

# Race, Poverty & the Environment

*A newsletter for social and environmental justice*

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*Our hope and bet is that, notwithstanding the threatening storms of current historical conflicts, human kind is on the edge of mastering its own future, and therefore designing its good city. At last, citizens will make cities.*

-- Manuel Castells

***A Bi-Coastal View  
From the Street:***

## **Restoring Cities From the Bottom Up**

**By Mike Helm and  
George Tukel**

When people talk about how best to restore cities, the debate is usually framed within the boundaries of two ostensibly different perspectives. On the one side are professional environmentalists, on the other advocates of growth. Reading the daily paper, and watching the evening news filled with sixty second stories, these two camps appear as antagonists. Yet a strong case can be made that the Sierra and Rotary Clubs, in terms of their institutional effect, aren't that far apart. Through the planning, legal, and media process, we believe, they more often than not

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## **LA's IMF Riot**

**by Cynthia Hamilton**

Between 1976 and 1986 there were austerity protests in over eighty cities around the world. On April 30, 1992 Los Angeles joined this list of cities.

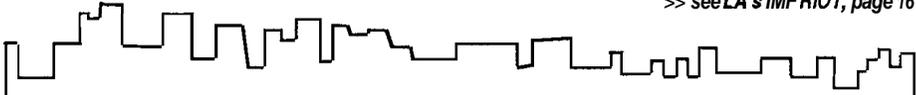
While the conditions of austerity around the globe have been imposed by the International Monetary Fund (the protests are therefore called IMF riots) in exchange for loans, in Los Angeles similar austerity measures have resulted in a reduction of all public spending, and the elimination of public subsidies for things like housing and health care. Wage restraints have been imposed by an administration anxious to solve its economic problems at the expense of the poor. California now has a \$10 billion deficit, 25% of the state budget. President Bush's initial budget for a "kinder, gentler America" in 1988 slashed \$21 billion in domestic spending (while giving military programs an inflation increase), including health programs for poor families, maternal and child health, appropriations for the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children, appropriations for funds to operate the nation's public housing projects. According to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, "the budget is likely to widen the gap between the wealthy and the middle class."

### **Public Dollars For Private Growth**

There is no more obvious example of the widening divide which domestic economic policy has produced than we find in Los Angeles. While billions in national domestic spending were being cut, Los Angeles County firms (1,284 of them) in Fiscal Year 1990 received 4,184 Department of Defense contracts worth \$8.881 billion; ten firms received 80% of the money.

This disproportionate distribution is replicated when we look at the way anti-poverty funds, largely block grant funds (administered through the Community Development Department) are awarded. For years funds have been disproportionately

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**Special URBAN HABITAT Issue**  
Featuring articles by Robert Bullard & Charles Lee  
*Urban Apartheid • Lead Poisoning • City Planning • Restoration  
Riots • Urban Environmental Justice Organizations • News*

**This issue was produced in cooperation with the  
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST**

**S**ince its early inception at the beginning of the last century, the more established environmental movement has shown an overwhelming tendency to focus on the problems of the larger environment, more remote in space and time, while ignoring the ones where most people live. It has had relatively little to say about the dense concentrations of large numbers of people engaging in occupations other than mining, farming, ranching and fishing. Yet seventy percent of Americans, and almost half of humanity, live in cities. Many global environmental problems result from the way we live in such urban communities.

Since 1990, after decades of neglect, the environmental movement has begun to pay more attention to these human habitats. A great deal of this attention

has promoted new patterns of thought, development and action which link urbanism to nature. These efforts are resulting in greater appreciation for wilderness in the city, community gardens, and in designing cities to

## Editors' Notes

conserve land, air, water and energy. Attempts to link environmental values to urban design, however, have paid very little attention to the nexus between racial issues, social class and the quality of urban life.

The insurrection in Los Angeles in the wake of the Rodney King verdict in April of 1992 riveted national attention on these other dimensions of our urban experience, long absent from public discourse: the persistence of urban

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## Race, Poverty & the Environment

Guest Editor  
Luz Cervantes

Editors  
Carl Anthony     Luke Cole

Contributors  
Karla Brundage • Robert Bullard  
Cynthia Hamilton • Mike Helm  
Josh Konecky • Charles Lee  
Daniel O'Connor • Janet Phoenix  
Raymond Rhodes  
Neil Seldman • George Tukul  
Stephen Viederman

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### Editorial Policy

*Race, Poverty & the Environment* is a quarterly newsletter dedicated to publishing material exploring the intersection of race, poverty and the environment. The views reflected in *Race, Poverty & the Environment* are not necessarily those of the editors. California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation, or Earth Island Institute.

### Mission Statement

The mission of *Race, Poverty & the Environment* is to provide an authentic voice for environmental justice. RPE aims to service its readers with news, articles, book reviews, theory, resources and notices that examine and provide evidence of the relationship among race, poverty, and the environment. Further, we must continue to build the bridges that have been tentatively constructed in the past few years between mainstream environmentalists and grassroots environmentalists, in a way which preserves the autonomy of community groups. RPE presents the voices and experiences of a sector of society in a manner that is accessible to grassroots organizers and activists, environmental professionals, concerned citizens, and policy makers alike.

## From Los Angeles, East St. Louis and Matamoros:

# Developing Working Definitions of



# Environmental Justice

By Charles Lee

In October 1991, more than 600 persons from virtually every state in the United States, Canada, Puerto Rico, Central America, and the Marshall Islands gathered in Washington D.C. at the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit. It was a defining moment for the environmental justice movement in the United States. One of the Summit's most important contributions was the adoption of the Principles of Environmental Justice.

Some of the key concepts among these seventeen principles are respect for the earth, freedom from environmental discrimination, the right to a balanced and ethical use of land, self determination, accountability for the production and handling of hazardous materials, the right to participation in decision making about one's environment, the right to a safe and secure workplace, compensation for damage, restoration of cities in balance with nature, honoring the cultural integrity of neighborhoods, and providing access to a full range of resources, informed consent, and education based on appreciation of diverse cultural perspectives. One outgrowth of the Summit was recognition by a number of delegates and participants that the connections between environmental justice and the urban environment need more systematic attention and *treatment*.

No more than six months later, the largest urban uprising in the history of this country took place in South Central Los Angeles. The LA rebellions were massive tremors on the racial and social seismographs of America. Over a year prior, we at the Commission for Racial Justice predicted that an upheaval like the one that occurred in LA would take place. All rational observers of US affairs said Los Angeles was a crisis waiting to erupt. And it is by no means unique. Most of America's urban areas also are ominously waiting to erupt. We must send a resounding and unambiguous message to the

new administration in Washington, DC, that it ignores this reality at its own peril.

The main thesis of this article is that an environmental justice perspective is needed for understanding America's urban crisis and what should be done about it. Why should people of color be concerned about the urban environment? These are areas where the vast majority of people of color live. Over fifty of the nation's largest cities have people of

color majority populations. At the same time, cities are the most polluted places.

Empirical data on many forms of pollution risk indicate a decidedly strong urban impact. The United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice's landmark 1987 study *Toxic Wastes and Race* found Memphis, Chicago, Atlanta, St. Louis, Houston, and other metropolitan areas to have the greatest concentrations

of hazardous waste sites. Air pollution has given rise to an epidemic of childhood asthma and other respiratory diseases. Nearly half (49%) of African American children living in the inner city suffer from lead poisoning; for families earning \$6,000 or less the figure rises to 68%. As underscored by the proposed Environmental Justice Act of 1992, these hazards do not occur alone; they overlap to create a potent but undetermined set of synergistic health risks. Activist Hazel Johnson reported that there are at least 201 hazardous chemicals being emitted into her environment in Chicago's South Side.

Given these intuitively obvious connections between environmental justice and the urban environment, why have these connections yet to be systematically made? Prior to the Summit, the definitions and symbols of environmentalism clearly did not speak to people of color or the poor. They simply ignored the fact that "people of color also are an

**An environmental justice perspective is needed for understanding America's urban crisis and what should be done about it.**

This article is excerpted from a presentation at the New England Environmental Law Society, Harvard University, November 14, 1992

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 endangered species." For example, Eleanor Holmes Norton talks about how during the efforts to make the Potomac River pristine, the Anacostia River, which lies on the other side of the tracks in Washington, DC, was long left forgotten. In recent years, there has been a growing awareness in people of color communities about the threat of environmental contamination, which has spawned a transformation in thinking and action. The Summit's invitational message thus continued

**East St. Louis lies directly adjacent to Monsanto, Pfizer Chemical and other industrial plants. Raw sewage often floods the streets and play grounds. Lead is found in playgrounds at an astonishing 10,000 parts per million. Children play directly downstream from the chemical and metal processing plants. It has been described as "America's Soweto."**

"environmental issues afford us the opportunity to address many of the critical issues of the decade, including unemployment, community and urban development, energy and defense policy, resource exploitation, public health, and self-determination. We believe that our transformation in thinking will ultimately play a pivotal role in the redefinition of the environment."

### **Disposable Communities: The Urban Wasteland**

Half way across the continent lies a city which is virtually 100 percent African American. It has no obstetric services, no garbage collection, few jobs, raw sewage regularly backing up into homes and schools, and the nation's highest rate of childhood asthma deaths. East St. Louis, Illinois

lies directly adjacent to Monsanto Chemical, Pfizer Chemical, Aluminum Ore, Big River Zinc, and other industrial plants. Most of these plants have their own incorporated townships, where no one lives and which are no more than legal fiction to provide shelters and immunity from the jurisdiction of East St. Louis. Raw sewage often floods the streets, parking lots, and play grounds. Garbage is burnt in backyard lots. Lead is found in playgrounds at an astonishing 10,000 parts per million. Children play directly downstream from the chemical and metal processing plants, leading to the highest rate of childhood asthma in the nation. Children also play in the aptly named Dead Creek, which received toxic discharges in the past and now smokes by day and glows on moonlit nights. It gained notoriety for instances of spontaneous combustion created by friction when

children rode their bicycles through it. The *St. Louis Post Dispatch* described East St. Louis as "America's Soweto."

The metropolitan ecosystem, such as those in Los Angeles and East St. Louis, can be understood as having three overlapping subsystems: the natural or biophysical environment, the manufactured or built environment, and the social environment. In most of the nation's urban areas, like Los Angeles and East St. Louis, these can be described as wastelands. Elements of the biophysical wasteland include polluted rivers and water supplies, air in constant violation of federal health standards, toxic emissions from nearby factories and waste incinerators, etc. Elements of the built wasteland include a mounting trash problem, antiquated water, sewage, and mass transit systems, bridges, roads, and an infra-

structure that is old and in disrepair. Elements of the social environment include crime, less than minimal education, drugs, violence, residential apartheid, racism in housing, and health care delivery, etc.

South Central Los Angeles and East St. Louis are examples of the central role of racism in determining the nature of the urban environment. They are *prima facie* evidence of the growing significance of race in American society. An environmental justice perspective requires that we see these various subsystems holistically. It demands that we understand the evolution of these interrelated subsystems from a multi-racial and multi-cultural perspective, keeping in mind the global and historical contexts from which all people of color must necessarily proceed if our integrity as distinct peoples is to be preserved. From both within the framework of each culture, be it Native American, African American, Latino American, or Asian Pacific American, as well as their interconnections to each other, we begin to draw some fundamental historical assumptions based upon a history of 500 years of colonial oppression, where the exploitation of land and natural resources was intrinsically intertwined with the exploitation of people of color. This became an underlying assumption of the *Principles of Environmental Justice*. Hence, the urban crisis in 1992, at the end of the twentieth century, is very much the byproduct of the environmental racism which began in 1492, at the end of the fifteenth century.

Today, Los Angeles is a city of contradictions. It is one of the World's most multiracial and multicultural cities, but at the same time one of its most segregated. It is a car and tinsel town, famous for its never ending freeways and show business glitter. L.A. has the worst air pollution in the nation, with the most grievous impact falling on communities of color. Its neighborhoods are breeding grounds for unemployment, poverty, drugs, hopelessness, and rage. Beginning in the 1930s a consortium of auto, rubber and oil companies destroyed public trans-

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portation and made the city dependent on the automobile. South Central LA did not always have the urban decay it now suffers. Unemployment in South Central Los Angeles is no mystery when one realizes that not to long ago a General Motors plant there employed 4,000 workers. How ironic that GM saw fit to close shop in a city it made dependent on the automobile and go overseas for cheaper labor and greater profits.

Other great urban centers like Chicago, New York, and Detroit were destinations for Post World War II streams of African Americans migrating from the deep South seeking employment and economic opportunity. Racism and segregation have turned this odyssey into a bitter, dead-end search. The inner city communities into which they were forced have turned out like East St. Louis, the only difference being that many inner city communities could not be politically disowned. Once a thriving transportation center which invited African Americans for purposes of union breaking, East St. Louis is now described as a "repository for a nonwhite population now regarded as expendable."

Certainly one must wonder exactly what is the psychological damage being perpetuated in inner city youth when they compare their "environment" with the resplendent images normally associated with the American landscape. One author chose to call these comparisons "savage inequalities." These comparisons are being made daily and, whether we realize it or not, begin when our youth are barely out of infancy. All they have to do is turn on the TV set.

People of color live in communities not only targeted for the disposal of environmental toxins and hazardous waste but in fact live in fully *disposable communities* to be thrown away when the populations they hold have outlived their usefulness. This is the logical product of the environmental racism now practiced for 500 years, *i.e.*, "When they throw out the garbage, they leave people in it, too."

I submit that this offers a way of

looking at new urban centers now thriving, fed by massive waves of immigrants from Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, who are drawn to fill the piece-work economy of urban Chinatown garment sweatshops with working conditions no better than those which gave rise to the Triangle Square Fire or the *colonias*, Mexican-border towns now best known for local clusters of chemically-caused anencephaly, babies born without brains. Matamoros, Mexico, just across the Texas border, "is dominated by US-owned companies that came south for cheaper labor, favorable trade rules and lax enforcement of environmental laws. Today, Matamoros is an ugly sprawl of industrial plants and shacks housing Mexican workers. Its open sewers contain toxic wastes and human refuse. Its factories spew fumes and leak chemicals." No doubt, the already low value of the new-found pool of cheap labor will soon deflate when they too have outlived their usefulness in economically highly precarious industries.

In many respects, entire communities like South Central Los Angeles and entire cities like East St. Louis are more environmentally degraded and pose greater health threats to their inhabitants than most sites presently on the Superfund National Priority List. Congress formulated the concept of a hazardous waste "Superfund" as a response to the tens of thousands of the nation's abandoned and/or orphaned hazardous waste sites.

Superfund notwithstanding, none of the present environmental legislation comes anywhere close to addressing the environmental catastrophe called "Urban America." Certainly, one of the challenges of progressive lawyers is to develop a body of law capable of addressing the challenges above. We

look to the legal profession to play significant roles in helping society shape definitions of right and wrong, fairness, equal protection and equity, standards of conduct, appropriate causes for action, justice and injustice.

### Organizing and Movement Building

Urban communities of color never had the luxury of organizing around single issues. We must turn this into a strong point for organizing because if our goals are to organize for ecologically and economically sustainable communities, we must be able to make the interconnections between different issues. This is the value of an environmental justice perspective.

The rebuilding of our cities must be done in a way which empowers the community. This presupposes "the right to participate as equal partners at every level of decision-making including assessment needs, planning, implementation, enforcement and

**People of color live in communities not only targeted for the disposal of environmental toxins and hazardous waste *but* in fact live in fully disposable communities to be thrown away when the *populations* they hold have outlived their usefulness.**

evaluation." (Principle #7) In addition, it presupposes "honoring the cultural integrity of all our communities" (Principle #12). Thus, rebuilding our cities must be accomplished with a conscious and systematic restructuring of the relationships within the metropolis as well as regionally, nationally and internationally. Urban reconstruction should be a vehicle for socially and economically disenfranchised residents to organize for public health, education and safety, meet basic human needs,

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# The Need For a New Economics

by Stephen Viederman

In April 1991 two economists from the Washington think tank, Resources for the Future, published an article in the highly respected journal *Science*, "Controlling Urban Air Pollution: A Benefit-Cost Assessment." They concluded that, "subject to a number of uncertainties, the costs of the proposed new controls (focusing primarily on reductions in ground-level ozone resulting from the control of volatile organic compounds (VOCs), and to a lesser extent, particulate control) are found to exceed the benefits, perhaps by a considerable margin." The benefits were assessed by assigning monetary values based upon individual's alleged "willingness to pay for a reduced incidence of illness and adverse symptoms," such as asthma attacks, believed to be created or exacerbated by the VOCs. For their national benefit estimates they used a figure of \$25 for each asthma attack prevented, \$20 for a reduction of one restricted activity day, and \$5 for one fewer day of occasional coughing.

Under the headline "Environmentalism Runs Riot," the August 8th, 1992 *Economist*, argued that "nothing — not even cleanliness — comes free; and the costs of environmental policies are likely to rise sharply over the rest of the century. If the green enthusiasm generated over the past four years is to survive public policy, the enthusiasts must learn the language of priorities, and of costs and benefits." In 1945 George Orwell warned us, in his essay *Catastrophic Gradualism*, that "the practical men have led us to the edge of an abyss, and the intellectuals in whom acceptance of political power has killed the moral sense, and then the sense of reality, are urging us to march rapidly forward without changing direction." In like fashion we are all guilty of having too easily accepted the language

*We are guilty of having too easily accepted the language of conventional economics, a language without a moral sense.*

of conventional economics, a language without a moral sense (despite its origins as a moral science), and with a limited relevance to real economic circumstances. Under urging, and suffering from lack of power, we have allowed it to become the language of politics. In the process we have in effect ignored values and ethics. Thus, we speak of cost-benefit analysis, rather than what is morally correct. As Jesse Jackson said at the 1992 Democratic Convention: "History will remember us not for our positioning, but for our principles... our grasp on the moral ethical center of right and wrong." It is politics, not economics, that must reflect what we value in society. It is politics, and a new economics, that must serve as the bridge between the economy and the environment, between people and nature..

The authors of the *Science* article acknowledged that "distributional considerations, legal mandates, and ethical concerns are also of great importance, and benefit-cost analysis is generally (but not always) silent about such matters." And they went on to observe that "the real question in ambient standard setting is the amount of risk that we are willing to accept. This decision must be informed by economics." (emphasis added) Who "we" are is not addressed.

In conventional economics the value of human life is measured in terms of the life time earnings that might be anticipated. As a result, the life of a Michael Milken or an Ivan Boesky is

significantly more valuable than is mine, and my life is clearly more valuable than the life of a low paid community organizer, whose life in turn is still of greater value than the "Mothers of East L.A." and other truly grassroots, voluntary groups. The risks that "we" are willing to accept, however, are usually determined by a "we" — politicians guided by economists — whose exposure to the risks being accepted are considerably lower than are those of the poor and of people of color who are at greatest risk, and whose willingness to accept the risk is rarely assessed. This is the reality of conventional economics.

Conventional economics — the sort that is taught in virtually every high school and college and university and graduate school in the United States, and elsewhere, and practiced daily in executive and legislative offices and corporate board rooms — does not value the natural capital upon which all life depends. This is a fact. Note for example, that the gross national product, often used as a measure of the economic health of a nation, is, in reality, nothing more than the incomplete measure of the flow of capital through the economic system. Incomplete because it does not value human health — only human illness, because health does not generate economic activity. Incomplete because it does not value natural capital — the cleanup of the Exxon Valdez contributed \$3 billion to the GNP, while the biodiversity lost was not, as a good accounting system would have it, deducted from the calculations.

The new economics must be an ecological economics. This will be an economics that, unlike conventional economics, recognizes that the economic system is an open subsystem of a closed and finite ecosystem. It will accept the intrinsic and existential value of human life and culture, and of natural capital. It will recognize and value community and a sense of place. It will accept an obligation to future generations, just as it assists present generations to use their wisdom to the benefit of all. A new ecological economics will

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# RESIDENTIAL APARTHEID IN URBAN AMERICA

by *ROBERT D. BULLARD*

Urban America continues to be segregated along racial lines. Apartheid-type housing and urban development policies limit mobility, reduce neighborhood options, and diminish job opportunities for millions of Americans. This is especially the case for African Americans who live in central cities. In 1990, more than 57% of African Americans lived in central cities, the highest concentration of any racial and ethnic group. Even affluent African American families — those with household incomes of \$50,000 or more — are more likely to live in central cities than their white counterparts. For example, 56% of affluent African Americans live in central cities, and 40% live in the suburbs. Only 25% of affluent whites live in central cities and 61% live in the suburbs.

Residential apartheid and housing discrimination are facts of life in the United States. Eight out of every ten African Americans live in neighborhoods where they are in the majority. Residential segregation decreases for most racial and ethnic groups with additional education, income, and occupational status. This is not the case for African Americans. An African American household with an earned income of \$50,000 is as segregated as a Latino American household which earns \$5,000.

African Americans, no matter what their educational or occupational achievement or income level, are exposed to higher crime rates, less effective educational systems, high mortality risks, more dilapidated surroundings, and greater environmental threats because of their race. Institutional barriers make it difficult for many households to buy their way out of health-threatening physical environments. The development of spatially-differentiated metropolitan areas where African Americans are segregated from other Americans has resulted from governmental policies and marketing practices of the housing industry and lending institutions. Millions of African Americans are geographically isolated in economically depressed and polluted urban neighborhoods away from the expanding suburban job centers.

Housing discrimination contributes to this reduced mobil-

ity, accelerates the physical decay of central cities, and denies a substantial segment of the African American community a basic form of wealth accumulation and investment through home ownership. Institutionalized discrimination lowers the nation's gross national product by almost two percent a year, or roughly \$104 billion. A large share of this loss is a result of housing discrimination. The number of African American

**Eight out of every ten African Americans live in neighborhoods where they are in the majority.**

homeowners would probably be higher in the absence of discrimination by lending institutions. Only about 59% of the middle-class African Americans own their own homes, compared with 74% of whites.

Studies over the past twenty-five years have clearly documented the relationship between redlining and disinvestment decisions and neighborhood decline. From

Boston to Houston to Los Angeles, in urban centers all across the nation, the pattern is clear: millions of African Americans, Latino Americans, and Native Americans still do not have as full access to lending by banks and saving institutions as their white counterparts.

After studying lending practices at 9,300 United States financial institutions and more than 6.4 million loan applications, in 1991 the Federal Financial Institutions Examination Council (FFIEC) reported that the rejection rates for conventional home mortgages were 33.9% for African Americans, 21.4% of Latinos, 22.4% for American Indians, 14.4% for Anglos, and 12.9% for Asians.

Overall, African Americans were rejected for home loans more than twice as often as Anglos. Loan denial rates for African Americans varied widely among large urban centers. For example, one in three African American loan applicant was rejected in the Boston, Houston, St Louis, Pittsburgh, and Phoenix metropolitan areas. The lowest loan rejection rate for

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African Americans occurred in the Washington, DC, Baltimore, Oakland, and San Diego metropolitan areas.

Federal regulators continue to ignore discrimination in lending. These alarming loan rejection statistics still leave some government and industry officials in doubt as to whether the culprit is a function of discrimination. Discriminatory lending practices subsidize the physical destruction of neighborhoods such as South-Central Los Angeles. Residents of the South-Central Los Angeles neighborhood and hundreds of other inner-city neighborhoods must share in paying the hundreds of billions of dollars to bail out the failed savings and loan institutions — many of which engaged in redlining practices.

Unequal urban development patterns are perpetuated and reinforced by local governments in conjunction with the private sector. In general, community development, trajectories of economic growth, and quality of life converge. Similarly, the demographic makeup of a community continues to be a potent variable in explaining urban land use, streets and highway configuration, commercial and industrial development, and industrial facility siting. Moreover, the question of "who gets what, where, and how much" often pits one community against another.

Competition intensifies for the residential amenities and infrastructure improvements that are not always distributed equitably. Some residential areas and their inhabitants are at a greater risk than the larger society from unregulated growth, ineffective regulation of industrial toxins, and public policy decisions authorizing industrial facilities that favor those with economic and political clout over the poor and powerless.

Zoning is probably the most widely applied mechanism to regulate urban land use in the United States. Zoning laws broadly define land for residential, commercial, or industrial uses, and may impose narrower land-use restrictions (e.g., minimum and maximum lot size,

## Environmental Justice Activists Give Agenda To Clinton

A coalition of environmental justice activists from across the country submitted to the Clinton transition team an agenda for the fight against environmental injustice, one which states that "the mission of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency must be redefined."

The groups anticipate that their proposals at least will get a fair hearing in the new administration because two of their fellow activists served on the Clinton environmental transition team — the Rev. Ben Chavis and Dr. Robert Bullard.

They urge bold steps by the new administration in the 13-page list of recommendations, and they warn against descending into "a debate about whether or not decision-makers should tinker at the edges of risk-based management."

The administration should issue an executive order, they say, establishing civil rights rules that apply to environmental programs. Such a step was considered, and rejected, soon after the EPA's creation 20 years ago, with the agency arguing that its mission was technical in nature, not social.

That argument, the groups say, is inconsistent with the agency's mandate to protect human health and the

environment. "It must be made clear at the outset... that EPA is not exempt from the tenets of equal protection."

The coalition urged that the EPA target inspections and enforcement at minority communities inundated by pollution, such as cancer Alley in Louisiana, South Chicago and high tech areas in the Southwest. The *National Law Journal*, in a September 21, 1992 special report, used the EPA's own data to show that white communities see stiffer penalties and better and quicker enforcement results from the EPA.

The EPA should require a study of environmental justice issues in every new regulation it considers, much as it does economic impact assessments, the coalition says. The agency also should create an official federal advisory committee on people of color and indigenous peoples, similar to the advisory groups on specific issues.

The groups signing onto the recommendations include the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, the Earth Island Institute of California, the Gulf Coast Tenants Organization of New Orleans, the Southwest Organizing Project of Albuquerque and the United Church of Christ.

— *The National Law Journal*

number of dwellings per acre, square feet and height of buildings, etc.). Zoning ordinances, deed restrictions, and other land-use mechanisms have been widely used as a "NIMBY" (not in my backyard) tool, operating through exclusionary practices.

Exclusionary zoning has been used to zone against something rather than for that something. Exclusionary zoning, a form of government authority and power, has been used to foster and perpetuate discriminatory practices. With or without zoning, deed restrictions or other "protectionist" devices, various racial and ethnic groups are

unequally able to protect their environmental interests. More often than not, communities of color have a history of getting shortchanged in the urban neighborhood protection game. A growing number of grassroots groups of color are challenging (and in some cases winning) urban development and environmental decisions that adversely impact their constituents.

*Robert D. Bullard is a professor of sociology at the University of California, Riverside and author of Confronting Environmental Racism: Voices from the Grassroots (South End Press, 1992).*

# Get the Lead Out

by Janet Phoenix

Lead poisoning has a disproportionate impact on communities of color, as do many environmental health problems. It damages children and adults, both physically and mentally. It does so without warning or outward sign in the vast majority of cases.

People of color have a greater chance of being lead poisoned in any community they inhabit when compared with their white counterparts. Although we do not have good estimates of prevalence for adults these estimates do exist for children. The following estimates of the percentage of elevated blood lead levels (>15 micrograms/deciliter ( $\mu\text{g}/\text{dl}$ )) for U.S. children were adapted from the Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry's 1988 Report to Congress:

#### Inside Central Cities

Black	White	Overall
49%	16%	27%

#### Outside Central Cities

Black	White	Overall
36%	9%	12%

These statistics provide yet another example of how race predisposes one to greater exposure to lead as it does to other environmental toxins.

Child screening data from a recent California study indicated that greater than 20% of the children in three counties had lead levels which would currently classify them as lead poisoned. Many of the families came together and a community organization was born.

The state's lead screening data showed that 67% of the children with African American, Latino or Asian backgrounds were found to have lead levels greater than 10  $\mu\text{g}/\text{dl}$  (the current lead poisoning threshold determined by the Centers for Disease Control).

#### Sources of Lead

Most young children put things in their mouths regularly. This is perfectly normal behavior but it puts children at risk when they live in a lead contaminated environment. Children who suck their thumbs are also more likely to become lead poisoned because they'll end up swallowing more of the lead which contaminates their hands.

When children have iron deficiency anemia their bodies absorb lead from the stomach much more easily. The body mistakes the lead for iron. When lead comes into their stomachs more of it is absorbed because the body thinks it is taking in a needed substance.

Many lead poisoned children live in environments which are harsh. These environments may not contain the supportive elements that contribute to children's potential or compensate for their shortcomings. It's not easy to separate the effects of poverty and abuse from the effects of lead.

The results of studies in Cincinnati "support the hypothesis that peeling paint is eventually ground into dust which then contaminates hands, toys and food." (Bornschein et al., 1986) This study also subclassifies housing stock to determine which ages and maintenance conditions posed the greatest health hazard to children:

1. Public housing and private housing built after World War II, with relatively low levels of paint and dust lead.
2. Rehabilitated housing, originally built before WWI, also with low levels of paint lead but moderate levels of exterior dust lead.
3. pre-WWII housing, satisfactory appearance, with relatively high paint lead and moderate dust lead.
4. pre-WWII housing, deteriorating or dilapidated, with relatively high paint and dust lead.

"No significant differences were found among these housing types in the (geometric) mean blood levels up to 3 months of age. Thereafter, mean blood lead levels for the housing in the poorest condition (Group 4) increased dramatically, approaching 35  $\mu\text{g}/\text{dl}$  for children reaching 18 months of age. By comparison, mean blood levels were between 15 and 20  $\mu\text{g}/\text{dl}$  for Groups 2 and 3 housing and between 10 and 15  $\mu\text{g}/\text{dl}$  for Group 1 housing."

This discussion is significant for a number of reasons. When the threshold for childhood lead poisoning was 25  $\mu\text{g}/\text{dl}$

>> see LEAD, page 26

# Recycling

## as Economic Development

### *We Can Invent Our Future*

By Neil Seldman

Cities and local community development organizations (CDOs) need look no further than the solid waste stream to identify sources of capital, raw material, and new employment opportunities, particularly in the manufacturing sector. In the last decade, the focus of solid waste management has moved from disposal to recovery, providing a unique opportunity to build a two-way industrial economy in which consumers of products and packages are also suppliers of raw materials to local factories. These factories, in turn, employ local residents, stimulating further economic growth.

***Waste management is an economic development as well as an environmental issue, and recycling benefits local economies in a variety of ways.***

#### Background

In 1970, municipal solid-waste disposal was a \$2 billion dollar industry; by 1980 it had grown to a \$10 billion dollar industry, and is worth \$20 billion today. These dramatic cost increases have been borne by local governments in a time when municipal revenues fell and other budget obligations soared.

On top of the economic costs, pollution and health risks have prompted citizen opposition to the development of new disposal facilities. Citizens and businesses have begun to view recycling as the solution to the rising environmental and economic costs of solid-waste management.

In addition to the straight environmental benefits, recycling promotes environmental equity in urban and rural communities alike. Areas where recycling is the primary means of solid-waste management are able to routinely divert landfills and incinerators from their communities. These facilities are then generally sited in low-income, predominantly minority neighborhoods that lack political clout. In 1991, the Atlanta Anti-poverty Coalition, comprised of more than 1,000 Citizens, recognized the nexus of poverty and environmental pollution. The coalition successfully fought to implement a recycling program that would decrease or eliminate the need for the disposal facilities often sited in their communities.

#### Recycling

Ten years ago, recycling was a modest effort undertaken by a network of *ad hoc* volunteer recycling centers, interspersed with a few *curbside* programs. These programs were supported by brokers, processors, and manufacturers who used recycled materials when they encountered shortages in the supply of virgin materials.

Today, most states in the country mandate recycling. This has been the result of a most extraordinary learning experience, in which the lessons were taught, for the most part, from the bottom up. Recycling centers and programs established in the late 1960s have now matured into successful businesses. Several, including Urban Ore, Inc., and the Berkeley and Sonoma County Community Recycling Centers, have become multi-million dollar enterprises, handling thousands of tons of material annually. The Berkeley Ecology Center (Berkeley, California), the Orange Grove Center (Chatanooga, Tennessee), and Sunshares (Durham, North Carolina), all of which began as organized grassroots efforts, have all been awarded multi-year, multi-million dollar processing and/or marketing contracts.

New manufacturing enterprises are producing road sealants from old roofing asphalt; wood fiber products from old wood pallets; helicopter seats, propane gas tanks, and construction siding from scrap plastic; and ethanol from yard debris. With the advent of this new industrial revolution, entrepreneurs are seeking new sites for expansion, hoping to locate in urban areas near the source of their feedstock as well as their markets. The new breed of scrap-based manufacturers is helping the U.S. economy by creating jobs, reducing pollution, and offering community development organizations an array of benefits from host community fees, labor contracts, and joint-venture partnerships.

#### Creating Jobs: The Economic Benefits of Recycling

Waste management is an economic development as well as an environmental issue, and recycling benefits local economies in a variety of ways. Recycling reduces operating costs

>> see *RECYCLING*, page 11

<< from RECYCLING, page 8

for hotels, hospitals, fast food restaurants, and small grocery stores. Recycling also creates manufacturing jobs on a wide scale. In New Jersey alone, nearly 10,000 workers are employed by the scrap-based manufacturing industry. For every 15,000 tons of solid waste landfilled, one job is created. When a similar amount is composted, six jobs are created; when it is recycled, eight jobs are created. So, if fifty percent of the waste stream is recycled in a city of one million persons, such as Atlanta, Dallas, San Francisco, or Seattle, 250 jobs are created.

Each aspect of processing creates both manufacturing and administrative jobs, as well as requiring maintenance services and supplies, which additionally support the local economy.

While many recycling jobs are entry-level positions, wages are often significantly higher than minimum wage. Several community-based recycling enterprises offer starting salaries of \$7 - \$10 per hour.

crushing the glass for use as "glassphalt," a road aggregate. Likewise, recycling newsprint into newsprint or notebook paper is preferable to using it for cardboard manufacturing or composting.

One ton of loose office paper has an approximate market value of \$50; when paper is baled, it is worth \$100; pulped, it is worth more than \$400 per ton; and when the pulp is manufactured into new products, it is worth more than \$900 per ton. Soda bottles made of polyethylene terephthalate (PET) plastic have an approximate market value of \$50 per ton; baled they are worth \$100 per ton; cleaned and flaked, the PET is worth \$700 per ton; converted into pellets, it is worth more than \$900 per ton. Finally, when manufactured into new products, the value ranges from \$1200 per ton for low-value products like park benches \$8,000 per ton for high-value products such as helicopter seats and propane gas tanks.

New manufacturing and processing techniques are being introduced and patented. When this technology is sold to manufacturers in other cities and countries, an additional export is created.

Scrap-based manufacturing almost always uses less energy and water and is far less polluting than virgin resource-based manufacturing. This allows scrap-based manufacturers to reduce their operating costs and enables them to be a "good neighbor," even in metropolitan areas. Scrap-based manufacturing plants not only reduce operating costs, they also reduce capital costs, giving them a competitive advantage over virgin resource-based plants. For an idea of the scrap-based manufacturing that a city of 1 million could support, see Table 1.

**Toward A Strategy For Local Economic Development**

Citizens are working with cities to change the rules of solid-waste management. In 1991 a coalition of citizen organizations, in conjunction with the Public

Works Commission, successfully challenged the Los Angeles government's waste hauling contracting system. The subsequent changes encouraged joint ventures between hauling firms and CDOs, resulting in the establishment of no less than eight joint ventures. In addition, the national waste hauling firm of Browning Fems Industries established a \$1 million fund (managed by Economic Resources, Inc. of Compton, California) to support businesses owned by people of color.

In 1985, Newark, New Jersey was the first U.S. city to reserve an enterprise zone for scrap-based manufacturers. Today, the concept has become standard practice in cities including Los Angeles and Oakland, California; Denver, Colorado; Maywood Village, Illinois; and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. A California initiative sanctioned the establishment of Recycling Market Development Zones (RMDZs)

>> see RECYCLING, page 24

**Table 1:  
Potential  
Scrap-Based Manufacturing  
Based on a Population of One Million**

Products from:	Plants	local post-consumer scrap used (tons/year)	Jobs	Annual Revenue
Asphalt and Concrete	2	60,000	25	\$4,200,000
Auto Batteries	1	6,500	120	\$210,000,000
Glass	4	46,400	335	\$78,000,000
Metals	3	25,000	110	\$301,900,000
Paper	6	188,000	635	\$160,000,000
Plastics	6	7,800	305	\$11,600,000
Rubber	1	1,700	25	\$1,200,000
Textiles	1	10,000	120	\$3,000,000
Wood	5	44,500	140	\$14,000,000

**Maximizing Value Added Through Manufacturing**

Urban areas generate as much aluminum, copper, and paper as small and medium-sized mines and timber stands, and are faced with choices for handling these raw materials. Like developing nations, they can export the raw materials from their waste streams and buy back finished goods at much higher prices. Alternatively, cities can establish industrial sectors to process these materials and manufacture finished products for sale and export. Such ventures add significant value to the local economies in a variety of ways, including manufacturing jobs that pay an average of \$550 per week, as opposed to the average \$350/week for service industry jobs.

Optimal use of recycled materials, extracting the greatest value from this resource, determines a manufacturing priority. Producing glass bottles from old glass bottles is preferable to

The recent Los Angeles uprising is not the inchoate and criminal cry of a statistically minor underclass who could not climb the ladder of the American dream. It is rather a defining moment in American history, an event which, for those who choose to see, breaks through our denial of the increasing disparity between the haves and the have-nots.

the key elements of the rebuilding. We must ask of it, and of the development it spawns, how that form and its interaction can heal the polarization and help the social and economic vitality of the region.

Metro Rail is purported to be a technical answer to socio-economic issues technically defined. It is claimed to be a necessary response to congestion, pollution, excessive use of energy and inadequate levels of public transit service. However, the system has more fundamental imperatives -- increasing capital accumulation and socio-economic segregation; reinforcing downtown investment values for the business elite; providing a public subsidy to private business to transport low income workers; creating even more "niche" enclaves which protect

the exodus from the center city. Our regional form is now groaning under functional inefficiencies: sprawl (excessive travel distances and times, excessive infrastructure costs, limited job access for the poor, and increasing pollution); an increasingly unacceptable view of the quality of our living and natural environment (severe lack of visual coherence, and the "despatialization" of the region and its natural setting into the abstraction of plotted parcels administered by planning bureaucracies); and a resulting calcification of a landscape of inequity and segregation. The illusion that this arrangement was at least sustainable was broken by the recent uprising.

Metro Rail's radial design was planned to serve this urban form. While efficiency is the criteria in an era of

## After The Uprising: *Metro Rail, Social Justice, and Urban Form*

by *Raymond L. Rhodes*

"Fixing" the underclass by "rebuilding Los Angeles" misses the point completely. The foundation of any true "rebuilding" of Los Angeles is the economic, social and psychological empowerment of all its people.

Practically and morally, we can't be safe, free, guiltless, secure, or fully human until this happens. As part of this rebuilding effort, the regional urban form and transportation infrastructure of our increasingly polarized society must be addressed. As a \$183 billion social investment, Metro Rail will be one of

the upper classes from others in a crime-ridden city; and shifting Metro Rail construction and operating costs to the general public. Such inequities are financed by Metro Rail's socially regressive financing scheme which bespeaks frightening values: the voter support for a massive transit investment but refusal to approve financing for jobs, education, health care and affordable housing.

A critique of Metro Rail is at its core a critique of the urban form it serves — low density, multicentered, and auto-reliant. But the dark side of our urban form is that it is also a spatial expression of racial and economic apartheid, L.A. being one of the most segregated cities in the United States, created by the federally-financed, post-World War

limits, Metro Rail facilitates even greater urban inefficiencies by facilitating increased home-to-job distances. Metro Rail poses no challenge to the status quo. The system will reinforce, not reshape, urban growth. Any attempt to circumvent this dead end is severely hampered. The Los Angeles County Transportation Commission (LACTC) is assuming a land use planning role which it cannot adequately fill. LACTC is not a planning or policy-making agency -- it is a single-purpose organization mandated to plan and implement a transit system according to goals defined by others. As such, it is not an instrument of public policy to be used in shaping urban form. Two massive, unexamined presumptions have been

>> see *METRO RAIL*, page 13

◀ from METRO RAIL, page 12

made: that urban form can be guided by land development investments in the immediate vicinity of rail stations, and that comdor rail development is the best form of concentrating urban investment.

The lack of an active, system-wide planning effort is symptomized by the logical gaps and inconsistencies in the transit network, as well as some intense political obstruction by affected interests. Typical problems include: no direct connection from Downtown L.A. to the L.A. International Airport or Wilshire/Fairfax; the choice of a light rail technology on the Pasadena line which prohibits the transit from directly serving the urban centers; the stated need to build a "downtown light rail segment which duplicates the function of the Red Line subway"; and the high possibility that Metro Rail's focus on

urgent needs of our society is a fundamental mistake.

We do have choice in the way our region grows. One of the first urban form alternatives to examine should be a "compact city" with higher-density housing, manufacturing, and commercial uses clustered around the central city. A closely-spaced matrix or grid of rail and bus lines would serve this city, as distinguished from the current Metro Rail radial scheme with transit spokes radiating from downtown and thinly covering the region. The intent of a compact city is to create *districts* rather than *corridors* of intensified development, with a rich variety of jobs and housing in close proximity. The geographic extent of rail lines would be deliberately limited in order to focus development and create real and perceptible urban boundaries. In a compacted city, the far flung Metrolink

Rail should be an instrument of reducing class warfare and binding together the people of this remarkable region. It should maximize the potential of the lower-income people and the dispossessed; and it should realize the potential of transportation in reshaping the region's urban form to avoid the wasted social investment, obstructions to social justice and barriers to equal opportunity which result from sprawl. Transit and land use at all scales must result from an integrated planning process. The Metro System, as an instrument of a deliberate socio-economic policy, has the potential to increase job opportunities, reverse segregation, restructure our land uses and improve the quality of life.

Governance of Metro Rail planning and implementation must be more representative within the LACTC. At least a portion of LACTC board

bringing workers and customers downtown may instead funnel people and development *away* from the central city for the cheaper land and labor in

other parts.

No people, and no city, can survive the widening gap in wealth and life opportunities which exist in this country. The \$183 billion for Metro Rail and the Metro System is a seduction in which we can no longer afford to indulge, a social investment which does not build people or society in proportion to its cost. Schools, social welfare, health and similar social measures, the essential urban infrastructure, are severely underfunded. The entire budget of the system must be re-examined in terms of its value *vis a vis* other urgent social needs. Without such a major social investment, the L.A. region will have excellent transportation access to jobs which don't exist, and to housing which people can't afford. Continued construction of the Metro System in its present isolation from some of the most divisive issues and

commuter rail system would be completely inappropriate. Today, it only encourages the migration of labor across far distances.

It is possible that some Metro Rail development should be curtailed, and legal mechanisms found for reallocating portions of the sales tax to other social purposes. The need for this work to begin is urgent if L.A. County and its citizens are to regain conscious and deliberate control of their environment and not let the Metro Rial program define our regional form by default. Planning will and should be done on a community-by-community, "bottom up" approach as well as the more prevalent "top down" approach. The LACTC could partially finance and organize the planning effort, inverting the "suburban crust" of our post-industrial era back into the center of the city. In "rebuilding L.A.," we must not simply replace what was burned, but rather take a comprehensive look at the communities as *locuses* for new economic development in central L.A.

Future activities of the LACTC must be based on a number of key principles: Invest in people, not in things. Metro

members should be directly elected. The City of Los Angeles may need charter reform to provide greater district level, community-based planning. A democratic planning apparatus needs to be established. Architects and urban designers will have a crucial role in this replanning process in visualizing alternative futures and solving key design problems. These include: integrating manufacturing uses in densely developed areas; designing livable multi-use developments; developing livable housing at higher densities; graciously retrofitting a multi-model transit system into the cities; and creating a democratic planning process in which the political and economic warfare which passes for planning can become a win-win proposition. The professionals who plan our regional form/transportation system cannot be fruitful without having a vision based on a deep respect for all people, as shown through a commitment to social justice, full employment, adequate housing and other basics of human dignity.

*This article is reprinted from Earthword magazine, 1992.*

# Environmental Justice Organizations

## in the 20 Largest Urban Areas Across the U.S.

Multicultural communities are growing in our nation's cities, and local environmental justice organizing efforts are responding to pollution, toxics, natural resource use questions, and crucial local land use decisions that many established environmental organizations have traditionally ignored. As a result of environmental racism in our cities there is an emerging recognition of environmental issues and civil rights issues that is unprecedented in this Country. What real changes can and will occur in our neighborhoods and our cities remains to be seen.

Because the environmental justice movement is a collective effort, it is important to know who our colleagues are and how to get in touch with them. This regionally limited directory is intended to be a resource and a step towards solidarity among environmental justice organizations; it is also an invitation for solidarity with other movements. If you feel this directory is incomplete (which it is) let us know where to fill in the blanks.

### Atlanta

Minority Health  
Professionals Foundation  
720 Westview Dr., SW  
Atlanta, GA 30310  
Contact: Mr. John C. Smith

### Center for Environment, Commerce and Energy

233 Mitchell St. Suite 410  
Atlanta, GA 30303  
Contact: Suliman Madhi

### Baltimore

Center for Public Policy,  
University of Baltimore  
1304 St. Paul St.  
Baltimore, MD 21202  
(301) 333-2657  
Contact: Dr. Lenneal  
Henderson

### Boston

Living On the Earth  
55 Wheeler St.  
Cambridge, MA 02138

Dudley Street  
Neighborhood Initiative  
513 Dudley St.  
Roxbury, MA 02119  
Contact: Ms. Tubal  
Padilla-Galiano

### Chicago

Acorn  
410 S. Michigan  
Chicago, IL 60605  
(312) 932-7488  
Contact: Madeline Talbott

Center for Environment,  
Commerce, and Energy  
7432 N. Sealy Avenue  
Chicago, IL 60645  
Contact: Mr. Todd Thomas

Center for Neighborhood  
Technology  
2125 West North Ave  
Chicago, IL 60647  
(312) 278-4800

People for  
Community Recovery  
13116 S. Ellis Avenue  
Chicago, IL 60627  
(312) 468-1645  
Contact: Cheryl Johnson,  
Administrative Assistant

South Cook County  
Environmental Action  
Coalition  
P.O. Box 428317  
Evergreen, IL 60642  
(312) 238-8925  
Contact: Rev. Ernest Young

### Cleveland

United Church of Christ  
700 Prospect Ave, 8th Fl.  
Cleveland, OH 44115  
(216) 736-2100

### Dallas

West Dallas Coalition for  
Environmental Justice  
1211 N. Morocco  
Dallas, TX 75211  
(214) 330-7947  
Contact: Luis D. Sepulveda

### Detroit

University of Michigan,  
School of Natural Resources  
Ann Arbor, MI 48104  
Contact Prof. Bunyan  
Bryant

Detroit Black Women's  
Health Project  
9160 Winthrop St.  
Detroit, MI 48228  
Contact: Ms. Akua  
Budu-Watkins

Ecology Center  
417 Detroit St.  
Ann Arbor, MI 48104  
Contact: Ms. Jeryl Davis

Michigan Association of  
Minority Environmentalists  
P.O. Box 21954  
Detroit, MI 48221  
Contact: William E.  
Thomason, III

### Houston

Cambodian Gardens, Inc.  
3520 Montrose  
Houston TX 77006  
(713) 526-5812  
Contact: R. Charles Thomas,  
Vice President

Freedmen's  
Town Association  
P.O. Box 1605  
Houston, TX 77251  
(713) 739-9413

Texas Network on  
Environmental Justice  
P.O. Box 52341  
Austin TX 75501  
Contact: Mr. Arthur Shaw

### Los Angeles

Concerned Citizens of  
South Central Los Angeles  
P.O. Box 11337  
Los Angeles, CA 90011  
(213) 321-9371

### Labor/Community Watchdog

3780 Wilshire Blvd., #1200  
Los Angeles, CA 90010  
(213) 387-2800  
Contact: Chris Mathes,  
Field Organizer

Mothers of East Los Angeles  
924 S. Mott Street  
Los Angeles, CA 90023  
(213) 263-8191  
Contact: Juana B. Guterrez,  
President

### **New York**

Concerned Citizens  
for the Environment  
Rahway, NJ 07065  
(201) 388-8323  
Contact: Ann Parker,  
Secretary

Hunter College  
Environmental Program  
425 East 25th St.  
Box 596  
New York, NY  
Contact: Marjorie Moore

Toxic Avengers  
211 S. 4th St.  
New York, NY 11211  
(718) 387-0404

United Church of Christ,  
Commission on  
Racial Justice  
475 Riverside Dr. #1948  
New York, NY 10115  
(212) 870-2077  
Contact: Charles Lee

West Harlem  
Environmental Action  
529 West 145th St.,  
New York, NY 10031  
(212) 234-5096  
Contact: Peggy Shepard

### **Philadelphia**

Germantown Residents  
Acting to Conserve Energy  
5020 Wayne Avenue  
Philadelphia, PA 19144  
(215) 844-2244  
Contact: Portia McCloud

Norris Square  
Neighborhood Project, Inc.  
2224 N. 2nd St.  
Philadelphia, PA 19122  
Contact: Carol Keck

Noms Square Civic  
Association  
124 West Diamond St.  
Philadelphia, PA 19122  
Contact: Mr. William  
Gonzalez

Urban Recycling Institute  
129 West **Georgas** Lane  
Philadelphia, PA 19119  
Contact: Maurice Strong

### **Phoenix**

Chicano Human  
Rights Council  
3810 N. 14th Place  
Phoenix, AZ 85014  
Contact: Mr. Manuel  
Vasquez

### **St. Louis**

Organization for  
Black Struggle  
P.O. Box 5277  
St. Louis, MO 63115

Lessie Bates Davis  
Neighborhood House  
1200 N. 13th St.  
East St. Louis, IL 62205  
Contact: Ms. Louis Sweatt

### **San Diego**

Southwest Network for  
Environmental and  
Economic Justice  
1717 Kettner, Apt 101  
San Diego, CA 92101  
Contact: Jose Bravo

### **San Francisco Bay Area**

Asian/Pacific Islander,  
Environmental  
Justice Network,  
c/o San Francisco  
Foundation  
685 Market Street, Suite 910  
San Francisco, CA 94105  
(415) 495-3100  
Contact: Jack Chin

Clean Air Alternative  
P.O. Box 29046,  
Oakland, CA 94604  
(510) 251-6365,  
Contact: **Chapelle** Hayes

Center for  
Third World Organizing  
1218 E. 21st Street  
Oakland, CA 94606  
(510) 654-9601  
Contact: Francis **Calpotura**

Center on Race, Poverty  
& the Environment  
2111 Mission St., Suite 401  
San Francisco, CA 94110  
(415) 864-3405  
Contact: Ralph Santiago  
Abascal, director

Coalition for  
Environmental Justice  
2901 Otis Street  
Berkeley, CA 94703  
Contact: **Magdalena M.  
Avila**

East **Palo** Alto Historical  
and Agricultural Society  
P.O. Box 51504  
East **Palo** Alto, CA 94303  
(415) 329-0294  
Contact Trevor Burrows

PODER  
1535 Mission St.  
San Francisco, CA 94131  
(415) 285-6556  
Contact: **Leticia Alcantar**

People United for a Better  
Oakland (PUEBLO)  
3863 Martin Luther King Jr.  
Oakland, CA  
(510) 601-0158  
Contact: Sandra Davis,  
Lead Organizer

**Three** Circles Center for  
Multicultural Environmental  
Education  
PO Box 1946  
Sausalito, CA 94966  
Contact: Running-Grass

Urban Habitat Program  
300 Broadway, Suite 28  
San Francisco, CA 94133  
(415) 788-3666  
Contact: Carl Anthony,  
Director

West County  
Toxics Coalition  
1019 McDonald Ave.  
Richmond, CA 94801  
(510) 232-3427  
Contact: Henry Clark

### **Seattle**

Multicultural Coalition  
2213 E. Thomas  
Seattle, WA 98122  
(206) 328-2103  
Contact: Don Alexander

### **Washington DC**

Anacosta Recycling  
Action Project  
2425 17th Street SE  
Washington, DC 20020  
Contact: Brenda Richardson

Center for Environment,  
Commerce, and Energy  
733 Sixth St., SE #1  
Washington, DC 20003  
Contact: Noms **MacDonald**,  
President

National Alliance to  
End Childhood Lead  
Poisoning  
600 Pennsylvania Ave. SE  
Washington DC 20003  
Contact: Janet Phoenix

People of Color Caucus on  
Ecology  
2028 Fulton Pl. NE  
Washington, DC 20018  
(202) 797-6631  
Contact: **Kazi** Joshua

River Terrace Community  
Organization  
3393 Blake St., NE #3D  
Washington, DC 20019  
(202) 399-1722  
Contact: George E. Gurley

<< from LA's IMF Riots, page 1

ately awarded to areas with low poverty levels, like West Los Angeles, while areas like South/Central L.A. receive the lowest allocation per person in poverty of all six administrative districts. Only 23% of all requests for funding from South Central are approved. (Curran, 1988)

When analysts ask what happened in Los Angeles, these are the issues and realities which must be addressed. And yet the media has said nothing of the 19.5% Black unemployment rate nor has anyone acknowledged that L.A. has a poverty rate higher than the nation (15.6%); no one mentions that in Los Angeles 75% of the families living below poverty pay one half of their income for rent or that 14% of those with full time jobs live in poverty because of low wages (17.5% of the jobs in the city are low wage jobs, paying \$11,009 per or less per year).

Ironically, California -- the home of the nation's anti-public spending ideology -- has been and remains the recipient of the government's greatest spending. According to Edward Soja of the UCLA Graduate School of Architecture and Urban Planning:

Southern California has been by far the largest recipient of prime defense contracts since the 1940s. The continued expansion of high technology industries in the 1980s has been promoted still further by the military centered Keynesianism of the Reagan administration, with L.A. County in particular being one of the leading beneficiaries of research funding for Star Wars... (Soja, 1989)

The dependency of the region has also made it very vulnerable to any decrease in defense spending. But the disproportionate awarding of rewards has not been reflected in the costs for change; already people of color make up 53% of the laid off aerospace workers (Economic Roundtable, 1992), even though they are far less than half of the aerospace work force.

Military dependence has also been the source of L.A.'s environmental crisis, as it is the home of some of the dirtiest industries of the twentieth

century. Once a haven for those seeking relief from health problems and industrial contamination, it is now the home of some of the most deadly industry of the twentieth century — aerospace, electronics, chemicals, petroleum, and petrochemical products. The roots of the dilemma are historical. Excessive use of cheap labor and resources, particularly energy, water and land, came early and have persisted. Key values and choices have been guided by the growth mandate. With an

## Industry began moving to the City's periphery after World War II. As jobs moved, so too did the white population, along with newer housing and better services, leaving inner city residents vulnerable to unemployment.

inexhaustible energy supply and a wealth of public funding there was no concern for moderation. The suburbs along with freeways, weaponry production, oil, agriculture, and of course entertainment became symbols of Los Angeles.

### Polarization of the Workforce

Aerospace has long been the focus of the high tech industrial complex, which included civilian aircraft production, advanced electronics, space exploration, weapons research and defense contracting. As the old blue collar industries declined in Los Angeles, high tech ones boomed, and with this dramatic shift and restructuring the polarization in the labor force and society was solidified. The areas in the West San Fernando Valley and Orange County which are home to the electronic components plants have grown while the largest number of plant closings (L.A.'s original manufacturers, like auto, steel and rubber) were in the inner city and

surrounding working class suburbs. Perhaps not coincidentally, these areas were the home of the largest sector of the Black population as well.

The home of the model corporate sunbelt city also houses its own "rustbelt" in the old industrial center between San Pedro and Downtown. This area is an example of the deindustrialization which has left in its wake abandoned factories, high unemployment and economically devastated communities. The automobile, tire, and steel industries are gone.

Industry began moving to the City's periphery after World War II. As jobs moved, so too did the white population, along with newer housing and better services, leaving inner city residents vulnerable to unemployment and its accompanying disaster.

Those who are left to bear the costs are those who could not enjoy the benefits of jobs across what Professor Soja refers to as Alameda's "White Curtain." Vernon and Commerce, municipalities which were incorporated to accommodate manufacturing and have few residents inside their official boundaries, are bordered by the East Los Angeles barrio and the oldest black community in L.A. in the 9th Council District. Vernon has one of the largest number of uncontrolled toxic waste sites, six (6) (according to a publication of the United Church of Christ).

East Los Angeles has eight (8) and the area next door bordered by the L.A. River, 6th Street (on the north) and Eastern (on the east) has the highest number, eleven (11). These areas have Hispanic populations exceeding 50%. The area south of Watts (bordered by Rosecrans on the South, Avalon on the East, Figueroa on the west, and 107th Street on the North) has three uncontrolled toxic sites.

Not only do all these areas have majority non-white populations (though I should add here that Hollywood has three toxic sites) and the largest number of uncontrolled toxic waste sites but they also have some of the highest concentration and diversity of toxic industries: plastics, waste and scrap, paint, metal plating, and chemicals.

>> see LA's IMF RIOT, page 17

<< from LA's IMF Riots, page 16

### Environmental Racism

The racist consequences of industries' policies go further than the mere consideration of hiring practices. The siting of industry in and near residential districts has been a serious health hazard for people of color. Living near industrial areas and areas of heavy traffic (near freeways) is a serious health risk. In East Los Angeles where the housing/jobs balance is good (which means people are located near their jobs) piecemeal planning has ignored the poisonous health risks of nearby industry. Communities like Wilmington, which according to the Labor/Community Strategy Center houses four of the county's 20 largest air polluters (Texaco, Shell, Ultramar, Unocal), are at great risk.

Just as public housing residents move to consider tenant management, evidence of lead paint throughout ruins any progress. Official estimates are that 44% of pre-1951 housing used lead based paints and 28% of the housing built between 1951 and 1959 present exposure risks.

Los Angeles has been quick to export its pollution as well, always to areas of non-white residents. Examples have included importation of coal produced electricity from the Black Mesa land of northeastern Arizona leased from the Hopi and Navajo; and the City's efforts to export municipal sewage sludge to Guatemala after the successful battle against the LANCER garbage incinerator in the 9th District and the lawsuit prohibiting LA from dumping in Santa Monica Bay (1988). The sludge was to be dried and mixed in soil as fertilizer (it contains heavy metals, dioxins, and bacteria). A Los Angeles-based broker, Applied Recovery Technologies, arranged a "deal" with the Honduran government to dump raw sewage sludge in 90 square kilometers of wetland on the Pacific Coast, which is one of the poorest regions of the country.

### Subsidizing Defense While Gutting Social Programs

Any discussion of public policy must begin with an obvious irony, "modern

capitalism has become progressively more deeply and intricately dependent on state policies." (Piven, 1987: 94) However, while corporate development profits from this "dependency," critics of domestic social programs rail against the dependency of the poor, of women, people of color and workers. Government and corporate managers trumpet the virtues of the market as the final arbiter of progress and development; the market, they say, should be left unencumbered by social welfare, workers' insurance, and all other such

## While citizens are warned against dependency, corporations are free to pursue government support and financial guarantees.

"interventions." While citizens are warned against dependency, corporations are free to pursue government support and financial guarantees. Policies have been designed to aid corporate profits by maintaining consumption and a low wage work force. These policies have been designed to assist growth, not eliminate poverty. It is inevitable that these policies would provide the foundation for growing inequalities in society.

The public sector has the potential for promoting equality. To date Blacks have made greater gains in the public sector than the private. But progress is slow: the California economy has developed with public dollars — defense contracts, federally subsidized development of highways, freeways and infrastructure as well as subsidies to agriculture but these public contracts have not benefitted Blacks. In fact, they have not contributed to the promotion of equality for any non-white community. These public dollars have allowed the private sector to grow at the public's expense. Public dollars are used to "prepare" investment opportunities. The location of corporations

outside the inner city was also facilitated by government subsidies (in housing, highways and infrastructure development). All of these factors contributed to the underdevelopment of Black communities.

The draconian cuts in all social expenditures, particularly education (\$2.3 billion in cuts anticipated) will have long term consequences for the state but particularly for youth and people of color, including those employed by this sector. Current social policy is pushing many to the outer limits of tolerance, hence the events in Los Angeles. Our social policies are exacerbating the inequality caused by our economic policies. As the underclass grows and as more and more people are pushed from the middle class, demands will increase. Now is the time to redirect the massive contracts awarded to build weapons of destruction to develop a peace economy which offers opportunity and a better quality of life for all residents of the state.

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# The Cultural Climate of Cities

by **Luz Cervantes**

## Population and Race Data for Largest 20 Metropolitan Regions Across the U.S.

This data is gathered from the 1990 U.S. Census Summary. The census data presented in this form gives a general breakdown of ethnic diversity in the largest metropolitan regions of the U.S. The "racial" terms White, Black, Hispanic, Asian/Pacific Islander, American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut, and Other, generally do not give any indication of national or cultural heritage. For instance, a person of Brazilian heritage and a person of Guatemalan heritage would both be lumped together under the adjective "Hispanic" despite their many cultural differences or inability to identify with that label. In fact, the same is true for any of the ethnic terms that are used by the U.S. Census Bureau. I am using the same terms the U.S. Census Bureau uses in order to be consistent with the information provided, not because I agree with their usage.

According to the 1990 Census, ten of the 20 largest cities in the U.S. are 50% or more people of color. The San Francisco Bay Area has the greatest represented population of Asians and Pacific Islanders (18%) in its central cities. Tied for second are Seattle and Los Angeles with 9% Asian and Pacific Islander representation. In Detroit, Washington, Atlanta and Baltimore the Black population (61%, 51%, 62%, and 58%, respectively), are the majority. In Miami the Hispanic population (47%) is the single most represented ethnicity, mostly Cubans and Puerto Ricans. In Los Angeles there are over 2,100,000 Hispanics, which is the largest population of Hispanics in an urban area in any city in the world besides Mexico City, although they are not the majority or LA's peoples, with 38% of the population. Minneapolis and St. Paul combined have the highest

Urban Region	Total Urban Population	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/Pacific Islander	American Indian/Eskimo Aleut	People of Color
<b>New York</b>	8,684,834	43%	25.6%	24.4%	6.5%	0.2%	<b>57%</b>
<b>Los Angeles</b>	5,497,577	41	11.5	38	9	0.3	<b>59</b>
<b>Chicago</b>	3,562,954	42	36	18	3	0.1	<b>58</b>
<b>San Francisco</b>	2,547,311	51	13	17	18	0.4	<b>49</b>
<b>Philadelphia</b>	1,963,736	50	39	8	2	0.2	<b>50</b>
<b>Dallas</b>	1,937,524	57	22	18	2.5	0.4	<b>43</b>
<b>Houston</b>	1,791,571	42	27	27	3.6	0.2	<b>58</b>
<b>Phoenix</b>	1,543,428	77	3.8	16.1	1.7	1.3	<b>23</b>
<b>Boston</b>	1,338,523	71	13	10	5	0.2	<b>29</b>
<b>Detroit</b>	1,331,712	34	61	3	1	0.4	<b>66</b>
<b>San Diego</b>	1,219,134	60	8	21	10.4	0.4	<b>40</b>
<b>Miami</b>	982,676	35	17	47	0.7	0.1	<b>65</b>
<b>Cleveland</b>	913,084	60	34	4	1	0.3	<b>40</b>
<b>Washington</b>	817,984	39	51	7	2.7	0.2	<b>61</b>
<b>Seattle</b>	795,986	76	9	4	9	1.5	<b>24</b>
<b>Baltimore</b>	769,201	39.7	58	1	1	0.3	<b>60</b>
<b>Minneapolis</b>	726,953	80	9	3	5	2	<b>20</b>
<b>St. Louis</b>	600,736	58	40	1	0.7	0.2	<b>42</b>
<b>Atlanta</b>	438,146	34.7	62	2	0.9	0.1	<b>65.3</b>
<b>Pittsburg</b>	395,895	72	25	1	1	0.2	<b>28</b>

representation of American Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts in a regional urban area, with 2% of the population. Minneapolis and St. Paul are also the cities with the

least amount of people of color in the it's central cities with 20% of the total population. By the year 2000 most of these figures are projected to increase.

# Alcohol and Tobacco Billboards Target Communities of Color

## San Francisco Survey Confirms Nationwide Trend

Bay Area community groups recently released the results of a study of San Francisco billboards which shows that communities of color bear the brunt of alcohol and tobacco billboard advertising. The results reveal that cigarette billboards are most highly concentrated in Asian-Pacific and Latino communities, while billboards advertising alcohol are primarily found in African-American and Latino communities. The survey, released on Peoples' Earth Day in the Bayview-HuntersPoint neighborhood of San Francisco, was sponsored by California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation's Center on Race, Poverty and the Environment, People Organizing to Defend Environmental Rights (PODER), the Latino Issues Forum, the Women's Alcoholism Center, the Marin Institute, the Urban Habitat Program at Earth Island Institute, and individual leaders in the environmental justice movement.

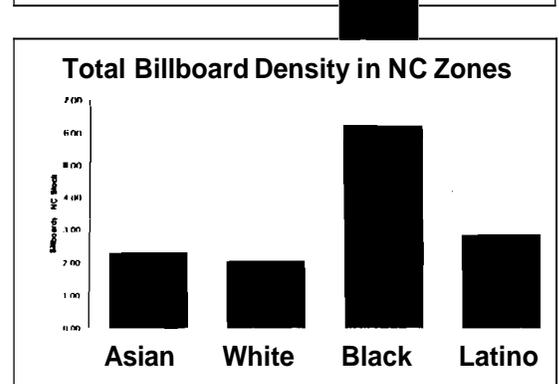
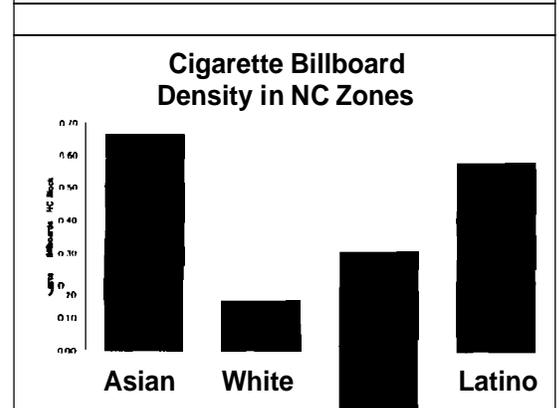
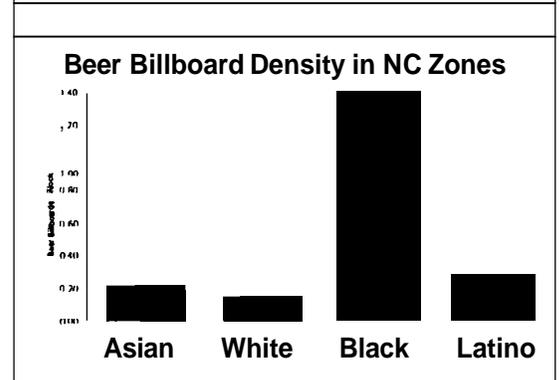
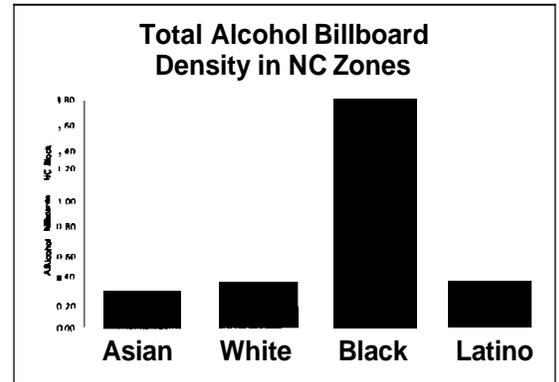
"Billboard advertising is just one more example of environmental racism," said Sam Murray of the People's Earth Day Coalition. "When you see how much the industries try to capture communities of color in their advertising campaigns, you start to understand why there might be so many more liquor stores crowding our neighborhoods." Like other environmental hazards which are concentrated in communities of color, alcohol and tobacco billboards present a serious threat to the health of the people who find themselves surrounded by them. "We cannot deny that alcohol and tobacco companies are brainwashing our youth and that they have a genocidal impact on our communities," said Carl Anthony, president of Earth Island Institute and a professor at U.C. Berkeley's College of Natural Resources.

The survey reports that 30 percent of the billboards in the Asian-Pacific community and 20 percent of the

billboards in the Latino community advertise cigarettes, compared with less than 10 percent in the white community. In addition, the survey found that the concentration of alcohol billboards in the white community was a third less than in the Latino community, and less than half of what it was in the African-American community. The total concentration of billboards in the Latino community was twice as high as the white community, and the density of billboards in the neighborhood commercial zones of the African-American community was three times as high as the density in the white community's neighborhood commercial zones.

The survey comes at a time when activists are increasingly emphasizing the link between environmental issues and concerns of social justice. "There is a definite connection between health, environmental degradation, and social and economic justice," said Luis Pardo of PODER. "First billboards pollute our neighborhoods with blight, then they glamorize the adoption of unhealthy habits that pollute our bodies." Added Murray, "Pushing alcohol and tobacco in this way can be just as destructive as pushing crack."

The results of the survey were not unexpected. "The results mirror other studies done across the United States, and confirm what most people already know about the way alcohol and tobacco industries target people of color," said Josh Konecky of the California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation.



(\*NC\* refers to Neighborhood Commercial zoning)

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legitimize each other in ways that ultimately perpetuate the current displaced industrial culture that is destroying our cities. To see how this could be so, let's look a little closer at each of these perspectives.

Typically, environmentally-oriented advocates expound upon the need for clean air and water, energy conservation and the development of sensitive waste-management systems. For them a strong imperative is the development of more urban sanctuaries — like green belts and open spaces — devoid of concrete and automobiles, that would bring humans into closer touch with nature's other plant and animal communities. Underlying this vision is the humanistic view that the only way to make cities livable is to minimize the **direct** and secondary effects of industrialization.

For growth-oriented advocates, urban restoration is centered on successful and expanding businesses and ever more development. They are less concerned with pollution and communing with nature than with making money and creating jobs, to expand the tax base, to upgrade the social services with which to fight major urban problems like unemployment, crime and homelessness. The trickling down of corporate culture is seen as the means to remedy social ills.

In the real life of cities, of course, the record of urban decay — with its pollution, homelessness, drug problems and general disintegration of the physical infrastructure — proves that neither the environmental nor the corporate view has been sufficient to restore our cities. Even though specific elements from each of these views have validity, they have ultimately reinforced each other as one ongoing pathological program of urban growth and decay. While environmentalists may see themselves as restorationists when they mitigate development plans, we believe that in fact, they have become blind, if not antagonistic, to the alternatives that would restore our cities. More often than not, they wind up — through the mitigation process — legitimizing developers and the top-down structure that has brought us to the current conditions. If urban restoration is to occur, we believe that it will happen only within a framework that is both broader than and different from either the corporate or environmental agendas.

The evolution of cities currently has more to do with the short-term profits of developers, constrained by zoning and environmental regulations, than it does with ensuring the viability of the diverse communities that make up cities. Our restoration view assumes a fundamental departure from this way of getting things done — not only in terms of a wise and conserving use of resources, but also in planning and decision making as well. Our view of urban restoration involves a grassroots, street-level emphasis on making cities convivial places in which to live by wedding natural and human ecology. Without allowing people to interact more freely with each other and to identify more closely with the natural systems within which they live, it isn't possible to make urban life convivial. Ultimately, there is a connection between an enduring urban culture and the health of the rivers, hills, creeks and bays that surround cities.

Our view of restoration is also traditional. We recognize

that cities are about people. An important part of what we mean by conviviality involves nourishing ongoing community vitality. We want to encourage the enjoyment of a festive society. We extend the meaning of conviviality to the art and practice of living together as a community — the breaking of bread among neighbors — within the context of neighborhood character and scale. Toward this end, the memory of a community is important to its identity and can only be maintained by the preservation of its past.

Urban restoration also depends on the reestablishment of the public domain in the form of the "commons" — places for everyday socializing, like mixed-use community parks, or sidewalks and streets designed as meeting places for weekend produce markets, neighborhood swap meets and block parties. Reconnecting urban awareness to natural systems is also necessary. And convivial urban restoration requires a loosening of the licensing and zoning **structures** so that all members of a neighborhood can participate creatively. Taken together, these should be the standards for evaluating the incremental changes that occur in the feeling, memory and infrastructure of the community's physical space.

Our view combines what we know of the attributes of flourishing cities and natural systems. It includes the bioregion as **an** element of cultural identity and economic security, but also scales down to neighborhoods for local autonomy. Neighborhoods are the basic unit of survival within cities and flexibility in committing local resources is the key to adaptability. Said differently, the restoration of cities is a cultural and political process informed by ecology.

**George Tukul:** ,I grew up on the suburban Long Island. My first real exposure to city living came when I was working my way through college in the late sixties. I drove a truck for a friend of mine, and the warehouse I shipped out of was in the South Bronx, where today you'll find more open and green spaces than in just about any other place in New York City.

At the time that I was working there, a good part of the Bronx was being burnt to the ground by a community **angry** about the lack of control it had over its financial well-being, the general squalor of the neighborhood and the community's destiny.

After work I used to watch things burn. Though often hectic, life during that time was never lived inside; it was always hot and on the street. This included eating, drinking, listening to music, socializing, flirting and passing along and embellishing the latest news. City life is street life and the streets have to be

***In the real life of cities, the record of urban decay — with its pollution, homelessness, drug problems and general disintegration of the physical infrastructure — proves that neither the environmental nor the corporate view has been sufficient to restore our cities.***

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alive for the city to be alive. When you walk through gentrified neighborhoods in New York now, there's none of that juice. Prettiness has replaced the magic of people.

Increasingly, newer buildings have replaced the previous meeting places where things used to happen. Everyday areas — the front stoop, small green spaces, the nestled public square, the outdoor market — are all missing. When meeting places are designed into new construction, they seem incidental and are there only as part of some mitigation package that city planners and developers have worked out to allow the developer to have more units. The result is sterile and unsocial and it is not surprising that people don't partake, but find themselves living increasingly isolated lives.

Architects and developers need to rein in their egos, put their so-called "signature" buildings on the back burner and start designing with neighborhood people, using successful local precedents to support the community.

**Mike Helm:** I grew up in the rural San Fernando Valley and then moved to suburban North Hollywood as a kid in the fifties. I didn't get a real feel for urban street life until the late sixties when I lived in south Berkeley. In the early seventies most of my time was spent writing and selling poetry on Telegraph Avenue. A lot of people were hustling a living directly from the street. A couple of hundred people, including myself, still are. What I liked about the scene then was that the sidewalks were alive and people didn't avoid each other with averted eyes. In fact, people-watching was one of the major enjoyable activities. We actually took pleasure in checking each other out, and, because there were so many of us to share the load, we even gave away a little of our spare change. About the only thing that was missing were public toilet facilities like they have in some European cities. It continued to amaze me that we have a whole country dedicated to the notion that bodily functions somehow stop when people leave home or aren't buying something in a store. It's such a basic human need. There are lots of older people and parents with children who understandably don't go anywhere unless they know where the next bathroom is.

One of the things that made this sidewalk society safe and interesting was the large number of street artists, food vendors and pamphleteers hustling on the streets. There were a lot of crazy people too, but in the larger stream of humanity, they were, unlike now, somehow attended to and absorbed. With all the little kiosks dotting the sidewalks, people didn't simply rush past. The sidewalks weren't just the pedestrian equivalent of freeways, exclusively designed to get foot traffic from Point A to Point B. They were something to be savored and experienced. The sidewalk ambience gave people an excuse to hang out, listen to street musicians and even shop. For the vendors that had something interesting to sell, a little commerce even ensued. Nobody was getting rich, but a lot of otherwise unemployed people were getting by.

GT: Right, the streets worked as commons. By commons, I mean a physical area that no one person or group controls for their immediate self-interest, but a place that everyone benefits from. Streets are commons for cities in much the same way

that pastures for grazing were commons in pastoral England and can only survive in much the same way. In the pastoral example, people knew the limits of grazing necessary to preserve the carrying capacity of the land and consequently the community. So all exercised restraint in the number of livestock they grazed. When one member broke the unspoken rule of restraint (by increasing the size of their herd), they not only destroyed the resource base, but damaged the mutual trust upon which community living depends. This dynamic is not unlike the one that occurs when a developer buys up half a city block and puts a huge building on a neighborhood street. Their own private agenda destroys the commons that was previously the streetscape.

I'm interested in the way that streets and buildings can meet to create commons and allow individual participation. What kind of design forethought — even down to the level of locating curb cuts and the dimensions of sidewalks — encourages people to sit outside, or put flower boxes on their windows?

MH: The loss of the street for pedestrians has been reinforced by modern planning processes. While I agree with you about the limits of privatization, I also think that public spaces suffer from monocultural policies. Parks are an example of this. If it were up to me, I'd encourage much greater mixed use of park space. I'd like to see a lot more small time vendors and street artists running their gigs on the sidewalks that surround the grassy areas. People enjoy and use parks more when something interesting is happening around them.

I'd also like to see wider use of school yards and transportation parking facilities, too. As an example, a rapid transit parking lot, unused on weekends, was "liberated" by direct action in south Berkeley for use as a weekend flea market. After some tense confrontation with bureaucrats, who only saw themselves as transportation experts, the flea market was legitimized and subsequently evolved into a thriving market commons.

The way to deal with social life is the way the rest of nature does it, through dilution. Rather than congregating all of our homeless in one or two parks, the way it is now in most cities, marginally surviving people could be enticed to disperse throughout a city.

Many homeless people are capable of helping themselves. A lot of them wouldn't even be out on the street now if it hadn't been for all those urban redevelopment projects that

**The evolution of cities currently has more to do with the short-term profits of developers, constrained by zoning and environmental regulations, than it does with ensuring the viability of the diverse communities that make up cities.**

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destroyed thousands of cheap hotel rooms and replaced them with shopping malls, boutiques, and high-priced yuppie condos. Many of the homeless are resourceful people. They may not respond to a nine-to-five lifestyle, but will take advantage of less restrictive opportunities. A more active commercial life on sidewalks around city parks will provide incremental opportunities for homeless people to wean themselves from hopelessness and despair. Once there are people regularly on the street, selling food and crafts and wares, contact happens. A vendor, who is setting up in the morning or packing up at night, can call out to a street person and offer to pay for a little help. Once some **trust** is established, that person might watch the stand for a few moments in exchange for something to eat and so on. It is important to remember that the street is their "home."

Compared to billion-dollar poverty programs, this incremental approach to the homeless problem may seem hopelessly naive. But it has the virtue of starting with a simple one-on-one level. Until we find a way to create

***We know from ecology that those plant and animal communities that are the most diverse are also the most stable and enduring.***

both affordable and convivial housing, street people are here to stay. While some of them might work their way back up the economic ladder and become good burghers, most won't. We might as well ease our guilt, show more compassion and make things more convivial for them.

For starters, we should provide simple inexpensive public bathrooms, street-corner urinals like they have in Europe, and park shower facilities that

are functional, airy and safe to use. I'm not **talking** to about building enclosed, concrete bunkers where you can shoot up or get mugged. They could be as simple as a small cement pad surrounded by a metal partition that is open at the top and bottom so as to both air out and discourage loitering. These type of facilities could be built and maintained out of the licensing fees that a renewed sidewalk culture would generate. Making the streets more convivial for bottom-dog people would be more humane and less expensive than the alternative of building, maintaining and **staffing** ever more **care-taking** institutions like prisons and mental wards.

I think ecology has something to tell us about the nature of a healthy city. I've asked myself what comparisons might be appropriate between natural ecosystems and cities. We know that when we clear cut an uneven-age, deciduous and evergreen climax forest and replace it with a monocultural, even-aged species like Douglas Fir, we not only change its arboreal characteristics, but also drastically change the surrounding plant and animal community. Similarly, in urban areas, when we bulldoze whole city blocks in the name of urban redevelopment, we destroy the mix of uneven age buildings and displace their inhabitants in favor of a monoculture that supports a much more limited range of human identity and activity. I've come to see that there is a relationship between maintaining a diversity of architecture and the kinds of people that it attracts.

Though all humans belong to the same species, there is some usefulness in seeing different kinds of species for the purpose of an intelligent urban planning that will leave all of our lives more interesting, stable and diverse. There need to be affordable places for bohemians, craftspeople, pensioners, sidewalk peddlers, neighborhood junkyards and even "idlers" who can become, in Jane Jacobs' phrase, "the eyes on the street" that help control crime. The answer to crime is not more cops, but more people with an interest and stake in the street. We can justify

this diversity not just on the grounds of tolerance or some kind of noblesse oblige, but even more so out of ecological necessity and a need for liveliness. We know from ecology that those plant and animal communities that are the most diverse are also the most stable and enduring. The presence of diversity is what informs and protects us, it keeps us from becoming stupid. When we have nothing to compare our lives to, we risk following a path that winds up being a dead end.

GT: Inner-city neighborhoods are at pivotal moments in their histories. Development will occur and construction is imminent. We face a juncture, and people wonder if the failures of modern planning will be repeated or if we can shift toward restoration in the form of urban ecodevelopment.

A tremendous amount of human initiative is thwarted by single-use zoning. It is also expensive and wasteful to separate where we live from where we work. There are millions of self-employed urban people who are forced, by single-use zoning policies, into paying double mortgages and rents in order to run their businesses and maintain their homes. Keeping these two activities isolated from each other is also a major contributor to pollution and traffic congestion. Future urban planning should encourage mixed use zoning that combines manufacturing, commercial and residential dimensions. We don't need more expensive highways and bridges. They will only foster more pollution, waste more energy and time driving on "freeways." What we need is to encourage **live/work** communities that cut out commutes and integrate all members of society.

*Mike Helm is a writer and also published City Miner Books from his home in a warehouse district in Berkeley, California. George Tukul has helped neighborhood groups design pocket parks in New York City. He now lives in Oakland, California, and is a partner with Mike in City Miner Salvage. Reprinted with permission from Earthword. Published by the EOS Institute, Laguna Beach, CA.*

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and develop their potential as productive human beings.

Here are ten short prescriptions, by no means comprehensive, to get us started:

1. Understand the value of cities as unique reservoirs of racial and cultural diversity and, therefore, the gateway to a world where international economic interdependence, cultural exchange, and technological cooperation is more and more important. Cities are the key to the multiracial and **multicultural** renaissance needed in the 21st century America where European Americans will become the numerical minority.

2. Use the urban environmental crisis as an opportunity for job creation and sustainable economic development. There is much work to be done, including the remediation of lead poisoned buildings, cleaning up parks and developing new recreation spaces. The decaying infrastructure is an obvious way of putting people to work. Use the garbage crisis to promote labor intensive environmental cleanup programs such as recycling.

3. Make sustainability of the social and physical environment the central issue in all areas of development planning; rebuilding must strengthen the role of inner city institutions in metropolitan and regional **decision-making**. Economic growth must rely on local resources, talents, insights and efforts. Community development corporations and local enterprise should play a bigger role than outside real estate interests. New patterns of development should stress cooperation and investment leading to equitable sustained growth which add to the value of the community rather than frenzied competition based on the production and distribution of empty consumer goods of marginal long term value. Dissent must be turned to a critique of monopolistic power relations and the creation of markets which can mutually benefit rather than exploit.

4. Promote greater reliance on sustainable sources of energy and **energy-efficient** modes of transportation.

5. Establish activist oriented urban environmental research centers based

on the local community made up of consortiums of academic institutions, labor, small business, churches, and the public schools; every idea, every hopeful experiment ought to have a place where it can be warmly received. receive critical technical support and thorough examination, and where every success, big or little, can be documented, promoted and replicated.

6. Promote links among urban areas through joint strategies, so that the political weight of several or a network of cities can be brought to bear, so that municipalities can become the pace-setters in environmental policymaking.

7. Enlist, train and support a large army of women to do community education and mobilization to get environmental issues addressed and cleanups completed. We must recognize who have always been our leaders in the trenches.

8. Identify several urban based symbols of environmental justice action in every city. Our people must have the readily available examples of action, and success around which to coalesce.

9. Make environmental education a part of the core curricula of the public school system starting from kindergarten and pre-school, focusing on the environment right outside the school doorsteps. Establish special schools devoted to environmental studies, as has been done in New York City. Use environmental education as a vehicle to promote through real life experiences an understanding of science, technology and the issues inherent in environmental policy-making.

10. Enlist youth through active participation, especially in cultural activities to express for us a sense of reality and their visions for a **humane** and sustainable environment. We clearly must begin to take on the task of offering our own visions for the future. No

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similar to Newark's industrial zones. In Los Angeles, two **RMDZs** have already been established: a 230-acre park in the **Wilmington** neighborhood and another in South Central LA. The **RMDZs** provide tax credits for each job created, low-cost utilities, and government intervention to expedite permitting. Los Angeles Office of Integrated Solid Waste Management is currently facilitating joint-venture negotiations between CDOs and manufacturers hoping to locate in these industrial parks.

The Washington-based D.C. Interracial Coalition for Environmental Equity (**DCICEE**) and the Booker T. Washington Foundation are seeking the creation of **public/private** authority to develop the District's scrap-based industrial potential. The National Business **Alliance**, a trade association for African American business people, has already identified \$5 million in private investment for the project.

The city of **Chatanooga** entered an exclusive marketing and processing contract with the Orange Grove Center, a nonprofit organization that employs 600 emotionally-, mentally-, and physically-challenged workers. Corporate intervention ensured that the Center received the best available market prices for its processed recyclables. Three and one-half million dollars in additional corporate foundation support has allowed Orange Grove to expand its plant operations and housing units.

### Resources For Cities

Naturally, manufacturers are **attracted** to areas that not only have a steady supply of raw materials, but where the local government is willing to work with manufacturers to facilitate industrial development. Procurement initiatives, guaranteeing the purchase of products manufactured by local scrap-based industries, served as one incentive. In Cleveland, the city contracted with a street paving firm that re-uses old road materials, not only promoting scrap-based development but reducing the city's maintenance costs.

Cities can also institute procurement guidelines mandating the purchase of recycled products as a match to founda-

tion and corporate "program-related investments" (**PRIs**) in their cities. **PRIs** are no- or low-interest loans awarded to CDOs, providing the necessary capital to establish **scrap-based** enterprises. Many manufacturers not only share equity with their CDO partners, but also provide host fees for the community. The Oakland-based Materials for the Future Foundation has been formed to provide capital and technical assistance to nonprofit organizations under the Community Reinvestment Act, and can also invest in nonprofit enterprises.

Housing groups in particular should focus on the potential benefits of recycling. Many scrap-based manufacturers produce construction materials, including floors, roofs, siding, walls, and window casings. These products, available at equal or lower cost than their traditionally manufactured counterparts, can be made locally. Using raw materials recovered from the waste stream by city crews or local hauling **firms**, CDOs can own, in whole or part, scrap-based manufacturing enterprises that manufacture construction and housing materials for resale to other community organizations and businesses. In addition, enterprises such as the Loading Dock (Baltimore, Maryland), Urban Ore (Berkeley, California), Garbage Reincarnation (Santa Rosa, California), Rehab Center (Indianapolis, Indiana), and **MAGIK** (Washington, DC) repair and refurbish donated furniture, tools, computers, lumber, bathtubs, appliances, and windows for resale to low-income families and housing organizations. By offering these products at a fraction of the cost of new products, these organizations help reduce the costs of providing adequate low-income urban housing.

Wall Street Underwriters has created Solid Waste Management System Bonds, a new source of capital for communities designing alternative disposal strategies that include diverse systems of contractors and facilities. These bonds support the collection and processing components of solid-waste management programs. Formerly, cities would issue bonds for one vast facility, such as a **2,000 ton/day incin-**

**eration** plant. These plants cost up to \$400 million each; when amortized over twenty years, the cost approaches \$1 billion. With the advent of innovative financing options like these Bonds, recycling can be financed as easily as "conventional" disposal methods.

Recycling creates a diverse network of industries in a community, including education programs, hauling, processing, manufacturing, and product marketing. In turn, these programs create more jobs, decrease local government costs, and stimulate economic growth more than any other single industry in our economy.

### Conclusion

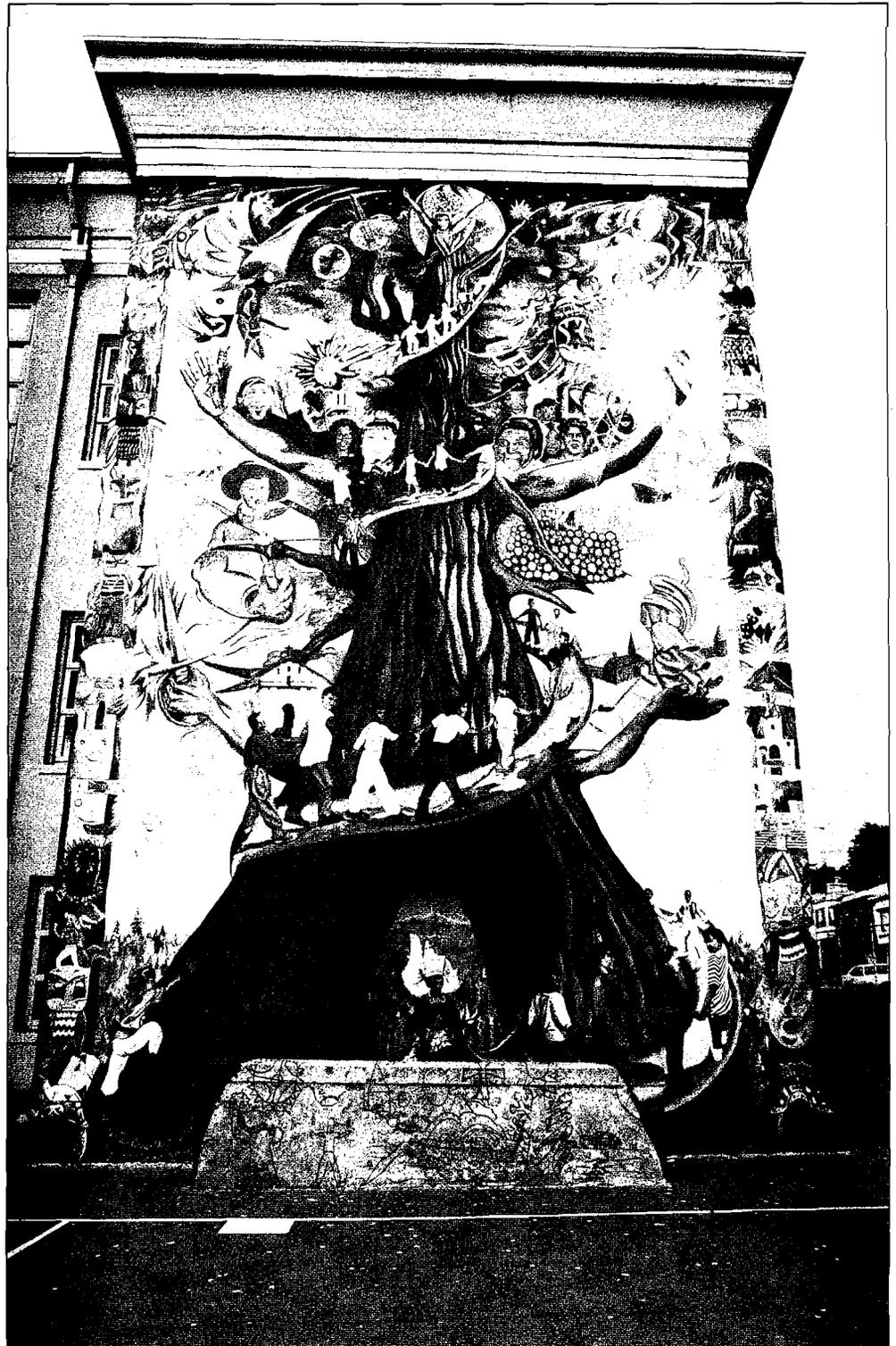
In order to tap this raw material stream, citizens must be organized and informed: informed of the alternatives to landfilling or incinerating waste, of the hazards of such disposal methods, and of the benefits, both economic and environmental, of recycling. When organized, citizens can demand that local governments make responsible disposal choices that meet the needs and address the concerns of the community. Once these choices are made, citizens and government officials can work together to identify scrap-based industries willing to locate to their region, bringing with them a myriad of environmental and economic benefits.

In the **1980s**, 90 percent of those mass burn plants proposed by government and industry were defeated as a result of organized citizen action. Identifying their common ground, community development, environmental, and anti-poverty organizations have begun to channel their civic and political energy into solving the solid-waste crisis through the promotion of recycling and scrap-based industrial development. The solid-waste stream represents the most immediate natural resource for economic development in communities across the country. By influencing local policies, actively participating in decisions about community disposal options, and demanding accountability from local officials, citizens can effect environmental and economic change through the solid-waste stream.

# Keep Our Ancient Roots Alive

## *Environment, Diversity Themes in Urban Mural*

The mural *Keep Our Ancient Roots Alive* was recently completed on the Cleveland Elementary School in San Francisco by several artists including lead muralist Susan Cervantes, and guest Russian muralists Sascha Fomina and Nicolai Bogomolov. In the painting, students of Cleveland Elementary walk on a rainbow created by a native Californian Indian boy that leads towards the top of an ancient Sequoia tree. In the bough of the tree are images of California history including Mission Dolores and Fort Ross. Also held in the branches are the student and faculty heroes Martin Luther King, Jr. and Cesar Chavez, a Chinese dragon dancer, and T.L.C. (a pop group). The totems along the sides were created by the students and painted by volunteer muralists.



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dl, only Group 4 housing posed a hazard. With the new standard of 10  $\mu\text{g}/\text{dl}$  all four housing types pose a hazard. The greatest research needs are for ways to correlate housing conditions with human exposure and risk.

Waste incineration may soon rival gasoline and lead smelting as the major source of lead in the air. It has been

***Waste incineration may soon rival gasoline and lead smelting as the major source of lead in the air. Almost all the incinerators are located in communities inhabited by people of color and poor people.***

projected that millions of pounds per year will be emitted from the nation's waste incinerator facilities in the next few years. All of this lead is being released into the environment, despite what we know about the hazardous effects of this substance. Little has been done to improve the capacity of these facilities to clean the air they release. Almost all of these facilities are located in communities which are inhabited by people of color and/or people whose income is low.

In 1989 a newly founded community organization in Alameda County, California undertook a health survey. The survey covered 1012 households in which eight languages were spoken. The survey results showed:

- 33% of households had no health insurance;
- 98% had no lead screening for household members;
- 31% had not received immunizations for children in the household;
- Outpatient clinics which they frequented had little or no bilingual or multilingual capacity; and
- 96% of people eligible for existing free health testing program were unaware of it.

These statistics further illustrate the relationship between poverty, lack of access to quality health care, race and lead poisoning. If you are poor you are far more likely to live in substandard housing which exposes you and your children to lead. If you are poor you are less likely to receive routine screening which might detect an early elevation of blood lead levels.

If you are poor you are less likely to receive medical attention for your lead-poisoned child. If you are poor you are less likely to get diagnostic services which can tell you if your child has a learning disability as a result of lead poisoning. If you are poor you are more likely to send your children to a school which will not provide the extra, attention they will need to succeed.

#### **Adults and Lead**

Adverse health effects in adults have been observed at lead levels as low as 10  $\mu\text{g}/\text{dl}$ , a level well below the current Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) regulatory level of 40  $\mu\text{g}/\text{dl}$ . Unfortunately many people work in sites that are unregulated and/or unmonitored (e.g. the construction industry). On small sites for example, workers may be exposed to lead emissions which exceed the standard for general industry. The general industry lead standard does not apply to the construction industry, nor are small work-sites (fewer than 10 employees) regulated.

#### **What We Should Do About Lead**

A report on the hazardous conditions facing residents of color and low income communities in New York has been prepared and presented to the State legislature. The following recommendations were included in the report:

- Establishment of a Task Force on Environmental Equity.
- Research on the health and safety impacts of environmental conditions in communities of color and low income communities.
- Greater public notice in publications published and read by people of color, and to people of color and low

income community organizations of potential environmental impact.

- Research and documentation on fish consumption patterns and resulting health concerns in the river and lakes of the state.
- Training and certification of lead inspectors, abatement contractors and other who engage in the inspection, removal, covering or replacement of paint, plaster or other material containing a lead hazard.
- State funded lead poisoning prevention, inspection, education, and abatement programs.
- Mandatory lead screening for children at the age of six months, one year and annually thereafter until age six.
- A "safe house" program where families can be relocated during the abatement and cleanup of contaminated homes.
- Research and documentation of the

***There is a relationship among poverty, lack of access to quality health care, race and lead poisoning. If you are poor you are far more likely to live in substandard housing which exposes your children to lead, and you are less likely to receive medical attention for your lead-poisoned child.***

sources and prevalence of occupational disease and the need for occupational health services for residents in low income and minority communities.

The recommendations made for New York City are recommendations which should be applied to all communities to protect the health and wellbeing of people of color and poor people who share in this disproportionate environmental burden.

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poverty, racially separate societies in our metropolitan regions, public safety, crime violence, and homelessness.

As the nation becomes more aware of urban problems, and begins a reinvigorated debate on the hope and fate of our cities, the environmental justice movement suggests new insights for bringing together our concern for nature and urban social policy. During the last decade, the environmental justice movement began to emerge, focusing on environmental issues of communities of color, working people and the poor. It is just beginning to address cumulative urban issues in a holistic way.

This special issue of the *Race, Poverty & the Environment* newsletter, produced in collaboration with the United Church of Christ Commission on Racial Justice, explores dimensions of the emerging urban context of struggles for environmental justice. Our cover story, "LA's IMF Riot," by Cynthia Hamilton, shows how the conditions leading up to the angry explosion on the streets of the nation's second largest city have resulted from public policies which have ignored the needs of the people, and have instead emphasized private growth, polarization of the workforce, and excessive defense spending.

The challenge of defining the specifically urban scope of the struggle for environmental justice is taken up by Charles Lee. In our feature essay, "Developing Working Definitions of Urban Environmental Justice," Lee argues that an environmental perspective affords social justice advocates a new and integrating framework within which to address many critical issues of the decade — unemployment; community and urban development; energy issues; defense policy; resource exploitation; public health and self determination. "Urban communities of color never had the luxury of organizing around single issues," Lee suggests. "We must turn this into a strong point for organizing because if our goals are to organize for healthy sustainable communities, we must be able to make the connections between the different issues. This is the value of an environmental justice perspective."

The essay by Robert Bullard, "Residential Apartheid in Urban America," shows patterns of segregation continue to limit

mobility, reduce neighborhood options, and diminish job opportunities of African Americans. "Population and Race Data of the Largest Metropolitan Regions," collected by Luz Cervantes, shows that out of the 20 largest cities in the United States, 10 have populations in which people of color make up the majority. In New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Washington, DC, Houston, Miami, Atlanta and Baltimore, it is *whites* who are minorities.

In many of the nation's oldest cities, as a result of these demographic changes, people of color have inherited a substantial part of the political infrastructure, including roles as mayors, city managers, council people, department heads, and participation on boards and commissions. In this context, the problems of urban grassroots organizing is very different than it was a generation ago. What is missing is a new urban vision, addressing both social and environmental issues, capable of mobilizing large numbers of our metropolitan populations.

Such a vision must address housing, lead poisoning and abatement, the siting of sewage treatment plants, schooling, public health and safety, transportation, occupational health and safety, historic preservation, crime, drugs, and political empowerment, as well as more generally accepted environmental issues of air quality, water quality, open space, and energy conservation.

The environmental justice movement brings to this equation opposition to corporate domination of the economic life of our communities; opposition to racial collusion, and systematic subordination of people of color to other social groups; opposition to risks and threats to public health and community survival; opposition to patterns of production, consumption, and waste which destroy natural ecosystems threatening life support systems on a global scale.

An urban environmental justice perspective must address relationships between neighborhoods, workplaces and cities in their global and regional context. In her essay on LA's IMF Riot, for example, Cynthia Hamilton draws parallels between last year's insurrection in Los Angeles and austerity protests in over 80 cities around the

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**At a regional scale, we are challenged to reexamine the urban system and the struggles of indigenous people, the urban system and farming communities, and the pervasive and exploitative relationships between the inner city and the suburbs.**

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# Reportback: EDGE Conference 1993

by Karla Brundage, Earth Peace

*On January 15-17, 1993, EDGE: An Alliance of Ethnic and Environmental Organizations, a coalition of statewide environmental and civil rights groups in California, held a conference entitled Redefining the California Dream: Growth, Justice and Sustainability. The gathering was intended to continue on a statewide scale the national environmental justice debate begun by groups such as the United Church of Christ, the Gulf Coast Tenants Organization and the Southwest Network for Environmental and Economic Justice. Here is a reportback.*

"Social justice requires an end to environmental policies and practices which result in disproportionately negative public health and economic impacts on people of color, working people, and the urban and rural poor." This was a major theme that emerged from the first annual EDGE Conference, held in San Jose. The conference included 23 panelists, as well as workshops and group discussions (not to mention free food). What made this conference unique in the West was the focus: environmental issues from the point of view of people of color.

People arrived on Friday evening. The energy was high as everybody registered. Looking around, I was truly impressed at the sheer numbers of diverse people. Within five minutes I had spoken with an Asian woman from U.C. Berkeley, who was there like myself to become enlightened. I met a Caucasian man who was a lawyer for people who are environmentally oppressed. I ran into Carl Anthony, who was busy organizing last minute details, and Amahra Hicks, an African American woman who does outreach for the US Forest Service recruiting people of color to work in the National Forests. I was ready to do more networking, but it was time to hear the introductory panel, which included

Richard Moore and Dr. Robert Bullard.

"People of color are being hit by a triple whammy," said Pam Tau Lee. "We primarily live, work and play in toxic or hazardous environments." This was to be another theme of the EDGE conference. The panelists addressed other topics to be covered in greater detail on Saturday and Sunday. For example, is the choice between jobs and the environment a false dilemma? According to all the panelists, the

**"People of color are being hit by a triple whammy -- We live, work and play in toxic or hazardous environments."**

message was loud and clear: "We as people of color must be fully involved in all levels of environmental decision-making. Why? Because we are part of the environment and these decisions affect us, usually in a negative way. It is time for people of color to take some power and change things. How? Well that is why we are here at EDGE, to begin the dialogue within the community of people of color to give ourselves a voice in the environmental movement."

With that as an introduction, I was up and raring to go on Saturday morning. After a good breakfast and a cup of coffee, we moved right into the "Population and Demographics Panel." The panel consisted of four speakers, all women. They covered such issues as population control and immigration. These were two issues that I am aware of, but have never included in my environmental dialectic.

• Population control: Population stabilization is one of the most divisive issues in the environmental debate,

because there is a strong but wrong belief that cutting the world's population alone will solve the environmental problem. In reality, the U.S. uses 300 times more energy per capita than Bangladesh, the most densely populated country in the world.

- Forced sterilization has traditionally been used in countries where the rate of consumption is quantitatively far less than ours for reasons other than for conserving resources, i.e., racism.

- Immigrants actually consume the least and work the lowest paying jobs, in many cases in businesses that that might otherwise go under.

The second panel, "Economic Development and the Environment," introduced some of the concerns and contradictions that were being addressed. Speakers on this panel discussed jobs versus the environment and what that means to people of color who are often not willing to sacrifice jobs for the environment, especially when no jobs means no food. These were some of the resolutions offered to this conflict:

- Cleaning up the environment will create many jobs.
  - Business can be used as a craft to fight environmental destruction.
  - Government can create business incentives for a safer environment.
  - Communities should encourage businesses to compete in being environmentally correct.
  - Health and safety should not be compromised for private interests.
- These strategies can only be effective through education of workers, people of color, and others who are involved in these businesses.

The third panel, on "Natural Resources," was on Sunday morning. This panel include presentations on "Air," "Water," "Energy" and "Land."

One of the main issues in California

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is how monopolies that were created long ago **still affect** the taxpayers and could make or break the state. For example, farmers in Northern California can make up to \$1,000 per acre foot by selling their water to Utah or Southern California. The **tax** payers receive \$95 dollars per acre foot, and the rest is profit. As a result, many corporations **are** closing farms, laying off workers and selling much needed Central Valley water to Southern California or other states. These are things that people of color must unify around to prevent.

Addressing "Land" issues, Cathy Sneed woke up the crowd by sharing her personal story about teaching prisoners to garden as a way to heal their spirits. She has seen the experience of gardening change drug dealers, by just getting to **know** the land and seeing their hands produce something real like vegetables. Henry Holmes and Eric Mann addressed issues of "Energy" and "Air." Each spoke about the need to set up new models within energy and air pollution policies. "What is it that people of color want for our neighborhoods?" It is up to us to define and create models of our relationship to natural resources and our environment which include consideration of race, class, and culture.

A powerful closing speech was delivered by Assemblywoman Barbara Lee. "EDGE is at the vanguard of the new environmental movement, since environmental justice affects everyone," she said. Like many of the other panelists, Assemblywoman Lee stressed the need for continuing the dialogue within our own communities, but also to include our Congressional Representatives and our President. She reminded us that education is a process which stems from our desire to know and to want to better our lives. "We have to continue to be dissatisfied because that is what motivates us to make the badly needed changes for our children and our grandchildren."

*Karla Brundage is a poet who lives in Oakland, California. Earth Peace is a group of African American artists who incorporate ecological themes in their work.*

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In order to address these significant growings pains, the Board of National Toxics Campaign Fund met in Albuquerque, New Mexico on April 25th and made the following decisions:

1. They voted to spin off the Military Toxics Project outside the organization so that it can continue to grow and thrive and become its own national organization. There are more than 200 grassroots organizations across the country working with the Military Toxics Project to hold the DOD accountable to **prevent** pollution for its environmental destruction as well as develop policies for making the transition to a post Cold War, environmentally sustainable economy. Cathy Hinds will continue as the project director.

2. The Board voted to spin off the Environmental Justice Project (EJP) outside the organization. The EJP has been a groundbreaking effort to provide state of the art training to staff and leaders of color to help build the environmental justice movement in the United States. The People of Color Caucus on *NTCF's* Board, which has overseen the project, will continue to be the project Board for the effort. Anthony Thigpenn will remain the EJP Director.

3. The Board voted to spin off a hazardous **waste/pollution** prevention campaign. A new organization, the World Center for Jobs and the Environment, will provide technical assistance, lab testing, and organizing help to community groups which are working to solve pollution problems in their backyards. The group will also develop projects to create jobs through sustainable industry. The chairman of this new effort is John O'Connor.

4. The Board voted to empower a newly constituted Board to develop a plan to continue the important work of the Citizen's Environmental Laboratory, which may include housing the lab with another organization. The lab has

provided testing and technical assistance to over 650 organizations since its inception. The lab has been a vital resource for the **grassroots environmental** movement in providing testing to communities at risk from toxics exposure.

5. Finally, the Board voted to cease operations of *NTCF* in May and work toward the dissolution of the organization. The Board believed that impacted communities would be best served at this time if the different projects were given more autonomy to develop their own strategies and funding.

While many people will be saddened to lose *NTCF*, the Board's decision represents a commitment to building a grassroots movement for change that has been the hallmark of the organization since its inception. The vision that led to the formation of *NTCF* and carried it all these years will continue through the many projects, organizations and people that *NTCF* developed and supported over the years. **We remain committed** to confronting the worst polluters, stopping the production and disposal of hazardous waste through pollution prevention and empowering the people most impacted by toxics to fight back against the poisoning of their communities and workplaces. Our decision is a positive response to changing times as we let go of the organizational structure we have built to better serve the needs of the movement we are committed to.

The struggle for environmental justice and democracy **are** at the grassroots level. We are confident that the relationships and networks we have helped to build across the country will continue to thrive. We look forward to joining forces with you in upcoming campaigns to serve the causes of environmental justice. The next decade will be a decisive one for our struggle. Let us move forward together and create a safer and more democratic and just world for our children. Thank you for your support and keep up the fight.

# The Curitiba Commitment to Sustainable Development

This is a companion document to the Common Declaration on behalf of the World's Cities and Local Government Authorities adopted in Rio de Janeiro on January 15, 1992 for presentation to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development. The Common Declaration was the product of several conferences of local governments and authorities on environmental issues and was brought together under the auspices of the International Union of Local Authorities, the World Association of Major Metropolises (Metropolis), the Union of Towns Organization, the Summit Conference of Major Cities of the World, and other international and regional associations of local authorities.

On the threshold of the Third Millennium, the greatest challenge for humanity is to balance development needs and environmental preservation.

Cities are the products of dreams, visions and great workmanship. They are centers for the creation of wealth, diverse cultures, and multiple opportunities for the individual and the collective society.

An increasing number of people are inhabiting cities. In this decade alone, an additional 500 million will become a part of urban life, and mainly in developing countries. By the dawn of the Third Millennium, one half of the world population will be urban. And millions will live in poverty, including children who, as a new generation, and our future hope, deserve a fresh start in breaking the cycle of poverty.

Lack of respect for our natural systems and our inefficient extraction and consumption of valuable resources threatens the quality of life of all peoples. We have reached a state of crisis proportions.

Directions must be changed. Radical

steps must be taken by the international community such as relieving the burden of international debt which itself can be a cause of environmental degradation.

Many global problems are generated in cities, and so must their solutions be generated in cities. Local action is necessary for global survival.

The first step is to not make matters worse and from there, to make matters better. Solutions don't always have to be radical — creative but simple ideas can get the job done.

These ideas can be generated and developed by bringing together all segments of the community in partnership. Community partnership is vital.

Cities should become "sustainable." Cities should waste the minimum and economize the maximum.

Such cities can be catalysts for change throughout the world sharing their knowledge and experience with other cities. This collective action can create a new global security.

We, the leaders of local government and authorities from cities and metropolitan areas around the world make the following commitments.

1. As a first step, work to extend basic services to all citizens without additional environmental degradation.
2. Progressively increase energy efficiency.
3. Progressively reduce all forms of pollution.
4. Waste the minimum and economize the maximum.
5. Combat social and gender inequality and poverty.
6. Prioritize the needs of children and the realization of their rights.
7. Integrate environmental planning and economic development.
8. Increase involvement of all sectors of the community in environmental management.
9. Mobilize resources to increase co-operation among local authorities.

## Action Plans

To fulfill the above commitments to sustainable development, it is agreed that each local authority should develop an action plan — a Local Agenda 21 — which includes targets and timetables

and incorporates measures such as the following:

- Establish a community consultative process that brings together representatives of community organizations, industry, business, professional organizations and trade unions, educational and cultural organizations, the media, and government to create partnerships for sustainable development.
- Set up an interdepartmental committee within the municipal government to coordinate planning, policy, and development activities so that these activities result in environmentally sound land use, transportation, energy, construction, waste and water management practices.
- Perform regular environmental audits involving all sectors of the community and develop data banks on local environmental conditions.
- Review and improve the collection of all existing fees, fines and taxes collected by the municipality to: a) support sustainable behaviors and discourage non-sustainable activities; b) charge the full environmental cost of a particular activity; and c) increase revenues available for investments in local sustainable development projects.
- Develop procurement guidelines that result in the purchasing of products and materials which are environmentally friendly.
- Establish a sustainable development curriculum to be taught in schools or other institutions under municipal jurisdiction.
- Create a forum for the further education of municipal and community leaders about environmental and sustainable development issues.
- Join and participate in regional and international networks of local authorities to increase information sharing and technical assistance among municipalities; and to press national governments to support and fund their environment and development goals.

*For more information contact: Jeb Brugmann, International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives (ICLEI), New City Hall, East Tower, 8th Floor, Toronto, ON M5H 2N2.*

# Leaking Underground Storage Tanks and Urban Neglect

by Daniel O'Connor

California's soils, groundwater, and drinking water are becoming increasingly saturated with gasoline, used oils, and other petroleum-based products.

The disenfranchised urban working poor, who are disproportionately at risk from Leaking Underground Storage Tanks (LUSTs), can expect especially life-threatening environmental and social consequences. Environmental groups, community groups, and government agencies at all levels need to take immediate action to locate and replace leaking underground storage tanks, decontaminate the affected areas, and begin developing environmentally cleaner fuels and energy sources.

Presently, California's nine Regional Water Quality Control Boards (RWQCBs) report approximately 20,000 LUSTs. Because the RWQCBs often depend on local county health and fire departments for their information on specific sites, and because these county departments, as well as the RWQCBs, are frequently underfunded and understaffed, the 20,000 figure may be but a fraction of the actual number of active leaking tank sites. According to the State Water Resource Control Board's January 1992 *Quarterly Report*, which covers all nine regional RWQCBs, several hundred cases are not in the State report because of local county government oversight.

According to Lester Feldman of the Bay Area RWQCB, the agency is severely understaffed and underfunded but there is not a regulatory agency

overlap. He explained that the RWQCB's have authority over the local health and fire departments who are responsible for monitoring cases. However, he acknowledges that because of severe budget and staff cuts, and the expensive legal process of tank clean up, that there are probably many more unreported sites and the legal and environmental results will get worse.

Although the LUST situation is an environmental and social crisis, substantial action is not being taken -- partly because of the high expense of regulatory enforcement. Lester Feldman explained that it frequently costs over \$30,000 of tax payers' money to battle leaking tank owners. The usual outcome are small fines of \$1,000. Hence, Feldman conveys that economically it's not worth pursuing polluters. Of the 20,000 reported statewide LUST cases, only 3,393, or 17 percent, have been closed, according to the State's yearly 1992 report. A closed site is defined as one that has been reported, inspected, and cleaned. Currently, sites undergoing "remediation" stand at 893, or four percent of the total cases. Remediation means that the site is presently being cleaned and repaired. Eighty-three percent of the state's LUSTs are listed as "open cases." Worse, the total number of cases is increasing by about 16 percent each year.

Locally, the Bay Area RWQCB reports 5,045 LUST cases. Of these, only 247 (five percent) have been closed. In the City and County of San Francisco, as of January 1992, there were 416 reported cases, of which two (.5 percent) have been closed. A recent *San Francisco Chronicle* article reports

that there are 10,000 tanks in San Francisco, none of which are actively investigated by City Health Department officials.<sup>2</sup> Santa Clara County contains 1,464 reported cases with 201 (14 %) closed. Alameda County, with 1,416 cases, has had 17 (1%) of its cases closed. Contra Costa County has 442 cases with 8 (2%) cases closed.<sup>3</sup>

A great majority of the LUST sites contain either gasoline, diesel fuel, used motor oils, or a combination of all three. All of these are serious potential public health risks. Although most gasolines are now lead-free, many of the LUST sites, especially in the inner city in San Francisco, Oakland, Richmond, and other urban core areas, where a greater proportion of the poor, working class, and people of color live, are older, hence have leaked more lead-based fuels into the soils, groundwater, and drinking water supplies. Newer gasoline is lead-free, but contains benzene and toluene, toxins which affect the human nervous system.

In the Bay Area region, 2,310 (46 %) of the reported LUST cases are affecting groundwater. Fortunately, there are only 14 known Bay Area cases where drinking water has been directly contaminated.<sup>4</sup> However, this figure may be misleading because of understaffed and underfunded agencies, the apparent lack of coordination among State and County bureaucracies, and, most ominously, the immense political and economic influence of many of the LUST owners.

A large number of LUST sources are owned and operated by giant petroleum companies such as Chevron, ARCO, and Texaco; large corporations such as Southern Pacific; and other large manufacturing, and shipping firms. Many sites are also owned and operated by smaller companies, and individuals who purchased gas stations from the larger petroleum companies.

All of this adds up to a maze of red tape facing anyone trying to identify the responsible parties for leaking sites. The legal and financial firepower that companies such as Chevron possess render systematic inspection and site clean up difficult, unless it is financially

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beneficial for the company. A recent conversation with a Richmond abandoned gas station owner, who wanted to remain anonymous, drove this point home. He purchased the station in depressed south Richmond in 1975 from the ubiquitous Phillips 66 company. Some years later, the Contra Costa Health Department informed the RWQCB that the station was a major LUST site. According to the owner, the site was found to have been leaking when Phillips 66 owned it; however, the oil monopoly's legal power out-muscled this working African American's small legal resources. As a result, the Contra Costa County Health Department stuck him with the clean up bill.

A review of case files at the Bay Area RWQCB's file room in Oakland reveals evidence that suburban gas stations containing LUSTS were given more attention than inner city sites. Gas stations along car-dependent and middle class and affluent white suburban boulevards are typically more profitable than the older stations in the inner city. This fact was testified to by the large number of specific suburban case files with large, expensive, environmental impact reports — usually prepared by the petroleum industries' own environmental consultant. In sharp contrast to suburban stations, most of the reviewed inner city files consisted of a few pages of notes. This suggests that it is in the petroleum industries' interest to take direct action only when it is profitable.

The RWQCB acknowledges that there are many more sites that are still unreported. But because suburban cases get more attention than urban ones, and because urban areas are older, and have more leaded gas in the soil and groundwater, and are neglected, this is an urban disaster. This is especially true because many of the Bay Area's urban areas are built up on sandy soils, and landfill. Even when there is sufficient runoff to drain through the soil, contaminants will still enter the regional watershed (reservoirs, rivers, streams, estuaries, and the ocean) via groundwater linkages. During wet years petroleum runoff will likely

increasingly threaten plant and animal habitats, not to mention human life.

A recent review of RWQCB 1990-91 location lists in San Francisco, Oakland, Berkeley, and Richmond reveals that poor, working class, and communities of color in the flats of the East Bay and the older eastern sections of San Francisco contain many more LUST sites than any other areas of the city. For example, out of Oakland's 382 reported sites, some 349 (or 91 %) are located in the Oakland flats, compared with 8 percent in the foothills and hills. East Oakland alone contains some 130 reported sites or 34 percent of the city's total. In Oakland, the hills dismcts' mean household income is \$60,065 per year as compared to \$26,830 in the flats.<sup>5</sup> Oakland's citywide 1990 mean household income is approximately \$33,930. The Oakland flats, which includes East, West, and North Oakland, is over 80 percent nonwhite while the hills, which include Montclair, Oak Knolls, and other districts, are home to most of Oakland's white population. Similar patterns can be seen in Berkeley and Richmond, where most LUST sites are in the older flatland areas; 86 percent are in Richmond and 78 percent in Berkeley. The Richmond flatlands are over 80 percent nonwhite while Berkeley's is over 60 percent.

A review of 1990 RWQCB records reveals similar patterns in "Baghdad by the Bay." Although these areas only make up about half the city's total population, 75 percent of San Francisco's LUST sites are located in the Downtown, South of Market, Bayview-Hunters Point, Mission, Potrero, and Western Addition Districts. Not surprisingly, a majority of the city's disenfranchised working poor and people of color reside in these neighborhoods. The 1990 U.S. Census reports a city wide mean household income of \$45,664.<sup>6</sup> The South of Market district, with the largest concentration of San Francisco LUST sites (70), has a mean household income of \$19,280, the lowest in the city. The area is also 61 percent non-white. Bay View-Hunters Point has the second largest concentration of LUSTS (53).

Mean household income is \$32,600, and 91 percent of the dismcts' residents are people of color. In sharp contrast, wealthier and whiter areas such as Sea Cliff, Pacific Heights, Ingleside Terrace, Forest Hills, West Portal, and others contain only two to zero sites. Combined median household income in those neighborhoods is \$78,342; people of color make up less than ten percent of the population.

In response to this environmental and social crisis, the environmental regulatory agencies, including the Regional Water Quality Control Boards, City and County Environmental Health Departments, the State Department of Toxics, and the Federal EPA, must collaborate, and be properly staffed and funded. They must face up to the challenge of cleaning LUST sites in disenfranchised urban areas without handing the bill to the people who are least able to pay.

Also, all community economic development strategies must include the comprehensive inspection, cleaning, and conversion of these LUST sites into more environmentally and socially sustainable uses. Cities need to set more examples of sustainability, not toxic buildup. Otherwise, the ongoing neglect of urban environmental threats will continue to be coupled with social and economic disenfranchisement. And if the accumulation of petro-poisons continues, citizens will only need to set fire to the ground to see more cities go up in flames.

<sup>1</sup> California State Water Resources Control Board, *Leaking UST Status report*, January 1992.

<sup>2</sup> Kaplan, Karen, "Costly New Hassle for Homesellers," *SF Chronicle*, July 3, 1992.

<sup>3</sup> California State Water Resources Control Board, *Leaking UST Status Report*, January 1992.

<sup>4</sup> *id.*

<sup>5</sup> *Upclose SF Bay Area 1991* (El Granada, CA: Upclose Publishing, 1991). Report for Association of Bay Area Governments' library Profiles 1-47, 48-83, 106-136.

<sup>6</sup> US Census of Population and Housing; Summary Tape File 3.

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### Periodicals Urban Environmentalism

*Positive Alternatives*. A Publication of the Center for Economic Conversion. For copies contact: Center for Economic Conversion, 222 View St., Suite C, Mountain View. CA 94041.

*Urban Action*:. published annually by the Urban Studies Department of San Francisco State University, This publication includes articles that reflect the diverse nature of Urban Issues, both regionally and nationally. For copies contact: Urban Action, Urban Studies Program, **SCI 379**, San Francisco State University, 1600 Holloway **Ave.**, San Francisco, CA 94132.

*The Urban Ecologist*. The Newsletter of Urban Ecology; this quarterly paper focuses on Environmental Justice and Urban Environmental Issues, a global and local perspective highlights each edition. The Urban **Ecologist**, PO Box 10144, Berkeley, CA 94709.

*The Auto-Free Press*, and *The New York City Cyclist*; these two papers are published by Transportation Alternatives, 92 St. Marks Place, New York, NY 10009, (212) 475-4600.

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world, drawing attention to the links between domestic urban conditions and international finance. At a regional scale, we are challenged to reexamine the urban system and the struggles of indigenous people, the urban system and farming communities, and the pervasive and exploitative relationships between the inner city and the suburbs. Consider for example, proposals to flood the lands of the Cree people near James Bay in order to provide hydro electric power thousands of miles away to New York City. Consider proposals to export urban solid and hazardous wastes from urban to rural communities at home and abroad. Consider the spraying of pesticides and reliance on exploitative labor in farming communities to provide food for distant cities. Consider relationships between inner city abandonment and suburban sprawl. Many of these relationships have been discussed in previous issues of the *Race, Poverty & the Environment* newsletter.

Thus an environmental justice agenda for our cities must address the barriers and opportunities for cultural survival, health, safety and sustenance, appropriate technology, access to resources, and self management for communities everywhere.

Our preliminary survey of environmental justice organizations in the 20 largest cities, based on the directory prepared by Robert Bullard and other sources, found 51 organizations **working** on projects with these goals in mind. Thirty-four of these are grassroots organizations. The remaining are a variety of institutional, religious support groups, and a variety of local and regional entities. Undoubtedly there are many more which we do not know about. This issue of *RPE* highlights some of the emerging issues, and reports on work in progress.

Lead poisoning continues to be a hazard for everyone in older cities but especially young children from communities of color. Even at very low levels, lead ingested can have a devastating

impact on a child's health, and ability to cope. Janet Phoenix's article, "Get the Lead Out," based on information from Cincinnati, Ohio, Oakland, California, and New York City, describes the sources of lead exposure and presents nine recommendations for organizing in communities of color exposed to the hazards of lead.

Urban soils, and groundwater, are becoming increasingly saturated with gasoline, used oils, and other petroleum based products, according to Daniel O'Connor, a research associate at the Urban Habitat Program in San Francisco. His essay "Leaking Underground Storage Tanks and Urban Neglect," documents the disproportionate exposure and risk to the disenfranchised urban **working** poor, whose neighborhoods contain the majority of these underground tanks. Although most gasolines are now lead-free, "...urban core areas, where a greater proportion of **the poor**, working class, and people of color live, are older, hence have leaked more lead-based fuels into the soils, ground water and drinking water supplies," he suggests.

The excessive presence of intrusive outdoor advertising of tobacco and liquor, documented in the "San Francisco Billboard Study," released by the Center on Race, Poverty & the Environment is another example of a threat to public health and community survival.

Few activists think of transportation as an environmental justice issue. Yet it surely is. The national highway system, constructed at great public expense made possible suburban expansion, the great out-migration of jobs from the older urban cores, and the abandonment and destruction of the inner city neighborhoods where communities of color live.

In 1991, Congress passed the Intermodal Surface Transit Efficiency Act, which **will** pump \$150 billion into metropolitan transportation projects over the next five years. For the first **time**, the money will not automatically go to highways. Projects must comply

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with the requirements of the Clean Air Act, and substantial public participation is mandated. As we begin to undertake a new generation of investment in infrastructure and transportation, we must ask of these investments and the development they spawn, how these new patterns can heal the polarization and promote the viability of the regions where they are located.

Judged by this criteria, the new multi-billion dollar Los Angeles Metro Rail is likely to be a big flop. Designed to reduce pollution and congestion, it is organized primarily around the needs of the upper middle class, providing a public subsidy to private businesses. It will increase patterns of socioeconomic segregation throughout the region, according to Raymond Rhodes in his essay, "After the Uprising: Metro Rail, Social Justice and Urban Form."

How can we measure economic and community success? A major problem is that the current indices of urban economic welfare do not accurately reflect the true environmental and social costs of many of our patterns of life. Steve Viederman's essay "The Need for a New Economics," suggests that in order to achieve environmental justice, a new economic framework, measuring previously unaccounted for variables must be established.

Despite bleak assessments, there are emerging opportunities for "Restoring the Cities From the Bottom Up." Mike Helm and George Tukul suggest why, if we are to be effective, we must get beyond established urban environment and development perspectives and place the civic culture of the people at the center of the rebuilding process. They see problems with current patterns of decision making which have more to do with the short term profits of developers, constrained by zoning and environmental regulations, than with insuring the viability of the diverse communities that make up our cities. What is needed, they argue, is a grassroots, street level emphasis on making cities convivial places by wedding natural and human ecology. "Neighborhoods," they argue, "are the basic unit of survival within cities and flexibility in committing local resources is the key to adaptability." An article by Neil

Seldman, "Recycling as Economic Development," suggests how the urban solid waste stream provides a unique chance to build a two way urban industrial economy in which consumers of products and packages are also suppliers of factories.

The leadership from communities of color must help us define a new metropolitan vision. To be successful, they must help us view urban government less as an instrument to enhance private benefits, more as a public means to establish environmental justice and social meanings capable of bringing diverse groups into a dialogue within a shared moral framework. Our political leaders must help us develop new strategies to contain the corrosive influence of the market and the rampant individualism which it spawns, and challenge us to restore the linkages between community and family, building bridges between communities of color from different social classes. Municipal governments need to restructure their priorities so that long term sustainability can become a feasible goal.

An example of efforts to redefine the role of municipal leadership is contained in the "Curitiba Commitment to Sustainable Development," a declaration by urban leaders who met in Brazil in early 1992 to prepare for the UN Conference on Environment and Development which took place in Rio last year.

The essays in this issue of RPE come from diverse sources and perspectives. They are intended to provoke thought and encourage debate on a new urban vision which brings together respect for cultural diversity, social justice, and a commitment to a healthy planet. Putting together this issue has been a big challenge for us. Many people have helped us, but we especially wish to thank Luz Cervantes at the Urban Habitat Program and Charles Lee at the United Church of Christ. One final note: We neglected to mention in our last issue that Ellie Goodwin, who served as our Managing Editor for two years, was offered a new assignment as an environmental lobbyist in the state capitol of California. We miss her in her old capacity, and cheer her on in the new.

— Carl Anthony and Luke Cole

## ntal Justice Pioneer Now Head of NAACP

The Reverend Benjamin Chavis, 45, has been chosen to head the NAACP. Chavis replaces Benjamin Hooks, who retired after 16 years as chair of the nation's oldest civil rights organization.

Until the announcement, Chavis served as Executive Director of the Commission for Racial Justice, United Church of Christ, where he has long championed environmental justice. Chavis coined the term "environmental racism" to describe the disproportionate impact of environmental hazards on communities of color, and was one of the conveners of the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit in 1991.

Chavis was imprisoned in North Carolina from 1976 to 1980 as a member of the so-called **Wilmington 10**, convicted of firebombing a store during an uprising against racial injustice. He was freed by a federal appeals court.

At the announcement of his selection, Chavis said: "This symbolizes the beginning of the renewal and revitalization of the NAACP."

## NTCF Disintegrates, Regroups in New Projects

*After a long and sometimes fractious internal debate, the NTCF has decided to spin off its various projects into freestanding entities. The following is a letter to supporters from Catharene Garula, Board President, and Peter Cervantes-Gautschi, Chair of the People of Color Caucus, dated May 6, 1993.*

Dear Allies:

We are writing to inform you of some major changes that have occurred within the National Toxics Campaign Fund.

For the past ten years, NTCF has been committed to building the grassroots environmental movement. Over the last decade, we have been on the front lines in confronting corporate and government polluters and defending communities against toxic poisoning.

We waged a national campaign to win the Right to Know and a strengthened Superfund law. We built a Citizen's Environmental Laboratory to provide low cost and reliable testing to communities at risk. We developed model toxics use reduction **legislation** that has been implemented in a dozen state pollution prevention programs.

We launched a Military Toxics Project that has created a national network of grassroots organizations fighting against the Department of Defense and its contractors, the nation's biggest sources of environmental destruction. We built the **first** national multi-racial environmental organization that emphasized the critical importance of environmental justice and recognized the unequal distribution of pollution in communities of color. We fought hundreds of incinerators and dumps and challenged the ongoing poisoning of the petrochemical, paper, aerospace, high tech and mining industries, as well as many other polluters.

It has been an exciting decade and one in which the **grassroots** environmental movement has grown in numbers and power. We are proud to have been an integral part of it. Over the past two years, NTCF grew in ways that challenged the overall structural limitations of the organization. Our growth was not as strategic as it should have been, and the many projects, perspectives and philosophies which **NTCF** eventually encompassed could not operate effectively under one roof.

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