

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
Department of Political Science

POL 413 H1F/2213 H1F: GLOBAL ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS
FALL 2010

Monday 10-12, UC 148

Instructor: Professor Steven Bernstein

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Office hours during weeks in which classes meet: Mondays 2-4 or by appointment

N.B. I can arrange to meet you by appointment if you cannot make it to my office hours. Many questions and concerns can be handled via email or the class discussion forum. I do not answer email on weekends. Please allow 24 hours for a reply, excluding weekends.

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| <p>Note: We will be using Blackboard to manage this course. The syllabus and other important information about the course will be posted there. It is your responsibility to log on to the Blackboard website and obtain the posted information at portal.utoronto.ca. All students must have a U of T email address to do so. Feel free to use the electronic forums and message boards for any course related topics. Please respect basic netiquette conventions when posting messages.</p> |
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PURPOSE OF THE COURSE

This course examines the politics of addressing global environmental problems. It starts from the premise that global environmental problems are not given, but are constructed. Thus, a primary task of this course is to understand how and why global environmental problems are constructed as they are, and the consequences of those constructions for how governments and non-state actors try to address those problems. Why do some problems receive attention while others do not? Why are some forms of governance more prominent while others are hardly considered? What are the implications of different forms of governance for addressing the most serious environmental problems facing the planet? What are the prospects for developing more effective and legitimate governing arrangements to address these problems?

The ultimate goal of the course is to provide the analytic and normative tools to answer the above questions. This is a daunting task since environmental issues are not merely political, but also have economic, biological, geographic, and physical dimensions. In addition, they engage fundamental human values, such as equity, responsibility to our fellow human beings and future generations, and our relationship to nature. Specifically, the course will introduce you to a number of theoretical perspectives on global environmental politics and its intersection with other social science and tools to assess governing arrangements that have arisen in response to global environmental problems.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

| Requirement | Due Date | Value |
|--|---|-------|
| Class participation | | 15% |
| Critical Reading Summary (2 pages, double-spaced) | Posted on Blackboard by noon on Friday prior to class in which reading assigned | 10% |
| Critical Book Review (5-7 pages) | October 18, 2010 | 25% |
| Outline and Bibliography | Oct. 25 to your group, Nov. 1 to me | 5% |
| Group Presentation | | 10% |
| Final Research Paper (15 pages undergraduate; 20 pages graduate) | December 8, 2010 | 35% |

Class Participation:

Quality class participation is absolutely crucial for the success of this course. You are expected to read the assigned readings *prior* to each class and to be prepared to critically engage the readings in class discussions. For some, this will be one of your few non-lecture classes. *Take full advantage!* Apart from some introductory or clarifying remarks on particular topics, my role is primarily to facilitate discussion and to provide a supportive environment where you can learn from one another. Unexplained and unexcused absences will be taken into account in assessing the participation grade (obviously you can't participate if you are not in class!).

Critical Summary (1 per student):

You are responsible for providing the class with a critical summary of an assigned reading. You should also be prepared to lead class discussion on that reading. The summaries should identify the central argument in the reading (you do not need to summarize it in detail), assess its strengths and weaknesses, and raise 2-3 questions for discussion. Strengths and weaknesses might include whether it is logically consistent; well argued; supported by evidence; innovative; and/or contributes to, critiques, or otherwise engages other assigned readings or course themes.

Critical Book Review (5-7 double-spaced pages):

Choose *ONE* of the books listed below, and address the following questions:

1. What is the central thesis or argument(s) of the book?
2. What concepts/perspectives on global environmental politics that we have studied inform the analysis in the book? Does the author(s) do a good job of applying that perspective?
3. Could another perspective or any concepts not considered also explain the outcomes the book investigates just as well or better than those utilized by the author(s)?
4. Is the argument of the book a useful advancement, addition, or critique of any of the perspectives we have studied?
5. Does the book use evidence well to back up its arguments? Could the same evidence be used to support an argument that is different than the one the author makes?
6. How significant a contribution do you think the author(s)'s arguments make when compared to other class readings on related topics?

Books:

- D. G. Webster. 2009. *Adaptive Governance: The Dynamics of Atlantic Fisheries Management*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Peter Newell and Matthew Paterson. 2010. *Climate Capitalism: Global Warming and the Transformation of the Global Economy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Daniel Bodansky. 2010. *The Art and Craft of International Environmental Law*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Peter Dauvergne. 2008. *The Shadows of Consumption*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press
- Magali A. Delmas and Oran Young, eds. 2009. *Governance for the Environment: New Perspectives*. Cambridge University Press.

These books have been placed on reserve at Trinity College library. However, I highly recommend you immediately order a copy from Amazon or Chapters so that you have one of your own. The early part of the course is relevant to all of the books. You may also want to read ahead to relevant readings for particular volumes.

Group Project and Research Papers

The purpose of this assignment is threefold: to allow you to write an in depth research paper, to help each other improve your research skills, and to develop collaboration skills. Each person will write her own paper. However, you will also be in a group of 3-4 students working on the same issue. You will have an opportunity to discuss your specific topic and get feedback from your group, and will be responsible as a group for a presentation on the issue that draws from your individual research. While you may choose aspects of the problem or issue that interest you, your papers should engage with readings and themes covered in this course. Presentations are also an opportunity for others to learn about particular global environmental problems and attempts to address them. You might suggest one or two short background readings for students in advance of your presentation to facilitate engagement with your presentation.

Pick your topics from the list below. You may not get your first choice. However, if there is overwhelming demand for a particular topic, I am amenable to more than one group working on it. We will spend some time the first week narrowing the list. If you propose another topic, you must bring it to the second class. You will choose topics the third week.

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|---|---|------------------------------------|
| Privatization of environmental governance | Climate change | North-South environmental politics |
| Forests Protection and Use | Water | Ozone depletion |
| Biodiversity | Food/agriculture (e.g., debate over GMOs or land-use) | Mining |
| Toxic waste | World Bank and/or IMF and the environment | Overfishing |
| Energy and Environment | Carbon markets | Environmental ethics |
| Corporate social responsibility | | |

Each group will present on the challenge the problem poses for global governance, the prospects and limits of current attempts to address it, and the implications of your analysis for how best to address the problem moving forward. Keep in mind not only the optimal solution, but also what is politically and economically feasible. Each member of the group should develop his or her own research question and tackle a particular aspect of the problem. For example, on climate change, one person might address the dynamics of international negotiations, another might address the growth or prospects/limits of carbon markets to combat climate change, the third might address the problem of adaptation or financing for adaptation, and the fourth might address the potential of forests (e.g., REDD) or alternative mechanisms for combating climate change outside of the Kyoto Protocol.

Each student will be responsible for developing her or his own research question, outline and bibliography, which should be made available for discussion with other members of your group on (or before class) on Oct. 25. You may then revise it and hand it in to me on Nov. 1. Although you should do independent research for your paper, it should also engage class readings and themes. The best papers will apply concepts and/or evaluate theoretical perspectives or explanations we learned in class to the problem addressed in the paper.

READINGS

Optional Background Texts:

There are no required texts for this course. However, the following textbooks may be useful for general background, and have been placed on reserve at Trinity College Library.

1. Ronald B. Mitchell. 2010. *International Politics and the Environment*. Sage.
2. Pamela S. Chasek, David L. Downie, and Janet Welsh Brown. 2010. *Global Environmental Politics*, 5th edition. Westview Press.
3. Jennifer Clapp and Peter Dauvergne. 2005. *Paths to a Green World: The Political Economy of the Global Environment*. MIT Press.

Required Readings

All required readings are available through the library Portal or (when noted in the syllabus) via the course website. If you do not know how to search for journal articles, please let me know and I will gladly guide you through the process. **NOTE:** I have attempted to keep the number of pages of weekly reading to a minimum. Weeks with more assigned readings often include short readings in the list. The total number of pages rarely exceeds 100. Thus, my expectations are *high* that everyone will be able to cover all the reading. In addition, there is an extensive literature beyond the assigned readings for virtually every week's topic, and in some cases I have included extra readings. Starred readings are highly recommended for graduate students. You are encouraged to bring your insights to class from other related readings and/or your knowledge of specific cases not necessarily covered in the assigned readings. I will gladly provide a list of supplementary readings upon request.

FINE PRINT

PLEASE NOTE THE FOLLOWING CAREFULLY. Registration in the course constitutes your agreement to the following rules.

*Hard copies of assignments (other than the summaries) are due at the beginning of class. Critical summaries will not be accepted late. Extensions will not be granted without adequate documentation of a severe medical or other emergency. You must make a reasonable effort to contact me as soon as possible after the problem arises. **Please be advised that it is at the professor's discretion to decide on the legitimacy of the reason for an extension request and whether to accept the late assignment.** Papers handed in late without an extension being granted will be assessed a **5% late penalty** per business day (including the mid-term break). **I will not accept a paper more than 5 days late.**

*Papers not handed directly to me in class should be handed in to the political science office in Sidney Smith and date-stamped. **It is your responsibility to make sure I have received papers not handed to me in class.** Do not hand in papers under my office door since, assuming I find them, they will be considered to have arrived the day I discover them. *Always keep an extra copy of your assignments and your rough notes.*

*Assignments should be typed, double-spaced and properly referenced in an acceptable academic style. They may be double-sided to conserve paper and stapled (not in a folder or binder). If you have any questions about format or style, please consult me.

****THE FINAL GRADES IN THIS COURSE ARE FINAL.*** The grades are not arbitrary; they reflect my assessment of your work. If you need to maintain a certain average, or get a specific minimum grade in this class, make sure that the quality of your work warrants this grade. I will happily offer help to achieve your goals prior to the assignment due dates.

ACADEMIC HONESTY

Using anyone else's words or ideas requires citing that work. This includes ideas or articles found on the internet. Failure to properly cite other people's words or ideas constitutes plagiarism and is a **very serious** academic offence, as are other forms of academic dishonesty. Please consult me if you are uncertain whether citation is needed, or how to cite properly. See also the departmental memo on plagiarism attached to this syllabus.

Students agree that by taking this course all required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to Turnitin.com for the detection of plagiarism. All submitted papers will be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of such papers. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.

If you object to turnitin.com, please see the course instructor to establish appropriate alternative arrangements for submission of your essay and book review. Alternative arrangements could include submitting a draft of the work and being available for a short interview about the research process or the submission of rough work/notes with the paper.

Course Schedule and Readings

PART ONE: The Problem of Global Environmental Governance

September 13: Introduction

There are no assigned readings prior to class, obviously, since you don't have the syllabus yet! If you downloaded the syllabus in advance, start with the second week's readings.

September 20: Assessing and Framing the Problem

- Peter Dauvergne. 2010. The Problem of Consumption. *Global Environmental Politics* 10(2): 1-10
- Michael F. Maniates. 2001. Individualization: Plant a Tree, Buy a Bike, Save the World? *Global Environmental Politics* 1(3): 31-52.
- Peter Newell. 2005. Race, Class and the Global Politics of Environmental Inequality. *Global Environmental Politics* 5(3): 70-94.
- Adil Najam. 2005. "Developing Countries and Global Environmental Governance: From Contestation to Participation to Engagement." *International Environmental Agreements* 5 (3): 303-321.
- Steven Bernstein. 2002. Liberal Environmentalism and Global Environmental Governance. *Global Environmental Politics* 2(3): 1-16.

PART II: Explaining International Responses to Global Environmental Problems

September 27: International Institutions I: Anarchy and the Global Environment

- Garrett Hardin. 1968. The Tragedy of the Commons. *Science* v. 162 no. 3859, pp. 1243-1248.
- David Feeny et al. 1990. The Tragedy of the Commons: Twenty-Two Years Later. *Human Ecology* 18(1): 1-19.
- Oran Young. 1989. The Politics of International Regime Formation: Managing Natural Resources and the Environment. *International Organization* 43 (3): 349-375.
- Kal Raustiala and David G. Victor. 2004. The Regime Complex for Plant Genetic Resources. *International Organization* 58(2): 277-309.

October 4: International Institutions II: Power, Knowledge, and Ideas

- Peter Haas. 2004. When Does Power Listen to Truth? A Constructivist Approach to the Policy Process. *Journal of European Public Policy* 11 (4): 569 – 592.
- Elisabeth Corell and Michele M. Betsill. 2001. A Comparative Look at NGO Influence in International Environmental Negotiations: Desertification and Climate Change. *Global Environmental Politics* 1(4): 86-107.
- Peter Newell. 2008. The Political Economy of Global Environmental Governance. *Review of International Studies* 34(3): 507–29.
- Matthew Paterson. 2010. Legitimation and Accumulation in Climate Change Governance. Forthcoming in *New Political Economy* 15 (3) (available via the *New Political Economy* website, under "forthcoming articles").

Additional Readings:

- *Charlotte Epstein, 2006. The Making of Global Environmental Norms: Endangered Species Protection. *Global Environmental Politics* 6(2): 32-54.
- Thomas Gehring and Eva Ruffing. 2008. When Arguments Prevail Over Power: The CITES Procedure for the Listing of Endangered Species. *Global Environmental Politics* 8 (2): 123-148.
- Michele Betsill and Elisabeth Corell. 2009. *NGO Diplomacy: The Influence of Nongovernmental Organizations in International Environmental Negotiations*. MIT Press.

October 11: No Classes - Thanksgiving**October 18: Legitimacy and Effectiveness: Tension or Virtuous Circle?****Book Reviews Due**

- David G. Victor. 2006. Toward Effective International Cooperation on Climate Change: Numbers, Interests and Institutions. *Global Environmental Politics* 6(3): 90-103.
- Ronald B. Mitchell. *International Politics and the Environment*, chapter 6 (“Evaluating the Effectiveness of International Institutions”). On reserve and via Blackboard.
- Karin Bäckstrand. 2006. Multi-Stakeholder Partnerships for Sustainable Development: Rethinking Legitimacy, Accountability and Effectiveness. *European Environment* 16(5): 290–306.
- Steven Bernstein. Forthcoming. “Legitimacy in Intergovernmental and Non-state Global Governance.” *Review of International Political Economy*. (Available via Blackboard).

Additional Readings:

- *John S. Dryzek. “Democracy and Earth System Governance.” Presented at the Amsterdam Conference on the Human Dimensions of Global Environmental Change 2-4 December 2009. (Available via Blackboard).
- Ronald B. Mitchell. 2006. Problem Structure, Institutional Design, and the Relative Effectiveness of International Environmental Agreements. *Global Environmental Politics* 6 (3): 72-89.
- Hovi, Jon, Detlef F. Sprinz, and Arild Underdal. 2003. The Oslo-Potsdam Solution to Measuring Regime Effectiveness: Critique, Response, and the Road Ahead. *Global Environmental Politics* 3 (3): 74–96.
- Oran Young. 2003. Determining Regime Effectiveness: A Commentary on the Oslo-Potsdam Solution. *Global Environmental Politics* 3(3): 97–104.

October 25: Case Studies and Debate. Climate Change and Forests Governance: Regime, Non-Regime, or Regime Complex? Does it Matter for Addressing these Problems? Rough Paper Outlines Due (to your group for feedback)

- Robert O. Keohane and David Victor. 2010. “The Regime Complex for Climate Change.” Paper prepared for Presentation to the 2010 American Political Science Association Annual Meeting. Available via Blackboard.
- Peter Christoff. 2010. Cold climate in Copenhagen: China and the United States at COP15. *Environmental Politics* 19 (4): 637- 656.

Steven Bernstein, Michele Betsill, Matthew Hoffmann, and Matthew Paterson. 2010. "A Tale of Two Copenhagens: Carbon Markets and Climate Governance." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 39 (1): 161-173.

Radoslav S. Dimitrov, "Hostage to Norms: States, Institutions and Global Forest Politics," *Global Environmental Politics* vol. 5, no. 4 (November 2005), pp. 1-24.

Excerpts from IUFRO Experts Panel on the International Forest Regime Report. Forthcoming (to be posted on Blackboard).

Additional Readings:

Joseph E. Aldy and Robert N. Stavins. 2010. *Post-Kyoto International Climate Policy*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

David Humphreys. 2006. *Logjam: Deforestation and the Crisis of Global Governance*. London: Earthscan.

PART III: Globalization and New Forms of Environmental Governance

November 1: Globalization, Investment and Trade

Paper Outlines Due to the Professor

Ken Conca. 2001. Consumption and Environment in a Global Economy. *Global Environmental Politics* 1 (3): 53-71.

Jennifer Clapp. 2002. What the Pollution Havens Debate Overlooks. *Global Environmental Politics* 2 (2): 11-19.

Steve Charnovitz. 2007. The WTO'S Environmental Progress. *Journal of International Economic Law* 10 (3): 685-706.

United Nations Environment Program (UNEP). 2009. Climate and Trade Policies in a Post-2012 World. Chapters by Eckersley, Cosbey and Werksman, pp. 11-33. Available: <http://www.unep.ch/etb/publications/UNEP%20ADAM%20Climate%20and%20Trade%20Policies/UNEP%20ADAM%20Climate%20and%20Trade%20Policies.pdf>.

Additional Readings:

Robyn Eckersley. 2004. The Big Chill: The WTO and Multilateral Environmental Agreements. *Global Environmental Politics* 4 (2): 24-50.

WTO-UNEP Report. *Trade and Climate Change*. Available: http://www.wto.org/english/res_e/booksp_e/trade_climate_change_e.pdf

Melissa Gabler. Norms, Institutions and Social Learning: An Explanation for Weak Policy Integration in the WTO's Committee on Trade and Environment. *Global Environmental Politics* 10 (2): 80-117.

For an overview of debates on trade, investment and aid and additional resources, see chapters 5-7 of Clapp and Dauvergne, *Paths to a Green World* (on reserve).

November 8: Fall Break – No Classes

November 15: New Forms of Global Environmental Governance

- Klaus Dingwerth and Philip Pattberg. 2009. World Politics and Organizational Fields: The Case of Transnational Sustainability Governance. *European Journal of International Relations* 15(4): 707–744.
- Robert Falkner. 2003. Private Environmental Governance and International Relations: Exploring the Links. *Global Environmental Politics* 3(2): 72-87.
- Matthew Paterson. 2010. Legitimation and Accumulation in Climate Change Governance. Forthcoming in *New Political Economy* 15 (2) (available via Blackboard).
- Liliana B. Andonova, Michele M. Betsill and Harriet Bulkeley. 2009. Transnational Climate Governance. *Global Environmental Politics* 9 (2): 52-73.

Additional Readings:

- *Matthew Potaski and Aseem Prakash. 2005. Green Clubs and Voluntary Governance: ISO 14001 and Firms' Regulatory Compliance. *American Journal of Political Science* 49(2): 235-248.
- Steven Bernstein and Benjamin Cashore. 2007. "Can Non-State Global Governance be Legitimate? An Analytical Framework." *Regulation and Governance* 1(4): 347-371.
- Chukwumerije Okereke, Harriet Bulkeley and Heike Schroeder. 2008. Conceptualizing Climate Governance beyond the International Regime. *Global Environmental Politics* 9(1): 58–78.
- Liliana B. Andonova. 2009. Public-Private Partnerships for the Earth: Politics and Patterns of Hybrid Authority in the Multilateral System. *Global Environmental Politics* 10(2): 25-53.

November 22, 29 and Dec. 6: GROUP PRESENTATIONS

December 8 (Wednesday): Reforming Global Environmental Governance Final Papers Due!

- Oran R. Young. 2008. The Architecture of Global Environmental Governance: Bringing Science to Bear on Policy. *Global Environmental Politics* 8 (1): 14-32.
- Peter M. Haas. 2004. Addressing the Global Governance Deficit. *Global Environmental Politics* 4(4): 1-15.

A WARNING ABOUT PLAGIARISM

Plagiarism is an academic offence with a severe penalty.

It is essential that you understand what plagiarism is and that you do not commit it. In essence, it is the theft of the thoughts or words of others, without giving proper credit. You must put others' words in quotation marks and cite your source(s). You must give citations when using others' ideas, even if those ideas are paraphrased in your own words. Plagiarism is unacceptable in a university.

The University of Toronto provides a process that faculty members must initiate when they suspect a case of plagiarism. In the Department of Political Science, suspected evidence of plagiarism must be reported to the Chairman.

A faculty member may not mark an assignment or assess a penalty if he or she finds evidence of plagiarism – the matter must be reported. The Chairman, or Dean, will assess the penalty.

The following are some examples of plagiarism:

1. Submitting as your own an assignment written by someone else.
2. Quoting an author without indicating the source of the words.
3. Using words, sentences, or paragraphs written by someone else and failing to place quotation marks around the material and reference the source and author. **Using either quotation marks or reference alone is not sufficient. Both must be used!**
4. Adapting an author's ideas or theme and using it as your own without referencing the original source.
5. Seeking assistance from a friend or family member in respect to work you claim as your own.

If you are not sure whether you have committed plagiarism, it is better to ask a faculty member than risk discovery and be forced to accept an academic penalty.

Plagiarism is **cheating**. It is considered a **serious offence** against intellectual honesty and intellectual property. Penalties for an undergraduate can be **severe**.

At a minimum, a student is likely to receive a "0" mark for the assignment or test in question. But a further penalty is often assessed, such as a further reduction from the course mark or placing a permanent notation of the incident on an academic record.

Some websites listed below on avoiding plagiarism and proper sourcing:

"How Not to Plagiarize" available at: <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize>. "Standard Documenting Formats" available at: <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/documentation>. Other Advisory Material available at: <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca>.