

Reviews

for the ruling elites, the banana growers, who promote the ethnic divisions, but it is not clear that they benefit. The resulting labor shortages, political instability, and sabotage in an industry that is already surviving only with protected prices from the European Union, leads me to doubt that ethnic divisiveness is to their benefit.

In addition, although ruling elites, be they capitalists, colonialists, or an indigenous ruling class, will use what divisive means are at their disposal to weaken the bargaining power of their employees, they would not be able to use these devices if the ethnic or racial division was not already there and was not already of some importance to those who belong to the ethnic groups. It would be interesting to know some of the benefits of ethnic division to the members of the group. Furthermore, comparative information on non-banana work areas could indicate if these differences persist and why even in industries that do not promote them.

A strength of Moberg's analysis is the effect of immigration on Belizean national culture. Recent changes in demographics due to immigration have shifted the balance between Afro-American groups (Creole and Garifuna) and Spanish-speaking Belizeans so that currently, the latter outnumber the former. This perceived threat to the hegemony of the Afro-Americans who have dominated the national discourse on identity, is clearly part of the identity politics of the banana belt. The supervisory role of the Afro-American Belizeans is another source of repression for the immigrant workers, while at the same time displacing Afro-American Belizeans as ordinary workers in favor of the more poorly paid immigrants.

Overall, this book is well documented, cogently written and highly informative. It is the most thorough study of the banana belt in Belize to date and makes a valuable contribution to the literature on Belize and on the banana industry in general. There is a dearth of solid information on Belize, and an even more acute shortage of ethnographic work. This lack of accumulated scholarship hampers scholars in that they have to deal with the most basic information gathering as their first task. *Myths of Ethnicity and Nation* is an important contribution to scholarship on Belize. More ethnography like it will enhance the ability of scholars of Belize to make comparative analyzes and comprehend the complex world of this very small country.

Growth Management for a Sustainable Future: Ecological Sustainability as the New Growth Management Focus for the 21st Century, by Gabor Zovanyi, Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1998. xv, 221 pp.

Reviewed by Holly Stallworth, Economist, Environmental Protection Agency, Office of Sustainable Ecosystems and Communities, Washington, DC

The opinions represented here are strictly those of the author and do not in any way reflect official opinion or policy of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency.

As a follower of the "limits to growth" debate, a believer in the laws of thermodynamics, and reader of Herman Daly and other critics of the growth paradigm, over the past few years I have silently shaken my head at the dissolution of the growth/no-growth debate in the 70s in favor of

Reviews

“smart growth” discussions of the 90s. Despite the growing evidence that the scale of the human enterprise has exceeded the planet’s carrying capacity, the debate about whether the earth’s house is already full (borrowing here from the 1994 work by Lester Brown and Hal Kane, *Full House: Reassessing the Earth’s Population Carrying Capacity*, Worldwatch Institute) seems to have waned in favor of discussions about how to manage growth: its rate, location and quality. Today’s debate seems to be overwhelmingly dominated by the view that growth can and must be accommodated. While the growth management movement has accepted the need to manage growth, the forces of population and economic growth are generally treated as “inevitable.” Hence the debate has become “compact versus sprawl.”

Having viewed growth as “inevitable,” planners are devoted to the best planning and management strategies that avoid the ill effects of growth: traffic congestion, lost open space, over-crowded schools, lost agricultural land, degraded water quality and other resources. While this represents a triumph over the previous era’s posture of promoting any kind of growth, much of the information about global limits to growth has been side-stepped. We’re offered more of a “partial equilibrium analysis” - partial because it only considers local externalities of growth. We don’t hear much about those global forces that augur limits: the exponential math of population growth, diminished freshwater supplies, loss of fertile soil, the declining fecundity of our fisheries & forests, the exceedance of our global carbon dioxide budget, and certainly none of the “biological meltdown” statistics describing species and habitat loss. Wondering, as I have - whether the limits debate? - Gabor Zovanyi takes apart the growth management movement in the U.S. and looks at the historical pro-growth bias of the planning profession, observing “it is a sad reality that most members of the profession appear unable to consider planning as anything other than the practice of facilitating growth” (p. 87). Zovanyi would like to invert much of the theory and models taught in U.S. planning schools, calling for planners to take the lead in advocating a no-growth society, using the very same tools the profession had previously used to facilitate growth.

Zovanyi is an admitted no-growth advocate, undeterred by a policy climate in which this stance can be the kiss of death. Like many of us, he has reached a psychological conclusion: that our species must surely be in collective denial (p. 29), and he tries passionately (as any good therapist might) to bring his clients/readers out of their happy denial. Being of the planning profession, he aims particularly hard at planners, where he despairs that even the most ardent pedestrian-oriented neo-traditional planner will aver to the need to accommodate growth, provided it is properly planned and designed.

Zovanyi helpfully provides neat histories that capture current attitudes and ideas about growth. Want a quick run-down on the difference between a demand-based and supply-based approach to comprehensive land use planning? Turn to p. 75. Want to hear about three types of environmental planning? Turn to p. 137-144. Want a great summary of the various statewide growth management laws? Turn to p. 55 and p. 143. Want a quick history of the use of growth moratoria by local governments in the U.S.? Turn to p. 52. Want a synopsis of court rulings on various growth management techniques? Turn to p. 109.

In all of it, Zovanyi sees a pro-growth bias everywhere he looks, surpassing even my own suspicions about the fashionable label “sustainable.” Not surprisingly, for true “sustainability,” Zovanyi favors Herman Daly’s operational principles of sustainability, the bioregionalist philosophy and Aldo Leopold’s land ethic. In his final chapter, he lists various “operational measures” of ecological sustainability:

- no further loss of ecosystems or impairment of their continued productivity and functioning due to anthropogenic causes; (p. 159)
- an ongoing reduction in the scale of the human enterprise to a level capable of being supported indefinitely without eroding biodiversity or the integrity of ecosystems. (p. 159)

Since everything depends upon the earth, Zovanyi clearly sees the reality of ecological sustainability: that without it, nothing else can be sustained either. He is fully apprised of the life support services of ecosystems, frequently referring to atmospheric gases, hydrologic cycles,

Reviews

nutrient recycling, pest control and pollution services and the like. For these insights, he is to be applauded, but Zovanyi seems altogether too satisfied with finding the right linguistic formula for sustainability, leaving us wondering about the vast array of policies - international agreements, macroeconomic controls, reproduction and family size policies, agriculture, energy, industry, forestry, land use, and so forth - that might contribute to the ecological vision. He spends much of his last chapter repeating his disappointment in the planning profession, but he might have served us better with policy-oriented advocacy. With this omission, Zovanyi proves himself a better historian than futurist.

Critical Masses: Opposition to Nuclear Power in California, 1958-1978, by Thomas Raymond Wellock. The University of Wisconsin Press, 1998. xi, 333 pp.

Reviewed by Paula Garb, Department of Environmental Analysis and Design, University of California, Irvine.

Critical Masses is the first detailed historical study of the US anti-nuclear movement. It is also the first state-level research on the subject with a focus on California and its coastal battlefields marked by abandoned nuclear sites. The book is rich with vivid verbal pictures and the passionate voices of participants on all sides of the controversy around the peaceful atom. It is based on interviews, documents from state and federal archives, and activist papers. Wellock brings to this project the expertise of a former engineer for civilian and navy nuclear reactors, a thorough archivist, and a sensitive interviewer. Clearly he won the trust of his interlocutors, the key actors in this twenty-year drama, from whom he elicited intimate and insightful accounts. Wellock is also adept at pointing out the regional differences in culture and politics in these diverse California communities, which is so important in explaining the methods and rhetoric of protest. These are the qualities that make this book so persuasive and compelling to read.

The central argument is that the anti-nuclear movement played an important role in the demise of nuclear power. Wellock disagrees with scholars, the press and even activists who typically claim that the nuclear power industry would have collapsed even if there had not been an anti-nuclear movement. Often these studies focus on the economic and institutional factors, and view the anti-nuclear movement as secondary. Some authors maintain that the protest movements at nuclear facilities effectively captured public attention, but were too weak to be formidable adversaries against the centralized and powerful nuclear establishment. Wellock presents a strong case against this approach. He takes us into the halls of the US regulatory system, which he maintains was not as strong as its critics thought, and shows how activists in league with sympathetic regulators and politicians outflanked the federal government's authority over nuclear power construction.

Wellock's study looks at movements at the local level where he claims the role of decentralization is most apparent. It focuses on the influence and roots of these movements. His in-depth accounts of local activism illustrate how post-World War II education and affluence promoted among the public the values of environmental consciousness that opposed the nuclear