PS477/577: International Environmental Politics

Ronald Mitchell  
Professor of Political Science and Environmental Studies

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| Time: T-Th 8:30-9:50am | Office Hours: PLC-921,Tues/Thurs 10:00-11:30, by signup and appt. |
| [rmitchel@uoregon.edu](mailto:rmitchel@uoregon.edu); 541-346-4880 | Course website on Canvas |

# Course Description

Nations cannot solve environmental problems through unilateral action and domestic policies alone. Governments, nongovernmental organizations, and editorial pundits frequently call for international solutions to environmental problems ranging from preserving wetlands and wildlife to protecting the global atmosphere. For some environmental problems, nations have signed strong treaties but for others they have not. Environmental problems certainly will increase in number in the future. International solutions to past problems provide the experience to understand the solutions available, how those solutions can be created, and how effective they have been at solving environmental problems.

This course starts by outlining five perspectives on why environmental problems arise and how we can solve them. It then explores three processes of international policy development: identifying problems, designing and negotiating solutions, and implementing policies to change national behavior. We will use case studies to develop our understanding of these processes and ask questions such as: What conditions help countries negotiate treaties to resolve problems? What types of rules work best? How do we evaluate whether a treaty has been effective or successful? In short, we want to identify how nations will solve global environmental problems.

These questions require careful attention to causal analysis, i.e., to showing that one or more factors caused the outcome we observe and that if that factor were missing, the observed outcome would not have occurred. Thus, a major element of this course will require that you identify and skeptically evaluate all causal claims (your own, mine, and those of authors you read). As an example, this requires that you are initially dubious of claims that the International Whaling Commission has led to fewer whales being killed since 1980, that growing scientific knowledge caused countries to sign the ozone treaty, or even that treaties ever change behavior. I hope that developing your ability to think causally will be this course's most important contribution to your education.

***Word of warning:*** Most past students have found this course—and particularly the final paper—to be particularly difficult but also rewarding. Be aware that the requirements for this course are quite demanding.

# Required Texts

* Ronald B. Mitchell. 2010. International politics and the environment. New York: Sage Publications. ISBN: 9781412919753. Referred to as Mitchell.
* Geoffrey Dabelko and Ken Conca. 2014. Green Planet Blues: Critical Perspectives on Global Environmental Politics, 5th Edition. Boulder: Westview Press. ISBN: 9780813349527 Referred to as Conca and Dabelko. Purchasing an eTextbook is fine (and cheaper).
* Online readings are available on Canvas. They are sorted by when they are on the syllabus, though there may some sequencing errors.

# Expected Learning Outcomes

* Identify distinctions among 5 theoretical perspectives on why international environmental problems arise.
* Understand the primary policy processes by which such problems are identified, international agreements are negotiated, and efforts are made to induce compliance and implementation.
* Demonstrate critical thinking and communication skills, including the use of counterfactuals, by writing a major research paper that links clear theories regarding the influence of international environmental treaties to clear empirical evidence relevant to evaluating a particular treaty of interest to the student.

# Estimated Student Workload / How Grades Will Be Determined

Student workload involves 120 hours for this 4-credit course. Time and percent for components are detailed below.

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| --- | --- | --- |
| Class component | Percent | Hours |
| Class attendance and participation: Those who ask questions and make comments will get better grades. Shy people cannot waive this requirement. | 10% | 30 |
| Reading | 0% | 30 |
| Plagiarism assignment: required but no points: Read Canvas assignment and my plagiarism policy (below), Come in with questions. | 0% | 1 |
| Discussion Paper #1: Tragedy of the Commons  3-4 page paper responding to question regarding readings and material in lecture. | 10% | 2 |
| Discussion Paper #2: Relative Treaty Effectiveness  3-4 page paper responding to question regarding readings and material in lecture. | 20% | 3 |
| Treaty Assignment #1:  Details in Assignment Packet. Main value is to provide feedback for your final paper. | 5% | 2 |
| Treaty Assignment #2:  Details in Assignment Packet. Main value is to provide feedback for your final paper. | 10% | 5 |
| Treaty Assignment #3:  Details in Assignment Packet. Main value is to provide feedback for your final paper. | 10% | 12 |
| Final research paper:  ***Undergraduates:*** Write a research paper (15-20 double-spaced pages) evaluating whether a particular environmental treaty was effective. *Details in Assignment Packet.*  ***Grad students***: Write a research paper (25-30 double-spaced pages) that carefully and rigorously evaluates whether a particular environmental treaty was effective, including a thoughtful lit review (>20 citations), hypotheses, and evaluation of hypotheses with empirical evidence. Should be comparable to a first draft of a Masters thesis. | 35% | 35 |
| Extra credit:  Present research on last day of class. Receiving ***full*** extra credit requires:  a) email graph of dependent variable (with counterfactual line) by 5 pm, Tuesday of Week 10. Include name and treaty title on slide. Extra credit only if meet deadline.  b) present research for 2 to 3 minutes on Thursday of Week 10, including explaining WHY you think your treaty was OR was not effective. | possible 2% | 2 |
| Important Note for Graduate Students:  Graduate students enrolled in PS577 must do more work, of higher quality, than undergraduates. Read the syllabus carefully and ensure you complete all readings and assignments required of graduate students. |  |  |

### Assignment of final grades

Students will receive grades based on the following criteria:

* A+: if given at all, given to 1 or 2 students whose performance is significantly stronger than other students
* A: all assignments demonstrate a strong and nuanced understanding of almost all course concepts and the ability to convincingly describe theories from the course and evaluate them with empirical evidence
* B: all assignments demonstrate solid understanding of most course concepts and the ability to adequately describe theories from the course and evaluate them with empirical evidence
* C: completed assignments demonstrate only a basic understanding of course concepts and/or one or more assignments missing
* D: missing many assignments and completed assignments demonstrate little understanding of material covered
* F: assignments completed account for less than 80% of total grade.

Expected distribution of grades: ~20% As, ~35% Bs, ~35% Cs, ~7% Ds, ~3% Fs.

# Introduction

## Some Thoughts as You Begin the Course

* Sustainable development means “treating the earth as if we intended to stay” -- (Robert Gray, 1993).
* When asked whether he would like people in India to have the same standard of living as the British, Mahatma Gandhi responded “It took Britain half the resources of the planet to achieve this prosperity. How many planets will a country like India require?” -- (T. N. Khoshoo, 1995).
* A serious research study is “a study by someone whose mind could conceivably have been changed by the evidence” -- (Paul Krugman, 1993).

### Week 1: Tuesday

#### Introduction

### Week 1: Thursday

#### Introduction (continued)

##### PLAGIARISM ASSIGNMENT: By enrolling in this course, you commit to abide by the University’s Student Conduct Code. You must read the websites linked in the Announcements on the Canvas site. Also read the whole assignment packet. This will clarify expectations of the course and its level of difficulty. Make sure you read these by Thursday of week 1 and understand what they imply about your conduct in this class regarding plagiarism and cheating. Raise any questions with the professor.

* Mitchell, Chapter 1.
* [Mitchell, R. B. 2013. International environment. *Handbook of International Relations, 2nd ed.*, edited by W. Carlsnaes, T. Risse and B. Simmons: 801-826.Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.](#_ENREF_1)
* [Rick, T. C. and J. M. Erlandson. 2009. Coastal Exploitation. *Science* 325: 952-953.](#_ENREF_2)

### Week 2: Tuesday

#### Causal thinking and identifying policy solutions that work: preparing for your paper

* These readings are crucial for writing a strong final paper and accurately evaluating the treaty you choose to study. Read these for this class and re-read them several times during the term.
* Mitchell, Chapter 2.
* [Mitchell, R. B. and T. Bernauer. 1998. Empirical research on international environmental policy: designing qualitative case studies. *Journal of Environment and Development* 7(1): 4-31.](#_ENREF_3)
* [Jacobson, H. K. and E. Brown Weiss. 1998. A framework for analysis. *Engaging countries: strengthening compliance with international environmental accords*, edited by E. Brown Weiss and H. K. Jacobson: 1-18.Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.](#_ENREF_4)
* [Jacobson, H. K. and E. Brown Weiss. 1998. Assessing the record and designing strategies to engage countries. *Engaging countries: strengthening compliance with international environmental accords*, edited by E. Brown Weiss and H. K. Jacobson: 511-554.Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.](#_ENREF_5)

# Perspectives on environmental problems

### Week 2: Thursday -- If you have a Laptop PLEASE bring it to class for use in the simulation!

#### Economic and Legal Perspectives

##### DISCUSSION PAPER: “Tragedy of the Commons” due at beginning of class (< 1500 words – provide a word count). See Assignment Packet.

* Garrett Hardin, “The Tragedy of the Commons” Conca and Dabelko: ch03.
* Xavier Basurto and Elinor Ostrom, “Beyond the Tragedy of the Commons” Conca and Dabelko: ch05.

##### We will simulate the Tragedy of the Commons online during class. Prepare your strategy BEFORE class. Start by playing the “Optimizing a Private Farm” game on the website. During the in-class game, you will decide how many cows you want to put on a commons to which all other students have access. Your goal is to maximize the milk your cows produce (so you can share that milk with homeless people). What strategy will you use to ensure that you and the rest of the class do not overgraze the commons? How will you convince others to adopt your strategy? What should you do in the meantime to make sure you still can give milk to homeless people this year?

### Week 3: Tuesday

#### Ecophilosophical and Political Perspectives

* Mitchell, Chapter 3.
* Donella H. Meadows, et. al., “Limits to Growth” Conca and Dabelko: ch01.
* Ken Conca, “Rethinking the Ecology-Sovereignty Debate” Conca and Dabelko: ch09.

# Processes of International Environmental Management

## Identifying Environmental Problems

### Week 3: Thursday

#### Guest lecture by Prof. Jennifer Hadden, University of Maryland

#### Identifying and Classifying Environmental Problems

* Mitchell, Chapter 4.
* [Young, O. R. 1994. International governance: protecting the environment in a stateless society (chapter "International Environmental Governance"). Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.](#_ENREF_6)
* [Economist, T. 2012. Atmospheric governance.](#_ENREF_7)
* [Hannibal, M. E. 2019. Are We Watching the End of the Monarch Butterfly? *New York Times*.](#_ENREF_8)

### Week 4: Tuesday

#### Science for Sustainability and a Scientific Perspective

##### TREATY ASSIGNMENT #1: due at beginning of class. See Assignment Packet.

* [Lubchenco, J. 1998. Entering the century of the environment: a new social contract for science. *Science* 279: 491-497.](#_ENREF_9)
* [Vitousek, P. M., et al. 1997. Human domination of earth's ecosystems. *Science* 277(5325): 494-499.](#_ENREF_10)
* [Kates, R. W., et al. 2001. Sustainability science. *Science* 292(5517): 641-642.](#_ENREF_11)

#### Initial discussion on writing final paper and conducting a good causal evaluation of a treaty's influence.

* Re-read Mitchell and Bernauer from Week 2 readings, think about causal questions and feedback from professor, and come in with questions prepared. This should help you get started on your paper.

## Negotiating International Agreements

### Week 4: Thursday

#### Negotiation Theory

* Norichika Kanie, “Governance with Multilateral Environmental Agreements: A Healthy or Ill-Equipped Fragmentation?” Conca and Dabelko: ch13.
* [Sprinz, D. F. and T. Vaahtoranta. 1994. The interest-based explanation of international environmental policy. *International Organization* 48(1): 77-105.](#_ENREF_12)
* [Betsill, M. M. and E. Corell. 2001. NGO influence in international environmental negotiations: a framework for analysis. *Global Environmental Politics* 1(4): 65-85.](#_ENREF_13)

### Week 5: Tuesday

#### Negotiation Practice: Why did countries take the positions they did in Paris, 2015?

* Mitchell, Chapter 5.
* [Haas, P. M. 1992. Banning chlorofluorocarbons. *International Organization* 46(1): 187-224.](#_ENREF_14)
* [Downie, C. 2012. Toward an understanding of state behavior in prolonged international negotiations. *International Negotiation* 17: 295-320.](#_ENREF_15)
* [UNFCCC Secretariat. 2018. Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDCs) as communicated by Parties. (9 June 2018).](#_ENREF_16)

### Week 5: Thursday

#### The Role of Nongovernmental Actors in International Environmental Politics

* Chico Mendes, “Fight for the Forest” Conca and Dabelko: ch07.
* [Kothari, S. 2002. Globalization, global alliances and the Narmada movement. *Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks, and Norms*, edited by S. Khagram, K. Sikkink and J. RikerMinneapolis: University of Minnesota.](#_ENREF_17)
* [Wapner, P. 1995. Environmental activism and world civic politics. *World Politics* 47(3): 311-340.](#_ENREF_18)

## Ensuring Compliance and Effectiveness

### Week 6: Tuesday

#### Compliance Theory

* Mitchell, Chapter 6.
* [Young, O. R. 2018. Research strategies to assess the effectiveness of international environmental regimes. *Nature Sustainability* 1(9).](#_ENREF_19)
* Recommended: [Mitchell, R. B. 2007. Compliance theory: compliance, effectiveness, and behavior change in international environmental law. *Oxford handbook of international environmental law*, edited by J. Brunnée, D. Bodansky and E. Hey: 893-921.Cambridge, MA: Oxford University Press.](#_ENREF_20)

### Week 6: Thursday

#### Case Study – Relative Regime Effectiveness: Whaling and Ozone Protection

##### DISCUSSION PAPER: “Relative Effectiveness” due at beginning of class (< 1500 words – provide a word count). See Assignment Packet. I have provided more extensive readings than usual to help you prepare your discussion paper:

* [Peterson, M. J. 1992. Whalers, cetologists, environmentalists and the international management of whaling. *International Organization* 46(1): 147-186.](#_ENREF_21)
* [Walsh, V. 1999. Illegal Whaling for Humpbacks by the Soviet Union in the Antarctic, 1947-1972. *Journal of Environment and Development* 8(3): 307-327.](#_ENREF_22)
* [Grundmann, R. 1998. The strange success of the Montreal Protocol: why reductionist accounts fail. *International Environmental Affairs* 10(3): 197-220.](#_ENREF_23)
* [Clapp, J. 1997. The illegal CFC trade: an unexpected wrinkle in the ozone protection regime. *International Environmental Affairs* 9(4): 259-273.](#_ENREF_24)
* [Ozone Secretariat. 1985. Text of Convention for Protection of Ozone Layer.](#_ENREF_25)
* [Ozone Secretariat. 1987. Text of Montreal Protocol to the Convention for Protection of Ozone Layer.](#_ENREF_26)
* [UNEP. 2001. Illegal trade in ozone depleting substances: is there a hole in the Montreal Protocol?](#_ENREF_27)
* [International Whaling Commission. 1946. Text of International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling.](#_ENREF_28)
* Crucial: [2012. Data on Montreal Protocol/Whaling Convention Excel file.](#_ENREF_29)

# Issues and Debates in International Environmental Politics

### Week 7: Tuesday

#### Multinationals, Free Trade, and the Environment

* Corporate Eco Forum and The Nature Conservancy, “The New Business Imperative: Valuing Natural Capital” Conca and Dabelko: ch19.
* [Gallagher, K. P. 2009. Economic globalization and the environment. *Annual Review of Environment and Resources* 34: 279-304.](#_ENREF_30)

### Week 7: Thursday

##### TREATY ASSIGNMENT #2: due at beginning of class. See Assignment Packet.

### Final Paper Discussion

* Read online lecture notes and come in with questions you have regarding writing your final paper.

### Week 8: Tuesday

#### Sustainable Development

* World Commission on Environment & Development, “Towards Sustainable Development” Conca and Dabelko: ch17.
* Sharachchandra M. Lélé, “Sustainable Development: A Critical Review” Conca and Dabelko: ch18.
* Tom Knudson, “Shifting the Pain” Conca and Dabelko: ch20.
* João Augusto de Araujo Castro, “Environment and Development: Case of Developing Countries” Conca and Dabelko: ch02.
* Balakrishnan Rajagopal, “The Violence of Development” Conca and Dabelko: ch26.

### Week 8: Thursday

#### Environment and Security

* [Lin, E. 2018. How War Changes Land: A natural experiment of bomb-induced economic change in Cambodia. *Unpublished paper, Ohio State University*.](#_ENREF_31)
* Geoffrey Dabelko, “An Uncommon Peace: Environment, Development, and the Global Security Agenda” Conca and Dabelko: ch22.
* Daniel Deudney, “The Case against Linking Environmental Degradation and National Security” Conca and Dabelko: ch24.

### Week 9: Tuesday

##### TREATY ASSIGNMENT #3: due at beginning of class. See Assignment Packet.

#### Climate Change, Part 1

Watch one or more of these NSF videos:

* [National Science Foundation. 2012. How do we know?](#_ENREF_32)
* [National Science Foundation. 2012. Climate Modeling.](#_ENREF_33)
* [National Science Foundation. 2012. The IPCC.](#_ENREF_34)
* [Oreskes, N. 2007. The scientific consensus on climate change: how do we know we're not wrong? *Climate change*, edited by J. F. C. DiMento and P. Doughman: 65-99.Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.](#_ENREF_35)
* [Boykoff, M. T. and J. M. Boykoff. 2004. Balance as bias: global warming and the U.S. prestige press. *Global Environmental Change* 15(2): 125-136.](#_ENREF_36)

### Week 9: Thursday: Thanksgiving – No Class.

#### No CLASS – Thanksgiving

### Week 10: Tuesday

##### EXTRA CREDIT Deadline: Powerpoint slide to present in class on Thursday due to me by email by 5 pm.

#### Climate Change, Part 2

* [Keohane, R. O. 2015. The global politics of climate change: challenge for political science. *PS; Political Science and Politics* 48(1): 19-26.](#_ENREF_37)
* Jethro Pettit, “Climate Justice: A New Social Movement for Atmospheric Rights” Conca and Dabelko: ch12.
* Office of the UNHCHR, “The Relationship between Climate Change and Human Rights” Conca and Dabelko: ch28.
* Oxfam “Gender, Disaster Risk Reduction, and Climate Change Adaptation” Conca and Dabelko: ch29.

# Conclusions

### Week 10: Thursday

#### The Future of Global Environmental Governance – Problems we will face and Solutions we will have

* Mitchell, Chapter 7.

##### FINAL PAPER DUE at the beginning of class on the last day of class.

##### NO LATE PAPERS WILL BE ACCEPTED!

# Course Policies

### Late assignments

Help me help you pass the course by turning in all assignments on time. Late assignments lose 2 points/day: assignments received before midnight of the 1st day after being due lose 2 of 100 points, before midnight of the 2nd day 4 points, etc. Turn in all assignments, even if late. Missing ANY assignment makes passing this course difficult.

### Grade complaints

I am willing to discuss any assignment with a student. I am willing to consider written grade complaints that explain how my grade failed to accurately assess your assignment against the criteria for that assignment. I will give such complaints my fairest and most careful consideration and assign a final grade, which can be either higher or lower.

### Academic Integrity, Plagiarism, Fabrication, Cheating, and Misconduct:

By enrolling in this course, you agree to abide by the University’s Student Conduct Code. You are REQUIRED to read and understand the webpages linked on Canvas for the Plagiarism Assignment by Thursday of week 1. Everything in your assignments must be your own work. The fact that you are ignorant of these policies or did not intend to cheat or plagiarize will NOT be considered a legitimate defense. Raise questions you have with the professor before problems arise. I will flunk all students who plagiarize and will report them to University authorities. Unfortunately, I have done so two or three times in the past few years.

### Creating an environment conducive to learning

Civility and tolerance: My primary goal as a faculty member is to create an inclusive learning environment in which *everyone* feels safe to express their views, whatever they may be, so long as they do so in ways that are respectful of others. In light of the divisions that became visible in the 2016 election, I seek to create a learning environment in which BOTH supporters and opponents of our current President can express their political opinions freely. One cannot identify a person’s political views by race, religion, attire, gender, favorite music, or skateboard type: in 2016, at least 10% (and often 30%) of every demographic group voted the opposite of others in that group <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/11/08/us/politics/election-exit-polls.html> Relatedly, if you have a preferred gender pronoun, please let me know what it is.

Being the instructor for a class gives one considerable power (directly over grades and in more subtle ways). Therefore, I seek to be cautious in expressing my views and in responding to students expressing theirs. I will try to keep my political biases in check so EVERYONE in the class feels safe expressing their views. My biases will come through at points – I apologize for that and encourage you to call me out (in a respectful way) when they do. I invite each of you to express your views, whatever they may be, in a way that is respectful of all people, whether they are in our classroom or not. I encourage you to disagree with me and to challenge me to distinguish relatively-objective theories and facts from more-subjective values. For me, democracy consists of opinions being expressed with enough clarity and respect that I change my mind and, perhaps, I also change the minds of others. Please help me create a classroom in which mutual and inclusive respect extends to all people regardless of who they are or what their political views are, and in which all express their own views respectfully.

### Students with disabilities:

Both I as a professor and the University of Oregon are committed to creating inclusive learning environments. Please notify me if any aspects of my instruction methods or course design create barriers to your participation. If you have a disability, I encourage you to contact Accessible Education Center in 164 Oregon Hall at 346-1155 or [uoaec@uoregon.edu](mailto:uoaec@uoregon.edu) If you have already been in contact with Accessible Education Center and have a notification letter, provide me with a statement from Accessible Education Center in week 1 so we can make appropriate arrangements. Note that University policy requires I receive an AEC notification letter before providing testing accommodations (see <http://aec.uoregon.edu/students/current.html>).

### Prohibited Discrimination and Harassment Reporting

I personally strongly support the University’s policy on discrimination and harassment, as reflected in the following statement from the University of Oregon at <https://titleix.uoregon.edu/syllabus> -- ***all referenced materials can be accessed from that website***.

I am a Student Directed Employee. For information about my reporting obligations as an employee, please see <https://titleix.uoregon.edu/employee-reporting-obligations> Students experiencing any form of prohibited discrimination or harassment, including sex or gender based violence, may seek information on <https://safe.uoregon.edu> <https://respect.uoregon.edu> <https://titleix.uoregon.edu>, or <https://aaeo.uoregon.edu> or contact the non-confidential Title IX office (541-346-8136), Office of Civil Rights Compliance office (541-346-3123), or Dean of Students offices (541-346-3216), or call the 24-7 hotline 541-346-SAFE for help.

Any student who has experienced sexual assault, relationship violence, sex or gender-based bullying, stalking, and/or sexual harassment may seek resources and help at <https://safe.uoregon.edu>. To get help by phone, a student can also call either the UO’s 24-hour hotline at 541-346-7244 [SAFE], or the non-confidential Title IX Coordinator at 541-346-8136. From the SAFE website, students may also connect to Callisto, a confidential, third-party reporting site that is not a part of the university.

Students experiencing any other form of prohibited discrimination or harassment can find information at <https://respect.uoregon.edu> or <https://aaeo.uoregon.edu> or contact the non-confidential AAEO office at 541-346-3123 or the Dean of Students Office at 541-346-3216 for help. As UO policy has different reporting requirements based on the nature of the reported harassment or discrimination, additional information about reporting requirements for discrimination or harassment unrelated to sexual assault, relationship violence, sex or gender based bullying, stalking, and/or sexual harassment is available at Discrimination & Harassment. Specific details about confidentiality of information and reporting obligations of employees can be found at <https://titleix.uoregon.edu>.

*Mandatory Reporting of Child Abuse:* UO employees, including faculty, staff, and GEs, are mandatory reporters of child abuse. This statement is to advise you that your disclosure of information about child abuse to a UO employee may trigger the UO employee’s duty to report that information to the designated authorities. Please refer to the following links for detailed information about mandatory reporting at <https://hr.uoregon.edu/policies-leaves/general-information/mandatory-reporting-child-abuse-and-neglect>

Mitchell, R. B. 2013. 2013-HandbookofIR-For477.pdf International environment. *Handbook of International Relations, 2nd ed.*, edited by W. Carlsnaes, T. Risse and B. Simmons: 801-826. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Rick, T. C. and J. M. Erlandson. 2009. 2009-RickErlandson-Science-AncientCivilizationHarmingEnvironment.pdf Coastal Exploitation. *Science* 325: 952-953.

Mitchell, R. B. and T. Bernauer. 1998. 1998-MitchellBernauer-DesigningCaseStudies.pdf Empirical research on international environmental policy: designing qualitative case studies. *Journal of Environment and Development* 7(1): 4-31.

Jacobson, H. K. and E. Brown Weiss. 1998. 3-Jacobson & Weiss Chapter 1.pdf A framework for analysis. *Engaging countries: strengthening compliance with international environmental accords*, edited by E. Brown Weiss and H. K. Jacobson: 1-18. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Jacobson, H. K. and E. Brown Weiss. 1998. 4-Jacobson & Weiss Chapter 15.pdf Assessing the record and designing strategies to engage countries. *Engaging countries: strengthening compliance with international environmental accords*, edited by E. Brown Weiss and H. K. Jacobson: 511-554. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Young, O. R. 1994. 1994-Young-IntlEnvlGovernance.pdf International governance: protecting the environment in a stateless society (chapter "International Environmental Governance"). Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Economist, T. 2012. <http://www.economist.com/blogs/freeexchange/2012/12/anthropocene?zid=313&ah=fe2aac0b11adef572d67aed9273b6e55> Atmospheric governance.

Hannibal, M. E. 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/25/opinion/monarch-butterfly-california-extinction.html> Are We Watching the End of the Monarch Butterfly? *New York Times*.

Lubchenco, J. 1998. 7-Lubchenco.pdf Entering the century of the environment: a new social contract for science. *Science* 279: 491-497.

Vitousek, P. M., et al. 1997. 8-Vitousek.pdf Human domination of earth's ecosystems. *Science* 277(5325): 494-499.

Kates, R. W., et al. 2001. 9-KatesEtAl.pdf Sustainability science. *Science* 292(5517): 641-642.

Sprinz, D. F. and T. Vaahtoranta. 1994. 10-SprinzVaahtoranta.pdf The interest-based explanation of international environmental policy. *International Organization* 48(1): 77-105.

Betsill, M. M. and E. Corell. 2001. 11-BetsillCorell.pdf NGO influence in international environmental negotiations: a framework for analysis. *Global Environmental Politics* 1(4): 65-85.

Haas, P. M. 1992. 12-Haas-BanningCFCs.pdf Banning chlorofluorocarbons. *International Organization* 46(1): 187-224.

Downie, C. 2012. Downie 2012 IN.pdf Toward an understanding of state behavior in prolonged international negotiations. *International Negotiation* 17: 295-320.

UNFCCC Secretariat. 2018. <http://www4.unfccc.int/Submissions/INDC/Submission%20Pages/submissions.aspx> Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDCs) as communicated by Parties.

Kothari, S. 2002. Kothari-NarmadaMovement.pdf Globalization, global alliances and the Narmada movement. *Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks, and Norms*, edited by S. Khagram, K. Sikkink and J. RikerMinneapolis: University of Minnesota.

Wapner, P. 1995. 1995-Wapner-EnvlActivism.pdf Environmental activism and world civic politics. *World Politics* 47(3): 311-340.

Young, O. R. 2018. 2018-Young-AssessingIEAEffectiveness.pdf Research strategies to assess the effectiveness of international environmental regimes. *Nature Sustainability* 1(9).

Mitchell, R. B. 2007. 13Recd-Mitchell-Compliance.pdf Compliance theory: compliance, effectiveness, and behavior change in international environmental law. *Oxford handbook of international environmental law*, edited by J. Brunnée, D. Bodansky and E. Hey: 893-921. Cambridge, MA: Oxford University Press.

Peterson, M. J. 1992. 14-PetersonWhaling.pdf Whalers, cetologists, environmentalists and the international management of whaling. *International Organization* 46(1): 147-186.

Walsh, V. 1999. 15-Walsh.pdf Illegal Whaling for Humpbacks by the Soviet Union in the Antarctic, 1947-1972. *Journal of Environment and Development* 8(3): 307-327.

Grundmann, R. 1998. 16-Grundmann.pdf The strange success of the Montreal Protocol: why reductionist accounts fail. *International Environmental Affairs* 10(3): 197-220.

Clapp, J. 1997. 17-Clapp.pdf The illegal CFC trade: an unexpected wrinkle in the ozone protection regime. *International Environmental Affairs* 9(4): 259-273.

Ozone Secretariat. 1985. 19-Text of Convention for Protection of Ozone Layer.pdf Text of Convention for Protection of Ozone Layer.

Ozone Secretariat. 1987. 20-Text of Protocol for Protection of Ozone Layer.pdf Text of Montreal Protocol to the Convention for Protection of Ozone Layer.

UNEP. 2001. 22-Illegal Trade in Ozone Depleting Substances.pdf Illegal trade in ozone depleting substances: is there a hole in the Montreal Protocol?

International Whaling Commission. 1946. 21-Text of International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling.pdf Text of International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling.

2012. 23-Data on Montreal ProtocolWhaling Convention Excel file.xls Data on Montreal Protocol/Whaling Convention Excel file.

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