

**Place, Class, and Culture:
A Case Study of Pollution Debates in Lewiston, Maine, 1953-1955**

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Abstract

In response to the polluted condition of the Androscoggin River, an active debate emerged in the Lewiston-Auburn media between a local citizens' group, called the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control (CCPC), and Maine industry leaders, organized as the Associated Industries of Maine (AIM), throughout the 1950s. This thesis examines how both the conservation movement and the pro-industry movement utilized identity-framing strategies in an attempt to expand their collective identity among the Lewiston public. This thesis engages statements made by both organizations in a qualitative content analysis in which data are coded to reveal each argument's essence and consequently uncover each group's central themes in the debate. Data have been collected from archives, legislative records, published pamphlets, interviews, and newspapers. Results of themes illustrate the applicability of each organization's collective-action frames to the Lewiston-Auburn community, which including a large working-class population comprised of French Canadian immigrants and their descendants. In particular, this study explores the contrast between the social classes of Lewiston's general population to the leaders of the two movements and how this difference affects framing-strategies. In addition, the study will consider how Lewiston's location on the Androscoggin River leads to a conflict of perceptions as both a "mill town" and a place worthy of environmental protection. By exploring collective identity framing strategies through these two lenses—place-based identity and class-based identity—and telling an environmental history with an emphasis on social history's classic themes of class and ethnicity, this thesis seeks to contribute to bridging the gap that tends to exist between social and environmental history.

Chapter 1: Introduction

“To smell, or not to smell- that is the question when you discuss the Androscoggin river in the Twin Cities...And the answer to that question, as 1942 starts along, seems to be- to smell, for a long time to come” (Lemieux, 1942). This 1942 *Lewiston Evening Journal* article reveals an intriguing matter, that is, that the Androscoggin River used to smell horribly. As you walk along the banks of the Androscoggin in Lewiston today, you would never know that towers of foam used to accumulate at the bottom of the Lewiston falls, or that the fumes from the river would discolor the paint on buildings and peel paint off cars (Judd, 1990, p. 51). It was this intriguing matter that led me to research the polluted condition of the Androscoggin River and Lewiston’s role in this pollution prior to the Clean Water Act.

The Clean Water Act was passed in 1972, and therefore, I was interested in the Lewiston-Auburn area and the Androscoggin River in the decades prior to the passage of this legislation, particularly the 1950s and 1960s. I began reading old *Lewiston Daily Sun* articles, and by searching for key phrases such as “pollution,” “water quality,” and “the Androscoggin River,” I came across a lively publicized debate between a local citizens group established in Auburn, called the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control (CCPC), and industry leaders, organized as the Associated Industries of Maine (AIM). The condition of the river led local citizens to propose pollution regulations to clean their waters, and consequently, industry representatives, specifically of the mills, had to develop a defense against proposed pollution regulations, which they felt could potentially make them less competitive than mills in other regions with no regulations.

Both groups appeared consistently in Lewiston's paper throughout the 1950s, and both desired public support for their cause.

This debate exposed Lewiston's unique relationship with the Androscoggin River. The city abused the Androscoggin's waters, through industry pollution, in order to become a successful mill town, but its citizens also desired a clean river, which would require regulation of the mills and potentially drive business out of Lewiston. At the time, it appeared that Lewiston couldn't simultaneously thrive as a mill town and also enjoy an unpolluted environment. With both the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control and the Associated Industries of Maine consistently appearing in the local papers and also making statements through interviews and published pamphlets, I focused my research on these two groups in order to explore both sides of the pollution debate.

Further research into these two groups revealed a significant dilemma: both organizations were under the leadership of middle-class, white citizens. Additionally, every other member of these two groups who was mentioned in the newspapers appeared to be of the middle-class. Because both groups actively desired to gain the support of Lewiston's population, the leadership of each group left me extremely interested in how these groups attempted to attract Lewiston's mill workers, who tended to be working-class immigrants, to identify with their cause. This raises questions about social class, and about how environment interacts with class and identity to shape collective action.

Though these organizations grew to be state-wide, I wanted to focus this case-study on a particular place, Lewiston-Auburn, and I did so by focusing my research on

materials that would have been distributed to the Lewiston-Auburn community, particularly Lewiston's two major English newspapers, *The Lewiston Daily Sun* and the *Lewiston Sun Journal*. I developed an interest in this particular place, Lewiston-Auburn, and I became aware of class divisions between the organizations' leaders and the general population of Lewiston-Auburn, and with this interest, I desired to explore how both organizations used place and class to frame their arguments and consequently, their identity.

This thesis will explore the identity-framing strategies of the CCPC and the AIM, looking specifically through the lenses of place and class, to understand how the framing-strategies of the movements impacted the pollution debates of the 1950s. Existing scholarship has noted that the CCPC, established in Auburn, was one of the first citizens grassroots movements in Maine and it fought against the excessive water pollution with both economic and quality of life arguments, but no scholarship has yet analyzed the identity-framing strategies of the organization in contrast to the framing strategies of industrial interests, specifically the AIM, or its applicability to Lewiston-Auburn, a textile mill town. Analyzing the identity framing-strategies of the two social movements will allow us to see the connection between place, class, and organizing, and show how specific discourse provided the means for collective action regarding the pollution debate. The following chapters will explore these interests.

1.1 Chapter Overviews

In chapter two, I will develop the theoretical framework of this study. The main theoretical bodies of literature that I will concentrate on include environmental history,

identity-framing strategies, place-based identity, and class-based identity. First, by exploring the ways in which the discipline of environmental history can be strengthened, I will show how this thesis contributes to filling voids in the discipline. Then, through an exploration of the collective identity framing strategies of the two movements, I will better understand how each movement developed and maintained its identity, and also how the strategies were applicable to Lewiston. Both social class and place can have a strong effect on a collective identity, and analyzing collective identity through both of these lenses will provide us with a deeper knowledge as to how the city of Lewiston, which was built upon the Androscoggin River and had a large working-class population, specifically impacted the collective identities of the two organizations.

Chapter three will detail the social history of the Lewiston-Auburn area and also discuss the beginnings of the environmental grassroots movement that emerged to resist pollution in Maine. Beginning with the development of the mills on the Androscoggin, and later focusing on the processes of both the paper mills and the textile mills, this chapter will help us to understand how the Androscoggin River developed into its polluted condition by the 1940s. In addition, this chapter will provide the basis upon which we can explore “place,” which in this case study, is the twin cities of Lewiston and Auburn, and “class,” which requires developing an understanding of who resided in Lewiston-Auburn at the time of these pollution debates.

Chapter four will serve as the case-study analysis of this thesis. This chapter will provide the evidence, in the form of quotations, of the identity framing arguments of each organization. The quotes will be organized into themes so we can better understand what issues each organization focused on and how each defined its own

identity. Chapter five will then apply the theory of “collective identity framing” to the arguments of both the CCPC and the AIM and analyze the ways in which each group utilized place and class in its identity creating strategies.

1.2 Methodology

This thesis seeks to explore how both the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control and the Associated Industries of Maine utilized identity-framing strategies to expand their movement’s collective identity among the Lewiston public. Exploring this research question involved a two-part methodological approach. The first method was engaging statements made by each group (through pamphlets, newspaper articles, and interviews) in a qualitative content analysis. Statements made by both the CCPC and the AIM were coded to reveal the essence of each group’s argument and thus expose each group’s central themes in the debate. Specifically, I focused on how the uncovered themes related to place-based identity and class-based identity. The second method was participating in community-engaged research. I worked closely with Diane Williams of Museum L/A, my community partner, in order to develop a deeper understanding of the culture of the Franco-American community in Lewiston from the perspective of a member of that community. Developing a deeper understanding of Lewiston’s culture allowed me to understand how the framing strategies of each organization fit into the context of Lewiston, Maine.

1.2.1 Primary Sources and Analysis

A significant amount of research for this thesis was done through primary source documents. Data have been collected from archives, legislative records, published pamphlets, interviews, and newspapers.

I predominately utilized Google News Archives to explore digitized copies of Lewiston's historical newspapers, specifically the *Lewiston Daily Sun* and the *Lewiston Evening Journal*, from the 1940s to the 1960s. Though the pollution debate grew to be a statewide debate, I chose to focus specifically on Lewiston newspapers because I am interested in how these arguments were conveyed to the Lewiston community in particular, not to the entire population of Maine.

In addition, I utilized a number of collections housed in Muskie Archives at Bates College to obtain a general understanding of the condition of the river and also of the Lewiston population. The first collection I explored was the Walter A. Lawrance papers, 1938-1983. This collection contains information about Bates College Chemistry Professor Walter Albert Lawrance, who first served as a consultant for the paper companies and was later appointed as Rivermaster of the Androscoggin River by the Maine Supreme Court. I used Lawrance's annual reports to understand the condition of the Androscoggin River throughout the 1950s. Another significant archival collection was the Mill Worker oral history collection, 2005-2006. This collection, compiled by Museum L/A, contains the transcripts of 45 interviews conducted with textile mill workers from Lewiston-Auburn. Furthermore, by making use of other archives in the area, such as the Colby College Archives, I was able to find specifically relevant primary

sources, such as the transcripts of a television interview with William J. Schulze, president of the Associated Industries of Maine.

The Law and Legislative Library in Augusta, Maine was instrumental in providing political information about the Maine legislative sessions of the 1950s. From this State library, I obtained the Registers of All Bills and Resolves from 1953 and 1955, as well as copies of all bills regarding pollution control proposed during these legislative sessions. In addition, the library housed three folders in their vertical files, "Water Pollution," "Water Pollution- New England," and "Water Pollution- Maine," which held valuable primary sources from the 1950s. The "Water Pollution- Maine" folder held three pamphlets distributed by the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control in 1953, and the "Water Pollution- New England" folder held copies of newsletters distributed by the New England Interstate Water Pollution Control Commission, which detail legislation regarding pollution that was proposed and passed in each New England state.

To analyze the primary source material, I performed a content analysis on selected sources and coded the statements into themes using the software NVivo.¹ I utilized a number of qualitative data coding manuals in order to apply the most efficient methods for coding data.² I decided to focus my analysis on materials gathered from two years in particular, 1953 and 1955. These two years are significant because during the Maine Legislative sessions of 1953 and 1955, a number of water pollution bills were presented to the Maine Legislature. The two organizations that I am interested in, the

¹ NVivo is a qualitative data analysis computer software package produced by QSR International.

² Sources include: Taylor-Powell, E. & Renner, M. (2003); Saldana, J. (2009); Basit, T. N. (2003); and Bogdan, R. C. & Biklen, S. K. (1982).

CCPC and the AIM, were particularly active and outspoken during these two years as they voiced their positions on the proposed bills. In my analysis, I utilize Lewiston newspaper articles from these two years, in addition to pamphlets distributed by the CCPC in 1953 and television interviews with members of the AIM in 1955. I also utilize the proposed bills of the 1953 and 1955 Legislative Sessions themselves because it is significant to understand the language of the bills that each organization supported and opposed.

1.2.2 Community-Engaged Research

This thesis was developed as a Community-Engaged Research (CER) project through partnership with Diane Williams of Museum L/A. As my topic is specifically focused on the Lewiston-Auburn area and the communities that reside here, it became evident that valuable research could be conducted by diving into the community, listening to personal stories of a thriving mill town past, and collaborating with numerous community organizations. My understanding of the benefits and values of community-engaged research has been greatly expanded through my work as a Community-Engaged Research Fellow with the Harward Center at Bates College. As a Fellow, I participated in a weekly seminar that addresses the theory and practice of CER with focus on the text, *Community Based Research and Higher Education* by Kerry Strand, et al.

Community-based research is defined as “a partnership of students, faculty, and community members who collaboratively engage in research with the purpose of solving a pressing community problem or effecting social change” (Strand, 2003, p.3). Because CER is a partnership, Community-Engaged Research differs from traditional

academic research in a number of ways, including the goal of the research, the research question, and the roles of the researcher and community. In traditional academic research, the goal of the research is to advance knowledge within the discipline, while the goal of Community-Engaged Research is to contribute to the betterment of the community, affect social change, or contribute information to a community-identified problem (Strand, 2003, p. 9).

The mission of Museum L/A is to “strengthen community and connections between generations by documenting and celebrating the economic, social, and technological legacy of L-A and its people.” My thesis seeks to contribute to the mission of Museum L/A by exploring the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control, and organization established in Auburn, Maine, and by documenting the actions and arguments of that organization. This thesis seeks to empower the Lewiston community by including their particular story in the larger historical accounts of Maine pollution. In more tangible terms, I will provide Museum L/A with a copy of my thesis as well as a shorter executive report which focuses on aspects of this thesis that are most relevant to Museum L/A.

In traditional academic research, the source of the research question is existing theoretical or empirical work in a discipline, while the source of the research question in CER is a community need for information (Strand, 2003, p. 9). Initially, my research developed as traditional academic research, in which I personally decided on a case study and researched existing theoretical arguments to apply to this case study. I contacted Museum L/A as a resource to obtain more information about Lewiston’s mill workers, as I was aware that the museum had compiled the Mill worker oral history

project, 2005-2006, but conversations with Diane Williams led me to pursue this relationship as a partnership for my thesis project. Though I had a general idea about what my research question would be, Diane Williams helped me to further shape this question into something that may be useful for Museum L/A and she directed me toward different sources of information that would allow me to further pursue this question. This partnership shapes the role of both the community and myself, as the researcher, as collaborators, partners, and learners, while traditional academic research treats the researcher as an outside expert and the community as the object to be studied.

Community-Engaged Research is also distinct from traditional academic research in that it validates multiple sources of knowledge. CER “values equally the knowledge that each party brings to that process—both the experiential (or local) knowledge of community people and the specialized knowledge and skills of university faculty and students.” This means that people’s daily lives, their stories, and their struggles “are no longer at the margins of research” but rather, they become focal points (Strand, 2003, p. 11). CER practices validate my decision to treat non-authoritative voices, such as stories from members of the community, as valid and significant research sources for this thesis project.

1.2.3 Shifts in the Research Process

At the onset of this project, my research question was focused on the attitudes and actions of Lewiston’s mill workers, who tended to be working-class immigrants or descendants of immigrants, regarding water pollution. This question was shaped by my initial newspaper research into the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control and

the Associated Industries of Maine. I found that both organizations were under the leadership of middle-class citizens, and because both groups actively desired to gain the support of Lewiston's population, the leadership of each group left me extremely interested in the attitudes and actions of Lewiston's mill workers, who tended to be working-class immigrants, regarding pollution. French Canadian and Irish immigrant mill workers settled in the communities located closest to the river, which means that these communities were most affected by the odor and pollution of the river, yet their livelihood was dependent on their work at the mills. This seemingly torn condition of the mill worker communities led me to develop this first research question, which was to address the position that the mill workers took regarding the pollution of the river, determine if there was a division among the mill workers, and define what accounts for that division.

A number of limitations forced me to modify my research question. First, I had intended to conduct interviews with Lewiston's retired mill workers who were employed by the textile mills in the 1950s, but limitations in the sample size (which would have been less than ten) and questionable reliability of the participants' memory due to advanced age forced me to reconsider my approach. Second, I thought that I would be able to obtain additional information about attitudes toward pollution through research in the Mill Worker oral history collection, 2005-2006, but the interview questions were more geared toward conditions within the mills and did not mention the Androscoggin River much, if at all.

With focus on the data I was able to obtain, which included newspaper articles, primary source pamphlets, and interview transcripts, I altered my research question so

that it would be effectively explored through the sources available to me. Rather than focus on how specific community members responded to the pollution arguments, I focused on the strategies that the organizations employed, through their rhetoric, to frame their movements' collective identity for the Lewiston public.

1.3 Limitations to the Study

Though my research question has been modified to account for these limitations, there are still potential limitations that exist within this modified study, mainly in regards to the sources available. Due to the short time frame of this debate and the short existence of the CCPC, there is very limited information available on the group. Therefore, the study relies heavily on statements made in newspaper articles. This may limit the study because I did not find every single article published in the 1950s which mentioned the CCPC or the AIM, yet the reoccurring themes uncovered in the articles that I was able to find assure us that the themes in the newspaper articles are significant to the organizations.

In regards to primary sources, the study is limited by the lack of information available about the CCPC's pamphlets and the sample size of primary source information. The CCPC documents were stored in the vertical files of the Law and Legislative Library in Augusta, Maine, but there was no information available about the exact publication date of each pamphlet (though we do know that they were delivered to the Law and Legislative Library in 1953) or the distribution of said pamphlets. Therefore, we do not know exactly which community members received these pamphlets or how they obtained the information, but since the Citizens for

Conservation and Pollution Control was established in Auburn, we are assuming that some pamphlets would have been distributed in the Lewiston-Auburn area.

Additionally, the small sample size of primary source documents from both groups (three pamphlets published by the CCPC and two interview transcripts from the AIM) limit the amount of first-hand accounts of each organization's stance, yet since similar themes appear in newspaper articles as in the pamphlets and interviews, we can be assured that this small sample set is capturing the essence of each organizations' argument.

Lastly, it could be argued that particular methods of Community-Engaged Research, such as which non-authoritative voices I chose to utilize in my discussion, could limit this study. There is no way to voice every community member's story through this thesis, so I have decided to utilize the reoccurring themes that I have uncovered in print, as well as through conversations with the community, in my discussion. Though not all community members will share the same vision of the community that they are a part of, and choosing specific stories may seem limiting, the fact that community members continued to offer similar information that I did not specifically ask for caused me to believe that these feelings and this information was important to the community.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Underpinnings and the Literature Review

This thesis examines the collective identity framing strategies the Associated Industries of Maine and the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control, two organizations that actively debated over legislation regarding the pollution of the Androscoggin River throughout the 1950s. As this case study deals with the human relationship to the environment, this study is essentially an environmental history that focuses on movements and organizations. As such, this theoretical framework will first explore how scholars have approached the discipline of environmental history, recognize what is lacking in the field, and detail how this study contributes to filling a void in the discipline. The next section of the chapter will center on identity “framing” strategies, with focus on how those strategies affect the collective identity of a social movement. Specifically, it will explore collective identity through two lenses—place and social class—and relate “frames” to those lenses.

2.1 Environmental History and Its Weaknesses

The concept of environmental history first emerged in the 1970s as global conversations about the state of the environment commenced and environmental movements gained momentum. Donald Worster (1988) explained that the discipline of environmental history surfaced in a “time of worldwide cultural reassessment and reform,” and even as popular interest in the environment declined, scholarly interest in the field increased as environmental issues presented themselves to be more and more complicated (p. 290). On a broad level, Worster defined the goal of environmental history as “one of deepening our understanding of how humans have been affected by

their natural environment through time and, conversely, how they have affected that environment and to what results” (p. 290-291). Within the discipline, Worster identified three levels of issues that environmental history seeks to address. The first level is to understand nature itself, both the organic and inorganic, and how humans have played a role in nature’s food chains. The second level is to address the socioeconomic sphere’s interaction with the environment, which includes a discussion of work and natural resources. The third level is to regard the mental and intellectual, which analyzes the perceptions and myths of how people think about their environment (Worster, 1988, p. 293).

Worster (1988) acknowledged that the discipline of environmental history may appear “so wide, so complex” and “so demanding” that it would be impossible to study, except on an extremely small scale. The field presents so many possible lines of investigation that “it may seem that environmental history has no coherence, that it includes virtually all that has been and is to be” (p. 306). Though environmental history presents many broad challenges, historians still find specific ways to meet some of these challenges and strengthen the discipline. In 1990, William Cronon (1990) wrote,

“If I were to point to the greatest weakness of environmental history as it has developed thus far, I would criticize its failure to probe below the level of the group to explore the implications of social divisions for environmental change...Our work on the environmental experiences of many other groups of people remains sadly undeveloped: in the face of social history’s classic categories of gender, race, class, and ethnicity, environmental history stands much more silent than it should (p. 1129).

Environmental history has sought to explore the broad spectrum of human relationships to nature, but as Cronon noted, and as other historians have echoed, environmental history would benefit from evolving to integrate an analysis of social

issues. Ann Taylor (1996) agreed with Cronon's critique and suggested that this integration of the two fields was very possible, as "social and environmental history are fundamentally compatible and mutually reinforcing" (p. 8). A decade later, social historian Stephen Mosley (2006) continued the conversation by exploring the opportunities to integrate environmental and social history (p. 915). Mosley (2006) noted the parallels between the two fields and stated, "On close inspection, environmental issues are often shot through with thorny questions relating to racial inequality, gender relations, class tensions, and ethnic differences," topics that are widely covered in social histories (p. 920).

The calls for an integration of social and environmental history have not gone completely unanswered. Historians who have approached environmental history with an emphasis on social issues, such as social class, race, and ethnicity, contribute to filling this void in environmental history and provide an effective lens to study an environmental history.

Karl Jacoby (1997), one such historian, investigated the role of class relations in "The War in the Adirondacks"; a conflict that took place in New York's conserved woodlands in the early 20th century. In the summer of 1903, arsonists set fire to the park's forest and a group of "backwoodsmen" ambushed and murdered wealthy owners of preserves in the park (Jacoby, 1997, p. 324). The editor of the *Adirondack News* concluded that the coming of conservation unexpectedly created an "atmosphere of class hatred that now pervades the region" (as cited in Jacoby, 1997, p. 324). Jacoby noted that class is a category that is rarely explored by environmental historians, but he finds it necessary to do so because analyzing "class relationships embedded in

conservation” will allow us to begin to discover “the manner in which ecological relations and social relations interlock with one another, constructing together the material reality that we call nature” (Jacoby, 1997, p. 326). In this case study, Jacoby concluded that the forest fires were a product of social divisions. From the perspective of the locals, conservation remade the Adirondacks as a landscape that the urban elite saw fit, and some local residents “took revenge on the forest itself,” which became a symbol of their newly deprived status (Jacoby, 1997, p. 337). Jacoby’s conclusion, which established class as a major factor in the causes of the forest fires, is significant in strengthening the discipline of environmental history because without an understanding of the wants and needs of different social classes, the cause of the fires would not have been evident. Jacoby explored not only human connection to the environment, but more specifically, the relationship between different social classes to their environment.

Andrew Hurley’s (1992) study of environmental politics in Gary, Indiana provides another noteworthy example of the value of including social class as a major component of environmental history. Hurley explored the battle over coke emissions at the US Steel plant in Gary, which fostered an environmental coalition that crossed both racial and class lines. Gary’s middle-class citizens, particularly homemakers and professionals, were the first to publicly speak against US Steel in response to industrial smoke (Hurley, 1992, p. 280). Mayor Hatcher, elected in 1967, was able to round up support from African Americans to broaden their condemnation of US Steel’s social abuses, such as discriminatory hiring, which had been a target of the civil rights campaigns since the 1940s, to include environmental degradation (Hurley, 1992, p.

288). A number of other citizens' groups joined the coalition for a variety of reasons ranging from health to white neighborhood security (Hurley, 1992, p. 285). This coalition based on a mutual disregard for the US Steel industry resulted in the presence of 350 citizens, including affluent whites, blue-collar steel workers, and black youths, at a 1970 Gary city council meeting to consider an amendment to the municipal air pollution ordinance (Hurley, 1992, p. 273).

Ultimately, Hurley (1992) concluded that there were three specific circumstances that allowed for this anti-corporate environmental coalition to evolve. First, Gary was a one-industry town, which allowed the community to focus its objectives against US Steel. Second, the severity of air pollution made it easy to convince citizens that environmental reform was in their favor. Lastly, Gary's economic prosperity reduced steelworkers' concern about US Steel's threats of job loss (Hurley, 1992, p. 301).

The success of this coalition was critically dependent on timing. In the following years, US Steel laid off thousands of workers at the Gary plant due to the steel slump of the 1970s (Hurley, 1992, p. 296). As Hurley explained, "The rapid collapse of the environmental coalition with the onset of recession exposed the vulnerability of lower-income groups, even as resentment toward the steel company lingered" (p. 301). The lower-income groups were no longer afforded the opportunity to support environmental legislation that could compromise their jobs in a time when Gary unemployment was at 14 percent (as cited in Hurley, 1992, p. 296). Hurley's focus on social class is an essential component in his study of the environmental history of Gary, Indiana because social class necessarily determined the make-up of the coalition that

allowed for environmental change. Class, accompanied by race in this specific case study, determined what each group wanted out of the proposed environmental legislation, and therefore, affected how groups worked together for common goals. Hurley's (1992) study of Gary provides a valuable model of how an emphasis on social class can tell an effective environmental history.

A third example of an integration of social and environmental history is Stephen Mosley's *The Chimney of the World* (as cited in Mosley, 2006, p. 921). Mosley uses a social history approach to tell the story of smoke pollution in Manchester, England throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. Coal from the Lancashire coalfield provided the energy for Manchester's mushrooming industries as well as the energy to heat homes, yet this fossil fuel also created a smoky haze that engulfed the city. By approaching this story with social history inquiry, Mosley was able to see patterns of environmental inequality within the city. For example, as air quality worsened, middle-class citizens were able to move to the suburbs to enjoy cleaner air while Manchester's lower-income citizens suffered disproportionately from pneumonia, bronchitis, and rickets. Though the effects of smoke were widely recognized, there was no mass movement against this pollution, and citizens began to regard the haze as "natural" (Mosley, 2006, p. 922). Furthermore, Mosley observed that working-class citizens were not helpless victims of the pollution; they contributed to its production for centuries. In conclusion, Mosley emphasized the merits of using a social history approach in environmental histories as he stated, "By looking at grassroots ideas about air pollution, as well as those of the middle-classes, we can enrich our insights into how people thought, and made choices about, the environmental conditions in which they lived (p. 924).

In addition to explaining his own approaches to integrate these two fields, Mosley (2006) also looked at strategies that other historians have implemented to create common ground between social and environmental history. He noted that the study of environmental justice, which “stimulated debate about the interrelationships between race, class, gender, and the uneven distribution of environmental risks,” was a topic that significantly fused environmental and social history (Mosley, 2006, p. 926). Mosley cited Hurley’s (1992) study of Gary, Indiana as an environmental justice analysis that effectively combines social, environmental, and oral history methods (Mosley, 2006, p. 926). In addition, Mosley detailed that identity, which is a key concept for social historians, provides an effective framework to explore human-nature relationships. The combination of looking at environment along with social interactions has proved to be integral in shaping local, regional, and social identities. Mosley cited Simon Schama’s *Landscape and Memory*, which “represent forests, rivers, and mountains as active agents in the formation of Western identities,” and William Beinart and JoAnn McGregor’s *Social History and African Environments*, which creates distinct ethnic identities based on place, such as “river people,” “plains people,” and “mountain people,” as examples of effective ways to study environment’s effect on identity (as cited in Mosley, 2006, p. 925).

2.2 Identity

Mosley noted the benefits of using identity as a framework to explore an environmental history, but social historians have long been aware of the effectiveness of identity as a framework to study groups and social movements. Mario Diani (1992)

distinguished “shared beliefs and solidarity” as one of the major aspects of social movement dynamics (p. 8). When a group of individuals recognize that they share a set of beliefs and values, they can unite on the basis of those beliefs and establish a collective identity. Collective identity is seen as a fundamental aspect of defining a social movement because only people who feel a “sense of belongingness” and share that belief system can be considered a part of the social movement (Diani 1992, p. 8). In addition to an individual’s sense that they belong to a group, the greater group must also recognize that the individual is an appropriate member of that group. Diani acknowledged that collective identity “is both a matter of self- and external definition” (p. 9). Individuals who associate with a particular collective identity must view themselves as one part of a broader whole, and other members of the same movement as well as opponents must also view the individual as part of the whole.

Debra Friedman and Doug McAdam (1992) offered a similar definition of collective identity as “a status—a set of attitudes, commitments, and rules for behavior—that those who assume the identity can be expected to subscribe to” (p. 157). They further asserted that “it is an individual announcement of affiliation, of connection with others,” in which member have an active desire to form an attachment to this new identity. With this definition, “collective identities function as selective incentives motivating participation” (p. 157). It is favorable for social movement organizations to foster a collective identity in order to ensure participation to further the movement’s goals.

As the framework of identity has proved relevant to a study of both environmental history and social movement dynamics, I will use this framework to

analyze the environmental debate over pollution occurring in Lewiston, Maine throughout the 1950s. An analysis of the identity-framing strategies of each group will allow us to understand how each group identified itself and how these frames were created in an attempt to expand the organization's support base.

I will first discuss identity-framing strategies and the role of these frames in social movements. I will then look further into the concept of identity through two lenses: social class and place. As environmental historians, such as William Cronon, have noted, environmental history would grow and develop if it included a deeper analysis of social issues, which is why I am using social class as a major focus to analyze the role of identity-framing in the environmental debate. In addition, place-based identity is very much grounded in the environment, and has proved to be a relevant form of analysis in environmental history.

Both social class and place can have a strong effect on a collective identity, and analyzing each organizations' framing strategies through both of these lenses will provide a deeper understanding as to how the city of Lewiston, which was built upon the Androscoggin River and had a large immigrant working-class population, specifically impacted the collective identities of both the CCPC and the AIM. I contend that merging place-based identity theory with identity theories rooted in class-consciousness will allow us to see the relationship between socioeconomics and environmentalism in the identity-framing tactics of this pollution debate.

2.2.1 Identity Framing

Most scholars credit Erving Goffman (1974) as the founder of the concept of "framing." Goffman defined frames as "schemata of interpretation" which "allow its

user to locate, perceive, identify, and label a seemingly infinite number of concrete occurrences defined in [their] terms” (p. 21). Benford and Snow (2000), in their overview of the literature on framing processes, explained that “frames help to render events or occurrences meaningful and thereby function to organize experience and guide action” (p. 614). The way an organization or movement “frames” its cause is highly significant because frames highlight a set of values, beliefs, or goals, and contribute to the formation of a collective identity among the people who find them “meaningful.” Therefore, alignment with a frame is necessary for participation in a movement (Tarrow, 1992, p. 188).

David Snow and Robert Benford (2000) broke down the concept of collective-action framing into three categories that many scholars (Martin, 2003; Pellow, 1999; Zavestoski et. al., 2004) find to be appropriate methods of analysis: diagnostic framing, prognostic framing, and motivation framing. Diagnostic framing focuses on identifying the cause of a problematic situation, prognostic framing involves the pronouncement of a proposed solution to the problem, and motivation framing provides the rationale for engaging in collective action (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 615-617). David Pellow (1999) referred to the third framing task, motivation framing, as articulating an “identity component,” in which activists define who they are as a “we,” usually against an opponent, a “them” (p. 662). These forms of analysis are valuable ways to understand a movement’s framing strategy and how the movement creates a collective identity.

Zavestoski et. al. (2004) expanded on the discussion of collective-action framing and noted that one hindrance to the mobilization of people around a movement is the absence of a counterframe. “A counterframe is a frame that develops in opposition to a

preexisting master frame (whether the preexisting mater frame is peddled by institutions, movements, or others)” (Zavestoski, 2004, p. 257). The existence of a movement makes it evident that there are differences among people regarding some aspect of society, but as frames of the two opponents evolve in response to one another, it encourages mobilization of people, as people may identify with new frames. The Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control evolved as a counterframe in response to the status quo, which the Associated Industries of Maine upheld.

I use this concept of collective-action framing and apply Snow and Benford’s levels of frame analysis to the discourse of the CCPC and the AIM in order to understand the way each group identified itself and further laid the groundwork of frames that people must have aligned with to participate in their movement. Specifically, I want to look at these frames through two lenses: social class and place. Place is a significant lens to look through because collective action can be rooted in a specific location and the experiences that result from living in that location, and the pollution of the Androscoggin specifically impacted communities that lived along the river. Social class is another significant lens to look through because it is a common locus that social movements rely upon to create change. Martin (2003), referencing a study by Laclau and Mouffe, noted “social movements can foster activism by drawing upon class, ethnicity, gender, race, sexuality, and other identities as ‘positions’ from which to unite coalitions of citizens for common goals” (p. 732).

2.2.2 Place-Based Identity

Much scholarship has focused on how individuals align themselves with a social movement’s collective identity, and what must happen for the collective to accept the

individual. A defining factor of this alignment is “shared beliefs,” which leaves questions as to how these shared beliefs arise. One potential answer could be that these beliefs are rooted in “place.”

“Place identity,” a term coined by Proshansky in 1978, is the part of the self that is developed in relation to the physical environment “by means of a pattern of beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, and goals” (as cited in Manzo & Perkins, 2006, p. 337). There are a number of ways that the “self” can develop as a result of a connection to a place, which include a connection to the natural features of a place (Blake, 2002), the labor culture of a place (Harner, 2001), and the industrial make-up of a particular location (Romanelli and Khessina, 2005).

Cuba and Hummon (1993) explained that “place identities are thought to arise because places, as bounded locales imbued with personal, social, and cultural meanings, provide a significant framework in which identity is constructed, maintained, and transformed” (p. 112). As such, Cuba and Hummon further asserted that “place identification is also mediated by the characteristics people bring to places and the structure of their experiences with places” (p. 114). The characteristics the people bring to a “place” is specifically relevant to Lewiston because of the rich culture that the immigrant population brought to the city. Kevin Keogan (2002) explored regional or place-based identity in terms of immigration and the social make-up of an area and found that that material conditions, such as the economics and demographics of the urban areas, play a role in the formation of a collective identity among immigrants and established members of a particular place. Incorporating a discussion of the social and

cultural aspects of Lewiston, as a place, is another way to fill the void in environmental history and merge the discipline with aspects of social history.

Place-identity is a significant way to analyze the two movements because place-identity is one determinant of whether or not a person participates in political action, or other action, concerning that “place.” A study by Pretty, Chipuer, and Bramston found that if a person’s identity is shaped by places that they find to be significant, then people’s bonds with places will impact their engagement in that place, such as maintaining or improving a place, or even just responding to changes in that place (as cited in Manzo & Perkins, 2006, p. 337). In regards to place identity within a community, a study done by Riger and Lavrakas in 1981 (as cited in Manzo & Perkins, 2006, p. 338) found that there are two communal dimensions of place identity. The first is a “sense of bondedness”; a sense of feeling like one is a part of the neighborhood community. The second is a “sense of rootedness” to the community, which involves both an internal, individual bond with the neighborhood and also a bond that is a result of an external, social process.

Even once a person or a group of people develop a “place identity,” there are threats to maintaining that identity. One potential disruption to this identity is a proposed development project, which would change the physical fabric of the neighborhood (Manzo & Perkins, 2006, p. 337). Additionally, a study by Brown and Perkins found that environmental disasters threaten this identity by disturbing a sense of continuity (as cited in Manzo & Perkins, 2006, p. 338). As Michael Edelstein (as cited in Manzo & Perkins, 2006) found, the political aspects of place and place attachment are

seen in communities that have been empowered or disempowered in response to environmental problems.

“Place attachments can be used to foster a partnership approach as different parties find common interest in their health and their neighborhood. When residents are able to take control of the situation themselves and identify common interests and targets, they are more likely to be mobilized toward action and be empowered. Conversely, if emotional responses to place are not acknowledged and understood, people can be divided and immobilized by their anxieties” (Manzo & Perkins, 2006, p. 340).

Therefore, the ability of the CCPC to frame the condition of the river as a solvable issue that citizens could act upon would have affected the ability of the group to mobilize the public.

Deborah Martin (2003) developed the concept of “place frames” as a way to look at collective action-frames through the lens of place. Martin noted,

“Studying place frames provides the conceptual framework for understanding how community organizations create a discursive place-identity to situate and legitimate their activism... It demonstrates how organizations define the neighborhood community as a universal, common interest among residents who might otherwise see themselves as or be represented by alternative identities based on race, ethnicity, religion, culture, or household type” (p. 733).

Steven Haeberle (1987), like Martin, also found that place attachment can create an identity which overcomes other difficulties to community political participation.

Haeberle observed that a tight neighborhood place identity works to overcome obstacles such as low socioeconomic status or low levels of education, which tend to hinder community involvement.

In regards to Lewiston, Maine, there are a number of dimensions of “place,” including its location along the Androscoggin River, the industry of the city, and the

cultural practices of Lewiston's inhabitants, which may affect the way in which people develop a place-based identity. The way in which the two organizations utilized place in their collective action frames, and the values corresponding to that representation of "place," will define the beliefs, values, and goals of each movement.

2.2.3 Class-Based Identity

Though some scholars believe that an identity rooted in place can overcome certain obstacles, such as race, culture, and class, which have tended to hinder full participation in a movement, other scholars have found social class to be a very significant determinant of an individual's identification with a movement's collective identity. For Karl Marx, social classes were the defining features of social movements. As Marx and Engels (1888) explained in *The Communist Manifesto*, "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles" (p. 8). Collective-action frames that create class-consciousness by focusing on values particular to a specific social class will affect who can identify with that particular movement and which individuals will align themselves with a certain collective identity.

Marx had extreme views of the significance of social class, but other scholars have offered softer versions of Marxist views. Piven and Cloward (1979) explained that the superstructure of society includes a system of beliefs of what is right and wrong and why, and people whose only option in a struggle is to defy this system of beliefs set in place by their rulers, usually do not. They explore the instances in which the poor do become defiant, although "only under exceptional conditions are the lower classes afforded the socially determined opportunity to press for their own class interests" (Piven & Cloward, 1979, p. 7). This "insurgency" that Piven and Cloward discussed,

which allows the working-class to participate in a movement, could be prompted by the exceptional conditions of the Androscoggin brought on by heavy pollution, which had endangered people's access to this natural resource and potentially reduced their quality of life due to the smell. Because there is a working-class population employed at the mills in Lewiston, the organizations would have had to frame their actions and their values in a way that falls in line with working-class interests, or framed the issue as an exceptional circumstance, in order to gain the support of the mill worker population.

Fred Rose (2000) provided a theory of environmental movements in which he specifically addresses class division; the theory of "coalitions across the class divide." This theory proves to be relevant because the leaders of both the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control and the Associated Industries of Maine were of the middle-class, and the mill workers of Lewiston were of the working-class. Therefore, class division is a major concern when trying to understand the collective identity of each group and how the organizations framed their causes to cross class lines, or attempt to do so. Rose's theory highlights the significance of each organization's framing tactics in regards to class-specific values.

His overarching question, in regards to conflicts between the environmental protection and labor rights, is "Why was the country faced with a choice between two just causes, between the right of people to work and the right to protect the environment? Certainly other choices existed" (Rose, 2000 p. 4). In studying the labor, peace, and environmental movements, Rose came up with three conclusions regarding class coalitions and social movements. "[1] Single-class movements tend to reproduce some existing forms of oppression even as they work for change; [2] working- and

middle-class alliances are essential for bringing about progressive social change; and, finally, [3] interclass coalitions provide a means for learning across class lines that is necessary for fundamental democratic change” (Rose, 2000, p. 11).

Ronald Inglehart’s (1995) “post-materialist” thesis suggests that social class is significant in gaining support for environmental movements. As Inglehart explained, “people with ‘Postmaterialist’ values-- emphasizing self-expression and the quality of life-- are much more apt to give high priority to protecting the environment, than those with ‘Materialist’ values—emphasizing economic and physical security above all” (Inglehart, 1995, p. 57). Inglehart noted that substantial evidence has been gathered proving that this cultural shift in values throughout industrial society was occurring on an international level. He also suggested that this change in values, from giving priority to economic growth and consumption to placing emphasis on quality of life, “reflects a process of intergenerational value change” (Inglehart, 1995, p. 61). In the case of the United States, this “postmaterialist” set of values could be created during the period of economic development and expansion of the welfare state after World War II because people were not faced with the fear of economic depression or starvation as they had been in previous decades. It was this economic security experienced by the post war generation in many industrial societies, which began the shift from “‘Materialist’ values to ‘Postmaterialist’ priorities” (Inglehart, 1995, p. 62). Inglehart’s theory suggests that the way in which the CCPC, an environmental movement led by members of the middle-class, framed its causes and values would affect the way that Lewiston’s public, which included a large working-class population, would receive the arguments of the

organization. According to the “Post-materialist” thesis, members of the working-class cannot afford to support these “quality of life” issues.

Creating class-consciousness by highlighting certain class-specific values is one way that an organization can define itself through its frames, and there are specific ways that an organization can infiltrate their ideas into a class-conscious society. Marxist ideas of society and broad questions about class-consciousness led Antonio Gramsci to develop the concept of “hegemony.” Thomas Bates (1975) defined the basic premise of hegemony with the statement: “that man is not ruled by force alone, but also by ideas” (p. 351). Gramsci’s focus on the role of intellectuals in society led him to break down Marx’s concept of “superstructure” into two floors, which he described as “civil society” and “political society.” Bates (1975) described Gramsci’s idea of civil society as those “private organisms”, such as churches, schools, and clubs, which help to create a social and political consciousness. Political society, which is equivalent to the “state”, is made up of those public institutions, such as the government, courts, and police force, which have “direct dominion” over the public (p. 353).

In some cases, the ruling class is able to extend its power beyond “political society” and into “civil society.” As Blake (1975) noted, “civil society is the marketplace of ideas, where intellectuals enter as ‘salesmen’ of contending cultures” (p. 353). The differing views of the AIM and the CCPC must be expressed through frames into civil society, and the way in which the frames are received affects the successfulness of a social movement. The intellectuals are successful in creating hegemony if they “extend the world view of the rulers to the ruled,” and foster consent among the masses to the current state of rule. If the intellectuals fail to create hegemony, they fall back on the

states' power of force and exercise their power to discipline those who do not consent, in order to maintain rule (p. 353). Blake asserted, "Class consciousness is, then, the product of an ideological struggle led by the intellectual 'officers' of competing social classes" (p.360). The ability for an organization to frame their actions and values in a way that is able to infiltrate a class-conscious society, and resonate with different social classes, will determine if the organization can affect change in civil society or political society. In addition, it is worthy to note that the frames of the organizations operate in a civil society that has multiple other influences, including churches, schools, and clubs, which also affect how members of society receive the frames of the organizations.

Lewiston was a mill town, and even as the mills were declining in the 1950s, a large number of inhabitants of the city were working-class mill workers. In contrast, the job descriptions of all members of the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control and the Associated Industries of Maine mentioned in the newspapers classify these leaders as members of the working class. As there is a division between these two social classes, the organizational framing strategies were highly significant in regards to how the organizations framed their causes and how this would affect which social classes could identify with that cause.

2.3 Chapter Conclusion

This theoretical literature review serves to provide the basis upon which to explore the identities of the citizens' conservation movement and the pro-industry movement. The main focus will be on understanding how the movement championed by the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control and the movement led by the

Associated Industries of Maine framed their causes to gain support from the local population of Lewiston. By analyzing the framing strategies of each movement through two lenses, place and social class, we will be able to understand how each group identified itself and framed its own collective identity in the context of Lewiston. It is necessary to explore the collective identities from a number of angles, including both place and class, because Lewiston's unique condition, as home to a culturally rich working-class population and located along the Androscoggin River, may complicate the identities of these movements. Given the theories previously reviewed in this chapter, one would expect to find that the CCPC would utilize place frames more so than the AIM because the CCPC was an "environmental group" while the AIM was focused on the interests of industry. In contrast, one would expect to find that the AIM would use framing strategies that involved social class awareness because industry's arguments incorporated a discussion of employment in industry.

Chapter 3: Lewiston Becomes a Mill Town

Charlotte Michaud (1974), of the Lewiston Historical Commission, wrote, “A city is not an inert thing. It has a life and a style that uniquely its own, embodied in its people, their cultures and their buildings” (p. 46). Though Michaud’s conclusion about Lewiston and cities in general is very relevant, it is lacking one essential aspect of Lewiston’s “life”: the environment. Michaud explained that the extent to which a city realizes and appreciates its origins, people, culture and buildings will determine how a city views itself, and she further asserted, “the manner in which a city regards itself helps to shape the attitudes and the responses with which it meets the challenges of the present” (Michaud & Leamon, 1974, p. 46). This chapter seeks to provide the foundation upon which we can understand Lewiston’s attitudes toward the challenges of pollution in the 1950s. By analyzing the origins of Lewiston’s people, culture, buildings, and additionally, how each is related to and affected by the environment, we can understand what would affect the way that Lewiston responded to pollution in later years. Furthermore, as cities are not “inert things,” and they also are shaped by actions of the wider environment, this chapter will include a discussion about actions against pollution occurring across the State of Maine.

As established in the theoretical framework, environmental history would benefit from integration with social history, and by incorporating the experiences of Lewiston’s large Franco-American population into this study, which is being approached as an environmental history with an emphasis on social movements, this chapter seeks to develop that social history. Additionally, in order to look at the

arguments of each organization through the lenses of place in class, we first need to understand the place in which these arguments are directed and the class difference among members of that population. This chapter will provide the context for us to understand the identity framing-strategies of the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control and the Associated Industries of Maine, which are being directed, in part, at this Lewiston population.

3.1 Origins of a Mill Town

The rapidly flowing water of Maine's rivers has long been seen as a potential source of power. When industrialist Hugh J. Chisholm visited the Rumford Falls for the first time in 1882, he wrote,

“The magnificence of the spectacle was not at all lost on me, but very soon I began to realize, as probably many a thinking man had done before me, the vast power that was and for countless years had been going to waste, and the more I thought, the more I appreciated the possibilities of that stretch of river, and I pictured to myself the industrial community which might grow up there” (Leane, 1858, p. 6).

Miles away and years earlier in Lewiston, Maine, entrepreneurs had already begun to harness the power of the Androscoggin River. Local Lewiston families, including the Little family, the Fryes, and the Garcelons, were the first to develop the river for industrial purposes. As early as 1819, Michael Little, with the assistance of Dean Frye, established a small carding and fulling woolen mill on the river (Leamon, 1976, p. 6). The success of small mills on the river encouraged Lewiston's local entrepreneurs, Edward Little, John Frye, Alonzo Garcelon, James Lowell, Daniel Brigs, and others to incorporate as the Lewiston Falls Cotton Mill Company. They began to construct a mill

larger than any others already established, but before the building was even complete, it was sold to a new organization called the Lewiston Water Power Company (Leamon, 1976, p. 7).

The Lewiston Water Power Company was officially organized in 1845, and soon after its formation, a group of Boston capitalists acquired a significant portion of stock in the company. Boston investors included Thomas J. Hill, Lyman Nichols, George L. Ward, Alexander De Witt, and most significantly, Benjamin E. Bates (Leamon, 1976, p. 8). It was not by chance that capitalists began to invest in the city in the late 1840s. Lewiston, which was once unconnected to the greater New England area, ended its isolation in 1849 with the arrival of a railroad (Frenette, 1986, p. 200). This connection with the greater country was essential for industry to thrive, and the capitalists were well aware of this. It allowed the mills to efficiently obtain raw materials from distant locations and ship out finished goods across the country.

Bates and his fellow capitalists obtained the majority of Lewiston's land and waterpower rights, and in 1850, the Bates and Hill Companies acquired charters of incorporation. In 1854, the Lewiston Water Power Company was reorganized into the Franklin Water Company, with the same stockholders and personnel constructing mills. The Franklin Company would act as the medium through which all land and water rights would be bought or leased. This new company allowed the capitalists to profit from both real estate and textile production from the mills (Frenette, 1986, p. 200). Within the ten years following the Franklin Company's creation, the Lewiston Bleachery was chartered, the Androscoggin Mill started up, and an old mill was expanded into the

Continental Mill (Leamon, 1976, p. 10). Along with the Bates Mill and the Hill Mill, these were the most prominent industrial centers in Lewiston.

Throughout the 1860s, the Civil War brought devastation to many cities across the country, but contrary to other mill towns such as Lowell, Massachusetts that gambled on a short war, Lewiston's entrepreneurs gambled on a long war, and with that gamble came profits. Lewiston's elite bought up large stocks of southern cotton at the beginning of the conflict for only twelve cents a pound. By 1865, one pound cost over a dollar. Lewiston profited enormously during the war era as it increased its mill capacity; the Bates Company took in over \$400,000 in profits in 1862 alone (Leamon, 1976, p. 12-13).

After World War I, profits from cotton manufacturing drastically decreased due to stronger competition abroad, changing fashions, and increased use of rayon (Leamon, 1976, p. 28). Owners of Lewiston's prominent mills, including the Androscoggin Mill, the Hill Mill, and the Bates Mill projected a poor financial outlook, and their collapse would be devastating to Lewiston. The Androscoggin Mill employed 900 people, and the Hill Mill employed an additional 950 people. If both collapsed, it was suspected that the Bates Mill, with 1,250 employees, would be next (Leamon, 1976, p. 30).

Fortunately for Lewiston, Walter S. Wyman of Oakland, Maine and Samuel Insull of Chicago had their own economic interest so deeply intertwined with Lewiston that they could not afford a collapse. As James Leamon (1976) explained, "In saving themselves they saved Lewiston from the worst effects of the textile depression and even the Great Depression that soon followed" (p. 32). New England power interests combined to create the New England Public Service Company (NEPSCO), and with

Wyman serving as their president, NEPSCO began to obtain mills that were threatened with financial collapse (Leamon, 1976, p. 34). Though Lewiston's mills may not have been profiting during this time, the fact that they were open and consuming power was profitable for the manufacturers of that power. Additionally, thousands of mill employees benefitted from this steady employment (Leamon, 1976, p. 36).

Unfortunately, the empire of power and mills that Samuel Insull had created with Walter Wyman came crashing down in 1932 when New York bankers forced Insull into bankruptcy after he was unable to meet a ten million dollar note. Thanks to Wyman's cautious loan practices, Lewiston did not feel the worst effects of Insull's collapse, but the mills did lose millions of dollars from 1938-1940 (Leamon, 1976, p. 40).

3.2 The People and their Culture

As Lewiston grew into an industrial center, the demographics of the area changed drastically. The first group of immigrants to arrive in the city was the Irish. Similarly to other New England mill towns, young, native-born, Yankee farm girls who worked to finance further education, pay off debt, or establish a dowry, made up the initial labor pool for the mills (Richard, 2008, p. 8). Irish immigrants, who arrived in the United States in the 1840s to 50s to escape Ireland's potato famine, found work elsewhere in Lewiston by providing the labor to dig the canals and building the railroads (Richard, 2008, p. 8). In 1854, the Yankee mill girls went on strike to demand an eleven-hour workday and the mill managers simply replaced them with Irish immigrants (Richard, 2008, p. 9). The late 1850s opened the doors for immigrant groups to find work in Lewiston's mills.

The influx of Irish immigrants to Lewiston created major housing problems. The Irish immigrated with minimal resources, and did not have the capacity to purchase their own land. They resorted to building shanties on the land of the Lewiston Water Power Company (Frenette, 1986, p. 201). Nathaniel Hawthorn described the Irish shanties in Maine as “the very rudest that civilized men ever made for themselves,” with roofs covered in sod, barrel chimneys, and piles of earth set against the walls rising up to the roof (as cited in Evans, 1949, p. 112). The area in Lewiston where many Irish immigrants settled was known as “the Gas Patch.” It was near this point that the Lewiston Gas Light Company would discharge its wastes into the river, which resulted in an awful stench that permeated throughout that part of the city (Michaud & Leamon, 1974, p. 45). Charlotte Michaud (1974) explained, “If it existed today, it would probably be called the Irish ghetto” (p. 45).

The next major immigrant group to arrive in Lewiston was the French Canadians. The French Canadian migration out of Canada can be attributed to several economic problems in rural Quebec. Among these were overpopulation paired with an agricultural crisis and a change in the market-economy that proved traditional farming patterns to be inadequate (Frenette, 1986, p. 203). In search of work, French-Canadians began to migrate to the United States. Georges Carignan, the first French Canadian to settle in Lewiston, arrived in 1860, and by 1900, between 7,000 and 9,000 people of French-Canadian descent inhabited the city. French-Canadians were unique in their immigration patterns in that they tended to migrate in families, rather than just as single men, which was the pattern in some other New England mill towns (Frenette, 1986, p. 204).

Yves Frenette (1986) asserted that the history of the French-Canadians in Lewiston during the 19th century should be studied in two periods: 1860-1880, and 1880-1900 (p. 205). The first twenty years are defined by a period of transiency; migrants who settled in Lewiston looking for work, but finding none, did not stay. During this time, the labor force of the mills was still made up of Yankee girls, and immigrants tended not to find the employment that they had envisioned (Frenette, 1986, p. 205). The second period was characterized by a more permanent French Canadian population.

The French-Canadian migrants that did stay in Lewiston between 1860 and 1880 faced a similar problem to the Irish in regards to housing. Limited monetary sources paired with a scarcity of housing options forced numerous French-Canadian families to share apartments, and the majority of the immigrant population ended up living in overcrowded, disease-prone, tenements with poor sewage systems (Frenette, 1986, p. 206). These buildings that were inhabited by French Canadian families were referred to as "blocks," which usually consisted of four to five stories with a central corridor that separated each rent (Michaud & Leamon, 1974, p. 18). Lewiston's mill owners originally constructed these mill blocks to house the Yankee farm girls, but they would later bustle with immigrant families (Michaud & Leamon, 1974, p. 36).

The influx of immigrants to Lewiston created a distinction between the established Yankee community and their newly immigrated counterparts, and in some ways, this separation physically manifested itself. In response to the influx of both Irish and French-Canadian immigrants to the area, the Yankee population moved north of Lisbon Street, while the immigrant populations were concentrated between Lisbon

Street and the river. This overcrowded area below Lisbon Street was characterized by alcohol and daily fights between the Irish and the French-Canadians; police officers even feared to enter the area alone at night (Frenette, 1986, p. 207).

The Franklin Company was able to maintain a significant influence on the French Canadian neighborhoods through both sales and rentals of land. The Company rented parcels on the “island,” which was a swampy area of land between the Androscoggin and the canal, to entrepreneurs who built tenements to house the French Canadian workers. The area became known as “Little Canada” (Frenette, 1986, 214). To the well-established Yankee population of Lewiston, Little Canada was representative of the troubles of immigrant life. In 1888, the municipal board of health referred to the area as “the worst and most dangerous place in the city” (as cited in Frenette, 1986, p. 215).

Not only was there a physical separation between French Canadian immigrants and their Lewiston peers, there was also a cultural separation. Robert G. LeBlanc (as cited in Richard, 2008, p. 176) describes “La Survivance,” which was a system of beliefs upheld by the community, as “promoting the preservation of the French language, Roman Catholic religion and other aspects of French-Canadian culture.”

One way to preserve the language was through the establishment of a French newspaper. *Le Messager*, a Lewiston newspaper for French-speaking citizens, was established in 1880 and remained in circulation until 1966. The paper served to keep French-speaking residents united, and through its articles, it promoted education, pushed its readers to become naturalized American citizens, and encouraged French Canadians to participate in the politics of the city (Michaud & Leamon, 1974, p. 25). In addition to their newspaper, the French Canadians had their own education and social

center. The Dominican Block, located at the corner of Chestnut and Lincoln Streets, was the central location for Lewiston's Franco-American life. The building opened in 1883 as a school for Franco-American children to obtain both secular instruction and religion, but the building also served as a social center and place of worship (Michaud & Leamon, 1974, p. 40). One social group that utilized this location was called "Institut Jacques Cartier." It was the first social organization established by French Canadians and it became the center of Franco-American cultural activities (Michaud & Leamon, 1974, p. 21). The community relied on these types of social clubs for entertainment because everything else in the city was conducted in English.

In addition to both the physical and cultural separation that divided the Franco-Americans from other groups in Lewiston, the community was also distinct in that it fostered specific political beliefs among its population. These community beliefs led the Franco-Americans to sympathize with the Democratic Party for a number of reasons. Prominent French-Canadian figures, such as Louis N. Martel, founder of *Le Messager*, held the Canadian Conservative party responsible for the poor economic conditions that forced them to emigrate out of Canada. Correspondence between Martel and the first editor of *Le Messager* suggests that Martel equated the Canadian Conservative Party with the American Republican Party, and, therefore, he would support the Democratic Party. In addition, Republican Yankees further alienated immigrants from their party as they labeled both Irish and French Canadian immigrants as "rumsellers" during the prohibition movement (Frenette, 1986, p. 221). These attacks pushed Franco-American leaders toward the Democratic Party, and a majority of the population followed in suit.

A final mark of the distinctiveness of the Franco-American community in Lewiston was its strong religious affiliation. The Franco-American community's strong allegiance to the Catholic Church, in conjunction with their desire to maintain their own national identity and to preserve their culture, created tensions between Catholics and non-Catholics, but it even created tensions among the greater Catholic population of Maine. In the late 19th to early 20th century, this struggle was observed between the French Canadian Catholics and the Irish Catholics. One example of this inner Catholic struggle is demonstrated by the appointment of a new Bishop in 1906.

In 1905, the French Canadians and the Irish were both prominent groups in the Catholic diocese of Maine; the French Canadians claimed 80,000 to 100,000 parishioners and the Irish estimated between 26,000 and 40,000 parishioners (Woodbury, 1967, p. 260). In 1906, after Monsignor William H. O'Connell was promoted from Archbishop of Portland to the post of coadjutor to the Archbishop of Boston, there was conflict among the parishioners as to who should succeed O'Connell. Lewiston's French newspaper, *Le Messager*, was quick to demand a French Canadian successor (Woodbury, 1967, p. 263). In order to settle this conflict peacefully, a council, comprised of four Irishmen and three French Canadians, was established to vote for the new Bishop. The French Canadians did not vote as a bloc, and ultimately, an Irishman, Louis S. Walsh, was appointed as Bishop of Portland (Woodbury, 1967, p. 263).

Le Messager openly opposed Walsh's appointment and warned, "With the present organization of the diocesan administration, the French Canadians will never get justice" (as cited in Woodbury, 1967, p. 267-268). *Le Messager* later warned that the Irish were trying to use the school system as a "vehicle for assimilation" and young

French Canadian people would begin to lose their national ties. The newspaper complained that the voices of the French Canadian population had been disregarded, and this is exactly what the “assimilators” were trying to accomplish (Woodbury, 1967, p. 268). Responses from *Le Messager*, which was the voice of the French Canadian population in Lewiston, demonstrate the unwavering desire of the French Canadian Catholics to maintain their own national identity, and the effect that this desire had on relationships with other Catholics.

Not only did religion complicate relationships between Franco-Americans and their Catholic peers, it was also a cause of hostility in Lewiston between the Catholic immigrant groups and their Protestant Yankee counterparts. The Irish, as the first group of immigrants, faced a significant amount of prejudice in Maine, and in 1855, a mob violently burned an Irish Catholic chapel on Lincoln Street (Frenette, 1986, p. 201). Though that is a local example of prejudice, the rapid influx of French Canadians to Lewiston attracted national attention and prejudice was felt on a greater level and there was even a strong Ku Klux Klan presence in Lewiston organizing against the Franco-American population in the early 1920s (Richard, 2009). The Klan’s presence and other prejudices in the 1920s exemplify the challenges of the diverse cultural landscape which existed in Lewiston during the early 20th century, but it also demonstrates the community’s allegiance to its Church in spite of said challenges.

3.2.1 Culture and Labor

As demonstrated, the Catholic Church was a major social force in the lives of Lewiston’s French Canadians. The Church helped to regulate many aspects of community life, including social events and even labor. In fact, the Church in Lewiston

actively campaigned against labor unions. The roots of this resistance to labor unions and strikes date back to the late 19th century. In 1869, the Knights of Labor established itself as the United States' first national labor force, and it expanded into Canada by 1881. Cardinal Elzéar-Alexandre Taschereau opposed the organization in 1883 because the Church "felt that the organization challenged the Church's authority as the guardian of traditional cultural values, rooted in the province's rural past" (Richard, 2008, p. 60). On February 2, 1885, after consulting with Rome, Taschereau officially condemned the organization. Following the Cardinal's lead, Maine's bishop threatened that anyone who supported the organization would not receive the sacraments (Ibid.). The Church's aversion to labor unions played a significant role in fostering a non-striking workforce in the early 20th century.

During the 1920s, despite the Catholic Church's aversion to striking, Franco-Americans increasingly joined textile unions, including the American Federation of Textile Operatives and the United Textile Workers of America (Richard, 2001, p. 386). Though the community joined these organizations, they were not always successful in striking. For example, in 1922, as northern mill executives were attempting to compete with mills of the south, the textile workers in Lewiston took a twenty percent pay cut rather than risk the consequences of striking in a depression. Franco-Americans did however participate in a number of strikes against both the textile industry and the shoe industry. Two early strikes that did not bring much success were the textile strike in 1930, which resulted in some workers losing their jobs and others accepting a pay cut, and the shoe strike in 1932 when workers fought for rights to unionize, but the strike resulted in job loss (Richard, 2001, p. 387-390).

Holding to Church precedents, the Franco-American clergy of Lewiston preached from the pulpit throughout the 1930s to dissuade the community from participating in shoe or textile strikes (Richard, 2001, p. 391-393). What differentiated the famous Lewiston shoe strike of 1937 from previous strikes is that some Franco-Americans openly voiced opposition against the teachings of their clergy. Mark Paul Richard (2001) cited a *Lewiston Evening Journal* article detailing the dissent of some members of the community against the Church's teachings: "Mrs. Leclair then said she did not think it proper for priests to talk against the strike as they did in most churches. She said they should preach; that they... should not seek to keep laborers at work merely to get 15 cents from them on Sunday" (p. 394). Richard asserted that "the anti-clerical sentiments Franco-Americans openly expressed during the strike demonstrate that they were not as docile or as submissive to clergy as some have been wont to say" (p. 396).

3.2.2 Lewiston's Community at Midcentury

Richard described the 1950s and 1960s in Lewiston as a time when "forces internal to the community increasingly promoted acculturation over ethnic retention." This period was characterized by Franco-Americans marrying outside their ethnic community, canceling subscriptions to *Le Messenger* in favor of reading Lewiston's English newspapers, and mixing with Lewiston's greater population in both secular and religious realms (Richard, 2001, p. 407).

As the years passed, *Le Messenger* expressed concern that the Franco-American community was losing elements of its culture. In a 1951 article, the paper suggested that some community members felt embarrassed by speaking French, which resulted in

the language being spoken less often (Richard, 2001, p. 453). In a 1954 article, *Le Messenger* published five elements that it considered to be vital to Franco-American identity. The need to distinguish these traits suggests that the paper felt that assimilation was causing the community to stray from its roots:

A FRANCO-AMERICAN is a person of French or French-Canadian descent, born in the United States, or in Canada or in France, [who] subsequently came to live in America.

A FRANCO-AMERICAN, truly to be one and to honor this title, must be proud of his parents, proud of himself, proud of his ancestors and of the history of the race in which he is born.

A FRANCO-AMERICAN does not truly have the right to this title of honor lest he is born of Catholic parents, he is himself a proven Catholic, he attends his national Catholic parish church and guides his children in the ways of the [Roman Catholic] Church.

A FRANCO-AMERICAN is not ashamed to speak French on each occasion that presents itself, publicly or other[wise], above all in the family home and particularly in the meetings of our religious, parish, patriotic and civic associations.

A FRENCH NAME does not suffice to say that someone is a Franco-American. It takes more than that! One is not Franco-American only when it helps the pocketbook or [one's] pride.

(as cited and translated in Richard, 2001, p. 463).

Le Messenger experienced financial difficulty throughout the 1950s due to its declining subscriptions, as third generation Franco-Americans preferred to read Lewiston's English newspapers, the *Lewiston Daily Sun* or the *Lewiston Evening Journal*. In 1955, it was forced to change from daily to weekly production due to costs, and by 1958, *Le Messenger* only had a circulation of 3,200 (Richard, 2001, p. 464). The paper discontinued circulation in 1968.

Though the community may have been experiencing a loss of cultural identity, as expressed in *Le Messenger*, Richard noted that a strong dimension of Lewiston's Franco-

American identity, its working-class identity, grew to be more resolute at midcentury. In 1941, workers at Lewiston's Androscoggin, Continental, Hill, and Bates mills all voted to accept union representation, and "the union elections underscored the intersection of ethnic and working-class identities" in the community (Richard, 2001, p. 470). When the Bates Mill workers accepted the Textile Workers Union of America of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in a 1941 election, workers voted at l'Institut Jaques-Cartier hall and were presented ballots that appeared in both French and English. Richard's emphasis on this event demonstrates "the intersection of Franco-American and working-class identities in Lewiston" (Richard, 2001, p. 471).

The community continued to fight for labor rights at midcentury. In 1955, 23,000 textile workers from across New England, including a number of Lewiston's Franco-American workers, went on strike when manufacturers wanted to reduce their wages and benefits to be comparable to those of workers in the Southern textile mills. The strikes, which ended between May and July of 1955, were successful in that wages were not dropped and workers accepted salaries comparable to the salaries they held before the strike (Richard, 2001, p. 4475-476). Richard asserted that participation in the textile strikes of 1945 and 1955 exhibited Franco-American solidarity as workers, and the use of l'Institut Jaques-Cartier for meetings and elections emphasized a surviving ethnic identification. Richard summarizes, "In short, these activities in the world of work at midcentury demonstrated that Franco-American identity was inextricably tied to working-class identity, something which their newspaper and their clerical leaders had to accept, whatever their aversion to strikes" (Richard, 2001, p. 476).

A working-class identity grew more solid among the Franco-Americans in the mid-20th century, but occupational patterns of the Franco-American community also changed. In the 1940s, half (50.8 percent) of the Franco-American men in Lewiston were industrial workers and almost half (48.2 percent) of the women were also employed in the mills. These percentages dropped to 29.6 percent and 32.5 percent respectively by the 1960s (Richard, 2001, p. 429). The textile industry had employed 8,000 in 1951, but a decline in Lewiston's textile industry caused that number to drop to only 4,000 to 5,000 by 1961. This occupational change also furthered community assimilation as Franco-Americans were forced into different sectors of the workforce with non-French speakers (Richard, 2001, p. 480).

3.2.3 Community Understanding of their Culture

Suzanne Carbonneau (1994), a Franco-American who grew up in Lewiston, had a particularly negative view of the effect that the Franco-American culture and the preaching of "La Survivance" had on the well-being of the community in Lewiston. She explained that the French Canadians were attractive laborers to the mill owners due to their "work ethic" and deep religiousness (p. 13). The French were viewed as a hard-working people, which was a direct result of the challenging conditions they were faced with on subsistence farms in their native Quebec. These conditions prepared them for the hard work and deprivation that they would be faced with in the mills. In addition, their religious lifestyles ensured the mill owners that they would have a disciplined and sober workforce. Furthermore, the French were known as "unsophisticated" workers who had no desire for labor organization, so the mill owners were not initially concerned with the prospect of strikes (Carbonneau, 1994, p. 13). In many ways, the

mill owners did not have much competition in attracting this workforce. The immigrants' lack of English language skills drastically reduced their opportunity for work outside of the mills in the United States (Carbonneau, 1994, p.13).

Unlike other groups of immigrants who worked to assimilate into American culture, French Canadian immigrants held tightly to their own language, as well as cultural and religious traditions that they brought with them from Quebec. As previously mentioned, "La Survivance (The Survival)," a religious order preached in churches and schools, which instructed French Canadians to preserve their heritage, facilitated this cultural preservation. Additionally, the proximity of Maine to Quebec, which was only a train ride away, caused a lot of French Canadians to view themselves as migrants rather than immigrants, and, therefore, they did not feel the need to give up their culture because they could easily return to Quebec (Carbonneau, 1994, p.13).

Carbonneau focused on the negative consequences of holding on to French Canadian culture. As she viewed the situation, not only was the first generation of French Canadians segregated from the rest of the city, but younger generations were also not afforded the opportunity to assimilate into the mainstream Lewiston culture. Francos intensified their separation from all other ethnic groups in Lewiston by sending their children to French-speaking Catholic schools. Young French Canadians went straight from their French-speaking schools to factory work in the mills, without any opportunity to mingle with other Lewiston children (Carbonneau, 1994, p.14). As Carbonneau (1994) puts it, "Through generation after generation, Franco families persisted as fodder for the mills" (p. 14). Other immigrant groups who assimilated into the American culture found it easier to move from the mills to the middle class and to

positions of power, while the French Canadians, with their separate language and culture, found themselves “trapped” in the mills (Carbonneau, 1994, p.14).

Carbonneau also commented on the Church’s aversion to striking and unionizing the labor force. She noted by the 1930s, Lewiston was the largest non-union manufacturing center in New England, and consequently, a center of extremely low wage labor (Carbonneau, 1994, p.15). This disinterest in unionizing further separated the French Canadians from all other ethnic groups in the mills who wanted to fight for higher wages (Carbonneau, 1994, p.14).

As a result of non-unionizing, the industrial workers of Lewiston were badly exploited. In 1937, after the Congress of Industrial Organizations brought in French-speaking organizers, the CIO was finally able to round up enough support to organize a strike. French priests and the greater French Canadian community scolded and disapproved of the striking workers. As a result of the strike, many workers permanently lost their jobs and many local shops never reopened. All that was achieved was a minuscule rise in wages (Carbonneau, 1994, p.15). In regards to the strike, Suzanne Carbonneau (1994) concluded, “Their one attempt to assert themselves had ended in disaster, and, for the most part, the Francos again became a ‘silent,’ docile minority, obedient to the tenets of “La Survivance” (p. 15).

Scholar Mark Paul Richard (2001) contradicted Carbonneau’s view of the community when he argued that the trade union activities of the Franco-Americans in the 1920s-1930s provides evidence that the community was working to improve their working conditions, with some success, and also indicates that “Franco-Americans did not follow submissively the dictates of their religious leaders” (Richard, 2001, p. 384).

In Richard's view, the culture did not continuously oppress the Franco-American community in the way that Carbonneau described.

Returning to Carbonneau's idea of a "docile community," it is evident that this idea was existent among other community members, as the same notion was also perpetuated by Marguerite Roy, another Franco-American raised in Lewiston, Maine. Roy (2011) described a conversation that she had with her mother about her mother's young adulthood and Lewiston. Aurore, her mother, would always want to walk down Lisbon Street with her husband in hopes that she would get to stop and chat with friends, yet her husband always wanted to avoid those situations. Reflecting on the events fifty years later, her mother said, "Your father had to be disappointed in me...He expected me to be like his mother—quiet and docile" (p. 95). The theme of a docile people again arises when Marguerite reflects on her sister's experience at St. Peter's School: "If Mama thought that the Dominican sisters at St. Peter's School would influence Pat into becoming a more docile, pious child, she must have been disappointed" (p. 117). From these statements, it seems to be the case that the community desired passive, obedient community members, and did not necessarily want anyone, particularly women in this case, to go against the grain.

Additionally, Mrs. Roy also provided us with some perspective of how the community felt about working at the textile mills in Lewiston. Reflecting on her work in the Bates Manufacturing Company office in the 1950s, she notes, "I felt proud to be a part—however small—of a company whose bedspreads were sold throughout the world" (Roy, 2011, p. 36). She also commented on the seemingly content condition of the men who worked outside the mill, unloading cartons of raw cotton and reloading

railroad carts with finished bedspreads like her grandfather did: “He considered himself lucky to be working outdoors. These men also seemed happy to be out in the open air” (Roy, 2011, p. 37). In contrast, she did not mention much about the opinions of workers in the factory rooms, other than the fact that she held her breath in the card room as to not inhale the cotton dust and she quickly exited the spinning room and weave room because of the shrill whistling and clatter of the machines (Roy, 2011, p. 36). Her sense of pride in her work suggests that some Franco-American mill workers had positive relationships with Lewiston’s industry, yet this relationship may be very different with people who physically work the machinery in the mills.

Raymond Luc Levasseur (2007), a Franco-American who entered the workforce in a similar situation, the textile industry of Sanford, Maine, in 1964, offered vivid descriptions of the conditions in the mills and his opinions about the work:

“After graduation and with no prospects for more schooling, I had to start supporting myself as best I could. As with my family before me, that meant taking a job in a mill...It was a hard, sweaty job in which the machine was speeded-up to push workers to the limits of their strengths. At the end of a shift on this machine, the only feeling left was exhaustion. Being in the mill was to be continually subjected to the by-products of production—noise so deafening that you had to scream to get the attention of a fellow worker or foreman. There were chemical by-products that poisoned the air and got on your skin, and always a grueling pace on the machinery. In looking back, I know that things were the way they were because the interest of the bosses was in making profits and not the health and welfare of us workers. I didn’t know it at the time, but this is capitalist production where workers are used like a piece of machinery then discarded—just like they did with my *pépère*” (p. 373-374).

Levasseur’s description of the mills and mill work echoes Carbonneau’s argument that the Franco-Americans in Lewiston persisted “as fodder in the mills.” The idea of the community being “used” and then “discarded,” and forced into an occupation due to

limited opportunity, would suggest that members of the community were oppressed and underwent this treatment because they were dependent on industry and had no other option.

In terms of the community's grasp to its culture, something that Carboneau found limiting, Lucille Barret, a longtime resident of Lewiston, provided an opposite outlook on this retention of language and culture. In the following excerpt, we see the positive associations that she felt with holding on to her community's language:

"Le Messenger, yes. You know, as a young girl I used to love it because my parents and, my mother didn't speak a word of English. My father had studied English to become naturalized here in 1920, as so they always had that newspaper coming in every day, which was great because you picked up your French and you stayed with it. You know, because you'd read it every day and whatever it was, you kept it going. But then all of a sudden they folded up because lack of subscription. I guess they went down so bad that they had to stop it, but it was great" (Lucille Barret, Mill Workers oral history collection, 2005-2006).

These community voices provide us with an understanding of how the community viewed its own culture, and also shows that there is disagreement among community members in regards to how they felt about their culture and their labor. This internal understanding plays a role in shaping the identity of the community and also affects what arguments about pollution would resonate with the community based on their established identity. This internal understanding contributes to the cultural conditions of a "place" and will affect a place-based identity, as will be explored in the discussion.

3.3 The Environment

So far, this analysis of early Lewiston has focused on Lewiston's people, their culture, and the city's industry, as Charlotte Michaud (1974) had encouraged the history of a city to be studied. Now the discussion will shift to incorporate Lewiston's environment, particularly the Androscoggin River. The mills situated upon the banks of the Androscoggin, which were powered by the river's numerous falls, had a direct relationship with the river in that they were dependent upon the moving water to power their industry, but they also had a direct relationship in that they dumped their industrial waste directly back into the river. The people of Lewiston who worked in the mills had an indirect relationship to their river through their work, but additionally, they had a direct relationship to the Androscoggin because their housing was located close in proximity to the river. To gain a deeper understanding of the "place" that is Lewiston, we must explore how both people and industry defined their relationships to the river.

3.3.1 Pollution

The construction of the textile mills allowed Lewiston to evolve into a thriving mill town in the late 19th to early 20th century and this industry was instrumental in shaping Lewiston, both in terms of its infrastructure and its population. Though this study is focused on Lewiston-Auburn, Lewiston was not the only Maine town to utilize the power of the river for industrial profit. By 1927, the Androscoggin River alone had twenty-one dams placed in areas with steep gradients along the 164 miles of the river (McFarland, 2012, p. 309-310). These dams were vital to the production of power for

all mills along the river, including the pulp and paper mills of Rumford and Jay, Maine. Industry played a significant role in defining towns and providing jobs, yet with all this industry came significant pollution.

The pulp and paper mills were major contributors to the pollution of the Androscoggin River. Papermaking requires two separate steps: first pulp is created out of wood, and then the actual paper is created. Wood pulping, which was utilized on the Androscoggin beginning in 1868, generated the most pollution in New England waters and also contributed to the deforestation of Maine forests. The introduction of the sulfite pulping process to Maine's paper mills in 1888 amplified the pollution problem. Sulfite was effective in breaking down the wood fibers of spruce trees, which made it a very practical method in Maine. Sulphurous acid and lime were boiled with wood chips to break down the fibers, and then the waste, which contained high levels of dissolved organic matter, was released into the river. This sulfite pulp process had devastating effects on oxygen levels in the Androscoggin River. Anaerobic bacteria in the river broke down the sulfates in the sulfite waste liquor into hydrogen sulfide gas, which drove levels of dissolved oxygen to become unsafe for most aquatic organisms. Additionally, the hydrogen sulfide gas produced an odor similar to that of rotten eggs, which permeated Maine's towns along the river (McFarland, 2010, p. 312).

Though the upstream paper mills were largely responsible for the pollution and the smell of the river, the wastes of textile mills also affected the condition of the Androscoggin. Lewiston, Maine, a textile mill town, was a contributor to this category of pollution. According to N. William Hines' (1968) overview of contributors to industrial water pollution, cotton textile production involves "the removal of natural

waxes, fats and coloring from the fibers by scouring, bleaching and dyeing procedures that produce a waste water rich in polluting materials” (p. 565). Although the horrid smell of the river was not caused by the textile pollution, the waste emitted by Lewiston’s textile mills contributed to the greater problem of pollution in Maine and was a concern in the pollution debates.

3.3.2 Foundations of an Anti-Pollution Movement

This industrial pollution did not go unnoticed by Maine’s public. Residents of Lewiston, as well as citizens of the greater State of Maine, began putting pressure on Maine’s government to solve the problem. Richard Judd (1990) explored how these early grassroots efforts were characterized by “business-government cooperation and technological manipulation,” which influenced the clean waters movement in Maine beginning in the 1940s and maintaining influence through the 1960s (p. 52).

In 1935 and 1937, the hydrogen sulfide odors in Lewiston-Auburn were so strong that they demanded the attention of Governor William Tudor Gardiner. The governor asked the paper industry to sponsor a report of the condition of the river, and due to the low Depression-era production levels, the report found that only a few stretches of Maine’s rivers were in “critical condition” (Judd, 1990, p. 53). The pollution study, which was funded by the S.D. Warren Paper Co., found the solution to be a matter of allotting the Androscoggin’s supply of dissolved oxygen more efficiently among the existing industries upon the river’s banks (Judd and Beach, 2003, p. 29). As Richard Judd (1990) explained, the study actually benefitted industry by “establishing the basic parameters for the coming debate on pollution” (p. 53). The report framed the pollution problem as a result of the combination of industrial and municipal wastes, and

it established arbitrary “nuisance” standards for the smell of the river. Basically, Judd (1990) concluded, the report sanctioned “maximum public tolerance for river pollution” and assumed “single-use management of major rivers as industrial sewers” (p. 54). These conclusions would exist as the guidelines for pollution control throughout the following decades.

After the Depression, during the particularly intolerable summer of 1941, citizens acted against water pollution. Edgar St. Hilarie, a member of the Lewiston Board of Public Works, originated a plan to send signed petitions to Washington to demand action against this pollution. In a short amount of time, 13,000 residents of the Androscoggin River Valley signed the petition, which Judge Alton A. Lessard brought to Washington. In response, the federal public health service sent its engineer, Edward C. Garthe, to conduct an investigation of the condition of Maine’s waters. Garthe found that the pollution of the Androscoggin was caused by industrial waste and municipal sewage, but industrial waste was the “chief offender.” According to Judge Lessard, everything was prepared for presidential action until the war broke out; “When the emergency is over, the matter can be taken before congress again, and there will be a chance of getting action” (Lemieux, 1942).

Also in 1941, a group of fifty-two Lewiston businessmen formed an “action club” and petitioned the State Legislature to stop the dumping of sulfite wastes by the upriver mills. Their concerns were economic in nature, arguing that the pollution threatened property along the river, fumes discolored buildings, and workers were distracted by the intense odors (Judd, 1990, p. 54). The state warned the businessmen that the only sure solution to the smell would be to close the mills, which would mean economic

doom for Maine. Therefore, as a solution to the public objection to the smell, the state established the Maine Sanitary Water Board in July of 1941 to do more research before taking action against the mills (McFarland, 2012, p. 313).

In reality, the board had no actual power to make a change in regards to the pollution problem. The Legislature gave the board no authority, little funding, no means to compel witnesses to testify, and no way to actually enforce its recommendations. The staff could only investigate the condition of the rivers and classify them according to prevailing use so that “existing industries might better share the resource” (Judd, 1990, p. 56). As the Lewiston Evening Journal reported, “Originally created as a tiger, the board came out of the legislative committee rooms as a lamb” (Lemieux, 1942).

Maine’s Attorney General, Frank Cowan, was the first to take political action against the major pulp and paper companies by submitting his case to the Maine Supreme Court on May 29, 1942. The court concluded that the sulfite waste liquor discharge from three major paper companies, the Brown Company, the Oxford Paper Company, and International Paper Company, was causing the intense odor of the Androscoggin (McFarland, 2012, p. 314). In response, the paper companies created the Androscoggin River Technical Committee (ARTC) with the goal of studying the pollution in the river and developing ways to lessen nuisance conditions. Members of this committee initially included engineers and management staff from each of the mills, but in 1943, Walter Lawrance, a Bates College chemistry professor with no formal affiliation with the mills, was hired by the ARTC as a consultant (McFarland, 2012, p. 314). Lawrance sampled the river at fourteen different locations, testing for dissolved

oxygen and oxygen-consuming bacteria levels, pH, turbidity, gas, foam, and floating sludge. Lewiston was the only location in which Lawrance sampled for odor (McFarland, 2012, p. 316).

In 1945, Representative George G. Downs of Rome introduced a bill to the legislature that would authorize the Sanitary Water Board to investigate pollution conditions of Maine's waters, and if industry failed to cooperate in the cleanup, would permit the board to "Proceed at law or in equity to procure relief from the pollution conditions." Several representatives of the pulp and paper industry who deemed the Downs' bill "too drastic" opposed the bill, and ultimately, the bill did not pass (*Lewiston Evening Journal*, March 23, 1945).

When the stench returned to the Androscoggin in 1947, and the Lewiston Community Association threatened legal action, the Maine Supreme Court appointed Walter Lawrance as "Rivermaster" of the Androscoggin River. By 1948, Lawrance was given the power to set weekly sulfite pulp quotas and to conduct scientific experiments on the river to test other methods for reducing pollution (McFarland, 2012, p. 318). Lawrance's tactics were met with resistance from both mill executives, who complained about restrictions, and community activists, who complained about the continued smell. The Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control were some of Lawrance's most vocal critics, arguing, "The strategy of the industrialists is to make the people think that something is being done to cure a sick river. So they come up with this nitrite-perfuming activity" (McFarland, 2012, p. 320). People wanted more than simply nuisance abatement; they wanted action.

In 1950, the State Legislature replaced the Sanitary Water Board with the Water Improvement Commission (WIC), yet this new entity was burdened with the same weaknesses as the Sanitary Water Board. It was assigned to continue classifying rivers and was entrusted to prove that sources of pollution were “inconsistent with the public interest,” yet the phrasing was so vague that no action was taken against any polluter between 1942 and 1953 (as cited in Judd, 1990, p. 57).

3.4 Chapter Conclusion

This overview of the history of Lewiston has provided the basis upon which to explore the status of Lewiston at midcentury and provides the context in which the identity-framing arguments of the CCPC and the AIM will be analyzed. In terms of buildings and industry, the 1950s saw a Lewiston with a declining textile industry, yet still employing a significant number of the Franco-American population. In terms of people and their culture, we see Franco-Americans beginning to assimilate into American culture more than ever before, yet still holding on to pieces of their cultural own. And in terms of the environment, we have citizens beginning to resist the pollution and smell that this industry has caused, and begging for action. As Michaud had explained, the way a city regards itself shapes how the city will meet the challenges of the present (Michaud & Leamon, 1974, p. 46). This social history of Lewiston provides the foundation upon which the city met the present challenges of pollution in the 1950s.

Chapter 4: Pollution Debates of 1953 and 1955

By the 1950s, concerns about water pollution in Maine had reached a new level and the Maine State Legislature was pressured to take action. This chapter will focus on the pollution control bills presented to Maine's Legislature during two specific years, 1953 and 1955, and will detail the debates surrounding this proposed legislation. Analyzing the arguments presented by the two organizations, the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control (CCPC) and the Associated Industries of Maine (AIM), in regards to this proposed legislation, will allow us to understand how each organization framed its collective identity and attempted to foster support for its cause. For the purpose of this research, I have focused on CCPC and AIM representations in media that is specific to Lewiston, Maine, and have analyzed a number of newspaper articles that cover the pollution debates from both the *Lewiston Daily Sun* and the *Lewiston Evening Journal*. Additionally, I had at least two primary source documents from either group, including pamphlets from the CCPC and interview transcripts from the president of the AIM, which I also utilized in my analysis. I have coded each article and document using the software NVivo in order to reveal the major themes that each organization publicized. These themes will make transparent the values and goals of each organization, which will allow us to understand the collective-action framing strategies of each organization and also how this framing relates to Lewiston. The themes that the organizations perpetuated through quotes in newspapers are central to the collective identity of each organization. Unless otherwise noted, all italicized words in quotations have been added by the author for emphasis.

4.1 The Advent of the CCPC, 1953

Public resistance against water pollution throughout the 1930s and 1940s, though unsuccessful in forcing the State to take major actions against polluters, was significant in that it provided the foundation for a citizens' grassroots coalition to form against water pollution in the following decade. The most prominent Maine citizens' group that emerged to advocate for clean waters in the 1950s was the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control (CCPC), established in Auburn in 1953. The *Lewiston Evening Journal* printed the group's mission statement as follows:

“...to compile and classify information made available by critical study and scientific research concerning the use and also the abuse of the resources and bounties of nature as lavished upon our State of Maine by Our Divine Provider, with particular but not exclusive attention to the condition and degree of pollution of waters of our State, its rivers, lakes, streams and coastal waters, and thereafter to disseminate such information along the people, so that they, being properly and adequately educated on the subject, may advocate, promote, and procure sound, effective, progressive and educational and legislative measures toward the correction of such abuses as may be found to exist, in order that all the people of our State may by their interest in the vigorous enforcement of such measures insure the preservation, conservation or restoration of our natural resources and improve and enhance for themselves, their children and for future generations, as well as for visitors, the industrial, agricultural, recreational, sanitary, moral, social and cultural conditions of the State of Maine” (“Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control, Inc. file incorporation papers,” 1953).

Dr. Norman Tufts, a veterinarian from Auburn, Maine, served as the first executive director of the organization. Other notable members included C. Pratt Bradford, the superintendent of Maine State Parks, Rev. Robert Wile, pastor of the Universalist Church in Lewiston, J. Dennis Bruno, the CCPC public relations director, Joseph L. Dow, Lewiston's Industrial Commissioner, and Norman A. Wood, Auburn Civil Defense Director (“Appoint state park supt. to pollution control staff,” 1952; “Turner

minister resigns as pollution control head," 1953; "Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control, Inc. file incorporation papers," 1953).

As demonstrated through their mission statement, the CCPC was focused on educating the public about the polluted condition of Maine's waters in hopes that this information would motivate Maine to support clean water legislation. Dr. Tufts, with the assistance of his fellow CCPC members, dedicated his time to conducting experiments, gathering data, and disseminating information to various groups with presentations of photos and colored slides ("Appoint state park supt. to pollution control staff," 1952). The organization was strategic in its educational tactics and favored presenting information before small bodies rather than holding mass protest meetings. As Col. J. Dennis Bruno explained, the CCPC did "not want the public to swallow an emotional program based on hysteria." He continued, "Rather than following a rabble-rousing approach...we believe once the people have a chance to know and examine the facts on both sides, they will find, as citizens elsewhere in the country, that filth and germs are more costly than clean-up and that under a working program of pollution control and the recreational, business and industrial benefits actually boost the health and economy of the State" ("Turner minister resigns as pollution control head," 1953).

Though the anti-pollution organization may have chosen only to meet in front of select small bodies, the group was not estranged from the general public of the Lewiston-Auburn region. The Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control was able to convey its message through statements made in local newspapers and also through published pamphlets. Even in its infancy, 1953 was a particularly active year for the

CCPC as the group championed its proposed bill regarding water pollution before the State Legislature.

4.2 Maine Legislature, 1953

During the 1953 legislative session, Maine's 96th Legislature was presented with three bills concerning water pollution. The first proposed bill would require classification of select waters, the second would take a step further and require actual enforcement of those classification standards, and the third bill regarded interstate water pollution control.

The Water Improvement Commission (WIC) proposed the first bill, which was met with little resistance by industry. Pressured by increasing public awareness of pollution, the WIC proposed a bill that would set maximum pollution standards and start a long-term classification system for Maine waters (Judd, 1990, p. 58). The bill, formally known as "An Act providing for the Classification of Certain Surface Waters," did exactly what its title declared; it classified *certain* waters. The only waters classified in the Androscoggin River Basin were the Magalloway River and its tributaries, the Kennebago Stream and its tributaries, and the Cupsuptic Stream and its tributaries. All were classified as "Class A." The bill was far from groundbreaking in the anti-pollution movement as the Androscoggin River itself and other major Maine rivers, which were the principal concerns of pollution, were not at all mentioned in the bill.

The Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control responded to the WIC's proposed bill with a bill of their own, which would require significant changes in how Maine water pollution was approached. The bill, titled "AN ACT Amending the Water

Improvement Commission and Creating Standards of Classification” would force the classification of waters and require the actual enforcement of this classification. This bill described the various classifications of waters as follows:

“Class A shall be the highest classification and shall be of such quality that it can be used for bathing and for public water supplies after disinfection, and the dissolved oxygen content of such waters shall not be less than 75% saturation and contain not more than 100 coliform bacteria per 100 milliliters.

There shall be no discharge of sewage or other wastes into waters of this classification and no deposits of such material on the banks of such waters in such a manner that transfer of the material into the waters is likely. Such waters may be used for log-driving or other commercial purposes which will not lower its classification.

Class B shall be the second highest classification and shall have no objectionable characteristics and the dissolved oxygen content of such waters shall not be less than 75% saturation and contain not more than 300 coliform bacteria per 100 milliliters.

There shall be no disposal of sewage into such waters except from an approved sewage plant with disinfected effluent, and no disposal of other wastes except those that will not lower the classification of the water nor be injurious to aquatic life or render such dangerous for human consumption if commonly so used. Waters of this class shall be considered acceptable for recreational purposes, and, after adequate treatment, for use as a public water supply.

Class C waters, the third highest classification shall be free from scums, slicks, odors, and objectionable floating solids, and shall be free from chemicals and other conditions inimical to fish life, and the dissolved oxygen content of such waters shall not be less than 5 parts per million. During a period of temporary reduction in the dissolved oxygen content in this class water, due to abnormal condition of temperature stream flow, the commission shall take no action to reduce the amount of pollution from any source which is allowed in such class water under normal conditions.

Class D waters, the lowest classification, shall be considered as primarily devoted to the transportation of sewage and industrial wastes without the creation of a nuisance condition and such waters shall contain dissolved oxygen at all times. During a period of temporary reduction in

the dissolved oxygen content in this class water, due to abnormal conditions of temperature stream flow, the commission shall take no action to reduce the amount of pollution from any source which is allowed in such class water under normal conditions" (Maine Senate, 1953b).

In addition to classification, the bill would require the commission to give public notice of the proposed classification, and further, require the courts of the state to uphold said classification. Passage of the bill would make it "unlawful for any person or person, to dispose of any sewage, industrial or other waste...in such a manner as will lower the quality of the said waters," and penalties would be imposed for a violation of such standards.

In spite of the efforts of the CCPC, the only bill to pass in the 1953 Maine Legislature was the WIC's sponsored bill to classify certain surface waters in Maine.

4.3 CCPC Fight for Clean Waters

Prior to the pollution hearings of the 1953 legislative session, the CCPC was particularly vocal in expressing the organization's opinions regarding pollution and the proposed legislation. Through statements made in newspapers and distributed in published pamphlets, the CCPC created and spread a notion of what it means to be a good citizen of the State of Maine and stated what responsibilities citizens have to their communities. One such responsibility, as expressed by the CCPC, is to protect Maine's natural resources. An analysis of the statements made by the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control in 1953 categorized this idea into five major themes: (1) pollution, (2) anti-pollution program, (3) nature nostalgia, (4) citizen involvement, and (5) community. Each of these major themes, and the way in which the CCPC describes

these themes, contribute to creating a collective identity that aligns with the goals of the organization. It becomes evident that the CCPC relies heavily on place, with many different conceptions of “place,” yet there are still underlying classist arguments that are not as obvious.

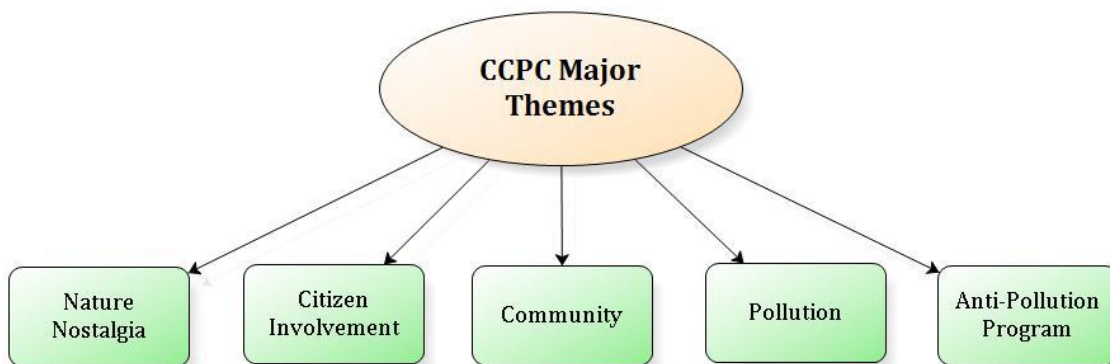


Figure 1: CCPC Major Themes

4.3.1. Pollution

The first prominent theme that the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control emphasized through their statements was pollution. The organization discussed, in detail, both the causes and effects of water pollution. Essentially, the CCPC broke down the causes of pollution into two categories: industry and other sources. Though the CCPC briefly mentioned a list of other sources, its industry alone is where the organization focused the majority of its blame. In terms of the effects of pollution, the CCPC detailed economic effects, as was common to the pollution debates of the time, but it also illuminated the social and environmental effects of water pollution.

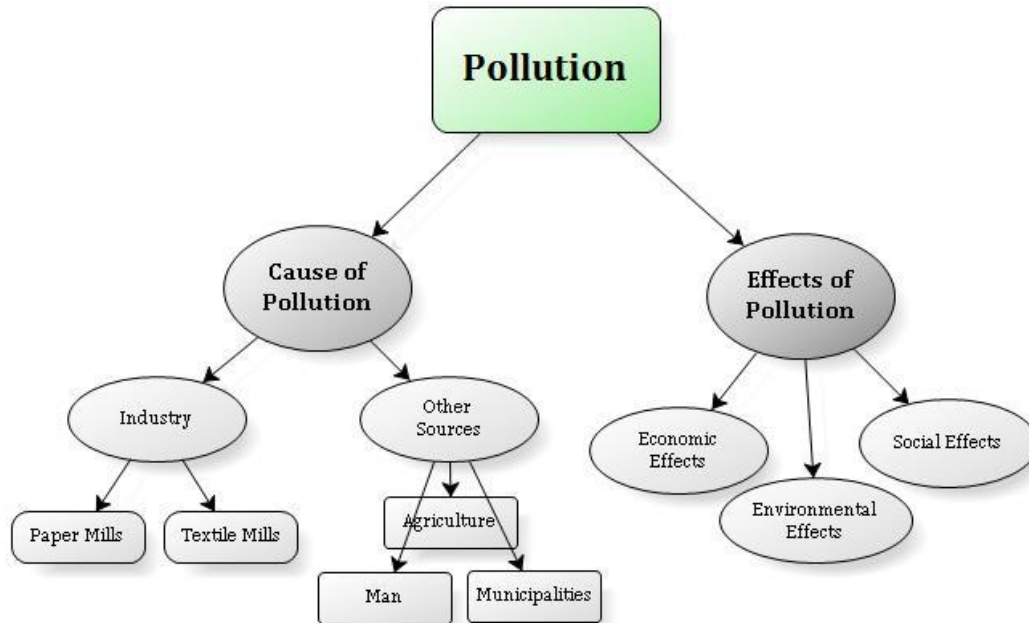


Figure 2: CCPC Theme - Pollution

Concerning the causes of pollution, which is an aspect of diagnostic framing, the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control most frequently blamed industry for the condition of the river. Maine had two major mill industries in the 1950s: paper mills and textile mills. Paper mills are frequently blamed for the polluted condition of Maine’s rivers, yet the CCPC also pays significant attention to the pollution contributed by textile mills. This focus on textile mills is particularly applicable to Lewiston. The following excerpts detail the CCPC’s accusations of the causes of pollution:

Industry contributes seething messes, acids, oils, grease, chemicals, animal and vegetable materials—some poisonous some noxious, and still others merely noisome and offensive to the eye and nostril (Col. J. Dennis Bruno quoted in “Col. J. Dennis Bruno prepares statement of claims,” 1952).

Figures show that of a total of 27 pulp and paper mills in Maine, *the entire 27 produce organic wastes* and the Pine Tree State leads the field with a pollution load estimate at a population equivalent of 1,500,600 for this industry alone. Of that amount, the equivalent of 1,430,000 is discharged untreated to the rivers and streams. As a contrast, Massachusetts has a

total pulp and paper waste pollution load of 128,800 – and 101,500 of that is removed by treatment. (Bruno, 1953).

Doing a close-up, we find that the pulp and paper industry produces large quantities of wastes. Paper-mill wastes are weaker and larger in volume than pulp mill wastes. High in organic matter, pulp-mill wastes contain lignin, carbohydrates and resins in addition to *such toxic materials as sulphites and various chemicals* used to make up the cooking charge (Bruno, 1953).

Now, moving on to claims against the textile industry:

Now, take a squint at the textile picture. Maine has 73 textile mills, 52 of which *produce organic waste* with a population equivalent of 217,200 persons. This is released to waterways without treatment (Gould, 1953b).

On the other hand, the *textile industry produces both organic and toxic wastes*. Deterging processes, such as wool scouring, cotton kiering and silk degumming, remove fat, dirt, waxes and other material from the fibers. These deterging wastes are considered the worst of the textile wastes, since they contain highly putrescible matter. Bleaching and dyeing and finishing operation produce wastes which may contain organic matter removed from the cloth as well as toxic substances from the various chemical used in the process... (Bruno, 1953).

Though the CCPC made it clear that big industry was to blame for water pollution, they also mentioned a number of other sources, yet to a much lesser extent. Other sources of pollution included agriculture, municipalities, and tanneries. The CCPC acknowledged that there are numerous sources of pollution to the river, yet these sources were only mentioned sparingly, as organization also kept its focus on the fault of industry.

Today, our towns and cities discharge untreated domestic waste, toilet flushings, bath and dishwater, restaurant and laundry washings, hospital and commercial refuse and all kinds of unwanted matter directly into the Androscoggin and its tributaries (Col. J. Dennis Bruno quoted in "Col. J. Dennis Bruno prepares statement of claims," 1952).

The cities, of course, cast their sewage into the Androscoggin—but that isn't so bad as some might think. A normal river will cleanse itself as it flows, and sewage alone will not kill of all the fish. It was the *mill waste that combined with sewage*—sulphide brine and dyes and other chemical castoffs. With its chemical balance destroyed, the river could no longer cleanse itself, and fish and vegetation simply gave up. The Androscoggin became a dead river—the water could no long suspend sufficient oxygen (Gould, 1953a).

Agriculture chips in with its fair share of stench and pollution matter. Drainage from livestock feed lots, dairy barns, pigpens, manure heaps, vegetable piles and other farm refuse are added to the appalling concoction of filth—with generous portions of poison sprays and dips to contaminate the river and brooks that were one day happily chuckling and burbling on every typical homestead scene (Col. J. Dennis Bruno quoted in “Col. J. Dennis Bruno prepares statement of claims,” 1952).

The canning industry which is of considerable importance to Maine economy also contributes to the contamination of water resources...Dumped into Maine's waterways are many types of industrial wastes in addition to those which contribute to the top sources of pollution. Tanneries, dairies and slaughterhouses, along with other lesser industries, add to the pollution loads in every section of the state (Bruno, 1953).

A final category of the cause of pollution, as the CCPC saw it, was “man” in general. On numerous occasions, the organization faulted “man,” rather than a specific industry, town, or practice, for the pollution of the Androscoggin. Col. J. Dennis Bruno's statement arguing for a “B” Classification of the Androscoggin is one instance in which the focus is on the fault of man. He noted that the pollution of the Androscoggin River was caused “as the white man brought civilization along its banks.” He continued to describe the river as “defiled by man” and “either hacked by the hands of humans or besmirched by man-made pollution” (“Col. J. Dennis Bruno prepares statement of claims,” 1952).

In addition to discussing who is responsible for the polluted condition of the Androscoggin, the CCPC also discussed the effects of this pollution. Statements made in newspapers focused on the fact that 90% of Maine's rivers and streams are polluted and detailed how this pollution had negative consequences for the state. The organization defined the wide range of effects caused by water pollution and described how the effects of pollution expanded beyond purely economic consequences, as there were also human and social effects of pollution. The following statements discuss the economic effects that pollution is having on the state, yet it is notable that the CCPC tends to discuss these economic effects in conjunction with other kinds of social effects, including health and quality of life.

What we see in the bad conditions of the Androscoggin River is multiplied many times in similar cases throughout our State. In its present practices, Maine is down. Water pollution and dwindling forests *can result in suspension of industry*. Public health is endangered. *Communities suffer financial loss*. Recreational and *economic advantages are disappearing* every time you flush the bowl (Col. J. Dennis Bruno quoted in "Col. J. Dennis Bruno prepares statement of claims," 1952).

Rivers and streams polluted by certain types of industrial wastes also present a stench nuisance. *Foul odors interfere with human living, hamper business and industry*. Gases tarnish equipment and ruin paint (Bruno, 1953).

Filthy rivers flow through valleys of *social and economic death*. Those who present barriers to needed correction and project slanted clean-up costs are destined to be the honorary pallbearers of a state once rich in natural resources (Bruno, 1953).

We have a river that goes by here, and it stinks. You can smell it for miles, and on a good day it will peel paint off buildings and create a rich, purple effluvia which *makes everybody sad...* (Gould, 1943a).

And what about the price of present conditions? Aside from the cost of medical care, lost man hours of work, lives, devaluation of property and

higher water rates resulting from pollution and bad forestry practices, there are other major *social and human costs* that are real costs, though intangible and largely imponderable (Col. J. Dennis Bruno quoted in "Col. J. Dennis Bruno prepares statement of claims," 1952).

The CCPC emphasized the negative effect that foul odors had on human quality of life by causing everyone to be "sad" and also introduced notions of endangering public health. In terms of economics, the organization focuses on how the smell also hampers businesses trying to attract customers, and notes how the polluted condition of the river will also affect the efficiency of industry. In the pamphlets distributed by the organization, the CCPC went into a lot more detail about the adverse effects of pollution on aquatic life:

There may be no flaw in the indenture, but we still have *no fish in the river*, paint continues to turn yellow, and we can still smell the thing three miles away. The lovely Androscoggin River is a reeking mess of filth and debris. Actually, there is no need of it (Gould, 1953a).

Inert wastes, those containing such substances as sawdust, prevent growth of aquatic plants by preventing sunlight from penetrating deeply into the water to give the plants the light they require as a source of energy. This indirectly affects fishlife. Where the velocity of the waters in a stream is low, the inert suspended matter settles to the bottom in the form of a sludge blanket that may cover and smother aquatic life.

It has been found that floating oils may affect fishlife by covering the fish with a film that interrupts their normal breathing processes. Interruption of normal interchange of gases *may result in the death of fish* by suffocation.

Toxic wastes are those which contain acids, alkalies, metals and specific compounds, such as, cyanides, phenols, cresols, sulphides and sulphites. These wastes may directly *destroy fish* by poisoning them upon their ingestion of the waste or may cause suffocation of the fish by forming insoluble compounds which coat the gills and body. Or fish may be indirectly destroyed by these wastes when the aquatic life on which they live is destroyed by these toxic substances... (Bruno, 1953).

As we can see from the excerpts above, the CCPC placed very clear blame on industry for the condition of the river. This blame became particularly relevant to Lewiston when the organization focused on the textile industry, and with this focus, the organization indirectly targeted many Lewiston workers. In terms of the effects, the CCPC moved beyond purely economic effects, which tend to involve some class-based discussion, and included human and social costs, which have some rootedness in place. The significances of these arguments will be explored further in the discussion.

4.3.2 Anti-Pollution Program

The second major theme uncovered through the CCPC statements was the supported anti-pollution program, which was the most frequently referenced topic in the statements made by the citizens' conservation group. References to this anti-pollution program fall into four sub-categories: benefits of the program, obstacles to the program, industry involvement, and proposed legislation. After the CCPC established the cause of the problem, they needed to use prognostic frames to provide a solution, and this is where the anti-pollution program fits in. The pollution control legislation proposed to the state legislature would provide that solution.

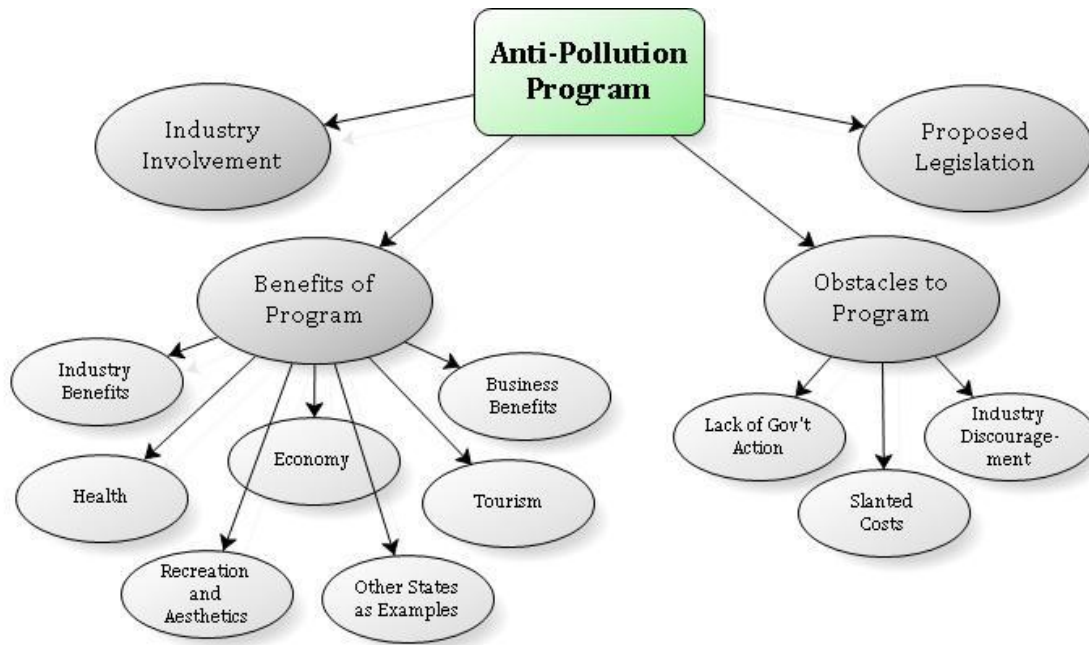


Figure 3: CCPC Theme - Anti-Pollution Program

The CCPC placed great emphasis on all potential benefits that an anti-pollution program would bring to Maine and utilized prognostic frames to show that pollution control measures would provide the solution to the current problem. The organization made reference various pollution control bills that were being considered in the Maine State Legislature, most notably “AN ACT Amending the Water Improvement Commission and Creating Standards of Classification” during the 1953 Legislative Session, and comprehensively detailed the numerous benefits that passage of this bill would provide. In terms of economics, the group asserted that clean water would provide favorable outcomes for existing Maine businesses and industries, as well as attract new industries to the state that required clean water. This argument countered industry’s claim that pollution regulations would force them out of business. Additional cited benefits include health benefits, increased tourism, and recreational and aesthetic

advantages. To justify these benefits, the CCPC relied on other state programs as examples of the successfulness of anti-pollution programs across the country.

Selections of CCPC statements that detail various benefits of the proposed programs are as follows:

However, it is a 'B' classification is reasonably a worthy target, if the *health and welfare of the people* is be considered *along with the welfare of industry*. A 'B' Classification has water suitable for bathing and recreation, irrigation and agricultural uses, good fish habitat and aesthetic value and in a [xxx] of emergency and National disaster would be acceptable for pure water supply with filtration and disinfection (Col. J. Dennis Bruno quoted in "Col. J. Dennis Bruno prepares statement of claims," 1952).

Clean pure water will *lower the cost* of water for industry and municipalities and will increase opportunities for industry and recreation." (Appoint state park supt. to pollution control staff," 1952).

Even a casual study of pollution control and conservation and the development of new techniques and by-products by some States as Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, California and Rhode Island will explode the claim of 'economically prohibitive' raised by those who relegate our rivers and streams to one principle function – that of waste carriers (Col. J. Dennis Bruno quoted in "Col. J. Dennis Bruno prepares statement of claims," 1952).

The leading argument of the mill owners is that the expense of cleaning up will force them out of business. Evidently this argument has worked so well in the past that they plan to use it always. It is, naturally, a pointless argument. It isn't so. *None of the mills is going to go broke* by doing something that their competitors in other states are already doing. A company isn't going to vacate their investment in Maine just because it might cost them a cent a ton to barrel their waste, instead of dumping it in the river. As a matter of plan economical fact, nearly all the mill wastes now going into Maine rivers have definite reclamation values—so advanced is modern, chemical industry. Pulpmill waste, for example, is a good road binder, and can be used to build expensive highways cheaply. Furthermore, when any of these mills throws a party for its salesmen or buyers, and their wives, at some fancy place in New York, or elsewhere, there are witnesses who might tell you that what they spend for liquor would go a long way toward river sanitation (Gould, 1953b).

In terms of obstacles to the pollution program, the CCPC blamed industry discouragement, slanted costs, and lack of government action. As Executive Director Dr. Tufts explained, "Russia has its iron curtain and China its bamboo curtain, but Maine has a paper curtain- new ideas just don't penetrate" ("Pollution bills result in long, stormy session," 1955).

He [Norman Tufts] said opponents have attempted to discourage progress by citing costs involved in installation of the most expensive sewage treatment processes ("Turner minister resigns as pollution control head," 1953).

Last night, Dr. Norman R. Tufts, Auburn Veterinarian, at Gardiner, impatiently blasted Maine industry and "captive state agencies" for what he calls "fighting against cleanup of waters and woods" (Can't rush pollution cure," 1954).

The CCPC holds both industry and government responsible for the lack of action against pollution, and additionally, the CCPC is offering a critique of the Maine government by declaring that the government is "captive" to the wants of industry. As demonstrated below, the organization had even more freedom to be harsh and blunt in blaming industry and "crooked" politicians for the condition of the rivers in pamphlets than the group could be in statements made to the newspaper.

A man at Brunswick put river water on his vegetables during a dry growing-season last summer, and produced a cucumber he couldn't lift, but simultaneously the newspapers printed statements from great industrialists that the river was really quite clean (Gould, 1953a).

Who is fighting the clean-waters proposition? One might well ask. Briefly, and without the customary elaboration of the "experts," river pollution in Maine means industrial waste. It consists of pulp and paper cast-offs, textile dyes and detergents, sawmill waste, and things of that sort. These mills and factories, however, confuse the true issue of blaming filth and stink on the sewage of cities, and also on each other. A paper mill man, for instance, always says the stink is textile chemicals. A textile man says it's

sulphide brine. When they're together and talking for the papers, it's always human sewage...

Every time any citizen or group of citizens mentions river pollution in Augusta, the industrialists gather to fight it, on principle. Actually, of course, their position is completely untenable. They are, openly and clearly, advocating filthy, disease, stench and dirty living, and in order to save their corporation the few dollars that would be involved in a clean-up, they have to be champions of everything that is bad. But they do this (Gould, 1953b).

River pollution is one of Maine's major political problems, and is probably THE major problem. As so often happens, the people aren't too hep to the truth, largely because of the *peanut-minds that run a state like Maine* from behind the scenes are doing a good job of keeping the truth from bursting forth like a glad new song...But overall, Maine's water pollution situation is anything but complimentary (Gould, 1953b).

In addition to blaming industry for the problem, the CCPC also made reference to situations in which industrial interests were concerned about the condition of the river and wanted to be involved in the solution:

Leading industrialists throughout the country have taken keen interest in programs for better health and business conditions and their interests actually gained from cleaning up polluted water... (Harkins, 1953, p. 2).

For years, industrial interests and those who use of Maine rivers and streams for generating hydro-electric power have *looked with eyes of deep concern* at the increasing menace of water pollution (Col. J. Dennis Bruno quoted in "Col. J. Dennis Bruno prepares statement of claims," 1952).

However, a few years back the industrialists evidently agreed the thing was pretty bad, and they made a gesture of appeasing the nose-holding voters (Gould, 1953a).

Rather than solely focusing on industry as the cause of pollution, the CCPC also showed how industry was concerned with pollution and could be part of the solution. As previously mentioned, those who identified with industry as workers could have felt

targeted by the blame that the CCPC forced upon industry for pollution, but portraying industry as part of the solution could have also allied workers with the anti-pollution movement, while workers still retained their class-based identity.

4.3.3 Nature Nostalgia

The third prominent theme utilized by the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control in their arguments for pollution control was reference to the way that Maine and the Androscoggin River used to be before the immense pollution degraded the river. These nostalgic descriptions focused on the previous condition of Maine's natural resources and argued that Maine should strive to return to these favorable conditions. The references to nature nostalgia utilize motivation frames because references to the previous condition of the Androscoggin provide the basis for justifying why citizens should join this cause. In accepting his appointment to the advisory staff for the CCPC, C. Pratt Bradford declared:

Our rivers, lakes, and seashores should be returned to the clean and wholesome condition which was our heritage (C. Pratt Bradford quoted in "Appoint state park supt. to pollution control staff," 1952).

Col. J. Dennis Bruno, the CCPC's public relations officer, echoed Bradford's argument in his statement which advocated for the Androscoggin to be improved to a "B" classification. Col. Dennis Bruno describes the stark contrast between the natural condition of the Androscoggin and the harshly polluted condition of the river, which was the result of "man-made pollution":

One of the most powerful exhibits in the case against pollution in northeastern United States is the Androscoggin River. *There was a day when the Androscoggin was referred to as 'clear' and 'bountiful,' for its water was pure and aquatic life reflected the robust health of its watersheds...*The course of the river, from civilization point to civilization

point, is a startling contradiction of travel under unrivaled skies, thunderous rises, toss big woods, neighboring cool lakes and chubby bellies of verdant hills... all either hacked by the hands of humans or besmirched by man-made pollution – individual chemicals and floating fecal matter indiscriminately released from medieval sewage systems or discharged directly from that out-moded institution, the old fashioned out-house (“Col. J. Dennis Bruno prepares statement of claims,” 1952).

“...And the Androscoggin Still STINKS!,” a statement written by John T. Gould and distributed by the public relations section of the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control in 1953, began by describing, in detail, the previous beauty of the river. Gould even put a personal touch on the story of the Androscoggin and exemplified how the transition into the current polluted state of the river personally affected him and his family:

The Androscoggin rises in the *lovely Rangeley Lakes*, the prettiest region in the United States, and immediately flows out of Maine into New Hampshire. At this point you can dip your cup anywhere and drink without the slightest fear. Fierce landlocked salmon will rise to your fly and give you the greatest thrill now left to effete mankind. Square-tailed trout, too. *It is beautiful.*

It wasn't too long ago that an *ancestor of mine settled up here* because he liked the valley. *Sea-run fish crowded the river* below the falls—salmon, trout, alewives, shad, sturgeon, and many another that fought up and up to the ancient spawning beds. Boys stripped and took August dips in the cool, clean water. Then they'd dress and bring a mess of trout home for supper.

But in a generation every *possible insult had been perpetrated against the created loveliness of God*. Forests that controlled the headwaters had been stripped away. Sawmills cast slabs, sawdust, and shavings into the stream. Pulp mills found they could peel wood by letting it churn together in the spring run-off, and the clean bottoms where trout had spawned since glacial times were a rotting filth of shredded bark. Just below Brunswick accumulating debris actually built up an island—some of it eroded silt, but mostly slabs and bark and sawdust...(Gould, 1953a).

Through these nostalgic descriptions of Maine’s clean past, the CCPC was providing the motivation upon which citizens could develop an identity rooted in place. This foundation of a place-based identity through motivation frames will be explored further in the discussion.

4.3.4 Citizen Involvement

The CCPC, being a “citizens’ group,” desired an informed Maine population to join their cause and become involved in the fight against pollution. In order to obtain this support, the group shared the results of their experiments and informed the public about what had occurred at their meetings, but furthermore, the organization moved beyond factual evidence of water pollution and offered an explanation of *why* the public should join this fight and what their obligation is as citizens of the State of Maine. The references to citizen involvement also utilized motivation frames.

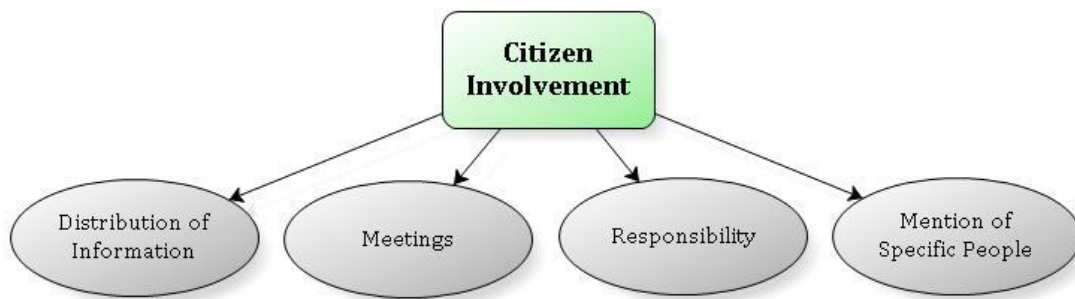


Figure 4: CCPC Theme - Citizen Involvement

Through the Lewiston newspapers, the CCPC would announce meetings or give synopses of what had occurred at previous CCPC meetings in order to keep the public involved in the happenings of the organization (“Appoint state park supt. to pollution control staff,” 1952; “Turner minister resigns as pollution control head,” 1953; “Citizens’ council opposes chemical treatment of river,” 1954). Additionally, the group

would make note of how their experimental findings were going to be disseminated to the public. Newspapers declared that data compiled by the organization, such as the report detailing the processes that Col. Bruno studied for control of pollution, “will be made public later” (“Appoint state park supt. to pollution control staff,” 1952). As previously mentioned, the group was adamant in educating the public and sharing their findings because they believed that “once the people have a chance to know and examine the facts on both sides,” they will see that the benefits of an anti-pollution program greatly outweigh the costs (“Turner minister resigns as pollution control head,” 1953).

Beyond simply informing people about the issues, the CCPC also tried to gain public support by alluding to the responsibility that each and every citizen had to fight for Maine’s clean waters. By framing the actions of the organization as being representative of “good” citizenship, the group provided an explanation of what it actually means to be a good citizen and what responsibilities people have as citizens of Maine.

Well, I think use has spoiled a lot of things for us. Like the river. There’s no need of it. The Androscoggin, today, could run clear and clean all the way to the sea. We don’t have to let it stink, theoretically. We can *rise up as citizens* and demand our rights (Gould, 1953b).

And it’s everybody’s problem. We cannot expect State and Federal agencies, will, by themselves, clean our rivers and restore our forests. Nor is tax money alone the magic wand (Col. J. Dennis Bruno quoted in “Col. J. Dennis Bruno prepares statement of claims,” 1952).

If we are to assure attraction for business and industry, maintain a satisfactory supply of fish and game for our own recreation and for our calling visitors, we will have to *start thinking in terms of individual responsibility* and spend less time with one eye cast on the wishing-well

and the other on state and federal treasuries (Col. J. Dennis Bruno quoted in "Col. J. Dennis Bruno prepares statement of claims," 1952).

The conservation and pollution control movement is drawing some of *the State's more influential citizens*, said Bruno. He reported citizens from many sections of the State have communicated with the Auburn headquarters offering their cooperation ("Appoint state park supt. to pollution control staff," 1952).

In the time of little more than two months, the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control group has *aroused and enlisted the support of good citizens* throughout the state (Rev. Robert Wile quoted in "Turner minister resigns as pollution control head," 1953).

Furthermore, the CCPC provides Maine's public with specific examples of people who are "good citizens" of Maine, and then details their involvement in the fight against pollution. The following statement was made by council president, Rev. Robert P. Wile, on the appointment of C. Pratt Bradford, superintendent of Maine State parks, to the advisory staff of the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control in December of 1952:

The *good citizen* recognizes his *responsibilities* not alone for his family and himself, but for the community of which he is a part and that larger community which is the State. C. Pratt Bradford is that type of a citizen (Rev. Robert P. Wile quoted in "Appoint state park supt. to pollution control staff," 1952).

Not only did the CCPC define what it means to be a good citizen, other organizations supported this definition and endorsed the idea. Dr. Norman R. Tufts' selection as "Outstanding Citizen of 1952" by the Auburn-Lewiston Lions Club furthered the notion that "good" citizenship fell in line with defending Maine's waters and fighting for pollution control. The following excerpt details the announcement of Tufts' selection:

Recognition is being given the local veterinarian for his efforts in connection with the water pollution problem in the Androscoggin River

area and throughout the State. The Lions award is the first in a series of annual citations to individuals or organizations in the community “who have displayed exceptional qualities of citizenship during the year” (“To honor Dr. Tufts, 1952).

The definition of a “good citizen” and the responsibilities that come with that term, as were presented by the CCPC, seem to be tied with a connection to place, both a connection to nature and a connection to the state. The group asserted that one of the responsibilities of a good citizen of Maine was to clean Maine’s natural resources, and therefore, “good” citizens of Maine should feel this connection to Maine’s resources and the state.

4.3.5 Community

The fifth and final major theme appearing in CCPC statements was community. Thinking back to the previous theme, citizen involvement, and considering how the CCPC defined “good” citizenship, it becomes necessary to understand to what “community” the CCPC considered these citizens to be a part of, and how citizen responsibility was related to the different notions of “community.” The CCPC alluded to four different ways to categorize a community. The first community, which had some overlap with the idea of “citizen involvement,” was a community of active political citizens. This was a community based on people, their responsibilities, and their political power as citizens. The second notion of community was a community grounded in a physical location. This type of community was defined by where people lived, worked, and spent their time. A third type of community, which had some overlap between a community of people and a community grounded in place, was the community of the State of Maine. The final conception of community is a term that I call

“inclusive community.” This definition of community referred to a group of diverse people, not bound by location or statehood, which had a common ideological goal. All of these notions of community fall into the category of motivation themes because the conceptions of community provide the identity component to the motivation frames and define who the “we” is.

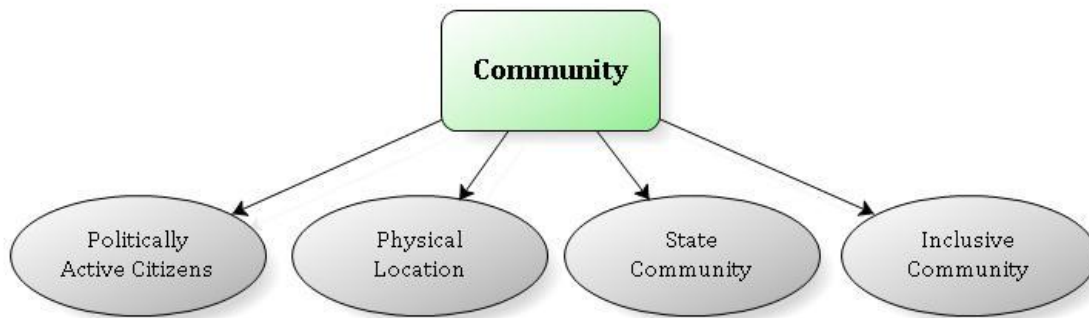


Figure 5: CCPC Theme - Community

Examples of the ways in which the CCPC referenced different categories of community are as follows. Some samples of how the CCPC referenced a community of politically active citizens are included in the previous section as overlaps of “community” and “citizen involvement,” but additional examples are as follows:

But overall, Maine’s water pollution situation is anything but complimentary. It will, however, take *an aroused, militant and probably unified public opinion* to promote any corrective measures in that crooked, rotten, polluted cesspool of selfishness known as the inner circle that runs Maine (Gould, 1953b).

No doubt the future will ultimately solve this problem. The shame is that it can’t be done forthrightly, on the merits of the case. Anybody who attended this hearing in Augusta came away with a perfect understanding of why Maine is so backward on this subject, of how “lobbying” works at Augusta, and how thoroughly the state has been sold “down the rivers of death” by her government. *And of course “government” means, with everybody else, you* (Gould, 1953b).

Through these statements, the CCPC is putting responsibility on citizens, who have political power, to take action against pollution. The idea of a “unified public opinion” and the notion that every citizen is a part of the “government” unites citizens together as a community with the power to make change. Also noteworthy within these statements is the open critique of government. As both of these statements were taken from organizational pamphlets distributed by the CCPC, the CCPC had the power to share their opinions in any way that they pleased, and these opinions were quite harsh. The CCPC clearly takes issue with the way in which government has handled pollution issues in the past, and implies that the Maine government is “sold” to industry. Therefore, the CCPC is attempting to mobilize people as a community of politically active citizens with a responsibility to participate in government to save their state from corruption.

In terms of physical location, the CCPC makes reference to groups of people that are bound together as a community due to the specific physical place which they inhabit.

People who *live along the Androscoggin* continue to observe its stout aroma, and observe the paint peeling off, but on every hand we are being reminded by great and good people that we are mistaken (Gould, 1953).

Also, since a state like Maine has some geographical dispersion, folks in one end of Maine don't always realize and appreciate the difficulties in another. Aroostook County, which has its own kind and extent of water pollution, wouldn't be primarily interested (for instance) in the closing of clam flats along the York County coast (Gould, 1953b).

Furthermore, the CCPC makes reference to the community of the State of Maine. This community is grounded somewhat in physical location, in that there

are state boundaries and anyone who resides in these boundaries belongs to the state community, but this category of community also has greater implications in terms of what it means to be a citizen of the state.

The good citizen recognizes his responsibilities not alone for his family and himself, but for the *community of which he is a part* and that *larger community which is the State* (Rev. Robert P. Wile quoted in "Appoint state park supt. to pollution control staff," 1952).

As along the Androscoggin, citizens in other areas of Maine have cried for action on clean-up (Col. J. Dennis Bruno quoted in "Col. J. Dennis Bruno prepares statement of claims," 1952).

In Maine the decency of the people and the state is so completely sold out to filth and stink that the very agency set up to enhance and better the state is actually a detriment to the task it is supposed to do! (Gould, 1953b).

Again, note the critique of government in the last example. According to the CCPC, there is a community of people that reside in the state of Maine, but that community is being negatively affected by its government and government agencies that are supposed to combat pollution.

The final category of community is an "inclusive community"; one that does not have physical boundaries or citizenship requirements, but a community that unites people together. The CCPC stressed that this type of community is necessary, as we all rely on one another, and it further asserted that the organization has fostered this type of community through its anti-pollution efforts.

No one of us is an island that can live by itself alone. We are each a part of a living community and, as such, we are dependent upon one another for our health, welfare, and happiness (Rev. Robert P. Wile quoted in "Appoint state park supt. to pollution control staff," 1952).

Differences of racial, religious and political backgrounds have been transcended by the appeal to face and solve a common problem (“Turner minister resigns as pollution control head,” 1953).

The CCPC attempted to foster wide support by offering numerous understandings of community, some of which are rooted in place, such as a community in a specific physical location or the state community, but some of which exceed the limits of place, such as the “inclusive community.” By defining community in a number of ways, the CCPC could have reached a greater number of people based on everyone’s personal understanding of and attachment to the community to which they belong. The framing strategies used by the CCPC to define a community fit into the “identity component” of motivation frames, as the CCPC was defining of a “we” in opposition to a “them.” This idea will be discussed further in the following chapter.

4.3.6 Conclusion, 1953

The Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control perpetuated three major ideas through their statements made during the 1953 debates. First, the CCPC provided Maine’s public with a definition of what it means to be a good citizen, and in that description, included protecting Maine’s waters as a responsibility that good citizens have to their community. Second, the CCPC attempted to invoke a connection to place by providing lush descriptions of a beautiful Androscoggin River of the past, and raising the feeling that Maine must return to that condition. Finally, the CCPC asserted that the benefits of an anti-pollution program greatly outweigh the costs, and despite the obstacles presented by industry and an ineffective government, Maine must move toward pollution control. Unfortunately for the conservation group, these statements

and perpetuations did not result in successful legislation in 1953, yet they did provide the foundations for creating a collective identity that would persist throughout the following years.

4.4 The Emergence of the AIM, 1955

The State Legislature may have killed the pollution control bills proposed in 1953, but this lack of government support did not dishearten the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control. In 1955, pollution control was again a hot topic in the legislature, and the CCPC, now a more experienced organization, was prepared again to fight for strict pollution control measures to clean Maine's waters. In contrast to the legislative sessions of 1953, when the CCPC voiced its arguments against industry in general, the 1955 legislative session attracted the attention of the Associated Industries of Maine (AIM), and the two organizations expressed their arguments and concerns in opposition of one another.

Unlike the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control, which was established specifically to fight water pollution, the AIM was established long before the pollution debates began. The origins of the AIM trace back to 1920, when manufacturers across the state organized to abort a movement for the eight-hour workday (Scontras, 2011). The organization continued to remain active in Maine politics as it advocated for the interest of industry throughout the 1950s.

The Associated Industries of Maine gave a descriptive overview of its organization on its applications as follows:

“The Associated Industries of Maine is the largest and most influential organization of manufacturers and allied groups in the State. Its program

aims to acquire and disseminate useful information among its members; to promote industrial progress in the interests of its members and their employees and also the general welfare of our citizens through support of deserving undertakings and constructive participation in the functioning of both our State and Federal legislative bodies” (Ackley, 1979).

Just as the CCPC supported specific pollution control bills proposed to the legislature in 1953 and 1955, the AIM was particularly vocal in supporting the most lenient pollution control bills in 1955. A series of five articles by Edward C. Schlick published in the *Lewiston Sun Journal* between February 7th and 19th of 1955 positioned the two organizations in direct opposition of one another and used the two groups to explore both sides of the pollution debate. Schlick gave a synopsis of what the series would include in a note at the beginning of his first article: “This is the first in a series of five articles on Maine’s river and stream pollution problems, which promise to become an issue at this session of the Legislature. The articles will explain the stands of the various interested groups and report on some of the developments in other states” (Schlick, 1955a). The second article in particular, titled “How Each Side Sees Pollution” is effective in giving an overview of each organization’s stance on the issue, and providing rationale for each position. The two subtitles to the article, “Associated Industries Favor Existing Law, Cite Its Benefits” and “CCPC Wants New Law, Claiming Tighter Rules Didn’t Hurt Industry In Other States,” make it obvious to all readers that these two organizations have very different outlooks on the proposed legislation being considered in the 1955 Maine State Legislative Session (Schlick, 1955b).

In addition to making statements in Lewiston’s newspapers, J. William Schulze, president of the Associated Industries of Maine in 1955, participated in two WCSH-TV television interviews entitled, “What Stream Improvement Means to You” in November

of 1954. The two segments, which aired during prime time (7:45 to 8:00 pm) on two consecutive Tuesday evenings, November 9th and 16th, involved an interviewer asking Mr. Schulze a series of questions about the condition of Maine's waters and industry's stance on those conditions. During the interview, Mr. Schulze also made suggestions regarding the proposed legislation, which was to be considered by the 1955 Legislature (Schulze, WCSH-TV Interview, 1954). The AIM was adamant in resisting proposed legislation that would place excessive restrictions on industry and compromise industrial interests.

In newspaper statements, the AIM made regular reference to members of the organization, their involvement, and their job titles in Maine business. Notable members of the organization from across the state were William Schulze, vice president and treasurer of the bath iron Works Corp., Theodore F. Spear of the Oxford Paper Co., Wallace E. Parsons, president of Keyes Fibre Co., Maurice T. Plummer of Charles Cushman Co., John J. Wall of Albany Felt Co., Harold M. Doherty of Kieckhefer Container Co., Frank J. Mack of Mack Baking Co., P. H. Chadbourne of P. H. Chadbourne & Co., Hethel: and Ward M. Whyte of General Ice Cream Corp. ("Can't rush pollution cure," 1954; "Maine must seek to preserve industries it already has," 1955; "Water pollution reduced," 1956).

4.5 State Legislature, 1955

In 1955, the state legislative debates were dominated by talk of pollution control. The 97th Maine Legislature was introduced to six bills categorized under "Pollution Control" and an additional two bills regarding the Water Improvement

Commission (State of Maine, 1955). Three bills in particular would most affect the future of Maine's waters. The first bill would make no major changes in water pollution enforcement, as it only called for a flexible compliance schedule (Judd, 1990, p. 62).

The second bill, supported by Governor Muskie, was slightly more effective in that it directly focused on industry and municipality pollution, yet it was still another bill that was more focused on performing studies and classifying waters than actually enforcing these standards. The proposed bill, titled "AN ACT Relating to Classification of Waters of the State and Abatement of Pollution Thereof," did hold industry responsible for its pollution, but only to an extent. The bill asserts, "...the Commission shall direct each classified industry, after due consideration of the financial status of each industry and conditions particular to each industry, to discontinue its discharge of sewage, waste and other substances and materials, in so far as such discharge is detrimental to the public health, or to animal or fish life, as far as practical..." (Maine H.R., 1955d). This language does allow for loopholes in the bill, as it is dependent on "conditions particular to each industry," but the act did require each municipality and industry to "furnish the Commission an outline or plan pertaining to the eventual abatement of their respective pollution problems" within a two year time limit.

The third and most progressive pollution control bill, titled "AN ACT Providing for Clean Waters in Maine," was introduced to the legislature by Mr. Briggs of Caribou. The Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control strongly supported Mr. Briggs' bill because it was the most progressive bill presented to the Legislature, but the proposed act was met with significant resistance by industry. The bill categorizes pollution into two categories, "sewage pollution" and "industrial wastes", and holds each category of

pollution to the same high standards. Any waste that “is or may become inimical or injurious to the public health or to animal or aquatic life, or prevent the use of waters for domestic, industrial or recreational purposes” shall “be deemed unlawful and a nuisance.” The bill introduces financial penalties for any person who would continue to discharge detrimental sewage or industrial wastes into Maine’s rivers (Maine H.R., 1955a). Similar to other proposed pollution bills, Mr. Briggs’ bill would require additional investigation into the condition of Maine’s waters, but this bill differs in that it would give the Water Improvement Commission significant power to actually enforce legislation after this investigation was complete.

In spite of the CCPC’s efforts, Briggs’ clean water bill did not pass through the legislature. The only bill to pass, again, involved the classification of additional surface waters in Maine, yet this act did not require polluters to take any substantial actions (State of Maine, 1955).

4.6 Industry Resists Great Change

Prior of the pollution control hearings of 1955, the CCPC and the AIM both presented their stances on proposed pollution control legislation to the Maine public. Even with limited presence in the papers, the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control championed the same anti-pollution arguments in terms of who was responsible for pollution and what should be done. The Associated Industries of Maine, a new actor in the pollution debates, introduced an argument of its own through which was heavily focused on Maine’s dependence on industry and the economic consequences of pollution control. By emphasizing the economic component of

pollution control and targeting people whose livelihood is dependent on industry, the AIM evoked an awareness of class identity and related that identity to pollution control. An analysis of the statements made by the Associated Industries of Maine in 1955 revealed four major themes: (1) pollution, (2) the anti-pollution program, (3) Maine industry, and (4) community. Although some major themes are similar to the themes uncovered in the statements of the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control, the manner in which the AIM discussed each theme differs from the approach of the CCPC.

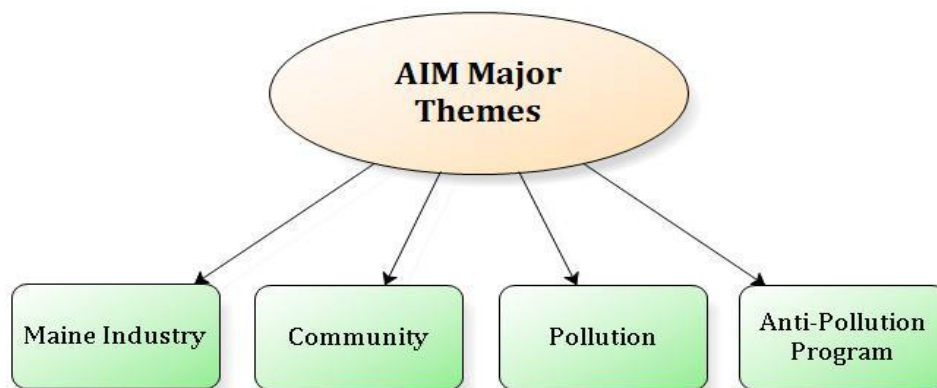


Figure 6: AIM Major Themes

4.6.1 Pollution

As the debates are focused on pollution, it only makes sense that a major focus of the AIM was pollution. The AIM discussed and categorized pollution in a similar way to the CCPC in that it defined both the causes and effects of pollution, yet the AIM differs in that it adds an additional sub-category to pollution: the action industry is taking against pollution. In this way, the theme of pollution fits into both the categories of diagnostic frames, in terms of the causes of pollution, and prognostic frames, in terms of the actions against

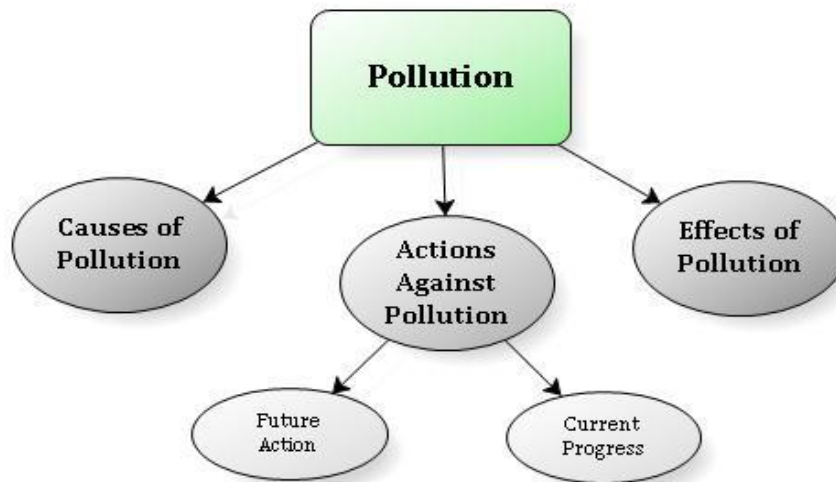


Figure 7: AIM Theme - Pollution

In terms of the causes of pollution, the Associated Industries of Maine utilized diagnostic frames to share the culpability for pollution. The AIM did not deny that industry contributed to the pollution of Maine’s rivers, yet the organization equally focused on the pollution caused by municipalities, and discussed each pollution source in much less harsh terms than the CCPC had discussed pollution causes. In a meeting of the Legislative Research Committee, AIM President J. William Schulze pointed out that sewage must be considered an “equally important” part of the problem (Schlick, 1955b). In his television interview, Schulze answered the question “What does cause stream pollution?” as follows:

Two things. Various manufacturing concerns from the start of their operations years ago, because of their location, found that the normal and natural way to dispose of their waste material was to discharge it into nearby streams. They had no other way to dispose of this waste and still continue in business. Then, cities and towns, which in Maine are generally located on streams, as they grew also found it necessary and convenient to discharge sewage into streams (Schulze, WCSH-TV Interview, 1954a).

In contrast, the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control maintained their assertion that 90% of the water pollution was caused by industry, and only 10% was caused by communities (“Day says need law to force clean-up,” 1954).

Concerning the effects of pollution, the Associated Industries of Maine focused on disproving claims that industry had immensely negative effects on Maine’s rivers. The AIM claimed that the majority of Maine’s waters were indeed clean, there was still plenty of clean water available for recreation, and human health was not put in extreme danger due to the pollution.

Only a “small percentage” of the State’s 30,000 miles of rivers and streams are polluted, said J. William Schulze, president of the Associated Industries of Maine, as he recently broadcast industry’s views of the problem...*A maximum of 7% of Maine’s streams are polluted*, he said, and “not over 3% are in a condition of what we may call high pollution” (Schlick, 1954b).

We have about 30,000 miles of rivers and streams in the State of Maine...The experts estimate that from *one to three per cent are in the so-called high pollution category*. Taking the maximum, that means 900 miles out of 30,000 miles. There are about 1,200 more miles affected by pollution to a much lesser degree. That adds up to a maximum of seven per cent, but not over three per cent are in a condition of what we may call high pollution (Schulze, WCSH-TV Interview, 1954a).

Spear went on to say, and many people seem to agree with him, that much is made of the damage to the recreational industries but the resort business in the State continues to increase year by year. Damage to fishing is another point but there “*is ample opportunity to fish in unpolluted waters in practically any part of the State*” (Schlick, 1955c).

The testimony of officials of the Department of Public Health clearly stated that polio could not be attributed to industrial wastes (Schulze, WCSH-TV Interview, 1954b).

The third sub-category of pollution that reoccurred in statements made by the Associated Industries of Maine were the actions that industry was currently taking against pollution, and the future actions that industry was planning to take. The AIM assured readers that industry was concerned about the condition of Maine's waters, and they utilized prognostic frames to demonstrate all of the ways that industry was taking action against this pollution. The Associated Press reported, "Maine manufacturers have spent almost 9 ½ million dollars on recovery plants and other installations to combat stream pollution, the president of the Associated Industries of Maine said tonight" ("Big sum expended in pollution fight," 1954). During his television interview, William Schulze detailed a number of ways that industry was working toward a solution to pollution, and showed evidence of these efforts:

Let me show you some pictures of what some of our industrial companies already have done: Photo 1. This picture shows the building housing a pulp bleaching plant completed in November 1953, at cost of more than two million dollars. Photo 2. At the same plant this chemical recovery plant was erected at a cost of about \$1,500,000. The conversion of a Soda Pulp operation to Kraft at this plant cost over seven million dollars and effected a reduction in waste sulphite liquor to the river of 26 per cent...Photo 5. A fine mesh screen at the end of this discharge line of a conning plant prevents solids from entering the stream. The solids drop on to a conveyer belt and are carried to a waste bin where they are store for cattle or hog feed (Schulze, WCSH-TV Interview, 1954b).

Schulze went on to describe other efforts in the works:

Yes, first, there is the program of the State Water Improvement Commission I have already discussed.

Second, the University of Maine has just signed a contract with the National Council for Stream Improvement to study waste treatment methods for the Maine paper and pulp industry. This local and scientific attack on the problem by a Maine institution which certainly is unbiased.

Third, the Associated Industries of Maine has its own Stream Improvement Committee representing the industries affected. That

Committee is also at work on over-all research and study (Schulze, WCSH-TV Interview, 1954b).

Schulze, speaking for the AIM, assured his listeners that industry was concerned with pollution and taking steps to solve the problem, but they did not need to make rash decisions because it would have negative effects for Maine's economy.

"Industry agrees that even this small percentage should be reduced as soon as we can. However, a company must dispose of waste materials without unduly increasing the cost of production. If manufacturing costs increase, prices of finished goods must also go up. And you know what that means – competition from concerns in other parts of the country will gain an advantage and our sales in Maine will fall off" (Schulze, WCSH-TV Interview, 1954a).

Wallace E. Parsons, president of Keyes Fibre Co. echoed the same concerns that Schulze voiced about a hasty pollution program.

Over the past dozen years or so, the pulp and paper industry has spent more than one million dollars in research on how to eliminate or reduce pollution economically," Parsons said. *"We want to reduce pollution. We are trying to reduce it, but we want to do it in an economical way, a way that will not drive some of our companies out of business and place larger ones at a competitive disadvantage with the same types of plants in other states ("Water pollution reduced," 1956).*

While not denying that industry definitely had a role in the problem of pollution, the AIM dispersed the blame across a number of sources by framing the cause of pollution as an equal combination of industry and other sources. Additionally, the AIM emphasized that the effects of pollution were not as dire as some might think, and industry was completely capable of reducing pollution without government intervention. By stressing that industry was taking control of the problem and working toward the solution, those who felt that there was a problem, yet identified with industry economically, could feel at peace.

4.6.2 Anti-Pollution Program

The second major focus of the AIM was the proposed anti-pollution program. The manner in which the Associated Industries of Maine discussed the anti-pollution program can be divided into four sub-categories: effects on industry, effects on the greater economy, using other states as examples, and detailing proposed pollution control legislation.

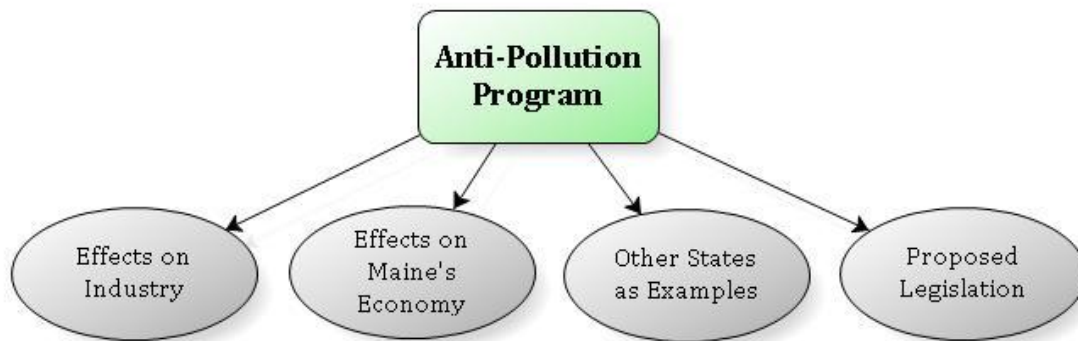


Figure 8: AIM Theme - Anti-Pollution Program

In contrast to the CCPC's emphasis on the benefits of an anti-pollution program, the AIM focused on the anti-pollution program in terms of the proposed program's negative effects on industry and consequently, Maine's economy. While the CCPC used prognostic frames to describe the anti-pollution program regulated by the state, the AIM used diagnostic frames to represent the proposed pollution control program as something that would be the cause of many hardships if passed. The AIM stated that they supported clean waters, but only through a program that would not compromise industrial interests and consequently, harm the state's economy. Therefore, the AIM

opposed strict legislation and advocated for industry itself to come up with practical pollution control measures.

Schulze said industry should continue its *independent program* and not be “rushed off its feet into a position which would be harmful to Maine’s economy” (Big sum expended in pollution fight,” 1954).

Industry has devoted time, effort and money toward solving the pollution problem and will continue to be in favor of clean waters “in so far as such objective is practical and within reason economically,” T. F. Spear of the Associated Industries of Maine has told the Legislative Research Committee (Schlick, 1955e).

J. William Schulze, president of the Associated Industries of Maine, and vice president and treasurer of the Bath Iron Works, addressed members at the annual meeting and said: “They have recognized what history has taught us over the centuries- namely, that legislation cannot take the place of private initiative in building successful industry, but legislation can make it harder and sometimes not feasible for an industrial company to continue (“Maine must seek to preserve industries it already has,” 1955).

No one likes a polluted stream, and anyone who can find a workable solution is welcome by industry...there are many sportsmen and others who have been led to believe that all that is necessary to solve this problem is to pass a law which will force industry to stop discharging industrial waste into our streams. How wrong they are! How little do they understand the consequences of such *misguided action* (Schulze, WCSH-TV Interview, 1954a).

All references that the AIM made to the pollution control programs in other states focused on the lack of applicability of that state’s situation to the situation in Maine. The *Lewiston Daily Sun* reported that industry representative, Theodore S. Gonya, speaking for the Oxford Paper Co., “called Briggs’ measure, taken largely from a law Pennsylvania enacted some years ago, ‘a heckling law’ that ignores the ‘rights and best interests of all the people’” (“Pollution bills result in long, stormy session,” 1955).

AIM President J. William Schulze voiced the same concerns of comparing Maine to other states:

“It is futile to point to Pennsylvania, Michigan...and other states with large populations and billion dollar corporations and to ask Maine to follow their patterns...That,” the speaker said, “is like asking a 135-pound man to lift a weight impossible for him but easy for a six-footer in the 200-pound class” (“Maine must seek to preserve industries it already has,” 1955).

While the AIM wanted industry to have the opportunity create their own pollution control program, the CCPC desired government action in 1955 and was prominently advocating for the passage of Mr. Briggs’ Clean Waters Act. The *Lewiston Sun Journal* reported, “According to [Thomas E.] Day,” the legal advisor of the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control, “Maine law pertaining to pollution of rivers, streams and lakes are archaic and the new Maine law on classification of rivers is nothing but a stall and is useless” (“Day says need law to force clean-up,” 1954). The CCPC felt that no progressive actions would be taken unless the state forced action. If pollution control was left to industry, the waters would never be cleaned. The same article went on to report that Day “pointed out that in Pennsylvania, Michigan, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New York States, it was found legislation was necessary to force industry to do something to abate pollution” (“Day says need law to force clean-up,” 1954).

4.6.3 Maine Industry

The third major theme that the AIM consistently referenced is Maine industry, particularly the value of industry to the state and to its citizens. The AIM established

industry as vital to Maine's economy and noted the necessity to preserve industry for the good of the state. In this way, the AIM used the identity component of motivation frames to define a "we" that was dependent on industry.

Fortunately for the people in this State, the large majority of its legislators and its governors have understood and still understand and carefully consider all these inescapable facts as they strive to provide the highest measure of social services the State can afford. They have clearly shown year after year that, important as it is to hiring new industries into the State, *it is even more important to preserve and nourish the industries we do have* (J. William Schulze quoted in "Maine must seek to preserve industries it already has," 1955).

Its [the AIM] president, J. William Schulze, executive of the famed Bath Iron Works, emphasized the principle that *Maine must take care of industries that it has*. He did not slight the importance of bringing in the new but warned against conditions that might work to the detriment of established industries ("Verities," 1955).

Parsons also told the group that the salaries for one year paid to the workers in the industries of Maine exceeds \$317,000,000. The amount spent in the State by tourists during the summer months is only \$250,000. He told the group of financial figures from the two sources because of the theory that tourists stay away from Maine because of water pollution ("Water pollution reduced," 1956).

Though the major theme is "Maine industry," implicit in these statements about industry is a new explanation of what it means to be a good citizen to the state of Maine. In mentioning how many Maine workers are dependent on industry, and in constantly reiterating the need for Maine residents to preserve industry for the good of the state, the AIM suggested that it is the duty of good Maine citizens to prioritize industry. These quotations demonstrate the "identity component" of the motivation frames utilized by the AIM.

4.6.4 Community

Community, the final prominent theme, is discussed by the AIM in very different manner than the categories of community put forth by the CCPC. There are two specific ways community is referenced by the industry group, and both discussions reveal a community whose fate is intertwined with the fate of industry. The first discussion of community is explored in terms of the cost to a community and the second is in terms of a group of people dependent on industry. Similar to the CCPC, rhetoric that the AIM used to describe community also fits into the category of motivation frames.

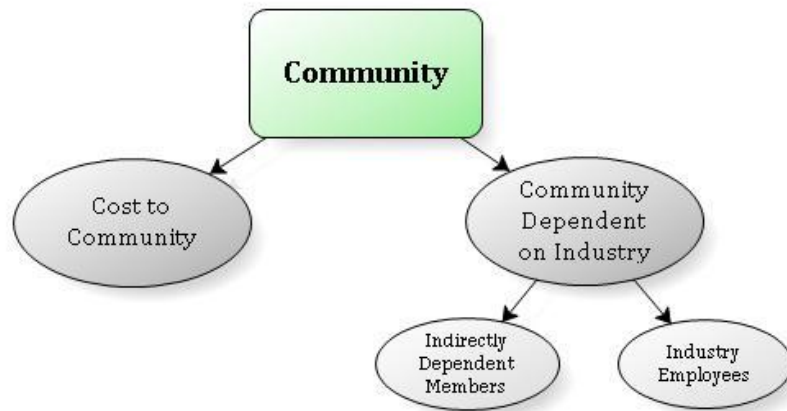


Figure 9: AIM Theme - Community

The Associated Industries of Maine adamantly asserted that extreme pollution abatement programs would be costly to the entire Maine community, not only specific Maine industries.

How to stop pollution, when to stop pollution and how much it will cost may be open to some debate, but there is no doubt that everyone is paying now and will continue to pay the hidden costs of dirty water...“Clean waters is everybody’s business and *everybody pays the bill*,” Spear told the research committee (Schlick, 1955c).

“Pollution abatement requirements should be examined in terms of their true value against their *real cost to all the people*,” a representative of the Associated Industries of Maine recently told the Legislative Research Committee (Schlick, 1955b).

The real question is how it [pollution abatement] can be achieved without destroying or crippling much of our industry and without placing impossible *burdens upon communities* in respect to their sewage disposal responsibilities, (J. William Schulze quoted in “Maine must seek to preserve industries it already has,” 1955)

Speaking here at the regional speaking contest of the Toastmaster’s Club, he [John Barclay, industry representative] said the “Clean Waters Act” which is sponsored by the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control would “*impose a strangle-hold on the taxpayers’ pocketbook* for the next 50 years...Any reasonable person having the most elementary knowledge of municipal government and the demands made upon it and its taxing power must certainly be aware that hardly a community in the State is financially able to build a sewage treatment plant or is legally capable of assuming the indebtedness to do so,” he said (“Strict pollution law not feasible; Says labor leader,” 1955).

The public should examine all angles of this problem which I have briefly highlighted in these discussions. They should be particularly careful to evaluate any radical proposals in terms of *what it means to them in dollars and cents* before these proposals become laws (Schulze, WCSH-TV Interview, 1954a).

Not only would pollution abatement be costly to the community, asserted the Associated Industries of Maine, rash decisions in regards to pollution would have devastating effects on Maine’s community because the community is dependent on industry. By warning against “drastic laws” that would be passed too quickly and without enough consideration, industry is offering a critique of Maine government. In the following excerpts, AIM representatives described a Maine community whose wellbeing was inherently intertwined with the fate of industry:

I mean the *passing of drastic laws immediately* which would force industry, cities and towns to spend large amount of money foolishly long before a sensible solution to this problem is found. If such an objective is accomplished, it would do more harm than good...I know of one company which has a plan ready, to move to another New England state if a drastic stream improvement law is passed. In that particular case, Maine would have another *ghost town* on its hands because that is the *only industry in the community* (Schulze, WCSH-TV Interview, 1954a).

“We must determine who and how many of our people are suffering serious effects from pollution and at the same time, *how many of our people have gained through our industries* and their activities,” T.F. Spear of the Associated Industries of Maine told the Legislative Research Committee (Schlick, 1955c).

The Associated Industries of Maine, he [J. William Schulze] explained, takes a “lively interest in about everything that is proposed in this State,” and then measures each proposal against facts and conditions in Maine such as...Maine’s relatively small and scattered population, *two thirds of which is dependent, directly or indirectly, on the success of the industrial structure*

(“Maine must seek to preserve industries it already has,” 1955).

Associated Industries of Maine hopes that in the near future more men and women of Maine, in every walk of life, will come to understand the extent of our industrial ability on one hand, and its limitations on the other, because no matter how plausible a theory may be, it is the conditions with which industry must contend which *so directly affect the lives of almost every one of us* (J. William Schulze quoted in “Maine must seek to preserve industries it already has,” 1955).

Well, we have about 916,000 people in the State of Maine. Last year 120,000 of us were getting our living from the payrolls of industrial companies. These 120,000 people support nearly half of the 916,000 residents. People who work in fishing and hunting camps, professional fishermen, farmers and many others get at least part of their living from industrial concerns...In addition, proprietors and employees of merchants, doctors and dentists, newspapers, public utility and transportation companies...and many others depend upon industries and their employees all year round. So the answer to your question is – the *great majority of Maine’s residents directly or indirectly depend upon industry* for their income... (Schulze, WCSH-TV Interview, 1954a).

This dependent community also included specific reference to employees of Maine's industry. In regards to proposed pollution control legislation, the *Lewiston Daily Sun* reported, "A correction period of even two years in some cases, especially those which might 'disrupt long established practices and jeopardize thousands of jobs' is another case which needs proper study, he [J. William Schulze] said" ("Maine must seek to preserve industries it already has," 1955). Schulze also directed his comments at a community of industrial employees in his television interview, in which he suggested, "Employees in particular should take a good square look at this problem and decide what is best for them" (Schulze, WCSH-TV Interview, 1954b).

In these 1955 debates, the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control maintained their categories of community that the organization utilized in the 1953 debates. These categories included speaking of community in terms of physical location as well as in terms of the community of the State of Maine. In the second of five articles in Edward Schlick's series, Dr. Norman Tufts described the adverse effects of pollution to both a community living close to the river as well as Maine's greater population:

"One mile of brook you can jump across should not be counted as the equivalent of one mile of a major river," he said. "Over 90% of the State's major rivers are polluted, according to a survey by the State Health Department. Every major useful waterway in the State is severely damaged by pollution and the *majority of our people live near these rivers*" (Schlick, 1955b).

The article continued:

It appears to be the opinion of the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control that pollution is a serious problem *adversely affecting the larger part of Maine's population*, that the existing law is "ineffective and

expensive” and that the State stands to gain economically if pressure is put on the industries to force pollution abatement within the next few years (Schlick, 1955b).

The AIM’s description of community was very much influenced by industry, and by framing community as a group of people dependent on industry for their livelihood, the AIM inherently created an awareness of social class. Conversely, the CCPC maintained their focus on community through place but still slight undertones of class when the group mentions the economics of the situation.

4.7 Chapter Conclusion

1953 and 1955 proved to be two years when pollution control was a hot topic among Maine’s population. The activeness of both the CCPC and the AIM throughout the pollution discussions suggests that both of these groups were actively attempting to get citizens to support their cause, and in order to obtain that support, the groups had to provide a way for citizens to identify with their groups.

An analysis of statements made by the CCPC revealed that the organization supported legislation that would place strict restrictions on industry pollution so that Maine’s rivers could be restored to their pristine past. The CCPC prominently blamed industry for this pollution, and advocated for a cohesive Maine community to rise up and support proposed anti-pollution control programs. The manner in which the CCPC discussed the pristine past, the duties of citizens, and the idea of community had a strong emphasis on “place.”

In contrast, the AIM, advocating for the interests of Maine's industries, focused on the negative effects that a rashly thought out pollution control program would have on Maine's economy. This position was expected, as it is practical that an industry group would focus on the economics of pollution control. The Associated Industries of Maine discussed community in terms of a group of people dependent on industry, and focused on the economic consequences that poor legislation could have on these people. By emphasizing people's livelihood, the AIM created an awareness of a class identity.

Though the two organizations reinforced very similar themes through their statements, the manner in which the themes were approached have differing effects on the framing strategies of a class-based and a place-based collective identity.

Chapter 5: Framing a Collective Identity

The pollution control bills proposed to the Maine Legislature in 1953 and 1955 prompted both the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control and the Associated Industries of Maine to voice their opinions about the state of Maine's pollution problem in an attempt to gain public support. This thesis seeks to understand how each group framed their collective identity, and more specifically, how place and class play a role in those identity-framing strategies. As explored in the theoretical framework, the discipline of environmental history could be strengthened if it gave greater attention to social history's categories of race, class, and ethnicity. This discussion will analyze the value in the themes utilized by both organizations, and also put those strategies in conversation with what we know about Lewiston's social history in order to understand how the cultural aspects of "place" are utilized in the context of Lewiston. This discussion will analyze the collective action frames of each organization using Snow and Benford's (1992) method of dividing collective action frames into diagnostic frames, prognostic frames, and motivation frames, with the most emphasis on motivation frames and the "identity component" of motivation framing.

5.1 Diagnostic Frames

Social movements are created to address a problem in society, and therefore, the movement must identify "the source(s) of causality, blame, and/or culpable agents" for that problematic situation or issue. Diagnostic framing is the aspect of collective-action framing which focuses on the way in which a movement or organization assigns blame or responsibility for a problem (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 616). Gamson (as cited in

Pellow, 1999) refers to this framing task as the “injustice” component of framing (p. 661). The adoption of an injustice frame occurs when “activists come to view a situation previously considered just and stable as unjust and mutable” (Pellow, 1999, p. 662).

The Citizens for Conservation and Pollution control assigned the blame for the pollution problem to industry, specifically the paper mills and the textile mills, as demonstrated through the theme of “pollution.” It is significant that the CCPC also assigned blame to the textile mills, when blame is usually focused on the paper mills, because Lewiston is a textile mill town, and the blame now resonates with Lewiston. Additionally, the CCPC assigned culpability to other sources such as agricultural practices, municipalities, and tanneries, though to a much lesser extent.

The Associated Industries of Maine do not deny that industry had a role in the pollution problem, but they frame the issue as an equal combination of industry and town municipalities. Through this framing strategy, the AIM perpetuates the idea that the passage of pollution control laws that target industry would not completely solve the problem, and therefore, people should consider the effectiveness of the legislation. Also, the AIM frames the proposed anti-pollution programs in a diagnostic way, as opposed to a prognostic frame, which would be expected. Looking to the future, the AIM frames the proposed pollution control regulations as something that would be blamed for the negative effects on Maine industry and Maine’s economy in general. Instead, they support industry creating their own pollution regulations.

The diagnostic frames of each organization should not be surprising, as one group is an environmental group and the other is fighting for the interests of industry.

It is sensible that the CCPC would have assigned blame to industry for the problem, while the AIM would have shared the blame of pollution between industry and municipalities.

5.2 Prognostic Frames

The second framing task of a social movement is the prognostic frame, in which the organization reveals potential solutions to the demonstrated problem. Benford and Snow (2000) explained, prognostic framing “involves the articulation of a proposed solution to the problem, or at least a plan of attack, and the strategies for carrying out the plan. In short, it addresses the Leninesque question of what is to be done, as well as the problems of consensus and action mobilization” (p. 616).

The CCPC framed the strict pollution control laws proposed to the Maine Legislature in 1953 and 1955, specifically “AN ACT Amending the Water Improvement Commission and Creating Standards of Classification” in 1953 and the Briggs’ Bill in 1955, as the prognosis to the pollution problem, as demonstrated through the “Anti-Pollution Program” theme. In order to “carry out the plan,” the CCPC needed to gain this public support so the laws would pass in the Maine Legislature.

The AIM, in contrast, framed industry’s own pollution control measures and their current actions against pollution as a prognostic frame. This is demonstrated through the “Pollution” theme, rather than the “Anti-Pollution Program” theme, which focuses on pollution control measures regulated by the government.

Again, the prognostic framing strategies of each organization are what are to be expected, as it makes sense that the environmental group would want government

regulation on industry, and industry would resist any formal regulation and propose to follow its own pollution control measures. Industry would not want to follow any legislation that would require it to change its practices and possibly become “less competitive” than industry in other states that does not need to follow the same regulations.

5.3 Motivation Frames

The third and final task that Snow and Benford (1992) assign to collective-action framing strategies is motivation framing. Motivation framing provides the “rationale for engaging in ameliorative collective action, including the construction or appropriate vocabularies of motive” (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 617). Organizations need to establish, through their frames, reasons *why* people should join their cause. As previously mentioned, Pellow (1999) describes this final collective-action framing task as articulating an identity component “whereby activists define who they are, usually as ‘we,’ typically in opposition to some ‘they’ who have different interests and values” (p. 662). I am most interested in the motivation framing strategies of the two organizations because it is obvious that the two organizations are in opposition to one another, therefore, their motivation framing strategies should contrast one another, yet they are both struggling with the same concepts of place and class in Lewiston. It is in this analysis of motivation framing that the lenses of place and class will be applied.

5.3.1 Place-Based Motivation Frames

Both organizations used some notion of “place” as a way to define who they were, which fits into the motivation frame task of collective-action framing. Deborah Martin

(2003) explained, "Motivation place-frames should refer to the daily-life experience residents are likely to have in the neighborhood (such as commons sights or conditions in the neighborhood) in order to foster recognition by residents of their location-based commonalities" (p. 736).

The CCPC framed the "daily-life experience" of residents, and of members of the organization, as an experience that was intertwined with the river. The major arguments of the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control made use of a strong emphasis on a connection to the great natural feature that is the Androscoggin River. To begin with, the CCPC championed the theme of nature nostalgia, and consistently referenced a clear and pristine Androscoggin River that no longer existed. Through these descriptions, the CCPC was fostering a place-based identity grounded in a connection to an iconic natural feature. As Blake (2002) found with the degradation of the "Colorado Fourteeners," people respond to devastation of natural features and can develop a sense of place and identity around that natural feature. When the "peakbagging" craze began in the 1990s, and hordes of hikers constantly visited the mountains in an attempt to "climb every mountain", the mountains experienced immense ecological degradation Colorado natives responded to this degradation by establishing the Colorado Fourteeners Initiative (CFI), with the intent "to protect and preserve the natural integrity of Colorado's Fourteeners and the quality of the recreational opportunities they provide." The CFI developed solutions, including stopping the creation of "social trails", regulating recreation on the mountain, promoting other hiking trails, and improving education, to limit this degradation and save their prized "Fourteeners" (Blake, 2000, p.165-166). Blake ultimately concluded

that negative environmental consequences “have contributed to the perception of the Fourteeners as collective icons of ideal nature that are worth protecting,” and “the intense reclamation efforts to save the Fourteeners forge a stronger attachment between local resident actively engaged in reclamation and the highest mountains” (Blake, 2000, p. 166).

Similar to the way in which the Colorado Fourteeners Initiative was created, the CCPC originated in response to ecological damage. Even at its establishment, the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control fostered a place-based identity, and framed itself as an organization deeply connected to the Androscoggin, as its origination was a response to the ecological damage experienced by the river. Therefore, immense amounts of pollution being dumped into the Androscoggin served to answer the question, “why should citizens join the group?” and the motivation framing strategies of the CCPC served to perpetuate the notion of the Androscoggin River as a natural icon around which communities could develop a sense of place.

By consistently describing the nostalgic conditions of the Androscoggin River with phrases such as “clean and wholesome,” “clear and bountiful,” and even “the created loveliness of God,” the CCPC was establishing the Androscoggin River as a “place” that was worthy of environmental protection (“Appoint state park supt. to pollution control staff,” 1952; “Col. J. Dennis Bruno prepares statement of claims,” 1952; Gould, 1953a). Additionally, the CCPC described preserving and cleaning Maine’s waters as part of what it means to be a good citizen of Maine and a meaningful part of the community. For example, the CCPC declared that as Maine citizens, everyone has the power, and the duty, to do something about the pollution; “The Androscoggin, today,

could run clear and clean all the way to the sea. We don't have to let it stink, theoretically. We can rise up as citizens and demand our rights (Gould, 1953b).

While the CCPC used motivation place-frames that were focused on the Androscoggin River as a great natural feature, the AIM, in contrast, used motivation place-frames focused on the work of a "place." The Associated Industries of Maine was very much focused on Maine industry and its significance to the state of Maine. For instance, as the President of the AIM was describing Maine's population, he declared, "two thirds of which is dependent, directly or indirectly, on the success of the industrial structure," which positions industry as a vital part of the livelihood of all Maine citizens ("Maine must seek to preserve industries it already has," 1955).

A major strategy of the AIM was to respond to the arguments of the conservation group by declaring that any sportsman can find clean waters elsewhere in the state of Maine. As J. William Schulze explained, "We have about 30,000 miles of rivers and streams in the State of Maine...The experts estimate that from one to three per cent are in the so-called high pollution category. Taking the maximum, that means 900 miles out of 30,000 miles" (Schulze, WCSH-TV Interview, 1954a). Another AIM member explained there "is ample opportunity to fish in unpolluted waters in practically any part of the State" (Schlick, 1955c). By distinguishing the Androscoggin River Valley as an area that should have different water standards because of the industry established in that location, and by separating the water running through the Lewiston-Auburn area from other waters in Maine, the AIM gave Lewiston-Auburn a "regional industrial identity."

Romanelli and Khessina (2005) developed the concept of regional industrial identity as a way to depict the understanding that certain regions are seen to be suitable for specific business activities. Industrial regions, like the Androscoggin River Valley, maintain identities based on an understanding, shared between both internal and external observers, on the key features of work and life in a region. Romanelli and Khessina (2005) suggest that these industry clusters are the “principal, observable features of regional industrial identities” because they are the most noticeable features of the region’s industrial activities to an external audience (p. 345-346).

In terms of place, the AIM framed Lewiston as a textile mill town, and maintained the notion that Lewiston should be understood by all as such. By consistently treating industrial towns as separate from other parts of Maine, the AIM used motivation frames to create an understanding, shared by of these mill towns as well as outsiders, that towns along the Androscoggin River were “mill towns.” With that understanding, it would be accepted that with industry came pollution. The AIM was regularly mentioning that Maine must preserve its industries with statements such as “important as it is to hiring new industries into the State, it is even more important to preserve and nourish the industries we do have,” and “Maine must take care of industries that it has” (“Maine must seek to preserve industries it already has,” 1955; “Verities,” 1955). The AIM was adamant that Maine must preserve its industries and mill towns because the state, as a whole, was highly dependent on this industry.

The AIM’s threat of the ability of poorly thought-up pollution legislation to create “ghost towns” by destroying the industry of a region also contributes to the understanding of certain places as mill towns. For example, in his television interview,

Schulze explained, “I know of one company which has a plan ready, to move to another New England state if a drastic stream improvement law is passed. In that particular case, Maine would have another ghost town on its hands because that is the only industry in the community” (Schulze, WCSH-TV Interview, 1954a).

These threats, which used motivation frames, provided the rationale for people to join the AIM in action because Maine would not want to suffer from the economic effects of failed industry. The AIM’s attempt to cultivate a shared understanding of this “place,” Lewiston, as an industrial region, was one strategy the Associated Industries of Maine utilized in an attempt to expand the movement’s collective identity.

In addition to natural features and the industry of a particular location, there is also another dimension of place, the social and cultural characteristic of a place, which is a part of the motivation place frames. Martin (2003) argued, “organizations discursively relate the conditions of the place – the common experiences of people in place—to their different agendas for collective action... This place-framing asserts a neighborhood identity, albeit one based on partial accounts of the neighborhood, emphasizing only some social characteristics of residents and portrayals of the physical landscape to support the organizations’ different activities” (p. 731). Placing the motivation place frames of each organization in the context of Lewiston, it becomes evident that neither organization emphasized any social or cultural characteristics of the Franco-American working class of Lewiston.

When considering the effectiveness of these place-based frames for the Lewiston population specifically, it becomes necessary to also consider how the community understands itself. Internal community understanding is a significant part of the social

and cultural aspects of a place, and this culture has a significant effect on the “place” that is Lewiston-Auburn. In casual conversations I had with various members of the Lewiston community regarding the mills and the Franco-American population, I found that community members would continue to offer similar information that I was not necessarily asking for. When discussing the smell in Lewiston and the pollution in the river, people would offer phrases such as, “Never any complaints, it was just the way it was,” “From my perspective they just accepted things the way they were” and “That’s all they knew.”³ Though these conversations were not formal interviews, and these quotes are not taken from scholarly authors, there is value in exploring this internal view of community.

Community members introduced the idea of the Franco-American community being a quiet, humble, passive group of people that did not necessarily fight back against the smell of the river, but in a larger sense, a community that did not fight back against any other conditions that affected them. Community members told stories about the influence of the Catholic Church on the community and how even when the striking began, “It took a lot to go against the church.” Other topics that consistently came up were the fact that the older generation of Franco-Americans at that time was largely uneducated, which hindered their ability to be politically active, and also the existence of a language barrier in Lewiston that separated the Franco-Americans from their English-speaking peers.

As explored in Chapter 2, other community members such as Susanne Carboneau and Marguerite Roy also perpetuated this sentiment of a “docile” community

³ Quotes were taken from conversations that the author had with Lewiston community members with Franco-American heritage who wish to remain anonymous.

that I discovered through my conversations. This idea of the Lewiston community being compliant, obedient, and non-confrontational has historic roots. Recall the community's desire to preserve its culture and language, the preaching of "La Survivance," and the Church's aversion to labor unions. Each of these cultural happenings played a role in nurturing this "docile" community. Preserving the French language could have created boundaries to understanding the arguments of either organization, or any movement at all, and this language barrier, if it persisted, would have estranged the Franco-Americans from the other Lewiston inhabitants.

Through the statements made in Lewiston newspapers, neither organization incorporated motivation place frames that would resonate specifically with the working-class Franco-American population of Lewiston. Looking through the lens of place, both organizations framed community and what it means to be a good citizen on a larger level than the Lewiston community, such as the entire state of Maine, and this supports Martin's (2003) claim that organizations emphasize "only some social characteristics of residents." In this case, neither group chose to emphasize the social or cultural characteristics of this large Lewiston population in their place frames.

As demonstrated, both organizations utilized place-based collective-action frames, yet the conception of "place" that each group utilized was starkly different. The Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control framed their place arguments in the context of the environment, specifically the Androscoggin River, and the Associated Industries of Maine spoke of place in terms of the industry that was located in a specific place. Neither organization used place-based collective-action frames with an emphasis

on the social and cultural aspects of a place that would specifically resonate with the Franco-American population in Lewiston.

5.3.2 Class-Based Motivation Frames

In addition to the use of place frames, both organizations employed a class-based identity through their motivation frames, intentionally in the case of the AIM, and possibly unintentionally in the case of the CCPC. It is important to analyze the overtly classist arguments in the motivation frames, and also the effects that class difference has on any argument, because not all of the motivation frames are rooted in place, and class even has an impact on the frames that are rooted in place.

The Associated Industries of Maine relied heavily on fostering a class-based identity through its motivation frames, and was explicit in directing these frames at certain social classes. First of all, the AIM defined community in terms of industry, and included everyone in Maine as a member of this community. Major arguments included that the livelihood of almost every person in Maine was either directly or indirectly dependent on industry. For instance, in his television interview, Schulze noted, “Well, we have about 916,000 people in the State of Maine. Last year 120,000 of us were getting our living from the payrolls of industrial companies. These 120,000 people support nearly half of the 916,000 residents...So the answer to your question is – the great majority of Maine’s residents directly or indirectly depend upon industry for their income...” (Schulze, WCSH-TV Interview, 1954a). By targeting people’s livelihoods, the AIM is inherently fostering an awareness of social class and the dependent condition of people of lower social classes. The way the organization defined itself as a “we” that included the entire Maine community of all social classes was the “identity component”

of the motivation frames, and the recommendation that all Mainers should align with the AIM because it was in their best economic interest provided the rationale for the movement.

More directly, the AIM openly targeted a community of industry employees and focused on the negative effects that pollution control could have on their lives. Schulze directed his arguments at industrial employees in particular during his television interview, in which he suggested, “Employees in particular should take a good square look at this problem and decide what is best for them” (Schulze, WCSH-TV Interview, 1954b). As Rose (2000) explained, the working class generally focuses on economics and the interests of its members, and desires immediate tangible changes, when approaching a social movement (Rose, 2000, p. 19). The AIM played upon the desires of the working class, not by promising the employees something tangible for supporting industry’s cause, but by emphasizing the devastating tangible effects that a hastily thought-out anti-pollution program could have specifically on their livelihoods.

Bearing these class-based arguments in mind, we see that the AIM was using social class not to build up a movement, but more to resist one. Every reference to the proposed anti-pollution program in terms of class had a negative connotation, so the AIM was encouraging an awareness of working-class identity and using social class to maintain the order as it was. Theodore S. Gonya, speaking for the Oxford Paper Co., “called Briggs’ measure, taken largely from a law Pennsylvania enacted some years ago, ‘a heckling law’ that ignores the ‘rights and best interests of all the people’” (“Pollution bills result in long, stormy session,” 1955). Schulze added, “legislation can make it harder and sometimes not feasible for an industrial company to continue (“Maine must

seek to preserve industries it already has," 1955). As Piven and Cloward (1979) explained, lower-class people whose only option in a struggle is to defy the system of beliefs established by their "rulers" usually do not. The AIM was framing the pollution issue as an issue where the interests of industry and the interests of employees were intertwined, so there would have been no gain for workers to defy the system.

While the AIM framed the pollution issue as being significant to particular working classes and created a "we" that incorporated an awareness of class, the CCPC was much quieter in voicing any reference to class. In fact, it seemed as if the goal of the organization was to create a collective identity that transcended the boundaries of social class by unifying all classes of citizens through "place." This strategy is not senseless, as place identity has the potential to surpass the effects of class identity on an individual's decision to participate in community affairs. As previously mentioned, Steven Haeberle (1987) found that a solid place identity works to overcome obstacles such as low socioeconomic status or low levels of education, which tend to hinder community political involvement. When a community defines itself in a specific place, residents who may have otherwise seen themselves to be identified by race, religion, class, or culture, can develop common interests around that "place" and act together upon that shared place identity (Martin, 2003, p. 733). The organization did invoke slight awareness of class identity through discussions of the economic impact on industry, which would concern working-class employees of industry whose livelihoods depend on industry's existence and profitability, but the CCPC focused on the positive benefits of pollution control legislation on industry, and therefore, should not have concerned the workers.

When thinking about place and class together, it is important to note that there are inherent differences between the middle-class and the working-class in regards to how class and labor play a role in connecting people to a place, which the CCPC did not explicitly address. These differences between the middle-class advocates, and the working-class mill workers could have complicated the formation of a collective identity. As John Harner (2001) found, working-class labor connects people to the land in a very physical way, and this connection contributes to their identity in a very different way than the middle-class experiences this connection. The CCPC focused on the nostalgia of the river and opportunities for recreation on the river, yet this place identity may not have resonated with the working-class, whose connection to the river is through labor. The working class labor force did not necessarily experience nature with the same luxury that the veterinarian, the superintendent of State Parks, or other members of the CCPC did. Though the organization was framing motivation arguments in a way that attempted to transcend the boundaries of social class by uniting people around a “place,” social class affects how certain groups of people are connected to a place, and therefore, people of different classes have different connections to the place in which they live and work.

Not only were the actual statements and arguments of the organizations significant in creating a collective identity, there were also underlying influences that were not explicitly mentioned, especially in regards to class, which contributed to the formation of a collective identity. For example, though the arguments and statements of the CCPC did not explicitly invoke a class-based identity or forward classist arguments, class did play a major role when considering the goals of the CCPC and the way in which

the movement was structured. The organization's emphasis on disseminating information and findings to the public, as asserted through both the group's mission statement and various statements made by members, classify the CCPC's anti-pollution movement as a middle-class movement by Rose's (2000) definition.

This classification as a middle-class movement is significant in that Lewiston has a large working class population, and as Rose explains, class difference affects what people want out of their social movement action. The working class generally focuses on economics and the interest of its members, and desires immediate tangible changes. In contrast, the middle-class sees their actions as a product of ideas and values, and views social change as "the product of changes in consciousness, that is, a product of education." Therefore, middle-class activists tend to believe that if they informed people about the problems being raised, they can teach people new values in hopes that these new values will change the way that people act (Rose, 2000, p. 19). The values of the CCPC and the desire to engage the public categorize the anti-pollution as a middle-class movement.

Because the CCPC is a middle-class movement, this may have complicated the ability for the movement to relate to the working-class, and by Rose's definition, the textile mill workers have jobs that classify as working-class, while any member of the CCPC mentioned in the Lewiston papers had a job title that classified to be middle-class. As Rose explained, working-class jobs generally involve manual labor with a great amount of supervision. Aspects of working-class jobs can be mechanized, with a machine replacing human labor. The working-class "functions within a highly ordered system of rules and regulations," and jobs are strictly regulated by time. For example, a

worker would have to punch a time clock before they sat at their factory bench, and they would have to punch out when he or she left so both the employee and employer would know exactly how many hours he or she worked. In contrast, middle-class jobs generally involve some type of mental skill or knowledge that cannot be replaced by machinery. These occupations generally do not require a worker to punch the clock because the emphasis is on “completing those tasks in the best way possible, and people have significant freedom to organize their time” (Rose, 2000, p. 16).

Rose’s theory of “Coalitions across the Class Divide” concluded that society is a “vessel containing a variety of political choices,” and those who benefit from the existing structure, those with resources and power, devote this power to keeping the structure intact. There are ways to shift the structure of society, and interclass coalitions are one way to accomplish this. “They force participants to challenge the boundaries of social practices, to create a new social space where peace and economic prosperity coexist, and where economic well-being and environmental sustainability are mutually reinforcing” (Rose, 2000, p. 218). Though Rose noted that these interclass coalitions could be a valuable resource for environmental movements, the CCPC never mentioned any person who had a job title that could be classified as a working-class job, and therefore, it is probable that this coalition never formed across this class line. Therefore, the competing interests of what the middle-class desired compared to the more material needs of the working-class could have hindered the creation of an anti-pollution collective identity in terms of a class coalition because the motivation frames employed by the CCPC had class resonance.

As previously mentioned, Ronald Inglehart's "Post-Materialist" thesis suggested that people with "postmaterialist" values were more likely to give priority to protecting the environment than those with "materialist" values, which emphasized economic and physical security (Inglehart, 1995 p. 57). This thesis is very class-based, with the working-class possessing the "material" values. According to Inglehart, the members of the middle-class, such as the leaders of the CCPC, would have the means to fight for the environment, while Lewiston's working-class mill workers would have not been afforded that opportunity. The motivation framing of "nature nostalgia" by the CCPC would fit into Inglehart's theory, yet the CCPC also included benefits to Maine industry and the greater Maine economy as additional aspects of their motivation framing. Because the middle-class citizens' group also framed their issues and values in terms of economic security, Inglehart's theory does not hold true in the case of the CCPC.

Motivation framing strategies of both organizations incorporate a class-based identity either through explicit reference to class or through frames that invoke an awareness of class differences. The AIM directly targeted employees of industry in some of its motivation frames, which is an explicit working-class reference. In contrast, the CCPC explicitly utilized place frames and attempted to transcend class boundaries through these frames, yet the way that the arguments were framed still invoked an awareness of class difference, as the CCPC was structured as a middle-class movement.

5.5 Chapter Conclusion

This discussion has analyzed the arguments of the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control and the Associated Industries of Maine using the concept of collective-

action frames, specifically, applying Snow and Benford's concepts of diagnostic frames, prognostic frames, and motivation frames. With focus on the motivation frames, this analysis has detailed the interaction of place-based identity and class-based identity in the statements of the two organizations. It is noteworthy to acknowledge that the CCPC's frame of "place" as a means to transcend the boundaries of class, in contrast to the AIM's effort to define place identity through class, is one complicating factor in the ability for the CCPC to foster a collective identity among Lewiston's working class. Additionally, persistent cultural conditions of Lewiston's Franco-American community, which neither group had explicitly addressed through their place frames, may have also complicated the ability of either group to foster a collective identity among Lewiston's working class.

Conclusion

This case study has looked at an environmental movement that, on some level, seems to have been a failure. No significant environmental legislation supported by the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control was successful during the Maine legislative sessions of 1953 or 1955, and it still took another 10 years for any major environmental legislation to pass. The first major water pollution bill to pass was on a federal level, the Water Quality Act of 1965, and true environmental change didn't occur until the passage of the Clean Water Act of 1972, championed by Maine's own Edmund Muskie. The Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control ceased to exist as its own organization at the end of the 1950s, though some members of the organization merged with the Natural Resources Council of Maine (NRCM) at its establishment (Altman, 1999, p. 229). Similarly, the Associated Industries of Maine no longer exists, but the interests of industry continue to be fought for by the Maine Chamber of Commerce. So the question surfaces, what is the value of studying the identity-framing strategies of an environmental group, which no longer exists, that seems to have been unsuccessful in gaining sufficient support for any environmental change?

First of all, this thesis has attempted to contribute to filling a void in the discipline of environmental history, that is, that the "work on the environmental experiences of many other groups of people remains sadly undeveloped: in the face of social history's classic categories of gender, race, class, and ethnicity, environmental history stands much more silent than it should" (Cronon, 1990, p. 1129). This Lewiston case study not only looks at how humans have been affected by their environment and

how they have in turn affected that environment, but also incorporates a discussion of the social history of Lewiston's Franco-American population. By positioning these different historical perspectives in conversation with one another, we are able to develop a more holistic understanding of Lewiston's place in the pollution debates of the 1950s. More specifically, this case study has focused on the debate between the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control and the Associated Industries of Maine between 1953 and 1955, and has provided two lenses through which one might analyze the collective identities of either movement: place and class.

As we have seen, the CCPC predominately utilized place-based identity-creating strategies, specifically with their reference to the nostalgic conditions of the Androscoggin River, and through this emphasis on "place," attempted to transcend the boundaries created by social class. In contrast, the AIM was much more explicit in targeting specific social classes, and used somewhat threatening tactics to ensure that the working-class would not support the "hastily" proposed pollution legislation. The AIM also provoked a place-based identity, yet it was very different in that it was rooted in industry. Through their statements, both organizations defined what it means to be a "good" member of a community in Maine, though their definitions were starkly different.

Additionally, this case study acknowledges that there were pre-existing identities in Lewiston, specifically in regards to class, that complicated the ability of these framing-strategies to be effective. In regards to social movements, there is a fundamental difference between the wants of the working-class and the wants of the middle-class, as the working-class desires immediate tangible changes and the middle-class desires a change in values, and this inherent difference posed a difficulty, especially for the CCPC.

The CCPC was, by definition, a middle-class movement, and catered to the wants of a more privileged class, which hindered its ability to foster the working-class support of Lewiston's mill workers.

The inclusion of Lewiston's social history and the experiences of its Franco-American community allow us to understand a third dimension of this pollution debate. It is noted that there are social and cultural circumstances specific to the working-class Franco-American community of Lewiston that may have influenced the relevance of these identity-framing tactics to this community. Specifically, the understanding of the community to be non-confrontational, which was initially promoted by the Church and later perpetuated by some community members, may have complicated the effectiveness of any identity-framing arguments as the cultural traditions discouraged activism, and some community members held on to these conservative notions even as times changed. This is where this thesis begins to bridge the void between environmental and social history and provides evidence for the value in integrating these two approaches to history. Without an inclusion of the social and cultural history of Lewiston's Franco-Americans, we would be missing a significant aspect of Lewiston's place-based identity.

This thesis has analyzed the collective-action framing strategies of the two organizations and put these frames in the context of Lewiston, Maine, yet there is the possibility of future research to understand how the community understood and responded to those identity-framing arguments. As it is clear that the culture of Lewiston's community influenced their actions, there is the possibility to further understand the community perspective on this pollution debate by analyzing the way in

which *Le Messenger*, Lewiston's French newspaper that remained in circulation until 1966, presented the arguments of the two organizations. If there were language barriers that prevented members of the Franco-American community from reading Lewiston's newspapers printed in English, *Le Messenger* would have been their source of information. The way in which the French newspaper included information about the CCPC or the AIM, if it discussed these groups and the proposed legislation at all, may have influenced the way in which the community received the messages.

Moving beyond the implications of this case study specifically to Lewiston, and thinking about the themes on a broader level, it becomes apparent that the discussion of collective-action framing strategies through the lenses of place, class, and culture provides us with a number of lessons that should be considered by environmental activists today. In a time when there is a heightened awareness of the environmental damage that we have caused our planet and an increased desire to protect our Earth, lessons learned from this Lewiston case study may help current environmental movements to be more effective.

Though this case study focused on pollution debates in the 1950s, prior to the existence of mass environmental awareness and concern for the environment in the U.S., lessons learned from this debate are still applicable to environmental social movements today. First of all, environmental activists need to be aware of their audience, that is, the people that they want to align with their collective identity. Members of the working-class connect to place differently and desire different results from social movements than members of the middle-class, and activists need to carefully construct their arguments as to resonate with the group of people they want to attract.

Additionally, this case study demonstrates the worth of understanding the cultural traditions specific to certain communities, as these cultural traditions and ideologies are an integral part of an understanding of “place” and may have a lasting effect on how communities act and which arguments that they respond to. This finding is not specific to the French Canadian community in Lewiston; it is applicable to nearly every community, as there are both conservative and liberal opinions as well as generational gaps in every population, and these cultural circumstances may influence thoughts and opinions of members.

By exploring the place frames of the Citizens for Conservation and Pollution Control, we find that one way in which social movements can foster an identity that transcends boundaries of class and race is to unite people upon their shared experiences in a location. Though the CCPC did not gain enough support to have their supported pollution legislation pass in the 1950s, this legislation did pass in later decades, and an understanding of place played a role in that. If environmental organizations are able to create an identity and frame their actions in a way that carefully uses a conception of place, while also balancing the class-based and cultural aspects of that place, organizations could successfully expand the number of people who identify with their cause.

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