Lives*, Oxford University Press, 2015.

World Bank, *World Development Report 2010*, Oxford University Press, 2010. Statistical annex only – study Table 1 (not A1) pp. 378-9. Available on Sakai. Optional: other tables in annex.

## Comparing Policy Styles

### Jan 28 Wednesday

#### Readings:

Sheila Jasanoff (1990) American Exceptionalism and the Political Acknowledgement of Risk, *Daedalus* 119(4):61-81.

James Q. Wilson, National Differences, pp. 295-312 in Wilson, *Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do and Why They Do It*, BasicBooks, 1989.

Europe and GMOs: Gently Modified, *The Economist*, January 17, 2015. (Available on Internet.)

### Feb 2 Monday

#### Readings:

Grindle and Thomas, *Public Choices and Policy Change*, chapter 3.

(continues next page)

Paul F. Steinberg, Welcome to the Jungle: Policy Theory and Political Instability, in *Comparative Environmental Politics*.

### **Feb 4 Wednesday**

#### Readings:

Howard Husock, *Executive-Led Government and Hong Kong's Legislative Council: Debating Harbor Protection*, Case Study 1431.0 (A) and 1431.0 (B), Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

⇒ Later this week view the online video (see sakai) on research strategies for your final paper

### **Comparing Public Opinion on the Environment**

#### **Feb 9 Monday**

⇒ Map quiz.

#### Readings:

*Environmental Leadership in Developing Countries*, chapter 2.

Suggested: Riley Dunlap and Herbert York, The Globalization of Environmental Concern, in *Comparative Environmental Politics*.

⇒ Student volunteer teams present oral summaries of the following articles (available on Sakai):

Anthony Downs (1972) Up and Down with Ecology – the “Issue-Attention Cycle,” *The Public Interest* 28:38-50.

Anthony Leiserowitz et al., *Politics and Global Warming*, Yale Project on Climate Change Communication, 2014. (Online on Sakai. Present a subset of results from this extensive analysis.)

Ramachandra Guha (1989) Radical American Environmentalism and Wilderness Preservation: A Third World Critique, *Environmental Ethics* 11(1):71-83.

Selective summary of findings from Internet search for <indigenous environmental cosmology>

⇒ Submit research proposal on Sakai by Friday at 5pm. One paragraph description of the topic, its significance, and examples of the scholarly sources you will draw on.

## Changing Social Values

**Feb 11 Wednesday**

### Readings:

*Environmental Leadership in Developing Countries*, chapter 6.

Jonah Sachs and Susan Finkelpearl. From Selling Soap to Selling Sustainability: Social Marketing. In *State of the World 2010: Transforming Cultures – From Consumerism to Sustainability*. Worldwatch Institute, Washington DC, 2010.

## Environmental Movements

**Feb 16 Monday**

### Readings:

Robert Gottlieb, Chapter 3: The Sixties Rebellion, in *Forcing the Spring: The Transformation of the American Environmental Movement*, Island Press, 1993.

Kate O'Neill, The Comparative Study of Environmental Movements, in *Comparative Environmental Politics*.

Sign up on Google documents for (1) individual meetings on your papers, this week and next; (2) date of your final class presentation.

**Feb 18 Wednesday**

### Readings:

*Environmental Leadership in Developing Countries*, Chapter 4.

⇒ No class. Work on research papers.

**Feb 23 Monday**

⇒ Meet in computing space in Sprague building. Work on research papers. Individual meetings continue.

## Gender Politics

### Feb 25 Wednesday

#### Readings:

Linda Mayoux (1995) Beyond Naivety: Women, Gender Inequality and Participatory Development, *Development and Change* 26:235-258.

Connie Campbell, in collaboration with the Women's Groups of Xapuri, Out on the Front Lines But Still Struggling for Voice: Women in the Rubber Tappers' Defense of the Forest in Xapuri, Acre, Brazil, pp. 27-61 in Dianne Rocheleau, Barbara Thomas-Slayter, and Esther Wangari (eds.) *Feminist Political Ecology: Global Issues and Local Experiences*, Routledge, 2013. Read only 27-45, 51-53 (top).

Suggested: Bernadette P. Resurreccion and Rebecca Elmhirst (eds.), *Gender and Natural Resource Management: Livelihoods, Mobility and Interventions*, Earthscan, London, 2008.

## Environmental Management under Authoritarian Regimes

### March 2 Monday

#### Readings:

*China's Environmental Challenges*. Chapters 2, 3 and 5.

Suggested: Jeannie Sowers, Institutional Change in Authoritarian Regimes: Water and the State in Egypt, in *Comparative Environmental Politics*.

### March 4 Wednesday

In class view *The Warriors of Qiangang*

#### Readings:

Lily L. Tsai (2011) Friends or Foes? Nonstate Public Goods Providers and Local State Authorities in Nondemocratic and Transitional Systems, *Studies in Comparative International Development* 46 (1):46-69.

**March 9 Monday**Readings:

Nancy Lee Peluso, Coercing Conservation: The Politics of State Resource Control, pp. 343-352 in Ronnie D. Lipschutz and Ken Conca (eds.), *The State and Social Power in Global Environmental Politics*, Columbia University Press, 1993.

⇒ Assignment on environment and human rights. Student teams present summaries of news searches.

**March 11 Wednesday**

⇒ Midterm

**March 14-22 Spring Break****Democratization and Transitions from Authoritarian Rule****March 23 Monday**Readings:

Gioconda Belli, Nicaragua: The Day After the Dictator, *Los Angeles Times*, August 24, 2003.

David Carruthers (2001) Environmental Politics in Chile: Legacies of Dictatorship and Democracy. *Third World Quarterly* 22 (3): 343–358.

Suggested: Kathryn Hochstetler, Democracy and the Environment in Latin America and Eastern Europe, in *Comparative Environmental Politics*.

**March 25 Wednesday**

Readings to be announced.

⇒ Student panel on the 'Arab Spring' and the environment

## Forces for Change: Corruption, Transparency and Policy Reform

### March 30 Monday

In-class exercise: tackling corruption in the Peruvian forestry sector

#### Readings:

Paul Robbins (2000) The Rotten Institution: Corruption in Natural Resource Management, *Political Geography* 19(4): 423–443.

*Environmental Leadership in Developing Countries*, chapter 5.

Suggested: Jenny de Fine Licht et al (2014) When Does Transparency Generate Legitimacy? Experimenting on a Context-Bound Relationship, *Governance* 27(1):111–34.

## Forces for Change: Reconciling Interests through Negotiation

### April 1 Wednesday

#### Readings:

David A. Lax and James K. Sebenius, *The Manager as Negotiator: Bargaining for Cooperation and Competitive Gain*, Free Press, 1986. Chapters 3.

Browse websites of U.S. Institute for Environmental Conflict Resolution ([www.ecr.gov](http://www.ecr.gov)) and RESOLV ([www.resolv.org](http://www.resolv.org))

⇒ Negotiation simulation to be completed outside of class later this week. Score sheets due in Sakai drop box by Sunday evening.

Suggested: James K. Sebenius, Assess, *Don't Assume, Part I: Etiquette and National Culture in Negotiation*, unpublished manuscript, Harvard Business School, December 2009.

### April 6 Monday

Discussion of negotiation simulation.

Student research presentations begin. Provide compelling summaries of key insights from your research paper. See guidelines on oral presentations. PowerPoint required. 5 minutes + Q&A.

No required readings.



## Scaling Up, Scaling Down

### April 8 Wednesday

Paul F. Steinberg, Scaling Up, in *Who Rules the Earth? How Social Rules Shape Our Planet and Our Lives*, Oxford University Press, 2015.

Henrik Selin and Stacy D. VanDeveer, Federalism, Multilevel Governance and Climate Change Politics across the Atlantic, in *Comparative Environmental Politics*.

Suggested: chapters on EU expansion, green parties, and decentralization of forest governance in *Comparative Environmental Politics*, and Vivian E. Thomson, *Sophisticated Interdependence in Climate Policy: Federalism in the United States, Brazil, and Germany*, Anthem Press, New York, 2014.

**April 13-17** No class – HMC advising week. Work on final papers and presentations.

### April 20 Monday

Student presentations.

⇒ Teams of 3-4 people share draft research papers and provide peer review outside of class this week.

### April 22 Wednesday

Student presentations.

### April 27 Monday

Student presentations.

## Future Trends

### April 29 Wednesday

⇒ Research paper due.

No required readings.