From Nationalists to Environmentalists: The Puerto Rican Environmental Movement and Social Movement Spillover Theory

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ABSTRACT

Environmentalism is a social movement of global significance. It is imperative that the various strands of environmental activism be studied in detail to gain a better understanding of the plethora of organizations that lead communities to collaborate with each other to create environmentally-conscious social change. Various scholars who have examined the environmental movement have ignored the significance of the contribution made by the Puerto Rican environmental movement (Kline 2007; Gottlieb 1993; Harper & Rajan 2004). One of the oldest ecologically based movements in Latin America, the Puerto Rican environmental movement has a continuous history dating back to the mid-nineteen sixties. Its claims are fed by a political, cultural nationalist-based ideology (Concepción 1995; García 1984; Del-Valle 1995). This paper expands on existing knowledge about the global environmental movement by focusing on the Puerto Rican environmental movement using the social movement development theory of ‘spillover.’

Originally conceived and developed by Meyer and Whittier (1994), social movement spillover examines how movements affect each other via several means of direct and indirect interaction and collaboration. Using qualitative research methods of content analysis, the author argues that the Puerto Rican nationalist/pro-independence movement and the environmental movement experience a considerable degree of spillover, especially in the category related to changes in the external environment achieved by one movement that influence subsequent movements. Finally, the importance of the Puerto Rican environmental movement and the effectiveness of Social Movement Spillover theory are addressed. The spillover effect theory holds true in the Puerto Rican environmental movement and it has done so throughout the movement’s evolution.

Introduction

The environmental movement is entering a new era. A renewed interest in ecology, conservation, sustainability, environmental justice, and the “green” movement in general permeates all levels of society and influences everything from politics to day-to-day living. It is imperative that the various strands of environmental activism be better understood. Examining the historical significance and scope of the environmental movement provides the researcher with a better understanding of the present-day global paradigm of environmental organizations. Several scholars have studied the plethora of national and community organizations that make up what is known as the global environmental movement (Castells 1998; Bell 1998; Gottlieb 1993; Hedström 1988; Kline 2007; Hannigan 1995; Harper & Rajan 2004; Gudynas 1992; Foladori 2000). The most common topics examined in these studies pertain to national politics, culture, and the predominant economic class standing of the individual leaders of the organizations and groups identified with the environmental movement (See Cotgrove and Duff 1980; Concepción 1995; and Leff 1998). The foci of most studies are either on the origins and development of movement actors, or on their demographic and cultural make-up. They also tend to focus on either the U.S. or European branches of the environmental movement. Using the sociological perspectives of New Social Movements Theory, Resource Mobilization Theory, and Political Opportunities Theory, scholars such as Castells (1998), Leff (1998), Cotgrove and Duff (1980), and Wolfson (1995) have identified and described social movements. However, these researchers have barely touched on the effect that previous and contemporaneous social movements have on present-day environmental activism.

This shortcoming can be overcome through an examination of a movement that has generally been ignored. The Puerto Rican environmental movement is one of the oldest ecologically based
movements in Latin America. It has a continuous history dating back to the mid-nineteen sixties. Cultural nationalism and social politics (non-governmental partisan politics) are two important characteristics of the movement identified by previous researchers (Concepción 1995; García 1984; Del-Valle 1995). However, no scholar has yet examined and determined definitively the significance of the effects that cultural nationalism and social politics have had on the contemporary environmental movement of the island.

In this paper, the researcher will show how Meyer and Whittier’s (1994) *Social Movement Spillover* theory is the most appropriate analytic tool with which to study the development of the Puerto Rican (P.R.) environmental movement. Qualitative research methods will be used to test to what degree the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party and the independence/Puerto Rican left movement have spilled over to create the P.R. environmental movement. Specific examples of spillover will be discussed by examining the first environmental struggle on the island against open-cast mining. Additionally, this paper demonstrates the importance of examining not only the social and political conditions of a society in order to understand a social movement, but also the cultural and sub-cultural implications of collective actions – that impact subsequent waves of activism and other new social movements. Third, this paper will elucidate the significance of social politics in the environmental movement. It will examine a movement that more closely resembles what many scholars are calling the “environmental justice” movement. This movement is different from traditional environmentalism where struggles are mostly ecologically-based, or, incidentally community-based (Not In My BackYard), and are thus inherently “apolitical” (Harper & Rajan 2004; Pastor 2002; Massol-Gonzáles, Andromache Johnnidis & Massol-Deyá 2008).

**Literature Review**

Social movements are, as described by Goodwin and Jasper (2003), a collective, organized, sustained, non-institutionalized challenge to power holders, belief-systems, practices, and/or authorities. They are not an exclusive group of narrow-minded actors, but rather a collection of formal organizations, informal networks, and unaffiliated individuals engaged in a struggle for change (Buechler 1993; McCarthy & Zald 1977; Morris 1984; Staggenborg 1989; Meyer and Whittier 1994). Sociology has developed numerous theoretical perspectives for studying social movements. Some argue that social movements are simply a form of deviant behavior where the rebellious attitudes of one individual or group of individuals “infect” other individuals and groups compelling them to act against established social systems and beliefs in a spontaneous, enthusiastic and collective action (Dubin 1959). Others, such as the New Social Movement Theorists, argue that social movements are the result of a change of values, sometimes inspired by relative deprivation, that spur group interests in lifestyle improvement (See Cotgrove and Duff 1980; Del-Valle 1995). Still others, such as Political Opportunities Theorists, dispute these theories and say that social movements are not merely the result of personal interests of self-improvement or spontaneous actions, but rather entail rational behavior that is subject to the decision-making constraints imposed on all behavior (McCarty & Zald 1977). Thus, social movements are seen as having costs and risks weighing their actions, and in order for collective action to take place, resources need to be mobilized and co-opted consonant with the necessities of the movement. Further opportunities—intentional or otherwise—are provided by government responses to repress or support a movement (McCarty and Zald 1977).

The environmental movement has been addressed most thoroughly by either New Social Movements Theory or Political Opportunities Theory. New social movements occur in post-modern societies in which activists driven by post-materialist values are the guiding force for change (See Cotgrove & Duff 1980; Del-Valle 1995). Political Opportunities Theory considers not only the internal (microstructural) factors that influence the formation of a social movement, but also the macro-context conditions, such as a political regime’s crisis or expansion, both of which can play a role in encouraging or discouraging movement growth, formation, or decay. While these theoretical approaches highlight several of the conditions and phenomena that need to be examined to understand the environmental movement, they miss an essential component that influences collective action—namely, other previous and contemporaneous social movements. Social movements, whether or not they meet their explicitly
stated goals, have an effect on society, on the practices, perspectives, and outcomes of other movements, as well as on the lives of activists (Meyer and Wittier 1994: 277). Meyer and Whittier (1994) described the influence on and between collective actors as social movement spillover. They theorize that “the ideas, tactics, style, participants, and organizations of one movement often spill over its boundaries to affect other social movement” (Meyer and Whittier 1994: 277). They identified four categories of movement-to-movement transmission: “1. Organizational coalitions, 2. Overlapping social movement communities, 3. Shared personnel, and, 4. Changes in the external environment achieved by one movement that then shape subsequent movements” (Meyer and Whittier 1994: 277). This paper investigates these four categories and describes the degree to which they work in the case of the Puerto Rican environmental movement.

Less than a handful of scholars have studied the evolution of the Puerto Rican environmental movement, stating that not only is it independent from the U.S. movement but that it gained national significance years earlier than most other environmental movements from other nations (Concepción 1995; García 1984; Del-Valle 1995). In the United States and Europe, scholars mark a difference between what is known as environmentalism and environmental justice: The former is identified more closely with ecology and the conservation movement; the latter is more closely linked with social politics and the direct socio-political concerns of people (Kline, 2007). Environmental justice activists ultimately seek to attain social justice and sustainability—a development model that is based on long term planning for the prolongation of a quality of life substantially better than or equal to the present, wherein ecosystems and communities can exist and support each other cooperatively indefinitely (Harper and Rajan 2004; Pastor 2002; Massol-Gonzáles, Andromache Johnnidis and Massol-Deyá 2008; James and Lahti 2004). While one of the defining characteristics of American environmentalism is the organizations’ post-material values (Cotgrove & Duff 1980), Latin American and specifically Puerto Rican environmentalism stray away from these values and fall more suitably under the label of environmental justice. The most marked difference is that Puerto Rican environmental justice is not focused on a specific community’s exposure to contamination due to their low economic standing, but rather stems from a more holistic conceptualization of the problem as being of national scope, whose source is the existing colonial status of the island with respect to the United States. In this context, the concept of NIMBY (Not in My Backyard) is broadened to a national scale (García 1984; Del-Valle 1995). The principal goals thus include environmental justice, ecological sustainability, and national sovereignty over the management of the island’s natural resources. Because of its singularity as one of the few environmental movements that evolved in a colonial society, scholars who have studied the P.R. environmental movement set it apart from other movements as “inherently political in its discourse and scope” (Garcia, 1984; Concepción, 1995; Del-Valle 1995; Montañez and Meyn, 1989). This movement is thus considered worthy of further study, specifically to determine the degree to which colonial policies and anti-colonial resistance have influenced its development.

Data and Methods

Content analysis was chosen as the preferred method (over surveying) for this study because of the qualitative nature of the available data. Most of the datum is historical, and many of the activists that were involved in originating the movement are no longer alive. Additionally, time constraints and limited funding sources made content analysis the most effective, economic research method.

The findings presented in this paper are drawn from four formal interviews with environmental movement leaders of the 60’s through the 90’s (recorded between December 2008-May 2009), and two years of document data collection (May 2007-May 2009). The four formal interviews (recorded December 2008-May 2009) with movement leaders from the central mountain region and the metropolitan area were conducted using the snowball sampling method (that is, Interviewees were asked to refer the author to other movement leaders of the 1960-1990’s era). All interviewees were told of the nature of the study and were assured anonymity. The snowball sample method was chosen over other methods of data collection because of the limited literature available to the public about the origins of the environmental movement and because the contact information for most movement leaders was not
available through public records. The remaining data consists of over 380 newspaper articles from five major newspapers that were nationally distributed between the decades of 1950-1990, which are: *El Mundo, Claridad, El Nuevo Día, The San Juan Star,* and *El Vocero;* 12 organizations’ flyers and document propaganda (such as press releases), 16 essays from movement activists related to the environmental movement published in activist magazines and/or independently published, and 14 transcribed “communications” (interviews, e-mails, letters, etc.) from movement activists, all belonging to the 1960’s-1990’s period of environmental activism. Additional documents (communications and essays) from the 1990’s-2007 period of environmental activism were included in the data analysis. All written documents were collected between May 2007-May 2009. Each document was assessed by examining their overall themes. Notice all four categories can be present in a single document, thus the sum of categories may not be equal to the sum of documents examined.

The data was assessed using the four categories that determine movement-movement transmission as established by Meyer and Whittier (1994). These categories are identified as: “1. Organizational coalitions, 2. Overlapping social movement communities, 3. Shared personnel, and 4. Changes in the external environment achieved by one movement that then shape subsequent movements” (277). Organizational coalitions are identified by Meyer and Whittier (1994) as collaborations that organizations from different social movements with different goals and tactics make at certain stages in the development of a movement. They can come together, usually in mass protest, to share their constituency, exchange information about government repression or approval of movement actions, and collectively act in solidarity of a movement or struggle where they see the opportunity to push forward their goals or values. Overlapping social movement communities are composed of movement activists and unaffiliated “progressive” individuals who participate in protests or organizations belonging to different social movements (Meyer and Wittier 1994). This overlapping activism leads activists to associate with individuals in other movements creating a spillover of values, tactics, or personnel from one movement to the other. Shared personnel are movement leaders that belonged to an earlier movement and then became leaders in the subsequent movement (Meyer and Wittier 1994). This is another source of spillover. Finally, changes in the external environment achieved by one movement that then shape subsequent movements are those changes in policy, values, or social activism that are percolated into the general society and either limit or open space in the socio-political environment through which new movement emerge (Meyer and Wittier 1994).

Additional analysis of the datum was supplemented from four years (2002-2006) of participant observation as an environmental activist in five different struggles in Puerto Rico, and two years (2004-2006) of participant observation as a volunteer worker for three different environmental organizations. During the four years of participant observation, the author participated in various protests in the north (metropolitan), northeastern, and central (rural) areas of the island.

Results and Discussion

There is evidence of spillover from the Puerto Rican independence movement to the Puerto Rican environmental movement. Over 58% of the literature examined demonstrated evidence for at least one of

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1 Movement organizations include:


the four categories that determine movement-to-movement transmission as established by Meyer & Whittier (1994). Forty-two percent of the news articles demonstrated no spillover. The most frequently noted category in the literature was “changes in the external environment” with a total of 132 documents identified as making mention of the effects of nationalism or independence activism on the environmental movement (table 1). The following excerpts from one of the interviews and one movement essay by the Anti-Imperialist Revolutionary Front (FRAI) titled “Natural Resources and Environmental Colonialism” from 1977 serve as examples of this category:

“At first, we could not mobilize people in the town of Adjuntas because of their fears of being accused of supporting “independentistas.” They did not want to suffer from the harassment and spying that they knew the comrades went through.”

“In the strategy of American imperialism the pillage of our natural resources is one of its main objectives […] Now, with the discovery of valuable non-renewable minerals [the] imperialist voraciousness pretends to take, bit by bit, our motherland –completely devastating the land.”

This category was most prevalent in the “Communications” group, where all of the four interviews and most of the e-mails and faxes made mention of how the independence movement shaped the conditions under which the environmental movement was born.

The next most frequent category was overlapping social movement communities with over 119 documents demonstrating this type of spillover, most of which were found in the news articles group (table 1). The following excerpt from the newspaper Claridad, July 5th of 1970, demonstrates this category:

“The Guarionex group, composed of pro-independence youth from Utuado, has been very active organizing a unitary event against mining.”

(The remaining category totals of the study can be seen in table 1. Comments on the development of the first environmental struggle in Puerto Rico and relevant detailed examples of the spillover categories will be discussed in the subsequent sections of this paper).

Table 1: Frequency table of Meyer & Whittier’s (1994) Social Movement Spillover categories found in the content analysis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Changes in the external environment</th>
<th>News Articles</th>
<th>Essays</th>
<th>Movement Handouts</th>
<th>Communications</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Changes in the external environment</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational coalitions</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shared personnel</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overlap. Soc. Movement Communities</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No spillover</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total documents</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 Author interviews, May, 2009
Despite the fact that only 58% of the documents showed evidence of a spillover effect this percentage is of significance because many of the articles that did not mention any spillover were not analyses or commentary on the environmental movement, but rather were informing the public about geographic, scientific, or policy facts related to the various environmental struggles. Because these articles did not make a direct mention of the environmental movement, and because the method of assessment only looked at explicit rather than implicit themes in the data, these articles could not be examined to their full extent (See Data and Methods Appendix).

To further elucidate, the author will now give specific examples of spillover in the first environmental struggle of Puerto Rico: The mining struggle (1956-1996).

**Puerto Rican Environmentalism**

Over five hundred years old, Puerto Rico is one of the oldest colonies left in the world. Society and politics are imbued with the controversy of the colonial status of the island. Therefore, it is no anomaly that the environmental movement, which started in the early to mid-sixties, is an inherently political movement and has long-held ties with the independence and nationalist movement of the 20th century (García 1984; Concepción 1995; Del-Valle 1995; Montañez and Meyn 1989). This is the result of the victories and downfalls of the independence movement against the established government, and the changes this movement engendered in the external environment of the general Puerto Rican culture.

**Changes in the External Environment Achieved by One Movement That Then Affect Subsequent Movements**

Social movements are not usually singular phenomena that exist independently from one another. The tactics, changes in policy, and the values communicated to society by a movement, be that due to its triumph or downfall, can affect other contemporary and subsequent movements. The Puerto Rican independence movement has not been able to meet its explicitly stated goals of national independence; however, many of its values, tactics, and organizational structures have spilled over into subsequent movements and into the mainstream culture. It is a movement that aptly fits the description of the theoretical classification of “changes in the external environment” (Meyer & Whittier 1994).

The impact of Puerto Rican “independentismo” (pro-independence) is seen at almost all levels of society and is evident in the culture. The government’s response to the recalcitrant nature of the many pro-independence militant groups instilled an ambience of distrust for the government inside activist circles, and created a fear among the general populace of the label “independentista” –independence supporter due to the movement’s repression. The 1950’s is considered as one of the most active decades of repression against “independentistas”. The Nationalist Party garnered wide-spread national support during the 30’s and 40’s which lead an insurrection in the Central Mountain range in 1950. This occurred in concert with attempts to assassinate President Truman and the shooting of several congressmen in the 1954 attack on the House or Representatives by nationalists (Maldonado 1969). These actions compelled the Puerto Rican government to arrest, kill, and harass those involved with the “independentistas” and to maintain a program of spying and persecution of those who supported the pro-independence movement. It was in this climate of distrust, repression and rebellion that the seeds of the environmental movement were germinated.

In an era of repression, discontent, and the virtual dissolution of the Nationalist Party, the local government signed an agreement with the United States that granted Puerto Rico “commonwealth” status. Locally known as the “Freely Associated State” (ELA), this new status gave the island more local governing powers but denied it sovereignty in its relationship with other nations. “Operación Manos a la Obra” (Operation Bootstrap), was a program of tax exemption designed to attract foreign (mostly US) capital investment to the island and revive a shackled economy (Concepción 1995). Operation Bootstrap provided incentives necessary to pollutant-heavy companies to establish themselves on the island under the assumption that they would provide more jobs: as a consequence, the policy led to the deterioration of the environmental quality of many towns and ecosystems. These policy changes, inspired in part by the insipid claims of the independence movement for greater economic and political autonomy, set the stage
for the next fifty years of United States rule on the island and are closely linked to the emergence of the environmental movement.

In 1956 American Metal Climax (AMAX) and Kennecott Copper mining received exploration permits to search for mineral and organic resources in Puerto Rico. These companies sought deposits of copper, gold, and silver, which were found in the Central Mountain Region towns of Lares, Utuado and Adjuntas. The explorations, and the results of the studies themselves, were kept secret until 1964 when Vanguardia Popular, a left-leaning sub-group of the Popular Democratic Party (in power since 1940) heard about the investigations by chance and expressed public concern about the mining issue (Concepción 1995). The discovery of the mines made the people challenge the island’s dependence on the United States. It contradicted the ideology that justified colonial rule because of the island’s lack of resources as advocated by Pedreira (1934), and inspired a resurgence of nationalist sentiment, which several dwindling pro-independence organizations took advantage of to promote their goals of social and political change.

**Organizational Coalitions**

Organizations with different goals and missions from time to time will come together and collaborate to ward off what is seen as an impending problem that must be dealt with in order for them to continue to push forward their own goals (Meyer and Whittier 1994). They might also come together to show their approval or disapproval of a specific issue that resonates with their own ideological stances. It is at these moments of consonance that a melting-pot of tactical repertoires come together, and organizations share with one another their experiences, with government approval or repression. Activists also interact with other activists from different movements, and alliances are created on the basis of solidarity that can then shape the development of the organizations that get involved with each other.

Puerto Rican pro-independence organizations have come together at various points in the development of the environmental movement. They attempt to organize the people of different communities that are having environmental problems and help them develop local “autonomous” organizations geared to stopping environmental destruction. A good example of these organizational coalitions in Puerto Rico is found in the struggle against open-pit mining (1956-1996), wherein several independence organizations went into the “Zona Minera” (Mining Zone) and helped organize the Central Mountain communities to resist the depredation of the American companies. To example, the slogan created by one of the leading pro-independence organizations, MPI, which was involved in the mining struggle, was “Minas Boricuas, o Cero Minas” (Puerto Rican mines, or No Mines) (García, 1984). This slogan is exemplary of the spillover of nationalism and “independentismo” in the environmental movement –where literally half of the slogan is making an environmentalist claim, “no mines,” and the other half is making a nationalist claim: “Puerto Rican mines.”

**Shared Personnel**

Because many of the tactics that the pro-independence organizations put in play in the communities of the mining zone entailed the immersion of activists from the “independentista” movement in these towns for weeks on end, several of them stayed on in the communities themselves and became the leaders of the “autonomous” environmental organizations that were spawned. “Shared personnel” is another example of the spillover that occurs from one movement to the other. In spite of the fact that a specific movement usually deals with one issue or a set of issues in which individuals participating in that movement often have more than one set of issues about which they are militant (Meyer & Whittier 1994: 296). These individuals easily “navigate” from leadership positions in one movement to the other; they bring with them the experiences and knowledge of other movements into additional organizations.

Many of the organizations in the Puerto Rican environmental movement show evidence of shared personnel. In an interview with the author, one of the interviewees commented on the rise of activism and the quantitative growth of community environmental organizations on the island during the mid-1970’s. According to the interviewee, this was apparently caused by the conversion of the Pro-Independence Movement (MPI) into the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP). This precipitated an internal crisis that
compelled several activists to leave the group and go back to their hometowns in the Central Mountain Region to start other “autonomous” community-based environmental organizations. These activists found support fairly easily due to the formal and informal networks that existed in these communities where “independentistas” resided.

**Overlapping Social Movement Communities**

Overlapping social movement communities are the lifeblood of the independence and environmental movements in Puerto Rico. Identified by the “informal networks of politicized individuals who share a commitment to common goals of social change” they keep movements alive by counting on a constituency that exists beyond and independent of the organizations that are in the vanguard of the movements (Meyer and Whittier 1994: 296). The “island effect,” defined by the limitations imposed by space that “force” people to meet each other, has a strong influence on the movements in this study. Puerto Rican social movements rely extensively on the social networks of their activists to expand their constituent base. The individuals in one movement increase their social capital by acquainting themselves with others. This reaches the point where most activists on the island know most other activists through at least one other person. This creates “social movement communities” that converge around concurrent issues and collaborate on creating social change on the island.

All the categories of social movement spillover come together to show how the independence movement and environmental movement demonstrate the spillover effect. At the last phase of the anti-mining struggle in the early 1990’s, several community, environmental, and independence organizations united to stage protests, combining efforts to defeat the attempts of the government to allow open-pit mining of copper in the Central Mountain Region. Independence organizations such as the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) and the Socialist Workers Movement (MST), environmental organizations such as the Industrial Mission of Puerto Rico (MIPR), and community groups such as the People’s House (Casa Pueblo) and the Committee of Utuado Residents Against Mining, all shared tactical repertoires, personnel, and social movement participants—and they joined forces under the banner “No Minas” (no mines) in a final struggle against mining. These efforts were victorious, and the movement saw the passing of an amendment to Puerto Rico’s mining law that declared illegal any open-cast mining on the island.

**Conclusion**

The Puerto Rican environmental movement is linked to the pro-independence movement. The former found its genesis amidst the claims of the “independentistas” for greater social responsibility from the government and for national sovereignty, while the latter found a means of expanding its constituency and spurring a resurgence of nationalist sentiment via the inclusion of environmental concerns and goals in their national agenda. Thus, the Puerto Rican environmental movement is a good example of social movement spillover. We have shown that Meyer and Whittier’s (1994) theory for the development of social movements has proved to be a viable tool to frame an understanding of the origins and development of this movement. These origins and development are intrinsically linked to the changes in the external socio-political environment achieved by the pro-independence movement in the first half of the 20th century. These changes remain apparent in the contemporary environmental movement and have much the same impact on movement development.

It is important that we understand the origins of the Puerto Rican environmental movement and the influence that the pro-independence movement had on its development. Around the world, the environmental movement is causing changes in policy, politics, values, and culture (Harper & Rajan, 2004). Assuming that social movement spillover is not exclusive to any single set of movements, especially in today’s global politics, the environmental movement of Puerto Rico has a notable impact on the global environmental movement—especially as a part of its resurgence with the goals of environmental justice. By ignoring significant national movements in colonial and post-colonial countries, scholars will lack a true understanding of the key aspect of the development of the re-emerging environmental movement. Puerto Rico is an essential contributor to the rejuvenation of environmentalism, defined as the
goals of movements include the protection of ecosystems and pristine environments from development and destruction. Environmentalism also focuses on protecting the livelihood of people’s communities and pushing toward a sustainable and socially just future (Harper and Rajan, 2004).

Further study of this national movement is likely to prove fruitful. If the research questions pertinent to this study are to be re-examined, a different approach is recommended. The author suggests that a nation-wide survey assessing values and individual involvement in the environmental movement be conducted in order to examine the effects of spillover on activist values, tactics, and organizational structures and to corroborate whether or not the independence movement and the environmental movement are still seen as overlapping each other.
References


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APPENDIX: DATA AND METHODS SELECTION CRITERION
Criteria for identifying Social Movement Spillover categories in selected documents:

1) For Organization Coalitions, the overall theme in the documents will be examined for any mention of collaborations done between independence organizations and environmental organizations.

2) For Shared Personnel, the names of environmental leaders mentioned in the documents will be further investigated for previous organizational ties by looking at either FBI files on the activists, biographies, or other records that identify them as leaders of other movements.

3) For Overlapping Social Movement Communities, the documents will be examined for any mentioning of “unaffiliated” activism (such as student activist mention) in either protest or organizations related to the environmental movement.

4) Changes in the External Environment Achieved by one Movement that then Affect Subsequent Movements will be assessed in the documents for any mention of government reaction to the environmental movement because of the independence movement, or any other mention of pro-independence values in the environmental movement.