Cleaning Up the Great Lakes: From Cooperation to Confrontation

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customary law a citizen may survey and purchase a parcel of wetland and consider it private property, the very wetness of wetlands means that there will always be a 'commons' component to them. This commons may be a public nuisance, or it may be a public good" (6). Using this concept as the organizing principal, Vileisis masterfully tells a story of changing cultural attitudes and government responses as we have haltingly come to recognize a public responsibility to respect the ecological functions of wetlands within a legal system that protects individual rights.


REVIEWED BY MARGARET BEATTIE BOGUE, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN–MADISON

Cleaning Up the Great Lakes is an important study that traces efforts to rectify the damages done to the mid-continent's most significant water resource, the Great Lakes, by the growth of population, urban-industrial development, agriculture, lumbering, mining, power generation, and a host of other human activities that for more than a century have degraded water quality and the marine habitat. Terence Kehoe's study concentrates on the decades of the 1960s and 1970s, which witnessed the effects of a vast post-World War II industrial expansion based in large part on the production of synthetic compounds that yielded wastes toxic to life forms. The heavy toll on water quality evoked public outcry and the crusades of environmentalists to make the plight of the lakes a major issue, nationally as well as regionally. The work is basically a public policy study in which the relationships between the process of water spoliation and the changes in ways of trying to control it are skillfully interwoven.

The problem of pollution in the Great Lakes affected public health and the well-being of marine life well before 1900. At that time efforts to develop safe systems for drinking water and sewage disposal were handled at the city, state, and provincial levels, which were considered the appropriate segments of government to deal with the problem. They functioned through boards that stressed volunteerism, cooperation, and a philosophy of regulation geared to assimilative capacity and primary uses of bodies of water receiving wastes. They also accommodated the economic interests at stake and their political clout.
Kehoe traces how this system of regulation, which had evolved gradually, unraveled in the post-World War II years. Step by step the federal government took more and more control over the regulation of pollution despite strong protests from state authorities. The process culminated in the 1972 amendments to the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, which were designed ultimately to eliminate all water polluting discharges with the assistance of the Environmental Protection Agency created two years earlier. Very specific rules and the power of the federal government to sue and fine polluters replaced the states' approach of "cooperative pragmatism, with its reliance on volunteerism and informal action." But the states continued to play a significant cooperative role in negotiations and enforcement. Pollution control is a federal partnership.

Kehoe has traced these developments in careful detail, showing how government structures changed with the creation of more effective agencies for research, policy development, and enforcement, especially during the 1960s and '70s. He explains the key roles of dramatic episodes in environmental degradation, the environmental movement, and a widespread public outrage in producing notable progress in cleaning up the lakes. His account demonstrates how environmental reform can happen, but he notes at the same time that victories were limited and that sustained effort is critical to continued improvement in water quality. The study is based on extensive archival research at the state and federal levels, and in newspapers, technical journals, and printed government documents. The one notable weakness in this impressive study is neglect of the Canadian side of the reform effort to clean up the politically divided but geographically united Great Lakes. Nevertheless Kehoe makes a valuable contribution to the environmental history of the Midwest.


REVIEWED BY WAYNE FRANKLIN, NORTHEASTERN UNIVERSITY

J. B. Jackson was the person most responsible for reminding modern Americans how much landscape—the made scenery of human experience—has mattered in the life of the country. *Reminding* is not strong enough. Those who have read Jackson on the subject often describe their first exposure to his ideas as if it gave new power to their own