

ESPM 169: International Environmental Politics

Fall 2005

**Tuesdays and Thursdays, 11-12.30
240 Mulford**

Instructor:

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Course URL: <http://nature.berkeley.edu/~koneill/espm169>

Course Description

Global environmental problems, from acid rain to population policy to biodiversity and climate change, have become pressing political concerns in a globalizing economy. In response, a sophisticated structure of global governance has emerged, under which nation states have begun to cooperate with each other to an unprecedented extent, although not without facing significant obstacles. This class examines the different sorts of politics, actors, processes and tools that have emerged in the arena of global environmental politics.

The class proceeds in four parts. Part 1 sets the context, tracing the history of global environmental cooperation, the issues involved, and the international policy process. Part 2 examines the international policy process through the lens of the Convention on Biological Diversity. This Convention not only has a thirteen year history, it also encompasses the key issues and concerns around international environmental politics and policy processes. We examine different sorts of politics around this process - of knowledge, power, money and activism. In Part 3, we focus on special topics in international environmental politics, including how the US and other countries manage international environmental problems, and how global environmental issues intersect with conflict and national security. Part 4 consists of short presentations by groups of students on other international environmental problems and efforts to solve them. These will include: climate change, hazardous waste trading, forestry, ozone depletion, oceans management and whaling. Finally, in weekly sections, students will be able to read and discuss "classic" and/or controversial readings on topics related to that week's lecture.

Sections:

Monday 2-3 pm, 201 Giannini

Tuesday 4-5 pm, 2523 Tolman
 Thursday 2-3 pm, 106 Mulford
 Thursday, 2-3 pm, 332, Giannini

Textbook (Required)

Jennifer Clapp and Peter Dauvergne (2005). *Paths to a Green World: The Political Economy of the Global Environment*. Cambridge, MIT Press.

The textbook is available at the campus bookstore, and on reserve at the Bioscience Library, Valley Life Science Building. There is also a website associated with the book, with many useful links to related topics and resources (scholarly and otherwise):

<http://www.pathstoagreenworld.com/>

Other Required Readings

Other required readings for class and sections are included in the course reader or available on-line:

- The Reader may be purchased from Odin Readers at Ned's Books, 2480 Bancroft Way. Articles and chapters in the reader are marked with an ** in the syllabus. A copy of the reader will also be available on reserve at the Bioscience Library.
- Other articles (marked with † in the syllabus) are available on-line, either public access (URLs are listed) or through the UCB library system - you will need to find the journals through Melvyl. If you need to set up a proxy library service to access articles from off-campus, instructions on setting one up are on the library website, and very easy to follow. Find the details on http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/Help/connecting_off_campus.html. You will need a Calnet ID in order to do this (if you don't have one, talk to Professor O'Neill and we will make alternate arrangements)
- Remaining readings will be distributed separately, in class

Useful Internet Resources

In addition to the textbook website, other useful sources include:

World Resources Institute (useful source of data on different environmental issues):

<http://www.wri.org>

The Convention on Biological Diversity: <http://www.biodiv.org/default.shtml>

The Yale Project on Global Environmental Governance: <http://www.yale.edu/gegdialogue/>

The United Nations Environment Program: <http://www.unep.org/> or <http://www.unep.ch/>

The Center for International Environmental Law: <http://www.ciel.org/>

The World Trade Organization: <http://www.wto.org>

Assignments

1. Group Project: 35% of final grade

At the end of the semester, we will devote several class sessions to group presentations on different international environmental issues. These will be chosen from climate change, hazardous waste trading, forestry, ozone depletion, whaling, wildlife trade, oceans management, desertification and persistent organic pollutants (the final list will depend on the number of students in the course).

As a group, you are expected to put together a short (20-30 minute) presentation according to guidelines that will be handed out in the first class. You should be prepared to answer questions from the rest of the class. In addition to the presentation itself, each group will submit 1) an annotated list of sources consulted; and 2) a chronology of events relating to the issues (this should also be a handout for the class during the presentation). Each member of the group will also submit 1) a short report (half a page) on what you learned from the exercise; and 2) presentation notes. Your grade for the presentation will be based 50% on group effort and 50% for each individual.

Deadlines:

By September 20: e-mail me a ranked list of 3 issues you'd like to work on. The GSIs and I will assemble the groups following first choices as much as possible.

September 22: Class will be devoted to discussing the exercise and getting group members acquainted.

October 11 and November 1: Official "group check-in" sessions in class

November 22 - December 6: Presentations (max. 2 per class)

2. Reading Reviews (2 out of 3): 20%

Two reading reviews, each covering 2 readings of your choice (from lecture or section). Each review to be roughly 1000-1200 words (3-4 pp., double-spaced), and showing a critical understanding of the readings' arguments, relating them to the themes of the course.

You may choose 2 out of the three deadlines. However, you are strongly urged to pick the first one. If your grade is low on the first attempt, you may make it up by doing the following two (we'll pick the best two grades). If your grade is good, then you will have the peace of mind of getting a task out of the way!

Deadlines (due in class):

September 29

October 20

November 29

3. Take-Home Final: 20%

You will pick one question out of a list of 3 or 4, and write a 3-4 page essay in response (max. 1500 words). These questions will address the main themes of the class.

Deadline: Thursday, December 15, 5 pm

4. Participation: 20% (based on class *and* section attendance and participation)

This class affords many opportunities for participation. You are expected to attend and participate in both the lecture classes and one section per week, and display a knowledge of the readings. Sections will discuss readings from class and extra assigned articles, which provide different perspectives on the week's topic. Finally, some class discussions will involve (a small amount of) homework.

Two sections will be devoted to "workshopping" chapter drafts from my forthcoming MS, *The Environment and International Relations* (to be published by Cambridge University Press). This is your opportunity to give feedback on a book that's intended to be used as a text in classes such as this, and will be deeply appreciated. Chapter drafts will be distributed separately.

Feel free also to contact the GSIs or myself with questions or ideas that come up, inside or outside class, or come talk to any of us during our office hours.

Grading Notes:

- a. I have reserved 5% of the grade as "free-floating", to be allocated to the section of the course in which you are doing the best
- b. Late Policy: You are strongly urged to hand in work on time. However, we recognize that things come up, and despite the best of intentions, you may not be able to make a deadline. If this happens, you must contact either your GSI or myself by 5 pm on the day the assignment is due, tell us when to expect it and why, truthfully, it is late. Otherwise (except in very extenuating circumstances) your work will be penalized. If you must take an incomplete, I will finish your grading on my own schedule.

Topics and Readings

Part I. Setting the Context: Global Environmental Problems, Actors and Policies

Week 1 Lectures

August 30: Introduction

No reading

September 1: Emergence of Global Environmental Problems and Politics

Clapp and Dauvergne, chapters 1 and 2

† Speth, James Gustave (2002). The Global Environmental Agenda: Origins and Prospects. *Global Environmental Governance: Options and Opportunities*. D. C. Esty and M. H. Ivanova. New Haven, Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies, on-line at <http://www.yale.edu/forestry/publications/fespubfiles/geg/toc.html>

**Haas, Peter M. (2001). Environment: Pollution. *Managing Global Issues: Lessons Learned*. P. J. Simmons and C. d. J. Oudraat. Washington DC, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, pp. 310-319

**Mittelman, James H. (2004). Ideologies and the Globalization Agenda. *Rethinking Globalism*. M. B. Steger. Lanham, MD, Rowman & Littlefield.

Week 1 Sections:

No Sections This Week

Week 2 Lectures:

September 6: Cast of Characters

Clapp and Dauvergne, chapter 3

**Haas, Peter M. (2001). Environment: Pollution. *Managing Global Issues: Lessons Learned*. P. J. Simmons and C. d. J. Oudraat. Washington DC, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, pp. 320-326

**Held, David (2004). *Global Covenant: The Social Democratic Alternative to the Washington Consensus*. Cambridge, Polity Press, chapter 8: Liberal International Sovereignty: Achievements and Limitations

September 8: International Environmental Cooperation: Global Governance, Treaties and Regimes

**David Downie, "Global Environmental Policy: Governance through Regimes", in Axelrod, Regina S., David Leonard Downie, et al., Eds. (2004). *The Global Environment: Institutions, Law and Policy (2nd Edition)*. Washington, Congressional Quarterly Press.

**Haas, Peter M. (2001). Environment: Pollution. *Managing Global Issues: Lessons Learned*. P. J. Simmons and C. d. J. Oudraat. Washington DC, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, pp. 327-346

Week 2 Sections:

Introductions and review textbook, material so far

Week 3 Lectures**September 13: Issue Emergence and Agenda-Setting; Basics of International Environmental Law**

**"From Agenda to Accord", in Simmons, P.J. and Chantal de Jonge Oudraat, Eds. (2001). *Managing Global Issues: Lessons Learned*. Washington DC, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

**Birnie, Patricia W. and Alan E. Boyle (1992). *International Law and the Environment*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, chapter 1, "International Law and the Environment"

September 15: Library Session

Meet Reference Librarian Norma Kobzina at 11 a.m. at the Circulation Desk or the Instruction Room of the Koshland Biosciences Library, Valley Life Sciences Building

Week 3 Section Readings:

**Young, Oran R. (1994). *International Governance: Protecting the Environment in a Stateless Society*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press, chapter 1 ("International Environmental Governance")

† Kennan, George F. (1970). "To Prevent a World Wasteland: A Proposal." *Foreign Affairs*, at <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/19700401faessay48301/george-f-kennan/to-prevent-a-world-wasteland-a-proposal.html?mode=print>

Week 4 Lectures**September 20: Biodiversity and the Convention on Biological Diversity**

*****Deadline***** Email group preferences to koneill@nature.berkeley.edu

**Speth, James Gustave (2004). *Red Sky at Morning: America and the Crisis of the Global Environment*. New Haven, Yale University Press, chapter 2, "Lost in Eden"

**Murray, Martyn (1995). The Value of Biodiversity. *The Earthscan Reader in Sustainable Development*. J. Kirby, P. O'Keefe and L. Timberlake. London, Earthscan.

† McGraw, Désirée M. (2002). "The CBD - Key Characteristics and Implications for Implementation." *RECIEL* 11(1): 17-28. (UCB Library only)

Optional: Look up cross national data on conservation and biodiversity depletion from the World Resources Institute, at http://governance.wri.org/pubs_pdf.cfm?PubID=3764 (scroll down to "data tables")

September 22: Group Exercise Session

Homework in Preparation for 9/27 class exercise: Download and read the text of the Convention on Biological Diversity at <http://www.biodiv.org/convention/articles.asp> or <http://www.biodiv.org/doc/legal/cbd-en.pdf> in order to answer the two questions assigned to you in class

Week 4 Section Readings:

- † Ivanova, Maria H. (2005). "Assessing UNEP as Anchor Institution for the Global Environment: Lessons for the UNEO Debate." *Yale Center for Environmental Law & Policy Working Paper Series* 05/01, on-line at <http://www.yale.edu/envirocenter/UNEO-wp.pdf>

Part II. The International Policy Process**Week 5 Lectures****September 27: Negotiating and Bargaining: Getting to a Treaty**

- **Tolba, Mustafa K., and Iwona Rummel-Buska. *Global Environmental Diplomacy: Negotiating Environmental Agreements for the World, 1973-1992*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998, chapter 8 (Biodiversity)
- **Susskind, Lawrence E. (1994). *Environmental Diplomacy: Negotiating More Effective Global Environmental Agreements*. New York, Oxford University Press, Ch. 2, "The Weaknesses of the Existing Environmental Treaty-making System."

In-class Exercise: Reading the Text of the Convention on Biological Diversity

September 29: North-South Relations in IEP

*****Deadline***** First reading review due in class

Clapp and Dauvergne, chapter 4

Adil Najam, "The View from the South: Developing Countries in Global Environmental Politics", in Axelrod, Regina S., David Leonard Downie, et al., Eds. (2004). *The Global Environment: Institutions, Law and Policy (2nd Edition)*. Washington, Congressional Quarterly Press. (to be distributed separately)

Week 5 Section Reading:

- **Shiva, Vandana. 1993. "The greening of the global reach." In Wolfgang Sachs, ed., *Global ecology: a new arena of political conflict*. London: Zed Books.
- **Agarwal, Anil and Sunita Narain (1991). *Global Warming in an Unequal World: A Case of Environmental Colonialism*. New Delhi, Centre for Science and Environment

Week 6 Lectures**October 4: Regime Change: The Biosafety Protocol**

- **Gupta, Aarti (2000). "Governing Trade in Genetically Modified Organisms: The Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety." *Environment* 42(4): 22-33. (UCB Library only)
- ** Egziabher, Tewolde Berhan Gebre (2003). "When Northern Elephants Fight Over GMOs..." *Review of African Political Economy* 98: 650-653.
- **Guruswamy, Lakshman D. (1998). *The Convention on Biological Diversity: A Polemic. Protection of Global Biodiversity: Converging Strategies*. L. D. Guruswamy and J. A. McNeely. Durham, NC, Duke University Press.

October 6: Making Regimes Work: Implementation and Compliance

**Weiss, Edith Brown and Harold K. Jacobson (1999). "Getting Countries to Comply with International Agreements." *Environment* 41(6): 16-20, 37-45.

**Greene, Owen (1996). Environmental Regimes: Effectiveness and Implementation Review. *The Environment and International Relations*. J. Vogler and M. F. Imber. London, Routledge.

† Sagar, Ambuj D. and Stacy VanDeveer (2005). "Capacity Development for the Environment: Broadening the Scope." *Global Environmental Politics* 5(3): 14-22.

Week 6 Sections:

Workshop draft chapter of *The Environment and International Relations*

Week 7 Lectures

October 11: Knowledge Politics: Science and Policy in IEP + Group Check-in Session

**Haas, Peter M. (2005). Science and International Environmental Governance. *Handbook of Global Environmental Politics*. P. Dauvergne. Cheltenham, Edward Elgar.

**Jeffrey A. McNeely, "Strange Bedfellows: Why Science and Policy don't mesh and what can be done about it", in Cracraft, Joel, and Francesca T. Grifo, eds. *The Living Planet in Crisis: Biodiversity, Science and Policy*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

† Karlsson, Sylvia (2002). The North-South Knowledge Divide: Consequences for Global Environmental Governance. *Global Environmental Governance: Options and Opportunities*. D. C. Esty and M. H. Ivanova. New Haven, Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies, on-line at

<http://www.yale.edu/forestry/publications/fespubfiles/geg/toc.html>

October 13: Activist Politics: NGOs and Global Civil Society (Guest Lecture: Saida Hodzic)

† Betsill, Michele M. and Elisabeth Corell (2001). "NGO Influence in International Environmental Negotiations: A Framework for Analysis." *Global Environmental Politics* 1(4): 65-85. (UCB Library only)

**O'Neill, Kate and Stacy VanDeveer (2005). Transnational Environmental Activism after Seattle: Between Emancipation and Arrogance. *Charting Transnational Democracy: Beyond Global Arrogance*. J. Leatherman and J. A. Webber. New York, Palgrave MacMillan.

† Christoffersen, Leif E., "IUCN: A Bridge-BUILDER for Nature Conservation", *Green Globe Yearbook 1997*, on-line at

http://www.greenyearbook.org/articles/97_04_christoffersen.pdf

† Brown, Graham K., "Stemming the Tide: Third World Network and Global Governance", *Yearbook of International Cooperation on Environment and Development, 2003/04*, on-line at http://www.greenyearbook.org/articles/03_06_brown.pdf

Week 7 Section Reading:

- **Haas, Peter M. (1990). "Obtaining Environmental Protection through Epistemic Consensus." *Millennium* 19(3): 347-363.
- **Sheila Jasanoff, "Skinning Scientific Cats", in Conca, Ken and Geoffrey D. Dabelko, Eds. (1998). *Green Planet Blues: Environmental Politics from Stockholm to Kyoto*. Boulder, Westview Press.

Week 8 Lectures

October 18: Business Politics: Corporations in IEP

Clapp and Dauvergne, chapter 6

- **Pulver, Simone (2002). "Organizing Business: Industry NGOs in the Climate Debates." *Greener Management International* 39: 55-67.

October 20: Funding IEP: International Organizations, the World Bank and the Global Environment Facility

*****Deadline***** Second reading review due in class

Clapp and Dauvergne, chapter 7

- † Hunter, David, "The World Bank: A Lighter Shade of Green?", *Yearbook of International Cooperation on Environment and Development*, on-line at:

http://www.greenyearbook.org/articles/01_06_hunter.pdf

- † Young, Zoe (2002). *A New Green Order? The World Bank and the Politics of the Global Environment Facility*. London, Pluto Press, chapter 1, on-line at

<http://www.newgreenorder.info/sample.htm>

- † Streck, Charlotte (2001). "The Global Environment Facility - A Role Model for International Governance?" *Global Environmental Politics* 1(2): 71-94. (UCB Library only)

Week 8 Section Reading:

- **Khagram, Sanjeev (2000). Toward Democratic Governance for Sustainable Development: Transnational Civil Society Organizing Around Big Dams. *The Third Force: The Rise of Transnational Civil Society*. A. M. Florini. Washington, DC, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Week 9 Lectures

October 25: Local Politics - Knowledge and Action

- † Martello, Marybeth Long (2001). "A Paradox of virtue?: "Other" Knowledges and Environment-Development Politics." *Global Environmental Politics* 1(3): 114-141 (UCB Libraries only)

- **Martello, Marybeth Long (2004). Negotiating Global Nature and Local Culture: The Case of Makah Whaling. *Earthly Politics: Local and Global in Environmental Governance*. S. Jasanoff and M. L. Martello. Cambridge, MIT Press.

- **A. Gupta, "Rewarding Local Communities for Conserving Biodiversity: The Case of the Honeybee", in Guruswamy, Lakshman D. and Jeffrey A. McNeely, Eds. (1998). *Protection of Global Biodiversity: Converging Strategies*. Durham, NC, Duke University Press.

AND/OR:

**Vandana Shiva and Radha Holla-Bhar, "Piracy by Patent: The Case of the Neem Tree", from Mander, Jerry and Edward Goldsmith, Eds. (1996). *The Case Against the Global Economy and For a Turn Toward the Local*. San Francisco, Sierra Club Books.

October 27: Trade and the Environment

Clapp and Dauvergne, chapter 5

† Conca, Ken (2000). "The WTO and the undermining of global environmental governance." *Review of International Political Economy* 7(3): 484-494. (UCB Library only)

**O'Neill, Kate and William C. G. Burns (2005). Trade liberalization and global environmental governance: The potential for conflict. *Handbook of Global Environmental Governance*. P. Dauvergne. Cheltenham, Edward Elgar.

Week 9 Section Reading:

† Goldman, Michael (2001). "The birth of a discipline: Producing authoritative green knowledge, World Bank-style." *Ethnography* 2(2): 191-217.

Week 10 Lectures

November 1: Critical Analysis of the International Policy Process + Group Check-in Session

† World Resources Institute, *World Resources 2002-2004*, chapter 7: "International Environmental Governance", online at http://governance.wri.org/pubs_pdf.cfm?PubID=3764

**VanDeveer, Stacy (2003). "Green Fatigue." *Wilson Quarterly*, Autumn 2003, pp. 55-59.

† Wapner, Paul (2003). "World Summit on Sustainable Development: Toward a Post-Jo'burg Environmentalism." *Global Environmental Politics* 3(1): 1-10. (UCB Library Only)

November 3: Alternatives I: Privatizing Global Governance - Certification Programs (Guest Lecture: Brian Folk)

**Gulbrandsen, Lars H. (2005). "Mark of Sustainability? Challenges for Fishery and Forestry Eco-Labeling." *Environment* 47(5): 8-23.

† Clapp, Jennifer (2001). ISO Environmental Standards: Industry's Gift to a Polluted Globe or the Developed World's Competition-Killing Strategy? *Yearbook of International Cooperation on Environment and Development 2001/2002*. O. S. Stokke and Ø. B. Thommessen. London, Earthscan, on-line at http://www.greenyearbook.org/articles/01_02_clapp.pdf

Week 10 Sections:

Workshop draft chapter of *The Environment and International Relations*

Week 11 Lectures

November 8: Alternatives II: New International Institutions? Linkages and Partnerships

- † Andonova, Liliana B. and Marc A. Levy (2004). Franchising Global Governance: Making Sense of the Johannesburg Type II Partnerships. *Yearbook of International Cooperation on Environment and Development 2003/04*. O. S. Stokke and Ø. B. Thommessen. London, Earthscan, on-line at http://www.greenyearbook.org/articles/03_01_andonova-levy.pdf
- † Biermann, Frank (2004). "Global Environmental Governance: Conceptualization and Examples." *Global Governance Working Paper 12*, on-line at <http://www.glogov.org/upload/public%20files/pdf/publications/working%20papers/GlogovWorkingPaper12BiermannGlobalEnvironmentalGovernance.pdf> (focus particularly on pp. 12-17)

Part III. Topics in International Environmental Politics

November 10: Foreign Environmental Policy: Focus on the US

- DeSombre, Elizabeth R. (2004). "Understanding United States Unilateralism: Domestic Sources of U.S. International Environmental Policy." In *The Global Environment: Institutions, Law, and Policy*, 2nd ed., eds. Norman J. Vig, Regina S. Axelrod and David Downie. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press. (to be distributed separately)
- **Selin, Henrik and Stacy VanDeveer (2005). "Canadian-US Environmental Cooperation: Climate Change Networks and Regional Action." *American Review of Canadian Studies*: 353-378.

November 15: Comparative Environmental Policy

- **Weiss, Edith Brown and Harold K. Jacobson, Eds. (1998). *Engaging Countries: Strengthening Compliance with International Environmental Accords*. Cambridge, MIT Press, chapter 1 ("A Framework for Analysis")

Class exercise: This book (Weiss and Jacobson) has country-by-country analyses of compliance with 5 different environmental agreements (most of which we are using in the group presentations). We will give each of you one of 6 country chapters (the EU, Japan, Russia, India, Cameroon, Brazil) for discussion and comparison in class. Aim: to understand the sorts of national characteristics (from demographics to political structure) that affect compliance. Chapters will be given out on November 10.

Week 11 Section Reading:

- † Symposium on a World Environment Organization, *Global Environmental Politics*, 1:1, pp. 23-55, short articles by Biermann, von Moltke, Whalley and Zissimos, Newell (UCB Library only)

Week 12 Lectures

November 17: Environment and Security

- ** Peluso, Nancy Lee and Michael Watts, Eds. (2001). *Violent Environments*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press, chapter 1
- Homer-Dixon, Thomas F. (1999). Thresholds of Turmoil: Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict. *Contested Grounds: Security and Conflict in the New Environmental Politics*. D. H. Deudney and R. A. Matthew. Albany, SUNY Press (to be distributed separately)
- † Brown, Valerie J. (2004). "Battle Scars: Global Conflicts and Environmental Health" and Schmidt, Charles W. (2004). "The Price of Preparing for War." Both in *Environmental Health Perspectives* 112(17), on-line at <http://ehp.niehs.nih.gov/members/2004/112-17/focus.html>

Week 12 Section Reading:

- ** Exchange: Thomas Homer-Dixon, Nancy Peluso and Michael Watts on *Violent Environments*, ESCP Report, Issue 9, 2003, pp. 89-96

Part IV: Group Presentations

Week 13 Lectures

November 22: Group Presentations

November 24: Thanksgiving (no class!)

Week 13 Sections:

Catch-Up

Week 14 Lectures

November 29: Group Presentations

*****Deadline***** Third reading review due in class

December 1: Group Presentations

Week 14 Section Reading:

- †Conca, Ken (2001). "Consumption and Environment in a Global Economy." *Global Environmental Politics* 1(3): 53-71. (UCB Library only)
- †Maniates, Michael F. (2001). "Individualization: Plant a Tree, Buy a Bike, Save the World?" *Global Environmental Politics* 1(3): 31-52. (UCB Library only)

Week 15 Lectures

December 6: Group Presentations

December 8: Conclusions

Clapp and Dauvergne, chapter 8

Week 15 Sections:

Final Review