

Pol. Sci./Env. Studies 325 Environmental Politics. Fall 2004.  
Prof. Wayman. TTh 1:05-2:20 PM, 209 SSB. 040910  
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### **COURSE CONTENT:**

In the course, we will study environmental politics and policy, focusing especially on the United States, but with some attention to comparative environmental politics, i.e., the experience of other countries. We will conclude with a consideration of international environmental politics; this includes bilateral, regional, and global relationships among nations.

### **COURSE REQUIREMENTS:**

There will be two exams, each counting 30% of the course grade, and a short paper (due Nov. 18th, at 1 PM), also counting 30%. The remaining 10% will be based on class participation, including a role-playing exercise and a brief oral report.

Each exam will cover about seven weeks of the course. The exams will be half essay and half multiple-choice, and will be focused on your comprehension of the readings and classroom activities.

In the paper, you will pick one vote in the U.S. House or Senate on an environmental issue since the 1990s, and analyze the support and opposition to that item by looking at which members of Congress voted for or against (or, more ambitiously, worked for or against it) and determining in what way(s) the supporters differed from the opponents. For example, was one side mostly Democratic and the other side mostly Republican? Was one side mostly liberal and the other side mostly conservative? Which interest groups supported or opposed these members, gave them campaign contributions, or lobbied them?

Key votes on the environment can be gleaned from scrutinizing all House and Senate roll-call votes as listed in the *CQ Weekly Report*, or can be obtained from the League of Conservation Voters annual "score card" of how members of Congress have voted on environmental issues reaching the floor. The League of Conservation Voters *Scorecard* for the latest session of Congress is usually not available in print until October at the earliest (just in time for the November elections), but the League does provide a list of this year's environmental votes through the world wide web, at their homepage at <http://www.lcv.org> and at <http://scorecard.lcv.org>. Early in the semester, pick a vote that interests you and get to work. (E.g., in 1995, the most popular

vote--studied by four different students--was the California Desert Protection Act, which among other things turned Death Valley National Monument and nearby Joshua Tree National Monument into National Parks.)

I have been asked by the Provost to include the following statement (which should go without saying): The University of Michigan values academic honesty and integrity. Each student has a responsibility to understand, accept, and comply with the University's standards of academic conduct as set forth in the Code of Academic Conduct, as well as policies established by the schools and colleges. Cheating, collusion, misconduct, fabrication, and plagiarism are considered serious offenses. Violations will not be tolerated and may result in penalties up to and including expulsion from the University.

**MORE ON WEB SITES FOR TERM PAPERS:**

Until 1996, it took a trip to Washington, D.C., to obtain data now routinely used by students in our course.

Web site information on campaign contributions to members of Congress from environmental and pollution-generating interest groups is available from a changing array of sources; web searches are an invaluable way to keep up with this information in a timely fashion. Sites that have worked well for students in recent years include the Center for Responsive Politics open secrets site, <http://www.crp.org>, which, for instance, had breakdowns of contributions to future majority leader Robert Livingston broken down by industrial sector at [http://www.crp.org/1998elect/dist\\_sector/98LA01sector.htm](http://www.crp.org/1998elect/dist_sector/98LA01sector.htm); and <http://www.tray.com>, which breaks contributions into standard industrial codes. In that site, PAC contributions to Billy Tauzin were listed with the source [http://www.tray.com/cgi-win/\\_catptoc.exe?HOLA03018TAUZIN,\\$W\\$J\\$BILLY\\$98](http://www.tray.com/cgi-win/_catptoc.exe?HOLA03018TAUZIN,$W$J$BILLY$98). Another good source is <http://thomas.loc.gov>, where students were able to locate and print the text of bills.

**STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES:**

Also, UM-D makes reasonable accommodations for persons with documented disabilities. Students should register with the Disability Resource Services Office within the first few weeks of the semester to be eligible for services that semester.

**READINGS:**

All students should purchase the following:

A textbook and reader--

Michael Kraft, *Environmental Policy and POLITICS*. Longman, 3rd edition, 2003 (ISBN 0321159772).

Norman Vig and Michael Kraft, eds., *Environmental Policy*. Washington, D.C: CQ Press, latest edition.

And shorter assignments--

Lester Brown, et al., *Vital Signs*.

*Ibsen: Four Major Plays*, translated by Rolf Fjelde (N.Y.: Signet Classics imprint of Penguin Books, 1970).

And a short course-pac, including a questionnaire by Alice Pinsley, some essays, and miscellaneous items. The course pack is available from Dollar Bill Copy, for sale on line or at their toll-free number. \$Bill can be reached at 1-877-738-9200, or at [www.dollarbillcopying.com](http://www.dollarbillcopying.com). At the website, go to order products on line, then to the order course packs on line bar, then to UM-D, then to the course number. After selecting all those things, proceed to order, give mailing info., credit card, and \$Bill ships next day UPS to your address.

#### **TERM PAPER REQUIREMENTS:**

Term papers are due before Thanksgiving, at the start of the Thurs., Nov. 18th, class session. **Each paper should follow the format of the sample term paper in the course PAC, and should also include an appendix with paper copies of all data obtained from web sites (such as the web site on campaign contributions). ALL COPIES MUST BE PRINTED. COMPUTER DISK VERSIONS ARE NOT ACCEPTABLE.**

**PLAN AHEAD FOR THIS DEADLINE: EXTENSIONS OF THIS DATE WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE.**

#### **TOPICS OF THE LECTURES:**

There are 27 class meetings scheduled this semester. The 30 lecture topics listed below will fit into those 27 sessions, with some topics taking a bit more than one period and some a bit less. Readings should be completed by the date listed:

**Lecture 1:** Introduction to Environmental Politics. Environmentalism vs. Liberalism and Marxism. This clash of views between environmentalists and their opponents is the basis of environmental politics.

Readings: Vig and Kraft, chapter one. Read by Sept. 7th.

**Lecture 2:** Ibsen's "An Enemy of the People." This play examines the role of scientists, scientific knowledge, political leadership, economic interests, class interests, and the media in an environmental crisis.

Readings: Henrik Ibsen, "An Enemy of the People," in *Ibsen: Four Major Plays*, pp. 119-226. Read by Sept. 9th.

**Lecture 3:** Tragedy of the Commons. Why is protecting the environment so difficult? One reason is that environmental protection is contrary to the short-run economic interest of key actors. "The Tragedy of the Commons" is Garrett Hardin's allegorical conception of a game in which no player has much interest in protecting the commons, and all have a much stronger interest in their private affairs. How this leads inexorably to degradation of the Commons, which everyone needs for survival: Cattle graze free on the village common. Each family can increase the number of its cows by one and gain the added benefit of another animal, with the tiny cost only that family's share of the degraded grass. Eventually, every family keeps adding a cow until the grass dies and with it the ability of all to use the common.

Readings: Tragedy of Commons in Course PAC. *Vital Signs*. Sept. 15th.

**Lecture 4:** Club of Rome model of *The Limits to Growth*. What are the most important ecological problems and are they going to get better or worse? One important answer is provided by this classic computer model of "world dynamics" without any explicit treatment of economics or politics: the fundamental environmental problems are overpopulation, resource depletion, and pollution, and they drive the global ecosystem thru counter-intuitive patterns of boom and bust.

Readings: Class handouts: diagram of world model, graphs of output; update from Gardner and Stern.

Also read: Kraft, chs. 1 and 2: The Commons of planet Earth (and the of the U.S. in particular) are endangered, but regulatory mechanisms by government to protect them are poorly designed, poorly funded, and poorly received, leading to discontent. Sept. 20th.

**Lecture 5:** Critique of Club of Rome; Deutsch on future.

Readings: Kraft, ch. 3

**Lecture 6:** How to Pick a Paper Topic.

Textbook Readings: Vig and Kraft, ch. 1

Other Readings: League of Conservation Voters list of key environmental votes, and the yeas and nays of each Senator and member of the House. Legi-slate on-line computer system for examining Congressional activity. Students selecting a paper topic will be best off consulting *The National Environmental Scorecard* produced by the League of Conservation Voters, 1707 L St., N.W., Suite 750, Washington, D.C. 20036. Phone (202) 785-8683; Fax (202) 835-0491. The Scorecards are produced annually. The one published in February 1996 covered the 104th Congress, First Session, that is, activity on Capitol Hill in 1995; Each Congress has two annual sessions; hence, 1999 votes are from the 106th Congress, First Session. See the first page of the syllabus for a description of how to access the current year's key environmental votes through the world wide web.

**Lecture 7:** How to Design a Paper.

Readings (to be consulted individually, based on your topic):  
FEC data on campaign contributions to members of Congress.  
Michael Barone, *The Almanac of American Politics*.  
Sample term paper in course PAC.

**Lecture 8:** U.S. Environmental Law.

Overview of major environmental laws and regulations.

Readings: Examine the *Federal Register* for one day since 1996 (see a reference librarian in a library of your choosing that gets the *Federal Register*). Look for an environmental rule. Most of you will pick rules from the G.W. Bush administration, but if any of us do pick a Clinton-era rule, it will be interesting to compare the change in administrative sensitivity to environmental concerns. Useful websites have been <http://www.epa.gov/fedrgstr>, <http://frwebgate4.access.gpo.gov>, and <http://fr.cos.com>. By Sept. 28th.

**Lecture 9:** Congressional Research Paper by F. Wayman to illustrate how to organize a paper. Student papers can follow this model on a simpler scale, appropriate to the one-semester time-frame and basic statistical skills.

As shown in the sample term paper in the course PAC, all term papers must include four comparisons of the Senators taking the pro-environmental position on your bill or amendment with the group of Senators taking the anti-environmental position. Compute the percentage of pro-LCV Senators for and against your bill/amendment, and compare to the percentage of anti-LCV Senators for and against your bill/amendment; compute the percentage of Democrats for and the percent of Democrats against, and compare to the percentage of Republicans for and the percent of Republicans against; compute the percent for and against your

bill/amendment in each region of the country; and, most important, select an industry whose profits would be adversely affected by a pro-environmental vote, and compute the average PAC campaign contributions they gave to supporters of the bill/amendment, and compare that figure to the amount of PAC campaign contributions the same industry gave to opponents of the bill/amendment.

Readings: Wayman in course-pac. By Sept. 29th.

**Lecture 10:** Issues.

Dimensions of public opinion on the environment from environmental questionnaire, and current debates about environmental laws and regulations from the *New York Times*, the *National Journal*, and *Congressional Quarterly*.

Lowi. Kraft, rest of book. Pinsley questionnaire in course-pac. By Oct. 11th.

**Lecture 11:** Issues and Groups.

Positions taken on environmental issues by various interest groups.

**Lecture 12:** Groups.

Readings: Vig and Kraft, chs. 3 & 11. By Oct. 13th.

Mancur Olson on how large groups (the public) lose out to small groups (a single polluter or a few polluters) because the members of a small group each have an incentive to participate in politics on an issue (because otherwise they'll lose on the issue and one member's participation can make a big difference in the outcome), while the public has little incentive to get involved (because what one individual does almost certainly won't matter). Pinsley on differences between members of key environmental groups. List of key environmental groups. Walker on how the public interest gets represented, despite Olson's concerns, when philanthropists create a large endowment that sustains a public interest group. Non-profits: groups neither purely public nor purely private, and that lobby but do not make substantial campaign contributions.

**Lecture 13:** Legislatures and Groups.

Wayman Chicago ISA paper, modified: the role of groups in mobilizing supportive legislators through lobbying and campaign contributions. The House and Senate floor versus Congressional committees. Key Congressional committees on the environment.

Except for a couple of years around 1952 and a few years between 1994 and 2001, Congress has been Democratic since 1932. The 1994 elections brought a Republican majority under the mean-spirited Newt Gingrich, whose "contract with America" promised less government regulation, code for reduced environmental protection. Backlash against such politics helped restore a balance, and President Clinton was able to veto most of the extreme Gingrich-era legislation. Likewise, today, government divided between the parties makes it hard to pass much environmental legislation.

Readings: Vig and Kraft, ch. 6. By Oct. 18th.

**Lecture 14:** Bureaucracy, Legislators, and Groups.

Iron triangle: government by small, moneyed, organized interest groups and their congressional committees and bureaucracies.

**Lecture 15:** Bureaucracy.

EPA. Set up by Pres. Nixon. Notable administrators: Ruckelshaus (in Nixon and Bush administrations), who is generally regarded as a good administrator, and Ann Gorsuch (in the Reagan administration), who led Reagan's "administrative presidency" effort to weaken the EPA, and who in her career in Colorado politics had tried to get rid of Colorado's environmental responsibilities by making each county in the state responsible for devising its own environmental policy.

Readings: Vig and Kraft, ch. 8. By Oct. 23rd.

Dept. of the Interior. Within Interior: Bureau of Land Management (BLM), responsible for much of the government owned land (i.e., much of the land) in the West.

Readings: To be assigned (TBA).

Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA). Responsible for workplace safety. Like EPA, set up to regulate all industries, in the new, 1970s style of regulation.

Item 16: **Exam.** Oct. 28th.

**Lecture 17:** The Presidency. The President can act on behalf of the whole nation, and sometimes overcome the power of "iron triangles" or pollution complexes. But at other times the President himself can be more sympathetic to the polluters than to the environmentalists. Historically, Teddy Roosevelt, a Republican, is probably the President most associated with initiatives to protect environment. The modern environmental era began with the first Earth Day, when another Republican, Richard Nixon was President, and he made an important contribution when

he set up the EPA. A bipartisan focus on cleaning up the American environment continued to characterize the next two administrations, those of Presidents Ford and Carter. Such bipartisanship ended with the Reagan presidency (1981-1989), as he substantially cut the funding of the EPA and other environmental agencies. President George Bush (1989-1993) and President George W. Bush (2001- ) continue the Reagan legacy of recent Republican presidents who oppose environmental protections as too costly. President Clinton (1993-2001), as a Democrat, was more supportive of the environmental movement.

Readings: Vig and Kraft, ch. 5. By Oct. 26th.

**Lecture 18:** The Courts.

Reading: Vig and Kraft, ch. 7. By Nov. 2nd.

**Lecture 19:** The States.

Reading: Vig and Kraft, ch. 2. By Nov. 4th.

**Lecture 20:** Discussion of Inglehart, Enloe and framework for comparative analysis.

Readings: Inglehart in PS, on comparative attitudes about the environment. Vig and Kraft, ch. 15 (developing areas). By Nov. 9th.

**Lecture 21:** Communism and the environment.

Readings: TBA. By Nov. 11th.

**Lecture 22:** Japan and the environment.

Readings: TBA. By Nov. 11th.

**Lecture 23:** W. Europe and the Environment. Western European countries, such as Denmark and Switzerland, are increasingly environmentally conscious. Always ahead of the U.S. in public transportation, with efficient electric trains and high fees for gasoline, they have long discouraged large cars and kept energy usage to about half the U.S. level per capita. Now the West Europeans seem to have caught up to us in installing pollution controls on trucks and autos, and in recycling. Also, on an anecdotal level, on a recent two-week trip in Switzerland in 1998, I saw no use of herbicides, and livestock appeared range fed. One remaining problem is that smoking is less restricted than in the United States.

Readings: TBA. By Nov. 15th.



**Lecture 24:** Energy Politics.

Rosenbaum, ch. 8. By Nov. 17th.

**Lecture 25:** Environmental Economics.

Readings: Vig and Kraft, ch. 9, 12. By Nov. 22nd.

**TERM PAPERS DUE JUST BEFORE CLASS (1 PM) NOVEMBER 18TH. SEE PAGE THREE OF SYLLABUS FOR FURTHER DETAILS. PLAN AHEAD FOR THIS DEADLINE: EXTENSIONS OF THIS DATE WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE. ALL COPIES MUST BE PRINTED. COMPUTER DISK VERSIONS ARE NOT ACCEPTABLE.**

THANKSGIVING VACATION IS NOV. 27TH.

**Lecture 26:** Cost-Benefit Analysis.

Rosenbaum, ch. 5, Vig and Kraft, ch. 10 (Risk-based decision making) and ch. 4 (Values). By Nov. 29th.

**Lecture 27:** Public Participation

Readings: TBA. By Dec. 1st.

**Lecture 28:** Trade-offs: Independent Regulatory Decisions in Behalf of the Public Interest, Cost-Benefit Analysis, and Public Participation.

Readings: Class Role-playing exercise guidelines. Vig and Kraft, ch. 10. By Dec. 7th.

**Lecture 29:** International Politics and the Environment.

**Oceans: Law of the Sea:** territorial limits; fishing controversy in 1995 between Canada and Spain over fishing banks off Canada beyond the 200-mile limit, Spain's surreptitious taking of baby fish, and Canada's seizure of a Spanish trawler with the evidence in the hold.

Readings: Ken Conca in course pack.  
Vig and Kraft, chs. 13, 15 & 16. By Dec. 9th.

**Lecture 30:** Present Trends and Future Prospects

Readings: Rosenbaum, ch. 10. Vig and Kraft, ch. 14, 17. By Dec. 9th.

**THE FINAL EXAM IS DECEMBER 16TH AT 3:30 PM.**

**EXAM No. 1,**  
**Essay Questions:**

991031

Prepare 25 minute answers to each question. One question will be on the exam.

1. Hardin suggests that independent actors with bounded rationality will have little occasion to worry about the consequences of pollution in a commons system. The Forrester model (of the Club of Rome and the *Limits to Growth*) suggests that given the complexity of the world system the consequences of various policies of rational actors often have results that extend far beyond the horizon of the actor who pollutes. To what extent and in what ways can political institutions help solve the ecological problems predicted by these models?

2. How would you as a Sierra Club leader use the Club of Rome and *Vital Signs* studies to advance your cause, knowing what you know about American public opinion and American processes of issue building, group conflict, and legislative and presidential politics? How would you anticipate that the polluting interest groups and their political allies would respond to your use of the world dynamics model and *Vital Signs* data?

3. Discuss the sort of environmental protection that will result from a legislature like the U.S. Congress responding to lobbying and campaign contributions from public and private interest groups.

**Exam # 2**  
**ESSAY SECTION.**

Prepare 25-minute answers to each of the following questions. One will be on the exam.

1. What are the pros and cons of cost-benefit analysis and risk assessment as ways to decide environmental policy questions? How do they compare to alternatives such as interest group politics, public deliberation, and decisions by authorities acting in the public interest as defined by the courts?

2. How does the U.S. compare with other nations in environmental quality and policy? What are some of the lessons you have learned about environmental affairs in Japan, Europe, the former

communist states, and the third world?

3. What are the ways in which international cooperation (or lack thereof) affects the environment? How is this manifest in global (UN), regional (e.g., European Union), and bilateral (e.g., U.S.-Canada, France-Germany) relations and in respect to the world's commons (unowned mid-ocean regions, greenhouse gases, ozone depletion, air quality)? What can be done about it?