

## **PSCI 630: Comparative Environmental Politics & Policy**

Humboldt State University

Spring 2006

M 3:00-5:50; Founders Hall 204

Prof. Noah Zerbe

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Office Hours: 10-12 MF

and by appointment

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In this course, we will explore efforts at national and global environmental governance. Based on the assumption that environmental problems are fundamentally social, economic, and political problems, we seek to address several related questions: What are the ideological and material foundations of environmental policy? What role do local values, customs, traditions, and institutions play in policy formation? How do national policy makers, bureaucrats, scientists, local communities and non-governmental organizations and the corporate sector understand environmental problems? How do the various actors interact? What solutions do they propose, and what are the limits of their proposals? And why does all this matter?

The course will be comprised of three sections. In the first section, we will explore differing conceptions of property, value, risk and uncertainty that provide the theoretical and ideological foundation for environmental governance. Based on the competing frames and worldviews developed in the first section, we then develop a broad understanding of national policy formation in the United States and the European Union. In both cases, we examine the role of national governments, domestic and international non-state actors, and local values and institutions in the formation of environmental policy. In this section, we will also explore divergent national policies in the fields of biodiversity and biotechnology. Finally, in the third section of the course, we will consider the future of global environmental governance, problematizing the relationship between globalization and environmental regulation. In doing so, we attempt to move beyond the simple critique of existing environmental policy and look toward the identification and reconceptualization of alternative solutions to the problems and issues examined in the course.

Three broad themes will unify our consideration of the specific weekly material: environmental governance occurs simultaneously at multiple levels, from the personal to the global; environmental governance is predicated on struggles over both substantive and symbolic goals; and struggles over knowledge and knowledge production are central to environmental governance.

### ***Required Books and Readings***

The following books are required and are available at the HSU Bookstore:

- Ramachandra Guha. 2000. *Environmentalism: A Global History*. (NY: Longman).

- David McDonald, ed. 2002. *Environmental Justice in South Africa*. (Athens: Ohio UP). Note: We will read about half of this book. It is available for purchase in the bookstore, or you may read the copy placed on reserve in the library.

Additional required readings are available on electronic reserve through the course Moodle site.

***Course Requirements:***

- **Participation (15%):** As a seminar, this course depends on all of us coming prepared to participate to each and every meeting. To that end, I expect that all reading be completed *before* the seminar in which it to be discussed. Attendance seminar is a necessary but not a sufficient component of participation.
- **Three Critical Reviews (10% each):** To facilitate discussion, each student will be required to write and submit three critical reviews that engage with and respond to the course materials. Reviews should be no more than 750 words (approximately three pages) and may draw on both course materials and outside readings. A signup sheet for critical reviews will be distributed in class. Critical reviews must be submitted via the course e-mail list no later than Saturday morning before the class discussion. Late critical reviews will not be accepted. Critical reviews constitute part of the required readings, and therefore all students are responsible for reading the critical reviews *before* class.
- **Seminar Facilitation (10%):** Each student will be responsible for leading seminar discussion one week during the semester. This may be one of the weeks that you write a critical review. The exact nature of your facilitation is up to you, but I am happy to discuss ideas with you before the seminar.
- **Research Essay (35%):** The bulk of your mark will be based on an original research essay due the last class period (April 17). The paper should be approximately 20 typed, double-spaced pages (approximately 5,000 words) on a topic of your choice. The theme selected should deal with a theme developed in this course, but the exact topic is developed at your discretion. I am happy to discuss ideas with you at any time during the course of the semester.
- **Essay Presentation (10%):** During the final two weeks of class, student papers will constitute the required reading. You will have the opportunity to present your research to the class and discuss it in the seminar. Presentations will be discussed in greater detail during the semester.

***Late Assignments*** will be penalized at a rate of one-half letter grade per day. All assignments are due in class on the due date listed in the syllabus. Make up exams will not be scheduled without a valid medical excuse. If you have scheduling problems with any due dates, please contact me before the assignment or exam is due. Short critical reviews will not be accepted if late.

***Academic Honesty & Plagiarism:*** Plagiarism is the representation of someone else's work as your own. Plagiarism is a serious academic offense, and will result in an automatic zero for the assignment, failure of the course, and potentially more serious

sanctions from the University according to the Academic Honesty policy. Please contact me *before turning in your assignment* if you are unsure of what constitutes plagiarism.

**Support:** HSU offers excellent resources to help you succeed in your academic endeavors. These include the Library, Computer Labs, Computer Help Desk, Academic Support Center, Learning Center, and Writing Center. I strongly encourage you to take advantage of them!

**Disability Resources:** If you have a documented disability and would like to discuss academic accommodations, please contact me as soon as possible. The campus Student Disability Resource Center can assist you with the accommodation process and can be reached at (707) 826-4678 or (707) 826-5392 (TTD).

### **Week 1: January 23**

#### **Course Introduction: Defining “Nature;” Defining “Natural”**

Robert Cox. 1986. “Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory.” Ch. 8 (pp. 204-54) in Robert Keohane, ed. *Neorealism and Its Critics*. (NY: Columbia UP).

Giovanna DiChiro. 1998. “Nature as Community: The Convergence of Environment and Social Justice.” Ch. 5 (pp. 120-43) in Michael Goldman, ed. *Privatizing Nature: Political Struggles for the Global Commons*. (London: Pluto Press).

Robert Nelson. 2003. “Environmental Colonialism: ‘Saving’ Africa from Africans.” *Independent Review*. 8(1): 65-87.

Ludovic Blain. 2005. “Ain’t I an Environmentalist?” *Social Policy*. (Spring): 31-34.

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## **Part 1: Theoretical Bases of Environmental Governance**

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### **Week 2: January 30**

#### **States and Markets: A Theoretical Introduction**

Ellen Meiksins Wood. 1985. “The Separation of the ‘Economic’ and the ‘Political’ in Capitalism.” Ch. 1 (pp. 19-48) in *Democracy Against Capitalism: Renewing Historical Materialism*. (NY: Cambridge UP).

Anne Sisson Runyan. 1992. “The ‘State’ of Nature: A Garden Unfit for Women and Other Living Things.” Ch. 5 (pp. 123-140) in V. Spike Peterson, ed. *Gendered States: Feminist (Re)Visions of International Relations Theory*. (Boulder: Lynne Rienner).

Ian Hudson and Mark Hudson. 2003. “Removing the Veil? Commodity Fetishism, Fair Trade and the Environment.” *Organization and Environment*. 16(4): 413-430.

David Pellow. 2005. “Social Inequalities and Environmental Conflict.” Unpublished paper presented at the Environmental Politics Colloquium, UC Berkeley (October).

**Week 3: February 6**  
**Government, Governance, Governmentality**

Brian Martin and Evelleen Richards. 1995. "Scientific Knowledge, Controversy, and Public Decision Making." Ch. 22 (pp. 506-26) in Shiela Jasanoff, et al., eds. *Handbook of Science and Technology Studies*. (London: Sage).

Ronnie Lipschutz. 2005. "Between Governmentality and Global Politics." Ch. 1 in *Regulation for the Rest of Us? Globalization, Governmentality and Global Politics*. (NY: Routledge).

Robin Eckersley. 2004. "The Greening of the Democratic State." Ch. 6 (pp. 139-70) in *The Green State: Rethinking Democracy and Sovereignty*. (Cambridge: MIT Press).

Timothy Luke. 1999. "Environmentality as Green Governmentality." Ch. 6 (pp. 121-51) in Eric Darier, ed., *Discourses of the Environment*. (Oxford: Blackwell).

**Week 4: February 13**  
**Property, Property Rights, and Value**

Marilyn Waring. 1988. "A Woman's Reckoning," Ch. 1 (pp. 12-36) in *Counting for Nothing: What Men Value and What Women are Worth*. (Wellington: BW Books).

Marilyn Waring. 1988. "Your Economic Theories Make No Sense," Ch. 10 (pp. 203-23). in *Counting for Nothing: What Men Value and What Women are Worth*. (Wellington: BW Books).

Fred Block "Introduction" to Karl Polanyi's *The Great Transformation*.

Karl Polanyi. Ch. 6 "The Self Regulating Market." In the *Great Transformation*. (10pgs).

Samir Amin. 1993. "Can Environmental Problems Be Subject to Economic Calculations?" *Monthly Review*. 45(7): 16-44.

Laurie Ann Whitt. "Resisting Value-Bifurcation: Indigenist Critiques of the Human Genome Diversity Project." Ch. 6 (pp. 70-86) in Bat-Ami Bar On and Ann Ferguson, eds. *Daring to Be Good: Essays in Feminist Ethnico-Politics*. (NY: Routledge).

**Week 5: February 20**  
**The Commons Debates**

Garrett Hardin. 1968. "The Tragedy of the Commons." *Science*. (162): 1243-48.

Elinor Ostrom. "Reflections on the Commons." Ch. 1 (pp. 1-28) in *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. (NY: Cambridge UP, 1990).

James McCarthy. 2005. "Commons as Counterhegemonic Projects." *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism*. 16 (1): 9-24.

EP Thompson. 1980 [1963]. "The Field Labourers." Ch. 7 (pp. 233-58) in *The Making of the English Working Class*. (London: Penguin).

Rebecca Roberts and Jacque Emel. 1992. "Uneven Development and the Tragedy of the Commons: Competing Images for Nature-Society Analysis." *Economic Geography*. 68(3): 249-71.

**Week 6: February 27**

**Risk, Uncertainty, Sound Science, and Precaution: Theoretical Bases of Policy**

Judith A. Bradbury. 1989. "Policy Implications of Differing Concepts of Risk." *Science, Technology and Human Values*. 14(4): 380-99.

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

Andrew Blowers. 1997. "Environmental Policy: Ecological Modernisation or the Risk Society?" *Urban Studies*. 34: 845-71.

Ulrich Beck. 1995. "Politics in Risk Society." Ch. 1 (pp. 1-18) in *Ecological Enlightenment: Essays on the Politics of the Risk Society*. (Amherst, NY: Humanity Books).

Paul Bennett. 1999. "Governing Environmental Risk." *Progress in Human Geography*. 23 (2): 189-208.

**Week 7: March 6**

**The Rise of the Environment as an Issue in Political Economy**

Ramachandra Guha. 2000. *Environmentalism: A Global History*. (NY: Longman).

**Week 8: March 13**

**No Class: Spring Break**

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**Part 2: Applied Environmental Governance**

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**Week 9: March 20**

**Applied Regulatory Frameworks: US & Europe on GMOs**

Les Levidow and Susan Carr. 2000. "Unsound Science? Transatlantic Regulatory Disputes over GM Crops." *International Journal of Biotechnology*. 2(1-3): 257-73.

Aseem Prakesh. 2003. "Biopolitics in the EU and US: A Race to the Bottom or Convergence to the Top?" *International Studies Quarterly*. (47): 617-41.

Rodney Loepky. 2005. "Understanding Science and Technology: A Political Economy Framework." Ch. 3 (pp. 31-58) in *Encoding Capital: The Political Economy of the Human Genome Project*. (New York: Routledge).

Noah Zerbe. "Regulating Risk, Risking Regulation: Agricultural Biotechnology in International Trade. Unpublished paper presented at the 47th Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, San Diego, California (March 2006).

### **Week 10: March 27**

#### **Applied Regulatory Frameworks: Indigenous Knowledge**

Fantu Cheru. 1997. "The Silent Revolution and Weapons of the Weak: Transformation and Innovation from Below." Ch. 10 (pp. 153-69) in Stephen Gill and James Mittelman, eds. *Innovation and Transformation in International Studies*. (NY: Cambridge UP)

David McDonald, ed. 2002. *Environmental Justice in South Africa*. (Athens: Ohio UP). Pp. 1-130 (includes: David McDonald "What is Environmental Justice?"; Farieda Khan "The Roots of Environmental Racism and the Rise of Environmental Justice in the 1990s;" David Hallows and Mark Butler "Power, Poverty, and Marginalized Environments: A Conceptual Framework"; Belinda Dobson "Searching for a Common Agenda: Ecofeminism and Environmental Justice"; Greg Ruiters "Race, Place, and Environmental Rights: A Radical Critique of Environmental Justice Discourse")

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## **Part 3: The Future of (Global?) Environmental Governance**

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### **Week 11: April 3**

#### **Globalization, International Trade and the Eroding Basis of Public Policy?**

Ellen Meiksins Wood. 2003. "The Detachment of Economic Power." Ch. 1 (pp. 9-25) in *The Empire of Capital*. (London: Verso).

Jasmin Sydee and Sharon Beder. 2001. "Ecofeminism and Globalization: A Critical Appraisal." *Democracy and Nature*. 7(2): 281-302.

Stephen Gill. "Globalization, Market Civilization and Disciplinary Neoliberalism." Ch. 7 (pp. 116-42) in *Power and Resistance in the New World Order*. (NY: Palgrave).

Simon Dalby. 2004. "Ecological Politics, Violence and the Theme of Empire." *Global Environmental Politics*. 4(2): 1-11.

### **Week 12: April 10**

#### **Global Environmental Governance**

Peter Newell. 2005. "Race, Class and the Global Politics of Environmental Inequality." *Global Environmental Politics*. 5(3): 70-95.

Lucy Ford. 2003. "Challenging Global Environmental Governance: Social Movement Agency and Global Civil Society." *Global Environmental Politics*. 3(2): 120-35.

Matthew Paterson, David Humphreys and Lloyd Pettiford. 2003. "Conceptualizing Global Environmental Governance: From Interstate Regimes to Counter-Hegemonic Struggles." *Global Environmental Politics*. 3(2): 1-10.

Gustavo Esteva and Madhu Suri Prakash. 1998. *Grassroots Postmodernism: Remaking the Soil of Cultures*. (London: Zed). Selections.

**Week 13: April 17**  
**Open Week**

**Week 14: April 24**  
**Research Presentations**

**Week 15: May 1**  
**Research Presentations**