

Environmental Justice

Winter 2020

Political Science 348, Tuesdays and Thursdays 2-4, AH 30

D. Salazar, salazard@wwu.edu

Arntzen 401

Office Hours: Tuesday 12-1; Wednesday 2-4; other times by appointment

<http://www.wwu.edu/faculty/salazar/>

Political scientist Harold Lasswell focused his study of politics on the use of power to shape the distribution of value in societies. He is widely quoted as [defining politics](#) as the process of deciding “who gets what, when, and how.” This quarter we will examine how power shapes and is reinforced by the construction of environmental inequality. That is, with respect to spaces, or environments, we will ask “who gets what, when, and how”? Why do some of us have the good fortune to breathe clean air, drink safe water, and wander through gorgeous forests while others drink leaded water and have no access to fresh fruit? Still others harvest the fruit, exposing their bodies to an array of toxic substances. We will examine how the exercise of power in political economic institutions shapes differential access to varying environments.

Environmental policies and practices distribute various environmental benefits and burdens as well as opportunities to participate in environmental policy making. During the 1980s, movements challenging environmental injustices emerged in the United States. Activists argued that their communities endured disproportionate costs of industrial development, including exposure to various toxic substances. During the next several decades, claims expanded to address access to environmental goods (*e.g.*, clean air, open space, good neighborhoods, healthy food) and acknowledgement of the environmental expertise of communities of color and other marginalized groups.

Our goal is to examine the extent and nature of environmental inequality, how communities have organized to frame claims of environmental injustice, and how political institutions have processed these claims. Our discussions will draw on concepts from several areas of political science and environmental studies. Among the most central concepts are social justice, racism, class, and sustainability.

Texts

Reading will be drawn from the following books and a number of article-length manuscripts.

Pauli, Benjamin J. 2019. *Flint Fights Back: Environmental Justice and Democracy in the Flint Water Crisis*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Walker, Gordon. 2012. *Environmental Justice: Concepts, Evidence and Politics*. New York: Routledge.

Grades and Requirements

Grades are a source of unpleasantness and ambivalence for me. I am not at all sure of their value; their assignment often reveals a gulf in understanding between students and me. But assigning grades is part of my job and I am committed to doing it with integrity. Thus I do my best to assign letter grades that reflect the quality of students' work. In my experience, some of that work is excellent; some is good;

much of it is fair; and some is indeed poor. For the purpose of calculating grades, each assignment will be weighted according to the table below.

Assignment	Percentage of Grade
Environmental Inequality Paper (2/5)	20%
Policy/Governance Paper (2/19)	20%
Research Paper (3/11)	35%
Final Examination (3/17)	25%

Writing

Because writing proficiency is a central attribute of good scholarship, we will devote particular attention to improving the quality of your writing. We will take some class time to discuss common challenges in writing. In advance of those discussions, I offer the following suggestions regarding writing. First, use words economically. If a word, sentence, or paragraph is not essential to your analysis, omit it. Second, organize your effort by constructing an outline before you write. An outline will help to discipline your analysis. Third, do not submit your first draft; few of us are sufficiently talented to inflict our first drafts on others. Plan your schedule so that you have sufficient time to complete a draft of each assignment and then return to it at least a day later. Re-read it and revise to ensure clarity. Fourth, consider your audience. For this course, you may assume an audience of college students who have not studied environmental justice. You should demonstrate your regard for that audience by defining important concepts and presenting clear explanations that do not unduly tax your readers' patience. Fifth, for all assignments, be sure to cite all sources and append a list of references; please use parenthetical citation. Within the text, cite the author and date for ideas that are not your own and for facts that are not common knowledge. When you quote another author or paraphrase a very specific claim, also cite the page number on which the relevant passage may be found. Try to paraphrase when possible, avoiding extended quotations. You may use [APSA](#), [APA](#), or [Chicago](#) style for parenthetical citation. Finally, there are rules or conventions of grammar, punctuation, citation, and syntax. Please follow these rules.

For further discussion of grammar and style, you may wish to consult Jack Lynch's, [Guide to Grammar and Style](#), and William Strunk and E.B. White's, *The Elements of Style*, which is available in most bookstores.

Assignments

Midterm Papers

The first two papers will draw primarily on course reading and class discussion. These papers should range from four to five pages.

Constructing and Evaluating Evidence of Environmental Inequality: During the first several weeks of class we will review how scholars and activists have constructed a body of evidence regarding the distribution of environmental quality. Though recent research in this area consistently finds a relation between race and environmental quality, early research generated mixed findings. We will examine how both methods and theory have developed in this area of study. We will also review the Environmental Protection Agency's, EJSCREEN, an online tool that can be used to identify several kinds of environmental inequality. For this paper, you will have the option of using EJSCREEN to compare

environmental burdens experienced by two neighborhoods or responding to a question that I will distribute one week before the paper is due.

Environmental Justice Policy/Governance: The Trump Administration has initiated efforts to reverse many environmental protection policies. After several class sessions reviewing the structure of environmental (justice) policy, we will look at some of the Trump Administration proposals. You have two options for this paper. One is to select a Trump Administration policy proposal, describe progress implementing it, and analyze how it might affect environmental justice. A second option is to respond to a question about environmental justice policy that I will distribute one week before the paper is due

State Environmental Justice Movement Research This project has both data collection and writing components. Students will select a state and conduct newspaper searches for the period 1985-2020 on the topics of environmental justice and environmental racism. After collecting relevant news articles, students will build a database of environmental justice movement activity for their state. I will provide an Excel spreadsheet to ease your data organization task. After completing your database, you will write a paper (6-8 pages) describing the development of the movement in your state. Students may choose to work with partners on data collection to compare two or more states. Please consult with me before you begin research.

Final Examination: The exam will include two essay questions. I will distribute a set of four questions one week before the examination. On the day of the examination I will select two questions and you will have the entire class period to respond. You may bring one page of notes to the examination.

Instructor's Policies

Accommodations: Please let me know if you require any accommodations regarding class sessions or examinations. I will work with the *Disability Access Center*, <https://disability.wvu.edu>, to provide appropriate accommodations.

Western also has a policy to ensure *religious accommodations*. You may find the relevant information here: <https://syllabi.wvu.edu>.

Academic Honesty: The core requirement of academic honesty is that we do not take credit for others' work. When we draw on the work of others (through direct quotation, the use of ideas developed by other authors, or by making factual claims), we must acknowledge original sources. I am happy to discuss any concerns regarding citation with you. You may find information about academic dishonesty at <http://libguides.wvu.edu/plagiarism>. You may find a more general discussion about academic integrity at <http://www.wvu.edu/integrity/>.

Class Sessions and Assigned Reading

- Please complete reading **before** the class session for which it is assigned.
- Please bring the texts to class so that we may refer to them during our discussions.
- The schedule below is tentative and may change during the quarter; you are responsible for being aware of any changes.

Date	Topic/Reading
------	---------------

	<p>Part 1 Introduction: Inequality, Politics, and Environment</p>
1/7	<p>Environmental Injustice as Social Problem and Policy Focus Toxic Wastes and Race at Twenty, 1-15 Trump's EPA Concludes Environmental Racism Is Real</p>
1/9	<p>Environmental Justice as Social Problem II Walker, Chapters 1-2</p> <p>Recommended: Pursuing a Toxic Agenda Stroud, Ellen. 1999. Troubled Waters in Ecotopia: Environmental Racism in Portland, Oregon. <i>Radical History Review</i> 74:65-95.** Bullard, Robert, D., Glenn S. Johnson, and Beverly H. Wright. 1997. Confronting Environmental Injustice: It's the Right Thing to Do. 1997. <i>Race, Gender & Class</i> 5(1):63-79. Pulido, Laura. 2016. Geographies of Race and Ethnicity II: Environmental Racism, Racial Capitalism, and State-Sanctioned Violence. <i>Progress in Human Geography</i> 41(4):524-533.**</p>
1/14	<p>Environment and Race Walker, Chapter 3 Macias, Thomas. 2016. Environmental Risk Perception Among Race and Ethnic Groups in the United States. <i>Ethnicities</i> 16(1):111-129.</p> <p>Recommended: Toxic Wastes and Race at Twenty, Chapter 2 Lipsitz, George. 2007. The Racialization of Space and the Spacialization of Race. <i>Landscape Journal</i> 26(1):10-23. Macias, Thomas. 2016. Ecological Assimilation: Race, Ethnicity, and the Inverted Gap of Environmental Concern. <i>Society & Natural Resources</i> 29(1):3-19. Salazar, Debra J. 2015. From Orchards to Cubicles: Work and Space in Silicon Valley. In Chris Robertson and Jennifer Westerman, <i>Working on Earth: The Intersection of Working-Class Studies and Environmental Justice</i>. Reno: University of Nevada Press. Ballew, Matthew T., Matthew H. Goldberg, Seth A. Rosenthal, Matthew J. Cutler, and Leiserowitz. 2019. Climate Change Activism Among Latino and White Americans. <i>Frontiers in Communication</i> 3(58):1-15. https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fcomm.2018.00058/full?utm_source=Email_to_authors_&utm_medium=Email&utm_content=T1_11.5e1_author&utm_campaign=Email_publication&field&journalName=Frontiers_in_Communication&id=425909</p>
	<p>Part 2 Empirical Evidence of Environmental Inequality</p>
1/16	<p>Assessing Inequality I Walker, Chapter 4 Pastor, Manuel, James Sadd, and Rachel Morello-Frosch. 2007. Still Toxic After All These Years: Air Quality and Environmental Justice in the San Francisco Bay Area. Center for</p>

	<p>Justice, Tolerance & Community, University of California, Santa Cruz. Available at http://cjtc.ucsc.edu/pub_reports.html.</p> <p>Recommended:</p> <p>Anderton, Douglas L., Andy B. Anderson, John Michael Oakes, and Michael R. Fraser. 1994. Environmental Equity: The Demographics of Dumping. <i>Demography</i> 31:229-248.</p> <p>Dillon, Lindsey. 2014. Race, Waste, and Space: Brownfield Redevelopment and Environmental Justice at the Hunters Point Shipyard. <i>Antipode</i> 46(5):1205-1221.</p> <p>Park, Lisa Sun-Hee and David N. Pellow. 2004. Racial Formation, Environmental Racism, and the Emergence of Silicon Valley. <i>Ethnicities</i> 4(3):403-424.</p>
1/21	<p><u>Assessing Inequality II</u> Walker, Chapter 5</p> <p>Pulido, Laura. 2000. Rethinking Environmental Racism: White Privilege and Urban Development in Southern California. <i>Annals of the Association of American Geographers</i> 90(1):12-41.</p> <p>EJ Screen (download user guide). Look at webpage before class. We will use in class.</p> <p>Recommended:</p> <p>Toxic Wastes and Race at Twenty, Chapter 3</p> <p>Ard, Kerry. 2015. Trends in Exposure to Industrial Air Toxins for Different Racial and Socioeconomic Groups: A Spatial and Temporal Examination of Environmental Inequality in the U.S. From 1995 to 2004. <i>Social Science Research</i>. 53: 375-390.</p> <p>Goodling, Erin, Jamaal Green, and Nathan McClintock. 2015. Uneven Development of the Sustainable City: Shifting Capital in Portland, Oregon. <i>Urban Studies and Planning Faculty Publications and Presentations</i>. Paper 107. http://pdxscholar.library.pdx.edu/usp_fac/107</p> <p>Hanafi, Elyes. 2017. The Spatial Formation Theory: Transcending the Race-Class Binary in Environmental Justice Literature. <i>Antipode</i> 49(2):397-415.</p> <p>Liévanos, Raoul S. 2019. Racialized Structural Vulnerability: Neighborhood Racial Composition, Concentrated Disadvantage, and Fine Particulate Matter in California. <i>International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health</i>. 16:1-24.</p> <p>Pulido, Laura. 1996. A Critical Review of the Methodology of Environmental Racism Research. <i>Antipode</i> 28(2):142-159.</p> <p>Pulido, Laura. 2015. Geographies of Race and Ethnicity 1: White Supremacy vs White Privilege in Environmental Racism Research. <i>Progress in Human Geography</i> 39(6):809-817.**</p> <p>Salazar, Debra J., Stacy Clauson, Troy D. Abel, and Aran Clauson. 2019. Race, Income, and Environmental Inequality in the U.S. States, 1990-2014. <i>Social Science Quarterly</i> 100(3):592-603.</p>
1/23	<p><u>Assessing Inequality III</u></p> <p>Hooks, Gregory and Chad L. Smith. 2004. The Treadmill of Destruction: National Sacrifice Areas and Native Americans. <i>American Sociological Review</i> 69(4):558-575.</p> <p>Recommended:</p> <p>Muller, Christopher, Robert J. Sampson, and Alix S. Winter. 2018. Environmental Inequality: The Social Causes and Consequences of Lead Exposure. <i>Annual Review of Sociology</i> 44:263-282.</p>

	<p>Kraft, Michael E. and Denise Scheberle. 1995. Environmental Justice and the Allocation of Risk: The Case of Lead and Public Health. <i>Policy Studies Journal</i> 23(1):113-122.</p> <p>Sampson, Robert J. and Alix S. Winter. 2016. The Racial Ecology of Lead Poisoning: Toxic Inequality in Chicago Neighborhoods, 1995-2013. <i>Du Bois Review</i> 13(2):261-283.**</p>
1/28	<p>Distributing Environmental Goods Walker, Chapter 7</p> <p>Rigolon, Alessandro, Matthew Browning, and Viniece Jennings. 2018. Inequities in the Quality of Urban Park Systems: An Environmental Justice Investigation of Cities in the United States. <i>Landscape and Urban Planning</i> 178:156-169.</p> <p>Recommended:</p> <p>Garcia, Jennifer J., Gilbert C. Gee, and Malia Jones. 2016. A Critical Race Theory Analysis of Public Park Features in Latino Immigrant Neighborhoods. <i>Du Bois Review</i> 13(2):397-411.</p> <p>Kibel, Paul Stanton. 2007. Access to Parkland: Environmental Justice at East Bay Parks. San Francisco: City Parks Project, Golden Gate University. http://digitalcommons.law.ggu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1001&context=eljc</p> <p>Wolch, Jennifer. 2012. Places to Play: Environmental Justice and the Distribution of Urban Parks and Recreation in Los Angeles. Available at: http://www.aiacc.org/2012/05/29/20792/.</p>
	<p>Part 3 Public Policy</p>
1/30	<p>The EPA and Environmental Justice I</p> <p>Harrison, Jill Lindsey. 2019. <i>From the Inside Out: The Fight for Environmental Justice Within Government Agencies</i>. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. (Chapter 2) Executive Order 12898</p> <p>Recommended:</p> <p>Konisky, David M. 2015. Environmental Justice Delayed: Failed Promises, Hope for the Future. <i>Environment</i> 58(2):4-15.**</p>
2/4	<p>The EPA and Environmental Justice II</p> <p>Harrison, Jill Lindsey. 2019. <i>From the Inside Out: The Fight for Environmental Justice within Government Agencies</i>. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. (Chapter 3)</p> <p>Outka, Uma and Elizabeth Kronk Warner. 2019. Reversing Course on Environmental Justice Under the Trump Administration. <i>Wake Forest Law Review</i> 54(2):393-422.</p> <p>Recommended:</p> <p>Pursuing a Toxic Agenda 78 Environmental Rules on the Way Out Under Trump</p> <p>Logan, Judy. 2018. Liberty and Justice for All: An Empirical Approach to Environmental Racism. <i>Wake Forest Law Review</i> 53(4):739-766.</p>
2/5	<p>Environmental Inequality Paper Due (4 PM)</p>
2/6	<p>The EPA and Environmental Justice III</p>

	<p>Teodoro, Manuel P., Mellie Heider, and David Switzer. 2018. U.S. Environmental Policy Implementation on Tribal Lands: Trust, Neglect, and Justice. <i>Policy Studies Journal</i> 46(1):37-59.</p> <p>Recommended: London, Jonathan, Julie Sze, and Raoul S. Lievanos. 2008. Problems, Promise, Progress, and Perils: Critical Reflections on Environmental Justice Policy Implementation in California. <i>UCLA Journal of Environmental Law and Policy</i>. 26(2):256-289. http://escholarship.org/uc/item/2hb823dd</p>
2/11	<p><u>The Trump Administration, Race, and Environmental Injustice</u> Pulido, Laura, Tianna Bruno, Cristina Faiver-Serna, and Cassandra Galentine. 2019. Environmental Deregulation, Spectacular Racism, and White Nationalism in the Trump Era. <i>Annals of the Association of American Geographers</i> 109(2): 520-532. Also see Laura Pulido's Data on Trump Administration</p>
2/13	<p><u>The State and Environmental Justice</u> Kohl, Ellen. 2019. "When I Take Off My Hat": Using Intersectional Theories to Examine Environmental Justice Governance. <i>The Professional Geographer</i> 71(4):645-653. Pulido, Laura, Ellen Kohl, and Nicole-Marie Cotton. 2016. State Regulation and Environmental Justice: The Need for Strategy Reassessment. <i>Capitalism Nature Socialism</i> 27(2):12-31.</p> <p>Recommended: Harrison, Jill Lindsey. 2017. 'We Do Ecology Not Sociology': Interactions Among Bureaucrats and the Undermining of Regulatory Agencies' Environmental Justice Efforts. <i>Environmental Sociology</i>, 3(3):197-212.</p>
	<p>Part 4 Environmental Justice and Democracy: Flint</p>
2/18	<p><u>Theorizing Environmental Justice</u> Harrison, Jill Lindsey. 2014. Neoliberal Environmental Justice: Mainstream Ideas of Justice in Political Conflict over Agricultural Pesticides in the United States. <i>Environmental Politics</i> 23(4):650-669. Schlosberg, David. 2013. Theorising Environmental Justice: The Expanding Sphere of a Discourse. <i>Environmental Politics</i> 22(1):37-55.</p> <p>Recommended: Salazar, Debra J. and Donald K. Alper. 2011. Justice and Environmentalisms in the British Columbia and Pacific Northwest Environmental Movements. <i>Society & Natural Resources</i> 24(8):767-784.</p>
2/19	<p><u>Policy/Governance Paper Due (4 PM)</u></p>
2/20	<p><u>Emergence of a Crisis</u> Pauli, Introduction, Chapter 1</p>
2/25	<p><u>Narratives of a Crisis</u></p>

	<p>Pauli, Chapters 2-4</p> <p>Pulido, Laura. 2016. Flint, Environmental Racism, and Racial Capitalism. <i>Capitalism Nature Socialism</i> 27(3):1-16.</p>
2/27	<p>Mobilization</p> <p>Pauli, Chapters 5-6</p>
3/3	<p>Citizenship, Science, and Democracy</p> <p>Pauli, Chapters 7-8</p> <p>Recommended:</p> <p>Ranganathan, Malini. 2016. Thinking with Flint: Racial Liberalism and the Roots of an American Water Tragedy. <i>Capitalism Nature Socialism</i> 27(3):17-33.</p>
	<p>Part 5 Environmental Injustice</p>
3/5	<p>Climate Justice and Struggles Against Colonialism</p> <p>Walker, Chapter 8</p> <p>Schlosberg, David and Lisette B. Collins. 2014. From Environmental to Climate Justice: Climate Change and the Discourse of Environmental Justice. <i>Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews. Climate Change</i> 5(May/June):359-374.</p> <p>Whyte, Kyle, Jared L. Talley, and Julia D. Gibson. 2019. Indigenous Mobility Traditions, Colonialism, and the Anthropocene. <i>Mobilities</i> 14(3):319-335.</p> <p>Indigenous Environmental Network: Look through progress report.</p> <p>Recommended:</p> <p>Norman, Emma S. 2017. Standing Up for Inherent Rights: The Role of Indigenous-Led Activism in Protecting Sacred Waters and Ways of Life. <i>Society & Natural Resources</i> 30(4):537-553.</p> <p>Pellow, David Naguib. 2012. Climate Disruption in the Global South and in African American Communities: Key Issues, Frameworks, and Possibilities for Climate Justice. Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. http://jointcenter.org/research/climate-disruption-global-south-and-african-american-communities-key-issues-frameworks-and</p> <p>White, Kyle Powys. 2016. Is It Colonial Déjà Vu? Indigenous Peoples and Climate Injustice. Available at: https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2925277 **</p>
3/10	<p>Pesticides</p> <p>Nash, Linda. 2004. The Fruits of Ill-Health: Pesticides and Workers' Bodies in Post-World War II California. <i>Osiris</i> 19:203-219.</p> <p>Freinkel, Susan. 2103. Warning Signs: How Pesticides Harm the Young Brain. <i>The Nation</i>, 298(13):12-22.</p> <p>Agricultural Worker Protection Standard CHAMACOS</p> <p>Recommended:</p> <p>Barbour, Madison and Julie Guthman. 2018. (En)gendering Exposure: Pregnant Farmworkers and the Inadequacy of Pesticide Notification. <i>Journal of Political Ecology</i> 25:332-349.</p>

	<p>Getz, Christy, and Sandy Brown, and Aimee Shreck. 2008. Class Politics and Agricultural Exceptionalism in California's Organic Agriculture Movement. <i>Politics & Society</i> 36(4):478-507.</p> <p>Gordon, Robert. 1999. Poisons in the Fields: The United Farm Workers, Pesticides, and Environmental Politics. <i>Pacific Historical Review</i> 68(1): 51-77.</p> <p>Perkins, Tracy E. 2012. Women's Pathways Into Activism: Rethinking the Women's Environmental Justice Narrative in California's San Joaquin Valley. <i>Organization & Environment</i> 25(1):76-94.</p> <p>Pulido, Laura and Devon Peña. 1998. Environmentalism and Positionality: The Early Pesticide Campaign of the United Farm Worker Organizing Committee, 1965-1971. <i>Race, Gender & Class</i> 6(1):33-50.</p> <p>Saxton, Dvera I. 2015. Strawberry Fields as Extreme Environments: The Ecobiopolitics of Farmworker Health. <i>Medical Anthropology</i> 34(2):166-183.</p>
3/11	<u>State Environmental Justice Movement Research Paper Due</u>
3/12	<p><u>Summing Up</u></p> <p>Pulido, Laura and Juan De Lara. 2018. Reimagining 'Justice' in Environmental Justice: Radical Ecologies, Decolonial Thought and the Black Radical Tradition. <i>Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space</i> 1(1-2):76-98.</p>
3/17 1-3 PM	<u>Final Examination</u>

Appendix: Student Learning Objectives

Of late, Western (along with many other universities) has taken great interest in the practice of assessment. One of the consequences of this interest is a requirement that faculty list student learning objectives on their syllabi (as opposed to narrating a direction of inquiry in a paragraph). Please do not let the following limit what you take from your work in this class.

1. Possess substantive knowledge in the disciplines of political science, geography, and sociology related to the phenomenon of environmental injustice and public policies that address it.
2. Exhibit analytical skills in interpreting data related to claims about environmental (in)equality.
3. Demonstrate writing competence.
4. Engage in independent research. The writing assignments will allow you to practice research (independently).
5. Demonstrate critical, independent thinking about politics and public life as related to environment and social justice.