ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE
(NTRES 331/631, S&TS 331, B&SOC 331, DSOC 331)

Spring 2008

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Classroom: 143 Plant Science
Section times 331: Mon. 2:30-3:20 & Wed. 2:30-3:20 (Fernow 14), Wed. 3:35-4:25 (Plant Sci. 143)
Section time 631: Alternate Mondays 9:30-11:30 am, 304 Fernow Hall. See reading list on p. 12-13
Blackboard site: http://blackboard.cornell.edu ⇒ Environmental Governance (NTRES331)

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No discipline has intellectual precedence in an endeavor as important as achieving sustainability.
- R. Costanza, H. Daly, J. Bartholomew

COURSE DESCRIPTION AND OBJECTIVES:

Environmental governance is defined as the assemblage of institutions that regulate society-nature interactions and shape environmental outcomes across a range of spatial and temporal scales. Institutions, broadly defined, are mechanisms of social coordination including laws (formal) and social norms (informal) that guide the behavior of individuals. Participants in the course will explore the roles of governments, markets, and collective action in environmental management and mismanagement. We will emphasize interactions among leading environmental policy strategies: public regulation, market-based incentives, and community-based resource management.

Traditionally, political science and government studies have focused on the nation state and questions of public policy. Economics has principally concerned itself with patterns of private exchange in markets. And, sociology has addressed norms, values and community interactions. We will borrow from each of these academic traditions to offer an interdisciplinary perspective for thinking about environmental degradation and resource conservation. Empirical examples of governance arrangements from different parts of the world, different historical periods, and different ecological contexts (e.g., forestry, fisheries, agriculture, land use planning, urban air quality) will highlight opportunities and constraints to progress.

The course is focused around a set of analytic perspectives. These theoretical frameworks allow us to synthesize empirical observations and material changes in ways that inform our understanding of contemporary evolution of environmental policy and management.
NTRES/B&S/S&TS/DSOC 331 COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING (see details below):

1. Preliminary exam 15%
2. Policy Brief 20%
3. Final Exam 15%
4. Class participation 15%
5. Section (leadership 15% and writing 20%) 35%

NTRES 631 COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING (see details below):

1. Final exam 30%
2. Research paper 35%
3. Seminar contributions 35%

Preliminary examination: A mid-term exam will be administered in class 3/12/08. Format will be short answer and essay. Questions will draw directly on readings, lectures, and discussions.

Policy Brief (331 only): Working in small groups, students will present a written policy brief and make an oral report to the class. Briefs will address a contemporary environmental policy question through application of analytic perspectives developed in our course.

Final Exam: Format will be a take-home, open book essay. Exam will be structured to allow students to demonstrate an ability to apply concepts developed in readings, lectures, discussions, and writing assignments. Questions will be posted several days in advance of the due date. Students must write and submit their exams individually, but students are invited to discuss general strategies for drafting essays with their peers. Writing in teams is not permitted.

Participation: To properly explore both the technical and political dimensions of our material, students’ active and informed participation is essential. Doing the readings in advance and coming to class and to section or seminar prepared to ask and respond to questions is a course requirement. At various points during the semester, students will be asked to lead discussions based on class assignments.

Section (331 only):
Sections will be devoted to review, analysis, and discussion of course concepts and readings. Sections will serve as a forum to develop written and oral communication skills. Students should come to discussion sections prepared to engage in an active intellectual exchange with their peers. Through writing assignments and participation in discussion, students will sharpen their thinking about common approaches to natural resources policy and management and the influences that shape the development and use of each approach. During most weeks, students will submit an essay (750-1000 words) on a topic assigned in advance. Assignments are listed in this syllabus. Essays will address topics directly related to course materials (lectures, readings, and section discussions). In this manner, course readings, lectures, in-class discussions, section activities, and writing assignments will be complementary and fully integrated.

Research Paper (631 only): Each student will complete a 30 pp. independent research paper on a subject of his or her choice. The objective of the assignment is to produce a literature review or empirical treatment of a specific issue related to course themes and students’ personal and professional interests. See 631 syllabus for deadlines.

Graduate Seminar (631 required): See last page of syllabus for schedule and readings. 9:00-10:30 am.
**COURSE POLICIES:**
All students in the course are responsible for all assignments made in class and posted to the Blackboard site. All students are responsible for enrolling themselves on this site immediately upon start of the term. To enroll, go to [http://blackboard.cornell.edu](http://blackboard.cornell.edu). All assignments with the exception of the preliminary exam and the energy policy debate preparation are to be submitted electronically (MS-Word compatible). No handwritten work will be accepted.

Each student in this course is expected to abide by the *Cornell University Code of Academic Integrity*. Any work submitted by a student in this course for academic credit will be the student's own work. This policy does not mean that students should avoid exchanging relevant information in and out of class. Sharing references, published sources, strategies to fulfill assignments (see final exam), and your own written work is encouraged. However, submitting work that is not your own and/or is improperly referenced is strictly forbidden. The *Code of Academic Integrity and Acknowledging the Work of Others* is found in the *Policy Notebook for the Cornell Community* and also on the web at [http://web.cornell.edu/UniversityFaculty/docs/AI.Acknow.pdf](http://web.cornell.edu/UniversityFaculty/docs/AI.Acknow.pdf)

While it has been said that forgiveness is easier to get than permission, all requests for deadline extensions and make-up exams must be forwarded in writing (by email) a week in advance of the scheduled date. Unexcused work submitted late will receive partial credit; one full letter grade deduction for each day late. Work submitted late due to documented emergencies (illness, family emergencies, etc.) or circumstances cleared with the instructor (e.g., religious holidays) will not be penalized.

The Teaching Assistant is available to discuss any questions or problems. If the TA is not able to address your concern, contact the instructor. Students in need of additional academic or personal assistance should consult the Counseling and Advising Office in 140 Roberts Hall [http://www.cals.cornell.edu/cals/current/advising/index.cfm](http://www.cals.cornell.edu/cals/current/advising/index.cfm). General service information is available at [http://www.sws.cornell.edu/OUR](http://www.sws.cornell.edu/OUR).

**SECTION POLICIES:**
1. Students should arrive promptly for section and be prepared to actively listen and engage in discussion and activities.
2. Section grades will be based on a combination of quality of responses to writing assignments and participation in the section discussions and related activities.
3. All writing assignments are to be submitted as MS-Word files, titled as follows: Author’s last name_First name_Assignment#.doc. For example, my first assignment would be submitted as Wolf_Steven_Assignment1.doc.
4. Most writing assignments are to be submitted through the Blackboard DropBox feature by Friday at midnight. Thus, assignment #1 will be due by midnight on Friday, February 1. The one exception to this due date will be Assignment #3 which will be due in that week's section.
5. Late assignments will be penalized one letter grade per day of tardiness unless permission to submit the assignment late is gained from the TA prior to the assignment’s original due date.
6. All writing assignments are to be thoroughly proofread for spelling and grammar.
7. Writing assignments are to be single spaced, typed in 12-point Times New Roman font and approximately 750-1000 words.
8. The TA will drop the lowest grade assigned to students’ writing assignments in calculating their semester writing grades.
9. Have fun and be creative in your responses to assignments and in the ideas you contribute to section discussions! Students are encouraged to apply the course themes and concepts to their own experience, interests, and empirical examples throughout course discussions and in responses to the writing assignments.
COURSE TEXTS (REQUIRED):


Selected readings: online collection of articles available through our Blackboard site

COURSE SCHEDULE AND OUTLINE

I. INTRODUCTION

1/21 Class introduction, procedures, materials, and expectations

II. SOCIAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT

1/23 Property Rights, Authority, and the Environment

G. Hardin’s analysis, Tragedy of the Commons, is a central reference for environmental planning and management. We will carefully review his central argument, his assumptions, and the implications of his conclusions. Kurlansky’s history of the cod fishery nicely illustrates elements of Hardin’s argument. Note also that the book Cod illustrates that environment is not simply a contested object manipulated by society. Natural resources shape historical development of society at local and transnational scales. While our course will not explore this theme in great detail, note that it is a two way street. Places (e.g., Gloucester), sectors (e.g., fisheries), institutions (e.g., slavery), and technologies (e.g., freezing) shape and are shaped by environment and environmental change.

Readings:

- G. Hardin, Tragedy of the Commons, http://dieoff.com/page95.htm (10 pp.)
- M. Kurlansky’s Cod, read the first half of the book.

1/28 Collective (In)Action

As Hardin tells us, and Kurlansky’s ecological history of the codfish demonstrates, many natural resources are open-access commons. In such cases, there are reasons to establish strong private property rights and/or external (state) control, and in fact, these approaches are widely employed. But what about collective self-regulation mechanisms for governing common property? Are cooperative solutions possible? Under what circumstances do they emerge? The Prisoner’s Dilemma is an exploration of such cooperative solutions.

Readings and Activity:

- M. Kurlansky’s Cod, complete the book.
- Play The Prisoner's Dilemma at http://www.princeton.edu/~mdaniels/PD/PD.html
  (Be sure to explore how the various decision rules you can assign to the computer affect outcomes and your strategies)

1/30 Common Property and Community-Based Resource Management
There is an important literature in direct dialogue with Hardin’s thesis. This view asserts that common pool resources can be sustainably managed through collective institutions. The role of collective institutions (community) vis-a-vis governmental control (state) and market-based (private) strategies will be a theme we return to more than once during the semester. An under-socialized view of the world leads to delegitimation of collective governance institutions, while an over-socialized view leads to romantic notions of coherence of collective structures and individuals’ capacity for self-restraint. The promise and performance of localized, collective institutions is a major point of controversy in contemporary environmental management research and policy.

Readings:


2/1 Writing Assignment 1 due: The theoretical lesson derived from the Prisoner’s Dilemma suggests that placing control of natural resources in the hands of local actors (i.e., establishing a communal property regime) can avert a tragedy of the commons under certain conditions. In formalizing the logic underlying collective action and place-based collective action, Elinor Ostrom identifies a set of principles that allow us to identify situations in which communal property arrangements are likely to function well. Draft an essay that summarizes the arguments of Hardin and Ostrom. Be sure to discuss what they share and how they differ.

2/4 Case 1: Tale of Two Fisheries - Cod versus Lobster

We will explore the issue of collective action and management by comparing the evolution and status of two major commercial fisheries—the North Atlantic cod fishery and the Maine lobster fishery.

Readings:


2/6 Limits to Community Governance

We conclude this course module with a critical examination of community and collective action as a social arrangement for sustainability. Globalization of environmental problems (e.g., biodiversity conservation, climate change, ozone depletion, chronic rural poverty) and the “dark side” of community governance as presented by Agrawal and Gibson suggest a need for careful consideration of capacity for community self-governance. Uphoff lays out a large number of key ideas for our course. If you find the vocabulary and ideas difficult in this theory article, keep working at it as it is well worth the investment.

Readings:


2/8 Writing assignment 2 due: Discuss the strengths and weaknesses of community-based solutions to environmental management challenges. Given the ambiguous status of community as a governance
body (e.g., Agrawal and Gibson), what is your opinion regarding how local people should be integrated into natural resource planning, policy, and management? Support your opinions with logical argumentation and examples.

III. DEFINING THE PROBLEM. DEFINING THE SOLUTION

The rats are jumping ship, but what does it mean? Is the ship sinking, or has the Pied Piper learned the right tune? How should we understand the state of the environment and the divergent logics that structure the environmental policy debate? On the one hand, we have evidence that finite resources are running out. Thus, the institutional challenge is to curb expanding economic activity as pursued by a growing population mobilizing ever more powerful nature-transforming technology. On the other hand, we have evidence that technical creativity has allowed people to respond to environmental change, enabling us to avoid ecological collapse while enhancing our quality of life. Thus, the institutional challenge is to devise and maintain social structures that unleash creative forces and support cooperative solutions to environmental problems. In this segment we will examine a variety of definitions of environmental problems and intervention strategies and we will explore the concept of discourse.

2/11 Chicken Little Meets The Mothers of Invention

Definition of the problem informs judgment of potential solutions. In other words, people tend to see what they are looking for. Tied to the divergent positions regarding institutional responses to environmental management challenges, there is an ongoing debate as to the nature of the problem. A pair of divergent viewpoints structure political and technical discourse of sustainability. Survivalism is based on belief that environmental limits must structure our approach to social policy; while the Promethean Response is that the solution to pollution is innovation. We will examine Dryzek’s discursive approach to analyzing environmental politics, and we will discuss these two very different schools of thought. Lomborg’s work and the ensuing controversy provide a high profile example of this fundamental cognitive and political divide.

Readings and Activity:

- Dryzek, Ch. 1-3
- Go on our Blackboard site go to External Links ⇒ Lomborg, backlash and back-backlash folder. Read “The truth about the environment” and then examine postings on the other links listed to gain familiarity with The Skeptical Environmentalist and the ensuing controversy.

NOTE DUE DATE

2/11 or 2/13 (In section) Writing assignment 3 due in section: This assignment is intended to help you prepare to participate in a debate to be held in section this week. The question in debate is whether the United States should adopt energy policy prescriptions that emerge from the Survivalist discourse or the Promethean discourse. Monday's lecture will compare these two positions. The Monday section should look over Dryzek, Ch. 1-3 to decide which position fits. Would you classify yourself as a Survivalist or Promethian? What types of specific policy directions or recommendations would you put forward to guide development of a national energy policy? Come to section prepared to ally yourself with one side or the other for purposes of debate. Bring to section a one-page description of your position (may be structured in bullets. No blackboard submission this week.
2/13  Scientific integrity in policy processes
In recent years there has been considerable attention devoted to censorship of science, specifically by the current White House administration. We will explore the basis of these claims and the remedies proposed by various actors.

**Readings:**
- Waxman bill: Restoring Scientific Integrity in Policymaking - U.S. Senator (CA-D)

**Optional Readings:**
- White House Summary Response to UCS Report – President’s Science Advisor

2/13  SPECIAL EVENING SESSION - 198 Statler Hall: “Koyaanisqatsi: Life Out of Balance”
Movie screening in 198 Statler Hall, 7:00 - 9:30 pm. This award winning film will leave you breathless and raise fundamental questions regarding modernity, technology, the human condition and pathways forward for society and nature.

IV. INSTITUTIONS AND GOVERNANCE

2/18  Evolution in Environmental Governance
Having introduced our general topic for the semester, we will take a step back from debates over problems and solutions and develop a set of theoretical concepts useful for conducting institutional analysis. M&K lay out their historical, comparative analytic approach to analysis of environmental governance.

**Readings:**
- Mazmanian & Kraft, Preface and Ch. 1

2/20  Roots of Social Arrangements
State, market and community are concepts at the heart of much social science and theories of sustainable development. We will spend a bit of time reflecting on these central institutions from a historical point of view in order to develop a foundation for later discussions of contemporary dynamics. As quoted in our weblink: “The message of The Federalist reads: no happiness without liberty, no liberty without self-government, no self-government without constitutionalism, no constitutionalism without morality - and none of these great goods without stability and order.” Our task is to understand this institutional plurality and interdependence.

**Readings and Activity:**
- Locke, Of Property (1690), http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/D/1651-1700/locke/ECCG/govern05.htm

2/22 Writing assignment 4 due: This assignment is intended to help you begin thinking about potential topics and research questions for the policy brief you will develop as part of a group. Reflect on an issue of interest to you that relates to the course. How do the concepts that we have discussed thus far come into play when you consider the issue? What are the roles of the state actors, economic incentives and community-based or civil society actors? What are the implications of the organizational and institutional arrangements that you identify? What other aspects of governance are relevant to the issue, and in what ways do these interest you? Explain briefly how the issue might be bounded and the question defined for purposes of this research assignment.

V. INSTITUTIONAL DESIGN AND APPLICATIONS

2/25 Governance Strategies, Governance Tools
What are the basic tools available to us to manage social systems and pursue sustainability? We will examine the basic categories and identify strengths and weaknesses of each. Also, through a survey of selected topics -- air quality, water quality and open space management -- we will identify how the relative importance of the various institutional mechanisms has shifted over the past 30 years in the U.S.

Readings:
- Mazmanian & Kraft, Ch. 3, 4 & 5

2/27 Governance Strategies, Governance Tools (cont.)

Readings:
- Dryzek Ch. 4, 5 & 6

2/29 Writing assignment 5 due: Mazmanian and Kraft present an evolutionary account of environmental policy and management strategies, and they use a series of case studies to flesh out their theoretical claims. Define and illustrate the core features of Epoch 1 and Epoch 2 and discuss how the three discourses Dryzek presents in chapters 4-6 appear in each epoch. Critically discuss the factors that M&K identify as motivating the shift to Epoch 2, and evaluate the extent to which their evolutionary narrative explains the events described in the case studies and the ways in which it falls short.

3/3 Case Study 2: Historical differences in the management of federal, state and private forest land in the Coast Range of Oregon - Jim Watkins

3/5 Case Study 3: Information-Intensive Agriculture
Resource conservation in agriculture has important voluntary elements. That is to say, beyond regulatory compliance, for example, laws structuring pesticide and animal waste behaviors, farmers’ decisions about land, water and chemical use shape environmental quality. In this context, providing farmers with high quality technical information and support services to use tools and techniques that support their profitability while simultaneously conserving natural resources is a major policy focus. How should this
type of win-win outcome be pursued? What are the upsides and downsides to voluntary approaches? We will examine trends in agricultural technology and the institutions underlying technological change in agriculture to identify both strengths and weaknesses of the current policy strategy.

Readings and Activity:


3/7 Writing assignment 6 due: Identify a book, journal article, magazine article, or news story that addresses a contemporary example of market-based environmental governance. Using this example, explain how profit-motive and self-interest are implicated and how they contribute to resource conservation. Assess the extent to which market relations will ensure resource conservation and ecological integrity, and identify problems or challenges that arise as a result of relying on the market to achieve these goals. Is there a role for governmental actors or civil society organizations? Is there a technological or scientific dimension to the example, and how does it influence the management approach and outcomes?

3/10 Case study 4: Kyoto and beyond: carbon markets and carbon mitigation

In addition to addressing one the pressing issues of our time, examination of the Kyoto Protocol provides us with an opportunity to consider global or transnational environmental governance. Beyond understanding the basics of Kyoto implementation, we will survey contemporary policy responses in the U.S.

3/12 Preliminary Exam – in class

3/17 – 3/21 SPRING BREAK

3/24 Toward sustainable communities

Readings:

- Mazmanian & Kraft, Ch. 6, 7 & 8

VI. INTEGRATED APPROACHES TO SUSTAINABILITY

3/26 Analytical issues in assessing participation and devolution

Be sure to have read Pretty and Ward’s article in advance in order to join in on what will be a fast paced session.

Readings:


3/28 Writing assignment 7 due: Define and critically analyze the functional role of social capital in the context of environmental governance. In developing your response, analyze how Pretty and Ward’s arguments and their model of sequential stages groups move through fits with Mazmanian and Kraft’s vision of Epoch III, using examples from M&K’s chapters 6-8 as appropriate.
3/31 Participatory approaches in natural resource management and policy
Contemporary thinking emphasizes decentralization and local participation as key elements of natural resource policy. Why should local people participate in decision-making? What are the benefits of involving local stakeholders in environmental management, and what are the techniques for doing so?

Readings:
- Dryzek, Ch. 9, and 10

VII. INTERNALIZATION OF ECOLOGICAL LIMITS: CAN WE GET THERE FROM HERE?

4/2 Ecological modernization and industrial ecology
Ecological modernization is a field within environmental sociology that seeks to explain and advance conservation of the “material sustenance base of society” (natural resources) under capitalism. Ecological modernization and its critics provide us with a useful way to make sense of a number of important developments we have encountered thus far in the course, notably the roles of technology and institutions in the search for sustainability. Industrial ecology is a more technically grounded literature that seeks to develop and promote pollution prevention and clean technology. As sets of ideas that contribute to eco-rationalization of industrial society, these related fields inform our understanding of much environmental policy.

Readings:
- Dryzek Ch. 8

4/4 Writing assignment 8 due: Working in your policy brief teams, prepare a summary of your group’s progress and plans on the policy brief. Identify and explain the question that you will analyze, the analytic approach(es) you will use, and the specific responsibilities of each team member. Identify sources of information and data you have identified to support your work. Briefly explain the relevance of each source to your brief. Identify whom each member of the group will interview and what insights and information you seek to gain from each of these interviews. Also, use this writing assignment to call our attention to impediments your group is facing and input that you may need from us.

4/7 Second Industrial Revolution
We will critically analyze potential and constraints of industrial ecology. More generally, we will examine what businesses can and cannot do, as well as the role of the state and civil society in shaping potential for business to play a positive role in conservation.

4/9 Friction and sustainability: Learning challenges for firms, sectors and territories
We will examine prospects for adaptation as required under a program of ecological modernization. Beyond changes in regulations and the politics which spawn regulation, I call for an analysis and an advancement of learning capabilities underlying a transition to a different nature-society relationship.

Reading:
- Wolf, S. and E. Primmer. Between Incentives and Action (Blackboard → Course Documents)
4/11 Writing assignment 9 due: Reflect on the recent lessons and discussions regarding the implementation of institutional change, particularly in the cases of industrial ecology and sustainable development. What actors need to be involved and what factors must be considered for change to be effectively implemented? What constraints limit the ability to bring about change, and how can those constraints be reduced? In particular, do you see a role for social science; if so, what is that role?

4/14 Adaptive management and sustainability – GUEST LECTURE: Professor Evan Cooch

An adaptive and flexible approach is often sought for understanding and managing interactions between human and natural components of the ecosystem. Adaptive management, more technically, suggests that managers and stakeholders should learn from the results of management actions or through purposeful experiments. This learning process and the feedbacks it creates are important for establishing goals related to sustainability, selecting approaches to achieve these goals, and measuring progress towards them. An overview of various ways adaptive management has been defined and used, as well as links between AM and sustainability will be explored in this lecture.

Reading:

4/16 Sustainability through integrated governance and conservation competencies

Analysts point to enrichment of inclusive, deliberative processes for rule making and resource allocation as the basis of future sustainability. In this final set of readings, we explore this optimistic message. We also consider the fact that many of the most recently recognized environmental problems represent global environmental change (e.g., climate change and biodiversity loss). The grand scale and over-arching level of organization at which these phenomena affect society means that they carry extraordinary risks and, for some of the same reasons, are very difficult to resolve.

Readings:
- Mazmanian & Kraft, Ch. 9
- Dryzek, Ch. 11

4/21 Policy Brief Presentations

4/23 Course Wrap-Up - Synthesis and review of course material. Final exam will be presented.

4/28 Policy Brief Presentations

4/28 SPECIAL SECTION MEETING FOR ALL STUDENTS
(Wed. sections will meet with Mon. section)
SPECIAL VENUE 304 FERNOW HALL

4/30 Policy Brief Presentations (groups 10-12). Written policy brief due by midnight

Final Exams Due Date 5/8 9:30 pm

Format will be a take-home, open book essay. Exam will allow students to demonstrate an ability to apply concepts developed in readings, lectures, discussions, writing assignments and policy briefs. Questions will be posted to Assignments tab of Blackboard on 4/30. Submit exam electronically before 9:30 pm on Thursday 5/8/08. Students must write and submit their exams individually, but students are
invited to discuss *general strategies* for drafting essays with their peers. Writing in teams is not permitted.

- Submit final exam electronically through Blackboard’s DropBox feature. Name your file as follows: LASTNAME_FIRSTINITIAL_FINALEXAM_ENVGOV. For example, my exam file would be named WOLF_S_FINALEXAM_ENVGOV.
Friday 2/1 – Introduction and discussion

2/15 Institutional Arrangements

2/29 Start time 10:00 am Participation and relational networks (paper topics due in writing)

3/7 (NOTE DATE CHANGE) Institutional plurality/hybridity
We will pursue an analysis of institutional interdependence. Come prepared to discuss this perspective applied to your own empirical research.
Evans, P. Volume 94: State-Society Synergy: Government and Social Capital in Development Introduction: Development Strategies Across the Public-Private Divide
http://repositories.cdlib.org/uciaspubs/research/94/2/
3/28  **Ecological modernization** (Abstract and detailed outline for research papers due)

4/11  **Institutional analysis and design**
Anderson, J. Four considerations for decentralized forest management.
Ostrom, E. and H. Nagendra, 2006. Insights on linking forests, trees, and people from the air, on the ground, and in the laboratory. National Academy of Sciences.

5/7  **Student research presentations**

5/9  **Student research presentations**

5/9  **Graduate research papers due**
Submit research papers due for NTRES 631 in hard copy to Ms. Ellen Harris in 118 Fernow Hall. Also, submit electronic copy through the dropbox feature in Blackboard. Name your file as follows: LASTNAME_FIRSTINITIAL_PAPER_ENVGOV631. For example, my file would be named WOLF_S_PAPER_ENVGOV631.