

A Framing Analysis of News Discourse in the Case of Environmental Racism in Lincolnville,  
Nova Scotia

by

Julia Stoughton

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for a combined honours degree in  
Environment, Sustainability, and Society and Sociology

at

Dalhousie University  
Halifax, Nova Scotia  
April 2017

© Copyright by Julia Stoughton, 2017  
Supervisor: Dr. Afua Cooper

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

AUTHOR: Julia Stoughton

DATE: April 17th, 2017

TITLE: A Framing Analysis of News Discourse in the Case of Environmental Racism in  
Lincolnton, Nova Scotia

DEPARTMENT OR SCHOOL: College of Sustainability

DEGREE; Bachelor of Arts  
Environment, Sustainability and  
Society and Sociology

Convocation: June, 2017

Permission is herewith granted to Dalhousie University to circulate and to have copied for noncommercial purposes, at its discretion, the above title upon the request of individuals or institutions. I understand that my thesis will be electronically available to the public. The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission. The author attests that permission has been obtained for the use of any copyrighted material appearing in the thesis (other than the brief excerpts requiring only proper acknowledgement in scholarly writing), and that all such use is clearly acknowledged.



— Signature of Author

## Table of Contents

List of Tables	I
List of Figures	I
Abstract	II
Acknowledgments	III
<b>I. Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
Overview of the Problem	1
Historical Background of Environmental Racism in Nova Scotia	3
Environmental Racism in Lincolnville	4
Research Question	5
Methodology & Theoretical Framework	5
Limitations	7
Research Purpose	7
<b>II. A Case Study in Comparative Environmental Justice</b>	<b>11</b>
Lincolnville vs. Sackville: A Necessary Comparison	11
<b>III. Literature Review</b>	<b>16</b>
Media & Social Phenomenon	16
Media Framing	18
The Challenge of Media Framing	19
Media Frames as an Independent Variable (IV)	22
Framing Analysis: An Approach to Media Framing	22
<b>IV. Methodology</b>	<b>25</b>
Gathering Data	25
Coding for Frames: The Policy Frames Codebook	27
Coding for Tone	31
Limitations	31
<b>V. Findings and Analysis</b>	<b>33</b>
Analysis of Primary Frames	33
Analysis of Article Tones	44
<b>VI. Conclusions and Recommendations</b>	<b>56</b>
Appendix	69

### List of Tables

Table 1: Manual-Style Coding Framework

Table 2: Primary Frames of Articles by Title, Year, and News Source

Table 3: Article Tone by Title, Year, and News Source

### List of Figures

Figure 1: Policy Frames Codebook

Figure 2: Illustration of hierarchical policy frames coding scheme: Immigration

Figure 3: Percentage distribution of primary frame categories in data set

Figure 4: Percentage distribution of article tones in data set

## Abstract

In the province of Nova Scotia today, most environmental hazards, such as waste disposal sites and polluting industries, are located in proximity to African Nova Scotian and Mi'kmaq communities. Thus, those communities are left to suffer a myriad of negative impacts, such as a lack of fresh air, clean water, access to unspoiled nature, dwindling property values, and resulting mental and physical health impacts, which work to perpetuate their historical oppression. In the academic literature, this societal issue is referred to as “environmental racism,” which theorizes that intersections between race and class result in the trend in which historically marginalized communities are disproportionately located nearby environmental hazards. This thesis deconstructs the issue of environmental racism in the African Nova Scotian community of Lincolnville as portrayed through mainstream and alternative internet news outlets. Using the methodology of framing analysis, this thesis uncovers underlying themes and tones associated with news discourse on the issue of environmental racism in Lincolnville, and explores whether news discourse is impeding or assisting the transcendence of this issue in present day Nova Scotia.

## Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Afua Cooper, for her inspiration, support and guidance throughout this thesis writing process. Dr. Cooper has a wealth of knowledge, and it was extremely beneficial to gain her perspective on the complex, systemic issues touched upon in this thesis. I am grateful for Dr. Cooper's understanding and patience as a supervisor, as well as for the countless hours of thoughtful conversing, emailing, and editing that she put into this thesis.

I would also like to thank Dr. Steve Mannell, Professor Andrew Bergel, and Dr. Daniela Turk for their encouraging advising and careful editing and revising of this thesis. Your comments were invaluable to the structure and fluidity of my work. As well, thank you to my colleagues of the Sustainability Honours class for their comforting feedback and support.

Additional thanks go to Gabe Fontana, who dedicated many hours to editing and sharpening this thesis and related presentations. I could not have done it without your consistent encouragement.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the tireless efforts of those fighting for justice from environmental racism in Nova Scotia, Canada, and around the world. May we progress as a society towards stricter environmental rights legislation that addresses the need for mandatory consultation with marginalized communities bearing the brunt of the nation's environmental impact.

## I. Introduction

### ***Overview of the Problem***

Although Canada as a nation is constitutionally committed to the principle of racial equality (Canadian Department of Justice, 2016), it is crucial to examine whether that principle is being upheld in practice. In doing so, one would quickly recognize that the interconnecting issues of systemic racism and poverty are still plaguing Canadian societies, and specifically minority populations, today. This thesis attempts to raise awareness about a particularly relevant ramification of the systemic interconnection between poverty and racism, and that is the condition and practice of environmental racism. In particular, it looks at a disturbing example of environmental racism in the context of present-day Nova Scotia in the community of Lincolnville.

As a theory and study, environmental racism critically examines the disproportionate levels of minority populations, such as Indigenous and African-Canadian communities in Canada, living in close proximity to environmental hazards, like waste disposal sites and polluting industries (Miller, 2015). In practice, environmental racism is:

Racial discrimination in environmental policymaking; in the greater exposure of racialized and Indigenous communities to toxic waste disposal and the siting of polluting industries; and in the implementation of policies that sanction the harmful and, in many cases, life-threatening presence of poisons in these communities. (Waldron, 2016, p. 4)

Implicated in environmental racism are the associated effects of a lack of fresh air, clean water, access to unspoiled nature, and health impacts on the historically marginalized (Perfitt, 2015). Originating in U.S literature, the concept of environmental racism identified that the

linkage between African American communities and pollution sites had more to do with race than other defining demographics, such as socio-economic status (Miller, 2015). To do so, leading scholars such as Dr. Robert Bullard used mapping techniques in order to create visual representations of the high occurrence of adjacency between African American communities and pollution sites (Miller, 2015). In addition to this distributive/spatial component of environmental racism, which is concerned with the inequitable health concerns and outcomes resulting from the disproportionate division of environmental hazards, there is also a discourse surrounding the procedural component of environmental racism, which looks at institutional mechanisms within government that allow for this inequitable distribution of hazards (Cutter, 1995). For example, instances such as: the historical exclusion of Indigenous and racialized populations from mainstream environmental groups and regulatory bodies, the disproportionate access to environmental services, the lack of political and organizational capacity these communities have for resisting the siting of environmental hazards in their communities, and the environmental policies that result in differential rates of addressing and remediating environmental contaminants in these communities, all perpetuate the role of procedural injustice within environmental racism (Waldron, 2016).

In identifying the disproportionate environmental burden thrust onto communities based on race or colour, environmental racism theory implies that the linkage between race and space is one of oppression, whether intentional or unintentional, by those in economic and political power. In Canada, the result of this environmental oppression is that racialized and indigenous communities are more likely to live adjacent to environmental hazards, such as waste disposal sites, and therefore accrue greater health risks than the average white community. Overall, environmentally targeted racism is one of the most poignant repercussions of systemic notions of

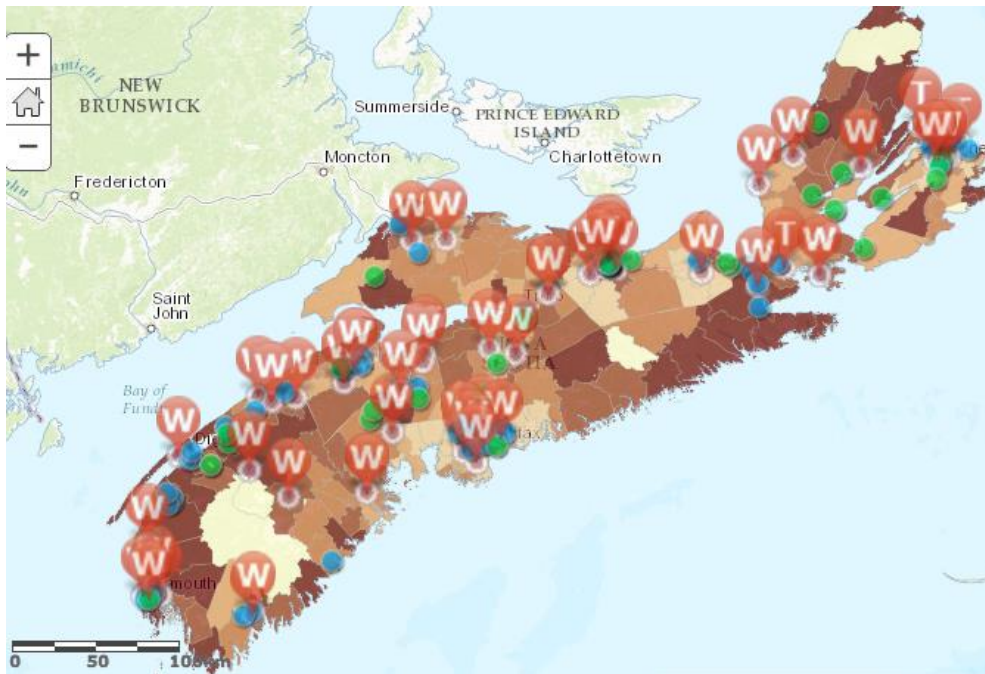


racism in the Nova Scotia context, and must be unpacked in order to understand the causes, effects, and the future avenues of remediation and prevention. In this thesis, the theoretical framework of environmental racism will be employed in the context of the presently afflicted African Nova Scotian community of Lincolnville.

### ***Historical Background of Environmental Racism in Nova Scotia***

Dating back to the famous case of environmental racism in Africville, NS between 1840-1960, environmental racism has remained a prominent challenge for African Nova Scotian and Mi'kmaq communities in Nova Scotia. In fact, a study conducted by Fryzuk (1996) found that 46.2 percent of waste sites in Nova Scotia are located in communities where proportions of African Nova Scotian or Mi'kmaq people are higher than the provincial average. It was also found that 28.5 percent of the 18,355 African Nova Scotian residents either lived within the community hosting the waste site, or within the five-kilometer impact zone (Fryzuk, 1996). To demonstrate this inequitable distribution of waste sites, the Environmental Noxiousness, Racial Inequities & Community Health Project (ENRICH Project), which was founded in 2012 to address socio-economic well-being and health concerns resulting from conditions of environmental racism in African Nova Scotian and Mi'kmaq communities (Waldron, 2016), has used GIS analysis and mapping to create an interactive, community-based map of the afflicted communities, illustrated below. The map locates toxic industries in relation to African Nova Scotian, Mi'kmaq, and Material Deprived communities in Nova Scotia, highlighting a direct correlation between waste sites and proximity to historically marginalized communities. Clearly, environmental racism is not an issue of the past; rather it is a pervasive dilemma that is currently impacting historically marginalized communities across Nova Scotia. (For more information on

communities presently or historically impacted by environmental racism in Nova Scotia, see Appendix.)



(The ENRICH Project, 2016)

### ***Environmental Racism in Lincolnville***

For this thesis, the focus will be on the African Nova Scotian community of Lincolnville, which is situated in northeast Nova Scotia in the county of Guysborough. Lincolnville was originally founded by Black Loyalists in 1783 and remains a community of nearly 100 percent Black residents (Deacon & Baxter, 2013). Today, the attention attracted to Lincolnville by environmental racism theorists is attributed to the current placement of a second-generation landfill in the community in 2006, which follows the previous placement of a first-generation landfill in that community in 1974 (Deacon & Baxter, 2013). Despite persistent community concern and opposition, the landfills remain environmentally, physically, and socially detrimental fixtures of Lincolnville, causing a myriad of negative health and economic impacts

for the community members. Further details of this contemporary example of environmental racism in Nova Scotia will be outlined in the Literature Review section of this thesis.

### ***Research Question***

Focusing on the case study community of Lincolnville, this thesis attempts to dissect the dilemma of environmental racism in Nova Scotia by examining the potential impacts of media representations of this particular case of environmental racism on public perception of the issue. It seeks to answer the question: how does the media, particularly mainstream and alternative internet news outlets, depict the case of environmental racism in Lincolnville, Nova Scotia? In exploring media framing of this crisis as an independent variable, it also outlines the potential implications of this constructed characterization of environmental racism in Lincolnville on remediating and preventing the perpetuation of environmental racism in Nova Scotia.

### ***Methodology & Theoretical Framework***

To explore the proposed research question, this thesis will conduct a ‘framing analysis’ of mainstream and alternative Internet news discourse across Atlantic Canada and Canada. As a methodology, framing analysis allows the researcher to meaningfully examine the structural and lexical features of a news text in order to deconstruct the newsmaker’s intended or preferred meaning, and the ensuing impact on public perception of an issue (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). This meaning may involve causal attributions of the roots of a problem or inferred options for the treatment of a problem, which can be implied or explicitly stated by the newsmaker (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). In effect, the systematic procedure involved in framing analysis allows the researcher to interpret potential impacts on audience perception of an issue, in this case environmental racism in Lincolnville. To apply this method to a stream of news discourse, this

thesis will code for article theme(s) from the “Policy Frames Codebook” and code for article tone to simplify the analysis (Boydston et al., 2014).

As this thesis aims to explore media frames present in mainstream and alternative Internet news outlets, the widely popular and accessible search engine, Google, will be used to gather articles. Articles will be gathered from online news sources such as *The Chronicle Herald*, *The Coast*, *Global News*, and many more. After critically examining a sufficient breadth of articles published between 2008-2017, the frequency counts and interpretations of themes and tones in the data-set will be discussed. This discussion will allow for a conclusion on how media representations of environmental racism in Lincolnville either inhibit or guide remediation and prevention of environmental racism in Nova Scotia.

For this research, the intersections between media and the case of environmental racism were chosen in order to better understand the exponentially increasing influence of the media on society, and thus its power in setting the public agenda for the issue of environmental racism. To establish the connection between media frames and the perception of and response to environmental racism, this thesis provides an overview of the literature on media framing and framing analysis as an approach to media framing. This literature review will highlight the direct correlation between media framing and the shaping of social movements and phenomenon, one that needs to be discussed here in a way that is distinct from past research that has similarly examined the intersections between media framing, Lincolnville, and environmental racism. This prior research, and the ways in which it is being expanded upon here, will also be discussed in detail in the literature review.

### ***Limitations***

In seeking to uncover the media framing of environmental racism in Lincolnville, this research confronted multiple limitations. To start, there was a lack of media coverage on environmental racism in Lincolnville, leading to a small sample size of 30 articles. Additionally, while every article in the data-set pertained to environmental racism in Lincolnville, most of the articles simply referred to Lincolnville as a prime example of the phenomenon rather than as the primary focus of the article. However, this still allowed the researcher to analyze media coverage of environmental racism in Nova Scotia. As framing analysis requires interpretations of article themes and tones, another limitation was whether this analysis misrepresented the underlying themes and biases behind the analyzed articles. Additionally, the chosen methodology is extremely time consuming, requiring that the researcher read multiple articles before knowing what it is they are looking for or concluding. Considering the time constraints of this 8-month study, it is uncertain whether the coding and analysis of a small sample size of articles produced meaningful and valuable results. Finally, it is the bias and assumption of the researcher that every individual reading this thesis accepts the fact that interconnections between racism and poverty have resulted in unjust and unequivocal policies, procedures, and practices today, and that these racist procedures need to be immediately deconstructed and rectified. To mitigate this bias, this thesis attempts to fully explain the historical and theoretical context behind the issue of environmental racism to facilitate the readers' understanding of the issue prior to in-depth analysis.

### ***Research Purpose***

This thesis aims to contribute to public awareness of the extent of environmental racism in Nova Scotia and the role of the media in shaping or influencing public understanding and

opinion of the issue and political-decision making in Nova Scotia. Overall, it is widely understood that government action on matters that conflict with federal or provincial interest is contingent on public pressure, which requires both an awareness of societal problems and a general understanding of the underlying causes that need to be critically addressed in order to overcome those issues (Al Nahed, 2015). As already outlined, there are systemic barriers between historically marginalized communities and the political and organizational capacity the communities have for resisting the placement of environmental hazards in their communities (Waldron, 2016). It is thus the role of the socially conscious public to assist these communities in pressuring the government towards ending these unjust, discriminatory policies and procedures. Standing between the public influence and government policy is public understanding and education around the issue at hand. Prolonging this issue is the fact that there are a lack of explicit regulations around environmental racism and limited evidence of distributive injustice in Nova Scotia, thus stalling action by Nova Scotian policy makers to address the procedural justice issues at the root of the issue (Waldron, 2016). As such, it is a necessary first step to draw attention to environmental justice and health equity as a means of improving the physical, mental, and the socio-economic wellbeing of the African Nova Scotian and Mi'kmaq communities in Nova Scotia.

On an academic level, this research will be relevant in the context of expanding the literature on environmental racism within the Canadian context. While the study of environmental racism is well documented and established in the United States, it is a newly emerging study in Canada and, thus, there is a lack of Canadian information and case studies (Fryzuk, 1996). Though there may be a lack of researched cases of environmental racism in Canada, there is clearly an abundance of evidence to support the claim that this systemic issue is

alive and well across the country. Although communities in the United States have taken steps to address the issue, environmental racism is a very new term in Canada and the government has not done an adequate job at addressing it (Boon, 2016). As a result, it is of absolute necessity that more research is done to contribute to the study of environmental racism in Canada and, ultimately, to undermine its enduring influence on Canadian policy and the health and welfare of historically marginalized communities.

This thesis will also contribute to the workability of framing analysis as an approach within media effects research. There exist a variety of approaches to understanding media frames within media effects research, and framing analysis has been identified as a solution to this issue (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). However, it is a relatively new approach and it must be expanded on to apply to a stream of news discourse. As a systematic approach to decoding Internet news discourse (Vivian, 2013), framing analysis is a key element to uncover what is being disseminated in relation to environmental racism in Lincolnville. In doing so, it will aid in the understanding of the impacts of internet news media on the population's discussion and understanding of this social issue and the repercussions of this discussion on environmental policy (Vivian, 2013). Understanding this process also has the potential of assisting those engaging in public relations in effectively communicating the intended meaning of their story to journalists and the press (Vivian, 2013). Unique to this thesis, the practice of applying Framing Analysis to a stream of news discourse by using the "Policy Frames Codebook" and coding for tone will also be attempted (Boydston et al., 2014). If effective, this approach could assist future researchers in dissecting article meaning and the ensuing impact that news discourse might have on public perception of social phenomenon.

**Sustainability.** As previously established, environmental racism is an issue that threatens the social and economic wellbeing of marginalized communities by making hazardous the environment around them. In the context of attaining a more socially, environmentally and economically sustainable world, it is thus absolutely necessary that every individual is granted the right of living in an environment free of mental and physical health hazards. After all, as famously stated by Martin Luther King, Jr., “injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere” (King, 1963). With that in mind, it is essential that environmental racism be confronted as everyone in Canada has the inherent right to live in an environment with clean water, uncontaminated soil, and unpolluted air.



## II. A Case Study in Comparative Environmental Justice

### *Lincolnton vs. Sackville: A Necessary Comparison*

In this section, the examples of environmental racism in Lincolnton, an African Nova Scotian community, and Sackville, a low-income, white community, will be juxtaposed to highlight how factors of race and class work to disproportionately oppress vulnerable communities. While both communities are marginalized to some degree, Lincolnton is doubly marginalized by an intersection between race and class, thus explaining the differing response to the communities needs by the municipal government.

**Lincolnton.** As stated in the First Chapter of this thesis, the example of environmental racism in the African Nova Scotian community of Lincolnton is centered around the current placement of a second-generation landfill in the community in 2006, which follows the previous placement of a first-generation landfill in that community in 1974 (Deacon & Baxter, 2013). When the first dump was opened, the municipality displayed a clear disregard for the health of the Lincolnton residents in the carelessness of its management. For example, diesel and oil were repeatedly spread across the landfill and ignited, releasing untold levels of toxins and greenhouse gasses into the community from the dead animals, transformers and polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs) within the landfill (Bundale, 2015). In addition, while residents of Upper Sackville suffering a similar fate got \$5 million in compensation, assisted relocation for 25 families as a result of insufferable odour, regular monitoring of the landfill and the proper enclosure around the landfill to protect the drinking water from leachate, the needs of Lincolnton residents were ignored, and the dump was simply closed and buried (Bundale, 2015). Although the second-generation landfill improves upon past conditions in requiring double lining and leachate control

and detection mechanisms, it does little to address the negative social, cumulative and justice impacts of the two landfills in Lincolnville (Deacon & Baxter, 2013).

Today, Lincolnville's population is dwindling, and there are high rates of outmigration by young adults due to lack of employment, plunging property values, poor health, and indifference towards restoration by the municipality (Lindsay, 2006). These conditions that make Lincolnville an undesirable place to live are a direct result of the landfills. For example, long time Lincolnville resident, James Desmond, has stated his concern regarding the health and environmental impacts of air, water and soil pollution, dwindling property values, declining population, and wildlife nuisances connected to the landfills (Bundale, 2015). Supporting this claim, research has proven that members of Black and Mi'kmaq communities in Nova Scotia suffer higher than average rates of cardiovascular disease, diabetes, cancer and cancer mortality (Fraser, 2013). Though it is difficult to prove, some residents in Lincolnville have made the linkage between high rates of cancer in the community and the first landfill, claiming there are two to three people diagnosed with or who have suffered fatalities from cancer per family (Lindsay, 2006). Ironically, this suffering community reaps very little benefit from the two mega-million dollar landfills, and only one Lincolnville resident is employed by the second-generation landfill as a part-time cleaner (Baldwin & Butler, 2010). Clearly, residents are unjustly made to shoulder all of the social and the health impacts while being removed from the economic benefits.

Despite the fact that the systemic issue of environmental racism is disguised in public policy and hidden from the public eye, residents of Lincolnville are very aware of the racial nature of this environmental oppression. This awareness preceded the input of the second-generation landfill, and many residents have fought for justice from environmental racism,

specifically the frequent connection between Black communities and landfills, for a lifetime (Baldwin & Butler, 2010). In fact, at the discovery of the plans for the 2006 landfill, Lincolnville residents opposed the project, citing that the landfill would be another excuse for the municipality to profit off of harming the community (Lindsay, 2006). More specifically, past and present residents of the community headed the “Save Lincolnville” campaign, reinforced by the Nova Scotia Public Interest Research Group, the Ecology Action Center (EAC), Bound to Be Free, the Dalhousie Black Law Students Association, and other groups, which accused the municipality of environmental racism towards Black Canadians, First Nations people and the working poor (Lindsay, 2006). This accusation is a familiar one, representing the claims of Black communities across Nova Scotia and the whole of North America. For protesting community members, the dump is simply the continuation of a long history of abuse and of a lack of protection by the municipality of Guysborough (Lindsay, 2006). Despite the breadth of objections, the second-generation landfill was established in Lincolnville. As a result, present-day Black citizens across Nova Scotia continue the unyielding fight against environmental racism in a legal system that suppresses identification and action towards these issues.

**Sackville.** As already established, environmental racism is about the intersection between race and class (i.e.: the working poor), which allows for public policies to take advantage of communities with a lack of power and voice in the decision making process. In Nova Scotia, however, it has been argued that the isolation of “class” in this intersection creates a divergence in the treatment of communities afflicted with disproportionate levels of environmental hazards (Boon, 2016). As a low-income white community that faced conflict with a landfill decision, Sackville, Nova Scotia is a key point of comparison. Additionally, as the dispute over the Sackville landfill reached a peak in 2009, the same period as that of Lincolnville, there is

increased opportunity for comparison between the resolution reached in the case of Sackville and the ongoing lack of resolution for Lincolnville (Boon, 2016). Though the landfill in Sackville was positioned further away from the community than that of Lincolnville, the residents of Sackville received financial compensation for the environmental damage it caused and the *Sackville Act* was ratified in order to protect the health and welfare of the residents, and to ensure that a landfill would never again be placed in their community (Media Advisory, 2007). Additionally, the landfill was closed in 1996 and a multi-million dollar leachate collection system was installed, further highlighting the need for reparations in the case of Lincolnville (Lindsay, 2011).

Overall, the fact that Sackville's white, low-income residents were able to have their "landfill problem" both addressed and compensated while Lincolnville's Black, low-income residents are still seeking reparations is a poignant example of how economic and racial factors converge to disproportionately disempower and disadvantage marginalized communities in cases of environmental racism. While both communities are victim to the pattern of environmental racism in Canada as a result of their economic and/or racialized marginalization, it appears that Lincolnville is doubly victimized by systemically unjust policies for the amalgamation of its racialized and low-income status, and thus treated differently than Sackville (Boon, 2016). As Dr. Ingrid Waldron, a professor at Dalhousie and the leader of the ENRICH project, asserts, however, the policies and practices that allow for environmental racism and its distinct levels of discrimination to occur are not the result of overtly racist government officials, rather they are rooted in subtle and systemically racist policies and ideologies (Boon, 2016). In particular, as the majority of government officials in Nova Scotia are white, Waldron believes that policies and decisions are being made through the eyes of people who do not empathize with or understand

the marginalized communities that are being subjected to environmental racism (Boon, 2016). Rather than being a maliciously racist act against these marginalized communities, it is simply a matter of which communities are valued and which are not (Boon, 2016). To put it simply, Waldron believes that, for the marginalized communities in question, “it’s much easier to place an industry there because nobody is thinking about them” (Boon, 2016, para. 10). To conclude, it is important to note that, although these discriminatory policies may appear subtle and systemic from an outsider’s perspective, residents of Lincolnville are acutely aware of their oppression. Demonstrating the painful awareness of environmental racism as a lived experience, James Desmond, resident of Lincolnville, stated:

The municipality has shown nothing but contempt for the will of the residents. This has been evident through their refusal to address our collective demands, attend our community meetings, or their continual passing of unilateral decisions which greatly affect our lives. (Media Advisory, 2007, para. 30).

Clearly, it is of absolute necessity for the welfare of individuals like James Desmond that cases of environmental racism be addressed. To do so, however, it is important to conceptualize how the social issue of environmental racism is being presented to the public sphere in order to understand the processes contributing to its ongoing legacy within Nova Scotia. In doing so, this thesis will use the theory of media framing to conduct a framing analysis of Internet news media sources pertaining to environmental racism in Lincolnville. As a foundational theory of this thesis, the following Literature Review chapter will be dedicated to defining, explaining and validating the use of media framing within this analysis

### III. Literature Review

This chapter reviews the literature on theories and history relevant to the established research question. Then, an overview of the connection between media framing and social phenomenon will be presented in order to conceptually relate the intersections between media frames, environmental racism in Linconville, and the public agenda that will be explored in the bulk of this thesis. To continue, media framing as an approach to media effects research, and its accompanying critiques, will be defined to validate the author's use of the theoretical lens of media framing as an independent variable for this research topic. Finally, Framing Analysis as a methodological approach to media framing will be defined and described.

#### ***Media & Social Phenomenon***

It is important to consider the implications of media exposure on public perceptions of social movements or phenomenon, in particular the case of environmental racism in Lincolnville (Corrigall-Brown & Wilkes, 2014). Since many community groups, such as the Save Lincolnville Campaign, Bill 111 supporters, and the ENRICH Project, are currently working to combat the status quo acceptance and nature of environmental racism in Lincolnville and across Nova Scotia, this can be conceptualized as a regional social movement. To contribute to the understanding of the systemic barriers to transcending environmental racism in Nova Scotia, the media's role in interpreting, defining and giving meaning to the social movement against environmental racism and to environmental racism as a social phenomenon in general must be examined. In doing so, the role of media discourse in shaping public perception of environmental racism in Lincolnville can then be discussed to explore potential impacts on public policy surrounding the issue.

As Baylor (1996) has established, social movements depend on the media to represent the aims and grievances of their struggle, and to amass public support. This can be challenging because the media gets to choose which stories to discuss and how those stories will be framed, which directly and indirectly influences the ways in which social issues are portrayed, publicized, interpreted and dealt with (McLellan, 2015). Depending on the ways in which the media frame the goals and actions of a social movement, the impact on audience perception of an issue can be positive or negative (Baylor, 1996). For example, as media filters information into particular narrative structures, defines the inclusion and exclusion of particular voices, and interprets public opinion, rather than mirroring particular events, it holds the risk of further marginalizing vulnerable populations and/or devaluing the goals and broader systemic issues behind social movements (McLellan, 2015).

**Relevant Research.** Although research has shown that issues or activities sitting outside of the political agenda or status quo often receive little to no media coverage, there are exceptions and recent evidence has uncovered a shift in the media environment away from this trend (Corrigall-Brown & Wilkes, 2014). In the case of environmental racism in Lincolnville, past research conducted by Deacon (2010) established a negative correlation between media coverage and community welfare, asserting that the media represented a third form of procedural environmental injustice by (re)producing injustice(s) through lack of coverage and/or biased coverage, which manifests as the exclusion of local voices in the coverage of the issue. Deacon analyzed the discursive strategies, such as complex language and economic fear tactics, of alternative and mainstream news media, and determined that these strategies limited the accessibility and comprehension of the news coverage rather than supporting the people of Lincolnville in effectively communicating their message to the public (2010).

Given the aforementioned fact that the trend of media coverage on anti-establishment issues is shifting, however, this thesis will revisit the nature of media coverage of environmental racism in Lincolnton through the theoretical lens of media framing (news framing). Additionally, although Deacon has already addressed the impact of media on setting the public agenda for environmental justice in Lincolnton, their paper identified the need for future research to focus on different sources of media for information, such as televised news, magazines, and mainstream Internet news outlets (2010). As such, this thesis will examine mainstream and alternative Internet news outlets to fill that research gap. Finally, as Deacon's case study period of news articles was between 2003-2007, this thesis will fulfill the need of revisiting the issue in the contemporary context. Though Deacon used a content and discourse analysis approach to analyzing news text, this thesis will adopt Boydston, Card, Gross, Resnick, and Smith's approach to framing analysis (2014), as there is no fixed set of rules to the content and discourse analysis approach (Deacon, 2010) and therefore increased opportunity for personal bias in text interpretation. Before explaining the framing analysis approach, however, I will discuss its origins in media framing research.

### ***Media Framing***

**Definition.** As stated in the Introduction, the theoretical lens that will be used to establish and interpret the media's construction of the case of environmental racism in Lincolnton will be media framing (news framing). Media framing is a theory within media effects research that examines the ways in which the media impacts an audience (Knudsen, 2014). Although there is a lack of consensus within journalism and communication literature regarding the definition and conceptualization of media framing, it is generally agreed upon that framing as a theory of media effect examines how a message is presented, how this presentation would affect the content, and



how particular elements of this narrative would effect the reader (Knudsen, 2014). That is to say that media framing is not concerned with *what* is being presented. Thus, media framing is divided into media frames (how the media discusses, reflects upon, or takes a certain position around an issue), and audience frames (how the public views important social issues), and posits that media frames influence audience frames rather than influencing which issues the audience views as significant (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Most commonly, media framing is interpreted as the way in which selection and salience in news stories work to highlight and emphasize certain information to the audience (Knudsen, 2014). In practice, news media makes particular aspects of reality more relevant to the audience by encouraging a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral assessment, and/or treatment suggestion for the topic described (Entman, 1993).

### ***The Challenge of Media Framing***

Although framing has become one of the most popular sectors of research for scholars in communication, psychology, behavioural economics, sociology, and political science, to name a few, there remains a great lack of consensus around its definition and the consistency of its application as an operational model (Cacciatore, Scheufele, & Iyengar, 2016). In communication literature alone, one will come across several definitions of framing that span from frames as principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation, to frames as the manner in which a story is written or produced, to everything in between (Cacciatore et al., 2016). In an operational context, these various definitions take the form of either “equivalence framing,” which is framing that involves manipulating the arrangement of logically equivalent information, or “emphasis framing,” which is framing that involves manipulating the content of a communication (Cacciatore et al., 2016). In addition to this lack of an operational definition of framing, another

challenge is that the understanding of framing in communications literature conflicts with other conceptual models like priming, agenda-setting, and persuasion setting, and with the related concepts of schemas and scripts (Cacciatore et al., 2016). In consequence, this variance of understanding within and across multiple disciplines works to undermine the comparability of research results and instruments across media framing studies (Scheufele, 1999). Media framing research is then left with a fluid conceptualization of framing that encompasses the full range of understandings, which leaves it indistinguishable from other media effects concepts and with little explanatory power (Cacciatore et al., 2016).

**Solution.** To bypass this operational and definitional uncertainty, Cacciatore et al. (2016) recommend refocusing framing research on the equivalence-based definition and eliminating emphasis-based definition from the analysis. This is because emphasis framing operationalizations obscure the lines between media agendas, frames and primes, and other informational or persuasive elements of a message, while equivalence framing adopts a more isolated and concrete definition of framing (Cacciatore et al., 2016). To restate, equivalency framing relies upon distinctive but logically equivalent words or phrases to produce the framing effect, therefore emphasizing the distinction in *how* specific information is presented to audiences as opposed to *what* information is being communicated, which would fall under the emphasis-based definition of framing (Cacciatore et al., 2016). Although shifting away from emphasis-based definitions of framing would inevitably limit the scope of framing work, Cacciatore et al. (2016) insist that it would, in turn, expand the scope of equivalence-based research into framing, opening up the opportunity to explore frames based not only on text, but also on non-verbal or visual cues. More importantly, shifting away from emphasis-based framing to equivalence-based framing would address the fragmented nature of existing literature

on media framing, which is currently undermining the significance, comparability and validity of media framing research, as well as supply the researcher with a distinct mechanism of studying media framing in this particular case.

This thesis will adopt the equivalence-based definition of framing in order to look at media frames of environmental racism in Lincolnville as an independent variable to public perception of the issue. In practice, this means that this thesis will explore the different ways in which the same issue, environmental racism in Lincolnville, is framed across Internet news outlets within a given timeframe. This interpretation of framing involves the placement of information in a particular context, so that certain features of the issue receive a greater allocation of the audience's cognitive resources, and thus play a larger role in influencing the audience's judgment or inference making around the issue (Pan & Kossicki, 1993). Generally, this type of media framing has been employed to study voters' impression of causality and responsibility in regards to public policy issues or to assess the impact of question framing on public opinion responses (Pan & Kossicki, 1993). This past application of equivalence-based media framing connects perfectly with the aim of this research, which is to uncover how notions of causality and responsibility in the case of environmental racism in Lincolnville are being framed in the media, and implicitly reflected in public consciousness. To conclude, by examining the organization, thematic structure, and selection of content across these news sources, I will hypothesize how the news story frames activate particular knowledge structures in the audience, shape public evaluation of environmental racism in Lincolnville, and thus how they influence the public's allocation of responsibility related to broader issue of environmental racism in Nova Scotia (Price, Tewksbury, & Powers, 1997).

### ***Media Frames as an Independent Variable (IV)***

Though there are many ways in which media framing has been studied in the context of social issues, this thesis will explore media frames of environmental racism in Lincolnville as an independent variable, and conceptually predict the link between media frames and audience frames. To review, audience frames can be interpreted as the attitudes, opinions, or individual frames resulting from the media framing of a social issue (Scheufele, 1999). This thesis will be taking an approach similar to that done by Pan and Kosicki (1993) and Entman (1993) by providing an exploratory analysis of media frames as inputs and audience frames as outputs in relation to a particular social issue (Scheufele, 1999). Although this method focuses more on how the content of a news story is presented and theoretically linked to audience frames rather than directly investigating the influence of media frames on audience frames, it is still considered significant in the realm of media effects research as investigating the content of a story is a critical step to holistically understanding the communication process (Knudsen, 2014). Additionally, as Pan and Kosicki (1993) highlight, despite the fact that this type of exploratory analysis is only the first step in analyzing the news discourse process as a whole, it still serves the purpose of both contributing to the understanding of how the case of environmental racism in Lincolnville is being constructed in the media, and predicting the potential implications this may have on public perception of the issue.

### ***Framing Analysis: An Approach to Media Framing***

One prominent approach to the equivalence-based definition of media framing would be framing analysis. Framing analysis, established by Pan and Kosicki (1993), is a constructivist approach to examining news discourse that focuses on deconstructing the structural and lexical features of an article. Since its origins, it has been recognized as a very suitable approach to

understanding the media's role in political life (Al Nahed, 2015). Its strength lies in analyzing the affect of media on both individuals and on society as a whole (Al Nahed, 2015). In regards to individuals, news discourse can alter perceptions and attitudes towards an issue, and on the societal level news frames can shape politicization, socialization and collective action surrounding an issue (Al Nahed, 2015). Framing analysis relies upon the basic understanding of the constructive interpretation process: that the reader processes the structural and lexical features of a news article, relates them to knowledge bases in their memory, and makes inferences of the semantic meanings from the texts (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). Since the structural and lexical features of an article define the limits and parameters through which the reader can decode information, and therefore what message is ultimately received by the reader, these features are the focal point of framing analysis (Pan & Kosicki, 1993).

Within the framing analysis model, structural and lexical features are referred to as “framing devices,” or the tools that newsmakers use to construct news discourse and the ensuing psychological stimuli that readers process (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). More specifically, these “framing devices” are defined as the syntactical, script, thematic, and rhetorical structures of a news text that construct and convey the intended or preferred meaning of the newsmaker (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). Framing analysis posits that these framing devices and their functional relationship to meaning are often exploited by newsmakers and news consumers to increase the probability of communicating the intended or preferred meaning (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). This meaning can either direct attention towards an issue, or confine the perspectives available to readers (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). Framing analysis differs from other approaches, such as content analysis, in that it uses systematic procedures to gather and interpret data regarding the intended meaning behind news texts rather than relying on the researchers' resourceful readings of the

news text (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). As a result of this structured, systematic approach, many academic journals have relied on framing analysis to interpret information, such as The American Journal of Public Health, which has an entire section dedicated to “Framing Health Matters” (Vivian, 2013).

As Pan and Kosicki’s model of framing analysis is limited to a single-article analysis, this thesis will be adopting Boydston et al.’s (2014) approach to framing analysis as it offers workability across a stream of news discourse. This approach is detailed in the ensuing Methodology section. Overall, this thesis will use Boydston et al.’s approach to framing analysis to make inferences to the status of public perception and sentiment surrounding environmental racism in Nova Scotia, and ultimately determine whether the media is assisting or impeding the transcendence of this contemporary crisis.

## IV. Methodology

Although Pan and Kosicki only applied the model of framing analysis to one news article, coding the aforementioned elements of news discourse at the sentence level, they stated that the model could be adapted and applied to a stream of news discourse (1993). Since their research was published, other researchers have adapted the framing analysis approach to examine a stream of news discourse pertaining to an issue. For this thesis, the approach to framing analysis is adapted from Boydston, Card, Gross, Resnick, and Smith's article, *Tracking the development of media frames within and across policy issues* (2014), as it outlined an effective way to apply framing analysis to a collection of articles.

To reiterate, this thesis will explore how environmental racism in Lincolnville is being characterized across mainstream and alternative Internet news sources, and what those implications are for audience perception of the issue, particularly regarding policy options to respond to the issue. Since news discourse had been found to present causal reasoning and attributions to the roots of a problem as well as appealing to certain policy options (Pan & Kosicki, 1993), this framing analysis of news discourse can be used to reveal implied or explicitly stated policy options to address environmental racism in Nova Scotia. Finally, as public awareness and perception of social issues are key to overcoming those issues at a public policy level (Al Nahed, 2015), this exploration of public perception and sentiment surrounding environmental racism in Nova Scotia based on Internet media frames can determine whether the media is assisting or impeding the transcendence of this contemporary crisis.

### ***Gathering Data***

In order to gather data, the search engine Google was used. This is because the research aims to fill the knowledge gap outlined in Deacon's (2010) past research on the intersections

between environmental racism, Lincolntonville, and the media, which called for an examination of alternative and mainstream Internet news articles. As Google is a mainstream search engine available to anyone with Internet access, it is an appropriate fit for research examining media-based public perception of environmental racism in Lincolntonville. To select the articles, a keyword search of “environmental racism in Lincolntonville, Nova Scotia” was used. This search uncovered 5,010 articles. To limit this selection, only articles that were published between 2008-2017 were analyzed. This is because this study aims to analyze media coverage of the issue after Deacon’s study period ended in 2007 in order to understand how media coverage of counter culture issues has changed over time.

To further define which articles were examined, only reporter written stories were included, and not letters to the editor, editorial opinion pieces, or television or radio transcripts. In addition, only journalistic articles written in Canada and pertaining to the issue of environmental racism in Lincolntonville were classified as available articles for use in this study. Overall, 30 articles were analyzed that fit this description and that contained the phrase “environmental racism in Lincolntonville, Nova Scotia.” Though there are certainly more existing articles that would satisfy these criteria, articles present in the google search became increasingly diluted from the focus of environmental racism in Lincolntonville beyond the 30 articles selected. As such, the limit of 30 articles was deemed appropriate for meeting article-criterion within the feasibility of the intensive style of coding and analyzing for the given time and space constraints of an undergraduate thesis.

These articles were gathered from the following Internet news sources: *The Chronicle Herald*, *CBC*, *The Coast*, *The Globe and Mail*, *Global News*, *Halifax Media Co-op*, *Vice News*, *The Nova Scotia Advocate*, *Halifax Magazine*, *The Signal*, *Impact Ethics*, *Dalhousie University*



*Blogs, Ecojustice Blog, Touch Base, The Dalhousie Gazette, Blue Dot, Socialist Canada, Between the Issues: The Ecology Action Centre, and Future Perfect.* These sources were elected in order to obtain an even mix between mainstream and alternative news sources. Articles were manually coded using the table below. Individual elements of the table are explained in the remaining sections of this chapter, which detail the approach to framing analysis employed in this research.

Article Title	
Source	
Date Published	
Author	
Article Level Frame	
Issue-Specific Evidence	
Article Tone	
Solutions Proposed	
Lincolntonville Reference	
Images?	

Table 1. Manual-Style Coding Framework.

### ***Coding for Frames: The Policy Frames Codebook***

As opposed to independently defining article frames, the identified frames were selected from a “Policy Frames Codebook,” which includes fourteen frame dimension categories in addition to an “other” category that are proven to be applicable to any policy issue across any communication context (Boydston et al., 2014). In this case, the policy issue will be environmental racism in Lincolntonville, while the communication context will be Internet news stories. This Codebook was developed to address the shortcomings in issue-general or issue-specific approaches to framing analysis by providing a *general* system for categorizing the

frames within policy issues that can also be applied to *specific* issues (Boydston et al., 2014).

The frame dimension categories are listed below (Figure 1), along with their descriptions.

1. Economic frames: The costs, benefits, or monetary/financial implications of the issue (to an individual, family, community, or to the economy as a whole).
2. Capacity and resources frames: The lack of or availability of physical, geographical, spatial, human, and financial resources, or the capacity of existing systems and resources to implement or carry out policy goals.
3. Morality frames: Any perspective—or policy objective or action (including proposed action)—that is compelled by religious doctrine or interpretation, duty, honor, righteousness or any other sense of ethics or social responsibility.
4. Fairness and equality frames: Equality or inequality with which laws, punishment, re-wards, and resources are applied or distributed among individuals or groups. Also the balance between the rights or interests of one individual or group compared to another individual or group.
5. Constitutionality and jurisprudence frames: The constraints imposed on or freedoms granted to individuals, government, and corporations via the Constitution, Bill of Rights and other amendments, or judicial interpretation. This deals specifically with the authority of government to regulate, and the authority of individuals/corporations to act independently of government.
6. Policy prescription and evaluation: Particular policies proposed for addressing an identified problem, and figuring out if certain policies will work, or if existing policies are effective.
7. Law and order, crime and justice frames: Specific policies in practice and their enforcement, incentives, and implications. Includes stories about enforcement and interpretation of laws by individuals and law enforcement, breaking laws, loopholes, fines, sentencing and punishment. Increases or reductions in crime.
8. Security and defense frames: Security, threats to security, and protection of one's person, family, in-group, nation, etc. Generally an action or a call to action that can be taken to protect the welfare of a person, group, nation sometimes from a not yet manifested threat.
9. Health and safety frames: Healthcare access and effectiveness, illness, disease, sanitation, obesity, mental health effects, prevention of or perpetuation of gun violence, infrastructure and building safety.
10. Quality of life frames: The effects of a policy on individuals' wealth, mobility, access to resources, happiness, social structures, ease of day-to-day routines, quality of community life, etc.
11. Cultural identity frames: The social norms, trends, values and customs constituting culture(s), as they relate to a specific policy issue.
12. Public opinion frames: References to general social attitudes, polling and demographic information, as well as implied or actual consequences of diverging from or "getting ahead of" public opinion or polls.
13. Political frames: Any political considerations surrounding an issue. Issue actions or efforts or stances that are political, such as partisan filibusters, lobbyist involvement, bipartisan efforts, deal-making and vote trading, appealing to one's base, mentions of political manoeuvring. Explicit statements that a policy issue is good or bad for a particular political party.
14. External regulation and reputation frames: The United States' external relations with another nation; the external relations of one state with another; or relations between groups. This includes trade agreements and outcomes, comparisons of policy outcomes or desired policy outcomes.
15. Other frames: Any frames that do not fit into the above categories.

Figure 1. Policy Frames Codebook. (Boydston et al., 2014).

This codebook was developed through several rounds of inductive and deductive testing by the authors. After examining 3,478 articles on immigration, 3,341 articles on smoking and 2,683 articles on same-sex marriage from 1990-2012 and testing the effectiveness of the Codebook at capturing article frames within that sample, the authors found that only 1.5% or fewer stories out of those examined received “other” as the primary code (Boydston et al., 2014). As a result, it can be concluded that the Policy Frames Codebook is an effective, comprehensive, and reliable tool for capturing policy issue frames across news discourse.

Drawing from this comprehensive list, researchers have the freedom to either pursue unique, issue-specific frames and contextualize them within one of the fourteen frames, or stay within the general frames provided in the Codebook (Boydston et al., 2014). For the purpose of this research, the researcher hand-coded the articles for primary frame (article-level) categories, while also including additional framing categories if present. A visual example of how these additional, issue-specific frames regarding a topic could be nested within a general, primary frame can be seen below (Figure 2). In this example, “moral” would be the primary and more general frame taken from the Policy Frames Codebook, while the three frames listed underneath it would be the additional frames that are issue-specific. These issue-specific frames are used to justify the article’s overall classification as having a “moral” primary frame. In other words, the issue-specific frames drawn from paragraphs, sentences, or phrases act as evidence for the primary frame of the article.

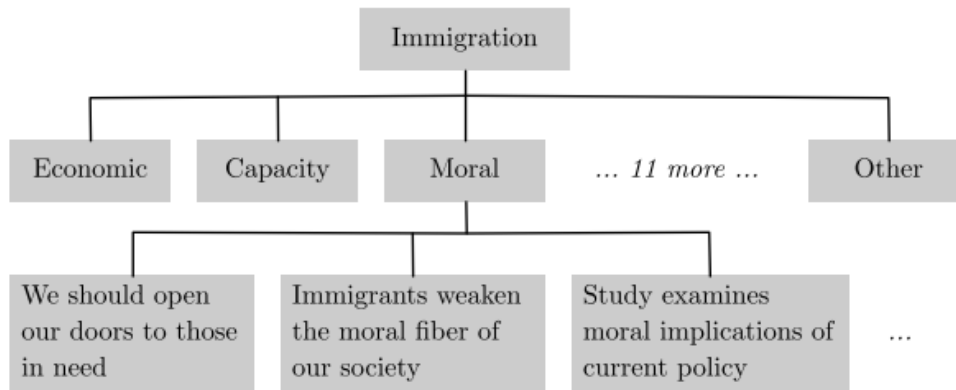


Figure 2. Illustration of hierarchical policy frames coding scheme: Immigration. (Boydston et al., 2014).

### ***Coding for Tone***

In addition to employing the Policy Frames Codebook, this research also tracks the tone (position) of each article. These tones can be positive, negative or neutral, as defined based on the issue being examined (Boydston et al., 2014). In this case, the environmental racism codebook on newspaper articles attempted to define these tones from the perceived perspectives of those negatively impacted by environmental racism in Lincolnville and their advocates. Depending on the voices represented in the articles, the difficulty of this task varied. In this research, a *positive tone* was defined as one in which the rights of Lincolnville residents in relation to environmental racism are portrayed in a positive or sympathetic way, so that community members and their advocates would be satisfied with the news article. In contrast, a *negative tone* portrayed the rights of Lincolnville residents in a negative, non-sympathetic way that would dissatisfy community members and their advocates. Finally, a *neutral tone* either portrayed the rights of Lincolnville residents as a balance between positive and negative tones or it appeared indifferent to the issue.

### ***Limitations***

As previously stated, this approach required the coder to interpret the tone of the articles from the imagined perspective of an individual directly affected by environmental racism in Lincolnville, and to decide whether the article would be appealing or distressing (Boydston et al.,

2014). This is a challenge because, as a white, middle-class American, I cannot possibly empathize with community members, thus impeding my ability to accurately characterize the tone of the articles. As an advocate for the rights of Lincolnville residents impacted by environmental racism and a seeker of local perspectives on the matter, however, I can slightly mitigate this perspective gap. Generally, another limitation of coding for frames and article tone would be that those judgments are left to the discretion of the researcher, thus offering room for personal bias (Boydston et al., 2014). However, this problem is diminished by adopting the structure described, which requires that frame and tone judgments be made explicit and defended within the context of the literature surrounding the issue (Boydston et al., 2014).

## V. Findings and Analysis

The following section reviews the findings from the framing analysis of thirty mainstream and alternative internet news articles on environmental racism in Lincolnville from 2008-2017. Frequency counts and percentage distributions of the uncovered frames and tones are represented through Tables 2 and 3 and Figures 3 and 4, respectively. Accompanying these representations is a discussion interpreting those findings. The discussion characterizes the primary frame categories and tones found in the data using poignant quotes and descriptions from the articles.

### *Analysis of Primary Frames*

As mentioned, primary frames represent the overall theme of an article. Primary frames were uncovered by examining issue-specific evidence at the paragraph, sentence, or phrasal level. Of the fourteen frame dimension categories available in the Policy Frames Codebook, only Morality, Fairness and Equality, Quality of Life, and Policy Prescription and Evaluation frames were found in the thirty-article data set. In the table below (Table 2), primary frames found in the data are listed along with their title/year of origin and news source. Accompanying this table is a pie chart which visually expresses the percentage distributions of primary frames across the data set (Figure 3). Following these visuals, each frame will be unpacked to understand the implication on potential policy responses to environmental racism in Lincolnville.

Table 2. Primary Frames of Articles by Title, Year, and News Source

<b>Primary Frame</b>	<b>Article Title/Year</b>	<b>News Source</b>
Morality Frames (14)	Facing environmental racism and white privilege (2015); Fighting environmental racism in Nova Scotia (2017); Dal professor sheds light on environmental racism in Nova	Halifax Media Co-op; The Nova Scotia Advocate; The Signal; Impact Ethics; Dalhousie University Blogs; The Dalhousie Gazette; Blue Dot; Global News; The

	<p>Scotia (2016); We Need to address Environmental Racism in Nova Scotia (2015); Help us combat environmental racism in the Maritimes (2016); Facing Nova Scotia’s environmental racism (2015); Addressing Environmental Racism to Ensure Rights for Everyone in Canada (2015); Environmental racism plagues low-income and minority communities across Nova Scotia (2015); Health top issue in Dal researcher’s environmental racism study (2014); Environmental racism recounted in forum at Halifax Central Library (2015); Righting Wrongs in Lincolville (2010); Investigating Environmental Racism (2016); LEBRUN: Health and safety equality for First Nations, minorities (2016); Nova Scotia group maps environmental racism (2016).</p>	<p>Chronicle Herald; The Chronicle Herald, Between the Issue: The Ecology Action Centre; Future Perfect; The Chronicle Herald; CBC.</p>
<p>Fairness and Equality Frames (9)</p>	<p>Nova Scotia’s Sad State of Environmental Racism (2015); Lincolville dumped on again (2008); Weekend video: In whose backyard? (2016); Nova Scotia bill aims to address legacy of ‘environmental racism’ (2015); Lincolville Protest Against Environmental Racism (2011); Environmental racism still prevalent in NS, communities say (2014); Racism’s long history in quiet east coast towns (2010); Mississippi of the North: Racist history continues in today’s Nova Scotia (2010);</p>	<p>The Coast; The Coast; Nova Scotia Advocate; CBC News; Halifax Media Co-op; Halifax Media Co-op; The Globe and Mail; Socialist Canada; The Coast.</p>



	Minister is “colour-blind” to environmental racism (2016).	
Quality of Life Frames (4)	Environmental racism focus of project (2013); Black Residents Say Nova Scotia is Racist about Where it Dumps its Trash (2015); Ingrid Waldron fights environmental racism in Nova Scotia (2016); Documenting environmental racism (2014).	The Chronicle Herald; VICE News; Halifax Magazine; The Chronicle Herald.
Policy Prescription and Evaluation (2)	N.S needs environmental rights (2015); N/A (2016).	The Chronicle Herald; Touch Base: The Magazine for Global Canadians.

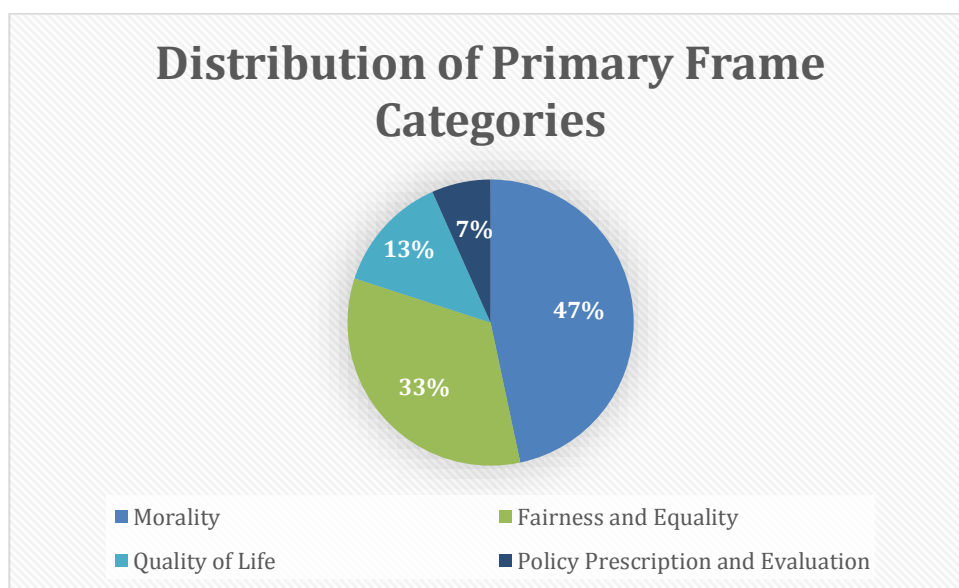


Figure 3. Percentage distribution of primary frame categories in data set

### Morality Frames

Morality Frames were the most common, representing 47% of the data set. Referencing the Policy Frames Codebook, Morality Frames encompass any perspective, action (real or proposed), or policy objective that is driven by a sense of ethics, duty or social responsibility (Boydston et al., 2014). In the data, morality frames represent a moral call to action for all levels of government in Nova Scotia and Canada to investigate their role in perpetuating environmental

racism. Articles under the morality frame emphasized that the Nova Scotia government has been unwilling to supply the resources needed to address environmental racism, and is therefore showing a disregard for the health and welfare of marginalized Mi'kmaq, Black and low-income communities.

As outlined in the data, these resources include the funding for gathering scientific, quantifiable data on the physical and mental health impacts of living in proximity to environmental hazards, such as water and soil quality testing. The following quote from the article *Fighting environmental racism in Nova Scotia* demonstrates how this demand for funding for communities burdened by environmental hazards was morally compelled:

It hurts me to know that many Nova Scotians may not know that they are drinking polluted water. Or maybe they have been fighting for 30 years just to get someone to come to their yard and let them know what the quality of their water is. That is shameful, that as a society we cannot provide that simple service. (DeVet, 2017).

In using words like “hurts me” and “shameful” to refer to the lack of water quality testing in affected communities, the article is implying that the government, as suppliers of “simple services” like safe drinking water, should be ashamed at its disregard for the “30 year” struggle of communities living with environmental hazards. This article, like many others under the morality frame category, is communicating that the shamefulness of government inaction lies in the fact that solutions to environmental racism start with the equal provision of simple services like safe drinking water.

Contributing to this goal of equal access to essential services, morality frame articles emphasize the necessity of changes to environmental policy and decision-making processes in Nova Scotia as essential to overcoming environmental racism. On the provincial level, articles

supported private member's *Bill 111: An Act to Address Environmental Racism* as a necessary first step to addressing the issue. This Bill would require government representatives to create a panel to consult with community members on the placement of environmental hazards, prioritizing community health and welfare and collaboration around solutions to environmental racism in the process (McVittie, 2016). Though the bill did not pass, the articles stated that the government's decision to reject the bill was, "a major step backwards," in addressing environmental racism in Nova Scotia and that the fight for justice was not over (Waldron, 2015).

Whether through Bill 111 or by other means, articles argued for stricter environmental rights legislation and mandatory consultations with marginalized groups as the way to battle environmental racism in the Maritime provinces. As defined by an article entitled *Help us combat environmental racism in the Maritimes*, this legislation would:

...include not only a recognition that clean water, uncontaminated soil, and unpolluted air are human rights, but would greatly increase public access to environmental information, decision-making and the judicial system. We need environmental rights legislation that does not lose sight of environmental justice and the disproportionate impact of environmental issues on communities of colour. (Ward, 2016).

This excerpt demonstrates the core argument made across articles in the morality frame category, that environmental racism cannot be overcome without shifts in environmental rights legislation. Rather than generalize to the overall population of Nova Scotia, this legislation would acknowledge the historical and continuing injustice faced by marginalized Mi'kmaq, Black and low-income communities that has allowed for racism to weave its way into environmental policy. As stated in the article *Addressing Environmental Racism to Ensure Rights for Everyone*

*in Canada*, “by confronting environmental racism we can begin to look for solutions so we can find environmental justice for all people in Canada” (Perfitt, 2015).

### **Fairness and Equality Frames**

Fairness and Equality Frames were the second most prevalent, representing 33% of the data set. Referencing the Policy Frames Codebook, this framing category is defined as the equality or inequality of the application/distribution of resources, laws, rewards, rights or interests across individuals or groups (Boydston et al., 2014). Within the data set, this frame applied to articles that addressed the inequalities that both cause and are a result of environmental racism in Lincolnville and across Nova Scotia. In regards to the causes, articles attribute blame to the systemic intersection of colonialism, race, class, income and environmental policy. This intersection perpetuates the disproportionate placement of environmental hazards and polluting industries in marginalized Black and Mi’kmaq communities. Defending this claim, one article in this frame category writes:

Environmental racism thrives in areas where residents are denied access to education and employment, and subsequently the necessary resources to mount effective campaigns to defend themselves. On their own, these isolated communities are no match for the relentless business and government interests that benefit at their expense. (Allen & Squires, 2010).

Through this excerpt and others alike, it is made evident that the “relentless” interests of government and industry are at the root of contemporary forms of environmental racism. As demonstrated in this excerpt, communities that have historically been denied economic or political power are easy targets for the placements of environmental hazards and toxic industries. In addition, the perceived “powerlessness” of marginalized communities also impacts the

province's management of these hazards after they have been instated. For example, in reference to the landfills in Lincolnville, one article writes, "Yet the province, which approved and regulates the dump, has never tested material actually leaching out of it. Nor has it tested Lincolnville wells for contaminants associated with landfills, according to Butler" (Benjamin, 2008). Here, the author questions the access to safe, clean water for residents of Lincolnville. In the process, the author places blame on the provincial government as regulators of the dump for ignoring their responsibility to ensure that the landfill is not leaking toxins that, in turn, might affect surrounding water sources. This example of government neglect of dump regulation and its correlation with access to safe drinking water highlights how environmental racism both results in and is sustained by the inequality of service and resource provision across Nova Scotia.

Another factor in understanding present dynamics of environmental racism is the negative impact that this issue has on affected communities, and thus the inequalities that those communities experience in relation to unaffected communities in Nova Scotia. Articles containing the fairness and equality frame described a range of socio-economic and health impacts of living in proximity to environmental hazards, including water, air and soil pollution, wildlife nuisances, a rapidly declining population and dwindling property values (Bundale, 2015). In addition to these impacts, articles in this category referenced the daily stress associated with living in a poisoned, dangerous environment. In the article entitled *Weekend Video: In Whose Backyard?* a resident of Acadia First Nation is quoted expressing this fear, "As a kid I would always go back there and play in the mud. I never knew until now. It's scary to think I was playing in oil and everything" (DeVet, 2016). Clearly, the impacts of environmental racism are far-reaching, ranging from the direct health impacts of increased exposure to toxins to the indirect socio-economic and mental health effects. Given this comprehensive view of both the

causes and effects of environmental racism, articles demonstrate that environmental racism is a self-perpetuating cycle of oppression for Black, Mi'kmaq and low-income communities in Nova Scotia.

### Quality of Life Frames

Quality of Life Frames were the third most common, representing 13% of the data set. Referencing the Policy Frames Codebook, Quality of Life Frames signify the effects of a policy on individuals' quality of life, including factors such as access to resources, wealth, happiness, mobility, ease of daily life, social structures, quality of community life, etc. (Boydston et al., 2014). Representing this, articles within the fairness and equality frame discussed the impact of environmental racism on quality of life, particularly through graphic description of the factors impeding quality of life. In the article *Environmental racism focus of project*, for example, the interconnections between the toxic dumps, long-standing concerns about high cancer rates, and the socio-economic welfare of residents in Lincolnville are discussed:

Nobody wants to live in the area, but also there are no job opportunities there. No one wants to build homes there because land values have declined, and labour has been affected because nobody wants to set up shop in an area close to a landfill. (Fariclough, 2013).

Through this quality of life frame, it is clear that the reality of environmental racism compromises the livelihoods, health and happiness of affected communities like Lincolnville. Additionally, this impact on quality of life in communities living with toxic, polluting industries has implications on the communities' ability to resist the discriminatory policies fueling environmental racism. Addressing this, the above article writes, "Few people turned out in Lincolnville, but that is because they are "tired" after dealing with the issue for years and not

being heard” (Fariclough, 2013). This lack of assistance or, at the very least, willingness to listen to and acknowledge the concerns of affected community members further diminishes the quality of life. Thus, this anecdote offers additional proof that environmental racism is a self-perpetuating cycle, wearing down the already stifled community capacity to resist the placement of toxic industries in their communities with persistent denial of assistance to overcome the issue.

Finally, it is important to highlight the range of health ramifications from environmental racism as they were the primary focus of the quality of life frames. Across the data set, rare forms of cancer, skin diseases, heart disease, diabetes, respiratory problems, allergies and learning disabilities such as autism were discussed as the effects of environmental racism. For example, one article refers to the experience of an activist fighting environmental racism in Pictou Landing First Nation:

He told me about the number of family members and neighbours who passed away. He saw how on his friend’s skin he could see rashes and skin disease from the cancer. It was very raw and visible. (Rent, 2016).

In this excerpt, the author connects environmental racism with the outcomes of death and or “raw and visible” cancerous skin disease, highlighting the severity of the issue. Again, these health implications on quality of life were presented as a direct result of environmental racism and the institutions that are ignoring the cry for help in these communities.

Reflecting this, the article *Documenting environmental racism* writes, “The saddest cry in a documentary about environmental racism comes from a Lincolnville, Guysborough County, widow whose husband died of cancer and who now fears for her own health. ‘Nobody cares,’ she says simply.” (Barndard, 2014). In this statement, sadness, loss, fear, and the feeling of being

neglected are expressed in regards to the Lincolnville residents' experience of environmental racism. This depiction offers the reader a real example of how environmental racism becomes the primary determinant in the affected individuals' quality of life, promoting reader sympathy with those suffering from the issue. Simply put, quality of life frames provide insight into the lived experience of environmental racism, thus justifying the desired solutions from those affected: "They want compensation, they want research into rare cancers, they want their land to have value. They want to be heard." (Barndard, 2014).

### **Policy Prescription and Evaluation**

Policy Prescription and Evaluation frames were the least common, representing 7% of the data set. Referencing the Policy Frames Codebook, Policy Prescription and Evaluation Frames refer to articles that propose policies to address an identified issue, and that assess the workability of those policies compared to existing policies (Boydston et al., 2014). In the data, Policy Prescription and Evaluation frames advocated for an environmental bill of rights in Nova Scotia as a policy solution to environmental racism. Reinforcing the need for a legal response to environmental racism, an article entitled *N.S. needs environmental rights* states:

While governments and industry no longer exhibit the type of overt racism that was seen in the historic example of Africville, the contemporary indifference that allows environmental injustice to continue unabated can only be conquered through significant legal and policy changes. (Mitchell & Mitchell, 2015).

In this excerpt, the authors explicitly state that "significant legal and policy changes" are the "only" solution to injustices like environmental racism. This then strengthens the case for the proposed policy solution, an environmental bill of rights.



As stated in the data, the environmental bill of rights is defined as a “bolder” step towards securing the right to a healthy environment than Bill 111 (Mitchell & Mitchell, 2015). The environmental bill of rights would increase government transparency, facilitate public-participation in environmental decision-making, and enforce the right for all Nova Scotians to live in a safe and healthy environment free of toxic pollutants (Mitchell & Mitchell, 2015). Though this article refers to legal and policy changes at the provincial level, authors imply that these changes in Nova Scotia would support the national movement towards integrating the right to a healthy environment into Canada’s Charter of Rights and Freedoms. As summarized by the authors, “Environmental rights are human rights — necessary for life, health, and human dignity. It’s time for our laws to reflect those values” (Mitchell & Mitchell, 2015).

From these excerpts, it is clear that policy prescription and evaluation frames advocate for a solution that secures environmental rights for all citizens of Nova Scotia as opposed to targeting historically marginalized groups through Bill 111. However, the other article within the policy prescription and evaluation frame describes how Dr. Ingrid Waldron, one of the creators of Bill 111, is still connected with this proposed policy response. It writes that she is collaborating with groups in regards to the Environmental Bill of Rights to, “ensure that race is a central aspect of it” (Arthur, 2016). This article also mentions the details of Bill 111, but does not advocate on its behalf as it states that the bill did not pass the second reading. Instead, the author introduces the United Nations Precautionary Principle as an additional solution to the issue of environmental racism. The author describes the Principle in the following quote, “It states that when an activity raises threats to human health or the environment, precautionary measures should be taken even if some cause and effect relationships are not fully established scientifically” (Arthur, 2016). Overall, articles within this frame category advocate for

significant legal and policy responses to the issue of environmental racism. This specific policy response waivers from a provincial Environmental Bill of Rights to a national approach of invoking the U.N Precautionary Principle or modifying Canada’s Charter of Rights and Freedoms to incorporate the inherent right to a healthy environment.

***Analysis of Article Tones***

In addition to the analysis of article frames, the tone (position) of each article was evaluated to determine whether it was positive, negative, or neutral. Defined from the perceived perspectives of those negatively impacted from or fighting environmental racism, this analysis can determine whether media coverage is assisting or thwarting the battle to end environmental racism in Lincolntonville and across Nova Scotia. The following table (Table 3) outlines the composition of article tones uncovered along with the article title, year, and source.

Accompanying this table is a pie chart that simplifies the findings in a visual form (Figure 4).

Table 3. Article Tone by Title, Year, and News Source

Article Tone	Article Title/Year	News Source
Positive Tone (27)	Facing environmental racism and white privilege (2015); Fighting environmental racism in Nova Scotia (2017); Dal professor sheds light on environmental racism in Nova Scotia (2016); We Need to address Environmental Racism in Nova Scotia (2015); Help us combat environmental racism in the Maritimes (2016); Facing Nova Scotia’s environmental racism (2015); Addressing Environmental Racism to Ensure Rights for Everyone in Canada (2015); Environmental racism plagues low-income and minority	Halifax Media Co-op; The Nova Scotia Advocate; The Signal; Impact Ethics; Dalhousie University Blogs; The Dalhousie Gazette; Blue Dot; Global News; The Chronicle Herald; The Chronicle Herald, Between the Issue: The Ecology Action Centre; Future Perfect; The Chronicle Herald; CBC; The Coast; The Coast; Nova Scotia Advocate; CBC News; Halifax Media Co-op; Halifax Media Co-op; The Globe and Mail; Socialist Canada; The Coast; VICE News; The Chronicle Herald; The

	<p>communities across Nova Scotia (2015); Health top issue in Dal researcher's environmental racism study (2014); Environmental racism recounted in forum at Halifax Central Library (2015); Righting Wrongs in Lincolnville (2010); Investigating Environmental Racism (2016); LEBRUN: Health and safety equality for First Nations, minorities (2016); Nova Scotia group maps environmental racism (2016); Nova Scotia's Sad State of Environmental Racism (2015); Lincolnville dumped on again (2008); Weekend video: In whose backyard? (2016); Nova Scotia bill aims to address legacy of 'environmental racism' (2015); Lincolnville Protest Against Environmental Racism (2011); Environmental racism still prevalent in NS, communities say (2014); Racism's long history in quiet east coast towns (2010); Mississippi of the North: Racist history continues in today's Nova Scotia (2010); Minister is "colour-blind" to environmental racism (2016); Black Residents Say Nova Scotia is Racist about Where it Dumps its Trash (2015); Documenting environmental racism (2014); N.S needs environmental rights (2015).</p>	<p>Chronicle Herald.</p>
<p>Neutral Tone (3)</p>	<p>Environmental racism focus of project (2013); Ingrid Waldron fights environmental racism in Nova Scotia (2016); N/A (2016).</p>	<p>The Chronicle Herald; Halifax Magazine; Touch Base: The Magazine for Global Canadians.</p>

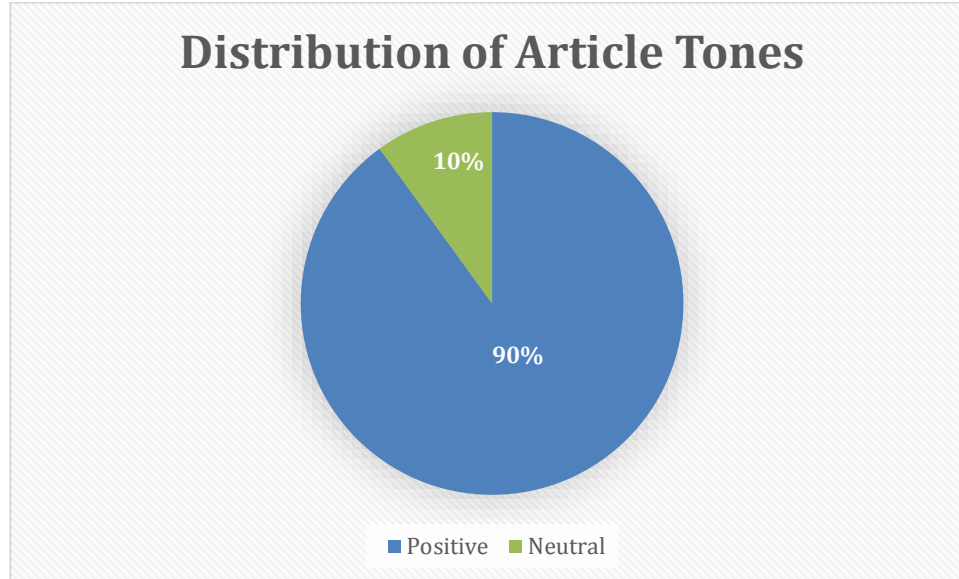


Figure 4. Percentage distribution of article tones in data set

### Positive Tone

#### *Clarifying Injustice*

Within the data, 90% of the articles analyzed had a positive tone towards environmental racism in Lincolnville and in general. First and foremost, this positive tone was characterized by clarity of the injustice and oppression at play in cases of environmental racism. In articles with a positive tone, the view of environmental racism as morally wrong was an irrefutable fact. For example, one article writes, “There is a long history in Nova Scotia and Canada of disproportionately exposing racially marginalized communities and the working poor to toxic and hazardous materials and waste facilities...” (Waldron, 2015). The article then explains that this “long history” of environmental racism has resulted in a trend of environmental health inequity in communities exposed to the prolonged health risks of living adjacent environmental hazards, connecting the issue to broader patterns of injustice.

Understanding the elevation of health risks in communities burdened by environmental racism is key to grasping the continued oppression of these communities. Highlighting this, articles referenced explicit examples of the severe implications of environmental racism on the lives of affected community members. In one article, a long-time resident of Lincolnville speculates about her husband's death, "My husband would drink the water, and I buried him two years ago. He died of lung and bowel cancer, though he was a non-smoker" (Beaumont, 2015). In this statement, the article connects environmental racism to water pollution, cancer and death, highlighting the physical and emotional turmoil that affected individuals experience. As mentioned in the primary frames section, articles also gave detailed, graphic examples of the range of illnesses and socio-economic impacts associated with environmental racism. In detailing the destructive effects of environmental racism, articles guide readers towards an understanding of the complex factors causing and sustaining the oppression of Black, Mi'kmaq and low-income communities in Nova Scotia.

#### *Assigning Roles & Responsibilities*

Another key element to the positive tone position was the explanation of fault and methods for addressing the issue. Articles with a positive tone specified that environmental racism is something happening *to* marginalized groups, emphasizing that its roots lie in discriminatory decision-making processes and allocating blame to government and the complacent public. For example, one article writes that, "...the decision to locate these dumps and industries next to our communities was planned and intentional," and that, "...the government needs to address the underlying issue of these problems, which is racism" (Lebrun, 2016). In pointing out that the placement of toxic industries next to marginalized groups is planned, intentional and racist, the author communicates that environmental racism is not a fixed

reality, and that change needs to occur at the aforementioned levels of government and the public.

### *Government*

Though articles stated that, “All levels of government appear reluctant to support Mi’kmaw and Black communities in their search for answers” (Devet, 2017), primary focus was on the role of the Provincial and Municipal governments of Nova Scotia. For example, various articles called for consultation with municipalities as a method of attaining justice, highlighting that municipalities are, “in charge of where they put dumps” (Julian, 2015). More pointedly, one article writes, “The municipality of Guysborough is good at putting dumps near black communities,” and questions why the landfill in Lincolnville landed one kilometre away from an African-Nova Scotian community despite the municipality having over 400,000 hectares of land (Macintyre, 2015). In characterizing the placement of waste as targeting Black communities, this excerpt blatantly accuses the municipality of Guysborough of discrimination and promotes reader sympathy with marginalized communities and against the municipal government. Finally, another article quoted a Lincolnville resident discussing the municipalities’ careless management of the landfill, “The municipality didn’t seem to care about the health effects this was having on the community of Lincolnville” (Bundale, 2015). In depicting the municipality as being inconsiderate to the welfare of Lincolnville residents, this article directs readers to the position of faulting the municipal government for environmental racism.

Despite these strong statements of blame towards the municipal government, most articles allocated ultimate blame for environmental racism to the provincial government of Nova Scotia. These articles claimed that the province was neglecting its role in causing environmental racism, and its responsibility to then acknowledge that role and work to relieve communities

affected by environmental racism. One powerful quote demonstrates this characterization of blame, “As we celebrate Nova Scotia as the birthplace of Canadian democracy, you wouldn’t think it would be so hard for a community to get a response from the province. But it’s a little busy right now playing see-no-evil-hear-no-evil-la-la-la-I-can’t-hear-you” (Benjamin, 2008). This quote emphasizes that the supposedly democratic province is ignoring the cries for help from victims of environmental racism. In reference to specific wrongdoings by the government, articles discuss its failure to support Bill 111. For example, one article calls it, “a major step backwards in addressing the problem of environmental injustice and more specifically the problem of environmental racism in the province” (Waldron, 2015). Again, this excerpt demonstrates that the province is not doing its part to combat environmental racism and is, instead, prolonging the issue by failing to cooperate.

In addition to the government as an entity, articles with a positive tone drew attention to the role of specific individuals within government. For example, one article drew attention to the Minister of Environment, Margaret Miller, “The truth is, as long as Margaret Miller and others in her department continue to espouse a colour-blind approach by denying the racial character of environmental decision-making, environmental racism will never be addressed in this province” (Waldron, 2016). This quote demonstrates that denying the significance of race in the process of environmental decision-making is problematic, advising other government officials against this approach. Finally, individual members of government were also used to rally public support for Bill 111. An article entitled *We Need to address Environmental Racism in Nova Scotia* states:

In my view, it is imperative that members of the public put pressure on Randy Delorey and other government representatives of Nova Scotia to pass this Bill at

the second and third readings before the House finishes sitting this week.

(Waldron, 2015).

### *Public*

In this excerpt, Dr. Waldron draws attention not only to Randy Delorey's moral responsibility as a decision-maker, but also to the public's responsibility to positively influence matters of environmental racism. This connects with the general message of articles with a positive tone, which highlighted the role of the public, in particular the white public, in fighting environmental racism. For example, one article emphasized the importance of white allies like The Ecology Action Centre, NSPIRG, students and experts in waste management and cleanup in fighting environmental racism through the ENRICH Project (DeVet, 2015). The article discussed how the reality of white privilege creates a needed role for white allies who have increased access to spaces of power (DeVet, 2015). However, the article offers a key word of caution to those allies regarding their personal role in perpetuating environmental racism:

When white allies say that they want to help, it suggests that they are not complicit, that they are not part of the problem, that they stand outside of the problem and that it is somebody else's problem. When we come to understand that it is our problem and that we are part of the problem together only then will we begin to take seriously the issue of environmental racism and address it as a community, regardless of class, race, gender and other social differences. (DeVet, 2015).

### *Justifying Ignorance & Unconscious Bias*

In discussing the necessary role of the white public while also emphasizing its problematic elements, articles with a positive tone guide the reader on how to be an effective



ally. This lesson on allyship was also offered through characterizations of governmental institutions and individuals. In both cases, however, guidance was offered in a sympathetic, non-confrontational way. At the public level, authors of articles with a positive tone showed understanding towards the public's problematic views. For example, one author writes about the intention of bringing environmental racism to public consciousness, "The target is the people who don't know there is environmental racism and probably mean well and haven't thought about it and are predominantly white and well off" (Barnard, 2014). While being unaware of environmental racism is a problem, the author acknowledges that the unaware, "white and well off" public most likely "mean well" which pardons ignorance and puts the onus on those fighting environmental racism to raise public awareness. Supporting that, another article writes that changing the status of environmental racism in the province relies upon panel discussions that, "encourage community engagement and public education about the issues surrounding environmental racism" (Macintyre, 2015).

In addition to justifying the problematic ideologies of the public, articles also redirect blame from government officials to historical and systemic patterns of discrimination. For example, one article writes, "That landfill is not near Shelburne's Black community because of a group of white men rubbing their hands together and saying let's harm those Black people. Environmental racism doesn't happen like that" (DeVet, 2017). The article goes on to explain that environmental racism is subtle and systemic, operating as an unconscious bias that many are unaware of (DeVet, 2017). The article argues that the root of environmental racism is white supremacist ideologies that saturate our laws, policies and systems and define which communities are worth protecting (DeVet, 2017). Despite calling attention to problematic views of the public and government and arguing for a radical change in mindset, articles clearly place

the ultimate blame on systems, policies and ignorance, removing agency from individual actions or perspectives. Describing this dynamic that results in environmental racism, one article writes, “in many situations, inexpensive land combined with a community’s perceived lack of power to resist leads industry to build environmental hazards in such communities” (Klingbeil, 2016). Though unconscious bias has been justified at the individual and governmental level, the fact remains that industry and government are wrongfully profiting off vulnerable communities in cases of environmental racism.

#### *Including Marginalized Voices & Prompting Action*

The last crucial element of the positive tone position was the inclusion of marginalized perspectives and resources for the reader to seek further information or get involved in combatting environmental racism. In most of the articles with a positive tone, Dr. Ingrid Waldron was either mentioned or directly quoted in defining environmental racism, the ENRICH Project and Bill 111. Additionally, articles shared the perspectives of individuals from affected communities such as Lincolnville, Pictou Landing, and Shelburne. Local perspectives allowed readers to connect with affected individuals and to hear their concerns and calls for assistance. For example, resident of Lincolnville, James Desmond, shares his community’s perspective on the placement of the landfills, “The people in the community feel they are being sacrificed by the municipality of Guysborough for the mighty dollar...” (Bundale, 2015). This is a perspective that is unique to victims of environmental racism, and that would arguably have the greatest impact on readers as it is closer to the first-hand experience of injustice. Most poignantly, another article quotes resident of Lincolnville, Mary Desmond, as she directly pleads with the readers, “We need help, we are defeated, we are downtrodden and we do need help” (Macintyre, 2015).

Finally, articles with a positive tone offered readers sources for further information and methods of getting involved. In particular, one article entitled *Nova Scotia's sad state of environmental racism* questioned how the public could get involved in the fight against environmental racism, besides attending panel discussions (Boon, 2015). In response, readers were instructed to contact Dr. Waldron through the embedded link to the ENRICH website, the ENRICH facebook page, or through Waldron's email address (Boon, 2015). Other articles included links to the legislative text of Bill 111 or to the David Suzuki Foundation Proposal for an environmental health equity agenda for Canada (Perfitt, 2015). Additionally, articles encouraged readers to educate themselves on the issue by attending film festival screenings of the *In Whose Backyard?* documentary on environmental racism in Nova Scotia and panel discussions or workshops on the issue, such as one entitled Connecting the Dots: Confronting Environmental Racism in Nova Scotia. Most directly, one article calls for donations to ECELAW, which is Atlantic Canada's only environmental law charity. In working to address environmental racism through ECELAW, the article asks:

If you would like to help us increase the accessibility, enforceability and effectiveness of environmental laws in Atlantic Canada, please donate today. Law and policy change can be slow moving and it cannot be done without consistent and continued public support and engagement. (Ward, 2016).

By calling for donation, this article puts responsibility on the public to fulfill their role in combating environmental racism. Lastly, a powerful method that articles used to connect the reader to the issue was to end the article with a thought-provoking question or statement, such as: "Are all humans human? Or are some more human than others?" (Waldron, 2016). This quote leaves the reader questioning why marginalized communities in Nova Scotia are denied the basic

human rights of living in a safe environment in the case of environmental racism. In regards to powerful statements, another article ends with a woman affected by environmental racism explaining why, at the very least, individuals and the government need to recognize environmental racism as a reality in Nova Scotia. The author writes that , “...it is shameful that in 2016 we still need to define it for government and others and to fight for the same basic rights and freedoms other Canadians take for granted” (Lebrun, 2016).

### Neutral Tone

Within the data, 10% of the articles analyzed had a neutral tone towards environmental racism in Lincolnville and in general. Differently from Boydston et al.’s (2014) definition, articles with a neutral tone displayed indifference towards the outcome of environmental racism rather than also striking a balance between positive and negative elements. As opposed to positive articles, those with a neutral tone simply presented the “facts” of environmental racism without directly labelling it as unjust or placing blame on government or the public. Though “insider” Dr. Waldron was quoted in these articles, her voice was used to present factual details about the ENRICH project rather than to give an emotional testimony about the physical and psychosocial effects of environmental racism. If physical or emotional impacts were discussed, they were listed as matter-of-fact without the addition of graphic details or appeals to emotion. For example, one article writes, “Waldron, an assistant professor, said she wants the project to get community members talking about the health and other effects of toxic waste dumps, landfills and other unwanted projects” (Fariclough, 2013). In failing to describe the full range of “health and other effects,” the article does not elicit a strong reaction from the audience.

When health effects were discussed in more detail, such as in the article *Ingrid Waldron fights environmental racism in Nova Scotia*, the author’s opinion was absent from the article

leaving readers to rely on Dr. Waldron's comments. Though no arguments were made in support or in denial of environmental racism, readers were not directed to the understanding of environmental racism as morally wrong, nor were they made accountable for their role in perpetuating the issue. However, in including the voice of Dr. Waldron and discussing ENRICH, Bill 111, and the fact that environmental racism has negative health implications, neutral articles provide readers with the necessary tools to classify environmental racism as unjust oppression. Overall, neutral articles present the right information, but do not present the information in a powerful, persuasive way that demonstrate the author's blatant stance against the issue.

## VI. Conclusions and Recommendations

In analysing the primary frames and tones uncovered in the data-set, many interconnecting themes were present. To review, morality frames, the most prevalent within the data, represented a moral call to action for all levels of government in Nova Scotia and Canada to investigate their role in causing and perpetuating environmental racism. These frames focused on how the provincial government has a social responsibility to rectify its “shameful” negligence of communities suffering from environmental racism. Articles advised that this be done by funding research on the physical and mental health impacts of environmental racism and by supporting Bill 111 and stricter environmental rights legislation.

Fairness and equality frames, the second most prevalent in the data-set, addressed the inequalities that both cause and are a result of environmental racism in Lincolnville and across Nova Scotia. Regarding the causes, the articles discussed how the systemic intersection of colonialism, race, class, income and environmental policy in Nova Scotia renders communities powerless, and consequently as targets for the siting of environmental hazards in the province. The powerlessness that invites environmental racism then contributes to its grasp over historically marginalized communities, allowing the province to wrongfully neglect its duty to regulate existing environmental hazards and their effects on the natural resources (e.g.: safe drinking water) available to affected communities. As a result, communities are left to suffer the socio-economic and health impacts of living in proximity to environmental hazards. These causes and effects are reviewed to make the case that environmental racism is a self-perpetuating cycle of oppression for Black, Mi’kmaq and low-income communities in Nova Scotia.

Moving forward, quality of life frames, the third most prevalent in the data-set, focused on the lived experience of environmental racism. While this frame dealt with topics that were

expressed in the previous two frames, such as the systemic nature of environmental racism and the associated physical and mental health effects, topics were discussed in a more personalized way from the perspectives of affected individuals. For example, environmental racism as a self-perpetuating cycle was covered through the perspective of community members who were worn down from feelings of lack of assistance, acknowledgment, and of not being heard in their cries for help. In the same vein, health effects were discussed graphically and in more detail than in other frames to emphasize how those living with environmental racism suffer as a result. This frame provided valuable insight into the lived experience of environmental racism, thus justifying citizens' proposed solutions to the issue.

Finally, policy prescription and evaluation, the least prevalent frame in the data-set, differed from previous frames in its sole focus on proposed policies to address environmental racism. Though articles within the morality frame also discussed policy responses to environmental racism, this frame prioritized policies that applied to all Canadians as opposed to policies targeting marginalized groups impacted by environmental racism (e.g.: Bill 111). Specifically, this frame advocated for a provincial Environmental Bill of Rights, a national invocation of the U.N Precautionary Principle or the incorporation of the inherent right to a healthy environment in Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

In summary, while Deacon's research found a negative correlation between media coverage from 2003-2007 and community welfare in Lincolnville, this research finds that the media, specifically mainstream and alternative internet news sources from 2008-2017, is assisting affected communities in their fight for justice from environmental racism. Though each primary frame category had its subtle difference, all primary frames dealt with some notion of addressing the injustice and inequality of environmental racism in Nova Scotia. As 90% of the

articles within the data-set had a positive tone, this interconnection between themes is a logical outcome. Indeed, when revisiting the themes present in articles with a positive tone, these similarities become clearer. Specifically, articles with a positive tone: clarified the injustice of environmental racism, assigned roles and responsibilities to the provincial and municipal government and the public, justified the ignorance and unconscious bias displayed by these parties, and included marginalized voices and methods of taking action against environmental racism. While articles with a neutral tone covered similar topics of including “insider” perspectives, discussing the injustice of environmental racism through health effects, and referencing the responsibility of the government to address the issue through Bill 111, these articles did not call for public accountability, were far less persuasive and detailed in presenting information, and presented the author’s stance on the issue of environmental racism as unclear.

Originally, the goal of characterizing media framing of environmental racism in Lincolnville was to understand the implication of this characterization on potential policy responses to environmental racism in Lincolnville. As this thesis evolved, the research question adapted to be more about media framing of environmental racism in Nova Scotia, with a focus on Lincolnville as a poignant example of this issue. To reiterate, the linkage between media framing, public perception of an issue, and policy response is that news frames shape public dialogue regarding an issue, which can then influence politicization, socialization, and collective action surrounding the issue (D’ Angelo, 2002). It is important to note that this analysis does not intend to prove that media framing of environmental racism in Lincolnville/Nova Scotia *will* influence policy responses to the issue. To make that argument would require research into how many people were reached by these articles and how they were affected in relation to taking action.



As that approach surpasses the scope of this undergraduate thesis, the aim of this research was simply to characterize media framing of environmental racism in Lincolnville/Nova Scotia, and to use the salience of uncovered themes and tones to predict the influence that mainstream and alternative internet news sources would have on potential readers' impressions of how environmental racism should be dealt with in Nova Scotia. As 90% of the articles in my data-set had a positive tone, it can be causally predicted that readers would understand the municipal and provincial governments of Nova Scotia as primarily to blame for this issue. Articles were clear that environmental racism in Nova Scotia was caused by the governments' refusal to acknowledge their role in perpetuating the issue and their responsibility to then adequately address the needs of affected communities.

Additionally, readers, specifically white middle to upper-class readers, would also understand that they are not outside of the issue and that they have a vital role to play as white allies. This role is even guided by the articles' provision of steps to take future action, thus increasing the prominence of this message. Overall, articles with a positive tone communicated that environmental racism in Lincolnville/NS cannot be overcome without shifting environmental policy and decision-making processes in the province, and that this shift must be backed by public support. In regards to the specific policy responses proposed, articles with a morality frame and a policy prescription and evaluation frame, a combined 54 % of the data-set, directly address this. These articles proposed policy responses at a provincial and national level. At the provincial level, articles supported Bill 111 and stricter environmental rights legislation in the form of an Environmental Bill of Rights. This Bill of Rights would enforce clean water, uncontaminated soil, and unpolluted air as a human right and increase public access to environmental information, decision-making and the judicial system by requiring mandatory

consultations with marginalized groups being affected by environmental racism (Ward, 2016). At the national level, articles also advocated for adopting this Environmental Bill of Rights in Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms or invoking the U.N Precautionary Principle.

While characterization of the media framing of environmental racism in Lincolnville/NS allows for speculation of readers' perceptions of current or future policy options to address the issue, future research could enrich these findings in many ways. As previously mentioned, future research would first need to determine whether or not media coverage of environmental racism in Nova Scotia is influencing the public. While this research method uncovered articles via google containing the phrase, "environmental racism in Lincolnville, Nova Scotia," it did not address the prevalence of these articles across the communication medium of internet news sources. Though 40% of articles in my data-set were from mainstream sources like CBC, indicating relative prominence, future research would still require a method of determining the reach and scope of these articles on a pre-defined "public" to make valid predictions about influence on future policy responses to the issue.

In line with that direction, future research should also connect the frequency of certain frames to their news source to understand why these four frames are employed to discuss environmental racism in Lincolnville. Since the dominance of a certain frame across news sources is dependent on the economic and cultural resources of its sponsors, it is then necessary to define and understand the economic and political contexts influencing journalists (Al Nahed, 2015). As the examination of media texts within their political and social contexts has been absent from framing analysis literature within the past decade, this lens of analysis is particularly important (Al Nahed, 2015). Additionally, this connection between frequency of frame coverage and news source can causally predict which frames are the most salient to the audience and thus

have the most potential for influencing environmental policy decisions surrounding the welfare of Lincolnville residents. Also, future research should examine which relevant media sources that would have had access to the story did not cover the issue and why. Of equal importance is the need to examine these shifts in media framing of environmental racism over time, especially considering the comparison that these findings make with those found in Deacon's work (2010). Finally, residents of Lincolnville should be interviewed along with other affected community members to gather their impressions on this media coverage. Only in understanding the perspectives of affected communities and the motivations behind shifts in media coverage can a constructive discussion be had on whether the media has increased ethical reporting on issues of systemic oppression in a way that genuinely supports and benefits marginalized communities.

## References

- Allen, D. (2010, March 17). Africville settlement: Is this democracy or a miscarriage of justice? *The Coast*. Retrieved from <http://www.thecoast.ca/RealityBites/archives/2010/03/17/africville-settlement-is-this-democracy-or-a-miscarriage-of-justice>
- Allen, D., & Squires, J. (2010, September 11). Nova Scotia: Canada's Mississippi of the North. *Socialist Canada*. Retrieved from <http://usslave.blogspot.ca/2012/09/nova-scotia-canadas-mississippi-of-north.html>
- Al Nahed, S. (2015). Covering Libya: A framing analysis of Al Jazeera and BBC coverage of the 2011 Libyan uprising and NATO intervention. *Middle East Critique*, 24(3), 251–267. <http://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2015.1050784>
- Arthur, R. (2016, February 22). Campaign to address environmental racism pushes ahead. *Touch Base*. Retrieved from <http://www.touchbaseonline.ca/?p=4335>
- Baldwin, C., & Butler, M. (2010). Righting wrongs in Lincolnville. *Between the Issues*, 28(1), 14-15. Retrieved from <https://www.ecologyaction.ca/files/images-documents/file/BTI/BTI%20Spring.pdf>
- Barnard, E. (2014, April 29). Documenting environmental racism. *The Chronicle Herald*. Retrieved from <http://thechronicleherald.ca/artslife/1203977-documenting-environmental-racism>
- Baylor, T. (1996). Media framing of movement protest: The case of American Indian protest. *Social Science Journal*, 33(3), 241–255. [http://doi.org/10.1016/S0362-3319\(96\)90021-X](http://doi.org/10.1016/S0362-3319(96)90021-X)

- Beaumont, H. (2015, October 1). Black residents say Nova Scotia is racist about where it dumps its trash. *VICE News*. Retrieved from <https://news.vice.com/article/black-residents-say-nova-scotia-is-racist-about-where-it-dumps-its-trash>
- Benjamin, C. (2008, August 7). Lincolnville dumped on again. *The Coast*. Retrieved from <http://www.thecoast.ca/halifax/lincolnville-dumped-on-again/Content?oid=993619>
- Bennett, E. (2013). “*We Had Something Good and Sacred Here*”: *ReStorying A’s’e’k with Pictou Landing First Nation*. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/10222/35453>
- Boon, J. (2015, July 28). Nova Scotia’s sad state of environmental racism. *The Coast*. Retrieved from <http://www.thecoast.ca/halifax/nova-scotias-sad-state-of-environmental-racism/Content?oid=4823237>
- Bouma, G., Ling, R., Wilkinson, L. (2012). Selecting a Sample. In (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.), *The Research Process* (pp. 135-156). Don Mills: Oxford University Press.
- Bundale, B. (2015, April 25). Weekend focus: The toxic sites of Nova Scotia racism. *The Chronical Herald*. Retrieved from <http://thechronicleherald.ca/novascotia/1282706-weekend-focus-the-toxic-sites-of-nova-scotia-racism>
- Boydston, A. E., Card, D., Gross, J. H., Resnik, P., & Smith, N. A. (2014). Tracking the development of media frames within and across policy issues. *Working Paper*, 1–25. Retrieved from <http://www.cs.cmu.edu/~nasmith/papers/boydstun+card+gross+resnik+smith.apsa14.pdf>
- Cacciatore, M. a., Scheufele, D. a., & Iyengar, S. (2016). The End of Framing as We Know It ... and the Future of Media Effects. *Mass Communication and Society*, 19(1), 7–23. <http://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2015.1068811>

Canadian Department of Justice. (2016). *Rights and freedoms in Canada*. Retrieved from <http://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/csj-sjc/just/06.html>

Clairmont, D. (2009). Book Review: Razing Africville. *Canadian Journal of Sociology*.

Retrieved from

<http://web.a.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.library.dal.ca/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=0b401be1-10f7-4678-96e1-10c0ed9887b6%40sessionmgr4005&vid=1&hid=4212>

Corrigall-Brown, C., & Wilkes, R. (2014). Media exposure and the engaged citizen: How the media shape political participation. *Social Science Journal*, 51(3), 408–421.

<http://doi.org/10.1016/j.soscij.2014.03.009>

Cutter, S. (1995). Race, class, and environmental justice. *Progress in Human Geography*, 19 (1), 111–122.

Deacon, L. (2010). *Environmental justice in canada: a media and case-study analysis*. Retrieved from Proquest Dissertations and Theses. (NR73338)

Deacon, L. & Baxter, J. (2013). No opportunity to say no: A case study of procedural environmental injustice in Canada. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 56(5), 607-623. doi:10.1080/09640568.2012.692502

DeVet, R. (2015, October 26). Facing environmental racism and white privilege. *Halifax Media Co-op*. Retrieved from <http://halifax.mediacoop.ca/story/facing-environmental-racism-and-white-privilege/34048>

DeVet, R. (2017, January 5). Fighting environmental racism in Nova Scotia. *The Nova Scotia Advocate*. Retrieved from <https://nsadvocate.org/2017/01/05/fighting-environmental-racism-in-nova-scotia/>

- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing - toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication* 43(4): 51-58. doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x
- Fariclough, I. (2013, October 3). Environmental racism focus of project. *The Chronicle Herald*. Retrieved from <http://thechronicleherald.ca/novascotia/1158234-environmental-racism-focus-of-project>
- Fraser, S. (2013). In whose backyard? *Ecology Action Centre*. Retrieved from [http://www.enrichproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/EAC\\_BTI-July-2013-IWB.pdf](http://www.enrichproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/EAC_BTI-July-2013-IWB.pdf)
- Fryzuk, L.A. (1996). Environmental Justice in Canada: An Empirical Study and Analysis of the Demographics of Dumping in Nova Scotia. Retrieved from Proquest Digital Dissertations. (MQ24966)
- Julian, J. (2015, April 29). Nova Scotia bill aims to address legacy of 'environmental Racism.' *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/nova-scotia-bill-aims-to-address-legacy-of-environmental-racism-1.3053157>
- King, M. L. Jr. (1963). Letter from the Birmingham jail. In M. L. King, Jr. (Ed.), *Why we can't wait* (pp. 77-100).
- Klingbeil, C. (2016). Investigating environmental racism. *Future Perfect*. Retrieved from <https://www.goethe.de/ins/ca/en/kul/sup/fut/20843144.html>
- Knusden, E. (2014). Media effects as a two-sided field: Comparing theories and research of framing and agenda setting. In *Media Practice and Everyday Agency in Europe* (Section 3: Methods). Retrieved from <http://www.researchingcommunication.eu/SUSObook201314.pdf>
- Lebrun, M. (2016, February 25). LEBRUN: Health and safety equality for First Nations, minorities. *The Chronicle Herald*. Retrieved from

- <http://thechronicleherald.ca/opinion/1344579-lebrun-health-and-safety-equality-for-first-nations-minorities>
- Lindsay, H.B. (2006, December 7). Race and waste in Nova Scotia. *The Dominion: News from the Grassroots*. Retrieved from [http://www.dominionpaper.ca/environment/2006/12/07/race\\_and\\_w.html](http://www.dominionpaper.ca/environment/2006/12/07/race_and_w.html)
- Lindsay, H. B. (2011, May 10). Lincolnville protest against environmental racism. *Halifax Meida Co-op*. Retrieved from <http://halifax.mediacoop.ca/newsrelease/7215>
- Macintyre, M.E. (2015, July 29). Environmental racism recounted in forum at Halifax central library. *The Chronicle Herald*. Retrieved from <http://thechronicleherald.ca/novascotia/1301981-environmental-racism-recounted-in-forum-at-halifax-central-library>
- McLellan, H. (2015). *Contemporary Settler Colonialism: Media Framing of Indigenous collective action in Elsipogtog, Mi'kma'ki*. Retrieved from <https://dalspace.library.dal.ca/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10222/56853/H%20McLellan%20Sociology%20Honours%20Thesis.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
- McVittie, A. (2016, March 25). Dal professor sheds light on environmental racism in Nova Scotia. *The Signal*. Retrieved from <http://signalhfx.ca/projects-are-devastating-indigenous-lands-and-communities/>
- Media Advisory. (2007, June 4). *Lincolnville residents throw guysborough council on the grill*. Retrieved from <http://savelincolnville.h-a-z.org/>
- Mitchell, K., & Mitchell, L. (2015, September 4). N.S. needs environmental rights. *The Chronicle Herald*. Retrieved from <http://thechronicleherald.ca/opinion/1309339-n.s.-needs-environmental-rights>



- Miller, A.S. (2015). Environmental racism in Canada? *The Centre for Environmental Health Equity*. Retrieved from <http://www.cehe.ca/ER>
- Nelson, J.H. (2000). The Space of Africville: Creating, Regulating and Remembering the Urban 'Slum.' *Canadian Journal of Law and Society*, 15(2), 163-185. Retrieved from <http://preserve.lib.unb.ca/wayback/20141206091743/http://atlanticportal.hil.unb.ca/biblio/the-space-of-africville-creating-regulating-and-remembering-the-urban-slum>
- Scheufele, D. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of Communication*, (August 1996), 103–122. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1999.tb02784.x>
- Pan, Z., & Kosicki, G. M. (1993). Framing analysis: an approach to news discourse. *Political communication*, 10(1), 55-75. Retrieved from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10584609.1993.9962963>
- Perfitt, K. (2015, May 20). Addressing environmental racism to ensure rights for everyone in Canada. *Blue Dot Movement*. Retrieved from <http://bluedot.ca/stories/addressing-environmental-racism-to-ensure-rights-for-everyone-in-canada/>
- P. D'Angelo. (2002). News Framing as a Multi-Paradigmatic Research Program: A response to Entman, *Journal of Communication*, 52, p. 874.
- Price, V., Tewksbury, D., & Powers, E. (1997). Switching trains of thought: The impact of news frames on readers' cognitive responses. *Communication Research*, 24, 481–506. doi: 10.1177/009365097024005002
- Rent, S. (2016, May 6). Ingrid Waldron fights environmental racism in Nova Scotia. *Halifax Magazine*. Retrieved from <http://halifaxmag.com/cityscape/17948/>
- Scheufele, D., & Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models. *Journal of Communication* 57(1), 9-20. doi:

10.1111/j.0021-9916.2007.00326.x

- Steeves, J. (2015, September 18). Facing Nova Scotia's environmental racism. *The Dalhousie Gazette*. Retrieved from <http://dalgazette.com/news/facing-nova-scotias-environmental-racism/>
- Vivian, T.N. (2013). *U.S newspaper coverage of medicare part D legislation: A framing analysis* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from Proquest Dissertations and Theses database. (UMI No. 3557472).
- Waldron, I. (2016, September 10). *Experiences of Environmental Health Inequities in African Nova Scotian Communities*. Retrieved from <http://www.enrichproject.org/uncategorized/new-enrich-report-released/>
- Waldron, I. (2016, January 28). Minister is "colour-blind" to environmental racism. *The Coast*. Retrieved from <http://www.thecoast.ca/halifax/minister-is-colour-blind-to-environmental-racism/Content?oid=5180157>
- Waldron, I. (2015, May 8). We need to address environmental racism in Nova Scotia. *Impact Ethics*. Retrieved from <https://impactethics.ca/2015/05/08/we-need-to-address-environmental-racism-in-nova-scotia-2/>
- Walker, J. (1997). Allegories and orientations in African-Canadian historiography: The spirit of Africville. *Dalhousie Review*, 77(2), 155-178. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/10222/63274>
- Ward, A. (2016, April 11). Help us combat environmental racism in the Maritimes. *Dalhousie University Blogs*. Retrieved from <https://blogs.dal.ca/sustainabilitynews/2016/04/11/help-us-combat-environmental-racism-in-the-maritimes/>

## Appendix

The following appendix will offer an overview of case studies on environmental racism in Nova Scotia. These current and historical cases of environmental racism in Nova Scotia, both for Mik'maw and African Nova Scotian communities, will be discussed in order to establish that the focal community of Lincolnville is by no means an isolated case.

### *Case Studies: Environmental Racism in Nova Scotia*

**Africville.** The most famous documentation of environmental racism within an African Nova Scotian community took place in Africville, which was located on the northern edge of the Halifax peninsula from 1840 until it was controversially destroyed and its people displaced in the 1960's (Clairmont, 2009). Founded as a community of Black refugees in 1840, Africville was characterized by its physical and cultural isolation from the rest of Halifax (Allen, 2010). As such, it was easy for the Municipality to exclude the Africville community from receiving basic amenities such as: sewers, streetlights, water system, public education, electricity, paved roads and police protection that were allocated to other taxpayers in the city of Halifax (Allen, 2010), thus attracting undesirable criminals and later perpetuating the already tainted, stigmatized reputation of Africville as a naturally inferior, repulsive "racial slum" (Walker, 1997). From the 1850's until the late 1950's, waves of government mandated industrial projects and other initiatives resulted in the placement of: railway lines, a prison, night-soil disposal pits, an incinerator, an infectious disease hospital, a fertilizer plant, two slaughterhouses, a coal-handling facility, a tar factory, a leather tannery and the Halifax city dump adjacent to the community of Africville (Walker, 1997). These projects brought soot, noise, pollution, and associated social-psychological and physical health implications to the Africville residents, and perpetuated of the harmful stigmatization of the community.

Though the influx of environmental hazards and undesirable institutions in proximity to Africville may not appear racist in the legal context, as land use has always been legally governed and regulated by institutions of power, it is this subtlety in the legal oppression of minority groups and the myth that the law is the purveyor of liberal social values that has allowed for the persistence of environmental racism in Nova Scotia (Nelson, 2000). Not only did the input of these institutions and the denying of these essential services foster inequality in relation to disproportionate health hazards and social amenities, but they also legitimated white domination and superiority by constructing the “racial slum” of Africville and its residents as inherently filthy, unsanitary, helpless and devoid of self-determination (Nelson, 2000). In effect, this use of Africville as a site for municipal and industrial waste worked as a self-fulfilling prophecy; disregarding the origins of the environmental oppression, constructing blackness as an inevitable failure, and perpetuating the social and economic inequalities produced by this environmental racism (Nelson, 2000). Clearly, environmental racism was a key factor in creating, sustaining and justifying the oppression of African Nova Scotians in Africville. Though the community of Africville was forcibly displaced and its citizens relocated back in the 1960’s, the shameful conditions of Africville are widely discussed today in academia, at the site of the Africville Museum, and by former residents and their descendants.

**The East Lake Landfill Decision.** Though Africville is currently recognized as a primary example of environmental racism in Nova Scotia, the labelling of this form of oppression as “environmental racism” did not emerge in the province until the East Lake landfill decision of 1991. At that time, the provincial government of Nova Scotia tasked the Metropolitan Authority with identifying potential landfill sites for the disposal of waste from the Metropolitan Region of Halifax and Dartmouth (Fryzuk, 1996). Out of the resulting 11 identified landfill sites,

one-third of those sites were located in proximity to historically Black communities, specifically the Preston area, Beecheville, and Pockwock (Fryzuk, 1996). As expected, objections quickly arose from various communities throughout Halifax County, and intensified when the list was further narrowed down to three sites that were all adjacent to Black communities (Fryzuk, 1996).

When the final site, East Lake (close to the Preston area), was chosen in 1992, this conflict came to a peak as Preston community members accused the Metropolitan Authority of siting the landfill on a site of historical significance for the African-Canadian community (Fryzuk, 1996). When that claim was undermined by an ensuing investigation from an engineering consultant firm and by statements from the Historic Sites and Monuments Board, residents of Preston and East Lake filed a complaint with the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission against the Metropolitan Authority, Nova Scotia Department of the Environment, and the Provincial Government (Fryzuk, 1996). This complaint emphasized community concerns that environmental discrimination was behind the Metropolitan Authority's decision to place the landfill in proximity to the historically Black community (Fryzuk, 1996). In addition, the Black residents of Birchtown, a community that had previously faced a similar dispute over a landfill siting, filed a second Human Rights Complaint reinforcing the claims of the Preston and East Lake communities, which was quickly backed by various community action and environmental groups (Fryzuk, 1996). These groups included: The Ecology Action Centre, The Lawrencetown Citizens Committee, The African United Baptist Association, and the Porters Lake-Myra Road Residents Against Site H and the Lake Echo-Mineville Group Opposed to Site H (Fryzuk, 1996). Recognizing that it was no longer politically viable in light of the amassed community support, the Metro Authority revoked their decision to use East Lake as a landfill site (Fryzuk, 1996).

**Pictou Landing First Nation.** Another well-documented case of environmental racism in contemporary Nova Scotia was that inflicted upon Pictou Landing First Nation, a small Mi'kmaq community located in the Northumberland Strait on the north shore of Nova Scotia (Bennett, 2013). In this community, Boat Harbour, a tidal inlet bordering Pictou Landing First Nation, has received toxic effluent from a neighbouring bleached kraft pulp mill for close to 50 years (Bennett, 2013). Once a place of cultural significance, livelihood, and recreation for Pictou Landing First Nation, the compromised ecological integrity of Boat Harbour is now a potential source of negative health effects for the community (Bennett, 2013). This case is not unique in Canada, and a study conducted by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada in 2003 identified that 85 indigenous communities across Canada were under boil water advisories, and 29 percent of those water systems assessed were classified as high risk (Mitchell & Onofrio, 2016). In the context of Nova Scotia, these statistics are reproduced by the fact that 25.8 percent of First Nations peoples live within the 5 km impact zone of a waste site (Fryzuk, 1996), thus increasing their exposure to the negative and inevitable health implications of living in a polluted environment.

The procedural injustice that led to the establishment of the Treatment Facility adjacent to Pictou Landing First Nation is well documented. Though the Scott Paper Mill was built adjacent to Pictou Harbour at Abercrombie Point, the Nova Scotia Water Authority, which controlled the fate of Nova Scotia's water bodies at the time, wanted to expel the toxic effluent emitted from the pulp mill in a separate location (Bennett, 2013). Since Boat Harbour was selected as the site of interest, the Nova Scotia Water Authority had to work through the federal Department of Indian Affairs in order to secure riparian rights to Boat Harbour from Pictou Landing First Nation (Bennett, 2013). Before signing off on the project, the Department of

Indian Affairs would then have to seek approval from the Chief and Council members of Pictou Landing First Nation (Bennett, 2013). In response to this proposal, the Pictou Landing Chief and Council members voiced their concerns that the Boat Harbour Treatment Facility would adversely affect their lands and people (Bennett, 2013). Despite these concerns, the provincial authorities persistently deceived and manipulated the community into agreeing to the establishment of the Treatment Facility. For example, to dispel their concerns, provincial authorities and mill owners brought the Chief and a Council member to a newly constructed mill in New Brunswick and encouraged them to drink from the clean “effluent” water there to demonstrate that the water quality in Boat Harbour would not be jeopardized by the pulp mill (Bennett, 2013). After consuming the clean “effluent” water, the Chief and Council member were convinced that the Treatment Facility would have minimal adverse effects and proceeded to sign an agreement accepting the establishment of the Treatment Facility along with a \$60,000 compensation for the potential loss of fishing and hunting revenue (Bennett, 2013).

In hindsight, it was revealed that the mill was not operational at the time of the sampling, and that the Chief and Council member were in fact given water from a nearby stream, and not from the effluent of the mill (Bennett, 2013). In addition, under the *Indian Act*, the agreement on the establishment of the Treatment Facility would not have been valid without a community-wide referendum, which is a fact that the Water Authority in correspondence with the Department of Indian Affairs would have been well aware of (Bennett, 2013). Exemplifying this, it has been established that both the Departments of Justice and Indian Affairs advised the Water Authority against the construction of the Facility, claiming that the engineering and legal aspects of the project were unsound (Bennett, 2013). Therefore, it can be concluded that the agreement was made on the grounds of intentional deception and manipulation by the provincial authorities

and by the mill owner. Though the toxic waste in Boat Harbour is now projected to be cleaned up by 2020 (Steeves, 2013), this cannot undo the decades of environmental damage and resulting loss of access to hunting, fishing, clamming, eeling, recreational activities, and the general health and welfare of the community caused by the Treatment Facility.