

GVPT 273
Introduction to Environmental Politics
Spring 2010

[Dr. Ken Conca](#)

Tues/Thurs 12:30-1:45, Tydings 2109 (and weekly discussion section)

No prerequisites

COURSE OVERVIEW

What this class is about: This course provides an introduction to environmental politics. We will examine several of the recurring political controversies that surround environmental issues, as well as the main legal, political, analytical, and ethical approaches used to craft policy responses to environmental problems. In doing so, we also will examine the various ways that people are responsible for environmental problems and affected by them—as individuals, as consumers and producers, as members of different social and economic groups or classes, and as citizens.

Three challenges central to the politics of the environment will receive particular attention throughout the semester:

Uncertainty and risk. What is risk? How extensive is environmental risk? How do we evaluate and compare environmental risks? How do we deal with the technical complexity and uncertainty that surrounds many environmental problems? How do scientific knowledge and uncertainty shape public decisions? What role should science play in the policy process?

Values and valuation. What are the ethical roots of our environmental concerns? Do we have obligations to the environment? How does the environment relate to our rights and obligations as people? As citizens? Can we estimate the value, costs, and benefits of environmental protection? How much environmental protection do we want or need, and what is the best way to obtain it with society's limited resources?

Fairness. Who wins and who loses from environmental degradation? From environmental protection? What is fair? Does the idea of fairness refer to outcomes, to the procedures by which we arrive at those outcomes, or to something else? Who should have a voice in environmental policy deliberations? Can we have a society that is both ecologically sustainable and fair in the way it treats its citizens, or are these two goals in conflict?

To explore these and related themes we will examine several case studies, on scales ranging from local to global, that deal with a diversity of environmental problems (including but not limited to air pollution, drinking water quality, toxic hazards, nuclear waste, and water resources management).

About the Instructors:

Dr. **Ken Conca** has been at UMD for seventeen years, teaching a range of courses in environmental politics and policy, international relations, and comparative politics. He is active with the [Environmental Science and Policy](#) (ENSP) major, directs the [Harrison Program on the Future Global Agenda](#), serves on the international scientific steering committee on [Global Environmental Change and Human Security](#), is associate editor of the journal [Global Environmental Politics](#), and serves on an expert working group for the [United Nations Environment Programme](#). He has written several books on international environmental politics, including *Governing Water: Contentious Transnational Politics and Global Institution Building* and *Green Planet Blues: Environmental Politics from Stockholm to Johannesburg*. For more information on Dr. Conca, check out his [web page](#).

Teaching Assistant **Jennie Wallace** is a third-year doctoral student in the Department of Government and Politics. Her research interests focus on environmental linkages to conflict, with particular attention to natural resource management and environmental degradation. Before attending the University of Maryland, Jennie worked in Switzerland as a course coordinator at the [Geneva Centre for Security Policy](#), a training center for military and diplomats from around the world. She holds a BA from Sarah Lawrence College in Bronxville, NY; a [Certificate of Advanced Studies in Environmental Diplomacy](#) from the University of Geneva; and an MA in political science from the [Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies](#) in Geneva.

COURSE MECHANICS

Expectations: You should expect your instructors to be on time, enthusiastic about teaching and learning, and fully prepared to play an active role in the class. We will expect the same of you. Get to class on time; turn off your phone, E-mail, Facebook, Twitter, and other distractions; and come ready to learn.

Grades: Your semester grade in this class will be based on four components:

(1) A **midterm exam** (35% of overall course grade). The exam will cover all course materials, including reading, lecture, and section. A study guide will be distributed in advance of the exam. There will be no formal review session or organized study session prior to the exam, so check with your TA if you have questions or don't understand the material. The exam will be held on **Thursday, March 11. ***Please note this date when making plans for spring break*****

(2) A **final exam** (35% of overall course grade). The final will cover the material following the midterm only, and will consist of a mix of short-answer and essay questions. A study guide will be distributed in advance of the exam. Our final will be **Tuesday, May 18, 1:30-3:30 PM**. A final exam may be rescheduled only if you have a serious personal emergency, a serious illness, or three exams scheduled on the same day.

(3) A few short **assignments** (20% of overall course grade). These will be on topics related to case studies we cover in class. An assignment sheet with guidelines, format,

and expectations will be circulated well in advance of each assignment's due date. Your grade on these assignments will be based on the clarity of your writing, the quality of your reasoning and analysis, and your ability to comply with our formatting and due-date requirements.

(4) **Participation** in weekly discussions during section (10% of overall course grade). The purpose of section is to deepen your understanding of the course material by allowing for a degree of reflection and discussion that not are possible in a large lecture-oriented class. You must come regularly to the section for which you are registered, and you must participate actively in section discussions. (If you have a schedule conflict with your section, you should drop the class). Although consistent participation is expected, the participation grade is **not** based primarily on the number of words you speak. The occasional good question or thoughtful comment on the material being discussed will serve us all better than a steady stream of unsupported opinions. We use the following criteria to assign participation grades:

- A** = Highly effective participant: insightful questions/comments, clearly does the reading, clearly attends lecture and thinks about the material.
- B** = Consistent participant: thoughtful questions/comments, clearly does the reading, clearly attends lecture and thinks about the material.
- C** = Occasional participant: regularly attends section, sporadic involvement in discussions, comments often based more on personal opinion than analysis of class material.
- D** = Observer: regularly attends section but does not get involved in discussions.
- F** = Occasional observer: sporadic attendance, no participation.

If you find class participation difficult or face particular challenges, we may be able to help. Let's talk about it **early** in the semester. We will gladly work with you to make class participation less stressful and more effective for you, but we can only do this if we are aware of the situation. Talk to Dr. Conca, or Jennie, or both, and see the handout on our class web page.

Reading materials: There is one required book: John Dryzek, *The Politics of the Earth: Environmental Discourses* (Oxford University Press, second edition, ISBN 978-0-19-927739-1). Make sure you have the second edition. All other reading material for the class will be available on the Internet, posted to our web page, or available through the electronic periodicals collection of the UMD library.

Course web page: You will find a link to our course web pages on Dr. Conca's home page, www.bsos.umd.edu/gvpt/conca (click on the course title in the "Teaching" box). **This is a paperless class**--we will use the web site to distribute assignment sheets, exam review sheets, answer keys, readings, handouts, and supplementary resources.

Office hours: Office hours are a good place to talk about the course material, the study and practice of environmental politics and policy, careers, grad school, current events, and any other topics of interest. Take advantage of office hours!! Times below are drop-

in times, with no appointment required. If you cannot make these times, get in touch by e-mail to schedule another time, indicating in your message ALL possible times that work for you in the coming week.

Dr. Conca: Tuesdays 11:00 AM – 12:15 PM, Thursdays 2:00-3:15, or by appointment. Contact info: 3114-J Tydings, phone 301-405-4125, e-mail kconca@gvpt.umd.edu, web page www.bsos.umd.edu/gvpt/conca If you wish to meet at a time other than my regular drop-in office hours, include ALL times you can meet and give me one week's advance notice if possible.

Jennie Wallace: Mondays 3:30-4:45, Thursday 3:30-4:45, or by appointment. Contact info: 5105 Tydings, e-mail jwallace@gvpt.umd.edu

Classroom rules and expectations during lecture:

- (1) Arrive on time. If you absolutely must arrive late or leave early, do so quietly—sit near the door and be as unobtrusive as possible.
- (2) Laptops are fine, but **I insist that you turn off the E-mail, texting, web browsing, etc.** (And turn off the phone and MP3 while you are at it.) You have the right to waste your time and be distracted during class if you so choose. But studies show that these activities are highly disruptive to those sitting around you, and you do not have the right to disturb others.
- (3) You should feel free to ask a question at any time. I may answer it, or I may ask you to hold it temporarily, or I may pose it to the class for discussion. But any time is a good time if you have a question.

Students with special needs: Every possible effort will be made to accommodate students with learning disabilities, physical challenges, or other special needs. If you have a documented disability or feel that you need an assessment, you should contact Disability Support Services (0126 Shoemaker Hall). Each semester, students with documented disabilities should apply to DSS for accommodation request forms, which you can provide to your professors as proof of your eligibility for accommodations. The rules for eligibility and the types of accommodations a student may request may be reviewed on the DSS web site: http://www.counseling.umd.edu/DSS/receiving_serv.html

Academic Integrity: You **must** observe the basic rules of the University Code of Academic Integrity:

- (1) No **cheating** (“intentionally using or attempting to use unauthorized materials, information, or study aids in any academic exercise”);
- (2) No **fabrication** (“intentional and unauthorized falsification or invention of any information or citation in any academic exercise”);
- (3) No **facilitating academic dishonesty** (“intentionally or knowingly helping or attempting to help another violate any provision of the Academic Code”);

(4) No **plagiarism** (“intentionally or knowingly representing the words or ideas of another as one’s own in any academic exercise”).

See Dr. Conca if anything about these rules is unclear to you, or visit the web site of the Office of Student Conduct at <http://www.inform.umd.edu/jpo/> Be aware that professors are **required** to bring all cases of suspected violation to the attention of OSC. If there is any indication that a violation may have occurred, we have to report it. The penalty for a first offense typically includes automatic course failure and an explanatory note on the student’s transcript indicating that he or she has violated university rules of academic integrity.

Religious observances. This class will comply with the university policy on religious observances, which is that students not be penalized or disadvantaged for practicing their religion. It is also university policy that it is your responsibility to inform your instructors of any religious observance that will cause an absence from class or affect your ability to complete work on time. Please let us know well in advance if such a situation will arise during the semester.

Policies on make-up exams, extended absences, late assignments, and incomplete grades: Policies on late work and absences are intended to be fair to students who get the work done on time, without unfairly penalizing students who have legitimate reasons for not being able to comply with course requirements. Please note the following, and see your TA if you are unsure whether or how it applies to your personal situation:

--Exams must be taken when they are scheduled. A make-up exam will be offered only for students with a serious, legitimate, and verifiable reason for missing the exam such as a **serious** illness, a subpoena, or a death in the family. If you miss an exam for an unjustified reason you will receive an F in that component of your grade.

--Assignments turned in late will be penalized one-half letter grade per day late unless accompanied by a legitimate, verifiable excuse. Illness must be substantiated with a doctor’s note. Last-minute computer problems or poor time management are not a legitimate reason for lateness.

--You must attend the section for which you are registered. The class is full and sections are already too large for optimal discussion, so you may not sit in on a section that meets at a different time. If you have a schedule conflict that regularly prevents you from attending the section for which you are registered, you should drop the class. If you are ever unable to attend section, let your TA know. If illness causes you to miss several sections, discuss make-up work with your TA as soon as possible.

A FOUR-STEP PLAN FOR SUCCESS IN THIS COURSE

You are ultimately responsible for your own education. This class and its instructors are educational resources; how you use those resources is up to you. The common theme among the four steps below is that they encourage you to take charge of your own learning.

1. **Show up.** Missing lecture and section is the best way to do poorly in this class. Section content will be based on the assumption that you have been to lecture and vice versa, and both lecture and section will assume that you...
2. **...Do the reading.** This class may involve more reading than you have had in other courses. But the reading load is actually a bit lighter than average for a social science class, and the reading will be a critical component of your learning. The lectures will assume that you have been keeping up with the reading, and most section meetings will involve discussions of that week's reading material. Plan to set aside a few hours a week to keep up with the reading. This means that you will have to...
3. **...Have your act together.** In order to maximize success and minimize aggravation, do yourself the following favors: Don't be late for class; get organized; read this syllabus carefully; get your work done and submitted on time; know the schedule for office hours; make sure you have the time you will need each week for this class; read the guidelines for each assignment or exam carefully as soon as you get them. If some or all of these have been problems for you in the past, use this class as the place where you learn how to fix the problem. I have had more than 2000 students in my classes over the years, and it's abundantly clear that organization is one of the two key variables in educational success. The other is that you...
4. **...Participate.** Studies of teaching and learning show that whether students take an active approach to learning goes a long way in determining how much they actually learn. If you approach this class passively, sitting back and waiting to be taught by us, you will learn less, enjoy it less, and do it less efficiently. This is your chosen area of study and presumably a topic of great personal interest--so be an active learner!! Use E-mail and office hours to converse with us, surf the web or comb the library for additional material on topics of interest to you, ask questions and offer opinions, and don't be afraid to disagree or to admit when you aren't sure about something. Although we often forget it, doing well in classes, earning good grades, and finishing courses in your major are not ends in themselves. They are just happy side effects of LEARNING--our real reason for being here.

SCHEDULE OF TOPICS AND READING ASSIGNMENTS

Note: We will proceed through this list in numerical order. Some items will take one lecture session; others may take several. Dr. Conca will announce at the start of each class where we are in the schedule, what you should be reading, and what we will be covering in that week's section. Unless otherwise indicated, you should read the material **before** the class session to which it relates in order to get the most out of both lecture and the reading. Also:

- Items marked '@' may be accessed directly from the Internet at the URL indicated in the syllabus.

- Items marked ‘E’ may be obtained through the electronic journals collection of the UMD library. Go to the UMD library home page at www.lib.umd.edu and click on ‘research port’. Choose the College Park campus option, log in, and then click on the ‘journals’ tab. Enter the name of the publication you want, select a database that has the date(s) you will need for that publication, and you may download a PDF file of the article you need. Note that you may also browse for journals by subject area.

I. Intro, overview, and foundations

1. Course intro & overview

--Reading: This syllabus [*Read this syllabus, start to finish, carefully. Is this the right class for you? What are your goals for the class? How do you plan to achieve them? Do you have any concerns that should be discussed early in the semester with the instructors?*]

2. Why do we have environmental problems? What makes them political? Why do we care?

@--United Nations Environment Programme, *Global Environmental Outlook 4: Summary for Decisionmakers* (Nairobi: UNEP, 2007), available at <http://www.unep.org/geo/geo4/media/> [*Toward the bottom of the page you will see the link for the English-language version of the “Summary for Decision Makers.” This is a shorter version of the full report, which you may also obtain on this page if interested. As you read, consider: Why do we have these problems? What causes them? Is the problem human nature, economic incentives, culture, political institutions, some/ all of these, or something else?*]

@--Sightline Institute, “Solutions for Healthier Communities.” Available at http://www.sightline.org/research/sust_toolkit/solutions/healthy-comm [*Sightline is an environmental organization that works on local and regional issues in the Pacific Northwest region of the US. Read this page and go one level down into each of the links embedded in the bullet points on the page. To ponder: How did we get such a dysfunctional, sprawling system of transportation and human settlements? What would it take to implement the recommended changes? Which of the various recommendations would be easiest to implement, which the most difficult, and why? What would be the effects--positive and negative--of these changes, and for whom?*]

@--Statistical Abstract of the United States, “Transportation” tables, available at <http://www.census.gov/compendia/statab/> [*Go to this web page, click on ‘transportation’ in the alphabetical list of topics on the left, and open the PDF file by clicking on “Download, view, and print entire Transportation Section.” Browse the tables looking for useful statistical info on how we use cars and trucks in the United States. Focus on useful measures, or ‘indicators’, such as number of*

vehicles, miles driven, fuel efficiency, and dollar values. Jot down any stats that strike you as interesting or useful. Be sure to Bookmark the Statistical Abstract home page, as it contains a wealth of useful data for this semester and beyond!]

3. Cross-cutting theme in environmental policy: values and valuation

--Dryzek book, pp. 73-142 [Read these three sections—Leave it to the Experts, Leave it to the People, Leave it to the Market--as we cover syllabus items 4 through 6 over the next two weeks. They provide a nice framework for thinking about some of the larger ethical and political choices involved in making environmental policy.]

@--“Environmental Ethics,” *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Available at <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/ethics-environmental/> [This on-line encyclopedia of philosophy is a wonderful free resource. Read sections 1 (“Introduction”) through 5 (“Wilderness and Developing Trends”) of the entry on environmental ethics, about 25 pages in all. Pay attention to the definitions of key terms and the various categories or types of environmental ethics presented here.]

@--E.F. Schumacher, “Buddhist Economics.” Available at http://www.schumachersociety.org/buddhist_economics/english.html [Schumacher is the author of a famous 1973 book, *Small is Beautiful*. This essay, originally published in 1966, provides a provocative look at the values underlying how we decide what has economic or social worth. Notice, too, all the talk about “man” and “men”—Schumacher wrote in the era before the discovery of gender-neutral language!]

4. Cross-cutting theme in environmental policy: risk, uncertainty, and technical complexity

E--Dale Jamieson, “Scientific Uncertainty and the Political Process,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* no. 545 (May 1996): 35-43. [Do you find persuasive Jamieson’s argument about the limited ability of science to reduce uncertainty? What are the implications for environmental policy?]

5. Cross-cutting theme in environmental policy: distributive justice, fairness, and the political economy of the environment

@--Robert D. Bullard, Paul Mohai, Robin Saha, and Beverly Wright, *Toxic Wastes and Race at 20: 1987-2007*. A Report Prepared for the United Church of Christ Justice and Witness Ministries, available at <http://www.ejnet.org/ej/> [Read chapters 1 and 2; you may skip the various introductory sections prior to chapter 1 if you wish. This report was published on the twentieth anniversary of a landmark 1987 study on race and the environment in the United States. Be sure to review the timeline of events in Chapter 2.]

E--Milton Russell, "Environmental Policy's Great Dilemma," *Environment* vol. 37 no. 2 March 1995. [*What is the dilemma, according to Russell? Is it really a dilemma? How should we balance intense local interests and more diffuse public interests when making policy decisions?*]

6. Case study: Diamond, Louisiana

@--Commonweal, "Living on the Fenceline." Available at http://www.commonweal.org/programs/fg_fenceline.html [*Read this page and the eleven interviews with Diamond residents, Norco residents, environmental activists, and a representative of Shell.*]

@--"The Goldman Environmental Prize: Margie-Eugene Richard," available at <http://www.goldmanprize.org/node/100> [*Richard was a leading community organizer in the Diamond-Shell conflict. She received the Goldman Environmental Prize in 2004. This international prize was created "to annually honor grassroots environmental heroes...for sustained and significant efforts to protect and enhance the natural environment, often at great personal risk."*]

@--US Environmental Protection Agency, home page on Environmental Justice, available at <http://www.epa.gov/oecaerth/environmentaljustice/index.html> [*Do the initiatives listed here seem well targeted to the kind of problem seen in Diamond, Louisiana?*]

II. The politics of environmental policy making in the United States

7. Public opinion on the environment

@--Public Agenda Online, "Environment: Red Flags." Available online at <http://www.publicagenda.org/citizen/issueguides/environment/publicview/redflags> [*Read the material under each of the three tabs—"How Important Are Environmental Issues?" "Environmental Protection—At What Price?" and "Consumption and Conservation." For each tab, be sure to click through each box in the table at lower left, so that you can review the corresponding data. Are there consistent patterns in these responses, or are Americans confused or conflicted in what they think about the environment?*]

8. Environmentalism as a social movement

--Dryzek book, chapters 9 and 10 [*Pay attention to the many different strands of environmentalism discussed in these chapters. Given all this diversity, is there a unifying theme? Does it make sense to think of environmentalism as a social movement, many different movements, or not a 'movement' at all?*]

@--Browse the web sites of the following U.S. environmental organizations: Natural Resources Defense Council www.nrdc.org; Environmental Defense www.edf.org; Sierra Club www.sierraclub.org; Defenders of Wildlife www.defenders.org [*Pay attention to how each site 'frames' environmental problems. What problems do they target? How do they identify the causes of those problems and specify the solutions? To whom is the site designed to appeal? What values are invoked?*]

9. Interest groups and the politics of agenda setting

@--Ron Chepesiuk, "Who Plays It on Capitol Hill and How," *Environmental Health Perspectives* vol. 102 no. 8 (August 1994), available at <http://www.ehponline.org/docs/1994/102-8/soi.html> [*Although it describes events that took place in the mid-1990s, this article remains an accurate account of the politics of the lobbying process.*]

@--U.S. Chamber of Commerce, "Issues and Action" web page, available at http://www.uschamber.com/issues/priorities/energy_env.htm [*Browse several of the pages listed to the left under "Issues". What tools and tactics does this organization use to influence the policy process?*]

@--League of Conservation Voters, <http://www.lcv.org/> [*Look in particular at their "Dirty Dozen" and "Scorecard '08" campaigns. Same question: What tools and tactics does this group use to influence the policy process?*]

10. The legal framework: Environmental law and legislation

@--Commission for Environmental Cooperation, "Summary of Environmental Law in North America." Available at http://www.cec.org/pubs_info_resources/law_treat_agree/summary_enviro_law/publication/index.cfm?varlan=english [*Navigate to this web page, and then click on the American flag next to each of the following items: 2. Institutional Framework for Environmental Protection; 3. Constitutional Provisions; 7. Environmental Impact Assessment; 8. Protection of the Atmosphere; 9. Protection and Management of Water Resources. Feel free to browse any other material of interest, and to look at the Mexican and Canadian links for comparison.*]

11. The politics of regulation

E--Scott Farrow and Michael Tolman, "Using Benefit-Cost Analysis to Improve Environmental Regulation," *Environment* vol. 41 no. 2 (March 1999): 12-15 and 33-38. [*What is benefit-cost analysis? Why is it seen as a useful technique of analysis for making environmental regulations? Why would you guess that the technique is controversial?*]

E—U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, “Polar Bear Fact Sheet.” Available at http://www.fws.gov/home/feature/2009/pdf/polar_bearfactsheet1009.pdf

E—U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, “ESA Basics.” Available at http://www.fws.gov/Endangered/factsheets/ESA_basics.pdf

[We will look at the decision to list the polar bear as an endangered species as a case study of the regulatory process. Read these two fact sheets to get a sense of the issues involved and the relevant legislation.]

12. Case study: Arsenic in drinking water

@--EPA web page on arsenic: <http://www.epa.gov/safewater/arsenic/index.html>
Be sure to read the sections on “basic information” and “arsenic rule” [*Useful brief summaries of the problem, the debate, the new rule, and the regulatory history*]

@--Read the following commentaries on the arsenic rule controversy [*For each, try to evaluate the authors’ arguments critically. Are they persuasive? Why or why not?*]

Brookings Institution: <http://www.aei-brookings.org/admin/authorpdfs/page.php?id=409>

Common Dreams Progressive Newswire:
<http://www.commondreams.org/news2001/0522-03.htm>

Natural Resources Defense Council:
<http://www.nrdc.org/media/pressreleases/030620.asp>

National Center for Policy Analysis:
<http://www.ncpa.org/pi/enviro/pd091101g.html>

13. Case study: Yucca Mountain

E--Allison MacFarlane, “Underlying Yucca Mountain: The Interplay of Geology and Policy in Nuclear Waste Disposal,” *Social Studies of Science* vol. 33 no. 5 (August 2003): 783-807. [*MacFarlane argues that science shapes policy and policy shapes science over the history of this controversial issue. Which effect seems stronger here? In what ways is science ‘politicized’? Is that bad?*]

III. Comparative and international dimensions of environmental politics and policy

14. Background: approaches to the study of comparative environmental politics

E--Anthony A. Leiserowitz, Robert W. Kates, and Thomas M. Parris, "Do Global Attitudes and Behaviors Support Sustainable Development?" *Environment* vol. 47 no. 9 (November 2005). [*Should we expect different results from polling in different countries? Why or why not? What do you think are the most important insights here about cross-national similarities and differences?*]

E--Miranda A. Schreurs, "Divergent Paths: Environmental Policy in Germany, the United States, and Japan," *Environment* vol. 45 no. 8 (October 2003): 8-17. [*Does Schreurs persuade you that these 3 countries are indeed on different paths? Do you find the differences she identifies surprising? What are the main reasons for divergence?*]

15. Case study: The Politics of Water in South Africa

--Department of Water Affairs and Forestry, South Africa, *Strategic Framework for Water Services*, September 2003.

[*This document will be E-mailed to the class. This official document of the South African government sets out the national approach to addressing water policy and water management. What are the principal water challenges facing South Africa? Notice the striking quote on the title page—what values are emphasized in this document? How does the approach laid out here differ from what you might expect to see in US water policy?*]

16. International and global dimensions of environmental politics

--Ken Conca and Geoffrey D. Dabelko, "Introduction: Four Decades of Global Environmental Politics," in Conca & Dabelko, eds., *Green Planet Blues* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 4th edition 2010). [*This chapter will be e-mailed to the class. What social forces or developments have been the most important, in your view, in driving environmental challenges to global proportions?*]

E--Frank Biermann and Klaus Dingwerth, "Global Environmental Change and the Nation State," *Global Environmental Politics* vol. 4 no. 1 (February 2004): 1-22. [*The authors define nation-states in terms of four key attributes. What are they? If you had to choose one of these as most likely to be affected or altered by environmental change, which one would you choose and why?*]

17. Case study: The trade in hazardous waste

@--Web site of the Basel Convention secretariat <http://www.basel.int/> [*First, go into "About the Convention" and read the section "Long Description of the Convention."* Next, look at the list of countries that have ratified the convention at <http://www.basel.int/ratif/convention.htm>. The first column indicates signing the treaty, the second, ratifying it in the country's national legislature. Any surprises in this data?]

@--Basel Action Network, "About the Basel Action Network." Available at http://www.ban.org/main/about_BAN.html [*Browse the site of this activist network trying to eliminate the international trade in hazardous waste. Do they persuade you that there is a problem here? What's their political strategy?*]

@--International Chamber of Commerce, "The Basel Convention Export Ban Amendment - A business perspective. ICC Commission on Environment, 8 November 1999. Available at <http://www.iccwbo.org/id396/index.html> [*Contrast this transnational business perspective with that of the Basel Action Network. IS this a disagreement on facts, values, priorities, all of the above, or something else?*]

18. The North-South dimension and the environment-development debate

E --Kofi A. Annan, "Toward a Sustainable Future," *Environment* vol. 44 no. 7 (September 2002): 10-15.

--Adil Najam, "Unraveling of the Rio Bargain," *Politics and the Life Sciences* vol. 21 no. 2 (September 2002): 46-50. [*This article will be e-mailed to the class.*]

E--Pablo Gutman, "What did WSSD Accomplish? An NGO Perspective," *Environment* vol. 45 no. 2 (March 2003): 20-27. [*These three articles date from the last major global environmental summit, the World Summit on Sustainable Development, held in Johannesburg in 2002. Does Gutman's account as a participant square with Najam's more structural view of what shapes international politics between the global North and global South? Is the speech by Annan, who was at the time Secretary-General of the United Nations, too optimistic in light of these authors' views?*]

19. Case study: The international politics of water

@--Mark W. Rosegrant, Ximing Cai, and Sarah A. Cline, *Global Water Outlook to 2025: Averting an Impending Crisis*. International Food Policy Research Institute report, September 2002. Available at <http://www.ifpri.org/pubs/fpr/fprwater2025.pdf> [*Which of their three scenarios seems most likely to play out in the coming years? Why? On what does the answer to that question depend?*]

E--Sandra Postel, "From the Headwaters to the Sea: The Critical Need to Protect Freshwater Ecosystems," *Environment* vol. 47 no. 10 (December 2005): 8-21.

@--Web sites of International Rivers <http://internationalrivers.org/> and Blue Planet Project <http://www.blueplanetproject.net/> [*Browse the web pages of these two social movement groups that conduct international campaigns on water. As you move around the site, consider the following: How do they define the*

problem? What tactics do they use to promote change? Would you expect these groups to be influential? Why or why not?]