

**UNIVERSITY OF OREGON**  
**DEPT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

*Prof. Ronald Mitchell*

Time: T-Th 2:00-3:20 (Winter 2008)

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Office Hours: Tues/Thurs 11:30-1:00

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Course website via Blackboard

## **PS477/577: International Environmental Politics**

### *Goals of course:*

Increasingly, nations cannot solve their environmental problems through unilateral action and domestic policy alone. Governments, nongovernmental organizations, and editorial pundits frequently proclaim the need for international solutions to environmental problems ranging from preserving wetlands and wildlife to protecting the global atmosphere. In some issue areas, nations have signed aggressive international treaties, but in others, they have not. Although environmental problems certainly -- and, we hope, their solutions -- will continue to increase in number and importance in the future, solutions to many existing international environmental problems provide us with experience with which to better understand the types of solutions available, the processes by which they can be created, and how effective those solutions have been at solving environmental problems.

This course starts by outlining five perspectives on why environmental problems arise and how we can solve them. It then explores three processes of international policy development: identifying problems, designing and negotiating solutions, and implementing policies to change national behavior. We will use case studies to develop our understandings of these processes. We will ask questions such as: What conditions help countries negotiate treaties to resolve problems? What types of rules work best to induce compliance? How do we evaluate whether a treaty has been effective or successful? How do nations improve treaty effectiveness over time? In short, we want to identify the sorts of agreements that will help the nations of the world solve their environmental problems.

These questions require careful attention to causal analysis, i.e., to showing that one or more factors caused the outcome we observe and that absent that factor, the observed outcome would not have occurred. Thus, a major element of this course will require that you identify and skeptically evaluate all causal claims (your own, mine, and those of authors you read) regarding environmental problems. For example, this will require being initially dubious of claims that the International Whaling Commission has been responsible for fewer whales being killed since 1980, that growing scientific knowledge was caused signature of the ozone protection treaty, or that treaties ever influence behavior. I hope that developing your ability to think causally will be this course's most important contribution to your education.

**Word of warning:** Almost all past students who have taken this course have found the course itself -- and particularly the final paper -- to be quite difficult. Most students also find the course, in the end, rewarding. Be aware that the requirements to do well in this course are quite demanding.

### *Some Thoughts To Consider As You Begin the Course*

- Sustainable development means "treating the earth as if we intended to stay" -- (Robert Gray, 1993).
- When asked whether he would like people in India to have the same standard of living as the British, Mahatma Gandhi responded "It took Britain half the resources of the planet to achieve this prosperity. How many planets will a country like India require?" -- (T. N. Khoshoo, 1995).
- "The extinction of a species, each one a pilgrim of four billion years of evolution, is an irreversible loss. Death can be accepted and to some degree transformed. But the loss of lineages and all their future young is not something to accept. It must be rigorously and intelligently resisted ... Death is one thing, an end to birth is something else" -- (Gary Snyder, 1990).
- "I was brought up to believe that the only thing worth doing was to add to the sum of accurate information in the world" -- (Margaret Mead, 1964).
- A serious research study is "a study by someone whose mind could conceivably have been changed by the evidence" -- (Paul Krugman, 1993).

### ***Required books (at bookstore and on reserve in library)***

- Chasek, Pamela S., David L. Downie, and Janet Welsh Brown. 2005. *Global environmental politics, 4th edition*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. ISBN: 0813343321. [3rd edition will probably do just fine, if you can get it used.] Referred to as Chasek.
- Ken Conca and Geoffrey Dabelko. 2004. *Green Planet Blues: Environmental Politics from Stockholm to Johannesburg*, 3rd Edition. Boulder: Westview Press. ISBN: 0813342007 Referred to as Conca.
- E-Reserves. Many required articles will be made available on the course's Blackboard website.

### ***Requirements and grading***

#### **READINGS (NO PERCENT): ALL READINGS ARE REQUIRED.**

If you must make choices, place higher priority on Chasek and the E-Reserves, and less priority on Conca. Readings are intended as another source for information about international environmental politics -- they are additional to (rather than redundant with) class lectures. I welcome students raising issues from the readings in class.

#### **CLASS PARTICIPATION (10%)**

Attend and participate in class. Those who ask questions and make comments will get better grades. Unfortunately, shy people cannot waive this requirement. Even if you are shy, please speak up several times during the term.

#### **FIRST WEEK, NO POINTS, ASSIGNMENT (0%)**

Read the websites on plagiarism and the full assignment pack and come in with any questions you have about either.

#### **2 SHORT (3-4 PAGES) DISCUSSION PAPERS (FIRST: 10%; SECOND: 20%; 30% TOTAL)**

Write two essays responding to a brief question regarding the reading and the material in lecture. The one on the Tragedy of the Commons is worth 10% and the other on the Relative Effectiveness of Regimes is worth 20%.

#### **3 ASSIGNMENTS RELATED TO FINAL PAPER (FIRST: 5%; SECOND: 10%; THIRD: 10%; 25% TOTAL)**

There are three assignments related to developing the argument of your final paper for the course. Their main value lies in providing you with feedback that will help you improve the final paper you write.

#### **15-20 PAGE RESEARCH PAPER (35%): NO LATE PAPERS WILL BE ACCEPTED!**

Write a research paper of 20 double-spaced pages (25-30 for grads) evaluating whether a particular environmental treaty has been effective at improving the problem that motivated its creation. Details in assignment pack.

#### **POLICY ON LATE ASSIGNMENTS**

Late assignments will lose 2 points per day. Thus, an assignment that is 0-24 hours late would have 2 of 100 points deducted, one that is 25-48 hours late would have 4 of 100 points deducted, etc.

#### **EXTRA CREDIT POINTS FOR IDENTIFYING NEW DATA FOR RESEARCH PAPER**

I will give up to 10 extra points on the final paper (i.e., up to 4 extra points on the course grade) to students who identify a data set *not identified on the course data webpage*. I will grade all papers and then give additional points for those who identify new data sources. To receive extra credit, you must come to office hours and discuss it first.

Requirements and allocation of extra credit points:

- It CANNOT be an online source - it must be from a book or journal article. Use the library not the web.
- It CANNOT be simply a hardcopy of data available via the data links I provided.
- 2 points: Xerox copy of the data itself PLUS provide full, properly formatted citation of source.
- 1-2 points: 1 point if at least 10 years of data for at least 4 countries; 2 points if over 20 years of data for at least 4 countries or if over 10 years of data for at least 10 countries
- 3 points: Provide electronic version of data as Excel or Word file with source citation by email.
- 3 points: If dataset compiled from 3 different sources (e.g., compiling data from several annual reports).

#### **ACADEMIC INTEGRITY, PLAGIARISM, FABRICATION, CHEATING, AND MISCONDUCT:**

Enrolling in this course constitutes your agreement to abide by the University Policy on Academic Dishonesty. You must read [http://studentlife.uoregon.edu/programs/student\\_judi\\_affairs/academic-dishonesty.htm](http://studentlife.uoregon.edu/programs/student_judi_affairs/academic-dishonesty.htm) and

<http://libweb.uoregon.edu/guides/plagiarism/students/> and make sure you understand them by Thursday of week 1. Everything in your assignments must be your own work. Neither ignorance of these policies nor the lack of an intention to cheat or plagiarize will be considered a legitimate defense. Raise any questions you have with the professor before problems arise. *I will flunk any student who plagiarizes and will report them to University authorities -- I have done so at least twice in the past few years.*

**Noted without comment:** "Michael Hand 'earned' a Ph.D. in counseling psychology at New Mexico State University in 1982. In the Fall of 1987 an anonymous tipster sent to the University a copy of two scholarly sources that Hand had plagiarized in his dissertation. In April 1988, the University rescinded the Ph.D. it had awarded to Hand. Hand v. Matchett, 957 F.2d 791 (10thCir. 1992)" [Ronald B. Standler. 2000. Plagiarism in Colleges in USA Available at: <http://www.rbs2.com/plag.htm>, downloaded 20060615].

# PS 477/577: International Environmental Politics

## INTRODUCTION

### WEEK 1: TUESDAY, JANUARY 8:

#### *Introduction*

### WEEK 1: THURSDAY, JANUARY 10:

#### *Introduction (continued)*

PLAGIARISM ASSIGNMENT: Read websites on plagiarism (see p.2 of syllabus) and read whole assignment packet. This will clarify expectations of the course and its level of difficulty. You will be assumed to have read and fully understood what plagiarism is and how to avoid it from this point on.

Chasek, Ch. 1, whole chapter.

"Three Decades of Global Environmental Politics" in Conca ch. Intro.

Mitchell, Ronald B. 2002a. International environment. In *Handbook of International Relations*, edited by Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth Simmons, 500-16. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. *E-Reserves*

*Rec'd*: Kennan, George F. 1970. To prevent a world wasteland: a proposal. *Foreign Affairs* 48:2 (April), 401-413. *E-Reserves*

### WEEK 2: TUESDAY, JANUARY 15:

#### *Identifying the influence of policy solutions: preparing for your paper*

These readings are crucial for understanding the final paper requirements and for doing a good job in evaluating the treaty you choose to study. You should read these for this class but also re-read them several times during the term.

Mitchell, Ronald B. and Thomas Bernauer. 1998. Empirical research on international environmental policy: designing qualitative case studies. *Journal of Environment and Development* 7 (1):4-31. *E-Reserves*

Jacobson, Harold K., and Edith Brown Weiss. 1998a. A framework for analysis. In *Engaging countries*, edited by Edith Brown Weiss and Harold K. Jacobson. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1-18. *E-Reserves*

Jacobson, Harold K., and Edith Brown Weiss. 1998b. Assessing the record and designing strategies to engage countries. In *Engaging countries*, edited by Edith Brown Weiss and Harold K. Jacobson. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 511-554. *E-Reserves*

## PERSPECTIVES ON ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS

### WEEK 2: THURSDAY, JANUARY 17:

#### *Ecophilosophical, and Political Perspectives*

Donella H. Meadows, et. al., "Limits to Growth," in Conca ch. 01.

Ken Conca, "Rethinking the Ecology-Sovereignty Debate," in Conca ch. 06.

### WEEK 3: TUESDAY, JANUARY 22: CLASS WILL BE IN INSTRUCTIONAL TECH CLASSRM, 267B KNIGHT LIBRARY

#### *Economic and Legal Perspectives*

DISCUSSION PAPER: "Tragedy of the Commons" due at beginning of class (< 1500 words – provide a word count). See Assignment Packet for description.

Garrett Hardin, "The Tragedy of the Commons," in Conca ch. 03.

Susan J. Buck, "No Tragedy of the Commons," in Conca ch. 04.

*Rec'd*: William Ophuls, "The Scarcity Society," in Conca ch. 05.

*We will simulate the Tragedy of the Commons online during class. Prepare your strategy BEFORE class. Start by playing the "Optimizing a Private Farm" game on the website. During the in-class game, you will decide how many cows you want to put on a commons to which all other students have access. Your goal is to maximize the milk your cows produce (so you can share that milk with homeless people). What strategy will you use to ensure that you and the rest of the class do not overgraze the commons? How will you convince others to adopt your strategy? What should you do in the meantime to make sure you still can give milk to homeless people this year?*

# PROCESSES OF INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT

## *Identifying Environmental Problems*

### **WEEK 3: THURSDAY, JANUARY 24:**

#### ***Problem Identification and The Role Of Science In Policy Making***

TREATY ASSIGNMENT #1: due beginning of class.

Mitchell, Ronald B., William C. Clark, David W. Cash, and Nancy Dickson, eds. 2006. *Global environmental assessments: information and influence*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press. Ch. 1. *E-Reserves*

Tesh, Sylvia N. and Bruce A. Williams. 1996. Identity politics, disinterested politics, and environmental justice. *Polity* 18:285-305. *E-Reserves*

Sheila Jasanoff, "Skinning Scientific Cats" in Conca ch. 16.

**Rec'd:** Skim the IPCC Executive Summary. <http://www.ipcc.ch/>. *E-Reserves*

### **WEEK 4: TUESDAY, JANUARY 29:**

#### ***Science for Sustainability***

Lubchenco, Jane. 1998. Entering the century of the environment: a new social contract for science. *Science* 279:491-7. *E-Reserves*

Vitousek, Peter M., Harold A. Mooney, Jane Lubchenco, and Jerry M. Melillo. 1997. Human domination of earth's ecosystems. *Science* 277 (5325):494-9. *E-Reserves*

Kates, Robert W., et al. 2001. Sustainability Science. *Science* 292 (5517):641-2. *E-Reserves*

**Rec'd:** World Commission on Environment & Development, "Towards Sustainable Development," in Conca ch. 22.

**Rec'd:** Larry Lohman, "Whose Common Future?" in Conca ch. 23.

#### ***Initial discussion on writing final paper and conducting a good causal evaluation of a treaty's influence.***

Re-read Mitchell and Bernauer from Week 2 readings, think about causal questions and feedback from professor, and come in with questions prepared. This should help you prepare over the weekend for the next assignment of Outline and Graph of DV, and get started on your paper.

### **WEEK 4: THURSDAY, JANUARY 31:**

#### ***Problem Identification and The Role Of Nongovernmental actors***

Chasek, Ch. 2, whole chapter.

Paul Wapner, "Politics Beyond the State: Environmental Activism and World Civic Politics" in Conca ch. 11.

**Rec'd:** Ethirajan Anbarasan, "Kenya's Green Militant: An Interview with Wangari Muta Maathai," in Conca ch. 09.

**Rec'd:** Coordinating Body for the Indigenous Peoples' Organizations of the Amazon Basin, "Two Agendas for Amazon Development," in Conca ch. 32.

**Rec'd:** Chico Mendes, "Fight for the Forest," in Conca ch. 08.

## *Negotiating International Agreements*

### **WEEK 5: TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 5:**

#### ***Negotiation Theory***

United Nations Environment Programme, "Multilateral Environmental Agreements: A Summary," in Conca ch. 12.

Sprinz, Detlef and Tapani Vahtoranta. 1994. The interest-based explanation of international environmental policy.

*International Organization* 48 (1):77-105. *E-Reserves*

Corell, Elisabeth and Michele M. Betsill. 2007. "Analytical Framework: Assessing the influence of NGO diplomats" in forthcoming book with MIT Press. *E-Reserves*

**Rec'd:** James Speth, "Perspective on the Johannesburg Summit," in Conca ch. 13.

**Rec'd:** Henri Acselrad, et al., "Excerpt from the Jo'burg Memo," in Conca ch. 15.

### **WEEK 5: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 7:**

#### ***Negotiation Practice***

Chasek, Ch. 3, whole chapter.

Haas, Peter M. 1992. Banning chlorofluorocarbons. *International Organization*, 46 (1): 187-224. *E-Reserves*

## *Ensuring Compliance and Effectiveness*

### **WEEK 6: TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 12:**

#### ***Case Study – Relative Regime Effectiveness: Whaling and Ozone Protection***

DISCUSSION PAPER: "Relative Effectiveness" due at beginning of class (< 1500 words – provide a word count).  
See Assignment Packet for description.

*I have provided more extensive readings than usual to help you prepare your discussion paper:*

Peterson, M. J. 1992. Whalers, cetologists, environmentalists and the international management of whaling.

International Organization 46 (1):147-86. *E-Reserves*

Walsh, Virginia. 1999. Illegal Whaling for Humpbacks by the Soviet Union in the Antarctic, 1947-1972. Journal of Environment and Development 8 (3):307-27. *E-Reserves*

Grundmann, Reiner. 1998. The strange success of the Montreal Protocol: why reductionist accounts fail.

*International Environmental Affairs* 10 (3):197-220. *E-Reserves*

Clapp, Jennifer. 1997. The Illegal CFC Trade: An Unexpected Wrinkle in the Ozone Protection Regime.

*International Environmental Affairs* 9 (4):259-73. *E-Reserves*

Graph of Montreal Protocol CFC Consumption and requirements - *E-Reserves*

Graph of Whaling Convention quotas and kills - *E-Reserves*

International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling text and Secretariat - *E-Reserves*

Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer text and Montreal Protocol text and Secretariat - *E-Reserves*

Illegal Trade in Ozone Depleting Substances (UNEP 2001) - *E-Reserves*

### **WEEK 6: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 14:**

#### ***Compliance Theory***

Mitchell, Ronald B. 2007. Compliance theory: compliance, effectiveness, and behavior change in international environmental law. In *Oxford handbook of international environmental law*, edited by J. Brunee, D. Bodansky and E. Hey. Cambridge: Oxford University Press. 893-921. *E-Reserves*

Chasek, Ch. 4 - "Improving Compliance with Environmental Conventions" section.

**Rec'd:** Nancy Lee Peluso, "Coercing Conservation," in Conca ch. 33.

## **ISSUES AND DEBATES IN INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS**

### **WEEK 7: TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 19:**

#### ***Free Trade and the Environment***

TREATY ASSIGNMENT #2: due beginning of class. This should involve graphing your data and making an initial effort to explain what you see.

Chasek, Ch. 5 - "Trade and Environment" section.

Vaughan, Scott. 2003. "The Greenest Trade Agreement Ever? Measuring the Environmental Impacts of Agricultural Liberalization." 61-87. *E-Reserves*

Logsdon, Jeanne M., and Bryan W. Husted. 2000. Mexico's environmental performance under NAFTA: the first 5 years. *Journal of Environment and Development* 9 (4):370-383. *E-Reserves*

**Rec'd:** Daniel Esty, "Environment and the Trading System," in Conca ch. 18.

### **WEEK 7: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 21 (GUEST LECTURE):**

#### ***Environment and Security***

Thomas Homer-Dixon, "Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict: Evidence from Cases," in Conca ch. 27.

Daniel Deudney, "The Case Against Linking Environmental Degradation and National Security," in Conca ch. 28.

Somaya Saad, "For Whose Benefit? Redefining Security," in Conca ch. 30.

**Rec'd:** Adil Najam, "The Human Dimensions of Environmental Insecurity" in Conca ch. 29.

**WEEK 8: TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 26:**

*Discussion of final research papers - bring your questions*

**WEEK 8: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 28:**

***Sustainable Development***

TREATY ASSIGNMENT #3: due beginning of class.

Chasek, Ch. 5 - "North-South Economic Relations and the Environment" and "The Politics and Economics of Global Forest Loss" section.

João Augusto de Araujo Castro, "Environment and Development: Case of Developing Countries," in Conca ch. 02.

Sharachandra M. Lélé, "Sustainable Development: A Critical Review," in Conca ch. 24.

Bjorn Stigson, "The Business Case for Sustainable Development" in Conca ch. 25.

**WEEK 9: TUESDAY, MARCH 4:**

***Population***

Gita Sen, "Women, Poverty, and Population: Issues for the Concerned Environmentalist," in Conca ch. 34.

United Nations Population Fund. "Footprints and Milestones," in Conca ch. 35.

Daily, Ehrlich, and Ehrlich. 1994. Optimum Population Size. *Population & Environment* 15(6): 469-475. *E-Reserves*

**Rec'd:** "Baby levy to combat carbon emissions". *E-Reserves*

**Rec'd:** "Parents should pay climate change tax on extra kids". *E-Reserves*

**WEEK 9: THURSDAY, MARCH 6:**

***Climate Change, Part 1***

Alley, Richard B. 2004. "Abrupt Climate Change" *Scientific American* 62-69. *E-Reserves*

Oreskes, Naomi. 2007. The scientific consensus on climate change: how do we know we're not wrong? In *Climate change*, edited by J. F. C. DiMento and P. Doughman. Cambridge: MIT Press. 65-99. *E-Reserves*

Boykoff, Maxwell and Boykoff, Jules. 2004. "Balance as Bias: Global Warming and the US Prestige Press" *Global Environmental Change* 14: 125-136. *E-Reserves*

**WEEK 10: TUESDAY, MARCH 11:**

***Climate Change, Part 2***

McCright, Aaron M., and Riley E. Dunlap. 2003. Defeating Kyoto: the conservative movement's impact on US climate change policy. *Social Problems* 50:348-373. *E-Reserves*

Parks, Bradley C., and J. Timmons Roberts. 2006. Globalization, vulnerability to climate change, and perceived injustice. *Society and Natural Resources* 19 (4):337-355. *E-Reserves*

**Rec'd:** Other Readings for Climate Change Class: *Links on course website*

## CONCLUSIONS

**WEEK 10: THURSDAY, MARCH 13:**

***The Future of Global Environmental Governance – Problems we will face and Solutions we will have***

Chasek, Ch. 5 - "Conclusion: Toward Effective Global Environmental Regimes" section.

FINAL PAPER DUE at the beginning of class on March 13th. NO LATE PAPERS WILL BE ACCEPTED!