

## Political Science 294. Politics of the Environment: Fall, 2020

---

Prof. Eric Smith  
E-mail: [smith@polsci.ucsb.edu](mailto:smith@polsci.ucsb.edu)

Online Zoom Office Hours:  
Wed 3:30-5:00; Fri 10:30-12:00  
[[zoom meeting link](#)]

---

In this course, we will examine U.S. environmental politics and policy. We will pay particular attention to the political forces that cause environmental policy and theories that are useful in explaining environmental policy making. That is, this is primarily a course about the politics of environmental policy-making, rather than a course on environmental policy.

The course requirements are: (1) two short [2-4 pp] critical analyses of some aspect of the readings—due at 5:00 the day before class meeting in which we discuss the item; (2) a term paper, which may be either a research paper or a critical review and synthesis of the literature; and (3) participation in class discussions. The first response paper must be written during weeks 2-5; the second during weeks 6-9. They response papers should *very* briefly summarize the relevant bits of the reading(s), identify elements you find convincing or unconvincing and explain why, or raise questions about the reading for discussion; and suggest a next step for research in this area. The last item, future research, is the most important and most difficult.

All of the required reading except for the books should be on GauchoSpace. The books have not been ordered by the bookstore. You will need to buy them online. The required books are:

### Required Texts:

Frank Baumgartner and Bryan Jones, *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (2009)  
David Konisky and Stephen Ansolabehere, *Cheap and Clean*  
S. Robert Lichter and Stanley Rothman, *Environmental Cancer—A Political Disease?*  
Matto Mildemberger, *Carbon Captured* (2020)  
Elinor Ostrom, *Governing the Commons*  
Roger Karapin, *Political Opportunities for Climate Policy* (2016)

### Recommended readings marked with \*

### Web Pages:

Prof. Smith      <http://www.polsci.ucsb.edu/faculty/smith/>  
PS 175            <http://www.polsci.ucsb.edu/faculty/smith/courses/ps175.html>

**Class Participation** - Class participants are asked to help create a constructive learning environment in the following ways:

- Please show respect for other students; this includes not interrupting or attacking them personally in class.
- Discussions should take place within a context of academic inquiry and the spirit of understanding diverse perspectives and experiences.
- Any personal information shared by students in class should be considered confidential.



Campus Resources for Students - If you experience difficulty in this course for any reason, please don't hesitate to consult with me or the Graduate Advisor. If you have a disability that may prevent you from fully demonstrating your abilities, you should contact one of us or the Office of Disabled Students as soon as possible so we can discuss accommodations necessary to ensure your full participation and facilitate your educational process. A wide range of services is available to support you in your efforts to meet the course requirements:

- Counseling and Psychological Services: (893-4411, [www.counseling.ucsb.edu](http://www.counseling.ucsb.edu)) offers counseling for personal concerns, self-help information, and connections to off-campus mental health resources.
- Disabled Students Program: 893-2668; [www.sa.ucsb.edu/dsp](http://www.sa.ucsb.edu/dsp). DSP provides academic support services to eligible students with temporary and permanent disabilities. Students with disabilities may request academic accommodations online through the UCSB Disabled Students Program at <http://dsp.sa.ucsb.edu/>. Please make your requests for accommodations through the online system as early in the quarter as possible to ensure proper arrangements.
- If you are facing any challenges in food or housing and believe this may affect your performance in the class, you are urged to meet with a Food Security and CalFresh Advocate who is aware of the broad variety of resources that UCSB has to offer. See their drop-in hours at [food.ucsb.edu](http://food.ucsb.edu). You are also urged to contact the professor if you feel comfortable doing so.

Gender and Sex Discrimination Policy and Student Support: Under Title IX, university students are protected from harassment and discrimination based on gender and sex. If a student feels uncomfortable or in need of support at any time related to their gender, sex, and/or sexual orientation, please contact your instructor (me) immediately. UCSB's Resource Center for Sexual and Gender Diversity (<http://wgse.sa.ucsb.edu/sgd/home>) is also available to advocate and be of and support to students.

## COURSE OUTLINE AND READINGS

### Oct 6. Introduction

Discussion of climate change science

- \* Frank Incropera, , *Climate Change: A Wicked Problem* (Cambridge, 2016), chaps 2-4
- \* Naomi Oreskes, "The Scientific Consensus on Climate Change." *Science*, 306 (3 December 2004): 1686.
- \* Gerald T. Gardner and Paul C. Stern, "The Short List: The Most Effective Actions U.S. Households Can Take to Curb Climate Change." *Environment Magazine* 50 (5): 12-24

### October 13. Public Opinion on Environmental Issues & Climate Change

Deborah Guber, *The Grassroots of a Green Revolution*, chaps 1-2

Patrick Egan and Megan Mullin, "Turning personal experience into political attitudes: The effect of local weather on Americans' perceptions about global warming." *Journal of Politics* 74 (3)(2012): 796-809.

Davis and Wurth, "Voting preferences and the environment in the American electorate: the discussion extended."

David Konisky and Stephen Ansolabehere, *Cheap and Clean*

Matto Mildenerger et al., "The spatial distribution of Republican and Democratic climate opinions at state and local scales." *Climatic Change* (2017): 145:539–548.

- \* Robert Brulle et al., "Shifting public opinion on climate change: an empirical assessment of factors influencing concern over climate change in the U.S., 2002–2010." *Climatic Change* 114 (2012): 169-188.
- \* Lawrence Hamilton and Mary Stampone, "'Blowin' in the wind: Short-term weather and belief in anthropogenic climate change." *Weather, Climate, and Society*
- \* Thomas Brewer, "US Public Opinion on Climate Change Issues: Implications for Consensus-building and Policymaking." *Climate Policy* 4 (2005): 359-376.
- \* Sammy Zahran et al., "Climate Change Vulnerability and Policy Support." *Society and Natural Resources*, 19 (2006):771-89.
- \* Connie Roser-Renouf and Matthew Nisbet, "The Measurement of Key Behavioral Science Constructs in Climate Change Research." *International Journal of Sustainability Communication* 3 (2008): 37-95 [[http://195.37.26.249/ijsc/docs/artikel/03/3\\_05\\_IJSC\\_Research\\_Roser-Renouf.pdf](http://195.37.26.249/ijsc/docs/artikel/03/3_05_IJSC_Research_Roser-Renouf.pdf)]

## October 20. Knowledge and Values underlying Opinions on Environmental Issues

### First presentation of term papers/term paper ideas

Dan Kahan et al., "The polarizing impact of science literacy and numeracy on perceived climate change risks." *Nature Climate Change* 2 (2012): 732-735.

Dan Kahan, Hank Jenkins-Smith, and Donald Braman, "Cultural Cognition of Scientific Consensus." *Journal of Risk Research* 14 (2011): 147-174.

Sander L. van der Linden, Anthony A. Leiserowitz, Geoffrey D. Feinberg, Edward W. Maibach, "The Scientific Consensus on Climate Change as a Gateway Belief: Experimental Evidence" *PLoS ONE* February 25, 2015 [<http://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0118489>]

Lawrence Hamilton, "Education, Politics and Opinions about Climate Change: evidence for interaction effects." *Climatic Change*, 104 (2011), pp. 231-242

Richard Bord, et al., "In What Sense Does the Public Need to Understand Global Climate Change." *Public Understanding of Science* 9 (2000): 205-218.

Eric Smith, *Energy, the Environment, and Public Opinion*, chaps 4-5

Aaron Sparks, Geoff Henderson, Shyam Sriram, and Eric Smith, "Measuring Environmental Values and Identity." *Society & Natural Resources*, forthcoming.

- \* Michael A. Ranney and Dav Clark, "Climate Change and Conceptual Change: Scientific Information Can Transform Attitudes." *Topics in Cognitive Science* 8 (2016): 49-75.
- \* Riley Dunlap, et al., "New Trends in Measuring Environmental Attitudes: Measuring Endorsement of the New Ecological Paradigm: a Revised NEP Scale." *Journal of Environmental Education* 9 (1978): 10-19
- \* Juliet Carlisle and Eric Smith, "Postmaterialism vs. Egalitarianism as Predictors of Energy-related Attitudes." *Environmental Politics*, 14: 527-40, 2005.
- \* F. Stephan Mayer and Cynthia Frantz, "The Connectedness to Nature Scale." *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 24 (2004) 503–51.

### October 27. Risk Perception

- S. Robert Lichter and Stanley Rothman, *Environmental Cancer—A Political Disease?*  
Eric Plutzer et al., "Ideology and Elites' Perceptions of the Safety of New Technologies." *American Journal of Political Science*, 42 (1998): 190-209.  
Paul Slovic, "the Perception of Risk." *Science*, 236 (1987): 28—285.  
Paul Slovic, et al., "Risk as Analysis and Risk as Feelings." *Risk Analysis*, 24 (2004): 311-322.  
A.E. Wahlberg, "The theoretical features of some current approaches to risk perception." *Journal of Risk Research* 4 (2001) (3): 237–250.  
L. Sjoberg et al., *Explaining Risk Perception*  
[[http://www.svt.ntnu.no/psy/torbjorn.rundmo/psychometric\\_paradigm.pdf](http://www.svt.ntnu.no/psy/torbjorn.rundmo/psychometric_paradigm.pdf)]
- \* Timothy Earle and George Cvetkovich, "Social Trust and Culture in Risk Management." In George Cvetkovich and Ragnar Loftstedt, ed. *Social Trust and the Management of Risk*.
  - \* Dan Kahan, "Cultural Cognition as a Conception of the Cultural Theory of Risk." In Sabine Roeser et al., ed., *Handbook of Risk Perception* (2012), 725-759.

### November 3. Agenda Setting and the Environment

- Cairney and Zahariadis, "Multiple Streams Approach." In Nikolaos Zahariadis, ed., *Handbook of Public Policy Agenda Setting*.  
Frank Baumgartner and Bryan Jones, *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (2009)  
Frank Baumgartner, "Punctuated Equilibrium Theory and Environmental Policy." In Robert Repetto, ed., *Punctuated Equilibrium and the Dynamics of U.S. Environmental Policy*, chap 2  
Lee Lane, "The Political Economy of Greenhouse Gas Controls." In Robert Repetto, ed., *Punctuated Equilibrium and the Dynamics of U.S. Environmental Policy*, chap 7
- \* John Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies* (1984)
  - \* Bryan Jones and Frank Baumgartner, *The Politics of Attention* (2005)
  - \* Bryan Jones, Tracy Sulkin, & Heather Larsen. "Policy Punctuations in American Political Institutions." *American Political Science Review*, 97 (2003): 151-169.
  - \* Shanto Iyengar and Donald Kinder, *News That Matters*
  - \* Peter John (2003). Is there life after policy streams, advocacy coalitions, and punctuations: Using evolutionary theory to explain policy change? *Policy Studies Journal*, 31, 481-498.

### November 10. Advocacy Coalitions

- Paul Sabatier and Christopher Weible, "The Advocacy Coalition Framework: Innovations and Clarifications." In P. Sabatier, ed., *Theories of the Policy Process*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 189-220.  
Weible, C, M. 2007. "An Advocacy Coalition Framework Approach to Stakeholder Analysis: Understanding the Political Context of California Marine Protected Area Policy." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 17(1): 95-117.  
Mark Lubell, "Familiarity Breeds Trust: Collective Action in a Policy Domain." *Journal of Politics*, 69 (2007): 237-250.  
Mark Lubell et al., "Watershed Partnerships and the Emergence of Collective Action Institutions." *American Journal of Political Science*, 46 (2002): 148-163.

Christopher Weible, "Expert-Based Information and Policy Subsystems." *Policy Studies Journal*, 36 (2008): 615-635.

- \* Hank Jenkins-Smith and Paul Sabatier, "The Advocacy Coalition Framework: An Assessment." In P. Sabatier, ed., *Theories of the Policy Process*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 117-168.
- \* Paul Sabatier et al., *Swimming Upstream: Collaborative Approaches to Watershed Management*. MIT Press, 2005.
- \* Advocacy Coalition Framework Bibliography:  
<http://www.des.ucdavis.edu/faculty/Sabatier/Research.htm>

### **November 17. Climate Change Politics in Washington**

Matto Mildenerger, *Carbon Captured* (2020), chaps 1,2,4-5, 8

David Michaels and Celeste Monforton, "Manufacturing Uncertainty: Contested Science and the Protection of the Public's Health and Environment," *American Journal of Public Health* 95:S1 (2005), pp. 39-48.

Aaron McCright and Riley Dunlap, "Defeating Kyoto: The Conservative Movement's Impact on U.S. Climate Change Policy." *Social Problems*, 50 (2003): 348-373.

Peter Jacques et al., "The Organization of Denial: Conservative think tanks and environmental scepticism." *Environmental Politics*, 17 (2008): 349-385.

Michael Shermmer, "The Liberal War on Science: How politics distorts science on both ends of the spectrum." *Scientific American* January 21, 2013

- \* Jay Hmielowski, et al., "An Attack on Science? Media use, trust in scientists, and perceptions of global warming." *Public Understanding of Science*, 23 (2014): 866-883
- \* Chris Mooney, *The Republican War on Science*
- \* Naomi Oreskes and Erik Conway, *Merchants of Doubt*
- \* Bjørn Lomborg, *The Skeptical Environmentalist*

### **November 24. Federal and State Climate Policy in the U.S.**

#### **Second presentation of term papers**

Roger Karapin, *Political Opportunities for Climate Policy* (2016)

### **December 1. Common-Pool Resource Problems**

Garrett Hardin, "Tragedy of the Commons." *Science* 162 (13 December 1968): 1243-48.

Elinor Ostrom, *Governing the Commons* (1990)

David Feeny, Fikret Berkes, Bonnie J. McCay, and James M. Acheson, "The Tragedy of the Commons: Twenty-Two Years Later." *Human Ecology*, 18 (1990): 1-19.

- \* Elinor Ostrom, *Understanding Institutional Diversity* (2005)

## December 8. Environmental Justice

Evan Ringquist, "Environmental Justice: Normative Concerns, Empirical Evidence, and Government Action." In Norman Vig & Michael Kraft, *Environmental Policy*, chap 11

Evan Ringquist, "Assessing Evidence of Environmental Inequities: A Meta-analysis." *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 24 (2005): 223-47.

Robert Bullard, "Environmental Justice in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century." In Robert Bullard, ed., *The Quest for Environmental Justice*

Manuel Pastor, Jr., et al., "Environmental Inequity in Metropolitan Los Angeles." In Robert Bullard, ed., *The Quest for Environmental Justice*

David Konisky and C. Reenock, "Compliance Bias and Environmental (In)justice." *Journal of politics* 75 (2): 506-519.

Paul Mohai and Robin Saha, "Racial Inequality in the Distribution of Hazardous Waste: A National-Level Reassessment." *Social Problems* 2007

\* Edwardo Rhodes, *Environmental Justice in America: A New Paradigm*

\* David Schlosberg, *Defining Environmental Justice*

### Environmental News Websites:

<http://www.eenews.net/Greenwire.htm> <http://www.grist.org/> <http://www.enn.com/>

### On-line Bibliography:

Dave Robertson (U. of Missouri-St. Louis), Environmental Politics and Policy: a Bibliography for Teaching and Research: <http://www.umsl.edu/~robertsondb/248/sy248bib.html>