

dent of landscape architecture). Similarly, Dianne Harris's chapter on architecture and Curtis Miner's on kitchen design explore how Levittown, Pennsylvania, houses changed over the handful of years they were built during the early and mid-1950s, becoming more conservative and less innovative as consumer tastes and a changing real estate market influenced the Levitts' building plans.

Handsomely produced with an extensive number of photographs, floor plans, cartoons, and advertisements, *Second Suburb* provides a solid, smart contribution to our understanding of postwar suburbs by viewing a single suburban community through multiple historical lenses.

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Citizen Environmentalists. By JAMES LONGHURST. (Medford, MA: Tufts University Press, 2010. 272 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.)

In *Citizen Environmentalists*, James Longhurst demonstrates that historical explanations of the modern environmental movement must take local context and political power into account. The book focuses on the proliferation of small, grassroots environmental advocacy groups in the United States during the late 1960s and early 1970s. It features a case study of one such organization in Pittsburgh: GASP (Group Against Smog and Pollution). By stressing local rather than national events, and by integrating a political-science perspective with urban social history, Longhurst provides new insights into the sources and development of environmental activism.

Founded in 1969, GASP was rooted in the particular social geography of middle-class neighborhoods in Pittsburgh's East End, which were proximate to the heavily polluting steel industry of the Monongahela River Valley. Its members believed that transforming the political process of regulating air pollution at the municipal level was necessary to achieve cleaner air in their communities. Allegheny County, which had jurisdiction over air quality in the Pittsburgh area, had long implemented its air-pollution controls through gradual, consensus-seeking negotiations with major polluters. This approach resulted in numerous exemptions and lax enforcement. GASP promoted a contrasting vision of a more transparent, adversarial, and responsive regulatory system.

Longhurst adeptly uses local archival records to chart how GASP acquired and wielded political power. He highlights innovations in federal and Pennsylvania law that mandated public hearings on proposed environmental regulations and that authorized courts to admit "citizen lawsuits" against perpetrators of environmental damage. GASP leveraged these institutional changes to gain a voice in policy making. Linking the group's activities to the recent historiography of participatory democracy, Longhurst argues that GASP exemplified

a mid-twentieth-century “rights revolution” that redefined citizenship in terms of active engagement in governance.

GASP had less formal means of building influence as well. Inspired by the civil rights movement of the 1960s, it was also indebted to traditions of middle-class social reform that dated from the Progressive Era of the early twentieth century. Its members networked with preexisting voluntary associations in Pittsburgh, such as the League of Women Voters, neighborhood garden clubs, and religious congregations. Women predominated in the leadership of these organizations and were prominent in GASP itself. Indeed, Longhurst finds that “much of GASP’s fund-raising, organizing, and educational activities took place in what might be termed women’s social space” (85) and that the group framed its opposition to air pollution in maternalist terms of care for children and families. That rhetoric helped GASP legitimate its claim to represent a broad public in environmental matters.

During its first decade, GASP compiled a mixed record. Its activism contributed to stronger air-quality standards, reductions in air pollution, and additional opportunities for public participation. However, it fared less well when it confronted Pittsburgh’s largest steelmakers, whose refusal to bring several of their plants into compliance with county law created an impasse that ultimately led GASP to seek assistance from the federal government. *Citizen Environmentalists* thus ends on a tempered note in evaluating local citizen involvement in environmental policy, observing that this strategy was fruitful but had limited ability to offset concentrated economic power.

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