

POL413/2213 – Global Environmental Politics

Professor Matthew Hoffmann

Tuesday 12-2

UC 148

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Objectives and Overview

Environmental change and problems have an impact on virtually all aspects of society and are crucial issue on the global stage. In this course, we will examine the challenges faced by humanity in dealing with global environmental problems and the politics of addressing them. Over the course of the semester, we will focus on both the underlying factors that shape the politics of global environmental problems—such as scientific uncertainty, North-South conflict, and globalization—and attempts at governing specific environmental issues. Our ultimate goal is to understand the processes through which humanity attempts to deal with the damage that it causes to the environment and protect the sustainability of the planet.

To do this we need to understand the universe of issues and the nature of environmental issues (scientific characteristics, social/political/economic characteristics, what makes them difficult to solve) as well as the actors that participate in global environmental politics and what they do. We are going to have a process focus, however, rather than a shopping list of issues focus, because I am convinced that if you understand the processes at play you can bring those to bear on any environmental issue and get a handle on the politics.

At the end of this course you will have an expanded knowledge of the global environment and the politics of addressing environmental problems. Beyond this substantive knowledge you will also enhance your critical thinking, reading, and writing skills. In addition, because examining the context and politics of global environmental problems requires knowledge of globalization, international relations, development, culture, and economics you will also gain experience employing concepts and ideas from political science and other social sciences in a specific area. This course covers a significant subject in the academic study of political science and prepares students to be well-informed Canadian and global citizens.

Requirements

1. Attendance and Participation—15%

This is a seminar and is heavily focused on discussion—I will not be lecturing and your experience in class depends significantly on what you bring to the course in terms of preparation and thought. You are expected to complete each week's required readings and

actively contribute to class discussions. Unexcused absences will result in a grade of “zero” (0) for that class. Other factors to be taken into consideration in evaluating the quality of your participation include preparation for class, being attentive during class discussions, and raising thoughtful comments and questions.

It might be helpful to keep the following questions in mind in preparing for class:

- What are the central points or arguments being made in the readings?
- What evidence and methods have they used to support their arguments?
- How does the week’s reading relate to other material examined in the course?
- How do you evaluate the authors’ positions?

You are expected to be an active participant in class discussions. Active participation entails:

- initiating a topic or question
- providing information and examples to clarify a point
- trying to synthesize or summarize a part of the discussion
- seeking clarification where one is unsure
- adding to and amending what others have said
- respectfully offering positive and negative reactions to others’ points
- seeking the positions (or clarification of positions) from other students

2. Reading Reflections—15%

To aid in your preparation for class, you will prepare reflections (max 300 word)on the week’s readings. These are not to be summaries of the reading, rather they should explore something that caught your interest in the week’s readings—something that confused you, or angered you, or got you excited, or something that connected to another week’s discussion. Use the reflections to develop your thoughts on some or all of the week’s readings. They should end with a question or a topic that you hope is included in the discussion for the week. The reflections should be uploaded to Blackboard by Monday at 8pm.

3. Research Paper—70% (Proposal 10%, Outline/Bibliography 10%, Final Paper 50%)

For this paper, you have wide latitude to choose a topic that interests you in the field of global environmental politics. The only parameters are that there must be an analytic question (how or why) driving the inquiry (normative questions may be included as well, but they cannot be the sole focus of the research), an environmental/sustainability issue must be central to the research (e.g. it cannot be a research paper about migration that includes a discussion of climate related migration), and there must be a global aspect (broadly construed) to the research. The paper will be done in stages throughout the semester (all submitted electronically via Blackboard):

February 9: Paper proposal—submit a 1-2 page proposal that includes your research question(s), a discussion of why they are important, an initial thesis statement that answers the question(s), and a plan for doing the research.

March 15: Annotated Bibliography and Outline—submit an outline of your research paper along with your current bibliography. You should annotate five of the sources on the bibliography (2-3 sentences giving a summary and why the source is important for your research).

April 12: Final paper—the paper should be a maximum of 8,000 words (max for *Global Environmental Politics* journal) and should follow the *Global Environmental Politics* referencing style.

Policies and Expectations:

What you can expect from me:

- I will strive to be fair at all times.
- I will be prepared for classes.
- I will be available and accessible outside of class.
- I will treat everyone with respect at all times.
- I will be enthusiastic.

What I expect from you:

- Proper preparation for class
- Respect for classmates, the professor, and TA's. We will be discussing some controversial issues in class, and I expect that you will conduct yourself civilly.
- Academic honesty—see box below. The UTSC Writing Center is a very useful resource to help you avoid plagiarism or other academic offences, as well as great place to improve your writing overall. I strongly encourage you to make use of their resources: <http://www.utsc.utoronto.ca/~tlsweb/TWC/index.htm>

Laptop Policy: No laptops or tablets.

Late Assignments: If you cannot meet a deadline, it is best to talk to me about it in advance—I am not unreasonable if you have valid conflicts, but I am less likely to be sympathetic once a deadline has passed. Late assignments will be penalized 5% per calendar day. Late reflections are not accepted.

Rough Drafts: Students are strongly advised to keep rough and draft work and hard copies of their essays before handing them in. These should be kept until the marked assignments have been returned.

Academic Integrity

Academic integrity is essential to the pursuit of learning and scholarship in a university, and to ensuring that a degree from the University of Toronto is a strong signal of each student's individual academic achievement. As a result, the University treats cases of cheating and plagiarism very seriously. The Univ of Toronto's Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters (<http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>) outlines the behaviours that constitute academic dishonesty and the processes for addressing academic offences. Potential offences include, but are not limited to:

In papers and assignments:

- Using someone else's ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgement.
- Submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor.
- Making up sources or facts.
- Obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment.

On tests and exams:

- Using or possessing unauthorized aids.
- Looking at someone else's answers during an exam or test.
- Misrepresenting your identity.

In academic work:

- Falsifying institutional documents or grades.
- Falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including (but not limited to) doctor's notes.

All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be investigated following procedures outlined in the Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters. If you have questions or concerns about what constitutes appropriate academic behaviour or appropriate research and citation methods, you are expected to seek out additional information on academic integrity from your instructor or from other institutional resources (see <http://www.utoronto.ca/academicintegrity/>).

Accommodations and Accessibility: If you require accommodations for a disability or health considerations, please contact me and/or the Accessibility Services Office as soon as possible. You do not need to inform me about the kind of disability unless you wish to do so. The Accessibility Services office will assess specific needs, provide referrals and arrange appropriate accommodations. The Accessibility Services staff are located in located in Sidney Smith Hall 130, and are available by appointment: 416-978-8060 or accessibility.services@utoronto.ca

Communication: We will use Blackboard extensively in this course. All class announcements and revisions to the syllabus/schedule will be made on the course page. Throughout the course we will have voluntary running discussion threads as well. You need to check the course page at least once per week to remain current in the class.

Email Etiquette: I will always do my best to answer your questions in a timely manner (usually within 48 hours), but please keep the following in mind:

- Do not expect instant replies (especially in the evening) or replies over the weekend.
- Please check the syllabus and class Blackboard page before sending questions on class logistics.
- Email is great for clarification questions and for setting up appointments. Substantive questions are best handled face to face. I encourage you to come see me in office hours.
- “Hey,” or anything like this, is not a proper way to begin an email.

Required Texts and Reading

Note: Recommended readings are required for graduate students.

There are no textbooks for this course. Citations for readings and some links to electronic readings are available on Blackboard. Additional readings, beyond what is listed below, may be assigned through the semester.

The journal *Global Environmental Politics* is a key source for literature on the topics we are examining in this class—many of the assigned readings come from it and I urge you to take a look at the whole journal through the library.

Tentative Schedule

January 12

- Hope or Despair in the Anthropocene

January 19

- Three Foundations: Human/Environment Relationship, Types of Problems, and Science/Policy Interface
- Question for the Week: How should we understand the problems we are facing?

Required Reading:

Jennifer Clapp and Peter Dauvergne Chapter 1 (Blackboard)

Mitchell Chapter 2 (Blackboard)

Moser, S. C. (2008). What is asked of us: A clarion call to scientists at an urgent time. *IHDP Update Extra* (Newsletter of the Int. Human Dimensions Programme on Global Environmental Change): 37-40. (Available online—google it)

Litfin, K.T., 1995. Framing science: Precautionary discourse and the ozone treaties. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 24(2), pp.251-277.

Recommended Reading:

Hardin, G., 1968. The tragedy of the commons. *science*, 162(3859), pp.1243-1248.

Ostrom, E., Burger, J., Field, C.B., Norgaard, R.B. and Policansky, D., 1999. Revisiting the commons: local lessons, global challenges. *science*, 284(5412), pp.278-282.

Bäckstrand, K., 2003. Civic science for sustainability: reframing the role of experts, policy-makers and citizens in environmental governance. *Global Environmental Politics*, 3(4), pp.24-41.

January 26

- Dominant Discourses and their Critiques: Liberal Environmentalism, Sustainable Development, Individual/Structural
- (Same) Question for the Week: How do we understand the problems we are facing?

Required Reading:

New Climate Economy Report 2015 (<http://2015.newclimateeconomy.report/>)

Ten things you can do (http://www.ucsusa.org/global_warming/what_you_can_do/ten-personal-solutions-to.html#.VpQEjxd6pRk)

Paul Wapner & John Willoughby (2005). The Irony of Environmentalism: The Ecological Futility but Political Necessity of Lifestyle Change. *Ethics and International Affairs* 19 (3): 77-89.

Hopwood, B., Mellor, M. and O'Brien, G., 2005. Sustainable development: mapping different approaches. *Sustainable development*, 13(1), pp.38-52.

Bernstein, S., 2002. Liberal environmentalism and global environmental governance. *Global Environmental Politics*, 2(3), pp.1-16.

Recommended Reading

Maniates, M. F. (2001). Individualization: Plant a tree, buy a bike, save the world? *Global environmental politics*, 1(3), 31-52.

February 2

- Ozone, Climate, Biodiversity, Forests, and why we aren't spending time on regime theory
- Question for the week: Regimes, what are they good for?

Required Reading:

Dimitrov, R.S., 2005. Hostage to norms: states, institutions and global forest politics. *Global environmental politics*, 5(4), pp.1-24.

Young, O.R., 1989. The politics of international regime formation: managing natural resources and the environment. *International organization*, 43(03), pp.349-375.

Rayner, S. and Prins, G., 2007. The Wrong Trousers: Radically Rethinking Climate Policy. <http://eureka.sbs.ox.ac.uk/66/>

Betsill, M.M. and Pielke, R.A., 1998. Blurring the boundaries: domestic and international ozone politics and lessons for climate change. *International Environmental Affairs*, 10, pp.147-172.

Harrop, S.R. and Pritchard, D.J., 2011. A hard instrument goes soft: The implications of the Convention on Biological Diversity's current trajectory. *Global Environmental Change*, 21(2), pp.474-480.

Recommended Reading:

Biermann, F., Pattberg, P., Van Asselt, H. and Zelli, F., 2009. The fragmentation of global governance architectures: A framework for analysis. *Global Environmental Politics*, 9(4), pp.14-40.

February 9

- Beyond Regimes—Transnational and Experimental Environmental Governance
- Question for the Week—Where did all this 'stuff' come from and what does it mean?

Required Reading:

Matthew Hoffmann. 2011. *Climate Governance at the Crossroads* New York: Oxford University Press, Chs 1-4 (available electronically via the library)

Bulkeley, H., Andonova, L., Backstrand, K., Betsill, M., Compagnon, D., Duffy, R., Kolk, A., Hoffman, M., Levy, D., Newell, P. and Milledge, T., 2012. Governing climate change transnationally: assessing the evidence from a database of sixty initiatives. *Environment and planning C: government and policy*, 30(4), pp.591-612.

Recommended Reading:

Andonova, L. B., Betsill, M. M., & Bulkeley, H. 2009. Transnational climate governance. *Global environmental politics*, 9(2), 52-73.

Bäckstrand, K. 2008. Accountability of networked climate governance: The rise of transnational climate partnerships. *Global Environmental Politics*, 8(3), 74-102.

February 23

- Governing through Markets: Setting Standards, Governing Supply Chains
- Question for the Week: Is Walmart the Hero or Villian?

Required Reading:

Cashore, B., Auld, G., Bernstein, S. and McDermott, C., 2007. Can non-state governance 'ratchet up' global environmental standards? lessons from the forest sector. *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, 16(2), pp.158-172.

Bernstein, S., & Cashore, B. 2007. Can non-state global governance be legitimate? An analytical framework. *Regulation & Governance*, 1(4), 347-371.

Dauvergne, P., & Lister, J. 2012. Big brand sustainability: Governance prospects and environmental limits. *Global Environmental Change*, 22(1), 36-45.

van der Ven, H. 2014. Socializing the C-suite: why some big-box retailers are "greener" than others. *Business and Politics*, 16(1), 31-63.

Recommended Reading:

Smith, T.M. and Fischlein, M., 2010. Rival private governance networks: Competing to define the rules of sustainability performance. *Global Environmental Change*, 20(3), pp.511-522.

March 1

- Networked Governance: Think Global, Govern Local—Cities as global actors
- Question for the Week: Are Cities (effective) global climate governors?

Required Reading:

Gordon, D. J. 2013. Between local innovation and global impact: cities, networks, and the governance of climate change. *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 19(3), 288-307.

Koehn, P. H. 2008. Underneath Kyoto: emerging subnational government initiatives and incipient issue-bundling opportunities in China and the United States. *Global Environmental Politics*, 8(1), 53-77.

Betsill, M. M., & Bulkeley, H. 2004. Transnational networks and global environmental governance: The cities for climate protection program. *International Studies Quarterly*, 48(2), 471-493.

Lipschutz, R.D., 1997. From place to planet: local knowledge and global environmental governance. *Global Governance*, pp.83-102.

Recommended Reading:

Bulkeley, H., 2005. Reconfiguring environmental governance: towards a politics of scales and networks. *Political geography*, 24(8), pp.875-902.

Bulkeley, H. and Castán Broto, V., 2013. Government by experiment? Global cities and the governing of climate change. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 38(3), pp.361-375.

March 8

- Making Markets—Carbon Markets and Commodification
- Question for the Week—Is capitalism the answer or the problem?

Required Reading:

Bernstein, S., Betsill, M., Hoffmann, M., & Paterson, M. 2010. A tale of two Copenhagens: carbon markets and climate governance. *Millennium-Journal of International Studies*, 39(1), 161-173.

Paterson, M. (2012). Who and what are carbon markets for? Politics and the development of climate policy. *Climate Policy*, 12(1), 82-97.

McAfee, K., 1999. Selling nature to save it? Biodiversity and green developmentaism. *Environment and Planning*, 17, pp.133-154.

Liverman, D., 2004. Who governs, at what scale and at what price? Geography, environmental governance, and the commodification of nature. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 94(4), pp.734-738.

Conca, K., 2000. The WTO and the undermining of global environmental governance. *Review of international political economy*, 7(3), pp.484-494.

Recommended Reading:

Bachram, H. (2004). Climate fraud and carbon colonialism: the new trade in greenhouse gases. *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 15(4), 5-20.

Newell, P., 2008. The political economy of global environmental governance. *Review of International Studies*, 34(03), pp.507-529.

March 15

- Activism—Civic Politics vs Influencing States
- Question for the Week: What's the most effective activist strategy?

Required Reading:

Wapner, P. 1995. Politics beyond the state environmental activism and world civic politics. *World Politics*, 47(03), 311-340.

Michele Bestill and Elizabeth Correll. 2001. NGO Influence in International Environmental Negotiations. *Global Environmental Politics* 1:4.

Robert Falkner "The Business of Ozone Layer Protection: Corporate Power in Regime Evolution" (On Blackboard)

Activism versus Negotiation: Strategies for the Environment Movement
(<http://www.uow.edu.au/~sharonb/activism.html>)

Gough and Shackley. 2001. The respectable politics of climate change: the epistemic communities and NGOs *International Affairs* 77 (2).

March 22

- Activism—Deep Green Politics
- Question for the Week: Is normal politics sufficient?

Required Reading:

Devall, B., 2001. The Deep, Long-Range Ecology Movement: 1960-2000--A Review. *Ethics & the environment*, 6(1), pp.18-41.

Taylor, B., 1998. Religion, violence and radical environmentalism: From earth first! To the Unabomber to the earth liberation front. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 10(4), pp.1-42.

Princen, T., 2003. Principles for sustainability: From cooperation and efficiency to sufficiency. *Global Environmental Politics*, 3(1), pp.33-50.

Moffa, A.L., 2012. Two Competing Models of Activism, One Goal: A Case Study of Anti-Whaling Campaigns in the South Ocean. *Yale J. Int'l L.*, 37, p.201.

March 29

- Paris, Sustainable Development and why we can't ignore regimes altogether.
- Question for the week—Were we too quick to dismiss regimes?

Required Reading:

Orsini, A., Morin, J.F. and Young, O., 2013. Regime complexes: A buzz, a boom, or a boost for global governance?. *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations*, 19(1), pp.27-39.

Keohane, R.O. and Victor, D.G., 2011. The regime complex for climate change. *Perspectives on politics*, 9(01), pp.7-23.

Chan, S., Asselt, H., Hale, T., Abbott, K.W., Beisheim, M., Hoffmann, M., Guy, B., Höhne, N., Hsu, A., Pattberg, P. and Pauw, P., 2015. Reinvigorating international climate policy: A comprehensive framework for effective nonstate action. *Global Policy*, 6(4), pp.466-473.

Kenneth W. Abbott and Steven Bernstein. 2015. "The High-Level Political Forum on Sustainable Development: Orchestration by Default and Design." *Global Policy* 6 (3): 222-233.

Paris Analysis—TBA

April 5

- Hope or Despair in the Anthropocene Revisited

Required Reading:

Dave Roberts "The Awful Truth about Climate Change no one wants to admit"
<http://www.vox.com/2015/5/15/8612113/truth-climate-change>

Joe Romm "The Really Awful Truth about Climate Change"
<http://thinkprogress.org/climate/2015/05/18/3644824/really-awful-truth-about-climate-change/>

John Richardson "When the End of the world is your day job"
<http://www.esquire.com/news-politics/a36228/ballad-of-the-sad-climatologists-0815/>

Victoria Jaggard "To Live in the Anthropocene people need grounded hope"
<http://www.smithsonianmag.com/science-nature/live-anthropocene-people-need-grounded-hope-180952995/?no-ist>