

## SP 416 Environmental Policy and Politics 2013



*The controversial process of 'fracking' became a heated environmental issue in both the UK and Ireland during 2013. How can perspectives offered in this course on sustainable development, ecological modernisation and risk approaches offer insight into how we should understand this issue and more substantively, if it can be considered a legitimate approach to our energy needs?*

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### **Course Time, Day, and Venue:**

**Course starts Wednesday 11th September**

**Wednesdays, 11-13hrs, Room MY328**, Floor 2, School of Political Science & Sociology, Árus Moyola.

### **Introduction.**

What makes for a good environmental policy and an effective style of environmental politics? Such simple questions, have been at the core of over three decades of experimentation with environmental policies across liberal democratic states. Today those questions appear as open as they ever were. There remains considerable debate evident about how environmental policy should be designed: should we continue to explore market based instruments and approaches at a time when global market capitalism appears to have entered yet another a profound structural crisis, our great recession. Can ordinary people, lives of voluntary simplicity and personal carbon rationing make a difference of do we need guidance from the state? In fact environmental policy has become sometimes bitterly contested: is global climate change *the* most pressing threat facing humanity or just one serious environmental problem among many? As a question of broader political strategy, the issue of how to achieve any ambitious environmental goals is as sharply debated as ever. Indeed a major 'radical' strand of the modern environmental movement openly disdains political parties, government bureaucratic agencies, and what might be called 'suits and ties' politics. For them environmental politics is not so much about 'policy'. It is rather more about protest politics, changing consciousness, values, or lifestyles, and if need be, 'direct action'.

Yet a larger part of modern environmentalism has actually gone mainstream. It is essentially reformist. It works with established political party systems, within the structures of globalized capital markets, and central to its prospects stands the role and abilities of the (post) modern and reflexive state, rather than relying merely on an amorphous networking effect of 'civil society' or environmental 'movements'.

This course aims to study, analyze and critique that 'reformist' tradition of environmental policy and politics. One implicit line of inquiry here will be to what extent is such environmental reformism credible in

the face of the environmental challenges we face? Might there be surprising scope for deeper (green) and more radical approaches to be explored within the supposedly reformist environmental policy mainstream? By exploring what passes for modern environmental policy in a critical way, we can discover new perspectives which transcend a perhaps simplistic binary opposition between allegedly timid environmental reformism and supposedly unworkable green radicalism.

To explore these issues, this course examines some important themes in comparative environmental policy. In particular what we are looking at are different and indeed competing *styles* of environmental policy. One of our questions will then be what style is the best, if any? These styles of environmental policy include a new politics of risk, the politics of ecological modernisation, the innovation in environmental policy instruments involving the 'free' market, and a growing politics of eco-security. Examples will be taken from American, European, and Brazilian case studies to flesh out these issues in concrete form. The course is taught through a two-hour seminar.

### Assessment

The course will be assessed by TWO pieces of work.

1. A 2,500-3,000 word essay from the topics for Week 3-6 **due in class Week 7, October 16th** or no later than **5.00pm, Friday October 18th 2013**. This paper is worth 50% of the course mark.
2. A end-of-term 2,500-3,000 word essay from the topics for weeks 7-11 due by **5pm Friday November 29th**. This paper is worth 50% of the course mark.
3. In certain cases I will allow a student to write a topic of their own choosing for an essay but I require a 1 page A4 proposal with a clear research question.
3. Legitimate extensions for illness/family reasons are of course acceptable, but they cannot be granted by me. Instead they must be sought from the Departmental Head, Professor Curtin [[chris.curtin@nuigalway.ie](mailto:chris.curtin@nuigalway.ie)], and then communicated to me.
4. Visiting students who have special examination needs can discuss these with me in class, for example if they require to do a much larger essay to obtain credit with their home University.
5. Any PhD or MLitt student taking this course as part of your programme should contact me early on and I will clarify with your supervisor exactly the standard or work required and the form of assessment. Such students who are merely informally 'auditing' the course are not required to do essays.

**NB: The essay titles are included along with the weekly reading list below.**

### Seminars

The course will be taught through seminars that will involve discussion by you. The result is that on this course you will have to read before seminars, about a chapter or one article in length, and you will be expected to comment on that reading in an academic way. It is not enough to just offer your political opinions. That being said, I do welcome differing views and ideas, or if you have your own novel material and experiences to contribute, please do so. Also remember there is no such thing as a wrong or dumb question in any of my classes. To make your informed contribution as best you can is all that I ask. You will find if you take the seminar seriously, by actually reading a little before it, you will end up doing most of the work you need for the papers you have to write.

Readings will be assigned and yes you are actually expected to have read them before class. What that means is that you will either have to buy an optional course text-book (which will be of use for about half the topics] and/or else rely on downloading pdf files from the library servers. In general you will find any article quicker as a pdf document by typing its reference into Google Scholar [<http://www.google.ie/>] from within the campus PC net. That site will link you fairly quickly to a web page where you can access the article in question.

### Contact hours

I maintain regular office hours where students can come with follow up questions or see me about any problems on this course. I will advise you at the start of the course what these hours are and they will be posted on my door. If there are more pressing problems you can e-mail me and I will reply within about 2-3 days.

### Course evaluation by students

I will ensure that there is an opportunity on this course for you to assess it and provide constructive feedback towards the end of the semester.

### Text-books

A textbook can be useful for this course. The one I recommend is **Dryzek, John S. and David Schlosberg (eds.) (2005) *Debating the Earth: the environmental politics reader*. Oxford: OUP. 363.7 DEB.** It contains many classic academic views of environmental policy and politics which you should know about. Obviously not all chapters will be useful and we will still need to augment it with readings of scholarly articles.

Other useful text-book like sources, which are worth a look at, are:

Mol, Arthur P.J. (et al.) (2009) *The Ecological Modernisation Reader*. London: Routledge **333.7 ECO** (Note this book is a mixed bag, and much of this book is just a reprint of various articles, some of which are mentioned here or on Blackboard).

Weale, Albert (1992) *The new politics of pollution*. Manchester: MUP **363.73094 WEA**

Hanf, Kenneth and Alf-Inge Jansen (1998) *Governance and Environment in Western Europe. Politics, Policy and Administration*. London: Longman. **363.70094 GOV**

Note the last two volumes are very out of date but they do give you a foundation for understanding how political science has come to examine modern environmental policy.

Some copies of both books are available at the University book store, and as you can see below, copies are on desk reserve in the library.

### The Library-or why you should read books before you sink in the Journals!

Books are listed here but they can be requested and are usually more useful for essay writing. The library often has a time lag between when we order stuff and they get it and place it on the shelves. That means books tend to be a bit poor in terms of being up to date (journals are where you find recent material).

However, a few book chapters are worth looking at if you really want to get depth.

If you have difficulty getting a book, sometimes looking it up via Google books can you let you read a chapter or so of material in a pretty handy way. However, there will be cases when you would be much better getting the book out and reading more of it than via the internet.

Please note there is no longer any Desk Reserve function, so make sure your well organized and request or borrow such books well in advanced of any deadlines.

### A note on journal articles

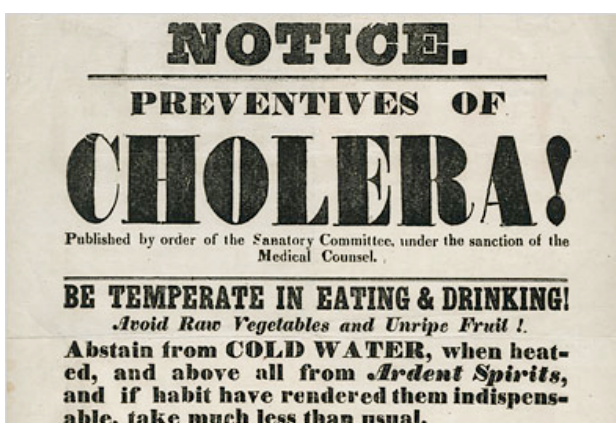
This is a third year course so I want to expose you to the academic journals. That is where more advanced discussion and debate takes place. However, a word of warning is probably deserved. Many journal articles offer only a partial treatment. You will need to learn the skill of reading through a few and extracting just the core points that you can use for your paper or class discussion. Do not get bogged down in reading any journal article by itself.

Please note also that **I will sometimes add extra journal articles to the Blackboard site for this course as we go on. So the reading list below is far from definitive.** You should treat it as a key starting point but make sure to also have a look on Blackboard as well.

### Week 2. Wednesday September 11th

Introduction to the course and 'role playing' exercise.

### Week 3. Wednesday September 18th



### History of environmental policy: Command and Control-does it work?

Environmental policy is actually not that new. Victorian era legislation to manage wastes and sanitation marked an important first step in the creation of environmental policies. However, what is more revealing is that in the past, popular views of the physical landscape and pollution were quite different. This suggests that environmental problems

are as much driven by ideology as they are physically 'real'. Equally some types of modern environmentalism have an uncanny resemblance to the historical experience of 'moral panics' and popular fears about the future. What are the lessons to draw from this class? When the state takes action, combined with relatively simple technological management approaches, serious environmental problems can be reduced. We also learn that the beginnings of much environmental policy originate with a 'public health/sanitation' frame, which is quite different in its political features from more complex modern environmental problems. Equally one can say that central to the first moves on pollution was the approach of using distinctively *local* state authority through law allied with a civil engineering technology approach. Basically the reform approach was to simply outlaw pollution up to the point of a specific technology to manage it. We call this approach to environmental policy 'command and control'. It is still with us today. We might also learn in this class that how pollution problems are perceived is 'socially constructed'. A sense of risk or urgency can add much to addressing environmental problems, and without such a 'push' factor technological improvement or state capacity by themselves seem not to be sufficient. Unfortunately, a study of the history of environmental policy reveals that wrong or even right regulatory actions can often be taken without a clear understanding of the scientific complexity of a given pollution problem. Indeed scientific and technical controversy would appear to be an embedded feature of environmental policy-making.

### Discussion and Essay Questions:

**2. "Would it be fair to say the lesson to be drawn about 19th century sanitation politics is simply that we can, if we have political will, easily command and control many of our environmental problems" Discuss and explain this statement, and consider to what engineering based command and control approach were successful and deficient."**

### Readings:

Schultz, Stanley K. and Clay McShane (1978) 'To Engineer the Metropolis: sewers, sanitation, and City Planning in Late-Nineteenth-Century America', *The Journal of American History*, Vol.65, Mo.2, pp.389-411.

OR

Rome, Adam (1996) 'Coming to terms with pollution: the language of environmental reform, 1865-1915', *Environmental History*, Vol.1, No.3, pp.6-28.

**Background Reading:** See also pp.74-88 in Dryzek, John S. and David Schlosberg (eds.) (2005) *Debating the Earth: the environmental politics reader*. Oxford: OUP. **363.7 DEB.**

### Engineering Pollution Away: Sewers & Sanitation Literature

Pontin, Ben (2007) 'Integrated Pollution Control in Victorian Britain: rethinking progress within the history of environmental law', *Journal of Environmental Law*, Vol. 19, No.2, pp.173-199.

Cook, G.C. (2001) "Construction of London's Victorian Sewers: the vital role of Joseph Bazalgette", *Postgraduate Medical Journal*, Vol.77, pp.802-804.

Lentz, C. (2001) 'The Rise of Professional Government: evidence from large-scale public works projects', *Public Administration Review*, Vol.61, No.1, pp.121-126.

Hardy, Ann (1993) 'Cholera, Quarantine and the English Preventative System, 1850-1895', *Medical History*, Vol. 37, pp.250-269.

Briggs, Asa (1961) 'Cholera and Society in the Nineteenth Century', *Past and Present*, No.19, pp.76-96.

Hamlin, C. (1992) 'Edwin Chadwick and the Engineers, 1842-1854: Systems and Anti-Systems in the pipe and brick Sewers war', *Technology and Culture*, Vol.33, No.4, pp.680-709.

Sunderland, John (1999) 'A Monument to defective administration?' The London Commissions of Sewers in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century', *Urban History*, Vol.26, No.3, pp.349-372.

Desroches, Pierre (2003) 'Saving the environment for a profit, Victorian style', *Ideas on Liberty*, May, pp.32-35.

Geels, F.W. (2006) 'The hygienic transition from cesspools to sewer systems (1840-1930s): the dynamics of regime transformation', *Research Policy*, Vol.35, pp.1069-1082.

Seeger, H. (1999) 'The History of German waste-water treatment', *European Water Management*, Vol.2, No.5, pp.51-56.

Gandy, Matthew (1999) 'The Paris Sewers and the Rationalization of Urban Space', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol.24, pp.23-44.



- Beemer, J.K. (2005) 'Sewers in the City: A Case Study of Individual-Level Mortality and Public Health Initiatives in Northampton, Massachusetts, at the Turn of the Century'. *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, Vol.60, No. 1, pp. 42-72.
- Fisher, J. (et al.) (2006) 'Public health reform: lessons from history', *Proceedings of the ICE - Municipal Engineer*, Vol. 159, No. 1, pp. 3 –10.

### **General literature on 19<sup>th</sup> century environmental policy history**

- Sheail, John (1997) 'The sustainable management of industrial watercourses: An English historical perspective', *Environmental History*, Vol. 2, No.2, pp.197-215.
- Stradling, David and Peter Thorsheim (1999) 'The Smoke of Great Cities: British and American Efforts to Control Air Pollution, 1860-1914.' *Environmental History*, Vol.4, No.1, pp.6-31.
- LeCain, Timothy (2000) 'The Limits of "Eco-Efficiency": Arsenic Pollution and the Cottrell Electrical Precipitator in the US Copper Smelting Industry', *Environmental History*, Vol.5, No.3, pp.336-351.
- Garcier, Romain (2010) 'The placing of matter: industrial water pollution and the construction of social order in nineteenth-century France', *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol.36, pp.132–142.
- Cooper, Timothy (2011) 'Peter Lund Simmonds and the Political Ecology of Waste Utilization in Victorian Britain', *Technology and Culture*, Vol. 52, No.1. pp. 21-44.
- Markham, Adam. (1994) *A Brief History of Pollution*. 363.73 MAR
- Pepper, David (et al.) (1994) *The Roots of Modern Environmentalism*. 304.209 PEP.
- Bramwell, Anna. (1989) *Ecology in the Twentieth Century*. 574. 50904 BKA.
- Bailes, K.E. (1985) *Environmental History: Critical issues in comparative perspective*.
- Olwig, K. *Nature's Ideological Landscape*. 333.7316094895 OLW. (see chapter 1 on the historical idea of the Natural, nature as a "good".)
- Grove, Richard. (1997) *Ecology, climate and empire: colonialism and global environmental history, 1400-1940*. 333.709 GRO
- Douglas, Mary (2002) *Purity and danger: an analysis of the concept of pollution and taboo*. 390 DOU

### **Literature on 'command and control', etc.**

- Sinclair, Darren. (1997) 'Self-regulation versus Command and Control? Beyond False Dichotomies', *Law and Policy*, Vol. 19, No.4, pp.529-559.
- Sherman, Daniel J. (2011) 'Contamination, Collaboration, Remediation, and Restoration: Lessons on First- and Next-Generation Environmental Policy Approaches from the St. Paul Waterway Superfund Site in Tacoma, Washington', *Society & Natural Resources*, Vol. 24, No.3, pp.303-311
- Harrington, W. and R. Morgenstern (2007) Economic incentives versus command and control: What's the best approach for solving environmental problems? Available at [http://envirohealth.berkeley.edu/271E/2007/S24/RFF\\_Resources\\_152\\_ecoincentives.pdf](http://envirohealth.berkeley.edu/271E/2007/S24/RFF_Resources_152_ecoincentives.pdf)
- Swaney, James A. (1992) 'Market versus Command and Control Environmental Policies', *Journal of Economic Issues*, Vol. 26, No. 2 pp. 623-633.
- Goulder, Lawrence H. and Ian W. H. Parry (2008) Instrument Choice in Environmental Policy, *Review of Environmental Economics and Policy*, Vol.2, No.2, pp.152-174
- Holling, C.S. and Gary K. Meffe (1996) 'Command and Control and the Pathology of Natural Resource Management', *Conservation Biology*, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 328 - 337.
- Aalders, Marius and Ton Wilthagen (1997) Moving Beyond Command-and-Control: Reflexivity in the Regulation of Occupational Safety and Health and the Environment, *Law & Policy*, Vol.19, No. 4, pp.415 - 44.
- Cole, Daniel H. and Peter Z. Grossman (1999) 'When is Command-and-Control Efficient - Institutions, Technology, and the Comparative Efficiency of Alternative Regulatory Regimes for Environmental Protection', *Wis. L. Rev.* 887
- Sheail, John (2005) 'Burning Bings: a study of pollution management in mid-twentieth century Britain', *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol.31, pp.134-148.
- Sheail, John (1998) 'Never Again': Pollution and the Management of Watercourses in Postwar Britain', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 33, No. 1, pp.117-135.
- Hepburn, Cameron (2010) 'Environmental policy, government, and the market', *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, Volume 26, Number 2, 2010, pp.117–136.

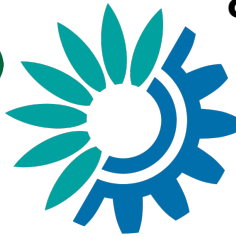
Gunningham, Neil (2009) 'Environment Law, Regulation and Governance: Shifting Architectures', *Journal of Environmental Law*, Vol. 21, No.2, pp.179-212.

Check Blackboard for additional material if any.

#### Week 4. Wednesday

25th September.

#### Comparing Environmental Policies-America contrasted with the EU.



In the last class we saw how the origins of modern reformist environmental policy began typically with *local* (city) governments. Since the 1960s there has been a marked centralization of environmental policy, beginning first in the USA, then later in many other liberal democracies. In federal countries this required a not uncontroversial shift in responsibility to the federal government level, with less power for the sub-states. In Europe the fledgling European Union began to carve out a role for itself on environmental matters in the Seventies. Today the EU's role is central in European environmental policy.

Some commentators have made comparisons throughout the last decade between American and European approaches, suggesting that Europeans who had once lagged behind, now outpace America in environmental policy ambition. Other scholars have stressed convergence and similarity between the two regimes, notwithstanding important differences. In this class, we take time to consider these two regimes and evaluate to what extent they are very different or actually quite similar in how they regulate environmental problems, and what the strengths and weaknesses of each may be. A key argument made is that institutional differences matter, in particular the extent to which well funded and independent environmental agencies can prosper, and the extent to which there is scope of policy leadership at a central level than can both intervene in the law-making process but also the budgetary/fiscal process to achieve environmental outcomes.

#### Discussion and Essay Question:

**3a “While Kelemen and Vogel argue that the EU and the USA have traded places as regards environmental policy leadership, to what extent does the EU have an essentially weak confederal system of environmental governance that it pushes to the limit, while the US has a truly powerful federal system, but one which its reluctant to fully explore?”**

**OR**

**3b “Would big-state federalism in either America or Europe be better or worse for environmental protection, or is the very idea of a powerful state actor an environmental threat?”**

#### Reading:

Kelemen, R. Daniel and David Vogel (2010) 'Trading Places: The Role of the United States and the European Union in International Environmental Politics', *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 43, No.4, pp.27–456.

#### Other Reading:

##### Literature on US federal environmental policy relations [introductory and general]

Kraft, Michael E. and Norman J. Vig (2010) 'Environmental Policy over Four Decades Achievements and New Directions', from Kraft, Michael E. and Norman J. Vig (eds.) *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century*, 7th Edition. Washington: CQ Press. Available from <http://www.cqpress.com/docs/college/Ch1-kraft-vig.pdf>

- Vogel, David (2003) 'the Hare and the Tortoise Revisited: the New Politics of Consumer and Environmental Regulation in Europe', *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol.33, pp.557-580.
- Rabe, Barry (2007) 'Environmental Policy and the Bush Era: The Collision Between the Administrative Presidency and State Experimentation', *Publius*, Vol. 37, No. 3, p. 413-31.
- Bailey, Christopher. (1998) *Congress and Air Pollution; Environmental politics in the US. Issues in Environmental Politics*. 344.73046341 BAI
- Weber, Edward P. (1998) *Pluralism by the rules: Conflict and Co-operation in Environmental regulation*. 363.700973
- Lowry, William. R. (1992) *The Dimensions of Federalism: state Governments and Pollution Control Policies*. 363.7060973 LOW
- Scheberle, Denise (2005) 'The evolving Matrix of evolving Federalism and intergovernmental relations', *Publius: the journal of federalism*, Vol.35, No.1, pp.69-86.
- Kraft, Michael E. and Denise Scheberle (1998) 'Environmental Federalism at Decade's End: New Approaches and Strategies', *Publius*, Vol.28, No.1, pp.131-146.
- Revesez, Richard L. (2002) 'Federalism and regulation: extrapolating from the analysis of environmental regulation in the United States', *Journal of International Economic Law*, Vol.3, No.2, pp.219-233.
- Sigman, Hilary (2003) 'letting States do the dirty work: state responsibility for federal environmental regulation', Working paper 9451, available at: <http://www.nber.org/papers/w9451>
- Prakash, A and K.L. Kollman (2003) 'Biopolitics in the EU and the US: a race to the bottom or Convergence to the Top?', *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 47, pp.617-641.
- Bomberg, Elizabeth and Betsy Super (2009) 'The 2008 US presidential election: Obama and the environment', *Environmental Politics*, Volume 18, Issue 3 May, pp 424 - 430
- Levy, Jason K. and Chennat Gopalakrishnan (2010) 'President Obama's Offshore Drilling Policy and Energy Security: A Game-Theoretic Policy Analysis', *Journal of Natural Resources Policy Research*, Volume 2, Issue 3 July 2010, pp. 195 - 21. [Ignore the game theory, just useful for background info on offshore drilling saga]
- Eatmon, Thomas D. (2009) 'Paradiplomacy and Climate Change: American States as Actors in Global Climate Governance', *Journal of Natural Resources Policy Research*, Volume 1, Issue 2, pp. 153 - 165.
- McCright, Aaron M. (2010) The American Conservative Movement's Success in Undermining Climate Science and Policy, *Theory, Culture & Society*, March 2010 vol. 27 no. 2-3 100-133.
- Luke, Timothy W. (2009) 'A green new deal: why green, how new, and what is the deal?' *Critical Policy Studies*, Volume 3, Issue 1 April 2009, pages 14 - 28.
- Goulder, Lawrence H. and Robert N. Stavins (2010) *Interactions Between State and Federal Climate Change Policies*, June 2010 Discussion Paper 10-36, available at: <http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/StavinsGoulderFinal-3.pdf>

## Literature on EU environmental policy-making

- Benson, David & Andrew Jordan (2010) 'European Union environmental policy after the Lisbon Treaty: plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose?', *Environmental Politics*, Vol. 19, No.3, pp.468-474.
- Weale, Albert (et al.) (2000) *Environmental governance in Europe : an ever closer ecological union?* Oxford: OUP. 363.7056094 ENV
- McCormick, John (2001) *Environmental policy in the European Union*. Basingstoke: Palgrave. 363.7056094 McC
- Heritier, A (1995) 'leaders and laggards in European Clean air policy' in Rudig, Wolfgang (1999) *Environmental Policy*. Vol.1 363.705 ENV
- Liefferink, D and M. Skou-Andersen (1998) 'Strategies of the 'green' member states in EU environmental policy', in Rudig, Wolfgang (1999) *Environmental Policy*. Vol.1 363.705 ENV
- Bugdahn, S. (2005) 'Of Europeanization and domestication: the implementation of the Environmental Information Directive in Ireland, Great Britain and Germany', *Journal Of European Public Policy*, Vol. 12, No.1, pp. 177-199.
- Egeberg, Morten (2001) 'How federal? The organizational dimension of integration in the EU (and elsewhere)', *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 8, No. 5, pp.728-746.
- Kramer, John (2004) 'EU Enlargement and the Environment: Six Challenges', *Environmental Politics*, Vol.13, No. 1, pp. 290-311.

Knill, C. and A. Lenschow (2005) 'Compliance, Communication and Competition: Patterns of EU Environmental Policy-Making and Their Impact on Policy Convergence', *European Environment*, Vol. 15, No. 2, pp. 114-128.

Jehlička, Petr; Tickle, Andrew (2004) 'Environmental Implications of Eastern Enlargement: The End of Progressive EU Environmental Policy?', *Environmental Politics*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 77-95.

Vogel, David (2003) 'Environmental Federalism in the USA and Europe, etc.', Conference paper available at: <http://www.tilburguniversity.nl/globus/activities/conference/papers/vogel.pdf>

Check Blackboard for additional material if any.

## Week 5. October 2nd

### The risk based approach to environmental policy: Conservative caution disguised as neutral science?



In recent years many social scientists have drawn attention to the idea of risk and uncertainty in environmental policy making. Some of these studies have shown that policy decisions can be often based on poor scientific evidence, or even none at all. Conversely scientific evidence may not be conclusive, fair, or neutral. Indeed good science is typical tentative and guarded in its conclusions which are revealed incrementally over time and through open debate and critique. The idea that one can simply have a good environmental policy based on good scientific advice alone is then naive. This results in a dilemma for decision-makers. On the one hand popular or *social* perceptions of risks are mostly unscientific and nearly always heavily conditioned by

cultural considerations. Sometimes popular perception of risk is even hysterical and irrational (compare public acceptance of smoking and alcohol abuse with fears about exotic toxins), and yet it is these views that policy-makers must respond to. As a result people will object to nuclear energy but not accept major reductions in car transport, even though the latter kills far more people. On the other hand, attempting to avoid or ignore popular fears through a scientific technocratic mode of expert decision-making may well end up merely creating a form of platonic elitism, a reduction of democracy and greater protest and conflict in the long term. Yet making environmental decisions based on risk analysis is still very attractive if then problematic. It may well force us to prioritize action, saving money, and could avoid ideologically driven policy 'mistakes'. For all of these reasons it seems like a great way to make environmental decisions. Yet the same approach might also cripple future environmental policy by demanding so high a standard of proof on the terms established by an anthropocentric and biased scientific priesthood. Moreover, how can you make decisions if good science so often and readily admits its own uncertainty on a given threat? Added to this debate are the perspectives of Ulrich Beck who roughly argues for a post-modern understanding of social risk perception as being beyond the rational. Modern liberal market societies he asserts, are structurally more disposed to new (irrational) fears precisely in response to the structured and controlled environments they create. If this is plausible, what does it mean for environmental policy: should we row with the (irrational) tides of a new 'risk society'?

### Discussion and Essay Questions

**4. Explain why Pidgeon and Butler (2009) argue that “contemporary risk approaches...have serious limitations as a basis for the delivery of aggressive climate policy aims”.**

**Reading:** Pidgeon, Nick & Catherine Butler (2009) 'Risk analysis and climate change', *Environmental Politics*, Vol. 18, No. 5, pp.670-688.



**Background Reading:** O'Brien, Mary (2005) 'Goal: Replace Risk Assessment with Alternatives Assessment', pp.135-144 in Dryzek, John S. and David Schlosberg (eds.) (2005) *Debating the Earth: the environmental politics reader*. Oxford: OUP. **363.7 DEB.**

### General literature on risk based policy-making

#### Books:

Beck, U. (1992) *Risk Society: towards a new modernity*. 306 BEC  
 Löfstedt, Ragnar and Lynn Frewer. (1998) *The Earthscan Reader in Risk and Modern Society*. 363.7 EAR  
 Margolis, Howard. (1996) *Dealing With Risk: Why the Public and the Experts Disagree on Environmental Issues*. 363.7 MAR  
 Dryzek, J.S. (1997) *The politics of the earth: environmental discourses*. 363.7 DRY (Chapters 4 & 5)  
 Douglas, Mary (2002) *Purity and danger: an analysis of concept of pollution and taboo*. 390 DOU

#### Articles

Bröer, Christian (2007): Aircraft noise and risk politics, *Health, Risk & Society*, Vol.9, No.1, pp.37-52.  
 Brickman, R. and S. Jasanoff (1980) 'Concepts of risk and safety in Toxic substances regulation a comparison of France and the US', in in Rudig, Wolfgang (1999) *Environmental Policy*. Vol.1 363.705 ENV  
 Ungar, Sheldon (2001) 'Moral panic versus the risk society: the implications of the changing sites of social anxiety', *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol.52, No. 2, pp.271-29.  
 Lacy, Mark J. (2002) 'Deconstructing Risk Society', *Environmental Politics*, Vol.11, No.4., pp. 42 – 62.  
 Bickerstaf, Karen (2004) 'Risk perception research: socio-cultural perspectives on the public experience of air pollution', *Environment International*, Vol.30, No.6, pp.827-840.  
 Blowers, Andrew (1997) 'Environmental Policy: ecological modernization or the Risk Society?', *Urban Studies*, Vol.34, Nos.5-6, pp.845-871.  
 Wagner, Wendy E. (2003) 'The "Bad Science" Fiction: Reclaiming the Debate over the Role of Science in Public Health and Environmental Regulation', *Law and Contemporary Problems*, Vol. 66, No. 4, *Science in the Regulatory Process*, (Autumn, 2003), pp. 63-133.  
 Löfstedt, Ragnar E. (2004) 'The Swing of the Regulatory Pendulum in Europe: From Precautionary Principle to (Regulatory) Impact Analysis', *Journal of Risk and Uncertainty*, Vol.24, No.3, pp.237-260.  
 Tait, Joyce (2001) 'More Faust than Frankenstein: the European debate about the precautionary principle and risk regulation for genetically modified crops', *Journal of Risk Research*, Vol. 4, No.2, pp. 175-189.  
 Langston, Nancy (2008) 'The retreat from precaution: Regulating diethylstilbestrol (DES), endocrine disruptors, and environmental health', *Environmental Health*, Vol. 13, No.1, pp.41-65.  
 Pereira Di Salvo, C.J & Leigh Raymond (2010) 'Defining the precautionary principle: an empirical analysis of elite discourse', *Environmental Politics*, Vol.19, No.1, pp.86-106.  
 EEA/ European Environment Agency (various authors) (2001) *Late lessons from early warnings: the precautionary principle 1896-2000*, Environmental issue report No 22. Available at: [http://reports.eea.europa.eu/environmental\\_issue\\_report\\_2001\\_22/en](http://reports.eea.europa.eu/environmental_issue_report_2001_22/en)

Check Blackboard for additional material if any.



#### Week 6. October 9th

**The ecological modernisation approach to environmental policy: lets all (NOT) be like the Netherlands or China?**

Ecological modernisation is a very different approach to making environmental policy compared to the risk based approach. It is more obviously ideological than sociological or rather it is as much prescriptive as descriptive. The basic approach is to argue that environmental problems should be seen as technical and business

challenges for society rather than simply risks. Thus environmental regulation in itself is not a bad thing if it can encourage capitalism to be more efficient, savvy and ecological. Taken more seriously and deeply as an idea, it can be argued as some kind of belief in a carefully managed 'circular economy' where production and consumption are mastered by the rule that energy is neither created or destroyed, but merely efficiently managed from one form to another holding energy losses to a minimum. As a more pragmatic ideology, it is obviously attractive to political elites who are intent to convince powerful business interests of the need for environmental regulation. Perhaps because it offers to be ultimately 'pro-business' it has been experimented with in many 'advanced' economies: California, Japan and most obviously in the Netherlands. In fact the Netherlands is the single country that has embarked upon the most demanding and systematic social planning approach to environmental problems. This is not surprising given their past, a high population density, or their consensus style of politics, but it does raise intriguing questions. For example: can the cleverness of technology ever really solve pollution problems without creating new ones? Can business be trusted to provide a new type of capitalism based on 'clean production'? Will this go far enough in enabling them to meet the environmental constraints of living with so many people and so much industry in such a tiny space? Is ecological modernisation just another variety of capitalism or a profoundly *reformed* version of the same? What is the role for the state, business, and the individual as citizen and consumer in such accounts?

### Essay and Discussion questions:

**5. "Environmental Modernisation while it may be a dominant discourse for much of environmental policy in western societies, often amounts to little more than corporate greenwash. Moreover, it privileges the normative value of efficiency over equity, it fetishes technology as our salvation, and remains mostly applicable merely to developed rich western nations." Critically explain ecological modernisation discourses paying attention to variations within the literature, and evaluate to what extent you think this statement is accurate or fair.**

**Reading:** pp.301-338 in Dryzek, John S. and David Schlosberg (eds.) (2005) *Debating the Earth: the environmental politics reader*. Oxford: OUP. **363.7 DEB.**

AND

York, R. and E.A. Rosa (2003) 'Key Challenges to Ecological Modernization Theory: Institutional Efficacy, Case Study Evidence, Units of Analysis, and the Pace of Eco-Efficiency', *Organization & Environment*, Vol. 16, No.3, pp. 273-288.

### More detailed literature

Toke, David (2011) 'Ecological modernisation, social movements and renewable energy', *Environmental Politics*, Vol. 20, No.1, pp.60-77

Warner, Rosalind (2010) 'Ecological modernisation theory: towards a critical ecopolitics of change?', *Environmental Politics*, Vol. 19, No.4, pp.538-556.

Wong, Catherine, Mei Ling (2012) 'The Developmental State in Ecological Modernization and the Politics of Environmental Framings: The Case of Singapore and Implications for East Asia', *Nature and Culture*, Vol. 7, No.1, pp. 95-119.

Beeson, Mark (2010) 'The coming of environmental authoritarianism', *Environmental Politics*, Vol. 19, No.2, pp. 276-294.

Mol, Arthur P.J. (2006) 'Environment and modernity in transitional China: frontiers of ecological modernization', *Development and Change*, Vol.37, No.1, pp. 29-57.

Janicke, Martin (2008) 'Ecological Modernisation: new perspectives', *Journal of Cleaner Production*, Vol. 16, pp. 557-565.

van der Heijden, Hein-Anton (2002) 'Dutch Environmentalism at the Turn of the Century', *Environmental Politics*, Vol. 11, No. 4., pp. 120 – 130.

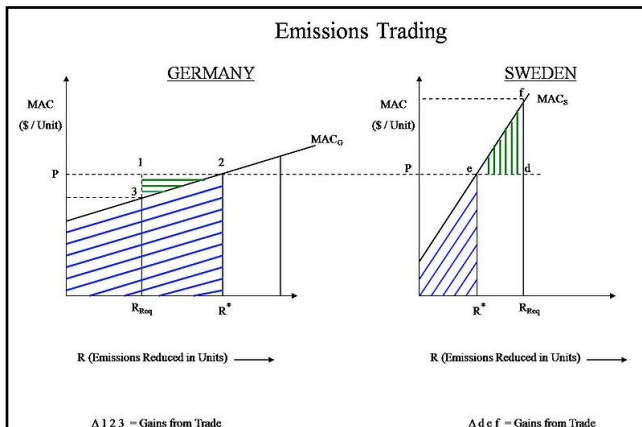
Cohen, Maurice L. (2000) 'Ecological modernisation, environmental knowledge and national character: A preliminary analysis of the Netherlands', *Environmental Politics*, Vol.9, No.1, pp.77-106.

Check Blackboard for additional material if any.

**PLEASE REMEMBER YOUR FIRST ESSAY IS DUE TO BE HANDED in next week, either in class or no later than Friday 18th at 5pm**

### Week 7. October 16th

## The free-market approach to solving *and* creating environmental problems: emissions trading



Building on the views of ecological modernisation, some experts now argue that the free market can satisfactorily deal with nearly all environmental problems. In fact whereas ecological modernisation as an approach implies a major role for government in regulation, and if need be even a controlled 'circular' economy, the true free-market approach stresses the low cost and speed at which the market can cope with pollution without much government direction at all. In fact government led environmental regulation is seen as a problem not a solution.

American environmental policy has recently shown major interest in this approach. This is fascinating because US environmental was originally a product of

the era of 'big government' intervention during the Johnson presidency. This was followed by a backlash from industry and conservative political voices—best exemplified by the downsizing of the EPA as a federal authority during the Reagan era and a corresponding shift to letting the individual States decide more environmental policy for themselves. In this seminar we will explore the case of clean air pollution legislation and especially the idea of emissions trading to see how America's emissions trading regime has responded over the years and whether in fact the market can help solve environmental problems, rather than actually create them.

### Questions for Essay and Discussion

6. **“To what extent is emissions trading a proven approach to solving environmental problem, or an ideological gimmick which produces clear winners and losers as regards profits and pollution?”**

**Reading:** Solomon, B. D. and H.S. Gorman (2002) 'The Origins, Practice, and Limits of Emissions Trading', *Journal of Policy History*, Vol. 14, No. 3, pp. 293-32.

**Background:** pp.209-256 in Dryzek, John S. and David Schlosberg (eds.) (2005) *Debating the Earth: the environmental politics reader*. Oxford: OUP. **363.7 DEB.**

Malina, Robert (et al.) (2012) 'The impact of the European Union Emissions Trading Scheme on US aviation', *Journal of Air Transport Management*, Vol. 19, pp.36-41.

Meckling, Jonas (2011) 'The Globalization of Carbon Trading: Transnational Business Coalitions in Climate Politics', *Global Environmental Politics*, Vol. 11, No.2, pp. 26-51.

Caney, Simon (2010) 'Markets, Morality and Climate Change: What, if Anything, is Wrong with Emissions Trading?', *New Political Economy*, Vol. 15, No.2, pp.197-234.

Page, Edward A. (2011) 'Cashing in on climate change: political theory and global emissions trading', *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Vol. 14, No.2, pp.259-279.

- Macrory, Richard (2011) 'Weighing Up the Performance: Emissions Performance Standards, House of Commons Select Committee on Energy and Climate Change, First Report of Session 2010-11, HC 523', *Journal of Environmental Law*, Vol.23, No.2, pp. 311-317.
- Driesen, David M. (2003) 'Does Emissions Trading Encourage Innovation?', *Environmental Law Reporter*, Vol. 32, No.1, pp.1-53.
- Mullins, Fiona (2003) 'Emissions Trading Schemes: are they a Licence to pollute', *Issues in Environmental Science and Technology*, Vol.19, pp.89-103.
- Helm, Dieter and Cameron Hepburn (2010) *The Economics and Politics of Climate Change*. **363.73874 ECO**
- Ellerman, A. D (et al.) (2010) *Pricing Carbon: The European Union Emissions Trading Scheme*. **363.738746 ELL** (Chapters 1,2 and 10 probably most useful)
- Bend, Hansjürgens (2010) *Emissions Trading for Climate Policy: US and European Perspectives*. **363.7837 EMI** Chapters by Zapfel, Ellerman, Hansjürgens probably most useful).
- Skjærseth, Jon Birger and Jørgen Wettestad (2010) 'Fixing the EU Emissions Trading System? Understanding the Post-2012 Changes', *Global Environmental Politics*, Vol. 10, No.4, pp.101-123.
- Haug, Constanze, Tim Rayner, Andrew Jordan, Roger Hildingsson, Johannes Stripple, Suvi Monni, Dave Huitema, Eric Massey, Harro van Asselt and Frans Berkhout (2010) 'Navigating the dilemmas of climate policy in Europe: evidence from policy evaluation studies', *Climatic Change*, Vol.101, No. 3-4, pp.427-445.

Check Blackboard for additional material if any.

## Week 8. October 23rd

### The sustainable development approach to environmental policy: a resilient idea?



Sustainable development was once defined as leaving the earth, its resources and quality of life more or less the same from one generation to the next. This seems fine, but does this only mean that we should double or triple our existing environmental policy efforts, or does it imply a total change in environmental policy? Does it demand extensive redistribution between states and generations, and a demanding retreat from conspicuous consumption? Yet how can we second-guess what future generations would want us to do? Will they thank us if we ignore the proven ability of nuclear power to provide energy that does not contribute (much) to global warming, especially considering the argument that future generations may be able to cope with the huge problem of radioactive wastes through technological innovation? Or will they curse us when they are stuck with a vast increase in such waste in 100 years from now which is no safer than now? Energy policy debates in Germany and the USA currently face these choices. In Germany the decision has been made to phase out nuclear power in 2021. In the USA, nuclear power is still unpopular, but may well stage a comeback. The

same issue can be seen facing East European policy makers who face a double dilemma. On the one hand there is a growth in airborne pollution from conventional carbon based fuels, and on the other hand they could turn (back) to nuclear energy, if it were not for its very shaky safety record. What would be a sustainable development choice here, and how could we choose for future generations what to do?

### Discussion and Essay Question:

**7. Can the concept of Resilience make the vague sustainable development concept much more tangible and achievable, or is the concept of resilience itself too vague to be useful?**

**Reading:** Adger, W. Neil (2000) 'Social and ecological resilience: are they related?', *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 24, No.3, pp.347-364.



**Background:** Dryzek, John S. and David Schlosberg (eds.) (2005) *Debating the Earth: the environmental politics reader*. Oxford: OUP. **363.7 DEB**

### **Sustainable Development & Resilience**

Davidson, Debra J. (2010) 'The Applicability of the Concept of Resilience to Social Systems: Some Sources of Optimism and Nagging Doubts', *Society & Natural Resources*, Vol. 23, No. 12, pp. 1135-1149.

Brand, F. S., and K. Jax. (2007) 'Focusing the meaning(s) of resilience: resilience as a descriptive concept and a boundary object', *Ecology and Society*, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 23-29.

Folke, Carl (2006) 'Resilience: The emergence of a perspective for social-ecological systems analyses', *Global Environmental Change*, Vol. 16, pp. 253-267.

Berkes, Fikret, Johan Colding, Carl Folke (eds.) (2002/2008) *Navigating Social-Ecological Systems/ Building Resilience for Complexity and Change*. Cambridge: CUP. **304.2 NAV.**

Wilson, Geoffrey A. (2011) *Community resilience and environmental transitions*. New York : Routledge

**307.1401 WIL**

Check Blackboard for additional material if any.

### **Week 9. October 30th**

#### **The Securitization of the Environment.**



In the run-up and aftermath of the American invasion of Iraq (2003) it was widely explained that this conflict was 'all about oil'. Resource wars are not new, but the link between environmental policy and security policy has seldom been made explicit until the last decade. Yet what of this conceptual association? Is it valid that resource scarcities, say for oil, *must* lead to conflict between states, or do other factors have as much (or more) of a part to play? Moreover, is it wise to allow environmental issues to be possibly co-opted by conservative military-security networks in most states? Brazil is one good example of how the issue of the environment has become strangely linked to the issue of national security. While European and North American environmentalists frequently point to the Amazonia region as nature's last Eden which must be protected at all costs, local Brazilian actors often argue for their right to 'develop' what for them is a frontier of opportunity and prosperity. Indeed in recent years the Brazilian state and military have come to define Amazonia as a national security priority, eager to exploit the rich mineral and oil wealth that lies below the forest floor. A vast, high tech, and costly security plan has been developed to 'secure Amazonia', termed SIVAM. Does this imply that in future we will see eco-wars emerge, as states fight over natural resources and less about ideology? In this class we will also explore in detail also the 'scramble' for the Arctic oil and other resources, not least the odd feature that climate change may make the Arctic a more desirable zone for states to covet and co-opt. Does any of this imply serious security problems however or should be wary of discourses of 'securitization'?

## Discussion and Essay Question

**8. Taking a concrete regional case study (for example the Brazilian Amazon or the Arctic or some other region) explore to what extent environmental problems have become 'securitized'. What do we mean by this concept and to what extent is it a welcome or problematic development?**

López, Alexander (2009) 'The Brazilian Amazon in an Environmental Security and Social Conflict Framework', pp. 915-924 in Brauch, Hans Günter (et al.). *Facing Global Environmental Change: Environmental, Human, Energy, Food, Health and Water Security Concepts*. Springer.

OR

Haldén, Peter (2011) 'The past, present and future(s) of environmental security studies', *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol.46, No.3, pp.406-414.

### Some literature on Arctic/Energy Security

Detraz, Nicole (2010) 'Threats or Vulnerabilities? Assessing the Link between Climate Change and Security', *Global Environmental Politics*, Vol.11, No. 3, pp.104-120.

Brosnan, Ian G., Thomas M. Leschine & Edward L. Miles (2011) 'Cooperation or Conflict in a Changing Arctic?', *Ocean Development & International Law*, Vol. 42, No.1-2, pp.173-210.

Emmerson, Charles (2010) *The Future History of the Arctic*. London: Bodley Head. 998 EMM

[chapters 8 and 12 among the best, and part IV more generally, as well as perhaps chapter 5]

Sale, Richard (2010) *The scramble for the Arctic: ownership, exploitation and conflict in the far north*. London: Frances Lincoln. 919.804 SAL

Byers, Michael (2010) *Who owns the Arctic? Understanding sovereignty disputes in the North*. Berkeley: Douglas and McIntyre. 341.4209719 BYE

Anderson, Alun (2009) *After the Ice: life, death and politics in the new Arctic*. London: Virgin. 333.70998 AND

Dittmer, Jason and Sami Moisió, Alan Ingrama, Klaus Dodds (2011) 'Have you heard the one about the disappearing ice? Recasting Arctic geopolitics', *Political Geography*, Vol.30, pp.202-214.

### Brazilian material

Lopez, Alexander (1999) 'Environmental Change, Security and Social Change in the Brazilian Amazon', Environmental Change and Security Project Report, Issue 5, available at <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/Report5-Sect6.pdf>

Johnson, E. (2003) 'The Taming of the Amazon', *Foreign Policy*, No. 136. pp. 84-85.

Riebeek, H. (2003) 'Brazil tests world's largest environmental monitoring system', *Spectrum, IEEE*, Vol.40, No. 9, pp.10 – 12.

Wittkoff, E.P. (2003) 'Brazil's SIVAM: Surveillance Against Crime and Terrorism', *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, Vol.16, No.4, pp.543-560.

Perz, Stephen G. (2002) 'The Changing Social Contexts of Deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon', *Social Science Quarterly*, Vol.83, No. 1, pp.35–52.

Martins Filho, J.R. and D. Zirker (2000) 'Nationalism, National Security, and Amazônia: Military Perceptions and Attitudes in Contemporary Brazil', *Armed forces and society*, Vol.27, No.1, pp.105-129.

Arnauld de Sartre, Xavier and Romain Taravella (2009) 'National sovereignty vs. sustainable development lessons from the narrative on the internationalization of the Brazilian Amazon', *Political Geography*, Vol. 28, No. 7, pp.406-415.



Check Blackboard for additional material if any.

### Week 10. November 6th

#### The strange politics of Biodiversity: re-wilding nature, and for whom?

Biodiversity relates to the idea that a natural diversity of life is a good in itself. The strong version of this argument is that all forms of life are unique

and deserve respect and protection on that basis alone. To arbitrarily place human needs above those of other species is a form then of unjustifiable discrimination. A more scientific rationale is to see biodiversity as the collective store of genetic knowledge that must not be squandered. In the same way that one would not burn down a library of precious books, one should not allow the destruction of original rainforest in Amazonia, as this would be destroying vital genetic knowledge that may be of use to humanity in some way, for example cancer preventing plants. Yet what are the implications and limits of this viewpoint when applied to the realm of regulation? Should governments halt motorways to preserve some species of snail? When we create laws on the hunting of wild birds, on what basis do we do this legitimately? Because they are cute, or because we can hunt more of them next year? Or is it because there is an inherent value in the existence of another living thing. If this is so, surely this means the scope for environmental policy is potentially all inclusive, up to the very regulating of *all* life itself? Yet doesn't this inflate the scope of environmental policy beyond what is credible, prudent or practical? Where or how can we draw lines about what biodiversity we should regulate where, when and how? When should we decide to protect and regulate and when should we say 'this is not enough of a problem for us to step in with law and policy'? Related to this discussion is the question of the ethical value system underlying much of modern environmental policy. Could it be that much of modern day environmental sentiment (as opposed to policy) is becoming like a 'secular religion' of sorts?

### Essay and Discussion questions

**9. "Critically evaluate George Mombiot's *Manifesto for Re-wilding the World* (2013). To what extent are his argument impractical, nostalgic environmental romanticism or a serious rethink over contemporary biodiversity conservation and worthy of consideration?"**

#### Reading:

Mombiot, George (2013) A Manifesto for Rewilding the World, May 27, 2013: <http://www.monbiot.com/2013/05/27/a-manifesto-for-rewilding-the-world/>

Terborgh, John (2010) 'Why We Must Bring Back the Wolf', Review of Fraser, Caroline, *Re-wilding the World: Dispatches from the Conservation Revolution*, *New York Review of Books*, Vol.57, No.12, July 15th, 2010, available at: <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2010/jul/15/why-we-must-bring-back-wolf/>

Kirby, Keith, Yannik, Rachel, Barr, Colin (2006) 'Wilding (or re-wilding)', *International Journal of Biodiversity Science & Management*, Vol.2, No.3, pp. 1745-1604.

Brown, C. (et al. (2011) Rewilding – A New Paradigm for Nature Conservation in Scotland? *Scottish Geographical Journal*, Vol.127, No.4, pp. 288-314.

Wydeven, Adrian P, Timothy R Van Deelen, Edward J Heske (eds.) (2009) *Recovery of Grey Wolves in the Great Lakes Region of the United States: an Endangered Species Success Story*. New York : Springer-Verlag. Online access via library.

Hickey, K. R. (2011) *Wolves in Ireland : a natural and cultural history*. Dublin : Four Courts Press. 599.77309415 HIC.

Wolverton, Steve (2010) 'The North American Pleistocene Overkill hypothesis and the re-wilding debate', *Diversity and Distributions*, Vol.16, pp. 874-876.

Huynh, Howard M. (2011) 'Pleistocene re-wilding is unsound conservation practice', *Bioessays*, Vol.33, pp. 100-102.

Justus, James (et al.) (2009) 'Buying into conservation: intrinsic versus instrumental value', *Trends in Ecology & Evolution*, Vol. 24, No. 4, Pages 187-191.

Elliot, R. (1997) *Faking Nature: the ethics of environmental restoration*. 179. I ELL

Check Blackboard for additional material if any.

### **Week 11. November 13th.**

**Trends towards convergence or divergence; trends towards the future? The case for (and against) environmental policy reformism**

In this final seminar we bring the various perspectives and views on this course all together. In particular we want to assess to what extent there are trends of convergence and trends of divergence in environmental policy across countries and sectors. In this regard one also has to account for why policy is different, and whether it is merely different but equal, or different and better. Does a good environmental policy perversely depend on how wealthy a state already is, so that it has a surplus to control the pollution it creates? Or are culture, history, and ideology *the* critical variables that explain why different states approach the same problems in different ways? Finally what can we say of the future for environmental policy? Will states continue to copy bright ideas from each other or go their own ways? Will the market approach dominate or will environmentalists continue to make inroads into organised political life in states? Moreover, we need to return to the questions put at the outset. Chiefly, is a reformist environmental policy and politics credible?

**Discussion:** what approach should the EU/Ireland/America adopt in making EU environmental laws: risk based, ecological modernisation, sustainable development, a more federal style or a more decentralised style, and should there be a greater or lesser part for the free-market?

**Discussion Reading:** Holzinger, Katharina, Christoph Knill & Thomas Sommerer (2011) 'Is there convergence of national environmental policies? An analysis of policy outputs in 24 OECD countries', *Environmental Politics*, Vol. 20, No. 1, pp. 20-41.

### **Week 12.**

There is no class this week to allow you to complete your final 50% essay for submission no later than **5pm, Friday November 29th, 2012**

[ENDS]