Many Hands Make Heavy Work:
Dilemmas of Coalition-Building in Chicago's Environmental Justice Movement

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ABSTRACT

Scholarship on social movements has emphasized the organizational mechanisms behind resource mobilization to achieve movement goals. Expanding upon this by incorporating literature on social networks, this paper analyzes the movement of information and resources along social ties for a broader understanding of the organizational dynamics of the environmental justice movement in Chicago. Employing interviews and observations, this thesis finds that resource exchange is not limited to physical resources, but includes research and information as well. I find that the social justice movement is structured into vertical and horizontal coalitions that often inhibit the movement's success in achieving its goals. My findings suggest that the social movements literature, in addition to incorporating scholarship on social networks, could be made more robust by paying attention to the horizontal and vertical dimensions of coalitions.

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INTRODUCTION

Kim Wasserman's steely gaze pierces the room. Fifty pairs of eyes gaze right back, sensing the sedate anger with which she assumes her seat on the makeshift stage inside the cramped Patagonia store. This is the setting of a town hall meeting with leaders in the environmental justice movement, gathered to provide a primer to interested residents of Chicago on its key tenets and talking points. Gripping the microphone tightly, her level tone seems to command a *repeat-after-me* energy.

> If I had to dispel one misconception, it would be this: that our communities don't know what's happening to us, that they don't know how to address the injustices upon us, and that we don't have the intellectual capacity to fight back. We're just never afforded the ability to do so. But we know, and we don't forget. And the only way to get lawmakers to care is to get such a big group of community members together that they can't ignore us.

Wasserman continues with a discussion of recent efforts to amass a group of residents at a town hall meeting to discuss the impending presence of the Amazon warehouse, with its increased truck traffic, in her community. The prospect of this development has spurred conversations around the organizing effort behind the shutdown of the coal-fired Crawford plant in Little Village in 2012—the last one of its kind in the city of Chicago. Wasserman alludes to this, attempting to galvanize the same energy for the fight against Amazon.

Wasserman speaks primarily for her home community of Little Village, but her words ring true for disadvantaged communities of color throughout the United States who have been victims of the government's inability and refusal to address the plight of disinvested communities with regards to the concentration of environmental pollutants centered in these regions. This is evident in Chicago, a large city where deliberate actions taken by corporations, working in tandem with the government, have created communities with residents that suffer from lasting health problems, especially children in these communities. Further, the impending

impacts of climate change pose dangerous prospects for the most vulnerable populations who will be the first and hardest hit by the crisis. The environmental justice movement seeks to solve this deeply rooted disparity by providing direct services as well as policy advocacy on topics related to the environment.

While the environmental justice movement is relatively well documented, the challenge remains of figuring out how to achieve the goals it has set. Environmental justice and social movements are both well-studied, but literature about the mobilization efforts around environmental justice is limited and inconclusive in determining its efficacy (Hess 2019, Bailey et al 2008). Using classical theories of social movements combined with the social networks perspective, I provide a novel framework through which to understand how the environmental justice movement captures both the characteristics and challenges of modern social movements. This thesis intends to fill in the gaps as to the structure and challenges of environmental justice mobilization by examining the Chicago metropolitan area as a case for the execution of this social movement.

Drawing on insights from environmental justice literature (United Church of Christ and Commission for Racial Justice, 1987; Pellow and Nyseth Brehm, 2013) foundational social movements theorists (McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, 1967; Jenkins 1983), and social networks theorists (Diani and Mische 2015; Van Dyke 2017; Baldassarri, 2007; Heaney 2014), I argue that the blending of these perspectives is vital to understanding the environmental justice movement and the challenges inherent within it.

This study consists of thirteen in-depth interviews with stakeholders in the environmental justice movement and five observations in the community to create a holistic picture of the environmental justice movement in Chicago. It contributes to the broad social movements

literature by a) emphasizing the importance of social networks as an increasingly important aspect of modern social movements and b) establishing that race and class must be brought to the forefront of social movement conversations in the present climate.

The central mechanism behind the movement's advocacy is the formation of coalitions, the structures of which I distill into vertical coalitions and horizontal coalitions. I argue that the environmental justice movement as it is structured today is ineffective precisely because of a large number of disparate coalitions with varying objectives. The operation of coalitions present problems with effective engagement of stakeholders on the horizontal dimension and government process and interaction on the vertical dimension.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This paper analyzes the structure of mobilization within the environmental justice movement. I endeavor to bridge the social movements and social networks literature in sociology to develop a conceptual framework to examine how interactions between various organizations and individuals within movements contribute to the success or detriment of the movement. Further, I provide insight on how previous research on social networks falls short of portraying the dimensions of coalitions and social ties with insight from my analysis.

Social Movements

This thesis focuses on the environmental justice movement in Chicago as a social movement that consists of a "how" and a "what." Classical theories around reframing the question of social movements are now transitioned towards one of "how" successful mobilization occurs and how social movements are structured—as opposed to one asking the reasons why social movements originate to begin with. The "what," conversely, is understanding

what the movement seeks to accomplish and an understanding of political outcomes and successes associated with the environmental justice movement. This abbreviated approach allows for examination of those elements of social movements that have the clearest relevance to the environmental justice movement and the findings of this study.

Scholars have long contested how collective action can exist given Olson's (1965) classic argument about incentives to "free ride" on others' collective action. Since then, social movement scholars have sought to address the question of how social movements can get around this "free rider" problem. McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald (1967), in their work on reviewing and consolidating the seminal literature around social movements, discuss three approaches to social movement development: an understanding of the characteristics and constraints of political opportunities; the "forms of organization" that are in the insurgent's toolbox; and the examination of the link between opportunity and action. They characterize general social movements as consisting of these three factors that make them able to appeal to broad audiences, successfully mobilize around a social cause, and enumerate the resources (or lack thereof) of these movements. This is a shift from collective action theorists (Olson 1965; Smelser 1963) and social conflict theorists (Oberschall 1978) who focus on the reasons why movements emerge.

Resource mobilization theory (RMT), in particular, has been a key analytic tool for understanding how social movements form and function (McCarthy and Zald 1977). Those advancing the RMT perspective focus on the organizational components of social movements that enable their success (Chesters 2011). McCarthy and Zald's (1977) eleven hypotheses about the inner workings of social movements serve to demonstrate exactly the shift they seek to make in social movements theory: "The new approach depends more upon political sociological and economic theories than upon the social psychology of collective behavior" (1213). Thus,

building upon this attempt at defining the structure of social movements, I introduce social networks to better coordinate the actors that intermingle in a social movement. By mapping out the key players and how they interact with one another, I follow the RMT paradigm of understanding structural and organizational questions of social movements—the "how" of collective action.

The outcomes and challenges associated with the movement's goals help to answer the question of "what" social movements are meant to accomplish or seek to accomplish, and why this is important. Understanding the forms of power with which the movements are working (or not working) to achieve their goals requires an understanding of how resource mobilization theory can function with different opponents or sources of power. Jenkins (1983) argues that resource mobilization must be expanded to incorporate the effects of different states and regimes and neo-corporatism—in effect, that the success of movements depends on the political regimes in which they work. Very often in environmental justice, the main sources of change are those that are in power; the entities in power are the government—municipal, statewide, and federal—and corporations that function as special interests in decision-making spaces. Those involved in a movement on a social issue must work within the framework that these entities inhabit in the present, and further, must often adapt to the structural limitations of these entities—time constraints, profit endeavors, and return on investment considerations. The organizational imperatives and competing interests Jenkins outlines will be crucial in this thesis for understanding how the environmental justice movement deals with many different goals and the challenges of engaging with stakeholders in the most productive ways. Amenta (2010) corroborates this by discussing how institutional political actors must be informed of and in tune with members of the movement when providing support for said movement. If environmental

justice advocates account for the structural limitations of those in power, they are more likely to see the results they want to see.

Martinez-Alier et al. (2016) point to the environmental justice movement as a movement that aims for large-scale success. The achievement of these goals is difficult to quantifiably measure, but the movement itself is not deficient if these goals are not met. This is substantiated by Amenta et al (2010), who states that "Challengers may fail to achieve their stated program—and thus be deemed a failure—but still win substantial new advantages for their constituents, a situation likely for challengers with far-reaching goals" (290). This is clear in a movement like environmental justice, where the ultimate goal of a structural reconceptualization of society is not immediately achievable, but where small successes can contribute to the overall success of the movement. The intractable challenges discussed in the results of this thesis, then, should not be seen as a reflection on the success of the whole movement; in contrast, they should be seen as inevitable innate deficiencies with the mechanisms by which a movement organizes itself and the various players within it, difficult to surmount but able to be handled.

Social Networks

Social movements in the context of social networks are defined as a repeated set of interactions between stakeholders that comprise a social organization (Diani and Mische 2015). These interactions manifest in social ties between individuals, organizations, and other entities in a civic setting (Mische 2008). Diani and Mische (2015) condense the ties that emerge in the social movement realm into four types: direct relationships, co-memberships in organizations, co-presence at events, and shared projects and practices. All four of these approaches are apparent in the environmental justice movement in Chicago, and are engaged with to varying degrees by my respondents. These ties condense into various coordination modes; relevant to this

analysis are the social movement and the coalitional mode (Diani and Mische 2015). These are both modes that are characterized by high degrees of resource exchanges, a phenomenon seen very extensively with both dimensions of coalitions in my analysis. The social movement is the most formally constructed coordination mode, characterized by high degrees of organizational boundary work. Organizations are members of the social movement not because they "belong in a movement because of their traits, but because they define themselves as part of that movement, and are perceived as such" (Diani and Mische 2015:9). The coalitional mode, however, is "multiplex," (Diani and Mische 2015:9) meaning that there is potential for different ties between the same organizations. Accordingly, organizations in coalitions can overlap in their various coalition memberships.

These social ties between organizations distill into coalitions that dedicate themselves to specific and narrow goals, which in turn reflect and bolster the goals of the larger movement of which they are a part. Van Dyke (2017) writes of five factors that contribute to coalition formation, all of which are also present in the environmental justice movement: "(a) social ties; (b) conducive organizational structures; (c) ideology, culture, and identity; (d) the institutional environment; and (e) resources" (1). However, her analysis falls short of conceptualizing the dimensions of these coalitions, instead creating a sort of one-size-fits-all metric to describe each social movement. Understanding the extent to which the five factors of coalition formation are present in coalitions of different directions is critical to this analysis. Conversely, identifying coalitions by the actors they integrate in a vertical and horizontal dimension serves to highlight the complexity of these coalitional formations and the various contenders at play in the greater movement network, as well as the myriad types of information disseminated along these network ties.

Much of the conceptualization of the structure of the coalitions delineated in this thesis draws from work done by Baldassarri (2007) and Heaney (2014). Baldassarri (2007) conceptualizes two ideal-typical network types: hierarchical networks and polycentric networks. The latter, in which smaller networks focused on smaller goals interconnect with other small networks to form one large one, is the structure of the horizontal coalitions observed in this research.

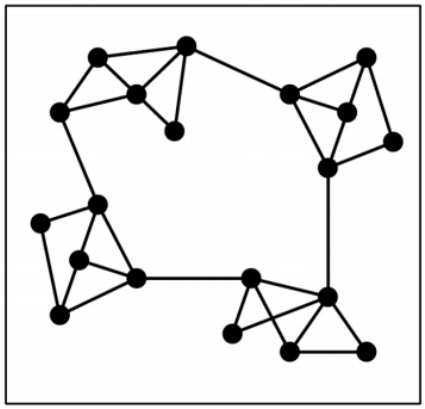

Figure 1: Polycentric Network Structure.
Source: Baldassarri, 2007

Further, Heaney's (2014) notion of hybrid activists as groups that establish identities based on combining social movement categories also demonstrates much about how organizations based on the environment or groups based on justice fare in their organizational goal-setting and coalition membership as opposed to organizations that identify themselves as environmental activism groups. While traditionally groups that espouse a hybrid approach could be considered to be spreading themselves too thin and losing focus on a single goal, Heaney instead argues that the hybrid organization actually equips itself to be a force for bringing movements together in a productive way. This is clear in the environmental justice movement,

where much of the talk about the impending effects of climate change fails to take into account the inconsistency in how people will be affected by it.

Synthesis

Social networks literature provides a framework through which to understand the structure of the environmental justice on a more detailed level and allows for a distillation of a wide array of goals and actors into a simplified arrangement. Networks allow for a more visually structural representation of the movement and demonstrate more clearly the challenges associated with the modern social movement in a way that traditional social movements theory does not allow.

Traditional social movements literature, particularly within the resource mobilization perspective, focuses on how organizations mobilize resources rather than how organizations working together can instead be leveraged as a key resource. Baldassarri (2007) provides a way of understanding how these groups work in tandem around the greater topic of environmental justice. This blended perspective will be useful moving forward, as the findings of this thesis are analyzed through the framework of the structure and the resources of the environmental justice movement in Chicago. While the traditional resource mobilization theory perspective does give some thought to the idea of complexity in structures, there is little about the specific inner workings of these social movement organizations. Understanding these inner workings through the lens of the relationships among the actors is essential to identifying the weaknesses in these organizations and rectifying them.

BACKGROUND

Defining the Crisis

Definitions of environmental justice vary across media and communities. The Environmental Protection Agency (2017) synthesizes these definitions:

> Environmental justice is the fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people regardless of race, color, national origin, or income, with respect to the development, implementation, and enforcement of environmental laws, regulations, and policies. This goal will be achieved when everyone enjoys:
> - the same degree of protection from environmental and health hazards, and
> - equal access to the decision-making process to have a healthy environment in which to live, learn, and work.

Environmental justice is, by definition, an aggregation of goals. It does not consist of just one objective, but instead a structural shift in societal priorities towards addressing the harms that vulnerable communities face as a result of environmental hazards. Mohai et al (2009) also draw attention to the fact that the concept of environmental justice also commonly takes the names of environmental racism, environmental inequality, and environmental injustice.

These goals, broadly laid out by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), are the addressing of issues of lead poisoning, drinking water, air quality, and hazardous waste sites. Each of these goals materializes differently in different communities but subsume many of the smaller-scale challenges into large working goals to ensure standardization of national goals. The lowering of blood lead content is done through the mitigation of the flaking of lead paint in old homes and the removal of lead in drinking water. Higher quality drinking water is guaranteed by equitable access, as well as the reduction of chemical pollutants in existing drinking water infrastructure. Air quality is heightened by the removal of air pollutant hotspots, such as factories in which freight and cargo trucks are frequently housed, as well as coal-fired power plants,

which release noxious gases into the air as part of their operations, as well as the mitigation of the use of pesticides that harm air quality. Finally, the operation of hazardous waste sites must be contained geographically so that chemical and radioactive pollutants do not leak into the air we breathe (EPA 2017).

The environmental justice movement, however, contends that these issues are not uniform across demographic categories; instead, we must evaluate environmental problems through the lenses of different races and socioeconomic classes to fully address the disparities of environmental impact and work to de-standardize the goals of the environmental movement. Low-income and minority communities are overburdened by environmental hazards and their negative impacts. Thus, a core aspect of the environmental justice movement is integrating community perspectives from those communities which bear much of the burden of the health issues to provide individualized solutions with considerations of the existing cultural facets of these communities, as well as the ways in which residents are the victims of other institutions that systemically disenfranchise them.

Literature

The United Church of Christ (UCC) Commission for Racial Justice (1987) provided initial research on the subject of disproportionate environmental impact: "we call attention to the fact that race is a major factor related to the presence of hazardous wastes in residential communities throughout the United States" (2). They understand issues of environmental justice as stemming from policies undertaken by presidential administrations throughout the late 20th century that intentionally gave communities of color and low-income communities the burdens of environmental problems. For example, in 1982, Warren County in North Carolina, considered the birthplace of the modern environmental justice movement, was to be the site for the dumping

of 120 million pounds of soil containing polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs); Warren County was also at the time the county with the highest proportion of African Americans. Activists successfully organized to ensure this dumping would not occur, but the possibility alone was the impetus for the beginning of this movement and the publishing of the UCC Commission for Racial Justice's research and statement about environmental justice (Mohai et al 2009). This thesis builds on this research by taking evidence linking corporate practices and governmental negligence and connecting it to how vulnerable communities attempt to combat the impacts of the practices and negligence in practice.

Keeping in mind the disproportionate impact of the environmental crisis, it is clear that any discussion of the environment must bring to the forefront of environmental sociology an understanding of societal power inequities (Pellow and Nyseth Brehm 2013). This research chooses one specific region and provides a vertical perspective on the issues that pervade that one place and their localized impacts. In doing so, it hones in on the charge Pellow and Nyseth Brehm put out for sociologists to use environmental issues as a springboard towards understanding inequities in society. These results can then, in a limited capacity, be extrapolated and compared to the results of research conducted in other similar places or jurisdictions to enhance the understanding of people's daily lives in the face of environmental problems.

Related is research conducted by Freese, Li, and Wade (2003), which also points out the relevance of the human and inhuman, focusing on the biological realm often ignored in sociological discussions and arguing that biology has a role to play in sociological analysis. This will be useful in understanding how interviewees approach the health issues they may face as a result of environmental issues.

Why Environmental Justice?

The environmental justice movement is the focus of this study for two reasons, analytically and anecdotally. On an analytical level, because environmental justice is a movement characterized by large and broad goals not focused on one policy or issue area, it presents a unique opportunity to innovate on classical social movements perspectives that encompass broader issue areas. With the increased prevalence of intertwining social movements, such a perspective will prove invaluable to configuring solutions for the modern age. Environmental justice works to advance goals related to general societal equity in realms ranging from racial and ethnic issues, to voting rights, and to freedom of expression and protest. Understanding the structures and challenges of such a movement sheds light on the challenges facing general movements today and delineates mechanisms by which to improve said social movements so that the goals set out by stakeholders can be achieved.

Anecdotally, however, environmental justice is important simply because it is a deeply impactful aspect of people's lives. My phone interview with Mary shed insight on the sentiments of why this activism was so important to her, both as an advocate for others and as an advocate for herself as a resident of Chicago who is herself affected by issues of air pollution caused by the incineration of used medical supplies.

> For decades, we've been hearing about, well, "it's political will." Well, you know what, we have to generate the political will. We have to engage in the policy process and in the political process. We have to do it, right? And so what gives me hope or gets me excited is to see that I have a space where I can actually put in practice, to preach what I teach.

Mary's impassioned manner of speaking while relaying this thought to me cannot be overstated. Though we did not speak in person, the interview might as well have been in person with the depth tone and urgency of that she communicated to me. Though she is an academic in the fields of urban planning and policy, the topics which our interview were ostensibly meant to cover, she

assumed said urgent tone when discussing her own experiences as someone combatting the injustice of the environmental impact her communities face. She demonstrates in this comment that environmental justice as a movement has touched the lives of people in ways that are not immediately apparent—often remaining invisible—but that have long-lasting repercussions. It is for these reasons why the environmental justice movement in particular is the focus of this research

DATA AND METHODS

To examine mobilization around environmental justice activism, I conducted a qualitative study in the form of interviews and observations in Chicago, Illinois, an area where the impacts from environmental problems are especially prevalent. This is due to several factors. The first is rusty lead pipes, which provide drinking water to residents of affected homes, and old buildings painted with lead-containing materials that start to flake, a commonly ingested toxin when lead dust is released into the air from friction. Second, air pollution from both extant and defunct factories is also a problem due to the lasting implications of many neighborhoods being part of the Industrial Corridors within Chicago. To understand how activists interact with one another to mobilize around environmental justice, I collected data from September 2019 to February 2020 in the form of in-depth interviews with movement stakeholders and observations of community and policy meetings.

In total, I spoke with thirteen individuals and conducted five coalition meeting and town hall observations. Respondents were gathered through Google searches of different organizations directly or indirectly related to the research question and snowball sampling. Many interviewees were recruited through the use of cold emails and follow-ups if the first email was not answered.

Others were recruited through connections who set up email introductions to facilitate contact. This proved valuable given the visibility of the connection and the trust established between them and the interviewee. Given the topic of study, a snowball sample of the key informants was also warranted due to the connections between activists and stakeholders.

Respondents were members of nonprofits, university-based think tanks and institutes, individuals in the public sector, and people in the private sector. They represented different levels of activism, from communities and neighborhoods to national-level activism. The variety of types of respondents was important given the multi-level effort that environmental justice warrants—any discussion of environmental justice mobilization would not have been complete without the inclusion of every level of activism. For a list of respondents and observations, see Appendix A. Limitations with this study were related to timeline and interviews. The eight months in which I collected, transcribed, and coded interviews made it difficult to conduct repeat interviews and get more in-depth responses.

Interviews lasted around 45 minutes to an hour, and on average, most ended right before the hour. Most interviews were conducted in person, and the ones conducted by phone were done so at the request of the interviewee, save for one. I followed a loose question guide and asked follow-up questions, so the interviews did not necessarily follow a standardized format. These were interviews with key informants, however, and my respondents did not possess the same background and the same depth and range of knowledge as one another. For this reason, a standardized question guide would have been difficult to follow.

I transcribed all interviews verbatim using Otter, an AI transcription software. Most interviews were conducted recording on Otter, where the in-person interview or phone call interview was being transcribed in real-time. After some corrections, I printed the transcription

and performed coding by hand to identify different themes that emerged from the responses. Transcripts had no mention or reference to names or identifying characteristics. Coding was done on three levels: codes, categories, and themes. I wrote memos to distill the main themes I pulled out of the interviews, then compared memos to find connections between the interviews. I also drew out connection maps drawing from Clarke's (2005) "situational maps," specifically "Situational Map Exemplar I." It was a highly visual way of exploring the data I collected and a useful one for examining the themes and the interviews in tandem with one another, especially given the nature of the varied backgrounds and expertise of the respondents. The situational maps allowed for relational analysis, in which I connect elements to one another as they relate (see Figures 2 and 3). The questions began to shift over the course of the interviews, but many of the same codes appeared often enough to warrant inclusion in these situational maps.

Figure 2: Situational Map for this Thesis

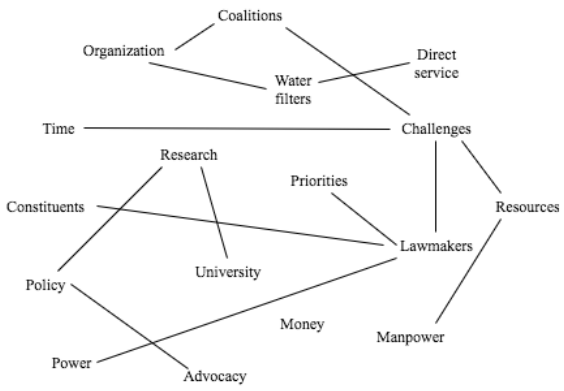

Figure 3: Relational Analysis for this Thesis

RESULTS

Figure 4 shows the key players of the environmental justice movement in Chicago as distilled from my respondents' affiliations and the entities with which they interact. The key players in this study are lawmakers, researchers, policy organizations, community organizations, and the affected communities. The middle layer is the focus of analysis for this thesis and consists of the intermediaries between affected communities and the lawmakers. Members of this middle layer form coalitions with one another, which is an important facet of the analysis of the structure of environmental justice mobilization.

These intermediary organizations have different goals and mechanisms by which they aim to achieve them, but the parallel between all three is that they aim to connect, whether directly or indirectly, the needs of affected communities to lawmakers and government entities. Researchers do this by identifying research questions regarding environmental problems in specific communities that are of concern. Policy organizations focus their energy on advocating for and writing memos on certain policies that would directly benefit affected communities. Community organizations provide a twofold function—they provide a space for communities to connect with lawmakers and provide direct services for these communities, while also engaging in advocacy themselves in coalitions with policy and research organizations. Policy organizations and research organizations are not engaged in direct dialogue with affected communities while community organizations are. Despite the disparate ways organizations proceed in their goals, the fact that their goals are so similar makes them members of this middle layer. An understanding of why organizations are organized in this structure will be key for providing the framework through which to evaluate the key central claim in this study about the dimensions of coalitions.

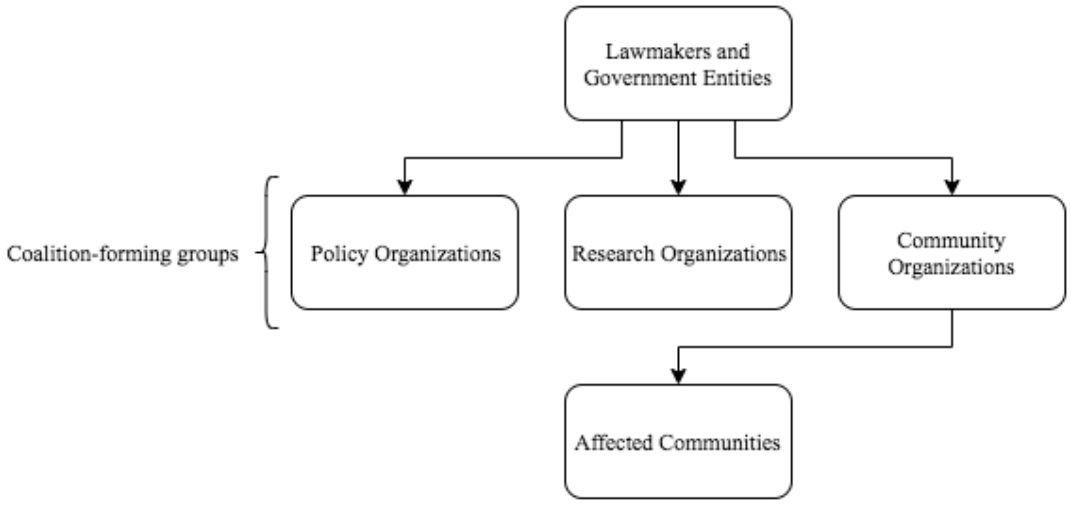

Figure 4: Structure of Key Players in the Environmental Justice Movement in Chicago

This section reveals my findings as to how stakeholders mobilize around environmental justice in Chicago and how the organizational field of the movement is structured into horizontal and vertical coalitions – a structure that often inhibits the realization of movement goals. I will first examine how coalition-building and research allow for a thorough understanding of what these organizations do, as well as how they do it. Research reports are the concrete deliverables from these organizations, and the coalitions allow the organizations to share the information in a structured group setting. Finally, I comment on the challenges of these organizations and stakeholders, concluding that the channels through which they approach environmental justice mobilization themselves are insufficient and present intractable challenges that hinder the success of the movement. The aforementioned elements ultimately demonstrate that the environmental justice movement uses research as a way to combine the knowledge and information around the topic as a way to provide a voice to marginalized communities, and that

this research is then used as a means to organizing in coalitions to lobby those in power towards creating a more equitable society.

Coalition-building

Fostering relationships and building coalitions with stakeholders in the environmental justice community is an especially critical part of the advocacy process. My respondents discussed various types of coalitions. Every respondent mentioned the idea of facilitating or connecting resources, and in doing so, demonstrated a twofold conception of the organizations' roles. First, one type of organization focuses more on how to connect communities to their lawmakers where this access has traditionally been limited and resources have been scarce. This is encapsulated in how respondents who are a part of this organization discuss the lack of separation between community groups and policy groups. Second and conversely, other respondents refer to facilitating the gathering of stakeholders that operate at the same level as one another—organizations that operate within the policy and research realm. Previous research (Van Dyke 2017, Diani and Mische 2015) write of coalitional forms that have traits in common with implications for large industries and organizations Given this, I enhance this existing scholarship by adding the dimensions of vertical and horizontal into the conversation on coalitions. These coalitions differ in their operations in the ways previously described.

Vertical Coalitions

The first type of coalition is one that works on the vertical plane, in which intermediaries connect affected communities with both their lawmakers, as well as provide direct services to the communities.

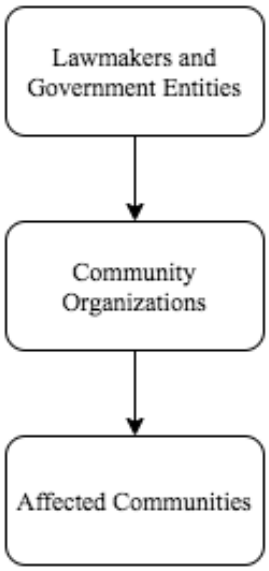

Figure 2: Vertical Coalition

Access to Lawmakers—Ida discusses the connections drawn between affected communities and lawmakers:

> Let's say [community groups] are like, 'Man, we want to get in touch with our alderman.' Okay, I see different connections to aldermen or other decision-makers, and this is how we're going to figure out how we can bring that decision-maker here. That way, it kind of helps the community group that may have had trouble kind of get in touch with them, but at the same time it's not [respondent's organization]-dependent. It informs the relationship between just that community and their decision-maker.

The intermediaries fill a role that allows the affected communities, whose access to lawmakers is not necessarily guaranteed and readily available and has historically not been very high, to engage with their lawmakers and solicit the passage and implementation of policies that will benefit them. These coalitions consist of the three groups of people often convened into a space together to voice concerns on the part of the affected constituency and plans to address said concerns on the part of lawmakers. The force behind these town hall type of meetings is the

community organizations, who have connections to both parties and can gather the voices into a common space.

This was evident on a snowy evening in mid-January, when I found myself in front of a Patagonia store in River North, Chicago. As I entered, I was met immediately with two food tickets and around thirty pamphlets and instructed to take a seat, "because the program will begin shortly." Taking my seat about seven rows back from the front, I observed various conversations and introductions happening around me. Two rows ahead of me, a woman who clearly looked uncomfortable to be there seemed to be squirming upon receiving admonishment from two people in front of her. "You are a city official, and we need answers about the lead in our soil." A few minutes later, a panel of three speakers took the stage—the same city official I observed getting grilled earlier, and two members of community organizations—and the question-and-answer session began. Questions ranged from what each considered their most pressing priorities, their biggest challenges, and their visions for a more environmentally equitable future. Audience members then chimed in with their own questions, seemingly to get a sense of the mechanisms through which these organizations were pursuing the goals they laid out. Common questions included, "What are you doing right now for residents of [Chicago neighborhood]?" "What would you want Chicago to look like in the next five, ten, and twenty years?" and "Yes, but *how* are you planning on doing this?" (a question asked, at the very least, three times).

Often, however, this kind of space is not necessary for the intermediary community organizations to gather voices of constituents and relay them to lawmakers. Community organizers, as intermediaries, will also go into communities and listen to the concerns of those affected by environmental issues, and these concerns are brought to lawmakers' attention by these same organizers in private meetings with lawmakers as this access is granted. Jeremy's

organization occasionally connects constituents in direct meetings with their alderman so that constituents can express their concerns directly and upfront to a person who has the decision-making capability and the power to act on the concerns of affected communities. But in the absence of these opportunities, organizations like Jeremy's leverage connections with state and municipal officials to communicate the same concerns without requiring the presence of ordinary constituents.

I found this to be apparent as I found myself in a small study room of the Chinatown branch of the Chicago Public Library system. Seven people were crammed into a room designed for three to four at most. Animated chatter filled the room for a few minutes before the meeting actually began, and then right on the hour, Andrea and Kelly, the two co-hosts, pulled up a presentation on branding and public relations materials related to lead poisoning. These seven were members of the Chinatown Environmental Justice Initiative, and, as the name suggests, their aim is to expand the viewpoint of the specific environmental inequities faced by the Chinatown neighborhood of Chicago. This hour-long public meeting saw an influx and outflow of people interested in learning more about the environmental problems that plagued the community in which they resided. There was no city official or lawmaker present, only the advocates who comprised this very loosely constructed, nascent organization. And yet a prominent agenda item was the extensive discussion of the aldermen with whom these stakeholders had connections and to whom they would reach out in the coming weeks to coordinate the Chinatown lead mitigation campaign, demonstrating that organizations can convene with affected communities without necessarily having to have present the government officials and lawmakers at said meetings.

Direct Services—It is also the vertical coalition that provides direct services to constituents and the communities they serve. Jeremy gets particularly animated when discussing this project, one of his first with his community organization. Noticing a gap between messaging and implementation around lead in water, he tells me excitedly of how he managed to corral funding from public and private sources to distribute water filters to residents of Little Village so that they can at least temporarily circumvent the lead crisis they face when they open their taps every day. He comprehensively explains to me the entire process: from the beginning, when he convinced companies to produce filters at no cost to his organization or the residents he served, to the end, when he instructed residents on how to properly affix the filters to their taps.

He also conveys the efforts to address a significant gap in resources for community members in getting educated about the environmental issues they face regularly. One of the biggest hindrances that members of his community face in connecting them to the resources they need is, simply, language barriers: “One of the biggest projects we've done this year is translating pamphlets on lead. A lot of them were translated in French and Mandarin, which is really weird to me. We're working with them [original producers of pamphlets] to get their material translated into Spanish.” Little Village, a traditionally Mexican enclave neighborhood in Chicago, faces a language barrier that his community organization is able to directly address with the residents. It is noteworthy that organizations who are members of vertical coalitions generally operate in both directions: with lawmakers and with affected communities. Often these interactions are meant to put affected communities and lawmakers in contact with one another, but they can also interact with both groups separately, as Jeremy does with the water filter project.

Horizontal Coalitions

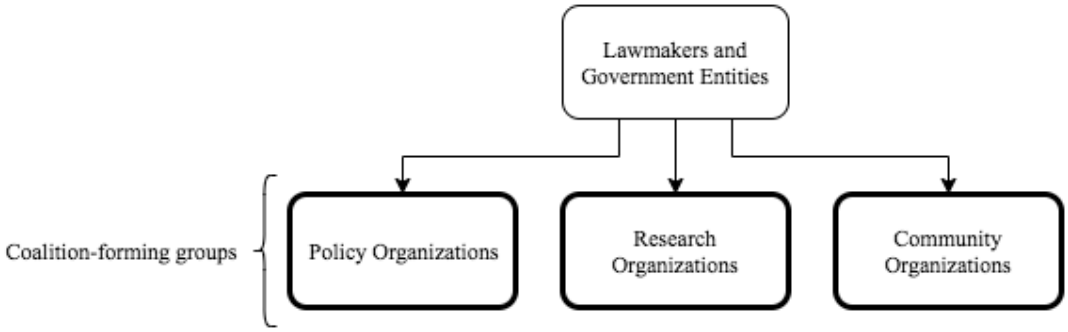

Figure 3: Horizontal Coalition

The other type of coalition is that of stakeholders that operate at the same level as one another—organizations that operate within the community, policy, and research realms to formulate policies that are then translated to lawmakers. This section will delineate the members, structures, and purposes of the horizontal coalitions of which the respondents were a part.

Research— Certain organizations produce research as their principal output. Researchers with whom I spoke fell into two categories: policy researchers and health researchers. Often, those who fell into the category of researchers were also members of the policy organizations, so there was some overlap between the groups. Within the research category, there were subsets of research that were meant for lawmaker memos, to be published in journals, and to be shared with other organizations within various coalitions.

Policy research is generally meant for public consumption, lawmakers, or to be used within coalitions. John differentiates research in his organization from other mobilization types in that "We're not really agitators, but we try to use solid research and evidence about problems to motivate change." Grassroots organizing, then, is not within the researcher's toolbox.

Ida also discusses the purpose of the research she conducts on environmental policies:

> I think the whole overall purpose of our joint memos and policy research is to make sure that the public is informed, our members are informed of what's going on, not just what kind of deal it is, but generally on environmental issues and understanding what's the process of what we're doing, where are we as far as getting things passed. For decision-makers is more to figure out, is this something that they're concerned with? And if so, this what we want it to look like, but how can we make it work for you [the lawmakers]?

Ida's policy research is intended directly to reach lawmakers' hands and allow for a certain level of debate and back-and-forth interaction as evidenced by the compromise she brings up at the end of this sample. Lawmakers engage with this material and create their own addenda as a form of negotiation.

Much of the work done on health research is intended for lawmakers' consideration or to be published in journals. Daniel, for example, researches residential accommodations and blood lead levels contracted from houses of subpar standards. When asked about the end goal of his research, he said that "it's always to influence policy, write regulations and sometimes legislation… so the whole idea is to do the research to inform policy changes and regulations. Health research and the data drawn from it, which is not necessarily directly policy-related, then, ends up being extremely influential in the policy realm.

Research itself, however, is often not enough to drive policy change. Researchers work in tandem with community and advocacy groups to enact change at the policy level, as Daniel continues:

> I've testified before Congress a number of times, and a scientist like me can get up there and give statistics and other facts about how housing deficiencies are a problem. But when a parent testifies and says, "You know, I, I should have known about this particular housing issue but I didn't my doctors didn't know about it either so my kids got sick I got poisoned. I should have known." And so when they get up there and tell their own story, which requires some courage, frankly, it has a powerful impact. So, there are a number of community groups and parents' groups around the country…that make a compelling case from a personal perspective. So you need both: you need the science and the personal story.

Edward, a university researcher who also participates in advocacy at the community level against lead poisoning in homes, shares a similar perspective on his own research: “Predictive modeling in and of itself doesn't tell us anything about whether the intervention actually helps people. It doesn't solve the problem.” He furthers that the inclusion of the voices of marginalized populations is the missing puzzle piece in the effective advocacy for environmental justice interventions. Researchers bridge this gap between themselves and the communities they study by way of involvement in coalitions with community organizations, who have greater access to and interaction with said affected communities.

The idea of researchers and advocates coming together in coalitions is especially important and the main way in which mobilization around environmental justice occurs. The next sections on members and structure demonstrate how members of horizontal coalitions use research to share amongst themselves and advance environmental justice policies. This research is translated by way of these coalitions to politicians and lawmakers, who use the insight to focus on communities that may have issues with the disproportionate impacts of environmental issues.

Members— The groups that comprise these coalitions are varied in their goals and the subject areas they cover. Ida discusses more specifically the different types of organizations with which she interacts through her state-level organization:

> We work with a lot of big greens [Sierra Club and Greenpeace] and we’re trying to work with more grassroots organizations now… An example we have is the climate table, so one part is, like, policy, right…then you have the other folks who are all the community folks, in the community spectrum…and then you also have operations people who are making sure that everything is starting to flow. There’s no kind of, like, separation between community groups and policy people.

Edward furthers: “There are people from all kinds of groups showing up. People from immigrants’ rights groups, people from just general social justice groups. There are community organizers, there are nurses.” Many stakeholders who join environmental justice coalitions are

not just environmental justice organizations—other activists also have a stake in these issues and work to combat them as well.

Structure—Although my respondents generally considered themselves to be working on the part of the environmental justice movement, their everyday work and action is directed toward achieving much smaller goals. Tatiana describes how "groups of people have different skills and different assets that we're bringing to the table and when you combine those assets, the sum of the parts is greater than the whole." The coalitions of which she is a part includes researchers, community organizations, and policy organizations, all of which have different goals within their own smaller networks. The problem of environmental justice, then, is one of many disparate and multifaceted concerns, and with a problem this large and complex, different organizations need to find ways to break the problem down into milestones that are more realistic given the resources available.

Members of horizontal coalitions see themselves as filling certain roles within the larger structure of the movement. For example, Shawn explains his conception of his state-level organization's role:

> I think we fit as a small puzzle piece into an entire, you know, jigsaw puzzle of folks that are working to make outcomes that are not based on where you live or what you look like or who you're around.

Like Shawn, almost all respondents discussed their role within these coalitions as a sort of intermediary. Joseph, echoing the sentiments of these groups, talks about how his organization is "often in the role of sort of the backbone organization or the facilitator." Baldassarri's polycentric network comes into play when considering the membership structure and focuses of different coalitions within environmental justice. Respondents discussed membership in

coalitions ranging from lead poisoning, air pollution, soil pollution, and food deserts. All of these interact with one another to form an overall environmental justice movement in Chicago.

Because the topic “environmental justice” is too large a topic around which to mobilize, using these smaller horizontal coalitions focused on policy advocacy and research allows for activists to achieve smaller, measured goals as opposed to a daunting and unapproachable large one, as well as incorporate these varied goals into a more flexible framework. The environmental justice movement is iterative and ever-changing—having organizations engaged in flexible coalitions allows for setting and working towards different priorities. In an observation of a meeting for a community-based environmental justice working group, the topic of conversation was not necessarily environmental justice as a whole, but the actionable step of educating residents of the community about lead poisoning. This was the first step, they discussed, towards creating a larger environmental justice agenda comprised of smaller, more digestible goals.

Shawn describes what most respondents expressed at this level for the purpose of polycentric-type networks: “we need the expertise of those folks. And they can use the expertise of our work. So it really is about kind of working together and knowing you are not the expert on everything. But if you're all working together, you can get more done.” These horizontal coalitions functioning at the policy level are intended, then, to fill gaps in knowledge that the other coalition members have so that, armed with this knowledge, they can work to overcome the issues they are combatting. The importance of coalition-building is underscored in Joseph’s understanding of what the horizontal coalition's purpose is: "our job is to not only bring our own perspective on that, but to facilitate the dialogue in order to pull everyone else's perspective." These combined perspectives and efforts allow for more comprehensive, well-thought-out policies to be presented to lawmakers.

Intractability

Coalitions do not exist without significant challenges, however, and understanding these challenges will be critical in assessing and evaluating the efficacy of this movement. This section covers the coalition dimension-specific and governmental interaction challenges that demonstrate the relative unviability of the environmental justice movement as it stands.

Contextualizing Coalition-Specific Challenges

It is clear that the most obvious challenge to any social movement is a lack of resources, including those related to time, money, and manpower. Jonah, for example, discusses how he wishes there were more opportunities to host roundtables and discussions with community members; at present, those meetings are happening once every two to three months. This would be possible, he says, if these meetings were able to be held at times that are more convenient for both the community and the organization itself, which would require booking spaces that are a little pricier. Almost all respondents commented on the lack of staff available to accommodate the bandwidth of the work their organizations strive to address. Lack of resources and the complexity of coordinating so many advocates with disparate priorities and capacities is a problem affecting coalitions that operate within the nonprofit sphere. Nonprofits are always tasked with the dilemma of apportioning funds appropriately to optimize both the amount of work they can perform and maintaining a working budget for their organizational expenses. Almost every respondent, when asked about the challenges facing the work they did, spoke of funding streams, donations, or generally money problems as one of the biggest hindrances to performing the work they needed to, to have greater outreach, and largely to the goals they wanted to achieve.

Although resources are a universal challenge for social movements, participants in the environmental justice movement also describe challenges specific to their strategy of coalition-building. Issues related to the engagement of stakeholders with different priorities and capacities present significant challenges to creating a united movement capable of dedicating the aforementioned resources towards achieving goals. We must, then, consider the role of coalitions in tandem with resource deficiencies to fully evaluate the efficacy of the environmental justice movement, and other movements that engage in advocacy through the use of coalitions as well. Further, Shawn contends that the structure of electoral politics makes it virtually impossible to implement any long-term policies with lasting structural implications when it comes to environmental justice.

This would imply that it is the very nature of their strategies—coalition-building and government interaction—that hinder these stakeholders in achieving the goals they have set within the environmental justice realm. The structures of these movements are simply too unwieldy and the priorities for a movement like environmental justice are too lofty for coalitions to be the only method in tackling this problem. As well as that, the challenges in government interaction mean that the goals and messages of the affected communities will necessarily get transformed on their way to the top of the chain of command—the lawmakers.

Horizontal Challenges – Stakeholder Engagement

A few respondents commented on the difficulty of engaging other stakeholders in a horizontal coalition context. Joseph explains these coalition-unique issues:

> Everyone in the coalition has other priorities, and so there's competition for time and attention. In any coalition you'll have varying levels of capacity… we also have, like, small community-based organizations who don't have the same staff capacity. So we have we have to figure out strategies to either compensate those folks to help with the capacity, which we do in some instances, or plan the meetings at different times are in different places to make it easier for them to participate. You want to try and level out the

> playing field as much as possible. And then everyone can participate as equals, and that's hard. It's a guarantee we've never done it perfectly, but we try to do it as best we can.

The "varying levels of capacity" presents a dilemma for activists in the environmental justice realm. The interest of one organization in a specific cause may mean very little if other activists are not interested in pouring their resources and effort into the same cause. It is difficult, then, for stakeholders to achieve specific goals in environmental justice causes if their other coalition members have disparate levels of engagement with said goal. This was apparent in the range of environmental justice advocates interviewed: some focus on general community development, some have state-level policy priorities, some are part of organizations that allow them to specialize in one facet of environmental justice over others. These conflicting priorities present a significant hindrance to the mitigation of discrete issues like lead poisoning or air pollution.

Another challenge with the engagement of stakeholders is the idea that it is never clear if the “right” stakeholders are present at the table and in the conversations being had. Chase, who works for a national-level environmental nonprofit organization and works on the side to organize for a community organization, discusses what it means to him to engage the right stakeholders in coalition meetings: “Who else is also not at this table and coordinating with some projects I personally work on? I always think of it as not only what I'm doing at the moment but also, like, who else should be involved in this.” The idea of the right stakeholders, then, is not a uniform definition, and it is difficult to delineate exactly who needs to be a part of a given conversation. The environmental justice movement is unique in that it spans many social groups who all have disparate interests in solving this problem. Identifying definitively what groups have outsized representation in conversations around the issue versus those who deserve to have a larger voice will be critical, though many of the responses to this question would probably consist of the same answer: that the affected communities have historically not had enough input

in matters that pertain to the issues their communities face. Thus, I would contend that horizontal coalitions are ineffective precisely by virtue of their structure, which necessarily excludes affected communities from their conversations. Without meaningful input from affected communities, the puzzle of the environmental justice movement lacks a critical piece.

Vertical Challenges – Government Process and Interaction

While organizational access to lawmakers did not seem to be limited for respondents who are part of established advocacy organizations with long-standing connections to municipal and state governments, some of the interactions themselves, as well as structural issues with governmental processes, have made it difficult for organizations and the constituencies they serve to enact change. These centered on the time frame within which the government acted, which often came into opposition with the stated goals of respondents, and the level of access they granted to their constituents.

Lawmakers and intermediary organizations often operate on different timelines from one another in a way that is prohibitive to the nature of change advocates hope to see. Shawn discusses at length the tension between the long-term, structural nature of his organization's goals and the short-term mentality of government officials and lawmakers.

> You know, it is the, I think, natural urge and desire of many politicians to be as strong and as upright and as swift as they can. So, typically, I think the responses that are couched in that kind of reaction don't treat root causes. You know, lots of times we're talking about ways to reduce violence, people say, "Well, that sounds long term, tell me what I need to do right now." And whatever fits into that right now is something that you shouldn't be doing right, you should be doing the long term thing, right? People will exist in and live in these communities for the rest of their lives…So, you know, that's always a challenge…. it's tough for people to really kind of vision a world in which those don't exist…Getting folks kind of it make that paradigm shift is, is something we fight every day.

Many of the goals of environmental justice advocates center on structural changes in the way historically marginalized communities are treated and how the resources for their reinvestment

are apportioned. However, politicians and other government actors are limited in these respects due to the nature of elections and the turnover rate of lawmakers in their positions. Politicians aim to demonstrate change on an immediate basis to prove to constituencies that more visible change is occurring during their tenure in power. Largely invisible changes to a system are therefore difficult to fit into this model, and the "paradigm shift" required to implement this change seems highly intractable. The structure of government turnover, then, seems to be fundamentally prohibitive to achieving long-term change in the environmental justice realm.

Further, constituent access to lawmakers, unlike intermediary access, is far more limited. A goal of Jeremy's community organization, for example, is to connect representatives to their communities in face-to-face, direct interactions. However, government officials' willingness and ability to engage at this level is often inadequate due to scheduling conflicts and other priorities. Joseph, too, often finds himself in the position of attempting to convey the level of priority that lawmakers should give to their constituents:

> The passing of lead pipe replacement program from the state's not going to really benefit me in any way so I'm not exposed to it. So I need to convince them that the work that we're doing is in the service of the greater good is in service of their constituents, and is something that should be a priority to them.

As stated previously, the role of the intermediary in this situation is to communicate not only the concerns of constituents to lawmakers, but to also connect them in direct engagement. However, this is much more of a challenge than it may seem despite the level of engagement and access to which organizations themselves are privileged.

ADDRESSING CHALLENGES

The structure and challenges of the environmental justice movement suggest that there is a disconnect between members of horizontal coalitions, as well as disconnects between

organizational goals of the intermediaries and government officials. The intermediary groups in horizontal coalitions find it difficult to coordinate movement-wide goals and aligning the capacities of organizations towards a unified objective, whereas government officials operate under navigating the tension between short-term immediate changes and long-term structural changes. In light of these results and challenges, I suggest two main avenues through which to consider policy changes. First, organizations working together must create a unified set of goals to pursue, and within government bodies, there must be a more distinct effort towards the codification of environmental justice lawmaking groups and committees.

Unifying the Movement

A unified set of objectives can work to integrate stakeholders and a movement of disparate goals into one that lays out clear demands, the mechanisms by which to achieve them, and the eventual results that stakeholders hope to see in a post-movement world. This eliminates two of the biggest questions regarding the engagement of stakeholders: first, the idea that different levels of capacity means that some stakeholders are left out of the conversation, and second, that the appropriate stakeholders can voice their opinions into a larger, more cohesive environmental justice goal framework.

Further, it allows for community interests to be better represented. Instead of a movement in which, at any given time, differing interests are at the forefront of the movement, a standardized set of objectives means that community interests must necessarily be of higher priority all the time. Such a set of objectives will provide an opportunity for considerable involvement from individuals ranging in involvement in the movement, from advocates to those affected. The question of stakeholder involvement is then significantly alleviated—when the

goals themselves are set out with the input of affected communities, the results will be solutions that will work for those communities first and foremost.

With the understanding that the environmental justice movement may be too large for such an ambitious goal, the idea of such a set of objectives would be that it would incorporate broad environmental justice goals that could then be understood on a community basis with its own set of goals to understand the needs of specific communities. Not every community is plagued by the same issues, but the inclusion of several different axes of environmental inequity would serve the dual purpose of highlighting the priorities of many different communities while also raising awareness of the issues that some communities face that others do not. For example, the Environmental Protection Agency, working nationally, lays out what it considers to be the most critical issues to be addressed, referenced in the "Background" section. The Chicago-based environmental justice movement could then adapt those goals into its own set of objectives based on what its most affected communities suffer from most, adapting what is already a productive document into a tailored version to serve the purpose of specific neighborhoods.

Legislative Solutions

Lawmaking bodies must also be better integrated into the goal achievement. Numerous studies have shown the effectiveness of congressional committees in establishing legislative priorities and getting bills to the floor of the lawmaking bodies (Krehbiel et al 1987, Gaines et al 2019, Berry & Fowler 2018, Evans 2011). The effectiveness of these committees could be extrapolated more specifically to state and municipal legislative bodies.

Given this effectiveness, I contend that the creation of an "environmental justice committee" in both the Illinois General Assembly and the Chicago City Council dedicated to environmental justice reform and policymaking would be a useful tool in countering the tension

between short- and long-term priorities, as well as making environmental justice of high import for lawmakers. When bills are introduced into the general legislative agenda, where they exist as discrete concerns addressed by individual bills, it is easy to consider them as such. Lead poisoning is seen differently from air pollution, which is seen differently from hazardous waste sites. These goals can then fall under the purview of different committees, and the effect of the idea that these are all goals within the same movement is lost.

The creation of a committee ensures, conversely, that these issues are considered as interrelated based on class and race, as well as become legislative agenda priorities for lawmakers intending to mitigate the economic and health impacts of environmental hazards on vulnerable communities. In an ideal model of this committee, lawmakers would join the committee and meet to build the docket based on the priorities set by the unified set of objectives and understand the interrelatedness of the issues of environmental justice based on those who are the most (and most unjustly) affected by them. The incongruent issues of lead poisoning, air pollution, hazardous waste sites, and land soil contamination, then, are considered in terms of the disproportionate impact they have on low-income communities and communities of color, who are known to bear the burden of these issues, and not as sweeping issues to be addressed without tailored solutions for those who need relief the most.

CONCLUSION

Environmental problems are both a cause and a symptom of many issues that face disinvested communities, an inequity that the environmental justice movement seeks to bridge. This thesis seeks to understanding the structure of the environmental justice movement and how stakeholders mobilize around the cause. However, little information exists about the structure of

this movement and how it relates to other social movements; I introduce social network theory into this discussion to shed light on the aforementioned structure, which in turn reveals the gaps in knowledge of modern social movements. This study concludes that the environmental justice movement consists of two types of coalitions (vertical and horizontal) and that these coalitions use research in order to enact change. Further, the coalitions have their own challenges regarding stakeholder and government engagement that make them ineffective at achieving their stated goals.

Through this study, I contribute to the study of social movements by arguing that classical theories fail to account for spatial and structural dimensions. Using environmental justice as a lens for this contribution, I draw upon the network of actors and the racial dimension of this crisis to emphasize this point. Social networks analysis is key to mapping out the players in the movement in order to understand what channels of information and hierarchies of power look like in this movement specifically. In this way, it is clear what the deficiencies in the movement are and what the best avenues are for addressing and correcting them.

Further, resource mobilization theory goes so far as to suggest that the reasons for engaging in social movements is one that is rational and based on cost-benefit analysis, as opposed to one that is irrational and done out of impulse. McCarthy and Zald (1967) emphasize much more the economic reasons for doing so, while McAdam and Tilly (1982) focus on the political process. Both of these hint at the idea of race and class as values surrounding the movement but must engage with these issues more fully to understand the pulse of modern social movements.

Further research

The limitations of this study allow for the possibility of further research and work on this subject. This could take many forms. A comparative study on the environmental justice movement and movements like labor or economic development could demonstrate how contemporary social movements not only differ from classical social movements, but also how they differ from one another. Further, engaging with more government officials could give a clearer picture of how the interactions between intermediary organizations, the focus of this research, and these officials are mediated and what structural issues lie therein. Lastly, gaining access to more coalitions meetings that are semi-public as opposed to entirely public would allow for a more detailed understanding of the dynamics of social change at a micro-level in which stakeholders create the foundations of their movements.

APPENDIX

Appendix A: Summary of respondents and observations

#	**Name (Pseudonym)**	**Organization**	**Type**	**Medium**
1	Jeremy	Little Village Environmental Justice Organization	Interview	In person
2	Shawn	Illinois Justice Project	Interview	In person
3	Ida	Illinois Environmental Council	Interview	Phone
4	Joseph	Metropolitan Planning Council	Interview	Phone
5	Tatiana	Great Cities Institute, UIC	Interview	Phone
6	-	Chicago Democratic Socialists of America	Observation	In person
7	Edward	University of Chicago	Interview	In person
8	Daniel	University of Illinois, Chicago	Interview	In person
9	Chase	National Resource Defense Council	Interview	In person
10	-	Chinatown Environmental Justice Initiative	Observation	In person
11	Kayla	Chinatown Environmental Justice Initiative	Interview	In person
12	-	Patagonia	Observation	In person
13	-	Village of Western Springs	Observation	Video
14	Liam	Office of the Lieutenant Governor of Illinois	Interview	Email
15	Mary	University of Illinois, Chicago	Interview	Phone
16	-	Patagonia	Observation	In person
17	Nora	-	Interview	In person
18	Richard	Harvard University	Interview	Phone

Appendix B: Sample interview questionnaire for members of policy organizations

1. Tell me about the work that you do.
2. What specific issues in environmental justice are you working on?
3. What do you consider your role to be in the environmental justice movement?
4. Do you consider your work to be more individual or group-based?
5. (If individual) What are the benefits of this style?
6. (If group-based) What kinds of other stakeholders do you interact with?
7. What do meetings look like for environmental justice?
8. What are the challenges of this movement?

Appendix C: Sample interview questionnaire for members of research organizations

1. Tell me about the research that you perform.
2. What specific issues in environmental studies or science are you working on?
3. What do you consider your role to be in the environmental justice movement?

4. What are the methods you use for your research?
5. What have been some key findings?
6. How does your research fit into a greater framework of environmental research?

Appendix D: Sample interview questionnaire for members of community organizations

1. Tell me about the work that you do.
2. What specific issues in environmental justice are you working on?
3. What do you consider your role to be in the environmental justice movement?
4. Do you consider your work to be more individual or group-based?
5. (If individual) What are the benefits of this style?
6. (If group-based) What kinds of other stakeholders do you interact with?
7. What do meetings look like for environmental justice?
8. What do your served communities cite as their biggest challenges?

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