

Environmental Studies/Political Science 211  
Conservation and Environmental Policy  
Fall 2021

**Lecture:**

MW 11.15a – 12.05p  
Hillcrest 103

**Office Hours:**

M 9a-10a  
Th 2.30p-4.30p  
and by appointment

Christopher McGrory Klyza  
Hillcrest 206  
ex. 5309  
klyza@middlebury.edu

**Sections:**

X F 10.10a – 11.00p  
Y F 11.15a – 12.05p  
Z F 12.30p – 1.20p  
LaForce 121

In this course, we will examine conservation and environmental policy (CEP) in the United States. To better understand the current nature of the conservation and environmental policy process, we will begin by tracing the development of past ideas, institutions, and policies. We will then focus on contemporary conservation and environmental politics and policy making—gridlock in Congress, interest group pressure, the role of the president and the courts, and a move away from national policy making—toward the states, collaboration, and civil society. More specifically, the course will be divided into five sections.

(1) **Green State Building:** Here we will examine the development of CEP in the United States since the late nineteenth century, devoting significant time to major laws and institutions that continue to shape policy today.

(2) **Current Reform Efforts:** This will be a brief introduction to current efforts to reform CEP by conservatives and business interests, mainstream environmental groups, and “next generation” advocates.

(3) **Congressional Gridlock:** Congress, the focal point for CEP in the 1960s and 1970s, has been largely gridlocked on CEP since 1990. Why?

(4) **New Pathways for CEP:** Given this gridlock in Congress, CEP now takes place on other pathways: appropriations politics, executive politics, the courts, the states, and through collaboration.

(5) **The Future:** Where is CEP headed? What of congressional gridlock? What of the pathways?

#### COLLOQUIUM

Students in the class, especially environmental studies majors, are strongly encouraged to attend the weekly ES Colloquium, Thursday 12.20p-1.20p. The colloquium features a different speaker each week (mixing people from on and off-campus, academics and professionals) for a 30-40 minute talk and a question and answer session. The colloquium meets in Hillcrest 103. It is a real cool time.

**You are required to attend the September 30<sup>th</sup> colloquium, when the instructors of ENVS 112, ENVS/PSCI 211, and ENVS 215 will discuss “Hope” from their different disciplinary perspectives.**

**Feel free to bring food from the dining hall to eat during the colloquium.**

For the schedule see:

<http://www.middlebury.edu/academics/es/news/woodincolloquiumseries>

## READINGS

One book is required for the course:

Norman Vig, Michael Kraft, and Barry Rabe, eds., 2021, *Environmental Policy*, 11<sup>th</sup> ed.

You are also **required** to subscribe to and skim/read *Greenwire*. This is an electronic environmental newsletter that summarizes and gives links to the top environmental stories of the day. It is free (when connected to the Middlebury College network). To receive an email alert when *Greenwire* is available, follow these steps:

- For *Greenwire* use go/greenwire/ (off campus <http://go.middlebury.edu/greenwire/>).
- Create an individual account.
- Go to the account settings (person icon upper right corner) – click then choose settings.
- Check the boxes of the newsletters of interest (there are 5 daily newsletters, you can read as many as your like, but are only REQUIRED to read *Greenwire*).

Additional readings are either available directly through the internet or will be available through Canvas (these readings will be marked by an \* in the syllabus). **You are NOT expected to print out these readings to bring to class.**

## GRADES AND ASSIGNMENTS

Grades in the course will be based on five components. (1) Four quizzes, based on the readings, during discussion sections throughout the semester. Three of the four quizzes will count. There will be no make-up quizzes for any reason (combined 20 percent of grade). (2) A midterm examination on OCTOBER 25<sup>th</sup> (20 percent of grade). (3) A 10-page examination of a specific conservation or environmental policy issue (this examination should identify major actors, trace the policy making process, and evaluate the policy outcome) due on NOVEMBER 22<sup>nd</sup> (25 percent). (4) A final examination on DECEMBER 15<sup>th</sup> (25 percent). (5) Attendance and participation (10 percent).

Students who have Letters of Accommodation in this class are encouraged to contact me as early in the semester as possible to ensure that such accommodations are implemented in a timely fashion. For those without Letters of Accommodation, assistance is available to eligible students through the Disability Resource Center (DRC). Please contact ADA Coordinators Jodi Litchfield and Peter Ploegman of the DRC at [ada@middlebury.edu](mailto:ada@middlebury.edu) for more information. All discussions will remain confidential.

**NOTE:** All assignments must be completed to pass the course. Late papers will be penalized one-half letter grade per day.

## DISCUSSION SECTIONS

These sections will meet on Fridays; attendance and participation are expected. Each session will focus on specific readings, issues, or themes from the lectures. The classes will be discussions, not smaller lectures.

## COURSE SCHEDULE

September

13 **Introduction**

### BUILDING THE GREEN STATE

15 **Economic Liberalism**

READ:

1. \*Dorceta E. Taylor, 2016, *The Rise of the American Conservation Movement: Power, Privilege, and Environmental Protection*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, pp. 109-157.
2. \*Christopher McGrory Klyza, 2002, "The United States Army, Natural Resources, and Political Development in the Nineteenth Century," *Polity*, 35: 1-28.

17 Section 1: What Is Environmental Policy?

20 **Conservation Era**

READ:

1. \*Richard N.L. Andrews, 1999, *Managing the Environment, Managing Ourselves: A History of American Environmental Policy*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, pp. 109-153.
2. \*Jeremy P. Jacobs and Ron Hotakainen, 2020, "Racist Roots, Lack of Diversity Haunt National Parks," *Greenwire*, June 25.

22 **Conservation Era** (continued)

23-25 THE 2021 CLIFFORD SYMPOSIUM: RADICAL IMPLICATIONS: FACING A PLANETARY EMERGENCY. Although attendance is not required, there will be numerous presentations on the climate crisis that may be of interest: <https://www.middlebury.edu/office/clifford-symposium>.

24 Section 2: NO CLASS—KLYZA OUT-OF-TOWN

27 **Environmentalism and Preservation**

READ:

1. \*Samuel P. Hays, 1989, "Three Decades of Environmental Politics: The Historical Context," in *Government and Environmental Politics: Essays on Historical Developments since World War Two*, edited by Michael J. Lacey, Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, pp. 19-79.
2. J. Clarence Davies and Jan Mazurek, 1997, *Regulating Pollution: Does the U.S. System Work?*, Washington: Resources for the Future (read entire 50p book; available free through Google Books), [https://books.google.com/books/about/Regulating\\_Pollution.html?id=R1O1sAc\\_BoC](https://books.google.com/books/about/Regulating_Pollution.html?id=R1O1sAc_BoC).
3. Vig, Kraft, and Rabe, c. 1.

29 **Environmentalism and Preservation** (continued)

30 **12.20-1.20; ES Colloquium: "Hope"—REQUIRED**

October

- 1 Section 3: Case Study: The Clean Air Act of 1990—**QUIZ 1**  
READ:  
1. \*Richard E. Cohen, *Washington at Work: Back Rooms and Clean Air*, 2d ed., Boston: Allyn and Bacon, pp. 1-69, 91-112 (skim pp. 70-90).
- 4 **Environmentalism and Preservation** (continued)
- 6 **The Spotted Owl: Intercurrence Deluxe**  
READ:  
1. \*Judith A. Layzer, 2012, “Jobs Versus the Environment: Saving the Northern Spotted Owl,” in *The Environmental Case: Translating Values into Policy*, Washington: CQ Press, pp. 174-208.  
2. Oregon Public Broadcasting, 2020, “Timber Wars,” 7-episode podcast. The entire series is very good, but it is 4-hours long. Please focus on episodes 1, 3, and 5.  
<https://www.opb.org/article/2020/09/01/timber-wars-trailer-episode-guide/>.
- 8 Section 4: Case Study: The Clean Air Act of 1990 (continued)  
READ:  
1. \*Cohen, *Washington at Work*, pp. 113-152, 173-227 (skim pp. 153-172).  
2. \*Ryan Lizza, 2010, “As the World Burns,” *New Yorker*, October 11.

CURRENT REFORM EFFORTS

- 11 **Big Green, Business, and “Next Generation” Advocates—What Do They Want?**  
READ:  
1. \*Mary Graham, 1999, *The Morning after Earth Day: Practical Environmental Politics*, Washington: Brookings Institution, pp. 1-26, 90-118.

CONGRESSIONAL GRIDLOCK

- 13 **The Many Paths to Congressional Gridlock**  
READ:  
1. Vig, Kraft, and Rabe, c. 3.  
2. \*James M. Turner and Andrew C. Isenberg, 2018, *The Republican Reversal: Conservatives and the Environment from Nixon to Trump*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, pp. 196-216.  
3. \*Jeremy P. Jacobs, Nick Sobczyk, and Timothy Cama, 2020, “‘Overwhelmingly White’ Green Groups Forced to Confront Past,” *Greenwire*, June 5.
- 15 Section 5: Markets, Risks, and Business—**QUIZ 2**  
READ:  
1. Vig, Kraft, and Rabe, c. 10, 14.  
2. \*Jack Turner, 1996, “Economic Nature,” in *The Abstract Wild*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, pp. 51-68.
- 18 NO CLASS—FALL RECESS
- 20 **The Many Paths to Congressional Gridlock** (continued)
- 22 Section 6: Welcome to the Labyrinth  
READ:  
1. Ben Goldfarb, 2014, “The Great Salmon Compromise,” *High Country News*, December 8,  
<https://www.hcn.org/issues/46.21/the-great-salmon-compromise>.

25 **MIDTERM**

NEW PATHWAYS FOR CONSERVATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY

27 **Congress and Appropriations Politics**

READ:

1. Vig, Kraft, and Rabe, c. 5.
2. \*Margaret Kriz, 1998, "Rough Riders," *National Journal*, September 5, pp. 2022-2025.
3. Recent *Greenwire* articles on budget and appropriations (to be determined).

29 Section 7: Environmental Justice

READ:

1. \*David M. Konisky, 2015, "The Federal Government's Response to Environmental Inequality," in *Failed Promises: Evaluating the Federal Government's Response to Environmental Justice*, edited by Konisky, Cambridge: MIT Press, pp. 29-56.
2. \*Van Jones, 2008, "Working Together for a Green New Deal," *The Nation*, November 17.
3. \*Rachel Waldholz, 2011, "Greening a City ... and Pushing Other Colors Out," *High Country News*, May 30.
4. Jon Hurdle, 2021, "In a Refinery's Ashes, Hope for an End to Decades of Pollution," *Environment 360*, <https://e360.yale.edu/features/in-a-refinerys-ashes-hope-for-an-end-to-decades-of-pollution>.

*November*

1 **Congress and Appropriations Politics** (continued)

3 **Congress and Appropriations Politics** (continued)

5 Section 8: Moving Outside the System: Law, Violence, and Environmentalism

READ:

1. \*Dave Foreman and Bill Haywood, eds., 1987, *Ecodefense*, Tucson: Ned Ludd Books, pp. 10-39 (skim pp. 26-39).
2. \*David Helvarg, 1994, *The War against the Greens*, San Francisco: Sierra Club, pp. 358-391.
3. Sam Knight, 2019, "Does Extinction Rebellion Have the Solution to the Climate Crisis?," *New Yorker*, July 21, <https://www.newyorker.com/news/letter-from-the-uk/does-extinction-rebellion-have-the-solution-to-the-climate-crisis>.

8 **Executive Politics**

READ:

1. \*Bruce Barcott, 2004, "Changing All the Rules," *New York Times Magazine*, April 4, pp. 38+.
2. Vig, Kraft, and Rabe, c. 4, 7.

10 **Executive Politics** (continued)

- 12 Section 9: Environmental Backlash—**QUIZ 3**  
**READ:**  
 1. \*Rush H. Limbaugh, 1992, “Sorry, But the Earth Is Not Fragile,” in *The Way Things Ought to Be*, New York: Pocket Books, pp. 153-169.  
 2. Romina Boccia, Jack Spencer, Robert Gordon, 2013, “Environmental Conservation based on Individual Liberty and Economic Freedom,” *The Heritage Foundation Backgrounder*, <http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2013/01/environmental-conservation-based-on-individual-liberty-and-economic-freedom>.  
 3. Diane Toomey, 2015, “Why This Tea Party Leader Is Seeing Green on Solar Energy,” *Environment 360*, [http://e360.yale.edu/feature/debbie\\_dooley\\_interview\\_why\\_this\\_tea\\_party\\_leader\\_is\\_seeing\\_green\\_on\\_solar\\_energy/2859/](http://e360.yale.edu/feature/debbie_dooley_interview_why_this_tea_party_leader_is_seeing_green_on_solar_energy/2859/).  
 4. Hal Herring, 2016, “Can We Make Sense of the Malheur Mess?,” *High Country News*, February 12, <https://www.hcn.org/articles/malheur-occupation-oregon-ammon-bundy-public-lands-essay>.
- 15 **Executive Politics** (continued)  
 17 **Judicial Politics**  
**READ:**  
 1. \*Anne C. Mulkern, Allison Winter, and Robin Bravender, 2010, “Advocacy: Brazen Upstart Brings Legal Muscle, Nerve to Climate Debate,” *Greenwire*, March 30.  
 2. *Massachusetts v. EPA*, 549 U.S. 497 (2007). Available at: <http://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/05-1120.ZS.html>. Make sure you read the syllabus and the opinion. The concurrences are optional.  
 3. Vig, Kraft, and Rabe, c. 6.
- 19 Section 10: NO CLASS—KLYZA OUT-OF-TOWN
- 22 **Judicial Politics** (continued)  
**PAPER DUE**
- 24 NO CLASS—THANKSGIVING RECESS  
 26 NO CLASS—THANKSGIVING RECESS
- 29 **The State Pathway**  
**READ:**  
 1. \*David Vogel, 2018, *California Greenin’: How the Golden State Became an Environmental Leader*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 200-230.  
 2. Vig, Kraft, and Rabe, c. 2.
- December*
- 1 **The State Pathway** (continued)  
 3 Section 11: Visions of the West: Problems and Possibilities
- 6 **Collaboration: Can We All Be Friends?**  
**READ:**  
 1. \*Cary Coglianese and Laurie K. Allen, 2004, “Does Consensus Make Common Sense? An Analysis of EPA’s Common Sense Initiative,” *Environment*, January/February, pp. 10-25.  
 2. \*Sarah B. Pralle, 2006, *Branching Out, Digging In: Environmental Advocacy and Agenda Setting*, Washington: Georgetown University Press, pp. 203-219.

8      **The Future**

READ:

1. Vig, Kraft, and Rabe, c. 15.

10      Section 12: A Paradigm Shift?—**QUIZ 4**

READ:

1. \*Aldo Leopold, 1949, "Thinking Like a Mountain" and "The Land Ethic" from *A Sand County Almanac*, New York: Oxford University Press (any edition will do).

2. \*Van Jones, 2008, *The Green Collar Economy: How One Solution Can Fix Our Two Biggest Problems*, New York: Harper One, pp. 67-83.

3. \*Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, 2015, *The Mushroom at the End of the World: On the Possibility of Life in Capitalist Ruins*, pp. 1-6, 155-163, 205-213, 277-282.

15      FINAL EXAMINATION (WEDNESDAY) 7.00p-10.00p