Plantasia's Daughter: An Intersectional Approach to Environmental Education Organizations Through Diverse Hiring Practices

Milka Kiriaku

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Plantasia’s Daughter: An Intersectional Approach to Environmental Education Organizations

Through Diverse Hiring Practices

by

Milka Kiriaku

Under the Direction of Kim D. Reimann, PhD

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

2022
ABSTRACT

In the wake of the climate crisis, critical questions regarding the livelihoods and socio-economic prospects of Black and Indigenous People of Color linger as technical solutions in the alternative energy field forge ahead. Some early environmental and climate justice activists have argued that alternative energy solutions and other environmental initiatives suffer from inefficient mobilization, including drastic gaps in diversity and inclusion. The research will specifically look at diverse hiring practices to examine the fundamentals of Black and Indigenous leadership – herein referred to as BIPOC leadership - within environmental education non-governmental organizations in Georgia. The effects of these leadership models will be further studied to determine career linkage possibilities for minorities in the environmental education sector and the environmental sector writ large.

INDEX WORDS: Nongovernmental organizations, Diverse hiring, Social movements, Environmental education, Environmental justice, Climate change
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Through Diverse Hiring Practices

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May 2022
DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to the late Wangari wa Maathai, Dr. Robert D. Bullard, and the climate justice warriors in the geographic areas that are most impacted by the climate crisis. I would also like to dedicate this to my parents, Mrs. Mary Kiriaku and Dr. Johnson Kinyua Kiriaku.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research would not have come to fruition without the dedication and tenacity of my thesis committee. I want to thank Dr. Lakeyta M. Bonnette-Bailey, for her interest in the earlier versions of this project and for her willingness to delve into interdisciplinary research work for the political science department. I want to extend a note of gratitude to Dr. Charles Hankla for his insight into methodology and instruction around statistical analysis, as well as his work on this committee alongside his responsibilities as MA Program Director. I want to thank the Chair of this committee, Dr. Kim D. Reimann, for her continued support of my research from the sunrise of an experiential learning project to the sunset of this thesis. Her depth of knowledge and expertise in nongovernmental organizations, political literature, and research formation has been an inspiration as well as a fortifying ground for this project. I want to thank Adrienne Rice and the staff of Sustainable Georgia Futures for their continued insight into the green sector and their tireless commitment to Black and communities of color. Lastly—thank you, Kimani, for all the blessings you have brought into my life.
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In the wake of the 21st century climate crisis, several problems vex the American working and schooling populations. Issues surrounding climate change and its inevitable consequences have morphed into polarized camps that are housed within contingent ideological structures. However, despite polarization and political division, climate change continues to alter the landscape of cities, towns, and rural communities. A generation of young Black, Southeast Asian, East Asian, Indigenous, and non-White Hispanic workers are coming of age in the era of this drastic climate alteration. How do they make sense of their futures, their working years, and their livelihoods? One method of analysis approaches the problem through the public policy and nongovernmental institutions sector, primarily the advances of environmental education organizations. This approach emphasizes the need for alternative energy practices to ease the energy burdens placed upon general populations while recognizing an increased need for resource mobilization, environmental policy education, and green sector job development.
1 RESEARCH QUESTION

The climate crisis has birthed numerous industries working to combat the effects of climate change and environmental degradation. This includes the construction of educational organizations and training institutes that encourage conservation efforts and climate knowledge. This has produced two “arms,” so to speak, in the climate industry that link technical solutions (alternative energy, energy-efficient utilities, nature conservation, etc.) with social and interdisciplinary knowledge work (environmental education, environmental policy, and legislation). While there seems to be a fine coalitional approach that bridges the technical with the political and educational, there is a glaring lacuna thrumming from beneath these initiatives. That lacuna is the issue of race as linked to climate change and the subsequent consequences of the climate crisis within communities of color.

This may seem like a non-sequitur, but the issues of race and climate change are inextricably linked. Communities that consist primarily of people of color disproportionately bear the burden of air, water, and waste problems (Bullard, 1993). Additionally, race influences the likelihood of exposure to environmental health risks, increases the likelihood of living near sewage treatment plants and municipal waste landfills, and increases the chance of living near freeways as well as other noxious facilities (Knox, 1993). Given these interrelated phenomena, this thesis posits the following question: What could explain the lack of BIPOC representation and leadership within the environmental sector, despite the great burden placed upon communities of color by climate change?
1.1 Hypothesis

Could it be a lack of skill and or/opportunity in the talent pool? The literature regarding diverse hiring practices is critical to the foundational underpinnings of this study. A lack of results, skill, or opportunity within an intentionally diverse talent pool may offer a competing explanation for the lack of BIPOC representation in the environmental sector. However, the literature provides examples of a diverse hiring pool as critical to increased productivity and retention. Numerous studies have found that diversified sectors and industries consistently produce better solutions and more effective workplaces (Roberge, 2010).

Could it be a lack of effort on the part of environmental entrepreneurs? While this may be a tempting argument, the environmental sector tends to move quite swiftly in the realm of gender diversity and other forms of diverse hiring practices. However, recent studies have shown that gender diversity regularly outpaces racial diversity in the green sector, despite the strong interest in further diversifying the field (Taylor, 2015). Dr. Dorceta E. Taylor of the University of Michigan recently published a study showing that Caucasian women made considerable strides in leadership within sustainability nongovernmental organizations. According to this study, Caucasian women accounted for approximately 60% of the intern and new hire positions in these organizations (Taylor, 2014). The study makes the claim that every type of environmental institution made significant progress in gender diversity, but little had been done for racial diversity. This may point to a reality wherein diversity is viewed by environmental entrepreneurs as a compartment of gender relations only. This signals a narrowness of effort, and perhaps an anemic vision of diversity, but it may not signify a total lack of effort.

Could it be a lack of environmental educational exposure? The environmental education literature notes an increase in environmental education initiatives “... develops and enhances
environmental attitudes, values, and knowledge.” Environmental education initiatives also build skills that prepare individuals and communities to collaboratively undertake positive environmental action (Ardoin, 2019). A systematic review of 105 environmental education organizations conducted by the Stanford Social Ecology Lab found that cognitive and affective improvements were found in organization members. These positive effects lead to positive impacts on the individual member’s interactions with the climate crisis, increasing conservation efforts on an individual level, while also providing dedicated human resources to the environmental education sector on a collective level.

However, there is a gap in the literature regarding the makeup of these organizations. While there are these positive cognitive and affective improvements in organizational participants, who are the participants? Are communities of color considered in the marketing, recruitment, and expansion of these environmental education groups? After exploring the potential competing explanations for the racial representation gap in the green sector, the research in this paper proposes a new approach: how can we utilize environmental education organizations to bridge the representation gap between Black and Indigenous People of Color and White people in the green sector? In an even greater attempt at specificity and granularity, how can researchers look to the leadership of said organizations as a potential avenue for positive change? Environmental racism is often underrepresented in issues regarding climate change and alternative energy. This paper argues that the remaining gap in the prevailing environmental literature may be- at least, potentially- explored by analyzing the leadership structure of environmental education organizations. In this way, the intersecting issues of race and climate change as viable and important considerations in environmental policy creation may lay upon each other to inform climate solutions at hand alongside alternative energy trends.
1.2 Literature Review

Diverse Hiring in Environmental Education Nongovernmental Organizations

The preliminary literature paints a stark picture of the diversity dearth in environmental education, with one review finding membership lists in such organizations to be racially and socioeconomically “homogenous.” Leadership and staff of these organizations are regularly skewed towards middle to upper-class White people, with little effort to include People of Color (James, 1993). Though this is understood as the typical pattern in the environmental education sector, it may not be a supported method of sustainable organizational practice. In other industries, increasing the level of diversity has not only increased productivity, but has prevented stagnation, increased democratization in decision-making, increased the skill base and range of talent amongst organizational members, and curtailed the accumulation of implicit bias (Marquis, 2008). This leads to a few important questions facing the environmental sector, and the environmental education sector in particular: Where can environmental activists and educators have an honest conversation about the lack of diversity in their field, their own implicit bias in hiring practices, and the regular insight the diverse hiring practices improve industries? It may be pertinent to ground these questions and the supportive literature in an example. An experiential analysis of one such environmental education nonprofit organization, Sustainable Georgia Futures, may elucidate the necessity for this specific study.

Sustainable Georgia Futures is a grassroots environmental education organization stationed in Atlanta, Georgia. SGF serves people in DeKalb County, Clayton County, and Fulton County. As a part of the Justice40 coalition, SGF received direct funding to target green economic growth in communities of color. SGF approaches this work through the lens of relational organizing and federal climate financing. Sustainable Georgia Futures connects low-
income to middle-class workers of color to job and internship opportunities in the green sector. Additionally, SGF hires professional organizers and consultants to facilitate group meetings, or “House Meetings,” and to run the Green Fellowship Program. In both the House Meetings and the Fellowship program, recruited partners and hired fellows to engage deeply in workshops about the green sector, environmental climate justice, environmental racism, and climate gentrification in the city of Atlanta.

SGF relies on a fiscal sponsorship model. Fiscal sponsorship allows SGF to use another organization’s tax exemption for a small fee. However, if SGF can choose to pivot towards the private sector or choose to publicly trade on the market. Its fiscal sponsorship allows SGF to work as both a nonprofit organization and a nongovernmental organization. Seeing as the organization is relatively new and given that the Justice40 accelerator program gives SGF access to additional federal funding, SGF primarily relies on the grant funding model through a fiscal sponsor to support its operating budget and programming. This model allows for them to a) maintain 501(c)3 tax status and b) fund seven fellows through their Green Fellowship program. Importantly, this is a Black woman-led and Black woman-staffed environmental education initiative. Sustainable Georgia Futures is a nongovernmental organization that follows a social change model that implements diverse hiring and community leadership identification as a mobilization technique. The organization applies diverse hiring theory and the curtailing of implicit bias to the broader lens of environmental education (Lewis, 2015). The leadership and organizational mission of Sustainable Georgia Futures are based upon the idea that climate and environmental justice come from the policy sector. Subsequently, to change policy is to change social outlooks, norms, and valuations through the mobilization of available resources—resources that range from labor to technology, to monetary capital. From this lens, social change is not
only reliant upon technological and energy alternatives but is also reliant on the social values and norms present in each country, state, or city.

This is a different “method of attack,” so to speak, in the climate and environmental sector. It lies outside of prescribed understandings of technological and consumer models as the heartland of the needed systematic social change as a conduit for environmental and ecological shifts (Florini, 2009). In truth, both understandings are robust and well-supported by the literature. They work in tandem with one another and not against one another. The current climate and environmental sectors understandably emphasize efficient energy models, alternative fuel resources, and technological automation. The emphasis on resource mobilization in the event of increased grievances within the public as a balm for further disintegration is evident in Sustainable Georgia Future’s organizational model.

In the face of often conflicting and competing interests, while counteracting climate change, this emphasis on mobilizing resources through social movements and diverse hiring is crucial. Additionally, the social movement industry happens to be a growing industry in the United States of America, and within the American climate justice movement (Callahan, 2021). This can be seen through the growth of social innovation programs across liberal arts colleges in America as well as the institutionalization of federal and philanthropic funding models for the relevant nonprofit and nongovernmental organizations (Archino, 2020; Toscher, 2019). The usefulness of diversity literature within the specific school of climate justice is most evident when there is social fragmentation around climate solutions and the economic implications of the climate crisis. This particular intersection between diverse hiring literature and social movements can be found in the social movement theoretical school. Social movement theory notices the link
between “frustrations or grievances of a collectivity of actors and the growth and decline of movement activity (McCarthy, 1977).”

In the face of competing interests (fossil fuel lobbying, infrastructure stagnancy, transportation, and urban planning), climate realities, and growing class divisions, the stratum of climate opinions and action within most democratic countries is deeply fragmented. The additions of technological changes and fuel alternatives are crucial to understanding possible climate solutions, but social movement theory and the diverse hiring literature both ask an important clarifying question: is it enough? Is the implementation of scientific and technological tools enough to change the social values and norms of a given society insofar as it can change the entirety of its internal structure to accommodate such changes and to view those changes as necessary for a sustainable, tenable environment? This clarifying question is central to the cause of many nascent environmental and climate justice organizations, particularly those concerned with the intersection of race and climate change. Their missions are concerned with resource mobilization and the liberal application of technological and scientific change to the larger public through the shifting of social values as well as the mitigation of environmental racism. The necessity of a diverse hiring practice must be emphasized to accomplish these goals (Paynter, 2017).
2 METHODS AND DESIGN: CASE SELECTION AND EMPIRICAL RESULTS

By utilizing a comparative case study and statistical analysis method, this specific research design focused on fifteen randomly selected environmental education organizations that operate in the state of Georgia (Lijphart, 1975). As the hypothesis states, increased BIPOC leadership within these organizations may lead to an increase in the hiring of BIPOC staff members. As a teleological goal, increased BIPOC environmental education staff members may lead to an increase in representation for young BIPOC workers interested in the green sector. This may lead to a greater number of BIPOC students engaging in the green sector as a viable path toward economic mobility for early careerists as well as increased awareness of the racial-socioeconomic dynamic interlinked with the environmental sector.

2.1 Case Selection

All organizations were sourced from the Environmental Education in Georgia directory (Haddock, 2022). After an initial discovery phase and edits, all organizations analyzed were selected using three criteria. These organizations were chosen because they focused on the “learning processes that increase the knowledge and awareness” of environmental issues and sustainable development. Due to their interdisciplinary nature, this niche of the green sector concerned itself with education and instruction, rather than technological solutions or clean energy alternatives.

2.1.1 Criteria

Organizations were selected on the basis of three key criteria to maintain the integrity of the observations:

A. The organization fell under a 501(c)3 or 501(c)4 tax umbrella.
B. The organization consisted of at least three people. Individuals within the directory were not selected.

C. The organization focused on environmental education as a core objective of its organizational mission or goals.

Leadership was defined as executive directors, or those designated by the Board of Directors to lead the strategic initiative of the non-governmental institution, as well as the directors of individual departments. This was, in part, to simplify the categories of inclusion and definition. However, there was an additional reason for this delineation. Most of the selected organizations digitally published the biographies and images of their executive directors and staff but did not do so for the Board of Directors. Since this was a regular pattern during the research phase, I decided to focus on executive directors and department leads as the sole marker for leadership within an organization BIPOC leaders and staff were evaluated through the presence of Black, Southeast Asian, East Asian, Indigenous community members, and/or non-White Hispanic people on organizational websites. To discern these criteria, I looked at leadership and staff photographs as well as available biographies with specific references to background, race, or ethnicity. With this information, I made an educated guess regarding the selected person’s racial and ethnic background.

2.2 Empirical Results

Following the initial analysis of this research pool, I measured the relationship between BIPOC leadership and BIPOC staff by performing a crosstabulation in the statistical package, StataBE. I then performed a Chi-squared test to measure statistical significance. This is shown
through the correlation coefficient (* and **, respectively) in tables 2.2-2.3. I performed the same measures between White leadership and White staff. Finally, I measured the relationship between White leadership and BIPOC staff as well as the relationship between BIPOC leadership and White staff, respectively. A total of 200 leadership and staff members across the fifteen organizations were recorded and analyzed. For ease of presentation and readability, Table 2.1 has been converted to percentages, though the statistical analysis used the original numerical counts for accuracy.

I found several engaging patterns between the variables. Once operationalized, there was an effect between the independent variable - BIPOC leadership- and the dependent variable - BIPOC staff in the selected organizations (see Table 2.2). This relationship may signify some support for the original hypothesis, though it is important to note that the relationship and its effects were not as strong as anticipated. However, I was particularly surprised to see that there was indeed a relationship, in a general sense. The data did not find a statistically significant relationship between White leadership and BIPOC staff members. Similarly, there was little interaction between BIPOC leadership and White staff members. However, there was an illuminating discovery in the data between two other variables: White leadership and White staff members. It was observed that there was a very strong relationship between these two variables: *a positive correlation with nearly a 95% chance of statistical significance*. (see Table 2.3).
### Table 2-1: Organizational Leadership and Staff Makeup

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization Name</th>
<th>Percentage of Leadership: BIPOC</th>
<th>Percentage of Staff: BIPOC</th>
<th>Percentage of Leadership: White</th>
<th>Percentage of Staff: White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greening Youth Foundation</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EcoAddendum</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alliance for Climate Education</td>
<td>37.04%</td>
<td>44.44%</td>
<td>62.96%</td>
<td>55.56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Southface Institute</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>14.29%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>85.71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Captain Planet Foundation</td>
<td>28.57%</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
<td>71.43%</td>
<td>66.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sierra Club</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Environmental Education Alliance of Georgia</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Atlanta Watershed Alliance</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The EARTH University Foundation</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia Project WET</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green Girl Atlanta</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Leadership Program- Southeast Regional Network**</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chattahoochee River Environmental Education Center</td>
<td>17.39%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>82.61%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EarthShare of Georgia</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trees Atlanta</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>66.67%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
AN INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH TO ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION ORGANIZATIONS

Table 2-2: Organizational Analysis 1 – BIPOC Leadership and BIPOC Staff

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BIPOC-led organizations who have...</th>
<th>0 BIPOC staff</th>
<th>1-2 BIPOC staff</th>
<th>3-5 BIPOC staff</th>
<th>&gt;5 BIPOC staff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8*</td>
<td>2*</td>
<td>1*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

P(r) = .0119*

After performing a test of statistical significance, the relationship between minority leadership and minority staffing is positively correlated. This is represented by the correlation coefficient of P(r)=0.119. A coefficient of P(r)≥1 is generally understood as a positive correlation with a 90% chance of statistical significance. However, these variables did not have the strongest relationship.

Table 2-3: Organizational Analysis 2 – White Leadership and White Staff

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>White-led organizations who have...</th>
<th>0 White staff</th>
<th>1-2 White staff</th>
<th>3-5 White staff</th>
<th>&gt;5 White staff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5**</td>
<td>3**</td>
<td>3**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

P(r) = .079**

After performing a test of statistical significance, the relationship between minority leadership and minority staffing is strongly positively correlated. This is represented by the correlation coefficient of P(r)=0.079. A coefficient of P(r)=.05 is generally understood as a positive correlation with a 95% chance of statistical significance. These variables did not have as strong of a relationship as general convention would have, given that P(r)=0.079 and not P(r)=0.05. However, this relationship is important to note as it may provide the data needed for further investigation.

2.2.1 Analysis

It seems that the following pattern arises: When an environmental education organization has White leadership on its team, it is neither likely nor unlikely to represent a higher count of BIPOC staff members. The same is true when an environmental education organization has BIPOC leadership on its team and White staff members. However, when an environmental education organization has White leadership on its team, there is a statistically significant chance that there will be a higher count of White staff members. This is where the strongest relationship was found in the data. The effect is the same in the case of BIPOC leadership and BIPOC staff. It is not as strong as the effect between White leadership and White staff, but it is still present. The initial hypothesis was substantiated by smaller margins than anticipated. These data points may
have important implications for the subsequent hiring practices and representation of diverse staff in the environmental education sector.
3 CONCLUSION

This research thesis found positive relationships between BIPOC leadership and BIPOC staff as well as positive relationships between White leadership and White staff within environmental education nongovernmental organizations. The hypothesis was supported due to the weak albeit present relationship between BIPOC leaders and their staff, though the relationship was stronger and better supported in the case of White leadership and their White staff. This creates an avenue for further research within the environmental education sector and the green sector, writ large. Furthermore, the data obtained in this study seeks to reify previous research that suggests a positive correlation between the leadership of color in various industries and a greater number of BIPOC employees in said industries. This could point to clear paths of career linkage for young workers of color who are interested in the larger environmental and sustainability sector.

3.1 Limitations

Though the tests of statistical significance offered much in the way of demographic relationship analysis, this research design suffered from a few critical limitations. A few of these limitations arose from the buttressing of a qualitative research pool selection with a relatively simple quantitative analysis (King & Keohane, 1994; Stake, 2003). However, some of these limitations may have been avoided and may be avoided in further replications of this study. Firstly, all demographic information was strictly delegated by the researcher. These determinations were based upon ethnic markers such as staff pictures, names, and biographies provided through the organizational websites. Given the imprecise nature of such labeling, the demographic selection process may have potentially skewed observations. If this research design were to be replicated, all participants would be asked to self-report their racial and ethnic
identity. Self-reporting is not inherently a perfect option, but it may be a superior option when compared to researcher-dependent determination. Additionally, the researcher would invariably contact the organizations that fall under the nonprofit umbrella to provide their demographic reports. It is standard practice for most nonprofit organizations to provide such lists, either publicly or via private request (Burdick, 2022).

Secondly, I believe that the research would have benefited from better controls, namely the geography and location of selected organizations. Given that the study was geographically limited to environmental education organizations in the state of Georgia, there may be a disproportionate skewing of demographic data that is not representative of the entire environmental education sector. This compromises the generalizability of the data. Thirdly, the randomization of samples may have been compromised because of the primary source. The Environmental Education in Georgia directory is an incredibly useful tool. It is particularly useful when analyzing the intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizational aspects of this research. A large majority of organizations represented in the directory are directly linked to larger governmental initiatives, namely Georgia Project WET and the Sierra Club, though they themselves may be non-governmental. However, because of this lean, the sample pool skews towards specific types of intergovernmental environmental education initiatives with a smaller representation of nongovernmental organizations. This directly affects the nature of the organizations observed. It may also have a direct effect on the demographic choices in hiring. Had the directory included more community-based, grassroots initiatives, there may have been a wider pool of diverse staff members.
3.2 Final Statement

While quoting her mother, the late Wangari Maathai, Wanjira Mathai states that she did not find the environmental justice movement. Rather, it was the environmental justice movement that found her. This research thesis argues that there are substantive strides to be made in the world of environmental education organizations while considering the broader networks of intergovernmental and non-governmental institutions. In the past fifty years, these kinds of organizations have grown significantly in number, leading to increased awareness of environmental issues as well as the alternative energy options available to combat climate change. They have also created viable pathways to green sector jobs in the alternative energy field as well as the environmental sciences.

However, which of these approaches takes the proverbial first step in creating change? Is it the clean energy needs that create the environmental education and social sector policy? Alternatively, is it the environmental education and social sector policy that guide the mobilization of alternative energy resources toward the synthesized goals of reduced carbon energy production and clean energy usage? The scope of this paper may be unable to answer these questions, but it can point towards the necessity to bolster environmental education policy as a necessary route of analysis. This is largely due to the converging socio-political complex that plagues most, if not all, change initiatives in the West, particularly within the United States of America: that of the racial politik.
REFERENCES


