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Robert Gottlieb. FORCING THE SPRING : THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE AMERICAN ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT. Washington D.C.: Island Press, 1993. 413 pp. US\$30.00 cloth ISBN: 1-55963-123-6. Recycled, acid-free paper.

If asked to characterize Robert Gottlieb's views on the American environmental movement, diversity and change would be key words. His book is a thorough, but broad analysis of the development of environmentalism over the past century. Included in the analysis are responses to all types of threats to the environment, whether they be to the wilderness, to the world's natural resources, or to our health.

In the first section of the book, which is dedicated to the roots of the environmental movement, Gottlieb traces not only the history of conservationism, but also the urban industrial, occupational, and environmental health movement which emerged early this century. He points out that Robert Marshall, founder of the Wilderness Society, was concerned with both society and the environment. After his death, however, the Society focused on conservationist concerns only. Gottlieb's subsequent description of the urban movement indicates the scope of environmentalism and the persistence of pollution and waste problems over the years.

By giving his subject a historical treatment, Gottlieb underscores both continuity and change within the environmental movement. Although both elements played a role in the surge of political activism and environmental concern of the 1960s, change was more important than continuity. He places 1970's Earth Day in this context, unlike the media which was, as Gottlieb describes it, "suddenly discovering the issue for the first time" and presented environmentalism as "a movement without a history, with an amorphous social base, and with a clean slate on how best to proceed" (113).

The second section of FORCING THE SPRING contains an interesting study of the environmental movement between 1970 and 1990, when mainstream organizations were pitted against alternative groups. Professionalization and institutionalization followed the adoption of major environmental laws in the 1970s and reflected the development of an environmental policy system. At the same time, however, competition for funds and recognition between the large, mainly Washington-based, environmental organizations spiraled. This created the necessity for more cooperation, particularly in view of the Reaganite attack on environmental regulations. As Gottlieb puts it, "the groups needed to see themselves and their roles in new ways: as defenders of a system and the heads of multimillion-dollar operations who by coordinating their common interests and goals could forge a mainstream identity" (120). With Robert Allen of the Kendall Foundation as the driving force, the heads of the major organizations decided to form the Group of Ten in 1981.

Although it was dissolved one decade later, the Group of Ten has become a symbol of mainstream environmentalism failing to establish a link with grassroots groups. Focusing on empowerment, justice, equity, and a change in the existing system, alternative grassroots organizations were highly critical of the

Group's lobbying and its reliance on expertise. The gap only widened when a number of mainstream organizations started to advocate market-oriented solutions to the environmental problem and established contacts with industry. Interestingly enough, some of these organizations reacted very radically against the Multilateral Development Banks during this same period, a development which Gottlieb ignores. Although it might seem contradictory, the campaign against the World Bank was well received by the political forces opposing multilateral organizations.

Gottlieb concludes *FORCING THE SPRING* with a positive evaluation of the possibilities offered by the post-Cold War political situation. An environmental movement defined in the broad sense can help bring about a process of restructuring, a process of change. Although clearly inspired by the election of Bill Clinton just prior to publication, Gottlieb has convincingly shown the magnitude and resilience of the environmental movement.

I highly recommend this work to both academics and practitioners.