# **Environmental Politics Field Reading List**

# Department of Political Science Bren School of Environmental Science & Management University of California Santa Barbara

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Notes for understanding how to use this list:

- Students are expected to understand core theories on political institutions, behaviors, etc. from political science and apply them to environmental issues, etc. This is the case even though core political science readings are not explicitly provided on this list
- 2) Students will have some choice in which topics they answer questions on during the exam; however, there may not be questions on all topic sections
- 3) This is a living list so students are encouraged to read other readings--on political theory broadly and environmental applications specifically-- and bring those into discussions for their exams.
- 4) Readings denoted with an asterisk (\*) deserve particularly close reading

#### 1. Environment, Collective Action, and Social Movements

#### Collective action

\*Olson, M. 1965. The logic of collective action. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

\*Barrett, S. (2010). Why cooperate?: The incentive to supply global public goods. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bolsen, T., Ferraro, P. J., & Miranda, J. J. (2014). Are Voters More Likely to Contribute to Other Public Goods? Evidence from a Large-Scale Randomized Policy Experiment. *American Journal of Political Science*, *58*(1), 17-30.

Coleman, E. A., & Mwangi, E. (2015). Conflict, Cooperation, and Institutional Change on the Commons. *American Journal of Political Science*, *59*(4), 855-865.

Pretty, J., & Ward, H. (2001). Social capital and the environment. *World Development*, 29(2), 209-227.

#### Social movements

\*Keck, M.E., and K. Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

\*John Gaventa, *Power and Powerlessness* (Urbana, III.: University of Illinois Press, 1980)

Bosso, Christopher John. *Environment, Inc: From Grassroots to Beltway*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005.

Thomas Dunlap. 1999. *Nature and the English Diaspora*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

Paul Wapner. 1995. "Politics beyond the state: Environmental activism and world civic politics." *World Politics* 47(3): 311-340.

Schurman, Rachel, and William A. Munro. *Fighting for the Future of Food: Activists versus Agribusiness in the Struggle over Biotechnology*. U of Minnesota Press, 2010.

\*McAdam, D., & Boudet, H. (2012). Putting Social Movements in their Place: Explaining Opposition to Energy Projects in the United States, 2000-2005. Cambridge University Press.

#### 2. Environment and Institutions

\*Elinor Ostrom. 1990. *Governing the Commons*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

\*Hardin, G. 1968. The Tragedy of the Commons. *Science* 162: 1243-48.

Agrawal, A. 2001. Common Property Institutions and Sustainable Governance of Resources. *World Development* 29(10): 1649-72.

Agrawal, A., and C.C. Gibson. 1999. Enchantment and Disenchantment: The Role of Community in Natural Resource Conservation. *World Development* 27(4): 629-49.

\*Knight, J. 1992. *Institutions and Social Conflict*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Libecap, G.D. 1994. *Contracting for Property Rights: Political Economy of Institutions and Decisions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

# 3. Environmental Ideology, Opinion and Behavior

\*James Scott. 1998. Seeing Like a State. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Hansford, Thomas G., and Brad T. Gomez. "Estimating the electoral effects of voter turnout." *American Political Science Review* 104.02 (2010): 268-288.

Gomez, Brad T., Thomas G. Hansford, and George A. Krause. "The Republicans should pray for rain: Weather, turnout, and voting in US presidential elections." *Journal of Politics* 69.3 (2007): 649-663.

Egan, Patrick J., and Megan Mullin. "Turning personal experience into political attitudes: The effect of local weather on Americans' perceptions about global warming." *The Journal of Politics* 74.03 (2012): 796-809.

Healy, Andrew, and Neil Malhotra. "Random events, economic losses, and retrospective voting: Implications for democratic competence." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 5.2 (2010): 193-208.

Bechtel, M. M. & Scheve, K. F. Mass Support for Global Climate Agreements Depends on Institutional Design. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 2013, 110, 13763-13768

Steven Bernstein. 2001. *The Compromise of Liberal Environmentalism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

\*Maarten Hajer. 1997. *The Politics of Environmental Discourse*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press

Kari Norgaard. 2011. *Living in Denial: Climate Change, Emotions, and Everyday Life*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press

Bruce Tranter and Kate Booth. 2015. "Scepticism in a changing climate: A cross-national study." *Global Environmental Change*. 33: 154-164.

#### 4. Environmental Justice

Hamilton, James T. "Testing for environmental racism: prejudice, profits, political power?." *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 14.1 (1995): 107-132.

Mohai, P., Pellow, D., & Roberts, J. T. (2009). Environmental Justice. *Annual Review of Environment and Resources*, *34*(1), 405–430. http://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-environ-082508-094348

Konisky, D. M., & Reenock, C. (2013). Compliance bias and environmental (in) justice. *Journal of Politics*, 75(2), 506-519.

# 5. Environmental Politics in Advanced Industrial Democracies/Environmental Public Policy

\*Cao, X., Milner, H. V., Prakash, A., & Ward, H. 2014. Research frontiers in comparative and international environmental politics: An introduction. *Comparative Political Studies*, 47(3), 291-308.

\*Paul Steinberg and Stacy VanDeveer. 2012. "Bridging archipelagos: Connecting comparative politics and environmental politics." Chapter 2 in Paul Steinberg and Stacy VanDeveer, eds. *Comparative Environmental Politics: Theory, Practice, Prospects*.

\*Rabe, Barry. Statehouse and Greenhouse: The Evolving Politics of American Climate Change Policy (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2004)

Bättig, M. B., & Bernauer, T. (2009). National institutions and global public goods: are democracies more cooperative in climate change policy? *International Organization*, 281-308.

Cao, X., & Prakash, A. (2012). Trade competition and environmental regulations: Domestic political constraints and issue visibility. *The Journal of Politics*, *74*(01), 66-82.

Konisky, D. M. 2007. Regulatory competition and environmental enforcement: Is there a race to the bottom? *American Journal of Political Science*, 51(4), 853-872.

Monogan, J. E., Konisky, D. M., & Woods, N. D. (forthcoming). Gone with the Wind: Federalism and the Strategic Location of Air Polluters. *American Journal of Political Science*.

Vogel, David. The Market for Virtue.

Michele Battig and Thomas Bernauer. "National institutions and global public goods: Are democracies more cooperative in climate change policy?" *International Organization*. 63(2): 281-308.

Eric Nuemayer. 2003. "Are left-wing party strength and corporatism good for the environment? Evidence from panel analysis of air pollution in OECD countries." *Ecological Economics*. 45(2): 203-220.

Klyza, Christopher McGrory, and David J. Sousa. *American environmental policy: Beyond gridlock*. MIT Press, 2013.

Lennart Lundqvist. 1980. The Hare and the Tortoise: Clean Air Policies in the United States and Sweden. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

David Vogel. 2003. "The hare and the tortoise revisited: The new politics of consumer and environmental regulation in Europe." *British Journal of Political Science*. 33(4): 557-580.

O'Neill, Kate. 2000. Waste Trading among Rich Nations: Building a New Theory of Environmental Regulation. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Miranda Schreurs. 2002. *Environmental Politics in Japan, Germany, and the United States*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

\*Lyle Scruggs. 2003. Sustaining Abundance: Environmental Performance in Industrial Democracies. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Stokes, L. C. (forthcoming). Electoral backlash against climate policy: A natural experiment on retrospective voting and local resistance to public policy. *American Journal of Political Science*.

David Vogel. 1993. "Representing diffuse interests in environmental policymaking." In: R. Kent Weaver and Bert Rockman (eds.) Do Institutions Matter?. 237-271.

\*Vogel, David. *The politics of precaution: regulating health, safety, and environmental risks in Europe and the United States.* Princeton University Press, 2012.

Williams, Bruce A., and Albert R. Matheny. *Democracy, dialogue, and environmental disputes: The contested languages of social regulation*. Yale University Press, 1998.

Urpelainen, J. (2009). Explaining the Schwarzenegger phenomenon: Local frontrunners in climate policy. *Global Environmental Politics*, 9(3), 82-105.

#### 6. Environmental Politics in Emerging Economies and Authoritarian Systems

#### Environmental policy in emerging economies

JoAnn Carmin and Stacy D. VanDeveer, eds. *EU Enlargement and the Environment: Institutional Change and Environmental Policy in Central and Eastern Europe.* (Routledge, 2005).

Adam Fagan and JoAnn Carmin (editors). 2011. *Green Activism in Post-Socialist Europe and the Former Soviet Union*. London: Routledge.

Kathryn Hochstetler, Kathryn Sikkink and Margaret E. Keck. 2007. *Greening Brazil: Environmental Activism in State and Society*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Ross, M. 2001. *Timber Booms and Institutional Breakdown in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Paul Steinberg. 2003. "Understanding policy change in developing countries: The spheres of influence framework." *Global Environmental Politics*. 3(1): 11-32.

Stokes, L. C., Giang, A., & Selin, N. E. (2016). Splitting the South: China and India's Divergence in International Environmental Negotiations. *Global Environmental Politics*.

#### Environmental policy in authoritarian systems

Elizabeth Economy. 2010. *The River Runs Black: The Environmental Challenge to China's Future*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Books.

Bruce Gilley. 2012. "Authoritarian environmentalism and China's response to climate change." *Environmental Politics*. 21(2): 287-307

\*Weinthal, Erika. 2002. State Making and Environmental Cooperation: Linking Domestic and International Politics in Central Asia. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Ward, H., Cao, X., & Mukherjee, B. 2014. State capacity and the environmental investment gap in authoritarian states. *Comparative Political Studies*, 47(3), 309-343.

Lorentzen, P., Landry, P., & Yasuda, J. 2013. Undermining authoritarian innovation: the power of China's industrial giants. *The Journal of Politics*, *76*(1), 182-194.

## Environmental scarcity and violence

\*Thomas Homer-Dixon. 1999. *Environmental Scarcity and Violent Conflict*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Daniel Deudney. 1999. "Environmental Security: A Critique?" Chapter 8 in Daniel Deudney and Richard Matthew, eds. *Contested Grounds: Security and Conflict in the New Environmental Politics*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 187-223.

Betsy Hartmann. 2001. "Will the Circle Be Unbroken? A Critique of the Project on Environment, Population and Security." Chapter 2 in Nancy Peluso and Michael Watts, eds., *Violent Environments*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 39-62.

Solomon Hsiang, Kyle Meng, and Mark Cane. 2011. "Civil conflicts are associated with the global climate." *Nature*. 476: 438-441.

Halvard Buhaug. 2010. "Climate not to blame for African civil wars." PNAS. 107(38): 16477–16482

Solomon Hsiang and Kyle Meng. 2014. "Reconciling disagreement over climate—conflict results in Africa." *PNAS*. 111(6): 2100-2103.

#### 7. International Relations of the Environment

#### Global environmental negotiations

\*Scott Barrett. 2006. *Environment and Statecraft*. Columbus, OH: Ohio University Press.

DeSombre, Elizabeth R. *Domestic sources of international environmental policy: Industry, environmentalists, and US power.* MIT Press, 2000.

\*Matthew J. Hoffmann. 2005. Ozone Depletion and Climate Change: Constructing a Global Response. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Sprinz, D., and T. Vaahtoranta. 1994. The Interest-Based Explanation of International Environmental Policy. *International Organization* 48(1): 77-105.

\*David Victor. 2011. Global Warming Gridlock: Creating More Effective Strategies for Protecting the Planet. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

## Regime effectiveness

\*Mitchell, R.B. 1994. *Intentional Oil Pollution at Sea: Environmental Policy and Treaty Compliance*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Mitchell, R.B. 2003. International Environmental Agreements: A Survey of Their Features, Formation, and Effects. *Annual Review of Environmental Resources* 28: 429-61.

Oran Young. 2001. "Inferences and indices: Evaluating the effectiveness of international environmental regimes." *Global Environmental Politics*. 1:1, 99-121.

\*Jon Hovi, Detlef Sprinz, and Arild Underdal. 2003. "The Oslo-Potsdam solution to measuring regime effectiveness: Critique, response and the road ahead." *Global Environmental Politics*. 3:3, 74-93.

Oran Young. 2003. "Determining regime effectiveness: A commentary on the Oslo-Potsdam solution." *Global Environmental Politics*. 3:3, 97-104.

Jon Hovi, Detlef Sprinz, and Arild Underdal. 2003. "Regime effectiveness and the Oslo-Potsdam solution: A rejoinder to Oran Young," *Global Environmental Politics*. 3:3, 105-107.

Ringquist, E. J., & Kostadinova, T. 2005. Assessing the effectiveness of international environmental agreements: The case of the 1985 Helsinki Protocol. *American Journal of Political Science*, 49(1), 86-102.

#### International Institutions

Dai, X. 2007. International Institutions and National Policies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ostrom, E. et al. 1999. Revisiting the Commons: Local Lessons, Global Challenges. *Science* 284(5412): 278-82.

#### 8. Global Environmental Governance

\*Michelle Betsill and Harriet Bulkeley. 2006. "Cities and the multilevel governance of global climate change." *Global Governance*. 12(2): 141-159.

Clapp, J. and P. Dauvergne. 2003. *Paths to a green world.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Biermann, F. and Siebenhuener, B, eds. 2009. *Managers of Global Change: The Influence of International Environmental Bureaucracies*. Cambridge: MIT Press

Cashore, B., G. Auld, and D. Newsom. 2004. *Governing through Markets: Forest Certification and the Emergence of Non-State Authority*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Corell, E., and M. Betsill. 2001. "A Comparative Look at NGO Influence in International Environmental Negotiations: Desertification and Climate Change?" *Global Environmental Politics* 1(4):86-107.

Benjamin Cashore, Graeme Auld, and Deanna Newsom. 2003. *Governing Through Markets: Forest Certification and the Emergence of Non-State Authority*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Green, J. F. (2013). *Rethinking private authority: Agents and entrepreneurs in global environmental governance*. Princeton University Press.

Haas, P.M. 1990. Saving the Mediterranean: The Politics of International Environmental Cooperation. New York: Columbia University Press.

Adil Najam. 2003. "The case against a new international environmental organization." *Global Governance*. 9: 367-384.

Matthew Paterson, David Humphreys, and Lloyd Pettiford. 2003. "Conceptualizing global environmental governance: From interstate regimes to counter-hegemonic struggles." *Global Environmental Politics*. 3(2): 1-10.

Raustiala, K. 1997. States, NGOs, and International Environmental Institutions. *International Studies Quarterly* 41: 719-40.

Oran Young. 2002. *The Institutional Dimensions of Environmental Change: Fit, Interplay, and Scale*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

\*Peter Haas. 1992. "Introduction: Epistemic communities and international policy coordination" *International Organization*. 46:1-35.

# 9. Political Economy of the Environment

Brehm, John, and James T. Hamilton. "Noncompliance in environmental reporting: are violators ignorant, or evasive, of the law?." *American Journal of Political Science* (1996): 444-477.

Cao, X., & Prakash, A. (2010). Trade competition and domestic pollution: A panel study, 1980–2003. *International Organization*, *64*(03), 481-503.

John T. Scholz (1991). Cooperative Regulatory Enforcement and the Politics of Administrative Effectiveness. . American Political Science Review, 85, pp 115-136

Grossman, G. M. & Krueger, A. B. Economic Growth and the Environment *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 1995, 110, 353-377

Gunningham, N., P. Grabosky, et al., Eds.(1998). *Smart Regulation: Designing Environmental Policy*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Wallace Oates and Paul Portney. 2003. "The political economy of environmental policy." Chapter 8 in KG Maler and JR Vincent, eds. The Handbook of Environmental Economics. Elsevier, pp. 325-354.

Potoski, M., & Prakash, A. (2005). Green clubs and voluntary governance: ISO 14001 and firms' regulatory compliance. *American Journal of Political Science*, 49(2), 235-248.

Prakash, A., & Potoski, M. (2006). Racing to the bottom? Trade, environmental governance, and ISO 14001. *American journal of political science*, *50*(2), 350-364.

# Business power and the environment

\*Matthew Crenson. 1971. *The Unpolitics of Air Pollution*. Baltmore, MD: The John Hopkins Press.

Carsten Daugiberg and Anders Branth Pedersen. "New policy ideas and old policy networks: Implementing green taxation in Scandinavia." *Journal of Public Policy*. 24(2): 219-249.

Anne Gullberg. 2008. "Lobbying friends and foes in climate policy: The case of business and environmental interest groups in the European Union." *Energy Policy*. 36(8): 2964-2972

Kamieniecki, Sheldon. Corporate America and environmental policy: how often does business get its way?. Stanford University Press, 2006.

\*Layzer, Judy. 2012. Open for Business: Conservatives' Antiregulatory Agenda for the Environment (MIT Press 2012).

David Vogel, *The New Politics of Consumer and Environmental Regulation in Europe*, Typescript, 2002.

# Foreign Aid

Keohane, R.O., and M.A. Levy, eds. 1997. *Institutions for Environmental Aid: Pitfalls and Promise*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Hicks, Robert L., Bradley C. Parks, J. Timmons Roberts, and Michael J. Tierney. *Greening aid?: Understanding the environmental impact of development assistance.* Oxford University Press, 2008.

# 10. Science, Technology and Society

Sheila Jasanoff. 2000. "Technological risk and cultures of rationality." Chapter 4 in Incorporating Science, Economics and Sociology in Developing Sanitary and Phytosanitary Standards in International Trade: Proceedings of a Conference. Washington, DC: National Research Council. 65-84.

\*Jasanoff, S. *The Fifth Branch: Science Advisers as Policymakers*. First Harvard University Press paperback edition ed. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press.

Keller, Ann Campbell. *Science in environmental policy: the politics of objective advice*. MIT Press, 2009.

Stokes, D. E. (1997). *Pasteur's Quadrant: Basic Science and Technological Innovation*. Brookings Institution Press.

- Perrow, C. (1984). *Normal accidents: living with high-risk technologies*. Princeton University Press.
- Beck, U. (1992). *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. (M. Ritter, Ed.). Sage. http://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9566.ep11347081
- Latour, B. (1987). Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers Through Society. Harvard University Press. Retrieved from http://books.google.com/books?id=sC4bk4DZXTQC&pgis=1
- Kuhn, T. (1962). The Structure of Scientific Revolutions. University of Chicago Press.

- \*Pielke Jr., R. A. (2007). *The Honest Broker: Making Sense of Science in Policy and Politics*. Cambridge University Press.
- \*Oreskes, N., & Conway, E. M. (2010). *Merchants of Doubt: How a Handful of Scientists Obscured the Truth on Issues from Tobacco Smoke to Global Warming*. New York: Bloomsbury Press.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2011). *Making Social Science Matter. Social science and policy changes:*Democracy, or the book

#### 11. Energy policy and politics

Aklin, M., & Urpelainen, J. (2013). Political competition, path dependence, and the strategy of sustainable energy transitions. *American Journal of Political Science*, *57*(3), 643-658.

Bayer, P., & Urpelainen, J. (2016). It Is All about Political Incentives: Democracy and the Renewable Feed-in Tariff. *Journal of Politics*, *78*(2), 603-619.

Jacobsson, S., & Lauber, V. (2006). The politics and policy of energy system transformation—explaining the German diffusion of renewable energy technology. *Energy Policy*, *34*(3), 256-276.

Lovins, A. "Energy Strategy: The Road Not Taken?" Foreign Affairs, October 1976.

Nemet, G. F. (2009). Demand-pull, technology-push, and government-led incentives for non-incremental technical change. *Research Policy*, 38(5), 700-709.

Rabe, B. G. (2007). Race to the Top: The Expanding Role of U.S. State Renewable Portfolio Standards. *Sustainable Development Law & Policy*, 7(3), 10-16.

Smith, Eric R. 2002. *Energy, the Environment and Public Opinion*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield

Rogner, H.-H. (1997). An Assessment of World Hydrocarbon Resources. *Annual Review of Energy and the Environment*, *22*(1), 217–262.

- \*Ansolabehere, S., & Konisky, D. M. (2014). *Clean and Cheap: How Americans Think About Energy in the Age of Global Warming*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- \*Carlisle et al (2017). The Politics of Energy Crises
- Fouquet, R. (2010). The slow search for solutions: Lessons from historical energy transitions by sector and service. Energy Policy, 38(11), 6586–6596. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2010.06.029