

Syllabus for Spring 2014

## Environmental Values, Movements, and Policy MAST 692-010 and UAPP 692-010

Rev. 2 May 2014

Tu & Th, 2:00–3:15 PM, Pearson 304 (= Studio C) & Cannon 203

Some weeks we will meet Monday 3:30 - 4:45, same locations

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### COURSE TOPIC

This graduate seminar will examine citizens' beliefs and values, voluntary groups in the environmental movement, and the ways in which environmental policy is determined by a combination of citizens' views, nongovernmental groups' advocacy, politics, and scientists' advice.

Regarding citizens' beliefs and values, this seminar will go deeper than the analytic level of most public opinion surveys, to explore the underlying values and cultural models which manifest themselves in support for or opposition to particular policies. We will examine cases in which the understandings held by laypeople are very different from our understanding as policy analysts or scientists--yet are well developed, not just ignorance. Regarding non-governmental environmental groups, the seminar will examine case studies revealing how these groups interact with the policy process, from whaling to global warming.

We will attempt to understand questions such as: In what ways do ordinary people (non-scientists, non-policy analysts) conceptualize and understand environmental problems? How much do voters really care about environmental values, when they conflict with other priorities? Is environmental concern in the US stratified by income or ethnicity? How can an understanding of voter's perspectives be used to advance environmentally-beneficial policies? How are environmental activists (activists pro- and anti-environment) different from other voters? How have environmental groups evolved, and how do they affect both the public and the policy process? As a policy is subjected to public hearings and eventual implementation, what are the differing roles and perspectives of agency staff, scientists, environmental groups, and citizens? Several environmental issues are covered, with public reactions to offshore wind one topic that is covered in more depth.

### SEMINAR FORMAT

The seminar will be conducted as a weekly discussion of assigned articles; weeks are numbered below. All participants must read the articles for that class prior to the class (the "background" readings are not required).

Seminars will be recorded and, with a UD login, can be reviewed later, or in case you missed a class, at: <http://udcapture.udel.edu/2014s/mast692/> This requires each student to sign that they agree to be recorded.

## READINGS

Readings draw from three required books and the class Sakai web site. The symbol "@" is used below and in the weekly reading for textbooks you should buy from the bookstore.

@ Willett Kempton, James S. Boster and Jennifer Hartley, 1995, *Environmental Values in American Culture*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

@ Naomi Oreskes, Erik M. Conway, 2011, *Merchants of Doubt: How a Handful of Scientists Obscured the Truth on Issues from Tobacco Smoke to Global Warming*. Bloomsbury USA. [Available in print and eBooks.]

@ Wendy Williams and Robert Whitcomb, 2007, *Cape Wind: Money, Celebrity, Class, Politics, and the Battle for Our Energy Future on Nantucket Sound*. Perseus Books.

@ Saul Alinsky, 1971, *Rules for Radicals: A pragmatic primer for realistic radicals*. Vantage Books: New York.

Also of interest:

James Hoggan, with Richard Littlemore, 2009, *Climate Cover-up: The Crusade to Deny Global Warming*. Greystone: Vancouver, BC.

Marvin Elliott Olsen, Dora G. Lodwick, and Riley E. Dunlap, 1992, *Viewing the World Ecologically*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. (On reserve)

## SYLLABUS

Most weeks are divided into two class sessions, for example, 1a is Tuesday, 1b is Thursday. note that Instructor will be travelling some weeks, so an "alternative class time" is designated. Key to readings: @=textbook to purchase, ∞=on class web site, ø =not provided by instructor.

### I. Worldviews and Values of Individuals

1a. (11 Feb 2014) Introduction, conceptual frameworks, analytical concepts.

1b. (18 Feb 2014) Worldview, survey instruments, public opinion

∞ Lynn White, 1967, "The historical roots of our ecologic crisis" *Science* 155(3767): 1203-1207. [This classic article argues that the worldview of the Judeo-Christian tradition is the cause of our exploitative and damaging approach to nature.]

∞ Riley Dunlap and Kent D. Van Liere, 1978 (reprinted 2008), "The 'New Environmental Paradigm': A Proposed Measuring Instrument and Preliminary Results." *Journal of Environmental Education* 9:10-19. (Summer 1978) [Another classic. Introduces a survey measuring instrument for the "New Environmental Paradigm (NEP), widely used in subsequent years.]

∞ Davi Kopenawa Yanomami, "Letter to all the Peoples of the Earth". *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 13(4):68-69. [An example worldview. Yanomami perspectives on why "white culture" is environmentally destructive, and based on observations of environmental destruction.]

∞ Angaangaq, 2009, "Melting the Ice in the Hearts of Men". *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 33 (3): 8-11. Also on CSQ web site. [An indigenous view of the ability to influence policy and change societal direction.]

2. (20, 27 Feb 2014) A major study of worldviews or paradigms; do they affect elections and policy?

2a, 20 Feb

∞ Marvin E. Olsen, Dora G. Lodwick, and Riley E. Dunlap. 1992. *Viewing the World Ecologically*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. [Read pp 1-2 on worldviews, which they also call social paradigms or lenses. Then Chapters 3 - 5, pp 33-102, on the technological social paradigm and on the ecological social paradigm. They see the ecological paradigm as newly emerging and they contrast it with the technological paradigm. Chapters 3 and 4 use survey research to measure each paradigm. Chapter 5 tests for the relationship of the Ecological Social Paradigm to policy preferences.]

∞ Riley E. Dunlap, 2010, "At 40, Environmental Movement Endures, With Less Consensus." Guest Commentary, The Gallop Organization, Report. 22 April 2010. [This is a summary of polling data, with graphs and data tables. Several identical questions have been asked since 2000, so can be used to study changes in opinion through time. Note: links connect to other Gallup poll analysis.]

Background:

∞ Benjamin I. Page and Robert Y. Shapiro, 1992, "Rational Public Opinion" pp 1-36 in Page and Shapiro (ed) *The Rational Public*. Univ of Chicago Press. [Ok to Skim: This gives some background on polling and policy. They argue that the public has "real, stable, and sensible opinions about public policy". Also discusses some useful methodological and interpretation issues with surveys.]

2b, 27 Feb

∞ Carl Pope, 2001, "Perot's Ghost" *Sierra* March/April 2001: 14-16. [Analysis of the 2000 presidential election, the role of environmentalism in affecting national elections, and suggestions for the Sierra Club to be more effective to help pro-environmental candidates.]

∞ Katharine Q. Seelye, 2003, "Democratic field tries to add punch to environment issue." *New York Times*, 2 July 2003, p A17. [How politicians introduce environmental issues, and their strategies to use these issues to affect voting behavior.]

∞ Jennifer Lee, 2003, "A call for softer, greener language" *New York Times*, 2 March 2003, p A18. [Advice from a consultant (Frank Luntz) on use of language to counter the "vulnerability for the Republicans and especially for George Bush" on environmental issues. The assumption of this approach is that environmental issues can effect elections--but can also be neutralized.]

∞ Evan Ratliff, 2003, "The Art of Doublespeak" *On Earth* (NRDC Publication) Summer 2003, pp 30-31. [Analyzes an Op-Ed from the New York Times for evidence that Frank Luntz's advice is being applied in communications from one of Pres Bush's Cabinet Secretaries.]

Background:

∅ Riley Dunlap, 1991, "Public (environmental) Opinion in the 1980s: Clear Consensus, Ambiguous Commitment." *Environment*, October 1991, pp 10-15, 32-37. [A really great discussion, but the polling numbers are 30 years old. Reviews surveys of change in

environmental support. Discusses opinion versus level of commitment, and problems of mobilizing environmental opinion to achieve political action.]

∅ Riley E. Dunlap & Aaron M. McCright, 2008, "A Widening Gap: Republican and Democratic Views on Climate Change" *Environment* 50(5): 26-35. [Data on individual opinion, from polling data by Gallup. Continuing environmental positions of the public, but more divided by party. ]

∅ Lester W. Milbrath, 1984. *Environmentalists: Vanguard for a New Society*. Albany: State University of New York Press. [Tries to measure worldviews using several surveys. Develops instrument, expanding on Dunlap and Van Liere. Compares public with elites, including corporate leaders and environmentalists in national organizations. Contrasts a "dominant social paradigm" with the "new environmental paradigm". Comparable to the Olsen, Lodwick and Dunlap study.] [Available from SUNY Press, 800-666-2211 for \$19.95+\$3.00S&H.]

### 3. (3 March-**Monday** and 4 March 2014) Cultural models underlying opinions

3a

@ Willett Kempton, James S. Boster, and Jennifer A. Hartley, 1995, *Environmental Values in American Culture*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Chapters 1-4. [This first selection is Chaps 1-4, introduction, cultural models of nature and of global climate change. These cultural models explain many of the specific opinions and beliefs expressed in surveys.]

3b

∞ Tarla Rai Peterson and Chistr Choat Horton, 1995, "Rooted in the Soil: How understanding the perspectives of landowners can enhance the management of environmental disputes." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 81(2):139-166. [This makes odd use of anthropological methods as adopted by rhetoric scholars (participant observations, semistructured interviews). Nevertheless, interesting effort to explore rancher's worldviews versus those of US Fish and Wildlife Service, and how those differences affect environmental policy implementation.]

∞ Kempton, Willett, Jeremy Firestone, Jonathan Lilley, Tracy Rouleau and Phillip Whitaker. 2005 "The Offshore Wind Power Debate: Views from Cape Cod." *Coastal Management*, 33:119-149. [The debate on Cape Cod and the Islands over a very large offshore wind power project. Two groups are organizing public opinion, for and against. An analysis of the issues in the debate, including the cultural models and values that affect support or opposition.]

Background on cultural models:

∅ J.M. Chernela, 1994, "Tukanoan Fishing", In *Research & Exploration* 10: (4) 440-457. [Reference for the Tukano example cited in Kempton et al.]

∞ Michael Paolisso, 2002, "Blue Crabs and Controversy on the Chesapeake Bay: A Cultural Model for Understanding Watermen's Reasoning about Blue Crab Management." *Human Organization* 61(3): 226- 239. [Watermen's theories and knowledge of the blue crab fishery in the Chesapeake lead them to disagree with scientists' findings and recommendations, and to oppose proposed management of the fishery. Without understanding watermen's reasoning and knowledge, their positions seem irrational and self-serving. This study's social science background was used to design workshops to improve dialogue among watermen, scientists and resource managers.]

4. (6 March and 10 March 2014-**Monday**) Environmental values; marine mammals as an example.

**Empirical assignment 1, plan due, ( Mar 7 - Friday).**

4a.

@ Kempton, Boster and Hartley, *Environmental Values in American Culture*, Chapter 5 "Environmental Values". Pp 87-115 [Environmental values as revealed in interviews.]

4b.

∞ Arne Kalland, 1993, "Whale politics and green legitimacy: A critique of the anti-whaling campaign." *Anthropology Today* 9(6): 3-7. [Why is there a ban on whaling, even banning species for which a sustainable catch is manageable? Article argues that the reasons have to do not with ecology but with symbolism and the self-interest of organizations promoting the ban.]

∞ New York Times (Letters), 2002, "A New Look at 'Save the Whales'". *The New York Times* p A22, 22 August 2002. [Contrasting perspectives from multiple authors on why whaling is opposed.]

∞ Hiroko Tabuchi, 2013, Japan Subsidy for Whaling Is Challenged. *New York Times*, 7 Feb 2013, page A12. [Consumption of whale in Japan in 2013 is a dwindling taste, and the whaling industry is being kept afloat by government subsidies.]

Background:

∅ Mark Sagoff, 1988, *The Economy of the Earth*, Chapter 5 "Values and Preferences", pp 99-123. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press. [Why public policy should not be based on individual preferences. (Preferences may be stated explicitly in opinion polls or implicitly in market transactions.) Argues that policy should be based instead on the public values of a the community. For example, a historical national commitment to environmental protection "is not a question of what we want; it is not exactly a question of what we believe in; it is a question of what we are." (from p 17, earlier in same book).]

∅ David Rothenberg, 1995, "Have a friend for lunch: Norwegian radical ecology versus tradition." in Taylor 1995: 201-218. [Norwegian deep ecology, nonviolence, and whaling. (Skip the section on nonviolence, it is only marginally relevant to this week's topics.) Attempts to explain why Norwegians are different from most other nations in supporting continued whaling.]

## **II. Individual views interacting with Policy, Behavior, and Media**

5. (13, 17 March 2014)

(March 19) **Synthetic Essay on I due.**

5a Individual beliefs and values, and how they affect policy preferences

@ Kempton, Boster and Hartley, *Environmental Values in American Culture*, Chapters 6 and 7, "Cultural Models and Policy Reasoning" and "Case Studies of Influential Specialists", pages 117-187. [Values combine with cultural models to affect the policy preferences of voters. Why did the public support the objective of preventing global warming yet seemed to not support policies to do so, such as energy conservation or Clinton's proposed Btu tax (or more recently the US Cap and Trade legislation)? Analysis of the strategies, goals, and information sources of lobbyists and congressional staff, and how these professionals' actions are also influenced by cultural values and models.]

- ∞ Thomas Friedman, 2006, "Who's Afraid of a Gas Tax?" *New York Times*, page A25. [Advocating a gasoline tax; argument has some parallels to findings of Kempton et al, Chap. 6.]
- ∞ Robert E. O'Connor, R.J. Bord, B. Yarnal, and N. Wiefek, 2002, "Who Wants to Reduce Greenhouse Gas Emissions?" *Social Science Quarterly* 83(1): 1 -17. [Comparing cognitive economic and partisan theories to explain why people support policies, or express willingness to make individual actions, to prevent global climate change. The survey population, in Pennsylvania, was in an area dependent on coal mining, and one less affected by climate change, thus a public potentially more resistant to greenhouse gas reductions than the average American.]

#### 5b. How does concern about climate change lead to action?

- ∞ Willett Kempton, Amanda Wenczel, Brian Boutin, Amardeep Dhanju, Clinton Hare, Sara Handy and Stephanie A. McClellan, 2006, "Why Are Scientists Failing to Communicate the Urgency of Climate Change?" (unpublished manuscript) [This analyzes the concerns of geophysical scientists about climate change, their models of how to act in a policy-relevant area of science, and their resulting decisions of what actions they should take.]
- ∞ Willett Kempton, 1993d "Will Public Environmental Concern Lead to Action on Global Warming?" *Annual Review of Energy and the Environment*, Vol 18: 217 - 245. [Once an individual is concerned, how do they proceed to take action? Compares several environmental issues to climate change.]

### 6. (18, 20 Mar 2014) Alternative paths to action

#### 6a. Opinion affecting congress; individual paths to environmental activism

- ∞ Samuel P. Hays, 1992, "Environmental Political Culture and Environmental Political Development..." *Environmental History Review* (Summer 1992), pp 1-22 [Hays shows that the shift in the US public's environmental sentiments corresponds to a shift in congressional votes on environmental issues.]
- ∞ Todd Gitlin, 2000, "Shouts Bring Murmurs, and that Works." *Washington Post*, Sunday 16 April 2000, p B1 and B5. [Although street demonstrators seemed to hold simplistic positions, their demonstrations affect the outcome of international negotiations. In part, this is because outsiders' advocacy enables action by sympathetic insiders.]
- ∞ Hal Aronson, 1993, "Becoming an Environmental Activist: The process of transformation from everyday life into making history in the hazardous waste movement" *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* 21: 63-80. [This article, in an unlikely journal, studies personal transformations that lead people through several transformations to becoming career activists in the environmental movement. Data based on personal interviews with career activists.]

#### 6b. Civil disobedience versus civic participation

- ∞ Captain Paul Watson, 1998, "Neptune's Manifesto" *Whole Earth Review*, Fall 1998:26-32. [Makes the case for an "eco-force of environmental privateers" to police fishing and other operations on the high seas, arguing both on moral ground and on the basis of international law.]
- ∞ Raffi Khatchadourian, 2007, "Naptunes Navy: Paul Watson's wild crusade to save the oceans". *The New Yorker*, Nov 5, 2007. [A reporter's interviews with and description of Paul Watson and the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society, "a vigilante organization".]
- ∞ Jonathan Starkey, 2007, Grass-roots efforts integral for Wind. *Coastal Point* (Delaware newspaper, reference incomplete) [Journalistic account of the effect of small environmental groups on state decision-making.]

∞ Larry Nagengast, 2007, "A New Sense of Power" *Delaware Beach Life* 6(6): 44-53 (September 2007). [A case of local environmental mobilization and why individuals participated in this activist effort.]

Background--Great article but a difficult read:

\* Paul Stern, Thomas Dietz, Troy Abel, Gregory Guagnano and Linda Kalof, 1999, "A Value-Belief-Norm Theory of Support for Social Movements: The Case of Environmentalism" *Human Ecology Review* 6(2): 81 - 97. [Compares multiple theories of the causes of support for environmentalism, finding which ones best explain individual support. They define "support" by individuals as including policy support (e.g. opinion) and reported actions. Requires some effort to read and understand, both the theory and the statistical analysis.]

7. (27 March, 8 April 2014) Media as shaper of environmental worldviews

**Empirical assignment 1, results due (March 28-Friday).**

7a.

∞ Selections from Craig L. LaMay and Everette E. Dennis, 1991, *Media and the Environment*. Washington, DC and Covello, CA: Island Press. Single PDF, includes following chapters:

- Everette E. Dennis, "In context: environmentalism in the system of news" 55-64 [How are events selected to be news.]

- Jim Detjen, "The traditionalist's tools (and a fistful of new ones)" 91-101 [A reporter's perspective on desirable changes in environmental reporting.]

- Robert Cahn, "Books (not theeds) are what everyone needs", 225-244 [The 'supreme' position of books--as opposed to articles, newspapers, or television--in environmental communication to public.]

- John Burnham, "Of science and superstition: The media and biopolitics" 29-41 [Reviews early science communication to public; argues for an advocacy perspective.]

∞ Christopher M. Hughes, MD, 2004, "Mr. Koppel, here's why we watch 'The Daily Show'" (letter to the editor), *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 10 Sept 2004. [This is just a news viewer's observations, not a refereed article. Nevertheless, it has some perspicuous observations about political news reporting and how it has changed in the US over the past 30 years.]

**31 March thru 4 April 2014, UD Spring Break**

7b

∞ Maxwell Boykoff and Jules Boykoff, 2004, "Balance as Bias: Global Warming and the US Prestige Press" *Global Environmental Change* 14, 125-136. [Analysis of print press coverage of global warming in print press from 1998 through 2002. Authors conclude that the media norm of balanced coverage has led to divergence of media from the science, specifically to reduce the level of certainty that climate change is occurring and is human caused, and to reduce the strength of calls for action.]

∞ James Hoggan, with Richard Littlemore, 2009, *Climate Cover-up: The Crusade to Deny Global Warming*. Greystone: Vancouver, BC. [Perspective on climate and media from a public relations perspective. Read *Preface* (why he wrote this book) and *Chapter 3* (public relations ethics versus public relation in service to powerful interests). The whole book is a good read and is relevant, and leads from media to introduce next week's topic on skeptics.]

∞ Kenneth T. Andrews and Neal Caren, 2010, Making the News; Movement Organizations, Media Attention, and the Public Agenda. *American Sociological Review* 75(6): 841-866. [Analysis of how environmental groups use the news, and which environmental groups get more coverage from media.]

8. 10, 14 April 2013, Climate skeptics

8a Individuals who are climate change skeptics

∞ Myanna Lahsen, 2008. Experiences of Modernity in the Greenhouse: A Cultural Analysis of a Physicist “Trio” Supporting the Conservative Backlash Against Global Warming. *Global Environmental Change*, 18: 204-219. doi :10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2007.10.001 [An analysis based on interviews of a group of physicists who are skeptical of climate research, and their reasoning about it. The author describes this as “unmasking” the deeper, value-laden dialogues behind the science debate and the broader cultural, political and historical background of scientific knowledge itself]

∞ Gary Taubes, "The Ozone Backlash" *Science* Vol 260 (11 June 93): 1580-1583. [Direct experience with a skeptic lecturer, from personal experience. A critique of Dixie Lee Ray, Rush Limbaugh, and other authors mentioned by Stauder (background), from an atmospheric scientists' perspective.]

@ *Merchants of Doubt*, 2011 [Read *Introduction*.]

8b Organizations promoting climate skepticism

@ *Merchants of Doubt*, 2011 [Read *Chapters: 1, 2, 5, 6*. Optional: Conclusion.]

∞ Robert Ferguson, 2011, "Warming Up To Climate Change" *Inside ALEC*, July/August 2011, p 16 plus other excerpts. [Argues that greenhouse gases will not have any seriously bad effect, and that ocean acidification won't be bad either. Note sponsors of the ads in this magazine, and content of other articles. (Ferguson article is placed first in reading, please scan through the other selections from this issue of Inside ALEC.)]

∞ ALEC, "Electricity Freedom Act". Model legislation to be used by state legislators,, downloaded Feb 2013, <http://www.alec.org/model-legislation/electricity-freedom-act/>

∞ Rebekah Wilce (PR Watch), 3 December 2012, "Solar Energy Industries Association Cuts Ties to ALEC." <http://www.prwatch.org/print/11890> [PR Watch is self-described as “Reporting on spin and disinformation since 1993”.]

∞ Intermountain Rural Electric Association, 2006, “Memorandum from the General Manager” (photocopied memo, 17 July 2006) [Arguments against CO2 as a threat, requesting that other corporate leaders (and other Rural Co-Ops?) send this to all their employees, then concluding with policy recommendations.]

### III. Environmental Groups and the Policy Process

9. (15, 17 April) Overview of environmental groups

**Synthetic Essay on weeks 6-9 due (April 16, Wed).**

9a. local groups

∞ Willett Kempton, Dorothy C. Holland, Katherine Bunting-Howarth, Erin Hannan and Christopher Payne, 2001, "Local Environmental Groups: A Systematic Enumeration in Two Geographical Areas" *Rural Sociology* Vol 66(4): 557-578. [A survey of local environmental



groups on the Delmarva Peninsula and North Carolina shows them to be more numerous and more diverse than previously suggested in the literature.]

∞ Klyza, Isham and Savage, 2006, "Local Environmental Groups and the Creation of Social Capital." *Society and Natural Resources* 19: 905 - 919. [They confirm the finding of a large number of local groups, with diverse activities. Also shows how these groups develop "social capital", which makes them more effective.]

\* Phil Brick, 1995, "Determined Opposition: The Wise Use Movement Challenges Environmentalism" *Environment* 37(8): 17-20, 36-43.

\* (various authors), 1995, "Commentary: The Wise Use Challenge" *Environment* 37(9): 3 - 5, 43. [Three comments on Brick's article, plus his response.]

#### 9b. Group evolution; national groups

∞ Lauriston R. King, Ronald Kaiser, and Kelly F. Countouris, 1996 "Going Political: A Framework for Environmental Interest Group Evolution." *Coastal Management* 24: 73-90. [A proposed sequence of evolution of nongovernmental environmental groups. Examples draw on the Coastal Conservation Association and the Sport Fishing Institute; the former was instrumental in passing the Florida net ban discussed later.]

∞ Frederick H. Buttel, 1992, "Environmentalism: Origins, Processes, and Implications for Rural Social Change." *Rural Sociology* 57(1):1-27. [Places environmentalism in the broader context of the 20th century shift from social-democratic industrial society to neo-conservative post-industrial society. Distinguishes "greening"--a broad social force--from "environmentalization"--the concrete expression of greening in institutional practices. Relationship of environmentalism to new social movements and the "new class." Note: this is dense reading.]

#### Background:

∅ T. Wilke, 1995, "Geographical Concentration of Environmental Groups." *Environment* 37(9): 44-45. [Geographic distribution of members of environmental groups.]

10. (April 21, 22, 2014) Environmental groups: National cases and their histories; Environmental identity in local groups

#### **Empirical assignment 2, plan due, April 25, Friday.**

##### 10a.

∞ Anne Kitchell, W. Kempton, Dorothy Holland and Danielle Tesch, 2000, "Identities and Actions within Environmental Groups" *Human Ecology Review* 7(2):1-20. [Uses a measure of the identity of members of environmental groups. Compares identities and actions of group members across 22 groups. Examines change in environmental identity through time, arguing that participating in a group and taking action lead to transitions to environmental identities.]

∞ Wolfgang Rüdiger, 1995, "Between Moderation and Marginalization: Environmental Radicalism in Britain" In Bron Taylor, pp 219-240. [Development of environmental groups in the United Kingdom since 1865 (in England). Despite a tradition of civil disobedience, ideologically radical groups have been marginalized.]

##### 10b.

∞ Robert Cameron Mitchell, Angela G. Mertig, and Riley E. Dunlap, 1991, "Twenty years of environmental mobilization": Trends among national environmental organizations." *Society and Natural Resources* 4: 219-234. [History of large environmental organizations in the US since the

turn of the century. Focus on the past 20 years of organizations that do lobbying. Their methods, reasons for their success, and resulting effects on their own association.]

@ Saul Alinsky, 1971, *Rules for Radicals: A pragmatic primer for realistic radicals*. Vantage Books: New York. [An organizer's perspective, and practical advice, on how to create a local group for promoting change. Chapters "The Purpose" (3-23) and "In the Beginning" (98-124) in particular, relate to the Aronson article and illustrate theories from our readings. These two chapters only are on Sakai site.]

Background:

∞ Gwyn Prins and Lizzie Sellwood, 1996, "Global Security Problems and the Challenge to Democratic Process." Available from author, Cambridge University. Ms. March 1996 [Skim the dense (and minimally pertinent) introductory theoretical discussion, but look at the example: Brent Spar disposal in the North Sea]

∅ Riley E. Dunlap and Angela G. Mertig, 1991, "The Evolution of the U.S. Environmental Movement from 1970 to 1990: An Overview." *Society and Natural Resources* 4: 209-218, Special issue: *Two Decades of American Environmentalism*. [This was the introduction and overview to a special journal issue. Discusses origins and recent history of these organizations, considers their natural history and ramifications of their increasing diversity.]

∅ Ben Wisner, 1995, "Luta, Livelihood, and lifeworld in Contemporary Africa." (In Taylor, p 177-197. [How to understand African "environmentalism", in terms of place, livelihood and lifeworld, rather than in terms of Western environmentalism.]

∅ Vikram K. Akula, 1995, "Grassroots Environmental Resistance in India." In Taylor, pp 127-145. [History of the environmental movement in India, with a survey of current problems addressed by environmental groups.]

∅ Jack Stauder, 1995, "Changing Course: Teaching both Sides of Environmental Issues." *Liberal Education*, Summer 1995: 36-41. [A sociology/anthropology professor's conversion from thinking there was no substance whatsoever to anti-environmentalist claims, to thinking that many issues have two legitimate sides. Describes his reactions to popularizers like Limbaugh versus scientists like Dixie Lee Ray. This contrasts with the perspective from the Taubes article.]

11. (24, 28 April 2014) Environmental justice movement; minority opinion.

11a.

**Discussion of in-progress student projects – Be prepared to give a 3-minute report**

∞ Bob Edwards, 1995, "With Liberty and Environmental Justice for All: The emergence and challenge of grassroots environmentalism in the United States." (in Taylor, p 35-55) [Development of the environmental justice movement in the US.]

11b.

∞ Paul Mohai, 2003, "African American Concern for the Environment" *Environment* 45(5): 11-26. (June 2003) [Extensive comparison of environmentalism by US whites and African Americans. Based on multiple surveys designed by the author and colleagues. Results are separated into components of environmental views, for example finding that African Americans are more concerned about neighborhood pollution, and just as concerned about non-local environmental issues such as nature preservation.]

∞ Iantha Gantt-Wright, Jerome Ringo, Walter Rosebaum, and Paul Mohai, 2003, "Commentary: African Americans and the Environment" *Environment* 45(6):41-45. [Commentaries on Mohai 2003, and response]

∞ S. Brechin and W. Kempton, 1994, "Global Environmentalism: A Challenge to the Postmaterialism Thesis?", *Social Science Quarterly* 75(2): 245-269. [Makes a similar argument to Mohai, but for comparisons across nations. That is, this uses survey evidence to refute the claim that citizens of poor countries don't care about the environment.]

Background:

∅ Commission for Racial Justice, United Church of Christ (Benjamin F. Chavis Jr. and Charles Lee), 1987, *Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States: A national report on the racial and socio-economic characteristics of communities with hazardous waste sites*. Report from Public Data Access, Inc. [This is the first definitive analysis of siting of toxics in relationship to poor and minority communities. A landmark study.]

12. (29 April and 1 May) Case Study of Offshore Wind (+ summary of book)

12a.

@ Wendy Williams and Robert Whitcomb, 2007, *Cape Wind: Money, Celebrity, Class, Politics, and the Battle for Our Energy Future on Nantucket Sound*. Perseus Books. [A journalistic account of the organization and social class background of the anti-Cape Wind movement on Nantucket Sound.]

12b.

∞ Piero, Jacqueline D., 2010, *Underlying Motivations for Delaware Public Participation in Support of Offshore Wind: Implications for State Energy Policy*. Masters Thesis, University of Delaware. [Study of the environmental testimony about the Delaware offshore wind project; analysis of the content to the public comments.]

@ Kempton, Boster and Hartley, 1995, Chapter 9 "Implications of Our Findings", pp 211-226. [Summary, potential applications, and future research suggested by this study.]

Background reading:

∞ Daniel Deudney, 1995, "In Search of Gaian Politics: Earth Religion's Challenge to Modern Western Civilization." (in Taylor, p 282-299). [He considers the worldview of 'earth religion' as the basis of some radical environment groups, and suggests that it has profound political ramifications, e.g. for the role of the church and the nation.]

13a. (May 12) Presentations by students 3:30 to 5:00 or 5:15 Last class)

**Synthetic Essay on III, due May 14**

**Empirical assignment 2, results due, May 16**