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# Subaltern Environmentalism in the United States: A Historiographic Review

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## ABSTRACT

When a group of people is faced with both social and environmental subordination, they are the victims of environmental injustice. This subordination is manifest in the disproportionate siting of environmental hazards in poor or minority communities and also in the inequitable distribution of ecological resources, both of which perpetuate the marginalisation of subaltern groups. At the heart of the environmental justice movement is a fight for the empowerment of subaltern groups, heretofore excluded from environmental decision-making. In recognising that the environmental health of their living spaces and families is critical to exacting any kind of improvement of their socioeconomic conditions, subaltern groups have added a dynamic new dimension to their social struggles. This counter-hegemonic struggle for ecological democracy is one of the fastest growing social movements in contemporary society, and requires the attention of environmental historians to situate it within the broader context of the history of environmentalism.

## KEY WORDS

Historiography; environmental justice; environmental racism; subaltern environmentalism

Reflecting years later, Upton Sinclair lamented that he did not achieve what he had initially intended in writing *The Jungle*. In writing his classic book on the horrors of work in a Chicago slaughterhouse, Sinclair ‘wished to frighten a country by a picture of what its industrial masters were doing to their victims and entirely by chance I stumbled on another discovery – what they were doing to the meat supply of the civilized world. . . . I failed in my original purpose’.<sup>2</sup> That the

scandal of impure food, the issue that made *The Jungle* famous, should supersede the harsh and unhealthy working conditions as a cause for public consternation is ironic only insofar as many would charge that middle-class environmental sensibilities are still similarly misguided. Almost 100 years after the publication of *The Jungle* environmental protest remains stratified by race, class, and to a lesser extent, gender. Indeed, some of the most scathing critiques of mainstream environmentalism have surfaced not from anti-environmentalists, but from the periphery of the broader environmental movement.

In order to understand properly the history of American environmentalism, it is important to recognise and incorporate the diverse perspectives and priorities that 'environmentalists' advocate. Community recognition of environmental injustice and the protests that ensue have been a topic of growing interest among environmental scholars, but historians have not – by and large – been in the vanguard.<sup>3</sup> This paper proposes to outline why subaltern environmentalism is an independently important avenue for historical inquiry and is also significant to a more in-depth understanding of the history of American environmentalism. In presenting a historiographic review of the existing scholarly literature on subaltern environmentalism – or environmental justice – I shall assess the potential of the field and attempt to situate relevant starting points and posit directions for further historical study. In order to manage the wealth of material and the topic's complexity, I shall limit my study to American examples of environmental justice and their relation to the American environmental movement.<sup>4</sup> Such an alliance has intriguing political ramifications if the movements are successful in agreeing upon compatible or overlapping agendas. At the beginning of a new century, both wings of environmentalism have proven to represent large numbers of voters and have exercised strong and legitimate – if sometimes faltering – lobbies. Thus far, a middle ground between mainstream and subaltern environmentalisms has not yet been found. Part of the historian's mission must therefore be to locate that historical middle ground.

To begin, however, a working definition of 'subaltern environmentalism' is necessary. By subaltern, I mean to draw on a body of literature that explores the adoption of grassroots environmental activism by marginalised or subordinated groups such as peasants, urban slum and ghetto dwellers, farm workers, and groups oppressed by race, class, and gender.<sup>5</sup> When a group of people is faced with both social and environmental subordination, they are the victims of environmental injustice. This subordination is manifest in the disproportionate siting of environmental hazards in poor or minority communities and also in the inequitable distribution of ecological resources, both of which perpetuate the marginalisation of subaltern groups. Counter-hegemonic resistance at the grassroots level to such oppression and the resulting discourse of power relations, then, are themes central to environmental justice; at the heart of the environmental justice movement is a fight for the empowerment of subaltern groups, heretofore excluded from environmental decision-making. While such groups

have traditionally sought to bring about social change, their agendas have only recently associated their social concerns with environmental quality. In recognising that the environmental health of their living spaces and families are critical to exacting any kind of improvement of their socioeconomic conditions, subaltern groups have added a dynamic new dimension to their social struggles. Most importantly, however, it is necessary to keep in mind that subaltern environmentalism is a distinctly grassroots movement and a vital exercise in self-empowerment among the groups who seek to claim and protect the places in which they live and work. The social positionality of subaltern activists effectively alters the context of the environmental struggle and our histories must adapt to recognise this.<sup>6</sup>

Histories of the mainstream environmental movement tend to undermine the significance of environmental justice as a legitimate strand of environmentalism, because of the latter's social underpinnings. Standard histories of environmentalism have proven unable or unwilling to appreciate the significance of the subaltern position in environmental struggles, since it is laced with civil rights issues that do not always pertain to strictly environmental concerns. This distinct positionality features significant complications to the traditional binary division between environmentalists and corporations who seek to plunder the environment. Advocates for environmental justice often interpret environmental protection differently than do mainstream activists, emphasising local empowerment and stewardship over stiffer land-use controls. In this vein, subaltern environmental activists are not strictly 'environmentalists', nor should they be.<sup>7</sup> More often than not, divergent priorities rather than divergent ends separate mainstream and subaltern environmentalists, but subaltern environmentalism presents environmental scholars with a challenge to reinterpret the history of environmentalism in a less binary fashion. In response, charges of mainstream environmentalism catering to exclusively white and middle-class conservationist and limited quality-of-life issues abound from marginalised groups who consider their living spaces to be a more pressing concern for environmental amelioration than the preservation of an endangered bird or squirrel. However, mainstream environmentalism – most recognisably represented by the 'Group of Ten' – does not believe that it should operate more like a political party with policy platforms that address a broad spectrum of sociopolitical questions; mainstream environmental groups do not see themselves as an extension of a Green Party.<sup>8</sup> In essence, the incorporation of the environmental justice movement is particularly difficult for the environmental movement because it does not promote policy that would consider the alleviation of poverty and racial justice, nor does it feel it should.<sup>9</sup>

But to suggest that the environmental justice movement mounts a united criticism of mainstream environmentalism belies the fervour of its own internal wranglings. Indeed, debates from within further divide the environmental justice movement. The duality of social and environmental concern within the environ-

mental justice movement has spilled over into internal conflict that confuses the prioritising of environmental justice issues. Debates rage over whether exposure to hazards or the rights to resources should take precedence within the movement's agenda. Further, issues of race, class, and gender wrestle for primacy. Similarly, arguments over whether the environmental justice movement is principally a social or environmental movement display the reality of the movement's identity crisis and threaten to further limit its potential political sway.<sup>10</sup> The body of literature on environmental justice is representative of this divergent array of topics, but one of the few arguments that does not meet with contention is that environmental inequality is ubiquitous. Environmental injustice is apparent in urban and suburban environments as well as in rural, agricultural, and wilderness environments. If, as historian Donald Worster recently noted, the prime directive of environmental history is to engage in critical reflection of the modern environmental movement, environmental historians must recognise their duty to explore, critique, and strengthen the environmental justice movement as a part of a more inclusive environmental movement.<sup>11</sup> The study of these social and ecological interactions represents a dynamic new dimension in the history of environmentalism that is overdue and requires rigorous analytical consideration.

Subaltern environmentalism is hardly a new phenomenon; struggles against environmental injustices predate the first Earth Day in 1970, but these protests were not framed as 'environmental' struggles. Rather, they were social in context.<sup>12</sup> The development of the environmental justice movement resulted from a convergence of environmental and civil rights concerns. The civil rights movement initially regarded the environmental movement as a challenge to federal funds and resources to which they felt they had a moral priority.<sup>13</sup> But as both groups survived the 1960s as legitimate lobbies, environmental degradation was increasingly recognised as part of an existing social crisis, while social problems were increasingly linked to a larger environmental crisis.<sup>14</sup> The energy crisis of the 1970s and the growing visibility of hazardous waste disposal problems served as further catalysts for bringing together the bipartite interests of the not-yet-established environmental justice movement.<sup>15</sup> Environmentalists saw such incidents as opportunities to ally themselves with the civil rights movement in opposition to a problem that raised issues of inequity while also representing environmental concern. This relationship continued to develop during the 1970s through research on discriminatory pollution patterns. In 1971, in *The Closing Circle*, biologist Barry Commoner anticipated the environmental justice movement when he argued that environmental hazards inhibited social progress and called for alliances between the environmental and civil rights movements.<sup>16</sup> Among the early crusades of this nature was the exploration of the relationship between class and lead poisoning in urban areas. In June 1971, *Environment* published a special issue with articles that examined this social and environmental relationship.<sup>17</sup> *Environment* also led the way with a series of

articles during the decade that brought attention to the relationship between air pollution and class. In 'Discriminatory Air Pollution', Julian McCaull found that 'chances of being exposed to poor-quality air in urban areas are greatest for persons in poverty, in occupations below the management or professional level, in low-rent districts, and in the black population'.<sup>18</sup> Brian J. L. Berry's *The Social Burdens of Environmental Pollution: A Comparative Metropolitan Data Source* corroborated McCaull's findings.<sup>19</sup> While these early works presented the premise for the analytical consideration of environmental justice, their studies refrained from the suggestion that these disparities were the product of discriminatory intent. Nevertheless, throughout the 1970s there were increasing suggestions that civil rights advocates and environmentalists were fighting similar battles.

The reaction to the illegal disposal of polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs), by the Ward Transformer Company of Raleigh, North Carolina, in the late 1970s and the subsequent search for a landfill site might serve as the point of genesis for a tangible environmental justice movement and the historical union of the two lobbies. The illegal discharge of these toxic chemicals along rural roads in thirteen counties contaminated 240 miles of road shoulders in the state and necessitated the construction of a new landfill. The decision to put the landfill in the predominantly poor and black Warren County provoked a number of protests by locals, opposed to the landfill being built in their county. After protests based on not-in-my-backyard (NIMBY) environmental rhetoric failed, activists attacked the siting of the landfill as an example of environmental racism. Warren County was chosen, they charged, because the residents were primarily poor and African American.<sup>20</sup> Since the protest in Warren County in the early 1980s – the state was permitted to begin construction of the landfill in 1982 – the study of environmental justice slowly entered the academic mainstream, using more traditional lines of inquiry as outlets. The early work of the 1980s was presented through fashionable and acceptable approaches like gender history, class and labour history, and the history of race and ethnicity.<sup>21</sup> The relationship between environment and society was introduced, but social categories dominated the discourse. Furthermore, the number of monographs far outnumbered the number of articles in refereed journals, suggesting that the study of subaltern environmentalism had not yet found its scholarly niche.<sup>22</sup>

Of these early studies, three in particular stand out. Arguably the seminal study in environmental justice is sociologist Robert D. Bullard's *Dumping in Dixie: Race, Class, and Environmental Quality*. Published in 1990, it was the first book to examine environmental justice in a scholarly manner and remains one of the most influential works in the field.<sup>23</sup> Activist Dana Alston uses the title of her book, *We Speak for Ourselves: Social Justice, Race, and Environment*, to demonstrate the positioning of environmental justice as a grassroots movement. Alston distinguishes between institutional groups within the mainstream environmental movement and subaltern groups. Whereas mainstream groups fight

environmental issues on legal and policy fronts, Alston argues that grassroots activism is formed and based in (and by) the communities in need of help and fights its battles there.<sup>24</sup> The other important work is the Commission for Racial Justice's study of the relationship between toxic waste sites and race. It has served as the springboard for subsequent protests regarding race and toxic waste sites as well as instigating debates within the historiography on environmental justice. The report's findings showed that race was an integral forecaster of the location of hazardous waste facilities in the United States. The analytical study demonstrated 'the existence of clear patterns which show that communities with greater minority percentages of the population are more likely to be the sites of commercial hazardous waste facilities'. The report concluded that it would be virtually impossible to suggest that such a disparity was the result of chance and that 'race has been a factor in the location of commercial hazardous waste facilities in the United States'.<sup>25</sup> Raising the possibility that the siting of environmental hazards is inherently racist provokes suggestions that American society is a racist society, but it also served as a catalyst for the emergence of literature that considered various elements of the environmental justice movement. Each of the three works promoted the significance of environmental justice and challenged the environmental movement. These themes also served as the basis for the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit in Washington, D.C. in 1991. The convergence of 'African-Americans from "cancer alley" in Louisiana; Latinos from the cities and rural areas of the Southwest; [and] Native American activists such as the Western Shoshone, who were protesting underground nuclear testing on their lands', resulted in a strengthening of subaltern environmentalism as a powerful and legitimate lobby.<sup>26</sup>

Since the Commission for Racial Justice's report and the 1991 First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit, the study of environmental justice and subaltern environmentalism topics has grown almost exponentially, but the most significant works during the early stages of the decade concentrated almost exclusively on race. Because subaltern environmentalism represents a serious challenge to the traditional exercise of power, the idea and existence of environmental racism has been hotly debated and critically challenged.<sup>27</sup> Charges of institutional environmental racism were levelled against the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), when studies demonstrated that EPA 'clean-up efforts at Superfund sites were faster and more sophisticated, and fines against polluters were greater, in white neighbourhoods than in minority neighbourhoods'.<sup>28</sup> Bullard, the pre-eminent environmental justice scholar, has been one of the more prominent advocates for the existence of environmental racism, arguing through statistical data that income has only a limited impact on discriminatory pollution patterns.<sup>29</sup>

Race has been found to be an independent factor, not reducible to class, in predicting the distribution of air pollution ... contaminated fish consumption ...

## SUBALTERN ENVIRONMENTALISM

the location of municipal landfills and incinerators ... the location of abandoned toxic waste dumps ... and lead poisoning in children.<sup>30</sup>

Benjamin A. Goldman supports Bullard's thesis. In his extensive study, Goldman shows that nonwhite and low-income communities were both adversely affected by disproportionately high pollution rates in their living spaces. But, Goldman found, 'when race and income were compared to see if either factor was independently or more significantly related to the environmental disparity, race proved more important in nearly three-quarters of the tests (22 out of 33)'.<sup>31</sup>

But Douglas L. Anderton and his team of researchers at the University of Massachusetts reject the existence of environmental racism, finding that 'no nationally consistent and statistically significant differences between the racial or ethnic composition of tracts which contain commercial facilities for the treatment, storage, and disposal of hazardous wastes [TSDFs] and those which do not'.<sup>32</sup> Instead of race and ethnicity, their study suggests that 'the concentration of persons in manufacturing occupations' is the only variable conspicuously associated with the location of TSDFs.<sup>33</sup> That the University of Massachusetts team of scholars – led by Anderton – was funded by Waste Management Inc. does raise more than a few suspicious eyebrows with respect to their conclusions. Indeed, in other studies, they intimated that there were community benefits that outweighed the negative stigma associated with hosting a toxic waste repository.<sup>34</sup>

In response, Paul Mohai challenged the University of Massachusetts study, and compared it with the Commission for Racial Justice study. Since both studies conducted research nationally, their methodological approach must have differed. Mohai found that the two studies had adopted different units of analysis and different control or comparison populations, which resulted in the considerable disparity in their findings. Whereas the Commission for Racial Justice had used zip codes to break down waste siting, the University of Massachusetts researchers claimed to use the smaller – and theoretically more accurate – sampling size of census tracts. The problem lay, however, in the somewhat arbitrary use of these units of analysis. Mohai showed that Anderton et al. were conspicuously selective in the census tracts that they used. '[Anderton et al.] eliminated all tracts outside of Census Bureau defined Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs), regardless of whether or not these tracts contained a hazardous waste facility. The study also eliminated census tracts inside SMSAs if no facilities existed within the SMSA boundaries'.<sup>35</sup> Thus 32% of all available census tracts were excluded from their study. In comparison, the Commission for Racial Justice study incorporated the demographics from all available zip codes.

However, the University of Massachusetts findings in 'Environmental Equity' were supported by further research. In 'Distribution of Industrial Air Emissions by Income and Race in the United States: An Approach Using the Toxic Release Inventory', S. Perlin et al. determined that there was inconclusive evidence to suggest that race played a role in the siting of industrial hazards.<sup>36</sup>



Similarly, the United States General Accounting Office also found that ten major studies on the locating of hazardous waste facilities collectively yielded inconclusive results, based on a range of research factors.<sup>37</sup>

Perhaps the most condemnatory evidence that race is a primary predictor of the location of environmental hazards was the discovery of a 1984 report done for the California Waste Management Board by Cerrell Associates.<sup>38</sup> *Political Difficulties Facing Waste-to-Energy Conversion Plant Siting*, more commonly known as the Cerrell Report – and produced at California taxpayers' expense – suggested that 'rural communities, poor communities, communities whose residents had low educational levels, communities that were highly Catholic, communities with fewer than 25,000 residents, and communities whose residents were employed in resource-extractive jobs like mining, timber, or agriculture' were the least likely to mount significant resistance to the local siting of garbage incinerators.<sup>39</sup> In spite of its race-neutral criteria, such community profiling obviously targets attributes of many poor communities of colour, in California and in the South and Southwest. With evidence firmly supporting his perspective, Bullard submitted that ultimately determining the basis for discriminatory patterns – race vs. class – was irrelevant since the end result – environmental discrimination – was constant.<sup>40</sup> From an activist standpoint, geographer Laura Pulido agrees that the question is moot, but argues for the significance of the debate on the grounds that 'it is important for what it reveals in terms of conceptualisations of racism and political projects'.<sup>41</sup> With respect to political projects and their relationship to racial minorities, the Cerrell Report is a damning indictment of the corporate powers that be.

Challenging the very premise of the debate, Vicki Been, a professor of law, questions the environmental justice movement's claim that the disparity in siting environmental hazards is really a result of racism or classism at all. In 'Locally Undesirable Land Uses in Minority Neighborhoods: Disproportionate Siting or Market Dynamics', Been argues that the research that charged that environmental risks were incommensurately placed in minority neighbourhoods was guilty of not establishing that 'the host communities were disproportionately minority or poor at the time the sites were selected'.<sup>42</sup> Most of the studies, she argues, 'compare the current socioeconomic characteristics of communities that host various LULUs to those of communities that do not host such LULUs. This approach leaves open the possibility that the sites for LULUs were chosen fairly'.<sup>43</sup> Been implies that the siting of industrial waste sites lowered the property value of nearby neighbourhoods, thereby attracting low-income families to the area. But Been fails to appreciate the correlation between race and poverty. 'Is it not racist', Pulido counters, 'that African Americans and Chicanos/Latinos are disproportionately represented in the ranks of the poor and therefore are all the more vulnerable to pollution through depressed land values, their role as low-wage workers, and limited political power?'<sup>44</sup> Regardless of the inconclusiveness of this debate, however, the proliferation of the evidence that

suggests the existence of environmental racism as an inherent aspect of social racism further contributed to a growth in grassroots activism, which in turn has led to new avenues of inquiry.<sup>45</sup>

A second strand of literature on subaltern environmentalism, distinct from the debate mentioned above, emerged in the mid-1990s. This trend overlapped with a certain denouement of the race-class question, and works re-examined the context of mainstream and subaltern environmentalisms and their relationship to one another. Aforementioned studies of environmental racism certainly addressed the relationship between mainstream and subaltern environmentalisms, but they tended to limit their discussions to the differences between the two, very briefly pointing primarily to the limitations of mainstream environmentalism and its inability or disinterest to engage in environmental justice issues. Of immediate concern in these earlier works was to legitimate 'race' as a category for environmental analysis. No heavily analytical comparative studies between the two movements had yet been written.

Possibly in reaction to the Republican landslide during the 1994 Congressional elections, a relative détente between the two factions emerged, and a search for a compatible milieu was initiated by Robert Gottlieb's *Forcing the Spring: The Transformation of the American Environmental Movement*. Examining the American environmental movement, Gottlieb expands on notions of environmentalism and presents a remarkably cogent and serviceable revision of the environmental agenda that situates environmentalism as central to a much larger leftist-oriented social movement. Gottlieb's design establishes the historical context for an environmental movement that encompasses both its mainstream and its marginalised factions. Definition is crucial to the understanding of the movement, Gottlieb argues, and he redefines the movement to include a diverse set of organisations and ideological approaches. While he does not dispute that there are serious problems between various parties within this broader movement, Gottlieb insists that our histories should recognise that their interests are ultimately similar. 'This interpretation', he argues, 'situates environmentalism as a core concept of a complex of social movements that first appeared in response to the urban and industrial changes accelerating with the rapid urbanization'.<sup>46</sup> The book is divided into three parts: the first on the complex roots of modern environmentalism, the second on contemporary movements, and the third on subaltern approaches. Throughout, Gottlieb demonstrates how intricately connected these various groups are.

Andrew Hurley's *Environmental Inequalities: Class, Race, and Industrial Pollution in Gary, Indiana, 1945–1980* also recognises the full complexity of environmental injustice and the significance of grassroots reactions against it. Hurley uses the industrial city of Gary as the stage for his carefully crafted monograph on the poisoning of a population. He weaves together social, political, and environmental histories to demonstrate that no one approach can adequately comprehend the extent of the issues surrounding environmental

injustice. Like Gottlieb, Hurley focuses primarily on public health as the integral factor for protest; he examines the various protests based along race and class lines to explore the means by which the city reacted to their environmental condition.

Also like Gottlieb, Hurley finds that social justice and environmentalism are inextricably linked. 'It is no coincidence', he writes in the book's first sentence, 'that the age of ecology was also an age of environmental inequality'.<sup>47</sup> Hurley suggests that industrial capitalists held a decisive advantage over workers and ethnic minorities, bound to the city and these businessmen for work. Hurley further blames the dynamics of the capitalist marketplace for 'the domination of nature [which] involves and necessitates the control of human beings'.<sup>48</sup> This new interpretation of environmental justice relating to the shortcomings of capitalism represents an intriguing and important direction for the study of the movement, by insinuating that environmental injustice is part of a much bigger problem. While not focusing explicitly on environmental justice and subaltern environmentalism, these politics have been avidly consumed and explored by a new body of scholarly work that advances ideas of ecological socialism.<sup>49</sup>

Race as a central category for environmental analysis has not disappeared, however. Laura Pulido's *Environmentalism and Economic Justice: Two Chicano Struggles in the Southwest* is undoubtedly one of the most significant contributions to literature on the environmental justice movement, because Pulido is effective in linking strands of the older race literature with newer perspectives on the relationship between mainstream and subaltern environmental movements.<sup>50</sup> Whereas much of the early work on environmental justice concentrated on the American South and in urban areas, Pulido attends to subaltern environmentalism in the American Southwest and considers agricultural and wilderness forms of environmental injustice that oppress Chicanos and their reaction to that oppression.<sup>51</sup> Her work introduces a cogent theoretical framework for the study of subaltern environmentalism, upon which she elaborates with two powerful case studies. Pulido distinguishes between environmental justice movements and mainstream environmentalism, by suggesting that perspective and positionality play important roles. Drawing on two struggles – on the 1965–71 United Farm Workers of California (UFWOC) pesticide campaign, led by César Chavez, and on Hispano grazing rights in northern New Mexico wilderness – Pulido shows that subaltern environmentalism is markedly different from its mainstream alternative. Pulido argues that the UFWOC's attack on pesticides differed from campaigns launched by the Sierra Club and the Natural Resources Defense Council; only the farm workers approached the issue from the subaltern position – cognisant of the social problems posed by the tenuous separation of agricultural livelihood and environmental health – and their battle did not conclude as rapidly as did the protests organised by the mainstream groups.

Perhaps the book's more significant contribution is Pulido's treatment of resource management as a theatre for environmental injustice. Whereas most

studies of subaltern environmentalism have concentrated on urban land uses and the threat of toxic hazards, Pulido argues that the inequitable distribution of natural resources has played a significant role in the ongoing subordination of minority groups in non-urban regions. Her case study of a grazing conflict in wilderness in northern New Mexico illustrates the vitality of access to land for the empowerment of subaltern groups. Indeed, Pulido argues that ‘while resource management is a prominent theme in many Third World struggles, natural resource use has not attracted the same attention among marginal U.S. activists’.<sup>52</sup> Since her book, increasing scholarship has addressed this issue, most notably Mark Spence’s history of Indian removal in the making of the National Parks.<sup>53</sup>

In presenting the subaltern perspective, Pulido also addresses the key social and environmental aspects of this struggle, but her characterisation of the mainstream environmental movement lacks credibility. Pulido sets the two movements up in stark opposition to each other; while promoting subaltern environmentalism, she portrays the mainstream movement as something of a straw dog, limited in its agenda and its social awareness. Her oversimplification of the environmental movement as being inherently racist, narrow-minded, and intent almost exclusively on wilderness preservation is ironic given her complaints that traditional studies have oversimplified the environmental justice agenda.<sup>54</sup>

Stronger critiques of the mainstream environmental movement have since emerged, however. In this vein, Eileen Maura McGurty’s ‘From NIMBY to Civil Rights: The Origins of the Environmental Justice Movement’ confronts the relative exclusivity of the environmental movement and reads the emergence of the environmental justice movement as a response to the limitations of mainstream environmentalism. Her case study of the protest in Warren County is presented in a series of complex layers, exploring the state of the environmental movement during the euphoria of post-Earth Day success, a lack of mainstream response to the siting of a questionably planned toxic waste landfill in a black community, and the evolution of a civil rights-based environmentalism that grew out of an initial NIMBY mentality. Inherent in her argument is the notion that ‘environmental racism was the catalyst to a more comprehensive framework’ for the environmental justice movement, but McGurty returns to the race-class debate, by suggesting that Warren County was the stage for the beginning of that inquiry.<sup>55</sup>

Rather than presenting an outright critique of mainstream environmentalism, Luke W. Cole and Sheila R. Foster’s *From the Ground Up: Environmental Racism and the Rise of the Environmental Justice Movement* breaks more positive ground, by analysing the environmental justice movement on its own merits. The strength of this book is certainly its rich case studies, which introduce and explain the complexities of subaltern activism and advocate a multi-dimensional brand of agitation. Most interestingly, Cole and Foster – legal

experts – spend considerable time discussing the limitations of litigation in environmental justice complaints.<sup>56</sup> *From the Ground Up* escapes the quagmire of social, racial, political, and theoretical arguments that envelope most works on subaltern environmentalism; instead, Cole and Foster's work is a useful monograph that might serve and educate scholars, activists, and policymakers alike.

On the strength of recent books and strong essays subaltern environmentalism has experienced its greatest surge in popularity in the last few years. A proliferation of collections of essays and special issues of journals from a wide variety of disciplines have coloured the debate and pushed for more stringent theoretical models for the study of subaltern environmentalism. In 1996 Michael Heiman edited a special issue of the journal for radical geography, *Antipode*, entitled 'Race, Waste, and Class: New Perspectives on Environmental Justice'. The essays situate themselves in the post-race/class debate and seek to move beyond that question, by considering the possibilities of movement building. Goldman's article, 'What is the Future of Environmental Justice', suggests that a successful destiny for the movement must be to look beyond the race/class debate and recognise the universality of environmental prejudice that influences all subaltern groups. For Goldman, the crucial point will be whether the alienated white working-class majority responds to the calls of the global consumerism of the Republican Right or to the coalition-building interests of groups advocating for sustainable development and workers' rights.<sup>57</sup> Other articles in this special edition also focus their efforts on the significance of movement building.<sup>58</sup>

The construction of movements was also a central theme in the January 2000 special issue of the *American Behavioral Scientist* which focused on 'new dimensions of environmental justice research and thinking, including theoretical and methodological advances in the field'. In line with recent work, Dorceta Taylor, the issue's guest editor, argued that the environmental justice movement 'is making a significant contribution to the development of new environmental discourses and paradigms'.<sup>59</sup> The various articles do just that, further analysing the complexities of the diverse power dynamics inherent in environmental injustice. Using a variety of complex power-relation models, the authors show that communities and community responses are not monolithic. Nor, they argue, are the perpetrators of environmental injustice. Similarly, the role of government and local elites varies from case to case, depending on an expanding plethora of variables.<sup>60</sup>

Interestingly, it was the reduction of variables that fostered a special issue on environmental justice as a theme for urban environmental history in *Environmental History* in April 2000. Seeking greater acceptance for urban environmental history, Maureen A. Flanagan proposed using environmental justice as an organising model for the study of modern urban environmentalism. Her argument is puzzling as it limits both the study of urban environmentalism and environment justice studies, while failing to appreciate existing literature that

has contributed to the progression of ideas about urban environmental history and urban environmental justice.<sup>61</sup> The three following articles are much stronger than their introduction might suggest. Each essay provides some valuable historical context for the environmental justice movement as well as some well-told case studies, both so often lacking in works by non-historians.<sup>62</sup>

Recent anthologies have provided richer and more diverse material than have journal special editions for storytelling and historical context. David E. Camacho's and Daniel Faber's anthologies are two noteworthy collections that were both published in 1998. Camacho's anthology, *Environmental Injustices, Political Struggles*, addresses a continuing 'lack of attention given to political and social aspects of environmental problems', from a political science perspective.<sup>63</sup> Camacho situates the environmental justice movement within the broader context of social movement theory – with emphasis on environmental classism (rather than racism). Subsequent essays introduce a range of case studies that address the rhetoric and ethics of environmental justice.<sup>64</sup> This collection of essays and its focus on public policy and its relationship to environmental justice is a valuable addition to the existing literature, but it is troubling that none of the essays considers the relationship between political and corporate players in environmental justice issues. With this vital link missing, more work in public policy and environmental justice would be most welcome. Faber's collection, *The Struggle for Ecological Democracy: Environmental Justice Movements in the United States*, is perhaps the more innovative of the two recent anthologies. Drawing on a rich tradition of ecological Marxism, or 'ecosocialism', Faber advocates an ecological democracy, whereby 'people suffering ecological injustices must be afforded greater participation in the decision-making processes of capitalist industry'.<sup>65</sup> The collection's outright attack on neoliberalism avoids the traditional pitfalls of political radicalism, and raises the corporate issues missing in Camacho's study. Further, the essays by and large excel at balancing theoretical approaches with practical case studies; they are compelling and their authors tell interesting stories.<sup>66</sup> Given the subaltern rejection of mainstream environmentalism as being limited and influenced by corporate interests, this association of red and green politics is certainly a viable and potentially rich avenue for further inquiry.

In spite of the strong studies listed above, the study of subaltern environmentalism still suffers from a relative shortage of monographs dealing theoretically and practically with environmental justice.<sup>67</sup> Researchers of secondary sources have to rely upon essay collections and special issues in a variety of journals. While such material allows for a great diversity of ideas, subaltern environmentalism requires more rigorous theoretical frameworks and in-depth analysis than essay-length works allow. Each new essay puts environmental justice into a new theoretical model, but insufficient practical analysis of these various models exists. The historiography of subaltern environmentalism could also benefit from a further expansion of its definition and by looking forward and backward.

Looking forward, venturing into the high-tech influences of bio-piracy and the human genome project could both prove fruitful; such analysis would recognise the importance of technological innovation as a means of impressing additional constrictions upon already subjugated peoples. Similarly, looking backward, historians can work at expanding notions of environmental justice and subaltern environmentalism by looking at pre-World War II events within this framework. Mainstream environmentalism still has difficulty situating the work of Alice Hamilton, Sinclair's *The Jungle*, or 19th-century urban environmental problems within its historical compendium of worthwhile issues. The inclusion of these historical 'outcasts' in analysis on environmental justice could prove useful in better understanding the environmental justice movement as well as its relationship to mainstream environmentalism. Further inquiries might also bridge a divide between subaltern environmentalism and radical environmentalism and an emerging body of work that explores the possibilities of red-green politics or ecological socialism. These works could also be enriched by further analysis of global comparative studies on subaltern environmentalism.<sup>68</sup> An aspect of this, dealing with international comparisons of Aboriginal land claims, has already marked its place in postcolonial literature, but more rigorous historical and environmental study of these avenues is still necessary.

Environmental justice is, ultimately, a double-barrelled activism; it is part environmental and part social or economic. It is precisely this duality that has provoked antagonisms between mainstream and subaltern environmentalists as well as a certain degree of schizophrenia within the movement itself. Mainstream environmentalists prioritise health, quality-of-life, and land management decisions whereas environmental justice advocates rightfully – yet polemically – integrate the complexities of power politics into the debate.

Unfortunately, the scholars get in the way. In an effort to disseminate the various complexities of power politics as they pertain to subaltern environmentalism, too much of the literature on the environmental justice movement has focused on theoretical discourses of power and post-structuralist models of socioeconomic – and socioecological – power relations. As fascinating as much of the rhetoric is, it no longer speaks to the movement that inspired its creation. Indeed, there is a great irony to the fact that the scholarly literature that seeks to define subaltern environmentalism has increasingly become so dialectically removed from the movement that promoted the notion that it spoke for itself. Historians might find their niche in this literature, by acting as interpreters between the movement and its philosophers. *The historiography of subaltern environmentalism is in dire need of more stories that reconnect academics with the movement they seek to analyse.* Histories belong to people and should tell stories that have an impact on their lives, socially, culturally, politically, and environmentally. To reduce subaltern environmentalism to a series of symbols and signifiers is important if it helps appreciate the complexity of the movement, but stories that take advantage of these theoretical constructs must filter out the

jargon in order to produce comprehensible stories that can be of value to activists and policymakers.

The ubiquity of environmental injustice further allows for the development of broader conceptions of environmentalism. That environmental injustice and subsequent subaltern activism takes place across the full spectrum of American landscapes – from urban to wilderness – implies the need for a more comprehensive history of environmentalism. This bigger history is certainly more intricate and difficult to write, but historians should not shy away from the complexities of a movement that needs to appreciate its own history in order to continue to move forward.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Paul Hirt and two anonymous reviewers for their constructive and supportive comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> Cited in Rachel Scott, *Muscle and Blood* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co. Inc., 1974), 2.

<sup>3</sup> Some exceptions do exist. See especially Andrew Hurley, *Environmental Inequalities: Class, Race, and Industrial Pollution in Gary, Indiana, 1945–1980* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); and Martin V. Melosi 'Equity, Eco-racism and Environmental History', *Environmental History Review* 19 (Fall 1995): 1–16. See also the special issue on environmental justice as a theme for urban environmental history in *Environmental History* 5 (April 2000).

<sup>4</sup> A wealth of literature on international subaltern environmentalism exists. See, as examples, Ramachandra Guha, 'Radical American Environmentalism and Wilderness Preservation: A Third World Critique', *Environmental Ethics* 11 (Spring 1989): 71–83; Guha, *The Unquiet Woods: Ecological Change and Peasant Resistance in the Himalaya* ([1989] Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Guha and J. Martinez-Alier, *Varieties of Environmentalism: Essays North and South* (London: Earthscan Publications Ltd., 1997); Haripriya Rangan, *Of Myths and Movements: Rewriting Chipko into Himalayan History* (London: Verso, 2000); Vandana Shiva, *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology, and Development* (London: Zed Books, 1989); Laura Westra and Peter S. Wenz (eds.), *Faces of Environmental Racism: Confronting Issues of Global Justice* (London: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1995); Richard Peet and Michael Watts (eds.), *Liberation Ecologies: Environment, Development, Social Movements* (New York: Routledge, 1996); and Andrew Rowell, *Green Backlash: Global Subversion of the Environmental Movement* (New York: Routledge, 1996). This list is only cursory.

<sup>5</sup> For a comprehensive discussion and definition of subalternity, see Laura Pulido, *Environmentalism and Economic Justice: Two Chicano Struggles in the Southwest* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996), 3–57.

<sup>6</sup> Further, in examining subaltern environmentalism rather than environmental injustice, I aim to point toward the historical significance of subaltern activism rather than subaltern oppression or marginalisation. The historiography of environmental justice shows a distinct trend from the passive to grassroots activists as actors in this history.



<sup>7</sup> An accessible example of this might be found in John Nichols's novel, *The Milagro Beanfield War* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974). Nichols's fantastic cast of characters in northern New Mexico resists displacement and disempowerment by claiming their homes, identities, and livelihoods. For scholarly interpretations of diverging interests between subaltern and mainstream environmentalists, see Pulido, *Environmentalism and Economic Justice*; and William de Buys, *Enchantment and Exploitation: The Life and Hard Times of a New Mexico Mountain Range* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985).

<sup>8</sup> The Group of Ten, the ten largest environmental organisations in the United States, is composed of the Sierra Club, the National Audubon Society, the National Wildlife Fund, the Environmental Defense Fund, the Environmental Policy Institute, the Wilderness Society, the Natural Resources Defense Council, the Nature Conservancy, the National Parks and Conservation Association, and the Isaak Walton League.

<sup>9</sup> The existing – though somewhat unnecessary – polarity between the two movements constitutes a major obstacle to the success of either of their agendas and only provides further ammunition for corporate anti-environmentalists. A more fruitful course of action might entail seeking avenues of common concern and forming coalitions over common interest issues. To realise such a merger, however, mainstream environmental groups need to recognise the validity of subaltern critiques of mainstream environmentalism. Corporate participation on Group of Ten boards of directors necessarily limits their ability to reduce and restrict environmental problems. Environmental justice advocates claim that mainstream environmentalism is in the business of controlling environmental problems rather than preventing them, as a result of corporate interests. Grassroots groups have no such restrictions, and their ultimate strength lies in the movement's unwavering commitment to self-representation and self-definition, most effectively expressed in the environmental justice movement's assertion that 'we speak for ourselves'. For critiques of the corporate influence on mainstream environmentalism, see Giovanna Di Chiro, 'Environmental Justice from the Grassroots: Reflections on History, Gender, and Expertise', in *The Struggle for Ecological Democracy: Environmental Justice Movements in the United States*, ed. Daniel Faber (New York: Guilford Press, 1998): 104–136. For specific examples, see also the series of essays authored by Timothy W. Luke in the journal *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism*. Since 1995, Luke has published half a dozen articles in *CNS*, each one critiquing a different member of the Group of Ten. See also Luke, *Ecocritique: Contesting the Politics of Nature, Economy, and Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

<sup>10</sup> Indeed, the environmental justice movement's democratic nature is ironically one of its enduring problems. Because of its insistence on tending to all subaltern reactions to social and environmental subordination, the environmental justice movement has found itself incapable of establishing clear priorities. For more on this problem, see Christopher H. Foreman Jr., *The Promise and Peril of Environmental Justice* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1998).

<sup>11</sup> Donald Worster, Opening Plenary Session: 'Making Environmental History Relevant in the 21st Century'. Joint meeting of the American Society for Environmental History and the Forest History Society, 28 March 2001, Durham NC.

<sup>12</sup> Robert D. Bullard, 'Introduction', *Confronting Environmental Racism: Voices From the Grassroots*, ed. Bullard (Boston: South End Press, 1993), 7–13.

<sup>13</sup> For the division between civil rights activism and environmentalism, see *Time*, 3 August 1970, 42. The article made passing reference to the environmental movement as

## SUBALTERN ENVIRONMENTALISM

an almost exclusively white organisation. See also Eileen Maura McGurty, 'From NIMBY to Civil Rights: The Origins of the Environmental Justice Movement', *Environmental History* 2 (July 1997), 301–23. See especially, 301–5.

<sup>14</sup> See, as example, Sam Love, 'Ecology and Social Justice: Is There a Conflict?' *Environmental Action* 4 (1972), 3–6.

<sup>15</sup> For reference to the energy crisis, see Bullard, *Dumping in Dixie: Race, Class, and Environmental Quality* ([1990] Boulder: Westview Press, 2000), 1. For reference to the growing visibility of toxic wastes, see Andrew Szasz, *EcoPopulism: Toxic Waste and the Movement for Environmental Justice* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).

<sup>16</sup> Barry Commoner, *The Closing Circle* (New York: Bantam, 1971).

<sup>17</sup> Paul P. Craig and Edward Berlin, 'The Air of Poverty', *Environment* (June 1971), 2–9; and Daniel T. Magidson, 'Half Step Forward', *Environment* (June 1971), 10–13.

<sup>18</sup> Julian McCaull, 'Discriminatory Air Pollution', *Environment* (March 1976), 26–31. Quotation is from p. 26.

<sup>19</sup> Brian J. L. Berry (ed.), *The Social Burdens of Environmental Pollution: A Comparative Metropolitan Data Source* (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Co., 1977).

<sup>20</sup> This is an oversimplification of the argument. That African Americans were deemed less likely to mount a politically powerful lobby in opposition to the siting may, however, have been an important factor. For a detailed account of the protests in Warren County, see McGurty, 'From NIMBY to Civil Rights'. See also Bullard, *Dumping in Dixie*, 29–32; and Ken Geiser and Gerry Waneck, 'PCBs and Warren County', in *Unequal Protection: Environmental Justice and Communities of Color*, ed. Bullard (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1994), 43–52.

<sup>21</sup> See, as examples, Wendy Chavkin (ed.), *Double Exposure: Women's Health Hazards on the Job and at Home* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1984); Martin Cherniack, *The Hawk's Nest Incident: America's Worst Industrial Disaster* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); David Rosner and Gerald Markowitz, *Dying for Work: Workers' Safety and Health in Twentieth-Century America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987); Robert D. Bullard, *Invisible Houston: The Black Experience in Boom and Bust* (College Station: Texas A and M University Press, 1987); Commission for Racial Justice, *Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States: A National Report on the Racial and Socio-Economic Characteristics of Communities with Hazardous Waste Sites* (New York: United Church of Christ, 1987); Anne Witte Garland, *Women Activists: Challenging the Abuse of Power* (New York: The Feminist Press, 1988); and Bullard (ed.), *In Search of the New South: The Black Urban Experience in the 1970s and 1980s* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989).

<sup>22</sup> Some important articles were published during this period. See, especially, Robert D. Bullard and Beverly H. Wright, 'The Politics of Pollution: Implications for the Black Community', *Phylon* 47 (March 1986), 71–78; Bullard and Wright, 'Blacks and the Environment', *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations* 14 (Summer 1987), 165–84; and Bullard and Wright, 'Environmentalism and the Politics of Equity: Emergent Trends in the Black Community', *Mid-American Review of Sociology* 12 (Winter 1987), 21–37. It is interesting that the early literature of the 1980s was not as topical as it would become in the 1990s. The mainstream environmental movement's lobby grew during the 1980s in reaction to the Reagan administration, and one can see similar trends occurring within literature on the environmental justice movement after the Republican backlash in 1994. While environmental justice has emerged as a field for scholarly interpretation in the

1980s, perhaps it had not matured sufficiently to garner a widespread popularity until the 1990s.

<sup>23</sup> Bullard, *Dumping in Dixie*. A third edition was published in 2000, testament to the book's continuing relevance and significance to the field.

<sup>24</sup> Dana Alston, *We Speak for Ourselves: Social Justice, Race, and Environment* (Washington, D.C.: The Panos Institute, 1990).

<sup>25</sup> Commission for Racial Justice, *Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States*, 23.

<sup>26</sup> Robert Gottlieb, *Forcing the Spring: The Transformation of the American Environmental Movement* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1993), 3.

<sup>27</sup> For an extensive and annotated bibliography of material pertaining to this debate, see the appendix of Luke W. Cole and Sheila R. Foster, *From the Ground Up: Environmental Racism and the Rise of the Environmental Justice Movement* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 167–83.

<sup>28</sup> David J. Sarokin and Jay Schulkin, 'Environmental Justice: Co-evolution of Environmental Concerns and Social Justice', *The Environmentalist* 14 (1994), 121–9. Quotation is from page 125. For more on the institutional racism of the EPA, see Mark Dowie, *Losing Ground: American Environmentalism at the Close of the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995), 155–7. While subaltern environmentalism tends to focus on grassroots organising, the advent of the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership summit and the new EPA Office of Environmental Equity – created by an Executive Order – present excellent fodder for careful studies of a national environmental justice movement as well as the institutionalisation of that movement.

<sup>29</sup> Bullard, *Dumping in Dixie*. See also Bunyan Bryant and Paul Mohai (eds.), *Race and the Incidence of Environmental Hazards: A Time for Discourse* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992).

<sup>30</sup> Bullard, 'The Anatomy of Environmental Racism and the Environmental Justice Movement', in *Confronting Environmental Racism*, ed. Bullard, 15–39. Quotation is from page 21.

<sup>31</sup> Benjamin A. Goldman, *Not Just Prosperity: Achieving Sustainability with Environmental Justice* (Washington, D.C.: National Wildlife Federation, 1994), 8.

<sup>32</sup> Douglas L. Anderton et al., 'Environmental Equity: The Demographics of Dumping', *Demography* 31 (May 1994), 229–48. Quotation is from page 229.

<sup>33</sup> Anderton et al., 'Environmental Equity', 244.

<sup>34</sup> Anderton et al., 'Hazardous Waste Facilities: "Environmental Equity" Issues in Metropolitan Areas', *Evaluation Review* 18 (1994), 123–40. See page 125.

<sup>35</sup> Paul Mohai, 'The Demographics of Dumping Revisited: Examining the Impact of Alternate Methodologies in Environmental Justice Research', *Virginia Environmental Law Journal* 14 (1995), 615–53. Quotation is from page 620.

<sup>36</sup> S. Perlin et al., 'Distribution of Industrial Air Emissions by Income and Race in the United States: An Approach Using the Toxic Release Inventory', *Environmental Science and Technology* 29 (1995), 69–80.

<sup>37</sup> U.S. GAO, *Hazardous and NonHazardous Waste: Demographics of People Living Near Waste Facilities* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. GAO, 1995).

<sup>38</sup> Cerrell Associates, *Political Difficulties Facing Waste-to-Energy Conversion Plant Siting*, 1984, 17–30. Commissioned by the California Waste Management Board.

<sup>39</sup> Cole and Foster, *From the Ground Up*, 3.

<sup>40</sup> Bullard, 'Grassroots Flowering', *Amicus Journal* 16 (1994): 32–7.

<sup>41</sup> Laura Pulido, 'A Critical Review of the Methodology of Environmental Racism Research', *Antipode* 28(2) (1996), 142–59. Quotation is from page 148.

<sup>42</sup> Vicki Been, 'Locally Undesirable Land Uses in Minority Neighborhoods: Disproportionate Siting or Market Dynamics?' *The Yale Law Journal* 103 (April 1994): 1383–1422. Quotation is on page 1384.

<sup>43</sup> Been, 'Locally Undesirable Land Uses in Minority Neighborhoods', 1385.

<sup>44</sup> Pulido, 'A Critical Review of the Methodology of Environmental Racism Research', 149. See also the special issue of the *Fordham Urban Law Journal* on 'Urban Environmental Justice'. *Fordham Urban Law Journal* 21(3) (Spring 1994).

<sup>45</sup> Pulido, 'A Critical Review of the Methodology of Environmental Racism Research'.

<sup>46</sup> Gottlieb, *Forcing the Spring*, 7.

<sup>47</sup> Hurley, *Environmental Inequalities*, viii.

<sup>48</sup> Hurley, *Environmental Inequalities*, 182. Hurley reiterates Donald Worster's central premise in *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985). The adoption of Worster's Marxist interpretation adds an intriguing new wrinkle into the study of subaltern resistance to resource regulation and the diversity of environmental interests and priorities. Indeed, many subaltern protests are less environmental in nature than scholars let on, but are rather battles for local empowerment or subversion. See as important examples Louis Warren, *The Hunter's Game: Poachers and Conservationists in Twentieth-Century America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); and Karl Jacoby, *Crimes Against Nature: Poachers, Squatters, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

<sup>49</sup> For an introduction into that literature, see James O'Connor, *Natural Causes: Essays in Ecological Marxism* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1998). O'Connor is perhaps best known as editor and guiding light behind the journal, *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism*. The journal regularly solicits and prints essays on environmental justice issues.

<sup>50</sup> Pulido, *Environmentalism and Economic Justice: Two Chicano Struggles in the Southwest* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996).

<sup>51</sup> For other studies of Chicano subaltern environmentalism, see Pulido, 'Sustainable Development at Ganados del Valle', in *Confronting Environmental Racism*, ed. Bullard, 123–39; Devon Peña and Joseph Gallegos, 'Nature and Chicanos in Southern Colorado', in *Confronting Environmental Racism*, ed. Bullard, 141–60; Peña, 'The "Brown" and the "Green": Chicano and Environmental Politics in the Upper Rio Grande', *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism* 3 (1992), 1–25; Pulido, 'Ecological Legitimacy and Cultural Essentialism: Hispano Grazing in the Southwest', in *The Struggle for Ecological Democracy*, ed. Faber, 293–311; Mary S. Pardo, *Mexican American Women Activists: Identity and Resistance in Two Los Angeles Communities* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998); and Peña (ed.), *Chicano Culture, Ecology, Politics: Subversive Kin* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998).

<sup>52</sup> Pulido, *Environmentalism and Economic Justice*, 125.

<sup>53</sup> Mark Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999). Indian removal is an example of environmental injustice that deserves further study in this context. See, as an introduction, Rebecca Solnit, *Savage Dreams: A Journey into the Landscape Wars of the American West* ([1994] Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). For a recent literary interpretation of Indian environmental justice, see Joni Adamson, *American*

*Indian Literature, Environmental Justice, and Ecocriticism: The Middle Place* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001).

<sup>54</sup> In fairness to Pulido, however, her book suffers a little from bad timing. *Environmentalism and Economic Justice*, a revision of her 1991 Ph.D. dissertation, was published just after the publication of Robert Gottlieb's *Forcing the Spring*, which significantly expanded notions of environmentalism and the environmental movement in America and addressed several of the social problems Pulido had with the movement. Pulido must have had trouble negotiating the conviction of her arguments in response to Gottlieb's book, which quells much of their potency. While Pulido still underestimates or oversimplifies the complexity of mainstream environmentalism, her 1991 dissertation raises serious intellectual questions that had not – until *Forcing the Spring* – been adequately addressed. See Laura Pulido, 'Latino Environmental Struggles in the Southwest' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1991). Her book remains, however, one of the most articulate, sophisticated, lucid, and accessible works on subaltern environmentalism.

<sup>55</sup> McGurty, 'From NIMBY to Civil Rights', 317.

<sup>56</sup> Cole and Foster, *From the Ground Up*, 121–30.

<sup>57</sup> Goldman, 'What is the Future of Environmental Justice?' *Antipode* 28(2) (1996), 122–41.

<sup>58</sup> See Robert W. Lake, 'Volunteers, NIMBYs, and Environmental Justice: Dilemmas of Democratic Practice', 142–59; Florence Gardner and Simon Greer, 'Crossing the River: How Local Struggles Build a Broader Movement', 175–92; and Robert Gottlieb and Andrew Fisher, "'First Feed the Face": Environmental Justice and Community Food Security', 193–203. All in *Antipode* 28(2) (1996).

<sup>59</sup> Dorceta Taylor, 'Introduction', *American Behavioral Scientist* 43 (January 2000), 504–7. Quotation is from page 504.

<sup>60</sup> See Taylor, 'The Rise of the Environmental Justice Paradigm: Injustice Framing and the Social Construction of Environmental Discourses', 508–80; David N. Pellow, 'Environmental Inequality Formation: Toward a Theory of Environmental Injustice', 581–601; Andrew Szasz and Michael Meuser, 'Unintended, Inexorable: The Production of Environmental Inequalities in Santa Clara County, California', 602–32; David R. Simon, 'Corporate Environmental Crimes and Social Inequality: New Directions for Environmental Justice Research', 633–45; and Eugene S. Uyeki and Lani J. Holland, 'Diffusion of Pro-Environment Attitudes?' 646–62. All in *American Behavioral Scientist* 43 (January 2000).

<sup>61</sup> Maureen A. Flanagan, 'Environmental Justice in the City: A Theme for Urban Environmental History', *Environmental History* 5 (April 2000), 159–64. Flanagan fails to make reference to Martin V. Melosi's extensive body of literature on urban environmental history. See especially, Melosi (ed.), *Pollution and Reform in American Cities, 1870–1930* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980); Melosi, *Garbage in the Cities: Refuse, Reform, and the Environment, 1880–1980* (College Station: Texas A and M University Press, 1981); and Melosi, *The Sanitary City: Urban Infrastructure in America from Colonial Times to the Present* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000). For an example that focuses on urban environmental justice, see Hurley, *Environmental Inequalities*.

<sup>62</sup> Angela Gugliotta, 'Class, Gender, and Coal Smoke: Gender Ideology and Environmental Injustice in Pittsburgh, 1868–1914', 165–93; Harold L. Platt, 'Jane Addams and the Ward Boss Revisited: Class, Politics, and Public Health in Chicago, 1890–1930', 194–

## SUBALTERN ENVIRONMENTALISM

222; and Dolores Greenberg, 'Reconstructing Race and Protest: Environmental Justice in New York City', 223–50. All in *Environmental History* 5 (April 2000).

<sup>63</sup> David E. Camacho (ed.), *Environmental Injustices, Political Struggles* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 2.

<sup>64</sup> See as examples Jeanne Niebaner Clarke and Andrea K. Gerlak, 'Environmental Racism in Southern Arizona? The Reality Beneath the Rhetoric', 82–100; Kate A. Berry, 'Race for Water? Native Americans, Eurocentrism, and Western Water Policy', 101–24; and C. Richard Bath, Janet M. Tanski, and Robert E. Villarreal, 'The Failure to Provide Basic Services to the *Colonias* of El Paso County: A Case of Environmental Racism?' 125–37. All *Environmental Injustices, Political Struggles*, ed. Camacho.

<sup>65</sup> Faber (ed.), *The Struggle for Ecological Democracy*, 1.

<sup>66</sup> See, especially, Faber, 'The Struggle for Ecological Democracy and Environmental Justice', 1–26; John Foster Bellamy, 'The Limits of Environmentalism without Class: Lessons from the Ancient Forest Struggle in the Pacific Northwest', 188–217; Pulido, 'Ecological Legitimacy and Cultural Essentialism: Hispano Grazing in the Southwest', 293–311; and Peña and María Mondragon-Valdéz, 'The "Brown" and the "Green" Revisited: Chicanos and Environmental Politics in the Upper Rio Grande', 312–48. All in *The Struggle for Ecological Democracy*, ed. Faber.

<sup>67</sup> See, as a recent exception, Gottlieb, *Environmentalism Unbound: Exploring New Pathways for Change* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001).

<sup>68</sup> Some, but not enough, work has explored comparative global aspects of subaltern environmentalism. Benjamin A. Goldman notes that 'the calls for environmental justice that have emerged from communities throughout the United States are echoed by parallel community concerns throughout the world'. Goldman, *Not Just Prosperity*, 27. See also Francis O. Adeola, 'Cross-National Environmental Injustice and Human Rights Issues', *American Behavioral Scientist* 43 (January 2000), 686–706.