

The Rise of the Environmental Justice Paradigm

Injustice Framing and the Social Construction of Environmental Discourses

DORCETA E. TAYLOR

University of Michigan

This article uses social movement theory to analyze environmental justice rhetoric. It argues that the environmental justice frame is a master frame that uses discourses about injustice as an effective mobilizing tool. The article identifies an environmental justice paradigm and compares it with the new environmental paradigm. In addition, the article discusses why the environmental justice movement grew so fast and why its adherents find the environmental justice frame so appealing.

During the past decade, environmental justice thought has emerged as a major part of the environmental discourse. Though much has been written on the environmental justice movement (EJM), attention is focused on case studies, analyzing the spatial distribution of environmental hazards, and examining policy formulation. Despite the fact that the EJM has had profound effects on environmental research, policy making, and the environmental movement, little attention has been paid to the ideological foundations of the EJM. In essence, Why did this discourse and movement arise now? What are its antecedents? What are its underlying principles, and how are these related to the dominant environmental discourse? This article argues that environmental justice thought represents a new paradigm—the environmental justice paradigm (EJP). The article analyzes the rise of the EJP. First, it examines the social construction of environmental problems, and then it traces the development of the major environmental paradigms, showing how the EJP evolved out of these and other bodies of thought. The article also examines the new dimensions of environmental thought that the EJP introduces and how the paradigm is changing the environmental discourse. This article will help us understand how and why the EJP arose, and why it has had such a significant impact on the environmental movement in such a short time. The article views paradigms as social constructions; that is, they are ideological packages expressing bodies of thought that change over time and according to the actors developing the paradigms.



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The article relies heavily on social movement theory to help analyze the mobilization around environmental justice issues. In recent years, social movement theorists have begun emphasizing and synthesizing three theoretical approaches in their work on movement formation and growth. They argue that we can enhance our understanding of movement dynamics by examining the framing processes, mobilizing structures, and political opportunities (McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996). This article will adopt this approach. However, before I discuss environmental paradigms further, I will briefly discuss the relationship between the social construction of discourses, framing, activism, and the emergence of social paradigms.

A SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONIST PERSPECTIVE

This article adopts a social constructionist perspective that views the environment as a social construction. That is, “environmental problems” are social problems; they are socially constructed claims defined through collective processes. By social construction, I mean that environmental problems are not static. They are not always the product of readily identifiable, visible, or objective conditions (Hannigan, 1995, pp. 32-33; Klandermans, 1992, p. 78; Spector & Kitsuse, 1973, p. 146). That is, groups in a society perceive, identify, and define environmental problems by developing shared meanings and interpretations of the issues. Therefore, a constructionist perspective is concerned with how people assign meanings to their social world (Best, 1989, p. 252; Hannigan, 1995, p. 33).

SOCIAL LOCATION AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Social location or positionality also influences the construction of social problems. *Social location* refers to the position a person or group occupies in society. That position is influenced by factors such as gender, race, and class. Social location affects how people construct the meanings that define grievances, opportunities, and collective identities. In addition, social location helps to determine the type and amount of resources available for movement activities. There is also a link between social location and knowledge of collective action tactics and strategies. In addition, the ability to mobilize or use resources effectively is also dependent on the activist’s social location (C. M. Mueller, 1992, pp. 19-20; Oliver & Marwell, 1992; Zald, 1996, pp. 267-268).

For instance, mainstream environmental activists and environmental justice activists are, for the most part, in different social locations. As such, they have vastly different environmental experiences, and those experiences influence how they perceive environmental issues, construct discourses, organize campaigns, and develop activist strategies. In addition, their social locations endow

them with access to different kinds and amounts of resources; the availability of resources influences the strategies used and the kind of movements that activists build. Consequently, mainstream environmentalists who might count lawmakers among their personal, political, or professional networks are more likely to use lobbying as an activist strategy, whereas environmental justice activists, with much less access to Congress and other powerful political bodies in the country, are more likely to use direct-action strategies such as protests and rallies as part of their campaigns. As further discussions show, social location and people's experiences and perceptions of the issues will also influence the type of movements they develop (e.g., transformative or reformatory movements—see discussions that follow).

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF ENVIRONMENTAL CLAIMS

Claims are complaints or grievances about social conditions that members of a society find offensive, undesirable, or unjust (Best, 1989, p. 250; Gamson, 1992; Gamson, Fireman, & Rytina, 1982; Johnston, Larana, & Gusfield, 1997, p. 286; Spector & Kitsuse, 1973). Best (1987) analyzes the content of claims by concentrating on rhetoric. For the purposes of this discussion, *rhetoric* refers to the deliberate use of language to persuade others. Best argues that early in the claims-making process, activists usually employ a “rhetoric of rectitude” (which calls on our values, morals, and desire to do good) to bring an issue to attention and to motivate potential supporters to act. Over time, activists shift their focus and begin using a “rhetoric of rationality,” that is, developing means of ratifying their claims by proposing specific policy alternatives. In addition, Gamson and Meyer (1996) identify a “rhetoric of change” that activists employ in their discourses to overcome malaise and inefficacy. Rafter (1992, p. 27) posits that claims makers use archetypes or templates from which stereotypes are drawn to persuade others. In addition, Ibarra and Kitsuse (1993) assert that claims are framed by using a variety of rhetorical idioms. Rhetorical idioms are images that imbue claims with moral meaning and significance. Environmental discourses are filled with rhetorical idioms and motifs. For example, claims might have (a) a rhetoric of loss—of nature, culture, innocence, and so on; (b) a rhetoric of unreason, invoking images of manipulation, discrimination, conspiracy, and so on; (c) a rhetoric of calamity, invoking images of environmental degradation or catastrophe, for example; (d) a rhetoric of entitlement that demands justice or fair play; and (e) a rhetoric of endangerment, which specifies intolerable risks or hazards. Claims makers also use rhetorical motifs. These are recurrent figures of speech, such as *vanishing wildlife*, *toxic soup*, *Toxic Doughnut*, or *Cancer Alley*, that amplify the problem and give added moral significance to the claim (see also Hannigan, 1995, pp. 35-36).

THE ENVIRONMENT, INJUSTICE, AND COLLECTIVE ACTION FRAMES

FRAMING

Environmental rhetorics are organized into collective action frames to appeal to potential supporters. Though scholars pay little attention to environmental framing (Capek, 1993, is an exception), framing is extremely important in the environmental field. Environmental activists, policy makers, government, politicians, and businesses have long perceived, contextualized, and battled over environmental issues by establishing frames of reference. *Framing* refers to the process by which individuals and groups identify, interpret, and express social and political grievances. A central feature of the framing process is the generation of diagnostic attributions, that is, the identification of problems and the imputation of blame or causality. Framing can also be viewed as a scheme of interpretations that guides the way in which ideological meanings and beliefs are packaged by movement activists and presented to would-be supporters. Frames organize experiences and guide the actions of the individual or the group. Collective action frames are emergent, action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings developed to inspire and legitimate social movement activities and campaigns designed to attract public support. *Emergent* refers to the fact that these ideas, beliefs, and norms are in the process of being formulated, and *action-oriented* refers to the emphasis on recruiting individuals to the movement who want to and who are able to do something about their grievances. There are three components of collective action frames: injustice, agency, and identity. The *injustice* element refers to the moral outrage activists expound through their political consciousness. This moral indignation is more than a straightforward cognitive or intellectual judgment about equity or justice; it is a “hot” cognition—one that is emotionally charged. *Agency* refers to individual and group efficacy, that is, the sense of empowerment activists feel. Empowered activists or those exercising agency feel they can alter conditions and policies. The *identity* component refers to the process of defining the “we” or “us”—usually in opposition to “they” or “them” (Gamson, 1992, 1997; Goffman, 1974; D. A. Snow & Benford, 1992; D. A. Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986; Turner & Killian, 1987; Zajonc, 1980).

Social movement collective action frames are also considered injustice frames because they are developed in opposition to already existing, established, and widely accepted frames. Such collective action frames serve to either pinpoint, highlight, and/or define unjust social conditions. Activists trying to develop new frames have to overcome the hurdle that many people (including would-be supporters) might accept the established or hegemonic frame as normal and/or tolerable (Gamson, 1992, p. 68; McAdam, 1982, p. 51; Moore, 1978, p. 88; Piven & Cloward, 1979, p. 12; D. A. Snow & Benford, 1992, pp. 136-138; Turner & Killian, 1987, p. 242).

FRAME ALIGNMENT PROCESSES

Frame alignment is an important part of the framing process. The term refers to the process of linking the individual's interpretive framework with that of the social movement's. Social movements also try to bridge individual activist goals and identities with those of the general society. This is accomplished by expanding the personal identities of a constituency or group to include the collective identity of larger segments of society as a part of the way they define themselves. Four kinds of frame alignment processes have been identified: frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension, and frame transformation. *Frame bridging* is the act of linking two ideologically compatible but structurally separate frames that refer to the same issue. *Frame amplification* is another aspect of framing that is important to this discussion also. The term refers to the process whereby the meanings and interpretative framework of an issue are clarified and strengthened such that people can see how the issue is connected to their lives. Frame amplification also reduces the ambiguity and uncertainty that might prevent people from caring about an issue and participating in it. There are two aspects to frame amplification: value amplification and belief amplification. Individuals subscribe to a range of values that vary in the degree to which they are compatible or attainable. These values are ordered in a hierarchy according to their salience or significance to the individual. *Value amplification* refers to the identification, idealization, or elevation of certain values that could inspire movement participation (Goffman, 1974; Rokeach, 1973; D. A. Snow et al., 1986; Williams, 1970).

Social movements also try to frame issues in ways that are salient to potential supporters. *Frame extension* occurs when movements broaden the frame of reference to make their messages salient to sympathizers not normally targeted by the movement. In some cases, social movements have to transform the framing of the issues. *Frame transformation* occurs when new ideas and values about movements and/or issues replace old ones. In addition, old meanings, symbols, and so on are discarded; erroneous beliefs and misframings are corrected; and a general reframing of the issues occurs (Gamson, 1992, p. 60; McCarthy, 1987; D. A. Snow et al., 1986).

FRAMING AND COLLECTIVE IDENTITY

It should be noted that the collective identity of a social movement is an important, public signifier of status. That is, those who assume a movement's identity are expected to adhere to a set of attitudes, commitments, and rules of behavior. For instance, a person identifying himself or herself as an environmentalist will be expected to have certain attitudes about resource use and environmental protection. In other words, collective identity focuses on the link between the individual and the cultural systems (Klandermans & Goslinga, 1996, p. 328). The collective identity functions as a mechanism through which

individuals can announce their affiliation and connection with others. Through the process of claiming the collective identity, movement supporters redefine their individual identities around a new, salient, and valued identity. So, when one announces one's self as a member of the EJM, one is not only committing to behavioral and attitudinal obligations but is also claiming for one's self a desired affiliation and a newly crafted identity (Friedman & McAdam, 1992, p. 157).

It is important to note that activists do not fashion new collective identities from scratch; instead, they redefine existing roles within established organizations and use these as templates for creating new identities. In this vein, McAdam (1982, pp. 129-131) and Friedman and McAdam (1992, pp. 162-163) argue that one reason the civil rights movement grew as rapidly as it did was because the movement appropriated a highly prized and salient role in the Black community—that of Christian or church member—and used it as an effective means of creating a new identity. As a result, for Blacks to identify and retain their status as Christians or churchgoers, they had to incorporate civil rights activism into the Christian identity. Similarly, the role of the politically aware and active Black college student was appropriated and expanded. Again, civil rights activism became one element of the identity that activists embraced. Thus, one had little or no credibility as a student activist or Christian if one did not get involved in the civil rights movement. As later discussions will show, the EJM has appropriated salient identities in communities of color and transformed them into valued and salient environmental justice identities.

FRAMING AND CULTURE

Culture, ideology, and framing are closely interconnected. They are conceptually related because they deal with the content and process by which meaning is attached to objects and actions. *Culture* refers to the shared beliefs and understandings, symbols, and language of a group or society. *Ideology* is a set of beliefs that is used to justify, challenge, and/or interpret the social world. *Frames* are the specific metaphors, symbolic representations, and cognitive cues used to assess a social condition and to suggest alternative modes of action. Though it is customary to view culture as the long-term enduring symbols and beliefs of a group or society, culture can also be viewed as an emergent phenomena that is in the process of being created. Ideologies tend to be more complex logical systems of beliefs, whereas frames are sometimes embedded in ideologies. Symbols, frames, and ideologies are created and changed during the process of contestation (Zald, 1996, p. 262). Swidler (1986) sees culture as a "tool kit" that provides a framework to think about institutional learning and the process by which elements of the "cultural stock" are assembled into models or types of socially defined behavior. Cultural stocks are not fixed; that is, over time, repertoires of contention expand, contract, or change as actions are added, dropped, or revamped (Tarrow, 1993, 1994). Social movements draw on cultural stock, but not all movements have equal access to that stock. This is the case because

social movements and their leaders and supports have different locations in the social system. Because of differential social locations, activists draw on the repertoires and frames that are compatible with the skills, orientations, ideologies, and identities of the groups that comprise a particular movement (Zald, 1996, pp. 266-267).

Thus, mainstream environmentalists, drawing from their cultural stock, evoke images related to wilderness and wildlife protection to motivate their supporters. Such images, rooted in 19th-century frontier experiences and Romantic/Transcendentalist environmental ideology, are still potent symbols that have a high identity salience for middle-class White environmentalists. However, given the 19th-century experience of people of color (forced relocations, living on reservations, appropriation of land, slavery, and sharecropping, among other things), environmental justice activists do not draw on Romantic/Transcendental images to motivate their supporters. Instead, they evoke images of racism, appropriation of land, and the destruction of communities and cultures. The environmental justice images have their roots in the social justice struggles emanating from the period of conquest and slavery; more recently, the images draw on potent symbols of the civil rights movement and the struggles of other people of color in the 1960s and 1970s (for historical accounts of the environmental experiences of the aforementioned groups, see D. E. Taylor, 1997a, 1998, in press).

MASTER FRAMES AND THE USE OF ELABORATED AND RESTRICTED CODES

The environmental justice frame has emerged as a master frame used to mobilize activists who want to link racism, injustice, and environmentalism in one frame. Master frames serve the same functions as movement-specific collective action frames; however, their effects are exaggerated. In other words, master frames are styles of punctuation, attribution, and articulation. They can be viewed as crucial ideological frameworks akin to paradigms. The master frames function in a manner tantamount to linguistic codes in that they provide a language that organizes and connects experiences and events in the world around us with our own lives. Master frames serve the crucial role of magnifying the attribution function of collective action frames. That is, master frames provide the interpretive medium through which activists identify problems and assign blame or causality. In other words, master frames help activists to make "causal attributions" or develop "vocabularies of motive" (Kelley, 1972; Mills, 1940; D. A. Snow & Benford, 1992, pp. 138-141). In the case of environmental experiences of people of color, blame is externalized; that is, unjust outcomes in life circumstances are attributed to pervasive and persistent societal racism rather than the victim's imperfections.

At this juncture, a brief discussion of linguistic codes will help us understand how master frames work and why they are effective. Researchers have identified two basic types of linguistic codes that produce different styles of speech and

orientation; they are the restricted code and the elaborated code. The restricted code is characterized by speech that is rigidly constructed around a narrow range of syntactical alternatives. Such dialogues are very particularistic in regard to meaning and interpretation. On the other hand, the elaborated code produces more malleable discourses. Such dialogues have many syntactic alternatives and are more universalistic in their meaning and the way people interpret them (Bernstein, 1970, 1975, 1977; Heath, 1983; Karabel & Halsey, 1977; D. A. Snow & Benford, 1992, pp. 138-141).

As mentioned before, master frames serve important articulation functions, but not all master frames perform the same functions in the same manner. Some master frames are inflexible, whereas others are more pliable. If the dialogues of master frames lie on a continuum ranging from restricted to elaborated, then the master frames can be characterized as restricted master frames or elaborated master frames, depending on where they lie on the continuum. The restricted master frames are considered closed, that is, they are developed from exclusive ideational systems that do not readily lend themselves to frame amplification or extension. As styles of expression, they tend to organize a limited body of thought in a densely interlocking form; as modes of interpretation, they are narrowly defined, thus allowing little leeway in how they are adapted and interpreted. In other words, restricted frames are syntactically rigid and lexically particularistic (D. A. Snow & Benford, 1992, pp. 138-141).

Master frames are also developed in elaborated codes; such codes can express a wide range of ideas. Frames developed with elaborated codes tend to be more lexically universalistic. They can be interpreted with more flexibility, and they allow more comprehensive ideological amplification and extension than those created with restricted codes. Frames based on elaborated codes are also more inclusive: They are more accessible to aggrieved groups that can use them to express their complaints (D. A. Snow & Benford, 1992, pp. 138-141). Though Bernstein (1970, 1975, 1977) and Heath (1983) associate restricted codes with working-class speech and elaborated codes with middle-class speech patterns, social class and racial background do not seem to predict which codes activists use to develop master frames. Both middle-class activists and working-class activists develop discourses and movements organized around restricted as well as elaborated codes. For instance, though one could argue that mainstream environmental master frames have been amplified and extended over time, these frames can still be considered somewhat restricted (the definition and interpretation of environmental problems are still narrowly prescribed). In addition, some sectors of the environmental movement, like deep ecology (Earth First!) and the antinuclear movement, develop much more restricted master frames than the mainstream environmental master frames. In contrast, a movement like the civil rights movement was developed with elaborated master frames. As such, the frame did not appeal only to Blacks; other aggrieved groups such as Latinos and Native Americans used some of the civil rights master frames to develop their own social justice movements. However, Blacks also

developed movements in the 1960s and 1970s modeled on restricted master frames. For example, the Black Panther party and the black power movement were movements developed on very restricted master frames; these frames were not as accessible to other aggrieved groups, so these movements were not as widely copied as the civil rights movement. As later discussions will show, the EJM, building on the model of the civil rights movement, uses elaborated master frames to amplify and extend mainstream environmental discourses.

Master frames are also potent. The potency of the frame is a function of where it rests on the restricted-elaborated code continuum and the extent to which it resonates with its target audience. The amplitude of the resonance is affected by three interrelated factors: empirical credibility, experiential commensurability, and ideational centrality or narrative fidelity. Thus, there has to be credible empirical evidence to support the master frame's claims, the target audience has to have some experience with the problem (direct and daily experience is more potent than infrequent, indirect, and inconsequential experience), and the issue must resonate with people or strike a chord in them. In short, the frame must have a high level of identity salience to potential recruits (Fisher, 1984; D. A. Snow & Benford, 1988). Depending on what stage the social movement is in, movement activists must balance the use of the rhetoric of rectitude (appealing to morals and values) with the rhetoric of rationality (trying to ratify claims through proposed policy alternatives). In addition, rhetorical idioms and motifs are used to evoke moral responses, promote empirical credibility, and encourage supporters to be efficacious by using the rhetoric of change (Best, 1987; Gamson & Meyer, 1996; Hannigan, 1995, pp. 35-36; Ibarra & Kitsuse, 1993; Rafter, 1992, p. 27).

Submerged Frames

At this point, it is useful to identify an aspect of framing evident in the study of the EJM that is not identified in the social movement literature: submerged frames. Submerged frames are underlying ideological packages that are not made explicit by movement activists. Submerged frames identify problems in the society, make diagnostic attributions, and suggest solutions, but these problems are not the major focus of movement or framing activities. For instance, in the case of the civil rights movement, problems of environmental inequality, such as substandard and inadequate housing, lead poisoning, inadequate sanitation, occupational hazards, inadequate public transportation service, and lack of access to parks and playgrounds, were identified and included on the agenda, but they were not framed as environmental racism or environmental discrimination, and the movement did not agitate for environmental justice. Instead, the aforementioned environmental problems were subsumed under the master frame of civil rights. Some environmental justice organizations (EJOs) work on issues related to housing, open space, and workplace safety, but these are framed as

social service or community service issues. Though EJOs are aware that these issues are environmental and are related to social inequality, they have not yet bridged these frames to develop an environmental inequality (environmental justice) master frame. Thus, in organizations where environmental justice exists as a submerged frame, one would find organizations that are aware of or are engaging in environmental justice activities (but not necessarily labeling them as such), making arguments about environment and inequality but not really connecting the two in an explicit and unified frame. In such cases, the elements of the master frame are present, but the process of frame bridging is incomplete. Therefore, the submerged frame can be seen as an early stage of consciousness where the frame is not fully developed to match the goals and collective identity of the activists and movement. However, the submerged frame could also be seen as a strategic process wherein movements refrain from developing competing master frames that could fragment and retard movement growth and effectiveness. In cases like the civil rights movement, some frames are deliberately left in the submerged state.

MICROMOBILIZATION OF SOCIAL NETWORKS

SOCIAL NETWORKS

Though framing is a very important factor influencing the likelihood that people participate in movements, framing alone does not account for participation. Social and institutional networks also facilitate activism. Psychological or attitudinal accounts of social movement activism imply some psychological or attitudinal fit between movements and potential supporters that impels activists to participate or makes them vulnerable to recruitment efforts. Despite the vast number of studies based on this assumption, the empirical evidence linking attitudes, predisposition, and activism is weak. Psychological attributes of individuals, such as frustration and alienation, are of little significance in explaining the occurrence of high-risk collective actions such as revolts, riots, and rebellions (McAdam & Paulsen, 1997, pp. 145-146; McPhail, 1971; E. N. Mueller, 1980, p. 69).¹ This is not to say that psychological and attitudinal factors are irrelevant to the study of activism. Both factors are important in identifying the *latitude of rejection* within which individuals are highly unlikely to get involved in a given movement. This is important because in many movements, the size of the pool of recruits (the *latitude of acceptance*) positively disposed to the movement's message is much larger than the number of people who will actually participate in a movement. That is, not everyone hearing a message and agreeing with or liking it is likely to become a movement participant. Research has shown that there is a disparity or gap between attitudinal affinity and actual movement participation. The weak link between psychological predisposition and attitudes

and movement participation could be a function of this disparity (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987; McAdam & Paulsen, 1997, p. 146; Petty & Cacioppo, 1981).

Microstructural network factors appear to be more helpful in explaining movement participation. The first aspect of this relates to interpersonal ties. Knowing someone already involved in a movement is a strong predictor of recruitment into a movement. Strong or dense interpersonal networks increase the likelihood that an individual will be asked to join a movement. Such networks also lessen the concerns about movement participation (Bolton, 1972; Briet, Klandermans, & Kroon, 1987; Gerlach & Hine, 1970; Heirich, 1977; McAdam, 1986; McAdam & Paulsen, 1997, pp. 146-147; Orum, 1972; D. A. Snow, 1976; D. A. Snow, Zurcher, & Eckland-Olson, 1980; Von Eschen, Kirk, & Pinard, 1971; Zurcher & Kirkpatrick, 1976). The second network factor relates to membership in organizations. Membership in organizations is an extension of interpersonal social ties; it increases the likelihood of meeting people and being drawn into a social movement. Movement organizers, recognizing the difficulty of recruiting single, isolated individuals, have long expended much of their recruiting efforts on getting support from existing organizations (McAdam, 1986; McAdam & Paulsen, 1997, pp. 146-147; Oberschall, 1980; Orum, 1972; Walsh & Warland, 1983). As later discussions will show, interpersonal ties and network connections were crucial to the formation and development of the EJM.

SOCIAL NETWORKS AND EFFICACY

Organizational membership also seems to be related to personal efficacy. Individuals belonging to several organizations have a stronger sense of personal efficacy than do those who belong to few or no organizations (Craig, 1979; Finkel, 1985; Neal & Seeman, 1964; Paulsen, 1991; Sayre, 1980; Sharp, 1980; Sutherland, 1981; Travers, 1982). *Efficacy* refers to a situation in which an individual perceives that he or she can assert himself or herself politically to make social and political changes. Political assertion can take place through citizens' organizations or through individual or group efforts (Balch, 1974; Converse, 1972; Eisinger, 1972, p. 123; Miller, Goldenberg, & Erbring, 1979, p. 67; Neal & Seeman, 1964; Rotter, 1966; Seeman, 1972; Verba & Nie, 1972).

SOCIAL NETWORKS AND IDENTITY SALIENCE

In addition to the multiple network ties (personal and organizational) discussed above, identity salience is also an important factor in explaining movement participation. According to Stryker (1968, 1981, pp. 23-24), identities are organized into a hierarchy of salience defined by the probability of the various identities being invoked or aroused in a given situation or over a variety of situational contexts. The salience of any particular identity is a function of the

individual's commitment to it. Commitment is affected by the individual's relationships with other movement activists. That is, the depth and importance of our relationships with others help to establish and sustain the salience (or hierarchy) of various identities (McAdam & Paulsen, 1997; McCall & Simmons, 1978; Rosenberg, 1979). Identity salience could be an important factor in determining the latitude of acceptance and latitude of rejection (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987; McAdam & Paulsen, 1997, p. 146; Petty & Cacioppo, 1981). The EJM provides excellent opportunities to examine how attitudinal affinity is connected to movement participation.

RESOURCE MOBILIZATION

Movement participation also requires resources. That is, activists have to be keenly aware of what resources (time, money, human resources, technical expertise, organizational resources, etc.) are available to them and how to use these resources to initiate and maintain movement activities. Resource mobilization theory arose in response to classical social movement theory that argued that strain, grievance, and deprivation caused collective behavior. Resource mobilization theorists counter those arguments by claiming that resources and opportunities are more important than strain, grievance, and deprivation in causing the emergence of social movements. They argue that this would help to explain why so many groups with grievances do not organize social movements—they do not organize because the resources and opportunities are not available to enable movement formation. Resource mobilization theorists also claim that social movements emerge out of preexisting social networks of people who are mobilized into action. So, in contrast to the mass society theory, resource mobilization theory posits that it is the most socially connected people (not the most alienated) who are most likely to be mobilized into movement participation (Buechler & Cylke, 1997, pp. 58-63; Geshwender, 1968; Kornhauser, 1959; Marx & McAdam, 1994, pp. 81-82; Selznick, 1970, pp. 263-266; Smelser, 1963).

Resource mobilization theory also arose in response to Mancur Olson's (1965) rational choice theory.² As an outgrowth of the rational choice model, resource mobilization focuses on micromobilization. Resource mobilization also asserts that both social movement organizations and activists are rational actors. Theorists argue that social movement activists are socially located or embedded in social networks that they identify with. The social locations intersect and overlap to provide the cultural cues activists draw on to identify and interpret social problems or grievances, resources, and opportunities (C. M. Mueller, 1992, pp. 6-7). In short, social movement activists have to understand the role of organizing and mobilizing the resources necessary for social movement building.

POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY THEORY

Movement participation is enhanced by the existence of political opportunities that facilitate movement strength and growth. In contrast to the classical social movement theorists who view movement formation as a psychological phenomenon (i.e., a response to grievance, strain, or deprivation), supporters of the political opportunities thesis believe that collective behavior is a political phenomenon. Eisinger (1973) argued that the “structure of political opportunities” helped to account for the variation in rioting in 43 American cities. Eisinger defined *political opportunity* as the extent to which groups were able to gain access to power or manipulate the system. Similarly, McAdam (1982, pp. 36-59) believes that the factors influencing institutionalized political processes also play significant roles in the emergence of social movements. McAdam’s political process model posits that socioeconomic conditions lay the foundation for expanding political opportunities and the development of indigenous organizations. Political opportunities and indigenous organizational strength facilitate the process of cognitive liberation, which in turn enhances social movement formation. Political opportunities and indigenous organizational strength can also influence social movement activism directly. Other proponents of the political process model, such as Rule and Tilly (1975), Jenkins and Perrow (1977), Tilly (1978), and Tarrow (1983), have also established a link between institutionalized politics and social protests or movement activism.

In recent years, scholars have sought to define the concept of political opportunity such that it is analytically distinct from other social movement processes such as the mobilization of resources or identification and framing of issues. Though scholars like Brockett (1991); Kreisi (1996); Kreisi, Koopmans, Duyvendak, and Guigni (1992); Tarrow (1994); and Rucht (1996) operationalize political opportunity in a variety of ways, McAdam (1996) has identified four elements common to these definitions: (a) the relative openness or closure of the institutionalized political system, (b) the stability or instability of that broad set of elite alignments that typically undergird a polity, (c) the presence or absence of elite allies, and (d) the state’s capacity and propensity for repression.

COGNITIVE LIBERATION

McAdam (1982) and Piven and Cloward (1979, 1997) argue that the emergence of a protest movement entails a transformation of both the consciousness and the behavior of individuals. McAdam uses the term *cognitive liberation* to describe the development of consciousness among potential movement participants (about a particular constellation of issues) that translates into collective action. Cognitive liberation occurs when (a) the system people once trusted loses legitimacy, (b) people who are ordinarily fatalistic begin to demand social change, and (c) people find and exercise a new sense of political efficacy. These three conditions are important for the process of cognitive liberation to take

TABLE 1: Types of Social Movements—The Level and Magnitude of Change Sought

<i>Magnitude of Change Sought</i>	<i>Level of Change Sought</i>	
	<i>Individual Level</i>	<i>Societal Level</i>
Partial	Alterative	Reformative
Total	Redemptive	Transformative

SOURCE: Adapted from Aberle (1966) and McAdam and Snow (1997).

place, as they also cause significant shifts in the power relations between the holders of power and those challenging the system.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

One can analyze a social movement like the EJM in terms of the magnitude of change sought by the movement and the level of change attempted. Regarding the amount of change sought, movements can seek partial or total change. In addition, movements can seek change at the individual level or at the societal level. With this in mind, four general types of movements can be identified: (a) alterative, (b) reformative, (c) redemptive, and (d) transformative (see Table 1). Alterative movements seek partial change in individuals. Such movements assume that individuals have some character flaws or tendencies that should be fixed or banished. For example, self-help movements aimed at reducing, controlling, or eliminating alcohol or drug addiction fall into this category. A second type of movement, the redemptive movement, seeks total change at the individual level because social ills are rooted in individual behavior and beliefs. Religious movements and cults are among the movements that take this approach to social change. However, some movements seek to make either partial or total societal changes. Reformative movements (such as the mainstream environmental movement) seek limited or incremental changes in the system. Such movements do not utter outright rejections of the system; rather, they seek to work within the system to neutralize or amend wrongs or to reduce or eliminate perceived threats. Finally, other social movements, such as the EJM, are transformative; that is, they seek broad or sweeping changes in the social structure and its ideological foundation (Aberle, 1966; McAdam & Snow, 1997). Though movements do not fit neatly into any of these idealized typologies, they tend toward one of these forms.

THE INJUSTICE FRAME, ENVIRONMENTAL RIGHTS, AND ISSUE SALIENCE

For more than a century, environmental activists have used injustice frames and arguments about environmental rights to make claims about human-

environment relations and to advocate environmental policies and action. The early generations of environmental activists framed injustice primarily in terms of humans harming nature and the inequities of intergenerational and intragenerational resource consumption. For instance, George Perkins Marsh (1857, 1864/1965), John Muir (1907, 1913, 1916, 1911/1944), and T. Gilbert Pearson (1937) campaigned against the injustice wrought on nature because of human actions. In addition, activists like Muir argued for intergenerational equity. He thought it was unjust for current generations to use up or destroy resources; he made strong arguments for considering the rights of future generations and saving resources for them. The conservationist Gifford Pinchot (1906, 1907, 1908, 1947) also used the injustice frame to counter John Muir and the preservationist position on intergenerational equity. Pinchot considered the rights of current generations to be paramount in resource decision making. He argued that it was unjust to preserve resources for future generations at the expense of current generations. For instance, during the controversy over the proposal to dam the Hetch Hetchy Valley, he argued that it was unjust to let the people of San Francisco go without a reliable water supply in order to save a wilderness area for future generations (Fox, 1985; Nash, 1982). Similar injustice themes appear in the works of other activists like Aldo Leopold (1921, 1949) and Robert Marshall (1930). In developing the concept of the land ethic, Leopold wrote about the injustice of harming the earth and its ecosystems and about privileging some species over others. Marshall also wrote about resource protection; however, he brought a new dimension to the injustice argument. He argued that minority rights (i.e., the rights of wilderness lovers) should be honored in wilderness preservation decisions. Marshall argued that it was unjust to subject preservation decisions to the tyranny of the majority. Though wilderness lovers made up a minority of the population, their values and wishes were important; therefore, it was unfair to ignore their wishes and rights and destroy wilderness to benefit the majority (Leopold, 1921, 1949; Marshall, 1930; Nash, 1982, pp. 200-208).

In more recent times, Rachel Carson (1962, 1963) used the injustice frame quite effectively to question industry and government practices regarding the use of pesticides and other chemicals. Carson transformed environmental framing by examining human health, corporate-community relations, and government-community relations. By focusing on harm afflicted on humans and nature because of corporate or governmental actions, she examined the nature of the social compact that long existed between citizens, government, and corporations. Under the compact, citizens do not expect to be harmed by corporations, and they expect to be protected by government. Carson argued that it was unjust for both government and corporations to violate that trust and that citizens who were harmed by the reckless actions of others had a right to redress. Carson (1962) also practiced frame bridging by combining ideologically compatible but structurally separate frames that referred to the same issue (e.g., human health, wildlife health and survival, and chemical contamination) in her book *Silent Spring*. Carson argued that the indiscriminate use of pesticides that

resulted in harm to humans and wildlife was wrong. Her injustice framing resonated with many; it amplified the issues by clarifying the relationship between toxins, nature, and human health and by helping people to see how environmental problems were connected to their lives. Once that connection was made, people identified with the issues and elevated environmental concerns above others. Her work also extended the environmental frame to people not normally targeted or recruited by the movement. Consequently, the movement gained many new supporters.

The EJM is the latest in a series of environmental mobilizations that employ the injustice frame. However, unlike prior attempts at environmental framing, the EJM makes the injustice frame explicit—a master frame so to speak. It is the first sector of the environmental movement to examine the human-human and human-nature relations through the lens of race, class, and gender. Although discrimination can arise from race, class, or gender bias, it can also arise from a combination of these prejudices. That is, the term *simultaneity of oppression* refers to the notion that discrimination can arise from multiple sources, and it can be interlocking and inseparable (Brewer, 1999; Rockquemore, 1999; D. E. Taylor, 1997b). For example, in cases of pesticide exposure that cause birth defects or women of color being subject to involuntary sterilization, the environmental injustices arise from the inseparable and interlocking nature of race, class, and gender oppression. Consequently, the EJM examines how discrimination results in humans harming each other, how racial minorities bear the brunt of the discrimination, and how discriminatory practices hasten the degradation of environments. The EJM also examines corporate and governmental environmental behavior and the effects of those actions on the aggrieved communities.

The environmental justice discourse practices frame bridging, transformation, amplification, and extension (D. A. Snow et al., 1986). The discourse links concepts such as racial oppression with labor market and environmental experiences, health, and environmental degradation in one frame that expresses the magnitude and immediacy of the problem. In addition, the environmental justice discourse has amplified the issues, providing empirical evidence to support the claims of the movement and clarify how environmental processes and policies, corporate behavior, and racist intent and/or outcomes result in disproportionate negative environmental impacts on communities of color and poor communities. The environmental justice discourse has also transformed the way mainstream environmentalists think about the environment and also the way many people of color think about and relate to the environment. Because of environmental justice, it is no longer considered appropriate for mainstream environmentalists to define and analyze environmental issues without considering the social justice implications of the problem. The movement has also changed the perception in many communities of color that people there need not concern themselves with environmental issues. Environmental justice elevated the environment to an issue of great importance in communities of color and one

needing urgent attention. The EJM has also extended the environmental message to appeal to people of color and the poor to a greater extent than any other environmental frame preceding it. Poor people and minority residents are incorporated into the movement because activists focus on their experiences and articulate their concerns in ways that resonate with them. Thus, the environmental justice frame not only recognizes environmental injustice as it relates to humans harming nature, but it also recognizes that environmental injustice arises from racial, gender, and class discrimination.

FOUR MAJOR PATHWAYS OF ENVIRONMENTAL ACTIVISM

Most researchers studying the environmental movement base their analyses on historical accounts that advance one dominant narrative. According to this account, wilderness enthusiasts and wildlife protectors urged people to preserve wilderness and wildlife, respect nature, and cease destroying the environment. At the turn of the century, major campaigns to pass bird and game protective legislation placed environmental issues in the spotlight. In addition, the damming of the Hetch Hetchy Valley to provide water for the city of San Francisco sparked a major controversy between preservationists and conservationists. The Hetch Hetchy affair accentuated the vulnerability of wilderness; it also helped to define the early environmental movement. The movement focused on wilderness preservation, wildlife conservation, habitat protection, and outdoor recreation issues. It adopted a reform environmental agenda that was strengthened significantly throughout the 20th century. The publication of *Silent Spring* (Carson, 1962) energized the movement in the 1960s, and Earth Day 1970 brought unprecedented public attention to environmental issues (e.g., see Bramwell, 1989; Fox, 1985; Nash, 1982).

This article contends that the above scenario is only one of several pathways of environmental activism (see Figure 1). The above narrative does not account for the way in which race, class, gender, labor market experiences, and politics influence environmental activism. It leaves the reader to assume that everyone had similar environmental experiences and responses to environmental occurrences or that experiences and responses that are unaccounted for are not important. Clearly, this is not the case. A race, class, and gender approach to the study of environmental history and activism helps to move us beyond this limited narrative. By adopting this approach, we can identify four major pathways of environmental activism.

1. The wilderness/wildlife/recreation path (described above) was chosen primarily by middle-class, White males. This branch of environmentalism, which attracted more middle-class, White female participants as the 20th century progressed,

developed a strong reform agenda. Also referred to as mainstream environmentalism, it is currently the dominant sector of the environmental movement.

2. Not all middle-class environmental activists concentrated on the wilderness during the 19th and early 20th century. Some middle-class males and females, like the Progressive era reformers, remained in the cities where they developed an urban environmental agenda focused on parks, open spaces, occupational safety, and public health.
3. A third pathway emerged as the White working class joined forces with the unions and with progressive, White, middle-class female activists to develop a working-class environmental agenda focused on worker rights, occupational health and safety, and access to recreation. Working-class activists also worked on their own to organize campaigns to increase access to public parks and to legitimize styles of working-class recreation.
4. A fourth pathway was taken by people of color. They linked social justice concerns like self-determination, sovereignty, human rights, social inequality, access to natural resources, and disproportionate impacts of environmental hazards with traditional working-class environmental concerns like worker rights and worker health and safety to develop an environmental justice agenda. (See D. E. Taylor, 1997a, 1998, in press, for more detailed historical accounts of the environmental activism of these four different groups.)

In short, these different pathways arise because people occupying different social locations have different environmental experiences. Those experiences influence how they think about and define environmental issues. The differing social constructions are associated with distinct paths of activism.

FOUR WAVES OF ENVIRONMENTAL MOBILIZATION

In addition to the four pathways of environmental activism discussed above, there have been four waves of mobilization around environmental issues: the pre-movement era (1820s-1913), the post-Hetch Hetchy era (1914-1959), the post-Carson era (1960-1979), and the post-Love Canal/Three Mile Island era (1980-the present) (D. E. Taylor, 1997a, 1998, in press) (see Table 2). The pre-movement era was characterized by a preponderance of outdoor recreationists, scientific and technical professionals, and individual enthusiasts who advocated environmental protection (preservationists) or wise use of resources (conservationists). From the mid- to late 1800s, the writings and activism of environmental advocates like Ralph Waldo Emerson, George Perkins Marsh, Henry David Thoreau, John Muir, George Bird Grinnell, Theodore Roosevelt, William Brewster, T. Gilbert Pearson, and Gifford Pinchot laid the groundwork for the emergence of the environmental movement. By the 1880s, environmental groups like the Appalachian Mountain Club and the Boone and Crockett Club were formed, and the transition from the pre-movement era to mass movement began to take shape. Major wildlife conservation efforts on the East Coast, battles over bird and game protection legislation, and fights to safeguard

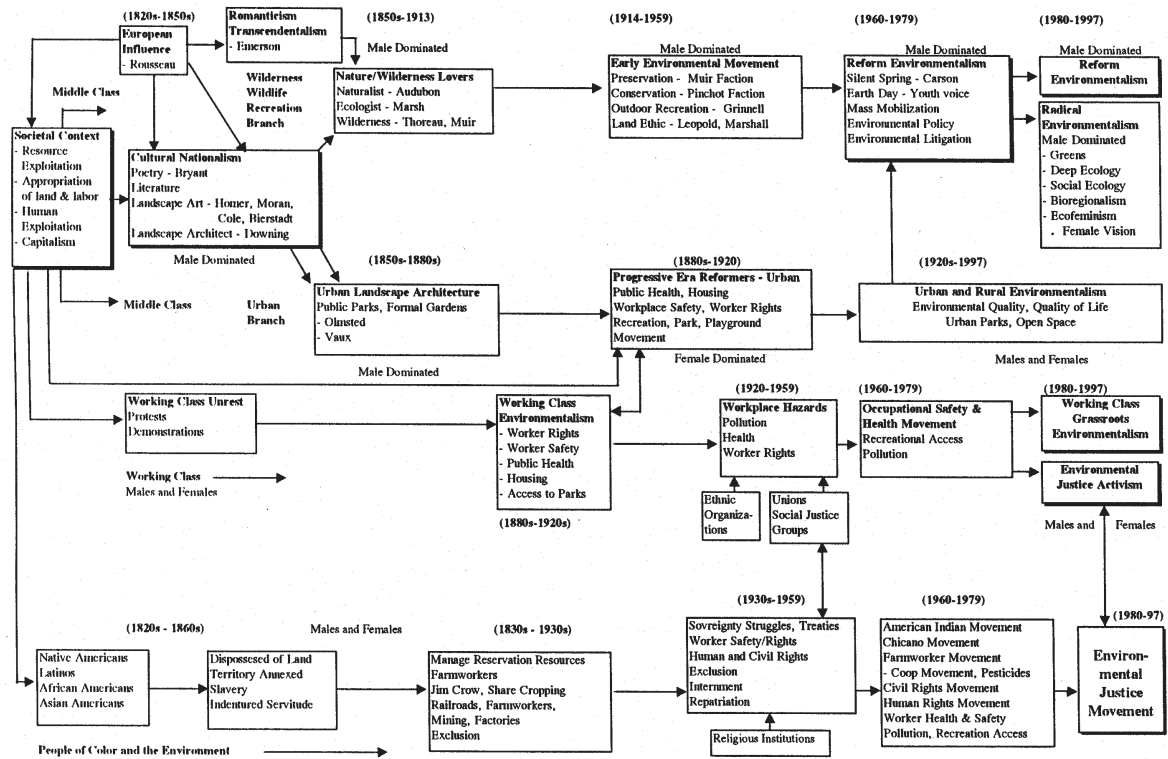


Figure 1: The Historical Development of White Middle-Class and Working-Class and People of Color Environmental Activism

TABLE 2: Phases of Environmental Activism and Corresponding Paradigmatic Developments

	<i>Pre-Movement</i>	<i>Early Environmental Movement</i>	<i>Modern Environmental Movement</i>	
Phases of the environmental movement	Pre-movement era (1820-1913)	Post-Hetch Hetchy era (1914-1959)	Post-Carson era (1960-1979)	Post-Three Mile Island/Love Canal Era (1980-present)
Paradigms	Exploitative capitalist paradigm (ECP)	ECP & the Romantic environmental paradigm (REP)	New environmental paradigm (NEP)	NEP & the environmental justice paradigm (EJP)

Yellowstone Park and big game in the West were significant events in the founding years of the environmental movement. At the turn of the century, the Hetch Hetchy controversy also played an important role in shaping the environmental movement.

Despite the fact that the membership in some environmental organizations declined during the Depression, in general, the environmental movement grew during the post-Hetch Hetchy era. Another round of controversies involving dam building in wilderness areas occurred during the 1950s. This time, preservationists rallied to save Echo Park (in Dinosaur National Monument), and the ensuing publicity resulted in increased membership and the formation of new environmental organizations. Up to this point, environmental organizations were still primarily focused on wilderness preservation, wildlife conservation, pollution and degradation of wildlife habitats, hunting, fishing, bird watching, hiking, camping, mountaineering, and other kinds of outdoor recreation. However, the publication of *Silent Spring* (Carson, 1962) mobilized large numbers of people hitherto uninvolved in environmental activities, and the modern environmental movement was born. The environmental agenda was broadened to include issues affecting humans, a focus on the urban environment, radical environmental activism, and youth involvement in the movement. A second major event of the post-Carson era, Earth Day 1970, also enhanced environmental mobilization. The fourth phase (the post-Three Mile Island/Love Canal era) began around the time of the Three Mile Island (Pennsylvania) nuclear accident and the Love Canal (Buffalo, New York) disaster. These two events refocused the nation's attention on environmental issues, turned the spotlight on toxic contamination in local communities, and resulted in the formation of many grassroots environmental organizations. Though the four phases of environmental mobilization discussed above are most characteristic of the pattern of mobilization seen in the wilderness/wildlife/recreation branch of the movement, the

scheme can also be used to organize and guide the analysis of the other branches of the movement.

ENVIRONMENTAL MOBILIZATIONS AND SOCIAL PARADIGMS

Since the mid-1800s, conceptualizations of human-environment relations have been dominated by three major environmental paradigms: the exploitative capitalist paradigm (ECP), the Romantic environmental paradigm (REP), and the new environmental paradigm (NEP). Throughout the history of the environmental movement, environmental thought has been strongly influenced by the REP and the NEP; the NEP has dominated environmental thinking and practice since the 1960s. Though competing environmental paradigms (like bioregionalism and deep ecology) have arisen since then, none have posed a serious challenge to or significantly threatened the ideological hegemony of the NEP. However, in recent years a new paradigm—the EJP—has emerged. It presents a radical new way of thinking about human-environmental relations and has significantly altered the way many are thinking about the environment.

As Table 2 shows, each wave of environmental mobilization is associated with major paradigmatic developments and shifts. The ECP characterized the dominant way of thinking about the environment during the pre-movement era. During the early movement (post-Hetch Hetchy era), the REP emerged to play a significant role in environmental thought; this lasted until the post-Carson era. During the 1960s, NEP eclipsed the use of the REP. Though the NEP is still the dominant paradigm, in recent years the EJP has emerged to challenge it. The first two paradigms of interest in this discussion—the REP and NEP—arise from the activism of the wilderness/wildlife sector (see Figure 1, path 1), and the EJP is the ideological foundation of the EJM (see Figure 1, path 4). (The four pathways are discussed on pp. 524-525.)

THE DOMINANT SOCIAL PARADIGM

Before discussing the development of environmental paradigms further, it is important to understand what a paradigm is and the context in which the concept is being used in this discussion. A *paradigm* refers to a body of ideas, major assumptions, concepts, propositions, values, and goals of a substantive area that influences the way people view the world, conduct scientific inquiry, and accept theoretical formulations. These paradigms are the basis of “normal” or day-to-day science. However, normal science produces anomalies that cannot be resolved within the existing paradigm. When this occurs, there is a disjuncture that creates an opening for a new paradigm to emerge to replace the old paradigm (Kuhn, 1970).

A related term, the *dominant social paradigm*, encompasses a worldview that shapes the values, metaphysical beliefs, institutions, and habits that provide the social filters through which members of a given society view and interpret the external world. Social paradigms shape individual goals and expectations, help to define social problems, establish a reward system for preferred behavior, and devise shared gains and deprivations that make the social harmony in complex societies possible. It is very difficult to replace a social paradigm once it has been incorporated into the society, because individual integrity and socially constructed definitions of reality are embedded in it. Nearly all the norms, values, beliefs, and institutions of the society are oriented toward maintaining the paradigm (Dunlap & Van Liere, 1978; Milbrath, 1984, pp. 7-15; Pirages, 1982, p. 6). A paradigm is dominant not necessarily because most people in the society subscribe to it but because it is held by the most powerful groups in industrialized societies and because it justifies and legitimates the institutions and practices of market economies. Conflicts over what constitutes a paradigm and which actions should be judged reasonable and acceptable are part of the political process. The quest to universalize a paradigm is part of the struggle for power (Cotgrove, 1982, pp. 27, 88).

THE EXPLOITATIVE CAPITALIST PARADIGM

As mentioned before, the American environmental movement can be analyzed in terms of four distinct phases of activism and three major paradigmatic shifts. This article argues that for much of the 19th century the dominant social paradigm regarding human-nature relations was articulated in terms of an exploitative capitalist paradigm. According to the ECP, resources were seen as plentiful and renewable; therefore, they were extracted and used extensively without much thought about future needs. People were confident that technological advances could solve problems arising from scarcity and environmental degradation. Environmental destruction was not viewed as problematic; instead, it was understood as the inevitable by-product of growth, consumption, and industrial advancement. Many thought that rapid and expansive industrial advancement was good for society. Capitalism was not thought to be compatible with the goals of preservation, sustainability, and concern for future generations.

THE ROMANTIC ENVIRONMENTAL PARADIGM

It was in this context that the wilderness/wildlife sector tried to develop an alternative paradigm to the ECP. The REP originated in the pre-movement era and metamorphosed into guiding principles of the early environmental movement (see Table 3). The REP grew out of the works of leading American Romantics³ and Transcendentalists⁴ like Emerson, Thoreau, and Muir—all of whom

TABLE 3: The Exploitative Capitalist Paradigm and the Romantic Environmental Paradigm

<i>Exploitative Capitalist Paradigm</i>	<i>Romantic Environmental Paradigm</i>
1. Does not value nature A. Humans dominate nature B. Nature has no intrinsic value C. Economic growth over environmental protection	1. Values nature highly A. Humans harmonious with nature B. Nature has intrinsic value C. Environmental protection over economic growth
2. No generalized compassion for A. Other species B. Future generations	2. Generalized compassion for A. Other species B. Future generations
3. No environmental planning and risk avoidance A. Does not support government regulations to protect humans and nature	3. Supports environmental planning and risk avoidance A. Supports government regulations to protect humans and nature
4. Perceives no limits to growth A. Unlimited resources B. Not necessary to conserve resources	4. Perceives limits to growth A. Limited resources B. Necessary to conserve resources
5. Supports the status quo A. Humans not damaging to nature and themselves B. Complex, consumer-oriented lifestyles	5. Completely new society A. Humans seriously damaging to nature and themselves B. Simple lifestyles
6. Old Politics A. No consultation or citizen participation B. One view of human relationship with nature	6. New Politics A. Consultation and citizen participation B. Factional disputes over human relationship with nature

were influenced by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, a leading European primitivist⁵ (Bade, 1918, 1923; Emerson, 1883; Fairchild, 1931; Fox, 1985; Lovejoy, 1941, 1955, pp. 228-253; Muir, 1874, 1890, 1894, 1901, 1913, 1916, 1911/1944; Nash, 1982; Rousseau, 1761/1880, 1762/1974; Thoreau, 1893, 1971, 1972). The REP also emerged from the work of activists such as the ecologist and statesperson George Perkins Marsh (1857, 1864/1965) and conservationists such as Gifford Pinchot (1906, 1907, 1908, 1947), Theodore Roosevelt (1899, 1924), George Bird Grinnell (Roosevelt & Grinnell, 1893), and T. Gilbert Pearson (1937). The activists challenged the ECP by publicizing and criticizing the destruction of natural resources. They urged people to live harmoniously with nature and encouraged the government to protect wildlife and wild lands. The preservationists (Romantics and Transcendentalists) recognized that many scarce resources were being exhausted, so they advocated the returning to a

simpler lifestyle. They influenced the government to protect wild lands by outlining the boundaries of some of the earliest national parks, and they campaigned tirelessly for the establishment of a national park system (Bade, 1918; Muir, 1890). Though conservationists like Pinchot agreed with the preservationists that the level of resource destruction was problematic and that governmental control of resources was essential, conservationists disagreed with the preservationists on the extent to which environmental protection meant excluding commercial development of resources.⁶

As a result of this ideological impasse, turn-of-the-century environmental activists articulated an environmental paradigm that was a blend of Romantic/Transcendentalism, pragmatic conservationism, and business environmentalism. Emerson, Thoreau, and Muir were significantly influenced by the Romantic and Transcendental movements. Their writings and activism, which influenced many environmentalists of the time, reflected these ideological influences. The term *pragmatic conservationism* refers to the concepts of regulated use, wise use, scientific management, and commercial development of resources that defined conservationist ways of thinking about natural resources. *Business environmentalism* refers to the close relationship between business leaders and environmentalists; many of these business leaders were themselves conservationists.⁷ They were outdoor recreationists (hunters, anglers, and explorers) who founded and funded some of the early environmental organizations. Consequently, businessmen had significant influence on environmental organizations and the direction of environmental actions. The economic concerns of businessmen, capitalists, and industrialists were factored into movement concerns because these men helped to shape the agenda and policies of the movement (for discussions of business-environmental connections, see Cohen, 1988; Fox, 1985; Graham, 1990; Nash, 1982; D. E. Taylor, 1999b). The REP was accepted throughout the environmental movement and still forms the core of American environmental ideological thought.

THE NEW ENVIRONMENTAL PARADIGM

During the post-Carson era, the REP was supplanted by a broader vision of environmentalism expressed in terms of a new environmental paradigm (see Table 4).⁸ Building on the basic ideological foundation of the REP, the NEP espoused a new environmental worldview that critiqued the development of high (large, complex, energy-intensive) technology like the nuclear industry; encouraged population control, pollution prevention, risk reduction, and environmental cleanups; and espoused postmaterialist values (Dunlap & Van Liere, 1978; Inglehart, 1992; Milbrath, 1984, p. 22). The heightened public awareness about environmental issues during the 1960s and 1970s spurred many to become politically active in the environmental arena. Although some of the environmental organizations operating under the rubric of the REP did not shift their

TABLE 4: Comparison of the New Environmental Paradigm and the Exploitative Capitalist Paradigm

<i>Characteristics of Paradigms</i>	<i>Exploitative Capitalist Paradigm</i>	<i>New Environmental Paradigm</i>
1. Valuation of nature	No	Yes
A. Nature exists to produce resources for humans	Yes	No
B. Human domination of nature	Yes	No
C. Humans harmonious with nature	No	Yes
D. Nature has intrinsic value	No	Yes
E. Environmental protection over economic growth	No	Yes
2. Generalized compassion	No	Yes
A. Other species	No	Yes
B. Other people	No	Yes
C. Other generations	No	Yes
3. Environmental planning and risk avoidance	No	Yes
A. Science and technology is not always good	No	Yes
B. Cease the development of nuclear power	No	Yes
C. Develop and use soft/appropriate technology	No	Yes
D. Support government regulations to protect humans/nature	No	Yes
E. Emphasize the development of safe technology	No	Yes
F. Believe technology can solve all problems	Yes	No
G. Emphasize foresight and planning	No	Yes
4. Limits to growth	No	Yes
A. Limited resources	No	Yes
B. Population explosion—slow population growth	No	Yes
C. Conserve resources	No	Yes
D. Limited consumption	No	Yes
5. Completely new society	No	Yes
A. Humans seriously damaging nature and themselves	No	Yes
B. Emphasis on hierarchy	Yes	Limited
C. Emphasize bureaucratic, centralized authority	Yes	Limited
D. Emphasis on efficiency	Yes	Limited
E. Openness and participation	No	Yes
F. Emphasis on public goods	No	Yes
G. Emphasis on market	Yes	No
H. Cooperation	No	Yes
I. Postmaterialist values	No	Yes
J. Simple lifestyles	No	Yes
K. Emphasize job satisfaction	No	Yes
L. Society organized as bioregions, small communities	No	Limited
6. New politics	No	Yes
A. Consultation and citizen participation	No	Yes
B. Discussions about human relationship with nature	No	Yes
C. Discussions about the management of the economy	No	Yes
D. Willingness to use direct action	No	Limited

political positions significantly, the radical environmentalism of some of the new groups compelled existing environmental organizations to reevaluate their politics, adopt a broader agenda, and cover issues in a more contentious way. Many of the new groups rejected aspects of the ECP; they articulated an environmental discourse that contrasted with the positions taken by business and industry.

According to the NEP, adherence to the ECP had proven deleterious to the health and well-being of the environment. In addition, the REP was not effective in forcing the changes necessary to reverse the trend of environmental devastation and degradation; therefore, the NEP supplanted both the ECP and the REP. The NEP enunciated a stronger pro-environmental stance than the REP. This occurred because large numbers of people (particularly the youth) joining the movement for the first time had little or no connections to business and were less likely to be swayed to make business concessions or support industry-initiated proposals. In addition, these new environmental activists were not as interested in extractive recreational pursuits (like hunting and fishing) as were the first- and second-wave environmentalists,⁹ they were not connected to the “old guard” environmental leadership, and some had prior experiences in radical social movements like the antinuclear and civil rights movements (Faich & Gale, 1971; Fox, 1985; Harry, Gale, & Hendee, 1969). Still, it should be noted that the wilderness/wildlife branch of the movement did not issue an outright rejection of business. In fact, most organizations in this sector still maintained their business connections and focused on strengthening the reform environmental agenda (Fox, 1985; Nash, 1982). Though the post-Carson era saw the movement broadening its agenda (amplifying and extending its framing), the wilderness/wildlife branch was not advocating transformative politics or radical social change; it was a reform movement seeking incremental changes in the system, and its framing and agenda reflected that stance (Aberle, 1966; McAdam & Snow, 1997, pp. xix-xx).

THE ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE PARADIGM

The environmental experiences of people of color differ markedly from that of Whites; therefore, it is not surprising that their environmental activism, agendas, and paradigms differ from those constructed by middle- and working-class Whites. This is the case because, first, the history of the environmental activism of people of color is one of trying to redefine how they relate to the environment (in terms of their living and working conditions and recreational opportunities). That redefinition has three components: autonomy or self-determination, land rights, and civil or human rights. Throughout history, Whites have accumulated and controlled resources by appropriating land and labor and by controlling the movement of people of color. In addition, the period of conquest was characterized by destruction of indigenous cultural systems. Whites, however, were free

to express themselves and develop the kinds of relations with the land as they saw fit. Although some exploited the land, others sought alternative ways of relating to the land. The latter developed paradigms to reflect their beliefs.

People of color did not have these choices. Since the 17th century, people of color have been enslaved, pushed onto reservations, forcibly removed from their territories, interned, or made to toil under harsh conditions (with limited opportunities for upward mobility). In fact, if land was not appropriated from people of color through treaties, warfare, or “purchase,” there were a variety of legal and crooked means through which they lost land or were prevented from acquiring it. In addition, people of color had little or no choice about where they lived, what jobs they did, or how they interacted with the land (see D. E. Taylor, 1997a). Consequently, one of the enduring struggles of people of color is that of self-determination—the struggle to define who they are and how they interact with the land. It is also a quest to discover how much of their traditional skills and cultural practices can be recaptured and reinstated. Efforts to attain autonomy are closely aligned to the struggle for land and upholding treaty rights (i.e., the struggle to reclaim appropriated territories, fishing and water rights, etc.). The third prong of their activism revolves around the struggle for civil and human rights—the desire to be treated fairly and with human dignity. It is not surprising, therefore, that the environmental discourses of people of color are framed around concepts like autonomy, self-determination, access to resources, fairness and justice, and civil and human rights. These concepts are not found in mainstream environmental discourses. This is the case because the mainstream environmental discourse was developed primarily by free, White males who were either wealthy or had access to wealthy people. These men, free to develop capitalist enterprises, roamed the outdoors at will, recreated when or where they pleased, and constructed environmental discourses that reflected their cultural backgrounds, lifestyles, experiences, and thinking. From their vantage point (social location), issues of autonomy and freedom had little or no resonance or salience. These were not issues that concerned them enough to warrant including them in the environmental discourses they were developing. They did not see how such issues were connected to environmental activism.¹⁰ Indeed, freedom and autonomy were privileges they had and took for granted. Thus, they developed discourses around resource depletion, degradation, and resource management and control.

ENVIRONMENTAL RACISM AND ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

Though it was not labeled as such, environmental justice activism has been a submerged frame in the politics of the communities of people of color for more than a century. The historical record shows that since the 1800s, people of color have tried to improve housing conditions among slaves, have opposed the abrogation of treaty rights and the sharecropping system, have gone to extreme

lengths to acquire land, and have fought for worker rights. During the early 1900s, Blacks in cities like Chicago tried to improve housing conditions; they also opposed residential segregation and the segregation of public parks and beaches. In addition, Blacks also launched a consumer boycott movement to oppose job discrimination. During the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, environmental activism increased in communities of color. Actions revolved around environmental struggles like fishing rights, pesticide contamination, worker health and safety, worker rights, and desegregating public parks and beaches. In addition, Blacks in the South organized a mass carpooling system to protest segregated seating on public transportation systems. Though the environmental struggles of the 1950s and 1960s were incorporated into the movements and master frames of the civil rights movement, the Chicano movement, and the American Indian movement, the EJM would later draw on these campaigns to stimulate interest in the new environmental justice master frame (Bennett, 1993; Drake & Cayton, 1945/1993; Genovese, 1972; Giddings, 1984; Hurley, 1995; Morris, 1984; Tuttle, 1980).

By the 1980s, the EJM gained increasing momentum and visibility as people of color began organizing environmental campaigns such as preventing pesticide poisoning and opposing the siting of noxious facilities in their communities. Meanwhile, scholars, policy makers, and community activists began investigating the link between race and exposure to environmental hazards. Two important studies exploring this relationship found that Blacks and other people of color were more likely to be exposed to environmental hazards than were Whites (U.S. General Accounting Office [U.S. GAO], 1983; United Church of Christ [UCC], 1987). The UCC¹¹ study, in particular, was a hot cognition because it was a national study that made an explicit connection between race and the increased likelihood of being exposed to toxic waste and other hazardous environmental conditions. This was also an important document in that it provided the cognitive liberation for some; many of those activists then went on to become environmental justice organizers.

Thus, the term *environmental racism* was coined to describe a variety of situations in which racial factors influenced outcomes. The term came into popular use at a conference held at the University Michigan's School of Natural Resources in 1990. The conference, which focused on race and environmental hazards, brought together scholars and policy makers to discuss the relationship between racism and the environment. The term appears in print in the book reporting the proceedings of the conference, *Race and the Incidence of Environmental Hazards: A Time for Discourse* (Bryant & Mohai, 1992, pp. 4-5, 163-176).

Environmental racism was an important concept that sought to amplify the framing began in earlier documents and community activism. It provided a label for the frame bridging already taking place in communities of color, that is, linking racism with environmental actions, experiences, and outcomes. The concept was also important because it bridged past social justice activism that focused on racial injustice and civil rights with past and present environmental experiences.

That bridging elevated the environment from a submerged collective-action frame to a master frame—one that was explicit, public, and potent. The term also transformed the environment into a salient frame in communities of color.

Before discussing environmental racism further, it would be useful to define the term. In the broadest sense, environmental racism or environmental discrimination is the process by which environmental decisions, actions, and policies result in racial discrimination. It arises from the interaction of three factors: (a) prejudicial belief and behavior, (b) having the personal and institutional power to enact policies and actions that reflect one's prejudices, and (c) privilege—being given unfair advantages over others and the ability to promote one group over another (for discussions of prejudice and racism, see Aguirre & Turner, 1998, p. 12; Cashmore, 1988, p. 227; Healey, 1998; Merton, 1949). Consequently, *environmental racism* or *environmental discrimination* is used to describe the racial disparities in a range of actions and processes, including but not limited to

1. the increased likelihood of being exposed to environmental hazards;
2. the disproportionate negative impacts of environmental processes;
3. the disproportionate negative impacts of environmental policies, for example, the differential rate of cleanup of environmental contaminants in communities composed of different racial groups;
4. the deliberate targeting and siting of noxious facilities in particular communities;
5. the environmental blackmail that arises when workers are coerced or forced to choose between hazardous jobs and environmental standards;
6. the segregation of ethnic minority workers in dangerous and dirty jobs;
7. the segregation of the environmental workforce;
8. the segregation of housing and communities;
9. the segregation of facilities and public conveyances, for example, parks, beaches, and transportation systems;
10. the lack of access to or inadequate maintenance of environmental amenities like parks and playgrounds;
11. inequality in the delivery of environmental services like garbage removal and transportation;
12. the appropriation of land, the destruction of indigenous cultures, and the abrogation of traditional treaty rights; and
13. the expulsion or removal of people from a territory.

Around the same time activists, scholars, and policy makers began studying the phenomenon of environmental racism, the term *environmental justice* came into use. During the 1980s, the Citizens Clearinghouse for Hazardous Wastes (CCHW) (1989) began describing the grassroots environmental activism engulfing the country as “the movement for environmental justice.” A primarily White, working- and middle-class organization at the time, CCHW (which grew out of the Love Canal Homeowners Association and the campaign of Love Canal residents to get compensation for their contaminated property) focused on social class. It organized around justice for middle- and low-income people. However, as the U.S. GAO (1983) and UCC (1987) studies brought the issue of race and the environment to prominence in communities of color, the term *envi-*

ronmental equity movement was used to describe the growing movement to address racial, gender, and social class environmental inequalities (e.g., see Bullard, 1990, 1992a, pp. 82-95). By the early 1990s, the term *environmental equity* fell into disuse, and the term *environmental justice* rose to prominence. The term *environmental justice movement* replaced the term *environmental equity movement*. The terms *environmental justice* and *environmental justice movement* emerged out of the series of meetings and workshops held between 1990 and 1991 to plan the 1991 First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit. The term *justice* replaced *equity* because environmental justice activists felt *justice* was a more inclusive term that incorporated the concepts of equity and impartiality, or equality. The movement is concerned with two kinds of justice: (a) distributive justice, which addresses who should get what, and (b) corrective or commutative justice, which is concerned with the way individuals are treated during a social transaction. The EJM is concerned with distributive justice especially as it relates to identifying past injustices and seeking future remedies, and it is concerned with corrective justice as it relates to the case of corporate-worker-community relations and government-local community interactions (Abercrombie, Hill, & Turner, 1988; Nozick, 1974; Rawls, 1971). During the planning meetings for the summit, drafts of the principles of environmental justice were developed. The year-long planning process culminated in the summit and the ratification of the document, the *Principles of Environmental Justice* (1991) (hereafter, *Principles*).

THE ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE MASTER FRAME AND THE ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE PARADIGM

The EJP is most clearly articulated in the *Principles*. Though this document has been widely circulated and referenced, there has not been a systematic analysis of its content to examine the ecological and social justice components of the statement. Though the document articulates an emergent EJP, the principles are not usually framed in paradigmatic terms (an exception is Bullard, Johnson, and Wright's 1997 article that has a brief discussion of the EJP). This is an attempt to correct this oversight. This discussion explores an aspect of the EJM that has received little scholarly attention. The EJM is often portrayed as an anti-toxics movement that is composed of a loose network of local grassroots groups opposed to the siting of hazardous facilities and exposure to toxic substances (Dowie, 1995; Hofrichter, 1993; Szasz, 1994). In fact, my analysis (D. E. Taylor, 1999a) of 331 EJOs listed in the *People of Color Environmental Groups Directory* (Bullard, 1992b, 1994) found that EJOs work on a variety of issues including water and air pollution, waste disposal, recycling, worker health and safety, housing, pesticides, parks and recreation, energy, wildlife, lead, facility siting, and toxics (see Table 5). These results show that people of color environmental

TABLE 5: Number and Percentage of People of Color Environmental Groups Focusing on Issues

<i>Issues</i>	<i>Number of Groups</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Water pollution	241	73.0
Toxics	239	72.4
Waste disposal	220	66.7
Community organizing	208	63.0
Environmental justice	194	58.8
Air pollution	191	57.9
Recycling	157	47.6
Worker health and safety	145	43.9
Housing	142	43.0
Pesticides	140	42.4
Energy	135	40.9
Parks and recreation	131	39.7
Wildlife	114	34.5
Lead poisoning	113	34.2
Facility siting	86	26.1
Asbestos	43	13.0

SOURCE: Compiled from the *People of Color Environmental Groups Directory* (Bullard, 1992b, 1994) and telephone interviews with environmental groups.

groups are concerned with a broader range of issues than have been reported or analyzed. In addition, a survey of 76 EJOs conducted by the Environmental Careers Organization (ECO) (1992, p. 44) shows that though smaller percentages of the EJOs focused on the aforementioned issues, the pattern of the results was similar. A characterization of EJOs that focus solely on their antitoxics and facilities-siting activities does not recognize the range of activities these organizations concentrate on. In addition, such a characterization portrays the movement as a reactive, protest movement rather than as a more complex movement with a significant ideological core that has had significant effects on environmental ideology.

This article explores the ideological contributions of the movement. This article contends that a careful analysis of the principles of environmental justice will show a well-developed environmental ideological framework that explicitly links ecological concerns with labor and social justice concerns (see the appendix). The *Principles* is concerned with environmental issues as they relate to humans, nature, and rural and urban environs. In addition, the *Principles* focuses on these issues as they affect the home, community, work, and play environments. The concerns are local, regional, national, and international in scope, crossing racial and social class lines. The following is an outline of the concepts contained in the *Principles*. As the outline shows, the *Principles* contains six major thematic components that deal with (a) ecological principles; (b) justice

and environmental rights; (c) autonomy/self-determination; (d) corporate-community relations; (e) policy, politics, and economic processes; and (f) social movement building. Associated with each of these thematic areas are a number of minor components and themes. This breakdown of the *Principles* shows that within the environmental justice master frame (the EJP) there are several minor frames that further refine the framing of the issues. Together, these minor frames comprise a very complex ideological package or coherent body of thought.

OUTLINE OF ISSUES FROM THE PRINCIPLES OF ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

1. Ecological Principles
 - A. Gaia/ecocentric principles
 - Reestablish spiritual interdependence to the sacredness of Mother Earth
 - Affirm the sacredness of Mother Earth
 - Affirm ecological unity and the interdependence of all species
 - B. Stewardship, land ethic
 - Mandate ethical use of land and renewable resources
 - Mandate balanced and responsible uses of land and renewable resources
 - C. Reducing consumption, personal responsibilities
 - Personal commitment to make choices to consume as little of Mother Earth's resources as possible
 - Personal commitment to produce as little waste as possible
 - D. Access to natural resources
 - Provide fair access for all to the full range of resources
 - E. Environmental education
 - Environmental education that emphasizes social issues for present and future generations
 - Environmental education based on an appreciation of diverse cultural perspectives
2. Justice
 - A. Intergenerational equity
 - Sustainable development for humans and other living things
 - Reprioritize our lifestyles to ensure the health of the natural world for present and future generations
 - B. Intragenerational equity
 - Recognize the need for urban ecological policies
 - Clean up and rebuild cities in balance with nature
 - Recognize the need for rural ecological policies
 - Clean up and rebuild rural areas in balance with nature
 - C. Rights, freedom, and respect
 - Right to be free from ecological destruction
 - Fundamental right to clean air
 - Fundamental right to clean land
 - Fundamental right to clean water
 - Fundamental right to clean food
 - Right to a safe and healthy work environment
 - Right to participate in all levels of the policy-making process

- Public policy must be based on mutual respect for all people
 - Public policy must be based on justice for all people—free from any form of discrimination and bias
- D. Human rights, international law
- Governmental acts of environmental injustice constitute a violation of international law, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, and the United Nations Convention on Genocide
- E. Experimentation, human subjects
- Strict enforcement of principles of informed consent
 - Halt the testing of experimental reproductive and medical procedures on people of color
3. Autonomy
- A. Treaties, sovereignty
- Recognize the legal relationship between native people and the U.S. government through treaties, agreements, compacts, and covenants
- B. Self-determination
- Affirm the right to political, economic, and cultural self-determination of all people
 - Recognize the right to environmental self-determination of all people
 - Affirm native people's sovereignty and self-determination
 - Self-healing
- C. Cultural relationships
- Respect and celebrate each other's culture and languages
 - Honor the cultural integrity of all communities
 - Respect and celebrate each other's belief systems about the natural world
4. Corporate Relations
- A. Liability, accountability
- All past and current producers of toxins and of hazardous and radioactive materials be held strictly accountable and responsible for detoxification and containment at the point of production
- B. Compensation
- Victims of environmental injustice have the right to receive full compensation and reparations for damage
 - Victims of environmental injustice have the right to receive quality health care
- C. Multinational corporations
- Oppose the destructive operations of multinational corporations
- D. Technological risks
- Call for universal protection from nuclear testing
- E. Environmental hazards
- Call for universal protection from the extraction, production, and disposal of toxic and hazardous waste
- F. Source reduction
- Cease the production of all toxins, hazardous waste, and radioactive materials
- G. Occupational health and safety
- Workers should not be forced to choose between unsafe livelihoods and unemployment
5. Policy, Politics, and Economic Processes
- A. Policy-making process
- Participate as equal partners at every level of decision making

- B. Political and economic strategies
 - Promote economic alternatives that contribute to environmentally safe livelihoods
 - C. Militarization
 - Oppose military occupation and repression
 - Oppose military exploitation of land
 - Oppose military exploitation of people and their cultures and of other life forms
6. Social Movement
- A. Movement building
 - Build national/international movement
 - B. Activist strategies
 - Ensure environmental justice

As the above outline shows, environmental justice is grounded in ecocentric principles akin to those espoused by Muir (1874, 1894, 1916) and Marsh (1857, 1864/1965), arguing that there is unity and interdependence among species. In the tradition of Leopold (1921, 1949) and Marshall (1930), the principles urge people to be responsible stewards of the earth by developing and adhering to a strong land ethic. The principles call on adherents of the EJM to respect the land and to use natural resources in an ethical, balanced, and responsible way. Consistent with this theme, the principles encourage followers to make a personal commitment to reducing consumption and waste production. Recognizing the inequitable distribution of resources, the principles call for fair access to resources. Environmental justice, acknowledging that a key component of responsible stewardship is education, advocates environmental education that includes multicultural and social justice themes.

Justice, which is a major organizing theme for the EJM, is a prominent theme in the *Principles*. The EJM uses the injustice frame to articulate concerns about intergenerational and intragenerational equity, sustainable development, and sustainable urban and rural communities. In the tradition of Rachel Carson (1962, 1963) (Hynes, 1989, pp. 38, 44), environmental justice has linked environmental experiences with rights and freedom. The *Principles* argues that in addition to basic human rights people have a right to be free from human experimentation and ecological destruction. They also have a right to clean air, land, water, and food. It also asserts workplace rights—the right to work in a clean and safe environment.

Corporate-community relations are a major focus of environmental justice campaigns. As such, the *Principles* focuses on production and disposal of hazardous materials, source reduction, and technological risks. Like Carson (1962, 1963) (Hynes, 1989, pp. 38, 44), the principles propose that people harmed by corporate practices should be compensated and cared for by those harming them. In addition, occupational health and safety and job blackmail are a concern (for discussions of job blackmail, see Kazis & Grossman, 1982; McGarity &

Shapiro, 1993). The *Principles* proposes that workers should not be forced to choose between unsafe jobs and unemployment.

Autonomy is also a major component of environmental justice, particularly as it relates to recognizing treaties and the legal relations between native peoples and the U.S. government. A related theme, self-determination, refers to the rights of people to color to determine their own political, economic, and cultural futures. Self-determination also involves reflection and self-healing. Environmental justice principles recognize the importance of respecting the cultures of all people, honoring cultural diversity, and appreciating a variety of belief systems that relate to the natural world. Environmental justice activists are aware that without mutual respect some cultures and peoples are deemed superior and others inferior. This often leads to asymmetrical power relations and to the domination, destruction, and/or elimination of inferior cultures by dominant ones.

The *Principles* also recognizes a link between military occupation, political repression, and exploitation of natural resources (e.g., see George, 1992; United Nations Development Program, 1994). The principles oppose military occupation and exploitation of the land and repression of people and cultures. Realizing that people of color are largely absent from the environmental policy-making process (e.g., the development of *An Environmental Agenda for the Future* [Cahn, 1985]), the *Principles* calls for their participation as equal partners in the policy arena. Finally, environmental justice calls for strong social-movement-building efforts to further the goals of the movement.

From the preceding discussion, it is evident that the body of ideas discussed above form a paradigm—the EJP. It should also be noted that the EJP is not an outright rejection of the NEP. As Kuhn (1970) suggests, new paradigms emerge from old ones. In accordance with Kuhn's postulations, the EJP has its roots in the NEP, but it extends the ideas of the NEP in radical ways (see Table 6). The EJP builds on some of the core principles of the NEP; however, there are significant differences between these two paradigms vis-à-vis the relationship between environment and social inequality. The NEP does not recognize the importance of such a relationship; consequently, it has a social justice component that is very weak to nonexistent. On the other hand, the EJP is the first paradigm to link environment and race, class, gender, and social justice concerns in an explicit framework.¹²

In the same way that the wilderness/wildlife branch of the environmental movement appealed to supporters by evoking Romantic and Transcendental themes, wilderness getaways (far removed from the problems of the urban centers, the poor, and ethnic minorities), and wildlife (to view, hunt, or fish), the EJM identified issues of concern to potential supporters and framed the environmental justice message to appeal to them. Consequently, the movement targeted people of color and working- and middle-class progressive Whites interested in understanding the relationship between social inequality and the environment.

TABLE 6: Relationship Between the Exploitative Capitalist Paradigm, the New Environmental Paradigm, and the Environmental Justice Paradigm

<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Exploitative Capitalist Paradigm</i>	<i>New Environmental Paradigm</i>	<i>Environmental Justice Paradigm</i>
1. Valuation of nature	No	Yes	Yes
A. Nature exists to produce resources for humans	Yes	No	No
B. Human domination of nature	Yes	No	No
C. Humans harmonious with nature	No	Yes	Yes
D. Nature has intrinsic value	No	Yes	Yes
E. Environmental protection over economic growth	No	Yes	Yes
2. Generalized compassion	No	Yes	Yes
A. Other species	No	Yes	Yes
B. Other people	No	Yes	Yes
C. Other generations	No	Yes	Yes
3. Environmental planning and risk avoidance	No	Yes	Yes
A. Science and technology is not always good	No	Yes	Yes
B. Cease the development of nuclear power	No	Yes	Yes
C. Develop and use soft/appropriate technology	No	Yes	Yes
D. Support government regulations to protect humans/nature	No	Yes	Yes
E. Emphasize the development of safe technology	No	Yes	Yes
F. Believe technology can solve all problems	Yes	No	No
G. Emphasize foresight and planning	No	Yes	Yes
4. Limits to growth	No	Yes	Yes
A. Limited resources	No	Yes	Yes
B. Population explosion—slow population growth	No	Yes	Limited
C. Conserve resources	No	Yes	Yes
D. Limited consumption	No	Yes	Yes
5. Completely new society	No	Yes	Yes
A. Humans seriously damaging nature and themselves	No	Yes	Yes
B. Emphasis on hierarchy	Yes	Limited	Limited
C. Emphasize bureaucratic, centralized authority	Yes	Limited	Limited
D. Emphasis on efficiency	Yes	Limited	Limited
E. Openness and participation	No	Yes	Yes
F. Emphasis on public goods	No	Yes	Yes
G. Emphasis on market	Yes	No	No
H. Cooperation	No	Yes	Yes
I. Postmaterialist values	No	Yes	Yes
J. Simple lifestyles	No	Yes	Yes
K. Emphasize job satisfaction	No	Yes	Yes

(continued)

TABLE 6 Continued

<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Exploitative Capitalist Paradigm</i>	<i>New Environmental Paradigm</i>	<i>Environmental Justice Paradigm</i>
L. Society organized as bioregions, small communities	No	Limited	Limited
6. New politics	No	Yes	Yes
A. Consultation and citizen participation	No	Yes	Yes
B. Discussions about human relationship with nature	No	Yes	Yes
C. Discussions about the management of the economy	No	Yes	Yes
D. Willingness to use direct action	No	Limited	Yes
7. Spirituality	No	No	Yes
A. Religion, religious institutions incorporated	No	No	Yes
B. Goddess worship	No	No	No
8. Biocentrism	No	Yes	Yes
A. Emphasize animal rights, animal liberation	No	Limited	Limited
B. Emphasis on vegetarianism/veganism	No	Limited	Limited
9. Environmental justice	No	No	Yes
A. Intergenerational equity (future generations)	No	Yes	Yes
B. Intragenerational equity (environmental impacts)	No	Limited	Yes
C. Emphasis on eliminating discrimination, racism	No	No	Yes
D. Emphasis on eliminating sexism	No	No	Yes
E. Emphasis on eliminating classism	No	No	Yes
F. Emphasis on eliminating patriarchy	No	No	Limited
10. Environmental rights	No	No	Yes
A. Right to clean air, land, water, food	No	No	Yes
B. Right to safe, healthy work environment	No	Limited	Yes
C. Right to be free from ecological destruction	No	No	Yes
11. Autonomy, self-determination	No	No	Yes
A. Recognize native people's treaties, compacts	No	Limited	Yes
B. Affirm all people's right to self-determination	No	No	Yes
12. Cultural diversity	No	Limited	Yes
A. Respect and celebrate other's culture and language	No	Limited	Yes
B. Honor the cultural integrity of all communities	No	Limited	Yes

TABLE 6 Continued

<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Exploitative Capitalist Paradigm</i>	<i>New Environmental Paradigm</i>	<i>Environmental Justice Paradigm</i>
C. Respect other's belief system in the natural world	No	Limited	Yes
13. Corporate-community relations	No	Yes	Yes
A. Producers of toxins held liable/accountable	No	Yes	Yes
B. Compensate those harmed by toxins/hazards	No	Limited	Yes
C. Consumer protection	No	Yes	Yes
D. Emphasis on waste reduction, waste elimination	No	Yes	Yes
14. Worker rights, health, and safety	No	Limited	Yes
A. Emphasis on workers' health and safety in their jobs	No	Limited	Yes
B. Forced choice between unsafe jobs or unemployment	Yes	Limited	No
C. Develop environmentally safe livelihoods	No	Limited	Yes
15. Militarization	Yes	No position	No
A. Oppose military occupation and repression	No	No position	Yes
B. Oppose military exploitation of land	No	No position	Yes
16. Experimentation, human subjects	Yes	No position	No
A. Strict enforcement of informed consent	No	No position	Yes
B. Halt wanton testing of experimental reproductive and medical procedures on humans	No	No position	Yes

A COMPARISON OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE PARADIGM AND THE NEW ENVIRONMENTAL PARADIGM

Table 6 compares the EJP and the NEP (see also Figure 2). It should be noted that the table describes general trends or tendencies rather than absolute positions on issues. As the table shows, both paradigms urge their supporters to live in harmony with nature, value it, recognize nature's intrinsic worth, and stop destroying it. The paradigms also advocate compassion for future generations and other species, environmental planning, and risk avoidance. They support the development of appropriate technology, caution against the overreliance on science and technology to solve our problems, and advocate government regulations to protect the environment. Both paradigms also recognize that there are

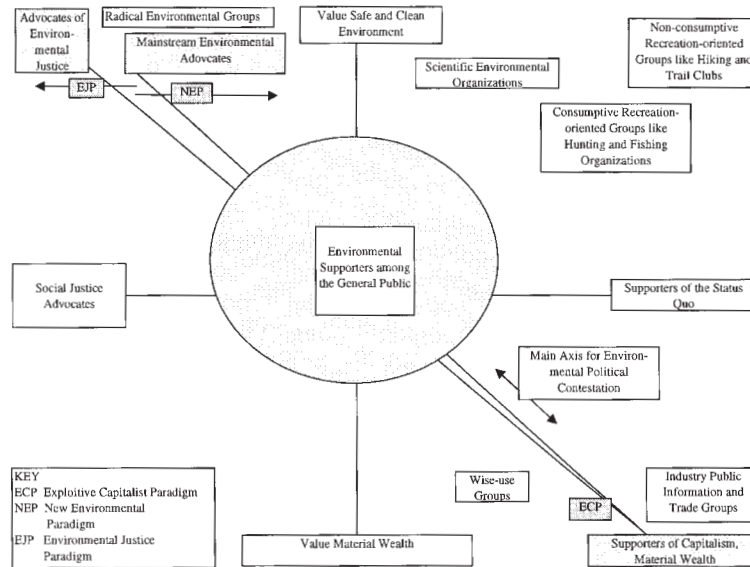


Figure 2: Environmental Ideology, the New Environmental Paradigm, the Environmental Justice Paradigm, and Social Change

limits to growth because resources are finite. Adherents are encouraged to conserve resources and limit their consumption.

Both the NEP and the EJP are in general agreement on desired societal changes vis-à-vis citizen participation in social and political issues, provision of public goods, the role of the market, increased cooperation among people in a society, the need to adopt simpler lifestyles, and increased job satisfaction for workers. The paradigms recognize that environmental politics involve discussion and disagreements about how the economy would be managed and about how people relate to the environment.

POPULATION GROWTH

However, the paradigms interpret some issues differently. Though both paradigms support the idea that population growth should be slowed, there are major philosophical differences about how this should be done and who should be targeted for population reduction. When mainstream environmentalists began talking about population growth in the 1960s, the debate was pessimistic and characterized by draconian propositions. In 1967, William and Paul Paddock argued in their book, *Famine—1975!*, that the military strategy of triage¹³ was a useful

method of deciding which less developed countries should be given food aid. Using food as a military and political tool of social control¹⁴ is not new in U.S. policy and race relations history. During the period of conquest, Whites controlled food resources and, during the Native American wars, cut off Indian food supply or controlled its flow to force or coerce Indians to surrender or comply with policies. Slave masters also rationed food carefully or withheld it as a means of controlling the slaves (Canfield, 1983; Genovese, 1972). A year after the Paddocks' book, Ehrlich set the stage for the population debate by describing how he came to understand "the population explosion" at an "emotional" level "one stinking hot night in Delhi [India]." As he, his wife, and daughter rode a taxi to their hotel, Ehrlich (1968) wrote,

The seats [of the taxi] were hopping with fleas. . . . We entered a crowded slum area. . . . The air was a haze of dust and smoke. The streets seemed alive with people. People eating, people washing, people sleeping. People visiting, arguing, and screaming. People thrusting their hands through the taxi window, begging. People defecating and urinating. People clinging to buses. People herding animals. People, people, people. . . . the dust, noise, heat, and cooking fires gave the scene a hellish aspect. Would we ever get to our hotel? All three of us were, frankly frightened. (p. 15)

This passage, describing a frightened, White American couple with their child, surrounded by poor, brown people, evokes powerful images in the reader's mind and frames the debate in North-South, race, and class terms. Ehrlich (1968) argued in *The Population Bomb* that the root cause of environmental damage lay in excessive population growth and that immediate action was necessary to stave off impending doom. He proposed that the American government take drastic steps to curb the domestic population. Ehrlich claimed that many of his colleagues supported the idea of adding temporary sterilants to water supplies or staple food; the government would then ration doses of the antidote. He hastened to add that this option was not feasible because of the "criminal inadequacy of biomedical research in this area" and because the general population might object to this method. Ehrlich also suggested that the government penalize those who have children by taxing them more heavily and by giving financial incentives to those refraining from having children. He urged the government to give a "first marriage grant" to couples 25 years or older and "responsibility prizes" to each man who had a vasectomy or for each 5 years a married couple remained childless. Special lotteries were suggested with only the childless being eligible to enter. In addition, Ehrlich wanted the government to impose luxury taxes on layettes, cribs, diapers, diaper services, and expensive toys. Finally, Ehrlich wanted the government to subsidize adoptions and simplify adoption policies. To oversee this program, Ehrlich proposed the formation of a federal Department of Population and the Environment—an agency that should be bestowed with the power to "take whatever steps necessary" to reduce

population size. He suggested that the agency be funded to research birth control techniques and develop mass sterilization agents for use in the United States and abroad (Ehrlich, 1968, pp. 135-139).

In addition, Ehrlich suggested that the government use food as a weapon of social and political control to coerce countries to follow U.S. population policies. Defining “undeveloped countries” as “starving,” Ehrlich argued that people in these countries “have gotten the word about the better life” and were striving to get it because of their “rising expectations.” However, they would not attain the better life. Arguing that population control policies had failed in developing countries, he claimed that even with birth control measures and ambitious goals to reduce the population in countries like India, “people would still be multiplying like rabbits and the populations doubling every 30 to 40 years.” Ehrlich advocated supporting secessionist groups in lesser developed countries, especially when the secessionists were more economically self-sufficient than the rest of the regions they were breaking away from. In fact, he suggested supporting only the wealthiest areas of particular countries, not necessarily entire countries. Adopting Paddock and Paddock’s prescription, Ehrlich argued that American food aid should not necessarily be sent to the poorest countries but only to countries that adopt aggressive population control policies and that appear to have a chance of attaining food self-sufficiency (Commoner, 1971, pp. 6-7; Ehrlich, 1968, pp. 22-23, 66-67, 84, 138, 164-166; Paddock & Paddock, 1967; Paehlke, 1989, pp. 55-56).

Hardin wrote in a similar vein to Ehrlich. Using the concept of carrying capacity¹⁵ and the parable of the tragedy of the commons,¹⁶ Hardin postulated that “freedom to breed will bring ruin to all.” Hardin proposed issuing licenses for reproduction that would be sold on the open market. He also thought that triage should be used to determine eligibility for food aid. He argued that according to “lifeboat ethics” if there are too many people on a lifeboat, all would perish if some were not evicted (Commoner, 1971, p. 6; Hardin, 1968, 1974; Paehlke, 1989, pp. 56-57). Not everyone agreed with these arguments.¹⁷ The major environmental groups supported Ehrlich. After all, Ehrlich wrote *The Population Bomb* at David Brower’s (of the Sierra Club) request. In response to *The Population Bomb*, members of the Sierra Club launched a new environmental group, Zero Population Growth, to deal specifically with population issues. The National Wildlife Federation also supported Ehrlich, calling for a resolution to restrict the U.S. population at 1970 levels. The Ehrlich position was further bolstered by a team working on the “limits to growth” model (Fox, 1985, p. 313; Nash, 1976, p. 347).

People of color question these neo-Malthusian¹⁸ arguments and proposals. They ask, Which people would the programs target, and how can the public be assured that such programs are administered fairly? People of color are suspicious of the Ehrlich-Hardin policy prescriptions because in the past women of color have been the targets of unethical population reduction programs. In debating the population question and trying to develop environmental justice

principles around it, delegates at the 1991 summit pointed out that women of color have been the target of population control policies that dump banned contraceptives on them and subject them to experimental procedures and involuntary sterilization programs among other things. The involuntary sterilization of women of color in the United States makes environmental justice advocates wary of population control programs. For example, in documents taken from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) headquarters at the end of the Trail of Broken Treaties¹⁹ occupation in 1972, American Indian movement members discovered a grisly tale of involuntary sterilization of Indian women. The program was carried out by the BIA's Indian Health Service (IHS) during the 1960s and first half of the 1970s. In 1974, the Women of All Red Nations (WARN) conducted its own study and found out that 42% of the Indian women of childbearing age in their study had been sterilized without their consent. A subsequent U.S. GAO study found that between 1973 and 1976 at four IHS facilities, 3,406 involuntary sterilizations were performed. The IHS was transferred to the Department of Health and Human Services in 1978 because of pressure from native women (Dillingham, 1977; Jaimes & Halsey, 1992, p. 326; WARN, 1975). Around the same time Indian women were being sterilized involuntarily, other women of color were suffering the same fate. Chicanas in Los Angeles were sterilized without their consent, and so were Puerto Rican women. In 1966, it was estimated that about a third of the women of childbearing age in Puerto Rico were sterilized. On the mainland, a Puerto Rican women's group discovered that by 1979, about 44% of the Puerto Rican women in New Haven, Connecticut, had been sterilized, as were 51% of those in Hartford, Connecticut (Acuna, 1988, p. 395; Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse, 1979; Jaimes & Halsey, 1992, p. 341; Ostalaza, 1989). Although people of color recognize the need to develop population programs, they do not support programs that have roots in the Ehrlich-Hardin model.

RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS AND MULTIPURPOSE ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE ORGANIZATIONS

As one can see, there are other significant differences in some aspects of the two paradigms. For instance, though the NEP is rooted in Romanticism and Transcendentalism, both of which encourage spiritual reverence for the wilderness and wild nature, there is little connection with the wilderness/wildlife branch of environmentalism and religious institutions.²⁰ In contrast, not only is the EJP connected to its supporters' spirituality, but the EJM has strong affiliations with religious institutions and with community organizations and educational institutions. As mentioned before, the EJM arises, in part, from social justice struggles of people of color, such as the civil rights movement, the Chicano movement, and the American Indian movement. Given the importance of religious institutions to leadership development, funding, recruiting, mobilizing, and providing the cultural free spaces²¹ for activists in the aforementioned

TABLE 7: Time Period Founded and the Percentage of Environmental Groups That Originally Started as Environmental Groups

<i>Year Founded</i>	<i>Number of Groups</i>	<i>Percent Not Starting as Environmental Group</i>	<i>Percent Starting as Environmental Group</i>
1845-1959	35	88.6	11.4
1960-1969	22	95.5	4.5
1970-1979	49	83.7	16.3
1980-1989	159	53.5	46.5
1990-1994	65	36.9	63.1

SOURCE: Compiled from the *People of Color Environmental Groups Directory* (Bullard, 1992, 1994) and from telephone interviews with environmental groups.

movements to organize, it is not surprising that religious institutions continue to play an important role in the EJM and that spirituality is an integral part of the EJP. In addition to the fact that the UCC study was commissioned by a church group, the 1991 summit was cosponsored by religious groups, and all the other major environmental justice gatherings have had strong religious representation. This observation is augmented by the finding from my study of 331 EJOs that shows that 26% of them indicate that they are affiliated with some religious institution (D. E. Taylor, 1999a).

EJOs tend to be multipurpose organizations arising from churches, community centers, social justice organizations, and so forth (see Table 7). As such, the EJM appropriated the language, identity, status or prestige, resources, and reputation of these preexisting institutions as the movement tried to establish itself (for discussions of new movements appropriating the identities and resources of preexisting movements, see Friedman & McAdam, 1992, pp. 162-163; McAdam, 1982; Morris, 1984). In this respect, EJOs are different from mainstream environmental organizations. Because they have the money, personnel, and other resources to rely on, mainstream organizations tend to launch organizations that focus solely on specific aspects of the environment. The multipurpose organizational model is not the norm. Consequently, mainstream environmental organizations' tendency to separate environment from social justice issues is perpetuated because such organizations are not embedded in community networks that facilitate such linkages. On the other hand, environmental-social justice linkages are built into the environmental justice organizational development model. The close alliance with social justice institutions and the outgrowth from them encourages the linkage of environmental and social justice issues. The multipurpose environmental organizations arise in two ways. First, new environmental justice groups temporarily affiliate (rent office, share space, etc.) with preexisting community organizations until they become fully established. Second, EJOs also arise when existing community organizations expand their agendas to include environmental justice issues. As the environmental justice

message transforms how activists perceive problems and as individual activists' agendas expand, activists expand the identities of community institutions so that they take on environmental justice issues. As the environmental justice master frame has become firmly established in communities of color, the identities of community organizers, labor activists, civil rights activists, church leaders, and other community leaders have been appropriated and expanded to form the new environmental justice identity. Thus, for these people to maintain their credibility in community work in communities of color, they had to adopt the environmental justice identity also.

ENVIRONMENTAL RIGHTS

With the exception of intergenerational equity, the NEP does not advocate support for any of the other major or minor themes related to environmental justice, environmental rights, or autonomy/self-determination of people of color.²² In fact, followers of the NEP—most notably mainstream environmental activists—have undermined the position of people of color in the environmental arena by excluding them from environmental policy making and by making environmental decisions about communities of color that were not in the best interest of those communities. By infusing environmental debates with discussions related to environmental justice ideology, environmental rights, and autonomy/self-determination, the EJP is helping to make such practices less common. Proponents of the EJP are deeply committed to these ideas; this sometimes puts them at odds with backers of the NEP who question the relevance of these concepts or whether environmental debates are the appropriate places to raise these concerns. Because the NEP has been the dominant environmental paradigm for almost 30 years and its supporters have operated without any significant challenges to their racial, class, and gender policies and ideologies, NEP devotees are uncomfortable with the challenges raised by the EJP and the way the paradigm integrates social and environmental issues.

Demographic Composition of NEP and EJP Supporters

The differences in the NEP and EJP discourses and the discomfort they create are partly a function of the demographic composition of the two groups. NEP supporters are primarily White, middle-class activists who work in predominantly White, male-dominated, environmental organizations. Researchers began paying attention to this trend in the late 1960s. Studies found that environmental groups were predominantly male and that members had more education and higher incomes and were more likely to be in professional and managerial occupations than the rest of the population. Surveys of the membership of leading environmental groups and of environmental activists nationwide in the late 1960s and early 1970s demonstrate this point. A 1969 national survey of 907

Sierra Club members indicated that the organization had a middle-class membership. Seventy-four percent of the members had at least a college degree; 39% had advanced degrees. Ninety-five percent of the male respondents were professionals—physicians, lawyers, professors, engineers, and teachers—and 5% occupied clerical and sales positions, were owners of small business, or were unskilled laborers. Thirty percent reported family incomes of more than \$18,000 per year (Devall, 1970).

A 1971 study of the Puget Sound chapter of the Sierra Club also found a very similar profile. Ninety-seven percent of the respondents had at least a college degree; 46% had master's, and 25% had doctorates. Eighty-three percent of the members occupied professional jobs, and 9% were students. Only 3% were clerical workers, and another 3% were unemployed. In this study, two thirds of the club members were male, and half of them were between 30 and 44 years old. The above profile was not unique to the Sierra Club. A 1972 study of 1,500 environmental volunteers nationwide showed that 98% of the members of the environmental organizations were White, and 59% held college or graduate degrees. Forty-three percent held professional, scientific-technical, academic, or managerial jobs. A half of the respondents had family incomes of more than \$15,000 (Buttel & Flinn, 1974, 1978; Cotgrove & Duff, 1980; Devall, 1970; Dillman & Christenson, 1972; Faich & Gale, 1971; Harry, 1971; Harry et al., 1969; Hendee, Gale, & Harry, 1969; Lowe, Pinhey, & Grimes, 1980; Martinson & Wilkening, 1975; Tognacci, Weigel, Wideen, & Vernon, 1972; Wright, 1975; Zinger, Dalsemer, & Magargle, 1972).²³

In 1980 and 1982, Milbrath (1984, pp. 17, 163) conducted a study in which he compared the demographic profile of environmentalists to that of the general population. The 1980 sample contained 225 and the 1982 sample 274 environmentalists. Milbrath found that males 20 years and older were overrepresented in the environmental sample. Whereas the 1980 census showed the general population to be 47.4% male, in the 1980 and 1982 environmental samples, males 20 years and older constituted 54% and 52% of the group, respectively. Environmentalists were also more highly educated than the general population. While 31.2% of the general population had at least some college education, 53% of the 1980 and 54% of the 1982 environmental sample attended college. In addition, the environmental sample had higher incomes than did the general public. Whereas 49.1% of the general population earned \$20,000 or more, 50% of the 1980 and 64.5% of the 1982 sample did likewise. Finally, the environmental sample had a larger percentage of Whites than did the general population. Whereas the general population was 83.2% White and 11.7% Black, the 1980 environmental sample was 92% White and 2% Black, and the 1982 environmental sample was 94% White and 2% Black.

More recent studies show that these general patterns still hold in mainstream environmental organizations. A 1992 ECO study of 63 mainstream environmental organizations also found that the staffs, boards, volunteers, and memberships of these organizations were predominantly White. Eighty-three percent of

the organizations indicated that fewer than 30% of their staffs and boards were composed of people of color. In addition, 57% of the organizations claimed that fewer than 30% of their volunteers were people of color; 19% had no people of color volunteers. Thirty percent said fewer than 30% of their memberships were people of color, 32% had no people of color on staff, and 22% had no people of color on their boards (ECO, 1992, p. 83). A 1988 study found that males still dominate the leadership of these organizations. Of the 248 leaders responding, 79% were males. Of these, 93% held top leadership positions (chair, president, chief executive officer, director) in the organizations. They were also highly educated: 50% held bachelor's degrees, 28% master's, and 21% doctorates. A parallel study of 161 environmental volunteers showed that 61% of them were male, 53% had postbaccalaureate degrees, and 71% were in management and professional occupations. Only 3% were skilled laborers (D. Snow, 1992, pp. 48-49, 113-114). My analysis (D. E. Taylor, 1999a) of leadership data from 1,053 mainstream environmental organizations listed in the 1993 and 1994 *Conservation Directory* (National Wildlife Federation, 1993, 1994) and the *Gale Environmental Sourcebook* (Hill & Picirelli, 1992) support the above findings. The analysis showed that 83% of the presidents of these organizations were male. (See also Seager, 1993, pp. 167-221, for a discussion of the paucity of women in leadership positions in mainstream environmental organizations.)

When mainstream environmental organizations participating in the ECO survey were asked to indicate what priority senior management placed on diversifying the organization, 4% reported the "highest priority," another 52% indicated "one of the highest priorities," whereas 44% said "important but not the highest priority" or "not that important." Fifty-four percent of the organizations indicated that they had no goals for minority recruitment in the 2 years following the survey (ECO, 1992, pp. 77-79). It is apparent that many of these mainstream environmental organizations did not see cultural diversity in the workplace as a very salient issue; therefore, it was a low-priority issue for them. It is not surprising, therefore, that such organizations are uncomfortable with the environmental justice discourse that places great emphasis on cultural diversity in the environmental field.

In contrast, the EJP advocates the elimination of racism, sexism, and classism in the environmental field and in the wider society. Consequently, EJP adherents have built a multiracial movement organized across class lines. My study of 331 EJOs shows that leadership of EJOs is shared almost equally between males and females (see Table 8). Fifty percent of the EJOs have female presidents or chairs. The EJM has a multiracial following. Twenty-three percent of the EMOs describe themselves as having a predominantly African American membership, 11% are predominantly Latino, 1% are predominantly Asian, 27% are predominantly Native American, another 27% are composed of a mixture of people of color groups, and 12% are a mixture of people of color and Whites. The analysis also shows evidence that the movement is organized across class lines. Forty-four percent of the groups claim they serve primarily low-income people, 47%

TABLE 8: Gender of Environmental Justice Organizations' Presidents and Regional Variations

<i>Region</i>	<i>Female Presidents</i>	<i>Male Presidents</i>	<i>Responses</i>
Northeast/Mid-Atlantic			
Number	30	38	68
Row percentage	44.1	55.9	100.0
Column percentage	17.3	22.0	19.7
South/Southeast			
Number	53	46	99
Row percentage	53.5	46.5	100.0
Column percentage	30.6	26.6	28.6
Midwest			
Number	21	23	44
Row percentage	47.7	52.3	100.0
Column percentage	12.1	13.3	12.7
West/Southwest			
Number	59	50	109
Row percentage	54.1	45.9	100.0
Column percentage	34.1	28.9	31.5
Pacific Northwest			
Number	10	16	26
Row percentage	38.5	61.5	100.0
Column percentage	5.8	9.2	7.5
Total			
Number	173	173	346
Row percentage	50.0	50.0	100.0
Column percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Compiled from the *People of Color Environmental Groups Directory* (Bullard, 1992b, 1994) and from telephone interviews with environmental justice groups.

NOTE: In 15 organizations, more than one person shared the presidency; hence, the total number of presidents adds up to more than the total number of organizations.

serve a mixture of low- and middle-income people, and 9% serve primarily middle-income members or communities (D. E. Taylor, 1999a).

CORPORATE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS AND ENVIRONMENTAL RIGHTS

In regard to corporate-community relations, both the NEP and the EJP support consumer protection, waste reduction and elimination, and polluter liability. Though the NEP takes a stronger pro-environmental position than the REP does, the paradigmatic shift did not result in NEP supporters severing their connections with business. In fact, there are still strong ties between corporate leaders and the boards and leadership of reform environmental organizations ("NAFTA and the Shameful Seven," 1993). The EJP and its supporters have

identified these interlocking directorates and dense network ties (Mizuchi, 1990, 1992; D. E. Taylor, 1999b; Thompson & McEwen, 1958) between reform environmental organizations and business as being problematic. Environmental justice activists question whether environmentalists whose organizations are being funded by or have corporate representatives on their boards can be impartial in their policy recommendations if those policies pit corporate interests against those of poor or ethnic minority communities.

The EJP is a strong advocate of compensating victims of corporate pollution and toxic contamination. The EJP elevates this to a right to be compensated. The NEP issues no outright endorsement of victim compensation, nor does it articulate compensation as a citizen's right. In addition, the EJP's stance on corporate-community relations also questions the practice of corporations that pollute communities and attempt to preempt or diffuse community objections by acquiring property, paying off, and/or relocating entire communities. This has been the fate of a growing number of African American communities in the South, such as Morrisonville (once the oldest African American community in the United States, it was established by freed slaves in 1858), Reveilletown, Good Hope, and Sunrise (all in Louisiana). These towns have been contaminated and bought out by corporations such as Georgia Gulf and Placid Refining Company (Bowermaster, 1993; O'Byrne, 1991; Warren, 1991). The EJP and the EJM support the notion that corporations should enter into a social compact with host communities that would preclude wanton acts like the willful or careless contamination, purchase, and relocation of communities as a cost-effective way of doing business. The EJP and the EJM also push for government regulation and monitoring of corporations to protect citizens.

The NEP expresses limited support for worker rights or worker health and safety issues because these are traditionally viewed as labor issues to be dealt with by labor unions. Surveys of reform environmental organizations working on worker health and safety issues show that very small percentages of them do so. Donald Snow's (1992, p. 55) survey found that none of the organizations in his study reported spending more than 1% of the budget on worker health and safety issues. The ECO (1992, p. 71) survey found that 3% (2 of 63) of the mainstream organizations reported working on worker health and safety issues. Similarly, my analysis of mainstream organizations found that 3% of the organizations indicated they were working on these issues (D. E. Taylor, 1999a). The EJP articulates a strong position on worker rights and worker health and safety. It is not surprising, therefore, that EJOs are far more likely to work on these issues than are mainstream environmental organizations. Twenty-one percent of the EJOs in the ECO (1992, p. 41) survey and 44% of the those in my study report that they work on these issues (see Table 7).

As the above discussion shows, though the NEP and the EJP adopt similar positions on some core issues, the paradigms differ significantly on key ideological components relating to social justice. The EJP has contributed to the

environmental discourse by introducing these social justice concepts and providing a framework to discuss these in the environmental context.

FRAME RESONANCE AND ENVIRONMENTAL MOBILIZATION

THE SEPARATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL FROM SOCIAL JUSTICE CONCERNS

As mentioned above, prior to the 1960s environmental issues were framed to attract the middle class and the elites by emphasizing wildlife and wilderness preservation and outdoor recreation—mountaineering, fishing, hunting, and birding. Many who could not afford to participate (cost, long travel distance, time away from work) or who were excluded from participation (on racial or ethnic grounds) were alienated from the message. There is no doubt that Carson's framing expanded the environmental discourse and mobilized millions; however, this was primarily a White, middle-class mobilization (see Buttell & Flinn, 1974, 1978; Cotgrove & Duff, 1980; Devall, 1970; Dillman & Christenson, 1972; Faich & Gale, 1971; Harry et al., 1969; Hendee et al., 1969; Lowe et al., 1980; Zinger et al., 1972). Though Carson's framing and research identified problems with pesticides affecting humans, she did not employ a race, class, or gender approach; thus, the disproportionate impacts that existed between different population groups were not illuminated (e.g., pesticide contamination in farm workers could have provided a clue to the differential impacts of pesticides on humans). Even after Carson, the overall environmental frame still did not appeal to people of color and many working-class Whites. The framing mismatch was further exacerbated by the fact that reform environmental organizations did not recruit people of color to their organizations. In fact, some of these organizations did not allow Blacks and other people of color, Southern or Eastern Europeans, or Jews to join until the late 1950s, and even then such decisions resulted in major rifts within the organizations.

A case in point: In 1957, the highly esteemed Roger Tory Peterson declared that "many of our first- and second-generation immigrants, drawn from Europe's marginal populations are enjoying prosperity for the first time and perhaps have not had time to develop judgment." At the time, prospective Sierra Club members needed to have two existing members sponsor them before they could join the club. The Southern California chapter routinely screened out all people of color and Jews from its meetings and parties. The San Francisco chapter objected to this policy. However, in 1959, when David Brower declared the club open to people of "the four recognized colors" and approved the admission of a Black woman to the southern chapter (the woman joined, was inactive, and soon after dropped her membership), this opened the way for the club to consider a resolution against excluding people of color from the organization.

During the discussion over the resolution, the club's director, Bestor Robinson, said, "Now wait a minute, this is not an integration club; this is a conservation club." The resolution did not pass (Fox, 1985, p. 349).

The view that social issues do not belong in a conservation club was and still is pervasive in the wilderness/wildlife sector of the environmental movement. Mainstream environmental organizations have traditionally resisted linking environment and social justice issues or working on issues that primarily affect people of color. For instance, after Carson's death in 1964, the Audubon Society created a Rachel Carson Memorial Fund. Money from the fund was used to help the newly formed Environmental Defense Fund (EDF) push for legislative action against DDT and other pesticides. The United Farm Workers (UFW) collaborated with EDF and the California Rural Legal Assistance organization in its suit to ban DDT. The UFW and EDF worked together, though both organizations were interested in different aspects of pesticides poisoning and framed the issues differently for their respective constituencies. The UFW was primarily interested in the effects of pesticides on farm workers, and the EDF had an interest in the impacts of pesticide use on wildlife. The suit resulted in the Environmental Protection Agency's (EPA) ban on the use of DDT (Gottlieb, 1993, pp. 242-243; R. B. Taylor, 1975). The Audubon Society also used the public debate to start working on pesticides and chemical contamination (Graham, 1990, pp. 224-227). In contrast, members of the Sierra Club were bitterly divided over *Silent Spring* and rising pressure to start working on pesticide contamination. Club members with ties to chemical manufacturers and other industries, chemists, scientists, and engineers vigorously opposed the book. However, Brower and others found Carson's book compelling and began looking into the issue of pesticides. Some members resigned over this issue. The club wavered for years about whether it would broaden its agenda to include the wider array of environmental issues gripping the public's attention. As the president of the club pushed for action, conservatives in the club resisted taking stands on environmental issues like pesticides, population, pollution, land-use planning, energy, and urban amenities. Some argued that the Sierra Club was a wilderness conservation organization and should stay in the woods. Under pressure, the club began examining pesticides but only as they affected national parks (especially Yosemite and Kings Canyon). It was not until 1965 that the club decided to examine pesticides on all private and public lands (Cohen, 1988, pp. 285-288, 333-338).

The above discussion shows two tendencies that separate adherents of the NEP and the EJP. NEP supporters tend to separate environment from social issues, often ignoring the social ramifications of the issues. In addition, even when NEP devotees broadened their agendas to reflect a wider array of public concerns, they also had a tendency to examine these issues as they affected wildlife and wilderness and outdoor recreation opportunities. They were reluctant to tackle human environmental problems. The EJP is based on the ideology that human concerns and problems cannot be separated from environmental and

social problems. If we take seriously the concept of the web of life espoused by the NEP and its supporters, and believe humans are a part of that web, then the practice of excluding human issues, experiences, and concerns from those relating to the environment are invalid. So although NEP and mainstream environmentalists use the concept of the web of life, the actual web they construct elevates wild nature over humans and wild lands over urban areas. Environmental justice questions this interpretation of the web of life and espouses a paradigm that places the human and urban dimensions of the web on par with wild nature and wild lands.

As mentioned before, environmental campaigns comprised a significant component of the mobilizations of people of color of the 1950s and 1960s. In the 1980s and 1990s, the injustice framing that linked environmental issues with labor, human rights, and social justice issues was the obvious bridge that made environmental issues salient to people of color. Because of their environmental experiences, the distinction between environment and social justice is an artificial one for people of color. The EJP encourages its supporters to view the home and community, work, and play environments as interconnected environments. Therefore, efforts by NEP supporters to isolate and concentrate only on certain aspects of these environments is an anathema to people of color. The practice of focusing on the distant, wild, natural environs while paying less attention to the peopled environment is problematic. The focus on the home, work, and recreation environments is an important part of the framing for people of color. Although many Whites can separate these different spheres of their lives, that option does not exist for many people of color. Because many Whites work in the city, can afford to live in the suburbs, and make trips to distant parks and forests, they see a certain logic to separating the environmental concerns relating to these three spheres of life. Thus, occupational issues become labor issues, and environmental issues are defined as suburban, rural, wilderness, and wildlife issues. The opposite is true for people of color. Because most live, work, and recreate in the same communities, it is illogical, if not impossible, for them to separate environmental issues of the home from those of the workplace or recreation sites. Because there is no spatial separation of the domains, in many cases, environmental problems from the workplace permeate neighborhoods in the form of air, water, and soil contamination.

TRANSFORMATION OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL DISCOURSE

Therefore, the environmental justice frame has transformed the environmental discourse—even in mainstream environmental organizations resistant or hostile to such views. Some environmental organizations that were resistant to the environmental justice framing tried to dismiss it. However, even the act of dismissing environmental justice put the reform environmental organizations on

the defensive. Wilderness/wildlife-oriented organizations found themselves answering questions about the racial composition of their memberships, staffs, boards, and volunteer pools (ECO, 1992). They were questioned about their recruitment practices that produced and maintained a White, middle-class workforce and membership, that is, homosocial reproduction (see discussions of social reproduction in DiMaggio, 1994; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). In addition, researchers began studying and questioning the tenuous status of women in their organizations (Seager, 1993, pp. 167-221; D. E. Taylor, 1997b). They scrambled even harder to account for their agendas—why were certain issues and concerns included and not others. The question of disproportionate impacts on different population groups was also a point of embarrassment for these organizations. They could argue that there were no disproportionate impacts worthy of their attention or try to explain why organizations that make it their business to study and make policies about environmental impacts missed the many glaring examples of disproportionate negative environmental impacts in communities of color and poor communities.

Mainstream environmental groups began to view the EJM and the emerging EJP as more than just a fad after government agencies like the EPA created environmental justice offices and staff positions soon after the summit to examine environmental justice claims. Other important events included the publication of the EPA's (U.S. EPA, 1992) environmental equity report, the *National Law Journal's* special issue on racial disparities in environmental law (Lavelle & Coyle, 1992), and the passage of the environmental justice executive order (Executive Order No. 12898, 1994). As a result, throughout the 1990s, there is increasing evidence that mainstream environmental organizations are collaborating with communities of color and with EJOs, slowly diversifying their staff and memberships, covering environmental justice issues in their magazines, launching environmental justice programs, and undertaking a variety of environmental justice initiatives.

The EJP has had this significant effect in such a short time because its framing was salient to a large sector of the population. Second, the movement targeted people ignored by the reform environmental movement. Although other submovements such as deep ecology target the disaffected margins of the mainstream environmental movement (i.e., White, primarily male, middle-class environmentalists), environmental justice did not focus its recruitment on this sector. Instead, it focused on the large unmobilized masses ignored by the movement (people of color and progressive working-class and middle-class Whites). Although mainstream environmental activists believe that people of color and the working class were unmobilized because they were not interested in environmental issues, the EJP recognized that they were indeed interested (Mohai, 1985; D. E. Taylor, 1989, 1992), but what was needed was the appropriate framework and recruiting strategies to guide their mobilization and activism.

FACTORS INFLUENCING THE EMERGENCE OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE MOVEMENT

So why does the EJM arise at this juncture? In the past, social movement theorists tended to examine a single theory in their research. Although this approach is useful in event analysis, explicating areas of each theory and providing valuable information on social movement dynamics, it is limiting when one tries to apply microtheoretical approaches to analyses of mass movements that occur over a period of time. Recognizing this, a number of social movement scholars have begun emphasizing and synthesizing three theoretical approaches in their work. They are theorizing about framing processes, mobilizing structures, and political opportunities (McAdam et al., 1996). This article will adopt that approach. Consequently, the theoretical factors used to explain the emergence of the EJM and the EJP can be grouped into four categories: (a) framing, (b) microstructural network recruitment, (c) resource mobilization, and (d) political opportunities. This article posits that the movement arose because of the convergence of these four factors.

FRAMING PROCESSES

The construction of an environmental justice discourse using an environmental justice master frame was critical to mobilization efforts. Activists had to transform the environmental discourse in communities of color from a submerged frame to a master frame. At the beginning of the process (the early 1980s), the environmental justice discourse relied heavily on the rhetoric of rectitude. The discourse also invoked rhetorical idioms of unreason (discrimination and manipulation of communities), calamity (destruction of communities), entitlement (calling for justice and fairness), and endangerment (identifying intolerable risks and disproportionate exposure to hazards). At this point, rhetorical motifs characterizing the communities of people of color as “Chemical Corridor” and “Street of Death” and illnesses as “disease of the month” imbued activists’ claims with moral significance.

As part of the framing process, the early rhetoric and social construction also focused on experiential commensurability and ideational centrality or narrative fidelity; that is, activists collected case studies and used people’s experiences to show the necessity for the movement and the need to act immediately. As the number of environmental justice cases mounted, narrative fidelity increased. That is, the stories took on meaning; people could relate to stories like the waste dump in Emelle and DDT poisoning in Triana (Alabama), the health impacts arising from pesticide exposure in farmworkers, and uranium poisoning on Native American reservations. People who thought their communities were the only ones with environmental problems came to realize that there were many

cases like theirs all across the country. The sense of collective injustice was both a hot cognition and a cognitive liberator for many. The sense of collective harms deepened people's outrage at the same time that it deepened their conviction to change conditions. The experiences encouraged people to adopt collective action strategies rather than trying to solve issues as isolated individuals or community groups.

As the movement became more established in the late 1980s and early 1990s, discourses shifted to a rhetoric of rationality, that is, developing the empirical credibility needed to support the environmental justice claims. Studies and books like *Toxic Waste and Race* (UCC, 1987), *Race and the Incidence of Environmental Hazards* (Bryant & Mohai, 1992), *Dumping in Dixie* (Bullard, 1990), *Confronting Environmental Racism* (Bullard, 1993), *L.A.'s Lethal Air* (Mann, 1991), the EPA's (U.S. EPA, 1992) environmental equity report, and the *National Law Journal* special issue, "The Racial Divide in Environmental Law" (Lavelle & Coyle, 1992) reported on environmental justice and stimulated new waves of research and policy making. Though studies questioning and countering environmental justice claims and methodological approaches appeared in the 1990s, these studies also used questionable methodologies, and as a result have not seriously damaged the credibility of the environmental justice claims (Anderson, Anderton, & Oakes, 1994; Anderton, Anderson, Oakes, & Fraser, 1994; Anderton, Anderson, Rossi, et al., 1994; Been, 1995; see Mohai, 1995, for methodological critiques of several studies).

In addition to developing a research and policy agenda to help establish the empirical credibility of environmental justice claims, movement supporters also developed a legal strategy. The *National Law Journal* (Lavelle & Coyle, 1992) study made it clear that there were a number of discriminatory practices leading to discriminatory outcomes in the way environmental policies and procedures were being enacted. In addition, a variety of legal obstacles awaited communities wanting to seek relief through the courts. Thus, civil rights law firms such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Lawyers for Civil Rights Under the Law, and the National Lawyers Guild began assembling the cases to build an environmental justice legal strategy. By the late 1990s, mainstream environmental law firms such as the National Resource Defense Council, the Environmental Defense Fund, and the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund also began filing and/or supporting environmental justice suits.

Framing is an important factor in the emergence of the environmental justice master frame and the EJM. Several hot cognitions helped activists to frame the issues and to develop experiential commensurability and narrative fidelity (Gamson, 1992, 1997; D. A. Snow & Benford, 1992; D. A. Snow et al., 1986; Zajonc, 1980). These hot cognitions punctuated organizing efforts, providing several hot-button issues to rally around. In addition to chronic, long-standing struggles, like environmental hazards in the Toxic Doughnut (Chicago), and

sovereignty issues, there were more acute or flash-point issues like the UCC and the *National Law Journal* studies, LANCER (Los Angeles City Energy Recovery Project), and Shintech (Louisiana) that were widely publicized.

The EJP effectively bridged environment, labor, recreation, and social justice issues by taking structurally separate but ideologically compatible issues such as zoning, siting of facilities, socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of host communities, environmental health, and occupational safety and linked them into one environmental justice frame; for example, discriminatory environmental policies and practices arising from zoning and siting and from workplace hazards lead to disproportionate negative health impacts on communities of color. This framing clarified (amplified) the relationship between racism, civil rights, environmental policies and practices, and communities of color. The framing also made the issues relevant to people of color by showing how their experiences factored into environmental discourses. The clarification extended the environmental frame to communicate with people not normally attracted to the mainstream environmental discourse.

The EJM was effective because it did not create a new discourse or identity from scratch (see Friedman & McAdam, 1992, pp. 162-163; McAdam, 1982, pp. 129-131). Instead, it appropriated highly salient aspects of successful mass movements in communities of color. It appropriated (a) the preexisting salient frames of racism and civil rights and (b) the salient identities of labor activists, community organizers, social justice activists, church leaders and members, and professionals such as academics, policy makers, lawyers, and students. Once these frames and identities had been appropriated, the EJM created new valued and salient identities such as environmental justice community organizers, environmental justice lawyers, and academic specialties in the environmental justice field. Therefore, minority community and labor organizers, church leaders, policy analysts, academics, and lawyers working in the environment or social justice fields would have little or no credibility if they ignored environmental justice issues. Hence, these people aligned their individual identities with the emerging collective environmental justice identity.

The EJM also grew rapidly because it used an elaborated master frame (Bernstein, 1970, 1975, 1977; Heath, 1983; Karabel & Halsey, 1977; D. A. Snow & Benford, 1992, pp. 138-141). That frame was flexible enough to allow Blacks, Native Americans, Latinos, Asians, and Whites concerned with social justice issues to fashion campaigns and develop policies around environment and inequality. Because of its concern with race, class, and gender inequality, the frame was attractive to a wide range of people, yet at the same time, it kept the potency and focus on the environmental inequality of marginalized people. Because the movement was multiracial, it avoided the pitfalls of the divide-and-conquer strategy of countermobilizations²⁴ or opposition strategies that could derail the movement. For instance, if the movement was not built across racial or class lines,

it would have been very easy to pit poor Whites against people of color, or Blacks against Latinos, or Native Americans against Latinos and Asians, and so on.

MOBILIZING STRUCTURES

Though the social construction of the discourse and framing was crucial in communicating the environmental justice message to supporters, simply having an injustice frame is not enough to mobilize people. As social movement theorists argue, there is a weak link between attitude and participation in movement activities. That is, factors like frustration and alienation do not necessarily lead to activism. People are aware of many injustices and grievances in their lives, yet they do not organize movements. Thus, other factors must come into play to help account for activism (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987; McAdam & Paulsen, 1997, pp. 145-146; McPhail, 1971; E. N. Mueller, 1980, p. 69; Petty & Cacioppo, 1981).

Microstructural Network Factors

This article argues that microstructural network recruitment factors are also important to mobilization and activism. Recruitment of supporters to a new movement follows lines of preexisting social relationships and networks. That is, supporters of the new movement are drawn from networks of people with past histories of social and political connections. Identifying and tapping into such recruitment networks are a critical part of the mobilization process (Bolton, 1972; Gamson, 1992, p. 61; Klandermans, 1986; Klandermans & Oegama, 1987; McAdam, 1986; Orum, 1974; D. A. Snow et al., 1980; Wilson & Orum, 1976). As discussed above, a growing body of studies reports a causal link between organizational ties and prior contact with movement activists as strong predictors of individual activism. Interpersonal networks are also very influential in movement participation (Barnes & Kaase, 1979; Bolton, 1972; Briet et al., 1987; Curtis & Zurcher, 1973; Fernandez & McAdam, 1989; Gerlach & Hine, 1970; Gould, 1991; McAdam, 1986; McAdam & Paulsen, 1993; Orum, 1972; Rosenthal, Fingrutd, Ethier, Karant, & McDonald, 1985; D. A. Snow et al., 1980; Walsh & Warland, 1983; Zurcher & Kirkpatrick, 1976).

Consequently, the EJM, profoundly aware of the importance of mobilizing people rapidly, targeted efficacious people with dense and extensive community networks and strong institutional ties. Understanding that it was the most socially connected people who were most likely to be recruited into the movement, the EJM targeted these people in the early phases of the movement (Bolton, 1972; Briet et al., 1987; Buechler & Cylke, 1997, pp. 58-63; Gerlach & Hine, 1970; Heirich, 1977; McAdam, 1986; McAdam & Paulsen, 1997, pp. 146-147; Orum, 1972; D. A. Snow, 1976; D. A. Snow et al., 1980; Von Eschen et al., 1971;

Zurcher & Kirkpatrick, 1976). Therefore, community organizers, social justice activists, labor organizers, religious and community leaders, academics, students working in the environmental justice field, lawyers, and policy makers were targeted. Recruitment efforts focused on these people because they were embedded in community, policy, research, legal, and academic networks and were able to bring the resources of those networks to support the growth of the EJM. They could also recruit new supporters to the movement.

The EJM also targeted people with strong institutional ties that could be utilized by the movement. Thus, within a short period of time, the EJM had ties not only to religious institutions, community organizations, and labor unions, but also to universities, mainstream environmental organizations, federal agencies, legal institutions, and grant-making organizations. By focusing on the people with social and institutional ties, the EJM practiced bloc recruiting (a method perfected by the civil rights movement). Once leaders of organizations lend their support to the movement, they then encourage members of their organizations to support movement activities, and members usually lent their support (McAdam, 1982). Thus, the EJM did not try to build a movement by creating its own network of activists from scratch. It built the movement by recognizing preexisting networks of activists likely to fall within the latitude of acceptance and by recruiting them. It also used the preexisting network or organizations likely to support the new movement by sharing resources that would aid movement-building efforts (Friedman & McAdam, 1992, pp. 162-163; Klandermans & Oegema, 1987; McAdam, 1982, pp. 129-131).

Resource Mobilization

As the above discussions have shown, resource mobilization also played a role in environmental justice activism. As mentioned, the movement was able to mobilize institutional support. In addition, movement activists mobilized legal, scientific/technical, and policy people; money; time; and other kinds of resources needed for movement growth and maintenance. Where local EJOs were new, small, or weak, they made connections with other EJOs, forming loose coalitions of regional EJOs. This way, fledgling organizations could share information, mount joint environmental justice campaigns, support each other's protest actions, and facilitate movement-building activities.

One resource that was critical to helping activists provide empirical evidence to support environmental justice claims was the availability of Toxic Release Inventory data and the increasing availability of geographic information system software to do spatial and demographic data analyses. Starting with the UCC (1987) study, communities of color became increasingly interested in data analysis that could help to support the claims of disproportionate exposure to environmental hazards. Activists received training in spatial data analysis techniques, and they sought and received funding to conduct community studies. In addition, a number of scholars published research in this area (see Been, 1994;

Goldman & Fritton, 1994; Mohai, 1996; Pollock & Vittas, 1995; Szasz & Meuser, 1997).

POLITICAL OPPORTUNITIES

Political opportunities also played a role in the emergence of the EJM (Eisinger, 1973; Jenkins & Perrow, 1977; McAdam, 1982, pp. 36-59; Rule & Tilly, 1975; Tarrow, 1983; Tilly, 1978). According to McAdam (1996), activists are likely to take advantage of political opportunities when (a) the political system is open, (b) they understand and can access and manipulate the elite alignments within the polity, (c) they have elite allies, and (d) the likelihood of repression is low.

Policy analysts have pointed to the Reagan-Bush era as a period of retrenchment for environmental policy in general (Kraft & Vig, 1994). This being the case, why would this period also mark the rise of environmental justice activism? The election of many social and fiscal conservatives to public office resulted in rollbacks of and attacks on civil rights legislation and affirmative action policies (which were seen as unnecessary or unfair). The Reagan-Bush court appointees facilitated successful challenges to civil rights and affirmative action. Efforts to maintain or strengthen existing legislation were stymied. By the end of this era, civil rights activists, having suffered major setbacks in the legal, political, and policy arenas, were looking for a new way to press civil rights claims. Thus, the emerging environmental justice discourse provided a new way for such activists to articulate claims of inequality and to mobilize communities of color. Therefore, traditional civil rights activists lent their support to the movement.

As a result, by the end of the Reagan-Bush era, the empirical evidence supporting environmental justice claims were mounting, a summit had been held, and an environmental justice office had been created at the EPA. Like mainstream environmental activists, environmental justice activists were poised to take advantage of the political opening the more pro-environmental Clinton-Gore administration presented. Environmental justice activists were on Clinton's transition team, worked closely with congressional allies, and were ready to promote the environmental justice executive order and other pro-environmental justice policy and legislation. There is no doubt that the changing political landscape created an opportunity for activists to promote environmental justice activities at the highest levels of government that would further the goals of the EJM. This response to political opportunities is not new. At the turn of the century, environmental activists, recognizing that Theodore Roosevelt's tenure in the White House presented an opportunity to advance environmental goals and build a movement, pushed through a variety of wildlife protection and forest conservation measures while Roosevelt was in office (Fox, 1985; Orr, 1992; Nash, 1982; D. E. Taylor, 1999b; Trefethen, 1975).

CONCLUSION

As this discussion shows, framing is an important aspect of the way social movements communicate their grievances and goals to others. Injustice frames are collective action frames that are used by movements to bridge the interests of individual movement actors with those of the collective and the larger society (frame alignment). The EJP, which is built on some of the core values of the NEP, uses an injustice frame to effectively reframe or transform the environmental discourse. This article argues that the EJP has accomplished this by linking environment, labor, and social justice into a master frame (frame bridging). The EJM uses the EJP to amplify or clarify the connection between environment and social justice and to emphasize the idea that these concepts are inseparable. The EJP extends the environmental frame by targeting people not normally recruited by reform environmental organizations—people of color and progressive Whites from working- and middle-class backgrounds.

The EJP mobilized adherents by evoking salient master frames. Thus, activists organizing around rights, racism, and justice found the EJP attractive. In addition, the EJP appropriated the civil rights discourse and combined it with some core concepts of the NEP to make the environmental justice message resonate with people in the larger society who were concerned with environment and inequality. The movement also mobilized resources and took advantage of political opportunities to foster movement growth and strength. As a result, in the short time it has been around, the EJP has altered the nature of environmental discourse and poses a challenge to the hegemony of the NEP.

APPENDIX

The Principles of Environmental Justice

PREAMBLE

WE, THE PEOPLE OF COLOR, gathered together at this multinational People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit, to begin to build a national and international movement of all peoples of color to fight the destruction and taking of our lands and communities, do hereby re-establish our spiritual interdependence to the sacredness of our Mother Earth; to respect and celebrate each of our cultures, languages and beliefs about the natural world and our roles in healing ourselves; to insure environmental justice; to promote economic alternatives which would contribute to the development of environmentally safe livelihoods; and, to secure our political, economic and cultural liberation that has been denied for over 500 years of colonization and oppression, resulting in the poisoning of our communities and land and the genocide of our peoples, do affirm and adopt these Principles of Environmental Justice:

1. **Environmental justice** affirms the sacredness of Mother Earth, ecological unity and the interdependence of all species, and the right to be free from ecological destruction.

2. **Environmental justice** demands that public policy be based on mutual respect and justice for all peoples, free from any form of discrimination or bias.
3. **Environmental justice** mandates the right to ethical, balanced and responsible uses of land and renewable resources in the interest of a sustainable planet for humans and other living things.
4. **Environmental justice** calls for universal protection from nuclear testing and the extraction, production and disposal of toxic/hazardous wastes and poisons that threaten the fundamental right to clean air, land, water, and food.
5. **Environmental justice** affirms the fundamental right to political, economic, cultural and environmental self-determination of all peoples.
6. **Environmental justice** demands the cessation of the production of all toxins, hazardous wastes, and radioactive materials, and that all past and current producers be held strictly accountable to the people for detoxification and the containment at the point of production.
7. **Environmental justice** demands the right to participate as equal partners at every level of decision-making including needs assessment, planning, implementation, enforcement and evaluation.
8. **Environmental justice** affirms the right of all workers to a safe and healthy work environment, without being forced to choose between an unsafe livelihood and unemployment. It also affirms the right of those who work at home to be free from environmental hazards.
9. **Environmental justice** protects the right of victims of environmental injustice to receive full compensation and reparations for damages as well as quality health care.
10. **Environmental justice** considers governmental acts of environmental injustice a violation of international law, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, and the United Nations Convention on Genocide.
11. **Environmental justice** must recognize a special legal and natural relationship of Native Peoples to the U.S. government through treaties, agreements, compacts, and covenants affirming sovereignty and self-determination.
12. **Environmental justice** affirms the need for urban and rural ecological policies to clean up and rebuild our cities and rural areas in balance with nature, honoring the cultural integrity of all our communities, and providing fair access for all to the full range of resources.
13. **Environmental justice** calls for the strict enforcement of principles of informed consent, and a halt to the testing of experimental reproductive and medical procedures and vaccinations on people of color.
14. **Environmental justice** opposes the destructive operations of multi-national corporations.
15. **Environmental justice** opposes military occupation, repression and exploitation of lands, peoples and cultures, and other life forms.
16. **Environmental justice** calls for the education of present and future generations which emphasizes social and environmental issues, based on our experience and an appreciation of diverse cultural perspectives.
17. **Environmental justice** requires that we, as individuals, make personal and consumer choices to consume as little of Mother Earth's resources and to produce as little waste as possible; and make the conscious decision to challenge and reprioritize our lifestyles to insure the health of the natural world for present and future generations.

SOURCE: *Principles of Environmental Justice* (1991).

NOTES

1. The kind of environmental activism being analyzed in this article is not always considered high-risk activism. It is, therefore, unclear how these factors might affect movement participation that is characterized by low-risk activism.

2. Olson (1965) examined the costs and benefits of participating in activities to obtain public goods. Olson challenged the widely held notion that groups of people will act on behalf of their common interests in the same way a single individual will act on behalf of his or her own personal interest. Olson claimed that the rational, self-interested individual will not participate in collective actions aimed at achieving collective benefits because such public goods cannot be withheld from those who did not participate. The rational actor, therefore, is a "free rider."

3. Romanticism connotes an enthusiasm for the strange, remote, solitary, and mysterious. As it relates to nature, Romantics prefer wild, untamed places like the American wilderness where they can express their freedom. They disdain tamed and manicured landscapes (Lovejoy, 1955; Nash, 1982, p. 47).

4. Transcendentalism refers to a set of beliefs regarding the relationship between humans, nature, and God. American Transcendentalists believed in the existence of a reality or truth beyond the physical. Transcendentalists argue that there is a parallel between the higher realm of spiritual truths and the lower one of material objects. Natural objects are important because they reflect universal spiritual truths. People's place in the universe was divided between object and essence. Their physical existence rooted them in the material portion, while their souls gave them the ability to transcend their physical conditions. For Transcendentalists, the wilderness was the place where spiritual truths were most pronounced (Emerson, 1883; Nash, 1982, pp. 84-86; Paul, 1952; Thoreau, 1893).

5. Primitivism is an aspect of Romanticism. Primitivists believe that people's happiness and well-being are decreased in direct proportion to their degree of civilization. They idealized the near-savage lifestyle and advocated a return to a simple lifestyle (Lovejoy & Boas, 1935; Nash, 1982, p. 47).

6. Note there were people like Theodore Roosevelt who were influenced by Romanticism who took a utilitarian approach toward resource management.

7. Businesses benefited from the growth in environmentalism. As the environmental movement grew, more environmentally conscious people bought arms and ammunition and other kinds of outdoor recreational gear. As the number of visitors to national parks and other popular destinations increased, hotels and other segments of the tourist industry gained from this increase.

8. This term was coined by Dunlap and Van Liere in their 1978 article, "The 'New Environmental Paradigm.'" See also Cotgrove and Duff (1980) for a discussion of the dominant social paradigm and an alternative environmental paradigm.

9. A 1971 study of the Sierra Club found a shift in the reasons members gave for affiliating with the club. The more recent their membership in the organization, the more likely they were to have joined because of the club's work on environmental issues and for the chance that the club would represent them on issues. Whereas 43% of the members who belonged to the organization for 7 or more years said they joined for outdoor experiences and fellowship, only 5% of those belonging to the organization for fewer than 2 years joined for those reasons. On the other hand, 73% of the members who belonged to the organization for fewer than 2 years joined the organization to gain increased knowledge of conservation or to have the club represent them on issues; only 45% of those in the organization for 7 or more years joined for these reasons (Faich & Gale, 1971).

10. Some mainstream environmentalists of the day still do not see the relationship.

11. Though the United Church of Christ (UCC) is a predominantly White organization, the study was actually commissioned by the Commission for Racial Justice, a group with a long history of civil rights involvement. This progressive arm of the church is staffed, organized, and run by people of color. The idea for the study came from a high-ranking African American activist who had been involved in environmental justice campaigns in the South (UCC, 1987).

12. Ecofeminism has focused on gender concerns.

13. Under the system of triage, casualties are sorted into three categories: those who will die regardless of treatment, those who will survive regardless of treatment, and those who will survive if given immediate treatment. The first two groups are usually ignored, and the third group treated. When applied to food aid, countries whose food production systems lag far behind their demand for food and countries that can survive without aid would not get food aid. Only countries experiencing food crises that would be able to meet their long-term food demands, if given help, would receive aid (Ehrlich, 1968, pp. 158-173; Paddock & Paddock, 1967).

14. According to Talcott Parsons (1951), the study of social control is the analysis of the processes that tend to counteract deviant tendencies. Every social system has, in addition to the obvious rewards for conforming and punishments for deviant behavior, a complex system of unplanned and largely unconscious mechanisms that serve to counteract deviant tendencies. Broadly speaking then, social control is an attempt by one or more individuals to manipulate the behavior of others by means other than a chain of command or requests (Gibbs, 1981; Parsons, 1951).

15. Carrying capacity is the maximum population that a given area of land of a given character can sustain. If maximum population is exceeded, some members of the population will die. In addition, the overall carrying capacity of the land declines (sometimes precipitously).

16. Hardin (1968) borrows this concept from an 1833 pamphlet describing a parable. According to this parable, the commons is shared land on which herders have the right to graze as many animals as they wish. As the herders add additional animals without considering the long-term implications of their actions, the carrying capacity of the commons is exceeded. Actions driven by short-term gains and self-interest resulted in this "tragedy."

17. One of the most vocal dissenters, Barry Commoner, rebutted Ehrlich in his 1971 book, *The Closing Circle*. Commoner argued that faulty technological choices—technology chosen to maximize profits rather than minimizing environmental impacts was responsible for environmental degradation.

18. Malthus argued that humans would never achieve perfect justice and equality because population growth tended to exceed the food supply. Malthus thought that England should abolish its Poor Laws that offered minimal help to the destitute. He thought the Poor Laws eased the misery of the poor, thus removing one of the natural checks on population growth. In addition, he felt that moral restraint was virtually absent among the poor (Malthus, 1960, 1798/1965).

19. On November 3, 1972, on the eve of the presidential election, the American Indian movement led an automobile caravan to Washington, D.C., called the Trail of Broken Treaties. They had a 20-point program aimed at redefining federal-Indian relations. During the protest, the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters was taken over by demonstrators.

20. In recent years, religious institutions have shown a growing interest in the environment. They are developing a branch of environmentalism named ecochristianity. However, this is still marginal to mainstream environmental thinking.

21. Social movements that practice high-risk activism or ones that encounter a lot of opposition (like the antinuclear, Black power, environmental justice, and freedom summer movements) often create protected environments for their activists to operate in. As Evans and Boyte (1986) point out, such free spaces are characterized by their roots in the community; their dense, rich networks of daily life; their autonomy; and their character as participatory environments that nurture the values associated with citizenship and the common good. Rather than building such free spaces from scratch, movements take control of and transform existing community space into protected environments (see Morris, 1984).

22. Although the Greens, a submovement of the mainstream sector of the environmental movement, have included social justice issues in their environmental agenda, they are a small group that have not managed to influence the remainder of the mainstream movement to follow their lead. Their ideas have not reached many beyond their immediate supporters. In addition, they had limited contact with people of color when they were developing their environment and social justice agenda (see Green Committee of Correspondence Program, 1990a, 1990b).

23. It should be noted that the National Wildlife Federation (1969) found an inverse relationship between age and environmental concern, and urban dwellers were less likely than other respondents to be concerned about the environment (see Buttel & Flinn, 1974, pp. 57-58).

24. A countermovement or countermobilization is a set of opinions and beliefs in a population opposed to a social movement. A countermovement is a conscious, collective, organized attempt to resist or reverse social changes sought by social movements. It attempts to reverse changes that are aimed at redistributing resources. Because countermovements are aimed at preserving the status quo, they do not generally yield outcomes that reduce societal and institutional inequality. Countermovements are preoccupied with opposing rather than promoting a particular program (McCarthy & Wolfson, 1992, p. 275; McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Mottl, 1997, pp. 408, 418; Turner & Killian, 1987).

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