

**PSCI 4808A**  
**GLOBAL ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS**

Thursday 14:35-17:25.

*Please confirm location on Carleton Central*

Professor: James Meadowcroft  
Office: 5139 River Building  
Office Hours: Monday 13.00-14.00; Thursday 13.00-14.00  
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This course examines the contested world of global environmental politics. The institutions and practices of modern environmental governance date from the early 1970s, and over the past four decades international programmes and initiatives to manage environmental burdens have proliferated. Yet the total pressure human societies place on the global environment continues to rise.

The course will draw together approaches and arguments from comparative politics, international relations, and political theory. Issues to be explored during the semester include: the evolution of environmental governance; changing configurations of problems, approaches and policy instruments; explanations for comparative environmental performance; globalization and trans-national environmental governance; and arguments about climate change and growth.

### **Course Objectives**

This course aims to provide students with an understanding of global environmental politics. By the end of the course students will be able to:

- demonstrate an understanding of global environmental politics;
- demonstrate appropriate cognitive, communicative and transferable skills, including understanding complex concepts and theories, exercising critical judgement, making effective oral and written presentations, utilising specialist primary and secondary sources, and deepening their capacity for independent learning.

### **Organisation**

Twelve 3 hour classes to be held Thursdays 14:35 to 17:25.

### **Assessment**

Assessment is based on the following:

- 10% Class participation
- 25% Weekly blog, due by 18:00 on the Wednesday before each class
- 15% Group presentation on assigned topic (November 15)
- 50% 5000 word research paper, due Monday December 3, 2011

Class participation: This mark reflects the contribution made to class over the course as a whole. This includes presentations of readings, and class discussion. Attendance, keeping up with the readings, and the quality and consistency of participation are all relevant. Students are expected to read the assigned material before class, and to attend all sessions.

Weekly blog: This is a short piece of writing offering commentary and reflection on the readings and issues for each class. It is to be submitted by 18:00 hours on the Wednesday BEFORE the corresponding class. The blog should be written in clear language, engage with the assigned material and theme of the class, and have relevant analytical content. It need not be structured as an academic essay. But it should go beyond summarizing readings to critically assess arguments, pose questions for discussion and provide pertinent observations on the issues. These blogs should be at least 400, and no more than 800, words in length. They should be annotated as appropriate.

Group presentation: Students prepare a collective presentation on one of four assigned topics. The presentations will be made to the whole class on November 15. Each group will have 40 minutes to introduce a complex issue in global environmental politics. The presentation itself should last 20 minutes, and then be followed by a structured discussion that involves the whole class. The four topics are: 1) 'Decoupling'; 2) 'Ecosystem services'; 3) 'Sustainable consumption'; and 4) 'Climate equity'. The presentation must draw on sources and present arguments that extend beyond material already covered in class and assigned course readings. Each group must meet with the instructor by October 15 to discuss preparation of this group endeavor.

Research paper: This is to be an original piece of work on a theme related to the course. Topics must be approved by the instructor at a face to face meeting by 15 October. In preparing this project students are expected to examine material on their specialist subject well beyond that cited in the reading list.

All assessed components must be completed if credit is to be awarded for this course. Late essays without prior arrangement or documented medical leave will be penalized at the rate of one mark increment per day (i.e. A drops to A-, or C+ drops to C, if the work is one day late). Written work should be properly referenced and annotated.

## Reading

The reading listed under each topic is intended to provide an introduction to the issues involved, an anchor for the class discussion, and a basis from which students can extend their investigations. There is no single textbook for this course, but readings are available on reserve in the library or online. BEFORE each class students should read all starred readings AND at least one other item from list for that session.

### **Special Rules**

Please note that the classroom for this course will be a laptop/mobile phone free zone. Previous experience suggests that laptops can disturb concentration during class discussion. So students will be asked to use pen and paper for notes, and printed copy when making presentations on readings. Exceptions will be made for the use of power point for the group presentations on November 15, and for any student with a note from the Paul Menton Center.

### **Seminar Program**

- Week 1: Introduction (September 6)
- Week 2: Modern environmental problems (September 13)
- Week 3: Limits to growth? (September 20)
- Week 4: The evolution of environmental governance (September 27)
- Week 5: Sustainable development (October 4)
- Week 6: Environmental action; environmental movements (October 11)
- Week 7: Comparative environmental performance (October 18)
- Week 8: Climate Change 1: The international process (October 25)
- Week 9: Reading break: no class (November 1)
- Week 10: Climate Change 2: Policy responses, mitigation/adaptation (November 8)
- Week 11: Group presentations (November 15)
- Week 12: Transitions and innovation (November 22)
- Week 13: Politics, democracy and environmental choice (November 29)

### **Detailed seminar program**

Week 1: Introduction (September 6)

This session examines the structure of the course, organizes seminar presentations, and initiates preliminary reflection upon substantive issues. Questions to think about: How successful has societal engagement with environmental issues been to date? What is global environmental politics?

Week 2: Understanding modern environmental problems (September 13)

This session considers the anatomy of modern environmental problems. It examines where they have come from and why our efforts to address them encounter so many difficulties. Questions to think about: Where do environmental problems come from? How are environmental problems constituted in the political realm? What counts as a solution to an environmental problem? How central is value change and technology development to defining and resolving environmental issues?

\* Cohen, S., *Understanding Environmental Policy* (Columbia University Press, 2006), Chapter 1: 'Understanding environmental policy' **and** Chapter 2: 'A framework for understanding environmental policy'.

\* Eckersley, R., *The Green State: Rethinking Democracy and Sovereignty* (MIT Press, 2004), Chapter 1: 'Introduction'.

Patterson, M., *Understanding Global Environmental Politics: Domination, Accumulation and Resistance* (Palgrave, 2001), Chapter 3: 'The "normal and mundane practices of modernity": global power structures and the environment'.

Clapp, J. and Dauvergne, P., *Paths to a Green World* (MIT Press, 2005), Chapter 8: 'Paths to a green world?: Four visions for a healthy global environment'.

### Week 3: The limits to growth? (September 20)

This session focuses on environmental limits and the debate about economic growth. Questions for discussion: Are the arguments of the original limits to growth debate still pertinent? How do recent concerns about limits to growth differ from earlier iterations? Is 'decoupling' possible? How plausible are the ideas of 'green growth' or a steady state economy?

\* Meadows, D., D. Meadows, J. Randers and W. Behrens, *The Limits to Growth*, A Report to the Club of Rome (Pan Books, 1972).

\* P. Victor, *Managing Without Growth* (Edward Elgar, 2008), Chapter 1, 'The idea of economic growth'; Chapter 2, 'Why manage without growth'; Chapter 9, 'The disappointments of growth'; Chapter 11, 'Policies for managing without growth'.

Tim Jackson, *Prosperity Without Growth* (Earthscan, 2009), Chapter 5, 'The myth of decoupling' and Chapter 6, 'The "Iron Cage" of consumerism'.

Hawken, P., A. Lovins and L. Lovins, *Natural Capitalism* (Little, Brown and Company, 1999), Chapter 1: 'The next industrial revolution', pp.1-23.

Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency, *Growing within limits*, 2009. Available at: <http://www.clubofrome.at/news/sup2010/dl-01-amster.pdf>

Daly, H., 'A steady state economy', testimony to the UK Sustainable Development Commission, 2008. Available at: [http://steadystaterevolution.org/files/pdf/Daly\\_UK\\_Paper.pdf](http://steadystaterevolution.org/files/pdf/Daly_UK_Paper.pdf)

UNEP documents on 'Green Growth', the 'Green Economy Initiative', and 'Green jobs'. See for example: <http://www.unep.org/greeneconomy/AboutGEI/tabid/1370/Default.aspx>

#### Week 4: The evolution of environmental governance (September 27)

This class traces the evolution of government engagement with environmental problems and identifies key features of contemporary approaches to environmental issues. Questions for reflection: What are the most pressing environmental issues faced by developed societies? How have government approaches to environmental problems changed over time? What is the significance of policy integration? To what extent can 'economic instruments' help address environmental issues?

\* Meadowcroft, J., 'From welfare state to ecostate?', in J. Barry and R. Eckersley (eds.), *The State and the Global Ecological Crisis* (MIT Press, 2005), pp. 3-23.

\* Connelly, J. and G. Smith, *Politics and the Environment: from Theory to Practice* (Routledge, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2003), Chapter 5: 'Choosing the means'.

\* Mazmanian, D. and M. Kraft, *Towards sustainable communities* (MIT Press, 2009), Chapter 1: the three epochs of the environmental movement'.

Hanf, K. and Jansen, A., (eds.), *Governance and Environment in Western Europe: Politics, Policy and Administration* (Longman, 1998), Chapter 13: 'Environmental challenges and institutional changes'.

Lafferty, W., 'From environmental protection to sustainable development: the challenge of decoupling through sectoral integration', in W. Lafferty (ed), *Governance for Sustainable Development: The Challenge of Adapting Form to Function* (Edward Elgar, 2004), pp. 191-221.

#### Week 5: Sustainable development (October 4)

This class examines sustainable development and efforts to manage environmental problems at the international level. It considers the development of international regimes. It also explores manifestations of environmental issues in the developing world. Questions for reflection: What is sustainable development? What determines the relative success of international environmental regimes? How do environmental issues differ in North and South?

\* World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future* (Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 1-66

\* Vogler, John, 'In defence of international environmental cooperation', in J. Barry and R. Eckersley (eds.), *The State and the Global Ecological Crisis* (MIT Press, 2005), pp. 229-254.

Kauffman, J., 'Domestic and international linkages in global environmental politics: a case-study of the Montreal Protocol', in M. Schreurs and E. Economy (eds.), *The Internationalization of Environmental Protection* (Cambridge 1997), pp. 74-96.

Conca, K., 'Old states in new bottles: the hybridisation of authority in global environmental governance', in J. Barry and R. Eckersley (eds.), *The State and the Global Ecological Crisis* (MIT Press, 2005), pp. 181-205.

Meadowcroft, J. 'Who is in charge here? Governance for sustainable development in a complex world', *Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning* 9 (2007): 299-314.

#### Week 6: Environmental action, environmental movements (October 11)

This class examines environmental activism and action. It considers various ways that citizens and consumers, companies and governments interact to generate environmental outcomes. Questions for reflection: Do environmental organizations make a difference? How has business engagement with the environment changed over time?

\* O'Neill, K. 'The comparative study of environmental movements' in P. Steinberg and S. VanDeveer, *Comparative Environmental Politics: Theory Practice and Prospects* (MIT Press, 2012).

\* Meadowcroft, J., 'Participation and sustainable development: modes of citizen, community, and organizational involvement', in W. Lafferty (ed), *Governance for Sustainable Development: The Challenge of Adapting Form to Function* (Edward Elgar, 2004), pp.162-190.

Gallagher, D. and E. Weinthal, 'Business-state relations and the environment: the evolving role of corporate social responsibility, in P. Steinberg and S. VanDeveer, *Comparative Environmental Politics: Theory Practice and Prospects* (MIT Press, 2012).

O'Neill, M. 'Political parties and the meaning of greening in European politics' in P. Steinberg and S. VanDeveer, *Comparative Environmental Politics: Theory Practice and Prospects* (MIT Press, 2012).

Wapner, P., 'Politics Beyond the State: Environmental Activism and World Civic Politics', *World Politics* 47(3) (1995): 311-340.

#### Week 7: Comparative environmental performance (October 18)

This session examines attempts to understand the comparative environmental performance of states. It asks: How can we assess environmental performance? What explains differences among states? Does democracy promote better environmental stewardship? What is the relationship between economic prosperity and environment protection? Do institutions matter? And, if so, in what way?

\* Meadowcroft, J, 'Comparing environmental performance' in A. Duit (ed), *Mapping the Politics of Ecology*, the Comparative Study of Environmental Governance (MIT Press, forthcoming 2013).

\* Fiorino, D., 'Explaining national environmental performance: approaches, evidence and implications', *Policy Sciences*, 2011, 44: 367-389.

Esty, D. and M. Porter, 'National environmental performance: an empirical analysis of policy results and determinants', *Environment and Development Economics* 10 (2005): 391-434.

Jahn, D., 'Environmental performance and policy regimes: explaining variations in 18 OECD countries', *Policy Sciences* 31 (1998): 107-131.

Jorgens, H., 'Governance by diffusion: implementing global norms through cross-national imitation and learning', in W. Lafferty (ed.), *Governance for Sustainable Development: Adapting Form to Function* (Edward Elgar, 2004).

#### Week 8: Climate change 1: the international process (October 25)

This session is the first of two focused on climate change. It deals with the science and politics of climate change and reviews the history of the development of the international climate regime. Questions for reflection: What uncertainties cloud the prognosis over climate change? Why has this issue proven difficult to address? How would you characterise the development of the international regime? What are the obstacles preventing more rapid progress on the international climate change file? What is the likely shape of a post 2012 agreement?

\* Falkner, R., S. Hammes and J. Vogler, 'International Climate Policy after Copenhagen: Towards a 'Building Blocks approach'', *Global Policy* 1 (2010): 252-262. Available on line at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1758-5899.2010.00045.x/full?iframe=true&width=80%&height=80%>

\* Roberts, J. and B. Parks, 'Grandfathering, carbon intensity, historical responsibility or contract/converge', Chapter 8 in S. Bernstein et al, *A Globally Integrated Climate Policy for Canada* (University of Toronto Press, 2008).

\* Molitor, M. 'The United Nations Climate Change Agreements', in N. Vig and S. Axelrod (eds.), *The Global Environment: Institutions, Law and Policy* (Earthscan, 1999).

IPCC, Fourth Assessment Report, Summary for Policy Makers, WGI: 'The Physical Science Basis', IPCC, 2007.

**or**

John Houghton, *Global Warming: the Complete Briefing*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (Cambridge, 2004), Chapter 5: 'Modelling the climate'; Chapter 7: The impacts of climate change; and Chapter 9: 'Weighing the uncertainty'.

IPCC, Fourth Assessment Report, Summaries for Policy Makers, Working Group 2 and Working Group 3, IPCC, 2007.

Bodansky, D. And E. Diringer, 'The evolution of multilateral regimes: the implications for climate change, Pew Charitable Trust, 2010.

Week 9: Reading break, no class (November 1)

Week 10: Climate change 2: Policy responses, mitigation and adaptation (November 8)

This session focuses on policy approaches to manage climate change and looks at Canada's position a little more closely. International agreements are fine, but ultimately domestic action is required to curb emissions. Questions for discussion: What sorts of approaches have been applied to to mitigate GHG emissions? What about adaptation? Why has Canada had so much difficulty with climate policy? How do proposals for a carbon tax and emissions trading scheme compare?

\* Macdonald, D., 'The failure of Canadian climate change policy: veto power, absent leadership and institutional weakness', Chapter 11 in D. VanNijnatten and R. Boardman, *Canadian Environmental Policy and Politics*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. (\*\*\*)

\* Hulme, M., *Why we disagree about climate change*, Chapter 10: 'Beyond climate change' (Cambridge University Press, 2009).

\* Encyclopaedia of the Earth, *Policy responses to climate change*, 2008. Available at: [http://www.eoearth.org/article/Policy\\_responses\\_to\\_climate\\_change](http://www.eoearth.org/article/Policy_responses_to_climate_change)

Burton, I., E. Diringer and J. Smith, *Adaptation to climate change: international policy options*, Pew Charitable Trust, 2006. Available at: [http://www.pewclimate.org/docUploads/PEW\\_Adaptation.pdf](http://www.pewclimate.org/docUploads/PEW_Adaptation.pdf).

National Round Table on the Environment and Economy, *Achieving a Carbon Pricing Policy for Canada*.

Available at: <http://www.nrtee-trnee.com/eng/publications/carbon-pricing/carbon-pricing-eng.php>

Pollution Probe, Primer on Energy Systems in Canada, 2011. Available at:  
[http://www.pollutionprobe.org/energy/energyliteracy/energy\\_primer.asp](http://www.pollutionprobe.org/energy/energyliteracy/energy_primer.asp)

European Environment Agency, 'Market-based instruments for environmental policy in Europe', EEA, 2005.

Week 11: Group presentations (November 15)

Week 12: Transitions and innovation (November 22)

This class focuses on the role of socio-technological transitions in coming to terms with environmental problems. It deals with the issue of innovation, and obstacles to innovation, in large scale socio technical systems. Questions for discussion: What are socio-technical systems? Why are they resistant to change? What can be done to orient such change in environmentally desirable directions? How are such changes related to distributional issues?

\* Perez, C., Structural change and assimilation of new technologies in the economic and social systems. *Futures* 15 (1983): 357-75.

\* R. Kemp, D. Loorbach and J. Rotmans, 'Transition management as a model for managing processes of co-evolution towards sustainable development', *International Journal of Sustainable Development & World Ecology* 14 (2007): 78-91.

\* Geels, F.W., 'Technological transitions as evolutionary reconfiguration processes: A multi-level perspective and a case-study', *Research Policy*, 31(8/9) (2002): 1257-1274.

Hughes, Thomas P., The evolution of large technological systems. In *The social construction of technological systems: New directions in the sociology and history of technology.*, eds. Wiebe E. Bijker, Thomas Parke Hughes and T. J. Pinch (MIT Press, 1987, pp. 51-82.

Winner, L. (1999). Do artifacts have politics? *The Social Shaping of Technology*. D. Mackenzie and J. Wajcman. Buckingham, Open University Press: 28-40.

Geels, F.W., 'The multi-level perspective on sustainability transitions: Responses to seven criticisms', *Environmental Innovation and Societal Transitions*, 1(1) (2011), 24-40.

Week 13: Politics, democracy and choice (November 29)

This class concludes the course with a general discussion of democratic decision making and the management of environmental burdens. Questions for discussion: What is the potential for

governments to manage environmental problems in coming decades? What are the key issues to address? Are there grounds for optimism?

Christoff, P., 'Green governance and the green state: capacity building as a political project', in R. Paehlke and D. Torgerson, *Managing Leviathan: Environmental Politics and the Administrative State*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Broadview 2005), Chapter 16.

Vig, N. and M. Kraft, *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twentieth Century*, 7<sup>th</sup> edition (Congressional Quarterly Press, 2010), Chapter 16, 'Towards sustainable development?'

Hunhold, C. and J. Dryzek, 'Green political strategy and the state: combining political theory and comparative history,' in J. Barry and R. Eckersley (eds.), *The State and the Global Ecological Crisis* (MIT Press, 2005), pp. 75-96.

Barry, J. and R. Eckersley, 'W(h)ither the green state' in J. Barry and R. Eckersley (eds.), *The State and the Global Ecological Crisis* (MIT Press, 2005), pp. 255-272.

### Academic Accommodations

The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or [pmc@carleton.ca](mailto:pmc@carleton.ca) for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your **Letter of Accommodation** at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (*if applicable*).

**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](http://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 University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

**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.

**Grading:** Assignments and exams will be graded with a percentage grade. To convert this to a letter grade or to the university 12-point system, please refer to the following table.

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5

80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

**Grades:** Final grades are derived from the completion of course assignments. Failure to write the final exam will result in the grade ABS. Deferred final exams are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course.

**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.

**Connect Email Accounts:** All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via Connect. Important course and University information is also distributed via the Connect email system. It is the student's responsibility to monitor their Connect 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](mailto:carletonpss@gmail.com), visit our website at [poliscisociety.com](http://poliscisociety.com), or come to our office in Loeb D688.

**Official Course Outline:** The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.