

POLITICAL SCIENCE 162: ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS AND POLICY

Mondays and Wednesdays, 11 a.m. to 1:50 p.m.

Warren Lecture Hall 2113

Summer Session I, 2012

Professor Vladimir Kogan

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Course Description:

This course examines contemporary environmental issues from the perspective of a policy analyst. Students will learn the basic tools of policy analysis and apply them to a variety of environmental problems and proposed policy solutions. The course has two objectives: (1) To train students how to inform public policy by providing decision makers with objective policy analysis. (2) To help students understand why public policy decisions often diverge from the recommendations made by policy analysts. In other words, this is a course about *both* policy analysis and the politics behind policymaking.

Required Readings:

Eugene Bardach, *A Practical Guide to Policy Analysis* (CQ Press), any edition

Selected readings available for download here:

<http://polisci2.ucsd.edu/vkogan/teaching/POLI162Readings.zip>

Assignments:

1. Course Participation (30% of Overall Grade)

Students are required to complete the readings assigned for each class ahead of time. A significant portion of each class will include a detailed discussion — and hopefully debate — about the assigned case studies. In addition, students will be encouraged to apply the lessons from the readings to other real-world environmental problems. *This is not a lecture class!* Active participation from all students will be essential to making this class successful.

Note: The primary way to earn participation credit is to do the assigned readings, show up to each class, and participate in the discussion. I realize that not all students feel

comfortable speaking in class. For this reason, I offer two additional ways to earn participation credit:

- (1) Students can submit *written* answers to the reading questions I list for each class. Answers need not be long — most questions can be answered with a couple of sentences — but students must bring a typed, printed copy of their answers and submit them at the beginning of the class before the readings are discussed. No late submissions will be accepted.
- (2) Students can find newspaper or other articles that discuss current environmental problems and submit a brief write-up. The submission should summarize the environmental issue at the heart of the article (three sentences maximum), then apply Bardach's eight-step method, risk tradeoff analysis (RTA), and/or other tools you have learned in the class to identify the considerations that need to be taken into account when making good policy to address the problem discussed in the article. In other words, you are identifying what questions policymakers must consider, not necessarily answering them or deciding what the best policy should be. Submit your write-ups at the beginning of class. Overall, your write-up should be no longer than two paragraphs.

These two options are only available to students who regularly attend class.

2. Problem Set (30% of Overall Grade) – DUE JULY 18, 11 A.M.

In this assignment, students will apply the skills learned in class to examine several relevant and controversial policy questions. The assignment will include approximately 4 exercises, some of which will be completed individually while others will involve some group effort.

3. Policy Analysis (40% of Overall Grade) - DUE AUGUST 3 BY 2:30 P.M.

Each student will complete an analysis of an environmental policy of his or her choosing. Students should pick topics early in the term, and consult with the professor about the appropriateness of the topic. The analysis should define an environmental problem, explain the failure of current policy to solve it, and analyze at least one potential policy prescription that may be offered to address it. The paper should be approximately 10 pages in length. *A hard copy of your paper need to be submitted to a designated box outside of Social Sciences Building Room 350. An electronic copy also needs to be uploaded to Turnitin.com. The Turnitin class id is 5231025 and the password is snaildarter.*

Late Policy:

With the exception of the final policy analysis paper, all assignments and write-ups are due at the beginning of class. Assignments submitted more than 15 minutes after the class has begun will be assessed a 5 percent late penalty, and assignments submitted after the class has ended will be assessed a 15 percent penalty. Late problems sets submitted after 11 a.m. on July 19 will receive no credit. No late discussion questions or final policy papers will be accepted.

Course Schedule:

Monday, July 2

Introduction

Monday, July 9

Defining the Problem

Case Study: Analyzing Long-Enduring, Self-Organized, and Self-Governed CPRs

Reading:

- Bardach — Introduction and Pages 1-31.
- Nick Hanley, Jason F. Shogren, and Ben White, *Introduction to Environmental Economics* — Pages 12-25.
- Garret Hardin, “Tragedy of the Commons,” *Science* (Vol. 162, No. 3859, 1968): pp. 1243-1248.
- R. H. Coase, “The Problem of Social Cost,” *Journal of Law & Economics* (Vol. 3, Oct. 1960): pp. 1-44.
- Elinor Ostrom, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action* — Pages 58-76.

Reading Questions:

- What properties do environmental goods possess that causes rational individuals to use them in a socially inefficient way?
- What solution would Ronald Coase recommend for averting the “tragedy of the commons?” Under what conditions would his solution lead to socially optimal policy?
- What would be Garret Hardin’s prediction for the cases that Elinor Ostrom examines in her book? According to Ostrom, why did Hardin’s prediction not come true?

HAND OUT PROBLEM SET

Wednesday, July 11

Assessing Alternatives

Case Studies: Regulating Pesticides and Arsenic

Reading:

- John D. Graham and Jonathan Baert Weiner, *Risk vs. Risk: Tradeoffs in Protecting Health and the Environment* — Pages 1-41, 173-192.
- Cass R. Sunstein, *Risk and Reason: Safety, Law, and the Environment* — Pages 153-190.

Reading Questions:

- In what ways does the “risk tradeoff analysis” (RTA) framework that Graham and Weiner advocate differ from the way we “intuitively” think about environmental risks?
- When doing RTA, what two key criteria do Graham and Weiner argue policy makers must pay attention to?
- In “The Arithmetic of Arsenic,” what potentially controversial assumptions did the EPA need to make before completing its analysis, and what impact did these assumptions have on the final policy?
- Based on your reading of “The Arithmetic of Arsenic,” which presidential administration — Clinton or Bush — did a better job of applying RTA to the issue of arsenic in drinking water?

HAND OUT FINAL PAPER PROMPT

Monday, July 16

Precautionary Principle and Its Critics

Case Studies: Cranberry Scare

Reading:

- Bardach — Pages 31-79.
- Nick Hanley, Jason F. Shogren, and Ben White, *Introduction to Environmental Economics* — Chapter 4.
- Carolyn Raffensberger and Joel A. Tickner, *Protecting Public Health & the Environment: Implementing the Precautionary Principle* — Introduction, Chapter 1(parts).
- Aaron Wildavsky, *But Is It True? A Citizen’s Guide to Environmental Health and Safety Issues* — Chapters 1 (part), Conclusion (parts).

Reading Questions:

- The “Precautionary Principle” provides policy makers with a decision rule (or series of decision rules) they should follow when evaluating policy alternatives. In no more than three sentences, summarize the precautionary principle in your own words and explain how it differs from more conventional cost-benefit analysis.
- In the last chapter of his book Wildavsky offers a provocative — although dense and perhaps difficult to understand — criticism of the precautionary principle. Restate Wildavsky’s main point in your words.
- Wildavsky and his co-author suggest that the “Cranberry Scare” provides one example of how the precautionary principle may lead us pursue policies that actually make us all worse off. Briefly summarize their main argument.

Wednesday, July 18 – PROBLEM SET DUE

Public Opinion and Public Policy
Case Study: Global Warming

Reading:

- Eric R.A.N. Smith, *Energy, the Environment, and Public Opinion* — Chapters 1, 3.

Reading Questions:

- In Chapter 3, Smith describes three “models” that seek to explain how and why public opinion changes over time. Identify each of these models and explain which factor each identifies as the primary driver of public opinion change.
- Is Smith’s analysis of public opinion toward energy and environmental issues over time consistent with any of the three models you identified above?
- According to Smith, what explains why public opinion on these issues has changed over the period he studies?

Monday, July 23

Interest Group Politics
Case Studies: Water in California

Reading:

- Richard L. Hall and Alan V. Deardorff, “Lobbying as Legislative Subsidy,” *American Political Science Review* (Vol. 100, No. 1, 2006): pp. 69-85.
- John T. Scholz and Cheng-Lung Wang, “Cooptation or Transformation? Local Policy Networks and Federal Regulatory Enforcement,” *American Journal of Political Science* (Vol. 50, No. 1, Jan. 2006): pp. 81-97.
- Paul A. Sabatier and Hank C. Jenkins-Smith, *Policy Change and Learning: An Advocacy Coalition Approach* — Chapter 6.

Reading Questions:

- Hall and Deardorff review two popular accounts of interest group activity: “exchange” and “persuasion” models of lobbying. Briefly describe each, and discuss how well the predictions from these models match what we actually observe in the real world.
- Describe Hall and Deardorff “legislative subsidy” model of lobbying, and explain how it differs from both “exchange” and “persuasion” accounts.
- According to Scholz and Wang, what role do local interest groups play in enforcing federal clean water laws? When are these groups most effective?
- Identify the interest groups that played an active role in the policy debate over building the “peripheral canal” in California in the 1970s. Explain

each group's broad interests or goals and how these shaped their position on this particular issue.

Wednesday, July 25

Political Institutions and Veto Players

Case Studies: Cap and Trade

Reading:

- David W. Brady and Craig Volden, *Revolving Gridlock: Politics and Policy from Jimmy Carter to George W. Bush* — Chapter 1, 2 (part).
- Gail Russell Chaddock and Tarini Parti, "Senate Will Abandon Cap-and-Trade Energy Reform," *Christian Science Monitor*, July 22, 2010.

Reading Questions:

- According to the "revolving gridlock" model of lawmaking, certain political actors are critical to understanding the policymaking process because they have the power to veto policies they don't like and thus determine the fate of legislation. Which actors are "pivotal" in this sense when it comes to policy change at the federal level?
- In Brady and Volden's account of policymaking, what causes gridlock? How is gridlock broken?
- Under the "revolving gridlock" model, what has to be true for the president to successfully pass the policies that he wants? What tools does the president have at his disposal to make such passage more likely?

Monday, July 30

Policy and the Courts

Case Studies: TVA v. Hill

Reading:

- Lee Epstein and Tonja Jacobi, "The Strategic Analysis of Judicial Decisions," *American Review of Law and Social Science* (Vol. 6, 2010): pp. 341-358.
- Elizabeth Garret, "The Story of TVA v. Hill: Congress Has the Last Word," in *Statutory Interpretation Stories*, edited by William N. Eskridge, Jr., Elizabeth Garrett, and Philip P. Frickey (Foundation Press, 2011).

Reading Questions:

- Strategic analyses of judicial behavior must start with some assumptions about what we think judges want. What goal(s) do most such studies assume judges seek to maximize, according to Epstein and Jacobi?
- Briefly, discuss what other actors an individual judge must pay attention to — and whose behavior they must anticipate — in order to achieve her goal(s). What actions do judges take (and not take) because they act strategically (i.e., anticipate the behavior of others)?

- *TVA v. Hill* presents a curious puzzle: The conservative justices on the Supreme Court voted for a strict application of the Endangered Species Act while the liberal justices voted for a more forgiving interpretation (to allow the damn to be built even if it resulted in the extinction of the snail darter). How does the strategic account of judicial decision-making help explain this apparently puzzling outcome?

Wednesday, August 1

MEET WITH DEVESH TO DISCUSS FINAL PAPER OUTLINE. BY APPOINTMENT ONLY.

Friday, August 3

FINAL PAPER DUE BY 2:30 P.M. TURN IN PAPER TO BOX OUTSIDE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES BUILDING ROOM 350.