Political Science 249, Environmental Policy-in-Action

COURSE OUTLINE AND READINGS: The class will include weekly required reading assignments, active participation in weekly seminar class, a project for an environmental organization. The class will culminate in a final paper examining the history, mission, organizational structure, tactics, and influence of an environmental group in shaping environmental law and policy and your recommendations for that group's long-term strategic plan/mission.

OFFICE HOURS & COMMUNICATIONS: I will have office hours on Tuesdays and Thursdays from 2:00 to 3:15 in Harkness Room 316 or by appointment. The best way to contact me is by e-mail (<u>tnoto@rochester.rr.com</u>), but please also feel free to call me at 585-383-0358. As needed, I will e-mail you; please be sure to check your e-mail as well as Blackboard. *Any adjustments to the syllabus will be announced in class and on Blackboard*.

TEXTS: Robert Gottlieb, Forcing the Spring: The Transformation of the American Environmental Movement, Island Press 1993.

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

Philip Shabecoff, *A Fierce Green Fire: The American Environmental Movement*, Island Press 2003.

All readings are *required*. You may purchase or use the books on reserve at the library.

ASSIGNMENTS: Late work will only be accepted without penalty only with advance permission.

GRADING: Class attendance, group projects, short assignments and discussion 30%; NGO project 30%; and final paper 40%.

SCHEDULE OF CLASSES:

Sept 5 <u>Introduction and NGO assignment:</u> We will review the syllabus, expectations for this class, class structure and NGO project assignments. We will discuss environmentalism, conservation, and sustainability. Are you an environmentalist? What is an environmental, conservation or other green group?

Reading: Lisa Curtis, "Why I'm not an Environmentalist" (The Huffington Post, April 25, 2012)

Phaedra Ellis-Lamkins, "How I became an environmentalist: A small-town story with global implications (MakingItMagazine, Dec. 9, 2009)

"Angel Collinson Moonlights as an Environmental Activist" (YouTube, Oct. 28, 2016)

Keith Goetzman, "Not an Environmentalist? You Have Lots of Company" (Utne Reader, June 15, 2011)

Kathleen Black, "Why I Became an Environmentalist" (YouTube, May 9, 2015),

Paulina Porizkova, "America Made Me a Feminist" (New York Times, June 10, 2017)

Joe Rickets, "Why I'm a Conservationist (not an Environmentalist) (Joe Rickets Blog, Jan. 20, 2015)

Emma Foehringer Merchant, "How the Environmental Movement Has Changed" (The New Republic, Nov. 29, 2015)

In class: Are you an environmentalist? What's an environmental group? Genesee River Watch v. Niagara Riverkeeper case study

NGO project: assignments given

Sept 12 <u>First wave of environmental/conservation movement</u>: We will discuss the reading. The first wave – wilderness preservation, conservation, and land trusts. Also, urban interest in public health. Who are some of the key groups? Why and how did they come about? Who ran them and how did they operate? How have they evolved over the years? What tools do they use? What role do they play in current polarized political situation?

Reading: Forcing the Spring, Chapter 1

Bob Marshall, *Hunters and Fishermen Work With Environmental Groups* (Field & Stream Magazine, October 31, 2004)

Katie Valentine, "Hundreds of Hunting and Fishing Groups Voice Their Support for Action on Climate Change" (ThinkProgress Oct. 10, 2014)

Chris D'Angelo, "Hunting and Fishing Groups Are Starting to Turn on Trump's Interior Secretary" (Huffpost July 14, 2017),

Jes Burns, *Hunters and Anglers Cross Political Lines to Fight for Public Lands* (OPB/EarthFix, March 16, 2017)

In class: case study & discussion of assigned reading

NGO project: check in with each student

Paper topics: discuss handout

Sept 19 <u>Second wave of environmental movement</u>: What are environmental groups? Why did they spring to life in the 1970s? What is their history? What are their goals and tactics? Who works for them? What are the divides within the community? What roles do they currently play? Are they changing?

Reading: Forcing the Spring, Ch. 4; Environment Inc., Ch. 2

In class: NRDC and EDF – Who were they then? Who are they now?

NGO project: check in with each student

Paper topics: Journal your initial thoughts about your topic

Sept 26 <u>Environmental justice:</u> What is environmental justice? What groups are working on this? Is EJ a separate or ancillary consideration or is it central to the mission of mainstream NGOs? Compositional issues (staffing, retention, "Green ceiling") and substantive issues (goal setting, disproportionate impact of environmental hazards, etc); and membership in communities of color.

Reading: Renee Skelton Vernice Miller, "The Environmental Justice Movement" (NRDC, March 17, 2016)

Van Jones "Beyond Eco-Apartheid" (Common Ground, April 25, 2007)

Brentin Mock, "Are There Two Different Versions of Environmentalism, One 'White,' One 'Black'?" (Mother Jones, July 31, 2014)

Suzanne Goldenberg, "Why is the Green Movement So Dominated by White Dudes?" (Mother Jones, Mary 9, 2014)

Dina Gilio-Whitaker, "What Environmental Justice Means in Indian Country" (KCET, Mar. 6, 2017)

Brian Bienkowski, "Contaminated culture: native people struggle with tainted resources, lost identity" (Environmental Health News, Oct. 25, 2012)

In class: *Dumping in Dixie* case study (& Robert Bullard interview)

NGO project: check in.

Oct. 3 <u>Role of Science</u>: What should the relationship between the NGO and science be? Mission? Targeting? Credibility, staffing, role of NGO publishing. Popularizing. "Junk science." Cost of monitoring, studies, pioneering science. Traditional knowledge. Citizen science. IPCC, climate change, politics, liability and risk. Reading: Bill Birchard, *Nature's Keepers: The Remarkable Story of How The Nature Conservancy Became the Largest Environmental Organization in the World* (Jossey-Bass 2005), Ch. 3

David Suzuki, "The Importance of Citizen Scientists" (Ecology Global Network Forum, Nov. 19, 2014)

Brian Clark Howard, "Learning from Indigenous Peoples on Climate Change" (National Geogrpahic, Sept. 4 2015)

Emily Atkin, "It's Never Been Harder to Be a Climate Scientist" (New Republic, July 27, 2017)

Timothy Egan, "Apple Growers Bruised and Bitter Alter Alar Scare" (New York Times, July 9, 1991)

Wendy Gordon, "The True Alar Story" (On Earth, Mar. 22, 2011),

Fred Pearce, "Why Are Environmentalists Taking Anti-Science Positions?" (Yale Environment 360, Oct. 22, 2012),

In class: Indigenous people, citizen science and NGO action

Science in the Crosshairs (Science Friday)

Alar case study

NGO project: check in.

Oct. 17 <u>Role of Grassroots Activism and Politics</u>: Tactics: action alerts – letters, petitions, demonstrations, social media, publicity, stunts, education campaigns, canvassing, petitions, public hearings/meetings, fly-ins, lifestyle & consumer choices, direct action/monkey wrenching, "naming and shaming"/accountability. Outsiders v. "insiders." 350.org; the People's Climate Movement & National Day of Action, WildEarth Guardians, Greenpeace, EarthFirst!... "Greenwashing" and "Astro-turf." SLAPPs.

Reading: Forcing the Spring, Chapter 5

Douglas Bevington, The Rebirth of Environmentalism: Grassroots Activism from the Spotted Owl to the Polar Bear (Island Press, 2009), Ch. 2

Peter Montague, "Why the Environmental Movement is not winning" (Huffington Post Blog, Feb. 29, 2012)

Sharon Beder, "Anti-Environmentalism/Green Backlash,"

Go on: www.rochesterenvironment.com

In class: Grassroots case studies, Standing Rock and "Is There Any Point to Protesting?" (The New Yorker, Aug. 21, 2017)

Action alerts: When have you responded? Why?

The Short List and climate change action

NGO project: check in.

Oct. 24 <u>Role of Lobbying and Politics</u>: Congress, federal agencies, White House, state legislatures, state agencies; "insider," expertise, relationships, leverage, money. Potomac Fever, "inside the Beltway." Coalitions. Who does the lobbying? What is the role of "fly ins"? Champions. What makes for good lobbying materials? What is the goal of lobbying? What role should lobbying play today given current political divide? ALEC.

Reading: ME Kraft, "Influence of American NGOs on Environmental Decisions and Policies: Evolution Over Three Decades"?

OpenSecrets.org, "Pro-Environment Groups Outmatched, Outspent in Battle Over Climate Change Legislation"

In class: Ohio Environmental Council, "Tips for Effective Lobbying"; OpenSecrets.org – Environment Industry profile; City of Portland, "Ten Principles of Lobbying"

Write a "Dear Colleague" or coalition letter

NGO project: check in.

Oct. 31 <u>Role of Litigation:</u> – What has been the role of litigation? Citizen suits and enforcement; NEPA lawsuits; toxic torts, public and private nuisance and other suits for damages; lawsuits against government agencies. What is the role of litigation in context of increasingly conservative courts? What is the role of litigation during the Trump Administration? *Juliana, et al v. U.S.*

Reading: Richard J. Lazarus, *The Making of Environmental Law* (The University of Chicago Press, 2004), pp. 40-42, 47-97

Michael Burger, "The Battle Against Trump's Assault on Climate is Moving to the Courts" (Yale Environment 360 May 2, 2017)

Robinson Meyer, "How the U.S. Protects the Environment, from Nixon to Trump" (The Atlantic, Mar 29, 2017)

Nick Stockton, "The Grizzled, Stubborn Lawyers Protecting the Environment from Trump" (Wired, June 16, 2017)

In class: Litigation case study & How are the groups using litigation today?

NGO project: check in.

Nov. 7 <u>Role of Money</u>: How do environmental groups get money? How do they use it? How much goes to overhead? How transparent are they? Funding: grassroots donations, "grasstops," grant funding and foundations, corporate giving, government grants, membership and individual donations. Money as direct action (buying land, voluntary conservation incentive programs, LCV GiveGreen Campaign, etc). How do you judge funding decisions? (cost, timeframe, likelihood of success, impact, scale?) Are there new financial tools to consider? (Green markets, boycotts, shareholder battles, crowdfunding?). "Trump Bump" and giving. Ford Foundation & founding of NRDC, SCLDF, EDF. What is the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy?

Reading: Environment Inc., Ch. 4

Sarah Hansen, "Cultivating the Grassroots: A Winning Approach for Environment and Climate Funders" (2012)

John O'Connell, "Election provides fundraising windfall for environmental organizations" (Capital Press, Jan. 19, 2017)

In class: Where does the money come from? Who's on the Board? What is corporate giving policy? Is it lean and mean? Does it have high overhead?

NGO project: completed; hand in work product.

Nov. 14 <u>Push back & Third Wave: Market-Based Approaches</u>: Bush, Reagan, Trump. What are market-based approaches? Why did this approach gain strength when it did? What are the strengths, weaknesses, and limitations? What relationship to regulation or liability? What about corporate sustainability and innovation in sourcing, production, design, packaging, shipping? Skyrocketing costs and scale of investment needed: NatureVest and importance of finding innovative ways to fund very expensive jobs.

Reading: A Fierce Green Fire, Chapter 13; Environment Inc., Ch. 5

In class: "Creative Financing Solutions for Green Infrastructure"

NGO project: reflection

Nov. 21: NO CLASS

Research paper: Bibliography due

Nov. 28: <u>IPAT, Green Movement, Grassroots and Human Rights</u>: Root causes, I = P x A x T. Are environmental issues separate or combined with social justice issues: food, poverty, water, land use, NIMBYs, toxics, poverty, jobs, hazardous occupations, and displacement? Who defines the agenda? Should there be a Constitutional right to a healthy, sustainable environment? What about biotic rights? Should environmental goals always include impact on local people?

Reading: Gus Speth, "Environmental Failure: A Case for a New Green Politics" (Yale Environment 360, Oct. 20, 2008)

Climate Change and Human Rights (UNEP report, Dec. 2015),

Human Rights Watch video, Kenya: Climate Change Threatens Rights

In class: Mary Robinson Ted Talk "Why Climate Change is a Human Rights Issue", <u>https://www.ted.com/playlists/493/why_climate_change_is_a_human</u> "Why Climate Change is a Human Rights Issue""?

Research paper: check in

Dec. 5 <u>Climate Change</u>: All climate, all the time? So overwhelming we turn away, bury our heads? Usher in a new green economy? Role of green groups after failure to pass cap and trade legislation? How frame this challenge? Distributional issues, environmental justice, "climate colonialism." What role can/should environmental NGOs play? What should the roles of litigation, grassroots, lobbying and other traditional tools be (climate march, *Juliana et al v. US*, etc)? What coalitions? Who are key champions needed? How foster creative thinking? How mobilize at scale? Intersectional issues with climate change. What are groups doing? NRDC: "Trump Watch;" Climate action network; 360.org; Sustainable Energy Coalition; Rochester People's Climate Coalition; Mothers Out Front; takepart.com/climate.

Reading: Joe Romm, "What Theda Skocpol Gets Wrong About the Climate Bill Fight" (ThinkProgress, Jan 18, 2013), <u>https://thinkprogress.org/what-theda-skocpol-gets-wrong-about-the-climate-bill-fight-9e1c2a859871/</u>

David Wallace-Wells, "The Uninhabitable Earth" (New York Magazine, July 10-23, 2017)

Michael Shellenberger and Ted Nordhaus, *The Death of Environmentalism: Global Warming Politics in a Post-Environmental World?*

Jerome C Ringo, "Combating Climate Change: Why All Should be Involved (pp115-125 in *Diversity and the Future of the U.S. Environmental Movement*) Rebecca Bromley-Trujillo, "Despite Trump, many cities and states are fighting climate change. Including Pittsburg" (The Washington Post, June 6, 2017)

Jeff Goodell, "Why the Climate March Matters in the Era of Trump (Rolling Stone, April 28, 2017)

In class: David Wallace-Wells article, comment letters in July 24-Aug 6th issue. What would your letter to the editor say?

Discussion of scale of action in the wake of Trump pull out from Paris

"What's Possible" UN Climate Summit Opening Film, Morgan Freeman

Research paper: check in

Dec. 12th <u>The Future: the 4th Wave?</u> What should the green movement look like? What should the environmental NGOs of the future look like?

Reading: A Fierce Green Fire, Chapter 14

"The Graying of the Green, pp. 251-254 in The Making of Environmental Law

In class: Are you an environmentalist? (Part II) & What's your environmental NGO agenda?

Research paper: paper due.