

Environment, Technology, and Society



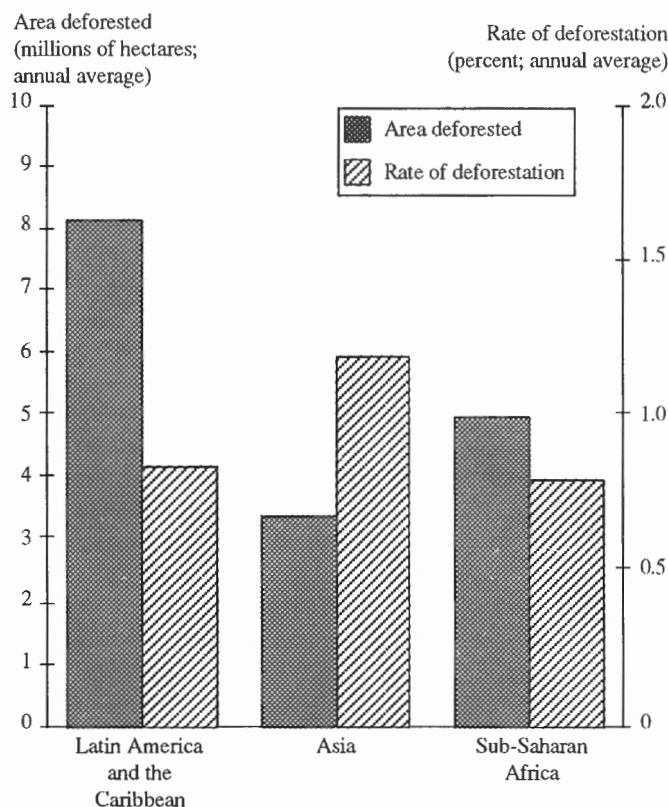
Newsletter of the Section on Environment and Technology
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Loss of Tropical Forests in Developing Regions, 1980-1990

This chart is derived from FAO data and is presented as Fig. 2, P. 6, in: The World Bank, *World Development Report 1992: Development and the Environment*. The Bank says, in part, that "forests (especially moist tropical forests), coastal and inland wetlands, coral reefs, and other ecosystems are being converted or degraded at rates that are high by historical standards. Tropical forests have declined by one-fifth in this century, and the rate has accelerated. ... The loss of forests has severe ecological and economic costs—lost watershed protection, local climate change, lost coastal protection and fishing grounds—and affects people's lives." (p. 6)



Environmental Whistleblowers in Federal Agencies: A Brief Organizational Profile

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Since the mid-seventies federal employees working in agencies with jurisdiction over environmental policy implementation and enforcement have been confronted with moments in which they had to decide whether to follow

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Notes from the Editor

I came across a couple of disparate pieces of information that may be of general interest to our Section membership.

The first is an announcement that on April 13, 1994, the House Science, Space, and Technology Committee approved H.R. 3870, the Environmental Technologies Act of 1994, by a vote of 19-9. The Committee Chair Rep. George E. Brown, Jr. (D-CA) praised the bill for "combining the goals of environmental sustainability and economic development" and said that "[t]his bill signals a shift away from confrontations between government and industry over the environment, and a movement toward a partnership approach to environmental problems." The legislation would establish a cost-shared grant program administered by the EPA to assist U.S. companies and industrial partnerships to "develop or demonstrate advanced precommercial environmental technologies." The bill would authorize approximately \$80M for the EPA environmental technology grant program in FY1996 and \$120M in FY1996. The bill calls for studies of the regulatory and economic incentives and disincentives; research into lifecycle assessment to identify the environmental impacts of goods, products, and services; the development of performance indicators; and risk assessments.¹

The impact of technologies and development in the third world, as we know, can have both benefits and severe costs. This second item came to me via a circuitous route on the Internet. The article, dated Amsterdam, 1/24/94, states that "four million people are to be forced off their lands under projects of the World Bank currently underway or to be commissioned by 1996, six times as many as ten years ago. ... A leaked internal draft World Bank report, the third in a series in the past ten years, shows that right now 2 million people are being forced off their lands under 134 Bank projects currently underway and another 2 million will have to move under projects to be approved by 1996. ... People are forcibly resettled to make way for many different kinds of projects, from dam reservoirs that flood productive lands, canals, road projects, mines—especially open cast mines—industrial parks, forestry 'management' projects, reforestation, wildlife parks and sanctuaries." Also not surprisingly, most of those impacted are disadvantaged or powerless members of society—the poor, the elderly, the landless, ethnic minorities, and women.

Opportunities for our Section to have an influence on environmental policy and international quality-of-life through the application of sound sociological research abound.

¹ Carnegie Commission on Science, Technology, and Government. 1994. *Science & Technology in Congress*. (April).

Environment, Technology and Society Newsletter

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Publication Schedule

The deadline for the Summer issue will be July 15, 1994. If it is possible for text items of any length to be submitted electronically, that greatly facilitates the newsletter production process. Use my Internet e-mail address: <cluett@battelle.org> Also, please contribute articles on current research that can be presented graphically on the front page.

Environmental Whistleblowers (*cont.*)

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the desires and expectations of their superiors regarding agency policy or whether to break away from the norms of agency culture and expose such policy to Congress or the news media. Exposing agency policy on the withholding of federal policy implementation or enforcement is a risky task because it carries with it strong retaliatory actions from superiors. These actions may lead to the loss of employment and to public ridicule. Thus although few federal government employees have chosen to expose the lack of or ill-implementation of various national environmental quality policies, their number and visibility in Congress and in the news media has been steadily increasing. In this note I will ask, and offer preliminary answers to several guiding questions that may be used in the analysis of the environmental whistleblower phenomenon: (a) why are some employees of federal agencies with environmental policy jurisdiction blowing the whistle, (b) how are they protecting themselves against long-term reprisals, and (c) what implications can we draw for the sociological study of whistleblowing in environmental policy settings.

Whistleblowing in Organizations: an Overview. The sociological literature on organizations places the study of whistleblowing within the analysis of two major perspectives: organizational deviance (Ermann and Lundman, 1987), and bureaucratic opposition (Weinstein, 1984). The organizational deviance perspective suggests that whistle blowing is the outcome of the institutionalization of deviant acts within organizations. Deviance, then, is embedded in the daily routines of organizations and the behavior of their employees. Thus deviance can be traced to three sources (Ermann and Lundman, 1987): (1) the nature of limited information and responsibility that characterizes the distribution of positions within organizational hierarchies, (2) the incidental or unintended result of initiatives from top managers, and (3) the deliberate initiation of deviant behavior from top managers who manipulate the organization's structure of hierarchical

positions to implement it. Whistle blowing emerges when the organizational elites are unable to fully control hierarchically linked positions within the organization in order to implement a desired plan.

On the other hand the bureaucratic opposition perspective suggests that whistle blowing is the outcome of the authoritarian structure of bureaucracies and their lack of provisions for legitimate and institutionalized opposition (Weinstein, 1984). This perspective suggests that oppositionists, and the whistleblowers among them, threaten the exercise of authority within the organization, and therefore will strive to make their opposition a legitimate phenomenon. Failure to do so will result in the presence of that opposition as an ideology, an outcome that can be easily defeated by higher officials in the organization. Thus, in order to achieve the status of a legitimate opposition, oppositionists use the norms of the organization and "often believe that the higher administrators are committed to these norms, even to the exclusion of maintaining the appearance of control and wisdom" (Weinstein, 1984: 255). Whistle blowing emerges when oppositionists follow organizational norms and fail to achieve a set of desirable results. Thus as other writers have noted, often whistleblowers may be "... caught between [their] desire to follow [their] moral beliefs, and the organizational pressures to conform," (Ermann and Lundman, 1987: 187). Whistle blowing, then, is the path followed to resolve such a conflict.

The organizational deviance and bureaucratic opposition perspectives share at least two common assumptions. The first is that before an act becomes deviant, someone must first perceive it or define it as deviant. The second is that whistle blowing can best be understood if it is conceptualized as a process confined within the organization. Although the merit of these two assumptions can be subjected to debate, their utility for the analysis of environmental whistle blowing needs to be recognized. I endeavor to show the

utility of the two perspectives using the case of environmental whistleblowers.

Why Are They Blowing the Whistle?

Frequently, employees who become whistleblowers sense an overall pressure either to ignore certain rules, or to postpone the publication of reports and studies, or to even actively intervene to alter the results and meaning of reports with findings that contradict the ideological commitment of bureaucratic elites. This is the common experience of environmental whistleblowers from a variety of federal agencies, including the U.S. Forest Service, the Bureau of Reclamation and Land Management, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, and the Energy Department's nuclear facilities.

Forest Service Timber Sales (U.S. Forest Service).

"My district rangers said, 'You can't write that. You've just written an appeal for the environmentalists.' It was easier to blow the whistle than to continue to lie" (Nixon, 1993:14). Thus began the whistleblowing career of a Forest Service employee who was asked to prepare the paperwork for a timber sale at Willamette National Forest in Oregon. The interesting aspect of that whistleblower's experience is that in 1989 he founded the Association of Forest Service Employees for Environmental Ethics [AFSEEE] with a membership of 11,000 Forest Service employees. In 1993 he co-founded another group called PEER—Public Employees for Environmental Responsibility. PEER was created to protect the legal rights and ethical concerns of reformers within the Department of Energy, the Environmental Protection Agency, the Department of Interior, and state government agencies.

Irrigation Subsidies (Bureau of Reclamation).

A senior manager from the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation (BUREC) blew the whistle on BUREC and, in the process has organized 250 people in his office into a reform group for more honest government. His rationale for blowing the whistle was as follows:

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Environmental Whistleblowers (cont.)

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Congress passed a law in 1982, 'The Reclamation Reform Act', which it really hasn't been, and I was in charge of writing and implementing the rules and regulations for administering the Act. I constantly came into conflict with agribusiness and its lawyers, so after six years I was unceremoniously moved to hazardous waste, which I knew nothing about. During those years, as more and more concessions were made to special interests, I started leaking information to Congress and the press, and eventually I went on 60 Minutes. Since then, I haven't made any long term career plans or invested in business cards!... All of the people I've worked with, with maybe one or two exceptions, went on to work for the people they were supposed to be regulating. In that kind of environment you are not going to get very good government. The Bureau of Reclamation was chartered to provide opportunities for family farming. So it's interesting to see the consolidation of wealth that has occurred in this supposedly social program. . . . The subsidies overwhelmingly go to agribusiness. . . we should go back to subsidizing what these programs were established for: small family farms. This country has a growing problem with jobs. There probably could be more people living on the land and farming it responsibly, if these programs were reformed to follow their original purpose (Nixon, 1993:15).

Both of the above cases suggest that environmental whistleblowers are very much concerned with (a) the ethical dimensions of implementing federal policy and (b) the overall accountability of government. Their acts suggest a two-tier action: whistle blowing and organizing to protect dissident voices within their agencies. Other cases such as nuclear production safety, livestock grazing, and scientific fraud at the Environmental Protection Agency, suggest similar reasons for blowing the whistle, and similar attempts to organize professional employees with dissident voices.

Nuclear Production Safety (Department of Energy, Hanford Nuclear Reservation Compliance Problems). The man who blew the whistle on the Department of Energy's Hanford Nuclear Reservation, evaluated the site's manager (Westinghouse) for compliance with environmental and safety regulations. His concern with the lack of Westinghouse's compliance with these regulations was not welcomed by the company. Thus, eventually he took his story to the press and then to Congress:

It was obvious we were risking a catastrophic accident. But they (Westinghouse) were getting paid massive awards and bonuses in the millions of dollars to continue production. I begged them, please, you have got to shut down these plants, but they weren't doing it. I worked within the system as long as I could. Then one day the company president told me he was going on a TV news conference, and he would report that I never said to shut down the plants - that it was all an administrative problem that would be resolved internally. I said, you can't do that. I knew that Congress could put me under oath, so I would have to tell the truth. His answer was, ... you're a big boy now, it's time to shit or get off the pot. I watched him go on TV — with my reports laying there and my name exposed — and say that there was no problem. That's when I called a Seattle Times reporter... The next day I flew to Washington, DC. under an assumed name and met with Congress. They shut down the plutonium processing, and it's been down ever since. Hanford is no longer a production facility, it's a cleanup facility. . . . There is no accountability in the system. If you do horrible bad things and waste hundreds of millions of dollars, there's no retribution. You get promoted and move one (Nixon, 1994: 17).

In the Los Alamos National Laboratories (LANL), another Department of Energy Nuclear Production facility, a

physical scientist blew the whistle on LANL, when she was asked to approve a CIA sponsored project that involved the transportation of a dangerous and classified chemical from the Washington, DC area to LANL. The physical scientist in charge of approving the expected mode of transportation of the classified chemical refused to approve it because it violated Department of Transportation and other environmental regulations. The story appears on front page of the New York Times in the summer of 1989. Among the several reprisal tactics that whistleblower was subjected to, there was a series of psychiatric tests the whistleblower was subjected to in order to evaluate her security clearance. Even though she has not been fired, without a security clearance, she cannot work at the Department of Energy. Eventually, she sought the assistance of the Government Accountability Project, a public interest group providing legal support to whistleblowers, and filed a complaint of discrimination under the jurisdiction of several environmental statutes that protect the right of whistleblowers to expose environmental threats (GAP, 1993).

Livestock Grazing Mismanagement. The Bureau of Land Management, (BLM) within the Department of Interior, oversees 260 million acres of land. BLM's responsibilities include the leasing of land for mining, forestry, and livestock grazing activities. The testimony below originated from a BLM employee who chose not to become a whistleblower:

I'm one of the people PEER is trying to protect. If I become a whistleblower it probably wouldn't do any good—it would just result in a huge attempt to discredit me and undermine the real issues. . . . The BLM is the great unknown in the U.S. It has more land than all of the states that border the East Coast combined. But once you leave the West where BLM has most of its land, people have never heard of us. . . . Being unknown plays into

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Environmental Whistleblowers (cont.)

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industry's hands in that the agency is accountable to them, not the public who owns the land. . . Livestock grazing is so ubiquitous in the West that most areas are deteriorated, but people don't realize it because they don't have any areas without grazing for comparison. . . (Taxpayers) will have to pay for the long term costs in biodiversity, health, and for compliance with the Endangered Species Act. Overstocking is causing a deterioration that native plants and animals just can't put up with. . . But there's no real accountability to make the resource managers follow those laws, so the Endangered Species Act is the only club to use on them (Nixon, 1993: 17-18).

Just as in the other cases noted earlier, the case of the BLM whistleblower stems from the concern of some professional resource managers to have the agency (a) implement national policy as specified in the Endangered Species Act, and (b) be accountable to the larger public, not only the ranchers it regulates.

Whistle blowing at the Environmental Protection Agency (A brief profile). Several EPA professional employees have blown the whistle on a variety of issues. The man whose comments follow blew the whistle because after the ban of CFCs from aerosol sprays in 1978, industry used hydrocarbon gases (propane and butane) in consumer pesticide formulations such as Raid. Under current pesticide law, industry is supposed to warn consumers of the flammability for these gases, a practice they did not follow, however, because of the ill-implementation of the statute by the EPA. These gases explode under certain conditions and may cause extensive damage to human health. His concern about the use of these gases by industry originated from a call he received from a consumer. She told him that a can of Raid exploded under her sink and caused her extensive second degree burns. He found out that the pesticide law mandated a testing for flammability for combustible liquids,

but ignored it for gases. He is critical of the EPA's scientific record and also the treatment EPA professional employees receive when they act against the political wishes of its administrators: "The EPA has rampant scientific fraud, yet who are they investigating? Whistleblowers" (Nixon, 1993: 19).

Because members of the EPA's professional and technical staff are in the frontlines of policy implementation and enforcement, they are most likely to see and experience first hand an ongoing conflict between politics and science. This conflict generally arises when the political desires and wishes of the agency's administrative elite directly or indirectly halt or prolong the implementation of environmental policy. Professional employees are punished if they attempt to expose the exact decision-making source and specific obstacles to implementation and enforcement. Furthermore, this conflict often becomes manifested in the acts of professional staffers who decide to blow the whistle. That was the case of the whistleblower who exposed EPA's lack of enforcement of the 1976 Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA), which resulted in the Love Canal incident. Numerous similar cases abound from the experiences of the EPA's professional and technical staff during the deregulation waves sweeping the national capital in the 1980s. I will be addressing the character of these cases elsewhere.

Conclusion. What the above cases of environmental whistleblowers indicate is that this type of whistleblowing differs from other cases reported in the literature on organizations in two respects. The first is that these whistle blowing acts occur frequently in federal agencies with jurisdiction over natural resource management and/or pollution control policies. The second, and perhaps most remarkable characteristic of environmental whistleblowers, is that they are organizing into professional associations of federal employees, which in turn are supported by a private umbrella organization. Thus forest ser-

vice employees have organized themselves into the Association of Forest Service Employees for Environmental Ethics (AFSEEE) and into Professional Employees for Environmental Ethics (PEER). In turn, the members of both organizations are protected by the Government Accountability Project (GAP), which supports, among others, the litigation cases of whistleblowers from AFSEEE and PEER.

In closing, it becomes apparent that environmental whistleblowing is: (a) an act of organizational deviance (Ermann and Lundman, 1987), and (b) a political process of bureaucratic opposition, in which the opposition is attempting to cast itself as a legitimate phenomenon (Weinstein, 1984). Therefore, the sociological study of environmental whistleblowing will benefit from a further exploration of the organizational and political processes involved in the emergence of this phenomenon.

References:

- Ermann, M. David, and Richard J. Lundman (Eds.). 1987. Corporate and Governmental Deviance. 3rd edition. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Government Accountability Project. 1993. Whistleblower Forced to Undergo Psychiatric Exam. Bridging the Gap. (Fall) Pp. 4-5.
- Nixon, Will. 1993. A Breakfast Among PEERS: Environmental Whistleblowers Have Some Stories to Tell. E—The Environmental Magazine. 4(5): 14-19.
- Weinstein, Deena. 1984. Bureaucratic Opposition: Whistleblowing and Other Tactics. Pp. 254-268 in Ron Westrum and Khalil Samaha (Eds.). Complex Organizations—Growth, Struggle, and Change. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall. ∞

Membership

Membership Committee Chair, **Kurt Cylke**, reports that our section's membership has reached a record high of 422. This year recruiting efforts will continue at the meetings in Los Angeles in August. Section members can expect another copy of the "Section Members' Guide to the Meetings". Additionally, our section will have a table at the welcoming reception. Last year in Miami books recently published by section members were on display at our table. The display received a lot of attention and helped show just how energetic and productive our section members are. If you have materials that you would like to have displayed at this year's table, bring them with you to LA or send them to Kurt Cylke by the end of July.

All section members are encouraged to help in recruiting new members. Members are especially encouraged to consider sponsoring graduate student memberships and to target colleagues who might be potential members. With luck we might be able to break the 500 mark by September.

Current Research

Michael Micklin reports from the Hopkins-Nanjing Center in China the following research interests: the effects of China's economic reforms on environmental conditions and trends; environmental limitations on China's economic growth; comparative studies of environment-development interactions in East and South Asia and in Latin America and the Caribbean; conceptual and theoretical clarification of the idea of "sustainable development."

John Michael Oakes reports his current research interests include the social and economic aspects of environmental policy and qualitative research methods. Recently, he and his colleagues completed the first phase of a study of the relationship between hazardous waste sites and the demographic characteristics of the communities which surround them. Future research plans with his colleagues at the social and Demographic Research Institute (SADRI) include advancing the study of environmental equity.

Jeff Broadbent reports that he is organizing a workshop on *Sustainable Development, Global Justice and the Environment* for the MacArthur workshop at the University of Minnesota in the winter of 1995. The MacArthur graduate program involves a very inter-disciplinary group of students, many from the Third World, and all social sciences, plus law, public policy, and conservation biology. Jeff is looking for suggestions for people who specialize in environmental problems in Third World development, and he needs about four speakers or panels at four times through the ten week winter quarter, Jan. to April, 1995. A focal issue is the global justice of environmentalism concerning the Third World's desire to develop, and the export of pollution such as nuclear and other toxic waste dumping there by the industrial nations. Contact Jeff at: <broad001@maroon.tc.umn.edu>

Papers/Presentations

Michael Micklin, *Is Continued Growth Sustainable? China's Economic Reforms in Ecological Perspective*. Presented at Sociology Department Seminar, Huazhong University of Science & Technology, Wuhan, PRC, December 1993, and at the Centre of Urban Planning and Environmental Management, University of Hong Kong, February 1994.

Douglas L. Anderton, Andy B. Anderson, and John Michael Oakes. 1994. Press briefing on the results of environmental equity study. National Press Club. April 7: Washington, DC.

Douglas L. Anderton, Andy B. Anderson, and John Michael Oakes. 1994. *The Demographics of Environmental Racism*. Annual Meetings of the Population Association of America (PAA). May 5-7: Miami, FL.

John Michael Oakes. 1994 (forthcoming). *Analysis of Equity in the Distribution of Environmental Hazards*. HPSA Roundtable. Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association. August 6: Los Angeles, CA.

Meetings

Researching Paths to Peace, a research review and development workshop, will be held on August 3-4, 1994, in Los Angeles. This workshop for social scientists, policymakers, and practitioners is hosted by the Peace and War Section of the ASA and will focus on strategies for analyzing interactions among governmental and non-governmental actors in the development and implementation of peace and security policies. Presentations by academics will be augmented by those of invited policymakers and administrators who observe the interaction at close range. Exchange among participants will be facilitated by materials read in common, panel presentations, refereed roundtables and discussion. For more information about attending or presenting, contact **Ruth Searles**, Dept. of Sociology, University of Toledo, Toledo, OH 43606. Ph: (419) 537-4661; FAX: (419) 537-8406.

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The Human Dimensions in Natural Resources Unit, College of Natural Resources, Colorado State University, is hosting *The Fifth International Symposium on Society and Resource Management: Creating Research, Education and Management Partnerships Among Natural Resource Professionals*, June 7-10, 1994 in Fort Collins, CO.

These Symposia focus on social science contributions to understanding research management systems and are based on the notion that complex natural resource issues require a multidisciplinary view. The following thematic areas are included:

- *The role of social science in ecosystem management*
- *The role of social science in sustainable development*
- *Human dimensions in fisheries and wildlife management*
- *Partnerships*
- *Social and cultural diversity issues*

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Meetings (cont.)

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- Leadership and professional development
- Advances in amenity resource management
- Policy, planning and public involvement
- Environmental attitudes, communication and education

To register for the conference, or to obtain more information, contact: **Jennifer Pate**, Symposium Coordinator, HDNRU, College of Natural Resources, 245 Forestry, Colorado State University, Ft. Collins, CO 80523. Ph: (303) 491-2077; FAX: (303) 491-2255. The program is available on the Internet via an anonymous ftp from picea.cfnr.colostate.edu in a sub-directory called pub/ssrm, filename 5thssrm.

Publications

Anderton, Anderson, Rossi, Oakes, Fraser, Weber, Calabrese. 1994. *Hazardous Waste Facilities: Environmental Equity Issues in Minority Areas.* Evaluation Review. 18(2): 123-140.

Anderton, Douglas L., Andy B. Anderson, John Michael Oakes, Michael R. Fraser. 1994 (forthcoming). *Environmental Equity: The Demographics of Dumping.* Demography. (May).

Bullard, Robert D. and Beverly H. Wright. 1993. *Environmental Justice for All: Communities Perspectives on Health and Research Needs.* Toxicology and Industrial Health. No. 9. (September-October): 821-842.

Bullard, Robert D. 1994. *Unequal Protection: Environmental Justice and Communities of Color.* San Francisco: Sierra Club Books.

Bullard, Robert D. 1994. *Overcoming Racism in Environmental Decisionmaking.* Environment. 36 (May): 10-20, 39-44.

Gedicks, Al. 1994. *Racism and Resource Colonization.* Capitalism, Nature, Socialism: A Journal of Socialist Economy. 5:1 (March).

Hardoy, Jorge E., Diana Mitlin, and David Satterwaite. 1992. *Environmental Problems in Third World Cities.* London: Earthscan Publications.

Holmberg, Johan (Ed.). 1992. *Making Development Sustainable: Redefining Institutions, Policy, and Economics.* Washington, DC: Island Press.

Lutzenhiser, Loren. 1993. *Social and Behavioral Aspects of Energy Use.* Annual Review of Energy and the Environment. 18:247-89.

Lutzenhiser, Loren. 1994 (forthcoming). *Sociology, Energy and Interdisciplinary Environmental Science.* The American Sociologist. (Summer).

Myers, Norman. 1993. *Ultimate Security: The Environmental Basis of Political Stability.* New York: W.W. Norton.

Pearce, David W., and Jeremy J. Warford. 1992. *World Without End: Economics, Environment, and Sustainable Development.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Rosa, Eugene A. and Riley E. Dunlap. 1994. *The Polls—Poll Trends, Nuclear Power: Three Decades of Public Opinion.* Public Opinion Quarterly. (Summer).

Shrivastava, Paul. 1994 (forthcoming). *Ecocentric Pedagogy.* Journal of Management Inquiry.

Shrivastava, Paul. 1995 (forthcoming). *Corporate Social Responsibility and Industrial Crises.* Journal of Socio Economics.

Smil, Vaclav. 1993. *China's Environmental Crisis: An Inquiry Into the Limits of National Development.* Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

The Centre of Urban Planning and Environmental Management, University of Hong Kong, began publication of the *Asian Journal of Environmental Management* in May 1993. Edited by **Dr. Bill Barron**, this twice yearly publication is focused on (1) efforts to manage problems related to pollution and nature conservation and (2) information of interest to organizations involved in environmental management or public awareness. Subscription rates outside Asia are US \$70 for institutions and US \$40 for individuals.

Publications

Tom R. Burns, Uppsala University, Sweden, and **Thomas Dietz**, George Mason University, Virginia, edit a series called *International Studies in Global Change*. Selected titles in this series include: *Unnatural Selection: Technology, Politics and Plant Evolution*; *Environmental Crisis and Cultural Evolution: A Study in Human Ecology*; and, *Municipal Entrepreneurship and Energy Policy: A Five Nation Study of Politics, Innovation and Social Change*. For further information, including other titles in this series, call (212) 243-4411/4543

Industrial & Environmental Crisis Quarterly invites papers on all aspects of ecology-society relations. The Vol. 8 No. 2, April 1994 issue is devoted to *Environmental Crises: Perspectives from Japan*. Contact **Paul Shrivastava**, Management Dept., Bucknell University, Lewisburg, PA 17837, or e-mail to <SHRIVAST@BUCKNELL.EDU> for details.

Jeffrey K. Stine and **William McGucken** are editors of a new Series on Technology and the Environment, published by the University of Akron Press. Its purpose is to publish the most informative and provocative work emerging from research and reflection on the complex relationships between technology and the environment, placing these issues in an historical context, defining the current nature of the debates, and anticipating the direction of future arguments. Volumes in the series will examine the subject from multiple perspectives based in the natural sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities. These studies are meant to stimulate, clarify, and influence the debates taking place in the classroom, on the floors of legislatures, and at international conferences. The editors invite proposals for full-length books and edited collections. Inquiries and proposals can be directed to: **Dr. William McGucken**, Department of History, Olin Hall 218, The University of Akron, Akron, OH 44325-1902; Ph: 216-972-1902. ∞

Book Reviews

Rory DeShano

Old Dominion University
Norfolk, Virginia

Caldwell, Lynton Keith. 1990.
Between Two Worlds: Science, The
Environmental Movement, and Policy
Choice. Cambridge University Press.

Caldwell, a political scientist, believes that the world is caught between a positive future and an irreversible degradation. The author suggests that the earth is between a dying modern world (1492-1992) and a post-modern world that is trying to find continuity to give its future a sense of environmental reality. The main question posed by the author is, can humankind sustain a high level of well being? Caldwell's answer is "perhaps". The "Earth's" future rests on the ability of the world's governments to deal effectively with planetary realities.

Caldwell suggests that humans have long stripped the earth of its natural resources with the underlying assumption that the planet could heal itself. He points out that technological development, driven by economic greed, has been the primary force in the destruction of our planet's fragile make-up. Humankind must fully comprehend that people do not live apart from the biosphere and all of our technological actions are countered with reactions from our planet.

Caldwell calls for a new planetary order, one that is scientifically driven and earth conscious. He implies that human beings can no longer live by the dominate western world view, whose premise is that the world has vast, and unlimited opportunities and that technology can solve any problem that occurs.

The author suggests that there is a need for a new innovative world market

mechanism that can deal effectively with the environmental challenges that will be faced in the post-modern age. His main assumption is if world institutions could develop better environmental values, human welfare and environmental issues would become synonymous. This enormous task can take place by increasing the roles of scientific research in the process of political decision making.

This was a well written and intriguing book. Caldwell did an excellent job of covering an enormous amount of information and presenting it in a very cogent manner. This book was very thought provoking and demonstrates the importance of scientific studies pertaining to environmental policy decision making. This is a very valuable book for environmentally conscious individuals and would make excellent supplemental reading for any upper-level undergraduate or graduate course.

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Adams, W.M. 1990.
Green Development: Environment
and Sustainability in the Third World.
London: Routledge.

W.M. Adams, a professor of Geography at Cambridge, examines a variety of environmental issues and agendas in Green Development: Environment and Sustainability in the Third World. He painstakingly takes the reader through a history of the environmental movement. At times, this history becomes quite confusing and resembles an alphabet soup. One can read several pages and encounter the IVBN, ICBP, ACIWLP, SPFE, UNESCO and IUCN. Each of these organizations was European-born to pursue an environmental agenda in third world nations.

Adams does a superb job of fleshing out history and agendas; politics and economics, and environmental issues and impacts. He admits his thesis, that environmental management in third world nations needs to be indigenous-focused, was developed from an Anglocentric point of view. There is very little regarding the United States in this book and this allows a more global "feel" to this volume.

Adams redefines and reframes a host of terms and concepts including the environment, sustainability, and development. He is a harsh critic of over developed nations setting environmental policy for developing nations. He takes strong exception to the World Conservation Strategy and many similar programs which advocate conserving wild species "because they are useful, and second because it is in some way right to do so" (p. 47). Adams is concerned with this attempt to combine technological and ecological environmentalism, and as the book progresses one wonders whose agenda this "morality" represents.

Adams attempts to define the struggle to fix an appropriate environmental agenda. The book is at its best when it translates the "warm and fuzzy" language of many environmentalists and deems this language ineffective. Adams replaces this language with a view of interlocking systems and concepts including politics, economics, social systems and systems of production, trade, finance and technology.

Adams is particularly interested in a theoretical framework that includes a strong economic and political emphasis. Marxism does not quite fit (after all Marxist nations had poor environmental records) and Adams opts for a feminist analysis. Patriarchal societies accumulate capital and subjugate both women and nature. "Thus in the forests of India, reductionist science, driven by capitalist profit maximization, has marginalized women and degraded their environment. The destruction of the forest and the displace-

(continued on page 9)

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(continued from page 8)

ment of women are both structurally linked to the reductionist (and capitalist) paradigm of science" (p.69).

The second half of the book offers numerous examples of the environmental impact of development, environmental degradation, and the development planning process. The central theme is that the environmental interests of the indigenous populations of third world countries are discounted and discarded. Adams calls for a major reform in these practices with indigenous conservationists, farmers, citizens, etc. placed at the center of environmental policies, practices, and concerns.

This theme of considering the central role of indigenous peoples regarding third world environmental issues could have been provided a stronger voice. Indigenous sources are sparingly quoted and never at the citizen's level. Strong voices of third world scholars, environmentalists and workers would have strengthened this work.

Green Development offers a broad overview of the history, sociology, economics, and politics of environment and sustainability in third world nations. Adams offers various viewpoints but allows the reader to make choices involving these complex issues. This book would serve as an excellent companion to a technical textbook on the environment. The book is eminently readable and, while lacking in tables and data, presents these issues in a realistic, straightforward manner. By attempting to focus environmental concerns on indigenous groups, Adams reminds us that "Green Development is not about the way the environment is managed, but about who has the power to decide how it is managed. Its focus is the capacity of the poor to exist on their own terms" (p. 202). ∞

Out of Jail...And Into the Frying Pan

Rick Scarce

Editor's Note: A letter written by Rik Scarce while he was incarcerated in the Spokane County Jail was published in the Fall 1993, No. 73, issue of E.T.&S. This article by Rik describes events since that time. He is a Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Sociology, Washington State University.

On October 19, 1993, I was finally released from jail. After 159 days, more than five months, the same judge who put me away for contempt of court agreed that additional time in jail would be fruitless. He was responding to a month-old request for release, my third since my incarceration began in May.

My release came as a relief and as a surprise. It was wonderful to return home to my wife and son, though I was so choked-up on the phone with them that I almost wasn't able to tell them that I was being released. My fellow inmates literally lined up outside my cell door to bid me goodbye. I had come to know these men, refuse of a struggling and lost society, very well. I respected them for what they were—every bit as human as I, struggling to survive in the face of a government that believed that locking them away would somehow make them change. Never in all my months in the Spokane County Jail had I seen men give an inmate the sort of farewell that they gave me. I was honored and touched.

Their respect for me was born of the fact that I was not a suspect in any crime and that I was behaving as they all hoped that they would. I was refusing to betray a promise of confidentiality made to my research subjects in the environmental movement. Following the guidelines in the ASA's Code of Ethics, I felt that I could not cooperate as the government would have me do. I simply had no choice.

I was jailed only after a federal appeals court ruled that my jailing was legal. However, it was not until mid-September that I found out what the logic of that ruling was. In essence, the Ninth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals said that NO ONE in my position could refuse to testify to a federal grand jury because NO First Amendment privilege against compelled grand jury testimony exists. I had argued that my status was no different than that of a journalist—as members of the press, broadly speaking, we seek out social knowledge and disseminate it. Scholars use different means and methods, but at root we are every bit as much members of the press as are reporters. However, the court ruled that no First Amendment Free Press privilege exists. It's the grand jury ÜBER ALLES.

This ruling was frightening and disappointing. It appears to fly in the face of the logic used in nearly all of the other 12 federal appeals courts in the nation. Moreover, the Ninth Circuit covers all of the far western states. In area and in population, it is the largest of the circuits. That means that NO scholar and no other member of the press anywhere in the west has legal grounds for refusing to cooperate with federal judicial proceedings that seek to get at their research.

In December the U.S. Supreme Court declined to hear my case. Thus, until someone can get the High Court to clarify the contradictory appeals court rulings, all of us who research society must live with the possibility that our research is unprotected. Those who create primary data should consider how to handle what have traditionally been boilerplate promises of confidentiality. Fundamentally, we must ask ourselves if we are willing to go to jail to protect the integrity of our data and of our profession. If not, the limits of confidentiality need to be made clear to our subjects.

This may sound extreme, but who is to say what will be of interest to prosecutors or to attorneys in civil suits? "Risky" original research is a redundant notion; research is inherently risky.

My sincerest thanks to all of you in the Environment and Technology Section who wrote to support me. Your kind words and your financial support—both individual and from the Section as a whole—made my terrible ordeal a bit more bearable. ∞

Workshop on Women and Global Energy Policy: First Impressions

Barbara Farhar¹

This is a summary of my first impressions from a trip to attend the Workshop on Women and Global Energy Policy in Dakar, Senegal, January 19-22, 1994. The meeting was attended by approximately 30 participants from around the world—mostly women. Countries represented included Kenya, The Netherlands, Germany, Fiji, Ecuador, Canada, Senegal, India, Thailand, Ivory Coast, Egypt, Zimbabwe, Jordan, Uganda, and the USA. The UN was represented by UNIFEM and UNICEF. The International Federation of Institutes for Advanced Study (IFIAS) of Toronto, Canada organized the meeting under the auspices of its Gender, Science, and Development (GSD) Programme. Fatou Sow, a Senegalese faculty member from the University in Dakar, hosted the meeting. The most senior political official in attendance was Venice K. Gouda, Minister of State for Scientific Research, a cabinet-level official from Egypt.

The workshop had major presentations on definition of issues; renewable energy and livelihood; health, policy, and planning; energy pricing; and women and energy policy-making. Although the workshop heard presentations on these topics, it also spent considerable time developing new directions for policy research on women and energy. These recommendations will not only form a basis for the GSD programme but will also be formally presented to appropriate United Nations committees, including the Commission on Sustainable Development.

The GSD will prepare a research agenda on women and global energy policy based on the workshop's recommendations. Member of the network can define the roles they would like to play in this international policy research agenda. Some first impressions include the following:

- Most policy making and policy research is technology driven, rather than oriented toward end uses and people. This leads to problems and failures in the introduction of technologies such as improved

cookstoves and solar cookers, as well as other technologies. Energy policy analysis should include women and should work from the bottom up.

- A key area for energy analysis is the rapidly developing micro-enterprises such as street food vendors, solar fruit drying, and other household-based and village-based work.
- Models exist for the commercialization of renewable energy in developing countries. For example, Jordan reportedly has 120,000 households with SDHW and many also with PV/battery systems for electricity. Government subsidies have been used for some of these systems. They reportedly have been well accepted in the communities where they have been used.
- Credit organizations are interested in financing renewable energy resources where this will be helpful to economic development. The Grameen Bank model of making small loans to women for economic development purposes may offer a fruitful approach to future financing of women-based energy enterprises at the household or village level. The African Development Bank (Ivory Coast) is one entity interested in such loans, and I will be continuing conversations with Motselisi Lebesa about this.
- GTZ (The German Agency for Technical Cooperation) supported the workshop, and Agnes Klingshirn of their staff participated. She is knowledgeable about specific applications of renewable energy, such as solar fruit drying, that would significantly help local economies and provide work to women in Ethiopia, for example. She also is knowledgeable about why solar cooker may not be a good solution for women in many areas. Studies have shown that solar cooking requires an approach to planning meals and to being physically present that may not fit in readily enough with lifestyle requirement such as long absences for fuelwood gathering and the husband arriving

home and wanting hot food and water already prepared.

The Department of Energy should be much more cognizant of women's issues worldwide in energy and environmental policy, particularly because of its emphasis on the Climate Change Action Plan. It should be supporting gender analysis in connection with CCAP initiatives and other energy efficiency and renewable energy programs to help ensure appropriate policy formulation and technology development programs. The Department should be in partnership with other organizations interested in gender and energy issues, such as the IFIAS GSD programme, UNIFEM, and UNICEF. In addition, USAID, the World Bank, and NGOs would be useful contacts.

The incipient National Renewable Energy Laboratory's Women's Program may wish to establish a sister program with another agency to foster the use of renewable energy in women's micro-enterprises in a developing country. This would be an excellent way for women at NREL to learn about the livelihoods of women in another country and how renewable energy and energy efficiency can be a part of those livelihoods as well as for NREL staff members to share support, concern and expertise with those women.

NREL may also wish to step forward to proactively form alliances with other organizations working on women-focused programs in international development and renewable energy. These would potentially include the IFIAS GSD Programme, UNIFEM, UNICEF, other NGOs devoted to women/gender issues, USAID, and the World Bank.

¹ Editor's Note: Barbara Farhar, who works with the National Renewable Energy Laboratory, will be discussing this topic at the Gender and the Environment roundtable at the forthcoming ASA Annual Meeting in Los Angeles, August 8, 1994. ∞

NIE vs. the "Virtual" Agency?— Reinventing Federal Environmental Research

Loren Lutzenhiser, NIE Chair

A year ago I reported that efforts to establish a National Institute for the Environment (NIE)—which would fund interdisciplinary research on questions of critical environmental importance—were beginning to gather steam. The Environment and Technology Section has supported the NIE concept since its inception, in part because the study of human elements of environmental systems would be a central goal. In parallel developments, also about a year ago, a National Academy of Sciences panel concluded that the present patchwork of federal environmental research was inadequate, and its chair called for the creation of a cabinet-level Department of the Environment. In those early days of the Clinton administration, NIE appeared to be the less visionary and weaker of the two proposals.

Times have changed. A roster of universities supporting the NIE has been compiled, although notable by their absence are many major research universities. Some corporate NIE backers have come forward, and a core of Congressional sponsors has been organized. The common wisdom in Washington now has it that the money cannot be found in this decade for a new cabinet-level department. So the NIE is the logical alternative? Well... maybe not.

The Clinton administration has recently organized an interagency Committee on Environment and Natural Resources (CENR) to coordinate federal environmental research efforts for the White House National Science and Technology Council. NIE supporters note that this means that "The White House has exerted greater authority on coordination of environmental R&D...[since] President Clinton and Vice President Gore sit on the council, thus placing the environment at a higher priority than had been the case." (CNIE 1994a) Representatives of the Committee for the NIE (CNIE) were present at the CENR's first meeting, and see its creation as a "...step in the right direction" (CNIE 1994a).

But there is deep concern about whether the CENR can function successfully as

a "virtual agency"—one that is intended to marshal federal resources to respond to emergent environment problems. In an April bulletin, CNIE observed that "This is the minimalist suggestion for change in the National Academy report published last summer. The White House sees the Academy's preferred reform, complete reorganization of existing agencies, as politically impossible. The White House also sees the NIE as possibly superfluous and too expensive to pursue. The CENR is seen by White House officials as easier to implement than a new agency because no congressional action would be required. Because the CENR will coordinate existing programs rather than change anything much, the White House expects few turf battles among agencies" (CNIE 1994a).

CNIE staffers went on in that bulletin to colorfully characterize the paradigmatic and bureaucratic limitations of federal science management. The importance of maintaining the good will of those managers seems to have been quickly brought home to CNIE, however, since another bulletin followed soon regretting any implied criticism of federal science research managers and apologizing "...to the dedicated federal science community..." (CNIE 1994b) This statement also stressed that "...the Administration admits that the current system is inadequate and the CENR represents its initial, and praiseworthy, attempt to address these inadequacies" (CNIE 1994b).

NIE advocates maintain, however, that federal action must ultimately go far beyond the "virtual agency" approach because: "...there are systemic aspects that inhibit the ability of federal R&D as a whole from adequately addressing the environmental challenges of our time. These include: (1) the understandable emphasis on research to support near-term regulatory or management mandates of particular agencies, and the consequent relative neglect of longer term environmental issues; (2) the relative neglect of socio-economic, biological, ecological, and engineering research, and multidisciplinary, policy-relevant research in general; (3) the lack of in-

volvement of stakeholders in federal programs; (4) the focus on intramural rather than extramural research, thereby failing to effectively utilize the vast scientific resources outside the agencies; (5) the inadequacies in environmental training, information and communication; (6) the absence of systematic assessments of the state of knowledge; (7) the probability that any White House-based solution (in contrast to a semi-independent NIE) would not be immune from changes in Administration and political fashion; and (8) the general problem of the credibility of federal research." (CNIE 1994b) Although the parties seem to be getting along with one another, CNIE continues to offer a telling critique of business as usual.

What's the place of sociology in all of this? We have no direct representation within CNIE. And, under the present environmental science division of labor, research on social factors has achieved a sort of "token" status (e.g., in EPA's socioeconomics research program or NSF's Human Dimensions of Global Change). But few sociologists have taken advantage of those opportunities—and I suspect fewer still are actively involved in the sorts of interdisciplinary collaborations envisioned for the NIE. While I would be surprised if the Section ever fails to support the kinds of initiatives that CNIE represents, there is reason to wonder just what sort of response the discipline could mount if such a program were ever to become a reality.

References:

- CNIE. 1994a. *NIE Update #24*. (April 22). Chicago: Committee for the National Institute of the Environment.
- CNIE. 1994b. *Clarification*. (April 29). Chicago: Committee for the National Institute of the Environment. ∞

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