

**POL 223**  
**Introduction to Environmental Policy and Politics**  
**Distance Learning**  
**Summer 2015**

October 14, 2015

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Office Hours: By Appointment  
Office Location: BRNG 2235

**Course overview:**

In this course we will study the politics and decision making of modern societies as they attempt to cope with environmental and natural resource problems. Whether global warming, Not in My Back Yard (NIMBY) politics, or the tragedy of the commons, citizens around the world are now encountering the consequences of rapid economic growth and development. This course focuses both on domestic and international environmental policy with special attention given to the role ideas, interests, and institutions play in the policymaking process; specifically with regard to how each can lead to environmental policy outcomes. Emphasis is placed on discussing traditional environmental theories alongside case studies of real world environmental issues and policy outcomes. By the end of this course students will have an understanding of the complexity of the policymaking process as well as why little progress has been made domestically and internationally to improve environmental conditions. **There are no prerequisites.**

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**Structure of Course**

**Course Material/Readings:** All readings will be available on the Blackboard system.

**Student Requirements:**

1. **Assignments:** Completion of periodic assignments to test the student's ability to think critically about the material.
2. **Exams:** Four exams consisting of multiple choice and short answer questions will be given to test comprehension of the material.

3. **Twitter Project:** Students will setup and keep a twitter account which posts articles related to the course. Specific requirements for the assignment will be provided on each Lesson Plan.
4. **Final Paper:** Students will write a final policy paper which explores the role ideas, interests, or institutions play in the policymaking process. Specific requirements for the paper will be provided during the course of the semester.

**Class Format:**

The course is divided into weekly segments. Each week has a lesson plan which contains links to any outside material not provided on Blackboard and instructions for completing the assignments for that week. Reading questions are provided for each reading. These questions are designed to help you focus on the key points in the articles. You should answer the questions as you complete the readings. They will be used to test your knowledge of the reading in weekly quizzes.

All quizzes and exams will be posted online. The due dates for exams are posted on each exam. All the quizzes are due by Sunday at 11:59 p.m.

All assignments are posted online. The instructions and due dates for the assignments are posted on each assignment.

The final policy paper is due on **Monday, August 3rd at 11:59 p.m.**

**For all work, the Purdue University Student Code of Conduct is in effect. Every assignment, quiz, and exam must be your own work. Students who cheat or copy will fail the course and be turned into the Dean of Students.**

## Grades and Policies

**Evaluation:** 100-94 A, 93-90 A-, 89-87 B+, 86-84 B, 83-80 B-, 79-77 C+, 76-74 C, 73-70 C-, 69-67 D+, 66- 64 D, 63-60 D-, 59 (and below) F

Assignments	20%
Twitter Project	25%
Policy Paper	25%
Exams	30%

**Grades:** It is a violation of FIRPA to discuss grades via email. As a result, UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCE WILL I DISCUSS GRADES OTHER THAN BY APPOINTMENT. Since this is a distance learning course, appointments are scheduled via emails. All emails asking about grades will be referred to this syllabus.

**Extra credit:** I periodically offer extra credit. If you are concerned about your grade you should take these opportunities if offered. All requests for extra credit will be referred to this syllabus

**Make-up Policy:** I do not give make-up exams, quizzes, or assignments unless you have a verified absence by the Dean of Students. In such cases it is your responsibility to contact me to arrange a

time to make-up the missed assignment. At my discretion make-up assignments, quizzes, and/or exams may be different than that given in class, but will be of equal difficulty level.

**Special Needs:** If you are an individual with a disability and require accommodations for this class, please notify the instructor immediately.

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## The Policy Process

### Week 1

#### 15 June Introduction

*Goals:*

To understand the structure of the course, readings, and class requirements.

**Twitter Account Set-up**

#### 16 June Who Makes Policy?

*Goals:*

To understand who makes policies and the nature of the policymaking process.

*Questions:*

Who makes policy? Why is policymaking delegated to elected functionaries, their appointees, or civil servants instead of left in the hands of citizens? How do elected elites pose a threat to the prospects for intelligent, democratic policy making? What is one reason political elites fail to define, debate, and solve issues effectively? What does the author mean by the gains from democracy are bought at a cost? Why does the author argue many aspects of legislative and executive organization tend to obstruct popular control? Why, if the organizations obstruct popular control, are they designed that way?

*Readings:*

Lindblom and Woodhouse. *The Policy-Making Process*. Chapter 5

#### 17 June United States Politic and the Environment

*Goals:*

To understand the role played by the US president in environmental politics.

*Questions:*

What kinds of presidential powers exist? What indicators can we use to evaluate presidential environmental policy? What is the definition of an opportunistic leader? a frustrated underachiever? a rollback advocate? In what ways did George Bush (I)

surprise observers with his environmental policy?

*Readings*

Norman Vig. Presidential Leadership and the Environment. In Norman Vig and Michael E. Kraft. 2003. *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the 21st Century*. Washington D.C., CQ Press.

**18 June The US Government in Perspective**

*Goals:*

To understand the history of the American bureaucracy in theory and in action.

*Questions:*

How can power be "gathered undesirably" by an agency? Why did the status of the US Post Office as a monopoly inhibit its efficiency? Why has the military budget increased even as its numbers decrease? In what ways was the US system a "client oriented bureaucracy"? How do separated powers keep US institutions from changing? How do majoritarian politics help presidents intent on creating new programs? Why do agencies resist deregulation? What can you predict about environmentally-focused agencies?

*Readings*

James Q. Wilson. 1975. The Rise of the Bureaucratic State. *Public Interest* 41 (Fall), p. 77 - 103.

**19 June Actors and Interests**

*Goals:*

To understand the role of interest groups and business in the policy making process.

*Questions:*

Why is there a negative view of interest groups by Americans? Give three examples of an interest group. Name three functions of interest groups. What is the effect of interest groups on elections? Name two sources of interest group influence. How can a government official be confident that managers will discharge the functions that keep an economy affluent? Give three examples of inducements. What are the two categories of benefits to business? What are the three advantages businesses have in electoral politics?

*Readings*

Lindblom and Woodhouse *The Policy-Making Process* Chapter 7 and 8

**Week 2**

## **22 June Making Environmental Policy**

### *Goals:*

To understand the US policymaking process in broad terms, with a focus on agenda setting and the role of policy entrepreneurs, as well as understand the main features of the US government and politics at the federal, state, and local levels.

### *Questions:*

What is necessary in order for an issue to make it on the policy agenda? What are some of the most central factors in the politics of environmental policymaking? What is the difference between group, elite, institutional, and rational choice theory? What is the policy process model? List and define each state of the policy process. What is the policy stream? Who/what is an environmental policy entrepreneur? What role do international policy actors play in US environmental policy decisions? What role do technical experts play in US environmental policy decisions?

### *Readings*

Kraft, Michael E. 2015. Environmental Problems and Politics. *Environmental Policy and Politics*. 6th ed. Pearson: New Jersey, Chapter 3 (68-84).

## **23 June Twitter Post**

## **24 June Exam 1**

# **Ideas, Interests, and Institutions**

## **25 June Ideas, Interests, and Institutions**

### *Goals:*

To understand the role that ideas, interests, and institutions play in the policymaking process, specifically in the role of environmental politics.

### *Questions:*

According to Kraft, what is politics about? What is necessary to achieve sustainable development? Describe the difference between the first, second, and third generation of environmental policy. Why do so many regulations exist despite widespread criticism about their effectiveness? What does the author mean when he says, "policy choices are inescapably political? What are some of the problems with creating sound environmental policy? How can scientific knowledge help create effective policies? How does an imbalance in incentives lead to environmental ills? How do our belief systems and values influence environmental policy? What role does government play in resolving environmental problems? Define environmental policy. What is the difference between regulatory and distributive policies?

### *Readings*

Kraft, Michael E. 2015. Environmental Problems and Politics. *Environmental Policy and Politics*. 6th ed. Pearson: New Jersey, Chapter 1 (pgs 6 - 19 ONLY)

# History of Environmental Policy

## 26 June Documentary: Earth Days

### *Goals:*

To look at the inspiring story of the modern environmental movement.

Video: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cBVGzf-fF10>

## Week 3

## 29 June Current State of Environmental Policy

### *Goals:*

To understand one critical perspective on the failure of the world to act decisively on environmental problems despite "the inspiring story of the modern environmental movement.

### *Questions:*

Why does Speth believe that the alarm that was sounded 20 years ago has "not been heeded"? In what ways was the "Global 2000" report accurate? Why does he believe that "poverty destroys the environment"? How will changes in consumption and technology change things?

### *Readings*

J.G. Speth, Recycling Environmentalism, *Foreign Policy* 131 (July/Aug. 2002).

### Twitter Post

## The Role of Ideas, Interests, and Institutions in Environmental Policy

## 30 June Air Pollution: Interests and Markets

### *Goals:*

To understand one case study of the complex political intricacies and compromises of passing pollution control legislation in the United States.

### *Questions:*

What role do policy entrepreneurs and international pressure play on legislatures like Congress? What process altered lakes' pH levels beneath 4.5? How did contesting the

science of acid rain benefit the Reagan administration? Which groups opposed acid rain controls, and why? What is "allowance trading"? Who lost the most due to the acid rain provisions passed by both Houses? Why did utilities cut their emissions? How did lawsuits play a role in cutting sulfur and nitrous oxide? Does this approach represent an "ideas", "interests", or "institutions" approach to solving our environmental problems?

*Readings*

Judith A. Layzer. 2002. "Market-based Solutions: Acid Rain and the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990," in Judith A. Layzer, ed. 2005. *The Environmental Case*. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.

**1 July Exam 2**

## **Ideas, Interests, AND Institutions APPLIED**

**2 July Interests: The Role of Markets in Environmentalism**

*Goals:*

To recognize and understand arguments for free market environmentalism.

*Questions:*

How do the authors explain the failure of earlier pessimistic forecasts? What sits at the heart of "free market environmentalism" and how does it view human nature? According to this approach, can a central planner know the best solutions? What is wrong with models like FORPLAN? Why does efficiency matter more in the private sector? What role do property rights play in this approach? Does this approach represent an "ideas", "interests", or "institutions" approach to solving our environmental problems?

*Readings*

Terry L. Anderson and Donald R. Leal. 2001. *Free Market Environmentalism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1-23.

**3 July Nuclear Power: Ideas and Institutions**

*Goals:*

To view the French anti-nuclear movement from a sociological perspective. To grasp how one nation has promoted its nuclear energy goals over time.

*Questions:*

Why did the anti-nuclear movement taken on the form of a social movement? What are the origins of the anti-nuclear movement in France? What were the concerns with the programs for developing the electro-nuclear industry to replace oil that led to massive protest between 1972-1975? What was the fate of the anti-nuclear movement in France? Is the failure of the United States to pursue nuclear power a result of "ideas", "interests", or "institutions"? What are common explanations for success at siting in Japan? What alternative explanation does Aldrich offer? What distinguishes authority, incentive, capacity, symbolic, and learning tools from each other? Have the tools

of the Japanese state remained static over time? How successful have these tools been in the long run? Is the ability of the Japanese government to pursue nuclear power a result of "ideas", "interests", or "institutions"?

*Readings*

Alaine Touraine et al. [Peter Fawcett, tr.]. 1983. *Anti-Nuclear Protest: The Opposition to Nuclear Energy in France*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, **Read Chp 2 ONLY**

Daniel P. Aldrich. 2005. "The Limits of Flexible and Adaptive Institutions: The Japanese Government's Role in Nuclear Power Plant Siting over the Post-War Period," in Daigee Shaw and S. Hayden Lesbirel, eds. 2005. *Managing Conflict in Facility Siting*. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.

## Week 4

### 6 July Risk Perception and Ideas

*Goals:*

To understand differences in risk perception among groups.

*Questions:*

How did scientists, businesspeople, and environmentalists differ in their responses to the survey of Jenkins-Smith and Bassett? Do the results indicate that people will, to put it simply, stick with their beliefs regardless of the facts? If so, what are the implications for policies that provide information and public relations attempts?

*Readings*

Hank Jenkins Smith and Gilbert Bassett. 1994 Perceived Risk and Uncertainty of Nuclear Waste. *Risk Analysis* 15:5.

### 7 July Civil Society and Risk Perception

*Goals:*

To be able to analyze the outcome of a failed siting outcome based on risk perception and its effect on civil society.

*Questions:*

What does Gusterson mean by the "fluidity of risk perceptions?" Did the anti-incinerator group have sole access to arguments about environmentalism? What strategies did the CARE activists use? Did the outcome of this case come about because of broader anti-nuclear or anti-facility sentiment? If not, what contributed to the outcome?

*Readings*

Hugh Gusterson. 2000. "How Not to Construct a Radioactive Waste Incinerator." *Science, Technology, and Human Values* 25:3 (Summer).



## **8 July Risk Perception: Ideas and Institutions**

### *Goals:*

To view the US legislative process on pollution from a scientific perspective.

### *Questions:*

What is "agency rule-making" and what role does it play in the regulatory process? What are the three phases of regulation, and from what periods did they develop? What are some examples of "enlightenment" in pesticides and toxics? Why was the Clean Air Act of 1967 of interest? Are there any solutions to the problems of science-based regulation? Why is the EPA in an "uncomfortable middle ground"? What are hazard and risk assessment, and how do they fit into the overall process of risk assessment at the agency? Why is it so hard to figure out how dangerous chemicals might be to humans? What was EDB, and what did the EPA do about it? Why didn't the EPA decide to provide a deeper earth cover for uranium mill tailings?

### *Readings*

Jurgen Schmandt. 1984. "Regulation and Science." *Science, Technology, and Human Values* 9:1 (Winter), p. 23 et seq

Milton Russell and Michael Gruber. 1987. "Risk Assessment in Environmental Policy-Making." *Science* 236:4799, p. 286-290.

### **Twitter Post**

## **9 July Risk Perception and Ideas**

### *Goals:*

To appreciate one understanding of public risk perception.

### *Questions:*

How does Pillar link optimism to NIMBY fights? In what ways are NIMBY activists the new Luddites? What connections are there between anti-project groups and religious or ethical movements? Are there dark sides to new technologies? Whom does Pillar blame for heightened fears and concerns? Do you agree with his conclusions?

### *Readings*

Charles Pillar. 1991. *The Fail Safe Society: Community Defiance and the End of American Technological Optimism*. New York: Basic Books, chs. 1-2 (pp. 1-36).

## **10 July Pollution, Risk Perception, and Ideas**

### *Goals:*

To comprehend risk perception from the perspective of the general public.

### *Questions:*

We have seen Jenkins-Smith and Bassett lay out a case for differences in risk perception; what differences does Layzer highlight between the experts and the general public?

How does publicity alter things? Why didn't homeowners near Love Canal know that their homes were over toxic waste? What was Lois Gibbs' role in the process? What compelled politicians to finally relocate all of the Love Canal residents? What connection did this have with the Superfund act?

*Readings*

Judith A. Layzer. 2002. "Love Canal: Hazardous Wastes and the Politics of Fear," in Judith A. Layzer, ed. 2005. *The Environmental Case*. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press pp. 54-76.

**Week 5**

**13 July Facility Siting and Interests**

*Goals:*

To understand the arguments behind a classic text on environmental racism.

*Questions:*

According to Bullard, have developers and governments deliberately targeted minority communities? What evidence does Bullard bring to support his argument? How have minority groups responded? Can you think of another explanation for these data?

*Readings*

Robert Bullard. 1990. *Dumping in Dixie: Race, Class, and Environmental Quality*. New York: Westview Press, pp..

Robert Bullard. 2015. "Environmental Racism and the Environmental Justice Movement." In *Global Environmental Politics: From Person to Planet*. Paradigm Publishers, Chapter 26 (pp. 238-250).

**14 July Facility Siting and Interests**

*Goals:*

To understand the arguments behind a classic text on environmental racism.

*Questions:*

According to Friedman, where did the impetus for the "environmental racism" argument come from? What evidence does he have that the initial studies made "critical errors"? What arguments are there for allowing such facilities in the backyards of minority groups?

*Readings*

David Friedman. 1998. "The Environmental Racism Hoax." *American Enterprise* 9:6 (Nov./Dec.), p. 75 - 78.

**Exam 3**

## 15 July Facility Siting and Interests

### *Goals:*

To gain working knowledge of one city's struggle to balance economic growth and jobs with the resulting environmental consequences.

### *Questions:*

How did race impact hiring decisions within U.S. Steel? How did racial segregation impact purchasing patterns, and why would this interest us? Why didn't local officials move to enforce existing environmental regulations, or enact stricter ones? Did U.S. Steel locate its plant and further expansions with the concentration of race or minority groups in mind?

### *Readings*

Andrew Hurley. 1995. *Environmental Inequalities: Class, Race, and Industrial Pollution in Gary, Indiana 1945-1980*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, ch. 2.

### **Twitter Post**

## 16 July Domestic Politics - Applied

### *Goals:*

To learn first-hand knowledge about the way the policy process works within the EPA by listening to a talk given by Prof Lisa Heinzerling

### *Questions:*

Write a brief summary of Prof Heinzerling's key points. Make certain to discuss how her talk relates to issues discussed in class.

### *Readings*

<http://www.purdue.edu/bioethics/index.php?page=article&art=71>

## 17 July Risk Perception and Domestic Politics

### *Goals:*

To learn first-hand knowledge about the way the government and the public view risks associated with our reliance on off-shore drilling, with specific focus on the BP oil spill.

### *Readings*

None.

### **Twitter Post**

## Week 6

### 20 July Documentary: Fuel

*Goals:*

To understand how ideas and interests impacted policies regarding renewable energy sources.

### 21 July Policy Paper Topic Due

**NOTE: -5 deducted from your final paper grade for failure to submit and receive topic approval by this date.**

## International Politics and the Environment

### 22 July International Regimes and Environmental Policy

*Goals:*

To see how norms, rules, procedures, and institutions created by nations influence international environmental policy; and, to understand how international organizations have shifted over time.

*Questions:*

How do we define norms, principles, rules, and procedures? What are some regimes in hazardous waste and climate change? What are some obstacles (systemic, procedural, etc.) to effective global environmental policy? In terms of environmental policy, which do you believe is more important: individuals or institutions?

*Readings*

David Downie. "Global Environmental Policy: Governance Through Regimes." In Om Axelrod, Regina S., David Leonard Downie, and Norman J. Vig (eds). 2005. *The Global Environment: Institutions, Law, and Policy*. Washington D. C., CQ Press. Pp. 64-82.

### 23 July The Gap between the United States and Europe on the Environment: Interests

*Goals:*

To be able to identify the sources for the distance between US and European environmental positions.

*Questions:*

Why did Bush pull out from the Kyoto protocol treaty? How did the Bush decision help the Europeans overcome internal disagreements? What is the "precautionary principle" embraced by Europe? What is the "no regrets" policy of the US? Why couldn't the Clinton-Gore presidency close the gap with Europe? Why was the EU skeptical of

emissions trading? How does Schreurs explain the failure of environmental groups in the US?

*Readings*

Miranda Schreurs. "The Climate Change Divide: The European Union, the United States, and the Future of the Kyoto Protocol." In Norman J. Vig and Michael G. Faure. 2004. *Green Giants? Environmental Policies of the United States and the European Union*. Cambridge, MA, The MIT Press.

**Twitter Post**

**24 July United States Politics and the Environment**

*Goals:*

To view the dynamic role played by individual state governments in the US.

*Questions:*

Why is the federal government's role in climate change unclear, and how have states responded to the ambiguity? In what way is Texas "bigger" than Britain? Are states simply reacting to federal inaction? What is decentralization in the context of environmental policy? Are interest groups involved in state environmental policies, and why or why not? What are policy entrepreneurs, and what are they doing? What are prime-time and stealth states?

*Readings*

Barry Rabe. "The Politics of Climate Change, State Style" *Statehouse and Greenhouse: The Emerging Politics of American Climate Change Policy*. Washington D.C., Brookings Institution Press, 2004.

**Week 7**

## **Other Actors In Environmental Policy**

**27 July The Media and Environmental Policy**

*Goals:*

To understand how the issue-attention cycle works in the US media.

*Questions:*

Why can't public attention remain on a single issue, such as pollution, for very long? What are the five stages of the issue-attention cycle? Why did attention paid to NASA plummet? How have changing aspirations altered our perception of the environment? Has "improving the environment" lost public attention, as Downs predicted?

*Readings*

Anthony Downs. 1972. "Up and Down with Ecology: The 'Issue-Attention Cycle.'" *Public Interest* 28 (Summer), p. 38 et seq.

## **28 July NGOs and Environmental Policy**

### *Goals:*

To understand the role NGOs play in shaping environmental policy.

### *Questions:*

What are the three criteria an organization must have in order to be considered an NGO? What are some of the functions of NGOs? What is Agenda 21? What is the importance of accreditation for NGOs? What are some reasons for limited NGO participation? What is imbalanced representation? What are some ways NGOs can participate in international environmental governance? What are some options for enhancing the role of NGOs in environmental policymaking?

### *Readings*

Institute for International and European Environmental Policy. 2014. "Participation of Non- Governmental Organizations in International Environmental Governance: Legal Basis and Practical Experience. Retrieved from [http://www.ecologic.de/download/projekte/1850-1899/1890/ngo\\_summary\\_en.pdf](http://www.ecologic.de/download/projekte/1850-1899/1890/ngo_summary_en.pdf)

**29 July Exam 4  
Twitter Post**

**30 July Policy Paper Research**

**31 July Policy Paper Research**

**Week 8**

**3 August Final Policy Paper Due**