



Prof. Noah Zerbe

Office: FH 139

Office Hours: Tuesdays 4:00-5:30 pm,

Wednesdays 1:00-1:50 & by appointment

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In this course, we will explore the intersection of globalization, capitalism, and the environment, paying particular attention to the ways in which environmental problems are fundamentally grounded in social, economic, and political relations. More specifically, we will seek to address several related questions: What are the ideological and material foundations of environmental politics? What role do local values, customs, traditions, and institutions play in environmental policy formation? How do national policy makers, bureaucrats, scientists, local communities and non-governmental organizations, and the corporate sector understand environmental problems? How do the various actors interact? What solutions do they propose, and what are the limits of their proposals? And why does all this matter?

The course will be comprised of three sections. In the first section, The Theoretical Bases of Environmental Governance, we will explore differing conceptions of property, value, risk and uncertainty that provide the theoretical and ideological foundation for environmental governance. In doing so, we will pay particular attention to the ways in which the emergence of a global system of capitalism affects our understanding of environmental issues and proposed solutions. Based on the competing frames and worldviews developed in the first section, we then develop a broad understanding of Applied Environmental Governance, exploring the ways in which key environmental issues have been articulated in the Global North and South. In doing so, we examine the role of national governments, domestic and international non-state actors, and local values and institutions in environmental debates. Finally, in the third section of the course, The Future of (Global?) Environmental Governance, we problematize the relationship between globalization and environmental regulation. In doing so, we attempt to move beyond the simple critique of existing environmental policy and look toward the identification and reconceptualization of alternative solutions to the problems and issues examined in the course.

Three broad themes will unify our consideration of the specific weekly material: environmental governance occurs simultaneously at multiple levels, from the personal to the global; environmental governance is predicated on struggles over both substantive and symbolic goals; and struggles over knowledge and knowledge production are central to environmental governance.

### ***Required Books and Readings***

The following books are required and are available at the HSU Bookstore:

- Ramachandra Guha, *Environmentalism: A Global History*. (NY: Longman, 2000).
- John Bellamy Foster, *Vulnerable Planet: A Short Economic History of the Environment*. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1999).
- Andrew Mushita and Carol Thompson, *Biopiracy of Biodiversity: Global Exchange as Enclosure*. (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2007).
- David Harvey, *Spaces of Global Capitalism: Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development*. (London: Verso, 2006).

Additional required readings are available on electronic reserve through the course Moodle site.

### ***Course Requirements:***

- **Participation (15%):** As a seminar, this course depends on all of us coming prepared to participate to each and every meeting. To that end, I expect that all reading be completed *before* the seminar in which it to be discussed. Attendance seminar is a necessary but not a sufficient component of participation.
- **Three Critical Reviews (10% each):** To facilitate discussion, each student will be required to write and submit three critical reviews that engage with and respond to the course materials. Reviews should be no more than 750 words (approximately three pages) and may draw on both course materials and outside readings. A signup sheet for critical reviews will be distributed in class. Critical reviews must be posted to the course Moodle forum no later than Wednesday morning before the class discussion. Late critical reviews will not be accepted. Critical reviews constitute part of the required readings, and therefore all students are responsible for reading the critical reviews *before* class.
- **Seminar Facilitation (10%):** Each student will be responsible for leading seminar discussion one week during the semester. This may be one of the weeks that you write a critical review. The exact nature of your facilitation is up to you, and I am happy to discuss ideas with you before the seminar.
- **Research Essay (35%):** The bulk of your mark will be based on an original research essay due the last class period (April 24). The paper should be approximately 20 typed, double-spaced pages (approximately 5,000 words) on a topic of your choice. The theme selected should deal with a theme developed in this course, but the exact topic is developed at your discretion. I would encourage you to think about how the research component of this course can fit into your final thesis or project, for example as a portion of the literature review or content writeup. I am happy to discuss ideas with you at any time during the course of the semester.
- **Essay Presentation (10%):** During the final two weeks of class, student papers will constitute the required reading. You will have the opportunity to present your research to the class and discuss it in the seminar. Presentations will be discussed in greater detail during the semester.

**Late Assignments** will be penalized at a rate of one-half letter grade per day. All assignments are due in class on the due date listed in the syllabus. Make up exams will not be scheduled without a valid medical excuse. If you have scheduling problems with any due dates, please contact me before the assignment is due. Short critical reviews will not be accepted if late.

**Academic Honesty & Plagiarism:** Plagiarism is the representation of someone else's work as your own. Plagiarism is a serious academic offense, and will result in an automatic zero for the assignment, failure of the course, and potentially more serious sanctions from the University according to the Academic Honesty policy. Please contact me *before turning in your assignment* if you are unsure of what constitutes plagiarism.

**Support:** HSU offers excellent resources to help you succeed in your academic endeavors. These include the Library, Computer Labs, Computer Help Desk, Academic Support Center, Learning Center, and Writing Center. I strongly encourage you to take advantage of them!

**Disability Resources:** If you have a documented disability and would like to discuss academic accommodations, please contact me as soon as possible. The campus Student Disability Resource Center can assist you with the accommodation process and can be reached at (707) 826-4678 or (707) 826-5392 (TTD).

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## Course Schedule

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### Week 1: January 24

#### Course Introduction: Defining "Nature;" Defining "Natural"

Robert Cox. 1986. "Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory." Ch. 8 (pp. 204-54) in Robert Keohane, ed. *Neorealism and Its Critics*. (NY: Columbia UP).

Robert Nelson. 2003. "Environmental Colonialism: 'Saving' Africa from Africans." *Independent Review*. 8(1): 65-87.

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## Part 1: Theoretical Bases of Environmental Governance

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### Week 2: January 31

#### States and Markets: A Theoretical Introduction

Ellen Meiksins Wood. 1985. "The Separation of the 'Economic' and the 'Political' in Capitalism." Ch. 1 (pp. 19-48) in *Democracy Against Capitalism: Renewing Historical Materialism*. (NY: Cambridge UP).

Anne Sisson Runyan. 1992. "The 'State' of Nature: A Garden Unfit for Women and Other Living Things." Ch. 5 (pp. 123-140) in V. Spike Peterson, ed. *Gendered States: Feminist (Re)Visions of International Relations Theory*. (Boulder: Lynne Rienner).

Ian Hudson and Mark Hudson. 2003. "Removing the Veil? Commodity Fetishism, Fair Trade and the Environment." *Organization and Environment*. 16(4): 413-430.

Giovanna DiChiro. 1998. "Nature as Community: The Convergence of Environment and Social Justice." Ch. 5 (pp. 120-43) in Michael Goldman, ed. *Privatizing Nature: Political Struggles for the Global Commons*. (London: Pluto Press).

### **Week 3: February 4**

#### **Environmental Government, Governance, and Governmentality**

John Bellamy Foster, *Vulnerable Planet: A Short Economic History of the Environment*. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1999).

### **Week 4: February 14**

#### **Property, Property Rights, and Value: Class, Gender, and Race**

Marilyn Waring. 1988. "A Woman's Reckoning," (Ch. 1, pp. 12-36) and "Your Economic Theories Make No Sense," (Ch. 10, pp. 203-23) in *Counting for Nothing: What Men Value and What Women are Worth*. (Wellington: BW Books).

Karl Polanyi. Selections from *The Great Transformation*.

Samir Amin. 1993. "Can Environmental Problems Be Subject to Economic Calculations?" *Monthly Review*. 45(7): 16-44.

Laurie Ann Whitt. "Resisting Value-Bifurcation: Indigenist Critiques of the Human Genome Diversity Project." Ch. 6 (pp. 70-86) in Bat-Ami Bar On and Ann Ferguson, eds. *Daring to Be Good: Essays in Feminist Ethnico-Politics*. (NY: Routledge).

### **Week 5: February 21**

#### **The Commons Debates**

Garrett Hardin. 1968. "The Tragedy of the Commons." *Science*. (162): 1243-48.

Elinor Ostrom. "Reflections on the Commons." Ch. 1 (pp. 1-28) in *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. (NY: Cambridge UP, 1990).

James McCarthy. 2005. "Commons as Counterhegemonic Projects." *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism*. 16 (1): 9-24.

EP Thompson. 1980 [1963]. Selections from *The Making of the English Working Class*. (London: Penguin).

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## Part 2: Applied Environmental Governance

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### Week 6: February 28

#### The Rise of the Environment as an Issue in Political Economy

Ramachandra Guha. 2000. *Environmentalism: A Global History*. (NY: Longman).

### Week 7: March 6

#### Applied Regulatory Frameworks: US & Europe on GMOs

Les Levidow and Susan Carr. 2000. "Unsound Science? Transatlantic Regulatory Disputes over GM Crops." *International Journal of Biotechnology*. 2(1-3): 257-73.

Aseem Prakesh. 2003. "Biopolitics in the EU and US: A Race to the Bottom or Convergence to the Top?" *International Studies Quarterly*. (47): 617-41.

Rodney Loepky. 2005. "Understanding Science and Technology: A Political Economy Framework." Ch. 3 (pp. 31-58) in *Encoding Capital: The Political Economy of the Human Genome Project*. (New York: Routledge).

Noah Zerbe. "Risking Regulation, Regulating Risk: Lessons from the Transatlantic Biotech Dispute." *Review of Policy Research*. 24(5) (2007): 407-23.

### Week 8: March 13

#### Sustainable Agriculture and Seed Economies

Andrew Mushita and Carol Thompson, *Biopiracy of Biodiversity: Global Exchange as Enclosure*. (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2007).

### Week 9: March 20

#### No Class: Spring Break

### Week 10: March 27

#### Applied Regulatory Frameworks: Indigenous Knowledge

Fantu Cheru. 1997. "The Silent Revolution and Weapons of the Weak: Transformation and Innovation from Below." Ch. 10 (pp. 153-69) in Stephen Gill and James Mittelman, eds. *Innovation and Transformation in International Studies*. (NY: Cambridge UP).

Michael Dove, et al. 2007. "Globalisation and the Construction of Western and Non-Western Knowledge." Ch. 7 (pp. 129-54) in Paul Sillitoe, ed. *Local Science vs. Global Science: Approaches to Indigenous Knowledge in International Development*. (New York: Berghahn Books).

David McDonald, ed. 2002. *Environmental Justice in South Africa*. (Athens: Ohio UP). Pp. 1-130 (includes: David McDonald "What is Environmental Justice?"; Farieda Khan "The Roots of Environmental Racism and the Rise of Environmental Justice in the 1990s;" David Hallows and Mark Butler "Power, Poverty, and Marginalized

Environments: A Conceptual Framework”; Belinda Dobson “Searching for a Common Agenda: Ecofeminism and Environmental Justice”; Greg Ruiters “Race, Place, and Environmental Rights: A Radical Critique of Environmental Justice Discourse”)

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### **Part 3: The Future of (Global?) Environmental Governance**

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#### **Week 11: April 3 The Rise of Neoliberalism**

David Harvey, *Spaces of Global Capitalism: Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development*. (London: Verso, 2006).

#### **Week 12: April 10 Globalization, International Trade and the Eroding Basis of Public Policy?**

Ellen Meiksins Wood. 2003. “The Detachment of Economic Power.” Ch. 1 (pp. 9-25) in *The Empire of Capital*. (London: Verso).

William Tabb. 1997. “Globalization is An Issue; The Power of Capital is The Issue.” *Monthly Review*. (June).

Peter Newell. 2005. “Race, Class and the Global Politics of Environmental Inequality.” *Global Environmental Politics*. 5(3): 70-95.

Plus your choice of one of the following:

Gustavo Esteva and Madhu Suri Prakash. 1998. *Grassroots Postmodernism: Remaking the Soil of Cultures*. (London: Zed). Selections.

Jasmin Sydee and Sharon Beder. 2001. “Ecofeminism and Globalization: A Critical Appraisal.” *Democracy and Nature*. 7(2): 281-302.

Lucy Ford. 2003. “Challenging Global Environmental Governance: Social Movement Agency and Global Civil Society.” *Global Environmental Politics*. 3(2): 120-35.

#### **Week 13: April 17 The World Trade Organization**

Stephen Gill. “Globalization, Market Civilization and Disciplinary Neoliberalism.” Ch. 7 (pp. 116-42) in *Power and Resistance in the New World Order*. (NY: Palgrave).

Robyn Eckersley. 2004. “The Big Chill: The WTO and Multilateral Environmental Agreements.” *Global Environmental Policy*. 4(2): 24-50.

Eric Neumayer. 2004. “The WTO and the Environment: Its Past Record is Better than Critics Believe, but the Future Outlook is Bleak.” *Global Environmental Policy*. 4(3): 1-8.

Håkan Nordström and Scott Vaughan. 1999. *Trade and Environment: Special Studies, Vol. 4.* (Special Report produced for the World Trade Organization Secretariat).

**Week 14: April 24**

**Topic TBA**

Readings TBA

**Week 15: May 1**

**Research Presentations**

The required readings for the May 1 and 8 meetings will be your colleagues' papers. Your paper will be distributed one week before your presentation via the course Moodle site.

**Week 15: May 8**

**Research Presentations**