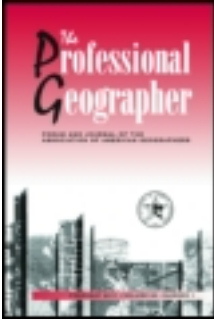


This article was downloaded by: [USC University of Southern California]
On: 03 July 2013, At: 14:20
Publisher: Routledge
Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954
Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH,
UK



The Professional Geographer

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rtpg20>

Reflections on a White Discipline

Laura Pulido ^a

^a University of Southern California

Published online: 15 Mar 2010.

To cite this article: Laura Pulido (2002) Reflections on a White Discipline, The Professional Geographer, 54:1, 42-49, DOI: [10.1111/0033-0124.00313](https://doi.org/10.1111/0033-0124.00313)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/0033-0124.00313>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Taylor & Francis makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in the publications on our platform. However, Taylor & Francis, our agents, and our licensors make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness, or suitability for any purpose of the Content. Any opinions and views expressed in this publication are the opinions and views of the authors, and are not the views of or endorsed by Taylor & Francis. The accuracy of the Content should not be relied upon and should be independently verified with primary sources of information. Taylor and Francis shall not be liable for any losses, actions, claims, proceedings, demands, costs, expenses, damages, and other liabilities whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with, in relation to or arising out of the use of the Content.

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is

expressly forbidden. Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

Reflections on a White Discipline*

Laura Pulido

University of Southern California

Utilizing a partially autobiographical format, this article considers the practice and study of race within geography. I argue that the overwhelmingly white composition of the discipline has very real implications for both individual experiences and our intellectual production and disciplinary culture. I explore these issues by drawing on my own experiences as a Chicana within geography, and by examining the extent to which one area of research, environmental justice, has engaged questions of race and the consequences of that engagement. I conclude with some general remarks on what it might take to significantly diversify geography. **Key Words:** ethnic studies, geography, race.

Introduction

Several years ago, I shifted my research focus from environmental racism/justice to questions of race, social movements, and political activism. Aside from the fact that these were deep passions, I was also driven by other factors. For one, I felt somewhat like a “poster child” when it came to people of color and environmental issues. Though confident that I was invited to speak frequently on these issues because of genuine interest in an alternative viewpoint, I was uncomfortable with often being the only person of color at such events. Second, and more important for this discussion, was my frustration with the absence of a substantive dialogue on race within the environmental racism/justice literature. This observation is not an indictment of geographers working in the field; rather, it reflects some fundamental problems with the discipline itself. In particular, critical work on race remains relatively contained within urban and social geography, thus precluding a disciplinary conversation on the subject of race, with significant consequences for geography as a whole.

The confinement of the study of race to limited parts of geography has presented a real problem to me, as my academic life has been a continual struggle to integrate my antiracist politics and participation in ethnic studies with geography. While aware of the importance of structural conditions, I have experienced this disjuncture as largely personal. Inspired by recent autobiographical work by geographers (Liverman 1999; Moss 2000), however, I have begun to rethink my personal history and con-

cerns as indicative of larger disciplinary problems. As such, my academic history is both an embodiment of the relationship between geography and race, as well as a product of engagement with a white discipline.

Although environmental racism/justice is a relatively small topic, it provides a window into the larger discipline. If race was more central, *all* human geographers would have a deeper understanding of it, which would hopefully be expressed in their research. I argue that the study of race has remained isolated within parts of geography because of disciplinary fragmentation, the limited number of people of color within the discipline, and our weak ties to ethnic studies.

Using a partially autobiographical format, the first part of this essay traces my intellectual history and efforts to link Chicana/o Studies and environmental problems. Second, I consider geography’s engagement with the study of race, in particular, how the whiteness of the discipline has skewed our intellectual production. Using autobiography is not without its problems. Not only is it based on one person’s experiences, but some may consider it self-indulgent. My hope, however, is that by revealing parts of my past I can help us to gain a deeper understanding of how disciplinary cultures and practices, in addition to research, can have a significant effect on both scholars and scholarship.

Becoming an Academic: Geography versus Chicana/o Studies

Like many geographers, I stumbled onto the discipline. I took a California geography course at the local community college and was imme-

*Many thanks to Donna Houston for her research assistance and to an anonymous reviewer who offered extremely helpful and insightful comments.

The Professional Geographer, 54(1) 2002, pages 42–49 © Copyright 2002 by Association of American Geographers.

Initial submission, February 2000; revised submission, August 2001; final acceptance, August 2001.

Published by Blackwell Publishing, 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148, and 108 Cowley Road, Oxford, OX4 1JF, UK.

diately hooked. Geography, it seemed, provided answers to questions about which I was deeply curious. For instance, growing up in southern California, I never understood why it did not snow there. Equally perplexing was the apparent concentration of blacks in south L.A., and Mexicans in east L.A. I decided that any discipline that could address both issues was for me.

Upon transferring to California State University Fresno, I majored in geography while participating in La Raza studies.¹ I took every environmentally related course in the major, partly out of enthusiasm and partly because that was what was offered. I simply accepted the divorce between my interests in Chicana/o studies and geography/environmental issues; they were two separate worlds, and I had no idea how to integrate them.

At the suggestion of one of my professors, I applied to the University of Wisconsin, which offered a special fellowship for underrepresented minorities.² At Madison, I initiated my first attempt to combine my interests in Chicana/o Studies and geography. My thesis examined farmworkers' experiences and perceptions with agricultural chemicals in the southern San Joaquin Valley. I somehow managed to complete my thesis, but was ultimately dissatisfied with the project.³ For one, I lacked the theoretical background to explain the structural vulnerability of farmworkers. In addition, having administered a survey, I was acutely aware of its inability to capture the complexity of exposure and the politics of environmental relationships. My advisors directed me to various literatures, including work on urban hazards (Berry et al. 1977; Johnson and Zeigler 1986; Cutter 1987), as well as the political ecology literature (Watts 1983; Rocheleau 1984; Hecht and Cockburn 1989). I was excited by the hazards research insofar as it was exploring urban inequalities, but I also found it theoretically unsatisfying, as it brought me no closer to understanding how race and racism worked. In contrast, I was drawn to political ecology, especially its oppositional nature, but I had enormous difficulties translating the inequalities of the "third world" to that of "domestic minorities." While I knew that race could only be understood in terms of larger power relations, I was not aware of any scholar who was making these connections within the human-environment tradition at the

time, and I simply lacked the intellectual skills and maturity to make them myself. Of course, numerous geographers *were* studying race at the time, but most of it was in urban and social geography (Jackson and Smith 1981; Peet 1985; Anderson 1987; Jackson 1987), and operating within the human-environment tradition, I was not exposed to this work due to disciplinary fragmentation (see Hanson 1999). This insularity is a major problem to which I will return.

An important part of my Madison experience was interacting with other Chicana/o graduate students. Ironically, both Chicano studies and geography were located in the same building. Though they were convenient to one another, there was no programmatic or intellectual connection between the two units. Even my social life reflected this: I had my geography friends (predominantly white), and my Chicana/o friends (not white). My Chicana/o colleagues were invaluable as we collectively faced the problem of how to integrate our interests in Chicana/o studies with traditional disciplines that exhibited varying degrees of acceptance/hostility towards us and our work. Exacerbating the problem, of course, was the almost complete absence of any faculty of color. Through our association I began to see the problem in more structural terms. I became critical of the university and geography, wondering why so few students of color were attracted to the discipline and its (and my) seeming inability to systematically address the connection between racism and environmental issues.

Things took a radical turn, however, as I began my Ph.D. in Urban Planning at the University of California Los Angeles. Race was not being seriously theorized there, but the department did take social justice seriously. Not only did I begin to study social theory, but a critical mass of students of color—including people such as Clyde Woods—provided a fertile ground for student activism, critiquing the white academy, and studying race. In addition, I worked with a dynamic Chicano Studies Research Center. Besides being in an environment that supported me and my research interests, I also noted a trend towards exploring the relationship between people of color and environmentalism. The United Church of Christ's (UCC) study, *Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States*,

was published in 1987, and suddenly my research topic shifted from “minorities and the environment” to “environmental racism.”⁴ My doctoral research on working-class Chicana/o environmentalism could not have happened at a more opportune time.

Environmental Racism Research in Geography

I was confident that environmental racism/justice would develop rapidly within the discipline. It is difficult to think of a more geographic topic, as it includes nature-society relations, spatial analysis, and mapping. In addition, it encompasses different types of intellectual work, including empirical studies, policy-making, community activism, and theorizing. I believe that geography *should* have been the disciplinary home of environmental racism/justice; instead, cognate disciplines such as sociology took the lead in exploring both environmental racism (racially unequal environmental quality) and environmental justice (the movement to counter environmental racism).⁵ I view this as a lost opportunity: building a community of researchers around environmental racism/justice could have helped to prioritize the study of race within geography.

This is not to diminish the important and diverse contributions geographers have made to the subject, including research on spatial distributions (Bowen, Salling, and Cyran 1995; Cutter and Solecki 1996; Chakraborty and Armstrong 2001), ethics and politics (Lake 1996), land use (Pincetl 1996), community organizing (Berman Santana 1996b), the environmental justice movement (Towers 2000), and the political economy of hazards (Heiman 1990). Missing from this impressive body of literature, however, is a systematic focus on race, which seems to me to be a core concept of environmental racism (Berman Santana 1996a; Pulido 1996, 2000). Regardless of motive, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that geographers studying this topic have shown a clear preference for not tackling directly the question of race and racism.

Though researchers have explored racial disparities in the location of hazards and pollution, geography's insights on race exceed that of spatial analysis. If we understand race to be an ideological and material process, it should be appar-

ent that it *is* a fundamentally spatial relation. Consequently, geography should be a leading discipline in the study of race. But it is not.

Geography, Geographers, and the Study of Race

Despite historical obstacles to the study of race within geography, including the discipline's role in imperialism (Smith and Godlewska 1994) and environmental determinism (Peet 1985), geographers have contributed a great deal to the study of racial inequality (for excellent overviews, see Dwyer 1997; Kodras 1998).⁶ There are many ways to analyze this large body of work. One important distinction is between those studies that document racial differences and more recent work grounded in critical race theory. Both are valuable in their own right. The first body of literature, often adhering to a more positivist approach, is particularly significant in terms of policy. Such research findings can actually be used in political, administrative, and legal decisions. The second category, critical race theory, is less policy-oriented but has important implications for how we think about race. One of its most important characteristics is that it does not treat racism as an aberration; it assumes that race is a fundamental social relation. In contrast, while studies that seek to document racial outcomes may or may not view race as an aberration, they *allow* racism to be treated that way. This is a key issue: if racism is inherent to a social formation, then it is difficult to segregate it, either as a topic or in one's analysis. This is not the case with methodological approaches that acknowledge the existence of racism only if the findings support such a conclusion. It is not my intent to disparage either approach, but rather to call attention to this fundamental divide and to encourage geographers to begin crossing this boundary.

I contend that, at present, these two sets of researchers are largely talking past each other, when instead we should be engaging each other. Critical race theorists should be encouraged to make direct contributions to policy, legal, and activist arenas, and those documenting racial outcomes would benefit from asking what race is and trying to understand it in all of its complexities. Until we reach this point, geography's work on race will remain fragmented and weak.

Of course, geography is not so different from the larger society. While there is a distinct minority that insists on the reality of racism, a dramatic shift in racial attitudes has occurred. Though there is no denying that many forms of overt racism have decreased, large percentages of the population, particularly whites, no longer support integration efforts and antiracist initiatives (Edsall and Edsall 1991), as seen in the demise of affirmative action in California. We need to appreciate that geographers are just people and in many ways reflect the experiences and dynamics of the larger population, particularly the white one.

This brings us to another reason for the marginalization of the study of race within geography: the discipline's overwhelmingly white composition and limited links to ethnic studies. While I must tread carefully here if I wish to avoid essentialist arguments, I believe there is no escaping the fact that in a discipline that is over 90 percent white (AAG 1999), many individuals feel no need or desire to investigate race, as the current racial hierarchy serves them well. Simply put, race is not a problem for most geographers in their daily lives.⁷ This individual preference for not studying race is magnified by several thousand and has become a characteristic of the discipline. I believe that more people of color would contribute to a more robust and dynamic dialogue on race within geography. The racial formation does not benefit people of color to the same extent that it does whites. Depending upon one's racial/ethnic identity, economic position, gender, sexuality, ability, and location, people of color occupy various positions of racial subordination. As a result, race is a "problem" that needs to be studied. Clearly, there are a number of white geographers who have consciously stepped outside this position, but they remain a minority. And even committed white scholars must contend with numerous obstacles in the study of race, including issues of representation and the politics of fieldwork. Not only must white researchers deal with the political and ethical issues associated with whites studying racially-subordinated populations, but there is also the problem of whites telling, once again, the stories of people of color—and the subject even sometimes speaking back. These tensions might partially account for the intense popularity of whiteness studies. In addition to the

admittedly important task of unpacking hegemonic racial groups and practices, it may be that whiteness is just a less problematic area of inquiry (Dyer 1988; Roediger 1991; Frankenberg 1993; Ignatiev 1995; Bonnet 1997, 1998; Jackson 1998; Lipsitz 1998; for a fuller discussion of these issues see Rodriguez 1999; Kobayashi and Peake 2000; McGuinness 2000; Mahtani forthcoming).

The Whiteness of Geography and Intellectual Production

Certainly there is recognition on the part of many geographers that the discipline, ideally, should become more diverse. It has been suggested that diversification would facilitate outreach and make geography more relevant to otherwise underserved communities, and that it is simply the "right" thing to do, both morally and politically (Shrestha and Davis 1989; Janelle 1992, 380–83; Rediscovering Geography Committee 1997, 154–55). What has not been argued, however, is how the whiteness of our discipline skews our intellectual production (see Zelinsky, Monk, and Hanson 1982 and Rose 1993 for a similar argument in terms of gender).

I am not implying that white geographers are incapable of producing cutting-edge work on race, or that scholars of color are more likely to have more penetrating insights and analyses. On the contrary, white geographers have produced exceptional work (recent works include Anderson 1987; Blaut 1992, 1993; S. Smith 1993; Jackson and Penrose 1994; Pratt and Hanson 1994; Twine 1996; Wilson 1996; Allen and Turner 1997; Delaney 1998; Elder 1998; Gilbert 1998; Dwyer 1999; Nast 2000; Tyner and Houston 2000; for a complete review, see Kodras 1998), as have geographers of color (Wilson 1992, 2000; Kobayashi and Peake 1994; Berman Santana 1996a, 1996b; de Oliver 1996; Woods 1998; Gilmore 1999). Nonetheless, more geographers of color would enhance our disciplinary discourse on race in several ways.

First, more people of color could create a "critical mass," which currently does not exist. Derald Smith (1993, 255) defines critical mass as "the necessary number of persons to generate original major ideas of a regional, global, or scientific breakthrough scale . . ." In this case,

we need sufficient scholars to generate an intellectual synergy around race. A similar process can be seen in feminist geography. Only after women gained access to academia did the study of gender flourish. Men *could* have taken the lead, but they did not. Because patriarchy was a problem for female geographers, they studied it seriously. While most early works were corrective in nature (McDowell 1993), feminist geography has since become one of the most vibrant sites of human geography. Evidence has shown that within nonwhite intellectual spaces, race consistently emerges as a key interest. One need only look at the conference proceedings of the National Association of Chicano Studies, the Association of Asian American Studies, the countless African American studies organizations, or even the Latino Caucus of the American Sociology Association to see that race—both as a reality informing people's everyday lives and as a dynamic area of intellectual engagement—is a major theme. Certainly not all people of color will or should be interested in exploring these topics, but *were* there more geographers of color, I am confident that some of them would. As few as fifteen people could constitute a critical mass and their energy could have a major impact on how the discipline addresses race in all its forms.⁸

Another often-overlooked dimension of a white discipline is the limited set of experiences that inform the discourse. As previously explained, we all occupy different racial positions and experience race differently. While I argue strenuously that race is a rigorous area of scholarship, there is no denying that we all have experiences and feelings about race, since we are all racialized. Studies suggest that racial thinking pervades our mind, and consequently that these experiences inform our research, consciously or not (Lawrence 1987; Devine 1989). Currently, geography is unduly informed by experiences of whiteness. This does not mean that whites cannot empathize, research, or stand in solidarity with those who are racially subordinated, but it does mean that the voices and experiences of nonwhites are almost always filtered through a white lens. Undoubtedly, the literature would be enhanced by a wider range of experiences.

Finally, more people of color would enhance geography by offering closer ties to ethnic studies. Because it is scholars of color who tend to belong to racial/ethnic scholarly associations (how many white geographers belong to the

National Association of Chicano Studies?), we become, in effect, the bridges between geography and ethnic studies, where some of the most pathbreaking work on race is taking place (Sanchez 1993; Lowe 1996; Kondo 1997; Lipsitz 1998). Geography might do well to emulate American studies, which has flourished partly by reaching out to ethnic studies. Traditionally associated with "colonial" studies (i.e., unreconstructed white studies), the American Studies Association made a conscious decision to integrate itself and to reach out to the scholarly associations of various racial/ethnic groups (Lipsitz 1995; Washington 1998). This has led to an impressive, if still incomplete, integration of the discipline. Moreover, it has contributed to a reinvention of the study of race that is reverberating throughout academia. There is no reason geography should not be part of this.

Towards a New Disciplinary Culture

I have tried to identify several reasons why the study of race is both marginalized and fragmented within geography. In addition to disciplinary and institutional barriers to methodological boundary-crossing, I believe that the paltry number of geographers of color is a factor. In contrast, if geography had more people of color, for whom race is often a problematic experience, then perhaps the discipline's racial discourse would be enriched. While I do not have any magic solution to promote the diversification of the discipline, I do know, based on my own experience, to what some faculty of color are drawn. I recently changed my appointment at the University of Southern California (USC) from full-time in geography to half-time in the Program in American Studies and Ethnicity (PASE).⁹ PASE is a relatively new interdisciplinary program that includes within it Chicano/Latino, African American, and Asian American studies. While some have been disappointed with my lack of disciplinary loyalty, the intellectual community and overall feeling of comfort associated with PASE were simply too compelling to pass up. Obviously, the actions of a single individual are not necessarily significant, but this latest move might once again be instructive in highlighting what *attracts* at least some faculty of color.

1. *Comfort*. Few whites will ever appreciate the enormous psychological and emo-

tional energy that many people of color expend in all-white environments. This does not mean that we are incapable of caring for or being friends with white colleagues. However, I have had enough conversations with geographers of color to know that being a “minority” is enormously draining. I, for one, am much more relaxed and able to be myself in situations that are either racially mixed or composed predominantly of people of color. This may seem insignificant or like whining to some, but the daily challenge of facing predominantly white students and colleagues does take its toll. In the past, scholars of color may have just accepted this as reality, but I think that the number of women and people of color shifting into either women’s studies or ethnic studies is indicative of a discipline in dire need of change.

2. *Intellectual Community.* A second reason for my change of appointment was that PASE offered a much more stimulating set of intellectual opportunities through which to deepen my understanding of race. While my PASE colleagues may not be very good at mapping and sometimes reduce spatial analysis to metaphors, they possess a wealth of experience and expertise regarding one of the key problems facing the world today: racial inequality. As a result, I enjoy a more diverse and interdisciplinary set of opportunities that are meaningful to me. Previously, I sometimes felt pressure to emphasize the geographic dimensions of race, instead of being free to study it for its own sake.

Although other issues also existed, comfort and intellectual community were the key reasons I made the move. It is entirely possible that these are just my own personal idiosyncrasies. However, I think not, given the large and highly talented pool of faculty of color that PASE has been able to attract.

What does this mean for geography? In addition to such things as student recruitment, mentoring, and funding, we need to change the very culture of our discipline. Although this will inevitably be a multipronged project, any serious strategy must include efforts to make geography more comfortable for people of color (and others) and to encourage opportunities for

innovative forms of intellectual community. Maybe, instead of people of color having to assimilate to the white culture(s) of academia, it is time for academia to accommodate us. ■

Notes

¹“La Raza studies” is another term for Chicana/o studies that was popular in the 1970s and 1980s. I should note that it was in a La Raza studies course that I had my first Chicana instructor, Dr. Lea Ybarra. Because of her, I learned that it was possible for women like me to become academics. Politically, I am not a strong supporter of the “role model” strategy, but I must admit to the power of being shown the possibilities.

²I am grateful to Professor Jerry Towle for informing me about the Advanced Opportunity Fellowship, which still exists.

³I never would have completed my master’s thesis without the tremendous support of my advisor, Diana Liverman, who continues to be a mentor. My dissatisfaction with the project reflects in no way on her, but on my own shortcomings.

⁴The UCC report was the first national study of environmental racism and triggered a research movement.

⁵This is an unfortunate development, because the “nature” side of the equation often gets ignored by sociologists.

⁶It is important to differentiate between scholarship on nonwhites and the study of race itself. The two are clearly distinct, but studies on people of color, particularly African Americans, often serve as a segue to the study of race, and unfortunately sometimes as a substitute.

⁷There are, in fact, many ways in which we all suffer from racial inequality. However, geography, for the most part, is still trying to understand how racially subordinated populations differ from that of the white majority. Hopefully, we can have a conversation on the collective material, social, emotional, and spiritual costs of racism one day.

⁸Although it is too early to tell, it is possible that the Kentucky gathering might serve as the beginning of such a critical mass.

⁹This should not be read as an indictment of the Department of Geography at USC, which has offered above-average support. I was not so much “pushed” as “pulled” to PASE, because it offered things that geography simply could not.

Literature Cited

- Allen, J., and E. Turner. 1997. *The ethnic quilt: Population diversity in Southern California*. Northridge: Center for Geographical Studies, California State University Northridge.
- Association of American Geographers (AAG). 1999. Profiles of the AAG membership, 1996–1998.

- Newsletter of the Association of American Geographers* 34 (5):20.
- Anderson, K. 1987. The idea of Chinatown: The power of place and institutional practice in the making of a racial category. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 77:580–598.
- Berman Santana, D. 1996a. Geographers, colonialism, and development strategies: The case of Puerto Rico. *Urban Geography* 17 (5):456–74.
- . 1996b. *Kicking off the bootstraps: Environment, development, and community power in Puerto Rico*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Berry, B., ed. 1977. *The social burdens of environmental pollution: A comparative metropolitan data source*. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publications.
- Blaut, J. 1992. The theory of cultural racism. *Antipode* 24 (4):289–99.
- . 1993. *The colonizer's model of the world*. New York: Guilford.
- Bonnett, A. 1997. Geography, “race,” and whiteness: Invisible traditions and current challenges. *Area* 29 (3):193–99.
- . 1998. How the British working class became white: The symbolic (re)formation of racialized capitalism. *Journal of Historical Sociology* 11 (3): 316–40.
- Bowen, W., M. Salling, and E. Cyran. 1995. Toward environmental justice: Spatial equity in Ohio and Cleveland. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 85 (4):641–63.
- Chakraborty, J., and M. Armstrong. 2001. Assessing the impact of airborne toxic releases on populations with special needs. *The Professional Geographer* 53 (1):119–31.
- Cutter, S. 1987. Airborne toxic releases: Are communities prepared? *Environment* 29 (6):12–17, 28–31.
- Cutter, S., and W. Solecki. 1996. Setting environmental justice in space and place: Acute and chronic airborne toxic releases in the southeastern U.S. *Urban Geography* 17 (5):380–99.
- de Oliver, M. 1996. Historical preservation and identity: The Alamo and the production of a consumer landscape. *Antipode* 28 (1):1–23.
- Delaney, D. 1998. *Race, place, and the law, 1836–1948*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Devine, P. 1989. Stereotypes and prejudice: Their automatic and controlled components. *Personality and Social Psychology* 56 (1):5–18.
- Dwyer, O. 1997. Geographical research about African Americans: A survey of journals, 1911–1995. *The Professional Geographer* 49 (4):441–51.
- . 1999. Interpreting the civil rights movement: Place, memory, and conflict. Unpublished manuscript. Department of Geography, University of Kentucky.
- Dyer, R. 1988. White. *Screen* 29 (4):44–64.
- Elder, G. 1998. The South African body politic: Exploring the spatial links between racism and compulsory heterosexuality. In *Places through the body*, ed. H. Nast and S. Pile, 153–64. New York: Routledge.
- Edsall, T., and M. Edsall. 1991. *Chain reaction*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Frankenberg, R. 1993. *White women, race matters: The social construction of whiteness*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.
- Gilbert, M. 1998. “Race,” space, and power: The survival strategies of working poor women. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88 (4):595–621.
- Gilmore, R. W. 1999. “You have dislodged a boulder”: Mothers and prisoners in the post-Keynsian California landscape. *Transforming Anthropology* 8 (1/2):12–38.
- Hanson, S. 1999. Isms and schisms: Healing the rift between the nature-society and space-society traditions in human geography. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 89 (1):133–44.
- Hecht, S. B., and A. Cockburn. 1989. *The fate of the forest: Developers, destroyers, and defenders of the Amazon*. New York: Verso.
- Heiman, M. 1990. From “Not in my back yard!” to “Not in anybody’s back yard!”: Grassroots challenges to hazardous waste facility siting. *American Planning Association Journal* 56:359–62.
- Ignatiev, N. 1995. *How the Irish became white*. New York: Routledge.
- Jackson, P., ed. 1987. *Race and racism: Essays in social geography*. Boston: Allen and Unwin.
- . 1998. Constructions of “whiteness” in the geographical imagination. *Area* 30 (2):99–106.
- Jackson, P., and J. Penrose, eds. 1994. *Constructions of race, place, and nation*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Jackson, P., and S. J. Smith. 1981. *Social interaction and ethnic segregation*. New York: Academic Press.
- Janelle, D. 1992. The peopling of American geography. In *Geography's inner worlds*, ed. R. Abler, M. Marcus, and J. Olson, 363–90. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Johnson, J., and D. Zeigler. 1986. Evacuation planning for technological hazards: An emerging imperative. *Cities* 3:148–56.
- Kobayashi, A., and L. Peake. 1994. Unnatural discourse: “Race” and gender in geography. *Gender, Place, and Culture* 1:225–44.
- . 2000. Racism out of place: Thoughts on whiteness and an antiracist geography in the new millennium. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 90 (2):392–403.
- Kodras, J. 1998. Race and place: Geographic research on race relations in the United States. Unpublished report prepared on behalf of the Association of American Geographers as a contribution to President Clinton's *One America* initiative. http://www.uky.edu/AS/Geography/dept/race_and_geography_workshop.htm (last accessed 26 October 2001).
- Kondo, D. 1997. *About face: Performing race in fashion and theater*. New York: Routledge.
- Lake, R. 1996. Volunteers, NIMBYs, and environ-

- mental justice: Dilemmas of democratic practice. *Antipode* 28 (2):142–59.
- Lawrence, C. 1987. The id, the ego, and equal protection: Reckoning with unconscious racism. *Stanford Law Review* 39:317–88.
- Lipsitz, G. 1995. The possessive investment in whiteness: Racialized social democracy and the “white” problem in American studies. *American Quarterly* 47 (3):369–87.
- . 1998. *The possessive investment in whiteness*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Liverman, D. 1999. Geography and the global environment. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 89 (1):107–20.
- Lowe, L. 1996. *Immigrant acts: On Asian-American cultural politics*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Mahtani, M. Forthcoming. Racial remappings: The potential of paradoxical space. *Gender, Place, & Culture*.
- McDowell, L. 1993. Space, place, and gender relations. Part I: Feminist empiricism and the geography of social relations. *Progress in Human Geography* 17 (2):157–79.
- McGuinness, M. 2000. Geography matters? Whiteness and contemporary geography. *Area* 32 (2): 225–30.
- Moss, P., ed. 2000. *Placing autobiography in geography*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Nast, H. 2000. Mapping the unconscious. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 90 (2):215–55.
- Peet, R. 1985. The social origins of environmental determinism. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 75 (3):309–33.
- Pincetl, S. 1996. Immigrants and redevelopment plans in Paris, France: Urban planning, equity, and environmental justice. *Urban Geography* 17 (5):440–55.
- Pratt, G., and S. Hanson. 1994. Geography and the construction of difference. *Gender, Place, and Culture* 1 (1):5–29.
- Pulido, L. 1996. A critical review of the methodology of environmental racism research. *Antipode* 28 (2): 142–49.
- . 2000. Rethinking environmental racism: White privilege and urban development in Southern California. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 90 (1):12–40.
- Rediscovering Geography Committee. 1997. *Rediscovering geography: New relevance for science and study*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- Rocheleau, D. 1984. An ecological analysis of soil and water conservation in hillslope farming systems: Plan Sierra, Dominican Republic. Ph.D. diss., Department of Geography, University of Florida.
- Rodriguez, R. 1999. The study of whiteness. *Black Issues in Higher Education* 16 (6):20–25.
- Roediger, D. 1991. *The wages of whiteness*. New York: Verso.
- Rose, G. 1993. *Feminism and geography*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Sanchez, G. J. 1993. *Becoming Mexican-American: Ethnicity, culture, and identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900–1945*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Shrestha, N., and D. Davis. 1989. Minorities in geography: Some disturbing facts and policy measures. *The Professional Geographer* 41 (4):410–20.
- Smith, D. 1993. Fluvial geomorphology: Where do we go from here? *Geomorphology* 7:251–62.
- Smith, S. 1993. Residential segregation and the politics of racialization. In *Racism, the city, and the state*, ed. M. Cross and M. Keith, 128–43. New York: Routledge.
- Smith, N., and A. Godlewska, eds. 1994. *Geography and empire*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Towers, G. 2000. Applying the political geography of scale: Grassroots strategies and environmental justice. *The Professional Geographer* 52 (1):23–36.
- Twine, F. W. 1996. Brown-skinned girls: Class, culture, and the construction of white identity in suburban communities. *Gender, Place, and Culture* 3 (2):205–24.
- Tyner, J., and D. Houston. 2000. Controlling bodies: The punishment of multiracialized sexual relations. *Antipode* 32 (4):387–409.
- United Church of Christ Commission on Racial Justice. 1987. *Toxic wastes and race in the United States*. New York: United Church of Christ.
- Washington, M. H. 1998. Disturbing the peace: What happens to American studies if you put African-American studies at the center? Presidential address to the American Studies Association, 29 October 1997. *American Quarterly* 50 (1):1–23.
- Watts, M. 1983. *Silent violence: Food, famine, and peasantry in Northern Nigeria*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Wilson, B. 1992. Structural imperatives behind racial change in Birmingham, Alabama. *Antipode* 24: 171–202.
- . 2000. *Race and place in Birmingham*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Wilson, D. 1996. Metaphors, growth coalition discourses, and black poverty neighborhoods in a U.S. city. *Antipode* 28 (1):72–96.
- Woods, C. 1998. *Arrested development: Regional planning in the Mississippi Delta*. New York: Verso.
- Zelinsky, W., J. Monk, and S. Hanson. 1982. Women and geography: A review and prospectus. *Progress in Human Geography* 6:317–66.

LAURA PULIDO is an Associate Professor in the Department of Geography and Program in American Studies and Ethnicity, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA 90089-0255. E-mail: lpulido@usc.edu. She is the author of *Environmentalism and Economic Justice* and is currently finishing a comparative history of third-world leftists in Los Angeles in the 1960s and 1970s.