

Political Science 294. Politics of the Environment: Fall, 2022 - Draft Syllabus

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Online Zoom Office Hours:
Tues 3:30-4:30; Thurs 1:00-2:00

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; (3) a biweekly report describing your progress on your term paper; and (4) 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, raise questions about the reading for discussion, and/or suggest a next step for research in this area. The last item, future research, is the most important and most difficult. The short papers will be graded pass/no pass. The progress memos should be sent at the end of weeks 2, 4, 6, and 8 in the Gauchospace portals.

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 or use the (few) library copies. The required books are:

Required Texts:

Frank Baumgartner and Bryan Jones, *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*, 2nd ed. (2009)
David Konisky and Stephen Ansolabehere, *Cheap and Clean*
Michael Mendez, *Climate Change from the Streets*
Elinor Ostrom, *Governing the Commons*

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) 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. 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. 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

September 28. Introduction

Discussion of climate change science

*Recommended readings marked with *

* 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 5. 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)

October 12. 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*

Patrick Egan et al., "Ascendant Public Opinion: The Rising Influence of Climate Change ..." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 86 (2022): 134-48.

Aaron Sparks, Geoff Henderson, Shyam Sriram, and Eric Smith, "Measuring Environmental Values and Identity." *Society & Natural Resources*, 34: 291-310. DOI: [10.1080/08941920.2020.1817644](https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920.2020.1817644), 2020.

* 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]

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

October 19. Knowledge and Values underlying Opinions on Environmental Issues

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

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>]

Michael A. Ranney and Dav Clark, "Climate Change and Conceptual Change: Scientific Information Can Transform Attitudes." *Topics in Cognitive Science* 8 (2016): 49-75.
Rotman et al "Addressing Global Warming Denialism." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 84 (2020): 74–103.

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

October 26. Environmental Justice

- Robert Bullard, "Environmental Justice in the 21st Century." In Robert Bullard, ed., *The Quest for Environmental Justice*
- Paul Mohai and Robin Saha, "Racial Inequality in the Distribution of Hazardous Waste: A National-Level Reassessment." *Social Problems* 54: 343-370
- 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.
- David Konisky and C. Reenock, "Compliance Bias and Environmental (In)justice." *Journal of politics* 75 (2): 506-519.
- Priscilla Gonzales et al, "Community-based Participatory Research and Policy Advocacy to Reduce Diesel Exposure in West Oakland." *American Journal of Public Health*, Supplement 1, 101 (2011): S166-S175
- David Pellow, "Environmental Inequality Formation." *American Behavioral Scientist*. 43 (2000): 581-601.
- * Edwardo Rhodes, *Environmental Justice in America: A New Paradigm*
 - * David Schlosberg, *Defining Environmental Justice*

November 2. Environmental & Climate Justice

- Michael Mendez, *Climate Change from the Streets*
- Colby Bermel, "California's Rooftop Solar Program Collides with Equity Concerns." *Politico*, March 31, 2021
- * Darryl Fears and Dino Grandoni, "EPA Just Detailed All the Ways Climate Change Will Hit U.S. Racial Minorities the Hardest. It's a Long List." *Washington Post*. 2 August 2021.
[<https://www.washingtonpost.com/climate-environment/2021/09/02/ida-climate-change/>]

November 9. 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*, 2nd 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

* 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 16. Climate Change Politics in Washington

Matto Mildemberger, *Carbon Captured* (2020), chaps 1,2, 5, 8

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

Emily Cochrane, "Climate and Tax Bill Scales Crucial Senate Hurdle, Paving Path to Passage." *New York Times*, 6 August 2022. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/06/us/politics/climate-tax-bill-senate.html?referringSource=articleShare>

Tony Romm and Jeff Stein, "The Two-Week Scramble that Saved the Democrats' Climate Agenda." *Washington Post*, 30 July 2022. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/us-policy/2022/07/30/climate-spending-agenda-senate-democrats>

* 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.

* Roger Karapin, *Political Opportunities for Climate Policy* (2016), chaps 1-5, 7

* 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 23. Thanksgiving Holiday

November 30. Advocacy Coalitions

Paul Sabatier and Christopher Weible, "The Advocacy Coalition Framework: Innovations and Clarifications." In P. Sabatier, ed., *Theories of the Policy Process*, 2nd 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*, 2nd 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>

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>