

PSCI 3801A
Environmental Politics

Lectures: Wednesdays 8:35a.m. – 11.25 a.m.
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Instructor: Peter Andrée
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Course description:

This course provides an introduction to concepts and debates in the field of environmental politics for students who already have some background in political science, environmental studies or policy studies. As John Dryzek and David Schlosberg note in the introduction to the course text,

Environmental politics is about how humanity organizes itself to relate to the nature that sustains it. Thus it encompasses matters of how people deal with the planet and its life, and how they relate to each other through the medium of the environment. It impinges on other areas of political concern such as those related to poverty, social justice, education, race, the economy, international relations, and human rights in as much as what happens in these areas affects our environment (and vice versa).

Clearly, the field of environmental politics has a wide scope. In order to narrow this scope into a 13-week course, I propose to focus on three themes: environmental discourses; environmental policy-making; and ecological democracy. Each of these three themes is woven through course readings, lectures, and assignments.

Environmental Discourses:

This course provides students with the opportunity to become acquainted with, and debate, some of the key ontological and normative issues in environmental politics. These issues range from competing views of the state of the environment and how it came to be this way, to proposals put forward for improving the condition of human-environment relations from across the political spectrum. I call this theme environmental “discourses” because even as we engage in conversations about what “is” or “should” be I think it is important that students learn to critically reflect on the way that (their own and others’) positions are framed, and the assumptions that underpin those framings.

Environmental Policy Development:

This course will not review lists of regulatory and policy tools used in environmental and resource management, with a view to systematically examining the pros and cons of each. Rather, while we will discuss a number of policy and regulatory strategies, my aim

is to help students understand how and why particular policies are adopted. In other words, the focus will be on the politics of policy development, with an emphasis on the Canadian experience. Why, for example, is the Canadian government slow to act on climate change while leading the international community in discussions on eliminating the use of persistent organic pollutants? We will be looking at these and other policy debates in terms of three inter-related fields of political activity, or what the theorist Antonio Gramsci calls “relations of force”: ideas, institutions and material interests.

Ecological Democracy:

Environmental controversies often appear to be about debates about facts: Is climate change happening (or really a problem)? Are these forestry management practices sustainable? Are genetically modified organisms damaging to the environment? As such, governments typically see environmental issues through technocratic lenses, as questions that are best answered by competent scientists and economists. Despite these moves, conflicts over the environment often turn out to be much messier, and harder to manage, than governments expect. This is because a “factual” disagreement is often simply the tip of the iceberg, with interested parties holding widely divergent values and assumptions that inform their framing of the facts. For these and many other reasons, environmental politics is often about trying to create the discursive space for more and better democratic conversations about human/environment relations, rather than (or as a way of better informing) technocratic solutions. This democratic impulse in environmental politics raises a wide range of important questions, from whether and how non-human nature can have its voice(s) included in the conversation, to how to establish better international democratic processes for the many issues that are inherently global in scope.

Typical structure for weekly classes (subject to change):

Group presentations/debates:	45 minutes
Lecture:	60 minutes
Break:	15 minutes
Discussion based on readings:	50 minutes

Texts

Required texts:

- Dryzek, John, and David Scholsberg. *Debating the Earth: The Environmental Politics Reader* (Second Edition). Oxford University Press: Oxford
- MacDonald, D. 2007. *Business and Environmental Politics in Canada*. Broadview Press: Peterborough, Ontario
- Weston, Anthony. 2007. *How to Re-imagine the World: A Pocket Guide for Practical Visionaries*. New Society Publishers: Gabriola Island, BC

The three texts are available at Haven Books.

<http://www.havenbooks.ca/carletonsite/carletonhome-e.php>

The first two are also on reserve in the library.

Useful supplementary material:

- Stoett, P. and C. Gore. 2008. *Environmental Challenges and Opportunities: Local–Global Perspectives on Canadian Issues*. Emond- Montgomery: Toronto
- Boyd, David. *Unnatural Law: Rethinking Canadian Environmental Law and Policy* (UBC Press, 2003).
- McKenzie, Judith. *Environmental Politics in Canada* (Oxford University Press, 2002).
- Carter, Neil. *The Politics of the Environment: Ideas, Activism, Policy* (Cambridge University Press, 2001)

Evaluation

Attendance and participation:	10%
Reading responses:	20%
First Environmental Policy Essay: (due Oct. 15th)	20%
Second Environmental Policy Essay: (due Nov. 26th)	35%
Group Presentation:	15%

Participation: Half of your participation grade will be based on attendance in weekly class. Absences will only be excused if you can provide suitable documentation (e.g. a doctor's note). The other half is based on the quality of your contributions to class discussions, and your ability to interact with your fellow classmates in a respectful manner.

Reading Responses:

By 11pm on Tuesday evening before each class for 9 of the 11 weeks for which there are readings assigned, each student should submit a short (100-150 word, excluding references) response to that week's readings to the course WebCT site. This short piece should present your own analysis and insights: a) in response to one of the questions set for that week in the syllabus (note: questions are only set for the first half of the term); b) in response to an issue raised by the author(s); c) by relating the readings to the topic you are researching for your essays; d) by picking a representative quote and critiquing it in reference to the rest of the readings or previous week's readings; and/or e) raising questions for further discussion. The primary purpose for reading responses is to kick-start discussions and to identify issues that need further elaboration. It should also demonstrate that you have a working knowledge of the central arguments of at least two of the required readings for that week. With the exception of week 13, for which there is only one assigned reading, your response should refer to at least two readings (or two separate chapters of the book, as the case may be). Bring a hard copy of your response to class. Come prepared to read (or have your response read out) in class, and to contribute to discussions based on the readings. Failure to be present in class, at the appropriate time, to discuss your reading response results in a grade of 0 for that response.

Satisfactory responses will receive a grade of 1.5 or 2, depending on the quality of the analysis and originality of insights. Poorly thought out responses or those that do not demonstrate that you have carefully considered the readings will receive a grade of 0 or 1. Reading responses will not always receive written feedback. Grades, and occasional comments, will be posted to webCT. Frequent failure to submit responses can have

repercussions beyond your reading response grade. It can also be expected to affect your participation grade. Reading responses will not be accepted after 11pm on the Tuesday evening before class unless supported by suitable documentation (e.g. a doctor or guidance counselor's note). In those cases, a hard copy of the response, along with a photocopy of the documentation, should be submitted to the instructor.

First Research Essay

You are to select a specific Canadian environmental policy issue (at the local, provincial, national or international level) that you will deal with in both of your essays. The goal of your first essay is to explain some of the key factors that led to the adoption of a specific policy (or a specific aspect of a wider policy). In your first essay, you should include a discussion of the following (in essay style, and not necessarily in this order): 1) A brief overview of some of the key actors involved in the issue area you have chosen, how they understand the issue (such as how they frame the relevant science and policy options), and how they organize to influence outcomes on the issue (both inside and outside of formal political processes); 2) a description of one or more key policy-making event and/or document that is relevant to your issue area; 3) a discussion of how a specific policy debate or outcome relates to actor positions, institutional factors, and/or external factors (scientific, economic, etc.); 4) a suggestion of 2 key questions raised by your initial research which you believe warrant further examination (in your second essay). This essay should refer to at least 6 sources, and be between 1500 and 1700 words in length (the word count should be indicated under your essay title on the first page). Your references must include at least one of each of the following: an academic journal article or book (such as a course reading); a government document; NGO material (web site or otherwise), industry material (web site or otherwise). Citations should follow the APA style. **The first essay is due at the beginning of class on Wednesday October 15.**

Second Policy Research Essay

In your second research essay, you are to address one of the questions you suggested in your first essay, taking into account any feedback you received on that paper. You should: 1) briefly review some of the background on the issue area in order to set up your paper; 2) present the focus of this work in a research question or thesis statement; and 3) develop your argument based on relevant primary and secondary sources. Given that you are writing on the same subject matter as your first essay, there will be some overlap between these two papers. However, I expect to see improvement in depth of analysis, theoretical sophistication and overall knowledge of the issue. This essay should refer to at least two course readings in addition to whatever other sources you deem relevant. This essay should be 2800-3000 words in length (again, word count must be indicated). **The second essay is due at the beginning of class on Wednesday November 26. You are expected to submit your graded first essay (or a photocopy of it) along with this second essay. Failure to do so will result in the loss of 2/3 of a letter grade (e.g. B- to C).**

Late essays (only) may be submitted to the Political Science department's mail box in 640 Loeb and will be penalized one-third of a letter grade per business day (e.g. a B

paper handed in two days late would be reduced to a C+). Retain a copy of all written assignments.

Group Presentations:

Through WebCT, students must sign up for presentations beginning in week 3. There will be six presenters/week for each of 10 weeks. These presentations are an experiment in deliberative democracy. The first twenty minutes of the presentation should take the form of a debate. Your goal is to present a variety of contrasting positions on the topic of the week, rooted in the perspectives of stakeholders in the real-world conflicts over these issues. Stakeholders are defined as all who have a role in existing decision-making processes, or who have a stake in its outcome. Who is represented is up to the group. In your final ten minutes, the group is expected to suggest a way forward on the issue – some form of compromise that you collectively think could actually be accepted by all affected parties. If a compromise cannot be reached, you need to provide a convincing explanation for why this is the case, and what the implications are. You are encouraged to be creative in how you present the debate, and in the solution you arrive at. For example, role playing is encouraged, as is the presentation of unusual perspectives among stakeholders. Presentations will take place during the first half hour of class. Each group should ensure that they remain within their allotted total of 30 minutes. Your group can decide how to divide up the available time among participants. In the presentation you should state your key sources are for positions, and submit a summary of their position, including all references, to the instructor prior to the presentation. Grading criteria for the presentations will be discussed and decided during the first two weeks of class. Note: in order for a presentation to be successful, you will have to spend some time together to work out an acceptable way forward on the issue. This will not be easy! The group's grade will depend, in part, on the credibility of the debate and the proposed outcome.

Out of respect for your classmates and their presentations, please ensure enough time in the mornings to arrive on time for an 8:35 AM class.

Temagami Field Trip:

There is an optional field trip that students in this class are invited to participate in. From Thursday morning on Sept 18th, to Sunday evening of September 21, a group of Carleton Political Science (from PSCI 5810 and PSCI 3801) and Canadian Studies students will join a contingent from Trent University and several other universities at Camp Wanapitei on the shores of Lake Temagami in Northern Ontario. Part outdoor adventure (with canoeing, hiking, etc.), part academic conference focussed on the history and politics of resource extraction and aboriginal issues in Northern Ontario, this is an event not to be missed! More details can be found at: <http://www.wanapitei.net/trentweekend.asp>. There are also testimonials from students who attended the event last year on the course webCT site.

For Carleton students, the fees are \$125 for the four days plus a share of gas for the vehicles driving up (approximately \$40) and two meals en route. If you are interested in this optional field trip, let me know ASAP via email. Spaces are limited.

Schedule:

(Unless noted as MacDonald or Weston, all readings can be found in the Dryzek and Schlosberg text)

Week 1 (September 10)

Lecture: Course overview; discussion of presentation criteria

Week 2 (September 17)

Presentations: Establishment of grading criteria for debates

Lecture: Environmental Policy in Canada (Part I)

Required readings:

- Hardin, Garrett. *The Tragedy of the Commons* p.25-37
- Brown, Lester. *A Planet under Stress* p.37-48
- Lomborg, Bjorn. *The Truth about the Environment*. p.74-79

Supplemental readings:

- Simon, Julian L. and Herman Kahn. Introduction to *The Resourceful Earth*. p.51-73
- Burke, Tom. *Ten Pinches of Salt: A Reply to Bjorn Lomborg* p.80-88

Discussion questions: Which of the arguments presented by these authors do you subscribe to (or not) and why? What do the differences between these three authors reveal to you about the nature of environmental politics?

Week 3 (September 24)

Presentation 1: Should all remaining old-growth red and white pine forests in the Temagami Forest of Northern Ontario be protected from logging?

Lecture: Environmental Policy Research Steps 101

Required Readings:

- Weston, Anthony. *How to re-imagine the world*. (book) p.1-142

Discussion questions: What do you think of Weston's central argument? Is it reasonable? What are the weaknesses? What is the most interesting idea you picked up from this book, in relation to the politics of the environment?

Week 4 (October 1)

Presentation 2: What should be the future of salmon aquaculture in BC?

Lecture: actor involvement in policy development

Required Readings:

- MacDonald, Douglas. *Business and Environmental Politics* (Chaps 1 and 2) p.1-68

Discussion questions: How have businesses responded to the challenge of environmentalism? Why? How is the way that businesses engage in environmental policy development similar or different to the way that other actors engage with environmental issues? What have you read in MacDonald's first two chapters that sheds some light on the policy field you are researching for this course?

Week 5 (October 8)

Presentation 3: Should the Canadian government impose a carbon tax?

Lecture: Environmental Policy in Canada (Part II)

Required Readings:

- MacDonald, Douglas. Business and Environmental Politics (Chap3) p.69-94
- Meadowcroft, James. Sustainable Development: A New(ish) Idea for a New Century? p. 267 - 284

Supplemental Readings:

- World Commission on Environment and Development. From One Earth to One World. p. 259-266
- Carruthers, David. The Remaking of Sustainable Development. p. 285-300

Discussion questions: What do you think is most interesting about the strategies that businesses and governments use for responding to environmental concerns, and how these have changed over time? What have been the implications of the widespread adoption of the discourse of sustainable development for environmental policy and environmental politics? Has this been a positive step for the environment? Why or why not?

Week 6 (October 15)

Presentation 4: Should local Aboriginal communities be able to prevent uranium exploration and mining on their traditional lands near Sharbot Lake in Eastern Ontario?

Lecture: Environmental activism

Required Readings:

- Wapner, Paul. Politics Beyond the State: Environmental Activism and World Civic Politics. p. 525-549
- Paguntke, Thomas. Green Parties in National Governments: From Protest to Acquiescence? p. 573-584

Discussion questions: When are civil society organizations powerful in environmental politics? Why? How are they influential? What does the European experience tell you about the potential for Green parties to reshape the political landscape in North America?

Week 7 (October 22)

Presentation 5: Should the Canadian government set sustainable yield quotas for Mi'kmaq fishers in Nova Scotia?

Lecture: Environmental Justice

Required Readings:

- First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit. Principles of Environmental Justice. p. 429-430
- Bullard, Robert D. Environmental; Justice in the 21st Century. p.431-449
- Krauss, Clene. Women of Color on the Front Line. p. 450-460
- LaDuke, All our Relations. p.489-496

Discussion questions: Is the notion of “environmental justice” relevant in Canada? How do issues of social justice and equity shape environmental politics in Canada? Are public policy outcomes responsive to these issues?

Week 8 (October 29)

Presentation 6: Does ecological modernization offer a real solution to the environmental crisis?

Lecture: Environmental Policy in Canada (Part III)

Required readings:

- MacDonald, Douglas. Business and Environmental Politics (Chap 4) p. 95-132
- Hawken, Lovins and Lovins. The Next Industrial Revolution. p. 322-338

Supplemental reading:

- Barry, J. Ecological Modernisation. p.303-321

Discussion questions: What similarities or differences do you see between actual business practices with regards to the environment and environmental regulation in the 1980s and the theory of ecological modernization, which was emerging in this same period?

Week 9 (November 5)

Presentation 7: What should be the future of Alberta's tar sands?

Lecture: Environmental Policy in Canada (Part IV)

Required Readings:

- MacDonald, Douglas. Business and Environmental Politics (Chap 5) p. 133-172
- Paehlke, Robert. Democracy and Environmentalism: Opening the Door to the Administrative State. p. 163-179

Discussion questions: How would you characterize the relationships between democracy, liberalism and the environment? How do democratic practices need to change to better respond to the challenges of the ecological crisis?

Week 10 (November 12)

Presentation 8: Do the dominant religious and ethical frameworks provide sufficient resources to respond to the environmental crisis, or do we need to develop a radically different environmental ethic?

Lecture: Rethinking human nature

Discussion: Anthropocentrism, animal rights and ecocentrism

Required Readings

- Foreman, Dave. Putting the Earth First. p.348-354
- Eckersley, Robyn. Ecocentric Discourses: Problems and Future Prospects for Nature Advocacy. P.364-382

Supplemental Readings:

- Naess, Arne. The Shallow and the Deep, Long-Range Ecology Movement: A Summary. p. 343-347

Discussion questions: From now on, it's up to you to decide what to focus on in the readings...

Week 11 (November 19)

Presentation 9: Should there be a global moratorium on genetically-modified trees?

Lecture: Rethinking society

Required Readings

- Bookchin, Murray. Society and Ecology. p.385-398
- Shiva, Vandana. Poverty and Globalization. P.481-488.

Week 12 (November 26)

Presentation 10: How should Canada's formal political structures be reformed to fully address environmental issues?

Lecture: Ecological Democracy and Ecological Rationality

Required Readings:

- Beck, Ulrich. Politics of Risk Society. p.587-595
- Plumwood, Val. Inequality, Ecojustice and Ecological Rationality. p. 608-632

Supplemental Reading:

- Dryzek, John. S. Political and Ecological Communication. p. 633-652
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Academic Accommodations

For students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities 9500 University Drive) for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre, 613-520-6608, every term to ensure that I receive your letter of accommodation, **no later than two weeks before the first assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations**. If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your request for accommodation to PMC by **November 7, 2008**, for December examinations, and **March 6, 2009**, for April examinations."

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism: The Undergraduate Calendar defines plagiarism as: "to use and pass off as one's own idea or product, work of another without expressly giving credit to another." The Graduate Calendar states that plagiarism has occurred when a student either: (a) directly copies another's work without acknowledgment; or (b) closely paraphrases the equivalent of a short paragraph or more without acknowledgment; or (c) borrows, without acknowledgment, any ideas in a clear and recognizable form in such a way as to present them as the student's own thought, where such ideas, if they were the student's own would contribute to the merit of his or her own work. Instructors who suspect plagiarism are required to submit the paper and supporting documentation to the Departmental Chair who will refer the case to the Dean. It is not permitted to hand in the same assignment to two or more courses. The Department's Style Guide is available at: <http://www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/Essay%20Style%20Guide.html>

Oral Examination: At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment

returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Course Requirements: Students must fulfill all course requirements in order to achieve a passing grade. Failure to hand in any assignment will result in a grade of F. Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course.

Connect Email Accounts: The Department of Political Science strongly encourages students to sign up for a campus email account. Important course and University information will be distributed via the Connect email system. See <http://connect.carleton.ca> for instructions on how to set up your account.

Carleton Political Science Society

"The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students in the after-hours academic life at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, please email carletonpss@gmail.com, visit our website at poliscisociety.com, or come to our office in Loeb D688."